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KEIU TELVE

Family Life Across the Gulf: Cross-Border Commuters' Transnational Families between Estonia and Finland

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UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
Press

The council of the Institute for Cultural Research and Fine Arts has, on June 17, 2019, accepted this dissertation to be defended for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnology.

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Article I
Telve, Keiu 2017. The Impact of Commuting on Close Relations: Case Study of Estonian Men in Finland. – *European Borderlands: Barriers and Bridges in Everyday Life.* Eds. E. Boesen, G. Schnuer. Abingen: Routledge, 110–123.

Article II
Telve, Keiu 2016. Cross-border Commuting Changes the Way Work is Done: A Case Study of Estonian Blue-Collar and Skilled Workers in Finland. – *Ethnologia Fennica. Finnish Studies in Ethnology*, 43, 28–42.

Article III
Telve, Keiu 2018. Absent or Involved: Changes in Fathering of Estonian Men Working in Finland. – *Gender, Place and Culture*, 25(8), 1257–1271.

Article IV
Telve, Keiu 2019. Transnational Commuting of Estonian Men in Two Generations. – *Family Life in Transition: Borders, Transnational Mobility and Welfare Society in the Nordic Countries*. Eds. J. Hiitola, K. Turtiainen, M. Tiilikainen, and S. Grubers. Routledge. (Forthcoming)

Article V
Telve, Keiu 2019 Family Involved or Left Behind in Migration? A Family-Centred Perspective towards Estonia-Finland Cross-Border Commuting. – *Mobilities*. Available online:
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1. INTRODUCTION

Working in another country is easier than ever before – the European Union free movement of labour, and cheap and plentiful travel options make the rest of Europe reachable and closer than ever for Estonians. The supporting travel infrastructure allows movement, but what makes a person become mobile? What is the impact of migration patterns on the home country and community as well as to destination countries and communities? This study explores cross-border long interval commuting between Estonia and Finland and discusses the *emic* perspective of male, blue-collar, unskilled and skilled labour migrants' experiences of transnationality; more specifically, how transnationality and working in another country has impacted upon their immediate family-life and relations generally within the nuclear family unit back in Estonia. With my thesis, I have concentrated on three main research questions:

(1) How do male cross-border commuters between Estonia and Finland extend their family life into the transnational sphere?
(2) What kind of everyday practices and strategies are used to maintain family connections in Estonia-Finland cross-border families?
(3) How does the mobility of one family member (the husband and the father) affect other family members? Does it also facilitate the international mobility of the wife and children?

The publications that form this thesis and their more specific questions draw on these main aims. In some cases, the articles combine different questions and research practices, or examine different consequences; therefore, the articles follow a structure based on the specific topic and are not led by any concrete research question.

My dissertation has grown out from my master's thesis, where I studied a group of Estonian male blue-collar unskilled and skilled labour commuter-workers in Finland and how they see their labour migration. During the final phase of the dissertation, I came to understand how many aspects of labour migration were actually connected with the family, including family needs, gender role-based expectations, and communication practices that allowed to them to span family life across the two countries. It was clear that the topic needs more attention. As Alissa Tolstokorova (2009: 2) points out, it is important to analyse not only the political and economic transitions that have taken place in post-soviet countries, but also the change of social norms. In fact, as she points out, these changes are especially visible in those nations bordering the former Soviet Union and, for example, in the Baltic states, where cross-border connections and working opportunities in the former "West" was possible very quickly after the collapse of the Soviet Union. My ethnographic research shows the changes in family structures that may appear due to the impact of new culture and social norms, a new work and leisure balance, and

the growing need for emotional close relations due to the physical distance. All these aspects are very present in cross-border commuter lives and demonstrate the impact of transnationality on people's everyday lives.

The dissertation derives from migration and mobility research, especially from ethnographical studies that examine mobility from the point of view of actors. Like those studies, this work opens the *emic* perspective of people living in transnational circumstances. I have been highly influenced by the mobility turn and the new mobilities paradigm (Hannam et al. 2006), which stresses how we can no longer separate so specifically notions of 'home' and 'abroad' or 'here' and 'there'. Rather, it is relevant to see the interdependencies and accept the blurring boundaries between different forms of mobility, including migration, travel for work, and virtual communication (Cohen et al. 2015, 2013; Hall 2005). These mobilities and migration patterns are constantly changing, and people may see themselves in different ways. One person could see himself as very local but manage an international business between Estonia and Finland. A commuter's family members may never travel to Finland, but are mobile in their awareness of the other country's work legislation and social (family) benefits. Or the commuter worker can say after the birth of his son that he is never returning to commuting, but after a year in Estonia, he returns to commuting. Living and working in transnational space has taught me that real life is always more complicated than any social theory, but using concepts, theories, and patterns helps us to make sense of similar individual experiences around the world. We need to know more about everyday transnationalism; as Tracey Reynolds and Elisabetta Zontini (2014) point out, we have too few indepth studies that open the practices of mobile families. We do not know enough about the everyday habits (Nelson 2006; Körber and Merkel 2012) or the feelings of relatedness and belonging (Assmuth et al. 2018: 5) of transnational family members.

The theoretical frame of the dissertation is based on the transnational turn in migration studies (Vertovec 2007b, Basch et al. 2000) and more specifically builds on the 'transnational family' concept (Baldassar et al. 2014; Bryceson and Vuorela 2002). The transnational family is much less researched in Europe compared with the rest of the world, starting from transnational networks in Caribbean families (Olwig 2007; Chamberlain 2006; Guarnizo 1997). As Anna Matyska (2014) points out, it is work on commuters with a non-European background that still takes the lead. Even when the attention towards European families and transnationality between European countries has grown (Ackers 2004; Huttunen 2007; Matyska 2014; Lulle 2014; Aure 2013; Aure and Munkejord 2015), it is still underrepresented. European Union labour laws, relative geographical proximity, as well as traditional migration patterns and similar cultural backgrounds create a certain amount of sameness that supports crossing the borders of nation states and allows a more equal development of neighbouring countries. Taking into account the current processes of global migration flows and intense discussions especially in the media around so-called 'migration crises', understanding culturally and geographically closer

migration movements may allow us to build empathy towards international mobility and see the ways to accept the movement of people around the world.

My thesis contributes to overcome gender blindness of Estonian-Finnish migration studies (Voormann 2005) as well as by making the masculinity and fathering practices more visible in transnational research. As other authors (Kilkey et al. 2014) have pointed out, research in transnationality studies primarily consists of the numerous articles about transnational motherhood (Keough 2006; Tolstokorova 2010). While trying to compensate for the historical invisibility of women in the research, contemporary migration researchers have forgotten to pay attention to men (Boyd and Grieco 2003; Charsley and Wray 2015: 404) which is why transnational fathering practices are still marginalised (Souralová and Fialová 2017: 160).

The dissertation is closely related to two research projects, led by Professor Laura Assmuth from the University of Eastern Finland, researching Baltic-Nordic, or more specifically Estonian-Finnish migration patterns. The first is "Inequalities of Mobility: Relatedness and Belonging of Transnational Families in the Nordic Migration Space" (2015–2019) funded by the Academy of Finland. The project aims to explore inequalities in everyday practices and investigates the different strategies employed by transnational families whose members deal with the various hierarchies, focusing specifically on transnational families in the Nordic and Baltic regions, and in Eastern Europe (Translines 2019). The second project, "Inequalities in Motion: Transnational Families in Estonia and Finland" (2016–2018) is funded by the Kone Foundation and explores the processes of inequality that occur in the context of migration and commuting between Estonia and Finland. By employing an innovative array of methodologies, we use a bottom-up approach to explore the individual's point of view (EstFinBlog 2019).

My thesis consists of five articles and the present summary chapter. The summary chapter is divided into four parts. First, the introduction, which focuses on the opening general aims and formulates the research intent, and gives an overview of previous studies. It also examines Estonian-Finnish migration patterns and the field context of my research, i.e., the differences between the Estonian and Finnish family models and changes within recent history. The introduction ends with a presentation of the methodology, including an overview of the collected data and the fieldwork process, as well as a discussion about reflexivity and my role as a researcher. The second part of the summary chapter concentrates on the conceptual framework and analytical tools used herein, specifically examining the concepts of transnational lifestyle, cross-border work, transnational families, and masculinity and fatherhood. Thirdly, I give a brief overview of my articles. Finally, I end the summary chapter with pointing out the main results and discuss the future possibilities of researching transnational families.

1.1. Transnational field between Estonia and Finland

Estonia and Finland have been connected through history and through seafaring, trading, and close cultural and linguistic connections. These connections have been especially tightened over the last 30 years. This thesis is centred around the cross-border commuting patterns that started in the 1990s after Estonia restored its independence; due to that, the thesis is widely rooted in the third emigration wave of Estonia (Kumer-Haukanõmm and Telve 2017). The third emigration wave of Estonia starts with the collapse of the Soviet Union, but the first markers of changes in the migration processes are also visible already before the possibility to travel came with the restoration of independence in 1991. The important first step that allowed at least some contact with the Western world was when the ferry traffic between Estonia and Finland was restored in 1965 (Sepp 2008: 65), which could be seen as a starting point for informal networks that encouraged modest migration movement. By 1991 there was a small community of approximately 1000 Estonians who had moved to Finland during the previous two decades (Anniste 2011).

The pulling factors of Estonia-Finland migration have slightly differed during the third migration wave. In the 1990s arose new possibilities to be able to change the home country, to be able to travel as well as work abroad, which was a dream many people wanted to try (Kumer-Haukanõmm and Telve 2017). The kind of work mattered less than the opportunity to experience a life in the West, and blue-collar jobs were available. It is also important to acknowledge the demographic factors as well as the economic situation in the newly re-established country of Estonia (Tammur et al. 2017). The birth rate in Estonia had been high during the previous decades and the working age population number was constantly growing. At the same time, Estonia was just developing a free economy market, which did not provide the security and economic stability people searched for. Due to these reasons there existed people in the Estonian labour market who searched for new opportunities abroad and were able to move. Still, the total number of people who decided to emigrate or to go to work abroad stayed relatively low, mostly due to the difficulties in applying for visas to travel and living and working permits to stay abroad.

In the 1990s, Finland became the preferred migration destination for people from Estonia (Tammur et al. 2017), a preference that was also impacted by the return of people with Ingrian Finns roots.[1] In April 1990, the president of Finland, Mauno Koivisto, asked Ingrian Finns who lived in the Soviet Union territory to return 'home' (Pekkala and Vasenkari 2000, 164), i.e., to leave the USSR and move to Finland. By comparing the data of two censuses of 1989 and 2000 we can estimate that approximately 5000 Ingrian Finns relocated to

[1] Ingrian Finns are people of Finnish origin who had been living in the territory of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, in a historical province between Estonia and Finland, close to present day St. Petersburg, on the south of the Gulf of Finland (Matley 1979, Reinvelt 2003).

Finland back in the 1990s. Close contact with Finland did not only rise due to return of the Ingrian Finns and the networks with Estonians that were held up also across borders, but also the impact of Finnish culture, especially television, was very relevant. In 1971 a new TV-tower was built in Finland, in Espoo next to the northern side of the Finnish gulf. Its transmission range reached northern Estonia and allowed the Finnish television network to become a part of everyday life of that region of Soviet Estonia (Lepp and Pantti 2013). Also, starting from 1965, when ferry traffic between Estonia and Finland was restored, the personal contacts between Estonians and Finns started to become more common (Sepp 2008). Due to these reasons, by the 1990s a lot of Estonians already had relatively good Finnish language skills, knowledge of their culture, and also good acquaintances developed during the last decades. The increase in ferry traffic between the two countries also increased the smoothness of travel back and forth, but the much higher average standard of living in Finland was a decisive factor for many commuters to pick this neighbouring country for the next working destination. Comparing the census data, we can estimate that during the first decade of independence, almost 13,500 Estonians moved to Finland (Tammaru et al. 2010).

The transnational commuting patterns between Estonia and Finland would not have been the same without European Union free movement legislation. An even larger change in migration patterns came in 2004 when Estonia joined the European Union, opening the door to participation in the European free movement of labour. In some cases, also a period of transitional measures was applied (Välisiministeerum 2009), and in the case of Finland, the new EU states did not get full free labour movement right away, but two years later. All temporary restrictions were discontinued on May 1, 2009, when Estonian citizens received same rights as all other members of the European Union (The European Commission 2018). All together between 2000 and 2008, the emigration from Estonia increased eightfold (Anniste 2014).

In the case of Estonia-Finland migration patterns, and especially in the context of continual cross-border commuting, the most important years have been 2008–2013, strongly related to the 2009 global economic crises that hit Estonia especially hard (Tammur et al. 2017). Starting from 2008, Estonian salaries were decreasing, jobs were disappearing, and the average debt level was high due to the previous years of a booming economy when buying real estate property seemed to be accessible for everybody. The lack of economic solutions in the home country encouraged especially men to look for jobs outside of Estonia while their families remained back in the home country (Telve 2015). During this time, Estonia rapidly became one of the leading countries of international commuter workers per capita as Estonia had 15.8 cross-border commuters per 1000 people (European Commission – DG Employment and Social Affairs, 2009) and by 2011, 14% of the Estonian population aged over 15 years had worked or were currently working abroad, while the European average was only 9% (European Commission Internal Market, 2013). By 2013, additionally approximately 51,600 people in Estonia had made preparations or

had thought about working abroad (Tarum 2014). In many cases their local communities and personal networks encouraged them to choose Finland as the working destination (Telve 2016) and according to the statistics, 65% of all the Estonian migrants chose this country (Tarum 2014). Within 25 years, Estonians have become the second biggest diaspora group in Finland (Statistics Finland 2016). The Estonian community in Finland was approximately 50,000 Estonians by 2015 (Tiit 2015).

When some people immigrated to Finland, other people held up other, more multidirectional bonds between the two countries. One of the most visible mobility patterns is cross-border commuting. In this case, the commuter works in Finland while the family stays in Estonia, and the worker actively, mostly once or twice per month, travels back and forth. The geographical proximity, only 85 kilometres, which is traversed in a two-hour boat trip between the two capitals Tallinn and Helsinki, as well as the affordable ferry tickets and sufficiently frequent schedule allow many people to be internationally mobile. The estimated number of commuters between Estonia and Finland is 30,000 (Statistics Finland 2013), which is comparatively high especially when we consider the total population of Estonia: 1.3 million people and approximately 700,000 people participating on the labour market (Statistics Estonia 2017, Statistics Estonia 2018). These Estonians tend to prefer commuting and having their families stay in Estonia to immigrating to Finland. Estonian statistics shows that migration and transnational commuting patterns are more common from the rural and peripheral areas than from Tallinn and other cities (Anniste 2014: 20; Krusell 2013). There are more female than male emigrants overall (women accounted for 54% of Estonian emigrants); however, men are dominant (86%) among those who work abroad but reside in Estonia (Tarum 2014: 4). The average age among commuters is 30–45 years (Krusell 2013), so it can be assumed that most of them are in a relationship or married and they have one or more kids (Telve 2015). The vast majority of cross-border commuters of Estonia are doing blue-collar unskilled and skilled labour jobs in Finland (Krusell 2013). As they themselves put it, it is economically more beneficial to earn more money in Finland and spend it in Estonia where everything is less expensive, as this way they can achieve a higher living standard compared to the people working in Estonia in the same economic sector (Telve 2016). The manual work done by Estonians in Finland is much valued by the locals, but statistically Estonians do not differ from other Finnish migrant groups; they are invisible in Finnish society, they live in poorer neighbourhoods, have very few mixed marriages with Finns, and are socially quite segregated (Kährik et al. 2018).

At the moment it is difficult to know how many workers exactly commute between Estonia and Finland (Tammaru et al. 2019). First of all, labour migration inside European Union is hard to track, as a lot of people who are working abroad have not registered it even when they should by law to do it after three months (Eures 2018). Additionally, some Estonian companies are subcontracting work in Finland and this is not visible in statistics. Also, part of

the working abroad pattern is irregular and short-term, and people do not see the need to register in the Finnish registers. Secondly, the most accurate data from Estonia's last census of 2011 is outdated and the new data is hopefully provided with the next Population and Housing Census of Estonia held in 2021. Still, it can be assumed that even if the commuting has decreased during the last years, the actual number of Estonian commuters and work migrants is much higher than statistics shows us. Even when the impact of the 2009 economic crises has passed and living standards between Estonia and Finland are slowly becoming more equal, people are still preferring commuting due to the well acquired working rhythm, better working conditions, and social guarantees in Finland compared to Estonia (Telve 2016).

Cross-border commuting between Estonia and Finland has generated much public discussion and has been of interest to journalists as well as general audiences. Most people in Estonia could tell a story about the so-called 'Kalevipojad', young men who are working in Finland. Kalevipoeg [in translation Kalev's Son] is a hero of Estonian ancient poems who also travelled between Estonia and Finland; he has given a name to contemporary commuter workers. The folklore character Kalevipoeg is depicted as a huge and strong man leading Estonians to a better future, but he has also many vices including violence and greed (Šmidchens 2007: 491). The 'Kalevipoeg' name of the cross-border commuters also illustrates their ambiguous image. As I have written previously (Frigren and Telve 2019), the transnational lifestyle has gained a lot of attention both by Estonian as well as Finnish newspapers. Many times, the sensational newspaper headline or documentary is a starting point for a rumour. It creates the situation where everybody has heard a story about double families, law-breaker Estonians in Finland who are drinking and driving or starting pub fights without a reason, and Estonian construction workers who are stealing from their sites. Due to these rumours, cross-border families are also under the stress of stereotyping in the public opinion.

1.2. Different family patterns in Estonia and in Finland

Until the beginning of the 20th century the developments of Estonia and Finland were quite similar. Both were considerably poor, agriculture was the main economic sector employing people, and both countries had a history of foreign conquerors and occupations; also, both states became independent during the First World War–Finland in 1917 and Estonia in 1918. The similar socio-economic situation and development influenced also family models and gender regimes that developed from rural households through modernisation to the idealised hierarchical nuclear family. Differences occurred during the second part of 20th century, as Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union, but Finland managed to protect its independence. After the Second World War, Estonia and Finland diverged significantly in their political, social, economic, and everyday life. Finland, along with other Nordic countries, is now a leading

example of gender equality: the women are more independent, and the parenting roles are more equal compared to most other countries in the world (Nordenmark et al. 2014). Estonia, in contrast, has the biggest gender wage gap in Europe and women are much more engaged with housework and caretaking while men are mainly seen as breadwinners (Pajumets and Hearn 2012).

Family is one of the central concepts of any culture. Which people form the core of close relations is a reflection the understandings and values of the society on a wider scale. Until the mid-19th century, both in Estonia and in Finland family was a multi-generational peasant unit for producing enough to survive, and both men and women were very engaged with different tasks in farming. As Johanna Lammi-Taskula has pointed out, in peasant society, daily life was shared in a work-oriented partnership, as men and women needed each other's work contribution (Lammi-Taskula 2007). Still the partners had their own field of responsibilities and engagement in family life could not be undervalued. The wife had her domain within the household. She was responsible for making food and clothes, tending the animals, and bringing up the children. Men, on the other hand, were occupied with farming, logging, and transport (Palli 2008: 305–306). Until the middle of the 19th century, family included 4–8 children as well as elderly, sick, or poor relatives, and possibly servants; all together the total number of the family members could be more than ten (Palli 2008: 307–308).

Modernisation in Estonia as well as in Finland started in the second half of the 19th century and was also accompanied with changes in the family structure. The number of family members started to decrease and people started to move to the cities. The industrial family was much smaller compared to peasant one, only four or five members and so a nuclear family model started to spread. At the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century, most peasant and industrial families were at least dual-earning. Both men and women made an effort to support the well-being of the family (Palli 2008: 310). Still, due to the fact that modernisation started quite late compared with other European countries, the typical division of labour between a male breadwinner and a female housewife was never very visible. As Liisa Rantalaiho brings out, the housewife institution may have been ideologically idealised, but it was never a reality for a majority of people (Rantalaiho 1997: 21–22). During the first period of Estonian independence from 1918 to 1939, when the Estonian middle-class emerged, we still see the glorification of the family model where the men has a leading role and responsibility for economic well-being. This period can be described with the breadwinner model of Johnny Rodin and Pelle Åberg (2013). Industrialisation moved the men from work performed in their homes to work connected with administration and production. Due to that, men had to work most of the times at a greater distance from home and were forced to be absent from the family and child caretaking. The period can be depicted as the time when father was pushed out of the private sphere and his main task was to ensure that the family's material needs were met (Rodin and Åberg 2013: 22).

The family life situation in Estonia changed greatly after the Second World War when the Soviet Union occupied the country. The idea of the modern family with one male breadwinner was replaced with the new Soviet family model that stressed the importance of a professional career of both parents (Karu and Pall 2009). The ideology of socialism was towards full employment and full support for working parents. Ideologically, and especially during the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviet Union had similar social aims compared with contemporary Western societies in that it advocated gender equality and full employment for both men and women. However, while women we encouraged to take up physical and traditionally masculine jobs and they were given leadership positions, this change was not accompanied with the greater involvement of men in housework and childcare (Karu 2009: 70–71).

During the Soviet occupation in Estonia, Finland started to develop a gender-equal family model. From the 1960s onwards, in the Nordic countries, including Finland, fathers have been seen as included and active partners in infant care as well as in parenting growing children; fathers not only provide economic support, but also build close relationships with their children (Vuori 2009). Political, social, and cultural changes went hand in hand. Both men and women were active in the labour market and at the same time both were encouraged to participate in both family and work life and many state social systems supporting family life were started. For example, fathers obtained their right for paternity leave already in 1978 (Lammi-Taskula 2009). Also, many public discussions were raised about fatherhood and men's role in the family, which depicted these as the key issues providing securing gender equality inside the family (Jallinoja 1983; Husu 1995 [in Lammi-Taskula 2007]).

When Estonia regained its independence in 1991, we see two things happening: first, employment rates of both men and women were decreasing, and second, the women started to take longer maternity leaves. Noticeable gender differences in unemployment rates could be evidence that women in post-Soviet countries were overall disadvantaged in the new capitalist labour markets (Gerber and Mayorova 2010). But culturally, at the beginning of the second independence period, Estonians started to look back to the way of life of the 1930s. The family model of the 1920s–30s, where men had the leading role and responsibility for economic well-being, was also idealised in the 1990s (Voormann 2005: 317). Due to these reasons, stay-at-home motherhood and other female home-centred practices that were partly denied during the Soviet period gained popularity in Estonian society again and a new group of housewives emerged. The new situation of one breadwinner of the family started to develop, and in most cases, it was the man who got the full responsibility for taking care of his family economically and ensuring them their well-being. Since that time, breadwinning has been the most important part for men to fulfil their family duties. The previous research has shown how the inability to take care of family welfare is connected in Estonian society to negative consequences on men's self-image; further, it has been considered relevant by both genders that husbands concentrate on their paid work (Voormann 2005: 322). During the

shift in the 1990s, the focus on transitioning back to the free market economy left the social policy of Estonia in the background and the establishment of a fully functioning welfare system did not take place for another ten years (Karu 2009: 76). Even in the 2000s, when the state extended the family supporting system, parental leave was not comprehensive and was mostly meant for the mother (Karu et al. 2007). Currently, in Estonia the mother and father can share the parental benefits (fully compensated previous income for 435 days) after the child is at least 70 days old (Riigi Teataja 2017). For the first 70 days, the mother is expected to be the main caretaker, but even after this period has passed, the opportunity for the father to take parental leave is rarely used, and the mother remains the main caretaker. In 2016, only 9.3% of the recipients of parental benefit were men (Pall 2017). As Karu brings out, the policy sends a clear message that fathers were depicted as not equally valuable child caregivers (Karu et al., 2007). Rather, the situation strengthened traditional gender roles and at the same time inequality inside the family.

In Finland the number of men taking paternity leave raised throughout the 1980s and 1990s, but similarly to other countries, parental leave was and still is mainly used by mothers (Lammi-Taskula 2007). But compared to Estonia, men in Finland still started to balance work and family life more than before (Podder and Kirch 2013). Labour force participation and employment rates of both women and men were high and the state provided new gender equality legislation that also supported the men's growing family-centeredness (Statistics Finland 2005; Lammi-Taskula 2007). In 2006, a one-to-three-week long paternity leave was taken by almost 90% of fathers (Kela, 2006), while longer periods are until today more often taken by mothers. In Estonia, fathers mostly see their role as a provider, they focus on earning, such as by working overtime, instead of direct caretaking. In Finland men prefer 'new' modern fathering patterns that balance work and family life (Podder and Kirch 2013). Still we have to keep in mind that the research primarily demonstrates self-reports about involvement in family life, rather than data on actual time spent with children (Ranson 2001: 5–6, 22–24; Vuori 2009: 50).

Even though the dual-earner family has been the most common family model for more than 50 years in Estonia (Mikulioniene and Kanopiene 2015: 389), men feel themselves responsible for the family's economic well-being (Telve 2017). It is also one of the reasons why similarly to other post-Soviet countries (Dickinson 2005), cross-border commuting is in Estonia mostly (85% of times) done by men (Krusell 2013). We see it clearly how family life in Nordic welfare states and Eastern European countries differ quite a bit due to the family politics of the Soviet era and the differences in the remodelling processes after the states regained their independence. It seems that Estonia is at the moment in the middle of process of a 'familistic turn' (Telve 2018) that has gained popularity and social recognisability through the example of Nordic countries. The transnational connections have greatly influenced these processes, which suggests that the Estonia-Finland example is a valuable research

area to better understand the family changes connected with international mobility.

Widespread international mobility also brings together the rise of a family model where members of the family live periodically in separate countries. The previously held model of the family, the adult couple with children bonded together by physical co-presence (Morgan 2011), is challenged by transnational mobility. In the case of cross-border commuting family, children and one parent stay in the home country, and the residence all parties call 'home', stays the same. Even though there are differences in the duration, type, and historical context of transnational living in Europe today versus that of decades before, internationally mobile work still bears the same negative stereotypes, with some people believing that the family life cannot work over state borders and unless they share the same geographical space (Frigren and Telve 2019). Transnational work has many times been accused of being the starting point for a separation, family problems (Kartau 2013; Tartum 2014), and difficulties in bringing up children (Woolfson 2007; White 2010; Viira 2010) or holding up emotional connections (Sondra 2017). These discussions in society as well as in academic circles are also a reason to study the current family processes more deeply.

1.3. Previous studies on transnationalism and cross-border commuting in Estonia

The migration patterns between Estonia and Finland have been researched by different disciplines like human geography, sociology, political science, ethnology, folkloristics, and anthropology in several universities on both sides of the Finnish Gulf. A very good overview of previous research, including an overview by Kristel Edelman and Miika Tervonen (2019) will be published in a forthcoming book by the Migration Institute of Finland (Alho and Kumer-Haukanõmm 2019). The book will examine how migration trends have changed, what topics have been researched on this geographical field, as well as how the Estonian and Finnish researcher trends have supported each other. In the following, I will concentrate more narrowly on the research of cross-border commuting and the field of transnationality between Estonia and Finland including previous family research. Since the 2000s, transnationality has been part of the Estonian-Finland research paradigm (Jakobson et al. 2012; Kalev and Jakobson 2013). Transnationality in Estonia was theoretically developed thanks to the research project "Transnationalisation, Migration and Transformation: Multi-Level Analysis of Migrant Transnationalism" (Transnet). This project, which started in 2008 and included Estonian researchers Leif Kalev, Mari-Liis Jakobson, and Rein Ruutsoo, developed the transnational concept further in the Estonian context. This project was organised concentrating on the political, socio-cultural, economic and educational aspects on transnationalism and included governmental as well as policy formulation and implementation

aspects (Transnet 2011). Also, Mari-Liis Jakobson's (2014) PhD thesis "Citizenship in Transformation: Political Agency in the Context of Migrant Transnationalism" has been an important point for reference for later research. On the Finnish side, transnationality research started also in the 2000s. In 2007 the book *Maahanmuuttajanaiset: Kotoutuminen, perhe ja työ* edited by Tuomas Martikainen and Marja Tiilikainen, also contained chapters that discussed Estonia-Finland migration patterns (Siim 2007; Hyvönen 2007).

Transnationality studies of Estonians and especially in the geographical space between Estonia and Finland has been also elaborated by human geographers Tiit Tammaru (Tammaru et al. 2010, Tammart et al. 2019), Rein Ahas (Ahas and Terk 2017), and Kirsti Anniste (Anniste et al. 2017; Anniste and Tammaru 2014), who has also explored this topic in her PhD thesis "East-West migration in Europe: The case of Estonia after regaining independence" (2014). Further, anthropologist Aet Annist has researched transnationality in the context of Estonian post-Soviet rural life (Annist 2017, 2016). Sociologist Kairit Kall has researched transnational work and labour regulations (Kall et al. 2019). A slightly different perspective about contemporary multilingualism between Estonia and Finland is opened by linguists Birute Klaas-Lang and Kristiina Praakli (2018).

In context of transnational family research, the most influential has been the project "Families on the Move Across Borders: Children's Perspectives on Migration in Europe." This project, which spanned 2012–2014, examined children's experiences and understandings of cross-border mobility and studied family migration between countries, including between Estonia and Finland (Assmuth et al 2018). Pihla Maria Siim's work about transnational families from the perspectives of belonging (Siim 2013) and children's experiences (Siim 2016), and Siim and Assmuth work about translocal family between Estonia and Finland (Assmuth et al 2018), are invaluable. The family and gender aspects of Estonian transnationality has been also expanded by Maarja Saar (Saar and Jakobson 2015; Saar 2017, 2018) and Marion Pajumets (2012).

As this brief overview shows, the transnationality perspective on mobility is rather new, emerging only during the past fifteen years. The work about families is even more narrow and the gender perspective of cross-border commuter's men on family connected issues has been almost missing. Due to that, this research provides important addition to Estonia-Finland transnationality research.

1.4. Overview of the empirical material and fieldwork

Culture researchers have through the history of the discipline done research on "others", people whose everyday life is different compared to researcher's home culture or experiences. In my case the aim is in some ways the same. My research among blue-collar workers and skilled labourers have enabled me insight into the masculine world of Estonian men, to observe the social expectations, fathering practices, and everyday lives of these cross-border

workers. The particular focus of the empirical material as well as data analysing process is opened at the beginning of every publication, but here I would like to give an overview of my ethnographic research including methods, reflexivity, and my own experiences in cross-border commuting.

1.4.1. Multi-sited ethnographic research

My thesis is based on a six-year long ethnographic research project among mainly male cross-border commuters between Estonia and Finland. I have developed a research model framed by example from previous migration research. For example, as Loretta Baldassar et al. (2014: 17) write: "the reconceptualization of migrant families into transnational families seeks to take into account the contexts of both receiving and sending societies." Due to that I have conducted my research from the perspective of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995; Hage 2005; Falzon 2016; Amelina 2012). I travelled back and forth to conduct interviews and research in Estonia as well as in Finland. In some cases, it has been possible to meet the same families several times, on both sides of the Gulf of Finland. In my study, the 'multi-sitedness' is mainly about observing the people's lives in the two geographical zones of Finland and Estonia. Also, different geographical areas inside of these countries have played an important role. I have conducted interviews in the areas of Joensuu, Turku, and Helsinki as well as around various parts of Estonia. I have also travelled "alongside the research participants" (Kaaristo 2018: 79), via the same routes, experiencing being away and returning home. This has allowed me to observe the mobile field in a more detailed as well as gained multisensory and embodied experience (Büscher et al. 2010: 6) of it. It has made me fully aware of the importance of physical distance. Some of my informants are only commuting between Helsinki and Tallinn, while others have to travel thousands of kilometres back and forth between their home town Pärnu and work place Oulu. I understand better just how much of a difference these geographical distances make in their migration experiences.

My data collection can be described as back-and-forth ethnography (Hodges and Brković 2015). I have been doing field research periodically during the years, sometimes leaving months between interviews. After returning to fieldwork, I always came back to the same topics, but each time with new ideas gathered from analysing the previous interviews, literature or a conference. My fieldwork started in 2013 among Estonian male blue-collar unskilled and skilled labourers to understand how transnational living changes the lives of mobile people. The focus of the various interviews as well as observations varies widely and encompasses many different topics. In 2015, I wrote a MA thesis "Qualitative Approach to Work Migration: A Case Study of Estonian Male Commuters in Finland" and this process taught me that the transnational family topic is wider than previously appreciated and needed a more in-depth approach. In 2015, I started my PhD studies and continued with this research

that in some sense never stopped. During my fieldwork I have combined different research methods, such as in-depth interviews, informal conversations, observations of social events, as well as an online survey conducted in 2013 and internet ethnography. Following previous researchers, my aim has been to understand "the individual biography and life course of the people who move to consider how movement impacts on the static structures of the life world" (Baldassar et al. 2014). As Eleonore Kofman has pointed out (2012: 153), researchers need to "adopt an approach that follows longitudinally and spatially the migrant so as to capture care giving and care receiving". To get a more longitudinal view, my research includes acquaintances I know from childhood, as well as close friends of relatives I have had continuous communication over the years. I also aimed to conduct multiple interviews with the same men, but in many cases I have not had the chance to meet people a second time. However, thanks to social media and informal messenger conversations, I have still been able to follow people's lives over the years also from a distance.

The focus of my research has been on men commuting between these two countries, and during the years I have had many informal discussions online or offline. The concrete number is difficult to say, because although the knowledge gained from the ethnographic field can be built on these short, but meaningful conversations held on the ferry, or at hotel lobby, or on a Facebook group forum, each short encounter was not individually recorded. Some of these contacts have developed into meetings, interviews, and also visits to their homes. During the PhD research, where I was more concentrated on their family lives, I have also included other family members into the study: the wives or partners, children, mothers as well as close friends and relatives. As Justyna Bell and Paula Pustulka (2017: 140) have pointed out: "There is a methodological argument to be made about researching men insofar as family research can provide better opportunities to include the perspectives of different kin members on men, rather than relying solely on men's voices. […] Despite the clear focus on men's self-reflections, interviews with women operated as a paramount counterpoint evidence. For example, while men's voices tended to reflect 'laddish' masculinities and hegemonic constructions, women's complementary accounts contained traits of caring and flexible framings." Sometimes close family members have taken part in the interview, other times they have listened from the side and only before my leaving said something very telling about their transnational family that shed light on the phenomenon on a wider scale. For example, the wives would mention how they have noticed how men have become more family-centred. Also, in several cases women helped to remember some specific aspect of their everyday life that showed how the men are taking care of their family members.

Due to my participation in two international research projects mentioned in the introduction (p. 11), I have had access to the interviews of other researchers as background information. Additionally, my empirical data benefited from the frequent in-depth discussions that occurred during the project meetings and seminars. Collaboration with other migration researchers has helped me to test

the ideas as well as collectively search for patterns common among all our informants. This article-based doctoral thesis has demanded circular movement between fieldwork and writing and, together with my collaboration in a team, has allowed me to go deeper and, especially in the last articles, to analyse and elaborate some specific angle of transnational family life.

1.4.2. Combining research methods

My research has aimed to open the *emic* perspective, which, and as cultural anthropologists have defined it, is "the native's point of view" (Malinowski 1922). More specifically I have focused on describing the thoughts and deeds of my informants while at the same time tried to understand the cultural and historical patterns (Morris et al. 1999) that connect their perspectives. Combined methods were used in my research to demonstrate the "different descriptions that the members of the group give about their own culture" (O'Byrne 2007: 1382). At the same time, I compared them with previous theoretical perspectives, my own observations–the *etic* perspective, i.e., the researcher's interpretation of the culture (Varjas et al. 2005).

One of the approaches I have used during the years is online ethnography and I used the principles of netography, guided by the idea that the life in real world and life in digital world are intertwined (Kozinets 2002). Since December 2013, I have been part of three Facebook groups: Estonians in Finland (3,800 members in March 2019); FinEst–Estonians in Finland (40,200 members in March 2019); and Estonian Entrepreneurs in Finland (5,500 members in March 2019). As I have written before, these "Facebook groups can be seen as social and instrumental networks of Estonians who are living in Finland or who are regularly commuting between two countries" (Telve 2017: 112). Mainly I have used the Facebook environment to find contacts, but also to follow the topics that are most commented on during that period of time. The online environment has allowed me to stay in touch with my research group during the times I have concentrated on writing and could not actively conduct interviews or to be physically in Finland. It also was interesting to see how people spontaneously discuss family-related topics. They might share their experiences with visiting family member in Finland, discuss the possibility of moving, or work together to discover which interval is the best way to commute between two countries. In many times, the groups are also used to find help in Estonian about the Finnish taxes or labour laws, or to exchange the experiences with some employer. My researcher position has been visible from the beginning and I have many times asked for help with my research, i.e., by sharing an online questionnaire, or asking people's opinion about some aspects of working in Finland, or openly sought informants for interviews. The feedback from the community, after explaining that my intention is not create newspaper headlines but understand what they really think about their commuting circumstances, has been mostly

helpful and encouraging. Due to the fact that the Facebook groups are closed and there are sometimes hundreds of posts per day, I do not use direct quotes nor examples of posts nor discussions in my thesis. Rather I see online ethnography as a way to collect background information, to observe what the topics that matter to people are and to get acquainted with people who would be interested in participating in my research. All the situations that arose in the groups, notes about people's comments, and observations have been recorded in my fieldwork notes.

The most important part of my empirical data is formed by the full transcripts of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with cross-border commuting men and their family members (see Appendix 1). I started my fieldwork with interviewing acquaintances who were working in Finland. From there I used the snowball method: every time I asked for contacts from people I had already interviewed. Also, contacts from my friends and family members supported my fieldwork and being directly introduced by them helped to create a warmer relationship with the informants faster. During my stay in Finland and especially because I lived in different towns, the Facebook groups mentioned above were very useful finding new contacts. A couple of times during the years I posted a question about working or family life between Estonia and Finland and then reached out for people who commented the post in directly via the Messenger application. Some of the interviews are hours long and many of them have been followed by informal conversations. I have used 12 interviews from my previous fieldwork period (2013–2014), and during the PhD research (2015–1918) I conducted another 18 interviews. All the interviews were conducted using the same interview questionnaire, but as I used a semi-structured in-depth method, every interview was slightly differently combined. All my informants were Estonian and the interviews took place in Estonian. The interview questions were structured into six themes: background leading to cross-border commuting, going to work in Finland, commuting back and forth, family and friends, money, and future plans. Already the first fieldwork showed that family life is intertwined with many other topics and the same questions can be applied continuously. All the women have been interviewed together with their partners and they have had a much smaller role during the fieldwork due to the main research focus on men. During the first fieldwork period, in two cases two friends were interviewed together as well as separately, otherwise all the interviews were conducted individually.

The age of my informants varies from 20 to 51 years old, and most of them are in a long-term relationship or marriage and have at least one child. All of them were commuter workers at the time the interview was conducted and all of them had at least some experience with working in the construction sector. Mostly the men at first worked unskilled blue-collar tasks such as cleaning the construction sites or did easier renovation jobs. In many cases they worked for Estonian companies that where subcontractors for Finnish companies at first. Later, when their social and professional networks as well as language skills developed, they found positions directly in Finnish construction companies,

more closely aligned to their vocational school education. They also developed their position in the society, got their own private apartments instead of ones shared with other workers, and felt more fixed in Finland. Most men commuted between Estonia and Finland either twice per month or once every 10 days and stayed for the longer weekend; some of them travelled every five days to stay in Estonia for the weekend. Many commuter workers dream of returning to Estonia; some of them have tried it after their children have been born, but there is a strong pattern of returning to commuting after some period of time. Another visible characteristic common to these men is their entrepreneurial mind-set. Many of them have their own side business or even a company that offers a service in Finland (or both in Finland and Estonia) that allows them to adopt a more flexible schedule of commuting. During my fieldwork, people have married, become parents, divorced, and found new partners. All these life events occur in the context of their transnational life, i.e., transnational relations evolve and exist on not-fixed ground similarly to all other human relationships. My qualitative research is not aimed to provide a statistical analysis about the changes in the relations; rather my aim has been to understand the common characteristics and understandings that tend to emerge in a transnational family's life. Due to the publication-based form of my thesis, not all the aspects of family life nor all the informants in my empirical data have appeared in publication, but I hope to use my fieldwork in the future to continue with my research.

Additionally, I carried out an online questionnaire "The impact of working abroad on close relations," published in December 2013 and available until January 2014. Altogether there were 149 responses, 40% by men. The age composition of my respondents was similar to the labour migration statistics: most people were aged 26–45. The questionnaire was circulated in social media; especially important were the Facebook groups described above. The questionnaire consisted of 25 questions and included open-ended questions that were answered in some cases in depth; these formed the most important part of the data. The respondents remained anonymous and were therefore willing to open up about sensitive topics such as close relations. The data from the survey is analysed and presented in Article I; in the later publications, it provided important background and was not included directly in the references.

My PhD thesis materials have been analysed using qualitative thematic analysis. Through the research modulation processes, I have set my focus on the topics and themes that grew out from my fieldwork to be able to analyse the meanings and values of my informants. The themes were influenced by research questions, but I tried to hold full awareness during fieldwork process and to be opened towards new topics, ideas, and patterns during the interviews. The thematic analyses leaves space for interpretation and helps to identify, analyse, and observe patterns within data (Braun and Clarke 2006: 79) and due to that is suited to observe the perspectives of the cross-border commuters themselves.

1.4.3. Reflexivity and ethical considerations

All researchers, and it is especially true in context of ethnographic research, are themselves actors in the field and they need to be aware of their own position (Davies 2012: 3). As Davies points out: "Even the most objective of social research methods are clearly reflexive" (*ibid*: 4). As Wanda Pillow (2003: 178) has added, reflexivity is "self-awareness during the research process, which aids in making visible practice and construction of knowledge within research in order to produce more accurate analyses of our research". One possible solution to the crisis of representation (see more Geertz 1973) that rose together with the awareness of the researcher's subjective position, is to use multivocality, to "let the data, the subjects, speak for themselves" (Pillow 2003: 179). In my academic publications, I have also tried to give voice to my informants, so that they could speak for themselves as much as possible; I have also reflected upon their thoughts, ideas, and feelings about transnationality together with them. Additionally, I have use blogposts, newspaper articles in Estonian, and other popular science media outlets to reflect my ideas about transnational families back to the community. These discussions over my writings together with my informants have been at the same time very fruitful for my future academic research. I very much see that my research is done together with cross-border commuters and not only about them.

During the last four years, I have had also personal experience in commuting between Estonia and Finland. Thanks to the two research projects led by Laura Assmuth and Eastern Finland University, I had the opportunity to spend five months in Joensuu as well as to visit Finland regularly during these years. Additionally, Archimedes' Kristjan Jaak Scholarship allowed me to spend an additional month in Turku and be a visiting PhD researcher at the Migration Institute of Finland. I have taken every opportunity to travel back and forth and, in some cases, similarly to my informants, I have had to travel several times per month. After having personal experience of long-distance commuting, I know very well what it means to be sick and tired of driving on an endless motorway, miss family member's birthdays or holidays and try to compensate with calling or Skyping, as well as getting used to the Finnish early working hours and numerous coffee breaks that my informants often commented on. Personal experiences with living and working in Finland, even when my gender and work-experience differ a lot from my informants, have helped me to understand the field region, applicable laws, as well as the context of my case study better. The transnational experiences are bringing me as a researcher closer to the people whose experiences and personal stories interest me, and in many cases my fieldwork has been rather a dual discussion about family life and living and working between two countries.

In addition, my fieldwork is gendered and the question how to position myself in a male-dominant research field has followed me from the beginning of my studies. Previous research has pointed out that the role of the young female researcher doing fieldwork on men dominated fields can be challenging

and needs attention (Chiswell and Wheeler 2017; Perrone 2010; Lumsden 2009). Topics such as physical and emotional safety have been under my consideration from the beginning, and uncomfortable situations, misunderstandings, and unwanted attention did on rare occasions appear, and were solved delicately. From one point of view my position was safer, as the contacts were often made through personal networks and in many cases I was a sister, daughter, or at least a friend of a friend, which also gave the context for mutual trust. In other situations, I tried to be as straightforward and professional about my interest and the fieldwork process as possible. Also, in these cases I tried to develop the position of a friend or a colleague, or otherwise find mutual ground in the similarities of our commuting experiences even when our mobilities are probably in many aspects different due to our gender (Cresswell and Uteng 2008).

In many cases, my acquaintances as well as other researchers have asked what I, a young woman, could know about the construction sector or masculine blue-collar labour, or how can I even expect that these men are opening up their true feelings and thoughts about their family relations during the interviews. To some extent, my gender has helped me: as Diane Bell (2013) has pointed out, especially female researchers may have an access to talk about feelings with depth and emotional detail especially because their gender. I have also felt that I am allowed to ask naive questions, as in many cases my informants expected me not to know most things and readily explained processes and details step by step. Sensitive topics such as marriages, children, and emotional well-being, in most of the cases, arise naturally from the flow of conversation. Even in these cases where I have had to ask about the matters directly, the men have mostly answered without hesitation. It seems to me that also in the case of Estonian men, it has been even easier to discuss these topics with a female researcher, especially because family, children, and relations, are not usually the topics the peers and male acquaintances typically discuss deeply. Emotionality in male-only conversations may be restricted by social norms, but the same expectations do not apply for male-female conversations.

My work follows The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity (2017), Estonian Code of Conduct for Research Integrity (2017) and more specifically due to my discipline the Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association (1998) and I have in every possible way avoided harming my informant's interest or putting them some way into uncomfortable situation due to my research. I have provided all my informants and contacts the full information about my research projects and interests, and they have given me informed oral consent to use the material for my academic research as well as sharing the results with wider audiences. The participation in the research has been voluntary and all the interviewees were told that they can withdraw from the study at any moment. All the informants could decide at the end of the interview whether they want to participate under their own name or a pseudonym and many of them chose to stay anonymous. Others however said that they do not have anything to hide and that they want to help to share the

"real" picture of how cross-border commuters are living. I have discussed with them the confidentiality of the empirical data, and the protection of their interests during my project as well as afterwards. I have also shared the research results with them directly as well as through blogposts, opinion articles, as well as interviews for Estonian media.[2] Writing also in Estonian has made my research also more accessible for my informants as well as audiences outside of academia.

All the gathered data has been carefully secured and is stored in a password protected computer. All the files of the interview transcripts, notes, as well as audio files only contain pseudonyms or first names and no third parties have access to the private information of the informants. The ethical considerations and data management plan has been also carefully discussed and confirmed for the projects "Inequalities of Mobility: Relatedness and Belonging of Transnational Families in the Nordic Migration Space" and "Inequalities in Motion: Transnational Families in Estonia and Finland".

[2] The blogposts have been published in https://estfinblog.wordpress.com/ under my name. I have given several comments about cross-border commuting for radio and newspaper journalists. I have also published an opinion article for Estonian culture newspaper *Müürileht* "Töö Soomes, Eestis kodu – Pendeltöötajate perekonna kaitseks" [Work in Finland, Home in Estonia – For the sake of Estonian cross-border commuters families]. Available at: https://www.muurileht.ee/too-soomes-kodu-eestis-pendeltootajate-perekonna-kaitseks/ [Accessed 25.05.2019]. Additionally, Tiina Kaukvere has given an overview of my PhD research in Estonian newspaper *Postimees* "Teadlane lammutab Soomes käiva Kalevipoja stereotüüpi" ["The researcher brings down the stereotypes of Kalevipoeg working in Finland"] Available at: https://www.postimees.ee/6420637/teadlane-lammutab-soomes-kaiva-kalevipoja-stereotuupi [Accessed 25.05.2019].

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND ANALYTICAL TOOLS

During the last 20 years, transnationality has become an important theoretical perspective in Nordic migration studies. Even when in the 1990s transnationalism was often discussed as a field for highly skilled work-migrants (Beaverstock 2005; Delanty 2006), the affordable travelling possibilities have made transnationality accessible for many other groups of people. The transnational life of skilled and unskilled blue-collar migrants is different from highly skilled workers. The way of being mobile, what transportation to use, how comfortable travel is, and how warmly newcomers are welcomed in the destination country depend on the income and status and has been researched mainly comparing high- and low-skilled migrants (Helbling and Kriesi 2014). The 'transnationality' concept is also relevant for analysing blue-collar mobility patterns, as I discuss in the next chapter. Even though the transnationality concept has gained a lot of critics in the global context (Mahler 2017), in the local Nordic-Baltic countries context it can be applied better than elsewhere because of the high interconnectedness of the region. Due to the cultural similarities, geographical closeness, developed infrastructure, and entrepreneurial ties, the transnational social field among Baltic-Nordic countries, and especially between Estonia and Finland, has become well developed.

My PhD thesis is rooted in the mobility turn (Faist 2013; Urry 2000; Sheller and Urry 2006) and follows the relatively new paradigm of the 2000s that interprets the movement patterns more widely, including different types of circulation. The new mobilities paradigm observes beyond the binaries (Faist 2013: 1644) of mobility and immobility, migration and settling, social norms and changes. Central are also the networks, the so-called 'transnational social spaces' that include social, economic as well as personal and professional ties "that criss-cross national state borders" (Faist 2013: 1639). In the following three subchapters I present the theoretical background on the concepts of transnationality, masculinity and family that I have used to analyse the Nordic-Baltic transnational social space.

2.1. Transnational social field, cross-border commuting, and transnational family life

My thesis follows the transnational turn in migration studies that started in the 1990s (Schiller et al. 1992; Portes et al. 1999) and has become increasingly relevant since. The transnational turn has grown out from the inadequacy of the concept of 'immigrant.' As Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller (2004: 596) have stressed: *Our analytical lens must necessarily broaden and deepen because migrants are often embedded in multi-layered, multi-sited transnational social fields, encompassing those who move and those who stay behind. As a result, basic assumptions about social institutions such as the family,*

citizenship, and nation-states need to be revisited. The image of the masses of people who are leaving their home country to find better living conditions does not fully describe the heterogeneity of the international movement of people today. Nina Glick-Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc already pointed out in the early 1990s that: *a new kind of migrating population is emerging, composed of those whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies. Their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field* (1992: 1). The same authors developed the well-known definition of transnationalism as "a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities […] create social fields that cross-national boundaries" (Basch et al. 2000: 22). Mobile transnational migrants organise their life under conditions in which their life-worlds are neither 'here' nor 'there' but at once both 'here' and 'there' (Smith 1994: 17).

Studies of transnationalism make the important claim that migrants' lives must be understood in terms of a transnational, not national or even bi-national, frame (Voigt-Graf 2004: 45). People are moving more actively than ever before, and what may be different from previous eras of movement is that they are actually never leaving their home country. International ties as well as cross-border working per se is nothing new (more in Frigren and Telve 2019), but technological and infrastructural possibilities have made the cycles of movement more accessible and frequent. Transnationality, especially staying active back in the home society, has been supported crucially by social media; it is almost impossible to leave the previous place of residences and their networks behind. Peggy Levitt, Josh DeWind, Steven Vertovec (2003: 569) have written:

Today, new technologies of communication and transportation allow migrants to sustain more frequent, less expensive, and more intimate connections than before. Such technologies enable migrants to remain active in their sending communities more regularly and influentially than in the past. Furthermore, more uncertain labour market demand and employment encourage the maintenance of ties to resources back home.

Transnational social fields are strongly supported and encouraged by the development of info-communication technologies. Mirca Madianou stresses that now that migrants and their families can be in day contact due to the affordable communication systems, such as long-distance calls and widespread internet connection, it significantly changes the migratory experiences (Madianou 2016a: 73). Madianou has as well pointed out that transnational daily contact can create the sphere of "ambient co-presence" (Madianou 2016b). Traditionally, mobile people have a possibility to combine very many different communication platforms to create an individual communication pattern (Madianou 2016a). Gestur Hovgaard has suggested that active communication thanks to the internet can affect long distance workers' dual division of being away and being at home. He finds that communication technology helps to take part of home and family life even while being away and helps to create dual presence

(Hovgaard 2015: 182), the base for everyday transnationalism. Due to the continuous communication, family members follow each other's lives from a distance; these staying in touch practices can be seen as "involving travelling" (Molz 2004) or being digitally "mobile with" (Hughes and Mee 2019). It has been pointed out that people with strong bonds tend to use more media and doing it more frequently in order to sustain their relationships (Haythornthwaite 2005). However, technology does not compensate for the lack of face to face communication and are alone not enough for holding up the family's care chains. Sondra Cuban for example has stressed that technology silences hardships; people are not talking about death, illness, or depression using info communication technologies. This may encourage helplessness, because possibilities to give a support from the distance are very limited (Cuban 2017).

The new possibilities of staying in touch work together with conscious planning to keep several career and life paths open in order to choose the path that is most profitable at that moment. As Vertovec has pointed out, in today's world a considerable proportion of migrants are not 'first movers'; many have made multiple trips within their home country and abroad in order to work. With each move, migrants learn more about migration, where and how to find jobs and housing, and so on (Vertovec 2007a: 42). As Vertovec shows, a circular migration pattern could be defined as a life strategy between place of origin and place abroad through which migrants improve their living conditions and social position.

In many cases, the magnitude, duration, and impact of migration is so strong that migrant social networks mature into transnational social fields or public spheres spanning across the sending and receiving countries (Mahler 2017). Individual actors cannot be viewed in isolation from the transnational social fields in which they are active in. According to the Peggy Levitt (2001: 197), those who live within transnational social fields are exposed to a set of social expectations, cultural values, and patterns of human interaction that are shaped by more than one social, economic, and political system. The transnational social field encompasses also these members who have not migrated themselves, but who live their lives within a social field connected the sending and receiving countries. Transnational social fields have been also a useful tool for conceptualising the potential array of social relations linking those who move and those who stay behind. As Levitt and Schiller point out: "a person may participate in personal networks or receive ideas and information that connect them to others in a nation-state, across the borders of a nation-state, or globally, without ever having migrated" (Levitt and Schiller 2004: 603–604).

As has been pointed out several times, transnationalism is too often observed only from the perspective of cross-border institutions, and to balance the picture, we also need to observe transnationalism as it occurs within, and has impact upon, the daily lives of individuals (Vertovec 2004: 973; Voigt-Graf 2002). As opposed to a 'transnationalism from above' perspective, which would focus on multinational corporations, media, commodities etc. (Appadurai 1990: 296), 'transnationalism from below' (Gardner and Grillo 2002) emphasises the

importance of the micro level. As Linda Basch et la. (2000: 5) have pointed out, transnationalism is grounded in the daily lives, activities, and social relationships of migrants. Smith (1998:5) has added that understand the "everyday practices of ordinary people, their feelings, and understandings of their conditions of existence" is needed to get to the real essence of mobility. Transnationalism from below combines multiple, counter-hegemonic powers among non-elites, acquiring a new social space spanning at least two nations (Mahler 2017: 67). At the same time, this perspective tries to understand the everyday processes from the individual perspective and understand the impact of global processes on private and familial lives (Baldassar et al. 2014: 161; Boccagni 2012).

During the 1990s the transnationalism concept was floating around, used in global as well as abstract contexts. Since then it has been stressed numerous times that transnational practices do not take place in an imaginary 'third space' (Bhabha 1994) abstractly located in between national territories. As Guarnizo and Smith argue, transnational practices, while connecting groups located in more than one national territory, are embodied in specific social relations established between specific people, situated in unequivocal localities, at historically determined times (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 11). Due to that I find the geographical nation-state perspective important in my work. The group of people I have researched over the years are acting in the context of two states within the European Union and its policy of free movement of labour. The political state perspective and existing macro structures are important preconditions framing this cross-border commuting pattern. At the same time, I am aware of recent theoretical developments that stress the need for a 'grounded transnationalism' of mobile actors (see Brickell and Datta 2011; Greiner and Sakdapolrak 2013). Laura Assmuth et al. have suggested for example concept of 'translocality' that "integrates the notions of fluidity, discontinuity and flows associated with mobility with the notions of fixity, groundedness and situatedness in a particular location" (Assmuth et al. 2018: 7). I agree that the future research concentrating more on specific localities and connected experiences of cross-border migrants can be useful, but in this thesis to keep the theoretical coherence I have used only the framework of transnationality.

2.2. Family, a cornerstone of transnationalism from below

My thesis builds on the 'transnational family' concept (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Baldassar, Baldock, and Wilding 2007; Baldassar et al. 2014) that has been widely used during the last decades to understand everyday practices of transnational families. Deborah Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela (2002: 3) define 'transnational families' as "families that live some or most of the time separated from each other yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely 'familyhood', even across national borders." As Loretta Baldassar, Cora Baldock, and Raelene Wilding (2007: 13) write, "the resulting idea of the 'transnational family' is intended to

capture the growing awareness that members of families retain their sense of collectivity and kinship in spite of being spread across multiple nations." Transnationality creates the ongoing systematic interactions between emigrants and their significant others at home that can result in a spontaneous grassroots circulation of remittances, cross-border communication, and transnational caregiving practices that gives a real meaning to micro-level connectivity in today's world (Boccagni 2012: 124). Transnational caregiving, as Baldassar et al. (2014) describe it, is just like caregiving in all families. It binds members together in networks of reciprocity and obligation, love, and trust that are simultaneously fraught with tension, contest, and relations of unequal power. Based on previous mobility studies, two approaches towards transnational families can be defined. Following Anna Matyska's (2014: 30) approach, we can make a distinction between households where at least one of the core family members lives abroad and family networks including wider range of relatives spanning multiple households. In my thesis I would even clarify the understanding of transnational family as meaningful close relationships between people who define themselves as a 'family' and who are situated in multiple locations in different states connected through e-communication and occasional co-presence. As also Deborah Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela (2002) have pointed out, the borders of the transnational family are not fixed and sometimes families include also sisters, brothers, other close relatives, and even friends, while other times it refers to only nuclear family with underage children.

Mobility creates conditions where understanding about the family is starting to change in combination with two factors. Firstly, the families need to find a new way to maintain the feeling of togetherness. Virtual and real-life practices of co-presence help people to maintain a sense of being there for each other (Baldassar et al. 2014:168). Due to that, in new situations where international mobility of at least one family member is common for many households, we cannot take families as fixed in place, static, and sedentary but must be understood as also potentially extended across space and time including both mobile and stay behind family members (*ibid*: 171). Togetherness also involves emotionality and intimacy, and mobility creates new challenges of how to create them from a distance. The specific quality of emotional interaction and emotional discourses of 'love and loyalty' are important aspects of transnational life that need a lot of effort and flexibility to create a satisfying level of togetherness (Svašek 2008: 220). Secondly, in the context of mobility, everyday chores are re-negotiated and traditional caretaking practices are arranged anew (Huttunen 2010: 242; Siim and Assmuth 2016: 277). Mobile families create a meaningful system of holding up the family-life through visits, remittances, and communications, but at the same time it means a redefinition of their status as parents, partners, or close family members for relatives without the benefit of geographical proximity (Zentgraf and Chinchilla 2012: 346). The change comes also from close contact with new cultural sphere. The new knowledge pushes the limits of local norms both in the country of origin and in the receiving

country (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2015; Keough 2006: 446) and could change values that were previously much appreciated (Aitken 2010).

Loretta Baldassar (2007: 5) has suggested that transnational family members are reliant on two types of technologies and two modes of communication to facilitate their transnational exchanges: communication and travel technologies. In the context of countries with highly developed technological infrastructures and with widespread communication technologies, we can speak of the rise of e-parenting and e-families. E-mediated as well as face to face connectivity is a key concept of the transnational family because new technologies enable the rise of transnational social spheres (Faist 1998) that help them to stay connected even across the distance. New information and communication technologies (ITC) heighten the immediacy and frequency of migrants' contact with their sending communities and allow them to be actively involved in everyday life (Levitt 2001: 22; Parreñas 2005: 317–318). Communication technologies help to compensate the separating distance through virtual contact using (smart)phones, e-mail, SMS texts, websites, videocam, and postal and banking systems that have made it possible to give financial, practical, as well as emotional support through virtual modes (Baldassar 2007: 5). The daily contact allowed by the affordable communication systems changes the migration experiences (Madianou 2016a: 7) and can create "a tailor-made communication pattern" (Madinau 2016a) for 'ambient co-presence' (Madianou 2016b). Sondra Cuban challenges the idea of easy staying in touch, especially because maintaining family life across borders is a struggle. Even when we have different technologies to be able to stay in touch over the distance, the close ones are always in some way out of reach (Cuban 2017: 239). Due to that, moments of co-presence are crucial to sustain relationships (Urry 2002) and help to tolerate times of absence. Travel technologies allow people to visit each other, have face to face contact, and give personal support that can only occur during visits (Baldassar 2007: 5)

Transnational families' communication patterns are tightly connected with care patterns and the ways people support each other. Janet Finch and Jennifer Mason's (1993) model of family support includes five dimensions: 1) financial and material, including cash remittances or goods such as food, clothing, and paying household and other bills, 2) practical, including exchanging advice and assisting with tasks, 3) emotional and moral, aimed at improving psychological well-being, 4) personal care, like feeding and bathing, and 5) accommodation, providing shelter and security. Baldassar (2007) has pointed out that practical support includes activities as babysitting, repairing a car, shopping, accompanying kin-members on medical visits etc., and these needs and roles have to be filled during the times of visits. Also, personal care includes hands-on caring, including healthcare and childcare that have to take place face to face. These two in transnational families can only occur during the times family members are physically co-present. Emotional and moral support, however, are transnational and can appear across distance (Baldassar 2007: 7). Even financial and material support, such as remittances, are many times taken as a self-evident

and easy way to give care from a distance. Transnational interaction can be unfolding as a day-to-day caring routine characterised by regular contact or a ritual that involves special events like birthdays and anniversaries, or even crises that involve unexpected events or times of increased of extra support (Baldassar 2007: 10). Sometimes direct contact may not necessarily occur in all transnational families at all, and care can be alternatively delivered by extended family members or friends (Baldassar et al. 2014: 162).

In the context of research about transnational families, the perspectives of inequalities and intersectionality are important. It is often mentioned that socially ascribed gender roles are re-defined in transnational families, that migration introduces new inequalities between family members, and that these are often interwoven with gender lines and require both women and men to adjust to them in the transnational family space (Sinatti 2014: 215). Others have pointed out that migration is followed by striking asymmetries between migrants and the stay-behind in terms of access to mobility, capital, and other resources (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Carling 2008; Sinatti 2014: 219). Similar to local families, transnational households have cultural practices and social inequalities that define them. Global households, as Douglass and Baldassar et al. have stressed, are gendered sites of contestation, negotiation, compromise, and co-operation, articulated around situational as well as individual differences (Douglass 2012; Baldassar et al. 2014). All these care models and resources that able to activate cross-border care-chains are not always present and "can be exchanged in transnational settings but to varying degrees and subject to a variety of factors, including gender, ethnic, class, and power hierarchies as well as the cultural and structural histories of welfare regimes" (Baldassar 2014:159).

Personal and continuous connections encouraged by care are contributing to the emergence of a transnational social space, the network that spans at least two nation-states (Faist 1998). Going further with the connectivity, Ole B. Jensen, Mimi Sheller, and Simon Wind (2015: 366) point out "a person's mobility patterns may have a direct impact on another's capacity to be mobile, and we must consider mobile subjects as clusters of interacting agents, not simply singular and individuated actors". The transnational social space distributes the knowledge and expectations, the widely circulating imaginaries, and the virtual presence of mobility itself that is exposes also other family members towards transnationality (Salazar 2011: 577). Earlier texts (Baldassar et al. 2007) have as well named those who stay behind and whose efforts to maintain contact with their family members or close friends from abroad 'local' transnationals and they have also high potential to become transmigrants (Skrbiš 2008: 238). As it has been pointed out in the context of network theory, knowing people from before in the destination country makes it emotionally and practically easier to migrate (Castles et al. 2013).

2.3. Masculinity as a precondition for a family's mobility

Transnational families are only rarely opened from the perspective of men (Sinatti 2014; Dreby 2006; Kilkey et al. 2014; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Pribilsky 2004; Zentgraf and Chinchilla 2012) and the ways in which transmigrants reconstitute masculinity are still an unknown area of family studies that needs more research. The concept of masculinity has an important part in my thesis, especially due to the aim of understanding men's roles in transnational caregiving and understand changing family relations in the context of transnationality. It is a well-developed pattern in transnational settings that moving between multiple social spheres and countries is a starting point of change in gender roles (Sinatti 2014: 216; Bell and Pustulka 2017: 130). It is important to investigate how, in the transnational space, gender divisions, hierarchies, and inequalities survive or are modified and help to build more equitable relations between men and women (Fouron and Schiller 2001: 540). Especially in the case of Estonia, where both cross-border commuting as well as a huge gender wage gap are very visible, it is a socially crucial angle that needs more investigation.

2.3.1. Gender, hegemonic masculinity, and multiple masculinities

Mahler and Pessar have written that gender "is a human invention that organizes our behaviour and thought, not as a set of static structures or roles but as an ongoing process that is experienced through an array of social institutions from the family to the state (e.g., Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999; Lorber 1994; Ortner 1996). People do 'gender work', using practices and discourses to negotiate relationships, notions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity', and conflicting interests" (Mahler and Pessar 2001: 442). It is curious that even when migration as a phenomenon has included even more men than women and they have been in the focus of migration research from the beginning, the masculinity or gender-perspective has generally been excluded (Willis and Yeoh 2000; Pribilsky 2012). Men are mostly investigated from the perspective of their ethnicity or labour roles and are hardly considered gendered subjects (Sinatti 2014). Even more, very common when men are the subject of research is a dual separation of workers (migrant labour/breadwinners) or "foreign men causing trouble" with regard to culturally illicit behaviour and illegality (Bell and Pustulka 2017:187).

The call for understanding better the category of 'migrant men' has been visible in migration studies already in the last twenty years (Halfacree 1995; Datta et al. 2009; Pribilsky 2012), but as I pointed out in the introduction, the need has not disappeared. In my thesis I have used the background concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Hearn 2015; Elliott 2016) to be able to understand better the position of white, heterosexual men commuting between two well-developed western countries. Hegemonic mascu-

linity is the socially accepted way to be a man, specifically defined as "the currently most honoured way of being a man, [that] requires all other men to position themselves in relation to it" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 832). While many times the power-aspect of men is stressed by previously quoted authors, still it does not characterise the men's position in the transnational sphere the best way. Later in my thesis I have followed Charsley's (2005: 98) idea that men are not simply men, and masculinities are combined with other identities. In migration studies too often the focus of masculinities research has been on relatively singular, often marginalised, masculinity (Datta et al. 2009) and not noticing how the social roles, living conditions, and networks of cross-border men change over time as they are travelling between two countries. Mahler and Pessar for example have underlined that in transnational field we also should recognise "gendered geographies of power" and reflect upon the multiple special and social scales of power hierarchies (Mahler and Pessar 2001). Due to these reasons, in the context of transnational studies, the masculine roles can be better explored through the lens of multiple masculinities (Kimmel 1996). Bell and Pustulka have written about post-Soviet masculinities in case of Poland, and they are shifting the research towards plural masculinities (Bell and Pustulka 2017: 128), because as previous authors have pointed out, men display, perform, and ascribe to multiple masculinities (Hearn 2015). In case of transnational mobility masculinity, gender norms are constantly reviewed and hierarchical relations between men change. As Juanita Elias and Christine Beasly point out, "masculinity is thus to be seen in this framing not as the monolithic form of patriarchal power over women but rather as a continuously constituted and contested set of interlocking hierarchical social relations" (Elias and Beasley 2009: 285).

Datta et al. (2009) have developed three types of masculine reasons behind the migration: risk and adventure, bettering the self, and providing for the family. It is clear that gender roles and expectations strongly impact international labour migration patterns. Migration is still depicted as masculine, ascribed to male bodies, connected with hard work and manual labour (in the case of blue-collar migrants), and with an openness towards risk-taking and adventures that need courage (Datta et al. 2009: 853). In many societies around the world the men are expected to choose the mobile way of life as work and money are essential for masculinity. Better breadwinning possibilities abroad and gained benefits are accompanied with respect and status that are closely connected with migration experiences (Sinatti 2014). Even when the men are going to work in another country and are settling for a position for which they are overqualified or is at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy (Walton-Roberts and Pratt 2005), their position in their home country may improve (Datta et al. 2009: 854). Levitt and Schiller (2004: 1013–1014) have pointed out that "many migrants gain more social power, in terms of leverage over people, property, and locality, with respect to their homeland than they did before migrating." It is this complex intersection between personal losses and gains that any analysis of power within transnational social fields must grapple with.

There are also many case-studies around the world that show that economic and gift-giving support the conform to the masculine norm (Johnson and Stoll 2008; Malkin 2004; Osella and Osella 2000; Pribilsky 2012) and the migration experience may be also tangled with a strengthened gendered position in the household or in the society of the home country. Migrating has with it a positive image of actively seeking results, taking personal initiative, being able to take risks, and harbouring an experiential attitude (Gardner and Grillo 2002). It is especially relevant in case of blue-collar labour men who report that earning money from abroad grows their status at home (Telve 2015).[3]

Migration has been also closely connected with the male transition to adulthood (Sinatti 2014: 220; Monsutti 2007), as it strengthens their masculinity image and improves their position in society and in the family. Due to that, many migration researchers (Boehm 2012; Kandel and Massey 2002; Monsutti 2007) have taken the anthropological term of a 'rite of passage' and characterised the experience as part of growing up in today's societies. When going to work abroad underaged or just turned 18, the experience can create the sphere of individuality and distancing oneself from the family, in the case of men especially from fathers (Datta et al. 2009). Even more, a transnational career provides the possibility to save money and prepare oneself for starting one's own family (Pessar and Mahler 2003: 829). It may be financially securing, but also due to the traditional masculine roles, it may be a marker for the ability to take risks, of being able to go out of one's comfort zone (Datta et al. 2009: 856), as well as trying one of the common life-strategies in the home country (May et al. 2008). Even more, as Kandel and Massey (2002: 982) have described, young men who do not take part of widespread transnational careers are seen as lazy, unenterprising, and undesirable as potential future husbands.

2.3.2. Fatherhood and family life

It is often stressed that family is a precondition for migration and especially men migrate in order to support their families (Pribilsky 2004; Datta et al. 2009; Haile and Siegmann 2014). They feel social pressure to provide their children more opportunities then they themselves had in their childhood (Pribilsky 2004). In the case of men, being a husband and a father contributes to their desire to acquire or improve a breadwinner status, and the desire to provide for their families and especially for children (Datta 2009: 861) drives them to mobility.

[3] The concept of working-class has been deliberately excluded from my thesis, because it does not fit well with the social structures of Estonia or Finland. In Estonian society class discourse has been marginalised due to the transition from Soviet economy to capitalism (Helemäe and Saar 2015). Independent, capitalistic Estonia has existed only since 1991 and the generational class-society has not been able to develop yet. Also, due to the differences in historical and economic settings, Estonia cannot be analysed using the same class theories as some other European countries (see more Evans and Mills 1999).

Thoughts about fatherhood in the migration literature are encouraged by the wider social change in the way we think about fathering in Western countries end especially in Europe. Margaret O'Brien and Ian Shemilt have named it "the growing heterogeneity of fatherhood," noticing that different men can identify with being a father in their own way and it is important to acknowledge the heterogeneity (O'Brien and Shemilt 2003: 246). In Western European countries we can observe new models of fatherhood starting from the gender revolution in the 1960s, when fathers gained a stronger role as nurturer (Rodin and Åberg 2013: 22), and the concept of the care-taking father figure has started to gain wider social acceptance (Kilkey et al. 2014). During the last decades a more 'involved fatherhood' has been especially visible in Nordic states (Holter 2007). Due to these changes the parental role of migrant men is now also more acknowledged and analyses about the perspective of the practices, strategies, and meanings of transnational fatherhood are becoming more common (Souralová and Fialová 2017: 160, 168).

Transnational contact and being away from established social norms of one's home society can be in many ways beneficial. It can create the openness towards alternatives in family relations and it allows one to move away from traditional norms through mobility (Bell and Pustulka 2017: 139). Due to that is has been written how migration affects the renegotiation of norms (Pustułka and Ślusarczyk 2016) and may also trigger caring masculinities (Elliott 2016). For example, it has been also brought out that the change in balance of home and work is a basic element in men's relation to childcare. We can predict that diverse transnational work experiences themselves, combined with the influence of different cultural contexts, lead to divergent family forms (Hearn and Pringle 2006: 373; Creed 2000: 330). Mobility experience changes the values of transnational people, and also affects the way the migrant understands fatherhood, masculinity, and other important aspects of their lives (Aitken 2010). Gendered identities are remade according to the different gender regimes, and in the transnational context, the new work rhythm as well as exposure to the new society and norms starts to change expectations and behaving patterns also back home and towards one's family.

One of the important aspects of transnational literature connected with fathers is the perspective of breadwinning and sending remittances; many times, it is referred to as a main aspect of family men migration (Sinatti 2014; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Datta et al. 2009). The masculine transnational caring patterns are primarily seen through their paid labour more than other aspect of being included in the family and possibilities of care from a distance. Male migration is many times characterised through facilitating "the commoditisation of love in which migrant parents attempt to replace emotional intimacy with material goods and remittances" (Coe 2011: 8, mentioned also, Locke 2017). Lisa Åkesson has written how remittances can be seen as voluntary gifts as well as obligatory reciprocal exchanges, but in both ways, it creates a social tie and expectance of something in return. At the same time remittances can be also a type of communication that increases social interaction and maintains family

relations, but it may also have the opposite effect that leads to disappearing of family ties (Åkesson 2011). Likewise, it has been stressed the importance of breadwinning for families' social structures. Raymond Hibbins and Bob Pease (2009: 5) stress that the ability to be a main breadwinner gives men a position and role in the family and they see it as the precondition to maintain their authority in the family.

Around the world fatherhood has been mostly constructed around provision and authority (Schmalzbauer 2015: 214), and in transnational families, where fathers are physically away from their family members, it is more difficult for them to find a new position to maintain relations with their partner and children. Still, the latest studies show that long-distance parenthood patterns are also common among other men, including grandfather and grandson or among brothers or cousins, who use e-mail and Skype systems to keep up the relations (Baldassar 2011; Baldassar 2014: 167) Fathers are recognised to be very engaged in the education of younger generations (Sinatti 2014: 222), and unique care patterns of transnational fatherhood are created that can arise in cases of network migration, holiday travels, or some other way.

Transnational fatherhood is still entangled with a lot of stereotypes and misconceptions. Patricia Pessar and Sarah Mahler for example remind that still a very common image of transnational family men is "the lone, rugged male who left his family behind in the homeland as he ventured across seas to seek his fortune, hoping to return to them after achieving success" (Pessar and Mahler 2003: 822). Even when the men's migration has not been depicted as negatively towards family life as women's migration, it still requires the redefinition of the family from the traditional one, "as a co-residential unit sharing the intimacy that characterizes the everyday performance of household reproduction" (Locke 2017: 284). In many cases also it brings along intergenerational lifestyle conflicts about how it is best to build a family life and how the gender roles inside the families should be organised (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002: 13). Challenged family norms may increase gender equality and even provide greater intimacy and mutual appreciation, but at the same time it means rethinking positions as well roles of family members that can mean also redefine mobile member's masculinity in new ways (Sinatti 2014: 222). Novelty and change of social norms in not always self-evidently attached to the migrant men and in many cases migrant fathers are rather at a crossroads of progressive engaged fathering and the traditional patriarchal fatherhood (Pustułka et al. 2015; Bell and Pustulka 2017: 136).

3. SUMMARIES OF THE ARTICLES

This dissertation includes five articles published between 2016 and 2019 and here the articles are presented thematically, not chronologically. The first two articles can be considered as overviews about cross-border commuting and how it impacts the family life and the three later ones examine specific angles of transnational family life.

The first article is the broadest one and takes the *emic*-perspective of how blue-collar Estonians working in Finland see how the cross-border commuting impacts their close-relations. During this phase of my PhD studies I still searched the focus for my thesis and different relations with family members as well as close friends are discussed. This article is first of all written in opposition of widespread stereotypes in Estonian society about cross-commuter families and aims to bring along discussion about negative and positive impacts from the perspective of commuter workers together. This article also introduces the wider theme lines for forthcoming articles.

The second article concentrates on the work-life of the cross-border commuters. I believe this part is especially relevant for my thesis to understand the background of the transnational lifestyles of blue-collar unskilled and skilled labourers. The decision to start to work abroad and resulting change in work-life rhythm is a precondition for later changes in family life. The new work-life balance requires adaptions of everyday practices and involves strategies that help people to hold up their transnational lifestyles.

The third, fourth, and fifth articles approach different aspects of transnational family life in the case of Estonia-Finland cross-border commuters' families. The third article concentrates on included fatherhood, the fourth article examines intergenerational migration networks and career-support as active caretaking pattern in the context of the relationship of fathers and to their teenage sons, and the fifth article observes how the family left behind is actually included in the mobility-processes.

Article I

Telve, Keiu 2017. The Impact of Commuting on Close Relationships: Case Study of Estonian Construction Workers in Finland. – *European Borderlands: Barriers and Bridges in Everyday Life.* Eds. E. Boesen, G. Schnuer. Abingen: Routledge, 110–123.

The first article included in this thesis focuses on international commuting as it affects close relations and bonds with the family, other relatives, and friends. Although the mobile lifestyle is known to be accompanied by many problems, such as the distancing from one's social networks, struggles inside the family, and an imbalance in the household, my empirical research on commuting

between Estonia and Finland indicates that this negative impact on family life and intimate relationships is only one facet of the experiences and perceptions of commuting. This article shows how commuters perceive also positive changes, for example how the increased income can resolve long-lasting problems in the family-life, the family relations are becoming more important and, in some cases, men are describing growth of affection towards their family.

This article gives voice to the men about the topic of close relations and shows how the impact of commuting cannot be understood as only positive or negative and the complexity of the situation opens itself through a qualitative approach. The article has four perspectives on changes in family relations. First, I described emotional distancing and problems that are connected with commuting. Second, I examined the valuation of family time. Third, I considered how work in Finland and the extra money earned raises the quality of life of the whole family and can thus compensate for some of the discomforts of commuting. Fourth, I opened the future perspectives: how people who are at the moment actively moving between two countries imagine their lives in the near future.

Based on the results of qualitative research among male commuters I was able to demonstrate that the effects of commuting on family life and intimate personal relationships are complex. Although the participants indicated that there are negative aspects, such as missing their loved ones, and that the mobile way of life is not 'family suitable', they also mentioned a number of positive effects of working abroad. Commuters point out that they appreciate family time and their close ones more. Economic stability and securing a better quality of life for the whole family in the long term were the primary benefits discussed. By enabling men to solve financial problems, commuting also enhances familial harmony and stability. A large proportion of commuting can be argued to be motivated by altruism–men earn money abroad first because of, and for, their close ones. However, even those who say that their relationships have not changed during the commuting period would prefer the situation where all the family lives in the same country. In the present Estonia-Finland context, those commuter families who ultimately turn to a more sedentary and close family life very often do this by moving to Finland. In these cases, the period of commuting can thus be seen as a transitory phase in the process of migration.

Article II

Telve, Keiu 2016. Cross-border Commuting Changes the Way Work is Done: A Case Study of Estonian Blue-Collar and Skilled Workers in Finland. – *Ethnologia Fennica. Finnish Studies in Ethnology*, 43, 28–42.

In this article I develop the link between transnationalism and cross-border working. By examining the case study of Estonian men working in Finland I shed light on how we can understand the cross-border commuting and constant

mobility of this group of people from the perspective of transnational theory. I believe this article is especially important because it starts from the data on previous political and statistical research but develops the understanding of transnationality from the perspective of individual workers who have experienced the situation first-hand.

My main argument in this article is that commuting changes the work patterns within social groups of commuters and it may even have an impact on societies where the commuting way of life is common. Workers who are in the process of thinking about commuting or have just started it emphasise the temporariness of the period when they are working abroad. Based on my informants' experiences, after some period of working abroad, the people get used to the mobile lifestyle and higher incomes and they see how their willingness to commute helps them to secure their family's well-being, so they continue cross-border commuting. In this article I stress that cross-border commuting is a calculated life-choice that can be seen as a rather permanent decision that is followed by different economic and social changes that need new kinds of everyday practices and strategies that help people to maintain their transnational lifestyles.

Through active cross-border commuting we can witness the emergence of an Estonia-Finland transnational space, where the living in two countries at the same time is an alternative to full emigration. Through commuting, people can increase their and their family members' quality of life without having to move permanently. Based on my fieldwork, I assert that cross-border commuting has become especially common in some rural areas of Estonia, which has influenced the normalisation of working abroad. Such cross-border practices have lost their distancing effect within the community and gained the position of a monthly routine of the local people. It has also the impacted younger generations, who see working abroad as a part of the coming of age process or even as the most realistic career path for themselves.

In this article I also discuss what skills and professional competence are preconditions for successful cross-border mobility and discuss the blue-collar and skilled labour advantages in transnational field. Through European Union labour-legislations, affordable international transport connections, and the contact with people with experience working abroad, the transnational lifestyle has become accessible for much wider community than it was before. At the same time, cross-border commuting needs specific preconditions and personal openness to gain as much as possible from the mobile kind of lifestyle. For example, the importance of professional and geographical flexibility, and an entrepreneurial mindset, must be emphasised in the context of commuting that help to get the most out of the mobility.

Article III

Telve, Keiu 2018. Absent or Involved: Changes in Fathering of Estonian Men Working in Finland. – *Gender, Place and Culture*, 25(8), 1257–1271.

This article concentrates on the change of the role of the father in the transnational field from the point of view of Estonian male commuter workers in Finland. My central research question was: How does working in different socio-political circumstances change the understandings and practices of fatherhood among the cross-border Estonia-Finland commuters?

Based on my results, I describe how cross-border commuting is chosen to hold up well-known and socially acknowledged family patterns. The central aim for these men is to be proud to be able to fulfil their duty and secure a good life for the family. Men are driven by traditional masculine pressure to take care of their families financially, however being exposed to a new society and experiencing different work rhythms are starting to change their role towards more direct caretaking.

In my article, I showed how cross-border mobility can be followed by changes in the family life and in fatherhood practices. In the case of Estonian men working in Finland, we can see how cultural contacts and mobility may bring along changes in the ways in which men think about family and fatherhood. The social acceptance of family-centred roles of a father in Finland as well as the Finnish social security system, combined with the changed appreciation towards one's family, make the men more exposed to practical and ideological aids to implementing involved fatherhood. Men who acquire the knowledge of the local family benefits are eager to use them–they would love to spend more time with their families, and this state support and the social recognition of the father role enables them to do that.

The transnational life brings along the change in fatherhood practices, and in the case of the Estonia-Finland commuter, a more involved parenting model compared with post-Soviet practices appears.

In the article I show how commuting working patterns and the improved economic opportunities change the way of thinking about the family. First of all, commuting may periodically give longer stays at home and create real-life possibilities to spend time with their offspring, acquiring the main caretaker role even during the weekdays, not only weekends. Secondly, we can clearly see how improved economic possibilities enable men to concentrate more on family affairs. Due to the considerably higher pay of jobs in Finland, they are not eager to take up any other work responsibilities while they are spending their holidays and break periods in Estonia as they did before going to work abroad. The lack of intense economic problems helps them concentrate also on other matters connected with family life such as spending time together, which improves the relationships between family members.

Involved fatherhood in the context of blue-collar men is always a compromise between family and work-time. Men emphasise their breadwinning role

and endorse an active, involved, and nurturing fathering ideal at the same time. It is very visible in my work that the transnational life leads to a wish to be more involved in family matters, but it is difficult to achieve due to the constant cross-border movement.

Article IV

Telve, Keiu 2019. Transnational Commuting of Estonian Men in Two Generations. – *Parenthood in Transition: Borderlands, Transnational Mobility and Welfare Society in the Nordic Countries.* Eds. J. Hiitola, K. Turtiainen, M. Tiilikainen and S. Gruber. Routledge. (Forthcoming)

In my fourth article I show how Estonia-Finland cross-border commuting is not just a temporary solution to overcome economically unstable periods, but rather has become an alternative work pattern that seems to be continuing not only over decades, but over generations. More than 20 years of experiences of commuting between Estonia and Finland have normalised the commuting between these two countries. The well-spread information and the positive image of Finland–the welfare state with good salaries, working conditions, and social benefits–have created the situation where working in Finland is a well acknowledged life opportunity for children who are growing up in transnational families. The focus of the article lies on two research questions: (1) How migration stories can stimulate the next generation's network migration patterns, and (2) How the younger and older generations' understandings and aims for working abroad differ.

In my article I analyse network migration between generations and show that transnational parenthood reconstructs the relationship between children and the father and creates future work-life expectations for boys. In this article I am opening, first, how the decision about whether to take teenage relatives to work in Finland is a possibility for fathers to participate in their upbringing and at the same time how it is connected with hesitations and resistance. Secondly, I examine the working abroad experience from the sons' perspective and demonstrate how working in Finland has become an idealised possibility to start one's independent life and can be seen as a coming of age phase.

A chain migration of younger relatives, especially sons, gives the fathers a chance to spend more time with them. It is the time when both parties can compensate for the missed-out time and get to know the family member more closely. Also, for the older relatives it may be the way to participate in caretaking patterns and actively be involved in the upbringing of younger family members. Still, there is an inner conflict–the fathers have always believed that their children should not have to commute between two countries and could have better work-life balance. Even when there are negative sides, such as loneliness and missing a family member, the boys grow up in an environment where cross-border commuting to Finland is depicted as a best available career

choice–stable, safe, and providing sufficient income for breadwinning. Also, it has become a marker of growing up and becoming economically independent from one's family.

Article V

Telve, Keiu 2019. Family Involved or Left Behind in Migration? A Family-Centred Perspective towards Estonia-Finland Cross-Border Commuting. – *Mobilities*. Available online: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17450101.2019.1600885

The aim of my fifth article is to find out how the active cross-border mobility of one family member changes the communication patterns inside the family and how international mobility impacts those who stay behind. The article answers two research questions: (1) How do new communication practices engage the other family members in the home country in the mobility process? (2) How does the mobility of one family member affect the geographical mobility of the family staying behind?

Thanks to widespread communication technologies, affordable international travelling possibilities, and more flexible working schedules and conditions, new practices of 'being a family' across geographical distances are created. In this article, I point out two different, but still very intertwined ways of handling transnational family life. First, I analyse the importance of communications technologies through which transnational families are co-present in each other's lives. Following that, I stress that through family members' experiences and through active communication, practices that extend the mobility of other family members can arise.

Family is included in the process making the decision of working abroad and many times the good of the family staying behind is one of the main reasons why cross-border work was chosen in the first place. The partners and children, through communication technology, are co-present in the whole travelling process and help from a distance with settling in, figuring out the new social systems and laws, and finding help through internet communities. The intense communication is encouraged by the men's growing need to stay in touch, take time for the family, and compensate for their period of being away. Active communication practices create a virtual or imaginative social sphere between the destination and home countries, making all family members part of collective transnational sphere through what they have good understanding and first-hand experiences of mobility. The intense and almost nonstop communication allows close ones to be included in the travelling process. Virtual co-presence can extend and change later on into extended geographical mobility.

Even when in most cases the family member who works abroad feels the pressure to be the main one to commute, my empirical research shows that close family members are eager to visit, go sightseeing and shopping, and enjoy other

benefits of transnational family life. Cross-border visiting helps to see close-ones in different situations and acquire new social roles. Active visiting is closely associated with the guest worker's economic and social position in the work country's society, and even associated with the flexibility of his working hours, his living conditions, and the privacy he has during his free time. Furthermore, extended mobility patterns can arise through their family members' changed views towards living and working in another country, thereby encouraging them to consider that life for themselves.

In this article, I argued that in the families where at least one member works abroad, even the family members who stay behind become transnational. Taking into account virtual mobility as well as visits and following family member to the abroad, in many cases the close ones will become, in one or another way, co-travellers. The physical mobility of family members can first arise through a more increased interest towards the destination country and even a changed world view about international mobility, which in turn starts to influence their personal mobility patterns. They may begin with holiday trips to the destination country or even consider working abroad and starting their own personal transnational career.

4. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This dissertation is based on five independent articles that examine cross-border long interval commuting between Estonia and Finland and its impact on family-life and men's relations with the nuclear family back in Estonia. In the concluding discussion I summarise the main results, but also point out some critical perspectives how we could develop transnational research in a way that stresses the importance of continually studying the families who live in these circumstances.

The summary below is organised according to my research questions. First, I address what the main aspects of transnational family life in the example of Estonia-Finland cross-border families from the perspective of the men. Second, I discuss what practices and strategies I have observed these families use to maintain their family connections, with an emphasis on the masculine commuter perspective. Third, I describe the phenomenon of network migration and discuss what impact the cross-border commuters have on their families' mobility, especially that of their partner and children. I end this summary section with future perspectives on migration studies and discussing where the transnationality research can be focused in the context of Estonia.

4.1. Men's perspective towards family life of Estonia-Finland cross-border families

When we observe migration trends, and especially the statistics of working abroad, the dominance of men among cross-border commuters is very visible: 85% of all commuters are men (Krusell 2013) One of the main contribution of my thesis is to show the connectivity between cross-border work and family life. As I have pointed out (**Article II, Article III**), men start cross-border commuting due to the social role of being the main breadwinner for the family. The decision is seen as an important opportunity from the men's perspective to have the economic stability to start a family in the future or support the family they have. Finland is sometimes even depicted as a compromise, as the workers get better social guarantees, better wages, but at the same time they are close enough to go back home if the situation needs. They are away from home, but at least they are not far. Having a family life across the gulf can also be a compromise from the family's perspective. Since the partner and children do not have to move, there is someone who is looking after relatives and back in Estonia, and they get to keep and take care of 'the real home'. The idea is that at least the family back home can fully enjoy the fruits of their labours, be it through general well-being, having a nice house, or the peace of mind of everyday economic security etc. Adopting a cross-border commuting lifestyle, with its accompanying transnational family life, also challenges the previous gender hierarchy and creates the new ones (**Article III**). Even when the women take on

more of the masculine domestic duties like maintaining the home, logistics and transport of the family, as well as everyday upbringing of children, they are mostly economically more tied to the higher income of the husband and the wage gap inside transnational families is even bigger.

My research has also brought out the combination of working abroad and spending family time in Estonia as a structure for men that gives rhythm for their transnational family-life. As I have demonstrated (**Article II**), cross-border commuting itself starts to change the balance between family and work life. First, it is due to the different time-schedules and some flexibility, secondly influenced by higher income. Also, very visible is that staying abroad increases the need for close, emotional relations and the men want to spend more time with their families (**Article I, Article III**). The main motivation for working in Finland is to earn money. The main strategy is to do as many hours work per month as possible and having in multiple cases more than one job. It is a double strategy–first it allows to earn more, but at the same time it is a way to escape loneliness and homesickness. Finland allows time and space for concentrating only on work life. In some cases, men 'collect' free days–doing extra work-hours in the evenings, so they can stay in Estonia four or five days, sometimes even longer, in a row. Flexibility and new economic possibilities together create new possibilities to spend quality time with one's family and in many cases, men spend more time with their close ones now when they are internationally commuting. Therefore, being at home, on the other hand, acquires a positive image that would be missing otherwise, one centred on family, friends, and hobbies. The time in Estonia allows both time and space to focus on home life. Still it is important to be aware that these are mostly ideal images and in real life the ideal composition–work in Finland and life in Estonia–is challenged by problems like family member's unequal housework responsibilities, unequal caretaking for children and elderly people, or lack of emotional availability to close ones**.**

An important addition to previous transnational research is the transmission of values in transnational social sphere. Through my research I have been able to observe and witness the transmission of family centred values from Finland to Estonia alongside with the transnational commuting. As I have elaborated also in **Article III**, Estonians who have worked in Finland during a longer time period are eager to use family benefits, take free time for family life, and are more comfortable to present a family-oriented father role. Men themselves admit that working in Finland has made them more aware of their rights as fathers and they feel that the workplace culture in Finland allows and even encourages men to use the family benefits like extra free days, family allowances, or time off when the child has born. They are willing to take the main caretaker role, to stay at home with children when they fall ill. They demonstrate their role as a father in their social media by talking a lot about family holidays, and spending time together with children.

A topic that is constantly present in my articles, and plays an important role in transnational family life, is communication. Loretta Baldassar has pointed out

that, in the case of mobile families, visits are an important part of the routine and ritual patterns of care exchange, but at the same time we have to keep in mind that shared physical-presence are interspersed with periods of distance (Baldassar 2016: 32). The men are oriented towards life back home; their social network is there as are their hobbies, and they stay also in touch from a distance by watching Estonian television, reading Estonian news, and listening to Estonian radio. At the same time the being constantly in touch with close ones is very important. People are combining calling, Facebook messages, Skyping, and texting (**Article III, Article II**). All these forms create a virtual sphere of togetherness wherein people are co-present by proxy (Baldassar 2008). Communication helps to create the feeling of togetherness despite of the geographical distance–being in touch, sharing feelings, and offering each other's company. Still these transnational communications patterns have their own struggles–people have different expectations about how actively to stay in touch and what topics are meant to be discussed. It is common that more difficult topics are chosen to be delayed until they see each other face to face. Communication does not solve all the problems of cross-border working and it cannot fully compensate for the physical absence of the worker in the everyday life of the family back home.

It is visible that transnational work experiences are making people more aware of different international opportunities and willing to try working also in a third country–in Norway, UK, or even in the United States. As I have pointed out previously (**Article I, Article II**), for the research participants commuting is a life strategy. Even when people are staying in put in Estonia or deciding to move to Finland, they have the experience of working and living in between two countries. Still, cross-border commuting can reactivate after a life-changing event (birth of a child, need to take care of elderly parents, buying a house, etc.), due to economy changes (crises, unemployment in some sector in Estonia or in Finland), or an attractive job offer from previously established transnational contacts. My thesis also shows that transnational family experiences may have an impact over generations and childhood experience living together with cross-border commuting parent can activate network migration years later (**Article IV**).

4.2. Transnational family practices and masculine care-taking strategies

Having a satisfying family life combined with perfect career opportunities is a complicated combination. Cross-border commuting is not easy. It is emotionally difficult, physically demanding, time-consuming, and as well as requires constant adaptability. It needs full commitment and collaboration between family members, and it has to be a mutual decision supported by family collaboration. For many families it is not a suitable way of living, but others are

able to make it work **(Article I)**. In the literature there has been a lot of discussion about the negative aspects of the cross-border commuting lifestyle (Woolfson 2007; White 2010 and many others), and indeed there are numerous difficulties in managing transnational family life. Cross-border commuters' family life engages often also the interest of wider audiences and is connected with many stereotypes such as double families and loose morals (Frigren and Telve 2019). Sometimes it is visible from the commuter's stories that the public opinion and negative rumours that cross-border families are failing make the family life across borders so difficult. My thesis has shown how people do succeed in holding up their close relations across the border. As my research shows, people are innovatively creating everyday practices to be able to hold up satisfying relations within family, provide care and help, and to be involved in different ways to meet the expectations and needs of other family members. Different practices together create a strategy that make transnational family life possible. Here I will investigate four types of practices connected with behaving patterns in transnational families: combining ICT and visiting, economic stability as caregiving, involved fatherhood and network migration as masculine caregiving pattern. Especially last two are tightly connected with changed values in transnational families.

My thesis shows clearly that transnational fathers are present in family life not only through remittances; they attempt to be present in family life by proxy (Baldassaar 2008) and in real life and they think a lot about how they can maintain a good connection with their families back in Estonia. Their everyday transnational family life includes planning for a better future, being constantly in contact with their close ones, as well creating well planned strategies for holidays to be able to compensate for as much missed time as possible. The constant usage of social media and ICT as well as willingness to visit as often as possible, create the new normative togetherness inside the families that all parties after a while get used to (**Article I**, **Article V**).

As we saw from a previous chapter (1.2), the stable financial position acquired by working in Finland, as well as filling in the breadwinner duties, maintains traditional male roles in the Estonian society. As I have shown in my articles, the breadwinning and sending back remittances are not only for the sake of money or securing economic well-being. It has a much broader meaning of showing care. As I brought out in **Article I**, working in Finland is depicted as altruistic behaviour, 'doing it for the family sake', providing them with everything they need. It is at the same time an act of caring. In many cases, the men have themselves grown up in modest circumstances, and being able to afford holidays abroad, taking their partners out to a restaurant, or sending the kids to the school trips equals with being a good husband and a good father for them. Likewise, the father-children relationship is mostly activity-based (**Article III**); the fathers see that they need economic opportunities to be able to spend time with their kids, to be able to take them to see a movie or to an amusement park. Economic stability and financial security are the preconditions to do different activities with children without having to worry about the cost. It also allows

men to be more carefree and enjoy the time spent together with the family. Spending holidays together with a family is also something that the men are proud of. Visiting a foreign country or new restaurant together with a wife and children is something to talk boastingly about with their friends and co-workers in Estonia as well as in Finland.

I have also shown how fatherhood is changing via transnational life (**Article III**). The changed free time pattern, absorbed family-values from Finland, need for emotional relations, as well as the acknowledged responsibility for being actively part of bringing up the children, all change the way fatherhood is practiced. Due to the reasons listed above, commuting men adopt a more involved fatherhood than their Estonia-based counterparts. As I have shown, the studied men, when not working, stay at home with their children, take longer father's leaves compared with men working in the Estonian construction sector, and in their own words, spend more time with their families compared with the time they lived and worked in Estonia. In many cases, the fathers take the leading role in family life during the times when they are back in home. Of course, it can also bring up tensions, as the men can be seen as interfering with the routine of the family life, which can be a starting point for an argument. Some men regret that their ability to directly teach their children, to take care of the household, or be a daily role model is only temporary, and as soon as they find the right rhythm in working with their partners and 'solved all the problems', they have to go again to Finland. A very important aspect of the involved fathering (Rodin and Åberg 2013: 22) is the supportive social security system that provides equal parenting benefits for men and women. As we can see in Estonia, even when the social legislation supports the fathers' staying at home, the change is slow to come due to the social norms and unspoken work culture. It is visible in men's stories that they feel that in Finland it is more accepted also in construction sector to stay home with young children, so commuters feel that father's leave is accessible for them and they unquestionably use the opportunity to spend more time with their families. But as I have previously shown, father's involvement in family life is a combination of desire to compensate the missed time, the social benefits, grown emotional need, as well as social pressure from close ones to spend time with them back home.

The children's education and future perspectives are important topics for all the informants who participated in my research. One way the men can take the responsibility for their children has been to help to find a job for their sons, nephews, or other younger male relatives. Using transnational networks and contacts help them to provide work opportunities in Finland and at the same time get the opportunity to actively take part in the upbringing of their boys (**Article IV**). The father as a role model, discipliner, and influencer in the case of transnational families can mostly occur from the distance; however, as previous literature has pointed out (Parreñas, 2008) this may be an especially difficult time for teenage boys, who benefit from their father's direct support and presence. Helping young male relatives to start their careers is something that has been over generations expected from the fathers and commuter workers are

seeing it as their duty. It is also tightly combined with at the same time seeing a possibility to teach the practical skills the boys need to know and could be even useful to earn living in the future. At the same time, working together is a masculine form of care-taking by fathers for their sons, and the time spent together at the workplace is important for bonding and can compensate the missed time during the previous years. Still the network migration is not the ideal of the fathers. They have always expected that their sons could do better than they do, counted on university education and hoped for highly skilled specialist career for their offspring.

4.3. Cross-border commuters' impact on the mobility of family members

Even though my case studies are of Estonian blue-collar unskilled and skilled labour men working in Finland, and it is mainly the men who commute, their families are very much involved in mobility. Inspired by Sandowa and Westin (2010), I have aimed to show how the families are included in the commuting way of life from the very beginning (**Article V, Article II, Article I**), how the choice to commute is especially for the benefit of the family, and how the decision is made as a family. The commuter's family has a strong supportive role. In most cases they help the commuters establish themselves from a distance, and, in some cases, they can be seen as initiators of the transnational commuting life in the first place

With my research I stress that cross-border commuting cannot be depicted as an individual international mobility pattern. Rather it influences social networks, families, and communities, as well as on a wider scale the whole society. With my **Article IV** I concentrated on showing the impact of men's cross border commuting on other family members. Through the complex system of communication, geographical movements including family visits and back and forth travelling, and staying together practices, the families are very much included in the process of international mobility and they cannot be described as simply local. As I managed to show, the family is continuously co-present by proxy as well as included in the decision making, crisis-solving, and staying in touch processes. Often the families have the same information about working abroad as their commuting family members, and they may even be more aware of as well as concerned about laws, social benefits, and rules. They even may search for extra information about working and living in Finland and may support the close one working abroad with not only emotional, but also practical help.

Network migration is central in cross-border families. Starting from the beginning and while preparing my first article, I noticed that the normalisation of cross-border working brings along the second-generation mobility. As I have pointed out in **Article II**, in many cases already young schoolboys are included in the pattern of working abroad and how at same time it can be seen as a

coming of age ritual. I was able to develop the issue of over generational network migration in my last article (**Article V**), where I showed the intergenerational differences in ideas of interfamily network migration**.** It is often difficult to separate the family's impact from the influence of friends and acquaintances and many times these aspects are intertwined. In any case, the normalisation of working abroad involves seeing working in Finland as a crucial part of growing up, acquiring economic independence, and as a test for adolescence.

The family members of commuters have a close and intense second-hand experience with working abroad. They have visited Finland, they know people there, and their understanding about working abroad may have softened and they do not believe the negative stereotypes like they used to. In some situations, as I have written in **Article IV**, this knowledge and openness of working abroad leads to network migration. Partners may start to think about also finding a job in Finland, especially when children do not have to go to school yet or have grown up, or other family members do not need to be taken care of, or the job in Estonia does not satisfy any more. Still in most of the cases cross-border commuting of one family member is new reality for the family; all the members of the family are part of the transnational sphere and their geographical and social intensity of mobility differs during the time.

4.4. Future possibilities for research

The dissertation acknowledges the male cross-border workers as important actors of the transnational family and gives voice to real people to understand the everyday transnationalism. Intimate topics such as family life has allowed me to observe how transnationalism is developing family by family and how we can witness the impact of tight contacts between two countries. My thesis should be taken as part of the process of Baltic-Nordic transnational families research and with the main aim to open the male perspective. Even this perspective has not been fully observed and analysed and I am looking forward to continuing difficult topics as crisis management in transnational families as well I see the need to understand better the distance relationships between the partners. Both topics need the trust and good contact between a researcher and the informants to be able to reveal these aspects of family life during a qualitative interview.

At the moment in Estonia we are also lacking comparative qualitative material and it would be relevant to understand the perspective of commuting women, also the perspective of partners and children who are staying back in Estonia could be research much more in depth and would give interesting insights about the dual sided existence of transnationalism. Also, my work has given me only a few opportunities to write about different subgroups inside the commuters group and an intersectionality of age, family status, work as well as ethnic background as well as education are angles that could be developed forward. At

the same time, in case of Estonia and Finland the generational research model would be extremely interesting, especially when we could compare the people who started to commute in the 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s it could open the historical perspective that the connections and relations between these two countries are ongoing and are not impacted only by economic crises or differences in living standards.

Theoretically the discussions about translocal instead of transnational families have become more relevant in mobility studies (for example Assmuth et al. 2018). The importance of the particular features of states, including the places and the processes of travelling between two places needs constant reflection. My research shows that micro-, meso- and macro level are closely combined. Travelling between Estonia and Finland, two different social systems and work cultures with their own laws as well as tax systems is as important from individual perspective as meso-level entrepreneurship and community organisations. Both the receiving country as well as home country are both relevant as geographical space, but it seems to me that what makes people commuting and traveling constantly back and forth during the longer time period are personal and professional social connections. Transnationality or translocality are both connected with geographical commuting between different physically existing places, but it seems to me that the discussion would benefit from including the social perspective of professional and private that enables the geographical as well as extended mobility by proxy.

In a wider scale the family research has shown how qualitative observations and interviews can provide an important side perspective on the statistical data and analyse the micro-level cultural exchanges, the impact of transnationality, and to show how the active cross-border community influences not only the lives of people but whole societies. Most importantly, ethnographical research allows to ask how people themselves see transnationality and examine what are the more or less visible impact factors it has on their lives. Writing the thesis has made me think also about other spheres of transnational research in Nordic-Baltic countries where the analyses of everyday transnational practices could be useful. One of the aspects that is many times mentioned in this research is work-life culture that definitely would benefit from closer analyses from the perspective of everyday transnationalism.

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PEREELU ÜLE LAHE: PENDELTÖÖTAJATE PEREKONNAD EESTI JA SOOME VAHEL

Käesolev doktoritöö uurib Eesti-Soome vahelise pendeltöö mõju peresuhetele. Töö koondab viite iseseisvat teadusartiklit, mis avavad oskus- ja lihtööd tegevate Eesti meeste ja nende perekondade nägemust sellest, kuidas Soomes töötamine on mõjutanud pereelu ja suhteid lähedastega. Töö vastab kolmele uurimisküsimusele: (1) kuidas pendeltööd tegevad mehed loovad hargmaist pereelu; (2) millised igapäevased strateegiad ja praktikad aitavad hoida peresuhteid pendeltöötajate perekondades; (3) kuidas ühe pereliikme piiriülene mobiilsus mõjutab teisi pereliikmeid?

Töö tugineb kuue aasta pikkusele etnograafilisele välitööle Eesti meeste seas, kes on töötanud perioodi Soomes. Välitööd said alguse 2013. aastal, kui kogusin empiirilist materjali oma magistritööks, mis keskendus pendeltööle ning hargmaisuse avamisele Eesti-Soome kontekstis. 2015. aastal jätkasin sama grupi uurimist ning arendasin edasi magistritöös olulise teemana esile kerkinud riigipiiride üleste lähisuhete uurimist. Minu uurimistöö kombineerib erinevaid kvalitatiivseid uurimismeetodeid. Kõige olulisema osa empiirilisest materjalist moodustavad poolstruktureeritud intervjuud pendeltööd tegevate meestega. Lindistatud ja transkribeeritud intervjuude kõrval on kuue aasta välitööde sisse mahtunud kümned mitteformaalseid jutuajamisi ning vaatlusi erinevatel sotsiaalsetel sündmustel. Olulised tähelepanekud on ilmnenud ka sotsiaalmeediapõhiste Soome ja Eesti teemaliste internetigruppide vaatlemisest kogu uurimisperioodi jooksul. Lisaks olen läbi viinud ühe internetipõhise küsitluse, mille kirjeldavad vastused olid olulised esimese artikli kirjutamisel. Doktoritöö kirjutamise ajal jooksul olen olnud seotud kahe rahvusvahelise projektiga ning seetõttu ka ise tihti sõitnud Eesti ja Soome vahet ja elanud lühemat aega nii Turus kui Joensuus. Minu enda pendeldamine kahe riigi vahel on andnud hinnalise kogemuse, et mõista pendeltöötajate perekondade läbielamisi veelgi paremini.

Uurimistöö on inspireeritud mobiilsuse pöördest rändeuuringutes ning lähtub uue mobiilsuse paradigmast (Hannam, Sheller ja Urry 2006), mis rõhutab mobiilsuse avaramat defineerimist ning paindlikke piire „kodu“ ja „sihtkohariigi“ vahel. Mobiilsuse uuringutes võetakse järjest rohkem arvesse nii füüsilist piirideülest liikumist, erinevad rändemustrid kui ka virtuaalset hargmaisust (Cohen jt 2015, 2013; Hall 2005). Tänapäevased rändemustrid on pidevas muutumises ning uurijana on keeruline tõmmata piiri mobiilsete ning vaid ühe kohaga seotud inimeste vahele. Uurimuse teiseks oluliseks lähtekohaks on soov mõista hargmaisust inimesekeskselt ning seotuna igapäevaste argitegevustega (Nelson 2006; Körber and Merkel 2012; Assmuth et al. 2018: 5). Dissertatsiooni keskseks mõisteks on hargmaisus ehk transnationaalsus (Vertovec 2007a, Basch et al. 2000) ning kitsamalt panustab see hargmaise perekonna (Baldassar et al. 2014; Bryceson and Vuorela 2002) uurimisse ja teoreetilise kontseptsiooni edasiarendamisesse. Minu uurimistöö aitab mõista Euroopa konteksti, kus

piirideülene liikumine on võrreldes ülemaailmsete rändemustritega väiksemate vahemaadega ning soodustatud kultuuriliste ja keeleliste sarnasuste poolt. Doktoritöö pöörab tähelepanu meeste rollile perekonnas. Meestekeskne vaade on perekonnaga seotud uuringutes eriti vähekäsitletud ning seetõttu täidab see töö olulist lünka Põhjamaade rändeuuringutes (Boyd and Grieco 2003; Charsley and Wray 2015: 404; Souralová and Fialová 2017: 160).

Järgnevalt annan doktoritööst ülevaate uurimisküsimuste järgi. Esiteks avan hargmaise pereelu põhijooni, teiseks toon välja peamised meestekesksed strateegiad ja praktikad, mille abil hargmaised pered hoiavad üleval lähisuhteid, ning kolmandaks kirjeldan pendeltöö mõju teistele pereliikmetele ja nende mobiilsusele.

Hargmaine perekond Eesti ja Soome vahel

Pendeltöötajate elu ei ole kerge – pendeldamist on emotsionaalselt raske taluda, see on väsitav, edasi-tagasi liikumine võtab palju aega ning elu kahes riigis vajab suurt paindlikkust ja valmisolekut pidevalt ümber kohaneda. Hargmaiste perekondade elurütm ja hakkamasaamine on väga individuaalne – osale perekondadest piiriülene suhtlemine ei sobi, teised aga oskavad selle enda jaoks toimima panna. Lisaks tunnistavad kõik informandid, et pereelu teevad veelgi raskemaks ühiskonnas levivad stereotüübid ning üldine negatiivne kuvand pendeltöötajatest. Ka varasem teaduskirjandus toob välja hargmaise pereelu negatiivsed aspektid nagu kaugenemine, laste üksinda jäämine või perekondade lagunemine (näiteks Woolfson 2007; White 2010). Töö käsitleb nii positiivsed kui negatiivsed hargmaisuse aspektid ning toob esile argipraktikaid, mis aitavad pereelu kahe riigi vahel toimivana hoida.

Kuigi paljudes perekondades pendeldab mees, on teised pereliikmed hargmaisesse eluviisi algusest peale kaasatud. Mehe välismaale tööle minek on perekonna ühine otsus ning mitmetel juhtudel on pendeltöö valitud just teiste pereliikmete huvisid arvesse võttes. Eesti mehed tunnetavad ühiskonnapoolset survet olla peamine palgateenija ning peavad oma kohustuseks võtta vastutus pere majandusliku heaolu paranemise eest. Sellele vaatamata on pereliikmed, eriti pendeltöö algusperioodidel, kaugelt toeks ning aitavad pendeldajal teises riigis kohaneda. Hargmaistele perekondadele on omane perekonnahierarhiate ümberkujunemine ning koduühiskonna sotsiaalsed normid ei ole nendes leibkondades niivõrd esil. Selle tulemusena on hargmaise perekonna liikmed vastuvõtlikumad mehe töökohariigi sotsiaalsetele mustritele ning need võivad üle kanduda ka koduriigi ühiskonda.

Pendeltöö on pereelu muutuste põhjuseks mitmel viisil. Esiteks, hargmaine eluviis toob kaasa muutuse töörütmis ning võimaldab olla kodus ka muul ajal kui nädalavahetustel. Pühendumist perele soodustab ka pendeltöötajate seas levinud aja kaksikjaotus, mille kohaselt keskendutakse Soomes olles tööelule, Eestisse tulles aga saavad tähelepanu perekond ja hobid. Teiseks, suureneb pendeltöö tulemusena leibkonna sissetulek ning mehed tunnevad, et neil on

rohkem võimalusi pere vaba aja tegevustesse panustada. Kolmandaks, on mehed paranenud majandusliku olukorra tõttu altimad veetma vaba aega perekonnaga ning ei otsi lisatööotsi nii nagu varem, kui nad töötasid Eestis. Neljandaks, pikaajaline kodust eemal olemine suurendab vajadust emotsionaalse ja lähedase suhtluse järgi ning seetõttu kasvab motivatsioon kasutada kõiki võimalusi perega koosolemiseks. Minu doktoritöö üheks olulisemaks lisanduseks varasematesse rändeuuringutesse Eesti-Soome kontekstis on tähelepanekud väärtusmudelite kandumisest pendeltöötajate kaudu Soomest Eestisse. Informandid tõdevad, et Soomes töötamine on muutnud nad isarolliga kaasnevatest sotsiaalsetest toetustest teadlikumaks, isa rollist rääkimine töökeskkonnas on innustatud ja aktsepteeritud ning nad kasutavad julgemalt võimalusi perega koos aja veetmiseks. Soome kaasatud isarolliga ühiskonnas on perekeskset mõtteviisi kergem omaks võtta kui tugevamate maskuliinsete mustrite ning traditsioonilisemate pererollidega Eesti ühiskonnas. See on üks näide, kuidas hargmaise perekonna praktikad kujunevad kahe riigi kultuuri koosmõjus.

Hargmaise perekonna oluliseks kooshoidvaks praktikaks on pidev ja erinevaid kommunikatsiooniviise kombineeriv suhtlus. Inimesed kasutavad igapäevaselt helistamist, Facebooki, Skype'i, Messengeri tekstsõnumeid ja videokõnesid. Tihe suhtlus tänapäevaseid kommunikatsiooniviise kombineerides loob koosolemise ruumi, kus jagatakse uudiseid, ollakse üksteisele toeks ning seltsiks. Kuigi tihe kontaktis olemine aitab maandada igatsustunnet ja üksiolekut, on sellega ka mitmeid probleeme. Nimelt on pereliikmetel erinevad ootused, kui palju võiks päevas või nädalas suhelda ning millised on kommunikatsioonitehnoloogia abil vahendatud suhtluse jaoks sobilikud teemad. Näiteks on levinud, et keerulisemate ja isiklikumate teemade arutamine jäetakse perioodi, kui kohtutakse näost näkku.

Minu uurimistöö näitab, et pendeltöö on kaalutletud strateegia ning seda saab käsitleda kui elukorraldust, kus pereelu ja tööelu vahelduvad pikemate perioodidena. Hargmaisuse kogemus aitab pendeltöötajatel olla kahe riigi vahel liikuvam ka tulevikus ning kasutada teises riigis töötamise potentsiaali vastavat vajadusele. Peresündmused, nagu näiteks partneri leidmine, lapse sünd või eakate vanemate hooldamise kohustus, võivad ajutiselt välismaal töötamise katkestada, aga hargmaise ruumiga tuttaval inimesel on alati teadmised, oskused ja kontaktid, et naasta piiriülese pendeltöö juurde tagasi.

Maskuliinsed perepraktikad ja hargmaised hoolitsemise strateegiad

Doktoritööst ilmneb, et hargmaised isad on jätkuvalt perega seotud ning see ei tähenda ainuüksi Soomes teenitud palgalisa saatmist perekonnale, vaid isad osalevad distantsilt pereelus nii palju, kui võimalik. Mehed mõtlevad palju selle peale, kuidas nad saaksid hoida Eestis oleva perega häid suhteid. Hargmaise pere praktikates on olulisel kohal tulevikuplaanide pidamine, pereliikmetega igapäevase kontakti hoidmine ja vabade perioodide planeerimine nii, et see maksimaalsel määral kompenseeriks tööpäevadel Soomes olemist. Soomes

töötavad mehed loovad aktiivse kommunikatsioonitehnoloogiate kasutamise ning tiheda edasi-tagasi käimise kaudu uut tüüpi koosolemise mustrid, millega kogu perekond mõne aja jooksul harjub.

Maskuliinsete hargmaiste praktikate oluline osa on raha teenimine ning pere jaoks säästmine ja raha koju saatmine, aga seda ei tehta ainuüksi majandusliku heaolu parandamise eesmärgil. Raha teenimine ning pere ülalpidamine on hoolitsuse näitamine ning paljudel juhtudel toovad mehed välja, et nad töötavad välismaal just seetõttu, et nende lähedastel oleks parem elu. Sageli on Soomes töötavad mehed pärit majanduslikul tagasihoidlike võimalustega perekondadest ning nad tahavad oma lastele pakkuda paremat lapsepõlve. Neile on oluline võimaldada oma pereliikmetele puhkusereise välismaale, restoranis söömist, kooliekskursioone – need on meeste jaoks on vajalikud aspektid heaks isaks ja abikaasaks olemise juures. Nagu olen kirjutanud ilmunud artiklites, näevad mehed perega veedetud aega tegevuspõhisena ning majanduslikud võimalused on eeltingimuseks, et viia lapsi lõbustusparki või kinno. Majanduslik turvatunne ja stabiilsus võimaldavad meestel kulutada puhkuseperioodil raha muretumalt ning see lubab neil varasemalt suuremal määral perega seotud tegevusi nautida. Pere puhkusereisid ja ühistegevused lastega on pendeltöötajate seas omavahelise võrdlemise ning uhkustundega seotud jututeemaks, millest räägitakse hea meelega pikalt nii Eesti sõprade kui Soome kolleegidega.

Minu doktoritöö üheks oluliseks fookuseks oli isa ja laste vaheliste suhete muutumine. Tööst ilmneb, et muutunud vaba aja mustrid, Soome ühiskonnast omaks võetud perekesksed väärtushinnangud, suurem lähedastega aja veetmise vajadus ning teadlikkus peresiseste kohustuste jagamise vajalikkusest muudavad isaks olemise viise. Muuhulgas tuli minu kvalitatiivsest uuringust esile, et isad võivad omandada pendeltööd tehes kaasatud isarolli. Mitmed informandid veedavad meelsasti aega lastega – nad jäävad haige lapsega koju, võtavad pikemaid isapuhkusi, on valmis lastega tegelema ka nädala sees olevatel vabadel päevadel ning võimalusel ei saada neid lasteaeda. Ka mehed ise tunnistavad, et nad on kohati rohkem perele pühendunud, võrreldes Eestis elamise ja töötamise perioodiga. Ühelt poolt on pereellu kaasatud isafiguuri eelduseks emadega võrdsed võimalused sotsiaaltoetuste näol, aga sellest veelgi olulisemad on ühiskonnas levinud tõekspidamised ning käitumismustrid. Mehed toovad välja, et nad tunnevad, et isaroll on Soomes rohkem aktsepteeritud ning nad tunnevad ennast mugavamalt perega seotud toetuste kasutamisel.

Hargmaine isaroll pole sellele vaatamata pingete- ja probleemidevaba. Paljudel perekondadel on raske kohaneda mehe vahelduvate eemaloleku ja kodusolemise perioodidega. Isegi kui mehed sooviksid võtta kodus veedetud perioodidel suuremat vastutust ja osaleda rohkem koduga seotud tegevustes, võivad teised pereliikmed nende püüdlusi näha pigem ülearuse sekkumisena. Samuti tunnevad mehed, et nad ei saa kaugelt piisavalt osaleda laste kasvatamises ega olla neile igapäevaseks eeskujuks, lisaks valmistab pettumust võimetus hoida majapidamist korras, aidata „meeste töödega“ või olla pereliikmetele koheselt toeks. Igapäevane pereelu on pendeltöö puhul eklektiline ning mehed

tunnevad, et vahetult pärast kojutulekuga äraharjumist on ees uus muutus ja nad peavad jälle Soome tööle minema.

Meeste jaoks on perega seotud teemadest olulisim laste kasvatamine, nende haridustee ja tuleviku kindlustamine. Ühe teemana olen doktoritöö artiklites avanud seda, kuidas mehed tunnevad endal vastutust aidata leida noorematele sugulastele töökoht. Tulenevalt Eesti ühiskonnas levinud mustritest, mille kohaselt aitab isa leida oma pojale võrgustiku kaudu suveperioodiks või vaheaegadeks sobivaid tasustatud tööotsi, laieneb sama vastutus ka pendeltöö tegijatele. Aastaid teises riigis töötanud meestel on kergem leida noortele sobivaid töökohti pigem Soome kui Eestisse, samuti teavad nad, et sealsed palgad, töötingimused ning sotsiaalsed garantiid on paremad. Nooremate sugulaste Soome tööle aitamises nähakse võimalust veeta koos aega, aga ka õpetada poistele tulevikuks vajalikke oskustöö nippe. Perekonnasisest võrgustikupõhist rännet võib kirjeldada kui maskuliinset hoolitsemise vormi, mille abil kompenseeritakse aastatepikkust perest eemal olemist ning mis ühtlasi on võimalus tugevdada isa ja poegade või laiemalt meessugulaste vahelisi suhteid. Samal ajal pole ka see hargmaise perekonna praktika probleemivaba, sest paljudel juhtudel näeksid mehed parema meelega, et nende pojad läheksid ülikooli ning omandaksid spetsialisti elukutse. Pärast mõnda aega Soomes töötamist poisid aga harjuvad suure palgaga ning nende motivatsioon kooli minna kaob.

Pendeltöö mõju pereliikmete mobiilsusele

Toon doktoritöös töös välja, et pendeltööd ei saa käsitleda kui individuaalset rahvusvahelise mobiilsuse mustrit. Pendeltöö mõjutab olulisel määral isiklike sotsiaalvõrgustike, perekondade ja kogukondade suhtumist rahvusvahelisse mobiilsusesse ning Eesti-Soome kontekstis on sellel väga suur mõju ühiskonnale laiemalt. Laialt praktiseeritud piiriülese hargmaisuse tõttu on välismaal töötamine muutunud Eesti ühiskonnas tavapäraseks ning teadvustatud karjääristrateegiaks.

Selgelt tuleb esile, et pendeltöötajate mobiilsus mõjutab otseselt nende pereliikmeid. Pereliikmed on rahvusvahelistesse rändemustritesse kaasatud läbi kommunikatsioonipraktikate, välismaal olevate sugulaste külastamise ning eemalt toetamise ning neid ei saa pidada lihtsustatult vaid Eestiga seotuks. Perekond on mobiilsusprotsessi kaasatud distantsilt ning pereliikmed osalevad olulisemates otsustustes, aitavad lahendada kriisiolukordi ja suhtlevad regulaarselt välismaal oleva pereliikmega. Need praktikad muudavad Eestis elavad lähedased suhtlemise kaudu mobiilseks ja hargmaiseks. Pereliikmed kuuluvad samasse inforuumi, nad on viinud ennast hästi kurssi välismaal töötamise võimaluste, sealsete seaduste, toetuste ja reeglitega.

Pereliikmete kasvanud teadlikkus loob eeltingimused hilisemaks võrgustikupõhiseks rändeks. Ühelt poolt on pendeltöö eriti Eesti maapiirkondades muutunud kümne aastaga levinud karjäärivalikuks ning toob paljudel juhtudel kaasa ka järgmise põlvkonna töörände. Noori mehi motiveerib üle lahe tööle minema

iseseisev sissetulek, mis aitab neil saada „jalad alla“, osta auto, korter ning pääseda ülalpeetava staatusest. Soomes töötamine võib olla otsekui initsiatsioonirituaal ning markeerida täiskasvanuks saamist. Sealjuures toovad noored mehed välja, et nende otsus välismaal töötada on seotud nii perekonna kui ka sõprade eeskujuga ning nende jaoks on see tavapärane käitumismuster.

Pendeltöötajate pereliikmetele on välismaal töötamisega kaasnev hästi teada. Nad on käinud korduvalt Soomes, nad mõistavad sealset töökultuuri ja seadusi, neil on välismaal ees tuttavad ja sõbrad ning see kõik muudab inimesed avatumaks välismaal töötamise suhtes. Eelinfo ja muutunud suhtumine omakorda suurendab võrgustikupõhise rände potentsiaali. Eriti on see nähtav perede puhul, kus lapsed on alles koolieelikud või juba suureks kasvanud, Eestis olevad eakamad pereliikmed ei vaja hooldamist, või kui algselt Eestisse jäänud sugulaste tööelus toimuvad muutused. Minu doktoritöö näitab, et pendeltöötajate perekonda ning kõiki pereliikmeid võib pidada hargmaisteks. Piiriülene elamine on kogu perekonna igapäeva reaalsuseks ning vaatamata sellele, kas füüsiliselt liigutakse kahe riigi vahel aktiivsemalt või harvemini, on pereliikmed mobiilsusprotsessidesse ka kaugelt kaasatud.

Appendix 1: Informants

Name	Age[4]	Relation-ship	Number of children	Description
Fieldwork Period I (2013–2014)				
Kaimo*[5]	41	Married	1	Started to work periodically in Finland already in 1990s; at the moment owns a company that is active in Estonia as well as in Finland.
Mart*	45	In a relationship	1	Works in construction sector and has worked in Finland almost a decade; visits Estonia in every two weeks and stays for a weekend.
Tõnu	38	Married	2	Works in a shipyard near Turku; lives in western Estonia and commutes every 10 days to stays for a long weekend from Thursday to Monday.
Margus	48	In a relationship	2	A bus driver; visits Estonia at least once per month, his wife is often visiting him. During the summer time he tries to commute more often.
Neeme	36	In a relationship	2	Works in a shipyard, commutes once per month and stays for a week. Has worked in Finland already a decade, except for the years the children were born.
Sirgo	32	Single	0	Went to Finland with a plan to move there permanently. At the time of the interview had been there a bit over a year and commuted often to see his parents and friends.
Pets*	29	Single	2	Works in farming and commutes quite rarely, every couple of months; during the summer time more often. His sons from previous partnership often visit him in Finland.
Janar	51	Married	3	Commutes 4 times per year and every time stays longer in Estonia; spends all his free time in Estonia
Kristjan*	31	In a relationship	2	Every week he works two days in Finland. Lives in Tallinn and commuting is convenient for him and do not disturb the family life.
Rain*	29	In a relationship	0	Has commuted less than a year. Comes to Estonia to visit friends and family; does not have a very stable rhythm and sometimes visits only once in two months.

[4] The age of the informants at the time of the first interview.

[5] * Symbol marks the nicknames or pseudonyms. All the informants could choose if they want to use their real name.

Kristo*	27	In a relationship	1	Started commuting already in high school. After a decade of commuting, after the birth of his first child, settled down in Finland and does not commute that often.
Silver*	32	In a relationship	1	Commutes every 10 days and stays for 3 days. Comes from centre of Finland and travelling back it takes him a full day.
Fieldwork period II (2015–2018)				
Allar*	32	In a relation-ship	2	Has commuted almost ten years every 10 days; it has become a normality for the whole family and plans to continue.
Madis*	39	Married	1	Works in Finland more than 10 years. Started as a construction worker; now owns a company that subcontracts the Finnish contracts. Is free to plan his time and could be in Estonia more frequently.
Triinu (Wife of Madis)	39	Married	1	Wife of Madis. Has become used to the commuting partnership. Works together with Finns in Estonia and is eager to visit Helsinki, but does not want to live there.
Rainer*	31	In a relationship	1	A brother of Triinu; went to Finland together with Madis. Commutes as often as he can, almost every week, because of his small daughter in Estonia.
Marko	46	Married	2	Has worked in Finland since 2008 economic crises and commutes every week to spend weekends together with his wife.
David	22	In a relationship	0	A son of Marko has worked in Finland during several summers.
Diana (Wife of Marko)	41	Married	2	Wife of Marko. She does not want to go to Finland and would prefer that the husband and son would work in Estonia. Appreciates the experiences, the family support by the Finnish state, and knows that the husband stops as soon as the house is ready.
Raivo	39	Divorced	5	Has worked in Finland several times since the 1990s. Currently commutes less often because all children have grown up and more and more friends have gone to Finland.
Rain	20	Single	0	A son of Raivo; has commuted together with his father almost a year. Comes to Estonia almost every weekend to see his friends.
Alari	39	Married	2	Has commuted during the last 10 years. Recently the family also moved to Finland, so now commutes less, but still during the holidays and to visit relatives and parents.

Airi (Wife of Alari)	34	Married	2	First stayed behind in Estonia with their first child. When the child went to kindergarten they moved to Finland; she found a job and soon they started to plan a second child.
Kaspar*	43	In a relationship	0	Has worked in Finland periodically during the last few years. Sees that close relations are negatively affected by commuting. Thinks about quitting and returning to Estonia.
Sander*	22	In a relationship	0	Took the example of his brother and uncle and went to Finland and commuted couple of years. Had some difficulties and quit.
Rein	49	Married	3	Started to commute later in his life and visits Estonia in every month, mostly when a project ends. His son lives in Helsinki.
Anu (Wife of Rein)	49	Married	3	Wife of Rein. Has also thought about commuting, especially because teachers' salaries are very small in rural areas. The right moment has not come yet.
Erki	44	Divorced	2	Started to work in Finland after the divorce a couple of years ago. Visits Estonia every weekend to be able to spend time with his daughters.
Veiko	34	In a relation-ship	1	Visits Estonia in every now and then; tries to come more often to hold up contact with family and friends. Hopes to return to Estonia soon.
Hannes	32	In a relationship	0	Has commuted five years and almost every week between Turku and southern Estonia. Recently started his own business between Estonia and Finland and hopes to spend more time in Estonia in the upcoming years.
Gert	25	In a relationship	0	Has commuted between Tallinn and Turku for more than two years. His partner is in Tallinn and in the long run he plans to return.
Richard*	24	Single	0	Has commuted during the last five years. All his relationships have disappeared due to the commuting. Returned to Estonia; it did not suit him, so he started again working in Finland.
Karl*	37	In a relationship	1	Has worked together during the different periods with his brother, father, and mother in Finland. Mostly commuted, then started a business in Helsinki and has lately been more connected with Finland.

PUBLICATIONS

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name:	Keiu Telve
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Education

2015 – …	University of Tartu, PhD degree. Thesis "Family Life Across the Gulf:Cross-Border Commuters' Transnational Families between Estonia and Finland"
2017 (Spring)	University of Eastern Finland, visiting PhD student
2015 (October)	Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, summer school "Mobile Life-Arrangements"
2012–2015	University of Tartu, Ethnology, master's degree. Thesis title: "Qualitative Approach to Work Migration: A Case Study of Estonian Male Commuters in Finland".
2009–2012	University of Tartu, Literature and Cultural Research, bachelor's degree. Thesis title: "Street Art in Estonia: Case Study of Tallinn and Tartu".
2003–2009	Pärnu Cooperative Gymnasium
1997–2003	Audru Secondary School

Working Experience

2019–…	Vabamu Museum of Occupations and Freedom, Executive Director
2015–…	The Center for Applied Anthropology of Estonia, Member of the Board, Head of the Research Marketing.
2018–2019	University of Tartu, Department of Ethnology, Junior Research Fellow
2018	University of Tartu, Laboratory of Environmental Physics, Research Fellow
2017–…	University of Tartu, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Lecturer (Applied Perspectives of Humanities)
2017–2018	Vabamu Museum of Occupations and Freedom, manager and curator of Estonia 100 Exhibition Project.
2017	Migration Institute of Finland, Visiting Research Fellow
2015	University of Eastern Finland, Sociology Department, Junior Research Fellow
2014–2016	University of Tartu, Institute of Cultural Research Teaching Assistant (European Ethnology, Estonian Traditional Culture)
2012–2015	Tartu City Museum, Curator of Education Programs; Project Manager

Research projects

2015–2019 "Inequalities in Motion: Transnational Families in the Estonian-Finnish Context", funded by Kone Foundation, led by Laura Assmuth (grant number 64638),

2015–2019 "Inequalities of Mobility: Relatedness and Belonging of Transnational Families in the Nordic Migration Space". Funded by Finnish Academia, led by Laura Assmuth (grant number 14960-288 552)

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Haridus

2015– ...	Tartu Ülikool, kirjandus ja kultuuriteaduste eriala, etnoloogia doktoriõpe, töö pealkiri „Pereelu üle lahe: Pendeltöötajate perekonnad Eesti ja Soome vahel“
2016 (kevadsemester)	Ida-Soome Ülikool, doktorantuuri välissemester
2015 (oktoober)	Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, suvekool “Mobile Life-Arrangements”
2012 – 2015	Tartu Ülikool, etnoloogia, magistriõpe, lõputöö pealkiri “Kvalitatiivne lähenemine pendeltööle Soomes töötavate Eesti meeste näitel”
2009 – 2012	Tartu Ülikool, kirjandus ja kultuuriteaduste eriala, kõrvaleriala kunstiajalugu, bakalaureuseõpe, lõputöö pealkiri: „Tänavakunst Eestis Tallinna ja Tartu näitel“
2003 – 2009	Pärnu Ühisgümnaasium, keskharidus
1997 – 2003	Audru Keskkool

Töökogemus

2019 – ...	Okupatsioonide ja vabaduse muuseum Vabamu – muuseumi direktor ja juhatuse liige
2018 – ...	Tartu Ülikool – etnoloogia osakond, nooremteadur
2017 – ...	Tartu Ülikool – aine humanitaaria rakenduslikud suunad vastutav õppejõud
2015 – ...	MTÜ Rakendusliku Antropoloogia Keskus – juhatuse liige, projektijuht
2017 – 2018	Okupatsioonide muuseum – EV100 rändnäituse projektijuht
2017 (oktoober)	Soome Migratsiooni Instituut – külalisteadur
2016 (oktoober – aprill)	Ida-Soome Ülikool – nooremteadur
2014 – 2016	Tartu Ülikool – õppeassistent ainete juures Euroopa etnoloogia, humanitaarainete rakenduslik perspektiiv ja Eesti rahvakultuur.
2012 – 2015	Tartu Linnamuuseum – haridusprogrammide kuraator

Uurimisprojektid

2015 – 2019	Inequalities in Motion: Transnational Families in the Estonian-Finnish Context, toetatud Kone Instituudi poolt, projektijuht Laura Assmuth (grant number 64638)
2015 – 2019	Inequalities of Mobility: Relatedness and Belonging of Transnational Families in the Nordic Migration Space. Teotatud Soome Akadeemia poolt, projektijuht Laura Assmuth (grant number 14960-288 552)

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