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CV

Pernille Skovgaard Christensen, age 34, completed her MA in English and History at Aalborg University in 2012. During her studies, she examined a range of historical and sociological issues related to ethnicity and migration and finished with a project that examined how cities may facilitate networking and communication across different ethnic groups. After her university studies, Pernille obtained work in international communication and upper secondary school teaching. In 2014, she was employed as a PhD fellow at the Centre for Migration and Diversity (CoMID), Aalborg University, where, aside from teaching in history and cultural studies, she worked to finish this PhD thesis. Pernille's PhD project is part of a joint research project which examines historical and contemporary migration flows to- and from Denmark. In close collaboration with the Danish Emigration Archives in Aalborg, Pernille's project focuses on Danish emigration to the United Staes and to Australia and dwells on the maintenance of ethnic practices and self-perceptions across generations. So far, she has published *Dansk udvandring til USA omkring år 1900 – et overblik [Danish emigration to the USA around 1900 – an overview]* (Teatermuseet i Hofteatret, 2015), *Safeguarding Danishness? Ethnicity, Religion and Acculturation among Danish Americans in Three Danish Spaces in the U.S.* (American Studies in Scandinavia, 2016) and has two other publications forthcoming in *Nordic Journal of Migration Studies* and *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies.*

ENGLISH SUMMARY

This PhD thesis is part of a joint research project titled 'MiClue' (a combination of "Migration" and "Inclusion"), instigated in late 2013 to explore different cases of migration to and from Denmark. As a cooperative project between Aalborg University, The Danish Emigration Archives and The Danish Immigrant Museum, it initially set out to discover both similarities and differences that could potentially point towards patterns in migration and integration processes.

This thesis examines the Danish out-migration part of the joint MiClue project. In exploring two cases of Danish emigration: 1) to the USA as part of the European mass migration of 1850-1920, and 2) to Australia in a post-World War II phase, 1950-1990, the project demonstrates how and why Danish migrants and their descendants maintain Danish self-perceptions and practices abroad sometimes even after several generations.

The thesis is submitted as four articles linked together by a common research question and a theoretical framework. Within the articles, the cases are both analysed separately and compared. The thesis also includes an article that compares findings from the US case to findings of a concurrent case of Danish migration to Argentina.

Empirically, the thesis is based on the life stories and family histories of Danish migrants and their descendants in both the USA and Australia. In the spring of 2014, interviews with the second to the fifth generations of Danish immigrant descendants were collected on a field trip to selected Danish settlements in the American Midwest and to Chicago. Accordingly, similar life story interviews were conducted among first generation Danish migrants and their second generation children in the Melbourne area in early 2016.

The research focus of this thesis places processes of intergenerational transmission as well as processes of acculturation and adaptation, including ethnic development and transformation, as the overall theoretical framework in the analysis of the research question. Attachment to, and dynamics of, ethnic spaces as well as the emotional costs of migrating and living at a distance from family and kin are also central aspects of the analysis.

Aside from the Danish participation in the European mass migration to the USA, migration *from* Denmark is a largely overlooked field of research. This thesis fills some of the existing gaps in research on Danish migration to the USA and moreover adds knowledge to the Australian case on which research is so far quite sparse. Overall, the project contributes with some qualitative insights that, from a 'bottom-up' perspective and a comparative design, illuminate how and why ethnicity is maintained by Danish migrants and their descendants. In doing this, the project also addresses and discusses international migration scholarship.

DANSK RESUMÉ

Denne ph.d.-afhandling er en del af et større forskningsprojekt ved navn 'MiClue' (en kombination af "migration" og "inclusion"), som blev søsat i slutningen af 2013 med det formål at undersøge en række migrations-cases til- og fra Danmark. Som et samarbejde mellem Aalborg Universitet, Det Danske Udvandrerarkiv i Aalborg og Immigrantmuseet i Farum, havde projektet til formål at undersøge forskelle og ligheder i casene, som potentielt kunne lede til påvisning af mønstre i migrations- og integrationsprocesser.

Denne afhandling behandler udvandringsdelen af det samlede MiClue projekt. Ved at undersøge to danske udvandringscases, nemlig udvandringen til 1) USA som en del af den europæiske masseudvandring mellem 1850-1920, og til 2) Australien i en periode efter anden verdenskrig, ca. 1950-1990, demonstrerer projektet hvordan og hvorfor danske migranter og deres efterkommere fastholder danske praksisser og selvopfattelser i udlandet, i USA nogle gange flere generationer efter de første udvandrere.

Afhandlingen består af fire artikler, der kædes sammen af et fælles forskningsspørgsmål og en teoretisk ramme. I artiklerne behandles casene både hver for sig og sammenlignes. Afhandlingen inkluderer også en artikel, der sammenligner resultater fra USA-casen med en samtidig case om dansk udvandring til Argentina.

Afhandlingens empiriske grundlag består af en række interviews i form af livsfortællinger og familiehistorier, som er udført med danske udvandrere og deres efterkommere i både USA og i Australien. I foråret 2014 indsamledes således interviews med efterkommere i 2.-5. generation af danske udvandrere på en forskningsrejse til nogle udvalgte danske kolonier og til Chicago i den amerikanske midtvest. Tilsvarende blev der i 2016 indsamlet livsfortællinger blandt danske migranter og deres '2.-generations'-efterkommere i og omkring Melbourne.

Projektet placerer intergenerationelle transmissions-processer, akkulturations- og adaptions-processer, inklusive etnisk udvikling og transformation som den overordnede teoretiske ramme for analysen. Tilknytningen til- og dynamikkerne bag etniske rum såvel som de emotionelle implikationer ved at opholde sig på afstand af familie og slægtninge er også centrale elementer i analysen.

Ud over den danske deltagelse i den europæiske masseudvandring til USA, er migration fra Danmark et relativt overset forskningsfelt. Denne afhandling udfylder nogle huller i den eksisterende forskning om den danske udvandring til USA og tilføjer endvidere viden om den australske case, der i øvrigt er meget lidt belyst. Overordnet set bidrager projektet med nogle kvalitative forståelsesrammer, der ud fra et 'bottom-up' perspektiv og et komparativ design belyser, hvordan og hvorfor etnicitet fastholdes blandt danske migranter og efterkommere. Ved at gøre dette, går projektet også i dialog med international migrationsforskning.

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I also thank my co-supervisor through most of this project, Jens Topholm, and all my colleagues at the archive for introducing me to the worlds of dusty boxes, yellowed papers and forgotten and fascinating life stories.
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Finally, I thank my good friends. For innumerable forest walks and cups of tea. For encouraging conversations as we have tried to balance worklife and motherhood, and figure out the keys to 'the good life', shoulder by shoulder.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART 1: FRAMEWORK

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. RELEVANCE AND MOTIVES FOR STUDY

In 1906, Albert Johnson, a young apprentice carpenter from Denmark boarded a ship bound for the United States of America together with his parents and four younger siblings. As the reason for the family's decision to emigrate remains unknown, we may assume that they – like most others - were pushed by poverty and poor prospects for the future and pulled by the promise of wealth and freedom in America. At least, like most Danish farmers, the family decided to pursue their dreams within the rich soils of the American Midwest.

In time, four of the siblings all procured farms in Minnesota. Albert, however, decided along the way that he could make use of his education in the city, and so he travelled to Chicago where he started a private company. As his business grew, Albert employed other Danish workers. In time, he expanded his company and retired as a wealthy man at age 50 and travelled all over the world.

Albert married a Danish woman and they had three children. In the home, he would strictly insist that the children spoke Danish. A decidedly outgoing, life-of-the-party person, Albert was also extraordinarily engaged in the Danish community of Chicago. As Albert cared a great deal for the Danish environment in Chicago, and upheld many Danish traditions, he was also an opinionated man. In fact, he was so astonished when his son, John, decided to marry a woman with another ethnic background that he decided not come to the wedding. There was no reconciliation until the grandchild was born.

Supposedly influenced by his father's ambitious mind-set, John graduated from high school with the highest grade point average of anybody in the entire school. After completing college, he gained a PhD on a full scholarship. John had three children.

Etler, now retired, was the firstborn. "We did not keep many Danish traditions at home," Etler says in an interview, "since my mother was not Danish." His mother had always felt somewhat excluded by her father-in-law, Etler explains. For example, Albert insisted on speaking Danish at family gatherings. Yet, although Etler and his cousins all had Danish names and, moreover, upheld some Danish traditions in relation to Christmas, his own children all have American names. Moreover, since Etler was married twice, now to a woman of Irish ancestry, his youngest daughter, Lily, was brought up Catholic. Thus, the family also broke with the Lutheran family tradition. Lily, 30, was raised in the ethnically diverse neighbourhoods of Chicago and now lives with her non-Danish boyfriend. She knows a few Danish phrases and remembers some Danish foods and conversations from family unifications; however, she does not feel that 'being Danish' exclusively 'defines her'. Mainly, she is reminded of her Danish ancestry when her parents buy her a blue, Danish Christmas plate every Christmas to hang on her wall.

* * *

As part of a joint research project initiated in late 2013 between Aalborg University in Denmark, the Danish Emigration Archives and the Danish Immigrant Museum, this thesis investigates two cases of Danish emigration. The first, as illustrated with the family history above, concerns the legacy of a historical case of Danish emigration: that which took place roughly from 1850-1920 to the United States of America along with millions of other Europeans in what is typically referred to as 'The European Mass Migration' or 'The Great Migration'. The other concerns a post-World War II case of Danish emigration to Australia, from 1950-1990.

The thesis empirically builds on a number of life story and family history interviews with Danish migrants and their descendants in both countries. As biographical narrative interviews thus represent the very core of this project, they provide the launch pad for its scholarly contributions. The interviews are rich in depth and detail and give unique insights into individual self-perceptions and life practices. As illustrated by the family history above, they also provide special insights into intergenerational relationships and transmission, which makes it possible to explore how and why new generations are socialised to ethnic ways. Based on observations within the interviews, this thesis uses a 'ground-up' approach to contribute with new perspectives on the dynamics behind multigenerational ethnic maintenance. Simultaneously, however, it also pays attention to how ethnicity evolves and transforms through the generations. As exemplified, even though her Danish background still directs a few of Lily's life practices and at least constitutes a minor part of her self-perception, they are very different from those of her great-grandfather, Albert.

The thesis is presented as four articles, which are linked together by a subject area, an overall research question and a theoretical framework. In combination, the articles contribute with globally significant answers as to how and why ethnicity survives over time and how, why and where it is maintained, sometimes throughout several generations.

This dissertation is motivated by several points. First of all, the current political climate in Europe often problematizes, politicizes and stigmatizes migrants' attempts to maintain "homeland cultures", including the practice of some migrants to send children back to the country of origin to learn about the family's culture. Considering the nature of Danish policies and public discussions on immigration, this accounts, not least, for Denmark too. In contrast to the subjectification of non-privileged migrants in most (Western) literature, research or media, scholars have recently stressed the need for more attention to *out*- rather than *in*-migration in Europe and the USA (Knowles and Harper 2009, 6). In studying Swedish emigration to three different locations, Catrin Lundström does just that and notes that white people tend not to be seen as 'migrants' but can 'inhabit the world as part of a global enterprise, tourists, expatriates, guests, development aid workers, and so on' (2014, 2). As

white migrants may therefore practice their "homeland cultures" abroad largely unnoticed, they also, according to Lundström, embody a 'white capital' which can be exchanged for other benefits, including cultural and economic capital, uninterrupted mobility and easy access to possibilities and admission. Moreover, as Pease argues, migrants who possess 'white capital' are also privileged by the fact that they are allowed to stay largely *unaware* of this privilege (2010, 9).

This project argues that efforts are needed to enhance understanding of migrants' and descendants' situations, challenges and practices. By providing an alternative comparative angle to much Western migration scholarship, this thesis finds it pertinent to place migration *from* Denmark in the global hierarchies of migration and mobility.

Danes have historically migrated and they continue to do so. Today, one of the most visible symbols of Danish presence globally is the spread of Danish ethnic churches. The Danish Seamen's Church and Church Abroad, an organization protected by the Queen of Denmark, provides religious services "to Danes, the Danish-minded and seamen outside country borders"[1]. Danish churches or Danish congregations are present in 48 locations around the world. More so, the webpage informs that an additional 50 places organise Danish christenings, confirmations and other seasonal feasts. Many of these are concentrated in places that have historically been destinations of Danish emigration. For example, there is a Danish church in each of the three locations in Argentina – known as 'the Danish triangle', to which Danes emigrated as part of the European mass migration around the turn of the 20th century. Accordingly, there are still a handful of Danish churches to be found in Canada, as well as in Australia and New Zealand. As there used to be numerous Danish churches in America too (as much as 10% of Denmark's population migrated to the USA between 1850 and 1920), "time has..", according to the webpage, "transformed them into being part of American society."[2]

The organization also serves the Danish community in Singapore and, more recently, Thailand, as well as countless places in Europe. Notably, amongst these, there are as many as 22 parishes in the very northern part of Germany, a territory lost in a German-Danish war in 1864. Supposedly, the webpage writes, there is yet a "need to maintain Danishness" here.

As the Danish churches abroad are located in places that have higher concentrations of Danish migrants, the Danish communities often also meet around other, non-religious events. Often, there may be a Danish sports club, a cultural society and a language school for whomever may wish to learn how to speak Danish. The Danish community in Singapore, for example, has a Danish 'Vikings' football club and a Danish business association. Commonly, church buildings also comprise the cultural centre, thus also functioning as a local meeting hall and a

[1] The Danish Seamen's Church and Church abroad: https://dsuk.dk/, accessed on June 21, 2019.
[2] The Danish Seamen's Church and Church Abroad: https://dsukprovsti.churchdesk.com/page/10/om-dsuk, accessed on November 19, 2018.

locality of annual cultural events. The church building in Melbourne, Australia, for example, also offers possibilities for dining after services and for buying imported ethnic products in a small shop. Moreover, the building houses the Danish language school.

Like the Danish churches abroad, the Danes Worldwide Association, which operates from Copenhagen, also aims to serve Danes abroad – not by attending to their religious needs but by speaking out for them politically. The association provides the most recent information about legislation on citizenship, family reunification, unemployment benefits and state pension. Each summer, the association also organizes a summer camp for 500-600 children in Denmark. Additionally, the association offers online language courses for children and adults abroad. Finally, the association facilitates networks between Danes abroad through more than 100 representatives in 57 countries. These representatives provide assistance in relation to practical enquiries, and arrange different events for members.[3] The representatives, like the ethnic churches, are often to be found in places with high concentrations of Danes.

This thesis delves further into the lives of Danish migrants and descendants in two selected cases of Danish emigration. Despite the fact that Danish participation in the Great Migration to the USA has been studied widely, research has hitherto primarily focused on Danes as emigrants, rather than immigrants in an American setting. One exception is Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen's culture-demographic and survey studies on Danish and Scandinavian migrants and their descendants across the USA. Jeppesen's work is primarily based on US census statistics which allow the study of descendants' marital patterns, religious affiliation, socioeconomic placement in relation to the general white population, as well as patterns of settlement. His quantitative studies indicate that later generation Scandinavian descendants are not yet fully assimilated into American society, but still differ in a number of measurable matters (Jeppesen 2010, 174-90). Complementing Jeppesen's work, this study builds on a number of in-depth interviews with Danish immigrant descendants, aiming to let the narratives explain ethnic maintenance from a qualitative, 'bottom-up' perspective. In doing this, it also contrasts with most Scandinavian emigration research by letting historical science and more positivist research traditions dialogue with other social sciences, most notably through its use of sociological methods.

The other case of Danish migration treated in this thesis concerns a post-World War II case of Danish emigration to Australia. The general lack of research on this case, however, reflects the fact that, aside from the Danish emigration to the USA at the turn of the 20th century, and partly to other places too, more recent migration from Denmark is a field of study largely overlooked. This dissertation, however, adds qualitative insights and intergenerational perspectives to existing research on a more recent phase of migration to Australia and provides a chance to relate Danish

[3] Danes Worldwide Archives: https://www.danes.dk/, accessed on November 19, 2018.

migration to other more contemporary research studies on transnational migration and mobility.

All things considered, this dissertation adds to existing scholarship on migration from Denmark, particularly by supplementing Jeppesen's more statistically based scholarship on Danish migrants to the United States and their processes of adaptation with qualitative insights into the dynamics of ethnic maintenance. The dissertation also provides a contribution to a more general lack of substantial research on Danish migration to Australia in the post-World War II period.

Moreover, aside from contributing to the general scholarship on Danish out-migration, the thesis also engages in concurrent international debates related to ethnic transmission and maintenance. These contributions are presented in the conceptual framework and outlined further within the articles. To give a few examples, however, the four articles demonstrate how ethnic maintenance is sometimes incentivized through a wish for "keeping ethnicity safe" from other-ethnic influences and how ethnic engagement may result from the internalisation of an ethnicity made available for exploration and practice during childhood and youth. It demonstrates how context, in terms of ethnic spaces, offered not least through the church, carry influence to ethnic transmission and maintenance. The articles also inquire into more emotional aspects of migration, discussing, for example, how continuous ethnic engagement and transmission may be motivated out of loyalty towards parents or earlier generations, or through feelings of guilt towards 'abandoned' parents in the old country. And it shows how migrants' engagement in ethnic spaces has, in both cases, been a matter of both practical and emotional coping, stemming from having gone through a process of leaving an Old World and searching for solace in the familiar in a new one. Finally, the thesis discusses whether anticipated status passage and activation of white privilege could also be a motivation to choose, proclaim and maintain an ethnic identity.

One of the main contributions of this thesis pertains to its intergenerational design. This makes it possible to study how ethnicity is transmitted and second and later generation identities shaped, potentially leading to multigenerational ethnic maintenance. Thus, this thesis also examines and compares the ethnic practices and self-perceptions of 'later generations ethnics', including a discussion on how ethnicity evolves through the generations and how it appears in its, perhaps, final stages.

1.2. THE MICLUE PROJECT

Before I give a deeper outline of the two cases of Danish migration and present the research design, I will briefly introduce the broader research project of which this thesis project is a part. The broader research project was partly funded by The Obel Foundation and began in late 2013. By melding together the words "migration" and "inclusion", it was given the name "MiClue".

With Aalborg University, the Danish Emigration Archives and the Danish Immigration Museum as partners, what was to become the MiClue project had received funding to examine similarities and differences within a number of cases of migration to and from Denmark. The idea was that detecting important differences, as well as discovering similarities, which exceed barriers of time and place could lead to new important understandings of more universal migration mechanisms. The aim was to create a better platform for acting upon challenges related to the inclusion or exclusion of migrants.

I was employed as a PhD student to work on a thesis on migration *from* Denmark. Altogether, the MiClue project was composed of five migration cases. Amongst these was also migration *from* Denmark to Argentina, researched by my supervisor, Trine L. Thomsen, and migration *to* Denmark from Romania and Turkey, researched by another PhD scholar, Sahra Josephine Hjorth. One of the basic ideas was to include both historical and contemporary cases, which could then be compared. Consequently, one of my articles is written in cooperation with my supervisor, Thomsen, and compares findings from our two historical cases on migration from Denmark to the USA and Argentina, respectively, both around the turn of the 20th century. Due to somewhat different foci as the projects progressed, and also because of disruptions caused by three periods of maternity leave, I have not produced any articles in collaboration with the other PhD project which focuses on migration *to* Denmark. Hence, I am the single author of the three remaining articles in this dissertation. They include one that focuses on the US case, one that focuses on the Australian case and a final one that compares findings from the two. Consequently, this thesis exclusively outlines migration *from* Denmark.

1.3. DESCRIPTION OF EXISTING RESEARCH

It is no secret, and also evident in the following accounts of the two cases, that the Danish participation in the Great Migrations to the United States is the most studied case of Danish emigration. Until the 1970's, much literature on the Danes who migrated to the USA at the turn of the 20th century consisted of works written by the migrants themselves, such as poetry collections, novels, Danish newspapers, etc. Worth mentioning were also a range of Danish journalists such as Vilhelm C. S. Topsøe and Henrik Cavling, who visited the USA and in 1872 and 1896 respectively and published travel books which were both given the titles *Fra Amerika [From America]*. Some influential statistical accounts are also included in the early works on Danish emigration to the United States, published by the economists William Scharling and V. Falbe-Hansen in *Danmarks Statistik [Statistics Denmark]* in the 1870's and 1880's, as well as contributions by statistician Adolf Jensen, especially his account of "Emigration" in *Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift [Danish Journal of Economics]* (1904). Aside from these, a few letter collections had been published in the years prior to the first World War, notably that of Karl Larsen titled *De, der tog hjemmefra [Those who left their homes]* (1910-1914). Added to these was a range of

literature on the Danish church in America, primarily written by religious leaders such as the works by the Danish American pastor, Peter Sørensen Vig, for example *Danske i Amerika [Danes in America]* (1916). Up until the 1970's, the most systematic records of Danish American lives were those made by the contemporary Danish American pastor and historian, Enok Mortensen, who published both novels and historical accounts from the 1930's to the 1970's. In 1971, a doctoral dissertation published by the Danish historian Kristian Hvidt inspired much later research on the topic. The doctoral dissertation titled *Flugten til Amerika - eller Drivkræfter i masseudvandringen fra Danmark 1868-1914 [The flight to America – or motivating forces in the mass migration from Denmark 1868-1914]* (1971) was followed by a book: *Danske Veje Vestpå [Danish roads towards the West]* (1976). Both publications are still widely used and cited. Hvidt's publications build on vast statistical material on the Danish emigrants and provide pertinent insights into who they were, why they migrated, etc. Other researchers (e.g. Pedersen et al. 1981, Stilling and Olsen 1994) have published archival collections on Danish-American cross-Atlantic letter exchange around the turn of the 20th century and former archivist at the Danish Emigration Archives in Aalborg, Henning Bender, has collected regional material on the Danish emigrants.

Existing research still highly focuses on the Danes as *emigrants* in Denmark rather than *immigrants* after arrival in the USA, however. Research on the latter topic mainly relies on the works of Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen, who in the book *Danske i USA 1850-2000 [Danes in the USA 1850-2000]* (2005) undertakes a comprehensive demographic study of the immigrants and their descendants until the present day, primarily based on information from the US people's Census since 1790. In 2010, Jeppesen also published *Skandinaviske efterkommere i USA [Scandinavian descendants in the USA]*, also primarily based on statistical material and census surveys. In this work, Jeppesen explores the assimilation stage of Scandinavian immigrant descendants across the USA, arguing that when measuring the patterns of settlement, intermarriage and religion, traits from the initial settlers are still to be found among descendants today. For example, most Scandinavian descendants still prefer a spouse with a northern European background. Moreover, even though Scandinavians are increasingly on the move, one can still trace their choice of settlement in the old immigrant areas (2010, 101-122). Danes and Swedes, however, have been assimilated to a higher degree than the Norwegians.. This, Jeppesen argues, pertains significantly to the fact that Danes settled in less isolated areas, so that their descendants had easier access to urban areas, better job opportunities and contact to other ethnic groups (Jeppesen 2010, 174-90). Complementing Jeppesen's work on the Scandinavians as *immigrants* in the American setting, Henrik Bredmose Simonsen, has provided a careful outline of the Danish church in America and of the dispute that caused for its division in the late 19th century in *Kampen om Danskheden: Tro og nationalitet i de danske kirkesamfund in Amerika [The fight about Danishness: Faith and nationality in the Danish church societies in America]* (1990), and Jette Macintosh (1993) has provided a detailed micro-study on the two neighbouring Danish towns of

Kimballton and Elk Horn, Iowa, whose internal rivalry was rooted in this religious division. In line with other contemporary American ethno-racial research, newer research has paid interest to the historical placement of Scandinavians, including Danes, within American ethnic and racial hierarchies (Blanck 2014, Brøndal 2014, Jackson 2019).

Compared to the extensive research on the Danes partaking in the Great Migration to the USA, research on Danish emigration to Australia is still relatively sparse and fragmentary. A particularly prominent researcher on earlier waves of Danish migration to Australia was captain Jens Lyng, who emigrated to Australia from Aarhus, Denmark in 1891. Lyng became the founder and editor of the monthly Scandinavian newspaper, *Norden*, producing single-handedly. Lyng also published more works on Scandinavians in Australia, not least *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western* (1939) which was based on decades of research.

Through the 1980's and early 1990's, a number of scholars in Scandinavia and Australia became interested in this field of research once again. At University of Melbourne, Professor John Stanley Martin and his predecessor Mark Garner studied the Scandinavians in Victoria. In Finland, Professor Olavi Koivukangas, in collaboration with John Stanley Martin published *The Scandinavians in Australia* in 1986. By that time, Koivukangas had already published *Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II* (1974). The works of Koivukangas and Martin remain the most influential. During the 1980's and 1990's, three conferences gathered researchers on the topic and research was published in their wake. The outcome of the third conference held in Melbourne in 1988, in celebration of Australia's Bicentennial year, was published in 1988 as a special issue of *Emigranten* in collaboration with The Danish Society for Emigration History. Contributors to this issue included both Martin and Garner, but also Birgit Flemming Larsen from the Danish Emigration Archives, Danish Consul General in Melbourne, Erik J. Jensen, as well as the now-retired assistant professor Erik Helmer Pedersen, who also made significant contributions to our knowledge on Danish emigration to the USA. Most of the research presented, however, concerns earlier periods of Danish migration to Australia. One exception, provided by Cand. Phil. at the time, Peter Birkelund, is a helpful historical-demographic account of Danish migration to Australia throughout the past 150 years, including the migration after the Second World War.

Since the early 1990's, the most significant researchers on Scandinavian and Danish migration to Australia have either passed away, retired or found other research interests. In recent years, however, the still active General Consul, Erik J. Jensen, instigated the establishment of a webpage, *www.danesinaustralia.com*, which was launched in 2015. The webpage mainly gathers stories of extraordinary Danes who made noteworthy contributions to Australian society.

There is, however, potential for further research on Danish emigration to Australia. During my research trip to Australia, it came to my attention - through conversation with the General Consul and the creator of the website - that there are large private archives among Danish Australian descendants yet waiting to be

properly preserved and made available for further study. So, this thesis brings contributions to existing scholarship on migration from Denmark to both the USA and Australia, not least through its qualitative approach and intergenerational perspective. Yet it simultaneously encourages even further scholarship and attention on migration from Denmark, historical as well as contemporary.

1.4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE TWO CASES

The following sections present the two migration cases, which form the basis of this dissertation. Although the case of Danish migration from Denmark to Argentina is also analysed in the co-authored article (Article 3), the empirical data of this other MiClue case was sampled and researched mainly by Thomsen. Consequently, this case is not discussed any further in this framework, but instead presented in Article 3.

1.4.1. DANISH MIGRATION TO THE USA 1850-1920

In the course of the 19th century, particularly the latter half , millions of Europeans emigrated to the United States of America. The country needed pioneers in its expansion towards the West, and peasants from all over the impoverished and riotous continent of Europe were promised cheap land, wealth and freedom if they had the courage and the means to cross the Atlantic to this 'Land of Opportunity'. Among the more than 34 million Europeans who emigrated between 1850 and 1920, around 300,000 were Danes – representing approximately 10% of the country's population at the time. The emigrants were primarily peasants, rural labourers, artisans or servants; many of them were young men and families who did not own land or have any hopes of economic advancement (Hvidt 1976, 9).

In particular, America's Homestead Act of 1862 appealed and became essential in encouraging Danes and other Europeans to embark on the arduous journey. The law proclaimed that if you had turned 21, you would receive 160 acres of land after five years, insofar as you could prove to the government that you intended to settle permanently. In the decades from 1860-1890 especially, massive waves of European migrants came ashore in New York and went by train or ship across the Great Lakes to the rich soils of the Midwest in order to start new and better lives on the American prairie. The Danish immigrants primarily settled in the states of Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin (Simonsen 1990, 19). From Northern Jutland, particularly, a number of Mormons also migrated to their Zion, or paradise on earth: Salt Lake City in Utah (Hvidt 1976, 104). Even though Danes migrated to the USA for both religious and political reasons, hopes of economic advancement remained the most significant pull factor (Brøndal 2004, 17).

Some researchers have noted that Danish emigrants to America tended to spread widely across the USA and assimilate faster than other ethnic groups (Hvidt 1976,

276; Jeppesen 2000, 25-32; 2010; 182). This was due, Hvidt says, to the fact that Danes were remarkably fewer in number than the Norwegians, and had not established the same well-trodden emigration paths as the Norwegians, for example (Hvidt 1976, 276). Moreover, the fact that Danish mass emigration began later may also have played a role, since Danes then had to spread further West to gain available land (Jeppesen 2000, 26; 2010, 182). A substantial number of Danish-sounding place names on the map of North America, however, reveal that Danes – like other ethnic groups – sometimes did favour settlement amongst countrymen (Hvidt 1976, 284; Simonsen 1990, 7).

A number of Danish colonies, particularly in the Middle West, arose in the final decades of the 19th century, largely assisted by the Danish church in America, which was founded in the 1870's. In 1894, however, the Danish Church in America was split in two. The dispute between the two protestant sub-branches concerned the role of cultural heritage in relation to religion. The pietistic, 'holy' Danes, informally led by the Inner Mission minister Peter Sørensen Vig, took life as a mere preparation for after-life, for which reason repentance and forgiveness of sins became central issues. P.S. Vig thought it best that Danes should be 'Americanised'. By contrast, the Grundtvigian 'happy Danes', led by Frederik Lange Grundtvig, the son of a famous Danish poet, priest and teacher, insisted that life had value in itself and should be enjoyed alongside religious practice. Also, culture and traditions were seen as preconditions for understanding and acquiring central Christian messages. Happy Danes communities continued to celebrate their earthly lives and cultural heritage with folk dancing, card playing, singing etc. (Bredmose Simonsen 1990, 71-88; Hansen 1992, 9-16; Nielsen 2003, 175-78). Tyler (MN), Askov (MN), Nysted (NE), West Denmark (WI) and Kimballton (IA) are examples of Grundtvigian settlements where folk schools were often built next to churches as small cultural centres for singing, gymnastics, Danish language courses, folk dancing and parties. Conversely, Kimballtons' neighboring town, Elk Horn (IA) became an Inner Mission settlement, as did Kenmare (ND) and Blair (NE). In Blair, the Inner Missions founded a priest seminary in 1884, first known as *Trinity Seminary* and later as *Dana College*. In 1896, a more liberal college, *Grand View College* in Des Moines (IA), was founded and run by the Grundtvigians.

In time, a large number of secular organisations and societies were also established across the country, most prominently *The Danish Brotherhood*, founded in 1882, and *The Danish Sisterhood*, founded in 1883, who initially worked to provide Danish Americans with social insurance but today mainly meet to socialise and preserve Danish culture and traditions (Hvidt 1976, 309-315; Stilling and Olsen 1994, 160-174).

By the late 19th century, a Danish community had also formed in the city of Chicago. Like other rapidly expanding cities in the USA, Chicago grew dramatically throughout the 19th century. By the beginning of the 20th century, the demographic, technological and industrial developments in the USA were enormous, and included an increase in population and urbanisation, partly as a result of the mass immigration from Europe (Brøndal 2015, 61-66). Chicago functioned as a transit centre for many

Danish migrants on their way to their prairie homesteads. However, some found jobs in the city instead, or returned if their dreams of farming failed. Some also took jobs in the city during the winter months (Stilling and Olsen 1994, 113). Chicago's Danish neighbourhood was initially placed in the Loop area and later mainly around Milwaukee Avenue, where, by the 1880's, two thirds of Chicago's approximately 6,000 Danes lived (Friedman 1985, 38-43; Cutler 2006, 73-80). Towards the beginning of the 20th century, residence in the "old Danish street", as the prominent Danish journalist, Henrik Cavling, characterised Milwaukee Avenue in 1897, was given up in favour of resettlement around Humboldt Park (Cavling 1897, 286; Lovoll 1991, 63). This remained a Danish/Scandinavian neighbourhood until it started to dissolve from the 1920's (Cavling 1897, 286-309; Friedman 1985, 38-43). Today, Chicago's Danish spaces are confined to just a few locations. Elderly immigrant descendants, for example, reside at the *Danish Home of Chicago*, a Danish retirement home founded 1891 and placed near Norwood Park in between Humboldt Park and Milwaukee Avenue. Chicago's more than 150 year old social organisation, the *Dania Society*, also continues to operate, as does the *Danish American Athletic Club*. Chicago is also home to a Danish American newspaper, *The Danish Pioneer*, which, since 1872, has provided Danish Americans and their later generation descendants with news from Denmark and the colonies.

In 2014, interviews were carried out with people of Danish descent in three locations in the USA: Chicago (IL), Tyler (MN) and Blair (NE). A more detailed description of these three 'Danish spaces' are given in Article 1. Today, many of the 'Danish spaces' in the USA struggle to survive, such as *Museum of Danish America* in Elk Horn, Iowa, and the folk school in Tyler, Minnesota. The museum, which has so far mainly relied on interest, donations and volunteer work from people with Danish or other Scandinavian backgrounds, now must increasingly seek to direct their exhibits towards American visitors. Other institutions such as Dana and Grand View Colleges in time had to broaden their programmes to appeal to young people of other ethnicities. Dana College in Blair was forced to close down in 2010. A small group of volunteers currently work to preserve its history in a small archive. The abandoned premises and decayed buildings of the folk school in Nysted, Nebraska, bear witness to the fact that time has indeed passed by since the first Danish settlers came to make new lives in the West.

1.4.2. DANISH MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA 1950-1990

Danish emigration to Australia falls into three significant periods. The first period mainly resulted from the discovery of gold in the 1850's and 1860's, which attracted significant numbers of Scandinavians. In Denmark, particularly the two Schleswig Wars (1849-51 and 1864) were essential in pushing Danes out. The second period aligns with the European mass migration to the USA and Canada. Less than 3% of the Scandinavians who emigrated between 1881 and 1925 chose destinations other than those, and amongst these a small fraction travelled the long distance to Australia. Despite the small percentage, the major influx of

Scandinavians to Australia took place in the period between 1870 and 1914. Finally, the third wave of Scandinavian migration to Australia occurred after the Second World War where assisted passage for British citizens later applied to Scandinavians too (Koivukangas and Martin 1986, 179). It is this period of Danish migration to Australia that is examined in this thesis.

During the Second World War, Australia had proved to be vulnerable to a potential Japanese invasion. In the years after the war, the Australian government therefore initiated a large scale immigration campaign. The government aimed to populate the remote parts of the country and, moreover, meet post war labour scarcity. The Labour Party Minister for Immigration, Arthur Caldwell, was the architect behind the establishment of the General Assisted Passage Scheme (GAPS), meant to attract a European labour force. As he stated in 1945: "We cannot continue to hold our island continent for ourselves unless we greatly increase in numbers. We are but 7,000,000 people and we hold 3,000,000 square miles of the earth's surface" (In Griffiths 1983, 27).

Between 1948 and 1968, more than 2.4 million immigrants came to Australia. Amongst these, 7-10,000 were Danes, especially young adults and families. Even though the Australian government initially preferred British immigrants, the General Assisted Passage Programme was changed by the middle of the 1950's to include immigrants from Scandinavian countries too. In Denmark, the unemployment rate was high at this point in time. At the end of the decade, advertisements in Danish newspapers enticed, with financial support, those considering emigrating. Motivations to emigrate included unemployment, heavy Scandinavian taxation, the uncertain future of post-war Europe as well as a number of personal reasons such as the desire for a warmer and more exotic climate (Birkelund 1988, 44-50). Most likely, many were primarily motivated by the same reasons as have been found to account for the Swedish settlers in the same period: work, better opportunities, adventure or marriage to an Australian (Garner 1984). Whereas the dominant group of settlers in Australia during the second wave of immigration were rural labourers, those who emigrated after the Second World War tended to be young craftsmen and their families who had skills needed in the city. A large proportion of the immigrants thus settled in urban Australia (Koivukangas 1983, 36; Otte 1991, 40). According to Koivukangas, roughly one Danish woman for every three Danish men arrived. Australia was reached in different ways. The most affordable way was on a Scandinavian ship directly to Australia. It was also possible to sail to New York, take a greyhound bus from New York to San Francisco and then take an airplane to Sydney. Most Danes settled in New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria. From the beginning of the 1970's, the Australian government started working to limit immigration to the country again (Koivukangas 1983, 34-35; Birkelund 1988, 50).

Melbourne was home to Scandinavian settlers even as far back as to the gold rush period. Often, newly arrived gold prospectors would find hospitality amongst countrymen in the city before departing for the Victorian gold fields in Ballarat, Bendigo and Castlemaine nearby (Koivukangas and Martin 1986, 37-48). Melbourne's Danish Club was formed in 1889 and resided by the waterfront in an

impressive three storey building. After modern immigration, the club underwent a renewal and the old building was sold. These days, the Danish Club meet at *Denmark House*, a modern bar and restaurant in Melbourne's busy business centre. Moreover, a *Danish Australian Cultural Society* (DACS) was established in 1982 and continues to make cultural arrangements for Danish migrants and descendants such as talks, films and concerts. Though there had been Scandinavian churches in Melbourne since the late 19th century, the growth of immigration in the late 1950's produced a need for more space. Toorak House, built in 1849 and the former residence of a governor, was purchased to serve Swedish and other Scandinavian religious needs (Koivukangas and Martin 1986, 188; Garner 1988, 102). Today, the *Swedish Church* in Toorak is visited by a Danish minister from the Danish Seamen's Church and Church Abroad one Sunday every month, who performs a Danish Church Service. The church is thus often also referred to as the 'Danish church'. The church also functions as a social and cultural centre where imported Danish and Swedish goods are available for purchase in a small shop and the Danish bakery sometimes sells Danish foods. Moreover, the church is also the location of annual ethnic events, such as 'fastelavn' (a Danish costume party for children), the Danish midsummer celebration and a joint, Scandinavian Christmas bazaar.

There are no rural Danish settlements in Australia that resemble the colonies that formed in the US Midwest– except from the small village of Poowong East in South Gippsland, some 120 km southeast of Melbourne. As their gold prospecting dreams failed, 12 Danish gold prospectors decided in 1877 to sustain themselves through dairy-farming here (Jensen 1988). Until this day, later generations of these Danish gold-hunters have continued to live and modernize the dairy business in and around this village. Captain Jens Lyng, who visited Poowong East in 1895, predicted that by 1977, a century after the first Danish settlement, the character of the Danish community would have vanished, except, perhaps, for the Danish names. Time, however, proved him wrong. In Poowong East, there is yet a decided awareness of the community's 'Danishness'. In recent decades, the descendants have established further contact with the Danish community in Melbourne, who occasionally visit the village on picnics (Koivukangas and Martin 1986, 192).

1.5. THE AIM OF THIS PHD – PROJECT DESCRIPTION

This thesis brings new qualitative, interview-based insights into processes of adaptation and ethnic maintenance among Danish migrants and their descendants abroad. Hitherto, the exploration of Danish migration to the United States has been widely dominated by quantitative works. Moreover, the literature on Danish out-migration to Australia, especially in this later time period, is generally sparse. The study also contributes to the wider literature on ethnicity in the USA and Australia and concurrently examines globally significant issues such as intergenerational transmission, long-term acculturation processes and motivations for ethnic maintenance down through the generations. The thesis examines concrete ethnic

practices and dynamics of ethnic spaces but is simultaneously interested in motivations - why the maintenance, safeguarding and transmission of ethnic identity is seemingly important to both some migrants and to some descendants.

Research has established that developments in European American identities have depended on different structural developments. Those include, for example, internal developments within the ethnic communities, pressures of Americanization, as well as additional immigration and correspondence with the country of origin. European American identities have also been influenced by developments in American culture and society (Douma 2014, 14). The life stories and family histories on which this project is based, confirm this. For example, the life stories also have layers that reflect American history. Hence, as much as they are individual life stories, they are also stories of American wars, economic depressions, 9/11, Elvis concerts, time-specific TV programmes, The Civil Rights movement etc. The Australian case represents a more recent example of Danish migration, and in which significant historical events are less notable in the interviews. However, interviews in both the Australian and the US cases also present stories of how the absence of contact with the home country, due to restrictions in immigration flows or periods of fewer visits – and then later - renewed familiarity with the old country, challenge and change understandings of ethnicity. Jeppesen argues that the assimilation processes of Scandinavian immigrants and their descendants are largely connected to immigrants' original choice of settlement. Thus, because the Norwegians settled in places which gave themselves and their descendants poorer chances of socio-economic advancement and intermarriage, their assimilation has progressed at a slower pace than the Danish and Swedish (2010, 181-82). Although the narratives on which this project is based confirm some structural influences, they do more. Not least, they display acculturation from a micro- 'bottom-up' perspective, allowing the narratives to explain how and why ethnicity is sometimes maintained through several generations.

The main aim of this dissertation is reflected in the research question, which is presented shortly. Also, the thesis operates around a range of auxiliary aims which are presented as sub-questions. These are tied to each of the four articles and listed immediately after the research question. On a more general level, however, this dissertation aims to shed light on central questions such as:

- How may we understand different generations' engagement in ethnic spaces?
- What are the ethnic practices that seem to persist through generations?
- How do intergenerational relationships relate to transmission and maintenance?
- What is the role of outer structures, i.e. different strands of Danish Lutheranism, to ethnic maintenance?
- How are concepts such as ethnicity and acculturation related to maintenance?
- Does ethnic pride and privilege motivate or influence ethnic maintenance?

• How do intersectional aspects such as gender, temporality and generation influence ethnic maintenance?

Through interviewing different generations of the same families, the narratives expose a web of relations and transmissions between family members and significant others. In fact, one of the main contributions of this study pertains to its intergenerational design and the insights on motives and contexts which this approach permits.

The thesis explores patterns of ethnic maintenance within the interviews connected to each case (Articles 1 and 2). Moreover, it explores patterns across the cases, too, comparing ethnic practices, self-perceptions and motives for ethnic transmission and maintenance between the USA and Argentina, and the USA and Australia, respectively (Articles 3 and 4). The comparative aspect of the dissertation provides an opportunity to study whether there are more universal aspects of migration processes, which transcend both time and place. In other words, this study may also help us to understand how and why migrants and migrant descendants maintain their ethnic identities and practices elsewhere, not least within the borders of Denmark itself.

1.6. RESEARCH QUESTION

With reference to the two cases outlined above, this thesis aims to answer the following research question:

How and why have some Danish migrants and their descendants maintained ethnic self-perceptions and practices in the USA and Australia?

The main question structures the four sub-questions:

Article 1: How has 'Danishness' been safeguarded through the generations among Danish migrants and their descendants in two minor settlements in the US Midwest and in the city of Chicago, and what is the role of the church to this safeguarding?

Article 2: How do Danish migrant parents in Melbourne, Australia, transmit ethnic practices and identities to their second generation children, and why are they motivated to do so?

Article 3: Which ethnic organisations do later generation descendants of Danish migrants– in the USA and Argentina, respectively– participate in, how do they self-identify and how may their maintenance of practices and self-perceptions be explained?

Article 4: What has – historically and at present – motivated Danish migrants in the United States and Australia respectively to engage in ethnic spaces abroad; what are the meanings and uses of ethnic spaces?

The sub-questions are discussed and answered in four separate articles, as outlined in the following section.

1.7. THESIS STRUCTURE AND ARTICLES

The thesis falls into two parts. Part one lays down the framework of the four articles and consists of the following chapters: 1. Introduction (this chapter), 2. Conceptual Framework, 3. Methods and Materials, 4. Findings. Part two consists of the four articles.

1.7.1. PART 1

Chapter 2 introduces the key concepts and theoretical framework of the analysis, including discussions on the key concepts of ethnic maintenance, ethnic identity, acculturation, intergenerational transmission and ethnic spaces as well as the emotional aspects of migrating. The chapter also discusses how theories are interrelated and how they are applied in the articles. Chapter 3 provides an introduction to the biographical narrative method and further outlines how the empirical data has been sampled and analysed in the dissertation. Finally, Chapter 4 summarises the article conclusions and presents the project findings by answering the overall research question.

1.7.2. PART 2

The articles include one which focuses on the Unites States, one which focuses on Australia and two which compare findings between the USA and Argentina, and the USA and Australia, respectively. The articles also cover the ethnic identities and practices of different generations. Articles 1 and 2 follow patterns of development from the first settlers until this day. This means that the first article follows acculturation processes as far as the fifth generation, while the second explores the two first generations in Australia, particularly motivations of migrant parents to transmit ‘Danishness’ to their second generation children. The two final articles are comparative. Article 3, which compares findings from the USA and Argentina, discusses the ethnic identities and practices of later generations of descendants, while the final article focuses on the first generations in both the USA and Australia, further exploring their motivations for engagement in ethnic spaces.

Article 1: Christensen, Pernille S. (2016): 'Safeguarding Danishness? Ethnicity, Religion and Acculturation among Danish Americans in Three Danish Spaces in the U.S.' Published in *American Studies in Scandinavia* 48 (2), pp. 59-82

This article explores how 'Danishness' has been safeguarded throughout the generations in three different locations in the USA. In exploring life stories and family histories with different generations within the same families, the article explores the legacy of the Danish participation in the Great Migration to the USA, following processes of acculturation and ethnic maintenance until this day. The article demonstrates the extent to which 'Danishness' has historically been practiced, preferred and proclaimed across the generations. It also argues that ethnic safeguarding to varying degrees has been performed as an attempt to keep other ethnicities out, for example through resistance of intermarriage. Ultimately, it concludes that there are indications that the Danish Church in America played a key role in encouraging ethnic maintenance and safeguarding, which accordingly manifested in life practices and self-perceptions throughout the generations and impacted the acculturation process until this day.

Article 2: Christensen, Pernille S.: 'Revisiting the Importance of Distance in Transnational Family Lives: How and Why Danish Migrant Parents Transmit 'Danishness' to Their Children Settled in Australia'. Accepted and forthcoming in *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*.

This article engages with concurrent scholarship on transnational family relationships and the significance of geographical distance. It explores how Danish migrants to Melbourne, Australia, work to transmit Danish practices and self-perceptions to their children settled in Melbourne through hands-on experiences with, and exposure to, Danish practices within the city's Danish spaces and through visits to Denmark. However, the article places emphasis on exploring *why*; on motivations and contexts that lie behind attempts for intergenerational transmission. Based primarily on the life stories of Danish migrants, but also on the life stories of their second generation children, it argues that transmission is partly motivated out of feelings of guilt towards the migrants' families in Denmark.

Article 3: Christensen, Pernille S. and Thomsen, Trine L.: 'Transmissions and Transformations: Comparing Late-generation Danish Ethnicity in the USA and Argentina. Accepted and forthcoming in *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*.

This article presents a comparative study of later generation Danish immigrant descendants in the USA and Argentina. The article aims to contribute to a concurrent discussion of how ethnicity appears in such - possibly - final stages through investigating their involvement in particular ethnic organisations and expressions of self-identification. While the comparison shows remarkable differences within the two cases, it simultaneously indicates that possibilities for

participation and exploration of ethnicity during childhood and youth seem crucial to later ethnic identification, potentially leading to multigenerational maintenance. The article also argues that just as ethnicity may not necessarily disappear but be subject to periodic rediscoveries, ethnic practices and self-perceptions do not always fit into a generational scheme, as they are sometimes more present in the fourth, than say, in the third generation.

Article 4: Christensen, Pernille S.: **'**A Matter of Practical and Emotional Support: Comparing Danish Migrants' Use of Ethnic Spaces in the USA and Australia'. Current status: Draft.

This article takes its point of departure in the numerous Danish churches and associations around the globe that witness that many Danish migrants continuously favour gathering and socializing with other Danes as they migrate. By diving into both life story interviews and archival material such as letters and autobiographies, the article presents a comparative study of Danish migrants' use of ethnic spaces in the USA and Australia – historically and at present. The article argues that Danish migrants turn to ethnic spaces to gain practical assistance and ease the process of finding housing and jobs, for example. Moreover, it demonstrates that Danish migrants also continue to use ethnic spaces as emotional refuges, as 'safe spaces' that soothe homesickness and stabilize notions of identity and belonging.

As illustrated, the four articles place different focus on generations, frames of time and place and explore patterns of similarities and differences both within each case and across two cases. While the first article explores patterns within the US case, it investigates a long stretch of acculturation and traces ethnic development down through several generations. Article 2, by contrast, focuses on the two first generations – the Danish migrants in particular and their children in Melbourne, but likewise presents patterns in interviews within this more recent case. Article 3 is comparative and explores further ethnic maintenance among later generations – as already explored to an extent in Article 1. In comparing later generation ethnicities in the USA and Argentina, it pays special interest to variation, which pertains to 'place', since the two migration cases are aligned in terms of 'time'. The final article is also comparative and delves further into first generation migrants' lives and identities in the USA and Australia as already explored to a degree, especially in Article 2. Even though these two cases are also different in terms of place, the article pays special interest to variations, which may pertain to 'time'. In combination, the article covers the ethnic practices and self-perceptions of several generations and discusses important impacts in terms of context, motivations and intergenerational transmission, leading to an improved understanding of multigenerational ethnic maintenance.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I outline a number of theoretical concepts and perspectives, which constitute the theoretical and analytical framework of the thesis. The first section outlines and discusses how I employ the central concept of ethnic *maintenance*, including an introduction to the concept of ethnic *safeguarding* as well as theory on *intergenerational transmission* (Bertaux and Thompson 2009). Through studying the life stories of more family members, this provides an analytical lens through which I examine the mechanisms behind ethnic maintenance across the generations. This theory also connects to theories on primary socialisation and family transmission of capital and habitus (Bourdieu 1986). Secondly, I introduce theory on *ethnicity* and *ethnic identity* (Jenkins 2008, Phinney and Ong 2007). Essentially, this theory is employed to grasp and discuss why ethnicity is felt as so important that it is worth maintaining. Moreover, it provides an understanding of how ethnic identity is shaped within children and young adults and later internalised as part of a matured adult identity, thus leading to its maintenance throughout generations. The articles also employ theory on *ethnic spaces* and aspects of *ethnic pride and privilege* to support arguments about how and why migrants and their descendants maintain Danish practices and identities. Next, I outline the theoretical concept of *acculturation* (Berry 1997, Phinney 2003) and discuss how we may view acculturation processes in relation to ethnic change across generations. Finally, I have included a section on a body of literature that theorises the emotional challenges that relate to migration processes (e.g. Baldassar 2008, 2015; Hirschmann 2004, Skrbiš 2008, Skårdal 1974). This theory is particularly helpful in relation to understanding and discussing first generation motivations to maintain and transmit 'Danishness' to future generations abroad.

While I introduce concepts and theories, I simultaneously discuss how they are applied in the articles, how they contribute to answering the overall research question and how they are interrelated.

2.1. ETHNIC MAINTENANCE

The central question of this thesis is about how and why ethnic identities and practices are *maintained.* As the study has shown and investigates in further detail, there may be a range of ways to 'maintain' ethnicity. Firstly, *maintenance* is, in this project, investigated as *transmission*, since ethnic survival largely depends on whether or not ethnicity is exposed to, ultimately accepted by, and committed to, by next generations. *Maintenance* can also be carried out through *safeguarding* - through taking a number of measures to protect ethnicity against whatever 'dangers', 'strangers' or 'pitfalls' ethnicity may face through time and to thus secure its survival. *Maintaining* ethnic identity thus includes elements of protecting, reinforcing and 'keeping alive', which also, for example, includes securing

important ethnic history in private homes and archives, and exposing and practicing ethnicity at museums, at church, at special occasions such as festivals, in private homes, etc. Maintenance is thus undertaken through 'doing' but also through 'being' - through commitment to and internalisation of ethnic identity. While maintenance as 'safeguarding' is explored mainly in Article 1, maintenance as practices and transmissions is used as an analytical lens in all four articles.

It seems important to note, that while this dissertation focuses on how and why ethnic practices and identities are *maintained* by some as far as to the fifth generation, such observations should not be generalised to encompass all Danish migrants and their descendants abroad. For example, while some Danish migrants were widely engaged in ethnic spaces and maintained their ethnic identities for several generations in the United States, others dispersed widely and were quickly absorbed into American society, as many have done in Australia too. Even the sample used in this thesis includes migrants and descendants who to a lesser extent consider 'being Danish' a defining part of their identities. Fluctuations and ambivalences in feelings of belonging reflect an ethnic change which often occurs through the generations and which is related to acculturative processes. I will address this issue further shortly. However, this thesis represents a group of Danish migrants and descendants who at least to some extent still identify as 'being Danish' and practice what they term 'Danishness' - hence the argument that it remains meaningful to speak of *maintenance*. The sample represents a group of descendants who have maintained ethnic identities and practices the longest – even if those have faded significantly over time and generations. This dissertation finds it interesting to explore how and why. I return to the sample of interviewees in Chapter 3.

2.2. .. OR TRANSFORMATION? ETHNICITY THROUGH THE GENERATIONS

While this thesis focuses on ethnic maintenance, it simultaneously acknowledges that ethnicity changes over time and across generations. This change has largely been studied as the extent to which migrants and descendants include New World identities in their self-perceptions as a result of a socialisation process.

For instance, first generation migrants to the United States may or may not develop an "American" identity to complement their ethnic identities. Scholars argue that the "American" identity, however, is typically much more secure in the second generation (Gjerde 1997, 8; Phinney 2003, 78). To third and later generations the situation is more complex. As they often have multiple ethnic backgrounds, they sometimes attach various ethnic labels to themselves. Thus, researchers have attempted to conceptualise these changes in ethnic identities, which occur over time and generations by speaking of 'bi-cultural', 'complementary', 'hyphenated' or 'hybrid identities', for example (Phinney 2003, 78). Added to this view comes the notion that components of identity may be felt more or less intensely. For example, "even though individuals may on occasion label themselves

in ethnic ways, these labels may be marginal to their self-conceptions" (Alba 1990, 25).

Thus, in accordance with earlier research, it has been clear from this study that Danish ethnic spaces and ethnic engagement in both the USA and Australia seem to serve different functions to Danish immigrants and their descendants. As noted both in Article 2 and 4, there seems to be quite a difference in terms of their importance from just the first to the second generation. Richard Alba notes that "generally speaking, ethnic differences appear to be strongest among the generations closest to the immigrant experience and grow fainter among those further away" (1990, 5). Other scholars have noted the significant ethnic changes between the first and the second generation too (e.g. Levitt 2009, 1225-26; Skårdal 1974, 317-322; Jeppesen 2005, 324-48). The differences between these two generations seems to pertain largely to the fact that adult immigrants come of age in another country. Charles Hirschmann, for example, argues that to adult migrants, assimilation in a new society will always only be partial, since this "requires education and childhood socialization in a new setting" (2004, 1211). Skårdal accordingly highlights that first generation ethnic maintenance largely pertains to their feelings of longing towards the old country and sense of being 'divided' between an old and a new world (1974, 317-322). Jon Gjerde and Orm Øverland contend that the Scandinavian immigrants who came to the United States at the turn of the 20th century also largely developed a sense of an American identity. In Øverlands' view this was done mainly by way of 'homemaking myths' through which the immigrants made claims to America as their rightful home (Øverland 2000, 5). Jon Gjerde correspondingly argues that the immigrants developed a 'complementary identity' which showed faithfulness to both their American citizenship and their ethnic origins (1997, 8).

To second and later generations, the story is different. Thus, as ethnic space involvement may respond to the 'divided hearts' of first generations (as discussed in Articles 2 and 4), Orm Øverland argues that even though "Many descendants of immigrants [in the USA] have continued to celebrate their forebears' Old World identities", they have done so "without any sense of loyalties or divided hearts." (2000, 2). As childhood socialization has now taken place in the new setting, this has affected the character of second and later generations' ethnic identities as well as their ethnic engagement.

Jeppesen has argued that most second generation Danish immigrants to America grew up in the Midwest, yet to large degree moved away from the ethnic enclaves and sought the opportunities of the New World (2005, 412-13). Peggy Levitt agrees that second generations are generally less directly tied to a homeland than their parents. She also argues, however, that even though second generations rarely have plans to return to their ancestral homes and are rarely fluent in their parents' mother tongue, they are still raised in a transnational 'social field', which in different ways makes references to the old country every day. According to Levitt:

> The second generation is situated between a variety of different and often competing generational, ideological and moral reference points, including those of their parents, grandparents and their own real and imagined perspectives about their multiple homelands (2009, 1238).

Yet in light of the pressures to both adapt to the new country and maintain homeland traditions, second generations, she argues, develop a complex set of practices of their own in which they attempt to strike a balance between those pressures. Second generations are embedded in social networks that span two or more countries. This affects their identity construction and to many, their socialisation in transnational settings causes them to develop hyphenated, bi-cultural or pan-ethnic identities (see also Somerville 2008, 23-26). Article 2 in this thesis examines migrant parents' attempts to transmit homeland culture on to their second generation children, including, moreover, second generations' response to this attempt.

The ethnic identities of 'later generation ethnics', which are by Herbert Gans (2014, 2015) termed 'LGE's', are investigated in Articles 1 and 3. Scholars agree that most often these later generations (4^{th}-6^{th} generation) are the products of several generations of intermarriages, have complex family backgrounds and multiple ethnic options (Gans 2015, Waters 1990). Moreover, observable ethnic markers such as original language have largely vanished (Alba 1990, 25-26). Researchers have speculated upon what happens to these later generation (European) ethnics. Gans argues that as ethnicities are becoming increasingly 'symbolic', they are about to disappear, to 'enter into darkness' (Gans 1979, 2014, 2015). Yet, other scholars call attention to examples of ethnic revivals, such as the increased ethnic interest in the late 1960's and 1970's, which followed in the wake of The Civil Rights Movement and the publication of Alex Haley's book *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*. The enormously popular television serial, *Roots*, which was based on his book was watched by more than 80 million viewers in January 1977 (Jacobson 2006). Such ethnic rediscoveries sow doubt as to whether ethnicity might necessarily ever reach an ending point.

Richard Alba questions how long it remains meaningful to speak of ethnic identities in such cases of ethnically variegated backgrounds. He argues that the distinctions between European ethnic identities in the USA today are increasingly superficial and of a personal and voluntary nature. Alba suggests, however, that instead of considering that European ethnicities are 'entering into darkness', it should be interpreted as a new ethnic group about to emerge: The European American (Alba 1990, 290-319). Alba finds this term suitable as later generations often have multiple European roots. Øverland largely adjoins Alba's theory. Øverland argues that "The ethnicity that is celebrated [by immigrant descendants in the USA] has European roots but has taken on American characteristics. The nationalism that is confirmed and celebrated is unabashedly American. There is nothing foreign about such celebrations." (2000, 2). This draws attention to the

transformative nature of ethnicity, as resulting from acculturative processes. In relations to this thesis, Alba's and Øverland's arguments question whether it is meaningful to speak of 'ethnic maintenance', since ethnicity throughout generations is transformed to the degree that there may no longer be anything ethnic about it. The central question is for how long it makes sense to keep on speaking of yet further ethnic transformation. Alba and Øverland seem to suggest that this is no longer meaningful when ethnicity is no longer recognizable to an 'initial form.' In this thesis, however, I argue that since ethnicity is constructed, imagined and changing in nature, what is most salient is that some descendants still *perceive* themselves as Danish, perform what *they* perceive as Danish practices and claim Danish ethnic identity. Moreover, as long as this is the case, I contend that it remains meaningful to speak of maintenance - simultaneously acknowledging, however, that ethnicity is ever-transforming and may in some instances only exist as a minor component in the complex matter of individual identity. While this thesis is aware of this issue and pays careful attention to self-perceptions, it simultaneously deliberately avoids deciding when an ethnic identity should be judged more 'American'/'Australian' or more 'Danish'. In Article 3, new data is presented on how ethnicity is practiced and perceived among later generations of Danish immigrant descendants in the USA and Argentina, arguing that, just as ethnic identity may not necessarily 'enter into darkness', it does not always decline linearly, generation by generation. The discussion on ethnic maintenance and transformation is closely linked to that of acculturation, which is presented in section 2.7.

2.3. INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION

As mentioned, ethnic maintenance is theoretically discussed as transmission in this thesis and therefore it deserves extra attention here. According to Paul Thompson, life stories are surprisingly rarely read for what they might tell us about intergenerational transmission. Yet, we could learn a lot by paying attention to just how they are told, for example, and how they intermingle personal and family histories (2009, 13-15). The articles in this thesis, however, aim to do just that. Firstly, life stories are analysed separately with regards to how interviewees address intergenerational relationships (especially in Article 3). Moreover, the empirical material, which constitutes this thesis, additionally involves life story interviews with more generations within the same families. This allows for the exploration of intergenerational relationships seen from the perspectives of different family members. Family histories are most evidently presented and analysed in Articles 1 and 2.

According to Bertaux and Thompson, "Transmission between generations is as old as humanity itself. Because culture is the essence of what makes individuals into a group, the core of human social identity," they say "its continuity is vital." (2009, 1) Families have always played a dominant role in this intergenerational

transmission, even though other channels include, for example, the peer group or different social institutions. Despite what they term a modern tendency to delegitimize family as a channel of transmission, family, according to the researchers, remains highly significant. Moreover, as Paul Thompson argues, "Who we are, who we have become both socially and personally, is rooted in our families." (2009, 13) In telling one's life story, many begin their accounts even before they were born, drawing on stories and information that has been passed through generations. Bertaux and Thompson convey that families as such remain a source of primary relationships in which the transmission of various kinds of resources takes place, not only material but also social, cultural and symbolic capital. Hence, families channel transmission of language, names, religious views, modes of behaviour, social and cultural values etc. (Bertaux and Thompson 2009, 1-2). Through transmission, families also play key roles in the shaping of identity amongst new generations, and in internalising within new generations what Bourdieu (1986) chooses to characterize with the word 'habitus'. According to Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame, families also constitute a vital social resource and may therefore be considered a type of capital themselves. For example, she demonstrates that family resources and networks play a crucial role to younger generations' achievement of life plans. These younger generations can 'pull family ties'; they draw on family financial aid, moral support or family networks to gain opportunity and advantage (2009, 39-41). Yet, intergenerational transmission is also a two-way process that includes aspects of individual choice: new generations may choose to either accept or reject what earlier generations offer and they make independent decisions on whether they, for example, commit to a specific ethnicity or not (Bertaux and Thompson 2009, 2).

In this thesis, the intergenerational perspective is essentially used to analyse processes of ethnic identity achievement and the social 'becoming' of migrants and their descendants. In consequence, the intergenerational perspective provides a key to understanding how the 'inner' lives (ethnic identities) and 'outer' lives (ethnic practices, actions) influence and are influenced by intergenerational transmission. Moreover, the life stories and family histories included in this study also indicate that possibilities and motivations for transmission are essential to its success, to ethnic commitment of new generations and ultimately to ethnic maintenance across generations.

2.4. 'BEING DANISH': ON ETHNICITY

In the course of my PhD studies, my awareness that there was definitely an upsurge of interest in the concept of 'Danishness' in Denmark was sparked in different ways. It was particularly invoked when it was brought to my attention that 'Danishness' could be interpreted in a great variety of surprising ways. In 2013 and 2014, two documentaries titled *Danmark på prærien [Denmark on the prairie]* and *Danmark på prærien – tilbage til Elk Horn [Denmark on the prairie – back to Elk*

Horn], which featured the lives of Danish immigrant descendants in Elk Horn, Iowa, astonished many Danes, myself included, partly because they presented unexpected notions of 'Danishness'. Like these documentaries, my experiences from my travels to the USA and Australia further confirmed what many Danes witnessed on TV: that 'being Danish' is a fluid concept that may be interpreted in a variety of ways and that conflicting views could be the cause of astonishment or even conflict about whose interpretation is most 'right'. Exemplified in my own as well as other research studies, conflicting notions about ethnicity typically surface when representatives from the old country who present newer versions of an ethnic identity come to visit. Similar reactions occur upon visits to the old country itself (e.g. Levitt 2009, 1237). Regardless, however, the interest in – and expressions of – Danish identities and practices in both the USA and Australia clearly demonstrated that ethnicity is still highly relevant. And though it may be imagined and the 'cultural stuff in common' may be different according to time and place (Jenkins 2008), its implications are in many ways still very real.

Even though this thesis focuses on how and why Danish practices and self-perceptions are *maintained,* what is *understood* as 'Danish' – as mentioned previously - is ever-transforming. This counts conceptions of 'being Danish' both within the borders of Denmark itself and outside it - illustrating the fact that ethnic *maintenance* also includes elements of adaptation. This study avoids subscribing to any fixed definition of what it means to 'be Danish'. As Danish national symbolism and the meaning of 'being Danish' has been researched by scholars such as Adriansen (2003) and Jenkins (2011), the interest here is not to decide what is Danish and what is not, but instead to uncover the extent to which respondents *perceive* themselves as Danish and maintain what they term Danish practices and identities across the generations.

To give the reader a point of reference, however, I will here briefly summon what migrants and descendants in the USA and Australia, respectively, seemed to connect to 'being Danish'. In the USA, diasporic perceptions of 'Danishness' varied according to place of settlement, (as outlined further in Article 1). For example, while descendants in the Inner Mission settlement of Blair, Nebraska, largely connected 'Danishness' to the Lutheran church and to the history of the first settlers, the use of formal and informal symbols of 'Danishness' was much more excessive in 'happy Dane' Tyler, Minnesota. These included the Danish flag - 'Dannebrog' - the language, national hymns, national history and pictures of the royal family (Adriansen 2003). Moreover, the connection to the folk high school movement was also obvious, both through the physical presence of a folk high school building and through Grundtvigs yet-remembered key teachings. Both in Tyler and Chicago, perceptions of 'Danishness' also surfaced through the consumption of what were considered Danish foods. Many of these traditions seemed to have been brought to America with the first settlers and passed through the generations. Often, they included, for example, 'æbleskiver' [round Danish pancakes], 'smørrebrød' [open-faced sandwiches], 'rød-grød' [red berry soup], goose roast for Christmas as well as Danish beer and brandy. Other symbolic items such as the blue Christmas plates had

survived too alongside diasporic notions of Denmark as a country of happy people and an admirable welfare state. In Australia, perceptions of 'Danishness' generally appeared to be more 'updated'. While 'Danishness' was also associated with Danish open-faced sandwiches, beer and brandy here, the club here served 'frikadeller' [Danish meatballs], duck and roast pork at Christmas. 'Danishness' was also associated with the royal family (particularly since the Danish Princess Mary is originally Australian) and seemingly considered quite trendy, not least due to the popular Scandinavian fashion and interior design.

According to Richard Jenkins, *ethnicity* is a variety of social identity and "best thought of as an ongoing process of ethnic identification" (2008, 15). This identification is collective in the sense that it is both a matter of social interaction at and across the borders of a group, which involves categorisations of 'us' and 'them'. It is simultaneously individual, moreover, as an internal structure of personal self-identification. Ethnicity is also a social construct: imaginary, dynamic and ever-changing according to the "situation in which it is produced and reproduced". And finally, ethnicity is a matter of shared meanings – 'culture' and of cultural differentiation (Jenkins 2008, 14).

With reference to the works of the American sociologist Rogers Brubaker, Jenkins notes, moreover, that *ethnic groups* are not unchangeable, homogenous and hard-edged entities, but rely on whether or not people think that they belong to them. Jenkins defines a group as "a human collectivity the members of which recognise its existence and their membership of it." (Jenkins 2006, 391).

In psychology, research on ethnic identity formation is rooted in Erik Erikson's broader conceptualisation of identity. Erikson states that identity formation begins in childhood. It is not something that people automatically 'have'. Rather, identity is developed and achieved through processes of observation, exploration and reflection, particularly during childhood, adolescence and young adulthood. Exploration of identity, however, may continue to develop throughout adulthood (Erikson 1968, 22). Accordingly, Phinney and Ong argue that exploration, defined as "seeking information about one's ethnicity" is essential to the process of ethnic identity formation. Ethnic exploration, they say, often involves ethnic behaviours and practices such as eating the food, speaking the language, etc. (2007, 272). Accordingly, with reference to the ideas of Max Weber, Jenkins notes that "people come to see themselves as *belonging* together - coming from a common background - as a consequence of *acting* together" (2008, 10). Thus, identity derives from practices – not the other way around. Articles 1, 2 and 3 in this thesis all discuss the possibilities and motivations for ethnic engagement during childhood and youth as significant to later identification and maintenance.

A number of researchers have been preoccupied with the relationship between ethnic exploration and engagement in ethnic practices on the one hand, and commitment and personal self-identification on the other. Whilst Phinney and Ong investigate 'exploration' versus 'commitment' in measuring ethnic identity, Levitt and Schiller distinguish between 'ways of being' and 'ways of belonging'. Levitt

and Schiller are interested in the lives of second generation immigrants. They conceptualise 'ways of being' as "the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to the identities associated with their actions." In opposition to this, 'ways of belonging' is understood as "practises that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group" (Levitt and Schiller 2004, 1010). Herbert Gans, on the other hand, is interested in the lives of later generation ethnics (4^{th}-6^{th} generation). Out of a wish to unlock how ethnicity appears 'in its final stages', Gans calls for further examination of their engagement in what he defines as performing, preserving, promoting and commercial organisations (2014, 757-759). His approach, thus, looks more towards ethnic behaviours and practices than to identities.

Phinney and Ong suggest that for conceptual clarity, behaviours should be considered separately from identity, since an internalised ethnic identity is an internal structure that can exist without behaviour. However, in the attempt to captivate adequate conceptualisations, much research seems to circle around the same core idea that while some migrants and descendants may merely 'do' ethnicity, others may come to feel a connection to and internalise ethnicity as part of their identities. It is also possible that ethnic identity may exist without behaviour. In Article 3, the relationship between practices and identities, 'doing' and 'being' is explored.

2.5. ETHNIC PRIDE, PASSAGE AND PRIVILEGE

In proudly signalling, practicing and proclaiming their Danish ancestries, many Danish migrants and descendants in both the USA and Australia expressed their ethnic pride with joy, to my surprise. In the United States, rather than fearing that such behaviour could produce negative responses, a typical concern of many descendants was whether they were 100% Danish by blood or not, which was clearly desirable. Ethnic pride would also surface when some respondents immediately and eagerly and delivered a pitch about Denmark as the fairytale country of green energy and an admirable welfare state, and of the 'Dane' as a reliable, hardworking, loyal person, as if they had done so innumerable times before. Judging from the interviews, 'being Danish' and Scandinavian is seemingly still a lucrative affair in both the USA and Australia. Only one interviewee in Australia propounded a – partly– negative portrayal of Denmark as a country of increasing intolerance and petty-mindedness towards foreigners.

Phinney and Ong refer to a number of studies that suggest that positive attitudes such as pride and positive connotations about one's group is a part of an achieved ethnic identity. Included in such an achieved ethnic identity is thus an independent judgement about attitudes towards one's group and, possibly, a rejection of negative attitudes based on stereotypes. Virtually all minority groups, they say, have at some point expressed negative in-group attitudes, such as the desire to belong to the dominant group (Phinney and Ong 2007, 273). Phinney and Ong call for more

studies on examples of positive attitudes towards one's group in order to understand further how this affects ethnic identity achievement. Articles 1 and 3 discuss whether the perceived status of 'being Danish' may increase descendants' urge to keep proclaiming this ethnic background throughout the generations, hence simultaneously strengthening its survival.

Recent research has paid special attention to the historical placement of Scandinavians in American ethno-racial hierarchies (Blanck 2014, Brøndal 2014, Jackson 2019). Matthew Frye Jacobson notes that at the turn of the 20th century, Scandinavians aspired to become part of an Anglo-Saxon heritage and succeeded in placing themselves in a favourable top-position in America's hierarchy of whiteness (1998, 135-37). A new body of literature has connected this further to capital and privilege. Erika Jackson (2019) argues that Scandinavian immigrants to Chicago enjoyed racial privilege from their very arrival in the late 19th century, because Nordics were seen as the embodiment of white superiority. Engaging in more contemporary migration cases, Catrin Lundström accordingly argues that 'white capital' as an embodied form of cultural capital continues to bring privilege to white migrants today. This is done, for example through uninterrupted mobilities, where an individual's progress runs smoothly in terms of control, choice, possibilities and admission. 'White privilege', according to Lundström, can also be converted to other types of capital, such as economic capital (2014, 13-16). Also, white migrants may possess a white privilege that they do not even recognize. Bob Pease, however, reminds us that "not being aware of privilege is an important aspect of privilege" (2010, 9). Jackson and Lundström's theories on white privilege and white capital relates to Glaser and Strauss' (1971) theory on status passage - individuals moving through social structures can shift from one status to another, helped or hindered by certain agents. White capital, one could say, would thus allow white migrants to pass easily on to new possibilities, choices and statuses.

The seemingly effortless migration processes of Danish migrants to Australia (as explored in Article 2) could indicate that advantage, privilege and passage would – as Lundström demonstrates - have applied to Danish migrants there. Moreover, descendants' expressions of pride and eager proclamations of 'being Danish' in the USA today could indicate that descendants have yet the possibility of drawing on their white ethnic backgrounds to enjoy the privileges and passages that were granted to their ancestors (as explored in Articles 1 and 3).

2.6. ETHNIC SPACES

During my field trips to the USA and Australia, it came to my attention that the interviewees often moved within a variety of 'Danish spaces', such as Danish churches, schools, clubs, cultural societies, etc. In the United States, many Danish settlements were, despite increasing influxes of people of other ethnic origins, still perceived as Danish, though what used to be Danish/Scandinavian neighbourhoods in Chicago had now vanished, resulting in fewer, minor-scale Danish spaces. In

Melbourne, Danish migrants and their descendants seemed spread across the city too. However, many enjoyed meeting at the Danish club, in the church or through the cultural society. The interviews clearly demonstrated that these ethnic spaces were significant to both migrants and their descendants, not least as spaces that allowed the continuous engagement with and transmission of 'Danishness' to future generations. The use and significance of 'Danish spaces' to the maintenance of 'Danishness' is discussed in all four articles.

Defining the common words 'place' and 'space' have traditionally been a special research interest of cultural geographers and urban sociologists (e.g. Tuan 1977, de Certeau 1984, Massey 1994). Michel de Certeau, for example, defines the two concepts this way: "A place (lieu) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence." Place is thus "an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability." Space, on the other hand, "is composed of intersections of mobile elements." Space arises where place is infused with action and movement. In short, de Certeau says, space is *practiced place.* Space, for example, "is like the word when it is spoken." His classic example is the streets of the city, which are turned into space when walked upon (de Certeau 1984, 117).

Niels Kayser Nielsen agrees that while place is the more concrete concept, space is the more abstract one (2005, 22). His core argument is that through movement and bodily activities, place can be 'acquired' and a sense of belonging to place can be attained. Nielsen moreover argues that historical place is essential to individual self-perception. In the age of globalization, people increasingly look towards the past in order to find direction and stabilize a sense of identity - private interest in genealogy, for example, thrives. The attempt to *find a way home* or to belong *somewhere* thus actualizes the historical place, which hence becomes very relevant to present identities. Nielsen thus demonstrates that even in the age of globalization, geographical location remains significant (Nielsen 2005, 8-24). An ethnic space can also be considered a site for collective memory, a *Lieux de Mémoire* (Nora 1989), where collective identity is anchored in a shared history and a set of symbols. Sometimes, such sites for collective memory are characterised by shared national and civil religious symbols, rites and myths (Adriansen 2010, 21-25). In this thesis, this is exemplified within the ethnic churches, as discussed further in Article 4.

Richard Alba has studied the enduring presence of white ethnic neighbourhoods in the USA. One of his most interesting theories is that of immediate environment and its impact on ethnic identity (1990, 253-257). Alba's studies show that individuals are more likely to claim an ethnic identity where the ethnic origins are contextually manifest, such as presence in ethnic neighbourhoods or organisations. He notes that these neighbourhoods are far more than just the visible manifestations of ethnicity in urban space. They are also highly important for "their capacity to concentrate the institutions and cultures of an ethnic group, thereby keeping alive the sentiments and loyalties associated with ethnicity in adult residents and socializing a new generation to ethnic ways" (Alba 1990, 254). Thereby, Alba's notion of the potential functions of ethnic spaces resembles Bertaux and

Thompson's views of social institutions' importance to intergenerational transmission – alongside the significance of families (2009, 1-4). Because ethnics can travel to ethnic neighbourhoods to meet ethnic friends and family, buy ethnic supplies for ethnic dishes and attend ethnic celebrations, these neighbourhoods, Alba says, are "likely to fuel a sense of attachment to the group" (1990, 254). Phinney likewise notes that "the vitality of the ethnic community is clearly central to ethnic identity". She argues that "the opportunity to engage in ethnic festivals, enjoy ethnic dance groups, obtain ethnic foods in markets and restaurants and meet and marry co-ethnic individuals can be factors that enhance feelings of ethnic belonging and positive ethnic attitudes" (2003, 76). In Article 3, we argue that this links to the fact that ethnic identity achievement derives from the active exploration of ethnicity, as noted in section 2.4 (Phinney and Ong 2007, Jenkins 2008).

Alba moreover notes that the impacts of ethnic neighbourhoods on their residents is an underexplored field of study. Thus, he calls for further attention to the roles of institutions such as ethnic schools and churches and other groups such as sports clubs, youth clubs or other social structures which are based on common membership and consciousness of a shared ethnic background (1990, 255). His theory on ethnic space's ability to "fuel a sense of attachment to the group" and "socialise a new generation to ethnic ways" is discussed especially in Articles 2 and 3 in this thesis, even though all four articles delve further into the dynamics and impacts of ethnic spaces. Hence, alongside exploring ethnic spaces' potential to transmit 'Danishness' to new generations; Articles 1, 2 and 4 also place focus on investigating their significance to first generation immigrants.

While Alba focuses on ethnic neighbourhoods in urban spaces, this thesis explores 'ethnic spaces' in a more broad sense, which include both rural settlements and urban neighbourhoods as well as locations of a smaller scale such as the Danish church or the club. All of them, however, are created out of a social structure based, as Alba states, on common membership and the consciousness or belief in common ancestry. Moreover, what I term 'Danish spaces' in this thesis takes its starting point in the fact that these spaces are named and perceived by interviewees as decidedly 'Danish', such as 'The Danish Club', 'The Danish Home', 'The Danish town' etc. These are not just physical settings but also ethnic social structures, characterized by certain practice and ascribed with shared meaning, hence turning 'place' into 'space'.

Alba questions the future of ethnic neighbourhoods. Significant time has passed since the European mass migration to the USA and increasing intermarriages have also manifested as a change in residential patterns in urban cities. As noted in Article 1, what used to be Danish/Scandinavian neighbourhoods in the city of Chicago are now confined to spaces of a smaller scale within the city. The Midwestern settlements are also becoming increasingly multi-ethnic, though the residential patterns in the USA today suggest that many descendants of the Danish migrants who arrived more than 100 years ago still largely favour residence in Midwestern states, Utah and along the West Coast (Jeppesen 2010, 176). In the United States, a number of Danish institutions have closed down, while others are

currently threatened. In Australia, it was not possible to locate a distinct Danish neighbourhood either, but minor ethnic spaces such as the Danish club, the school and the church still persist. The latter, in that regard, is in fact Scandinavian and thus only turned into 'Danish space' once a month when the Danish minister arrives and performs a service. As discussed further, particularly in Article 3, one might ask, therefore, whether the dissolving ethnic spaces and resulting lack of space in which youth can explore ethnicity and be socialized into ethnic ways, plays a key role in a possible future disappearance of ethnicity.

2.7. ACCULTURATION

Since ethnic maintenance plays such as pivotal role in this thesis, the concept of acculturation becomes important. In the articles, the theory of acculturation is essentially used to explore and discuss how we may view processes of adaptation and continuous ethnic engagement as well as ethnic transformation through the generations. The concept of acculturation is complex and yet unavoidable since it relates to conceptualizations such as *integration* and *assimilation* - concepts used globally in debates about immigrant retention of 'homeland' culture.

In the aftermath of World War II, the notion that immigrants of diverse ethnicities would assimilate into US society dominated research and linked to the prevailing image of America as a 'melting pot'. The 1960's and 1970's, however, witnessed a comprehensive scepticism towards such earlier notions, particularly with the publication of Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan's book *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963). In the following decades research instead drew widespread attention to cultural pluralism and ethnic revivals. The new voices questioned assimilation as an ideal and its validity as a concept in general (Alba 1990, 2; Gleason 1998, 134).

While recent research no longer addresses ethnicity solely from the earlier notions of either assimilation or cultural pluralism, Alba argues that based on these earlier discussions, scholars are still wary to interpret ethnic development in terms of assimilation. This cautious approach is related to shifting and competing notions about what 'America' and 'being an American' is. Is retention of Old World tradition, for example, simply an integrated aspect of 'being American'? Alba also argues, however, that this wariness has caused a lack of attention to the enormous ethnic changes which have taken place within ethnic groups, particularly those of European origin, in the past decades (Alba 1990, 3). In this thesis I employ concepts such as acculturation and assimilation to discuss ethnic maintenance and ethnic change while acknowledging, however, that the concepts are still being (and should be) discussed and elaborated.

Cross-cultural psychology has long tried to conceptualize what happens to individuals who develop in one cultural context when they attempt to adapt to a new

context as a result of migration .While much research assumes that the concepts of *assimilation* and *acculturation* are used interchangeably, John W. Berry, who has led contemporary approaches to the concept of acculturation sees assimilation as merely one form of acculturation.

Berry builds on a classical definition that goes back as far as to 1936: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits 1936, 149). Thus, acculturation results from long-term contact among individuals from different cultures. It has to do with sociocultural change (Trimble 2003, 5-6). Berry simplifies the definition as he states that acculturation is "the cultural changes resulting from group encounters" (1997, 7). Even though change may take place in both dominant and non-dominant groups, Berry states, acculturation in practice tends to cause more change in the one, which he hence refers to as the *acculturating group* (Berry 1997, 7). However, both groups are in reality acculturating. And both groups must deal with questions such as: 1) to what extent they consider their cultural characteristics important and wish to maintain them, and, on the other hand 2), to what extent they wish to remain amongst themselves or become more involved with other groups.

From the point of view of the non-dominant group, these questions, Berry says, result in four plausible acculturation strategies. First of all, non-dominant groups and individuals may choose an *assimilation* strategy, when "individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures." Secondly, "when individuals place value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with other groups," the *separation* alternative applies. Third, *integration* is an option when "there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of the larger social network." Finally, *marginalization* is defined when there is "little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relation with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination)" (Berry 1997, 9). While Berry does not clearly specify whether the wish for maintenance or non-maintenance relates to ethnic identities or practices, he seems to suggest that it could be both (e.g. the inconsistent references to 'cultural identity' and 'holding on to original culture', for example). Moreover, while Berry views acculturation as migrants' strategy of adaptation, other scholars acknowledge acculturation as a process which takes place across a number of *generations* (Phinney 2003, 64).

Researchers still struggle to define clearly how concepts such as ethnic identity, ethnic change and acculturative processes are interrelated. The relationship between 'acculturation' and 'ethnic identity', for example, is complex, since the two constructs have been measured by many of the same indicators. Both, for example, revolve around *change*, especially in relation to "a) retention of or identification with the ethnic, or original culture and b) adaptation to or identification with a dominant, host or "new" culture" (Phinney 2003, 63). As reflected in the previous

section, moreover, practices that relate to one's ethnic background have been studied as an aspect of acculturation. Furthermore, studies have also shown that people with an achieved ethnic identity generally also support cultural retention (Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder 2006).

This thesis views the acculturative changes that occur over time in a new context and across the generations as related to changes in ethnic identity. Berry's notion of peoples' wish for maintenance or non-maintenance of ethnicity (if understood as both practices and identities) as an indicator of acculturation is found useful to the analysis of this thesis too. Where Berry suggests that acculturation in the form of four plausible strategies are the deliberate choices of first generation migrants, this thesis, however, views acculturation as a multigenerational process. In this process, ethnic change such as the degree to which ethnicity takes up small or large space in individual identities can be understood as related to processes of *separation*, *integration* or *assimilation*.

One might ask: if acculturation is all about change, as Berry says, then why does this thesis focus on maintenance? In fact, Berry defines two types of acculturation – integration and separation - which both include the desire to maintain what Berry calls 'cultural' characteristics. This also means that acculturation processes investigated within this thesis revolve mainly around migrants and descendants who can be placed within either of those two categories.

Thus, while some of the first Danish migrants to the United States, represented in the sample of this thesis, may have strongly identified with their Danish backgrounds, preferred to move within Danish spaces and practiced 'Danishness'; their attempts to 'safeguard' Danishness may relate to a wish for *separation* from other ethnic groups (cf. Article 1 in this thesis). Others may have attempted to *integrate* from their very arrival (and in Berry's sense both groups maintained their own ethnic identities and practices *and* engaged with others), yet *integration* might also be related to the ethnic changes which typically set in as New World identities manifest in second or later generations. In this thesis, all the interviewees express – even if only to a small degree – a continuous ethnic maintenance and therefore *assimilation* in Berry's sense does not apply. The thesis suggests, however, that later generation ethnics especially in both the United States and Argentina (as discussed in Articles 1 and 3) show a tendency towards assimilation and entering into an 'ethnic darkness'.

This dissertation recognises that theory on acculturation and its relation to ethnic maintenance and transformation faces several problems and should be explored further, as also noted by others (e.g. Phinney 2003, 78). If assimilation, for example, sets in as LGE's stop practising and self-identifying with their ethnic origins, how should we then think of ethnic revivals? Is it possible to rewind an acculturation process? Other issues could be discussed as well. For this reason, therefore, the articles in this dissertation place most weight on exploring how and why Danish practices and self-perceptions are maintained and to lesser degree aim to place the interviewees within categorisations of acculturation. To give the reader an overview

of the findings of this thesis, however: Since attempts to safeguard 'Danishness', including the wish separate from other groups, took place among some Danish migrants to the USA at the turn of the 20th century, Berry's notion of *separation* could be said to apply here. This safeguarding was exclusively the practice of some first generation migrants to the United States (and indeed not a possible practice nor a narrated wish of first generations in Australia). On the other hand, *integration* – in Berry's sense - could be said to apply as a concept to by far the majority of interviewees in this thesis. It seems plausible, however, that the fact that the LGE's in America (and Argentina too for that matter) interviewed for this study represent a cohort of descendants who have 'stayed Danish' the longest, partly pertains to the fact that some of their early forefathers made great efforts to separate and safeguard Danishness.

2.8. TRANSNATIONAL FAMILY LIFE AND THE EMOTIONAL COSTS OF LIVING AT A DISTANCE

The emotional implications of migration is treated mainly in Articles 2 and 4 of this thesis. The theories presented below are used to analyse the role of emotion in the transnational migration experience, including immigrant engagement in ethnic spaces, their maintenance of Danish practices and self-perceptions abroad, and their aim to transmit these to future generations.

In 1951, Oscar Handlin published *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migration that Made the American People*. Handlin won the Pulitzer Prize for this book in which he tried to capture what he thought was the essence of the immigrant experience for the millions of Europeans who came to America in the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Handlin's book did not least concern the emotional challenges that resulted from the migration experience. Perceiving the European peasants as rather bewildered and lonely outsiders in the New World, the ethnic community, he stated, functioned as a way to adapt to their new circumstances of being caught between the familiar and the strange. Handlin's human-centred research focus on the emotional and psychological effects of migration went on to inspire much later work. Notably, from a Scandinavian-American point of view, Dorothy Burton Skårdal published *The Divided Heart* (1974), which accounted for the immigrant experience from Scandinavian literary sources. Oscar Handlin wrote the preface. The granddaughter of a Swedish immigrant to Nebraska, Skårdal discusses emotional topics such as the early, stressful "dog years" of immigrants, the struggle with the language, problems with homesickness etc. (Skårdal 1974).

Beginning with Rudolph J. Vecoli's 1964 article *Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of The Uprooted* and later John Bodnar's *The Transplanted* (1985), Handlin's views were later widely criticised, however. The interpretive shift in migration history, substituting the notion of 'uprootedness' for one of transplantation followed immediately after the publication of Glazer and

Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot.* The shift was also marked by a number of Scandinavian-American scholarly works, such as Robert C. Ostergren's *A Community Transplanted* (1988) and Jon Gjerde's *The Minds of the West* (1997). Handlin erred, these new voices said, in perceiving the immigrants as being pushed away from their Old World by impersonal forces to find themselves as bewildered and suffering outsiders in an alien New World. Rather, these scholars said, the American immigrant experience should be interpreted in the totality of the migration experience. Thus, it should "view the migrant experience from within" by considering both emigration and immigration aspects. (cf. Ostergren 1988, xiii) In reality, the critics propounded, migrants were much more capable and resourceful than Handlin described them. Decisions to migrate, for example, were rational and freely undertaken and often took place with the support of family and community. Moreover, instead of being uprooted and then assimilated, migrants largely brought their Old World traditions along with them to America and maintained their ethnic identities abroad. In fact, Gjerde argues, European immigrants celebrated their freedoms in America and saw the rural Middle West as a place of opportunity because they were able to retain the cultural and religious traditions from their homelands (Gjerde 1997, 8).

Related to the uprooted-to-transplanted shift is the contention of more recent research which argues that migration should be studied in its larger, international context. The vast focus on 'transnationalism' and 'transnational family life' in much contemporary scholarship, however, makes us think of transnational families as a profoundly modern phenomenon. Zlatko Skrbiš, however, reminds us that "while the mass scale of transnational family life– and indeed the term itself– is definitely recent, the phenomenon itself is not" (2008, 232). In fact, he says, the first systematic study of transnational family life was William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's book *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918). In this study, the letters of Polish immigrants to the USA to and from their families in Poland reveal a richness and intensity of emotions. Their study, Skrbiš further states, "predated contemporary scholarship on transnationalism by about seven decades" (2008, 232).

Like Handlin's critics, some contemporary research on transnationalism distances itself from interpretations of migration experiences as ones of pain and traumatisation. Thea Boldt (2012), for example, calls for more attention to the empowering aspects of the migration experience rather than the hardships of change and trajectories of suffering. In relation to current migration to Australia, Loretta Baldassar provides one such empowering view as she attempts to 'de-demonise' distance between migrants and their distant families. Baldassar examines aspects of migrants who experience emotional states of "missing kin and longing to be together" as well as feelings of guilt towards parents, which often cause visits home to be paramount (2001, 2008). Baldassar (2016) and Wilding (2006), however, also examine the new possibilities of information and communication technologies (ICTs), leading Baldassar to infer that ICTs may well provide an adequate sense of 'being there' for each other despite distance (Baldassar 2016, 159-161). Other

scholars (e.g. Baldock 2000, Brownlie 2011) have equally studied migrants' emotional lives, particularly migrant children's sense of moral responsibility towards their ageing parents in the old country, feelings of being 'divided' between the New and Old Worlds and constant ambivalence as to whether they should return home. This has put the relevance of geographical proximity to the fore in much contemporary research. I engage in this debate in Article 2.

Perhaps in the attempt to bridge earlier strands in migration experience scholarship, Charles Hirschmann stresses that emotional challenges arise out of current international migration too, despite globalisations' effects on mobility and communication. Hirschmann, for example, argues that:

> International migration, even in this age of instant communications and inexpensive travel, can be a traumatizing experience. Immigrants become strangers in a new land with the loss of familiar sounds, sights, and smells. The expectations of customary behaviour, hearing one's native language and support from family and friends can no longer be taken for granted. Even the most routine activities of everyday life – shopping for food, working, and leisure time pursuits – can be alienating experiences for many new immigrants who find themselves in strange settings that require constant mental strain to navigate and to be understood. (2004, 1210)

Consequently, Hirschmann says, "It is no wonder that most immigrants gravitate to the familiar– residence in ethnic neighbourhoods, employment in ethnic enclave firms, and social pursuits in the company of family and friends with similar backgrounds" (2004, 1210).

In this thesis, I discuss the emotional toll of migration both in relation to historical migration to the USA and more recent migration to Australia. The relevance of emotional challenges to motivate ethnic maintenance, for example through engagement in ethnic spaces and through transmission to next generations, is mainly discussed in Articles 2 and 4.

* * *

While I fully acknowledge that ethnic maintenance may be influenced by various factors, this thesis rests on a number of life story accounts whose content and direction were determined by the interviewees. Biographical narratives are rich, lengthy materials, which could have been explored almost endlessly. This thesis gives priority to the most prominent patterns in the empirical sample, while simultaneously considering the ones that were underexplored in existing research. The theoretical framework presented in this chapter reflects this focus.

This thesis especially brings transmission to the fore of the discussion of maintenance. It highlights, simultaneously, that there are certain aspects which significantly influence possibilities and motivations for successful transmission and ultimately multigenerational ethnic commitment and maintenance. These include such factors as: the makeup of families (including negotiations on transmission in multi-ethnic families as resulting from intermarriages); motivations for ethnic safeguarding; motivations for transmission driven by the emotional challenges that relate to transnational family life - as well as ethnic status and privilege as motivation for the acceptance of transmission of ethnic self-perceptions and practices among new generations. The discussion in the articles also puts possibilities for engagement in ethnic spaces to the fore (church, clubs, homes, etc.) as vital to transmission of 'Danishness' to future generations. This contributes to existing research on the possibility of maintenance in localities with many or few ethnic spaces, such as multi-ethnic cities versus ethnic enclaves (Jeppesen 2010, 176).

The articles also investigate how other social categories such as gender, age and generation intersect with ethnicity, in cases where the interviews indicated that such categories carried substantial influence to the analysis of ethnic maintenance. For example, Article 2 discusses the gendered aspects of ethnic transmission and maintenance and also explores spatial and temporal dimensions. Article 1 considers religious intersections. Such dimensions and categories are used to further capture the diversity and complexity of the phenomenon under consideration (Staunæs 2003). Most profoundly, the articles discuss the impacts of *generation* on ethnic maintenance, including both first and later generations.

3. METHODS AND MATERIALS

3.1. IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THOMAS AND ZNANIECKI'S 'THE POLISH PEASANT'

In the years leading up to World War 1, American intellectuals became interested in the transformation of American society and the rapidly changing working class. One of the earliest sociological works on immigrant ethnic groups, titled *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, was conducted in this period and has since upheld the status of a classic within the discipline of sociology. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* was written by the American sociologist, William I. Thomas, and the Polish scholar, Florian Znaniecki, primarily during their time at University of Chicago. It was published in five volumes in the period between 1918 and 1920.

Thomas and Znaniecki were interested in the culture and social organization of immigrants. They sought to explain the social problems of the immigrant poor by examining the relation between the immigrants and their surrounding society, primarily family, neighbourhood and other communities. In doing this, they invented a new research method, which aimed to let immigrants describe their own lives on their own terms. In *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Thomas and Znaniecki used the 'life story method' to analyse letters and other documents of Polish immigrants, which they saw as rich sources of information on how the immigrant 'self' 'becomes' over time and in social processes. To the researchers, the term 'becoming' had to do with how the 'self' is constructed and constantly develops through situational and relational interaction with others.

Where Thomas and Znaniecki studied letters, autobiographies and other types of life writing, the empirical data on which this thesis rests primarily consists of a number of in-depth life story interviews with Danish Americans and Danish Australians, who were encouraged to tell their life stories on relatively free terms. As will be further outlined shortly, the data material of this project has however been supplemented with other types of documents, as for example letters and autobiographies, in relation to Article 4. Thomas and Znaniecki's aim to study how 'self' 'becomes' in social processes between immigrants and their families, neighbourhoods and other communities, links closely to the goal of this thesis. A 'self' which 'becomes' is another way of saying that 'identity is shaped' and develops through relations with, and transmission through, family and significant others.

3.2. RESEARCHING LIFE STORIES AND FAMILY HISTORIES

With the new life story method, Thomas and Znaniecki had provided a model for much later research, and a number of other life story projects were carried out by the Chicago School in the 1920's and 1930's. By the 1930's, the method was employed on both sides of the Atlantic, and though quantitative research studies dominated much sociological work in the years around World War II, the life story method re-emerged in the beginning of the 1970's, primarily with the biographical works of the French sociologist, Daniel Bertaux. According to Bertaux, data collection should be more exploratory and less constrained by predetermined rules insofar as the aim would be to get broader and less 'guided' depictions of individual identities (Bertaux and Kohli 1984).

Many features of later biographical work can be traced back to Bertaux. In recent research, however, the method takes on different names and is often referred to as either the life story or family history method, the (auto)biographical approach, the narrative perspective or the life course approach. Whatever the name, the biographical narrative method is used for specific purposes, which I will here summarize.

Through biographical narratives, a researcher gains an insight into the way people form their life stories. The approach presupposes that individuals constantly construct their biographies through stories (narratives) in order to create logic and order in actions and incidents in their life histories. Meaning is constructed retrospectively through creation of a plot but oriented towards the future in order to contribute to a sense of coherence between past, present and future. Not only does this construction of meaning provide the individual with an understanding of self and identity, it is also essential to how the individual perceives of and interprets the social world (Thomsen, Bo and Christensen 2016, 14-15). Since search for meaning is intrinsic to human experience in general, narratives become central. Accordingly, narratives do not only function as a form of communication but work as the scope through which we dream, think and live our lives in a more fundamental sense (Bo 2016, 36).

In accordance with the notion that narratives are constructed through a plot, Bourdieu speaks of 'the biographical illusion' - that people fit their lives into the format of a story when telling their life stories (Bourdieu 2004). This often leaves scholars sceptical, historians especially, who are trained at looking for the factual and reality-based content in documents (Samuel and Thompson 2009, 8). Yet, according to Samuel and Thompson, much can be gained from studying how reality is *perceived*, which is possible in the analysis of life stories. True, these narratives might be far from the factual. Memory, they say:

> …requires a radical simplification of its subject matter. All recollections are told from a standpoint in the present. In telling them, they need to make sense of the past. That demands a selecting, ordering and simplifying, a construction of coherent

> narrative whose logic works to draw the life story towards the fable. (Samuel and Thompson 1990, 8).

Indeed one of the most frequent criticisms of the biographical narrative method is that one cannot trust constructed 'stories' or 'fiction' to be true accounts of reality. However, by paying attention to what is told and how a life story is narrated, the method is very useful in capturing individual self-perceptions. The method's legitimacy, furthermore, goes back to the 'Thomas theorem', coined in Thomas and Znaniecki's Polish peasant study and stating that what is felt or believed to be real can come to have real consequences (also Kupferberg 2012, 227). Self-perceptions materialise in acts. Accordingly, since this project is interested in the self-perceptions ('inner' lives) of Danish migrants and their descendants and moreover aims to explore how these self-perceptions affect and are affected by biographical experiences, events and practices ('outer' lives), the life story method is considered very useful (Hoerning and Alheit 1995).

Traditionally, researchers working with the method have chosen either a biographical or a narrative research focus. Recent research suggests combining the biographical (real lived life) with the narrative (the story told) approach, seeing it as providing a better chance of a richer, in-depth analysis of biographical narratives (Rosenthal 1993, 1995; Thomsen and Antoft 2002; Kupferberg 2012). The 'lived life' (biographical/objectivistic) approach is the objective overview of a person's life. It advocates that we need this approach to emphasise that we are dealing with factual 'lived experience'. The 'story told' (narrative/subjectivistic) approach, however, is needed to study how this experience is perceived and narrated. A dual approach, then, provides the researcher with information about the subjectively experienced life world and helps her to understand how the interviewee sees herself as an individual within the surrounding society (Kupferberg 2012, 234). Accordingly, interviewees may use their biographies to structure or frame their life stories (Wengraf 2000). In relation to this study, I have aimed at drawing a 'biographical profile' of the respondents that are objective 'facts' about their lives as, for example, date of birth, occupation, marital status, children, religious affiliation, etc. – prior to the interview.

One of the strengths of the method is also the ability to study how 'grand' stories such as societal transformations on a macro level connect to stories and social relations on a micro-level. Since the individual micro-narrative may be viewed as an anchorage of what situates at an overall, societal macro-level, 'small' narratives can document 'grand' narratives such as historical and social phenomena. Simultaneously, life stories can be used to explore how macro level structures affect subjective life courses. The life stories presented in this thesis, for example, sometimes illustrate how historical events during the respondent's lifetime such as economic crises, times of war, etc. mark significant turning points in interviewees' lives and affect identity reconstructions and life planning (Thomsen, Bo and Christensen 2016, 22-23). Exemplified in some interviews in the USA, for example, recurring wars which had affected lives and relationships sometimes formed a

skeleton of turning points around which interviewees would remember and narrate their life stories.

This thesis takes as its point of departure that the 'self' and life course of an individual is shaped through the interaction between the individual and the surrounding society. The project adopts a biographical narrative methodology, because this method is particularly well suited for studying the self-perceptions and perceived realities of migrants and their descendants. And since the *perceived reality* of an individual becomes *real* in its consequences, the method is also useful in studying how this perception may come to influence 'outer life', for example, life course, practices and actions, and vice versa.

From the mid-1980's, scholars increasingly asserted that life stories should be embedded in their social histories, since individuals' accounting for and making sense of their life stories largely seemed connected to their family history. Suggesting the interdependence of life histories on individual biographies with the title '*Family history: Life stories'*, Gabriele Rosenthal describes how the emergence of the family history approach included a tendency amongst scholars to increasingly invite interviewees to tell both their life stories and their family histories (2002, 175-76). Recognising, thus, the relational 'connectedness' between generations and the impact of social history on self-presentations and self-perceptions, new tendencies also involved interviewing more than one generation within a family. The *intergenerational approach* is particularly explored by Bertaux and Thompson (2009) and outlined further in Chapter 2.

During the research trips to the United States and Australia, biographical narrative interviews were collected with more generations within the same family whenever possible. This meant interviewing 2-3 family members from different generations, excluding, however, children under the age of 18. This choice was made due to the notion that to participate in a life story interview, one "must be old enough to have had a life to be interviewed about" (Miller 2000, 105). Interviewing more generations from the same family added an intergenerational perspective to the data, making it possible to explore patterns of transmission through the generations. This approach would also sometimes expose how family myths have been passed on from one generation to the next (Thompson 2009, 14-15). The family history was also exposed through each single interview, since the interviews were structured so that respondents were first encouraged to tell their own life stories and secondly narrate what they knew and remembered about their family histories.

3.3. DATA COLLECTION AND SAMPLE

According to Robert Miller, "The goal of the sampling is to secure a spread of individuals that represent all of the types or groups that are significant for the phenomenon or topic under consideration." (2000, 77) Therefore, in the early stages of planning the research design for this project, the initial goal was to explore the

legacy of two cases of Danish emigration, based on an empirical sample inclusive of those who had or had not maintained any connection to their ethnic background. Hence, while the intent from the beginning was not merely to study those who had maintained their Danish practices and identities, but also include those who had not, it was at the same time assumed that those descendants could be found in or around the places where the Danish immigrants originally settled.

Most Danish immigrants had settled as farmers in the prairie landscapes of the US Midwest. On their way, however, many were, for one reason or the other, held up in Chicago or they returned to the city later on. Soon decisively Danish and Scandinavian neighbourhoods formed here too. To secure a spread of individuals, it was therefore decided to visit both rural and urban settings. I suspected that a faster acculturation had occurred in the city where exposure to other ethnic groups would have been inevitable. In contrast, I expected that the rural Danish settlements might have retained their Old World traditions longer. Yet, in awareness of the fact that the rural Danish enclaves in the Middle West had different religious foundations, I was simultaneously curious to explore how this had impacted lives and acculturative processes. The following choices were thus made in connection to the data collection in the United States:

- Visiting and conducting interviews in 1 minor Danish 'Grundtvigian' settlement in the US Midwest (Tyler, MN)

- Visiting and conducting interviews in 1 minor Danish Inner Mission settlement in the US Midwest (Blair, NE)

- Visiting and conducting interviews in 1 large multi-ethnic city in the US Midwest (Chicago, IL)

The choice of selective sampling was made from both methodological and practical reasons. For example, the selected locations were in relative proximity to each other, so that the sampling could be made in accordance with the time and means available. In the spring and early summer of 2014, 9-12 interviews were conducted in each of these places.

To secure a spread of individuals in the places visited, a number of advertising strategies were employed to recruit respondents. The request was to speak to people who could trace their roots back to the immigrants who came to the United States from Denmark in the period between 1850 and 1920. One of the most fruitful strategies was a newspaper advertisement in the Danish-American newspaper *The Danish Pioneer*, which is still distributed among Danish Americans all over the United States. Another successful source was the contact to certain people, sometimes referred to as 'gatekeepers', who would talk to their Danish-American network and make them sign up for interviews. Effective 'snowballing' paid off well. Less fruitful was the use of a recently established MiClue project webpage and social media among my own network and the network of my friends as well as the

distribution of advertising posters in schools, at museums, and in sports clubs and old-people's homes. And finally the strategy of accidentally 'bumping into' people while visiting did not prove very effective, though a few interviews were, in fact, arranged this way.

The advertising strategies had certain results. First and foremost it was obvious that the only descendants possible to access were those who – at least to some extent - still identified with their Danish background. Even though a large multicultural city was visited, the majority of interviews were made among Danish Americans whose affiliation with Danish societies and environments within this city was quite strong. Hence, from this point, this project started to direct itself towards the question of how ethnic identities and practices are *maintained*, rather than *lost*. The US sample thus affected the later sampling in Australia, which was directed onto the same course so that the two cases could be compared.

Since one of the basic ideas of the MiClue project was to explore cases of migration to and from Denmark to identify patterns that crossed both time and space barriers, the other case explored in this thesis is set later in time. In Australia, therefore, the aim was to interview Danes who had arrived between 1950 and 1990, as part of a wave of Danish post-war migration – and/or their children. In Australia, it was decided to collect interviews in and around the city of Melbourne. As a much more recent case of Danish migration, Danes had not typically settled in enclaves like the farmers on the prairie in the USA. They had done so earlier on, however. At the turn of the 20th century when many Danes migrated to the USA and others to Argentina, yet others had travelled down-under, to Australia, where many settled as gold diggers and dairy farmers. A few interviews were thus carried out with the late-generation descendants of Danish dairy farmers in a small Danish settlement a short drive outside Melbourne. Those few interviews are not used in this thesis, however.

In the latter case of Danish post-war migration to Australia, running from approximately 1950-1990, most Danes settled in larger cities in New South Wales, Queensland or Victoria. Melbourne (VIC) continues to have an active Danish community today. Fourteen life story interviews were hence carried out with Danish migrants and their descendants in and around the city of Melbourne.

Respondents in Melbourne were recruited in much the same way as in the USA. The sampling was, in this case, more so 'given', as the focus had been more established. Effective recruitment channels included an advertisement in the city's Danish online newsletter, recruitment through the Danish minister in Melbourne, who spread the word at a Sunday service, and through gatekeepers and snowballing as well.

In relation to the sampling in both the United States and Australia, another sampling strategy was to interview people at different generational stages from within the same family – in order to explore family histories and transmissions. This strategy was often difficult, however, since limitations in time and economy meant that only a few places could be visited. Families in the USA tended to be spread across the country, and even from the smaller Danish settlements of the Midwest,

younger people are moving away for education and to find jobs. Due to this fact, some interviews were completed through Skype. Second, later generations in the USA were altogether difficult to access. This had to do with the fact that later generations, primarily 4th or 5th generation immigrants, had difficulties in understanding why I might be interested in their life stories, since they obviously knew less about their Danish roots than their parents and grandparents, whom they encouraged me to talk to instead. The wish to 'talk to people of Danish descent' meant that many had the expectation that I was primarily interested in the histories of the first settlers. As Danish Americans in their 50's-70's obviously felt that they had something to contribute with regards to their Danish ancestry, the sample is dominated by this group. It is also likely that this group, as they often showed much eagerness to participate, were interested in having their family history preserved. For example, many were very keen to share photos, diaries and other documents of their ancestors. I return to this point in Article 1. Some interviews with later generation descendants were completed, however, and they are analysed in Articles 1 and 3. Moreover, as their ethnicity sometimes tended to be more or less symbolic, they presumably represent a more diversified sample. Accordingly, it was easier to access first generation migrants in Australia, though some second generation interviewees were reached here as well.

When respondents agreed to be interviewed, it became a strategy to let them know that talking to other family members, not least young people, was a great priority as well. This strategy was put into play in both the USA and Australia. Quite often, arranging interviews with more family members was difficult to do before arriving and talking to people. People would hesitate to involve their families before they had actually seen me and talked to me, after which I sensed that they felt safer and more willing to assist the research. This meant, however, that pre-arranged family interviews were minimal. Parts of the sampling therefore became based on rather spontaneous agreements made from day to day. Interviews with family members who were reached this way presumably represent a more diverse sample as well, since their less eager motivation to participate reflected that their need to maintain and preserve their heritage was not necessarily as great as with the 'family archivists'.

3.3.1. SAMPLE PROFILES

Below you find two tables representing the interviewees distributed on gender, generation and age group. The tables show a higher number of female participants in the USA, which reflects a larger eagerness amongst women to share and preserve their family histories. In Australia, however, the interviews were spread relatively evenly in terms of gender. The tables also show more responses from third generations in the USA, though both 2nd and 4th generations are represented, too. The one female interviewee, who is here registered as a first generation, was in fact brought to the USA from Denmark within her mother's womb, and it may be argued that she should be classified as a second generation immigrant instead. In both

country cases, moreover, the majority of respondents were in their 50's-70's, though as the table on the US interviewees shows, this age group differs widely in terms of generation. Location, names and employment are omitted from the schemes in order to enhance anonymity. In both places, however, the occupational status of the interviewees ranged from young people engaged in higher education to skilled workers and highly-educated professionals. Altogether, the interviewees in both the USA and Australia fall into a broad middle class category. In the United States, a portion of the participants were retirees at the time of the interview, as the number of interviewees within the elderly age group suggests.

Distribution of interviewees in the USA on gender, age and generation

	Female	Male	Generation total
1st generation			
Age 20's-40's	1	0	
Age 50's-70's	0	0	
Age 80's-90's	0	0	**1**
2nd generation			
Age 20's-40's	0	0	
Age 50's-70's	2	1	
Age 80's-90's	3	2	**8**
3rd generation			
Age 20's-40's	1	0	
Age 50's-70's	4	3	
Age 80's-90's	1	1	**10**
4th generation			
Age 20's-40's	0	2	
Age 50's-70's	4	2	
Age 80's-90's	0	0	**8**
5th generation			
Age 20's-40's	4	0	
Age 50's-70's	0	0	
Age 80's-90's	0	0	**4**
Gender total	**20**	**11**	

Distribution of interviewees in Australia on gender, age and generation

	Female	Male	Generation total
1st generation			
Age 20's-40's			
Age 50's-70's	4	3	
Age 80's-90's		2	**9**
2nd generation			
Age 20's-40's	4	1 (19)	
Age 50's-70's			
Age 80's-90's			**5**
Gender total	**8**	**6**	

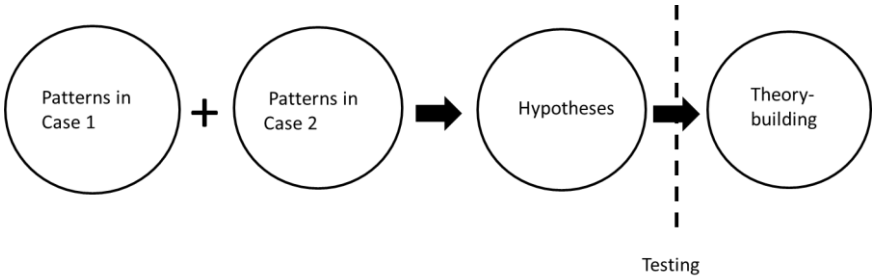
3.4. THE COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY: FOLLOWING A GROUNDED THEORY APPROACH

Following Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss' Grounded Theory approach, the overall MiClue project is designed as a comparative case study. Within this frame, this thesis is comparative in its design too, and examines and compares cases of Danish migration to the USA and Australia. The thesis also compares findings from the US case to another MiClue case - migration from Denmark to Argentina. These cases were chosen due to their comparative potential for seeking out patterns which cross time and place, as explained in Chapter 1.

The overall aim of grounded theory is to develop new theory. The key message of Glazer and Strauss' approach is that the discovery of theory is best done by 1) comparing similarities and differences in cases, and 2) possibly discovering patterns. Thereafter you must 3) develop new categories, concepts and hypotheses, which may eventually – being tested and validated by even more cases - 4) result in the generation of new theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). According to Strauss and Corbin, grounded theory is "theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another." (1998, 12) Broadly speaking, the MiClue project is based on the same principles for generating knowledge. First, different cases are examined and potential patterns within each case are identified. Later, cases are compared to check for similarities and differences and to see if the same patterns exist here. The revelation of certain patterns in more cases could then lead to the validation of hypotheses. These hypotheses, which would contain some suspected 'universal truths', may then again be tested by applying even more cases. Should the hypotheses still prove valid, the process could potentially lead to the development of new theories. In this thesis, Articles 3 and 4 compare different migration cases, while all four seek out patterns within each single case as well.

In grounded theory, coding is central and entails "reviewing transcripts and/or field notes and giving labels (names) to component parts that seem to be of potential theoretical significance and/or that appear to be particularly salient within the social worlds of those being studied" (Bryman 2008, 573). In qualitative studies, coding is performed continuously through processes of comparison of indicators within the empirical sample.

Objective of the comparative case study:



The fairly undirected form of the interview resembles a narrative-style, inductive grounded theory-building logic, where data is seen as arising from observations. This thesis, however, acknowledges that complete induction is in reality difficult to obtain, since researchers are often already theoretically sensitized and do often, more or less consciously, carry with them a set of hypotheses or presuppositions about the topic under consideration (Miller 2000, 128-144).

In this project, no hypotheses were formulated in advance of the interviews, but the aim was to illuminate certain topics. For this reason questions were to a varying degree asked as the interviewees proceeded with their accounts, as outlined further in the interview guide. Moreover, while this thesis takes on a comparative grounded theory character and builds its reasoning on observations in the interviews, the study applies theories from salient literature to develop new ideas and arguments. This means that the form of reasoning on which this thesis builds has the character of being an abductive form of grounded theory, which in recent research is sometimes simply referred to as 'abductive grounded theory' (Rahmani and Leifels 2018, Reichertz 2010). In 1903, Charles Sanders Peirce, the intellectual behind the theory of abductive reasoning, stated that "abduction consists in studying facts and devising a theory to explain them" (Peirce in Psillos 2011, 117). The explanation, moreover, should be found the simplest way possible, and without disregarding established theory. Correspondingly, though this thesis uses a 'ground up' approach and codes the empirical data, it applies and challenges existing scholarship to build its arguments. Emphasis is placed on building new empirical data - to analyse the data with the use of concepts and theories and to challenge, test and (dis)qualify existing scholarship. Based on these first steps, the thesis aims to bring new understandings and perspectives to current studies on Danish out-migration and the much wider scholarship on migration and ethnic maintenance more generally.

3.5. INTERVIEWING

Interviewing was most often situated in public places such as libraries, café's and hotel lounges. Moreover, specific sites, which allowed more privacy, were sometimes kindly loaned out, such as the folk school premises in Tyler where almost all interviews were carried out there. The fact that interviewing often took place in public places was largely a practical matter in terms of saving time if more than one interview had to be completed on the same day, for example. A few interviews were completed in private homes, however. If desired by the interviewees, this request was met.

The interviews were all recorded. After completing a biographical chart of the interviewee, which included questions such as date of birth, age, occupational status, family relations, marital status etc., the life story interview was initiated. An interview guide can be found in the appendix of this thesis.

Interviewees were asked to speak about their lives, starting from their childhood and working their way towards the present, but what they told and how they told it was left largely up to them. When found relevant, I followed tracks of narration and encouraged expansion of specific parts, including, as mentioned, the topics presented in the interview guide. These questions largely pertained to presentations of life stages and assisted the life story narrations, for example in cases where interviewees were short of words and needed help to continue further. Added to these were questions about their relation to religion, as I anticipated the possibility of some variation here, especially since the locations visited in the USA were different in terms of religious foundation. Moreover, I encouraged more talk about their relation to Denmark, the country of their ancestors. As their life stories ended, the interviewees were asked to speak about their family backgrounds. The questions, however, were intended to be open-ended and exploratory to maintain the most genuine and undirected response possible and in order to avoid imposing my own relevancies on to the interviewee. Often, the interviewee was encouraged to "tell me something more about (this or that)…" or would be asked, for example, "What about your relation to religion?" To expand life story sections, which were found relevant, repetition was also used as an interview strategy, such as saying, "Earlier you were saying that…?" (Miller 2000, 92-101).

During analysis of the interviews, special interest was paid to the way the interviewees remembered their pasts and concurrently chose to narrate them. Paying attention to topics given emphasis by the interviewees, emotional responses to certain parts of the narration, hesitations, absence of topics, narration of specific turning points, etc. are, in accordance with the method's goals, suited to obtaining an understanding of the individuals' perceived realities, self-perception and life practices.

Recently, scholars of biographical narratives have drawn on the field of 'symbolic interactionism' (Blumer 1969) in their research, which rests on the idea that shared understandings of meaning sets the scene for the interaction between individuals. Accordingly, Gubrium (2006) advocates that researchers should pay

increasing attention to the contexts in which narrative accounts are created, not least the 'local contexts'. The 'local context' includes the location in which the interview takes place as well as the interviewer-interviewee relationship alongside narrative contents and themes (also Gubrium and Holstein 2009). Rosenthal (2002), moreover, notes the significant impact of present situations and perspectives on the narrated pasts. Consequently, while this thesis mainly studies narratives as 'texts', rather than narratives as 'in-contexts', it should be acknowledged that the contextual frames of the interviews have in all likelihood had some impact on the narrative realities presented in the interviews (Phoenix 2013). Not least, in carrying out the interviews, I have been particularly observant as my subject positioning as a researcher and to whether the fact that the interviewees and I shared a Danish background (quite apparent to the interviewees as they met an interviewer with a very common and recognisable Danish surname) motivated particular ways of narrating their life stories. While the impression was that this shared background often prompted some 'insider' advantages such as increased trust through mutual reference points and a positive atmosphere from the very beginning of the interviews, this may (and might) on the other hand also have affected the stories which were being told. One concern pertained to whether interviewees were more inclined to keep their accounts of their Danish origins to a more polite, positive phrasing out of respect to my ethnic background. Yet the possibility that the interviewees simply did take great pride in their ethnic origins should not be disregarded either, not least when also considering the history and status of Scandinavian ethnicity in the USA, as outlined in Chapters 1 and 2. Nevertheless, as I could consider my position as an 'insider' in this regard, I was an 'outsider' in many other respects, allowing me to stay open and curious about their personal lives and relationships, their communities, their new countries of settlement, etc. (Bourdieu 1992, Farahani 2011).

3.6. STRATEGIES OF ANALYSIS

In reality, some analysis of the interviews was initiated as early as during the interview situation. As the first interviews were very explorative, patterns started to arise only as interviewing progressed. However, for this reason I followed tracks of narration and encouraged more talk about subjects of potential interest. Hence, an interview technique of concurrent comparison arose through which patterns were explored and tested, and themes and patterns started to emerge.

Later, the empirical sample was analysed 'manually', meaning that no software was employed to code the interviews. Instead, the practice of listening to the taped recordings of the interviews several times and reviewing rough transcriptions was used as a strategy for identifying patterns. This strategy enabled me to stay attuned to the ways in which things were said (including more attentiveness towards tone of voice, hesitations, emotionality, etc.) and the contexts which surrounded particular narrations, leading to a lesser risk of misinterpretation. Another reason it has been

found reasonable to avoid the use of software to code the interviews is that specific narrations are then tied to specific, rather rigid categorisations, which disregard the narrative contexts. These categorisations, however, end up affecting the analysis and research outcomes.

Based on an open and explorative approach to the life story records, I have performed thematic narrative analyses. Since "lives contain what is for all practical purposes an infinite number of events and occurrences" (Miller 2000, 133), interviewees must edit their narrations and choose narrative specific aspects. During analysis of the interviews, those selections given special emphasis have been studied further and developed into themes. Predominantly, therefore, the analysis of interviews considered especially *what* was narrated. To a lesser degree, I have also paid attention to narrative aspects such as how the stories were told, how elements within the narratives were sequenced, for example, and how the interviewee made sense of biographical events and incidents during their lifetimes (Miller 2000, 128-135; Bryman 2008, 584-595). The focal point of the analysis, however, has stayed – as mentioned – within the 'text'. Analysis of the recorded interviews often started with identifying specific themes which were being narrated. The minor parts of the narrative accounts, which dealt with this theme were then micro-studied and transcribed for detailed analysis. Thereafter they were placed in relation to the overarching narrative and general thematic orientation of the interview and compared to narrations of other interviewees.

Progression of analysis:

1) Exploring life story interviews openly during interviews
2) Exploring, by starting comparing, paying further attention to occurring patterns and emerging themes in the interviews (initial 'coding')
3) Listening to recordings, transcribing, identifying patterns and themes ('coding')
4) Micro-studying narrative parts and contextualising them
5) Comparing statements, considering existing literature and developing arguments

In this thesis, special attention has been paid to narrations of 'being Danish', having Danish pasts and maintaining practices, family relationships, modes of transmission and safeguarding, etc., as mirrored in the overall research question. The articles have also analysed the biographical narratives through examining how 'turning points' in the lives of the interviewees, most obviously the migration process, have prompted re-interpretations of self and transformed identities (Boldt 2012; Kupferberg 2012, Rosenthal 1995).

Common to Articles 1, 2 and 3 is that they rest on observations in interviews. Article 1 analyses interviews with Danish immigrant descendants in the USA and

uses these to explore how ethnicity has been safeguarded through the generations. The thematic focus is thus placed on accounts of ethnic safeguarding.

Article 2 sets out to show how and why Danish migrant parents transmit Danish self-perceptions and life practices to their children in Melbourne. To lesser extent, the article also pays interest to the narrative elements, such as emotional responses.

Article 3 analyses later generation ethnics' involvement in ethnic organisations and their self-perceptions. Here too, the focus is on what they do, but the article also attends to how they make sense of these practices and how they relate to their ethnic backgrounds.

The final article included in this thesis compares 'first generation' Danish migrants' involvement in ethnic spaces abroad, exploring their dynamics and potential to assist in the maintenance of ethnicity. However, since the Danes who migrated to the USA at the turn of the 20th century have almost all passed away by now, interviews have been supplemented by documents such as letters, autobiographies and historical newspapers, which carry the biographical narratives of these immigrants. Like Thomas and Znaniecki in their Polish Peasant study, this thesis analyses these documents as 'life writing' sources and emphasis is placed on how the Danish migrants represent and reflect upon their own lives and relationships. Whilst some of these sources contain narrative depictions, others are analysed and discussed due to their biographical information. The material was either handed over by families who had kept these historical documents about their ancestors themselves - material which they were willing to show me and share - or it was available through archives in Denmark and in the USA. This additional material is only used in Article 4 to supplement the interviews and will therefore not be discussed any further in this framework. A more exhaustive presentation of the material and its use is found in Article 4.

3.7. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Diener and Crandall have identified four ethical principles for social research. Those principles include whether there is: 1) harm to participants; 2) lack of informed consent; 3) invasion of privacy; and 4) deception involved (1978, 17-97). In this study, the interviewees signed a consent form in advance of the interview. The consent form outlined the purpose of the interviews and the research project. Furthermore, the interviewees were informed that their names would stay anonymous in accordance with archival laws in Denmark, which means that their names will be visible in the archival registers in Denmark some 75 years from the time of the interview. All interviewees agreed to these terms. As confidentiality aims to protect the integrity of interviewees, precautions are needed to protect their privacy (Brinkman and Kvale 2008, 266-67). In this study, all the interviewees' names have been changed and anonymity generally protected. Yet, it should simultaneously be mentioned that many participants conveyed that they did not necessarily need to be anonymised, reflecting the largely non-sensitive nature of this

research. Harm to participants may mean a variety of things, including both physical and mental harm and harm to the interviewees' development. During interviews, avoiding guiding the narration of life stories and thus affecting reconstructions of self-identities was an explicit goal. Thus, I tried to minimise disturbances both to individuals and to their relationship with their surrounding environment. I did so through keeping the questions open-ended and by avoiding imposing my own relevancies and opinions. Though the interviews hardly contained any sensitive information in the sense that it could harm the interviewees, some participants would start to speak of rather emotional, private topics. During interviewing, I sought to avoid unintended invasion of privacy, and taking on a therapist's role, by avoiding pressing the interviewee further at these points in the narrative – sometimes by staying silent and, in some cases, by gently guiding the narrative on to another course.

Finally, since interviewing is a relational practice, some interviewees appeared to want my perspective in exchange for their accounts and hence ask me questions in return. I aimed at striking a balance between respectfully answering such requests without commenting too much on the project or my own ideas, which could impact their accounts profoundly.

4. FINDINGS

This thesis consists of four articles which have been written as separate works, directed towards journals with diverse research interests. In combination, the articles challenge and discuss current scholarship, grounding their arguments in empirical data but drawing on theories, which relate to ethnic practice and identity, intergenerational transmission, transnational family life and the emotional toll of migration in particular. Each of them also contributes to answering the research question in different ways.

In this chapter, the articles' main arguments and conclusions are first presented. Second, I discuss how the articles in combination supplement each other to answer the research question: *How and why have some Danish migrants and their descendants maintained ethnic self-perceptions and practices in the USA and Australia?* Finally, I briefly propose new lines of research.

4.1. CONCLUSIONS OF THE ARTICLES

Article 1 titled "Safeguarding Danishness? Ethnicity, Religion and Acculturation among Danish Americans in Three Danish Spaces in the US" investigates the legacy of the Danish participation in the Great Migration from Europe to America at the turn of the 20th century. In analysing three family histories set in three Danish spaces in the USA, this article looks towards the borders of the ethnic community and argues that ethnicity has been maintained through being 'safeguarded', partly by continuously categorising other ethnic groups, while simultaneously identifying, displaying and performing an 'us'. The article identifies three safeguarding mechanisms in the interviews, which are 1) safeguarding through continuous practice, 2) safeguarding through resistance of intermarriage and 3) safeguarding through preference for, and (pro)claiming of, a Danish identity. Through analysing the interviews which took place in three different locations in the USA, two of them founded as distinctly either Grundtvigian or Inner Mission settlements, patterns of ethnic safeguarding through the generations were uncovered. The article argues that the interviews indicate variations in the extent to which Danishness has been safeguarded in these three spaces, though the interviews indicate ultimately that later generations are altogether losing touch with their Danish ancestries. This is evident in the increasing number of later generation immigrants moving away from the Danish spaces, intermarrying and relinquishing 'being Danish' as the defining part of their identities. The interviewees in the Grundtvigian Community of Tyler, Minnesota, in particular, seem to mourn what appears to be this more recent development. In the Inner Mission settlement of Blair, Nebraska, on the other hand, this development seems to have started generations ago and the Danish practices of the town are almost gone, except for the preservation of the history of the towns'

recently closed *Dana College*. Moreover, in contrast to the interviews in Tyler and Chicago, no "forbidden, other-ethnic love stories" surfaced in the Blair interviews.

The interviews in Chicago demonstrate that even though Chicago is a multi-ethnic city, smaller mono-ethnic spaces within such cities have the potential to maintain ethnicity through several generations. This challenges existing work on the Danish migrants in the United States, which suggest that historically speaking, ethnic maintenance has been connected to migrants and descendants' socio-economic backgrounds and largely characteristic of the rural enclaves (Jeppesen 2010).

The variation in the extent to which 'Danishness' seems to have been safeguarded within the three spaces through the generations, indicates that a division within the Danish church in America in 1894 manifested in self-perceptions and life practices of Danish American families. Moreover, it reverberated through the generations and ultimately impacted the maintenance of ethnic practices and self-perceptions until this day. Thus, this article demonstrates that outer structures and authorities, in this case different strands of Danish Lutheranism, have the power to influence acculturation processes.

Article 2 titled, "Revisiting the Importance of Distance in Transnational Family Lives: How and why Danish Migrant Parents Transmit 'Danishness' to Their Children Settled in Australia" explores the case of Danish post-World War II migration to Australia. The article challenges a current scholarly debate on the potential effects of information and communication technologies (ICTs) on transnational family lives, and dwells on motivations behind transmission of ethnic identity to 'second generation' Danish immigrants, on the emotional toll of migrating and how second generation identities are shaped.

The article grounds its arguments in empirical data by noting that Danish migrant parents transmit Danish language and culture to their second generation children settled in Melbourne. Through analysing the interviews, it demonstrates that this is mainly done by way of a set of ethnic spaces, among which the church, Danish language school and the private home in Melbourne play pivotal roles. These spaces offer engagement in micro-social activities, providing hands-on experiences with, and exposure to, Danish language and culture. Also, visits to Denmark play a determining role in successful transmission, and migrant parents seem motivated to bring or send their children back to their birth country for varying periods of time.

The article, however, devotes most space to discussing the contexts and motivations that lie behind this transmission (and maintenance). It identifies three explanatory factors: that migrant parents attempt to transmit Danish language and culture 1) for the sake of the children, 2) for the sake of the deprived grandparents and 3) to find a 'way home'. The article concludes that all three reasons may play a part. Particularly, however, the article argues that migrant parents transmit 'Danishness' to the children out of guilt towards their parents in Denmark, whom they feel they have robbed of a relationship with their grandchildren. The article

therefore challenges existing theories by arguing that geographical distance, despite the ever-developing possibilities of ICTs, still plays a role in transnational family lives. This, not least, has to do with the fact that distance is yet *perceived* to matter by both migrants and their families overseas. Based on the notion that *perceptions* affect *realities*, the article observes that perceptions in this case affect the very real emotional challenges of migrants. Sociological methods applied to fields of research which have traditionally been preoccupied by historians, not least the field of Danish out-migration, may thus lead to new interpretations and understandings. The article also suggests that intergenerational relationships comprising more than two generations could profitably be explored further in the attempt to understand immigrant experiences, identities and practices.

The article concludes by briefly discussing the gendered and temporal aspects of the analysed transmission practices, noting that females show a more keen devotion to transmitting Danishness to their children and find the distance from family more emotionally challenging than males. It connects this to existing scholarship which has shown that females tend to feel more obliged to provide care towards parents and maintain family traditions as 'symbolic bearers' of the nation and argues that such practices, then, are enhanced by feelings of guilt. It also points to indications that – as time passes and parents pass away at home - the ethnic transmissions lose their urgency and migrants' emotional hardships are relieved.

Article 3 titled "Transmissions and Transformations: Comparing Danish Late-generation Ethnicity in America and Argentina" is co-authored with my supervisor, Trine Lund Thomsen. The article presents findings from empirical data collected in the USA and Argentina, respectively, and compares the life practices and ethnic identities of later generation Danish immigrant descendants in those two countries. The article engages in a concurrent scholarly debate about the lives and identities of later generation ethnics (LGE's) and how ethnicity appears in those, perhaps, final stages. It does so by comparing LGE practices, i.e. how they 'do Danishness', and identifies their involvement in performing and preserving commercial and promotional ethnic organisations (Gans 2014, 757-759). The article also investigates LGE identities, including the extent to which 'being Danish' constitutes their self-perception or functions as a component in hybrid or hyphenated identities.

This article demonstrates that LGE's largely engage in performing and preserving organisations, most of which offer child-friendly, 'hands-on' activities with ethnicity through, for example, Danish festivals or other annual activities, through the church or upon travels to Denmark. Some of the LGE's, particularly those from Argentina, also maintain Danish language practices, which are strengthened upon visits to, or longer stays, in Denmark.

The article points to indications that contexts, i.e. ethnic spaces, which offer frames for exploring and practising ethnicity, seem crucial to later self-identification and ultimately to potential multigenerational ethnic maintenance. Where ethnic transmission has been strong through the generations, it has 'sunk into the subconscious' and substantially influenced identification and habitus. The study also

demonstrates that generational stage per se does not necessarily define acculturation's progression. Nor does this article present any indications that ethnic maintenance should be connected to the socio-economic statuses of migrants and their descendants, even though the matter leaves an interesting subject for future research. Rather, contributing to one of the main findings of this dissertation as a whole, the article argues that the contextual manifestation of ethnicity throughout the generations strongly influences acculturation's contours.

Finally, the article concludes that, judged upon LGE life practices and self-perceptions, assimilation appears to have progressed more in the USA than in Argentina. While the 'emigrants' in the two cases were roughly the same and their patterns of settlement within their new countries and generational stages comparable, this differentiation is intriguing. A possible explanation is that, despite the Danish migrants' common goal of migrating to 'the Americas', they were visibly and religiously more different in the south than in the north, conceivably leading to increased ethnic closure.

The fourth and final article included in this thesis is titled "A Matter of Practical and Emotional Support: Comparing Danish Migrants' Use of Ethnic Spaces in the USA and Australia". This article analyses and compares two cases of Danish migration, which are set in different time periods. Since the first Danish settlers in America have almost all passed away by now, the article empirically builds on biographical narrative material in a broad sense, including letters, autobiographies, newspapers and interviews.

The article employs the comparative design to explore how and why ethnic spaces are used to maintain ethnicity abroad and whether the use of ethnic spaces in both historical and more contemporary migration cases remains the same. The article demonstrates that in both cases, 'first generation' Danish migrants have used such ethnic spaces for practical reasons, most acutely perhaps amongst the Danish immigrants to the United States who did not speak the language of their new country and sought assistance in established and visible ethnic communities. In the US case, contact ads in newspapers reveal that the ethnic spaces were also used for less acute reasons such as assistance in romantic correspondence, showing that engagement in these spaces was not only a matter of economic necessity but also a matter of ethnic preference. The narratives contained in interviews and letters also demonstrate that ethnic spaces functioning as providers of emotional support obtains in both the US case and also in the later case of migration to Australia. This appears to be the case in spite of advanced modern means of communicating with, and reaching, the old country in various ways. It also appears to be the case despite the fact that the English proficiency of these later Danish migrants would have erased obvious barriers to connect to, and familiarise with, other ethnic groups.

Finally, emotional challenges are present in both cases despite the fact that decisions to migrate were rational and voluntarily undertaken. In noting this, the article addresses historical interpretations of the immigrant experience in America, including the uprooted-to-transplanted shift. The article thus argues that while

migrants may have made the choice to migrate freely, they bring their homeland traditions and self-perceptions with them to the New World and engage in ethnic spaces here precisely because the shift – even if rational and voluntary - can be emotionally challenging. The article thus establishes that ethnicity is maintained through these ethnic spaces, because there is a need for such emotional 'refuges' or 'safe spaces'. These are 'familiar' spaces that are gravitated to in order to find anchorage, reaffirm ethnic identity and values, and soothe homesickness.

4.2. PROJECT CONCLUSION

As part of the MiClue project, this PhD dissertation has shed light on two cases of white *out*-migration from Denmark. In doing so, it has contested a common view that white people are rarely seen as 'migrants', but rather as white subjects 'out of place' (Lundström 2014, 1). Correspondingly, due to the recurring stigmatisation and problematisation of migrants' retention of 'homeland' culture within Europe, the thesis has found it relevant to render visible and place maintenance of Danish ethnic practices and self-perceptions abroad in the global hierarchies of migration and mobility. It has done so in order to enhance understanding.

The thesis has examined the maintenance of concrete ethnic practices performed by Danish migrants and their descendants abroad, as well as the motivations and contexts that lie behind them. Through investigating and comparing cases of Danish emigration, historically and more recently, the project explores ethnic 'maintenance' and brings new perspectives about what factors impact on acculturation processes through several generations.

The PhD project adds a qualitative, 'bottom-up' perspective to existing scholarship on the Danish participation in the Great Migration to the USA by letting individual narratives illuminate acculturation processes. Accordingly, the thesis explores ethnic maintenance from inside families and relationships and through investigating how processes of transmission move and shape identities. It also adds new qualitative insights to the sparse literature on a post- World War II case of Danish emigration to Australia. Concurrently, moreover, the thesis engages in international scholarly debates and contributes with new perspectives. New questions or perspectives which could be added to existing theories on the basis of the empirical analysis will be elaborated below. In essence, however, they revolve around concepts essential to understanding ethnic maintenance and its influences, such as ethnic identity, practices and spaces, intergenerational transmission, whiteness and ethnic pride, emotional challenges as well as outer structures, particularly religious influences.

In connection to these debates, the thesis also meets several requests for further research, most significantly the following:

1) It traces patterns of ethnic maintenance through to as far as the fifth generation and contributes to an understanding of ethnic continuity and multigenerational maintenance (Douma 2014).
2) It addresses and challenges prevailing debates about 'distance' and the emotional challenges in transnational family life (Skrbiš 2008, Baldassar 2015, 2016).
3) It shifts the focus from an exclusively inwardly direction to also gaze towards the borders of the ethnic community and explore mechanisms of 'othering' and ethnic safeguarding (Brøndal 2016).
4) It attends to how ethnicity is maintained and appears among later generation descendants (Gans 2014, 2015; Waters 1990).
5) It investigates processes of intergenerational transmission, including how second- and later generation identities are shaped, rather than how they appear (outcomes) (Bertaux and Thompson 2009, Somerville 2008).
6) It explores and discusses how contexts, not least in terms of religious and ethnic spaces, impact ethnic maintenance (Alba 1990, Gans 2014).

The thesis concludes that there is variety in how and why the different generations maintain Danish practices and self-perceptions abroad. As explored mainly in Articles 2 and 4, maintenance and transmission among first generations who were born, raised and socialised in Denmark, seem largely to be a way of coping emotionally with the challenges that follow in the wake of leaving an old home due to loss of familiarity and destabilised notions of self and belonging. This holds true in both migration cases, despite variation in place, and more importantly perhaps, in time. Both current first generation Danish migrants to Melbourne, Australia, and Danish migrants to the USA at the turn of the 20th century experienced the transnational migration as a significant 'turning point' in their lives. And as Thomas and Znaniecki noted also, this experience reflects a richness of emotions. In recent years, there has been a wish to stress the more empowering aspects of transnational migration (e.g. Boldt 2012), including a wish to 'de-demonise' the impacts of distance on transnational family life (Baldassar 2016). This thesis recognises the valuable possibilities of ICTs, for example, on transnational family lives. Yet, judging from the empirical material on first generations in this study, ICT's do not 'adequately' eliminate all the challenges that distance – directly and indirectly - causes. In relation to this discussion, the thesis also suggests that in exploring ethnic maintenance and transnational family life it is fruitful to include an intergenerational perspective comprising more than just two generations as researchers have widely done so far. As Article 2 demonstrates, the relationship between generations further apart such as grandparents and grandchildren, for example, also affect migrants' motivations to transmit (and maintain) ethnicity abroad.

The emotional hardships, which have been explored earlier by scholars such as Handlin (1951), Skårdal (1974) and Hirschmann (2004) seem to persist in newer migrations too and despite the fact that, in both cases, decisions to leave were rational and freely undertaken. The thesis argues that ethnic spaces, both historically in the USA and in Australia today, are used by first generations as a way of coping, both practically(to find housing and jobs, for example) and emotionally. Practically, however, support by way of ethnic spaces seems more acute (and accessible) in the US case, particularly due to the migrants' inability to speak the language of their new country. Emotionally, ethnic spaces function as 'safe spaces' or emotional refuges which help soothe homesickness.

Handlin's critics saw their notion of migrants as 'transplanted' as a critical break away from his theory on 'uprootedness'. This dissertation, however, supports the more recent research by Hirschmann (2004), arguing that migrants bring their ancestral traditions with them overseas largely *because* of the emotional challenges that arise from such a significant turning point. Though the two concepts may be – and have been - questioned altogether, one could say that 'transplantation' (or more correctly perhaps, the attempts to maintain ethnicity and engage in ethnic spaces abroad) becomes a consequences of (voluntary) 'uprootedness', rather than its contradiction.

Due to feelings of guilt towards their families in the old countries, primarily amongst females, migrants in Australia also use ethnic spaces to transmit 'Danishness' to their second generation children. As demonstrated, such practices also appear to have a temporal aspect to them, though such intersections provide good topics for more in-depth research.

Second generation maintenance, explored primarily in Articles 1 and 2, pertain largely to the parents' efforts to transmit ethnic practices and self-perceptions to their children. This is done both through encouragement of ethnic engagement in the new country as well as through longer or shorter visits to Denmark. Earlier research has established that second generations aim to strike a balance between pressures to adapt to the new country and pressure to maintain ties to the homeland (Levitt 2009, 1239). Though the empirical sample in the USA could have been explored further on second generations too, this thesis demonstrates that in Australia, second generation ethnic identities are shaped through a set of ethnic spaces, not least due to their parents' need to manage difficult emotions and undertake emotional labour for the benefit of their families in Denmark. Learning Danish language and culture skills, however, are not always the second generation's need from the outset.

As analysed in Article 3, third and later generations maintain Danish practices and self-perceptions because of transmission through family, for which reason the private home is important. But the thesis also argues that transmission is done through engagement primarily in the type of ethnic spaces which Herbert Gans (2015, 757-759) refers to as performing and preserving organisations. Engaging in a debate about whether or not LGE's are about to 'enter into darkness', the thesis supports the argument that it is too simplistic to say that ethnicity declines linearly, generation by generation. Also, the article marks a break away from notions that

ethnic maintenance is a mere characteristic of less dynamic socio-economic locations, such as ethnic enclaves. Rather, despite the fact that the two cases represent a variation in terms of 'place', the ethnic practices and self-perceptions among interviewees in both the USA and Argentina point to the fact that context, in terms of possibilities for ethnic exploration and observation, seems crucial to later identification and potential multigenerational maintenance. Thus, while some Danish migrants and descendants in the USA, Australia and Argentina have assimilated during the first couple of generations, the later generations in the USA and Argentina reflect a sample for which ethnicity has in general been contextually manifest through the generations for a relatively long time (perhaps longest in Argentina). In concluding this, the thesis supports the quantitative findings by Jeppesen (2005, 420-425; 2010, 181), which emphasise location as significant to acculturation processes. However, while location is important to ethnic maintenance, this study does not indicate that it is significant due to differences in economic development and the socio-economic backgrounds of inhabitants. Instead, this dissertation indicates that ethnic maintenance appears to be more linked to the presence of ethnic spaces, which are perhaps often (but not always) more pronounced in the rural settlements. Hence, while ethnicity may often be most profoundly contextually manifest in the old immigrant settlements, it is also possible to be raised, and move, within an ethnic space in the city, thus leading to multigenerational ethnic maintenance here.

As argued in Article 3, the rural Danish colonies in Argentina particularly, have maintained their Danish ties through several generations, when compared to the United States. This may pertain to Danish migrants' difference from Argentinian society in terms of religious and visual appearance, which may have led to further ethnic closure. Article 1, moreover, demonstrates that there can be variation in the extent to which ethnicity is maintained (safeguarded) through the generations in the USA within the settlements (i.e. Grundtvigian versus Inner Mission strands of Danish Lutheranism). This reflects that outer structures, in this case religious influences, have the power to impact and change ethnic contexts so that they may be dissolved faster. This leads to a decreased possibility for ethnic engagement and to faster assimilation.

Finally, the thesis points to the possibility that white privilege and status may have supported multigenerational ethnic maintenance. As scholars have argued that positive attitudes to ethnicity are part of an achieved ethnicity (Phinney and Ong 2007), so proclamations of ethnic pride indicate that descendants in the USA (and Argentina) draw on their white backgrounds to further enjoy the statuses, possibilities and privileges that were granted to their ancestors (Jackson 2019). As a preferred segment of migrants, the effortless migration processes of Danish migrants to Australia indicate that their white capital as Scandinavians has benefited them in this case too. This empirical results of this thesis therefore suggest that scholarship on Scandinavian placement in ethno-racial hierarchies could explore further how this placement is connected to ethnic pride and preference – and maintenance. As LGE's in America have by now multiple ethnic options, does an ethno-racial

hierarchical structure, as well as absent or present pride and privilege, directly influence which ethnicities are the first to 'enter into darkness' and which are proclaimed the longest?

In conclusion, therefore, this dissertation indicates that the ones who have maintained Danish self-perceptions and practices the longest are those who have had the motivation, support, and possibility for engagement in ethnic practices - particularly in terms of child-friendly 'hands-on' activities - throughout the generations. This study indicates that such circumstances seem more influential to ethnic maintenance and processes of adaptation than, say, migrants' and descendants' socio-economic backgrounds per se. While this matter could have been explored much further, such an argument is supported by the fact that even in the more economically dynamic settings of the cities, some migrants and descendants maintain ethnic practices and self-perceptions throughout several generations too.

In relation to the lives of later generation ethnics, scholars question whether it remains meaningful to continue to speak of ethnic maintenance, because ethnicity is often far removed from an 'initial form' to the extent that it may be unrecognisable (Alba 1990, Øverland 2000). From a narrative point of view, this thesis adds to the discussion of how we think about ethnic identity and groups, taking individual self-perceptions as the point of departure. Ethnicity is dynamic, constructed and imagined. As long as people perceive themselves as ethnic, I argue, it makes little sense to speak of where it starts and where it ends. Individual identity is a complex matter in which ethnic backgrounds may take up small or large space. Countless researchers have attempted to capture the nuances through conceptualisations such as hyphenated, bi-cultural, hybrid- or complementary identities. It seems plausible, however, that concurrently with the fact that descendants continuously spread and intermarry, the remaining ethnic spaces increasingly close down and later generations decreasingly feel a need to 'safeguard Danishness' - the lack of context through which ethnicity can be explored, transmitted and maintained may lead to further dis-identification even among those who have 'stayed Danish' the longest. The introductory story of great grandfather Albert in Chicago, illustrated that an earlier, strong ethnic identification and attempts to maintain (and safeguard) to the degree that we may speak of separation, has now moved towards a weaker identification and maintenance amongst LGE's. We may more correctly then speak of integration moving towards assimilation , as with Albert's great granddaughter, Lily, for example. The transformation has been a multigenerational process, however, and some LGE's still practice and identify with 'being Danish' – even if only a little. Bearing in mind the instances of ethnic resurrections, moreover, who knows if ethnicity will ever permanently enter into darkness.

4.3. FUTURE RESEARCH

This PhD dissertation has shown how multigenerational ethnic maintenance amongst Danish migrants and their descendants abroad is largely a matter of motivation and having continuous contextual possibilities for engagement in ethnic practices, not least child-friendly 'hands-on' activities. As this thesis empirically builds on a number of life story interviews, the ways in which ethnic maintenance has been studied and analysed was first and foremost propelled by the most significant patterns in the empirical data. The articles were also given direction due to the aims of specific journals and requests for further research. Because the scope of this PhD project is limited due to formal standards as well as time and means available, other factors could gainfully be explored further in future research studies.

Jeppesen (2010), for example, notes that economic considerations played the most significant role in causing some second generation Danish Americans to leave the Danish colonies. The intersections between socioeconomic statuses and ethnic maintenance could indeed have been interesting to explore further. Moreover, the question of how different outer structures such as national or religious authorities have the capabilities to put pressure on assimilation processes or support ethnic maintenance (and safeguarding) elsewhere could provide an interesting comparative study.

Other intersectional aspects to ethnic maintenance, not least temporal and gendered influences which are touched upon in this thesis, deserve further attention too. The higher weight of female interest in preserving ethnic history, also through participation in this project, indicates that females yet function as symbolic bearers of the nation. Whether such patterns change as gendered household patterns change in some countries too, is a good question.

Considering Erika Jackson's (2019) new publication on the white privilege of Scandinavians in Chicago in the late 19th century, this thesis has discussed how descendants might have claimed their white backgrounds to enjoy ethno-racial privilege even today, and how ethnic pride and status could have enhanced the desire to maintain ethnicity. A study on descendants' use of their white backgrounds could, however, have been explored in much further detail. Such a continuation of Jackson's study provides an interesting topic for further research. Moreover, current Scandinavian migrants use of their ethno-racial background elsewhere abroad could provide a noteworthy comparative angle to her work.

Finally, this thesis recommends more research on Danish/Scandinavian migrants' placement in global migration history, historically as well as today. For example, more than 500,000 letters and 20,000 photos have recently been digitised at the Danish Emigration Archives, providing an obvious opportunity for further studies on the lives of the first immigrants in America and, for example, on their encounters with other ethnic groups. I also call attention to the fact that large amounts of archival material on Danes abroad, not least in Australia, is as yet waiting to be properly preserved and made available for scholarly use. Shifting the focus from Scandinavians in American contexts exclusively, to other global

destinations by way of more comparative studies, could enhance further understanding of migration processes and experiences in general. This may in turn provide valuable insights into current debates on immigration and the increasingly negative attention given to migrants within Europe.

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Date:	**Place:**	**Interviewees name:**
Age:	Sex:	Interviewer:
Recruitment channel:	Phone:	E-mail:

Date of birth:	**Place of birth:**	**Home town (childhood):**
Names of father/occupation:	Name of mother/occupation:	Siblings/occupation:
Education:	Marriage? Date and place:	Name of husband/wife and occupation:

Children/occupation:		
Job/occupation now:	Most typical occupation during life time:	Home town (now):

Before interview start:

Before we start, I can tell you a bit about my PhD project. It focuses on migration from Denmark to the US and to Australia; to the US in the period 1850-1920 and to Australia after WW2. Meanwhile, while I focus on migration from Denmark, my PhD Fellow colleague is focusing on migration to Denmark from Romania and Turkey and my supervisor is doing a project on migration to Argentina. So my PhD is actually part of a broader research project which seeks to find patterns – similarities and differences - in historical and contemporary migration cases – to and from Denmark.

My research project is – as you know – based on family histories and life stories. I am very interested the life stories of the descendants of the first migrants from Denmark, since I find it really interesting how the lives of the descendants have developed through the generations. So before I hear more about your family history, I am very eager to first hear **YOUR** life story.

Anonymity

I expect this interview to last about an hour or two depending on how much you have at heart. I record our conversation and when I get home, I or a student worker will transcribe the interview and I will use it for analytic purposes in my research. I will be the only one to know your real name, though, and when using the interview in my PhD I will give you another name. **Is that OK with you?**

Do you have any questions before we start?

Interview start

So I would like you to tell me your life story. I will not be saying much even though I might have a few questions as we go along. I would like you to start with your childhood and work your way up. But the way you tell it and what you tell me is entirely up to you.

Additional questions (for interviewer use during interview)

Childhood	Friends, family, locality, school
Youth	Education, hobbies, friends
Adulthood	Family relations (marriage/children), work life, religion, locality, transnationality
Old age	Future, locality, transnationality

Relation to religion

Relation to Denmark

Questioning technique: (could you tell me a bit more about/deepen; what about; repeat…)

Family histories

So now that you have told me your own life story I would love to hear a bit more about your family. Do you know anything of your ancestors that came to the US from Denmark? Could you tell me a bit about it?

Collecting diaries, letters, photos, etc.

Exhibition

My PhD Fellow and I are completing the PhDs in cooperation with The Danish Immigrant Museum and there will be a few exhibitions of our findings in Copenhagen and Aalborg when we reach 2017. In connection to that I have a few questions as to if and how I may use the interviews. It is of course 100% voluntary if you feel like it.

Complete contract form and take picture if allowed.

Round-off

Thank you…

When I listen to these recordings again and if I am in doubt about anything, would it be OK if I contacted you again with a few questions?

Do you have any questions for me before we finish off?

PART 2: THE ARTICLES

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