

Finland and the International Movement of People in Changing Europe

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Summary (p. 27-34)

The starting point for Finnish migration policy in the 1990s, the decade of European integration, will be significantly different from that in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the years of the last great wave of emigration, or from that of the late 1970s and early 1980s during a period of high unemployment.

Finland has rapidly moved into a post-industrial society, which, measured by various standards of living indicators, has reached and even surpassed the earlier target countries of Finnish emigration. On the reverse side of this rapid economic growth and structural change are an overheated economy, labour shortage, high taxation and a high price and expenditure level compared with many competitor countries. Continued economic growth, together with an aging labour force and smaller numbers of newcomers on the labour market, has made many people ask whether we shall have a sufficient labour force in the 1990s.

The international movement of labour has been positive for Finland during the last decade, although the figures have been in decline. Immigration is increasing again and hopes for importing labour are even higher. The coming recession may indeed check the need to import labour force. The numbers are, in any case, relatively small by international standards, and due to the low starting point Finland has a chance to avoid the mistakes in migration policy made by many industrialized countries in the 1960s and 1970s, if we just proceed calmly and pursue a controlled aliens policy.

The traditional economic and social causes have become less important for potential Finnish emigrants. Despite criticism of taxation and availability of housing, Finland's competitiveness is high compared with many other countries taking immigrants. Moreover, numerous obstacles diminish desire to immigrate to Finland compared with many other industrialized countries. Individual values, life situations and case-specific considerations instead of economic and social reasons, have begun to influence mass immigration. Such factors include the availability of housing, language, the degree of identification with one's

own culture, taxation, climate, the need for two jobs because of women working and educational opportunities for children.

The international mobility of labour took different forms in Western Europe, particularly after the oil crisis. Growth in the number of multinational corporations and their evolution into global networks has led to the quick expansion of international transfers of executives and employees with special technical skills within corporations. International mobility may turn out to be a special career for both those working for companies and international organizations as well as those specializing in various project duties. Mobility concerning marketing is also changing as marketing is being taken care of by representatives sent from the home country to target companies for a few days or weeks. In densely populated border areas on the Continent, labour markets may cross frontiers, at least for some professions. Finland also has experience of cooperation in frontier regions. The exchange of students and trainees is another form of mobility that will become more common in the future. Plans concerning it are being devised both by the EC and Nordic countries.

The Migration Commission has taken the view that abolishing administrative obstacles to the mobility of labour, in connection with European integration, will not bring about any dramatic change in migration. The nature of migration, however, will change in the direction of temporary residence, fixed-term training and working connected with career development. Internationalization also increases human contacts and thus furthers migration. As social security and pay differentials become less important, other obstacles and prerequisites pertaining to migration have more impact. Experience seems to show that migration even in border areas is relatively low in both the EC and Nordic countries. Gross figures may grow somewhat, but net figures are likely to remain stable.

Despite West European integration, actual migration pressure on Finland comes from outside this area, i.e. from third countries, and that area is likely to be Eastern Europe, particularly the Soviet Union and Soviet territory adjacent to Finland.

Economic and social development in Finland, the demographic situation in Finland and elsewhere in Europe and anticipated political and economic change in the international community mean that those fixed ideas, which during the last few decades have controlled the behaviour of in-

dividuals, companies and authorities, are no longer valid premises for our migration policy. Emigration should not be regarded merely as a negative phenomenon to be controlled by all possible means. Finland is no longer a country with excess labour and therefore the availability of labour will be an important factor in future investment decisions, and seeing to the needs of labour already working in companies is one of the central strategic objectives for corporations and employer organizations. Importing labour may alleviate an individual labour shortage, but foreign experience shows that imports of labour create a new need for labour force and may also worsen labour bottlenecks, if they discourage the domestic labour force from applying for positions in a given field.

The principles formulated by the Migration Commission during the last few decades still provide a sound basis for policy in the 1990s:

1. Each country must secure its economic and social development primarily with its own labour resources.
2. Migration policy must further balance development in the labour market.
3. Migration policy must be based on the principle of reciprocity.
4. Transnational immigration policy and policy affecting a single country must be seen as separate issues.
5. As regards the arrival of aliens in a country, refugee policy and labour policy must be separated. Humanitarian grounds and principles based on the refugees' own needs must remain the criteria for acceptance.

According to the Migration Commission, we should assess the extent to which views based on language policy and cultural policy should be considered. Attention should then be paid to the effect of Finnish immigration policy on the social situation and cultural viability of the countries of origin.

In assessing the alternatives offered by migration policy and objectives concerning emigration, it is apparent that the pressure of traditional emigration is minor but that the nature and structure of migration are changing. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which the difficult housing situation prevailing in some areas, obstacles to mobility within a single country and taxation promote emigration. On the other hand, building a career in the EES, particularly in jobs requiring professional skills, requires adequate knowledge of languages. The narrow range of Finnish language skills means that the number of jobs available is limited and the income level lower than in Finland,

even if taxation differentials are taken into account.

Paradoxically then, emigration is not likely to reach the required level. European integration and other changes taking place in our neighbouring areas mean that there is a growing need for internationalization and that participation in international interaction will be one of the keys of success in the 1990s. Therefore, Finland should build its emigration policy on a completely new basis.

Temporary employment abroad, international trainee exchange and study abroad should be more closely linked with career development. Public authorities should grant substantially more resources for international trainee exchange, scholarships, study abroad and for other development of labour resources based on temporary foreign residence. People should also be encouraged to study languages other than English. These training measures should be tied with taxation, pay policy and other labour market policy measures which would make working abroad and returning to Finland an attractive option. This would promote internationalization of our country, increase the know-how of the labour force and create commercial, scientific and cultural networks of contacts.

Analysis of the alternatives and objectives of immigration policy indicate that the strategy of Finnish policy is primarily based on **full utilization of our own labour resources** before foreign labour is recruited. Although labour reserves in the country are limited, they should be used for the good of society as a whole by improving the prerequisites for work through more efficient early rehabilitation, reduced regional differences in unemployment, a better work environment and fewer occupational accidents and full utilization of manpower services. Attention should also be paid to labour force motivation.

As European integration advances and administrative obstacles to the free movement of labour are eliminated, obstacles concerning labour recruitment will also be abolished. Since the EES countries will largely compete for the same labour force, it is vital for companies and other employers to see to the needs of their own labour.

Encouraging former Finnish residents to return has been included in the present Government programme and this policy should retain priority after development of our own labour force resources. Efforts to attract Finnish residents to return, however, should be linked closely to immigration policy. Information, seminars, brochure-

res or improved educational facilities for immigrant children are not adequate to promote return. Various measures by business and government are needed to improve adjustment, careers and utilization of skills of former Finnish residents. Moreover, it must be possible for people of retirement age to return to their native country of birth.

Mobility in the free European labour market forms the third circle of Finnish immigration policy. In future, the free labour market of the EES will form an entity consisting of the EC labour market, the Nordic labour market and Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein. At present, immigration from the EC countries accounts for only 15 % of the total and even if administrative obstacles to mobility were removed, the attractiveness of Finland among EC nationals is not likely to grow.

It is still not clear how the distinctive features of the **Nordic labour market** will be evident within this entity in case of an EES. In practice, however, the Nordic labour market will remain a migration area mostly for the Finnish-born. Citizens of other Nordic countries still seem very little inclined to move to Finland.

In the future, when immigration from the EES area cannot be limited or controlled by administrative measures, the authorities are left with the means of information now employed between Finland and other Nordic countries. The increase in foreign labour may cause problems in the observance of the terms of employment and equal treatment and that is why collaboration between employer and employee organizations and authorities should be improved further to avoid the rise of a grey labour market.

The fourth area within Finnish immigration policy is the **movement from third countries** outside the EES. In the Finnish view these countries form a rather heterogenous region of origin for labour because they differ with respect to their culture, economic development and social system.

The Migration Commission has estimated that most of the immigration pressure on Finland comes from Eastern Europe, particularly Soviet territory adjacent to Finland, the Baltic countries and Poland. It is a completely different matter whether the structure of this immigration would permit immediate placement of those eager to move without extensive further education, retraining and language studies.

Migration to Finland from Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union in particular, is not merely a question of immigration or labour policy. Management of migration and economic and social develop-

ment in the said countries should be seen as an entity which Finland could also influence. Pressures to migrate could be alleviated by promoting cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union and by developing joint business ventures in the Soviet Union. More extensive international aid could reduce the desire to immigrate because of actual poverty.

Measures called for by pressures from Eastern Europe are based on the view that immigration to Finland will be governed by Finland's own decisions, regardless of regulations concerning emigration in the country of origin. To ensure that immigration conforms to legal provisions and that it does not become illegal, the authorities exercising the power to issue visas and work permits should be granted the resources necessary to expedite decision-making. Care should also be taken so that various Finnish bodies would not create empty hopes among potential emigrants in their country.

Characteristic of immigration from third countries (excluding return immigration of Finnish nationals) is the fact that it is and will be controlled with residence and work permits, despite European integration. Conditions for permits can be easier or made more stringent in individual cases and the issuance procedure can be simplified.

There are a number of strategies available for regulation of immigration: The basic issue involved in the labour import or job export strategy is whether the need for labour is met through immigration or whether cooperation in production with the countries of origin is promoted, investment increased and jobs created in Finnish companies abroad. A strategy of this kind can facilitate management of the labour shortage, ensure the viability of companies in Finland and also promote Finnish prosperity through repatriation of capital.

A strategy based on temporary immigration is recommended by the fact that immigration policy can then be linked with support for the overall development of the regions of origin. With respect to the import of a permanent labour force, we must ask whether the need for health care personnel, for example, or technicians is greater in the relevant countries of origin than in Finland. Immigration policy is an entity in this respect, too. The effects of measures on the viability of the regions of origin must be taken into account.

Should the reasons for immigration involve labour force policy, the Migration Commission is of the opinion that the principle of accepting only those for whom there is a real need should be the

basis for regulation of immigration from third countries. This would be the need after

- the existing labour reserve in the country has been employed,
- the prospects for the return of former Finnish residents and their actual numbers have been forecast,
- the future net immigration from the EES has been assessed,
- the capacity of society to receive refugees has been estimated,
- and the immigration caused by unification of families has been estimated.

In the opinion of the Migration Commission, a more selective policy with respect to immigration from third countries should be pursued. Work permits should be used to curb import of labour for poorly paid work calling for little skill. The prospects for making immigration more selective by assessing the need for labour in each sector in advance, for example by specifying the sectoral criteria for granting work permits annually in advance (by consulting with the relevant labour market organizations), should be considered.

It has not been the task of the Migration Commission to assess Finland's refugee policy, although the reception of refugees is, however, linked to the scaling of immigration and the treatment of refugees already in the country is likewise linked to that of other immigrants.

The Migration Commission is of the opinion that humanitarian criteria alone should remain the basis for reception of refugees. The prospects for refugees to cope in Finnish society, however, must be taken into account. Here job prospects are important. After the integration phase stipulated in the UN agreement on the legal position of refugees, refugees must be equated with the rest of the foreign population in Finland with respect to their status on the labour market, social security and other treatment. This must be taken into account in planning the volume of services intended for foreigners living in the country.

The Migration Commission is of the opinion that the conceptual content of refugee status should be specified. For example, it should be determined whether there are economic refugees or environmental refugees to whom the above-mentioned humanitarian criteria should be applied or whether these are new manifestations of conventional immigration.

In European countries immigration policy is usually not linked with demographic policy goals. Taking into account the forecastable demographic and labour force trend, the Migration

Commission has, however, considered the lack of an official demographic policy in Finland a problem. Such a policy would include a population target for Finland, and targets for social, family, educational and housing policy could be linked to it. A demographic policy of this kind would form the basis for the target-oriented scaling of migration with major impact on policy, and facilitate development of a consistent, controlled policy. It must also be borne in mind that demographic trends are very difficult to influence through policy. Many factors of uncertainty also hamper forecasting of migration.

The Migration Commission has, however, noted on the basis of estimates it has made, that should our present population be chosen as the target of demographic policy, and should this population be influenced primarily through immigration, Finland would have to admit some 25,000 immigrants annually for decades. An estimated 15,000 of these immigrants would remain annually.

Should the forecast labour shortage be met entirely through immigration, labour force immigration should comprise some 15,000 new immigrants annually. Taking possible return of former Finnish residents into account, this would necessitate net immigration of 10,000 new immigrants annually. The number includes family members and refugees. Unless our own labour force can be more effectively employed, our immigration policy should be scaled accordingly.

It is the view of the Migration Commission that the reforms related to regulation and legislation of the migration required by European integration and changes in the environment for the implementation of policy are merely the tip of the iceberg. The true touchstone of Finnish immigration policy will be to ensure equal treatment to the foreign population in the country, both within special groups and in relation to the native population. Should immigration policy be scaled according to the volume of immigration described above, planning of services to meet the needs of a growing foreign population should be undertaken immediately.

The immigration administration in Finland is divided among several branches, and is not efficient enough. The aliens bill introduced in Parliament on May 18, 1990, will not bring about any basic change in this state of affairs. With respect to the legal rights of immigrants to Finland, equality among them, equality and equal treatment in relation to the native population, co-ordination of policy pertaining to residence of foreigners in Fin-

land must be increased. The goal should be development of administration along the lines of the models already implemented in the other Nordic countries. By combining the Migration Commission under the Ministry of Labour with the Refugee Commission under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, co-ordination of immigration, alien and refugee affairs could be improved, particularly with respect to the foreign population residing in the country.

Ensuring the co-ordination of measures concerning immigration of foreigners, international mobility and efficient processing of work and residence permits is even more important as the volume of immigration increases rapidly. Securing the resources and other technical prerequisites for immigration and its control is necessary. In order to prevent the formation of grey labour markets, supervision of foreign labour must be improved, especially at workplaces. A system for supervising the terms of employment and rights of foreign employees should be devised without delay. Work permit procedure should be further accelerated and made more flexible. This will require closer co-operation between labour market organizations and the authorities.

Collaboration between different sectors of administration should also be extended to the interpreting and language instruction needed by foreigners, to occupational orientation, housing conditions, support for independent cultural activity, and to other measures designed to promote adjustment. Cooperation of this kind also calls for concerted effort on the part of local government, labour market and civic organizations.

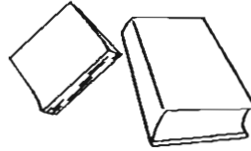
Reciprocal recognition of degrees and terms for qualification are of primary importance for the public sector and the professions. Labour market organizations should have an opportunity to take part in the work of those bodies of educational authorities, the Ministry of Education and the National Board of Vocational Education, which are responsible for assessing foreign educational qualifications. This would result in a permanent follow-up body, which would also have an opportunity to make relevant proposals for official action.

The procedure for determining the validity of foreign qualifications should be developed so that foreigners would be able to demonstrate their professional competence. Also, the wherewithal to acquire the language training needed for work and to take part in further training must be provided.

Internationalization and European integration have created new needs for research. Research

should aim at flexibility and the capacity to respond quickly to new needs. A new research programme for migration policy should be devised without delay, and collaboration in research with other countries should be expanded and intensified.

Finland may not be able to exert a significant effect on the channelling of immigration flows, but it is in the country's interest to see that international migration is controlled. For that reason Finland must play an active role in co-operation regarding migration policy, in the development of bilateral cooperation and in the creation of an international system of norms in which the human rights of the individual are secured, the interests of states taken into account and the duties of authorities specified.



Marja-Liisa Pynnönen, Siirtolaisuuden vanavedessä. Tutkimus ruotsinsuomalaisen kirjallisuuden kentästä vuosina 1956–1988. Tampere 1991, 399 s.

Erilaisten marginaaliryhmien tutkimus on vähitellen astumassa suomalaiseen kirjallisuuden tutkimukseen. Viime syksynä ilmestyi Aulikki Jalavan väitöskirja Neuvosto-Karjalan suomenkielisestä epiikasta. Tämän vuoden alussa oli Marja-Liisa Pynnösen ruotsinsuomalaista kirjallisuutta käsittelevän väitöskirjan vuoro. Suomalaisen sekä suomenkielisen kirjallisuuden kuva laajenee maantieteellisesti näiden tutkimuksien avulla, ja erilaisten marginaaliryhmien käsittely purkaa sopivasti kuvaa rajatusta korkeakirjallisuudesta.

Marja-Liisa Pynnösen väitöskirja *Siirtolaisuuden vanavedessä* on lähtökohdiltaan kirjallisuussosiologinen tutkimus. Tarkastelu rajataan kirjallisuuden kentän eri osa-alueiden tutkimukseen kuten teosten tuotantoon, jakeluun ja kulutukseen. Näiden perusteella Pynnönen pyrkii muodostamaan kokonaiskuvan ruotsinsuomalaisen kirjallisuuden tuotannon ehdoista sekä kirjallisuuden

kirjoittajista, välittäjistä ja lukijoista. Tutkimuksen tavoite on haastavan ja arveluttavankin laaja: tekijän pyrkimyksenä on tehdä ruotsinsuomalaisen kirjallisuuden koko järjestelmän perusselvitys. Tutkimus rakentuu hieman hajanaisesti. Pynnönen tarkastelee laajasti siirtolaisuuden historiaa, ruotsinsuomalaisen kirjallisuuden syntyhistoriaa, kirjailijoiden sukupolvijakautumista, mukana on lukijatutkimusta, ja vielä omana osanaan on kaunokirjallisten tekstien analyysiluku, jonka perusteella käsitellään kaunokirjallisuuden antamaa kuvaa siirtolaisuudesta. Suomen kielen merkitys Ruotsissa asuville suomalaisille tulee esille koko tutkimuksen ajan.

Tutkimusaineiston selvittäminen osoittaa, että Pynnösen tutkimus on suuritöinen haaste. Aineistoon kuuluvat siirtolaislehdet, painettu ja painamaton kirjallisuus, kirjallisuusinstituutioiden perustamiseen liittyvät asiakirjat, tiedot haastatteluista kirjailijoista, kirjeet tutkimuksen tekijälle sekä eräät radio- ja televisio-ohjelmat. Näiden lisäksi aineiston osana ovat kirjallisuutta koskevat artikkelit, kriitikit ja historiikit. Myös siirtolais- ja sosiologisten tutkimusten esittely on mittavaa, koska ne osaltaan muodostavat tutkimuksen teoreettisen rungon. Turhan tarkasti Pynnönen pysähtyy Euroopan siirtotyöläisten ja etnisten vähemmistöjen sekä ruotsalaisen siirtolaishistorian yksityiskohtiin.

Pynnönen selvittelee huolellisesti ruotsinsuomalaisen kirjallisuuden ja julkaisukanavien syntyä ja kehitystä. Tuotantokoneiston esittely onkin tarpeellinen, sillä sen avulla konkretisoituvat julkaisemisen ongelmat ja kustannustoiminnan merkityksellisyys. Kirjailijoiden järjestäytyminen sekä Finn-Kirjan toiminta ovat olleet omaehtoisen kirjallisuuden selkärangan. Mielenkiintoinen kysymys on toiminnan jatkuvuus, sillä tutkimuksesta käy ilmi, että kustannustoiminta on viime vuosina hiipunut. Paikoin Pynnösen esitys on teosluetteloa ilmestyneistä kaunokirjallisista teksteistä, mikä sellaisenaan ei syvennä tutkimusta. Tämä aineisto yhdessä liitteinä olevien teos- ja tekiäluetteloiden kanssa muodostaa kuitenkin tarpeellisen suomenruotsalaisen kirjallisuuden bibliografian. Tekijä itse arvioi, että hän on saanut tietoonsa n. 90–95 % ruotsinsuomalaisesta kirjallisuudesta vuosilta 1956–1988.

Vastakuvan kirjallisuuden tuotannon kuvaukselle tuo lukijatutkimus. Pynnönen osoittaa, että ruotsinsuomalaiset ovat ahkeria lukijoita, mutta siirtolaiskirjallisuus on heillekin melko tuntematonta. Myös siirtolaiskirjallisuuden pienet painokset kertovat kysynnän vähäisyydestä. Suosituin kirjanhankintakeino onkin lainaus. Oman piirteen-

sä siirtolaiskirjailijoiden markkinoille tuo myös se, että siirtolaiskirjailijat kilpailevat Suomessa maan keränneläisten kanssa ja jäävät kirjallisissa asioissa lähes poikkeuksetta näiden jalkoihin.

Kirjailijoiden ja kirjoittajien tarkastelu perustuu sukupolvierotteluun. Ruotsinsuomalaisista kirjallisuutta on kirjoitettu neljän sukupolven voimin, joista nuorimmat ovat 50-luvulla syntyneitä. Huomionarvoista on, että kaikki ovat ensimmäisen polven siirtolaisia. Mielenkiintoista olisi ollut pohdita laajemmin kysymystä, nouseeko toisen polven siirtolaisista kirjallisuuden jatkajia – lukijahaastattelut antavat tähän puoleen pienen viitteeseen: siirtolaisnuoret ovat sulautumassa valtakulttuuriin. Pynnönen väläyttää neljä lähikuvaa ruotsinsuomalaisista kirjailijoista, jotka on valittu kuitenkin niin, että vanhimman polven ääni jää kuulematta. Puutteena pidän sitä, että haastatteltavien valintaa ei perustella ja että haastattelujen perusteella ei juurikaan tehdä johtopäätöksiä; haastattelujen painaminen jää siten irralliseksi. Linjanvetona voi nähdä sen, että Pynnönen kytkee tutkimansa siirtolaiskirjailijat työläiskirjailijoihin.

Oma kysymyksensä on ruotsinsuomalaisen kirjallisuuden sijoittaminen: onko siirtolaisten kirjallisuus Ruotsin vai Suomen kirjallisuutta? Pynnösen keskeisenä määrittelyperiaatteena on teosten aihepiiri – kirjallisuutta on ilmestynyt sekä Ruotsin että suomen kielellä kuten Suomessaakin, joten kieli ei ole tärkein erotteluperuste. Pynnösen mukaan siirtolaisuuden ja suomalaisuuden kuvaus liittyy siirtolaiskirjallisuuden Suomeen. Toisaalta Pynnönen painottaa myös julkaisupaikkaa ja -tapaa. Suomessa julkaistut, ruotsinsuomalaisien omien julkaisukanavien kautta tai omakustanteina suomeksi julkaistut teokset ovat oma haaransa suomalaista kirjallisuutta. Toisaalta ruotsinsuomalaisen vähemmistökulttuurin vakiintuminen mahdollisesti siirtää ruotsinsuomalaisten itsensä kustantamat teokset osaksi Ruotsin suomenkielistä kirjallisuutta. Yhtenäistä tai yksiselitteistä ratkaisua Pynnönen ei siis ongelmaan löydä.

Kaunokirjallisuuden siirtolaiskuvausten tarkastelun liittäminen tutkimukseen merkitsee sitä, että kirjallisuussosiologia on ymmärretty hyvin väljästi.

Siirtolaiskirjallisuus on jaettu erilaisiin aihepiireihin, joita ovat esim. vähemmistön suhde valtakulttuuriin, kieleen, identiteettiin, entiseen kotimaahan. Mielenkiintoista on, että kirjallisuus on ilmestynyt 30 vuoden kuluessa, ja uusimmissakin tuotoksissa yksilön sopeutumisen ja yhteisöllisen suomalaisidentiteetin säilyttäminen ovat yleisiä teemoja. Aihepiirejä on monia ja toteutuksia

myös. Pynnösen tutkimuksessa siirtolaiskuvauksia pidetään sinänsä arvokkaina, koska niiden katsotaan dokumentoivan siirtolaisten kokemuksia. Moneen suuntaan leviäviä ongelmia tuottaa kuitenkin se, että kaunokirjallisuutta ei voi pitää suorana dokumenttina.

Pentti Saarikoski on luonnehtinut ruotsinsuomalaisen kirjallisuuden tasoa ”hellyttävän surkeaksi”. Arvottamistapoja on monia, ja Marja-Liisa Pynnönen tuokin tutkimuksessaan esille, että esteettisten arvotuksien ohi onkin usein mennyt oman äidinkielen ja siirtolaisidentiteetin vahvistaminen.

Tutkimuksesta paljastuu didaktinen tavoite. Pynnönen haluaa tukea ja edistää Ruotsissa asuvien suomalaisten kirjallisuutta sekä korostaa, että ruotsinsuomalaisilla on tutkimisen arvoinen ja omanlaisensa kirjallinen kulttuuri. *Siirtolaisuuden vanavedessä* on pioneerityö, jossa on kartoitettu ruotsinsuomalaisen kirjallisuuden taustoja. Tämän tutkimuksen pohjalta on mahdollista syventää ruotsinsuomalaisen kirjallisuuden tutkimusta ja avata silhen toisenlaisiakin näkökulmia.

Tuija Takala