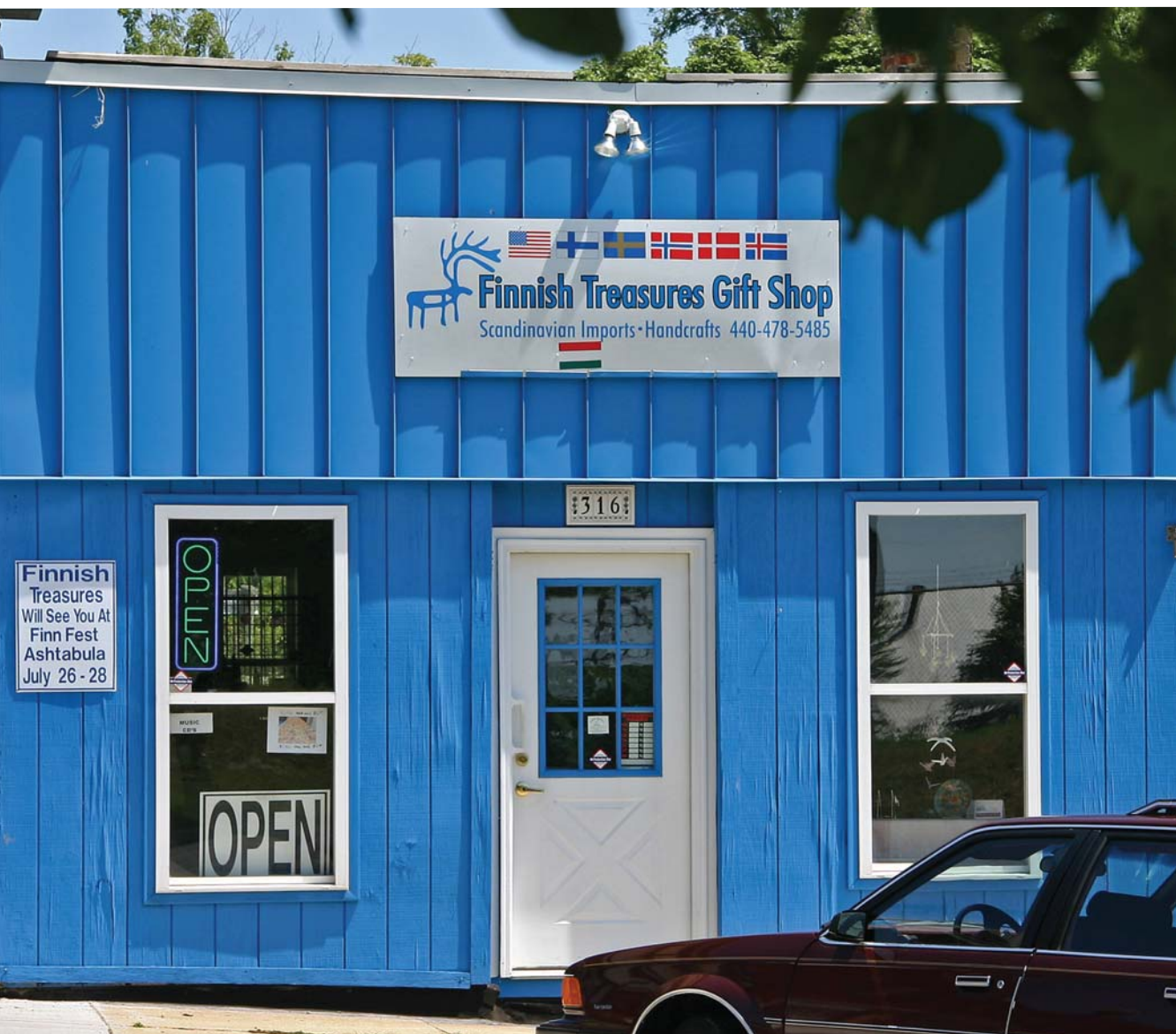




SIIRTOLAISUUS MIGRATION

1/2008



Siirtolaisuus – Migration 1/2008

35. vuosikerta / 35th year
ISSN 0355-3779

Julkaisija / Publisher

Siirtolaisuusinstituutti
Migrationsinstitutet
The Institute of Migration
Linnankatu 61, 20100 Turku, Finland
Puh. / tel. (0)2-2840 440
Fax (0)2-2333 460
email: taisai@utu.fi
<http://www.migrationinstitute.fi>

Pohjanmaan aluekeskus
Österbottens regioncenter
Regional Centre of Ostrobothnia
Keikulinkuja 1, 61100 Peräseinäjoki, Finland
Puh. / tel. (0)44-2592447
Fax (0)6-4181 279
email: siirtolaisuusinstituutti@netikka.fi

Päätoimittaja / Editor-in-Chief

Olavi Koivukangas

Toimitussihteeri / Editorial Assistant

Kirsi Sainio

Toimittajat / Editors

Krister Björklund, Elli Heikkilä

Toimituskunta / Editorial Board

Siirtolaisuusinstituutin hallitus
Administrative Board of the Institute of
Migration

Taitto / Layout

Kirsi Sainio

Tilaushinta 2007 / Subscriptions 2007

4 numeroa / nummer / issues
15 €/vuosi/år/year
OP 571113-11117

VAMMALAN KIRJAPAINO OY

Sisältö • Contents

- *Olavi Koivukangas*
Siirtolaiset veivät Kalevalan mukanaan maailmalle
- *Edward Dutton*
A 'Unique Culture'? Migration, Nostalgia, Alcoholism, Suicide and Religious Revival in Finland
- *Tiina Lammervo*
First generation Finnish speakers in Australia - language maintenance and attitudes
- *Norman Westerberg*
Swedish Finns in the World Today
- *Elli Heikkilä ja Sirkku Wilkman*
Attraction of the Nordic Countries in International Migration
- *Markku Mattila*
Aluepäällikön palsta
- **Kirjat • Böcker • Books**
- *Tellervo Lahti*
Kanadan kultamaat yhä 107-vuotiaan muistoissa
- **Siirtolaisuusmuseon kuulumisia**

*Kansi/Cover: Finnish Treasures Gift Shop,
Fairport Harbor, Ohio.*
Kuva/Photo: Jouni Korkiasaari

Siirtolaiset veivät Kalevalan mukanaan maailmalle



Olavi Koivukangas

110 vuotta Kalevan Ritarien perustamisesta

*”Vaan kaikki Väinölän lapset
Jo eksyi toisistaan
Kuin tuulispäässä hapset.
Ne kaikk’ on irrallaan.”*

Suomesta on lähtenyt yli miljoona siirtolaista eri puolille maailmaa, erityisesti Yhdysvaltoihin ja Ruotsiin. Ennen toista maailmansotaa muutti 400 000 suomalaista, pääasiassa Yhdysvaltoihin. Mukanaan he veivät äidinkieltään ja suomalaisen kulttuurin. Siirtolaisen matkalaukussa oli usein raamattu ja ehkä myös kansalliseepoksemme Kaleva ruisleivän ja voirasian välissä. Vuosien kuluessa siirtolaiset omaksuivat valtaväestön kielen ja kulttuuria yksilöllisellä nopeudella.

On Kalevala on mennyt maailmalle ominkin jalojin. Henry Longfellow oli tutustunut Euroopan matkallaan Kalevalaan, ja se oli hänen esikuvanaan v. 1855 valmistuneessa intiaanieppoksessa The Song of Hiawatha. J.R.R. Tolkienille Kalevala oli tärkeä inspiraation lähde hänen luodessaan Taru sormusten herrasta –saagansa. Kalevala on useimmalle kielille käännetty suomalainen kirja, kaikkiaan 61 kielelle, viimeksi portugaliksi.

Salaseurojen maa

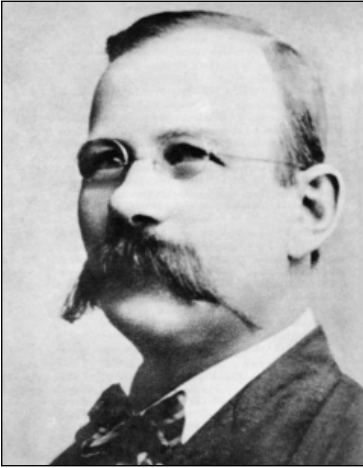
Yhdysvallat on siirtolaisten asuttama maa, ja eurooppalaisen väestön levitessä kohti länttä oli useinkin naapurien ja ystävien apu tarpeen ja välttämätöntä vaikeuksien voittamiseksi. Veljeyden ja keskinäisen avustuksen pohjalle perustetut salaseurat olivat Amerikassa hyvin suosittuja, erityisesti miesten mutta myös naisten keskuudessa. Vanhimpaan salaseuraan, vapaamuurareihin, arvioitiin v. 1921 kuuluneen yli kaksi miljoonaa jäsentä. Lähes yhtä suuri oli Odd Fellowien jäsenmää-

rä. Muista salaseuroista mainittakoon Kolumbuksen Ritarit, Woodmen- ja Makkabee-seurat.

Nämä vanhimmat seurat olivat puhtaita veljeys- ja avustusseuroja. Suomalaisia on kuulunut kaikkiin suurimpiin Amerikassa toimiviin salaseuroihin. Myös suomalaisten perustamat raittiusseurat olivat alkuaikoina salaseurojen luonteisia. Ne olivat kehittyneet goodtemplar-liitosta, johon ensimmäiset suomalaisten seurat olivat yhdistyneet. Myöhemmin raittiusseuroista tuli avoimempia, mutta sisäiseltä järjestykseltään ne erosivat Suomen raittiusseuroista.

Kalevan Ritarit

Varsinainen ja kiinteä oma salaseura syntyi amerikkasuomalaisten keskuudessa, kun Kalevan ritarikunta perustettiin v. 1898. Sen perustaja oli Oulussa v. 1865 syntynyt Johannes Oxelstein, joka v. 1885 aloitti opiskelut Helsingin yliopistossa, mutta jo kaksi vuotta myöhemmin hän lähti Amerikkaan. Töitä löytyi Towerin kaivoksessa Minnesotassa. Mutta kaivotyö ei miellyttänyt häntä, ja nuoren vaimonsa Sofian kanssa hän suuntasi Beltiin Montanaan ja ryhtyi liikealalle. Hänen nuorempi veljensä Alekski asui sillä. Veljensä esimerkkiä seuraten myös John ja Sofia muuttivat sukunimensä Stoneksi. Täällä Beltin kaupungissa John Stone alkoi huolestua maanmiestensä elämästä ja olosuhteista, ja hän halusi tehdä jotakin heidän hyväkseen. Pari vuotta hän pohti asiaa kunnes kertoi ystävilleen ajatuksesta aloittaa veljeysseura ja kysyi halusivatko he auttaa häntä. Ystävät kiinnostuivat asiasta, ja toukokuussa 1898 voitiin perustaa seura. Hämmästyttävää oli, että seura sai paljon vastustusta. Sekin lienee Suomesta vietyä kulttuuriperintöä. Mutta sisulla John Stone voitti vastuksen, ja ritarikunta kasvoi hämmästyttävällä vauhdilla. Kansallisesti valveutunut ja korkeiden ihanteiden mies John Stone kuoli Virginiassa Minnesotassa v. 1946.



John Stone (1865–1946) Kalevan Ritarien ja Naisten perustaja.



Kalevan ritarikunta perustettiin veljeyttä ja keskinäistä auttamista varten kuten yleensä tällaiset salaseurat. Seuran ohjesääntönä ja peruskirjana olivat sekä Raamattu että Kalevala. Erityisenä pyrkimyksenä oli suomalaisen kansallistunteen edistäminen. Tarkoituksena oli veljesvihan, vainon, sarron ja kateuden hävittäminen suomalaisten keskuudessa. Todettiin myös, että Kalevan ritarikunta oli suvaitsevainen järjestö, johon kuului erilaisen maailmankatsomuksen omaavia jäseniä. Tavoitteena oli olla yksimielisiä suurissa asioissa ja suvaitsevia pienissä.

Kalevan ritarikunta, jota nimettiin myös Kalevaisten järjestöksi, jakaantui kahteen ryhmään, Ka-

levan Ritareihin ja Kalevan Naisiin, ja yhdessä ne muodostivat ”Ladies and Knights of Kalevala”. Ritarien ylin johtokunta oli Ylin Maja ja naisten vastaava johtokunta oli Ylin Tupa. Ritarien paikalliset yhdistykset olivat Majoja ja naisten Tupia, Ensimmäinen näistä oli John Stonen Pellervoisen Maja 1, Belt, Montana. Kalevan Naiset aloittivat toimintansa v. 1904, kun John Stonen toimesta perustettiin Red Logdessa Montanassa Mielikin Tupa 1. Esimerkkeinä myöhemmin perustetuista yhdistyksistä mainittakoon Metsolan Maja, Annikin Tupa, Wäinämöisen Maja, Aallotaren Tupa jne. Jäsenillä oli kokouksissa nauhansa ja merkkinsä, jopa omat kalevalaiset pukunsa, johon kuuluu takkia kiinnipitävä solki, vyö, miekka ja lakki työttöineen.

Kalevan Ritareilla ja Naisilla on ollut, ja on edelleenkin, suuri merkitys suomalaisen kansallishengen vaalimisessa siirtolaisten keskuudessa. Kokousten yhteydessä järjestettiin usein kehittäviä keskusteluja tai pidettiin puheita ja luentoja, jotka ”olivat omiaan kasvattamaan ja kohottamaan mieliä ja teroittamaan sekä kansallisia että yksityisiä velvollisuuksia”. Esiintyjät olivat usein seuraan kuulumattomia. Tarkoituksenmukaista suomalaista valistuskirjallisuutta hankittiin jäsenten luettavaksi, ja kerran vuodessa ilmestyi Kalevainen-niminen juhlaulkaisu. Eräiden majojen yhteyteen perustettiin nuorisoliittoja, joiden tarkoituksena oli tutustuttaa Amerikassa syntyneitä suomalaista nuorisoa Suomen historiaan, kirjallisuuteen ja heimoushengen. Jäsenien vaaliminen sairauden ja puutteen aikoina kuului jäsenten ensimmäisiin velvollisuuksiin. Hoitoa hankittiin vähävarai-

sille ja kustannukset otettiin joko yhdistyksen kassasta tai kerättiin jäseniltä. Toiminta tapahtui suurelta osin hiljaisesti, olihan yhdistys salaseura. Ja yleisesti myönnetään, että tulokset ovat olleet hyviä. Siirtolaisten keskuudessa on ollut paljon apua tarvitsevia ihmisiä.

Onpa Kalevan Ritarien avustustoiminta on ulottunut Suomeen saakka. Esimerkiksi Suomen Koteja Kodittomille -yhdistys on saanut avustusta, jota on kerätty ritarikunnan järjestämien juhlien tuloista. Turun näkökulmasta voidaan mainita myös Kalevan Ritarien osuus varojen keräämiseen Turun yliopistolle sen perustamisvaiheissa itenäisyytemme alkuvuosina.

Kun muistetaan, miten vahvaa sosialismin kannatus oli amerikkalais-suomalaisten keskuudessa, niin Kalevan Ritareja voidaan pitää oikeistolaisesti ja suomalais-kansallisesti ajatelleiden ihmisten järjestönä. John Stone ja hänen toverinsa olivat saaneet vaikutteita suomalaiskansallisesta romantiikasta, joka kautta 1890-luvun, imi aatteita suomalaiskansallisesta romantiikasta. Sen johtavien kirjailijoiden ja runoilijoiden, Juhani Ahon, Ilmari Kiannon, Larin-Kyöstin ja usean muun teoksia oli kaikissa amerikansuomalaisissa raittiusseurojen kirjastoissa. Kun tämä romantiikka Suomessa kanavoitui aktiiviseen vastarintaan venäläistä sortoa vastaan, suuntautui se amerikkalaisissa oloissa Suomen muinaisen kulttuurin ihailuun.

Kalevan Ritarien ideologian voimaa osoittaa sen toimiminen vielä 110 vuotta perustamisensa jälkeen. Amerikassa syntyneet sukupolvet ovat kokeneet sen tärkeäksi yhdyssiteeksi Suomeen ja sen kalevaiseen perintöön.

Kalevan pääkatu, taustalla komea kirkko.

Myös suomenruotsalaisten keskuudessa Yhdysvalloissa alkoi vaikeuksiin joutuneiden maanmiesten avustaminen ja raittiustoiminta 1900-luvun alussa. Vuonna 1920 nämä kaksi seuraa yhtyivät ja muodostivat Runebergordenin, Order of Runeberg. Sitä voidaan perustellusti pitää Kalevan Ritarien sisarjärjestönä.

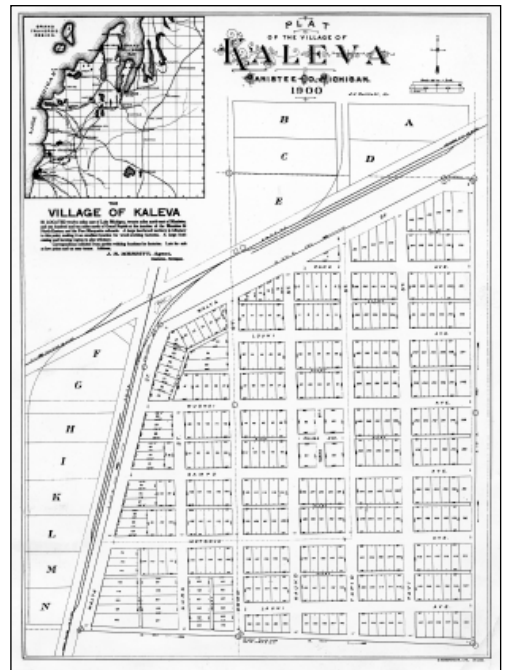
Kalevaiset paikannimet

Vuonna 1900 tulivat ensimmäiset suomalaiset Kalevaan Michiganiin. Tien heille viitto Brooklynissä ilmestynyt sanomalehti ”Siirtolainen”, jonka liikkeenjohtaja Kälviältä kotoisin ollut Jaakko Saari toimi maitten myyjänä ja uudisasutuksen järjestäjänä. Rautatieyhtiöt olivat hakkauttaneet Ala-Michanin metsät, ja alue näytti erämaalta isoine kantoineen ja risuläjineen. New York National Land Association lähetti tarkastamaan aluetta brooklyniläisen sanomalehtimiehen Jacob E. Saaren, joka näki paikkakunnan mahdollisuudet. Rautatieaseman nimi Manistee Crossing muutettiin hänen toimestaan Kalevaksi, ja v. 1899 Saari alkoi ilmoitella Kalevaa suomalaisissa julkaisuissa kiittäen sitä viljavaksi maaksi, jota oli saatavilla viidellä dollarilla eekkeri. Tiedusteluja tuli joka ilmansuunnalta, ja kevästä 1900 piti Saari eli ”Siirtolaisen Jaska” toimistoaan paikkakunnalla Manisteessa. Vuonna 1901 Siirtolainen-lehti siirrettiin New Yorkista Kalevaan. Jaakko Saaren kerrotaan palanneen Suomeen varakaana miehenä.



Ensimmäisenä Kalevaan tuli huhtikuussa 1900 raahelainen John Haaksiluoto vaimonsa kanssa Jersey Citystä. Haksluoto-suku asuu edelleenkin paikkakunnalla. Alkoi kansainvaellus, jonka kaltaista ei ole toista amerikansuomalaisten maanviljelyshistoriassa. Ja lähes kaikki olivat perheellisiä miehiä, erityisesti Kuparisaarelta, Marquettesta, Detroitista Wyomingista jne. Myös Kanadan puolelta oli tulijoita. Kalevasta kasvoi nopeasti suomalaisten suurin ja yhtenäisin maanviljelysasutus. Maatiloja oli yli 200 ja koko väkiluku yli 1000 henkeä. Tämä laaja alue oli jaettuna useisiin kyliin ja postikeskuksiin. Suuri osa asukkaista oli Pohjanmaalta, kuten kylien nimet, Ylistaronkylä, Wiitalan kylä, Joupinkylä jne. osoittavat. Mutta alku oli vaikeata uudisasukkaille. Kesät olivat kuivat, eikä maakaan ollut niin viljavaa kuin ilmoituksessa oli

kerrottu. Maanviljelyksen ja karjatalouden ohella viljeltiin erityisesti kurkkuja ja salkopapuja. Vuonna 1902 perustettiin raittiusseura ”Kalevatar”, ja vuonna 1913 seurakunta rakensi kirkon, joka kauan oli uljaimman amerikansuomalaisen kirkon maineessa. Toiseen maailmasotaan asti suomi oli Kalevan valtakieli, mutta 1950-luvul-



Kalevan kylän suomalaisasutuksen kartta.



Matti Kurikka Sointulassa aateveljiensä keskellä.

ta lähtien alkoi Kalevakin amerikkalaistua.

Kovin monia muita Kalevalanimistöön liittyviä paikannimiä ei suomalaisalueilla ole. Suomalaisen tullessa Yhdysvaltoihin paikkakunnilla oli jo vakiintuneet nimet. Vain maaseudulla voitiin antaa uusia kylän nimiä, ja silloinkin ne nimettiin usein joko Suomeksi, Finlandiksi tai kotipaikkakunnan mukaan, kuten Oulu, Vaasa jne. Dakotassa oli Savon vanha suomalaisasutus vuodesta 1882.

Myös Minesotassa on Kalevalaniminen paikkakunta, ja se on Carlton Countin vanhimpia suomalaisasutuksia, tärkeimpinä postikeskuksina Kettle River ja Moose Lake. Vuonna 1918 alueella oli raivoisa tulipalo. Michiganinssa Saukkojärven rannalla on Tapiola-niminen suomalaisasutus, joka sai alkunsa v. 1900, sen naapurikylä on Elo.

Matti Kurikan Kalevan kansa

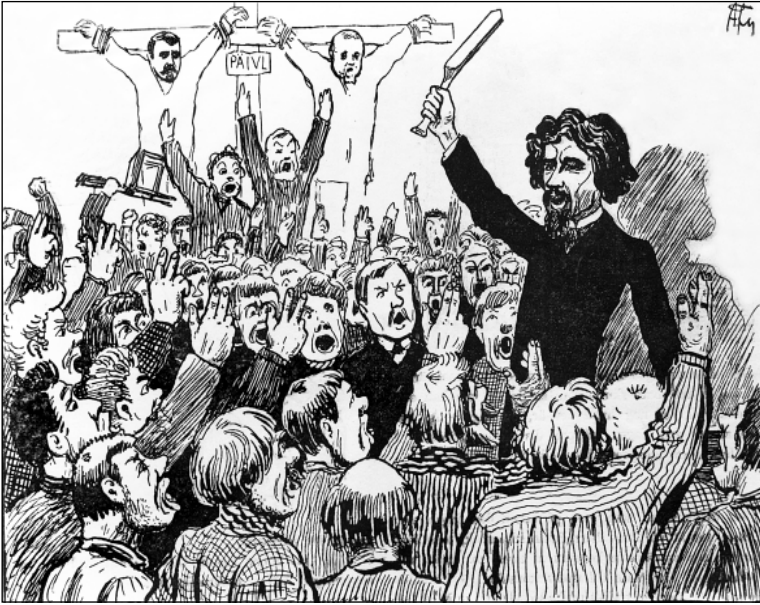
Siirtolaisuus Suomesta saavutti huippunsa 1800- ja 1900 lukujen

vaihteessa. Valtavirta suuntautui Pohjois-Amerikkaan ja vain rippeitä muihin maanosiin. Hyvien ansioiden ohella yhtenä synä siirtolaisuuteen olivat Suomen poliittiset olot ja Venäjän taholta koettu sortotoimet. Syntyi ajatuksia, että ”uusi ja uljas Suomi” voitaisiin rakentaa jossakin kaukaisessa ja lämpimässä maassa.

Suomen työväenliikkeen kiistelty johtohahmo Matti Kurikka perusti Helsingissä toukokuussa 1899 Kalevan Kansa -yhdistyksen tavoitteena yhteisö, jossa työt, ruokailut, asuminen ja opinnot olisivat yhteisiä. Myös Suomessa tunnettiin mielenkiintoa Australiaa kohtaan, olihan siellä Queenslandin siirtokunnassa työväenpuolue vallassa. Pohjoismaalaisille maatyömiehille ja palvelustyöille luvattiin ilmainen matka Lontoosta Queenslandiin. Ensimmäiseen Kurikan koollekutsumaan kokoukseen Helsingissä osallistui 800 henkeä. Elokuussa 1899 Matti Kurikka lähti pienen joukon kanssa Queenslandiin luomaan edellytyksiä pääjoukon saapumiselle. Saa-

vuttuaan Brisbaneen hän kertoi aikomuksenaan olevan perustaa yhteistoiminnallinen maanviljelysjärjestelmä. Hän oli täynnä uskoa ja toivoa tulevaisuuteen.

Matkustajaluetteloiden mukaan kaikkiaan 175 suomalaista saapui Australiaan niiden 10 kuukauden aikana vuosina 1899–1900, jolloin suomalaisille myönnettiin ilmainen matka. Näistä ehkä puolet oli ”kurikkalaisia”. Yhtenä syynä avustuksen loppumiseen oli suomalaista tehdyt valitukset. He olivat ei-toivottua joukkoa, tyytymättömiä, röyhkeitä ja laiskoja. Brisbaneä suomalaisille annettiin rautatielippu eri puolille siirtokuntaa. Työtä löytyi sokeriviljelmillä ja rautateiden teossa. Kurikka itse työskenteli 20 miehen kanssa ratapölkkyjen teossa lähellä Chillagoeta, ja hän käytti nimeä Math. K. Club. Puoli tusinaa telttoja käsittävälle leirille, jossa lieinee ollut noin 50 suomalaista, oli annettu nimi El Dorado. Kurikan tarkoituksena oli kerätä rahaa ja ostaa maa-alue meren rannalta Kalevan Kansaa varten. Pian tulivat vaikeudet. Työ helteisessä säässä oli raskasta, ja Kurikka oli tehnyt huonoja urakoita. Monet nuoret miehet eivät olleet tottuneet raskaaseen työhön. Tyytymättömyys kasvoi ja monet lähtivät kiroten Kurikan ja hänen yhdyskuntansa. Matti Kurikan yritys perustaa Kalevan Kansa ihanneyhteisö kaatui alkuvaikeuksiin. Saatuaan matkalipun Kanadasta Kurikka lähti v. 1900 puolivälissä perustamaan paremmin menestyneen Sointulan Malcolm-saarelle Vancouveriin. Useat kannattajat seurasivat perästä, mutta osa asettui Nambouriin Brisbanen pohjoispuolelle viljelmään sokeriruokoa. Suomalaisen



aluetta kutsuttiin Finburyksi, missä v. 1902–04 toimi *Erakko*-niminen seura, jolla oli käsinkirjoitettu lehti *Orpo*. Nambourin seudulla asuu edelleenkin Matti Kurikan aikalaisten jälkeläisiä.

Kalevan Kansan ideologia onnistui paremmin Kanadassa kuin Australiassa. Sointulan mielenkiintoisen historian käsittelyyn ei ole tässä mahdollisuutta paitsi lainaamalla Matti Kurikan Kalevan Kansan marssia:

*”Käy eespäin kansa Kalevan,
pois palkkaorjain luota!
Sun tiesi käypi vapauteen,
Ei orjuus onnea tuota.
Ken yhtyä voi entiseen,
Hän kompuroikoon ennallaan.
Ken vapautta kaihoaa,
meistä veljessuojan saa.”*

Mutta muutaman vuoden jälkeen Matti Kurikka joutui lähtemään Vancouverin Malcolm-saarella sijaitsevasta Sointulasta, ja hän perusti uuden yhteisön Sammon Ta-

kojat Fraserjoen varrelle. Sieltäkin Kurikalle tuli lähtö, mutta Sointulan tavoin tämäkin suomalaisasutus on säilynyt meidän päiviimme saakka. Matti Kurikka palasi Suomeen v. 1905 ja oli mukana suurlakon järjestelyissä. Vuonna 1908 Kurikka palasi Yhdysvaltoihin ja oli farmarina ja lehtimiehenä New Yorkissa kuolemaansa saakka v. 1915.

Kalevalaa 1930-luvulla

Vuonna 1935 amerikansuomalaiset juhlivat näyttävästi Kalevalan 100-vuotismuistoa. New Yorkissa pidetyssä pääjuhlassa sekä Yhdysvaltain että Suomen valtiot esittivät arvokkaat tervehdykset.

Myös v. 1938 vietetyssä Delaware-siirtokunnan 300-vuotisjuhlassa Kalevala oli keskeinen teema. Turusta kotoisin olleen kuvanveistäjä Väinö Aaltosen tekemään graniittiseen Delaware monumenttiin on kaiverrettu sekä suomeksi että englanniksi sanat:

Matti Kurikka värväämässä kannattajiaan Australiaan.

*”Kalevaiset kaukopursin
yli aaltojen ajoivat
tätä maata mahtamahan
rantoa rakentamahan
tänne pellot perkasivat
piilusivat pirtit uudet ”*

Muistomerkki pystytettiin paikalle, jossa v. 1638 jälkeen oli sijainnut Finland-niminen asutus.

Kalevala amerikanenglanniksi

Amerikansuomalaisten myöhemmästä Kalevala-harrastuksesta on vielä mainittava Turkuun v. 1980 Portland Oregonista palanneen konsuli John O. Virtasen ja hänen johtamansa Suomalais-Amerikkalaisen Kirjallisuusyhdistyksen toiminta Kalevalan kääntämiseksi amerikanenglanniksi 1980-luvulla. Suomen eduskunta myönsi määrärahan tähän tarkoitukseen. Käännöksen teki amerikansuomalainen Eino Friberg, ja Otavan toimesta teos *The Kalevala; Epic of the Finnish People* ilmestyi v. 1988.

Kalevala elää

Myös muualla kuin Yhdysvalloissa suomalaiset siirtolaiset ovat vaalineet Kalevala perinnettä. Esimerkiksi Tukholman Suomalainen Seura järjesti v. 1968 Kalevala-juhlan jossa juhlapuhujana oli professori Tauno Nurmela Turusta, ja Saksassa järjestettiin v. 1985 Kalevala-viikko. Kalevala-mytologia on ollut tärkeä osa myös viime vuosikymmenien siirtolaisemme matkaevästä ja kulttuuria

uusilla asuinsijoilla. Kalevala on edelleenkin ulkosuomalaisten ja heidän jälkeläisten vahva henkinen napanuora Suomeen sekä sen muinaiseen tietäjään Väinämöiseen ja Sammon arvoitukseen.

Lähteet

Suomen Siirtolaisuuden Historia, osat 1–5, Siirtolaisuusinstituutti Turku 1996–2005.
 Iso Tietosanakirja, Otava, Helsinki 1935.
 Rafael Engelberg, Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, Helsinki 1944.
 Matti Halminen, Sointula; Kalevan Kansan ja Kanadan suomalaisten historiaa, Mikkeli 1936.

Armas K.E. Holmio, Michiganin Suomalaisen Historia, Hancock Michigan 1967.
 S. Ilmonen, Amerikan Suomalaisen Historiaa, I – III, Hancock 1919, 1924, 1926.
 Akseli Järnefelt Rauanheimo, Meikäläisiä merten takana, Porvoo 1921.
 Kalevainen, Kalevan Ritarien vuosittainen juhlijulkaisu vuodesta 1913.
 Kaleva Manistee County Michigan, www.kalevami.com.
 The Kalevala; Epic of the Finnish People, Translated by Eino Friberg, Keuruu 1988.
 Anders Myhrman, Finlandssvenskar i Amerika, Helsingfors 1972; The Order of Runeberg –

An Historical Sketch, www.geneologia.fi/emi/art/article357e.htm.
 Old Friends – Strong Ties, Ed. Vilho Niitemaa, Jussi Saukkonen, Tauri Aaltio, Olavi Koivukangas, (USA:n 200-vuotisjuhla-kirja) Vaasa 1976.
 Uno Pore, Kalevalan arvoitus, Helsinki 1973.
 Vilho Reima, Muistelmia siirtolaistemme vaelluksista ja elämästä, Helsinki 1937.
 Alfons Ukkonen, A History of the Kaleva Knighthood the Knights of Kaleva, Beaverton Ontario 2002. Translated and updated from Kalevan Ritarikunnan ja Kalevan Ritarien historiaa 100 vuoden ajalta (1998).

Summary

110 years since the founding of the Knights of Kaleva

Before the Second World War nearly 400 000 Finns went to the North America, taking their Finnish language and culture along. Sometimes the Finnish national epic Kalevala accompanied the bible in the emigrant trunk. One of the emigrants was Johannes Oxelstein from Oulu, who arrived in the US in 1887. At first he worked in the mines of Tower, Minnesota, but being a university educated surveyor, mining did not please him. He and his young wife Sofia packed their belongings and moved to Belt, Montana where his brother Alex Stone had settled a few years earlier. John and Sofia changed their family name to Stone, and sought their outcome in trade.

In Belt John Stone became worried about the living circumstances of the Finnish miners and

workers. He wanted to establish a brotherhood, something like the Freemasons or Odd Fellows, to aid his fellow countrymen, to keep them away from bars and other temptations, but also to preserve the Finnish culture and language in the US.

With the help of close friends, he founded the fraternal society of the Knights of Kaleva or Kalevan Ritarit in 1898, having the character of a secret brotherhood inspired by the Kalevala Saga. Soon a corresponding women's organization, the Ladies of Kaleva was formed and it became part of the Kaleva Knighthood in 1904.

The foundation of the society was both Kalevala and the Bible. It was nationalistic and conservative, in contrast to the strong Finnish socialist movement in North

America. In spite of some opposition from groups who were suspicious of the kind of influence a closed fraternity might have on the Finnish immigrant community, it spread over North America with amazing speed. Eventually, sixty-one lodges in sixteen states, two Canadian provinces and three countries would be established.

110 years after the foundation, the Ladies and Knights of Kaleva still continues to be important for the preservation of the Finnish national spirit in North America. Often lectures and discussions have been held at the meetings in order to reinforce this task. The society has helped many Finns in need with donations. For the Finnish generations born in America, it has been an important link to Finland and its cultural Kalevala heritage.

A 'Unique Culture'? Migration, Nostalgia, Alcoholism, Suicide and Religious Revival in Finland

Edward Dutton



Introduction

A great deal has been written on the way in which Finnish culture is 'unique' or uniquely 'between east and west' and thus distinct from that of its Scandinavian neighbours. The tourist book *Portraying Finland* (Otava 2005) summarises its discussion of Finland's 'unique' culture with the question, 'An Eastern or Western Identity?' and proceeds to argue that Finland has aspects of both. Aini Rajanen (1984) has produced a book aiming to introduce Finnish culture to interested foreigners. She asks 'Why are (the Finns) so different, so individual, so fiercely independent? The answer lies in the country's history' (2006, 11). She then proceeds to explain that the history has involved being dominated by both East (Russia) and West (Sweden). I would like to suggest in this article that it is not entirely accurate to understand Finnish culture as 'unique'. Much of that which distinguishes Finland from its Scandinavian neighbours

Edward Dutton has a PhF in Religious Studies from Aberdeen University, in Scotland, (2006). His doctoral thesis was an anthropological study of fundamentalist Christian groups at universities. He is a Freelance lecturer and Writer in Oulu.

can be explained, at least in part, by the country's relatively recent and sudden migration from the countryside to the towns. Indeed, I will argue that the marks of distinctiveness can be seen, in a much exaggerated form, in Greenland. This article will first look at the effects of migration observed historically. It will then examine certain issues that make modern Finland distinctive from its neighbours - such as a strong interest in the 'forest', pietist religious movements and revivalism, alcoholism and suicide. It will argue that, amongst other factors, migration may be significant here and this can be seen in a more striking form in Greenland. This article has drawn upon fieldwork with a representative sample of Finns conducted for a broader discussion.

Modernisation, Migration and the Effects

In order to understand the trans-cultural effects of a sudden movement from the villages to the towns, it might be useful to examine what occurred in Britain - the first country to industrialise - in the nineteenth century. In a few generations, the majority of the population moved from the countryside to the cities. Historians observed a

number of seemingly related phenomena. Firstly, there is what Steve Bruce (2002) calls the 'Cultural Defence' of an 'extreme' form of religiosity which communities often turn to when they feel that their identity is threatened. The religion gives them identity and a sense of empowerment where they suddenly have no power. For example, Wales experienced a series of dramatic religious revivals throughout the period of the Industrial Revolution, when rapid social change took place. During these 'revivals' - times of religious fervour when many 'convert' to a usually conservative form of religiosity - many Welsh people become involved in conservative Protestant movements, especially Methodism. Bruce summarises up by saying, 'Modernisation can create a new role for religion as a socialising agent in times of rapid social change' (36). Religious fervour is one reaction to modernisation.

A second reaction was nostalgia. Colley (1998) surveys this tendency. Victorian painting often focussed on English rural landscapes and scenes of country life, for example. Victorian intellectuals were fascinated by 'nature' and, in general, the rise of the Romantic Movement in England is seen as no coincidence. Much of Victorian poetry

focussed on pastoral themes as can be noted in Alfred, Lord Tennyson to give just one eminent example. Wagner (2002) suggests that nostalgia was an integral part of many Victorian novels. She observes characters in Charles Dickens – in their often industrial landscapes – pining for the countryside. Anthony Trollope in *The Way We Live Now* refers to the Victorian era as 'a newer and worse sort of world' while romanticising the rural life that has been left behind.

A third phenomenon that was observed was a stark rise in alcoholism. Alcohol consumption reached a peak in Britain during the Industrial Revolution (Berridge 2005, Price 1968). Of course, there has always been alcohol consumption in the UK and even pre-industrial panics about the extent of alcoholism as reflected in the banning of gin in the early eighteenth century. However, it is documented that rates of alcoholism and alcohol consumption rose considerably during the Industrial Revolution. Of course, there are all kinds of reasons for this other than a coping mechanism in relation to sudden social change, such as the poor conditions in industrial cities and perhaps even easier access to alcohol. But if industrialisation is psychologically difficult to cope with, it would make sense that alcohol would become a mechanism with which to do this and consumption would increase.

Finally, there is some evidence that the suicide rate in Britain increased during this process of dramatic change. However, it is perhaps difficult to compare this with Finland or Greenland because attitudes towards suicide were so

different in Britain two hundred years ago. Suicide was illegal and attempted suicide carried the death penalty. Also, it was so shameful to have a suicide in the family – they could not even be buried on consecrated ground – that coroners would not infrequently record 'misadventure' or 'open verdict' in order to spare the family humiliation. However, suicide will be examined in both countries as possible consequence of sudden social change. Certainly, historian John Nuf (1943) observes that, even accounting for factors such as suicide's illegality, 'suicide shot up' in Britain during the Industrial Revolution according to coroners' statistics from the time. However, in asserting this it must be remembered that suicide was extremely taboo in pre-industrial Britain and, as such, the statistics may not be entirely reliable a point made by historian Olive Anderson (Anderson 1980). Indeed, they may be understated.

Migration in Greenland: Nostalgia, Alcohol and Suicide

Both Finland and Greenland have experienced relatively recent and sudden internal migration due to modernisation and similar effects can be seen. Let us look at Greenland first.

Modernisation was a sudden jolt for the traditional Inuit way of life. In a matter of a few decades from the 1960s, the Inuit changed from the subsistence hunting lifestyle they had pursued for thousands of years, to industry-based jobs in towns and, for many, dependence on government welfare

when the economy experienced a down-turn. Many Greenlandic were put in a situation where there was little choice to move to the small towns – especially the capital Nuuk (current population 12000) – as the Danish government did not consider their settlements economically viable in terms of development. Mark Elliott contends that this has led to 'an indefinable sense of loss' because the Greenlandic have been unable to adjust to 'city life.' It has led to a 'void' that is filled with 'alcoholism', 'sex' (in a culture where sexual promiscuity was traditionally the norm), and 'occasionally religious piety' (O'Carroll and Elliott 2005). Others have noted the importance of maintaining the hunting lifestyle and many Greenlandic still engage in regular hunting activities, sometimes in order to entertain tourists and supplement their income. In terms of nostalgia, Nuttall points out that male child hunting its first seal remains an important celebration and that the demand for seal products amongst urbanised Inuit remains very high (1992, 26). Moreover, numerous Inuit traditions have been avidly maintained such as Inuit drum singing and even urban Inuit 'thanking' the seal as they cut it up for dinner, part of the traditional Inuit religious worldview. Traditional shamans also remain in use on some social occasions.

Also, Nuttall observes the very high alcoholism rate (amongst the highest in the world). In 1950, the average Inuit drank seven litres of alcohol a year and by 1987 it was twenty-two litres and consumption has increased markedly since then. Lyng (1985) has connected this

consumption to the sudden change of modernisation arguing that it is particularly pronounced in Greenlandic towns. Certainly, she notes that alcohol consumption has increased dramatically in Greenland from 1960s onwards. There is also an extremely high suicide rate in Greenland – 100 suicides per 100,000 people per year, the highest suicide rate in the world. This is far higher than countries such as Iceland (10.1) and Norway (12.6) which have comparable climactic conditions (Bjorksten *et al* 2005). Equally, it has been argued that there is a strong desire for 'space' in Greenland, as this is what people were used to, and 'lack of motivation' and 'social problems' have resulted from the 'Danish living conditions' in Nuuk (Petersen 1986, 278).

Migration in Finland: Nostalgia, Alcohol and Suicide

Even until as recently as the 1950s, Finland was a mainly agrarian society and most Finnish-speaking Finns were small-scale farmers living close to nature, especially the forests. Various Finnish historians such as Jutikkala and Pirinen (1996) and Klinge (1982) have noted that 'the urban population was small and only really began to grow in the 1940s' (Klinge 1982, 93). Moreover, Klinge argues that this modernisation was accelerated as a consequence of World War II:

As a consequence of the war, Finland went through a fast and at the beginning difficult social and economic change' (140) . . . 'The

modernization of this large and sparsely populated country was achieved in a remarkably short time . . . ' (152).

Klinge notes that architects attempted to account for this difficulty of moving to the Finnish town in the design of the new towns, which are almost all very modern in appearance. Many of the towns have forest areas within them, ' . . . but the traditional link with the forest was preserved almost everywhere' (151). Thus, there is certainly a case for claiming that both the Finns and the Inuit have undergone a similar trauma of being urbanised too quickly, a situation for which they were not prepared. Many Finns I spoke to also intensely disliked the idea of living in Helsinki. A female engineer in her thirties from near Oulu was equally unimpressed by the capital city:

There are too many people. It's crowded. The people are cold and unfriendly. They don't want to get to know you and they won't let you get close to them. It would be really difficult to get to know people in Helsinki and, anyway, people in Helsinki are rude and arrogant and proud. I wasn't very thrilled by it when I lived there for five years.

An Oulu priestess went to university in Helsinki but 'did not want to at all.' However, she wanted to study Theology and 'there was no other place in Finland to study Theology at that time.' In relation to Greenland, Per Langgaard (1986) argues that small villages are generally seen as more 'Greenlandic' and therefore 'satisfactory' than Nuuk, which is frequently

perceived as something alien to Inuit cultural life.

Back to the Forests

Certainly, there are many ways in which contemporary urban Finns appear to retreat to their former forest based lifestyle. This is most conspicuous in the ubiquitous presence of little patches of forest within the boundaries of entirely modern Finnish towns. Also, many urban Finns engage in rural activities to a far greater extent than in other countries and, without wishing to over-generalise, going to the forest and its lakes is a national activity. Many Finns have 'summer cottages' in the forests (many of which do not have electricity) to which they retreat during the summer months and especially during the Midsummer celebrations when the towns appear to empty (Talve 1997, 212). Going into the forest and renting out a cabin is a not uncommon activity. Hiking, especially in the wilderness of Lapland, is another popular Finnish activity as is going into the forest to pick mushrooms and berries (Symington 2006, 32).

Interestingly, the Finns that I interviewed that had lived in large cities for many generations did not express any great interest in the countryside. The two Helsinki natives interviewed above both claimed that they 'almost never' went to the forests as children and, as the male entrepreneur put it, 'maybe I go to the forest about once a year, if that.' However, most Finns outside Helsinki that I interviewed very much enjoyed going to the forests. 'We Finns love the nature' summed up one Lapland

postman. The summer cottage itself is also very popular. The female priest from Oulu mentioned above also commented that:

Of course, Finns love their summer cottages. Then they can be back in the forest where they feel they belong. They can go berry-picking or swim in the lake after a sauna or just, you know, just 'be'. That's why they are so popular. Every Finn from a town wants to have a summer cottage where they can have space and just relax in the nature.

The popularity of these nature-based activities is further evidenced in their commercialisation. Thus, it is possible to purchase special contraptions – like robot claws – to make berry picking easier and many Finnish forests have skiing and walking paths constructed through them, sign-posts so that one does not get lost and designated car-parks. Hence, in a sense the forest experience is hyper-real and sanitised but retreat to the forest by urban dwellers is still extremely popular in Finland.

As an aside, I wonder if the popularity of the sauna in Finland might also be seen as a way of 'returning to the forest.' It has been noted that saunas were traditionally communal in Finnish villages and now the private sauna is extremely popular (Helamaa 2000). Most Finns have saunas and most modern flats are built with saunas. Even those flats that are not built with a sauna usually have a communal sauna which you can book for a private session. It is even possible to buy liquid that smells of pine or smoke called *Terva*, put it

in the water, throw the water on the sauna and thus allow the sauna to smell of the Finnish forest. Perhaps the sauna is a little piece of the forest in every urban Finnish home.

The Importance of Space

It might be argued that another reaction to modernity in Finland – or evidence that it has been rapid – is the apparent importance of 'space' for Finnish people. We already discussed the way that many Finnish houses and relatively large with relatively large gardens compared to what might be experienced in England for example. Terraced or even semi-detached housing in Finland is also very rare. Many Finns in cities appear to live in flats but even these betoken an emphasis on at least the illusion of 'space'. Where a similar flat in England might have a separate 'front room' and 'dining room', I have never seen this in Finnish flats. Indeed, I have never seen it in a Finnish house. In my experience, Finns appear to dine in either the kitchen or the living room. As one student in his twenties from Joensuu put it:

We like to have space. It's awful to be all cramped. My parents especially were brought up in villages and were used to space. Maybe that's where it comes from. That we Finns are from the forests maybe.

Although most Finns that I spoke to admitted that, for example, 'I don't know. I've never really thought about this. I just thought it was normal everywhere.' For many Finnish people, the concept of distance reflected this need for space and, perhaps, historical iso-

lated living arrangements. Thus, people in Oulu would refer to Kokkola – a two hour drive away – as 'close' or 'near'. By contrast, I am certain that English people would regard a town that was two hours away as 'far'. Interestingly, Finns tend to ask questions such as 'How many square metres is your flat?' – an interest in space – whereas the English might ask, 'How many rooms are there?'.

Alcoholism

Again, it is speculative whether it is really possible to prove that Finnish alcoholism and piety are directly connected with the jolt of urbanization but the fact there is evidence of it in the relatively similar circumstances of Greenland and Finland might at least make the sceptic less than dismissive. It is, I would submit, uncontroversial to claim that Finland has an alcohol problem. Though there are alcohol problems in other Scandinavian countries – and in northern countries (such as Scotland) in general – the situation is considerably worse in Finland. Finland is the second worst country in Europe in terms of binge drinking (BBC 1st June 2006) with 27 percent of Finns binge drinking at least once a week. Finns are exceeded by the Irish (34 percent) and the British are third with twenty-four percent. The average Finn consumes 10.5 litres of pure alcohol a year. The increase in alcohol consumption since 1960 has also been dramatic. In that year, the average Finn drank 2.7 litres of alcohol. Though the level of consumption is lower in Finland than in France, for example, the method of consumption

is more likely to be through binges. Equally, Finland is the only country in Western Europe where alcohol is the leading cause of death (BBC 1st November 2006). More than 2000 Finns died of alcohol poisoning or related illnesses in 2005 and another 1000 died in accidents while drunk. Moreover, the popularity of Finnish religious movements that abstain would be likely to mean that these statistics mask the extent of individual alcohol consumption (Winter *et al*, 2002).

Finland-expert and linguist Richard Lewis argues out that Finns are statistically the most voracious consumers of alcohol in the world and alcoholism is a serious issue (R. Lewis 2005, 105). The extent of the alcoholism in both countries is reflected in government attempts to restrict the sale of alcohol. O'Carroll and Elliott claim that in Greenland 'alcoholism is a serious and very obvious problem. This becomes all too obvious in bigger towns on weekends.' To deal with this, alcohol is sold by a state monopoly and may be purchased from 'noon to 6pm on weekdays and 11am to 1pm on Saturdays' (95). It is not possible to buy it on Sundays. Alcohol is also taxed heavily, keeping the price extremely high. Some towns in Greenland have even introduced prohibition.

Alcohol purchase is heavily restricted. Beer and cider may be bought from supermarkets from 9am until 9pm. For most of the year, supermarkets are closed on Sundays. All other alcoholic drinks can only be purchased from the state monopoly *Alko* and all alcohol is heavily taxed. This monopoly is open from 9am to 8pm week

days and until 6pm on Saturdays. It is shut on Sundays and shuts early the day prior to national holidays when a lot of drinking tends to occur. Thus, while it is not possible to conclusively prove that the migration to modernity and alcoholism are connected, there is at least a case as the problem is not so great in other northern countries, which have far lower levels of binge drinking and alcohol consumption – in Norway it is 6.2 litres, in Sweden 6.5 and in Iceland 6.7. (BBC 1st June 2006, Hughes 29th October 2005) or deaths caused by drink. Of course, other factors may explain the similarity as well – such as national character. But certainly, drinking could be a way of dealing with an 'indefinable sense of loss'. Many Finns I spoke to claimed to have friends or family with alcohol problems. One informant identified the 'change' in Finland as possibly being at least partly responsible for the alcohol problem.

There has been a lot of change in Finland in the last fifty years only. They have had to move from the villages to the towns because there is no work in the villages so the young people had to leave. Maybe they would rather stay where they were. So they feel lonely. They don't feel themselves to be of the city. And drinking makes them feel better.

It should be noted that many Finns whom I interviewed from all around the country confided that they had many friends who were alcoholics and often family members as well. As a forty-three year old, female beautician from Helsinki put it:

My father drinks always a lot and I have suffered when I was a child because of this. He has not self-confidence and it is the same with me. I drank a lot ten years ago as well.

However, some Finns gave alternative explanations for the issue, which I do not disagree with such as 'national low self-esteem'.

Suicide

The suicide rate in both Finland and Greenland is very high. In Finland in 2003 it was 31.9 deaths per 100,000 (men) and 9.8 (women) (WHO, 2003). This is an average of around 20, far higher than its neighbours, as seen. Nevertheless the suicide rate – generally amongst young men – cannot simply be blamed on the weather because of the suicide rate is considerably lower in the Nordic countries as has been shown. However, both countries have in a common a geographic position which leads to very long days in the summer which has been connected with high suicide rates (Oulu University 2000). Bjerregaard (1988) observes that half of deaths in those under forty-five in Greenland are violent, usually suicide and he connects this to rapid cultural change in Greenland as well as to alcohol consumption (2002). I would suggest that there is at least a case to invoke the notion of jolt of migration in this regard and this case has been argued by various sociologists in relation to Finland. For example, Stack (1993) has observed that the Finnish suicide increased

dramatically during industrialisation and now appears to be gradually stabilising at its relatively high rate. It is this jolt that Greenland and Finland have in common, in marked contrast to the other Nordic countries. It has been argued elsewhere that loss of identity and status – which would be precipitated by a dramatic change in lifestyle – can lead to a despondent outlook on life. For example, psychologist Shirley Fisher (1994) shows that there are high levels of depression amongst British students because many British universities suddenly separate students from their home environment and expose them to people from diverse social backgrounds who may, even inadvertently, challenge the whole way that they see the world.

The national suicide rate was another area where Finns had various explanations and I would accept that there are various explanations and migration is just one. But some Finns echoed this explanation claiming that alcoholism was connected to sudden change, in some cases, and that suicide just meant, 'even that didn't work'. One man from Oulu commented that, 'I think when Finns commit suicide they first drink. And the drinking makes them depressed'. This would imply that suicide is indirectly connected. The Oulu female priest interviewed above exclaimed that, 'It is only half way through July and I have already buried three suicides this month. All young men'.

Many Finns to whom I spoke had some kind of experience of suicide – in general they knew somebody who had killed themselves. A forty-three year-old beautician from Helsinki recalled that:

In 1994 my boyfriend committed suicide. He was 49. He was a lot older than me. He just felt that he couldn't live in the moment. They feel that they can't get any satisfaction. They can't enjoy life and they want more so they kill themselves.

Two Finns whom I interviewed admitted that they had tried to take their own lives. A sixty-five year-old retired chemist from Helsinki took an overdose of sleeping pills when he was a student but was found just in time by his mother and the beautician mentioned above attempted to kill herself when she was forty, three years before I spoke to her.

Religious Piety

Finland has a number of 'pietist movements' within the Lutheran Church that tend to be, in various respects, religiously and socially conservative, with many rejecting alcohol consumption. The largest group is the Laestadians, who have 100,000 members in Finland of which three quarters are Conservative Laestadians, who reject not only alcohol but television and contraception, leading to large families. Though the movement started in Sweden, the overwhelming majority of Laestadians are in Finland (Kouva 2005). These movements seem to have a more significant influence in Finland than in the case of its neighbours (Stoddard 1974), with a higher membership. There could at least be a case for arguing that the significant presence of these revival movements in Finland is connected to migration. They were already popular in villages and in

the towns they are an important way of dealing with change. They are, therefore, especially popular in Finland where relatively recent migration has occurred. This can be noted, as a process, in the Kokkola Awakening of the 1970s, a few years after mass village to town migration had taken place. This conservative and Charismatic revival (involving prophecy, healing and so forth) occurred a few years after there had been mass migration into Kokkola – a medium-sized town on the West Coast with a large Swedish-speaking minority - from surrounding villages (Koutonen 1991). Many of those involved – according to former priest and others I interviewed - were originally from these villages so the revival could be interpreted as a play for status and assertion of identity on the part newcomers having to negotiate dramatic cultural change and challenge to their identity. As there were permanent pietist groups in many villages (Jutikkala and Pirinen 1996, 307), this indicates a further assertion of identity in the towns. This would imply a relationship between Finnish revivalism and the jolt of modernisation and migration. A number of Finns also felt that groups such as the Laestadians are popular because they stop people from drinking, which may indirectly relate to sudden migration.

Revival in Greenland

Langgaard argues that there is clear social division in even the most equal Greenlandic village between alcohols and those who do not drink at all and actively support the Temperance Movement

(1986, 307). These movements tend to be connected to the Lutheran churches. Langaard argues that Greenlandic communities are divided, roughly half and half, between those who abuse alcohol and those involved in these movements. This would imply, even if it is not so clear cut in areas such as Nuuk, a substantial influence in Greenland from pietist, Lutheran groups, a point Elliott moots in his travel guide. I would suggest that, to some extent, the same divide can be seen in Finland. However, it should be emphasised that Nuttall (1992, 31) points out that while 'church' is still important in many Inuit settlements, there do not appear to be organised competing groups within the church, as is the case in Finland. Otherwise, there is, I would suggest, at least circumstantial evidence in Greenland for arguing that 'religious piety' is an issue. In January 2003, the BBC reported that the Greenlandic government coalition was 'under strain' because of 'a row over a top civil servant who used an Inuit healer to chase away evil spirits in government offices . . .' According to the BBC, the incident caused such 'indignation' that staff walked out of government offices. Of course, as Greenland was only fully Christianised in 1922, the religious might be less obvious than in Finland, or even expressed through Pagan religiosity as has been noted.

Conclusion

There is much discussion on the 'uniqueness' of the Finnish way of life and how it is distinctive from its neighbours. However, the evi-

dence would seem to indicate that some of the central points of distinction – such as the high rate of alcoholism and suicide, the high interest in nature and religious piety – can, at least in part, be explained by Finland's relatively recent mass migration from the villages to the towns.

Very similar cultural phenomena could be observed when Britain underwent the same migration in the nineteenth century and these factors can be observed in an exaggerated form in Greenland where the movement was, perhaps, even more sudden and extreme, apart from in the religious case where circumstances are very different. But even here, high religiosity can be observed. Of course, there are other reasons for these factors – and, indeed, Finland and Greenland may share these. Many of my correspondents talked about 'national low self esteem' which might be caused by the 'National Low Self Esteem' of having been colony. Others talked about how Finns 'can't express themselves' and Greenland has been observed to have similar communication patterns to Finland (Lewis 2005). It has even been argued that both groups have an eastern gene (with no alcohol adaptation) which leads to alcoholism and suicide (Marusic 2005). However, the evidence would seem to indicate that many aspects of Finnish distinctiveness can be seen in Greenland in exaggerated form and that this may relate to sudden migration, which was even more exaggerated in Greenland. Hence, in some respects, maybe the Finnish way of life is not as 'unique' as tourist literature would have us believe.

References

- Anderson, Olive, (1980), 'Did Suicide Increase with Industrialisation in Victorian England?' in *Past and Present*, 86.
- BBC, (1st November 2006), 'Alcohol now Finland's Top Killer,' <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/6106570.stm>.
- BBC, (9th January 2003), 'Greenland caught up in "Exorcism" Row' <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2643269.stm>.
- BBC, (1st June 2006), 'UK amongst worst binge drinkers,' <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/health/5031624.stm>.
- Berridge, Virginia, (2005), *Temperance*, London: Joseph Rowntree Trust.
- Bjerregaard, Peter, (1988), 'Causes of Death in Greenland 1968–85' in *Arctic Medical Research*, 47:3.
- Bjerregaard, Peter *et al*, (2002), 'Cultural Change and Mental Health in Greenland' in *Social Science and Medicine*, 54:1.
- Bjorksten, K., Bjerregaard, P., Kripke, D., (2005), 'Suicide in the Midnight Sun: A study of seasonality in suicides in Western Greenland' in *Psychiatric Research* 133.
- Bruce, Steve, (2002), *God is Dead*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Colley, Ann, (1998), *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture*, New York: St Matthew's Press.
- Fisher, Shirley, (1994), *Stress in Academic Life*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Helamaa, Erkki, (2000), 'The History of Sauna and the Stove' in Juha Pentikäinen, *Bathing on Three Continents*, Helsinki: Building Information Ltd.
- Hughes, Dominic, (29th October 2005), 'A night out in Helsinki'

- on http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/4384992.stm.
- Jutikkala, Eino and Pirinen, Kauko, (1996), *A History of Finland*, Helsinki: WSOY.
- Klinge, Matti, (1982), *A Brief History of Finland*, Helsinki: Otava.
- Koutonen, Tatu, (1991), *Kokkola's Awakening: The Charismatic and Evangelical Awakening in Kokkola's Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation*, Helsinki University: Masters Thesis (Finnish language).
- Kouva, Johanna, (2005), 'Laestadianism in Finland,' Tampere University, <http://www.uta.fi/FAST/FIN/REL/jk-laest.html>.
- Langaard, Per, (1986), 'Modern and Traditional Interpersonal Relations in a Small Greenlandic Community' in *Arctic Anthropology*, 23: 1/2.
- Lewis, Richard D., (2005), *Finland: Cultural Lone Wolf*, London: Intercultural Press.
- Lynge, Inge, (1985), 'Suicide in Greenland' in *Arctic Medical Journal*, 40.
- Marusic, Andrej, (2005), 'History and Geography of Suicide: Could genetic risk factors account for the variation in suicide rates?' in *American Journal of Genetics* (Part C: Seminars in Medical Genetics), 133C: 1.
- Nuf, John, (1943), 'The Industrial Revolution Reconsidered' in *Journal of Economic History*, III:1.
- Nuttall Mark, (1992), *Arctic Homeland: Kinship, Community and Development in North West Greenland*, University of Toronto Press.
- O'Carroll, Etain and Elliott, Mark, (2005), *Greenland and the Arctic*, London: Lonely Planet.
- Otava, (2005), *Portraying Finland*, Helsinki: Otava.
- Oulu University, (2000), 'Seasonal Variations in Suicide' <http://herkules oulu.fi/isbn9514256042/html/x335.html>.
- Petersen, Marie-Louise, (1986), 'The Impact of Public Planning on Ethnic Culture' in *Arctic Anthropology*, 23:1/2.
- Price, Jacob, (1968), 'Reform to Industrial Revolution: A Review' in *The American Historical Review*, 74:2.
- Rajanen, Aini, (1984), *Of Finnish Ways*, New York: Barnes and Noble.
- Stack, Steve, (1993), 'The Effect of Modernization on Suicide in Finland 1800 – 1994' in *Sociological Perspectives*, 36:2.
- Stoddard, Theodore *et al*, (1974), *Finland: A Country Study*, Washington DC: US Government.
- Symington, Andy, (2006), *Lonely Planet Guide to Finland*, London: Lonely Planet.
- Talve, Ilmar, (1997), *Finnish Folk Culture*, Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Wagner, Tamara, (2002), 'Nostalgia and the Victorian Novel' on *The Victorian Web* (Cambridge University), <http://www.victorianweb.org/genre/wagner/1.html>.
- WHO, (2003), 'Suicide Rates' http://www.who.int/mental_health/prevention/suicide_rates/en/index.html.
- Winter, Torsten; Karvonen, Satri and Rose, Richard, (2002), 'Does religiousness explain regional differences in alcohol use in Finland?' in *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 37:4.



Konsuli John O. Virtanen vas. sai 8.10.2007 Portland Oregonin Finlandia Foundationin kunniakirjan ansioistaan amerikansuomalaisen kulttuurin hyväksi.

First generation Finnish speakers in Australia – language maintenance and attitudes

Tiina Lammervo



This article is based on a larger study on first generation Australian Finns, their language and culture contacts and attitudes (Lammervo, 2007). The project investigated language use, skills and attitudes, culture maintenance and identity of first generation Australian Finns in South-East Queensland. Data was collected from 31 informants who had migrated to Australia over twenty years before the time of the interviews. Although most of the informants in this sample came to Australia on an assisted passage or were recruited from Finland during the most active years of Finnish migration to Australia (peaks around 1958 and 1968), the sample also includes informants with different paths and arrival times. This distribution makes the sample well balanced with reference to the time of arrival of Finnish population in Australia. The focus in this article is on Finnish language maintenance among this group which is rapidly decreasing through natural attrition.

Tiina Lammervo is a Finnish Academy Postdoctoral researcher undertaking research on Australian Finns at the Institute of Migration and in co-operation with the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies at the University of Queensland.

In the early years of European settlement in the numbers of Finns in Australia were very small. Around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries North America continued to be a more attractive destination. Only in the 1950s and 1960s, when Australian government made assisted passages available for Finns, did more substantial numbers of Finnish migrants arrive. Individual peak years for Finnish migration to Australia were 1958 and 1968. In the years around each of these peaks about 5,000 Finns arrived in Australia. Depending on the scheme, a part or all of the migrants' fare was paid by Australian government. In both schemes migrants were required to remain in Australia for a minimum of two years so as not to be obliged to pay back the assistance. A detailed account about the history and numbers of Finnish migration to Australia are available in the works of Koivukangas (1975, 1998, 1999) and Korkiasaari (1999, 2003a, 2003b).

The number of Finnish born people in Australia has never exceeded 10,400. The 1971 census indicates that there were 10,359 Finnish born people permanently residing in Australia. Over the years New South Wales and Queensland have taken turns in

having the highest numbers of Finns. The earlier census years 1934 and 1954 when Queensland had the most Finns, indicate the importance of farming and mining in drawing Finnish migrants to the state. Resuming the lead in recent years (since 1991) corresponds with the internal migration pattern in Australia. People from the southern states are moving to the warmer climate in the north. This brings also Finns, often retired Finns, from the southern states to South-East Queensland, and its Australian Finnish community is revitalized as a result of domestic migration not migration from Finland.

These days the numbers of Finns arriving in Australia per year are low. In the financial year 2005–2006 there were only 67 settler arrivals of Finnish origin. The number of temporary residents to which category the popular working holiday visas and business sojourners belong was 1,657 for the same period. (ABS Overseas arrivals and departures statistics)

Maintaining Finnish language in Australia

The term "language maintenance" is used to describe a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community contin-

ues to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres (Pauwels, 2004). Among migrants in general, the first generation, who had reached full proficiency in their first language in the homeland (often through schooling), have the highest language maintenance figures. This is certainly true for Finns in Australia. According to Clyne (1991, p.66–67) 75.1% of first generation Finns maintain their first language, about 60% of the second generation, but for further generations the percentage of people maintaining the first language is as low as 13.3%. Although these language maintenance figures are high compared to other northern Europeans in Australia, (e.g. Norwegian-Swedish maintenance in the first generation was 45.6%, in the second generation 21.1% and in further generations 1.2% (ibid.)), researchers have concluded that Finnish in Australia is a dying language.

Owing to status factors, demographic factors, the lack of institutional support and the cultural dissimilarity of the Finnish language, it is a language that is failing to be maintained (Watson, 1996). Kovács (2001, 2004) concludes that among Australian Finns language shift is already complete before the third generation. At the community level the Australian multiculturalism and language policies in the 1970s brought a positive change. However, particularly in the area of L1 teaching, language policy does not offer much support for smaller language groups. At an individual level patterns of language

use indicate a strong tendency to language shift (Kovács, 2004).

In this first generation data Finnish language maintenance is still high. Informants were asked to indicate their language choice when communicating with ten different interlocutors (e.g. children, friends, boss), and when undertaking thirteen different tasks (e.g. watching films, writing letters). The concept of domain is widely used when discussing the choice of language in particular situations, the main elements of a domain including interlocutors, their relationship and specific locales. Overall language choice in all these twenty-three instances is polarized between the extremes. 30.4% of the answers indicate that Finnish is always used, and the next highest percentage is 21.0% for answers claiming that English is always used.

Since the informants are first generation Finnish speakers, we can infer that Finnish has a strong position in many domains, particularly in the non-public domain. In fact, the highest percentages of the answers "always Finnish" are found with interlocutors and tasks in the private domain: Parents 100%, siblings 81.8%, spouse 81.5%, relatives 74%, religion 60.9% and personal letters 55.6%, while the highest percentages of answers "always English" are found with language spoken to boss 80%, TV 80%, and language spoken to colleagues 64.3%. In this data Finnish is clearly the language for the private domain.

The home domain is crucial in maintaining and passing on ethnic languages. In this study the great majority of parents were married

to a Finn and most indicated that it had been natural to continue speaking Finnish in the home. Finnish migration to Australia in the peak years around 1958 and 1968 was mostly migration of young families, so continuing a Finnish home life would have been natural and the migrants would not have faced the dynamics and problems familiar to those bringing up children in ethnically and linguistically mixed marriages. Parents also express a strong wish that their children be able to speak Finnish. The importance of Finnish skills is purely practical. Parents think that it would be useful for the second generation to be able to communicate with their Finnish family. In the example below informants talk about the importance of Finnish skills to their children and grandchildren:

– T14I25F: *jos ne mänöö niinku Suomes käymää niinku heiänkii lapset käi ni ni tuota ei se ois olt yhtää mukavaa jos ei ois ymmärtäny.*

– Other guest: *se on no olla siellä ku et ymmärrä miwttää*

– T14I26M: *nii*

– T14I25F: *ei mittää*

– T14I26M: *nii ja sitte vähä semmosena tuppisuuna*

– T14I25F: *if they go to visit Finland like their children did it would not have been nice at all had they not been able to understand*

Other guest: *it's embarrassing to be there when you don't understand anything*

– T14I26M: *yeah*

– T14I25F: *nothing*

– T14I26M: *yeah and to be a bit tongue tied.*

Self-evaluated language skills and attitudes

Living in Australia requires some skills in English. Although those who arrived during the recruitment had the best chance among Finns in Australia to live in the vicinity or even work with other Finns, it is clear that the domains of Finnish use offered by the communities are limited. Many of the informants arrived in Australia with very limited or non-existent English skills. The comment often heard is:

– *Eikä osannu kyllä kieltä ei sitten niin ei ei jees eikä nou eikä tuota sitäkään jos niin väärään paikkaan nekin. (T8I13F)*

– *And we didn't know the language (English) at all not even yes or no and if said them it was often in the wrong situation.*

However, at the time of this data collection the informants overall reported having moderate English skills. The average for the self-evaluated English language skills on a scale from 1 to 5 (no skills to very good skills) is 3.04. The more the informants have studied in Australia, be it language or other studies, the better their English skills. The younger the informants were on arrival in Australia, the better their English skills at the time of data collection.

On the face of it, moderate self-evaluated English skills are in contrast with the recurring emphasis in other studies on Finnish immigrants' lack of English skills (Koi-vukangas, 1975; Mattila, 1990). However, even moderate English skills may not be good enough to allow full linguistic integration in

to Australian society. For instance, language skills adequate for the controlled environment of work may not be good enough for socializing with ease. Also, as long as a 'foreign' accent is distinguishable it is a cue for Anglo-Australians to elicit ethnic stereotypes (Pham, 1998, p. 3)

Overall the informants agree with the accepted view that maintaining one language does not diminish the capacity to learn other languages. Two statements enquired about the informants' attitudes towards the possible consequences which Finnish language maintenance might have on adjusting to life as an immigrant in Australia. The overall pattern is to express a similar attitude towards the effect of Finnish language maintenance to learning English and succeeding in Australia, and to think that maintaining Finnish does not have a negative effect on either.

Sometimes it was not possible to decipher whether an attitude about language maintenance or use of English was about the informants own skills and use or about those of their children or the community in general. There are, however, indications that even if the importance of English in the Australian society is obvious and parents are proud of their children's having had an easier time in learning Australian English and adopting Australian culture than their parents, they still hope that the second generation would also maintain Finnish at some level. This positive view to multilingualism may not, particularly at earlier stages of Australian immigration and language policy, have been shared by Anglo-Australians.

– *Ennen oli semmonen erilainen suhtautuminen et enne tota ei kaikki tykänny ollenkaan että puhu muitten aikana ni puhu omaa kieltänsä ja jotku ihmiset sanoki jossain voi jopa yleisel paikal bussiski sanoi jos jotku puhui kauan sitte. (T2I3M)*

– *Earlier the attitude was different not everyone liked it at all that you spoke your language in the presence of others and some people said sometimes even in public places in busses people commented too if you spoke a long time ago.*

First generation Australian Finns can often take their Finnish skills for granted. The average for the self-evaluated Finnish language skills on a scale from 1 to 5 was 4.03 i.e. good skills. The informants in this study did not mention making great language maintenance efforts to maintain their own Finnish skills, even if overall their attitudes towards Finnish language maintenance were very positive. Most of these informants have continued to speak Finnish at home and have regular contact with other Finns and this comes so naturally that it is hardly recognized as contributing to language maintenance. When ranking reasons for language maintenance communicating with friends and relatives, and maintaining contact with Finland are the most important. Culture and identity maintenance, which may appear more abstract to the informants, are seen as less important. Based on the answers it is not possible to say whether the informants explicitly realize that communicating in Finnish is directly linked with identity and culture maintenance. They

maintain their Finnish to communicate with people who are important to them, and at the same time this communication is helping them maintain their identity and culture. It is no surprise then that "Finnish spoken at home" was placed at the top of the list of most effective language maintenance methods. "Books, papers and magazines" was second followed by "Finnish school" and "trips to Finland". In fact, the scores for home language calculated from the informants' language use with children and spouse indicate that 48% of informants use always Finnish at home. The combined figure for those using Finnish more than English or always Finnish is 74%.

Features of Australian Finnish and speaker attitudes

The first impression when talking to first generation Australian Finns is that they have maintained their Finnish really well. The way they speak sounds Finnish with varying degrees of influence from dialects or sociolects. Hentula (1990) has concluded, based on her study of vocabulary of Australian Finnish that the Finnish of the first generation is more like Finnish in Finland as compared to second and further generation speakers' Finnish, should they still speak Finnish. Research has found, however, significant differences between Australian Finnish and spoken Finland Finnish (Gita, 2001; Hentula, 1990; Hirviniemi, 2000, Kovács, 2001). The most typical strategy of code-switching for first generation speakers is to "Finnishise" the code-switched items, at least at the

level of grammar (Kovács, 2001: 194). In my data the most typical language contact phenomena in the conversations are items that have been assimilated both phonologically and morphologically into Finnish, as for instance, *instraktori* 'instructor'. The second most typical type is items with English phonology and Finnish morphology, for instance *marbleleita* 'marbles'. Code-switches into unassimilated English were in this study categorized into short, one word switches: "*niinku tämä kaiteet* balustrade *kaikki*" 'like the railings the balustrades and all', and long switches extending for more than one word: "*Kiitoksiapaljonja* excuse me now *mun minun täytyy lähteä*" 'Thank you very much and excuse me now I have to leave'. These were significantly less common than the fully assimilated language material.

Data on the frequency of the above strategies in each individual's speech was used to create speaker profiles. The typical speaker profile for a first generation Australian Finn has a strong Finnish emphasis as material fully assimilated into Finnish is the largest category of contact phenomena. It is followed by other phonologically Finnish material and words pronounced in English with Finnish case endings. Switches into English are the smallest categories. This extract is from conversation with a first generation Finn displaying the typical code-switching strategies:

– *Jee se maini teki vähä paljo että piti suomalaiset omissa ja kieliset. Sitte sano muutammat sano työ finnit saatte parhaamman palkan ja sitte matkustelette ulkomaille vaistitte maniiit* (un-

derlining indicates material with English influence).

– *Yeah the mine often kept Finns and non-Finns separate. Some people said that you Finns make the best wages and then travel overseas and waste your money.*

The following extract is from a conversation with a first generation Finn with a more atypical speaker profile. Although the two largest categories of English influence are the predictable ones for first generation Australian Finns, the special features are switches into English for strings longer than one word. This together with high numbers of short code-switches and words pronounced in English with Finnish case endings make a speaker with this profile sound overall different from the typical first generation speaker as English phonology is very prominent:

– *Leijonilla ni mittään klubille ei mittään ite me autetaan semmosia niinku help those who can't help themselves ni se on niinku leijona motto enempi.*

– *With the Lions nothing x for the club nothing we ourselves help those well help those who can't help themselves that is more the Lions' motto.*

The Australian Finnish community accepts varieties of Finnish which may have even extensive English influence. On average the subjects' attitude towards mixing English with Finnish is neutral, yet the most frequent reaction is to approve of mixing English with Finnish. The Finnish variety with English influence is considered to serve a specific purpose in the community. It

is an accepted variety of Finnish for communication in Australia and it is the variety that is passed on to following generations. English words in Finnish speech are justified by, for instance, there not being a satisfactory Finnish equivalent for an Australian item, or by admitting that a Finnish term for a Finnish item has been forgotten. Some informants display a slightly disparaging attitude towards the mixed language variety:

– *Minä sanoin että meidän kaikki räpeltää samanlaista suomii ku myö ni jos Helsingin horisontist kattois ni myö osata ensinkää ... (T14I25F)*

– *I said that our children all speak the same kind of Finnish as we do and if you'd look at it from the Helsinki point of view you'd say we don't know Finnish at all...*

Often the variety is critiqued in a joking manner:

– *Sil on joka toinen sana englantii ni sit se ihmettelee et kui se Patrickki tietää et mist se puhuu koko ajan se on australialainen @@@ ni kul se pysyy kärryllä (T2I3M)*

– *Her every other word in English and then she wonders how Patrick knows all the time what she is talking about he is Australian @@@ every other word is English so he can follow all right.*

Conclusion

Continuing to communicate in Finnish in the private domains remains the most important way of maintaining Finnish in Australia

on the community and individual levels. Continuing to speak Finnish at home is how parents have passed on the language to their offspring. In the typical situation second generation Australian Finns have learnt Finnish from their mother at home. The discussions with informants hardly ever extended to the realization that reading and writing a language, also the first language, has to be studied and learnt. As the chances of this are very limited in Australia, the second generation's Finnish typically remains limited to spoken language. This is sufficient to keep in touch with the family. It will not, however, allow a deeper understanding or participation in Finnish culture. The first generation often sees their offspring as Australian and are happy to see them being accepted as 'Aussies'. Finnish culture and language are seen as heritage which the parents hope the children will respect and preserve, but it is additional to the second generation's Australian identity.

My postdoctoral research project currently underway investigates the role of Finnish ethnicity among members of the second and third generations of Australian Finns. Considering the history of Finnish migration to Australia, the focus is on the offspring of those who migrated during the peak years of Finnish Australian migration, but also more recent migrant families are included. Regardless of Australia's official policy of multiculturalism, the responsibility of language and culture maintenance particularly for a small low profile group such as Finns is with the community itself. Support has been available from Fin-

land and will hopefully continue and even increase, as Finland now has an official government policy for expatriate Finns (Hallituksen ulkosuomalaispoliittinen ohjelma 2006–2011).

References

- Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Census of population and housing*, (2006), www.abs.gov.au.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. *Overseas arrivals and departures statistics*. Retrieved June 2007 from www.abs.gov.au/media/statistics.
- Clyne, M., (1991), *Community languages: The Australian experience*, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Gita, J., (2001), *Kahden toisen polven australiansuomalaisen suomen kielen piirteitä*, Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Helsinki, Helsinki.
- Hallituksen ulkosuomalaispoliittinen ohjelma 2006–2011, (2006), Työhallinnon julkaisu 369.
- Hentula, H., (1990), *Australian-suomen sanaston luonteenomaisia piirteitä. Suomen Akatemian Amerikan- ja Australiansuomen tutkimushankkeen raportti ja australiansuomen sanaluettelo* (unpublished report) Institute of Migrations, Turku.
- Hirviniemi, R., (2000), *Sademetsässä, saremehtästä, saremesähän: Havaintoja kolmen alevan sukupolven australiansuomen puhujan kielestä*, Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Turku, Turku.
- Koivukangas, O., (1975), *Suomalainen siirtolaisuus Australiaan toisen maailmansodan jälkeen*. Institute of Migration, Turku.
- Koivukangas, O., (1998), *Kaukomaiden kaipuu: Suomalaiset*

- Afrikassa, Australiassa, Uudessa Seelannissa ja Latinalaisessa Amerikassa*, Institute of Migration, Turku.
- Koivukangas, O., (1999), Finns in the southern hemisphere – a comparative approach, in O. Koivukangas & C. Westin eds., *Scandinavian and European migration to Australia and New Zealand*, Institute of Migration, Turku, pp. 185-214.
- Korkiasaari, J., (1999), *Suomen siirtolaisuus kautta aikain (-1997)*, www.utu.fi/erill/inst-migr/fin/f_01.htm.
- Korkiasaari, J., (2003a), *Maastamuuttaneet sukupuolen ja kohdemaan mukaan (1980-2001)*, www.migrationinstitute.fi/db/stat/fin/art.php?artid=10.
- Korkiasaari, J., (2003b), *Siirtolaisuus Suomesta Australiaan 1945-1996 (Suomen kansalaiset)*, www.migrationinstitute.fi/db/stat/fin/art.php?artid=49.
- Kovács, M., (2001), *Code-switching and language shift in Australian Finnish in comparison with Australian Hungarian*, Åbo Akademi University Press, Turku.
- Kovács, M., (2004), Australian-suomalaiset kielenvaihdon kynnyksellä, *Virittäjä*, 2: 200–222.
- Lammervo, T. (2007), *Language and culture contact and attitudes among first generation Australian Finns*. Web Reports 26. Finnish Institute of Migration. Turku. www.migrationinstitute.fi/pdf/webreports.htm.
- Mattila, T. (1990), *Australian suomalaisten elinolot ja sopeutuminen*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Turku, Turku.
- Pauwels, A. (2004), Language maintenance, A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.) *The Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.
- Pham, M. N. (1998), Language attitudes of the Vietnamese in Melbourne. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 21(2), 1-20.
- Watson, G. (1996), The Finnish-Australian English corpus. *ICAME Journal: Computers in English Linguistics*, 20, 41–70.

Tiivistelmä

Artikkeli perustuu laajempaan tutkimukseen ensimmäisen polven Australian suomalaisten kieli- ja kulttuurikontaktista, asenteista ja identiteetistä. Aineistossa painotuu ryhmä, joka muutti Suomen Australian siirtolaisuuden huippuvuosien 1958 ja 1968 vaiheilla. Suomen kieltä käytetään yksityiselämän domeeneissa ja sen asema

kotikielenä on ollut edellytyksenä toisen polven australiansuomalaisten suomen oppimiselle. Englanninkielisessä ympäristössä vakiokielien asemaa ei kyseenalaisteta, mutta aineistossa kaksikielisyyteen ja suomen kielen säilyttämiseen suhtaudutaan positiivisesti. Australiansuomi on suomen kielen variantti, jota leimaa englannin vaikutus. Ensimmäisen siirtolais-

polven puheessa on englanninkielinen aines tyypillisesti mukautettu täysin suomeen sekä ääntämisen että morfologian osalta. Huomatavakin englannin vaikutus kuitenkin hyväksytään ja australiansuomi on kielimuoto, jolla on funktionsa ympäristössään ja joka siirtyy myös jälkipolville, sikäli kun he suomea vielä osaavat.



Väestön ja työvoiman kansainvälistyminen nyt ja tulevaisuudessa -julkaisun tiedotustilaisuus pidettiin Opetusministeriössä 31.1.2008. Hankkeen rahoittajina olivat Euroopan Sosiaalirahasto, opetusministeriö ja Siirtolaisuusinstituutti. Kuvassa kirjan kirjoittajat tutkimusjohtaja Elli Heikkilä (vas.) ja tutkija Maria Pikkarainen.

Swedish Finns in the World Today

Norman Westerberg



Based on remarks presented at the Symposium on Swedish Finns in Western Canada, organized on September 30, 2007, by the Vancouver Chapter of the Canadian Friends of Finland.

The table Expatriate Finns gives an idea of how many persons aware of their roots in Finland now reside abroad in major areas of the world today. The Finnish Expatriate Parliament, as well as many Finnish officials, often refer to the total number of 1.35 million. Note that the vast majority of these live in North America and Sweden, and only about 100,000 in other areas.

It is difficult to obtain factual data for the number of these Finns that have their roots in Swedish speaking Finland. My educated estimates are as follows (rough percentages of total Finns in parenthesis):

Sweden	100,000	20 %
USA	80,000	15 %
Canada	10,000	10 %
Other World	10,000	10 %
Total	200,000	15 %

The total population of Finland today is about 5.2 million. 300,000 of these claim to be Swedish Finns (Swedish as first or school language), and close to 100,000 are recent immigrants from other countries. Thus about 4.8 million are Finnish speaking Finns. It is interesting to note that while there

are 300,000 Swedish Finns living in Finland, the number abroad is 200,000, or a ratio of 2/3. At the same time there are 1,150,000 Finn-Finns abroad, which corresponds to only 25% of those 4,800,000 living in Finland.

The population in the USA is counted and characterized by the US Census held at ten year intervals. Since way back it had provided information on a person's birth place, and the birthplace of the immigrant's parents. Information on the number of first and second generation Finnish-Americans is thus available. I have plotted these data on my Figure Persons Claiming Finnish Ancestry in United States - By Generations. In the US Census 1980, the question of the parent's birth country was dropped, and replaced by a broader question "What is the person's ancestry of ethnic origin? This change has been a blessing, since we now

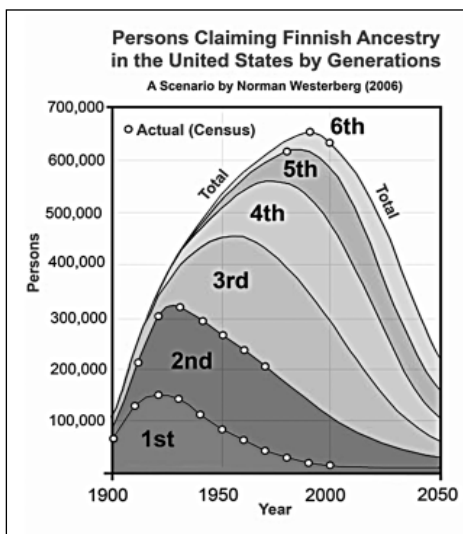
know much more about Finnish Americans. The US Census provides a wealth of information (www.census.gov). As seen in the Figure, the total number of persons in the USA is claiming Finnish ancestry peaked in year 1990 at 660,000. In the census 2000 the number had been reduced about 5% to 620,000. It is expected to follow a future downward trend, typical for all ethnic groups with very limited numbers of new immigrants. I have summarized my migration research since 1995 in an article "A Profile of Nordic Americans" published in the Nordic Heritage Museum Historical Journal, Volume 2/Number 1 (Winter 2000/Seattle).

The Canadian caucus is taken every five years. The website of Statistics Canada provides summary data free, but detail reports have to be ordered and paid for. Dr. Mika Roinila, in his doctoral

Expatriate Finns

Region	Immigrants Settling		Finns Abroad in 2000			Total
	1860-1944	1945-2000	1st Gen'n	2nd Gen'n	3rd+ Gen'n	
Sweden	40,000	400,000	205,000	230,000	90,000	525,000
Other Europe	50,000	80,000	50,000	20,000	5,000	75,000
United States	240,000	20,000	20,000	100,000	500,000	620,000
Canada	55,000	20,000	20,000	30,000	50,000	100,000
Other World	5,000	30,000	15,000	10,000	5,000	30,000
Total	390,000	550,000	310,000	390,000	650,000	1,350,000

Compiled by Norman Westerberg (2002), partly based on data by Jouni Korkiasaari (Institute of Migration, Turku 1998).



thesis "Finland Swedes in Canada – Migration, settlement and ethnic relations" (2000/Institute of Migration, Turku) provides excellent information. However, it is again difficult to obtain information about Swedish Finns and, percentage of all with Finland roots. Before WWII, the question "Born in Finland with Swedish origin" resulted in 12%. After WWII the question was stated "Immigrants with Swedish mother tongue and Finn ethnicity", and now the average percentage of those responding was only 3–5 % of the total.

Swedish government reports seem to only provide information on residents' birth country. But special studies have provided information on immigrants' mother tongues, and also data on their children (the second generation), which support the above rounded numbers. Finns migrated to Sweden in masses in the 1960s and 1970s. They have a large number of local organizations, one in each city with significant "Finnish" population. These organizations are part of strong central

organizations. Finlandssvenska riksförbundet i Sverige, short FRIS, is the umbrella for Swedish Finns in Sweden.

In the following, I will attempt to illustrate by examples the many activities that are on-going in many places to strengthen and support Swedish Finnish individuals, organizations and communities worldwide. The history of emigrants from Finland to America has been documented in several doctoral

theses in the 1970s by researchers at Turku University, associated with the Migration Institute in Turku (prominent by Reino Kero and Keijo Virtanen). More recently the Institute's Director Olavi Koivukangas and Sr. Researcher Jouni Korkiasaari have published many reports with relevant and interesting data. The latter currently leading a study, which based on about 4,000 responses by Finnish-Americans and Canadian Americans to a recent comprehensive survey, followed up by hundreds of interviews, will soon result in book on Finns in North America. I have been invited to contribute material for some of the chapters.

A real "gold mine" of information is the book published in Swedish by Professor Anders Myhrman in Helsinki in 1972. It is entitled "Finlandssvenskar i Amerika". It describes in detail the lives of the Swedish Finn immigrants and their organizations in every corner of North America. It describes how the International Order of Runeberg (IOR) was founded in

1920 by merging two existing Swedish Finn organizations. By 1930 the combined membership in a large number of Lodges was 8,500. The numbers are shrinking, with its aging members. But the still existing lodges are providing very valuable service to the members, still numbering over 600 today. The current President of the IOR Grand Lodge is energetic Annabelle Kergan, residing in Vancouver, BC. The publication of IOR is named 'Leading Star - Ledstjärnan'.

I would like to especially mention the superb doctor's thesis by Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch at Åbo Akademi in 2003 (published by Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, like Anders Myhrman's earlier work). The title of her dissertation is "American Plus – Etnisk identitet hos finlandssvenska ättlingar i Nordamerika". It includes an extensive English summary. Her introduction of the concept 'American Plus' is brilliant. She heard many of the older descendants of Swedish speaking Finns, that she interviewed, telling that they really by now were good Americans, but that knowing about those roots in Finland was something extra special - made them feel American Plus.

The weekly newspaper Norden celebrated its 110th anniversary with a grand gala dinner in Fairfield, CT on October 21, 2006. Its name had been changed in 1935 from Finska Amerikanaren. About in 1910 the number of subscribers had peaked at 6,000, now it is only a small fraction of it. Guest speaker was Ulla-Maj Wideroos from Finland, at the time Deputy Minister of Finance. Also speaking was

Christoffer Grönholm, Executive Director of Svenska folkskolans vänner (SFV), and 125 year old organization in Finland. He told the one hundred plus participants that the Norden is the most Swedish Finn newspaper in the world today. No newspaper in Finland devotes as much space to the four 'Swedish Finn' provinces in Finland as Norden: one page each for Åland, Aboland, Nyland and Österbotten. This is one of the reasons that SFV provides financial support to Norden. Its content is still mostly in Swedish, with Erik Hermans as Editor. I recommend it as very good reading. At the dinner, interesting results from a special Norden readership opinion survey were reported by researcher Kjell Herberts from Åbo Akademi. Two hundred of the current 300 subscribers had responded to his questionnaire. I should add that SFV has a very interesting quarterly publication named Svenskybygden for its members. I recommend membership in SFV, to show our support for an organization that is very supportive of many Swedish Finn activities also abroad. I had the honor to be the speaker at SFV's annual meeting in Helsinki in 2004, and chose the subject 'Finlandssvenskhet i dagens Amerika'.

A major event was the founding of the Swedish Finn Historical Society (SFHS) in 1991. It has grown to a membership of about 700, including many in Scandinavia, and its archives and office in Seattle have continuously expanded. It produces a popular journal named 'The Quarterly', highlighting the history of Swedish Finn individuals, families, organizations and communities in

both North America and places in Finland where their roots are. The SFHS mission is: 'To gather and preserve the emigration history of Finns across the world, to connect Swedish Finns to their roots in Finland and to celebrate our cultural heritage. The vision is to document every Swedish Finn emigrant, to fund a permanent home for SFHS archived materials in perpetuity, to keep Finland aware of Swedish Finn emigrants, and much more. Become a member of SFHS! Strong leaders are President Dick Erickson and Past Pres. Syrene Forsman.

In August 1997 the Finnish Expatriate Parliament (FEP) was founded in Helsinki as a cooperative forum, where Finns living around the world come together and decide collectively on issues that they deem important to them. Finland Society (Suomi-Seura) in Helsinki serves as the Secretariat for FEP. Finland related organizations registered with FEP may send representatives and initiatives to its ordinary sessions held with 2-3 year intervals. The first Session was held in November 1998, and the 5th session in September 2007. About 200-250 representatives have attended the sessions, which each have dealt with some 100 initiatives, resulting in 60-80 resolutions to be presented to the Prime Minister of Finland for distribution to the government organizations concerned. The Speaker of the FEP is the Chairman of the Board for Finland Society, currently Mr. Pertti Paasio. There are eight Vice Speakers, seven of which represent regions of the world, and the eighth representing Swedish Finns in the World. I have had the privi-

lege to serve as Vice Speaker for the region USA & Latin America 1998-2002 and 2005-2007, with Marja Snyder serving 2002-2005. Marita Cauthen from Massachusetts now serves in that capacity.

Serving as Vice Speakers for 'Swedish Finns in the World', has been Carl-Gustav Store and Barbro Allardt-Ljunggren, with Hanna Lindell elected to this position in September 2007 (with Johannes Helander from Seattle as Alternate). All have been active in FRIS. To support the FEP activities in this wide region, a "working group" with representatives from US based IOR and SFHS and several Sweden based organizations has been formed, with a part-time project secretary. An internet based network keeps in touch with individual Swedish Finns, residing in areas without any ethnic organization. This network is recognized as a FEP organization. Svenska Kulturfonden in Finland has provided financial support for the project.

Finally, since parliamentary elections in April 2007 and appointment of a new Government, Finland has a Minister of Migration. She is Astrid Thors, who thus is the first Minister for all Finnish Expatriates. She was a member of the European Parliament 1996-2004, and is a member of the Parliament of Finland since 2004. Minister Thors gave an uplifting speech to the participants of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament assembled in Helsinki for its 5th Session in September 2007.

Vierailijoita Siirtolaisuusinstituutissa



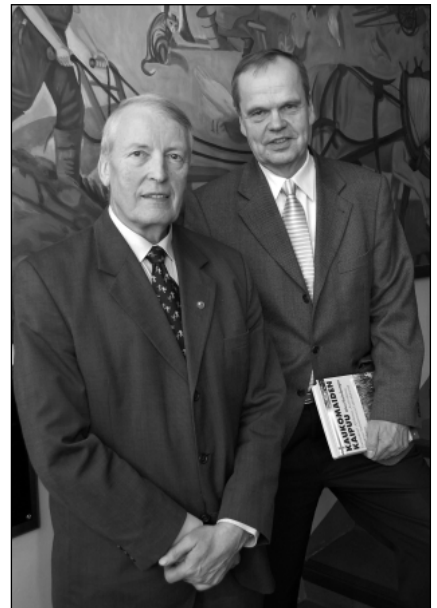
Prof. Vladimir Simonov Siperian Omskista vieraili Instituutissa elokuussa 2007. Vasemmalla tytär Maria ja oikealla Mikko Makkonen Helsingistä. Vladimir Simonov avustaa Matti Unkurin talon hankkimisessa Siperiasta Seinäjoelle Siirtolaisuusmuseoon. Kuva: Olavi Koivukangas.



Ulkoministeriön alivaltiosihteeri Pekka Huhtaniemi vaimoineen vieraili Instituutissa syyskuussa 2007. Kuva Olavi Koivukangas.



Turun liike- ja virkanaiset Åbo yrkeskvinnor ry -yhdistys vieraili puheenjohtajansa Ph.D. Leena Roivaksen johdolla (kuvassa vas.) Siirtolaisuusinstituutissa 28.1.2008. Yhdistys oli kiinnostunut instituutin tutkimustoiminnasta, josta heille esitelmöi tutkimusjohtaja Elli Heikkilä. Kuva: Elli Heikkilä.



Maaherra Rauno Saari (kuvassa oikealla) vieraili Siirtolaisuusinstituutissa 22.2.2008. Kuvassa vasemmalla johtaja Olavi Koivukangas. Kuva: Jouni Korkiasaari.

Attraction of the Nordic Countries in International Migration

Elli Heikkilä and Sirkku Wilkman



Introduction

The aim of this article is to give an overview of the international migration flows in the Nordic countries in the beginning of the 21st century. The analysis is conducted by country level and in some cases more detailed in regional and city-regional level based on the population statistics in the Nordic countries. The analysis reports the attractive immigration regions in the Nordic countries showing the differences between them. Special analysis is done for the EU-enlargement impacts in immigration flows i.e. have EU-10 countries started to be more often immigration origin countries towards Nordic countries.

This article is based on an international project in which it was studied Nordic immigration to better understand population development among the immigrants and the effects on population development in differing regions in the Nordic countries in the period of 2000–2004 (see Edvardsson et al. 2007).

Immigration flows to the Nordic countries

In 2000–2004, the total immigration into Nordic countries was 869,364 persons. The largest amount of total immigration in the

period of 2000–2004 was directed to Sweden, 35.6 % (309,364), Denmark received 30 % (261,291), Norway 21.1 % (183,367) while Finland received 10.6 % (92,134) and Iceland 2.7 % (23,474). The highest annual in-flow was recorded in Sweden in 2002, 64,087 persons. Traditionally Sweden has been the main destination country for immigration in the Nordic countries. Looking at the totals in the period of 2000–2004 in the country, Sweden remains top with the largest number of immigrants in each year. Iceland, however, received the highest number of immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants in 2000–2004, followed by Denmark and Norway. In relation to the total population, Finland faced the least immigration in 2000–2004, and the figure was the lowest in 2000, at 3.3 per mille, whereas Iceland had 18.5 per mille. The immigration peak to the Nordic countries occurred in 2002, at 179,315 immigrants while the lowest figure was 170,214 in 2000. When we take the size of the total Nordic population into account, there were 7.1 immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants in the Nordic countries in 2004.

Net immigration in the period of 2000–2004 has been positive for the Nordic countries. The exception here was Iceland, which had two negative net immigration years; there was a total net immi-

gration loss of 408 as more people left Iceland than entered in 2002 and in 2003. Of the net immigration, 268,601 persons, into any Nordic country from abroad in 2000–2004, Sweden received the most, 52 per cent (138,514). In 2004, fifteen of the highest net immigration regions in terms of numbers in the Nordic countries were located in Sweden, Norway and Finland. Eight of the regions (Skåne, Stockholm, Västra Götaland, Västerbotten, Kronoberg, Värmland, Jönköping and Norrbotten regions) with the largest number of immigrants in the Nordic countries were in Sweden. Six regions (Oslo, Akershus, Rogaland, Hordaland, Nordland and Sør-Trøndelag) were in Norway and one region (Uusimaa) was located in Finland. However, the greatest numbers of immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants were located in only six of those fifteen regions the figures being 4.9 per thousand in the Kronoberg region, 4.5 per thousand inhabitants in the Skåne region, 3.9 per thousand inhabitants in the Västerbotten region, 3.4 per thousand inhabitants in the Rogaland and Nordland regions, 3.3 per thousand inhabitants in the Norrbotten region, and 3.1 per thousand inhabitants in the Värmland region while the highest rate was 640.5 per thousand inhabitants in Fljótsdalshreppur, Iceland. In 2004, three Nordic regions ex-

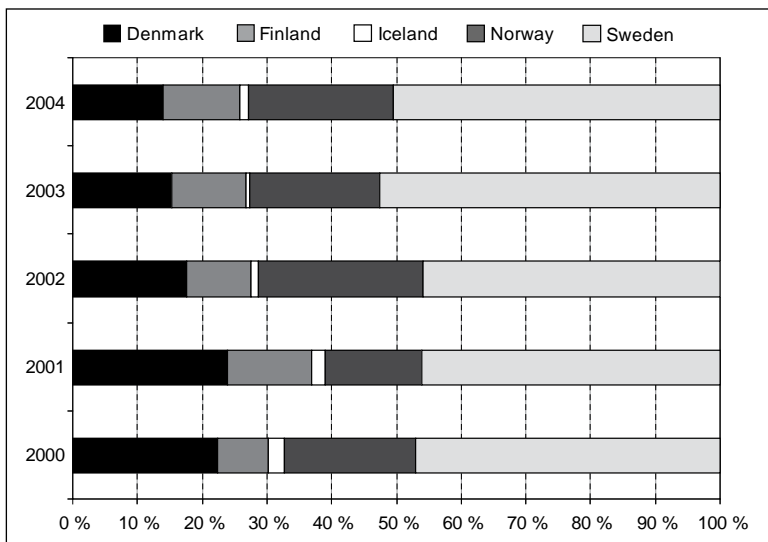


Figure 1. Foreign net immigration by country in 2000–2004 (in per cent of Nordic immigration).

perienced a net immigration loss, and they were located in Iceland (Capital area -70, Northwest -37 and Southwest -22), though in total Iceland witnessed a net immigration gain of 530 persons in 2004. Seven of the fifteen regions with lowest immigration in absolute terms were in Iceland, six could be found in Finland and one both in Denmark and Sweden.

In Table 1, it can be noticed that the highest immigration numbers are for native return migrants in all Nordic countries, and Denmark's share is the largest here in per cent of Nordic immigration. Immigration within the Nordic countries has been directed most often to Sweden and next highest immigration flows have been to Denmark and Norway. Immigrants from the EU-15 countries, excluding other Nordic countries, have been attracted to Denmark and Sweden, and among immigrants from the New Member States (NMS), i.e. EU-10, the first choice has been

Sweden and then Denmark. Actually, immigration flows have not been as large from the New Member States as was originally expected given the obvious GDP differences. Immigration from distant countries has, however, been more substantial in volume, for example in the case of Asia than from closer New Member States. Among single New Member States, for example, Estonians have been moving to Finland, Iceland has attracted immigrants from Poland, and Norway from Poland and Lithuania. There are signs that immigrants have been moving, not only to capital regions, although they are the main destination areas, but also outside the major towns and metropolitan areas. Immigrants are thus to be found in relatively high numbers in other regions such as that of Eastern Iceland, and in the counties of Troms and Finnmark in Norway. Explanation for these immigration flows and their destination areas are usually to be found

in relation to specific demand of economic sector(s). Immigration from the most distant continents like Oceania is quite small in size.

Table 2 shows that the rate of immigration has increased from the European Union enlargement on 1st of May 2004 but also that no major immigration has occurred. In the five years 2000–2005, the Nordic countries received 65,635 immigrants from the NMS countries. The main destination countries have been Denmark and Sweden. Sweden together with Great-Britain and Ireland allowed free movement of NMS nationals into their labour markets (Heikkilä 2007: 14), which could explain why Sweden among the Nordic countries had the highest immigration flows from the NMS countries. Nevertheless, in Norway, Iceland and Finland the impact of immigration flows has increased since the turn of the century.

The role of the city regions in international streams

One of the main features of the development in the geographical distribution of population – not just in the Nordic countries but globally – in the 21st century has been the movement of people to urban areas and the subsequent depopulation of rural areas. Also the vast majority of Nordic immigration in the 21st century has directed into capital city areas. Overall, the immigration shows the same settlement pattern as the national and foreign population in Nordic countries. There is a general movement from non-urban regions to the major cities. Young people tend to make these geographical shifts to take up

Table 1. The gross number of immigrants to the Nordic countries in 2004 by exit country/continent (Source: National statistics offices). *Luxembourg is missing.

Country	Nationals (total)	Nordic countries	Old EU countries (excl. Nordic)*	NMS countries	Other Europe (excl. EU)	Africa	America	Asia	Oceania	Unknown
Denmark	21 990	8 438	13 512	3 400	8 772	2 221	5 013	7 737	1 203	583
Finland	5 222	4 963	3 751	2 358	3 234	1 099	1 300	3 140	201	287
Iceland	2 838	2 358	1 368	407						
Norway	8 618	8 147	5 860	2 765	4 417	3 875	2 853	8 848	354	256
Sweden	14 448	13 021	10 952	4 077	7 116	4 456	5 648	15 200	752	651
in per cent of Nordic immigration										
Denmark	41,4	22,9	38,1	26,1	37,3	19,1	33,8	22,2	47,9	32,8
Finland	9,8	13,4	10,6	18,1	13,7	9,4	8,8	9,0	8,0	16,2
Iceland	5,3	6,4	3,9	3,1						
Norway	16,2	22,1	16,5	21,3	18,8	33,3	19,3	25,3	14,1	14,4
Sweden	27,2	35,3	30,9	31,3	30,2	38,2	38,1	43,5	30,0	36,6
	99,9	100,1	100,0	99,9	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

study and working population to find work. Immigration and immigrants' country-internal migration further strengthens the movement of people to urban areas and the subsequent depopulation of rural areas (Heikkilä & Järvinen 2003). In addition, refugees relocate to major cities in the years immediately after they have been placed

to the municipalities. For example, in Finland a significant group of immigrants are refugees who are allocated to refugee receiving centers and due to this matter the settlement concentrates to specific regions, like Vuolijoki in Kainuu region in Finland.

Nordic countries have experienced a rapid growth in their for-

eign-born population in recent decades. In 2004, the residents of Nordic countries included 1,073,532 foreign citizens, 4.4 per cent of the total population. In Nordic city regions' in particular the population is growing faster than the total population of the Nordic countries. In 2000–2004, the majority of immigration into the Nordic countries

Table 2. The gross number of EU New Member States immigration to the Nordic countries in 2000-2005 (Source: National statistics offices).

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Denmark	2 817	3 040	2 978	2 814	3 400	4 659	19 708
Finland	1 220	1 700	1 782	1 652	2 358	2 607	11 319
Iceland	537	662	429	247	407	1 912	4 194
Norway	949	1 215	1 668	1 384	2 765	4 805	12 786
Sweden	1 670	1 948	2 388	2 191	4 077	5 354	17 628
in per cent at national level							
Denmark	5,3	5,4	5,6	5,7	6,8	8,9	7,5
Finland	7,2	9	9,8	9,3	11,6	12,2	12,3
Iceland	10,3	13,2	10,2	6,7	7,6	24,6	17,9
Norway	2,6	3,5	4,2	3,8	7,6	12	7
Sweden	2,8	3,2	3,7	3,4	6,6	8,2	4,7

at the national level was directed to major Nordic city regions. Nordic city regions are presented here with capital cities and their regions (Figure 2). Helsinki city region includes the city of Helsinki and eleven other municipalities while Stockholm region includes, in addition to Stockholm city, 21 municipalities. Oslo region has 22 municipalities while Reykjavik region nine. Copenhagen region includes the municipalities of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg and the regions of Copenhagen, Frederiksberg and Roskilde. In 2003, capital city regions received 35.8 per cent of all immigration to the Nordic countries. All of the Nordic capital city regions received immigrants, with Copenhagen, Oslo and Stockholm city regions clearly leading in terms of shares. The capital region of Denmark in particular (Copenhagen city region) tempted most immigrants with 35.7 per cent of the Nordic capitals total. In 2003, at the national level Reykjavik city region received 68 per cent of the immigration, but only 1.5 per cent at the Nordic level. Copenhagen city region received 43.9 % of immigration to Denmark and Helsinki city region 40.7 % of immigration to Finnish. Immigration at the national level in Sweden and Norway is also very much directed towards the city regions of Stockholm and Oslo, though a large proportion of immigrants also go to other city regions in Sweden and Norway. Among immigrants in Sweden and Norway another settlement pattern undoubtedly exists: many have settled along the borders of Sweden and Norway, where there has been a particular need for la-

bour, i.e. in the oil and tourist industries. Nordic labour market trends have differed: employment has been stronger in Sweden and Norway than in the other Nordic countries. This difference can be attributed to the fact that most labour migrants to the Nordic countries head to Sweden or Norway. It is obvious that labour migrants may be more attracted to those regions where work is available, i.e. the same regions national residents are attracted to.

The region of Uusimaa also gained the largest flow (1,367) of the overall net immigration to Finland; its proportion was 20.5 per cent. The metropolitan area of Helsinki in Uusimaa in particular gained a positive international migration balance: around 15 per cent of the net immigration to Finland was to the Helsinki capital city region, while the proportion for the city of Helsinki was 8 per cent. In the capital region, large cities such as Espoo and Vantaa have grown rapidly. Along with the city of Helsinki, Tampere (Pirkanmaa), Turku (Varsinais-Suomi), Jyväskylä (Central Finland), Rovaniemi (Lapland) and Oulu (Northern Ostrobothnia) were the municipalities that gained from this net immigration into Finland. In addition to these cities, the city of Salo (Varsinais-Suomi) gained a large amount of foreign immigrants, something that has to do with the location of Nokia Enterprises in the city. Varsinais-Suomi gained the second largest share of gross foreign immigration (8.6 %) to Finland in 2004 and the largest foreign flow was to Uusimaa, 39.7 per cent. Over a half (56.8 %) of all the foreign immigrants heads

for the regions of Uusimaa, Varsinais-Suomi and Pirkanmaa. The volume of migration can be seen as a factor of the competitiveness of the region. The high share of innovative manufacturing and co-operation among innovating companies explains the top ranking of Salo and Oulu. Human capital as a whole shows a regional concentration in an area around one hundred kilometers from Helsinki and other big cities: Tampere, Turku, Jyväskylä and Oulu.

Regions with a diversified economic structure and an annual positive net migration of human capital will experience, in relative terms, better economic development prospects than those with one dominant economic sector and a negative net migration of human capital. Changes in the demand for labour will be moderate (i.e. high) in the first case, but can change dramatically (from high to low or vice versa) in a region with one dominant sector. All regions are dependent on an annually positive migration of human capital to meet the demand from the growing knowledge-intensive production sector in either goods or services. As a result Nordic regions perform rather differently depending on how well they succeed in attracting these much-needed competences. As such it is expected that metropolitan areas will experience further expansion while areas supporting traditional manufacturing industry will continue to decline (Persson 2001).

The international migration flows are concentrated in capital city regions in each Nordic country, but there is also increased concentration among immigrants

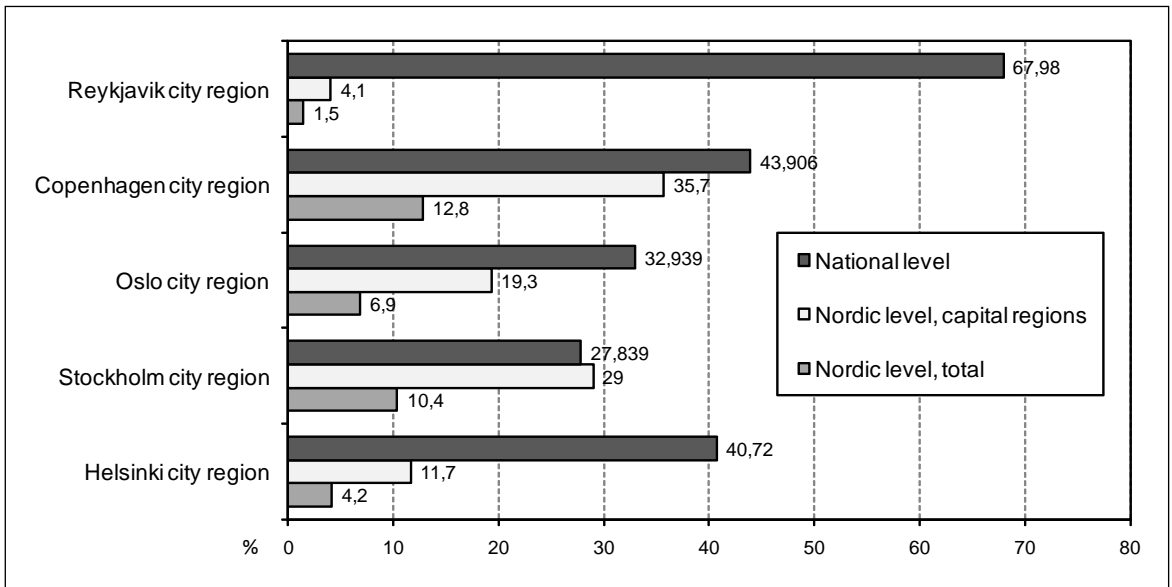


Figure 2. Share of immigration to the Nordic city regions in 2003 (in per cent at the national level, at the level of Nordic capital regions and Nordic level, total) (Source: Statistical Yearbook of the City of Helsinki 2004: NORD-STAT-database).

inside some of the Nordic cities. Increased inflows of immigrants have led to the settlement of non-native groups in the capital city regions –urban regions– in the Nordic cities. Along with this development Nordic countries follow the European settlement pattern. However, concentration process among millennium immigrants is even higher compared to foreign citizens who are already living in the country. The concentration of immigration to the same cities where the native population is moving in the country-internal migration process has thus accelerated the urbanization process. This does not necessarily produce an optimal distribution of immigrants. In a broader sense, spatial polarization is also an issue as urban conglomerations grow at the expense of peripheral areas at the national level.

Conclusion

The Nordic countries attract immigrants from all over the world. The numbers are small in some countries, for example in Iceland and Finland, while the main destination country remains Sweden. The diversity of immigrants' countries of origin can be explained not only by labour immigration but also by the fact that refugees have been received into the Nordic countries from across the globe. Only a small part of the total immigration to the Nordic countries is related to labour immigration, which is not surprising due to the relative limited demand, except for Norway and probably Iceland, for immigrated labour (Rauhut et al. 2007: 8). Within Nordic countries, the popular immigration regions appear to do well in number of jobs, employment rates and at-

tracting highly educated people and Research and Development expenditures. Furthermore, these areas have developed more advantage with their competitive establishment sectors than those of the vulnerable regions.

Geographic proximity and a common language affect the choice of destination country among immigrants. For example in Finland, the biggest immigration flows are from the neighbouring countries of Russia, Estonia and Sweden. Many of the immigrants from Russia and Estonia are perhaps also often familiar with Finnish language before moving there. Ahvenanmaa has, similarly, gained immigrants from Sweden as they can use Swedish language there (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen 2008).

Immigration flows from the EU-10 member states have not arrived in numbers once predicted,

although some increase did occur. Sweden has been the most attractive destination of the Nordic countries in terms of volume, but in terms of the national shares of NMS immigration Sweden's percentage has not been so remarkable. The proportion of NMS immigrants has been highest in Iceland. GDP differences between the Nordic and the EU-10 countries create the possibility that higher immigration flows could occur but in reality the countries of greatest attraction for the EU-10 immigrants have been the English speaking countries of Great Britain and Ireland.

At the regional level, the capital areas and major cities have been the most attractive destinations for immigrants to the Nordic countries. The concentration of immigration to the same cities where the native population is moving in the country-internal migration process has thus accelerated the urbanization process. There is also increased concentration among immigrants inside some of the Nordic cities. It is worth to note that immigrants can also further move within the countries and they can be settled to lower level urban centres. Refugee-receiving municipalities have also often acted as short-term living areas after

which many refugees subsequently move to the main growth centres (see Kokko 2002). This also indicates that immigrants concentrate to those areas where people of the same ethnic background are already located. Networking creates greater possibilities to adjust and/or integrate into the new country. Networking also reduces the risks connected with international migration. Thus, social and psychological costs can be reduced by the "family and friends" effect and also, in economic terms, it is easier to find a job through networking.

References

- Edvardsson, Ingi Runar, Elli Heikkilä, Mats Johansson, Hjalti Johannesson, Daniel Rauhut, Torben Dall Schmidt, Lasse Sigbjörn Stamböl & Sirkku Wilkman (2007). Demographic Changes, Labour Migration and EU-enlargement – Relevance for the Nordic Regions. Nordregio, Nordic Research Programme 2005–2008. Report: 2. 149 p.
- Heikkilä, Elli (2007). Vain väliaikaista vetoapua – Uudet jäsenmaat eivät pelasta EU:ta työvoimapolulta. *Ulkopolitiikka* 2/2007, 12–17.
- Heikkilä, Elli & Järvinen, Taru (2003) Migration and Employment of Immigrants in the Finnish Local Labor Markets. Yearbook of Population Research in Finland 2003. The Population Research Institute. Helsinki.
- Heikkilä, Elli & Maria Pikkarainen (2008). Väestön ja työvoiman kansainvälistyminen nyt ja tulevaisuudessa. Siirtolaisuusinstituutti, Siirtolaisuustutkimuksia A 30. 219 s. Also available: http://www.migrationinstitute.fi/pdf/Siirtolaisuustutkimuksia_A30_ESR.pdf.
- Kokko, Karoliina (2002). Maa-hanmuuttajien Suomen sisäinen muuttoliike. Tapaustutkimuksena Turku. Turun yliopisto, maantieteen laitos, pro gradu-työ. Turku. http://www.migrationinstitute.fi/db/articles/pdf/karoliina_kokko.pdf.
- Persson, Lars Olof (2001, ed.). Local labour market performance in Nordic countries. Nordregio R2001:9. Stockholm.
- Rauhut, Daniel, Elli Heikkilä, Lasse Sigbjörn Stamböl, Sirkku Wilkman & Mats Johansson (2007). Immigrant Population, Labour Supply and Labour Market Participation in the Nordic Regions. The paper presented in the 47th Congress of the European Regional Science Association, Paris, 29th of August – 2nd of September 2007. 25 p.

Kirjat



Marko Juntunen ja Riadh Muthana: *Abu Ghraib – Varissuo. Irakilaismiehen matka Saddamin selleistä Suomeen.* Ajatus Kirjat. Gummerus kirjapaino Oy, Jyväskylä 2007. 235 s.

Marko Juntunen ja Riadh Muthanan välisten keskusteluiden tuloksena on syntynyt kirja, josta voimme lukea irakilaismiehen elämäntarinan alkaen 1960-luvun Irakista ja päättyen Varissuolle Tur-

kuun. Juntunen on kirjoittanut kirjan haastatteluiden pohjalta, mutta teksti on Muthanan kertomana minä-muodossa, mikä edesauttaa tarinaan eläytymistä.

Kirja etenee kronologisesti ja kuvaa Muthanan rauhallista sekä virikkeellistä elämää lapsena ja nuorena turvallisessa Bagdadissa. Hän käy innokkaana koulua ja toivoo seuraavansa isänsä jalanjalkia apteekkarin uralle. Opiskelun vastapainona on harrastuksia ja työsäkäynti on rajattu ainoastaan koulujen loma-aikoihin. Muutos tapahtuu 1970-luvun lopulla, kun Irak muuttuu vähitellen kammottavaksi poliisivaltioksi. Tämä synnyttää vainoja sekä levottomuuksia, joiden seurauksena myös Muthanan sukulaisia saa surmansa.

Baathin hallinnon aikana Muthana kokee elävänsä kauhun valtakunnassa. Opiskeluun mukaan sekoitetaan politiikkaa ja ilmapiiristä tulee kireä. Muthana päättää valmistua konetekniikan opinnoistaan nopeasti, mikä johtaa hankalaan tilanteeseen, sillä alokas-koulutus olisi hänen kohdallaan alkamassa. Asepalvelus merkitsisi suoraa kuolemaa, joten Muthana päättää paeta maasta taisteluun osallistumisen välttämiseksi. Pako ulkomaille epäonnistuu ja hän joutuu vankilaan muiden rintamakurien joukkoon. Alkaa karmaisevan realistinen kuvaus kidutuksesta, jolla häntä pyritään saamaan tunnustamaan perättömiä tekoja tai ilmiantamaan tuntemattomia ja syyttömiä ihmisiä.

Muthana tuomitaan kuolemaan, mutta siitä huolimatta hän pysyy lujana ja pienet toivonhukset auttavat jaksamaan. Tuomion täytäntöönpano lykkääntyy ja lopulta se muuttuu elinkautiseksi.

Häntä kumppaneineen vaaditaan pysymään vaiti kuolemansellissä tapahtuneista asioista tai he joutuisivat takaisin teloitusjonoon. Muthana ei ole huolissaan siitä, että poliittisten vankien elinkautistuumio tarkoittaisi käytännössä kahtakymmentä vuotta vankeutta. Kuolemanrangaistuksen rinnalla se ei ole mitään, toteaa Muthana ja alkaa jälleen uskoa, että kaikki saattaisi vielä päättyä hyvin. Vankila oli kuitenkin saanut hänet etäiseksi ja käpertymään itseensä. Suusta on vaikea päästää ulos mitään pinnallisia kohtelaisuuksia kummempaa.

Muthanan vankilassaoloaika kestää yhteensä kahdeksan vuotta. Armahdus ja Abu Ghraibista vapautuminen ei kuitenkaan tarkoita kotiin palaamista, sillä hänen oletetaan ilmoittautuvan välittömästi omaan joukko-osastoon. Valtion sisäisen turvallisuuden poliisi aloittaa pian solvaamisen, uhkailun ja suostuttelun. Muthanaa vaaditaan yhteistyöhön, kirjoittamaan turvallisuusraportteja alueensa asukkaista, mutta hän ei suostu siihen. Jatkuvan painostuksen vuoksi Muthana alkaa suunnitella avioitumista ja perheenperustamista, sillä hän ei halua tuottaa vaikeuksia omaisilleen. Tämä ei kuitenkaan ratkaise tilannetta, vaan osaltaan pahentaa sitä, sillä häntä aletaan painostaa vaimoa uhkaamalla. Pako Irakista tuntuu ainoalta vaihtoehdolta, jotta perhe voisi elää rauhassa.

Muthana perheineen onnistuu pääsemään pakolaiskiintiössä Suomeen joulukuussa 1998, mutta takana on pitkä odotusaika ja kova kamppailu turvapaikasta Jordaniassa sekä Syyriassa. Suomeen sopeutumisessa auttavat maahan

jo aikaisemmin muuttaneet veljet, jotka ovat ehtineet muodostaa ystävyysyhteisöjä samanhenkisten irakilaisten kanssa. Uuden elämän aloittaminen Varissuolla lähtee käyntiin ja perhekin kasvaa. Muthana hämmästelee erityisesti suomalaista ostoskulttuuria: asiakkaitaan pitää osata valita, mitä tahdot, kun taas hänen kotimaassaan kauppias palvelee asiakasta. Saddaminkin kiinni jäämistä juhliitaan ja vihdoinkin Bagdadissa asuvat vanhemmat uskalletaan kutsua vierailulle Suomeen. Vierailu toteutuu, mutta samaan aikaan he kuulevat, että kotimaassa asuvat sisarukset ovat joutuneet uhkausten kohteiksi aseellisten ryhmien kamppaillessa alueistaan. Tämän vuoksi myös Muthanan vanhemmat hakevat turvapaikkaa Suomesta ja sen saatuaan asettuvat Varissuolle. Suku on lähes koossa, vielä yhden siskon perheen toivotaan pääsevän pakolaisena Suomeen.

Muthana kertoo vapautumisensa jälkeen huomanneensa, että jokaisella kodilla, talosta toiseen, oli kokemuksia pidätyksistä, katoamisista ja teloituksista. Kirjan tarina ei siis ole ainoa kuvaus Saddaminkin hallinnon aiheuttamasta kärsimyksestä. Saddaminkin hallinnon aikana vuosina 1979–2003 jopa puoli miljoonaa irakilaista sai surmansa ja yli neljä miljoonaa kansalaista joutui pakenemaan kotimaastaan. Kirja on tosi tarina poliittisesta vainosta ja elämästä diktatuurin keskellä. Se nostaa esiin ja avaa yhden pakolaisen matkakertomuksen Saddaminkin sulleistä Suomeen.

Maria Pikkarainen

Siirtolaisuusinstituutin Pohjanmaan aluekeskus

Markku Mattila



Aluekeskuksen loppuvuosi ja alkanut kevätkausi on sujunut puuhakkaasti toimintaa suunnitellussa ja rahahakemuksia tehtäessä. Meneillä on monenlaista asiaa.

Heli Jokisen teos ”*Eihän semmosille reissuille heikompia asioita vierä*” on tätä kirjoitettaessa painossa. Kirja käsittelee erästä siirtolaisuuden vähemmän tunnettua puolta: siirtolaismiesten Suomeen jättämiä aviovaimoja ja lapsia. Kirjoittaja tarkastelee vuosina 1897–1906 Alahärmään jääneen 136 amerikanlesken kautta ”kotiin hyljättyjen” arkista elämää ja siitä selviytymistä. Kirjan julkaisutalaisuus on tarkoitus pitää maaliskuuhuhtikuussa. Teoksen julkaisemisesta edesauttoi huomattavasti se, että Alahärmän Osuuspankki katsoi hyväksi lähteä yhteistyöhön ja tuki taloudellisesti kirjan painatusta. Tästä lausun pankille lämpimät kiitokseni!

Toisen merkittävän tukipanosken on antanut John G. Annalan säätiö. Aluekeskuksessa on pitkään ollut meneillään Vaasan läänin passiluetteloiden digitointi. Työtä on kuitenkin tehty ”oman toimen ohella”, joten se on sujunut hitaasti. Annalan säätiöltä anottiin avustusta, jonka turvin on tarkoitus digitoida mikrofilmattua aineiston kaksi viimeistä rullaa, passiluettelot vuosilta 1912–1920. Annalan säätiön myöntämän avus-

tuksen turvin työ on tarkoitus saada tehtyä ja tiedot liitettävä Instituutin ylläpitämään siirtolaisrekisteriin. Suuri kiitos Annalan säätiölle sekä alueellisesti että valtakunnallisesti merkittävän hankkeen tukemisesta!

Aluekeskus on yhdessä Helsingin yliopiston Ruralia-instituutin (Seinäjoki) ja Turun yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskuksen kanssa hakenut viime syksynä tutkimusrahoitusta maaseudun maahanmuuttajia Etelä-Pohjanmaalla ja Varsinais-Suomessa koskevaan tutkimukseen. Tätä kirjoitettaessa rahoituspäätösten teko on yhä työn alla. Mikäli rahoitusta saadaan, tutkimusprojekti alkaa tänä keväänä. Eräälle muullekin tutkimusprojektille on rahoitusta haettu, mutta siitä enemmän myöhemmin.

Ensi kesänä on tarkoitus järjestää Alahärmässä siirtolaisuusaiheinen ”kulttuuriviikko”. Viikon ohjelmaksi on hahmoteltu muutama näyttely (toinen liittyy Australian siirtolaisuuteen ja toinen Pohjois-Amerikan) esitelmien sarja (aiheina muun muassa siirtolaisuus Suomeen kautta aikojen, Etelä-Pohjanmaan siirtolaisuus Ruotsiin ja suomalaisten siirtolaisten kuva Pohjoisamerikkalaisissa pilapiirroksissa), siirtolaisuusaiheisen materiaalin keruuta ja paikalle tuodusta materiaalista kertomista, aluekeskuksen ja Siirtolaisuusmu-

seon esittelyä, siirtolaisrekisterin esittelyä ja rekisteripalvelua sekä tietenkin omien julkaisujen myyntiä. Yhteistyötahoksi on saatu Härmä-seura. Tapahtumaviikoksi on valittu viikko 27. Suunnitelmassa on seuraavina kesinä yhdistää ”kulttuuriviikko” ja siirtolaisuusjuhla ja järjestää tapahtuma aina eri pitäjässä.

Siirtolaisuus on tätä nykyä hyvin ajankohtainen aihe Etelä-Pohjanmaalla. Maakunta on pitkään ollut maamme vähiten siirtolaisia vastaanottava alue samalla, kun työvoimapula on kolkutellut ovelle esimerkiksi metalliteollisuudessa tai turkisten nahoituksessa. Viime vuoden aikana Etelä-Pohjanmaan liitto sekä myös yksittäiset kunnat ovat alkaneet määrätietoisesti tehdä työtä sen eteen, että maahanmuuttajista – siirtolaisista – saataisiin alueelle uutta työvoimaa ja uusia asukkaita. Tämän kehityksen tutkimisessa ja dokumentoinnissa aluekeskuskin on mukana: nykyään on syytä painokkaasti huomata, että sana siirtolaisuus sisältää sekä vanhan maastamuuton että uuden maahanmuuton ja sen lisäksi vielä maan sisäisen muuttoliikkeen. Suomi – ja myös Pohjanmaa – on muuttunut siirtolaisia luovuttavasta alueesta niitä vastaanottavaksi alueeksi.

Kanadan kultamaat yhä 107-vuotiaan muistoissa

Tellervo Lahti



Peräseinäjoen Haapaluomalla asunut teräsvaari Viljo Kekola, jonkapiakkoin 107-vuotiseen elämään mahtuu paljon. Vuonna 1901 syntynyt Kekola on nähnyt Suomen historian käännekohdat omakohtaisesti. Kirkkaina hänen mielessään ovat myös Kanadan kultakaivoksessa vietetyt vuodet. Siirtolaisuusaika sattui ajankohtaan, jolloin Amerikassa elettiin vielä hyviä aikoja.

Viljo Kekola syntyi Jalasjärvellä Alapuskan perheeseen. Sukunimi vaihtui ajan tavan mukaan siirryttäessä toiseen taloon. Maanviljelijänä Peräseinäjoella leipänsä ansainnut Kekola teki vielä kolme vuotta sitten talvisin metsätöitä. Se piti miehen riskissä kunnossa. Metsätöiden jäätyä kunto onkin hieman rapistunut, mutta jokapäiväinen ulkoilu pitää pirteänä. Polkupyörällä ajamisen Viljo on sentään jättänyt ja kertoo hymyillen syyn: ”kun se on niin huteraa”.

Viljon kuulo on viime vuosina alkanut heikentyä, mutta terveys on muuten säilynyt hyvänä. Sairauksia hänellä ei korkeasta iästään huolimatta ole, joten mitään lääkkeitäkään hänen ei tarvitse käyttää. Itse hän pitää 90 vuoden kovaa ruumiillista työtä hyvän terveytensä perussyynä.

Lähtö Lännelle

Kekolan perhe asui Peräseinäjoella Haapaluomalla. Isäukon myy-

tyä talon tuli Viljolle mieleen ulkomaille lähtö. Isä oli kolminkertainen Amerikan kävijä, joten ajatus siirtolaisuudesta oli tuttu. Lähtöpäätöksensä perusteista hän kertoo: ”Oli heleppo mennä, kun päriäsin kielissä ja oli hyvät senssit työmaiden suhteen. Se oli hyvän ajan loppua Amerikanmaalla silloin 27-vuonna vielä.” Pian alkoi kuitenkin USA:ssa lama ja pulaa-aika, jonka seurauksena 12 miljoonaa ihmistä jäi työttömäksi.



Viljo Kekolan passikuva Kanadan ajoilta.

Matka alkoi Hangosta 18.5. 1927. Sieltä seilattiin Arcturuksella Hulliin Englantiin. Hullista oli juna-kuljetus Liverpooliin. Liverpoolissa tutustuttiin miljoonakaupungin nähtävyyksiin ja ihmeteltiin maailman menoa. Matkaa jatkettiin valtamerialus Minnedosa Canadian Pacificilla. Jättiläislaiva suuntasi Quebeciin Kanadaan ja saapui

sinne 3.6. Matkaa jatkettiin junalla Ontarioon.

Mitään tarkkaa tietoa tulevasta työpaikasta ei matkaaajilla ollut. Töitä suunnattiin hakemaan Kanadasta Ontarion pohjoisosien kultalualueilta. Timminsiin päätyneen Viljo meni kaivokseen kysymään töitä, kuten monet muutkin miehet, joita siellä oli joka päivä jonoksi asti.

Maailman suurimmassa kultakaivoksessa

Työpaikan Viljo sai heti. Kyseessä oli, ei vähempää kuin maailman suurimpiin kuuluva kultakaivos, Hollinger Gold Mine. Vuonna 1910 perustetussa kaivoksessa työskenteli 10 000 miestä tuohon aikaan 1920-luvun lopulla. Jättiläistyömaalla oli kaivostunneleita maileittain. Vaunuja kuljetettiin niissä sähkövoimalla. Myös hissit pelasivat sähköllä.

Viljo Kekolalle osoitettiin porarin homma, jota piti hoitaa 400 metrin syvyydessä. Hän porasi suurella sähkökäyttöisellä porakoneella räjähdysaineille kolot ”helpparin” eli apulaisen avustamana. Hommaan kuului myös panostaminen, sytytyslankojen asettaminen paikoilleen ja ampuminen, dynamiittipanosten syyttäminen ammuksilla.

Silloin käytettiin vielä tulilankaa, sähkösytytystä ei vielä oltu keksitty. Helppareina hänellä oli

mm. ranskalainen ja italialainen kaivosmiehen.

Räjähdykset olivat hurjia. Tarkkana siinä sai olla. Kivet irtosivat kullan ympäriltä, mutta kulta pysyi yhtenä kappaleena. Saaliiksi jäi valtavan suuria möhkäleitä puhdasta kultaa. Kulta erotettiin jättiläis-sulimoissa 2000 C-asteen kuumuudessa kivistä, jotka sitten jauhettiin suurissa kivimyllyissä jauhoiksi.

Kaivoksen ilmastointi hoidettiin ilmaputkien avulla, kukaan ei siellä tukehtunut. Kesäkuumalla kaivosmiehet viihtyivät viileässä kaivoskuilussa. Talvipakkasilla siellä taas oli sopivan lämmintä.

Työmaan yhteydessä maanpäällä oli suuri ”raihaussi” (dryhouse), jossa kaivosmiehille oli suunnaton määrä koppeja. Niissä sai käydä suihkussa ja vaihtaa vaatteet ennen työpäivän aloittamista ja sen jälkeen.

Hollingerin suuronnettomuus

Hollingerin kaivoksessa sattui suuri onnettomuus talvella 1928. Ilmeisesti tupakointi aiheutti tulipalon. Palokaasut aiheuttivat 39 miehen surman. Suomalaisia siellä kuoli kahdeksan. Se oli järkyttävä

tapahtuma erityisesti kaivosmiehille ja kaivosyhtiölle, mutta luonnollisesti myös menehtyneiden omaisille ja koko valtakunnalle.

Elämää Timminsissä

Kaivosmiehille oli järjestetty hyvät asunnot työpaikan lähelle kävelymatkan päähän. Naimattomien miesten asuntoja, täysihoitoloita eli poikataloja, ylläpiti Poikataloyhdistys. Suomalaisten lisäksi Viljon naapurustossa oli ruotsalaisia ja norjalaisia. Myös ruokailu hoi-tui näissä suurissa ”poortitaloissa” (boarding house). Ruokailussa oli kerrallaan 700 asukasta.

Suomalaiset olivat hyvien työntekijöiden maineessa, parasta laatua. He olivat monipuolisia, pystyivät oppimaan ja tekemään monenlaista raskastakin työtä. Ja olivat sisukkaita. Pohjois-Ontarion kulta-alueella oli kymmeniä kaivoksia. Viljokin ansaitsi melko mukavasti, kun veroja ei pidätetty.

Suomalaisiirtolaisia Timminsissä vuonna 1930. Vas. Kauppi Ikaalisista, Valtonen Parkanosta ja Kekola Peräseinäjoelta. Muut jäivät Kanadaan pysyvästi, vain Kekola palasi Suomeen. Alla Hollingerin kultakaivosaluetta 1920-luvun lopulla.



Rahaa jäi säästöönkin, ”ei menny kaikki juhulimisehen”.

Timminsissä oli paljon suomalaisia. Haalilla kuljettiin iltamissa. Käytiin myös ravintoloissa ja kappakoissa. Elokuvat olivat suosittuja. Mieleen ovat jääneet erityisesti amerikkalaiset intiaanitarinat. Oli myös suomalaisten kauppaliikkeitä. Englanti oli valttia myös suomalaisten keskuudessa. Viljo pärjäsi englannilla aika hyvin. Ummikkona hänkin olisi saanut huompiarvoisia töitä kaivoksessa.

Timmins on hyvin samoilla leveysasteilla Suomen kanssa, joten ilmastossakaan ei paljon eroa ole. Siiteripuu eli setri (cedar) on erikoisuus, jota Suomessa ei kasva, mutta muuten kasvillisuus oli melko lailla tuttua. Luonnonvaroiltaan alue oli erittäin runsas. Tyynen meren rannalle matkaa on yli 5000 mailia.

Myös venäläiset värvärit olivat liikkeellä tuohon aikaan. He lupasivat kaikkea hyvää, ja moni lähtikin Kanadasta Neuvosto-Karjalaan heidän houkutteleminaan. Argentiinaan värvättiin väkeä myös.

Kohtalokas turistimatka

Viljo työskenteli Hollingerin kulta-kaivoksessa kolme vuotta. Sitten hän osallistui Suomeen suuntautuvalla turistimatalla, joka koitui hänen kohtalokseen. Viljo tapasi Suomessa tytön, jonka kanssa meni pian naimisiin. ”Se käytiin niin hullusti notta tuli jäätyä tänne.” Morsian ei halunnut lähteä Kanadaan, joten siinä ei auttanut muu, ”vaikka silläkin olis siälä ollu hyvät oltavat.” Kova katumuskin tuli jossain vaiheessa. Viljollahan oli tarkoitus hankkia metsäpalsta Kanadasta. Mieli teki takaisin. Lop-



Viljo ja Eeva kotona kahvipöydässä v. 2008. Kuva Tellervo Lahti.

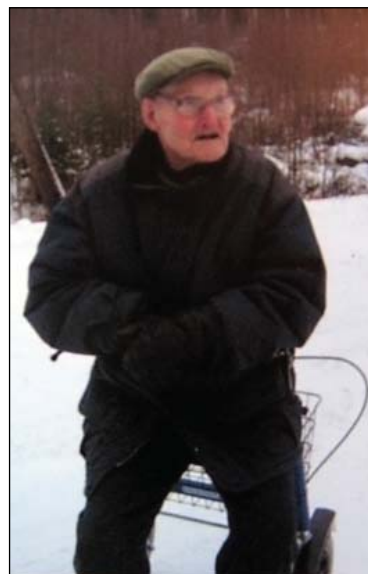
putilikin jäi kaivoksesta saamatta, mikä kaiversi mieltä pitkään. Hänellä on yhä leikkisästi mielessä, että vieläköhän sen lopputilin sieltä saisi, jos menisi hakemaan.

Peräseinäjoella vain pysyttiin. Viljo osti Kanadassa ansaitsemillaan rahoilla maatilan ja elätti perheensä maanviljelijänä. Perheessä oli yksi tytär, joka asuu yhä Seinäjoella.

Koti tekoaltaan alle

Kalajärven tekoaltaan rakentaminen 1960-luvulla vei Viljolta talon ja viljelysmaat. Vain kahdeksan hehtaaria metsää jäi tekojärven ulottumattomiin. Altaan alle jääneen maatilan korvaushinnalla ei saanut ostettua taloa. Viljo rakensi vuonna 1977 uuden tuvan Kirkonkylään Nättyysentielle. Kalajärven rannalle Viljo on myöhemmin rakentanut saunakämpän. Pitkäaikainen puoliso kuoli 1990-luvun alussa. Sen jälkeisinä yksinäisinä vuosina Viljon kuntokin alkoi heiketä. Uuden kaverin löydyttyä kaikki kääntyi parhain päin.

Viljo avioitui toisen kerran 96-vuotiaana ja on ollut nyt kymmenen vuotta naimisissa Eeva Kankaanpään kanssa. He asuvat omakotitalossa Kalajärven rannalla. Viljon päivät kulkevat omaa rantaansa Eeva-rouvan hoivissa. Kanadan muistot ovat yhä kultaisia.



Ulkoilu kuuluu 107-vuotiaan ohjelmaan päivittäin. Kuva tammikuulta 2008, E. Alasalmi.



Mötet mellan finnar och svenskar

Ruotsinsuomalaisten arkiston näyttely suomalaisten ja ruotsalaisten kohtaamisesta on esillä Teräсталolla pääsiäiseen saakka. Näyttely on tehty Ruotsinsuomalaisten arkistossa Tukholmassa. Avaustapahtumassa sitä esitteli arkiston johtaja Erkki Vuonokari. Näyttely kertoo suomalaisten sodanjälkeisestä Ruotsin siirtolaisuudesta, työstä tehtaissa ja sairaaloissa sekä vapaa-ajan vietosta. Näyttelyyn sisältyy dvd, jossa eräät siirtolaiset kertovat elämäntarinaansa.

Volvolla kotiin

Siirtolaisuusmuseon Tukiyhdistys järjesti lauantaina 9.2. Ruotsinsuomalaisten arkiston näyttelyn yhteyteen paluumuuttajille ja muillekin aiheesta kiinnostuneille suunnatun tapahtuman otsikolla ”Volvolla kotiin”. Tilaisuudesta muodostui todellinen menestys. Kerroin aluksi tilastotietoja Ruotsiin muutosta ja paluumuutosta. Haastattelin muutamia jo ennakolta valitsemiani Seinäjoen seudun paluumuuttajia heidän

Ruotsiin muutostaan, työnteosta ja vapaa-ajasta siellä ja heidän sopeutumisestaan naapurimaan oloihin. Kyselin myös seikoista, jotka johtivat päätökseen palata takaisin Suomeen sekä siitä, miten Suomi on ottanut heidät vastaan.

Paikalla oli peräti yli 70 henkilöä, joista moni kertoi spontaanistikin elämänvaiheistaan. Yleisö keskusteli todella vilkkaasti elämästä Ruotsissa ja paluumuutosta. Päällimmäiseksi mielikuvaksi jäi ruotsalaisen yhteiskunnan avoimuus, suvaitsevaisuus ja vapaamielisyys. Negatiivisena ja nopeasti korjattavana asiana pidetään eläkeläisten paluumuuttajien verotuskohtelua.

Paikalliset muusikot, Tapani Helin laulu ja kitara sekä Pekka Männikkö harmonikka, viihdyttivät tilaisuuden yleisöä suomalaisin ja ruotsalaisin laulelmin.

Ruotsin paluumuuttajiin keskittyvälle tilaisuudelle näytti olevan sosiaalinen tilaus. Neljän tunnin jälkeen lopeteltiin tilaisuutta, joka luultavasti muuten olisi venynyt hyvinkin pitkään, ja lupasin, että vastavanlainen tilaisuus järjestetään jälleen ensi vuonna.



Yllä ”Volvolla kotiin” -tilaisuuden tunnelmia. Kuva: Tellervo Lahti.

Hakalan Amerikan talo

Kalajärven Maailman raitin ensimmäinen rakennus on hyvää vauhtia nousemassa harjakorkeuteensa. Hakalan Amerikan talon avajaisia vietetään hyvin todennäköisesti heinäkuussa pidettävän Siirtolaisjuhlan yhteydessä.

Karjalasta uusiin oloihin

Siirtolaisuusmuseon esitelmäsarja jatkuu lauantaina 8.3. klo 13 Teräсталon Peräseinäjoki-salissa. Karjalan siirtolaisuus- esitelmäsarjan aloitti syksyllä Etelä-Suomen Lumivaaralaiset ry:n puheenjohtaja Aarno Kaartinen, joka esitteli Karjalan siirtolaisuuden varhaista historiaa. Lumivaara-Seuran pu-



heenjohtaja Leo Malinen jatkaa nyt aiheesta esitelmöimällä viime sotien aikaisesta Karjalan siirtolaisuudesta otsikolla Karjalasta uusiin oloihin. Tilaisuus on avoin kawikille ja maksuton.

Tukiyhdistyksen vuosikokous

Suomen Siirtolaisuusmuseon Tukiyhdistyksen vuosikokous pidetään maanantaina 31.3. klo 12 alkaen Terästalolla, Keikulinkuja 1, Peräseinäjoki. Kokouksen jälkeen avataan Ahvenanmaan siirtolaisuusinstituutin (Ålands Emigrantinstitut) näyttely, joka kertoo ahvenanmaalaisista Venäjän valtakunnassa ja suomenruotsalaisista Pietarissa.

Jäsenmatkat

Siirtolaisuusmuseon Tukiyhdistys suunnittelee kesäkuussa 2008 retkeä Värmlannin suomalaiskeskukseen. Viime kesänä järjestetty matka oli onnistunut, ja mielenkiintoa matkaa kohtaan tuntuu olevan. Samalla selvitetään, löytyisikö Värmlannin suomalaismetsistä sopivaa rakennusta Siirtolaisuusmuseon Ruotsin Raitille. Matkasta kiinnostuneet ottakaa yhteyttä: tellervo.lahti@seinajoki.fi

Toinen matka on tarkoitus tehdä Alaskan suomalaisten jalanjäljille ajalla 9.9.–22.9.2008. Tutustumiskohteina ovat Sitka ja muut suomalaisten asuttamat paikat. Matkasta kiinnostuneet ottakaa yhteyttä sähköpostilla: olavi.koivukangas@utu.fi.

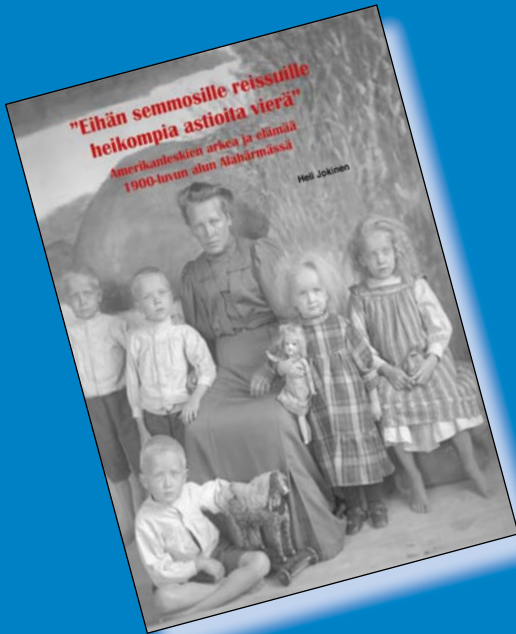
Tellervo Lahti

Siirtolaisjuhla

Perinteistä kesän siirtolaisjuhlaa vietetään lauantaina 6.7. klo 13.00 Aisamäen kesäteatterissa Peräseinäjoen Kalajärvellä. Toivottavasti silloin voidaan vihkiä käyttöön myös Siirtolaisuusmuseon Maailman Raitin ensimmäinen rakennus Matti Hakalan Amerikantalo (alla).



UUSIA KIRJOJA



Heli Jokinen

”Eihän semmosille reissuille heikompia astioita vierä”

*Amerikanleskien arkea ja elämää
1900-luvun alun Alahärmässä*

Kirja on elävä kertomus alahärmäläisten siirtolaismiesten kotiin jääneiden vaimojen, ns. amerikanleskien, jokapäiväisestä arjesta elämän realiteettien puristuksessa.

Miten amerikanlesket selvisivät jokapäiväisestä arjestaan? Oliko amerikanleskien elämä erityisen moraalitonta tai löyhämoraalista, kuten eräät aikalaisväitteet kuuluivat? Millaista oli tuon ajan aviorakkaus – miten pitkä välimatka ja vierivä aika vaikuttivat avioliittoon?

Tilaukset: www.migrationinstitute.fi, Hinta: 15 €



Elli Heikkilä ja Maria Pikkarainen

Väestön ja työvoiman kansainvälistyminen nyt ja tulevaisuudessa

Tutkimuksessa tuodaan uutta tietoa väestön ja työvoiman kansainvälistymisestä Suomessa. Kehitystä katsotaan niin koko maan kuin maakuntien osalta nykypäivästä vuoteen 2015 ja erityisindikaattorina käytetään maahanmuuttoa. Kirjassa tarkastellaan maahanmuuttajien tilannetta 1990- ja 2000-luvun työmarkkinoilla sekä ennakoidaan työvoiman tulevaa tarvetta. Tutkimus toteutettiin Kansainvälinen liikkuvuus, työvoiman tarve ja maahanmuuton vaikutukset koulutustarjontaan Suomessa -ennakointihankkeena, jota rahoittivat Euroopan Sosiaalirahasto, opetusministeriö ja Siirtolaisuusinstituutti.

Kirja on ilmaiseksi tulostettavissa nettisivuiltamme:

www.migrationinstitute.fi/pdf/Siirtolaisuustutkimuksia_A30_ESR.pdf

Summary: http://www.migrationinstitute.fi/pdf/A30_summary.pdf