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*Kansi:* Siirtolaisuusinstituutissa on järjestetty monia seminaareja ja symposiumeja viime aikoina. Kuvakollaasi *Unkarin tieteen päiviin* liittyneestä symposiumista ”*Common Interest in an Enlarged EU*” 29.5.2001.

*Cover:* The Institute of Migration has recently hosted many seminars and symposia. Photo collage from *The Hungarian Science Days* symposium ”*Common Interest in an Enlarged EU*” 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2001.

# 75 Years of Turkish Diaspora: A Republican Family on the Move



Ibrahim Sirkeci and Ahmet Icduygu

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## Introduction

Modern Turkey has been founded on internal and international migrations.<sup>1</sup> During the early Republican period (1920s and 1930s), large populations of Turkish nationals and Muslims were living outside the borders of the new country. After the First World War and the War of Independence, they were brought into the country and were involved in the reconstruction process of the new Turkish Republic, marking the beginning of this century's Turkish Diaspora. Since then, Turkey has witnessed important population movements in 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Jewish scholars came from Germany and then went to the United States and Israel; remaining Greek population after the World War I, gradually left the country. Turkish workers fled to Europe, Arab countries, Australia by the 1960s onwards. Turkish nationals came from Bulgaria while Iranians es-

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caped the Islamic Revolution (1979). Since then the Kurds escaping from the bombs of Saddam (1991) fled into the country whilst Turkish Kurds leaving for better environments massively in the last two decades. The significance of this study is twofold: first, this is a descriptive analysis of Turkish migration history combining a literature review with an oral history of a family who experienced almost all kinds of migrations during the Republican period (1923 to date). Secondly, this is a contribution to the history of Turkish migration that has not included much material on that compulsory exchange of populations about the faith of these involuntary migrants. Finally, it is innovative as attempts to reveal migration as a decisive factor affecting social change by focusing on the history of a family.

The early Republican periods were characterized by the immigration of Turkish nationals who had been resident elsewhere and migrations caused by settlement problems. After a while, another pattern was added as internal migration arose from urbanization and industrialization. By the 1960s, the country became a major participant in international la-

bor migration as a sending country. In the late 1980s and 1990s, Turkey became both a receiving country and a transit country for peoples of underdeveloped neighboring countries.<sup>2</sup>

Undoubtedly the Turkish Republic was founded on the core territory of a dissolved empire and gathered a large-scale of populations by exchanges with neighboring countries. These population movements had an impact upon the social transformation of the country. New life styles, new techniques, new crops were introduced to the country. With this regard, the 1923–25 exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece was of considerable significance to the patterns of social change. Modernization was accelerated with the impetus of "Western" aid, the Marshall Aid, created a need for labor in urban areas whilst weakening the agricultural life in rural areas. Consequently, rural people fled to large industrial centers. The continuation of seasonal migrations of rural workers<sup>3</sup> might be explained by "pull" factors on the one hand and by "push" factors arising from the increasing difficulties of life and decline of economy in rural areas on the other. The case here is a com-

bination of pull and push factors instead of one taking priority over the other.<sup>4</sup>

The 1960s saw the start of a new era with the onset of labor migration from Turkey to Europe. As a result of the last 40 years of international migration, more than three million Turkish citizens are abroad, in countries ranging from Germany to Australia.<sup>5</sup> From the second half of the 1970s and during the 1980s, emigration continued as family reunification and "chain" migration. During the 1990s, may be called as 'postindustrial' era, migration patterns are characterized by the networks and clandestine migration. Rapid social and political developments (such as the Kurdish question) also impacted on the dynamics of migration in Turkey. Many Kurds left the country for political reasons over the last 15 years.<sup>6</sup>

This study aims to analyze the different aspects of the history of migration in Turkey through an oral history of a family, whose members have experienced several types of migration since the 1920s. The family in question was brought into Turkey from Salonica<sup>7</sup>, Greece, in 1923 [as part of the Population Exchange] and then became involved in further migration movements in Turkey. This study comprises in-depth interviews conducted in Izmir, Turkey, with members of the family in the autumn 1998. The people interviewed were Mehmet (72 years old), his spouse, Mevlüde (61 years old), Necati (89 years old uncle of Mevlüde) and their sons, Islam (40 years old) and Demir (27 years old).<sup>8</sup> This family is one of many Republican families who have experienced migration

through the Republican Era. In the following sections, the migration history of this family will be set within the context of Turkish migration.<sup>9</sup> The texts of interviews and narratives based on them are highlighted in different font.

### *A brief note on the concept of diaspora*

Diaspora is not a common term applied to Turkish migrations. However, with regard to a well known and approved definition, that of Saffran (1991:83–84), it seems possible to describe Turkish migrations as diasporic events.<sup>10</sup> The term was first used for describing the dispersal of Jews from their historic homeland. Today it is often used to describe various well-established communities who have experienced 'displacement,' such as overseas Chinese, Armenians in exile, Palestinian refugees, Gypsies or diasporas of African people (Wahlbeck, 1998:9). The earlier immigration of nationals to Turkey is open to dispute but when we look at the history of Turkish international migration history, over the last forty years, one can easily identify a diasporic event. It is also possible to find evidences of a Diaspora phenomenon in the experiences of the family investigated in this study.

### **The first 25 years: the great exchange of population**

Mehmet, the son of Selami, came to Turkey from Greece during the Great Exchange of Population (1924–25), and was born just after their arrival.

1924 seemed to be a strange, adventurous for the family of Selami. Turkish and Greek Governments had agreed upon the exchange of religious minorities (of Christians in Turkey and Muslims in Greece) in both countries mutually with the exception of Muslims in Western Thrace and Orthodoxes in Istanbul. At the end of the same year, Selami secured enough money needed for travel. Then the family fled from village Ispanza to the Salonica seaport to wait for a boat to Turkey.

As mentioned above, the Turkish Republic was to some extent established through such migrations of which migration from Greece was the largest. In the two years following the 1923 Lausanne Treaty, 500 thousand Muslims and about 1 million Orthodox Greeks were exchanged.<sup>11</sup> The transportation was provided by the Red Crescent<sup>12</sup> and the Public Construction and Settlement Ministry which was established just after the Treaty. This was the largest deportation in Republican Turkish history and perhaps in the world during that time.<sup>13</sup> The population of the newly established Turkish Republic increased by five per cent in one year because of this immigration of nationals. The financial burden was high. In 1924, the Public Construction and Settlement Ministry reserved a budget of six million Turkish Lira for the transportation of these people while its' budget for the salaries of Personnel was only 125 thousands Turkish Lira.

According to the contracts made with transportation companies, fares have to be paid by the migrants and 20 per cent of the

revenue must be transferred to the Red Crescent. There has been very little research on the 1923 Population Exchange, although it was one of the largest forced migration cases of the time.<sup>14</sup> In parallel with this lack of attention there are no certain figures about the size and distribution of the populations exchanged. According to SIS (State Institute of Statistics) 456,720 people were brought into Turkey (SIS, 1930) whilst Iskan Tarihesi [History of Settlement] states this figure is 499,239 (Mat, 1932). In the same period, 172,000 migrants who were not included within the scope of this exchange, were also brought to, and settled in, Turkey (Ari, 1995:141).

Migration was a difficult and troublesome business in itself but according to Mehmet, it was more than as it was seen. Some migrants were faced with oppression when leaving their homes in Greece:

*My father (Selami) had married and moved into the household of his spouse just after the Balkan Wars (1912–14). When the Greek troops landed in Anatolia, the properties of Muslims living in Yanina<sup>15</sup> were sacked and many were killed. All houses were broken down in the village of my grandfather. Nothing had happened to my father since he was staying with my mother's family and has no property registered in his name while all other relatives had some harm.*

When the exchange started, people who left their homes in the districts of Kozana and Karacaova in Greece had to walk 50–60 kilometers to

have access to the seaports. Therefore some serious health problems occurred. In response to these problems both in the departure ports in Greece and the arrival ports in Turkey, temporary hospitals were founded by the Red Crescent (for details see Ari, 1995).

Selami and his family had to leave their lives in the village of Ispana, Florina, Greece<sup>16</sup> for Turkey in 1924. They migrated to Turkey under relatively comfortable conditions and had not faced any health problems during their journey. Mehmet, the elder son of Selami, tells the story as he remembered from the stories of his father and mother:

*My father secured money needed for trip with many difficulties. My elder brother Emin had been with them. Then they had moved towards Salonica with groups during two days. After arrival they had waited for a further two days in the seaport of Salonica. Then they had landed in Izmir after a long journey by a ferry named Gulcemal. I was born in the end of the summer following the migration. I had four uncles but we lost them during the migration, they had fled away inside of Anatolia. Years after, we had heard that one of them was in Erzurum, a far away district in the East End of Turkey, but we could not meet him.*

This was an experience common to many Muslim families in Greece and by the family of Mevlüde, who married Mehmet later on. Beytullah, grandfather of Mevlüde, also migrated with his two sons. He was a fellow compatriot of Selami. They had come

from the town of Dramatic to the seaport of Salonica. Mevlüde did not remember the story of this journey though her parents told her. Her uncle Necati, whom we interviewed in Istanbul, says that his father [Beytullah], mother and his two sons – Ismail and himself – had landed in Samsun seaport:

*I was four or five when we came from Dramatik. We, father, mother, my brother and I landed in Samsun. There were some relatives also but I do not remember them. From the seaport, we had been sent into the inner parts by carts. Then we settled down in town Gurun of province Sivas. The government provided land and appleyards. Father was working in railway construction so he was away for months usually. During winters we cut the trees in the yard and used it for heating. The land was not fertile. Consequently railway construction had ended and dad had been unemployed. We sold everything we had and went back to Samsun seaport through Niksar and went to Manisa by ferry. After three months stay there we went to Buca (a suburb in Izmir) there were friends of my dad. We bought an old house there and my dad and elder brother, Ismail, started to work in forestry and sold firewood and grape. I started secondary school and my brother married in 1937. In 1938 Mevlüde was born and my dad had died.*

At the same time as Necati's family migrated, one out of every ten Turks was living in rural areas. In parallel with this broader scene, newcomers settled in rural areas

left by Orthodox Greeks who were forced to migrate to Greece. However, these new immigrants were heavily involved in internal migration in response to general social mobility associated with the development of the new Republic. The families of Necati and Selami are examples of this trend. This social mobility was however not strong enough to affect the urban-rural population balance in 1930s. Since migrations took place largely between rural areas, Necati's family left a rural town Niksar and moved into another rural town Buca in Izmir. In those days only ten per cent of the population was living in Turkey's urban centers during the 1930s (SIS, 1996).

The story of Necati's family is not so pleasant afterwards. Ismail, Necati's elder brother and the father of Mevlüde, had gone mad after six years of military service during the World War II and killed his spouse Emine in 1953. Then he was taken to the Bakirkoy Mental Hospital and as a consequence, the family dissolved. Mevlüde was sent to the village where her aunt lives; her brother, Beytullah was sent to uncle Necati's home in Istanbul; and her two sisters, Serpil and Gülsen were adopted. Mevlüde married Mehmet forcibly to avoid gossiping in the village at the age of 15. This was the first migration, the second generation of the family had witnessed; Mevlüde went to Bulgurca, a nearby village of Izmir, in 1952. Her uncle Necati also migrated to Istanbul to continue his education, where he settled down to teach Maths at a military school after marrying a rich widow. Thus the family had been dissolved by

migration caused by education and marriage.

It was also not easy for the family of Mehmet to settle down. According to a settlement plan, they were initially sent to homes vacated by Greeks in downtown Izmir, but the family wanted a rural place because they were farmers and they did not want to face any trouble as a result of attacks from Greeks who had not yet left Turkey. Then they visited some far away villages and decided to settle down in a village called Bulgurca with large fertile lands:

*During the journey from Salonica my two sisters and one brother had died because of malaria and they had been poured into the sea from the ferry. In that time, people had been believed that fishes would not let the boat sail if there was any dead person on the ferry as it is said in Younis Sura of the Koran. They had been isolated because of medical concerns for three days upon arrival at Urla [town in Izmir] seaport. They had lived in tents for 15 days. Settlement officers had asked from the dad and his fellows to go and find a site to settle down and come back to have bonds issued. Usually, group of 40-45 horsemen were navigating around to find a place to live together. Fellows coming from Florina, from which my dad also came, had visited Develi, an inner district, but there were fewer houses than they needed. After visiting some more villages they had found enough houses for their 45 households. The Government provided 50,000 square meters of land per household but natives, who were nomadic Turks living in mountains*

*had got most of the land back from immigrants by duplicated bonds claiming these lands were theirs in the past. Thus immigrants had had only 4,000 square meter land per person. My dad also had taken 12,000 square meter of land. In 1937, government issued documents stating "This land has been parceled for immigrants from Florina" until that time there were conflicts because of the land possession.*

It was a great social phenomenon to bring hundreds of thousands of people from Greece to Turkey and resettle them. These immigrants had to be sent to places suitable for their talents, occupations and their settlement needs. To meet that aim there were registers at the seaports of departure and according to this registered information immigrants were being sent to suitable sites by officers at the arrival ports. Immigrants had to obey the directions of settlement officers, otherwise they would lose their settlement rights. However, almost all migrants wanted to be sent to Istanbul, Izmir and Bursa, and not anywhere else. Some problems occurred for this reason. Immigrants were trying to go to these favorite sites even if they had been sent to another place (See Ari 1995, Erhard 1994, McCarthy 1983, and Mat 1932). Another problem of settlement was that some local people already occupied the houses and lands emptied by Greeks. Therefore migrants were not able to settle in some of the assigned addresses. Since these addresses were already occupied by native residents. This caused significant

internal mobility around the country. Conflicts were arose mainly because of the housing crisis, which occurred in the beginning of 1924.<sup>17</sup> The war destroyed almost all towns and villages of the Western Turkey and then the shortage of housing appeared.

Another important issue was disease appearing during and after migration. Malaria was very common among immigrants who were suffering from poverty.<sup>18</sup> Two elder sisters and one elder brother of Mehmet also died from malaria during the journey. Despite the fact that temporary hospitals had been founded in arrival ports and vaccination campaigns organized by the Red Crescent.

It is possible to say that immigrants had strikingly changed the many aspects of native culture of Turkey during this time appearing in all spheres from the cooking styles to marriage ceremonies. Immigrants were working as farmers as they had been in Greece although immigrants were not suitable substitutes of Orthodox Greeks who were mainly employed in manufacturing before the Exchange. It is said that some new farming techniques and crops appeared in Anatolia after the arrival of immigrants. For instance, a special veiling style had come into Anatolia, which did not covering all of the face but only most hair and the underside of the chin. Kemal Karpat (1987:97) argues that Anatolian villagers were involved in more individualistic thinking and escaped from the influence of the religion through immigration.<sup>19</sup> Karpat also claims that immigrants have a group attitude in politics. Mehmet tells

about earning their lives in their early years after immigration:

*Land shortage did force many immigrants to do animal farming at first. There had been about 20 musician among immigrants from Florina. Then these moved into the downtown Izmir and established the (Izmir) Musicians Café at Mezarikbasi neighbourhood. My dad had worked as a (mobile) butcher for a long time. Then they did work in tobacco farming in the fields assigned to them. In years 1930–32, a tobacco disease had appeared and everybody had lost much. Then Dad worked as shepherd until the "German War"<sup>20</sup> Because of his old age; the army did not draft him. He worked as street hawker during the wartime.*

### **The second 25 years: rural transformation**

Republican Turkey was in a stage of rapid transformation in the period up to the World War II. In the last quarter of the 1940s, two out of every ten Turks were living in cities but the real and striking transformation was to take place after the War when Turkey sided with the United States in the "Western World" rather than the Soviet Bloc.

The introduction of foreign capital, of "Marshall Aid", led structural changes in Turkey and aimed at renewing military technologies, mechanization of agriculture and construction of motorways by beginning from 1947. Aid continued after 1948 for fostering both the economy and the

military. Turkey became a member of the Organization for European Economical Cooperation in 1948 and received a sum of 1,200,000 US\$ aid in the following eleven years.<sup>21</sup> Then, the Republic became a member of the European Council in 1949 and of NATO in 1952, which followed by the liberal economy program of the Democratic Party<sup>22</sup> in the late 1950s. In this context, the Marshall Aid was directed towards the mechanization of agricultural technologies and the construction of motorways. In the 1950s and 1960s, the development programs were launched to make the village a more sustainable place to live. However, on the other hand, "a mass rural-to-urban migration came into existence as a result of increasing demand for labor in the industry and construction sector"<sup>23</sup> The results of these programs reflected in the expansion of motorways and in extensive use of agricultural technologies. For example in 1947, there were only 1000 tractors; the sum total of fertilizer used in cultivation amounted about one ton; there were only 12 thousand km of asphalt roads; and passenger buses amounted about 2000. Until 1955, the change in figures was striking illustrating a rapid transformation: 40 thousand tractors, 10 thousand ton of fertilizer, 29,000 kilometers asphalt roads, and seven thousand buses.<sup>24</sup>

After 1950 cultivated lands increased under the impetus of mechanized farming and improvements in agricultural techniques. This expansion and population growth<sup>25</sup> augmented the polarization between the big

landowners and landless peasants. So many peasants and wage earners left the villages for towns since they could not pursue a life in the village. On the other hand, improvements in transportation and communication facilities increased the mobility of rural people and introduced them to modern urban life<sup>26</sup> In the following years, "going to cities" became very common and migration was institutionalized. The most apparent indicator of this social transformation is the rural-urban population ratio: in 1950, only two in ten were living in cities, one in four in 1960, and by 1970 one in three and three in four in today.

In a changing Turkey, the daughters and sons of the 1923 immigrants had grown to the age of marriage in the 1950s. As almost all immigrants, the families of Mehmet and Mevlüde had preferred intra-group marriage and with their fellows from Greece. In 1954, after his military service ended, Mehmet married Mevlüde. His family had 20 acres land, which they had bought or the government had provided them with. Due to the disagreement between the mother and bride and because of the seasonal unemployment in the village<sup>27</sup>, Mehmet and Mevlüde decided to migrate to the city of Izmir, for better and continuous earnings. Mevlüde, as in the past, began to work in a textile factory. Mehmet worked in several jobs but by the end of the year they had to return to their village and stay there until their second and final migration to the city in early 1980s. Mehmet says:

*In the autumn of 1956 after the work ended in the village we, my*

*spouse and I, decided to go into Izmir and work in factories instead of sitting idly here in the village. Then we moved into the house of my father-in-law in Buca, where no jobs were available and we applied to Izmir recruitment office. I worked in fruit and delight factory for a few months as a fully insured worker. Then I started to work as street hawker, and sold grapes, firewood, etc. Then I worked for construction companies. We were going to the theater once a week and were eating what we earned, so we could not save any money. My uncle Necati paid even our house rent. At the end of the year we returned to the village.*

Then they returned to the village after that unsuccessful adventure. The family's economy improved due to the acquisition of new land and a tractor that were bought by the funds supplied by the government (through Marshall Aid). In association with a general national trend of high fertility, this couple had a large family with seven children. They are Islam (born in 1959), Ayse (born in 1961), Fatma (born in 1963), Gulnihal (born in 1967), Adil and Demir (born in 1972) and Ismet (born in 1974). Besides there are many induced abortions, still births and infant deaths. For Mehmet and Mevlüde, education was very important since they had not an, but their children should and would have one. Eventually, six of these seven children received university degrees. Thus education of children, as the most important thing according to Mevlude and Mehmet, appeared as another type of migration for the family.

### **Third 25 years: globalisation of migration**

The mid-1960s heralded the era of "Alamancilik"<sup>28</sup> in Turkey since two governments signed a bilateral agreement of labor recruitment.<sup>29</sup> In their isolated life in Bulgurca, Mevlüde's cousin Ismet fled to Germany as guest-worker in 1967<sup>30</sup>. This was the first time the family had been involved in international migration.

Mass migration from rural to urban areas in Turkey compounded by massive international migration in 1960s. The country became one of the major participants in the international labor migration in just a few years following the agreement signed with Germany in 1961. A similar agreement of labor recruitment from Turkey was signed with Belgium in 1964, one with France in 1965, and two with Sweden and Australia in 1967. At the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s the emigration from Turkey reached its peak which continued with some changes. Because of the economic crisis in Europe and consequent recruitment bans, Turkey sought new destinations for its excess labor force and thus Arab countries were added through bilateral agreements at the end of the 1970s. At the end of the 1980s further adjustments were required since the labor migration to Arab countries was project-based and these projects came to the end. Fortunately, a striking development appeared to help to Turkish labor exportation: the collapse of state-capitalist economies of the Soviet Bloc attracted many Turkish investors and also laborers to

establish businesses and to work there.

Atatürk is the founding leader of the Turkish Republic established in 1923, and he was the chief of the Turkish Independence Army in the 1910s and 1920s. He introduced modernism and reformed almost all spheres of life after the establishment. He dissolved the monarchy and established a democratic republican system whilst introducing a strict laicism to the country. Mehmet's family adores Atatürk<sup>31</sup> as did the majority of immigrant families. Atatürk was very important to them as Mehmet said: "... he made us free and he also was born in our land in Greece, he resembles us." This was decisive for their political preferences as well for many years. For instance Mehmet would not know any political party other than the Republican People's Party, what he called "Ataturk's Party." When he was registering his son Islam at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, he was very happy since his son would be an educated, enlightened person like Atatürk, despite sadness caused by this new fragmentation of the family. Now the family was familiar with Ankara. This line of migration would be open for many years. In the late 1980s, the twins, Adil and Demir went to Ankara to the university for higher education. The coup d'état of 1980 was causing a new migration for the family, the elder son Islam was escaping abroad from the country under military rule. He went into Germany to seek asylum in 1985, and also took his spouse. Islam retold his migration to Germany as a story of escape:

*I was a student at the Middle East Technical University before the coup d'état... then became a state suspect, as the university was leftist and opposing in nature, as I was. I have been arrested and put into prison for two years. Escape was inevitable as opposed to wasting years in the prison for thoughts. One night we, my spouse, and myself swam through the river Meric<sup>32</sup> towards Greece. This also provided me a chance to see the towns of my ancestors. They had left their homes for Turkey decades ago, now I was leaving my home for Greece... Irony of the history. The Greek officials took and put us into the Lavrion Refugee Camp near Athens. There were thousands of people like us escaping from military regime in Turkey and somewhere else. After a one-year stay, we left Greece for Germany and a long period of asylum seeking started for us.*

Those years also witnessed the migration of the family from the village to the city too. The family network of Mevlüde helped them move to Buca (a suburb of Izmir). Ayse, the elder daughter, was also living there since her marriage in 1980. Mehmet and Mevlüde bought a house in Buca in 1984. Firstly their second daughter Fatma settled down there for her university education. Then the Adil and Demir came for high school. Demir tells about these years:

Buca was very familiar place for us. All our relatives were living there and my elder sister was also married and settled in there. Other sister was student at the 9 September University in Buca, then we, came and started a life with her in

here, Buca. Few years later dad and mom also came and joined us.

From the 1950s to the 1980s, internal migration has brought a few million of Turkish people from rural areas to the cities. By the mid-1980s more than half of the population was living in urban areas. In 1990 the urbanization ratio was 60 and it is still increasing as the decade progresses. Those cities attracting more migrants are becoming large "gecekondu" areas rather than an urban setting.

The year 1980 brought another new migration phenomenon since Bertan, spouse of cousin Selma (daughter of Mevlüde's aunt) migrated to Libya. Bertan would return in 1992 as a result of ending many Turkish held projects in Libya in response to declining relations between the two governments.

At the same time, emigration to European countries continues through family reunification since the end of 1970s, fostered by refugees escaping from the military rule in Turkey, and by chain migrations.<sup>33</sup> Islam, the son of Mehmet, became a settled migrant in Germany at the end of the 1980s. Although he went there as an asylum seeker, he was able to provide opportunities for further migration, what we call chain migration<sup>34</sup>, for other members of the family. Consequently, other brothers migrated into Germany in 1990s. First, Adil, then Ismet went into Germany. Adil returned in 1994 after two years and started his university education in Ankara but not in Izmir, his hometown. Ismet left his university education in Izmir while he was studying Law and migrated to Germany



to launch a business with his brother Islam. The family was waiting for Demir's migration to Australia for graduate study when I have interviewed them. According to Demir, the link with Germany was significant for the family but it was not perceived as a way of freedom or salvation:

*We got happier when the conditions of brother Islam got better in Germany. Mom and dad went to visit him for several times, I also visited them and stayed there for months. Then my twin went and settled in there and recently my other brother Ismet migrated and married there in 1997. I will also go to Australia for studying next year. Everybody goes somewhere far away from home. Our family has been migrating for almost a century. It is hard to bring all members together again in the future.*

The recent migration involving the family was another forced migration unlike the one they faced decades ago. Some members of the family were being forced to migrate since the village they lived in was becoming part of a dam constructed to provide drink-

ing water supply for the city. There remained very few members of the family in the village. Therefore this was only a "death migration" for them. Since they indeed had to move their ancestors' graveyards to another place. Another important fact was the migration of their friends again. Mehmet's narration at the age of 72 indicates a psychological aspect to the migration:

*I have become more and more lonely after we came to Buca from the village. There are very few people to chat to, and to sit and talk together with. I did find few Salonicians to become my friends but people of my age are migrating to the other side. Almost all my friends have died, few are still alive in the new settlement place provided by the government after the appropriations for the Tahtali Dam. Sometimes I think to go there to sit and talk to my last friends of my age.*

At the end of an age called "Age of Migration"<sup>35</sup> we, as researchers in the field of migration research, have to pay attention to the past migrations while trying to under-

stand current trends and patterns. In this respect, oral histories, in-depth interviews would be very fruitful in terms of insights, and more human aspects of the population movements. Briefly, this study was such an attempt. Hand in hand with the global changes in terms of direction of the flows of migration and increasing regionality,<sup>36</sup> Turkish migratory regimes also should not be perceived as one of rural to urban or one of emigration to Europe or the North. In recent years, a considerable amount of transit migrants have arrived in Turkey, hundreds of thousand nationals migrated from Bulgaria in the early 1990s; another large group came from Iraq in 1991. Internal migration is also no longer a rural-urban migration. The largest volume of internal migration has been taking place between cities in the last decade in Turkey. In this respect we could not guess whether Mehmet would go to his village back immediately or not in the near future. This was a story of a family among millions of them who were involved in many kinds of migrations throughout their histories.

## Notes

- 1 See Gülten Kazgan (1971).
- 2 Icdyugu (1996) presented a detailed description and analysis.
- 3 Keyder (1987) explains the changes in internal migration in response to Turkish socio-economic developments. pp. 135–140.
- 4 See Aksit, B. (1998).
- 5 See Icdyugu (1996).
- 6 More than 1500 Kurdish refugees arrived in Italy during 1998,

- according to figures from newspapers, which represents only the tip of the iceberg.
- 7 Second largest city in Greece.
- 8 To preserve the identity of the family, pseudonyms were used here instead of their real names.
- 9 For the Turkish migration history see Icdyugu and Sirkeci (1998 and 1999), Icdyugu, Sirkeci and

- Aydingün (1998), Icdyugu (1996), Martin (1991), Lieberman and Gitmez (1979), Erhard (1994), Abadan-Unat (1976), Gokdere (1978). However, it should be noted there is still no complete, comprehensive Turkish migration history.
- 10 According to William Safran diasporas are: Expatriate communities whose members share

- several of the following characteristics: 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral", or "foreign", regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland – its physical location, history, and achievements; 3) they believe they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return – when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should collectively, be committed to maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship.
- 11 There are no registered figures for the size of exchanged populations but the numbers of Muslims and Christians exchanged were disproportionate. According to the population census of 1928 in Greece, the number of immigrants from Turkey was about 1,105,000 (McCarthy, 1983:131). When we assume that some of these were immigrants from the Balkan wars, it is still possible to state that there were around 1 million immigrants from Turkey. For that period Kousoulas (1974:133) says that "the population of Greece was increased from 5 million 43 thousands to 6 million 250 thousands just in few months following the Lausanne Treaty", which ended the war and decided on the exchange.
  - 12 The equivalent of the Red Cross in Muslim societies.
  - 13 25 years after, the world witnessed the largest exchange involving Muslims and Sikhs moving between Pakistan and India in 1947.
  - 14 Departing from the fact that there are very little studies done on the issue, Migrant Studies Program of Oxford University held a conference entitled "Forced Migration between Greece and Turkey" in September 1998.
  - 15 A middle-size town in northwestern Greece.
  - 16 A district of Salonica in Northern Greece.
  - 17 Some examples of these disputes are cited in the work of Ari (1995).
  - 18 This is alleged because of the large number of immigrants, who were in need of foodstuff aid in 1924. Their volume was about 430 thousand.
  - 19 Karpat, 1987, p.97.
  - 20 A common phrase used for the World War II in Turkey.
  - 21 Koopmans (1976), p.37.
  - 22 The party which was elected in the first democratic, competitive, multi-party election in Turkey and banned in the course of 1960 military intervention.
  - 23 Erhard (1994), p.173.
  - 24 An all covering story of these changes in numbers can be found in Icduygu (1995).
  - 25 Annual population growth rate was % 1,06 in 1945, % 2,17 in 1950, % 2,77 in 1955, and % 2,85 in 1960.
  - 26 Keles (1985), p.57.
  - 27 Many people, especially men do not work during several months in the winter as all the work comes in the summer.
  - 28 "Alamancilik" is term used for people from Germany, who emigrated to work there (See, for details, Sen, 1996).
  - 29 Icduygu and Sirkeci, 1998:5–6
  - 30 For details of guestworkers, see, Abadan-Unat (1976), Gitmez, (1983), Pen (1996).
  - 31 Ataturk is the founding leader of the Turkish Republic who lived in between 1881 and 1938, and ruled the country from 1920 to 1938.
  - 32 The river in northwest Turkey, drawing the border between Turkey and Greece.
  - 33 See Icduygu (1996a).
  - 34 See, for details of network and chain migration, Böcker (1995) Icduygu (1995).
  - 35 Age of Migration was the title of work of Castles and Miller (1993) and Zlotnik (1998) provides a critical analysis of changes in international migratory regimes recently.
  - 36 For a comprehensive analysis of recent trends of Turkish internal migration can be found in Gedik (1998).

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# Merimiehestä siirtolaiseksi 1900-luvun Buenos Airesissa



Marjatta Nieminen

Tämän artikkelin tarkoituksena on luoda deskriptiivinen katsaus 1900-luvun Buenos Airesissa olleisiin suomalaisiin merimiehiin sekä viitata joihinkin mielenkiintoisiin näkökulmiin, joita esiintyy merimiehen liikkuvan ammatin ja siirtolaisuuden välillä. Artikkelin nojautuu laajempaan, parhaillaan loppuvaiheessa olevaan tutkimukseen sekä kenttätöiden ja muun aineistokeruun yhteydessä muodostuneeseen käsitykseen, jonka mukaan merimiehen ammatti loi suotuisat olosuhteet joko lyhyt- tai pitkäaikaiselle siirtolaisuudelle.

Metodologisesti muistitietoaineiston osuus tutkimuksessa on tärkeä. Philippe Joutard (1999) luonnehtii muistitietoaineistoa ”menneisyydestä meille tulevana ääninä”, jotka mahdollistavat tähän asti syrjässä olleiden, syrjään työnnettyjen tai unohdettujen henkilöiden elämänvaiheiden esilletuonnin. Kyselykaavakkei-

den, haastattelujen ja informaalisen kanssakäymisen lisäksi tutkimus perustuu katkelmallisen ja vaiheittaisen tiedon keruuseen sekä sen myöhempään kuvailuun ja analysointiin. Antropologisesta näkökulmasta katsottuna kysymyksessä on etnograafisen metodin käyttö (Kalinsky & Pérez 1993; Taylor & Bogdan 1996; Virtanen 1990). Kirjallisia tietojahan suomalaisista merimiehistä tai heidän kohtaloistaan vieraissa satamissa ja maissa on hyvin vähän saatavissa.

Muistitietoon perustuvan lähdeaineiston merkitys painottuu erityisesti silloin, kun tutkija joutuu liikkumaan tabu-luontoisilla, kielletyillä tai vaarallisilla teema-alueilla tai kun tiedon kokoaminen on vaikeaa sen hajanaisuuden vuoksi. Tutkimuksen rakentaminen tällaisissa tapauksissa vaatii usein vaihtoehtoisten tai ad-hoc menetelmien käyttöä. Esimerkkinä voidaan mainita 1900-luvun alussa ulkomailla laivasta karanteet, poistuneet ja/tai myöhemmin siirtolaisiksi siirtyneet merimiehet, joiden maahantulosta, oleskelusta tai maasta poistumisesta ei ole rekisteröityä tietoa.

Tietoja maihin jääneistä saatiin lähinnä muiden merimiesten

tai henkilöiden haastattelujen yhteydessä lauseen tai parin muodossa. Aineistoa löytyy enemmän edettäessä pitemmälle 1900-luvun loppua kohti. Merkittävä on myös Suomen merimieslähetysseuran perustaman Buenos Airesin merimieskirkon rooli 1950-luvulta lähtien. Merimiehen elämään liittyvät vaiheet ovat tallentuneet paremmin silloin, jos maahan väliaikaisesti tai vakituisesti asettunut merimies oli solminut avioliiton tai jos hänellä oli perillisiä tai muita omaisia. Tämä jollakin tavalla systemaattinen elämän merkkipäivien – syntymä, avioliitto, kuolema – yhteydessä säilynyt muistitieto lisää lähdeaineiston määrää ja sen kronologista tarkkuutta, vaikka viimeksi mainittu tieto tässä työssä ymmärretäänkin lähinnä sosiaalisena representaationa (Aceves, Jorge E. 2000). Sen mukaan kerätty tieto pitää ymmärtää ensinnäkin tuloksena kertojan ja haastattelijan välisestä dialogista, sekä toiseksi kertojan pyrkimyksenä antaa lähinnä symbolinen merkitys kerrotulle asialle. Tällöin pääpaino ei välttämättä ole empiirisessä todellisuudessa. Merimiesten siirtolaisuuden tarkastelu perinteellisen ”kulttuuriomaisuus”-käsit-

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teen valossa (esim. Bonfil Batalla 1989; Viikuna 1992; Anttila 1993) ei ole tutkimuksen pääasiallinen tavoite, vaikka joitakin näiden teoreettisten suuntauksien luokitteluja esiintyykin tekstissä.

Richard Fardon (1995) onkin esittänyt edellä mainittujen käsitteiden kyseenalaistamista. 1900-luvulla ja tänäkin päivänä vallitseva käsitys, jonka mukaan kulttuuria voidaan ”omistaa” on joutunut Fardonin mukaan luottamuksen puutteen kohteeksi. Analyttiset käsitteet, kuten ”oma kulttuuri”, ”oma kieli” ja ”oma identiteetti” jne., ovat väistymässä, koska niiden deskriptio ja argumentatiivinen kapasiteetti ovat heikentyneet. Käsitteet eivät siten riitä nykyisten ilmiöiden selittämiseen, vaan vahvasti kansainvälistyvässä maailmassa, jossa virtuaalispaciaalit, ”nobodies” tai ”nowhere places”, tietoyhteiskunnan tuoma digitaalinen kanssakäyminen ja moni-identtisyys valtaavat alaa. Näiden teorioiden mukaan ihmiset, esineet ja ajatukset kulkevat tai virtaavat nopeasti paikasta toiseen ja vaikuttavat tällä tavalla uusien tulkintojen tarpeeseen.

Jos tämän päivän siirtolaisuutta ja maasta- tai maahanmuuttoliikkeitä tarkastellaan Fardonin käsitysten pohjalta, on mahdollista soveltaa sitä osaksi käsittelemääni aihepiiriin suomalaisista merimiehistä Buenos Airesissa. Tämä voidaan selittää seuraavalla tavalla: merimiehen liikkuva ammatti omasi jo varhain, ennen ns. postmodernistisen globalisoinnin alkua tai sen tunnistamista, tiettyjä saman tyyppisiä piirteitä, joilla nyt kuvataan ylikansallista liikehdintää tai globaaleja kult-

tuurivirtauksia (Howell 1995). 1900-luvun merimieselämä näyttää tästä perspektiivistä katsottuna hyvinkin kansainväliseltä. Arjun Appadurain (1995) mukaan kansallisvaltojen luoma monitahtoinen paikallinen ”oma kulttuuri” perinteinen ja tunnusmerkkeinen on vielä vahvasti esillä, mutta se kietoutuu kuitenkin mitä erilaisimmilla tavoilla muiden kansallisten tai etnisten kulttuurien sekaan. Näin ollen myös globaalisuus ”tuottaa tietynlaista kulttuuripaikallisuutta”.

Niinsanottujen ”natiivi-” tai ei-analyttisten kategorioiden, kuten esim. sinko, afteriin jääminen, viimeinen seili, kunniallinen ruumis, mummu ja myyty mies jne., tulkinta tai käyttö (Guber 1991) ovat keskeisiä tämän merimiehistä tehdyn tutkimuksen kannalta. Edellä mainittujen kategorioiden käyttö edesauttoi päämäärän toteuttamista, uuden tiedon löytämistä ja keksimistä sekä auttoi rakentamaan kuvaa, jolla tulkitaan merimiehen jokapäiväistä elämää satamassa ja siirtolaisena.

### **Buenos Aires ja sen satama**

Kaksi kertaa perustettu (1536 ja 1580) Buenos Aires ja sen satama olivat siirtolaisten ja satamaan saapuneiden merimiesten ensimmäinen kosketus Argentiinaan aina 1900-luvun toiselle puoliskolle asti. Argentiinan kansa syntyi pääasiassa Euroopasta 1800–1900-luvuilla tapahtuneen siirtolaisuuden seurauksena, ja siksi maassa elääkin sanonta: ”Argentiinalaiset polveutuvat laivoista”. Satama sijaitsee La Plata -joen eteläisen puoliskon, laajan pam-

pa-alueen mereen päin työntyvissä ulokkeessa. Monen kilometrin pituinen matala rantaviiva ei luonnostaan ollut otollinen meriliikenteelle, ja siksi uudenaikaisen sataman rakennustyöt aloitettiin vuosina 1887 ja 1898 (Puerto Madero). Viimeksi mainittu oli tarkoitettu lähinnä valtamerentakaisen laivaliikenteen käyttöä varten (Benitez 1983).

Suomalaisten merimiesten kerrotaan liikkuneen alueella jo 1800-luvun alusta lähtien (Lähteenmäki 1989). Aluksi Suomen ja Argentiinan välinen meriliikenne tapahtui muiden maiden välityksellä. Vuonna 1926 perustettiin Suomen Etelä-Amerikan Linja, joka liikennöi aina vuoteen 1985 saakka (Pohjanpalo 1949; Tikkanen 1993). Suuri osa linjaliikenteen laivoista alkoi A-kirjaimella kuten esim. Angra, Arica, Arabia, Atalaya, Ayamara, Atlanta, Asynja, Actinia, Araguay, Aconcagua ja Aurora. Samaa nimeä voitiin käyttää useaan otteeseen lisäämällä siihen I, II, III jne.

Buenos Airesin kokonaisuudessaan noin 700 hehtaaria (Villagran Padilla 1986) käsittävällä satama-alueella sijaitsivat satamalaiturit, altaat, telakat, julkiset ja yksityiset toimistot ja varustamot sekä vapaa-aikaan tai muuhun ”epäviralliseen” palveluun ja merenkulkuun tavalla tai toisella erikoistuneet yritykset, kuten esim. kapakat, ilotalot, ravintolat ja teatterit. 1940- ja 1950-luvun vaihteessa vapaa-ajan toiminta keskitettiin sataman ja kaupungin keskustaan jäävien katujen ympärille. Kuuluisin näistä ilotalokaduista oli 25 de Mayo. Tämän kadun tunsivat kaikki kaupunkiin saapuneet merimiehet. Suomalaiset

merimiehet kutsuivat katua nimeltä ”sanko” (veinti cinco = sanko = viisi). Paikkaa kutsuttiin myös nimillä ”alakaupunki”, ”down-town”, ”bajo”, ”ilotalojen alue” tai ”zona de piringundines”. Alueella sijainneet Silvia-baari, Unión-baari ja Leon-baari olivat suomalaisten suosimia erityisesti 1900-luvun toiselta puoliskolta lähtien. 25 de Mayo -kadun huvi- ja seksikaupan merkitys väheni 1978 lähtien, jolloin Argentiinassa järjestetyn jalkapalloilun maailmanmestaruuskisojen yhteydessä vallassa ollut sotilasjunta päätti puhdistaa alueen ”ei toivottuista aineksista”. Puhdistuksesta huolimatta osa sitkeähenkisistä kabareista toimi aina vuoteen 1985 saakka (Gauna 1998).

25 de Mayo -kadun muuttumiseen tavalliseksi kaupunkikaduksi vaikuttivat myös meriliikenteen modernisoituminen: vähemmän ja suurempia laivoja satamassa, kontti-rahtiliikenne, matkustajaliikenteen supistuminen ja/tai sen luonteen muuttuminen (esim. risteilyt) sekä laivojen satamassa-oloaikojen lyhentäminen.

## Merimieselämää satamassa

*Jo Tierra del Fuegosta asti oli miehistö kiivaasti väitellyt Boniksen riemuista, ei Magalin (Magallanes) salmen kauneus riittänyt, vaan Boniksen ilot odottivat vain ottajaa. Veinti sincko de mayo (25 de Mayo) ja kulmat odottivat. Jokainen odotti jotain, toiset ’ruusua’, toiset ripsi-piirakkaa, toiset vaan pään täyttämistä. Jokainen taplaa tyylillään. Lomo-pihvi ja yöllinen naisten kanssa oleilu eri variaatioineen oli varmasti muidenkin mielessä.*



A/S Asynjan merimiehet Lujanin kaupungissa (Argentiina) 60-luvulla – E. Rannan kokoelma.

*Jokaisella oli oma unelmansa Boniksesta, lähtiessä kaikki kاپasivat sinne takaisin. Yleensä se oli rahat tiskiön, pää täyteen ja lopulla rahalla ’pimpeittä’. Paikat oli yleensä lääviä, missä suomalaiset pesiytyivät. (T/C1-1998).*

Suomalaisten merimiesten ja/tai muiden asioita tuntevien mukaan elämää satamassa voidaan valaista kahdesta näkökulmasta: 1) merimiesromantiikka, joka piti sisälleen totta ja tarua sekä 2) tyypillinen vapaa-ilta Buenos Airesissa. Haastattelut ja painetut lähdeaineistot kertovat, että ”merimiesromantiikkaa” pidettiin elokuvien ja levyjen värittämänä eksoottisena illuusiona, joka oli melko kaukana todellisuudesta. Tosin merellä ja vieraassa satamassa odottaneet uudet kokemukset vetivät varsinkin nuoria miehiä puoleensa. Jos romanttisuutta oli, usein se ilmeni vasta myöhemmin

kun karsittiin muuten raskas ja kovaksi koettu työ unholaan ja mieleen tallennettiin positiivisia muistoja. Tyypillisen vapaa-illan peruskuvioihin kuuluivat kapakka, ruoka-baari, ilotalo tai yleensä toisen sukupuolen kanssa seurustelevinen, merimieskirkko ja sauna, urheilu, elokuva ja tivoli-illat, vierailut maassa asuvien suomalaissiirtolaisten luona, putka tai vankila sekä sairaala. Järjestys ei välttämättä ollut tämä, kuten ei myöskään osallistuminen kaikkiin edellä mainittuihin rientoihin.

25 de Mayo -kadun houkuttuksille vaihtoehtoiseksi toiminnaksi 1950-luvulla perustettiin Buenos Airesiin suomalainen merimieskirkko. Asema pyrki luomaan maahan saapuvia merimiehiä varten toimintaa, johon kuuluivat jumalanpalvelukset, saunominen, urheilukilpailut, kaupunkikierrokset, asado-illat sekä kirjasto- ja lehtipalvelut. Yhteis-



Colonia Finlandesa 1963. Kuvassa etualalla seisova parrakas mies on entinen merimies Arturi Heino. – *E. Heinon kokoelma.*

työtä tehtiin erikoisesti ruotsalaisen varustamo Johnsson Minetin kanssa jalkapallon ja muiden urheilutapahtumien merkeissä. Lisäksi on mainittava erikoinen tapaviettä aikaa satamassa: merimiehet ottivat osaa suomalaisen merimieskirkon perusremontti- ja kunnostamistöihin käytännöllisesti katsoen koko sen olemassaoloajan. Pohjoismaista luterilaista merimiespalvelua hoiti ensin 1900-luvun alussa perustettu Norjan merimieskirkko (1920) ja myöhemmin perustettu Ruotsin merimieskirkko (1945). Eri kansallisuuksiin kuuluvia merimiehiä ”kasaantui” Buenos Airesiin, heidän joukossaan paljon suomalaisia. 1920-luvulla suomalaisia laskettiin käyneen Norjan kirkon tiloissa 30–40 henkeä päivässä (MY 1920). Buenos Airesin suomalaisen merimieskirkon perustajapappi Oiva Pohjanpirkka (1983 ja 1995) puolestaan laskee, että 1950-luvulla maahan saapui päivää kohden keskimäärin 1,17–

1,42 laivaa. Tämä tarkoittaa noin 60 suomalaisen merimiehen samanaikaista satamassaoloa. Pastori Ismo Saarikosken (1999) vuonna 1964 laatiman vuosikertomuksen mukaan kirkolla oli kyseisenä vuonna käynyt peräti 3770 merimiestä. Edellä mainittujen esimerkkien kohdalla on muistettava, että suomalaisia merimiehiä saapui maahan myös linjaliikenteen ulkopuolella kulkevien laivojen sekä muiden maiden lippujen ja mukavuuslaivojen kera. Kaikki merimiehet eivät myöskään vierailleet kirkossa. Tarkkojen kokonaislukujen esittäminen koskien 1900-luvun ensimmäistä puoliskoa ja jossain määrin myöhempää aikaa onkin spekulatiivista, joskaan se ei pois sulje käsitystä suurten merimiesmäärien kaupungissaolosta.

Yksi tärkein ja huomionarvoinen tosiasia on jo aikaisemmin mainittu ”alakaupunkialue” erikoispalveluineen tai juuri 25 de Mayo -katu ja se, että esimerkiksi

tämän tutkimuksen yhteydessä tehtyjen haastattelujen tai kirjallisten kyselyjen perusteella kaikki tunsivat paikan ja/tai olivat siellä käyneet. Sataman kulttuuri-perintöön kuuluneet viestit kulkeutuivat merimieheltä merimiehelle jo laivassa, joten maahan ensi kertaa tulleet olivat myös tietoisia niistä huhujen tai juorujen muodossa (T/C1-1998; Virtanen 1990).

Suullisen perimätiedon kulkeminen merimiesten keskuudessa oli yksi tärkeimmistä sosiaalisen kanssakäymisen muodoista, jolle oli ominaista sen ulottuvuus yli kansallisten rajojen. Esimerkiksi suomalaisten merimiesten keskuudessa liikkui huhuja Buenos Airesin ja Suomen välillä liikkuvien laivojen miehistön kovuudesta, ja tässä mainitaan usein Atlanta-nimisen laivan miehistö (Nurminen 1998). Toisaalta myös satamaelämän ympärille muodostui ”omaa” perimätietoa niin, että tietynlaista tietoa hyödynsi ainoastaan määrättyyn etniseen tai kansalliseen ryhmään kuulunut merimies.

Suomalaisten merimiesten kohdalla kiinnostavin huhu (Virtanen 1990) oli Pohjois-Argentiinassa Misiones-maakuntaan vuonna 1906 perustettu pieni suomalaiskylä, Colonia Finlandesa. 1920-luvulta lähtien kylästä liikkui satamassa juttuja eräänlaisena ”satumaana”. Sinne moni suomalainen merimies sitten löysikin tiensä, eivätkä 1400 km:n etäisyys Buenos Airesista tai huonot ja vaikeat kulkuyhteydet olleet esteenä. Tässä yhteydessä on mainittava, että monissa tapauksissa Colonia Finlandesassa vierailu merkitsi laivasta karkaamis-

Entinen suomalainen merimieskirkko Buenos Airesissa San Juan 234 -kadulla on kahden kerrostalon välissä oleva puoliksi punatiilinen rakennus. – *M. Niemisen koelma.*

25 de Mayo -kadulla myyntikilven takana oleva baari Ipanema vuonna 2000. – *M. Niemisen koelma.*



ta tai muuten luvatonta maahan jäämistä.

1940-luvun jälkeen 50 kilometriä Buenos Airesista luoteeseen Parana-joen rannalla sijaitsevan Zaraten kaupungin vastapäätä olevien saaristojen helmaan alkoi muodostua myös nk. metsäsuomalaisasutusta. Kuuluisin suomalaisjoki oli Ñacuriti, jonka varrella asusteli suomalaissiirtolaisten lisäksi merimiehiä, heistä suuri osa yksinäisiä ja lapsettomia. Monet heistä on haudattu Zaraten suomalaishautausmaahan. Myös tässä tapauksessa tiedot suomalaisasutuksista kulkevat satamajuttujen, huhujen, pohjoismaisten merimieskirkkojen ja siirtolaisten välityksellä.

Satamassa liikkuva ”ylikansallinen” tieto suurista ansiosta Etelä-Georgian saarilla harjoitetun valaanpyynnin merkeissä oli myös yksi tekijä, joka sai suomalaiset, ruotsalaiset, norjalaiset, puolalaiset ja venäläiset merimiehet jättämään laivansa ja pestautumaan tähän aikoihin hyvinkin

vaarallisena, karuna ja yksitoikkoisena pidettyyn mutta hyvin palkattuun työhön.

Lähellä etelänapaa sijaitsevilla Etelä-Georgian saarilla oli norjalaisilla kalastustukikohteet jo 1900-luvun alusta saakka. Niiden, ja lähellä olevien Malviinsaarten, vesillä englantilaiset ja norjalaiset yritykset harjoittivat vuosikymmeniä taloudellisesti erittäin tuottavaa valaanpyyntiä. Jonkin verran on olemassa muistitietoa myös suomalaisten merimiesten saarilla vietetyistä ajoista ja yleensä asiaan liittyvästä tapakulttuurista.

### Yhteenveto

Syitä merille lähtöön oli useita, ja ne voidaan luokitella samantyyppisiin suurempiin kokonaisuuksiin. Etnografisesti jokainen päätös ja kohtalo piti sisällään omia erikoispiirteitään. Yleisinä merille lähtösyinä voidaan mainita työn tarve ja haku sekä siihen liittyvä työn tarjonta ja valtamerili-

kenteen kasvu, puolittainen pakkovärväys varsinkin 1800- ja 1900-luvun vaihteessa, seikkailunhalu, halu nähdä maailmaa ja muita kulttuureita (nykyisin turismi), perheperinne, kutsumustyö, pako omasta maasta ja/tai halu laiva välineenä päästä maasta pois.

Kun näistä alkusyistä siirtotään lyhyt- tai pitkäaikaissiirtolaiseksi muuttumisen motiiveihin, kietoutuu ilmiöön myös valitun maan ja sinne sattumalta asumaan jääneen ihmisen välisiä yhteyksiä. Työskentely merimiehenä laivassa oli melko yleinen tapa päästä pois Suomesta. Toiseksi se oli yksinkertaisin tapa siirtyä maasta toiseen ja/tai asettua lopullisesti asumaan ulkomaille laillisesti tai laittomasti (ks. myös Koivukangas 1986). Saapuminen samaan satamaan ja pitkät satamassaoloajat tekivät paikat ja ihmiset (yleensä toinen sukupuoli) toisilleen tutuiksi, mikä puolestaan edesauttoi tietynlaisen maahanmuuttosuunnitelman tekoa.



Jo edellä mainittu ”ahteriin jääminen” (kun merimies syystä tai toisesta ei ehtinyt laivaan, ja jäi suoranaisesti katsomaan laivan ahteria, kun se kynti kohti avomerta) (Nurminen, P. 1998; Kuusinen, J. 1999) yhdessä sairaalaan tai putkaan tai rikoksen kohteeksi joutumisen kanssa, olivat esimerkkejä ”sattumalta siirtolaiseksi muuttumisesta”. Suuri osa tällä tavalla maahan jääneistä palasi joko laivatyöhön tai kotimaahan tietyn ajan kuluttua, mutta voidaan todeta, että myös sattuma edesauttoi maahan asettumista ja siirtolaistumista. Edellä mainituissa tapauksissa maissaolot venyivät varsinkin 1900-luvun alkupuoliskolla verrattain pitkiksi, ja se taas pakotti merimiehen etsimään itselleen uutta tulolähdettä ja mahdollisesti esimerkiksi avioliiton solmimisen ja perheen perustamisen, josta periaatteessa on melko lyhyt askel siirtolaisuuteen.

Aina 1950-luvulle saakka asettuminen Argentiinaan oli suhteellisen helppoa. Maahan luvatta jääneitä ei erikoisesti etsitty tai vainottu. Vuoden 1853 Argentiinan perustuslaki toi heti johdannossaan esille valtion myönteisen asenteen siirtolaisia kohtaan ja takasi hyvinvoinnin ja vapaudesta koituvat hyödyt ”meille, jälkeläisillemme ja kaikille maailman kansoille, jotka haluavat asettua asumaan Argentiinaan” (Constitución de la Nación Argentina 1853). Saman perustuslain 20. artiklassa mainitaan erityisesti Argentiinan valtion rajojen sisäpuolelle asettuneet ulkomaalaiset, jotka ”nauttivat samoista siviilioikeuksista kuin maan omat asukkaat” (idem). Koko 1900-luvun ajan Argentiinan eri puolueitten

johtamat hallitukset julistivat tiettyjen vuosien välein yleisiä armoituksia ehdolla, että maahan luvattomasti jääneet laillistaisivat maassaolonsa virallisen anomuksen muodossa.

Suomen Merimies Unioni, Suomen Argentiinan suurlähetystö ja Buenos Airesin merimieskirkko ylläpitivät merimiehiin kohdistuvaa toimintaa, joka ei kuitenkaan ulottunut kaikkiin maassa käyviin tai jääneisiin merimiehiin. Tämä toiminta vaikutti osaltaan negatiivisesti merimiehen siirtolaiseksi muuttumiselle, koska viralliset tahot suuntasivat osan toimintaansa merimiehille vieraassa satamassa sattuneiden ongelmien ratkaisemiseen. Sairaalaan, putkaan tai rikoksen kohteeksi joutuminen ja laivasta karkaaminen velvoittivat viranomaisia toimenpiteisiin, joiden päämääränä oli merimiehen rehabilitoiminen, ts. kotiin Suomeen lähettäminen tai uuden pestin saaminen. On totta, että merimiehelle vieraassa satamassa sattuneet haaverit eivät useinkaan olleet positiivisia, miellyttäviä tai itseaiheutettuja. Tämä ei silti aina merkinnyt halua lähteä maasta (Argentiinasta) pois. Tällaisia tapauksia löytyi tutkimuksen yhteydessä aina 1950-luvun lopulle saakka, ja niissä ilmeni eräänlaisen ”kulttuuriväsymyksen” (Lähtenmäki 1989) tai erämaa- ja pyyntikulttuurin perinteiden (ks. Vilkuna 1967) vivahteita. Vaikea tai haluton sopeutuminen 1900-luvulla alkaneen teollistumisprosessin vaatimiin kurinalaisiin työ- ja käyttäytymisolosuhteisiin sekä pelko vapauden menettämisestä toivat esille mainittuja käyttäytymismuotoja esimerkiksi meri-

miesten kohdalla. Myöhemmin meriliikenteen modernisointi, merimiehen palkka- ja työolosuhteiden sekä yhteiskuntaluokkien välisten ihmissuhteiden paraneminen, ja omassa kotimaassa poliittisen, taloudellisen ja sosiaalisen hyvinvoinnin kasvu, poistivat hiljalleen aikaisemmin maatalahdön motiiveiksi luettavia syitä.

Merimiehen ammatti on pitkään ollut globaalisen kanssakäymisen muoto. Mielestäni erityisesti 1900-luvun merimiehet ovat käyneet läpi sen mentaliteetti- ja kokemusprosessin, jota monet muut sosiaaliset sektorit ovat läpikäymässä vasta nyt. Kulttuuri- tai kansalaisuus käsite ehdottomana omaisuutena on murtumassa (Fardon 1995), ja nyt rakennetaan toisenlaisia avarampia käyttäytymis- ja identiteettikaavoja. Aina 1950-luvun loppuun saakka meriliikenne omasi vielä paljon vanhoja mm. suomalaisen tapakulttuuriin perustuvia piirteitä. 1960-luvulta lähtien kaikki alkoi muuttua, ja 1970–80 lukujen tienoilla vanhasta merimieselämästä oli jäljellä vain muistot. Vaikka merimiehen siirtolaiseksi muuttumisprosessi kuuluu osana yleiseen maastamuutto- tai maahanpaluu-prosessiin, painotan kuitenkin, että ammatin luonteesta ja siihen liittyvistä tekijöistä johtuen alalla työskenteleville syntyi suotuisa, siirtolaisuutta tavalla tai toisella edesauttava tilanne.

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# Finnish Ethnicity in the State of Virginia

Mika Roinila

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## Abstract

The history of Finns in the state of Virginia dates well into the past, during which Finns have always been a very small minority of the state's ethnic groups. Since 1970, a change of US Census questions regarding ancestry shows a change in ethnic concentration and an emergence of this ethnicity. Using maps and graphs, the distribution of Finns within the state shows that prior to 1980, Finns tended to cluster in the north-eastern and south-eastern counties of the state, with very little concentration in other counties. Over the past two decades, a stronger presence of Finns is encountered throughout the state. A representative survey of 120 Finns across the state conducted in the winter of 1997–98 indicates that over 75% of the respondents had, indeed, moved to the state after 1970. Reasons for this increase are correlated with employment opportunities with the federal government around Washington DC and with opportunities in the Armed Forces. The

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paper presents a look at the known history and present conditions of a small, but emerging ethnic population within the state.

## Introduction

The aim of this paper is to shed some light on a minority ethnic group whose concentration in the state of Virginia has historically been low and not well recognized. As one of the earliest states with a Finnish population, the history of the Finns within the state has been overshadowed by the migration of Finns to the Midwestern states. With statistical data, an attempt is made to describe the historical settlement patterns of the Finnish ethnic group within the state, and using additional sources gained from a state-wide survey and interviews, some additional observations can be made in terms of the recent past and present condition of the vitality of this ethnic community.

## Early history

Since both Finns and Swedes settled the Delaware Valley beginning in 1638 and founded the New Sweden Colony, it would seem probable that some of these

early settlers may have found their way to Virginia. Indeed, some of the names of early settlers such as the surname of Peter Rambo are encountered in some Virginia locations. A total of some 500–600 Finns are believed to have settled in the New Sweden Colony. However, historians and geographers who have studied these original Finnish settlers have not indicated any ties to possible Virginia Finns (Wuorinen, 1938; Åberg, 1987; Jordan & Kaups, 1989; Hofstra, 1993).

Traditionally, Finns have settled in the more northern states. Some of the early Finns arrived in the US during the mid 1800s, and the earliest settlements include areas such as Fitchburg, Massachusetts, the Copper Country in Upper Michigan and the Mesabi Ranges in Minnesota. Generally, Finns have preferred to locate in the Midwest, and today the largest concentration of Finns is found in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan.

In terms of early Finnish settlers in Virginia, records of participants in the Civil War have shown no possible Finnish individuals from the state – although a few have been discovered from other states such as Texas and



Louisiana (Hewett,1995; Roinila,1998). Although little information is available on the early Finns, bits and pieces of evidence exist, including a photo of some Finns found in Virginia (most likely from the DC area) in a text by Salomon Ilmonen (1919). Most important, the US Census counts have been able to provide a good idea of the early presence of members of this ethnic group. Accordingly, as early as the 1900 Census, a total of 36 Finnish-born individuals were resident in the state. The number of Finnish-born immigrants appears to peak in 1920, but their relative numbers have remained low. (Table 1).

A comparative examination of early distribution shows that small, but definite clustering of Finns occurred especially in the areas of Norfolk (1920), and near

Washington DC (1940) (See maps 1 & 2). Causes for the strong clustering in 1920 in the Southeast are possibly tied to the merchant marine and the U.S. Navy, which employed many Finns as sailors in the late 1800s and early 1900s. In response to the Great Depression and the oncoming Second World War, many of these Norfolk Finns may have moved away from the area to find employment and a better life, or participation in the war effort – either with the United States or perhaps Finland. Others may have not claimed a Finnish ancestry for the census. This may have been a result of the difficulties encountered by many Finns who dealt with many socialist causes in the United States during this period.

A more recent distribution map of the Finns and Finnish-Ameri-

**Table 1. Finnish Ethnicity In Virginia (From Census Records, 1900–1990)**

Census	
Year	Number (determined by)
1900	36 (born in Finland)
1910	Data not collected
1920	240 (born in Finland)
1930	68 (born in Finland)
1940	73 (born in Finland)
1950	159 (born in Finland)
1960	108 (born in Finland)
1970	187 (born in Finland)
1980	4873 (all or part Finnish)
1990	6770 (single & multiple origin)

Source: U.S. Census, 1900–1990

cans of the state shows that a concentration has developed in essentially two areas. First is the heavily populated Washington DC suburban area, followed by Virginia Beach in the south-eastern corner of the state. These two

regions have the most Finns and Finnish-Americans according to the 1990 Census. Reasons for these two concentrations may reflect the attraction of government and military employment opportunities. Somewhat smaller clusters appear in three other locations – around Richmond, Roanoke and Charlottesville. The first and most obvious similarity here is the fact that all three have prominent universities.

In terms of the proportion of Finns within the state, only 6770 Finns (4507 first ancestry reported plus 2263 second ancestry reported) were residents of the state (1990 Census). This represents only a mere 0.1% of the state population, and in itself presents a scattered population (see maps 3 & 4).

### Survey methodology

To find the Finns of the state, the phone directories and Internet White Pages for the state were used to locate the names and addresses of as many Finns as possible. Since Finnish surnames are very distinctive, the author was able to look for distinct Finnish surnames, which created a database of 230 individuals from across the state. It must be noted that one disadvantage with using names found in the phonebook is that a sampling bias favours male respondents whose names are usually found in the directories.

From a list of 230 names, a survey population of regionally representative residents was chosen. Regional representation of the state's Finnish population was possible by dividing the addresses according to a three-part distri-

bution pattern. A total of some 60% of the mail-in questionnaires were sent to the northern part of the state, 30% to the east, and 10% to the west. The boundaries of this arbitrary division of three regions were chosen according to the 1990 Census that showed certain counties within the state as having no Finns as residents. These non-settled counties became the boundaries that were used to separate larger regions in the three areas inside which Finnish ethnicity was encountered by the Census and by the internet address search. In order to avoid sampling bias, this method helped establish a representative sample of Finns in the state.

From the sublists of names established for the three regions, I chose roughly every second name and sent questionnaires with self-stamped return envelopes to prospective respondents through the winter months of 1997. A total of 122 mail-in questionnaires were sent across the state, asking eleven basic questions dealing with origins, reasons for moving to Virginia, occupations, ethnic self-identity, and decade of immigration to the state. A total of 63 responses were received from a total of 122 questionnaires sent. A total of 19 questionnaires were returned because the address was incomplete or because the person had moved away, and represent a total of 15% of all questionnaires that were unusable. Discounting these returned questionnaires, 63 valid questionnaires remain from a possible maximum population in the survey of 103 respondents who were reached by mail. Thus the response rate is 61%.

The second part of collecting data was to interview some of the individuals who returned the questionnaires. The last question on the questionnaire asked for individuals willing to respond with their names and addresses for the purpose of a follow-up interview visit. All respondents were assured anonymity in the entire research project, unless they indicated otherwise. Follow-up visits were made to a total of eleven individuals during the spring of 1998, and included residents in Arlington, Chesapeake, Fairfax, Virginia Beach, and Waynesboro.

### Results

The results can be divided into seven areas of interest, which enable us to understand some of the trends and characteristics of the Finnish people in Virginia.

#### *1. Year/Decade of arrival*

While I claim that a large number of Finns have appeared in Virginia since the 1970s, it would be inaccurate to propose that the increase is only noted as a result of more rigorous Census counts. Prior to the 1980 addition and change in the census ancestry questions, there undoubtedly were many descendants of Finns who may have lived in Virginia. My argument for a post-1970s growth, however, is supported by the findings below.

Of the 63 individuals who responded to the questionnaires, the majority had arrived in the state within the previous three decades (over 75% have come to the state since 1970). Only a few individuals have arrived earlier, the earli-

est being 1947. Although the 1920–1940 census counts indicate that Finns were in the state, no contact was made with residents who may have been in the state prior to the 1940s (Table 2).

**Table 2. Immigration of survey respondents to Virginia**

Decade	Number	Percentage (%)
1940s	2	3.2
1950s	5	7.9
1960s	3	4.8
1970s	14	22.2
1980s	22	34.9
1990s	13	20.6
No response	4	6.3
Total	63	100

### 2. Origin of Virginia Finns

An overwhelming majority of the Finns have roots in other US states, led by Michigan (16%) and Illinois (10%), followed by Massachusetts, Minnesota, and California with 6% each. Other origins included the states of Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin. Direct arrivals from Finland include only 3 individuals, who moved to Virginia because of education and eventual marriage to an American spouse.

### 3. Demographics

In terms of demographics, it should be noted immediately that the men dominated the sample. A total of 48 men (76%) and 15 women (24%) responded to the questionnaires. The respondents were generally in their late 40s to

mid 50s, with the average age being 50 years. The youngest respondent was born in 1974 (23 years old) and the oldest was born in 1908 (90 years of age).

### 4. Reasons for immigrating to Virginia

As with other ethnic groups who immigrate, economic reasons involving work were the most commonly cited reason. This was also true among the Finns in Virginia (51%). A second major reason was the involvement of many Finns (either parents or respondents themselves) in the US military forces (27%). A smaller percentage moved to the state due to personal reasons such as marriage and family ties (11%). Education and retirement were encountered among 5 individuals (8%).

### 5. Occupations (Past or present)

It is immediately noted that there is, similar to the reasons for moving to Virginia, a tie to the US military. Some of the interviewees and respondents included a Chief Petty Officer on the Aircraft Carrier USS Eisenhower, and a retired colonel who fought in WWII, who was instrumental in the release of POWs in the Philippines and furnished the honour guard for General Douglas MacArthur upon the surrender of the Japanese on board the Battleship USS Missouri in Tokyo harbour (Peltonen 1998; Lahti 1994, 1998). Needless to say, there appear many who have worked and still work for the military. This includes the Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps. The military claims 10 past and present respondent occupations, while many others noted that the



Colonel Edward H. Lahti, 511th Parachute Infantry Regiment. – *Photo courtesy of Col. Lahti, "Memoirs of an Angel", 1994.*

military was the reason for their parents' relocation to the state. Thus, the difference in the 27% who originally moved to Virginia due to the military services of parents or other family members, while 17% have retired from the military or who are actively involved in it.

The tertiary service sector dominates in terms of economic activities (94.7%), with only one individual who used to be a fisherman and only two respondents working in the secondary – manufacturing sector. Along with the military, there were many engineers, health professionals including nurses, teachers, computer programmers and specialists. Based on occupations held by the Finns of Virginia, it may be inferred that a higher level of education and income would follow suit.

### 6. Ethnic self-identity

The Virginia Finns choose to identify themselves mostly as

American (43%), followed by the hyphenated Finnish-American term (35%). A total of 14% indicated that they were Finnish, and some 8% declared some "other" identity. Respondents in this category mentioned triple hyphenated identities such as American-Finnish-Irish or Swedish-Finnish-English (Table 3). Based on interviews and conversations with respondents, this Americanization is partly the result of the domination of second- and third-generation respondents, along with few fourth-generation respondents. Unfortunately, a question of generation was not asked in the survey.

**Table 3. Ethnic self-identity of Virginia Finns**

Identity	Number	Percentage (%)
Finnish	9	14.3
Finnish-American	22	34.9
American	27	42.9
"Other"	5	7.9
Total	63	100

### **Finnish cultural organizations and associations**

Only a handful of clubs and organizations are available to the Finnish ethnic community. These include religious, social, and fraternal organizations. The only areas within Virginia where any activity was encountered were the Washington DC area and the Virginia Beach area. In the Washington DC area there is the Embassy of Finland which organizes a

number of events over the year in which many of the more active Virginia Finns participate. Some examples of events include the midsummer celebration on June 21, the Finnish Independence Day celebration on December 10 every year, and a number of other traditional festival dates in the spring and fall. The Finnish embassy also provides a Finnish language school for the children of the embassy staff. These classes are limited to the embassy personnel only, since the children need to follow the Finnish curriculum of studies and to keep their education on par with Finland (Christiansen, 1998).

Aside from the embassy language class which is not open to the public, there is the Finnish Language School Association (FLSA) of Arlington, which was founded in 1979. Operated by volunteers who have an interest in teaching the language, the school originally provided Finnish language classes for children and adults. More recently lessons have been provided for adults only. Classes are held every Saturday in the fall and spring terms at the Resurrection Lutheran Church in Arlington. In 1997, a total of three teachers taught 26 students in beginner, intermediate and advanced classes. In the spring of 1998, the school organized an annual "immersion weekend", during which many of the participants learned how to make Finnish foods such as pulla (coffee-bread) and speak Finnish throughout the weekend. These immersion weekends have been very popular, and have occurred annually since 1995 (Christiansen, 1998).

Another organization is the Finlandia Foundation National Chapter. This organization is a nationwide club which has local chapters in many areas. The National Chapter was founded in 1960 by Rear Admiral Onni Lattu at the request of Consul Paloheimo, founder of the National Finlandia Foundation, Inc. Over the years, many Finns have become part of this organization. In 1998, there were some 250 names listed in the membership rolls, which involved many couples and families, bringing the membership close to 500 individuals. Virginians form a large proportion of this membership (Snyder, 1998). The Finlandia Foundation has a national newsletter as well as a local bulletin which informs the membership of activities and events coming up, along with news about the national organization, scholarships and awards which they grant to other organizations and individuals (Kolstrom, 1998). Major events are the Kalevala Fest, and special programs, which frequently take place at the Finnish Embassy. These have focused on current political, cultural, and economic happenings in Finland. In the winter of 1997-98 the National Chapter also arranged a meeting at the National Archives featuring speakers on the topic of genealogical research (Snyder, 1998).

The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church comes to visit the DC area to conduct services, with a full-time Finnish pastor from New York City being in charge. Meetings are held once a month at the Advent Lutheran Church in Arlington, VA (Mäkelä, 1998).

The Finnish Lutheran Church originally was founded in Washington DC as early as 1942 and appeared active at the start. Positive reports were written in the *Kirkollinen Kalenteri* (Church Calendar) in 1944 (Joki, 1944). Unfortunately, the congregation apparently was discontinued at some point, and more recently the Finns have only re-established the visiting Lutheran Pastor and monthly meetings (Mäkelä, 1998). Special services, such as the Easter service of 1998, attract up to 40 to 50 individuals to the services.

Finally, there is an organization called the Finn Spark, Inc., (Kipinä Kerho) which was founded in 1949 by a resident Finnish-American. Established originally as a women's club, it has expanded to accept men as members as well. The purpose of the club is to maintain the Finnish language among its members and encourage Finnish culture and traditions to make Finland better known in America. In 1998, the membership included 120 individuals, holding monthly meetings in various members' homes in the DC area. A newsletter is published, and events are organized such as picnics, bazaars and bake sales (Wilson, 1998).

The only other area in Virginia where any Finnish cultural organizations exist is in Virginia Beach. This area has the Finlandia Foundation Tidewater Chapter, which meets every month at a Ruritan Club building in Virginia Beach. Events include picnics, bake sales, Christmas parties and the midsummer celebration (Davis, 1998). The members of this club



90-year old Irene Salminen (left) along with son Arthur, and former Oregon fisherman Bill Kinnunen with author in Waynesboro, VA. – Photo: *Mika Roinila*.

also patronize a local Finnish restaurant, the Maple Tree Pancake House, which was founded by a Finn over 20 years ago. According to the owner, he is the only Finnish businessman in the Tidewater area. The specialty of the restaurant are the "Swedish Pancakes" (Swedish because they are better known than the Finnish pancakes and thus supposedly sell better!).

From all the respondents who returned questionnaires, a total of eleven individuals (17%) were aware of any Finnish activities in the state. Of these eleven, nine resided in the DC area, in counties such as Arlington, Fairfax, and

Fauquier, while only two respondents from Chesapeake and Virginia Beach were aware of these clubs. Since all organizational activities are centred around the Washington DC and Virginia Beach areas, Finns further away and throughout the state may not be as likely to join in these activities. Still, numerous individuals in the Capital Region as well as the Virginia Beach area were unaware of these associations. This points to an obvious lack of knowledge in terms of available organizations, or towards a lack of interest amongst the 83% of respondents who do not know any-



thing about Finnish activities or clubs.

## Conclusions

To summarize the major findings of this research, four elements emerge. First, the Finnish ethnic group of Virginia, although present since the early 1900s in small numbers (according to Census data based on country of birth) has shown itself to be an increasing ethnic group since World War Two and even more so since the 1970s. Data based on single and multiple ethnic origin from the 1980 and 1990 Census point to a strong concentration of Finns in the Washington DC and Virginia Beach areas, and a relatively widespread concentration across the remainder of the state.

Secondly, the reasons for moving to the state and the present/past occupations of respondents point to a strong correlation with the mil-

itary service, which is significant in its importance relative to other occupations encountered in the survey. A large proportion of respondents have been or are active members of the various armed forces.

Thirdly, a younger, middle-aged generation is evident amongst the Finnish population, which has a good command of the English language, maintains many professional service occupations, holds higher levels of education and income.

Fourth, very few of the individuals surveyed are aware of the Finnish organizations and activities organized by the Finns in the Washington DC and Virginia Beach areas, which include the Finlandia Foundation, the Finn Spark, Inc., the Lutheran Church, Finnish language classes, as well as the events sponsored by the Embassy of Finland.

While some cultural activities are to be found amongst the Vir-

ginia Finns, most individuals have assimilated into American society and appear to show little interest in finding people of like origin. Future research into the early history of this ethnic group within Virginia could attempt to find ties to the New Sweden colony, along with possible Finnish immigrant involvement in the American Civil War. Needless to say, these historical ties are more archival in nature and will take a great effort on the part of the researcher. It is hoped that this paper has shed some light on the presence of smaller ethnic minorities within the Old Dominion.

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# Some Features of Slovene Research on Emigration



Marjut Anttonen

## Emigration from the Slovene ethnic area

The past 120 years have witnessed several waves of emigration from the Slovene area just like from many other European countries. What makes the Slovene experience particularly interesting are the many political changes the territory has undergone during this period.

The first wave of European mass emigration to America began in the 1880s and 1890s. North America was also the main destination for Slovenes until the First World War. At that time the Slovene area belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 the Slovene area was incorporated into the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which was later to become Yugoslavia.

The USA introduced restrictions on immigration in 1921, after which the Slovene emigrants turned to countries like Australia, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Vene-

zuela and Mexico. Also some Central European countries started to attract them. In the period between the two wars 300 000 Slovenes were estimated to be living abroad.

## The post-war emigration

After the Second World War Europe was divided into blocs, which resulted in a "powerful psychosis of fear of the new political authorities", to quote an expression of Marina Lukšič-Hacin (2001,326). This started an exodus to the Western European countries. The first Slovene emigrants were political refugees leaving their motherland when the one-party communist system was established. An estimated 20 000 Slovenes left their homes at that time, heading particularly to Western Europe but also overseas. For instance the mass emigration to Australia started after 1945, when the country urgently needed new labour.

In the 1950s the Yugoslav borders were closed and migrants crossed them illegally, coming first to refugee camps before travelling onwards to their new countries of destination. The formation of the EEC in 1957 was a step towards creating a common labour

market, which resulted in a remarkable South-North immigration lasting until the 1970s.

Yugoslavia re-opened its borders in 1963 and West Germany, France, Switzerland and Sweden now became the main targets of emigration. There was a ten-year period (1965–1975) of organized emigration which was even supported by the state of Yugoslavia. These emigrants were treated as economic migrants, who were expected to return home after a short period abroad – hopefully bringing their extra income to support domestic progress. The term "temporary work abroad" was commonly used by Yugoslav authorities, and it fitted perfectly with the immigration policies of European countries at that time. Germany called these economic migrants guest workers (*gastarbeiter*), in France they were foreign workers (*travailleurs étrangers*) and in Sweden immigrants (*invandrare*).

In the middle of the 1970s many European countries stopped the flow of foreign workers. It became evident that the expected temporary nature of the migration was changing into permanent emigration; the percentage of returning migrants was very low.

New integrational immigration policies needed to be developed

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The Dragon Bridge (built in 1901) is guarded by four bronze dragons, which are emblems of Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia.

in the receiving countries as the immigrants stayed in their new societies. Questions dealing with cultural adaptation, language learning and so on were discussed. Also the complicated relations between new immigrant groups and the host populations were scrutinized.

### **New era of independence**

The latest turn in the emigration situation happened in 1991 when Slovenia gained its independence.

Under the Yugoslav regime all emigrating Slovenes had been treated as Yugoslavs. This has caused recently a number of problems when trying to establish the number of Slovene migrants. An additional problem has been the fact that Slovene researchers have not had access to the archives of the former Yugoslav embassies. Due to the intense emigration of the past century, every fourth Slovene is estimated to live abroad.

### **The Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies**

The Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies at the Scientific Research Center of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) is situated in the academic quarter of the beautiful old centre of Ljubljana, in the top floor of a renovated building.

The institute was founded in 1986, and it has grown from a small research unit into a dynamic institute with some 4–5 researchers working full time. They represent different academic fields, e.g. history, sociology, ethnology, anthropology and geography. Since 1990 the institute has also published a multidisciplinary and bilingual journal called *Dve Domovini/Two Homelands*. It is devoted to the publication of essays, scholarly and specialist papers, reports, reflections and book reviews from the field of international migration. The latest volume includes a comprehensive bibliography of the first ten volumes. In addition a separate *Bilten/Newsletter* comes out once a year.

### **Research among Slovenes around the globe**

The researchers have carried out some intensive research projects dealing with Slovene emigration to various countries, the following projects can be mentioned as an example:

Dr. Marina Lukšič-Hacin has conducted fieldwork among the Slovenes residing in Sweden. The study describes the integration,

various forms of organizational life, preservation of language and the complicated questions of identifications. Yugoslav immigrants, Slovenes included, were some of the largest immigrant groups in Sweden. It is very interesting for the Finnish reader to learn about the Slovene situation in Sweden as the country also was the main target for Finnish emigration in the 1960s and 1970s. It is estimated that the number of Swedish Slovenes of all generations, including those who have changed their nationality, would range from 9000 to 12 000 people.

Dr. Irena Gantar Godina has studied the Slovenes in the Slavic world, especially the intellectuals in diaspora. She shows how the Slovene intellectuals have been particularly interested in the Slavic countries, and how they have had a lot of cultural and political contacts.

Dr. Marjan Drnovšek has published a great deal of studies dealing with the history of Slovene emigration in Europe and the USA. A recent achievement is a video film on Slovene emigration to America which is designed for teaching of emigration history in schools.

Dr. Breda Čebulj-Sajko has conducted her research among the Australian Slovenes by using the autobiographical method interviewing the emigrants. She has also focused on the development of ethnology in Slovenia in connection with the research done on Slovene emigration.

Dr. Zvone Žigon has studied the ethnic identity of political emigrants in Argentina. He continues working on the question of

Slovenes in Africa. A great deal of them emigrated to Egypt and to the South African Republic, but there are also significant groups of Slovene missionaries e.g. in Zambia, Madagascar and on Ivory Coast.

Dr. student Jernej Mlekuž has also studied Slovene emigrants in Argentina. He is at present working with an anthropological research project in the borderland of Slovenia and Italy.

The institute has also published a three part monograph on Slovene emigration literature edited by Dr. Janja Žitnik. There is quite a lot of research on emigrant literature; maybe the most famous Slovenian emigrant writer was Louis Adamič who lived in the States where he died in 1951.

In sum, when visiting the Institute I was impressed by the very dynamic atmosphere which

characterizes the institute. This small team has given out many extensive publications in the recent years and has various ongoing projects and many contacts abroad.

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## Pogorelskin Revises the Past

In our criticism of a series of articles on Karelian fever by Alexis Pogorelskin, we argued, "Karelian fever cannot be understood without appreciating its Marxist roots."<sup>1</sup> In her reply to us, Pogorelskin frames her response in this way: "I will argue that the phenomena known as Karelian fever are far more complex; grounded in history, culture, and ethnicity; and hence more comprehensible [sic] than the ideological motivation that Hudelson and Sevander insist upon."<sup>2</sup> With the claim that that there is more to Karelian fever than Marxist roots, we agree. This point is evident in all four books by M. Sevander as well as in our own earlier paper where we acknowledge that Finnish ethnicity was a significant factor in the emigration of Finnish-Americans to Karelia.<sup>3</sup> Where then is the disagreement? The problem is that where Pogorelskin claims to present a more comprehensive picture, in fact she goes out of her way to excise a part of the picture. In particular, she wants to deny the role of a specifically Marxist ideology in the phenomenon of Karelian fever. This leads her to make a number of claims that are flagrantly at odds with the historical record.

Consider, for example, her claim that the Finnish Social Democratic Party (Sdp) "was non-Marxist."<sup>4</sup> The Finnish Labor Party was founded in 1899. At the party congress in Forssa in 1903

the party officially endorsed the Erfurt Program of the German Social Democratic Party, a program written by Friedrich Engels and Wilhelm Liebknecht, leaders of the Marxist faction within the German socialist movement. The Finnish Party also changed its name to the Social Democratic Party of Finland and affiliated with the Second International. In his *History of Finland*, John Wuorinen says of the Finnish Sdp that, "Its socialism was the Marxian creed formulated by the Socialists at the Erfurt congress in 1891" and goes on to say that the Finnish Sdp "carried the creed of Marx the length and breadth of the land."<sup>5</sup> Challenged with such evidence by *New World Finn* reader, Harri Siitonen, Pogorelskin has conceded that the Finnish Sdp was founded on Marxist principles, but, she has argued, the Marxists were isolated in the Siltasaari group based in Helsinki which, she claims, played only a marginal role within the Finnish Sdp after 1905.<sup>6</sup> Other historians give a decidedly different picture of the role of the Siltasaari group within the Sdp, pointing out that the group included men like K. Manner and O.W. Kuusinen who "dominated the leadership in the years after 1906."<sup>7</sup>

A similar assessment of the Marxist character of the Finnish Sdp can be found in *A History of Finland* by Eino Jutikkala and Kauko Pirinen, who say of the

Finnish Party that, "It adopted the Marxist philosophy in 1903 and grimly took up the weapons of class strife."<sup>8</sup> Jutikkala and Pirinen go on to note that the Finnish Party was long immune to the revisionist currents present in other European countries, a point also made by D.G. Kirby in his *Finland in the Twentieth Century*.<sup>9</sup> Calling the 1903 endorsement of the Erfurt Program "a clear reminder of the party's Marxist centrism," Kirby goes on to point to the radicalizing effect of the upheavals of 1905 on the Finnish Sdp, saying that, "After 1905, the Social Democratic Party adopted a rigidly class-conscious Marxist ideology which took its inspiration from the ideas propounded by Karl Kautsky."<sup>10</sup>

Like Kautsky and most other Marxists of the Second International, the Finnish Sdp favored an electoral path to socialism. In Finland this strategy paid off. Kirby notes that the Finnish Sdp was the "only Marxist party in the world to obtain an absolute majority (103 seats) in a parliamentary election before the Russian revolution."<sup>11</sup>

Pogorelskin dismisses our claim that the Finnish Sdp adhered to the orthodox Marxism of the Second International as "the fiction of my critics."<sup>12</sup> Now neither of us pretends to be a specialist in Finnish history, but it is important to note that in saying that the Finnish Sdp was "not Marxist"

and that our claim to the contrary is a "fiction" Pogorelskin is denying what appears to be a consensus among real specialists in Finnish history. All of the works cited above in support of our view are respected works by serious scholars. All come from the shelves of the library of the University of Minnesota Duluth, Pogorelskin's home institution. Has she never read them? Are they all works of fiction? Far from offering a more comprehensive view of Karelian fever, Pogorelskin is giving us a bowdlerized account of it.

The significant presence of Marxist ideology in the Finnish Sdp is of importance in considering the figure of Edvard Gylling. According to our account, Gylling came under the influence of the Social Democracy of the Second International while he was in Germany in 1904 and joined the Finnish Sdp, then adhering to the centrist Marxism of Kautsky, when he returned to Finland in 1905. We also pointed out that Gylling served on the editorial board of the party's theoretical journal, which professed a Marxist standpoint, wrote an introduction to the Finnish translation of *Capital*, worked as part of a leadership group within the Finnish Sdp which professed to be Marxist, and that he served on the side of the reds during the Finnish civil war.<sup>13</sup> We took all of this as good evidence that Marxist ideology played a significant part in Gylling's thinking for over a decade before the Bolshevik revolution, contrary to Pogorelskin's claim that Gylling "converted to Marxism belatedly if not reluctantly in 1918."<sup>14</sup>

What does Pogorelskin say about this evidence of Gylling's earlier interest in Marxism? Nothing. Instead, she presses an argument intended to show that Gylling was not a Marxist at the time of the uprising that led to the Finnish civil war. Her argument appeals to the fact that Gylling opposed the revolutionary uprising led by radicals within the Sdp and that Gylling only served on the side of the reds in an effort to stave off disaster.<sup>15</sup> This argument could only work to show that Gylling was not a Marxist at that time if we were to assume that all Marxists would have supported the uprising. But this is clearly not the case. O.W. Kuusinen, Y. Sirola, and indeed all of the members of the Siltasaari group, all of them Marxists even on Pogorelskin's view, and all of them men with whom Gylling worked in the leadership core of the Sdp, opposed the uprising.<sup>16</sup>

Pogorelskin seems to think that all Marxists in the pre-war era shared the outlook of the Bolsheviks of 1917. This assumption shows a remarkable insensitivity to the world of the Second International. With the war and the successful Bolshevik uprising in Russia, the Marxist movement was split into two camps: those who threw in their lot with the Bolsheviks and became Communists, and those, like Kautsky, who opposed the Bolsheviks and publicly denounced them. Many of those who did rally to the Communist banner had little understanding of the Bolsheviks and retained much of their pre-World War I outlook. Nonetheless, they viewed the Bolshevik success in

Russia as a great step forward and saw an opportunity to join with the Bolsheviks in creating a socialist society. Edvard Gylling was one of those who rallied to the Communist cause. In her reply to us, Pogorelskin makes a point of saying that "Gylling did not join the thousands of Red Finns who found refuge in the New Russian Soviet Socialist Republic" and goes on to suggest that Gylling threw in his lot with the Communists only after he had entered into a deal with Lenin to establish a Finnish enclave in Karelia.<sup>17</sup> But, this ignores the letter we cited in which Gylling wrote to comrades in Moscow asking to be included as a founding member of the Finnish Communist Party, a letter written well before Gylling approached Lenin with his proposal for Karelia.<sup>18</sup> We agree with Pogorelskin that Edvard Gylling was a complex human being. He was a larger than life tragic figure of Shakespearean proportions. He was also a Marxist and a supporter of the Bolshevik revolution. Pogorelskin wants to excise these aspects of Gylling's make-up but can offer no good reason for doing so.

What is it that Gylling wanted to establish in Karelia? Central to Pogorelskin's view of the Karelian experiment is that Gylling "sought to create in Karelia the Finnish homeland that he had left behind in 1918."<sup>19</sup> Pogorelskin sees Kuusta Rovio and Matti Tenhunen as sharing this project, saying that "Rovio defended Gylling's policy of Finnicization" and attributing to Tenhunen the view that "we must Finnicize Karelia."<sup>20</sup> We will consider the

claim about Rovio below. Here we just want to remind the reader that Pogorelskin's claim about Tenhunen is based on the testimony of a single witness interviewed by Stalinist agents bent on making a case against Tenhunen. Adopting this view that what Gylling, Rovio, and Tenhunen really wanted was a Finnish homeland in Karelia, Pogorelskin concludes that these men did not have any deep commitment to Soviet Communism and even argues that somehow support for the Karelian experiment implied lack of support for the Soviet Union.<sup>21</sup>

We hold a different view of the experiment in Karelia. We maintain that all three of these men embraced the cause of Soviet Communism before they ever entered into the experiment in Karelia. We pointed out that Gylling joined the Communists before the Karelian experiment, that Rovio had worked in Petrograd, joined the Bolsheviks, and formed a lasting relationship with Lenin well before 1917, and that from America, Tenhunen had supported Soviet Communism long before becoming involved with Karelia.<sup>22</sup> This is true as well of many North American Finns, among whom strong support for Russia/the Soviet Union existed prior to the outbreak of Karelian fever. It is noteworthy that over three hundred Finnish Americans left for various parts of Russia to build socialism as early as 1922. This had nothing to do with Finnicization. In America the Finnish-language radical press of the twenties and early thirties, hundreds of letters and interviews in the possession of M. Sevander and scores of

documents published in her works provide solid evidence of support for Russia among Finnish-Americans long before the exodus to Karelia. Pogorelskin denies all of this, claiming that "it should be emphasized that they [Finnish-Americans] supported the Soviet experiment only in Karelia."<sup>23</sup>

We also rejected Pogorelskin's claim that support for Karelia somehow implied lack of support for the Soviet Union. On our view, reflecting their Marxist, internationalist outlook, Gylling and Rovio aimed at establishing in Karelia a multi-ethnic republic within which Finns and Finnish-Americans could join Russians and native Karelians in the Soviet attempt to build a multi-ethnic socialist state.

In her reply to us, Pogorelskin returns to an argument that she had made earlier regarding what she sees as a plan by Gylling and Rovio for the "Finnicization" of Karelia.<sup>24</sup> The argument turns on a discussion of policy in Karelia regarding the use of Finnish language as the language of instruction in Karelian schools. Pogorelskin claims, "by 1931 Karelia's schools were offering instruction in Finnish only."<sup>25</sup> This would seem to provide some support for her view and that of the NKVD that Gylling and Rovio aimed at establishing in Karelia a "Finnish homeland" rather than a multi-ethnic republic. Her argument is based on a discussion of the matter by John Hodgson, but there is some confusion in Pogorelskin's use of Hodgson. Hodgson himself refers to articles by Rovio where Rovio claims success in replacing Russian with Finnish as the lan-

guage of instruction in Karelian areas. Pogorelskin takes this as evidence that Rovio was a Finnish nationalist who did not really support the Soviet Union. However, a closer reading of Hodgson shows that Pogorelskin's claim seriously misrepresents the matter.

When Gylling and Rovio arrived in Eastern Karelia in 1920, language instruction in all schools was in the Russian language, a language that was not the language of the native Karelian population. The native language, which was related to Finnish, had no written form in 1920. With the support of Soviet leaders in Moscow, Gylling and Rovio sought to substitute Finnish for Russian as the language of instruction in schools within the Karelian speaking areas of Karelia. It is this that was accomplished by 1931. Accordingly, Hodgson says, "In 1931 the goal was achieved. All schools in Karelian areas [*italics ours*] of the Autonomous Republic, numbering approximately two hundred and seventy-five, were operating in Finnish."<sup>26</sup> But Russian schools continued to operate in other parts of the Autonomous Republic of Karelia. Hodgson's numbers make this clear. He says, "At the end of 1931 there were, in all, some five hundred schools in Karelia."<sup>27</sup> Pogorelskin confuses a claim about all schools in Karelian areas of the Republic with a claim about all schools in the Karelian Republic. Contrary to what Pogorelskin says, the Karelian Republic remained a multi-ethnic republic with schools offering instruction in Russian as well as Finnish. The argument that the language policies supported by

Gylling and Rovio in Karelia indicated a narrow, nationalist vision for Karelia cannot be sustained.

In her effort to excise the Marxist and pro-Soviet aspects of Gylling's complex character, Pogorelskin ends up arguing that Gylling's Stalinist critics were absolutely right: that Gylling was operating under false pretenses, that he lied when he said he was a Communist, that he was at heart a Finnish nationalist, and that he and his supporters were no friends of the Soviet Union. In *New World Finn* Pogorelskin writes, "To save Karelia for the Finns, Gylling fabricated a Marxist revolutionary past for himself and maintained a façade of loyalty to the cause of the proletariat, albeit the Finnish one. He lied to Moscow that he recruited only lumberjacks to North America..."<sup>28</sup> There is no evidence to support these claims.<sup>29</sup>

There remains only the matter of Oscar Corgan, father of Mayme Sevander. In our earlier criticism of Pogorelskin we objected to her

slander, based on speculative, and unreliable evidence, charging Oscar Corgan with being an agent of the Soviet security apparatus. As part of this criticism, we offered evidence to show that her speculations regarding Amtorg rested on a supposition that was factually false. Also as part of this criticism, we reported that Pogorelskin "cites the memoirs of Aino Kuusinen as suggesting that Corgan worked for Soviet Security" and we offered ground for doubting the reliability of this source.<sup>30</sup> Dropping the Amtorg argument and ignoring worries about the credibility of her source, in her reply to our criticism Pogorelskin returns to the Kuusinen memoir, pouncing on our use of the word "suggests" in this context as misleading.<sup>31</sup> But in fact our use of the word "suggests" was a direct quotation from Pogorelskin herself. In an earlier article Pogorelskin had said, "It is also possible that a significant difference existed among recruiters to Karelia. Korgan [Corgan] may not have

been of concern to the Special Sector because he, in effect, had been working for them and not for Gylling. Aino Kuusinen, wife of Otto Kuusinen, the highest ranking Finn in Stalin's government, suggests [*italics ours*] something of this in her memoir."<sup>32</sup> Apparently Pogorelskin now finds her earlier "suggests" too weak and thinks the evidence now supports a firmer conclusion. By such Baron Von Munchausen strategies she may, if she likes, try to strengthen her argument, but it is altogether uncharitable of her to take us to task for accurately quoting her earlier more modest claim.<sup>33</sup> For our part, the reasons stated in our earlier critique of her work remain sufficient to dismiss her reckless charges against Corgan.

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## Notes

- 1 Mayme Sevander and Richard Hudelson, "A Relapse of Karelian Fever," *Siirtolaisuus-Migration* 2/2000 (Turku) p. 32.
- 2 Alexis Pogorelskin, "The Migration of Identity: Critics Confounded/Karelian Fever Explained," *Siirtolaisuus-Migration* 1/2001 (Turku) p. 24.
- 3 Mayme Sevander, *They Took My Father* (Duluth: Pfeifer and Hamilton, 1992); *Red Exodus* (Duluth: OSCAT, 1993); *Of So-*

- viet Bondage* (Duluth: OSCAT, 1996); *Vaeltajat* (Turku: Migration Institute, 2000); Sevander and Hudelson, *Siirtolaisuus-Migration* 2/2000 (Turku), p. 32.
- 4 The claim remains on her internet website on Karelia as of April, 2001. <[www.d.umn.edu/hist/karelia/formative%2.0.html](http://www.d.umn.edu/hist/karelia/formative%2.0.html)>
- 5 John Wuorinen, *A History of Finland* (New York and Lon-

- don: Columbia University Press, 1965) pp. 199–200. On the affiliation of the Finnish Sdp with the Second International, see Harry Laidler, *History of Socialism* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1968) p. 543.
- 6 Pogorelskin makes this claim in her "Reply to Siitonen" in the letters section of *New World Finn* (February, 2000). She makes a similar claim in "The Migration of Identity" p. 25.



- 7 Anthony Upton, *The Finnish Revolution 1917–1918* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980) pp. 9–10.
- 8 Eino Jutikkala and Kauko Pirinen, *A History of Finland* 4th edition revised (Printed and bound in Finland by Amer Group Ltd. Weilin & Göös, Espoo, 1984) p. 210.
- 9 Jutikkala and Pirinen, p. 210; D.G. Kirby, *Finland in the Twentieth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979) p. 72.
- 10 Kirby, p. 32. On the Erfurt Program, see p. 72. Karl Kautsky, a leading figure in the Second International and editor of the German theoretical journal, *Die Neue Zeit*, was known by contemporaries as the "pope of Marxism." On Kautsky, see Massimo Salvadori, *Karl Kautsky and the Socialist Revolution 1880–1938* (London: NLB, 1979). See also Lesek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism Vol. II "The Golden Age,"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) Chapter II. In her reply to Harry Siitonen mentioned above, Pogorelskin claims that the Finnish Socialists were not Marxists but instead followers of Kautsky. This remark betrays a serious lack of understanding of the Marxism of the Second International.
- 11 Kirby, p. 33.
- 12 Pogorelskin, "The Migration of Identity" p. 24.
- 13 Sevander and Hudelson, "A Relapse of Karelian Fever," p. 32.
- 14 Pogorelskin, "New Perspectives on Karelian Fever: The Recruitment of North American Finns to Karelia in the Early 1930s," *Journal of Finnish Studies* (December 1997) Vol. 1 No. 1. p. 167.
- 15 Pogorelskin, "The Migration of Identity." Pogorelskin makes this argument a centerpiece of her reply to us, coming back to it at least three different times. See p. 24, p. 25 and p. 26.
- 16 Upton, p. 174–178; Jutikkala and Pirinen, p. 227. See also John Hodgson, *Communism in Finland: A History and Interpretation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) pp. 35–52.
- 17 Pogorelskin, "The Migration of Identity" p. 25.
- 18 On this letter, see Arvo Ylärakola, *Edvard Gylling: Itä-Karjalan suomalainen rakentaja* (Otava: Helsingissa: 1976) pp. 161–162.
- 19 Pogorelskin, "The Migration of Identity" p. 27.
- 20 Pogorelskin, op. cit. p. 26 and p. 27.
- 21 Pogorelskin, "New Perspectives" p. 167 (on Tenhunen and Rovio).
- 22 Sevander and Hudelson, "A Relapse of Karelian Fever" p. 38.
- 23 Pogorelskin, web page at <http://www.d.umn.edu/hist/karelia/why.html>
- 24 Pogorelskin, "Migration of Identity" p. 26. Earlier versions of this argument appear in Pogorelskin, "Edvard Gylling and the Origins of Karelian Fever," in *The Dividing Line: Borders and National Peripheries* (Renvall Institute Proceedings: University of Helsinki, 1997) p. 45 and "Finn Forum" in *New World Finn* Vol. 1 No. 7 (February, 2000) p. 9.
- 25 Pogorelskin, "Edvard Gylling and the Origins of Karelian Fever," p. 45 and "Finn Forum," *New World Finn* (February 2000) p. 9.
- 26 Hodgson, p. 158.
- 27 Hodgson, p. 158 n. 48.
- 28 Pogorelskin, "Edvard Gylling and Karelian Fever," *New World Finn* (February 2000) p. 11.
- 29 On the matter of the lumberjacks, see Mayme Sevander, *Of Soviet Bondage*, pp. 22–23.
- 30 Sevander and Hudelson, p. 33. On the ground for doubt, see Martin Rintala, *Eastern European Quarterly* Vol. 9 No. 3 (1975) p. 381.
- 31 Pogorelskin, "Migration of Identity," p. 27.
- 32 Pogorelskin, "New Perspectives," p. 174.
- 33 In fact while Kuusinen claims Corgan was a secret assistant to Gorin, she does not claim that Corgan knew that Gorin was anything other than the representative of Amtorg he claimed to be. And, for the record, Mayme Sevander said that Kuusinen had visited in her parent's home once – not that Kuusinen was a regular visitor as Pogorelskin reports.

# Saksan muuttajaryhmät



Elli Heikkilä

Siirtolaisuusinstituutissa pidettiin kevään *Muuttoliikkeen ja etnisyytutkimuksen (MEV) -seminaari* 3.5.2001. Dosentti *Outi Tuomi-Nikulan* (Turun yliopisto) esitelmän teemana oli Saksan liittotasavallan eriaikaiset ja eriarvoiset muuttajat. Aihe on tärkeä Suomenkin kannalta, kun viime aikoina on paljon keskusteltu maahanmuutosta ja sen tarpeellisuudesta mm. tulevan väestökehityksen kannalta. Maassamme on nostettu esiin myös käsite aktiivinen maahanmuuttopolitiikka.

Suomen ulkomaalaisväestö on pieni verrattuna Saksan vastaviin lukuihin. Saksassa on 82 miljoonaa asukasta, joista ulkomaalaisia on 7.3 miljoonaa eli lähes 10 %. Suurimman ryhmän muodostavat turkkilaiset, joita on 2.1 miljoonaa. Jos Suomessa asuisi suhteessa yhtä paljon ulkomaalaisia kuin Saksassa, heitä olisi lähes puoli miljoonaa. Nyt Suomessa on alle 100 000 ulkomaalaista.

Outi Tuomi-Nikula on luokitellut Saksan nykyiset muuttajaryhmät kuuteen eri kategoriaan. Ensimmäisenä ovat perinteiset (historialliset) saksalaiset vähemmistöt, joilla on selkeästi oma etninen kulttuurinsa ja jotka ovat yleensä Saksan kansalaisia. Tä-

hän ryhmään kuuluvat juutalaiset (25 000 henkeä v. 2000), sorbit eli vendit, joka on slaavilainen vähemmistö (60 000 henkeä v. 2000) ja romanit (45 000–80 000 henkeä v. 2000).

Toisena ryhmänä ovat saksalaista syntyperää olevat (paluu)muuttajat, lukumäärältään n. 14 miljoonaa. Näitä ovat v. 1945 lähtien itäprovinssien saksalais-syntyinen väestö eli siirtoväki, Baltian saksalaiset, DDR:stä loikanneet saksalaiset, paluumuuttajat Itä-Euroopan maista yms.

Kolmannen ryhmän muodostavat Euroopan Unionin jäsenmaista muuttavat siirtolaiset, joita on n. 2 miljoonaa. Neljänteen ryhmään kuuluvat Euroopan unionin ulkopuolelta tulevat siirtolaiset, joita on n. 5 miljoonaa. Heitä ovat puolalaiset ja muut Itä-Euroopan maista muuttavat sekä turkkilaiset, afrikkalaiset, amerikkalaiset, aasialaiset, jne. Viidenteen ryhmään kuuluvat pakolaiset. Pelkästään pakolaistasusta anovien määrä on n. 127 000 henkeä. Muita pakolaisryhmiä ovat esim. passittomat ulkomaalaiset, sopimussuhteiset pakolaiset, kuten Vietnamin pakolaiset jne. Viimeisen ryhmän muodostavat laittomasti maahan muuttavat.

Saksassa keskustellaan parhaillaan siirtolaisuuspolitiikan peruslinjauksista. Uutisten mukaan ne pitäisi lyödä lukkoon jo kesällä. Siirtolaisuutta pidetään väistämättömänä, koska alhaisen syntyvyyden uskotaan muuten aiheuttavan valtavan työvoimapulaa. Saksan tilastokeskuksen mukaan maan väkiluku pienenee 65 miljoonaan vuoteen 2050 mennessä, vaikka joka vuosi tulisi keskimäärin 100 000 uutta siirtolaista. Maahan pyrittäisiin houkuttelemaan etenkin koulutettua työvoimaa erityisen pistejärjestelmän avulla. Pisteitä saisi koulutustason, saksan kielen taidon ja iän mukaan.

## Lähteet

- Aittokoski, Heikki (2001), ”Siirtolaiskeskustelu ryöpsähti taas Saksassa”. Helsingin Sanomat 30.5.2001, C 2.
- Tuomi-Nikula, Outi (2001), ”Saksan liittotasavallan eriaikaiset ja eriarvoiset muuttajat”. Esitelmä MEV-seminaarissa Siirtolaisuusinstituutissa, Turku 3.5.2001.

## Etelä-Afrikka – vastakohtaisuuksien maa

**K**ansainvälinen tutkijaryhmä, joka tuottaa “International Textbook of Urban Systems: Studies of Urbanization and Migration in Advanced and Developing Countries” -julkaisun, kokoontui 24.–27.4.2001 Etelä-Afrikan tasavallassa, Pilanesburgissa. Hankkeen koordinaattori on eteläafrikkalainen professori Hermanus S. Geyer sikäläisestä Potchefstroomin yliopistosta. Tutkimusryhmään kuuluu edustajia 20 eri maasta. Suomen osiosta vastaavat

Elli Heikkilä ja Taru Järvinen Siirtolaisuusinstituutista.

Matka Etelä-Afrikassa alkoi Johannesburgista, joka sijaitsee maan koillisosassa. Kaupungin väestömäärä on noin 5 miljoonaa asukasta ja koko maassa asuu yli 40 miljoonaa asukasta.

Ensimmäisenä matkaoppaanamme toimi taksikuski lentokentältä hotellille. Näimme kaupunkikuvassa merkkejä kultakavostoiminnasta kullankeltaisten hiekkakumpareiden muodossa.

Lisäksi näimme Johannesburgin *downtownin* silhuetin; sinne turistien ei turvallisuussyistä ole hyvä mennä. Moderni keskusta-alue on nimeltään Sandton City (kuva 1), jonne yritystoiminta on investoinut viime vuosina. Samalla alueella sijaitsi myös hotellimme.

Matkalla Potchefstroomiin näimme kaivoksen, jossa on maailman syvin kaivoskuilu. Saimme tietää, että kuilun pohja on 10 kilometrin syvyydessä. Perillä professori Geyerin perhe majoitti meidät kartanonsa vierastaloon. Illalla pääsimme maistamaan eteläafrikkalaisia herkuja eksoottisine erikoisuuksineen. Samalla tutkimusryhmän edustajat eri maista tutustuivat toisiinsa.

Käydessämme seuraavana aamuna Potchefstroomin yliopiston campusalueella seurueeseemme liittyi erikoiskurssia suorittavia aluetieteen opiskelijoita (kuva 2). Suuntasimme kulkumme kohti Pilanesburgin kansallispuistoa, jossa tutkimusryhmän *workshop* pidettiin. Matkalla näimme maaseutu-alueita ja keskustelimme maan yleisestä aluekehityksestä. Etelä-Afrikan työttömyysaste on 50 % ja ongelmat suuria, esimerkiksi keskimäärin joka viidennellä vastaantulijalla on aids. Maaseutu oli räikeä vastakohta kaupunkien modernille ja vauraille elinympäristölle. Maisemassa vilahteli ränstysteineä asumuksia.

*Workshopissa* käsiteltiin mm. Suomen tutkimusosio ensimmäisen päivän aikana. Esitelmähuo-



Kuva 1. Sandton Cityn modernia rakennuskantaa.

Kuva 2 (alla). Tutkimusryhmän jäsenet ja seurueeseen liittyneet eteläafrikkalaiset opiskelijat Potchefstroomin yliopiston campusalueella.



Kuva 3. (ylh.) Safarille lähdössä. Etualalla vasemmalla Elli Heikkilä, Taru Järvinen, Anthony Fielding ja Guillermo Aguilar.

Kuva 4. Etelä-Afrikan toiset kasvot, Soweton slummiä.

Kuva 5. (alh.) Afrikkalaista perinnetanssia Gold Reef Cityssä.

neessa sisiliskot järjestivät mieleenpainuvaa oheisohjelmaa pöydillä juostessaan ja suuri sudenkorento esitti lentonäytöksiä. Iltaohjelmiana tutustuttiin kuuluisaan Sun Cityyn kasinoineen.

Aamulla jatkoimme *workshop*-työskentelyä. Lounaan jälkeen kävimme hotellihuoneessa, ja parvekkeellamme oli todella eksoottisia vieraita. Marakatteja oli toistakymmentä ja banaani teki kaupansa. Yhdellä oli teepussi kädessä, ja kuulimme myöhemmin, että se oli lähtöisin puolalaisen kollegamme huoneesta. Kyseinen huone oli ollut kuin hävityksen jäljiltä.

Illalla pääsimme laajentamaan eläinkokemuksiamme safariajelulla. Olimme liikkeellä 20 hengen safariautolla (kuva 3) ja oppaalla oli kivääri mukana. Bongasimme norsun, seeproja, antilooppeja, impaloita, sarvikuonoja, hyeenan ym. ja tarkkailimme eri lintulajeja. Löysimme jopa pienen kameleontin puun oksalta. Se vaihtoi oppaamme kädellä värinsä kirkkaan vihreästä tumman harmaaksi. Toivoimme näkevämmä leijonan, mutta niitä näkee kuulemma vain pari kertaa viikossa. Safarikierroksemme kesti useita tunteja. Lähtiessämme sää oli vielä helteinen, mutta muuttui myöhemmin pimeäksi ja kylmäksi. Pimeys ei haitannut, sillä auto oli varustettu valonheittimillä.



Ennen Johannesburgiin paluuta kävimme keskusteluja tulevas- ta julkaisusta ja neuvottelimme yksittäisten henkilöiden kanssa mahdollisesta tutkimusyhteis- työstä. Paluumatkalla kävimme Pretoriassa ja Sowelossa. Viimeksi mainittu oli täydellinen ääripää rikkaalle Johannesburgin metro- polille. Harva valkoinen uskaltaa edes mennä alueelle. Sowelossa asuu 2 miljoonaa asukasta, joista valtaosa on mustia. He asuvat slummialueen pientaloissa, koska heidän kulttuurinsa ei pidä hyvänä asua kenenkään ylä- tai ala- puolella, kuten kerrostaloissa (kuva 4). Näimme myös kirkon, joka oli aikaisemmin tärkeä apart- heidin vastaisen liikkeen kokous- paikka.

Lähdimme viettämään iltaa Jo- hannesburgin hienostoalueelle oppaanamme seurueeseen kuulu- nut opiskelija. Ajoimme kukku- lalla sijaitsevan ultrarikkaiden

asuma-alueen läpi toivoen näke- vämme laaksossa sijaitsevan Jo- hannesburgin kaupunkisilhuettin. Sää oli kuitenkin liian utuinen. Puoleltaoin oppaamme halusi näyttää meille jamaikalaisen kah- vilan esimerkkinä toisenlaisesta elämäntyylistä. Kävelimme nope- asti kierroksen kahvilan läpi usei- den silmäparien tarkkaillessa. Pai- kalla on huumeluolan maine, mitä emme tienneet sisään mennessä- me. Paluumatkalla hotellille näimme myös kadun väkivaltaa: joukko nuorisoa oli piirittänyt au- ton risteyksessä. Nuoret keikutti- vat ja potkivat autoa, todennäköi- sesti ryöstääkseen auton sisällä olevat henkilöt. Ajoimme kierto- tietä pois ja huokaisimme helpo- tuksesta, kun pääsimme turvalli- sesti hotellille.

Lauantaina menimme entiseen kultakaivoskaupunkiin, Gold Reef Cityyn, joka on nykyään hu- vipuistoalue. Näimme värikkäitä

afrikkalaisia perinnetansseja (kuva 5), jotka pohjautuivat sotai- saan valloitusajan historiaan. Kä- vimme pikaisesti kasinolla, ja sii- tä tulikin ikimuistoinen kokemus jackpot-voittoineen, jota meille ei annettu, vaan paikan virkailija väitti voittoilmoituksen johtu- neen koneen virheestä.

Viimeisenä päivänä kävimme afrikkalaisilla markkinoilla, jotka pidettiin tavaratalon katolla. Siel- tä ostimme viimeiset matkamuis- tot ennen lentokentälle lähtöä. Hyvä niin, sillä lentokentän hin- tataso oli moninkertainen kau- pungin kauppoihin verrattuna. Paluumatkamme ajoittui niin, että saavuimme Turun lentokentälle vappuaaton iltana, jolloin kult- tuurishokkia lievensi Turun ke- säinen auringonpaiste ja juhlahu- mu.

*Elli Heikkilä ja  
Taru Järvinen*



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## Kirjat

### Sotalasten tarinaa sanoin ja kuvin



**Impi från Suomussalmi. Finlandsbarn i Sverige 1944–1945. Teksti ja kuvat: Gunilla Bönner. Kertoja: Impi Kupari. Förlaget Blå Fjäril, Rimforsa 1999. 51 sivua, 25 väripiirrosta. ISBN 91-630-8543-7.**

Tarinan Impi-tytön lapsuudesta ja sotapakolaisuudesta Ruotsissa on kirjoittanut ja kuvittanut kansanopiston kulttuurihistorian opettaja Gunilla Bönner Impi Kuparin ja hänen äitinsä muistelmien perusteella. Piirrookset ovat kiertäneet Ruotsissa 1990-luvun alussa näyttelynä otsakkeella ”Impi – ett flyktingsbarn 1944”. Näyttelyn järjestäjät olivat Ruotsin Riksställningar sekä Östergötlands Bildningsförbund. Vuosia myöhemmin piirrookset ja muistelmien on koottu teksti- ja kuvakirjaksi Impi från Suomussalmi.

Kuvakirja alkaa Impin lapsuudesta, Suomussalmen Leppälässä asustavan suurperheen rauhaisasta maalaiselosta. Kohtalokkaana marraskuun 30. päivänä 1939 käy rauhainen elämä yhtäkkiä epävarmaksi. Muutamia kuukausia myöhemmin itäisen suurvaltanaapurin uhka väijyy jo kotinur-

killä. Perheen on paettava sisämaahan turvaan.

Samaan aikaan olivat käynnistyneet lastensiirot Ruotsiin. Niitä vastaan oli esitetty kritiikkiä, kunnes sotasensuurin kielto julkisesta lastensiirojen arvostelusta tukahdutti kriittiset äänet kokonaan vuonna 1942. Lehdistön kuvaukset esittelivät tämän jälkeen vain myönteisiä tarinoita Ruotsiin lähetettyjen lasten hyvinvoinnista. Positiivisten esimerkkien kirjo yllytti monta lasta lähtöön. Lotat kiersivät Suomen saloseutuja ja esittelivät köyhimpien ja monilapsisten perheiden lapsille tilaisuutta matkustaa Ruotsiin. Impi ilmoittautui itse Ruotsiin lähtijäksi turvaan pommitusten uhasta.

Aikaisempien sotalasten kertomusten perusteella voi todeta, ettei lapsen mielikuva Ruotsiin lähdöstä aina läheskään vastannut todellisuutta. Pieni lapsi saattoi esim. luulla, että Ruotsi on vain jonkun matkan päässä sijaitseva iso kartano, jonne sota ei yllä ja jossa on lämmintä, kylmiksi ruokaa ja jopa suklaata. Kaikki lapsenhan sinne halusivat. Pitkää junamatkaa ja vieraan kielen tuottamia ongelmia he eivät osanneet kuvitellakaan. Niinpä pieni Impikin lähtee toiveikkaana Ruotsiin jatkosodan aikana 1944, jolloin suurin määrä lapsia lähetettiin. Junaan mahtui kerralla 300 lasta, ja lapsia kuljettavia junia kulki kahdesti viikossa. Impin matkainnostus laantui jo junamatkalla, joka olikin monen päivän pituinen ja vaivalloinen. Koti-ikävä valtasi pienen tytön mielen, mutta se oli urheasti torjuttava.

Gunilla Bönnerin piirrookset ovat tavoittaneet autenttista sota-

ajan tuntua. Äkkilähtö Suomussalmen Leppälän kodista kohti suurta tuntematonta turvatonta elämää kuvataan tummanpuhuvien, vakavaimaisin piirroksin. Teksti ja piirrookset etenevät yhtä linjaa toisiaan täydentäen. Tarkkaavainen kuvien tarkastelija voi paikoin saada kuvista tekstiä enemmän. Joidenkin kuvien yhteydessä taas on tarpeen tekstin täydentävä selitys. Kuvittajaperspektiivi on etäinen ja neutraali, kuin kauempaa suurempaa kokonaisuutta tarkkailevan ja hahmotavan ulkopuolisen havainnoitsijan näkökulma. Tapahtumia ei kuvata milloinkaan lähikuvana. Henkilöiden ilmeet ovat vakavia, alistuneita tai pelonsekaisia. Kenenkään subjektiivista kokemusta ei näytetä erikseen. Laajat maisemakuvat ilmentävät sota-ajan Suomussalmen maisemaa.

Ruotsin puolella Impi sijoitetaan kansakoulun opettajattaren luokse, mikä antaa hänelle muiden lasten joukossa arvostetun aseman opettajan suojattina. Yhteisön samanikäiset lapset tulevat kohteliaasti toivottamaan suomalaisen sotalapsen tervetulleeksi Västra Höleen. Impi saa tovereita ja sopeutuu nopeasti uuteen ympäristöönsä.

Impin kotiinpaluu ajoittuu kasvuiän vaiheeseen, jolloin omista vanhemmista ei ole vielä vieraannuttu eikä ruotsalaistuminen ole päässyt täysillä käyntiin. Silti Impin päässä pyörii kuin karuselli, kun rauhanjulistus tulee – ei hän ole niinkään varma, haluaako lähteä takaisin Suomeen. Kotimaa tuntuu jo kaukaiselta ja Ruotsi läheiseltä. Tieto uuden pikkusiskon tulosta ratkaisee kotiinpaluun mielenkiinnon.

Loppukuvauksessa Impi vaeltaa yhdessä äitinsä kanssa metsäpolkua kohti kotikartanoa, joka on onnellisesti säilynyt pommituksilta. Vasta kotioloihin sopeuttuaan Impi ymmärtää, miten vaikeata kotiväellä on ollut sodan aikana. Tätä vasten hänen oma Ruotsin aikansa näyttäytyy yhä epätodellisemmalla, kunnes se hiljalleen jää vain sellaisten hetkien pakopaikaksi, jolloin todellisuus tuntuu liian raskaalta.

Tekstin, kuvien ja karttapiirrosten ohella kirjan lopussa kerrotaan faktatietoja Suomen sodista ja lastensirroista. Loppuun on liitetty myös pieni erikoisempien sanojen selitysluettelo, muutamia valokuvia Impin Ruotsin ajalta sekä kirjoittajan jälkikirjoitus.

Kirja soveltuu helppolukuisuutensa ja kiintoisien piirroksiensa takia kaikille sotalasten historiasta tai kuvakirjoista kiinnostuneille yhtenä subjektiivisena todisteena pohjoismaisen historian me merkillisestä ilmiöstä, ”maailman suurimmasta lastensirrosta” ja ”sosiaalishistoriallisesta kokeilusta”.



**Veronica Leo: Ekorrögon. Fripress Natur och Kultur, Bromma 1990. 36 sivua, 17 väripiirrosta. ISBN 91-27-02291-9.**

Teksti- ja kuvakirja Ekorrögon on julkaistu jo vuonna 1990 ruotsiksi ja tanskaksi (Krigens børn). Kirja ansaitsee silti vielä maininnan etenkin juuri edellä esitellyn kuvakirjateoksen yhteydessä sotalapsen autobiografisista tekstikuvakirjoista puhuttaessa, joita tietääkseni on vain nämä kaksi. On kiintoisaa verrata teosten erilaisia kuvittajaperspektiivejä. Tämäntyyppinen kirja on usein tarkoituksellisesti suunnattu sekä lapsille että aikuisille. Tekstikuvakirjoista on kehittynyt mielenkiintoinen, ilmeikäs ja monitasoinen taidemuoto, joka viime vuosina on saanut ansaitsemaansa statusta kirjallisuudentutkimuksessa.

Ekorrögon (Oravan silmät) on Veronican tositarina. Veronica on ihastunut talonsa rappukäytävän lasimaalauksen oravaan, erityisesti sen sähköviin rubiininpunaisiin silmiin. Helsingin pommitukset ovat rikkoneet monen kauniin talon porttikäytävän värillisiä ikkunoita. Sirpaleita on joka puolella. Lapset keräävät kauniita lasinsirpaleita. Värillisten lasinpalasten läpi sodan runtelema maailma näyttää paljon kauniimmalta, sellaiselta kuin maailman oikeastaan pitäisi näyttää. Kun sota yhä vain jatkuu, pieni Veronica lähetetään Ruotsiin tuttavaperheen luokse turvaan. Lentoteitse lähetettiin muutoin vain sairaita lapsia, mutta Veronica on etuoikeutetussa asemassa ja pääsee matkustamaan nopeimmalla tavalla. Takaisin tultiin laivalla.

Ruotsinkielisen Veronican ei tarvinnut kokea kielivaikeuksia, ainoastaan tottua erilaiseen murteeseen. Sopeutuminen ruotsalaiseen perheeseen ei tuottanut ongelmia, vain turhautuneisuutta

monilapsisessa kodissa, jossa kaikki piti jakaa, eikä milloinkaan saanut tuntea olevansa ainut lapsi. Koulun rutiinit eivät myöskään miellyttäneet lasta, joka ei ollut tottunut joka käänteessä marssimaan jonossa. Kukaan ei huomannut, vaikka hän joskus väistyi jonosta ja piiloutui vaateaulakon takkien suojiin, joiden lomasta voi tirkistellä rauhassa koulupäivän kulkua.

Veronican tekstikuvakirja on pienen lapsen perspektiivin sekä aikuisiän muistikuvien sulautuma. Huolellisesti piirretyt kuvat esittävät muistikuvia, joista voi löytää useita tasoja. Ensi näkemältä kuvia voisi nimittää naturalistisiksi, seuraavassa käänteessä impressionistisiksi, kunnes ymmärtää, että on haettava monimuotoisempia tulkintoja. Subjektiivinen muistielementti yksityiskohtainen kerrostuu paikoin päällekkäisiksi kuviksi ja jäljittää näin postmodernistisin keinoin psyykkistä tilaa. Toisissa piirroksissa taas on miltei satumaista hohtoa. Detaljit avautuvat syväpsykologisille tulkinnoille.

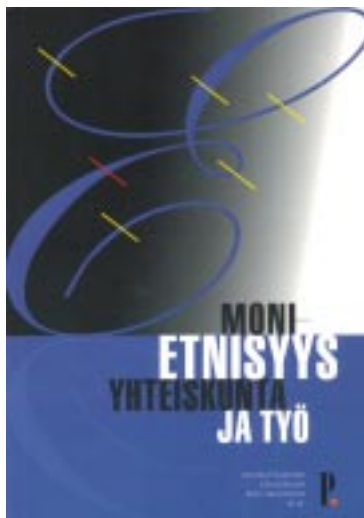
Kirjan otsikon teema, oravan silmät, eli katseen ja katsomisen teema vaihtuu metonymisiin siirtymiin kuvasta toiseen, joita voi seurata tekstin ja kuvan opastuksella. Kotitalon lasimaalauksesta katsovan oravan silmistä katsomisen positio vaihtuu maailman tarkasteluun punavärisen lasinpalan läpi, joka loihtii maisemasta punertavan ja satumaisen. Rakenuksen raunioista katsoo hauras koirankatse ihmeissään, mutta pommisuojaissa koira tuijottaa miltei maagisesti. Lukuisien Ruotsiin lähtevien sotalasten vakavat katseet kuvastavat pienten

lasten kollektiivista turvattuun muuttaja ja ihmetystä lentomatkan edessä. Ruotsin kodissa puolukahillon marjat kiiltävät kuin rubiinisilmät. Keittiön kattilakalustokin katsoo arvioivin ilmein. Koulun takkinaulakon takainen piiloperspektiivi on suojainen ja yksityinen, mutta toisaalta taas takinohelmasta katsoo olio, jonka katse ja olemassaolo on moniselitteinen. Toisessa ruotsalaiskodissa seinien muotokuvat katsovat oudosti, karhuntaujan pään silmät tuijottavat ontosti.

Piirustukset puhuvat paljon enemmän kuin teksti. Kuvittajan perspektiivi on saatu hyvin subjektiiviseksi ja läheiseksi, toisinaan ikäänkuin kuvakirjan katsoja olisi mukana, esim. kotiinpaalumatkalla Helsingin asemalta hevostärryissä ihaillemassa kuskien ja hevosen ylle kaareutuvia puita ja tähtitaivasta. Herkkävaihteinen Veronica on rekisteröinyt sotalapsikokemuksensa taiteellisella tavalla, jossa imaginäärinen ja symbolinen aines yhdistyy taidokkaasti.

Tekstikuvakirja on erinomainen kerronnan muoto, jossa sana ja kuva voivat täydentää toistensa riittämättömyyttä. Näkökulmapisteitä voidaan vaihdella kuin filmikameralla sekä välillä zoomata yksityiskohtia. Siinä pystytään yhdistämään pre-verbaalinen taideaines jo strukturoituneeseen verbaaliin ainekseen. Näin tekstikuvakirja puhuttelee niin lasta kuin aikuistakin ilmaisemalla samanaikaisesti eri tasoja, mihin muu kirjallisuus ei aina yllä. Tekstikuvakirjaa taidemuotona ei ole suotta verrattu mykkäelokuvan ilmaisun mahdollisuuksiin.

*Irene Virtala*



**Monietnisyyden, yhteiskunta ja työ.**  
**Toim. Annika Forsander, Elina Ekholm, Petri Hautaniemi et al.**  
**Palmenia-kustannus, Helsinki 2001, 204 s. ISBN 951-45-8777-4.**

Kirjan aiheista maahanmuuttajien osuus työelämässä kiinnostaa suurelta osin siihen liittyvän taloudellisen latauksen vuoksi. Etnisyyskysymystä käsitteleviä monien asiantuntijan tietopaketteja on Suomessa tehty ainakin parikolme kappaletta ennen tätä kirjaa. Hiljakkoin julkaistiin myös Suomen itsenäisyyden juhlarahaston etnistä työtä ja työvoiman tuontiponnisteluja käsittelevä teos.

Tämä kirja on tarkoitettu maahanmuuttajatyötä tekeville tai tekemään aikoville ja etnisyydestä yleisesti kiinnostuneille. Siksi paikka paikoin esiintyvät ”caset” elävästä elämästä ja politiikasta lienevät paikallaan, nämä esimerkit kun kertovat enemmän kuin tuhat sanaa. Ne kertovat myös siitä, että moniin vuosikymmenienkin aikana uutisoituihin kansain-

välisen politiikan tapahtumiin liittyy etnisväritteinen lataus.

Vietnamilaisen Nguyen Quoc Cuongin ja somalialaisen Abdul-lahi Alin kotimaidensa poliittisiin tapahtumiin kytketyt tarinat koskettavat vahvasti Suomeakin pakolaisten integraatio-ongelmien kautta. Näistä suurimmat liittyvät työhön ja syrjintään. Olosuhde-erot disintegroivat: Suomi muistuttaa Nguyenin mielestä jääkaappia, ja kieli on monotonista ja nukkuttavaa.

Työ resurssoi ihmisen paitsi materiaalisesti myös henkisesti ja sosiaalisesti. Siksi lienee paikallaan, että sitä käsitellään kirjassa tarkemmin yhteiskunnan sisältä pilkottavana elintärkeänä toimintona. Yleisesti puhutaan maahanmuuttajien voimavaroista, jotka jäävät täysin pimentoon. Tottakai maahanmuuttajilla on käyttämättömiä kykyjä, mutta ainakin joidenkin osalta ne taitavat jäädä käyttämättä, koska muussa tapauksessa yhteiskunnan täytyisi muuttua melko nopeasti.

Tässä vaiheessa tullaan kysymykseen, keitä Suomeen sitten tulisi ”ottaa”. Hyödyllisiä ihmisiäkö? Käytännössä Suomeen tulee maahanmuuttajia koko ajan, ilman että heitä tarvitsee ottaa. Ne heistä, joilla on tehtävä valmiina, hyödyttävät nopeasti yhteiskuntaa, muiden täytyy koulututtaa, ja he voivat silti jäädä marginaaliasemaan. Kirjassa hieman kritisoidaan etnistä hierarkkisuuksia työelämässä. Osittain se on väliaikaista, osittain pysyvää. Etninen tasa-arvo on kuitenkin toteutunut kovin harvassa valtiossa.

Vaikka kirjassa on kokonaisuudessaan varsin realistinen ote, pieniä väläyksiä idealismista put-



kahtelee erityisesti loppupuolella. Ajatus maahanmuuttajista potentiaalisina tiimityöläisinä heidän yhteisösidonnaisen kulttuurinsa vuoksi tuntuu hieman kaukaa haetulta, mutta toki ideoita kannattaa viritellä. Toisekseen Espanjan 1000-luvun alun kulttuurinen kukoistus, joka kirjassa mainitaan, saattoi johtua muistakin syistä kuin etnisestä harmoniasta.

Sivun 85 taulukossa, joka käsittelee etnisiä vähemmistöjä lainsäädännössä, mainitaan yhtenä lakina vuoden 1919 hallitusmuoto, joka on kylläkin jo kuo-

pattu 1.3.2000 voimaan tulleen Suomen perustuslain myötä. Myös kansainvälinen syrjinnän vastainen oikeusnormisto ansaitsee taulukon.

Etnisyyskäsitteitä käydään läpi riittävän tarkasti. Lukija kaipaa silti Teun Van Dijkkin integraatioperuskäsite toiseuden esille tuomista. Lisäksi oppikirjamaiseksi tarkoitettun teoksen tulisi sisältää ehdottomasti pähkinäkuorimaisen käsiteluetelun.

”Monietnisyys, yhteiskunta ja työ” -kirjan ei tarvitse antaa ratkaisuehdotuksia maahanmuuton ongelmiin. Siinä ruoditaan silti

kaikkia aihetta koskevia, perustavaa laatua olevia kysymyksiä, eikä esitys jättäne ketään kylmäksi. 1990-luvun pumpulipalloissa pomppiminen näyttää olevan historiaa. Lisääntynyt suomalainen alan tutkimustyö ja sen mukanaan tuoma tieto ovat lisänneet olosuhteiden tajua ja varmuutta asioiden todellisesta tilasta. Maahanmuuttoasioiden hoitaminen on lähestynyt pikkuhiljaa realismia, joka välittyy jatkossa uusille asioista kiinnostuneille kirjan annissa.

*Timo Jaakkola*

## Hungarian Science Days in Finland May 28–30, 2001

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungarian Ministry of Education and Academy of Finland organized the third time Hungarian Science Days in Finland. Science Policy Session was held on May 28, 2001 in Academy of Finland. There attended Hungarian and Finnish scientists representing different disciplines of science.

During that time there was also the celebration of the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Scientific Co-operation between the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Finland.

On May 29, 2001 there were held different symposia all around Finland. The topics were from Applied Biotechnology to Rural De-

velopment inside and outside EU. The symposium on Common Interest in an Enlarged EU was arranged in the Institute of Migration, Turku. The sessions of the symposium were: Regions, local governments and subsidiarity in the EU, Free movement of persons before and after the eastward enlargement of the EU, Euro-regions, the laboratories of regional co-operation and Institutional reform of the EU and the sub-regions and sub-systems of European integration. There were papers and participants from Hungary, Estonia and Finland.

Hungarian delegation at the Institute of Migration, Finland, during The Hungarian Science Days symposium "Common Interest in an Enlarged EU". From left: Researcher András Kováts, Dr. Béla Kardon, Dr. Éva Táll and Dr. Imre Lévai.



# Tuoretta tietoa maamme muuttoliikkeistä ja aluekehityksestä

Siirtolaisuusinstituutti on vuodesta 1975 järjestänyt viiden vuoden välein Muuttoliikesymposiumin, jossa alan tutkijat, suunnittelijat ja päätöksentekijät ovat koontuneet pohtimaan kunkin ajan muuttoliikkeisiin vaikuttavia keskeisiä yhteiskunnallisia ilmiöitä.

Marraskuussa 2000 järjestettiin kuudes muuttoliikesymposiumi, jonka teemana oli *Muuttoliikkeet*

*vuosituhannen vaihtuessa – halutaanko niitä ohjata?* Kolmen päivän ajan pohdittiin, minkälaista aluepolitiikkaa maassamme pitäisi harjoittaa, halutaanko muuttoliikettä ylipäänsä ohjata ja erilaisia keinoja sen toteuttamiseen.

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- (A15) Koivukangas, Olavi; Narjus, Raimo; Virtanen, Timo (toim.): **Maassamuutto ja yhdentyvä Eurooppa. Muuttoliikesymposium 1990**. Turku 19.–21.11. 1990. Turku 1991, 212 s. 80,-
- (A18) Koivukangas, Olavi; Korpela, Kalevi; Narjus, Raimo (toim.): **Suomi Euroopassa – maassamuuton uudet ulottuvuudet. Muuttoliikesymposium 1995**. Turku 15.–17.11.1995. Turku 1996, 207 s. 80,-



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## Matrikkeli Neuvostoliiton suomalaisista 1930–1950-luvuilla

Eila Lahti-Argutina



### Olimme joukko vieras vaan

Venäjänsuomalaiset vainonuhrit Neuvostoliitossa  
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