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Ingrian immigration to Finland after 1990

A case study in Turku

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In 1990 as a result of both President of Finland Mauno Koivisto's consideration of Ingrians as remigrants to Finland, and also the disintegration of USSR, there was quite massive remigration to Finland. Consequently ethnic Finns from the Soviet Union now constitute the greatest part of Finland's foreign population which even have tendency to grow. Therefore Finland the first time in a history encountered many immigration problems and issues which have been dealt with. One of the main discussion topics in media and public which dealt with many problems associated with immigration has been validity of Ingrian's Finnish ethnicity since the Ingrians tend to lack Finnish language fluency and also tend to identify themselves with Russia. The other side of the coin is that "Ingermanland" is once again losing the small number of Ingrian Finns and their descendents therefore making this old ethnic region non existent anymore.

The purpose of my study was therefore to examine the major directions and causes of Ingrian Finns remigration to Finland. The area chosen for a closer examination of return migration is Turku, where the fieldwork of this study was conducted. The focus of this study was on those Ingrians in Turku who acquired Finnish returnee status after 1990. Case study in Turku reflects the major aspects and causes of Ingrian's migration in Finland. It also shows why the Turku city and its associated region attracted the Ingrians and the extent to which Ingrians met their expectations in Finland and Turku after resettlement. Basically this study approaches the return migration phenomenon from two different, yet complementary perspectives: geographical, meaning the directions of migration and territories of their settlement; and socio-economic, meaning the reasons for their chosen place of living. To support the secondary material, semi-structured in-depth questionnaires were made.

The results show that Ingrian remigration flows are coming from the former Soviet Union's territory. The Ingrians moves to Finland not only from the old Ingria region but also from the other parts of the former Soviet Union. As a result of better employment opportunities, more international atmosphere and closeness of previous home countries, the greatest part of Ingrians concentrates in Helsinki and Turku cities. The analysis demonstrates that Ingrian migrants cannot be classified under the "remigration"; rather, in its main features Ingrian migration shows extensive similarities with economic immigrants in Finland from different countries. Study demonstrates that Ingrian emigrate from their previous living countries for the following reasons: economic reasons, reasons of ethnic background, for children's sake, general feeling of insecurity, psychological non-well being. Economic reasons prevail only when coming to Finland. When choosing a city, social networks and employment opportunities are more important. The driving force affecting the regional distribution of Ingrians in certain areas within Turku city is housing availability. The new experience of Ingrians in Finland is very different from their expectations. Many of them experience difficulties in the acculturation process and become marginalized.

Keywords: return migration, Ingrians, migration motives, place preference, Turku, Finland

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1. INTRODUCTION

Finland has been characterized as a meeting point between the cultural spheres of east and west in Europe (Pentikäinen and Hiltunen 1995). The geographical position of Finland between Sweden and Russia has undoubtedly had an impact on the way the minority situation in Finland and migration from and to Finland is to be characterized (see Kauranen & Tuori 2001).

Due to its restrictive immigration policy, Finland has been commonly considered a monocultural country with a small number of foreigners. Even though, in the last five years the number of foreigners has tripled in Finland, proportionally this number of immigrants is the smallest in Europe. Therefore, until the recent decade Finland has been highly isolated from the consequences of massive migration, which have already taken place in the other parts of the world five decades ago. (Jasinskaja 2000).

The biggest immigration problems started in 1990 partly as a result of the Finland's President (Mauno Koivisto) consideration of Ingrians as remigrants to Finland. In addition to this, the disintegration of the USSR, there also resulted in massive immigration to Finland. Consequently, ethnic Finns from the former Soviet Union now constitute the greatest part of Finland's foreign population which even has a tendency to grow (see Sorainen 2001). Some of the Ingrians came because they identified themselves as Finnish. Others just used the opportunity to move to the west. Within the big group of Ingrians in Finland there are huge differences in motives for their move. The different reasons resulted in different identity problems. Consequently, Finland for the first time in its history, encountered many immigration problems and issues which it has had to deal with.

It seems that almost every Ingrian Finn in Finland struggles with the question: who I am? The ethnic dispersion of the Ingrian Finns makes their survival as a nation very dubious. Among the Ingrian Finns the language shift is already well under way (Ingrian Association). The decrease in the numbers of people, who still can speak their mother tongue, and even strong identification with Russia, demonstrates the difficulty of retaining the language and ethnicity in a foreign environment. (Kauranen and Tuori 2001).

Because of doubtful Finnish ethnicity, their high rates of unemployment and integration difficulties, Ingrian immigration was, however, often seen as a burden and not as a resource in Finland. (Forsander 1999).

The other side of the coin is that “Ingermanland” is once again losing the small number of Ingrian Finns and their descendents therefore making this old ethnic region non-existent anymore. (see Markkanen 1997; Kyntäjä 1998). As a result, it is very important to investigate the main trends, directions and motives of Ingrian migration in order to know how to cope with the encountered problems both in Ingria and Finland.

The new immigration phenomenon in Finland was not studied by many researchers analyzing and evaluating the results of immigration. Therefore, geography science research was not the exception also. Being aware of Finland’s great interest in Ingrian remigrants’ issues, as well as temporary immigrant in Finland with common problems of being foreigner, I decided to undertake geographical research on the present most important immigrant group in Finland. By importance, I mean that it is the largest and newest immigrant group in Finland, and so requires efficient research in the various fields of science.

The area chosen for a closer examination of return migration is Turku, where the fieldwork of this study was conducted. The focus of this study is on those Ingrians in Turku who acquired Finnish returnee status after 1990. However, their family members (who also have the status of Finnish returnee) will not be included in my study because they have no ties with Finnish ethnicity.

The purpose of my work is therefore to: 1) examine the major directions and pull and push factors of Ingrian Finns remigration to Finland, 2) analyze their migration within Finland and Turku city and 3) study their met expectations after the resettlement in Finland and Turku. The main goals of the research were to explain the following questions:

1. How and why Ingrians are migrating?

- a) What are the major trends and directions of their migration?

- b) What factors determined their migration from previous place of living to Finland, to Turku city and to living area in Turku?
2. What are the major Ingrian settlement areas within Finland and Turku?
3. Did they meet their expectations?
- a) How did they meet their expectations with the change of living area?
 - b) Do they have a general feeling of security in Finland?
4. Do they have plans for moving to another country in the future?
- a) If so, where they would like to move and why?
 - b) For how long time are they planning to stay in Finland?

Case study in Turku will reflect the major aspects and causes of Ingrians' migration trends within Finland and will show why the Turku city and its associated region attracted the Ingrians. I will try to demonstrate that meeting the expectations depend on the ethnic identification, the generation they belong to, the language best spoken, and the area of living in the former Soviet Union.

Basically this study approaches the return migration phenomenon from two different, yet complementary perspectives: geographical, meaning the directions of migration and territories of their settlement and socio-economic, meaning the reasons for their chosen place of living. To understand micro-level factors, such as individual migrant's decision making process, a closer examination on macro level factors, such as the policymaking in Finland, must also be taken into account.

The research is presented in nine parts. In the introduction and chapters two, three and forth, an overview introduces some general information about the immigration policy in Finland and Ingrian peoples' history. Moreover, these chapters rely fully on the secondary information and aim to answer the question, to why research on ethnic return migration to Finland is relevant at the moment. The results of my fieldwork will be presented in the fifth, sixth, seventh, eight and ninth chapters of this study. They will demonstrate the major trends and directions of the Ingrian migration within Finland and Turku. The fifth chapter also includes general information about the Ingrians' immigration to Finland and its effects on the old Ingrian area. The eighth chapter of my

work concentrates on meeting the expectations of Ingrian people in Finland, Turku and its living area. A closer examination is made to the socio-economical problems one faces after return. Future plans of Ingrian remigrants presented in chapter nine will be pre-summarizing part of the work which shows the general situation of Ingrians in Finland. The conclusions of the work are drawn in chapter ten.

2. WHO ARE INGRIANS?

2.1. Challenging history

The simplest way to explain the definition of Ingrians is to refer to them as inhabitants of Ingermanland, the region, which lies along the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland and both banks of the river Narva in the vicinity of St.Petersburg. This is, however, a very general characterization and a more precise distinction has to be made between the people and their ethnic identity who have been living in the region throughout its' long and complicated history.

Before the 1917 Revolution, about one hundred and thirty thousand people of Finnish origin lived in Russian territory on the south shore of the Gulf of Finland – from the Narva river in the west to the Neva river in the east, and in the region north of St.Petersburg. Their numbers remained fairly constant during the 1920s and early 1930s, but, after the Second World War, a great decrease was evident in the total Finnish population of the region, with only twenty-four thousand recorded in the 1970 Soviet census. This drop in population is attributable not only to the ravages of the war but also to the movements of the people, including deportations that took place during the 1930s and 1940s. (Matley 1979).

The region inhabited by this Finnish population is known as “Ingermanland” to the Swedes and Germans, “Ingria” (or Izhora) to the Russians, “Inkeri” or “Inkerinmaa” to the Finns, and “Ingerinmaa” to the Estonians. The Finns of the region are generally called “Ingermanlainen Finns” or “Ingrian Finns”, although in the mid-1920s they received official Soviet title of “Leningrad Finns”. Now the Finns use the names “Inkerilaiset” or “Inkerin Suomalaiset”.

The original inhabitants of Ingria were the Finnish-speaking Vots and Izhorsty, many of whom, because of the lutheranization politics of the Swedish Empire fled to live in orthodox Russia. Archaeological and linguistic evidence shows that during the early period of Izhorsts formation as an ethnic group, they had links with the Finnic people of the Karelian peninsula. (Matley 1979). The name of this ethnic group in Russian is “izhora” or “ingri” and therefore causes confusion between two different ethnic groups – “Ingrians” and “Ingrian Finns”.

The Ingrian Finns made their appearance on the scene at a later date. The peace of Noteborg between the Swedes and the Russians in 1323 resulted in Novgorod’s control over Ingria and Swedish domination of the north-western part of the Karelian peninsula. The contact between the Izhorsty and the Karelians to the north was thus broken, and there was probably little movement of the people into Ingria from the north. By the peace of Stolbova in 1612 however the Swedes obtained control over the entire Karelian peninsula and of Ingria. This event had far-reaching complications for the ethnic composition of the population of the region. Attempts by the Swedes to convert the Orthodox peoples to Lutheranism resulted in mass exodus not only of Karelians from the north, but also of Vots from Ingria, both groups moving southwards into Russian territory. The Karelians formed communities in the Upper Volga region, but the Vots were absorbed by the surrounding Russian-speaking population. These migrants were replaced by Lutheran Finns who were encouraged by the Swedes to enter and settle the region. (Matley 1979).

To Ingria the Finnish migrants came from two different parts of Finland: Ayrapaa in the central part of the Karelian peninsula (those who had fled from the war but afterwards emigrating) and Savo in south-central Finland (as a result of “push and pull”). Many came to Ingria to escape tax arrears and conscription. By the turn of the 19th century the differences between Savakkos and the Ayramoins, the two main tribes of the Finnish speaking population, disappeared gradually. (Rimpiläinen 2000).

The settlement of newcomers from Finland was quite quick. In 1620 only 2 percent of the inhabitants of the district around Iamburg in western Ingria had Finnish names, but, by 1695 the amount rose to 62 percent. By the end of the seventeenth century the majority of the population of Ingria had Finnish names. Gradually the grip of Lutheranism for the inhabitants of Ingria region was tightened not only through population transfers, but also by administrative measures at diocese and parish level and

the church's hold over education. Lutheranism became an important and increasingly vocal part of the Ingrian spiritual identity. (Pentikäinen and Hiltunen 1995; Matley 1979; Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland 1997).

At the beginning of the 18th century the Ingrian Finns faced many grave political, and social changes that influenced the construction of their ethnic identity. The first of these was Russia's conquest of Ingermanland during the Great Northern War of 1700-1721. This conquest divided the Finnish speaking population in two: the Ingrian Finns became subjects to the Russian Tsar, while the rest of Finnish speaking population remained under the rule of the Swedish King. Furthermore in 1710 the formerly free peasants were made serfs and their land was confiscated by the Tsar. This tied people to land which they did not own, and made peasant settlements very stable, since the inhabitants were not allowed to move freely. This, however, had quite a positive impact in terms of the preservation of Finnish customs and language, as did the fact that the government decreed that the Finnish should line as contiguously wherever possible. (Rimpiläinen 2000).

The establishment of St.Petersburg in the middle of rural Ingermanland in 1703 faced the multiculturalism in the region. Under Swedish rule the Ingrian villages had been located on the periphery of the Empire. Now they found themselves close to the metropole of their new homeland, as a city of one million inhabitants grew up in the midst of their villages. This offered them a lot of new possibilities for work and for contacts with other ethnic groups. Russian peasants who came as a labour force formed their own settlements amongst and within the Finnish villages. The growing city also attracted the Russian and German merchants and craftsmen. Suddenly the Finns were no longer the only large ethnic group in the area. While being in a minority, differences in customs, language and lifestyle between the Ingrian Finns and other ethnic groups became evident and pressures for assimilation increased. The most important factors differentiating the Finns from Russians were religion and language. This difference of the religion helped Ingrian Finns to retain their individual character in spite of an increase of the Russian population contacts with it and the proximity and the growth of St.Petersburg. The fact that they were Lutherans prevented them from being assimilated to a Russian culture at the same rate as the Orthodox Izhorsty and Vots. Gradually the knowledge of Russian language became more common, and Russian words were assimilated into the Ingrian dialects together with some of the Russian traditions. (Nevalainen 1995).

“There are these Savakot, Ayramoiset and Izhors, mingled and isolated, here and there among Russians”. This well illustrates the ethnic situation in Ingria in 1847 when students of philology and folklore first arrived in the area. Ingrian folklore is proof of rich multi-ethnic culture, enriched by Finno-Ugrians and Russians, as well as Germans on account of constantly changing occupants in the region. (Nylund-Oja and Pentikäinen 1995).

At the turn of the 1800s, the social, political and economic circumstances in Russia changed. In 1809 Finland was incorporated into the Tsarist Russian Empire as an autonomous principality, and therefore Ingrian Finns were able to go to their motherland. At the same time there continued further influx of the Finns into the region. (Matley 1979). Abolishing of serfdom in Russia in 1861 was another advantage for the construction of Ingrian Finnish identity. It improved the economic situation and brought about a flourishing Ingrians’ cultural life (Nylund-Oja and Pentikäinen 1995).

In addition to the Lutheran church, Finnish national endeavors, teachers’ seminars, literature and press raised the national identity of the Ingrian Finns. The Lutheran church prior to the mid 19th century had been the only institution that catered for Finns’ needs in their own language and actively supported their cultural activities. With the help of the church there appeared a Finnish teaching training college, several elementary schools in the countryside, libraries and various established societies. Many Ingrian Finns now were able to study in Finland, and they brought back nationalist ideas. However, the rise of nationalist sentiment close to the country’s capital alarmed the Russians. In the 1890s Tsar Nikolai II initiated a severe Russification policy. In 1908, Russia passed a law on common elementary education, which abolished Finnish-language schools. Finnish became merely a subject and language used in religious education and through active participation in various organizations and societies. (Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland 1997).

The Ingrians began the new century largely content with the circumstances in which they lived. They often saw the February revolution as the end of Tsarist russification policy, and the more tolerant atmosphere made them aspire for greater rights of self-determination or cultural autonomy. According to the 1926 Census of the Soviet Union, the majority of the Ingrian Finns were living in the Leningrad gubernia, and Karelia (Figure 2). They were thus highly concentrated on their home territory. However, the

census shows that the Russian population of central Ingria outnumbered the Finnish by a considerable amount. Finnish was spoken as the first language by 97.7 percent of the Ingrian Finns, indicating the degree to which they had resisted linguistic and cultural assimilation. (Rimpiläinen 2000; Matley 1979).

After Finland gained independence from Russia in 1917, it became a capitalist country and therefore considered as a threat for the new born Soviet socialist state. Therefore Ingrians, because of their ethnic background and geographical position, were considered a political threat as well. Ingrian were also seen as politically back ward from the communist point of view, because of their religion and privately owned farms. During the turmoil of revolution a group of Ingrians from the parishes near the boarder escaped to Finland. The violence and forced resettlement began in 1928 with compulsory collectivization. During 1930-31, ca. 18 000 peasants were branded “kulaks”, their property was confiscated by the state and they themselves were deported from Nothern Ingria to East Karelia, Central Asia. The repressive policies of Russia continued during 1935-1936 when Stalin ordered the Finnish boarder region to be emptied of kulaks and anti-Sovietic elements, a category to which Ingrian Finns were condemned because of their Finnish background. (Nevalainen 1995). A further 7 000 were deported to the Urals and to the coast of the Caspian Sea in 1935 and 20 000 to Siberia and Central Asia in 1936 because of Soviet plans to secure the borders with Finland and Estonia (Figure 1). Moreover, the following year all Lutheran churches were closed. (Nevalainen 1995; Kolga 2001; Matley 1979).

The use of the Finnish language was banned in 1937. All Finns (including Finns from Finland) who were classified as a threat to the society were executed, imprisoned or deported on various political grounds, the rest were evacuated either to Siberia or Finland. By 1943 Ingermanland was practically emptied of its Finnish population – one third of the population was killed or deported. (Nevalainen, 1995).

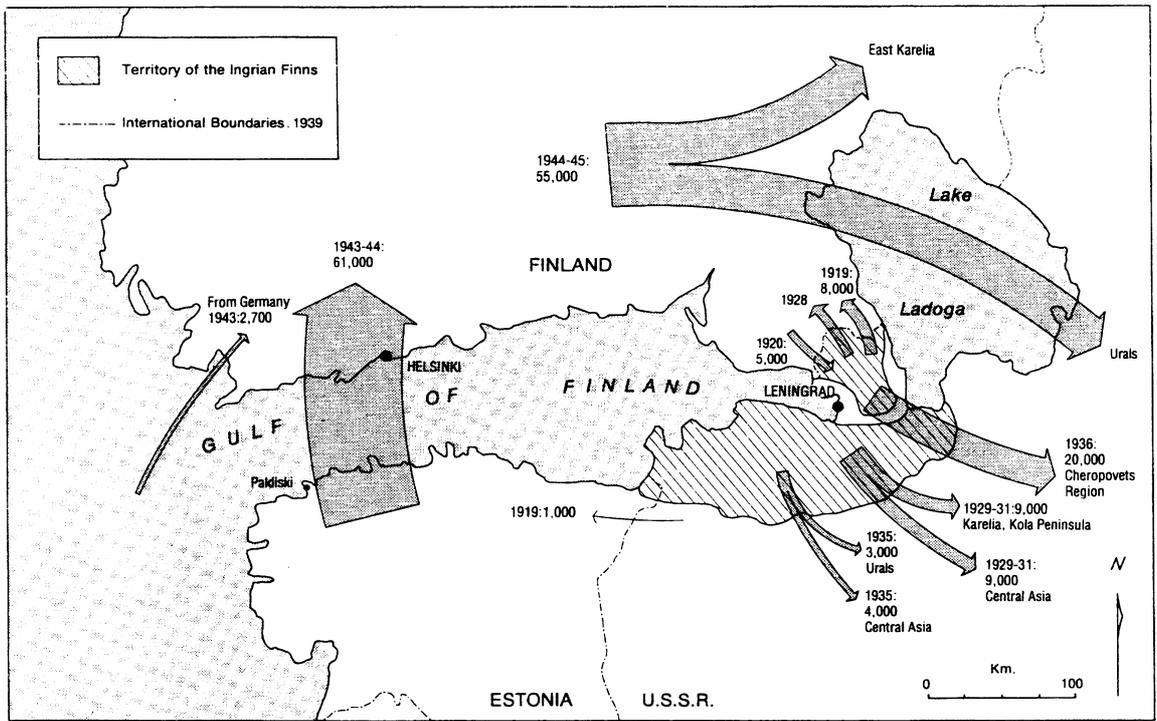


Figure 1. Movements of the Ingrian Finns, 1919 – 1945. Source: Matley 1979.

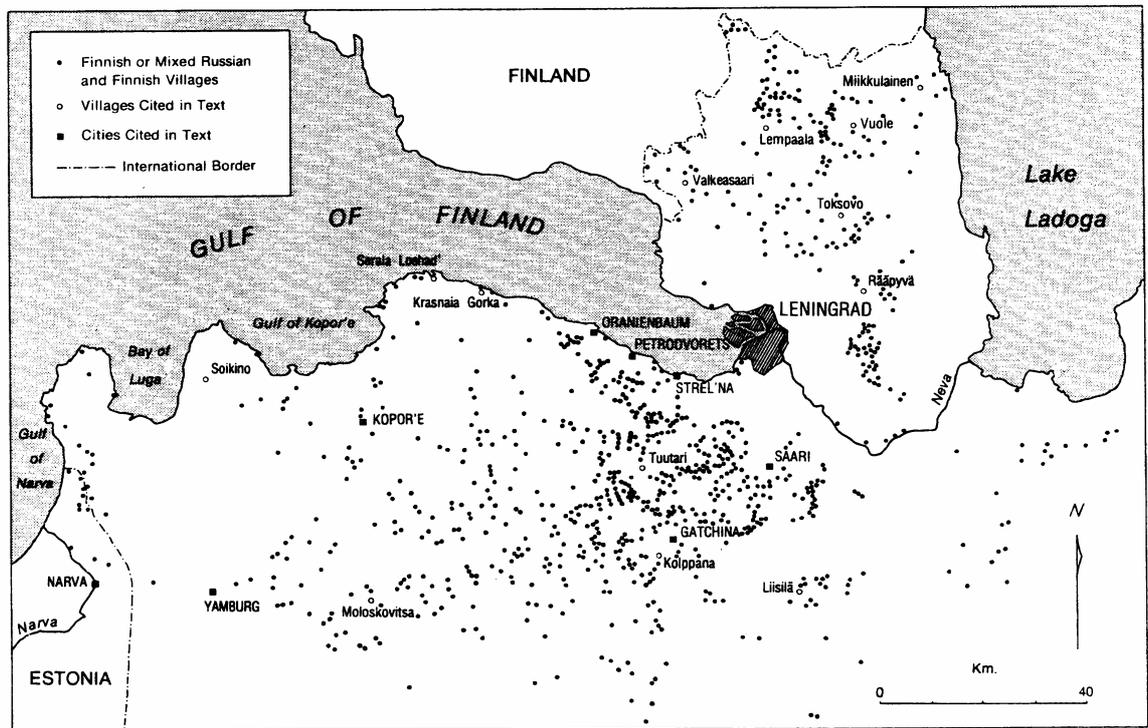


Figure 2. Settlements of the Ingrian Finns in the mid-1920s. Source: Matley 1979.

The remaining Ingrians were scattered around the Soviet Union, with a few thousand in Finland and Sweden and some as far afield as Australia and America. After the war, the Ingrian Finns that had been evacuated to Finland had to be returned to the Soviet Union but they were not allowed to return to their homes. The same was true for Ingrian Finns deported to Siberia and Central Asia for whom a return to the Leningrad area was prohibited by law. The returnees finally settled down to live in Eastern Karelia and Estonia.

Ingermanland also suffered during the Second World War. In 1942, during the blockade of Leningrad, 30 000 Finns were deported to Siberia. Their resettlement to Finland was allowed by German authorities on the basis of applications. 63 227 Ingrian refugees, including Votes and Izhorians, had left for Finland in 1944 only to be repatriated to the Soviet Union towards the end of hostilities. They were not allowed, however, to return to their homeland, but faced decades of wandering in Siberia where some 10 000 of them still live. Others remained during the war in Finland, some 5 000 fled to Sweden, mostly over the river Tornio in overcrowded fishing boats over the Gulf of Bothnia. (Pentikäinen and Hiltunen 1995).

2.2. National awakening

During Gorbatshev's era of "perestroika" and "glasnost" the Ingrians experienced a national awakening. The first Ingrian associations were founded in 1989. Getting organized did not, however, happen without crises, personal disagreements and conflicts in principle. In the end, three Ingrian associations were set up, one in Leningrad area, one in Soviet-Karelia area and one in Estonia. The aims of the associations were agreed as being the revitalization of Finnish culture and language and co-operation with other Ingrian associations abroad. Russian (then the Soviet Union) authorities were pressured to give the Ingrians a right to return to their former homelands, their political rehabilitation, return of property, which during Stalin's era, had been illegally confiscated, such as schools and churches and support for various cultural programs. (Kyntäjä 1998).

The establishment of Ingrian organization was followed by other significant advantages for the national awakening. After 1990s the Ingrian Church experienced a tremendous

renaissance when a new law of religion was passed in Russia allowing freedom of religious expression. The churches filled with people and congregations were founded. (Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland 1997).

In 1993 the Russian government accepted a decree regarding the rehabilitation of Russian Finns, in other words giving them back their historical rights and clearing them of all unjust political accusations. In the opinion of the Ingrians this decree has remained a mere piece of paper and it has not fulfilled their expectations. The Ingrian associations, in their own draft agreement, had asked for 600 hectares of land in their historical homeland, Ingria, where the Ingrians could live together and revitalize the Ingrian culture and language. The Russian authorities promised them 60 hectares in the area which was not what the Ingrians had hoped for. The return of land has proved problematic also in other ways. Only a few dozen people have returned so far. ()

At the beginning of 1995 the Russian Ingrian Association (referred to as Ingrian Association from now on) had almost 9 000 members and 22 branches. The largest of the local branches was the St.Petersburg Ingrian Association with about 3 000 members. The tasks of the association have become more diverse and their activities increased. The popular Finnish language courses are some of the most important activities of the Ingrian Association.

It is quite important to mention the results of the national awakening, such as bilateral projects between Finland, Estonia and Russia, renaissance of the Church and new cultural organizations in order to understand the present (social and economic) situation of the Ingrian Finns and somehow to explain the emigration from their homeland.

Trying to answer various questions connected with Ingrian Finn migration process, there appears the main question. Who are they? This question appears to have troubled Ingrians for many years. Long and complicated history during which the people from the Ingrian's province have never had their own state make it more difficult with time to identify the local people. Not until quite recently they have been able to show and cherish their Finnish identity without fear. They differ from other groups of expatriate Finns in that they have lived in separation from Finland in a different society. Finns have not kept in contact with them as they have done with other expatriates; neither the Ingrians had the same opportunity as other expatriates to maintain their contacts with Finland. Thus it is easy to understand that their knowledge about Finland is insufficient

and that the command of Finnish language among the Ingrians has almost been disappearing, because it was not allowed to teach or use the language. As citizens of the former Soviet Union, their right to emigrate was very restricted and remigration was in practice impossible before the disruption of the Soviet Union.

“I will explain the matter from my point of view. My parents, grandparents and great grandparents were born in Ingria. Personally, I have always thought myself as a Finn among Russians. I have been a Finn, Finka, Tshuonotjska...I have never felt it necessary to conceal by nationality. But when I was living in Ingria I never knew I was an Ingrian, I was a Finn. Only when I came to Finland did I became an Ingrian (Nylund-Oja 1995).

3. RESEARCH MATERIALS

3.1. Literature review

Scholars were engaged in fieldwork in Ingria at a very early date. Folklorists were traveling in the area way back in the 1830s, and continued to do so throughout the 19th century. The political and social upheavals of 1917 forced them to abandon their efforts and for the next fifty years little research was carried out (Teinonen and Virtainen 1999).

The study of cultural diversity and migrants is a relatively new field in Finland that has emerged along with the historical shift from a nation of emigration to one of immigration. The increased interest in migrants in Finland, moreover, has coincided with the rise of cultural studies thus producing studies that examine migrants and their circumstances in new ways. However, due to the relative newness and youth of the migrant population in Finland, there are few researchers that come from migrants' communities themselves which certainly has an impact on how research questions are designed as well as the silence and ways of talking by migrant interviewees. (Kris 2002).

Interest in conducting researches on Ingrians again started only in the 1990s when remigration phenomenon was induced by President Mauno Koivisto. Discussions and comments about Finnish immigration policy and validity of Ingrian remigrants Finnish ethnicity showed the lack of information and research made in this area before the Aliens Act was introduced. However, after the first trends of Ingrian remigration there still were no detailed studies made to analyze efficiently the results of the returning

phenomenon and offer to improve it. Although the individual research interest varies, the major areas of concentration of conducted research were ethnicity, ethnology, history, sociology, and anthropology.

I have found no comprehensive geographical study of Ingrian immigrants neither in Finland nor in the former Soviet Union's territory. Especially I noticed absence of research on the Ingrian settlement places in Finland. No mapped material was found either. The lack of statistical information on Ingrian people was the major obstacle for essential geographical surveys.

The attitudes toward return migration have been largely renewed after 1995. Large ethnic immigration flows coincided with the biggest economic recession in Finland throughout its history. High unemployment rates between foreigners induced government to revise Finnish immigration policy. As a result, several studies were made on Ingrian expatriates in the Finnish labour market.

The topic that has by far been studied most widely is Ingrians ethnic identity and acculturation process of which the best known researchers are Eve Kyntäjä and Inga Jasinskaja Lahti. These studies are essentially similar though Eve Kyntäjä investigated also the Ingrians' situation on the other side of the border. This is quite a specific case because most researchers concentrate on Ingrian Finns living within Finland. Moreover, ethnic identity was one of the main discussion topics in media and public. That so many of the studies focus on ethnicity is due to the fact that it is the most important issue concerning the validity of immigration policy in Finland.

One significant project "Ingrians and neighbors", carried out by Turku University, joins ethnologists, folklorist and linguists. The study was solely concentrated on ethnicity and identity. Although one part of the investigation was carried out in Turku city, the issue was touched very little from the geographical perspective.

The final report on the Ingrian Project which was published as a book "Ingrians in Municipalities" is the most essential study on the integration of Ingrians to the Helsinki region and the other municipalities. Before this report, no comparative research concerning the socio-economic situation of Ingrians in municipalities had been conducted in Finland.

The other big part of the researchers work was investigating Finnish Immigration policy towards Ingrians. They mostly studied the quality of the Finnish immigration policy and the consequences of it to the newcomers. The most known investigators in this field are Outi Laari and Annika Forsander.

The main findings of carried out researches, which were mentioned above, argues about doubtful ethnic identity of Ingrian Finns and therefore the not well-founded immigration policy which leads into high unemployment rates and marginalization of newcomers.

The international context of return immigrants has also received attention. Most of these studies are of comparative type due to the fact that “Finland is not the only country receiving remigrants from Eastern and Central Europe as a result of political changes in these parts of the Europe” (Heikkilä-Paukkonen 1997).

3.2. Material and methods

The target group of the research has been Ingrians who have come as returnees to Finland after 1990. The family members of the Ingrians who also came under the returnees’ status were not included in my research because of an absence of Finnish ethnicity.

The data for this research is both quantitative and qualitative. According to Bryman (1992) this enables the triangulation method, which both increases the validity and reliability of the research and opens up perspectives on the phenomenon studied that could not be attained by using only one research strategy (Forsander 1999).

The source material I have used for my thesis consists of a wide range of literature, newspapers and journals. To support secondary material, semi-structured in-depth questionnaires were made. Semi-structured questionnaires were chosen in order to make it in-depth in its nature. As a result of this option the analysis of the questionnaires provided me with the subjects for closer study. The purpose of the interviews was to gain relevant and genuine information on the issues relating to the remigration. A great part of the general analysis is based on literature review that is clarified with the analysis of the case study in Turku.

Altogether there were about 50 questionnaires of which 35 were interviewed. The interviews were conducted and the questionnaires translated into Russian language because all the participants knew how to use this language. The people interviewed I found in various Ingrian and immigrants organizations in Turku – International meeting point, Ingrian Association, Russian club, and Women’s Centre. The easiest way to contact those Ingrians was during the Finnish language or handicraft courses organized by the above mentioned organizations. While making the handicraft works it was especially easy to maintain the conversation because the interviewees did not have to use additional time for the questionnaires and therefore were more eager to answer my questions and even to start discussion between themselves. In addition to interviewed questionnaires, some number of questionnaires was distributed among Ingrians’ friends and was left in organizations that Ingrian people attend.

Most of my interviewees were rather impatient people. Occasionally, interviewees started to talk about things not relevant to the study or then became tired or run out of time before answering the rest of the questions. Moreover, some of the interviewees were afraid to answer various questions. The fear and feeling of insecurity follows them even in Finland after many years in Russia. The interviewees were not asked to tell their names or surnames but still, according to them, “somebody” could find who has written this questionnaire and to “spoil” their calm life in Finland. With some migrants informants the interviews turned to be more like discussions, whereas some interviewees did not seem to be relaxed and thus their responses were rather short-spoken.

While conducting questionnaires, many times I was asked to stay and to take part in their after lecture discussions and invited to some of their organized evenings. My Russian language knowledge and immigrant status was quite a big advantage while conducting the research in Turku. Therefore, it was possible to observe the return migration phenomenon in Finland from the perspective of its grassroots. Consequently, small scale observation and participation is a significant part of my work.

In addition to the above mentioned interviews, several of interviews were conducted among governmental personnel, executive directors and other personnel of non-governmental organizations. The majority of the Ingrians encountered those organizations after moving to Finland. Because of using semi-structured interviews

there was not a formal list of questions to be asked but instead a thematic outline with key ideas was followed.

The research model included testing the following variables for significance; age, sex, marital status, ethnicity, occupation, educational attainment, as the independent variables for the individual characteristics.

3.2.1. Limitations and problems with the materials

It is evident that there is a lack of reliable statistical information on immigrants in Finland. The centre for Statistics in Finland produces some statistics on the foreign population. Moreover, the Ministry of Labour collects statistics on unemployment of immigrants, and the Ministry of the Interior has some statistics on the holders of residence permits. There are no statistics in Finland on the basis of ethnicity, but there is on the basis of mother tongue or nationality. On the basis of language groups there is a possibility to get a more refined picture of the immigrant population than merely looking at nationality as some immigrants have Finnish citizenship and some do not come from only one state.

Therefore, official information was not available on the exact number of Ingrian remigrants in Finland. The statistics contained information about Ingrians under Russian or Estonian speaking groups. Even though Ingrians constitute about 70 percent in these groups, information is not completely accurate for my research. The lack of information is mainly due to the fact that the relevant legal and statistical system was developed several years after the Ingrian remigration had started. Many Ingrain remigrants moved to Finland with the status of returning immigrant, not as Ingrian remigrants. If they were lucky to get a job and housing on their own, they never met social workers or labour officers and were therefore not registered as Ingrian remigrants. Since 1994 the statistics are more reliable (Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997).

The biggest problem gathering material was finding specific geographic material. I did not find any mapped material about Ingrains' recent settlements in Finland, which was due to the lack of above mentioned statistical information about Ingrians.

My source-base is therefore lacking to a degree in comprehensiveness, but I believe that it is possible to arrive at an analysis and to draw valid conclusions with the source material I have had at my disposal so far.

4. RETURN MIGRATION

4.1. Defining the migrant status

To define the migrant status is one of the most difficult issues about Ingrian Finns. The most used definition of Ingrian immigrants in Finland is returnees or remigrants, which means an international migrant who leaves a country of origin for a country of destination, but later returns to the country of origin. According to this definition it is wrong to consider Ingrian Finns as a remigrants because the biggest part of these immigrants after the 1990 has come to Finland for the first time in their lives. (Sorainen 2001).

As a result of inaccurate definition, the term “remigrant” or “returnee” as used in Finland has many different connotations. (Kyntäjä 1997). For a long time it referred to Finns who had emigrated abroad, for instance to Sweden, and later returned to Finland. However, after the 1990, this concept began to refer basically to two groups of citizens of the Former Soviet Union (mostly from Russia and Estonia). The first mainly represents descendants of Finns who emigrated from Finland to the territory of the former Soviet Union mostly during the 1920s and the 1930s, either or directly from Finland or via Canada and the USA. The second mostly represents descendants of the Ingrian Finns who are, in turn, descendants of the Finns who emigrated during the period ranging from the 17th to the beginning of the 20th century to rural Ingria, which is located partly in Russia and partly Estonia. (Jasinskaja 2000; Laari 1997).

Some of the researchers refer to the immigration of Ingrians to Finland not as “remigration” but emigration which results in Ingria losing its resources. In their opinion the term “remigration” should be reserved to describe the return of the people from Siberia and other parts of the former Soviet Union to the historic area of Ingria.

As is known from previous research, different generations of Ingrian immigrants in Finland differ in many aspects where the most important is their ethnic identification (Kyntäjä 1997; Jasinskaja 2000). Consequently, in defining the immigrant status their

ethnic identification is a very important factor. According to their ethnic consciousness we can consider them as return migrants or simply immigrants.

Some researchers find it difficult to define to which group of the immigrants Ingrian Finns could be directed to – involuntary or voluntary migrants? From one point they can be defined as voluntary because they are able to stay in their native region, and from other involuntary because of the fear of losing their ethnicity in their homeland due to the domination of Russian culture. Ingrians also can not be called planned returnees because it is common among the workers who set goals for themselves and after fulfilling them return home. Therefore it does not suit for the case of Ingrian Finns.

Therefore, some of the researchers, who do not want to stress Ingrians' Finnish ethnicity and consider them as simple immigrants, refer to Ingrians as expatriates. The literal definition of the term "expatriate" or "expat", means someone that is giving up their residence or citizenship and are leaving to save themselves from becoming poorer. In truth, we can really say that the term "expatriate" is synonymous with "immigrant", although we are talking about a new form of immigration. (Schroder 2002).

This work is concentrated on the analysis of the Ingrian Finns immigration to Finland after the 1990 and they will be referred to as remigrants or simply immigrants because of my focus on geographical issues. The analysis of Ingrian Finns ethnicity will be left for the sequent researchers.

4.2. Return migration theories

How should return migration be understood? Must we know a migrant's original intentions in order to evaluate properly the meaning of his return? When is return the fulfillment of an important goal? There is an agreement in the literature that migration occurs when individuals or groups experience certain deprivations in their environment and when they expect that their particular need or needs can be better fulfilled elsewhere while the costs will not be in acceptably high (Richmond 1984).

A theory of return migration should be logically derivable as a subset of a more general theory of migration. Empirical studies of migration have addressed themselves to major issues, namely the scale and direction of migration flows; the objective characteristics of migrants defined in terms of demographic, economic, social and cultural variables;

the motivation for migration and the modes of adaptation and integration of migrants into the receiving society. Studies of return migration have generally been concerned with similar issues, paralleling the above questions. (Richmond 1984). According to Motus et al. (1998) in the cycle of migration return migration is seen as a final stage because whatever is the feature of migration, there is always the possibility of return (see Korkalainen 2002).

According to Massey et al. (1993), there is no single and accordant theory for the international flow of people (and therefore of return migration), but only unconnected models and theories to understand some parts of the migration process. The most general classification of migration studies could be of spatial or temporal dimensions. Spatially important factors are the distance and directions of migration, and its counter-streams patterns. Temporal dimension is studied through the relationship of distance and costs.

Models for migration and its theories are most often frequently divided into two types: gravity models and push and pull theories. The common feature of all gravity models is the construction of diagrams which include as variables the populations of the areas concerned, distances one from another (see Karjalainen 1989). The pull and push theories attempt to focus more detailed attention on the properties of the source and target areas for migration. According to Lee (1966), there are factors about each area which either bind or attract people to it and factors which tend to repel people from it. (Richmond 1984).

The common denominator underlying such general theories of migration as of Lee (1969) or Ravenstein (1889), whose models are still widely used nowadays, is essentially voluntary nature of the movement and its responsiveness to changing economic conditions in the sending and receiving areas.

Return migration can be also described through three other characters, different from each others: forced, planned and spontaneous. (Korkalainen 2002). There are a variety of circumstances which give rise to involuntary migration. Forced returning is closely related to push factors (external and host-country related, such as laws restricting the place of stay or the lack of economic opportunities) and thus a migrant is forced to leave the receiving country due to external reasons. Another example of involuntary migrants is forced migrants because of changing political system or the wars. The aspiration to

return to the country of origin is rarely absent from any involuntary migrant's movement and may even persist into the second and subsequent generations. Those migrants usually maintain a strong sense of ethnic identity and "ideology of return". From a practical point of view these aspirations may be utopian. Nevertheless, they influence the mode of adaptation of forced migrant in their new countries, (or in the case of Ingrians, new regions with different ethnic context) contributing to the propensity to maintain a pluralistic mode of integration, emphasizing language maintenance, ethnic identity and separate institutions. (Richmond 1984).

There are also coercive elements that can be identified even in those migrations that are predominantly economic in character. When individuals appear making a free choice it is evident that economic and social conditions create the necessity for choice and constrain the options available. A variety of economic pressures to induce migration are expropriation of land and property, the imposition of taxes or punitive rents, and discriminatory practices against minorities. Each of the sources of coercive or involuntary migration has its equivalent form of return migration. The end of the war or the repatriation of former refugees are more benign examples. (Richmond 1984).

The general categories of return usually are oversimplified for several reasons. For one, just as a migrant often has more than one reason for migration, so there may also be multiple reasons for return. For migrants on-site, to make a decision whether to return is like balancing between advantages and disadvantages. More importantly, several among the types of reasons enumerated are not always easily distinguishable empirically. One of the examples of return reasoning classifications made by Rogers (1984):

1. Migrants return because they perceive that positive changes occurred in those situations in their home countries that brought about or contributed to their original migration.
2. Migrants return because events in their home countries unrelated to their original migratory intentions necessitate, in their view, their presence in the country.
3. Migrants return because the host country no longer satisfies the need that they came to satisfy, or satisfies them less well than earlier.
4. Migrants return because events in the host countries unrelated to their motives for migration make it less desirable for them to remain there than it had been before.

5. Migrants return because their families at home need them and they agree to follow the call.

Other factors, besides economical, likely to influence the scale and directions of the return migration are the lack of completely successful integration into the receiving society. Therefore, the very important aspect of return migration - adaptation in receiving country and the consequences after returning to home country, have to be mentioned in this theoretical section.

A multivariate model emphasizes that there are many dimensions to immigrant behavioral adaptation. A high level of acculturation at the cognitive and instrumental levels, accompanied by successful economic integration, does not necessarily lead to identification with the receiving country or permanent residence in it. The multivariate model of immigrant adaptation developed by Goldlust and Richmond (1974) suggest that strong identification with receiving country, including with intention to settle permanently, was closely associated with length of residence, close family and friendship networks, and with high satisfaction or together with the persistence of social ties and obligations in the sending country, particularly those relating to the family relationships. Several analyses have suggested that also a migrant's return orientation is a powerful factor in determining the degree to which he will become integrated and assimilated in the host society. (Rogers 1984). Other researches as Esser (1980) stress the reverse relationship: return is primarily a dependant variable, one among several possible "regressive" or "anomic" responses to unsuccessful integration and assimilation. (Richmond 1984).

It is interesting to know that members of ethnic minorities in the sending country are less likely to return than those who belong to the majority ethnic group.

In the recent literature on acculturation and adaptation, a distinction has been drawn between two types of adaptive outcomes, psychological and socio-cultural. The first type refers to a set of internal psychological outcomes, including good mental health, psychological well-being, and the external psychological outcomes that link individuals to their new context and means the acquisition of the appropriate social skills and behaviors needed to successfully carry out day-to-day activities.

According to Furnham and Brochner (1990) the culture-learning model, the principal arrival to a new culture can be seen e.g. as a useful opportunity to define persons own identity with the help of a point of comparison. However, often the most prominent experience in new culture is the stress caused by the move; it may be culture stress, or even culture shock.

4.3. Finnish remigration policy towards Ingrian Finns after the 1990

4.3.1. Immigration policy

Ingrian Finns' immigration began in 1990, when it was declared that Ingrians could have the status of return migrants. They were defined as Finns living outside Finland and therefore having the right to immigrate to Finland if they wished to do so. Since then, some 30 000 to 33 000 Ingrian Finns and their family members have already moved to Finland and another 20 000 in Russia and Estonia are waiting for their immigration permit. (Riikka 2002).

According to Nevalainen (1992), there were several reasons for such statement, including the labour shortage in Finland, a need to make Finnish foreign policy more liberal, so-called glasnost and perestroika in the former Soviet Union, and current interest in Ingrain issues in Finnish society. However, this policy, which is based on ethnic criteria, was not a unique phenomenon in Europe. Therefore, during the public and official debates, this policy was often compared with other examples in Europe in order to identify its weakest points.

According to the government's position in 1996, Finland's emigration, expatriation and remigration policy was based on the principles of freedom of choice. The objective has been to safeguard freedom of choice in questions concerning emigration, preservation of Finnish identity (identity as Finnish expatriate) and remigration. The preservation of the Finnish language and culture among Finnish expatriates and their maintenance of their connections to Finland have been supported. (Tuomiharju 1997).

After inviting Ingrian Finns to return to Finland there appeared a need to define who can be legitimated under the term of Ingrian returnee. According to the earliest Ingrian immigration policy, it was determined to give a residence permit for the persons who either are themselves Finnish, or who have at least one Finnish parent or two Finnish grandparents (registered as having a Finnish nationality).

The confusion of the Ingrian immigrant status, difficulties in defining the group of people who belongs to these definitions, and the remarks of politicians that “the situation of the Ingrian Finns has been different from that of the Finns living in other parts of the world” was an indicator of uncertainty about the Finnish identity of the Ingrian since the beginning of the immigration policy. The fact that these immigrants are foreigners has been played down and a very specific relation was constructed between them and the Finnish state. The example of Ingrian Finns, who are in privileged position when compared to other foreigners, willing to immigrate to Finland, shows that there exists a wide variety of possible ways to define the relations between the Finnish state and foreigners, and that the definition of Finnishness can be flexible as well, if needed. (Laari 1997).

The first wave of return migration to Finland, which began after the collapse of the Soviet Union, was at first a top-down process, based on decisions made by the authorities. Since then the volume of this return migration has grown, as have the various problems - social, economic and political – associated with it. This has led to attention from the Finnish Parliament and in particular its Committee for Foreign Affairs, which - in view of the fact that more than half of Ingrian return migrants fail to acquire Finnish language skills – has considered the government policy regarding Ingrian return migration to be a failure. (Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997).

Some of the immigration problems appeared as a result of quite liberal Finnish immigration policy. Since the beginning of it there has been no condition that the returnees have to speak Finnish. They even did not have to identify themselves as Finns. This was due to the fact that Finnish authorities started to organize the immigration reception system only after the first wave of immigrants had already arrived with the whole cluster of the problems. The most important of these problems were massive unemployment, monolingualism in Russian among working-age and young immigrants, and sometimes also documents falsification. (Kyntäjä 1997). As a consequence the government was trying to make an immigration policy more qualified.

Stricter immigration policy was also due to the economic recession and massive unemployment in Finland after some years of the economic boom. Therefore, it was reflected in the respective state measures: the state economy program cutting down government expenditure also included total cuts in the financial supports for remigrants. (Tuomiharju 1997; Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997). Subsequently, taking into consideration many unemployed immigrants and awareness that only a small part of

them possesses a Finnish identity or speaks Finnish, in 1996 the remigration policy has been changed. Since then it was required that return immigrant would have at least one parent who is of Finnish origin.

There would not be so many discussions and debates over the immigration policy if all the applicants, who get residence permit as remigrants in Finland, had not only the obvious roots of Finnish ethnicity but also the close identification with it. The biggest problem appeared with the residence permit granted to an Ingrian spouse or child under the age of 18 entrusted into the said person's care. The majority of them identified themselves with Russian or Estonian culture and therefore did not know Finnish language. Therefore, in order to facilitate an integration process into the Finnish society, it was decided that an applicant must participate in immigration training in his/her country of origin – including instructions in the Finnish language and society. Only in this way an immigrant could qualify for a residence permit. (Committee of the Elimination...2001).

The above mentioned government political measures proved to be insufficient. Since 2001, after renewal of the Aliens Act, Ingrian return migrants have been required to have adequate language skills in Finnish; in practice, however, this requirement has not been fulfilled. At a meeting held in mid-April the government's ministerial working group on immigration affairs decided on more exacting conditions for returnee immigration. Ingrians arriving in Finland will be required to possess more than a merely tolerable command of the Finnish language, and this will be tested before departure. The reform will take effect at the beginning of 2003. (Itälä 2002).

During the remigration process, politicians and academic scholars, public debates started in the media. The main discussion emphasis about Finnish immigration policy for Ingrian Finns was the meaning of this policy. Was it really because Finland started to feel pity and shame for leaving their relatives for decades in the other part of the boarder? Or was it because after the collapse of the Soviet Union it was favorable situation for attracting people with common roots to their labour market so avoiding many problems with integration of newcomers to their society? Some scholars, as for example Annika Forsander and Eve Kyntäjä, in an article published in the main national daily Helsingin Sanomat in 2002, argued that instead of ethnic grounds debate for immigration what is needed is an open immigration policy. Under such policy, clearly defined and explicit, the grounds for immigration would be the value of the immigrant's skills for the Finnish labour market, rather than the ethnic identity of one's grandparents.

Different opinions and unexpected results of immigration policy induced the public debate that in the future Ingrians and their family members should be treated in the same way as other potential immigrants to Finland. Moreover, because of debates over preserving the old Ingrian region, Finland has striven to lessen the pressure to return to Finland by financing projects for elderly people's collective buildings in the Russian Federation and Estonia. (Committee of the Elimination...2001).

4.3.2. Resettlement policy

The freedom to choose one's place of residence in Finland is guaranteed by the Finnish Constitution. According to Article 7 of the Constitution, Finnish citizens and foreigners residing legally in Finland are entitled to move freely within country from one municipality to another and to choose their place of residence.

The first Ingrian expatriates a few years ago arrived in municipalities without any prior notice. Because of encountered immigration problems, with which Finland was faced the for first time in its history, repatriates' immigration training and the reception process nowadays have been developed so that repatriation can take place in a controlled manner and in a secured environment. (Committee of the Elimination...2001).

Finland has similar immigrant resettlement and reception policies as does other Nordic countries. The Finnish policy focuses on the positive integration of immigrants into society. Integration is encouraged through an extensive program of language training and orientation courses. The emphasis in these programs is often on finding employment for the immigrants. The introductory courses for immigrants include practice at different jobs and extensive guidance about different career opportunities. In Finland, as elsewhere, employment is often seen as a key factor in the integration of immigrants.

Cultural pluralism has not usually been regarded as a political problem in Finland, and there is a kind of multi-cultural ethos embedded in the official resettlement policies. However, as Matinheikki-Kokko (1997) has pointed out, Finnish policies are contradictory. The government papers about refugee and immigrant resettlement are based on liberal pluralist ideas, but the policy recommendations are still universalistic.

Of course, discrepancies between theory and practice also exist in the immigration policies of other Nordic countries. In practice, Finnish resettlement policy is often based on rather unrealistic expectations of a fast integration or even assimilation of immigrants. (Kyntäjä 2000b). Consequently, immigrants are sometimes treated in the same way as are small children, or as persons who must undergo a kind of re-socialization into Finnish society.

One policy which has been criticized by many researchers as Matinheikki-Kokko (1997), Walhbeck (1997) and Valtonen (1997) is the policy of dispersal according to which refugees and immigrants are resettled in small groups throughout the country. (see Liebkind 1995). This policy started already in 1980 with the goal of immigrants' integration to the Finnish society. (see Forsander 2001, Kokko 2002). This practice does not support the establishment of cultural communities among the immigrants, nor does it try to take into account the resources which exist within the immigrants' own social networks. Furthermore, Liebkind (1997) has argued that lack of cultural communities is a detrimental factor affecting the psychological well-being of refugees in Finland. (Kyntäjä 2000b).

Besides the goal of integration, there appeared the need to control the settlement places of Ingrian immigrants due to the fact that half of all repatriates move to the capital area. After the first mainstream of Ingrians moved to the Helsinki region, where the authorities felt that the remigration to the area is so massive that it is difficult to control. Therefore, the cooperation with the representatives of the provincial government, which is the regional administration authority, the responsible branches of administration (primarily the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health and the Ministry of Labour) have created a specific system of directing the remigrants to municipalities. (Tuomiharju 1997). The Ministries and the provincial governments have tried to find new municipalities of reception outside Helsinki and other locations where repatriates are concentrating.

In practice this has meant that people who already decided to move back to Finland but who have not yet left their previous homeland are provided with information on municipalities in different part of the country and the job opportunities, housing situation and services in these municipalities. The potential remigrants can make their decision as regard their future home municipality on the basis of this information before they actually move. The aim is to distribute the remigrants more evenly in various parts

of the country and for the receiving municipality to know beforehand about the immigrants and thus to be able to arrange housing for them. The system worked well and effectively even though it is not based on official norms. (Tuomiharju 1997).

However, it is very important to stress that there does not exist official resettlement policy for Ingrian remigrants in Finland. The Finnish government succeeded to control the immigration trends and to direct them to the preferred regions just in the beginning of the immigration process – when remigrants apply for the future home municipality and residence while being still in their home countries. (Davydova Olga 2003). However, the great part of the Ingrian remigrants at the present time are emigrating without waiting for an answer from Finland about possible residence in certain municipalities.

4.3.3. Finding residence in Turku

At the beginning of the 1990s, many Ingrian remigrants got jobs and found an apartment of their own or with the help of their employer. If remigrants are unable to find housing, the social council in the commune is in practice, if not legally, responsible for finding housing for a residence permit holder. The normal way is that social department arranges temporary housing for 6 months or for a shorter period. During that time the housing department tries to find a permanent apartment. Ingrian remigrants are also encouraged to find housing on their own.

Therefore, the local authorities are currently responsible for, and play a key role in designing settlement and welfare services. According to the settlement authorities, the residential distribution of newcomers aims to create opportunities for them to interact with established residents and also aims to open up a new challenge for shaping Finland's social life. (Matinheikki-Kokko 1997).

The social housing sector in Finland has an important role regarding the spatial distribution of ethnic minorities in the housing market. This is related to immigrants' restricted opportunities in the housing market. The ability of households to realize their preferences in the housing market depends not only on their available recourse but also on different constraints they have to face. As van Kempen and Ozuekren (1998) maintain, access to some segments of the housing market may be restricted, based on economic, social or ethnic criteria. (see Kauppinen 2002). There are several possible

reasons why immigrants may be constrained to social housing. Low income is the basic reason which makes immigrants end up in the municipal housing sector. This fact has caused a lot of criticism, because the number of publicly owned rental flats are few in Finland. The official policy in Finland is in favor of ownership of one's own flat or house. Rental flats do not have priority, and selection of inhabitants for public rental flats is based on special social needs. Therefore, rental flats are very difficult to get if you are a normal citizen without any social problems.

Home ownership is a distant option for the Ingrian remigrants because of the economic reasons, especially for unemployed ones. The difficulties in private sector appear while paying two months deposit which is double the sum of money as for municipal residence is. Therefore, immigrants from poor countries are clearly associated with social housing in their settlement patterns. (Kauppinen 2002). There are also reasons that are specific to immigrants. According to Similä (2000) it has been shown that prejudice against foreigners is common in the private rental sector. (see Kauppinen 2002).

As a result of social rental sector, the Ingrians most often reside in certain residential neighbourhoods – the suburbs of the major cities. (see Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997; Kauppinen 2002). Although these areas can not be termed as ghettos, they have many social problems, including higher unemployment and higher use of alcohol. As a result of the environment, instead of integrating in the Finnish society, Ingrians form a society of their own.

4.3.4. Facilitating an immigration process

In order to facilitate an immigration and integration process, measures have been taken to provide guidance for return migrants in the form of information and advisory services and other actions both in Finland and the old Ingria area. For example in Russia, there are Ministry of Labour officials, present at the Finnish embassies in St Petersburg, to provide advice for returnees. (Virtanen 1997). The Ministry of Labour is responsible for providing counseling for repatriates on a waiting list in the area of origin and organizing three-month training courses in cooperation with the National Board of Education. The courses consist of the Finnish language and general information on Finland. During the course information is given also on conditions in different municipalities of Finland and on training and employment opportunities. This is to prevent prospective repatriates from making hasty decisions owing to lack of information. After amendment of the Aliens Act in 1996, it is also required for applicant to participate in re-entry orientation

arranged in the applicant's country of origin. These orientation courses are organized together with the Finnish language courses. (The Finnish Aliens decree 1994).

When a returnee has been granted a residence permit based on Finnish descent, he or she has the right to move to Finland even without work being found. Consequently, it could cause many problems if the newcomers decide to move to Finland without having found, in advance, a job and a residence. As a result, a special arrangement has been introduced concerning the re-migration from the area of former Soviet Union. Residence permits are not stamped on passports until receiving municipalities in Finland have been contacted to get information on accommodation arrangements. When a repatriate arrives in Finland, the receiving municipality organizes housing, social and health services and immigration counseling as part of the common service system. (Committee of the Elimination...2001).

5. RETURN MIGRATION TO FINLAND AFTER 1990

Historically, Finland has mainly been a country of emigration. The turning point came in the 1980s when emigration reached its lowest post-war level, whereas immigration was high. Until the end of the decade, however, most of the immigrants were Finnish returnees who mostly came from Sweden (Liebkind 1995). In comparison with the rest of Scandinavia, Finland has until quite recently been a rather isolated spot, virtually untouched by either global or European migrations.

Ingrian remigration (or the returning migration of Ingrians) started in 1990. At the beginning of the 1990s, there were a lot of vacancies in the capital city area. Many well-educated Ingrian and Estonian workers moved to Finland trying to get better and more stable living conditions. Therefore the majority of immigrants were quite young - 20 to 30 years old. However, the majority of the immigrants did not have a job pre-organized, nor could benefit from the existing social networks that promote employment and integration (Forsander 2001; see Heikkilä and Järvinen 2002).

Only a small number of Ingrians immigrated in 1990. The following years could be already called the years of massive Ingrian remigration (Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997).

5.1. The profile on immigrant

In Turku city I interviewed 34 remigrants who had immigrated to Finland after 1990. Females constituted 62% of the interviewees. In respect of education level, language skills and socioeconomic position the group of respondents was rather heterogeneous. The number of interviewees from each age group was more homogeneous. As an exception we could mention children who were not interviewed. There were 15 interviewees of “the elderly” age group, 11 middle aged and 9 from “the young generation“ age group (Figure 3). As we can see, the elderly in this case study constitute the biggest part of the immigrants. At some level it reflects the general situation in Finnish cities where only in Helsinki the Ingrian remigrants are mostly of working age. (Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997).

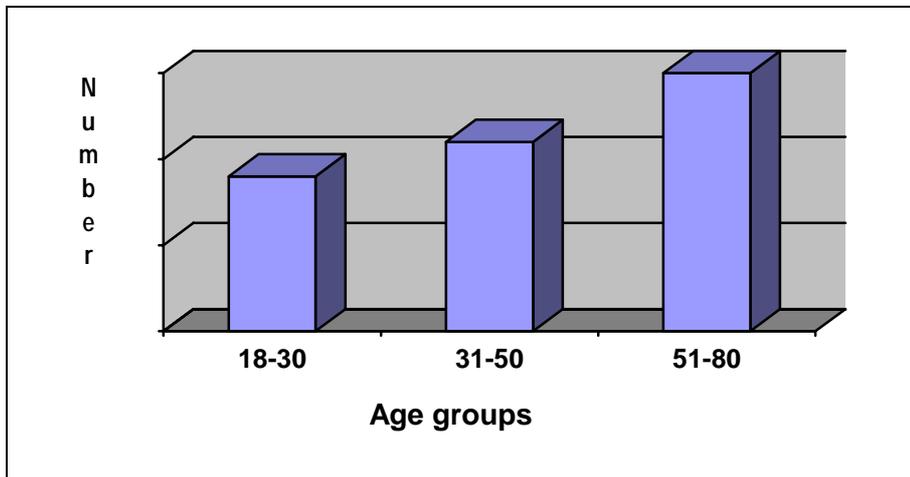


Figure 3. Age groups of Ingrian interviewees.

Most of the Ingrian immigrants had families and only three interviewees were widowed. Because of the remigration to Finland, the family members of the Ingrian returnees were scattered within Finland's and former Soviet Union's territory. A large number of the interviewees had children both in Finland and previous home countries. 30% of the interviewees from Turku had their family members in other cities in Finland from which the majority was living in Helsinki area. Family members within Turku city were more concentrated: more than half of the families were living in the same dwelling.

The Ingrian Finnish immigrants are on average better educated than the Finnish citizens in equal age-group. (Forsander 2001). Most of the Ingrian remigrants were well educated and had many years of work experience in their country of origin. Many of the Ingrian Finns were blue collar workers. Metal workers, shop assistants, mechanics and electricians were very common professions for remigrants. Other common professions for remigrants were teaching, engineering and business management. Only one immigrant did not have a secondary or professional education and no work experience at all. In proportion there was the same amount of immigrants with secondary education as with higher education. However, only 25% of the working age immigrants were employed of whom 40% did not work according to their profession. Half of the unemployed did not know the Finnish language.

According to the previous researchers, only the oldest generation of the Ingrian Finnish remigrants can normally master the Finnish language. The case study in Turku also has shown that the elderly generation knew Finnish language better than the young and middle aged Ingrians. The Finnish spoken among the Russian Finns is rather old-

fashioned and the vocabulary lacks terms which have been created since the 1940s; most of the Finnish speakers must brush up on their Finnish. (Forsander 2001). It should be stressed that the youngest and middle aged generations has learned Finnish language only after immigration to Finland. However, there are exceptions too, e.g. families who have maintained the language through generations despite the Russification pressure. However, the majority of middle-aged Ingrians could master only the Russian language. Unwillingness to learn the Finnish language was especially noted among the Russian speaking remigrants from Estonia who also could not manage Estonian language. 34% of the young Ingrian remigrants, besides learning the Finnish language were also learning English language. 20% of all interviewees knew Finnish, Russian and Estonian languages altogether. Most of these remigrants has named their mother tongue as Estonian.

Among the non-Finnish native speakers from the former Soviet Union Estonian speaking remigrants often speak Finnish when they immigrate, or if not, they learn it rapidly because of the close relation between the Estonian and Finnish languages. Most of the Russian speakers need intensive language training before their language skills are good enough.

Religion should also be mentioned in this profile of the Ingrian returnees. Even though other researchers on Ingrian Finns did not stress this characteristic, I found it quite important while trying to make clear their ethnic ties with Finland. From the interviews, I made in Turku, I found out that 51% of the Ingrians named their religion as Lutheran which shows closer ties with Finnish ancestry than 37% of the interviewees who named their religion as Orthodox. These results are showed in the Table 1.

Table 1. Ingrians' knowledge of languages according to their religion.

Religion %	Knows Finnish language	Knows Estonian language	Knows only Russian language
Lutheran	41	20	38
Orthodox	28	19	62

5.2. Trends and directions of immigration to Finland

At the present time not many Ingrians still live in Ingermanland. A great part of them had either been resettled, deported, dispersed or had fled. Nowadays, it is estimated that there are about 60 000 Ingrian Finns scattered throughout the former Soviet Union, of whom about one third live in the old Ingria, the St.Petersburg district, one third in Karelia and one third in Estonia (Table 2). As a result of such dispersal, at the present time there is a great amount of diverse trends of Ingrain remigration to Finland. (Ingrian Association).

Table 2. Ingrians in the Soviet Union (1989s). Their living places and numbers in 1991.

<i>Within Russian Federation territory</i>		<i>Within former Soviet Union territory</i>		<i>Living places and amount in 1991</i>	
Republic of Karelia	18 420	Estonia	16 222	Ingria	16 000
Leningrad	5 469	Ukraine	1 192	Estonia	17 000
Leningrad area	11 833	Kazakhstan	1 036	Karelia	8 000
Yakutia	315	Latvia	463	Siberia	8 000
Komi	302	Byelorussia	310	Kazakhstan	1 000
Bashkortostan	89	Uzbekistan	241	Ukraine	1 000
Tatarstan	83	Lithuania	162	Finland	8 000
Cshuvashia	70	Kyrgyzstan	121	Sweden	6 000
Russian Federation	10 739	Moldavia	97	USA, Canada	1 000
		Tajikistan	75		
		Georgia	64		
<i>Total</i>	47 335	<i>Total</i>	19 983	<i>Total</i>	76 000

Source: Huovinen 1993; Sihvo 2000

Limited statistical information disables us to say the distances, which Ingrian immigrants travel before their place of residence is recorded in one of our periodical census. As a result, misunderstandings can appear trying to analyze census's data about

the immigrants' home country. As in a case of Ingrian Finns, their pointed country of emigration or nationality not always tells their place of origin. The first reason is that sometimes they have difficulties in deciding what is their homeland because of the permanent movements between Finland and the former Soviet Union or within the Soviet Union. The second reason – some decades ago, some Ingrians have chosen Russian nationality in order to be safe from persecution being Finnish. For that reason it is difficult to identify their real ethnicity and therefore the sending area.

The analysis of immigration to Finland showed that 60-70% of the people, who have come to Finland from the area of the former USSR during the 1990s, have come on Finnish return status. (Koivukangas 2002a).

In the early 1990s only a small number of Ingrian expatriates immigrated to Finland. Most of these remigrants came from Estonia. In a few years, movement from other parts of the former Soviet Union increased. The first movement was encouraged by employers, who even made recruitment trips to Estonia to get new employees. (Takalo & Juote 1995, Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997)

The following, 1991 year, could be called the year of massive Ingrian remigration. During that year 5 500 Ingrians settled in Finland. A thousand came from the recently independent state of Estonia and over 4 500 from Russia. However, among them there were also citizens of Ukraine, Byelorussia or other Soviet Union states. Some of them were still holders of the old Soviet passport. (Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997).

Since the 1990s, during the period of Ingrian Finns immigration, the immigration trends and main sending regions were not changing significantly. From 1992 to 1994 the Ingrian remigration movement was around 3 000 annually, declining in 1995 to some 2 500. (Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997). Since 1996 the number was regulated by the residence permits granted and was limited to 2 000 annually. As a result of such immigration policy the number of migrants has remained stable in recent years (Forsander 1999; Kuprijanko 2001). In spring 1999, the number of the former Soviet Union remigrants in Finland was estimated by the Ministry of Labour to be about 20 000 persons, when including all the family members. Currently the total number of Ingrian remigrants in Finland is estimated to be about 33 000. (Riikka 2002).

As we can notice from the information above, the number of Ingrian immigrants differs by about several thousands depending on the source material. This is due to the fact that there is no official statistical information about the ethnic background of the immigrants in Finland and the number of Ingrians among Estonian, Russian or other former Soviet citizens can only be estimated.

As we can see from Figure 4, since 1990, the majority of immigrants moved from Russia. The second largest expatriates' group from former Soviet Union has come from Estonia. The number of immigrants from other former Soviet Union countries was not so significant. Moreover, the number was declining since 1990.

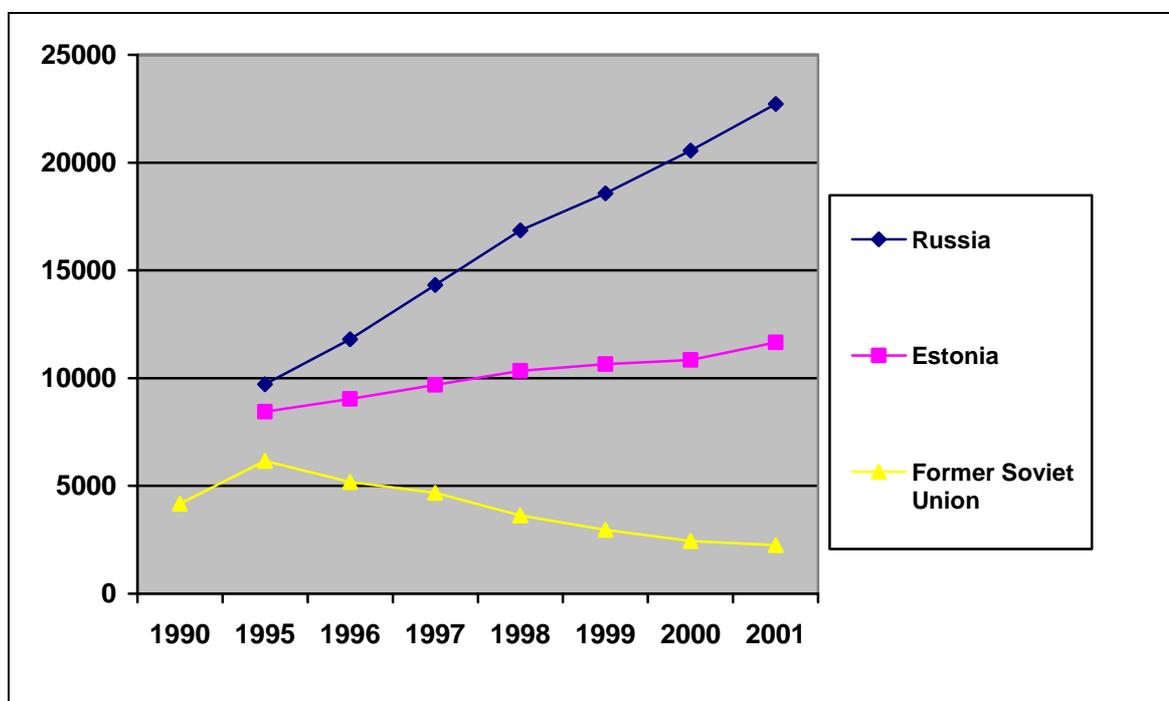


Figure 4. Foreigners in Finland. Source: Statistics Finland, Demographic statistics.

5.3. Territorial distribution in Finland

Mobility within Finland is from the north and east to Helsinki and the surrounding areas. (Forsander 2001). As elsewhere, also in Finland urban areas are the most popular places for immigrants to settle (Figure 5). Half of the Ingrian remigrants have settled in the capital city area as in other capital cities in Europe. Helsinki has been the major receiver of immigrants in Finland. The number of immigrants in Helsinki is the highest

in Finland in absolute as well as in relative terms. The total number of immigrants living in Helsinki was 12 029 at the end of 1995, which was 30% of all immigrants living in Finland at that time. If we add the immigrants from the surrounding cities (Vantaa and Espoo), the figure is about 47%. The percent of Helsinki residents who are native speakers of a foreign language is about 4.1%. While this does not seem high, it must be noted, that the average in 1995 for the foreign language speaking population in Finland was only 1.3%. This means that Helsinki is the most international city in Finland. (Pitkänen and Jaakkola. 1997).

Population statistics from the end of 1995 indicate that Estonians and Russians were the most numerous immigrant groups in Helsinki. The number of Estonians was 3 439 by the end of 1995. At the same time the number of Russian nationals was 2 829, and there were 1 794 citizens of the former Soviet Union. Over half of Estonian and Russians were females (57%). These are the only accurate figures available. How many of them have moved to Finland as remigrants is not indicated in the population statistics.

Some of the information on remigrants could be found in surveys and statistics compiled by the Unit of Foreigners. About a third of all immigrants in Helsinki are thought to be Ingrians remigrants, which is 7 000. The official statistics of the City of Helsinki show 6 280 Ingrian remigrants. One could ask where some 700 remigrants have disappeared. The correct answer is that the rest of the Ingrian remigrants are adults who have not needed any welfare services from the state or from local authorities. This is probably good for remigrants and for society but bad for statistics (Takalo & Juote; Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997).

The Unit of Foreigner City of Helsinki Social Services Department estimates that remigration has not been steady in Helsinki. During some periods, as for example the summer months in 1991 through 1993, more Ingrians moved to the city area of Helsinki than during other seasons of the year.

The other biggest cities in Finland, Turku and Tampere, are the second major receives of Ingrian remigrants after Helsinki area. According to the Ingrian association in Turku, there are about 2 thousand Ingrian remigrants in Turku city, whereas in Tampere reside about 800.

Several cases studies on the number of Ingrian remigrants have shown that those immigrants are quite proportionally dispersed within the Finland's territory (excluding

the biggest cities) and contain a small number of foreigners. As an example we could take very typical Finnish cities - Jyväskylä and Lappeenranta which can show the general view of Ingrian number in medium sized cities in Finland. The number of Ingrian remigrants in each of these cities is over 300 persons. (Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997).

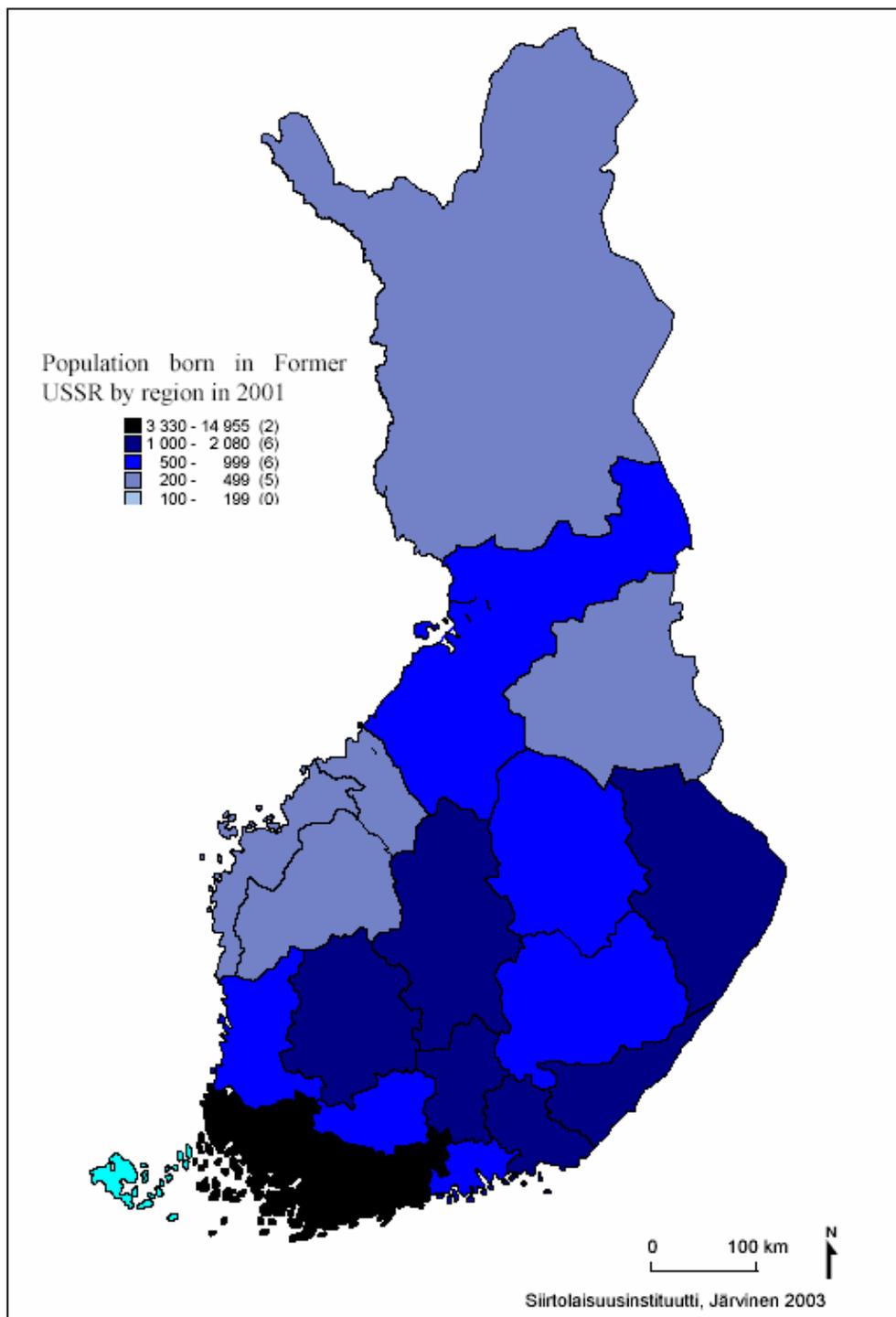


Figure 5. Population born in the former Soviet Union by region in 2001. Source: Järvinen 2003

5.4. Major causes of immigration to Finland

Many conducted interviews by various researchers, and the case study which I conducted in Turku help to understand the most common reasons of Ingrian emigration from Russia and immigration to Finland.

The most important reason to come to Finland for many Ingrian Finns were their historical ties with Finland (Figure 7). However, in addition to that many of the interviewees mention the unstable economic situation in Russia, feelings of insecurity, particularly with regard to crime, and uncertainty about tomorrow. Hope for a better life and worry about children's future are often quoted as reasons for emigrating.

The economic gap between Finland and Russia is among the largest in Europe (Figure 6). In fact it has only become deeper during the 1990s (Heikkilä and Järvinen 2003). The seriousness of the economic situation is reflected in miserable living conditions, inadequate salaries and pensions which, on top of everything else, are not paid on time. (Kyntäjä 1997).

More than 80% of the interviewees said openly that they got more money here and that the living conditions are better in Finland. Unemployment and a threat of being unemployed is also considered a real problem. Unemployment is, in a way, a new problem in Russia, which did not officially exist during the Soviet Union. A particularly serious problem is the parents' worry of children being unemployed in the future.

The security (not economic) in Finland as the most important reason was mentioned by 30% of the interviewees, by 70% as the second important and 60% as the third important. The prevalence of crime and a general feeling of insecurity have made people fearful of their future. They are afraid to go out at night and they are particularly worried about their children. This feeling is so strong that it does not leave them even in Finland. Some of the interviewed immigrants said that they are afraid to stay at home because the neighbors are "strange". Most interviewees were afraid their negative answers to the questionnaire would be written down. Some of them were afraid even to answer orally. The reasoning was that "somebody will find out and I will have serious problems". The psychological reasons for emigration are, therefore, usually connected with frustration and feelings of helplessness and also the feeling that they are not able to control their own lives. Finland is expected to provide everything that is missing in Russia. All the interviewees claim that they are aware of the recession and

unemployment in Finland, but they still consider that their future, even as an unemployed person in Finland, would be better.

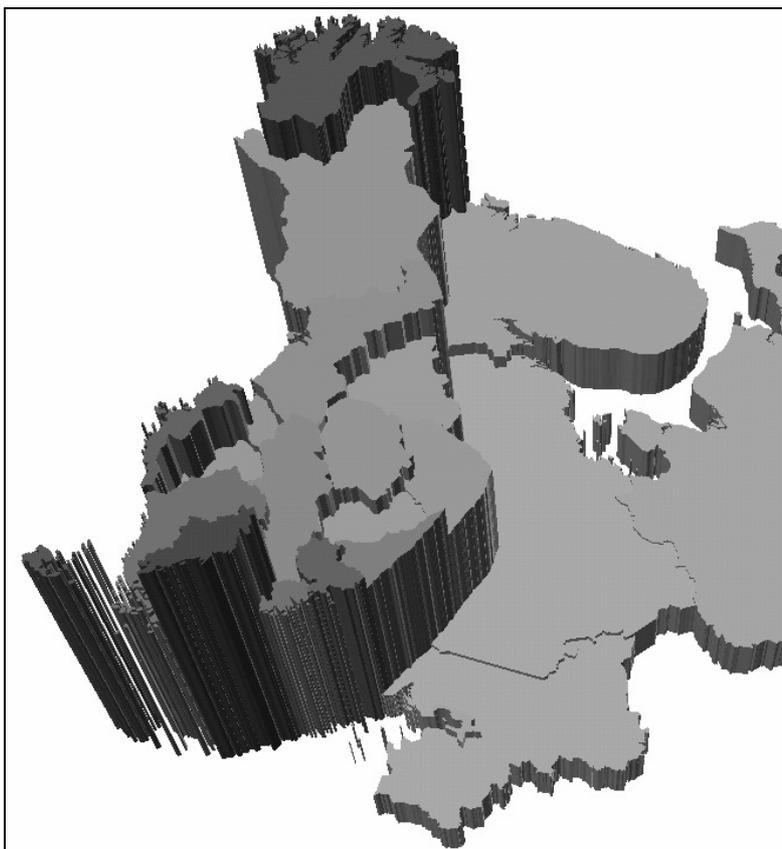


Figure 6. The economic gap between Finland and Russia toward the end of the 1990s: gross national product according to purchasing power parity. Source: Eskelinen 2001.

The majority of interviewees agreed that people would not be so anxious to come to Finland if the circumstances in Russia were different. "Return migration awakens conflicting feelings in the old Ingrian area. On the one hand, living conditions have been, and still are very difficult. On the other hand, many feel that they should stay to build Ingrian society" (Konttinen 2001a). Asked if the first major reason to come to Finland could be named as returning to their place of origin they answered positively. However, later questioned if the economic situation is more important for them than being nearer the roots of origin, almost everybody said economic security. As a conclusion I could argue that the interviewees did not want to appear as simply economic immigrants from the former Soviet Union. They felt quite proud to be called Ingrian Finns or returnees because of having an important, acceptable and

understandable reason to come to Finland. Therefore we could claim that the opinions of the interviewees can be described as ambivalent.

Good residential conditions in Finland were also a serious reason to move to the country. Some of the immigrants stressed that “we have where to live here in Finland and that is why we are here”. Some of the elderly in their former living countries lived in the countryside, where the flats had to be warmed with wood, and there were no water pipes and electricity. Some of them had to live with five people in a very small flat. This situation is quite common in Russia, especially among young people, who live with their parents for a very long time because of the lack of money.

A very important factor also contributing to remigration was children, sisters or other relatives living in Finland. The increased unemployment in the former Soviet Union persuaded children to immigrate to Finland. The elderly wanted to live near their children. Moreover, the children decided that for their parents, it would be much better to come to Finland being aware of social guarantees and government’s care of the elderly.

The Finnish ancestry and the time spent in Finland during the Second World War also contributed to the remigration decision. For those immigrants who had been in Finland before 1990 it was easier to decide to move to live to this country permanently because they feel they have strong ethnic ties with Finland.

One of the informant women has come to Finland because of a friendship she has made before coming. According to her, this is quite a common phenomenon when women in Russia are looking for a man to live with in Finland in order to escape from the terrible living conditions in Russia. “I had to find somebody before coming because to come to the country and the city where you do not have friends and know anything means to go to obscurity.”

Very few of the immigrants wanted to move to Finland in order to find a better job than in their previous country of settlement. These interviewees were quite young and had a good education level. They argued that perhaps over the past few years the word has spread in Russia that it is supposed to be easy here, and one can get by without knowing the language.

Besides the major reasons of immigration such as security in Finland, better economic conditions for the whole family and more secure social guarantees which reflects the major picture of their migration, there were mentioned by several interviewees such pull factors as the wish to change the place of living, to see “Europe”, to know more about other countries. These reasons usually were mentioned as of the second or the third importance which reflects the difficult economical situation in Russia when the people do not have enough finance and possibilities to spend some of their time abroad. Most of these interviewees had a high level of education and felt useless and without value in the former Soviet Union.

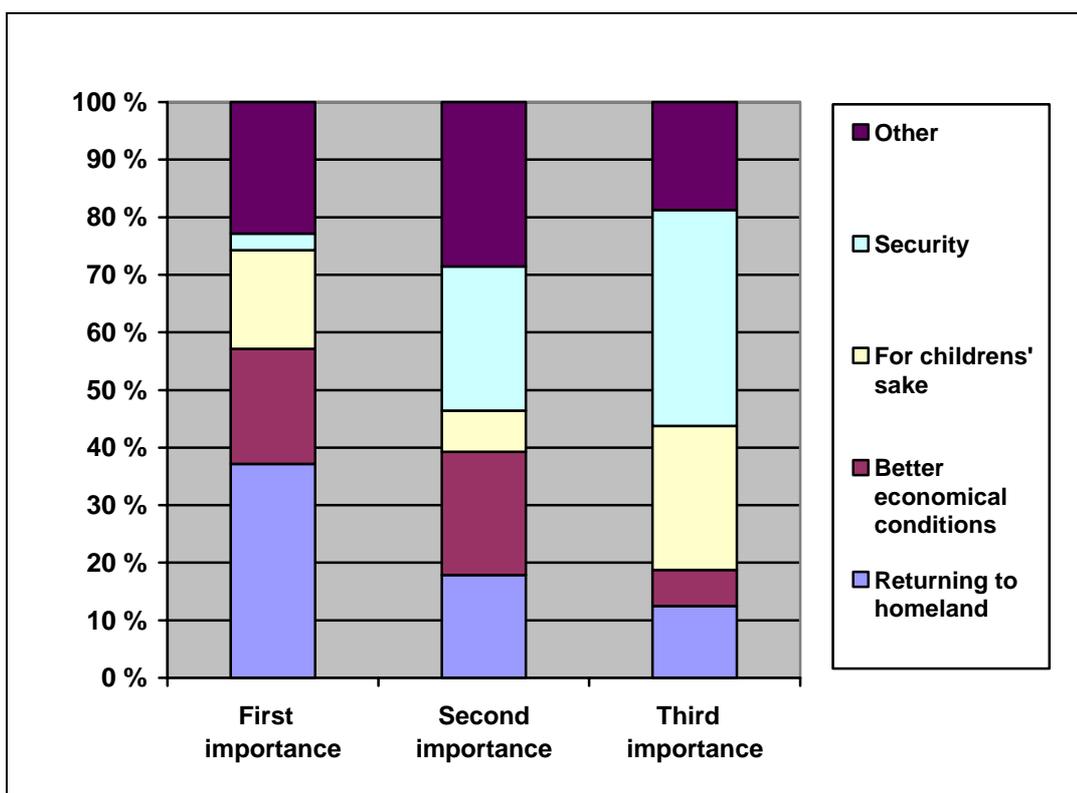


Figure 7. The reasons of Ingrian Finns' immigration to Finland.

5.5. The affects of emigration in the areas where the Ingrians move from

When the opportunity to move to Finland became public knowledge, the first people to leave were the ones whose command of the Finnish language was at least passable, who regarded themselves as Finns and who usually had good education. This had a paralyzing effect on the Ingrian villages. It seemed as though remigration would lead to the complete disappearance of the Finnish culture and language from Russia, leaving only the elderly in the villages. (Markkanen 1997).

There is no exact data on the number of Ingrians living in Russia and Estonia, but at present it is estimated at 70 000. (Markkanen 1997). However, this number is quite doubtful. The regulations in the former Soviet Union allowed people who were afraid of discrimination of ethnic minorities chose Russian as their nationality instead of Finnish. According to the official census of 1989 there were 67 000 Finns in the Soviet Union while in reality it was estimated to be greater, around 80 000 – 100 000. (Forsander 1999). One part of the Ingrian Finns who were scattered throughout the former Soviet Union, at the present time live in the old Ingria, the St.Petersburg district, the second in Karelia and the third in Estonia. (Nylund-Oja and Pentikäinen 1995). However, there is no data on age groups and education of those people which could show changing social structure of old Ingrian area.

The possible effects of the migration on the areas where the remigrants come from have been under discussion ever since the Ingrians started to move back to Finland (Virtainen 1997). The attitudes towards moving to Finland especially among the Finnish-speaking Ingrian activists have gradually turned very critical, and these people have even started to call the remigration policy pursued by Finland an ethnic purge or the final deathblow to Ingria (Markkanen 1997).

Support for the Ingrians in their own places of residence is nowadays largely considered as a more sensible, more humane and also more economic alternative to intensive emigration. This opinion is supported also by the Ingrian associations and organizations and the Ingrian Church which operate in Karelia and elsewhere in Russia. If massive emigration, however, continues, as it probably will, it is clear that the Finnish language and culture will disappear from Russia in 20-30 years. (Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1997).

While talking about supporting the Ingrians in their own places we have to highlight the fact that most of them do not live in the old Ingria. Therefore, with the help of substantial measures there is a need to support Ingrians not only in their old living territory. For example, Karelia region in Russia is often not mentioned in the support projects. However, the old Ingrians in the region do not think that even Finnish support for their emigration to Finland is the best solution. If we lived in Ingria, the situation would certainly be different. One can understand that the younger generation, which was born here in Karelia, does not feel that Ingrian culture is their own", the chairman of Karelian-Finnish Ingrian association, Juho Mullanen ponders. (Konttinen 2001a).

The most concrete example of support provided to the Ingrian regions in Russia and Estonia is the Ingrian Project, in the course of which service houses for the elderly have been founded in Ingria and Karelia in Russia and in Estonia since 1992. These services provide primarily non-institutional care services for the elderly. The project has been implemented in close cooperation with Russian authorities, Ingrian associations and the Ingrian Church. (Teinonen and Virtainen 1999).

The other special Ingrian support project which began in 1999 is to improve the living conditions and employment situation of the Ingrians in the St. Petersburg area. The Finnish Ministry of Labour is spending about FIM 8 million on the four-year project. The aim is to offer supplementary education to the Ingrians which would give them better chances to get a job with a Russian employer, or with a Finnish company operating in Russia. (Konttinen 2000).

6. INGRIANS' MIGRATION TO TURKU

Turku is the second largest area of immigrant concentration in Finland after the Helsinki conurbation proportion, which comprises Helsinki, Vantaa, Espoo and Kauniainen. Turku has the third largest amount of immigrants of all Finland's municipalities; only Helsinki and Espoo exceeded in immigrant numbers. (Heikkilä and Järvinen 2002). The net immigration of Turku is due to foreigners who move here as refugees or due to work or marriage. In 2001 in Turku have been living 6 484 foreigners. The foreigners in Turku come from 121 (1999) different countries, most of them from Russia, Estonia, Iraq and former Yugoslavia. (Report on young people in Turku 2000).

Increasing numbers of immigrants living in Finland are moving toward southern Finland. For many, the target is the south-western city of Turku which is not affected by the housing shortage that plagues the greater Helsinki area. The immigrants come to Turku from all over Finland. 1998 was the busiest year of migration in Turku. The greatest numbers have come from Hämeenlinna, Kuopio and Salo. (Johansson 2000b).

6.1. From where do Ingrians move to Turku?

Because of lack of statistics there is no exact data on Ingrian remigrants number in Turku and their sending regions. According to the statistics (Turun Kaupunkin), Ingrian immigration to Turku was quite inconsequential since 1994 (the data was available just since this year). As we can see in Figure 8, the biggest numbers of Ingrian moved to Turku in 1996, 1997 and 1998.

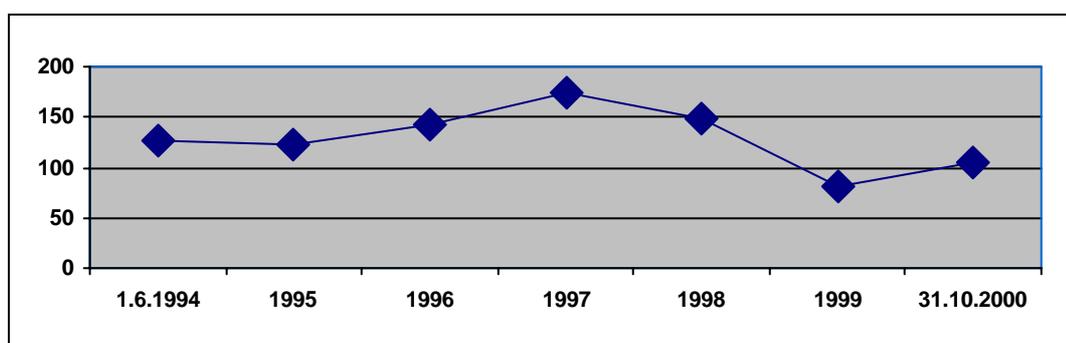


Figure 8. Ingrian immigration to Turku. Source: Kansainvälinen Palvelukeskus

Table 3 shows that the biggest Ingrian group in 2001 immigrated to Turku from Russia, the second greatest part came from Estonia.

Table 3. Largest groups of Ingrian remigrants by sending countries in 2001.

Sending country	Amount
Russia	61
Estonia	23
Byelorussia	3
Ukraine	8
Kazakhstan	5
Moldova	4

Source: Kansainvälinen Palvelukeskus.

Study in Turku demonstrated that only 12% of the interviewees have come to Turku from other part of Finland. The rest moved directly from the former Soviet Union. The majority of them have never been before in this city or even other part of the Finland.

Two of Ingrian remigrants have moved from Vantaa city. The explanation of this direction of migration, which is quite often within Finland, comes from the fact that this region contains the biggest number of foreigners. Therefore it is both the major sender and receiver region of immigrants in the country.

The case study in Turku has shown the same directions of Ingrian immigration as shows Finland general statistics on Ingrian sending countries (Figure 10). The biggest part of the people, who came to Finland under the return immigrant status, came from Russia (64%) (Figure 9). In Russia most of them have been living in St.Petersburg and the region of Karelia. Moreover, there were also Ingrian returnees coming from Siberia and further Asia. It is estimated that some 10 000 of Ingrians still live in Siberia as a result of Russification policy (Cultural minorities in Finland).

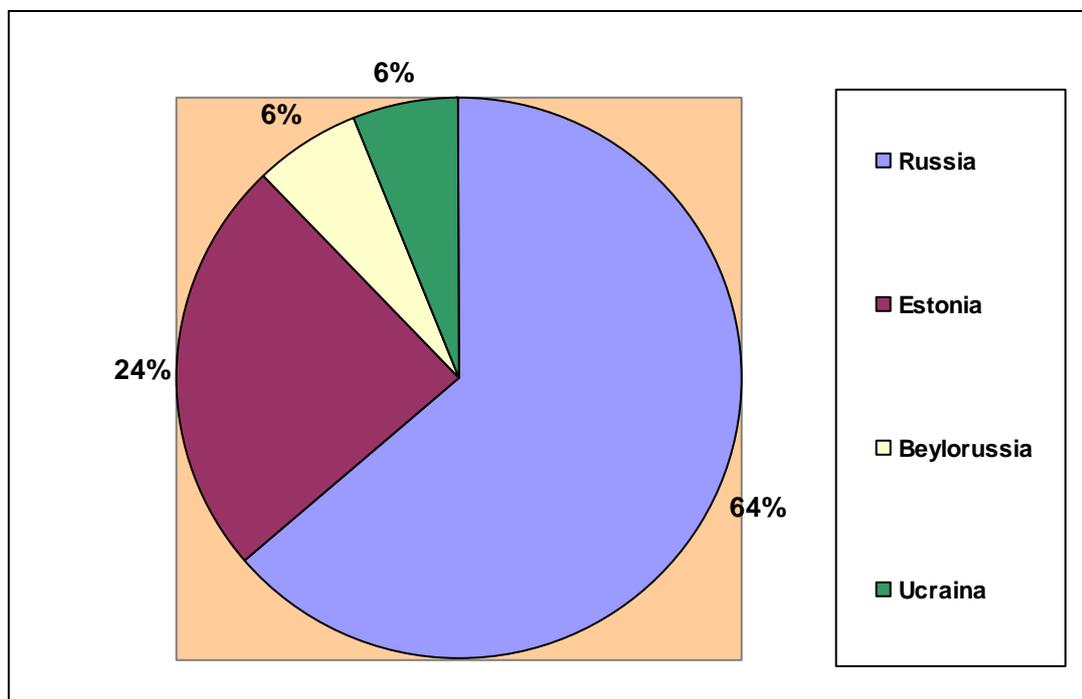


Figure 9. Ingrian expatriates sending countries.

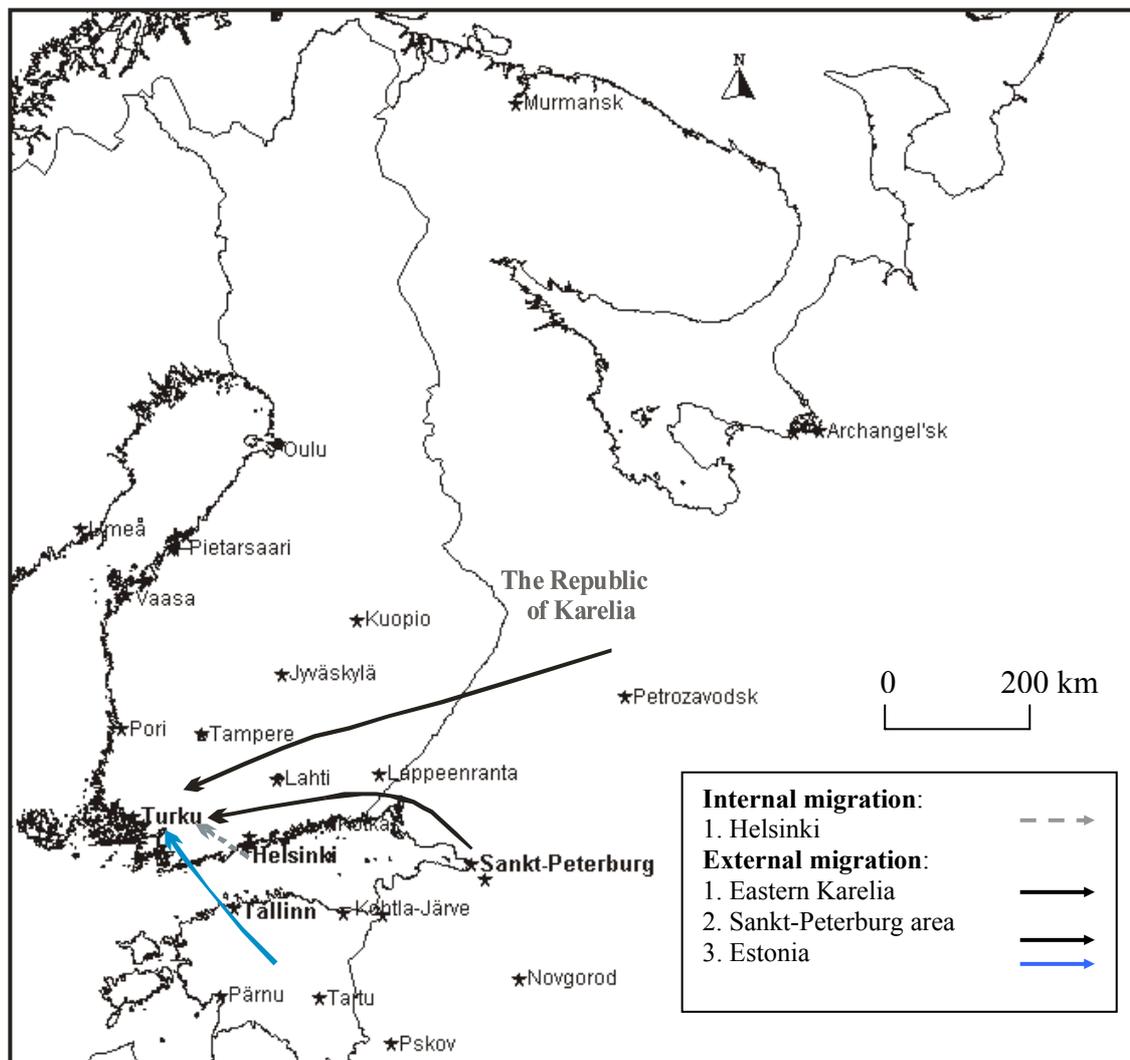


Figure 10. Major migration directions to Turku city.

The great number of the Ingrian Finns coming from St.Petersburg can be explained by the fact that it is the central part of the old Ingrian area. Moreover, Ingrians from the St.Petersburg were provided with much information about remigration because the various Ingrian organizations are situated in this city. “Many of the current returning migrants are quite poorly equipped for the Finnish society. Those who come from St. Petersburg region are better aware of what the move is all about, but those who come from elsewhere receive even no language training before they leave” (Talli 2000). Other interpretation could arise from the fact that St.Petersburg is situated rather near the Finnish boarder. Therefore, it is easier to move to an other country knowing that your home city is near and you will be able to visit more often your relatives, friends or even family members.

Quite many Ingrian Finns and their family members came from Eastern Karelia region which was one of the main points for Ingrian deportation and forced resettlement policy during Soviet Union times. Many of Ingrians settled in the region after Stalin death when they were allowed to move only as far as Soviet-Karelia and Estonia. After the law which allowed them to return to their home villages many of them stayed in the region of Karelia (Kyntäjä 1997) as dwindling minorities among the Russians (Nylund-Oja and Pentikäinen 1995). Several of the interviewees have moved from Petrozavodsk, the capital of Soviet Karelia, where it is estimated that about 4 000 to 5 000 people considering themselves Ingrian Finns. (Konttinen 2001b).

Ingrians from Estonia constituted the second most numerous part of interviewees. 40% of them have been living in Tallinn area. Other remigrants, before moving to Turku, have been living in the old Ingrian villages. For these immigrants from Estonia, the movement to Finland was particularly easy. The knowledge of Estonian language (if they did not know Finnish) did not frighten them to resettle in other part of the boarder because of the possibility to integrate into the Finnish society quicker than Russian speaking immigrants. Anyway, in proportion with the number of Ingrians living in Russia and Estonia, the remigrants in Finland from Estonia do not constitute the bigger part.

According to the interviewees there are not many Ingrians living in the former villages of Ingria. As a result of troubled historical times and the new remigration policy, entire villages are abandoned of old Ingrian culture. At the present time the previous local people are represented just by the elderly generation. The elderly, living in old Ingria villages, are the closest to the Finnish culture and prefer to stay in their motherland. However, many of the elderly move to Finland after being invited by their children. Therefore, the emigration trends from Ingrian villages consist both of youngsters and elderly of whom old Ingria is once more losing its recourses.

Two of the interviewed immigrants have come from Byelorussia and two from Ukraine. The results of the research confirm the fact that the Ingrian Finns came to Finland not necessarily from the old Ingrian area in Russia. This is the consequence of the former Soviet Union dictators' politics which forced migrate Ingrians within the Soviet Union. Therefore, we could maintain that at the present time it is a quite dispersed ethnic group. Moreover, during the period when Ingria was forbidden for Ingrians, Russification policies encouraged Russians and Ukrainians to move to live in Ingria and Karelia.

In some cases the fact that there are Ingrians living so far from their homeland could be explained by marriage. During the former Soviet Union times marriage between the people from different republics were very common.

Miserable Ingrian history contributed to the migratory type of this ethnic group. Even 40% of the interviewees before coming to Finland have changed twice the country of living. If before the 1980s most of the Ingrians have been moving because of the political reasons, later migrations were induced by economic motives. As we can know from the previous researches, most of these changes were from Russia to Estonia due to the fact that the living conditions in Estonia were better. Therefore, the great part of middle aged Ingrians (who moved to Finland from Estonia) have their ethnic roots in Russia. Half of the interviewees in Turku were living in Estonia all their lives, the other half came to Estonia from Russia while being children.

6.2. Why they have chosen Turku city?

Differences in country-internal migration motives for the Finns and immigrants are evident. The most significant reasons for the Finns to move from one town/city to another are work, studies, living, and changes in family relationships. The four main reasons for immigrants moving to another town/city are wish to be near friends and family, employment and educational opportunities, wish to be near people of the same ethnic group, and the need to feel less lonely. Motives concerning living circumstances are not nearly as important to immigrants as they were to the Finns. (Heikkilä and Järvinen 2002).

The results of the case study in Turku have been very surprising. The answers of the interviewees showed that Turku city was chosen many times just by accident. This was due to the fact that their knowledge about this town while being in the previous place of living was very limited. The only information they knew about the city was that it is in the south of Finland, the second biggest of the country and warmer than other part of Finland. All this information they found out from the map by themselves. The information given for the Ingrian Finns and their families before leaving the country of residence was extremely insufficient to make such important decision as settlement place in a new country.

The other reason why so few immigrants were aware of the city they are immigrating to was the lack of information from the people who have left for Finland before. The plans to leave Russia were the biggest secret of the family. After getting a positive answer about the possibility to immigrate, people took their things and without any word left their homes. The rest of the relatives who stayed at home did not discuss very openly with neighbors or friends about the new experience of those who had emigrated.

One of the most common reasons to settle in this city was a residence which was found and offered by government personally for the returnee before leaving their previous home countries (Figure 11). Housing availability is one of the driving forces affecting the regional distribution of immigrants in certain areas in Finland because renting is the main form of living for immigrants. (Forsander 2002).

The Ingrian Finns have a right to choose the municipality they want to move to before leaving their residence in the former Soviet Union. Most of the interviewees refused to move to other parts of Finland until they got a positive answer about finding residence in Turku. This was due to the fact that the offers they got were mostly in small towns and not positioned in the southern part of the country.

The geographical position of Turku attracted many interviewed immigrants. Many of the interviewees pointed to it as a third reason to move to Turku. The importance of similar climate conditions was stressed by those immigrants living in Tallinn and St.Petersburg areas. The majority of them would have preferred to live in Helsinki, especially those coming from St.Petersburg. Their preference was explained by the bigger size of the city and therefore better employment opportunities. The Ingrians from St.Petersburg pointed out that it was quite difficult to decide to move to such a small city as Turku after so many years of living in the second largest city in Russia.

For the Ingrian remigrants planning to move to Finland, the wait can be as long as two years. Those hoping to settle in Helsinki, Turku, or Lappeenranta have to wait the longest, while municipal apartments are easier to find in other parts of the country. However, most Ingrian Finns do not want to move to northern or western Finland, where it is more difficult to find work. (Konttinen 2000). Moreover, the majority of immigrants knew before leaving about difficult employment opportunities even in Turku. Anyway they still expected to find a job and live better than in the former Soviet

Union. Those coming from other parts of Finland knew even better that it is not very easy to find work in Turku, a city with an unemployment rate of 16%. However, this is less than in many rural areas of eastern Finland where some of the immigrants have been living, and sometimes they succeed.

According to a recent survey, many immigrants want to come to Turku because of the positive atmosphere here. To some extent, this is probably a reflection of the bilingual setting and old international traditions. (Lahoniitty 2003). However, none of the interviewed Ingrians mentioned this reason for coming to Turku. This was due to the fact that the majority of the immigrants did not have essential information about the cities in Finland. Some of the immigrants have argued that it is vital for the city to maintain the atmosphere of tolerance and multiculturalism but they did not think about this criterion before coming to Turku. For the majority of Ingrians, it was more important to know before hand that they will have close relatives in the new country. The feeling of being secure in new surroundings and maintaining the social networks explain why family relations is of the first importance for the immigrants when choosing the place of living in Finland. Consequently, the image of the city is not of the first importance for the Ingrian Finns. This criterion becomes more important for the immigrants who have spent much time in the country. According to one informant, after two years spent in Jyväskylä he had already much information about different cities and advantages for immigrants or especially Ingrian Finns. After learning the language and being able to manage in Finland without help, he could choose the place where there are more possibilities for him to find a job, continue the studies and to live in a more international society.

The basis for migration in search of work or education is different for the Finns and immigrants. Immigrants are more encouraged to move to another town/city although they are not entirely sure what awaits them. (see Heikkilä and Järvinen 2002; Kokko 2002). As a case study in Turku has shown, the percentage of young people moving in search of studies is much smaller but the nature of the movement between Ingrian Finns is quite similar. The search for better opportunities for studies concerns only those Ingrians who can manage Finnish or English quite well. Thus such migration flows are very small because the young generation of newcomers start to learn the basis of Finnish language only in Finland and are not able to pursue their studies in Finnish. Anyway those who learn the language are very eager to continue the studies started in former Soviet Union. The main obstacle differentiating them from Finnish students is

economic. One of the interviewees came to study to Turku from Rauma town. The main difficulty for her was a place of living in Turku because she could not afford to pay the rent. In order that she could study the whole family had move to live to Turku.

Several of the interviewees have been living in Turku during the Second World War. Therefore they have chosen this town to settle without any hesitation. The memories about the city and some old friends they hoped to find again, induced them move to live to Turku permanently.

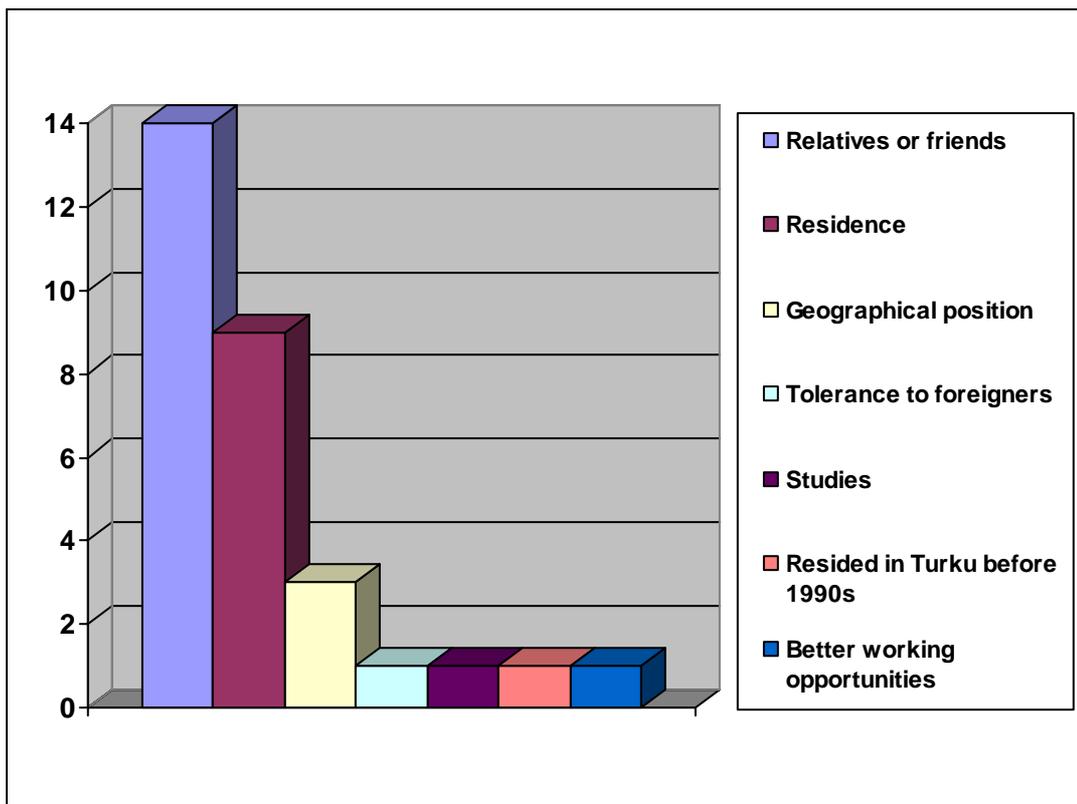


Figure 11. Reasons of choosing Turku city.

7. MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS WITHIN TURKU

In Finland there are no very big communities consisting of one nationality in bigger cities since the municipal rental houses, where most refugees and labour migrants dwell, are decentrally located in the municipalities. However, the settlement patterns of immigrants within cities are determined not only by this factor. Consequently, there are suburbs in Finland where there are more foreigners than in other suburbs (Zechner 2002).

In Turku immigrants concentrate in the eastern suburbs of the city (Figure 12). (Heikkilä and Järvinen 2002). Varissuo, Lauste and Halinen are the living areas containing the biggest amount of foreign residence. (Itä-Turku tilastoina 2001). For example, 16.8% of the population in Lauste comprises immigrants and the corresponding proportion for Varissuo is 14.4%. The percentage of immigrants of the total population in the eastern Turku area is 8% and for all of Turku the figure is 3.6% (Heikkilä and Järvinen 2002).

As there is no data on Ingrian living places in Turku, we can approximate from the statistics on Russian and Estonian speaking immigrants who also concentrate in the eastern part of the city. (Itä-Turku tilastoina 2001). Interviewee's results confirmed that most of Ingrian remigrants have residences in Varissuo, Lauste, Harittu and Halinen living areas.

Ingrian migration flows within Turku city were more directed towards the eastern part of the city. Great out-migration flows were also noticed in this part of Turku.

29% of the interviewees have been living in Varissuo district. Although the elderly constituted the bigger part, there was not a significant difference between the age groups. The greater proportion of elderly in the area was due to a service house for the elderly people where the majority of aged interviewees have been living. The other part of the elderly was mostly living with their children and scattered within the Turku city.

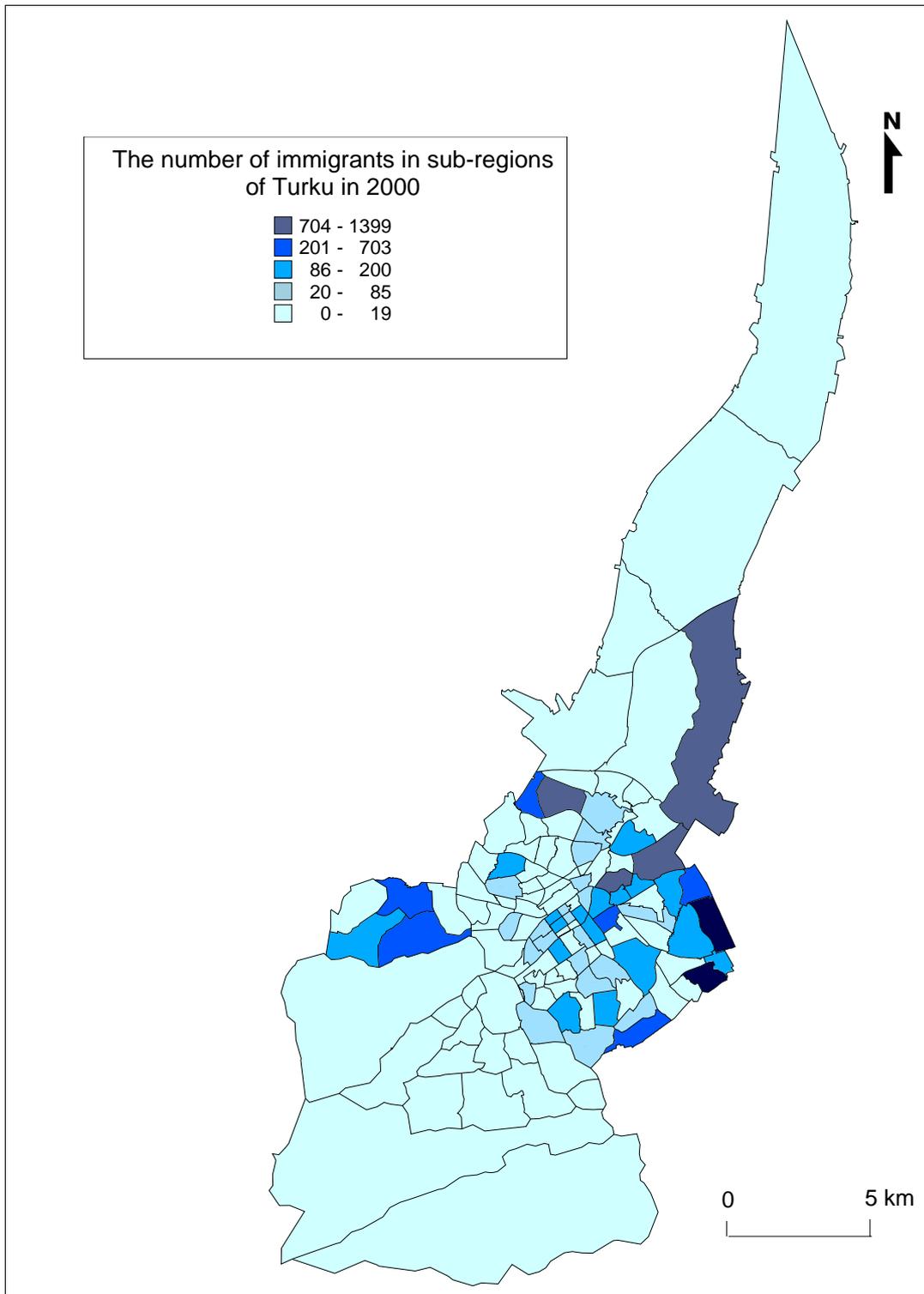


Figure 12. The number of immigrants in sub-regions of Turku in 2000. Source: Kokko 2003

One of the reasons for Ingrian concentration in particular regions in Turku is that immigrants of the same ethnic origin prefer living close to each other. (Heikkilä and Peltonen 2002). In addition to that, Ingrian immigrants stressed the difficulties in getting a residence in other parts of Turku which they encountered especially some years ago. Interviewees supposed that the municipality in this way was seeking to

concentrate the immigrants in one area in order to alienate them from the Finnish people and local communities. Such presuppositions were due to their weak knowledge about housing sectors in Turku.

As a case study in Turku has shown, immigrants have quite limited opportunities to choose their residence in the municipality. Home ownership was available just for a small part of the interviewees because of limited economic resources. The other part of the Ingrians had a possibility to choose residence either from municipal rental housing sector or private rental sector. Most of the remigrants have been using municipal rental services because of constraints in the private rental sector. The problems they encountered were due to discrimination when Finnish people did not want to rent the apartment to a foreigner or the rental deposit of two months, which is the double amount for some of the dwellings offered by the municipality. Consequently, the majority of Ingrian remigrants are living in rental flats owned by the city.

According to the remigrants at present it is easier to get a residence in the other living areas in Turku than some years before. However, the social rental office in Turku confirmed that Ingrian remigrants as other immigrants or Finnish people in Turku always had the same possibilities to choose the residence within Turku. According to the rental office, it is as easy to get the residence in the most popular areas in Turku at the present time as it was some years ago.

Case study in Turku has shown that Ingrian immigrants migrate within Turku city frequently in a relatively short period of time. The great part of the immigrants moved to live to Turku later than 1990 and has already made some movement within the city. 9% of the Ingrian returnees have changed the residence within city once; 17% have changed twice.

The main reason of Ingrians Finns movements within Turku city was the search for better residence (Figure 13). Many of returnees moved to the first place of living, found by municipality, without having an idea what it looks like. The majority of them moved to the other residence later on. One of the reasons – the conditions of the residence were quite bad, an other reason – the other relatives or family members moved to live with them from former Soviet Union or other part of Finland (Table 4).

Table 4. The reasons of changing an apartment.

The reasons	Percentage %
Did not like the apartment	28
Too small apartment	14
Bought new apartment	15
Relatives moved to the apartment	14
Relatives moved out of the apartment	29

90% of the interviewees, while changing the residence, changed the region in Turku as well. For the immigrants coming from former Soviet Union it was the first opportunity to choose the place of living by themselves. One of the main criteria while choosing the region was security and tranquility of the district.

The Ingrians' understanding of security in Finland is very special and different from understanding of security in former Soviet Union. 90% of the interviewees argued that all the regions in Turku are secure compared with Russia or Estonia. However, many of the returnees were afraid to go out at night on the streets or to meet some "strange neighbors". This fear which the Ingrians took from Russia was still with them in Finland even after 8 years spent in the country. Sometimes such fear resulted in them even changing the district. Nevertheless, none of the interviewees had bad experience in their living district and motivated their change of living area because of insecurity very generally.

One of the factors which influenced Ingrians to change the living area was related with Finnish people and the high rate of alcoholism. Many of the returnees after moving to Finland were placed in a temporary residence together with people who have social problems. The Ingrian immigrants from such residences found it unbearable to live in such a troublesome environment. As a result of it, some of the interviewees have changed even the living area in Turku.

Increase or decrease of Ingrian family size is another important reason to change the residence. The biggest part of such changes was due to the relatives' immigration to Finland from former Soviet Union or family members' movements from other part of the Finland. This is a very usual phenomenon between Ingrian Finns because of the difficulties to move to a new country for the whole family at once. Quite often the first ones to Finland move 25-50 years old families and later on invite their parents or children left in their previous home countries. Changing numbers of family members

because of marriage or divorce was a less significant factor than incoming relatives or friends.

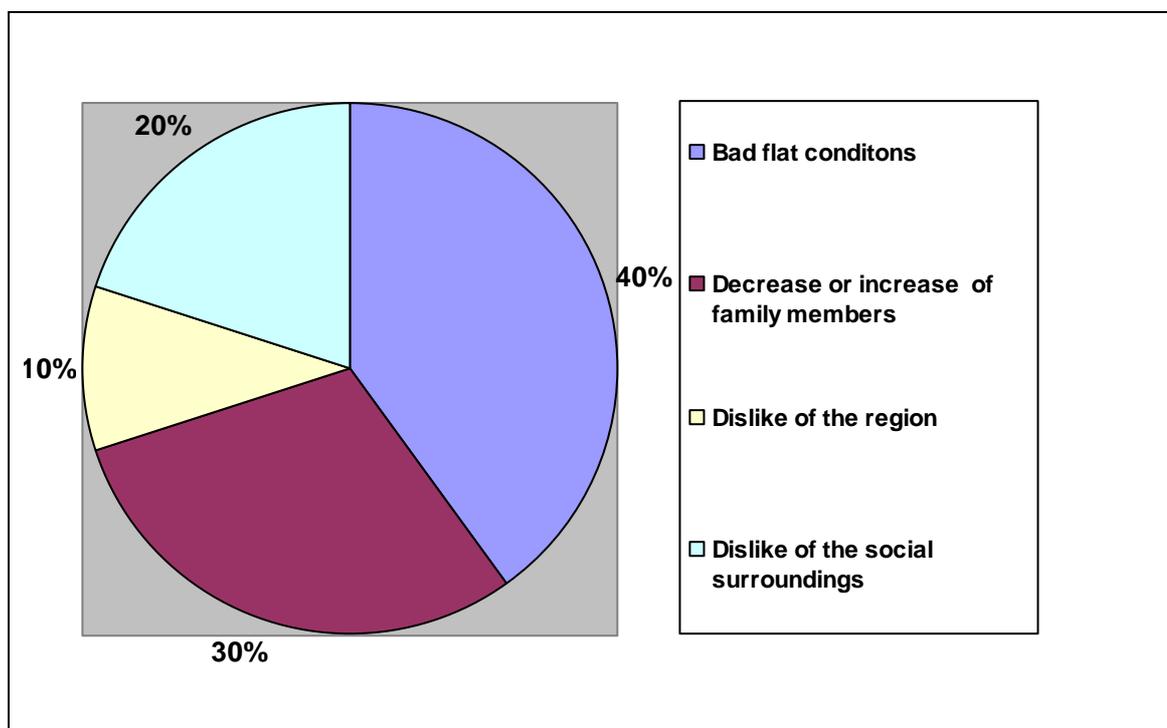


Figure 13. The reasons of changing the region in Turku.

Only a very small number of the interviewees have moved to other part of Turku because they did not like the region in general. Two of the interviewees moved to other parts of Turku because in the regions they lived (Lauste and Varissuo) there were “too many Russians”. This happened after the encountered discrimination because of being Ingrians. According to them the Finnish people living in this region are aware of the great amount of Ingrian returnees who started to settle in this district after 1990. The majority of them are Russian speaking and as a result of that a stamp of being Russian is put on the whole community of the Ingrian returnees.

8. MEETING EXPECTATION AFTER RESETTLEMENT

8.1. Meeting their expectations in Finland

The Ingrian Finns in 1990s responded with enthusiasm to the invitation to repatriate to Finland. However, their new experience in the country tended to be very different from their expectations. Many of them experienced difficulties in the acculturation process and become marginalized. (Kyntäjä 2000a).

The reason for remigration – if a person has left voluntary, or under certain level of compulsion – contributes to her/his integration. (Richmond 1984). In addition to this an important role for the integration also plays the difference or similarity between the cultures of the remigrant's own country and the new country, age and sex of the remigrant. (Virta 1995).

Based on the studies of Manninen (2001), two types of Ingrian returnees can be pointed out. Well-integrated Ingrian immigrants have work or are studying, can manage in Finnish, have satisfactory social networks and feel that they are in control of their own lives. Then there are those who try to integrate and are working on it. The last group is comprised of those people who are withdrawn from the society and isolated into their families or communities. They do not have contacts with Finnish society and culture. (see Zechner 2002).

A change in the physical environment also preindicates a change in the mental environment (Furnham and Bochner 1990). Most of returnees were so willing to accept higher living standards in Finland that they did not think even in advance about the changes of psychological well-being in a new environment.

The reasons for the problems encountered by Ingrian immigrants in Finland were manifold, but a rough division into two categories could be made. On the one hand, problems arise from a lack of human or material resources which prevented immigrants from functioning as full members of society, and on the other hand, they may encounter intentional or unintentional discrimination (Figure 14). The attitudes of the Finnish host population towards immigrants have been found to be relatively intolerant compared to many European countries, including Sweden (Changing nature of old age in changing society 1997).

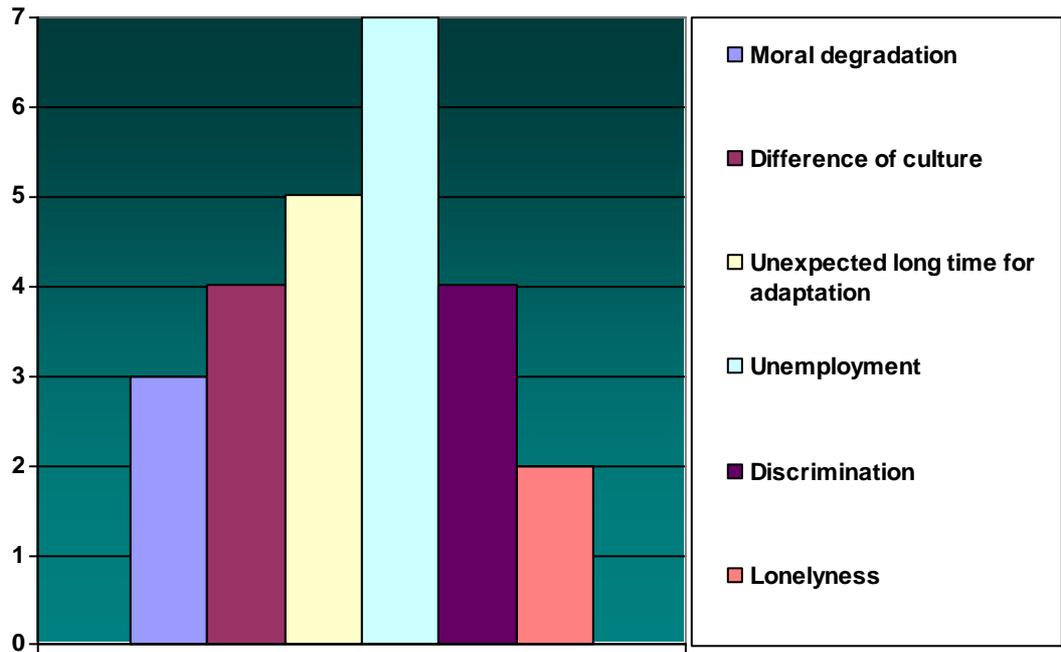


Figure 14. Negative unexpectedness in Finland

In general, the positive encounters of immigrants in Finland constituted the smaller part than negative ones. Between the answers about positive encounters in Finland, the general feeling of security dominated. The main variables which determined Ingrian remigrants answers upon met expectations in Finland were age and native language (Figures 15-16). The studies have shown that Estonian speaking interviewees were more satisfied with their stay in Finland than Russian speaking remigrants. Although the answers between all age groups did not differ in nature, it was possible to notice that for the elderly generation the adaptation process was easier than for middle-aged or young generations.

The elderly immigrants expected to meet in Finland the people with similar mentality and culture as in Ingria and therefore to feel like at home. The interviews in Turku have shown that the majority of this age group's returnees, found in Finland what they were expecting. None of them complained of missing something in Finland. The research carried in Helsinki (1996) by Hyttinen and Tikkanen on Ingrian elderly have demonstrated similar characteristics: the number of the marginalized elderly people was rather low, most of the elderly wanted to maintain contacts with other remigrants and to get acquainted with Finns. One reason for such quick adaptation was maintenance of the Ingrian culture of the elderly. They speak Finnish, take part in the work of Lutheran

parishes and feel commitment to the Finnish culture and society. The other explanation could be made according to the fact that the elderly did not have as big a need for employment as the Ingrians of working age. Therefore, they did not encounter the most serious problem within Ingrian immigrants, what led to easier adaptation. The difficulties in Finland mainly concerned loneliness and the radical differences between the Soviet Union and Finnish society. It was quite hard for old people to understand the structure of the Finnish society, the social security system, taxation, services, and all the practical things that belong to everyday life.

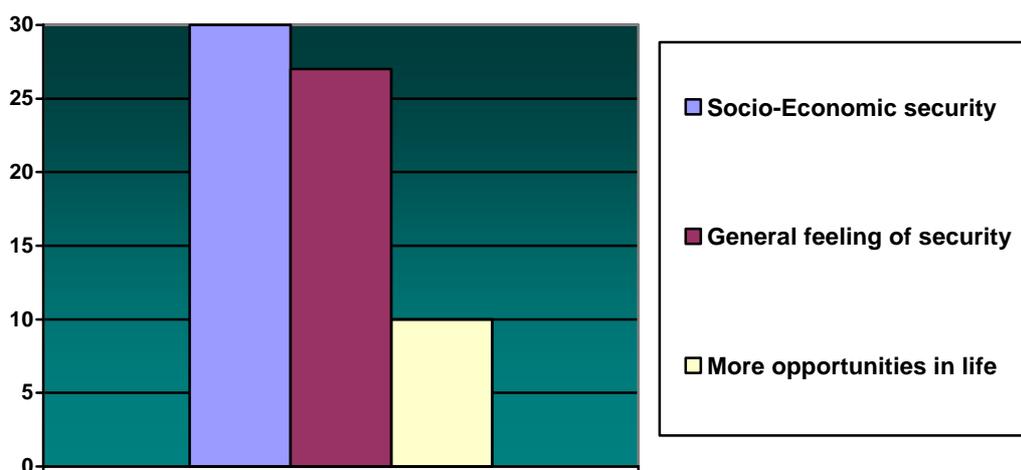


Figure 15. Advantages in Finland mentioned by youngsters and middle aged Ingrians.

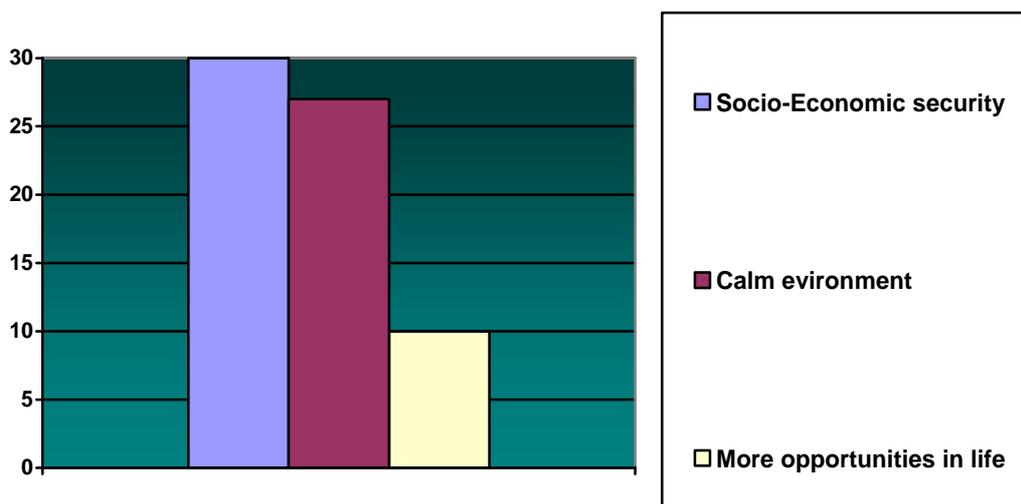


Figure 16. Advantages in Finland mentioned by elderly Ingrians.

However, the middle-aged and young generations were not so happy with their stay in Finland. In order to analyze their adaptation and integration process it is quite important to distinguish three groups of remigrants in this age group: Estonian speaking, Russian speaking from Russia and Russian speaking from Estonia. As Kyntäjä points out, the

latter group is “the lost generation”. They have assimilated into Russian speaking group in Estonia and identify mostly themselves as Soviet people. (Kyntäjä 1997). The remigrants from this group never learned Estonian and in Finland after some year of residence are not able to communicate in Finnish.

Although the Russian speaking remigrants from Estonia have mentioned more negative unexpectedness, basically all middle-aged groups had the same problems in Finland. Many of them missed what they viewed as their previous rich social and cultural life in Russia or Estonia. They emphasized a loss of quality of life in Finland. “My mother told me that my culture is very different from the Finnish and I will not find the right atmosphere here”. When asked about obtaining everyday supplies in their previous home countries, they pointed out the value of friend. “This movement to Finland is really stressing, it is so difficult to integrate into the new environment; the loss of friends in the previous home country and the difficulties to communicate with Finnish people makes you feel that you have lost everything close to you.”

Helena Miettinen, researcher and vice-president of the Ingrian help-organization Inkerikeskus, agrees with the encountered difficulties by remigrants: "Those who don't want to adapt themselves to Finnish life, they are the problem." "Some are disappointed, but they don't admit it. They hide their disappointment behind some kind of barrier of happiness. But if you talk to them longer, they say that Finland is a cold society - a society totally different from Russia."

Only a very small number of interviewed young and middle-aged Ingrians had Finnish friends. This situation was different from the elderly Ingrians who acquainted some Finnish friends because of managing the Finnish language and living in elderly people houses.

The middle-aged and elderly returnees, especially those who spoke some Finnish, identified themselves as Ingrians or Finns and therefore had a clear reason to come to this country. However, among the interviewees there were several youngsters with official papers referring to them as returnees and they had no idea about their new home country. “I did not have any expectation when I came here. I did not know the country at all,” says interviewed Ingrian teenager.

Encountered unemployment in Finland was mentioned as the most serious problem in Finland. Ingrians tried to explain high rate remigrants' unemployment in Finland as a result of discrimination. According to the interviewees, it is especially hard for those coming from Russia. While looking for a job they confronted refusals to talk after mentioning their nationality. "I was trying to guess what the employee was thinking about me in reality. He looked at me as an ordinary Finn asking for a job. From the previous Ingrian I already knew that nice look does not show the possibility to get the job. We are Ingrians, second sort of people even though we have good ability to speak Finnish and have required education. Nobody needs us here".

The feeling of uselessness makes Ingrians think that they made a mistake coming to Finland. None of them feels like at home – the atmosphere here is far more similar to Ingria. Many of the interviewees did not understand why the Finnish government invited them to move here if they can not be equal members of the Finnish society. "We feel humiliated not having the opportunity to be useful and getting the money for sitting at home without sense".

In Finland, many Ingrian expatriates were feeling lonely. Apart of the problems met while integrated into the Finnish society, the broken ties with the friends or even the family members in the previous home countries contributed to such reaction. Decentralization of the remigrants across Finland also made it difficult to build up friendships. "Part of the friends we left at home, part of them moved to Finland as well. It is very difficult to communicate because of long distances."

The reasons given for the lack of communication between the Ingrian and Finnish was the different way of life and culture and language. From the standpoint of the social network, the environment of the young people was really narrow. Most of the immigrants only did things among themselves. Such marginalization sometimes even resulted in spending the whole week without moving within city in the region with other immigrants.

Economic instability coincides with the feeling of loneliness (ECRI's country-by-country approach: Report on Finland 1997). Some studies on the elderly Ingrian immigrants supposed that the weak economic situation of the elderly Ingrian expatriates decreased their opportunities for hobbies as well as their participation in various events

and excursions where they could have built up a social network and become acquainted with the Finnish culture and the life of Finnish old people.

Nevertheless, the case study in Turku has shown very different results of economic instability affects on Ingrian expatriates. Every informant was satisfied with his material situation in Finland and stressed that they would not be able to afford the majority of things in former Soviet Union. However, the greatest problem here arises from the fact that Ingrian expatriates are not able to visit their previous home countries more than one week per year. This is the result of the indirect economic restrictions – the Ingrians do not get paid the social allowances for the period spent in other part of the border. This means that they will not be able to pay the rent or other expenses that month. Moreover, some of the interviewees lived very far away from Finland and had to spend the whole week for a trip to Ukraine or Byelorussia because could not afford to go by plane. Such immigrants had the same conditions to visit previous home countries as for example the ones living in Tallinn. While studying the previous researches I did not encounter this fact.

8.2. Meeting their expectations in Turku city

Knowing that Turku city was the first living place in Finland for the majority of the Ingrian immigrants, it is easier to understand that the disappointments or satisfactions in the town were more related with the new home country than new home town. Anyway, it was possible to hear some remarks from the remigrants about Turku city as being different from other towns and having more or less advantages than other parts of the Finland or previous home countries.

According to the study, the biggest disappointment for the Ingrians in Turku was the difficulties in finding a job. Everybody came with bigger or smaller illusion to be employed in the nearest future. One reason of such illusion was the information about employment they got from the Ingrian returnees who moved to Finland just after 1990 and commanded the Finnish language better than the current immigrants. After the employment situation has fundamentally deteriorated, it has become practically impossible for the remigrants to find placement on the labour market immediately, mostly due to their insufficient or lacking knowledge of the Finnish language.

(Tuomiharju 1997). Before to coming to Turku, most of the Ingrians hoped that the possibilities to find a job in Turku are the biggest after Helsinki.

According to the Finnish culture and the Lutheran religion, work is the most important part of the everyday life (Koivukangas 2002b). Thus, unemployment has caused economical as well as social effects on Ingrian immigrants (Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1994). To help the remigrants find employment on the labour market (which is the crucial importance for immigrants' integration in Finland), labour market training and temporary subsidized jobs have been provided for them; some of these jobs even lead to permanent employment. However, the interviewees emphasized that they do not enjoy the benefit of existing social networks that promote employment. "I do not like to be treated like a child who is not able to organize the life by himself; I never feel like a full fledged worker".

For all my interviewees unemployment was a new experience. Everybody had a job in the former home country. Instead of saying "I am unemployed" the interviewees usually used the expression "I am sitting at home without any sense". In the former Soviet Union everybody had a job and was used to a system (even though it was already some decades ago) when the government found a job after the studies. As a result of such system and many years with permanent job, the impact of unemployment on their lives was unforeseeable before emigration.

In addition to high rates of unemployment, more problems appeared with the realization that in Turku only an unqualified job was possible, even though one third of remigrants had an academic degree acquired in the former Soviet Union. Inadequate language skills prevent them from using good educational qualifications to the full, and recognition of foreign diploma causes problems. In particular, obtaining the recognition of the second or third level examinations taken in the former socialist countries is difficult, almost impossible (Saarinen 1995, Pitkänen and Jaakkola 1995). In order to get a qualified job, the Ingrians would have to pass the examinations in Finland for their diplomas to be valid. Among interviewed Ingrians with high education, nobody was thinking to take such examinations because they could not manage the Finnish language and had difficulties remembering studies made some decades ago. Therefore, the majority of the Ingrian remigrants are living with the pessimistic idea that they will get only incompetent job in Turku.

From Table 5 we can see that immigrants from Former Soviet Union and Estonia in Finland mostly concentrate in unqualified occupation sectors.

Table 5. Concentration of nationality groups in occupation segments in 1996, 1997 and 1999.

Nationality group	Occupational segment
Former Soviet Union	Health care, transportation, cleaning
Estonia	Sales, transportation, construction

Source: Statistics Finland, Ministry of Labour.

The second unexpected reality in Turku mentioned by 60% of the Ingrians (who moved from former Soviet Union or Helsinki) was the particularly calm environment of the city. Although one group of the interviewees enjoyed the quietness of the region and the city, the other part of the returnees characterized their neighborhood “as quiet as a graveyard”. They clearly missed the noise and merrymaking they said was characteristic of the whole of Russia, especially in the cities and in the evenings. “I do not feel alive, and I get depressed because of the cold atmosphere which I feel in the streets”.

8.3. Meeting their expectation in Turku living areas

Besides the unexpected negative aspects of the town, the remigrants have mentioned many encountered advantages in Turku living areas. Figure 16 shows that the most preferred regions to live in Turku were situated in the eastern part of the city. Most of Ingrian remigrants were satisfied with living in this part of Turku. They especially liked Varissuo, Lauste and Halinen living areas mainly because of the possibility to be near their friends and relatives.

However, the other part of the remigrants was not so happy with their stay in the eastern part of the city. Partly it was due to the fact that the living areas with high level of migrants’ concentration have many socioeconomic problems. For example, the eastern districts in Turku have the highest unemployment rates. Table 6 shows the number of unemployed people according to the nationality. From these data we can approximately estimate the number of unemployed Ingrian remigrants.

Table 6. Unemployment in Varissuo, Lauste and Halinen living areas according to the nationality (15.3.2002).

Nationality	Unemployment rate (%)			
	Varissuo	Lauste	Halinen	Total
Finland	71.9	65.6	80	71.9
Iraq	4.4	5.5	5.3	4.8
Russia	5	5.9	3.5	4.9
Iran	1	2.6	2.6	1.7
Estonia	3,3	2.8	1.9	2.9
Yugoslavia	2.2	1.8	1.0	1.8
Yugoslavia (former)	3.2	2.2	0.8	2.5
NIS	1.9	2.5	0.5	1.8
Sweden	0.2	0	0.5	0.3
Unknown	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3
Vietnam	2.4	2.5	0.2	2.0
Somalia	0.4	2.6	0.2	0.9
Turkey	0.2	0.2	1	0.3
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1.5	1.6	0	1.2
Albania	0.3	1.0	0.2	0.5
Others	1.6	2.6	1.8	1.9
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Fortuna Projecti, Turun Kaupunkin Socialikeskus.

Varissuo living area was named as the region in Turku with the most advantages. The elderly were especially satisfied with their living in Varissuo. They stressed the services provided, which are concentrated in one place. Moreover, those living in the service house in the region saw it as a big advantage for meeting new people. This is quite natural since neighbors in the service house were both Finns and remigrants, whereas in temporary flats neighbors were exclusively other remigrants. Moreover, the elderly enjoyed the surroundings and calmness of the district. "Here is beautiful lake with the swans; it is the most important thing for me when I am so old".

The study shows that some of the Ingrains like this region because of many other remigrants. "It is nice to go to the shop and to hear the Russian language around you.

Especially I was glad about it in the beginning of my stay in Turku. I did not feel alone as I expected from the beginning”. However, opposite opinions have also been mentioned. Mothers were preoccupied about their children because of many immigrants in the living area, especially such nationalities as Turkish, Arab and Albanian. “They look to me very aggressive and unfamiliar; I feel danger all the time”.

In addition to that, the region of Varissuo was stressed by elderly Ingrians as the region in Turku with high rate of alcoholism. Almost all of Ingrian elderly mentioned the bus stop near the bar in Varissuo because of which they were afraid to travel by bus within Turku. According to the Ingrians such every days’ views makes this living are very unattractive and unpopular among all the nationalities living in Varissuo. “Only unemployed Finnish who already do not have other possibility because of higher prices in other districts to find a residence can decide to move to Varissuo; “normal people” do not come to live here”.

As a conclusion we could say that the main positive characteristic of Varissuo living area was concentrated services (especially for elderly), and negative – chaos of the region.

The second largest part of the Ingrians has been living in Lauste area. Immigrants admitted that it is not the most prestigious region in Turku but they found it simple and enjoyed its green areas. It was possible to notice that for the Ingrian returnees the prestige of the region was not an important characteristic of the district. Everybody agreed that even unpopular living areas in Turku were very good places to settle. For the interviewees it was very strange why Finnish people have created such bad stereotypes about some living areas in Turku as Varissuo and Lauste without any serious reasoning. Some of the Ingrian returnees tried to explain the bad stereotype of the region because of the Finnish peoples’ fear of foreigners. “I do not feel any discrimination from the Finnish people, but looks like that such situation is possible just until we appear near their living sphere as if trying to invade their private lives”.

In addition to that, many immigrants remembered different stories about discrimination of foreigners in some regions of Turku which influenced their feeling of security in particular living areas. One such story, which happened in 2000 in Lauste, was even mentioned several times. The trouble in the district started when a 50- year-old Finnish man, powerfully under the influence of alcohol, had threatened to detonate a bomb

because he had encountered one of the foreign residents in the building's sauna at a time that he had reserved for himself. After the incident the immigrants living in the suburb of Lauste were so frightened by a bomb threat that some were afraid to sleep in their homes, preferring to spend their nights in parked cars with some of the men keeping watch. (Johansson 2000).

Several interviewees found a very big dilemma to answer the question if it is better for them to live among other immigrants or Finnish people. "When meeting every day only Finnish people you try to disappear in the crowd in order not to be noticed; when you are among other foreigners you do not want to be recognized as Ingrian because of more than one reason – Finnish people or some other nationality which could have not so good opinion about us". These remarks help to understand better such ambiguous opinions about multicultural living areas in Turku.

One of the main problem in multicultural living areas appears in the fact that in the previous living countries of Ingrian returnees there were no refugees and in general immigrants farther than the former Soviet Unions' territory. Therefore, for many of the Ingrian returnees it was a new experience to meet various nationalities in Turku.

Ingrians living in Halinen found it calmer than Varissuo and stressed its nice nature and preferable small size. Nice surroundings of living areas in Turku were mentioned by almost all the inhabitants of the Turku. In general, the living areas in their former home countries were not considered as tidy and calm as in Finland.

Although living areas in Turku as Jakarla and Lansi Nummi were located as far from the center, the immigrants liked the nature and calmness of the districts and were not worried about the communications. Generally speaking, any of the interviewees was complaining about difficulties with public transport and stressed Turku as very unproblematic city in this respect compared with their former living cities.

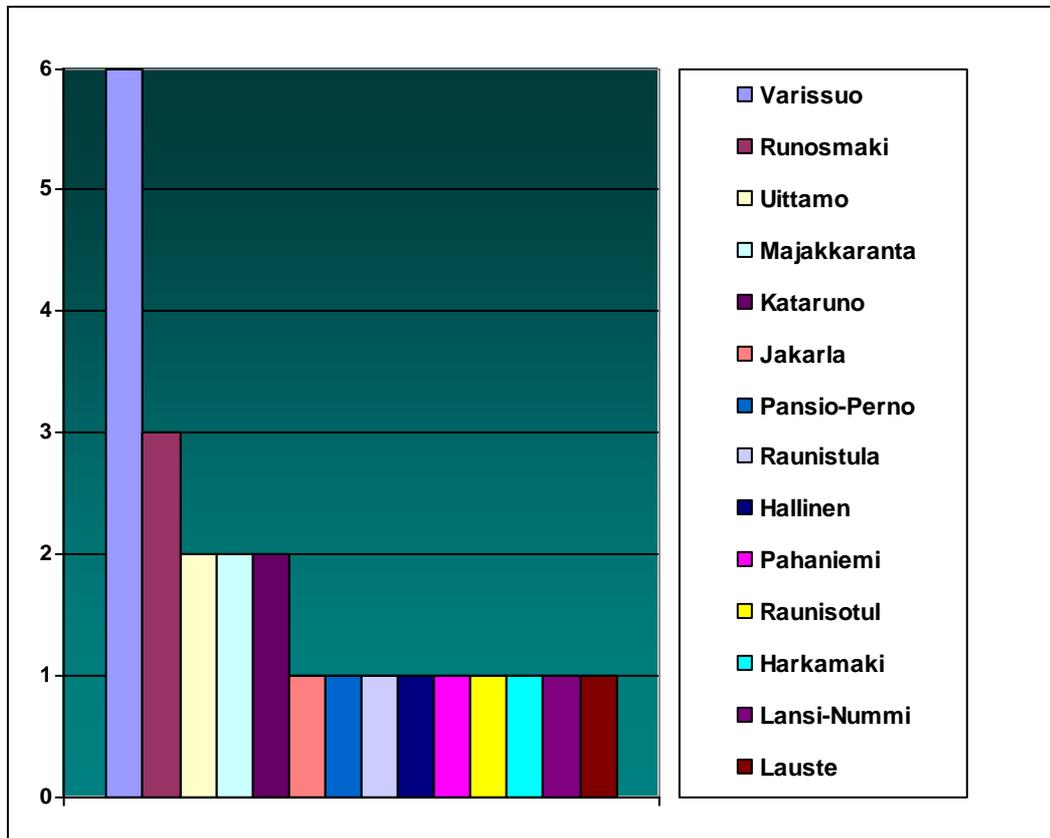


Figure 16. Preference level in different living areas in Turku

9. FUTURE PLANS DISCUSSIONS

9.1. Choosing an other city in Finland?

Only small part of the interviewed Ingrian remigrants (17%) had plans to move to an other city in Finland (Figure 17). Most of them were thinking to move to the Helsinki area. Among the mentioned pull factors there better employment opportunities dominated. In addition to this the Ingrians stressed the advantage of Helsinki because of closeness to their previous home countries (especially for those from St.Petersburg and Tallinn). International atmosphere and lower discrimination levels within a metropolitan area were also mentioned as important pull factors.

Although just a few Ingrians had concrete plans to move to other places in Finland, there were quite many interviewees who would have preferred to live in the metropolitan area of the capital Helsinki. However, they encountered many constrains to realize their wishes. The most important problem was to find a residence. Immigrants can apply for social rental dwellings but a longer stay in the capital is an advantage.

This has caused difficulties for immigrants trying to move to Helsinki from other municipalities (Kauppinen 2002).

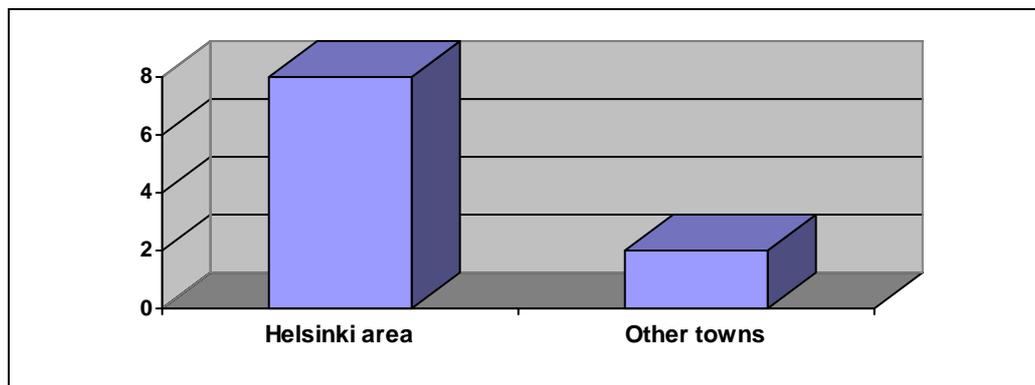


Figure 17. Plans to emigrate from Turku (within Finland).

The other preferred towns to live in Finland like Tampere, Salo, Lappenranta were mentioned because of the friends or relatives who were living there. Moreover, difficulties to move to Helsinki area and high unemployment rates in Turku induced immigrants to choose cities of not smaller size than Turku and in the southern part of the country.

9.2. Moving abroad?

There were no doubt strong affectionate bonds between people and their birthplace. Many of the Ingrians, who have immigrated to Finland, still had warm feelings for their home villages, although they would not want to go back anymore. Many of them were at first very homesick, although the decision to stay in Finland had been clear.

Though there were so many interviewees who did not enjoy their stay in Finland, nobody had plans to move back to the former Soviet Union. They were concerned about the economic and social disarray there as well as the lack of security. Many of the interviewees pointed out that awareness of trouble-free life in Finland made it almost impossible to “to turn the time back”. “I like being here, it is much harder to live in Russia; I really can not say why, it is difficult to answer. But it seems like life is less complicated here”.

Many Ingrians are ready to move to a third country if they cannot make a living in Finland (Talli 2002). If some of them had plans to change the country, they were thinking about one in the European Union but not in the former home country (Figure 18). The majority of the Ingrians, who admitted thinking about the possibility to move from Finland, were 26-31 years old and had visited the preferred countries to emigrate before. The studies have shown that Ingrian immigrants are mostly willing to emigrate to Germany or Spain. Their main emigration goals were better employment opportunities and greater multicultural atmosphere.

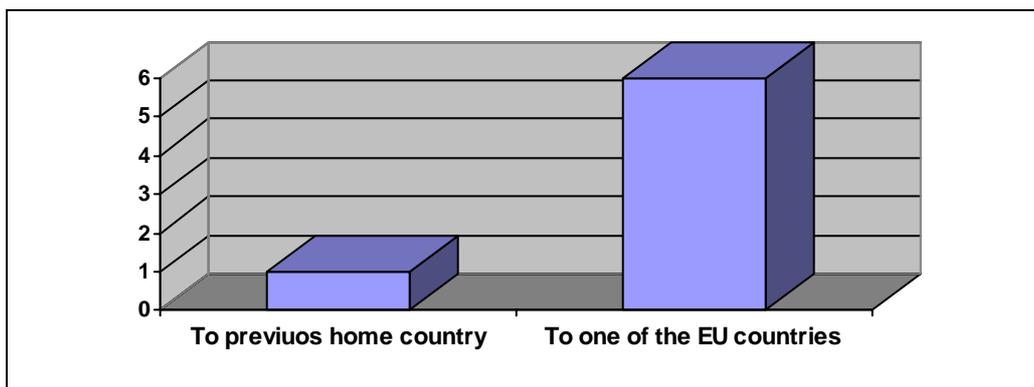


Figure 18. Plans to emigrate from Finland.

Finnish citizenship, which most of the Ingrian remigrants do not have, is a major barrier to emigrate to another EU country. This is due to the fact that Ingrians are constrained to employment opportunities because of non-EU status. It is especially difficult for the Ingrian remigrant students who do not have Finnish citizenship and want to study abroad because they can not get living allowances while living abroad.

Moreover, with emigration to another country the immigrants did not want to disrupt the lives of their children who came with them or were left in their homeland. “I am a doctor and my diploma means nothing here. Anyway I can not be selfish: my son, who is 6 years old, enjoys every minute here in Finland”. Many of the Ingrian expatriates assumed that there is no way back. “The decision to return home does not depend only on us”. According to one Ingrian woman, the children, who were left in the former Soviet Union, were not waiting for the parents to come back. The reasoning was small residences where children started to build their new life since the parents had moved to Finland.

Small in numbers return migration back to Russia or Estonia (Heikkilä and Järvinen 2003) confirm above mentioned Ingrian returnees' unwillingness to move to their previous home countries.

10. CONCLUSIONS

Remigration of Ingrians, who are considered ethnic Finns from the former Soviet Union, was initially expected to be an unmitigated benefit to both sending and receiving societies. Its doubtful ethnic viability, exponential and almost uncontrolled growth after 1990s, however, prompted a fundamental reassessment with a sobering effect on all the principals in the migration chain.

Since 1996 the number of Ingrian remigrants was regulated by the residence permits granted and was limited to 2 000 annually. In addition, since 2001, after renewal of the Aliens New Act, the immigration policy requires Ingrians arriving in Finland to possess more than merely tolerable command of the Finnish language, and this will be tested before departure. As a result of such more qualified immigration policy, at the present time the ones who come to Finland are Ingrian remigrants who are more qualified for a residence permit. Moreover, the number of migrants has remained stable in recent years (Forsander 1999; Kuprijanko 2001).

Ingrian remigration flows were coming from the former Soviet Union's territory. This is due to the fact the old Ingrian region is situated in the territory of Russia and Estonia. However, there were also remigrants moving to Finland from Kazakhstan and Byelorussia as a result of deportation politics during the Soviet Unions times. Why there are no Ingrian moving to Finland from Sweden (many of them emigrated there during the Second World War) we can only guess. According to the Ingrian interviewees they don't move because of economic security.

Although there is no official resettlement policy of Ingrian remigrants, it is possible to notice its slight indicators. Many of the interviewees have chosen Turku city for a permanent living in Finland because of the offered or found residence here. Moreover, those hoping to settle in Helsinki, Turku, or Lappeenranta have to wait the longest, while municipal apartments are easier to find in other parts of the country. The first

Ingrian expatriates a few years ago arrived in municipalities without any prior notice. As a result of better employment opportunities, more international atmosphere and closeness of previous home countries, the greatest part of Ingrians concentrated within the Helsinki area. Because of encountered immigration problems, the reception process nowadays has been developed so that repatriation can take place in a controlled manner and in a secured environment.

The analysis demonstrates that Ingrian migrants cannot be classified under the “remigration”; rather, in its main features Ingrian migration showed extensive similarities with economic immigrants in Finland from different countries. Although a big percentage of Ingrians mentioned Finnish ethnic ties as a first reason of immigration, the majority of interviewees agreed that they would not be so anxious to come to Finland if the circumstances (especially economic) in Russia were different.

As the case study in Turku has shown, the Ingrian Finns wanted to emigrate from the former Soviet Union for the following reasons:

- Economic reasons (salaries and pensions are inadequate to the living standards in Russia or Estonia; poor residential conditions, general poverty and misery)
- Reasons of ethnic background (desire to return to one’s own roots)
- For children’s sake (hopes for a better future for children in Finland; wish to help economically for the children who did not come to Finland)
- General feeling of insecurity (crime; generally unstable situation in former Soviet Union)
- Psychological non-well being (not having possibilities for economical well being while having high education)

Economic reasons prevail only when coming to Finland. When choosing a city, social networks and employment opportunities are more important. The wish of Ingrians to move to Turku was mostly related to the fact that their close relatives or friends are residing in this city. Some immigrants come to Turku hoping to meet friends even from the Second World War during which many of Ingrians were residing in this city. Moreover, the similar climate conditions to their previous home countries and international atmosphere of the city also contributed to permanent settlement in Turku.

The driving force affecting the regional distribution of Ingrians in certain areas within Turku city was housing availability because municipal rental housing is the most popular sector among immigrants (Heikkilä and Järvinen 2002). This is due to the fact that Ingrian immigrants have encountered economical and ethnic constraints in the private sector. As a result, the greatest part of Ingrian immigrants are concentrated in the eastern part of the Turku city where the cheapest and the less popular regions of the city are situated. Varissuo, Lauste and Halinen are the living areas in Turku with the biggest concentration of Ingrian remigrants.

The study has shown that Ingrian immigrants migrate within Turku city frequently in a relatively short period of time. In addition to finding a better residence in Turku, the majority of the remigrants wanted to change the living area within the city because of the wish to be nearer their relatives. Dislike of foreign population concentration in the eastern part of the city and the social problems of this area also contributed to emigration.

The Ingrian Finns in 1990 responded with enthusiasm to the invitation to repatriate to Finland. However, their new experience in the country tended to be very different from their expectations. Many of them experienced difficulties in the acculturation process and become marginalized. (Kyntäjä 2000a). The reasons for the problems encountered by Ingrian immigrants in Finland were manifold, but a rough division into two categories could be made. On the one hand, problems arose from a lack of human or material resources which prevented immigrants from functioning as full members of society, and on the other hand, they may encounter intentional or unintentional discrimination.

In general, the positive encounters of immigrants in Finland constituted the smaller part than negative ones. Between the answers about positive encounters in Finland, the general feeling of security dominated. The main variables which determined Ingrian remigrants answers upon met expectations in Finland were age and native language. The studies have shown that Estonian speaking interviewees were more satisfied with their stay in Finland than Russian speaking remigrants. Although the answers between all age groups did not differ in nature, it was possible to notice that for the elderly generation the adaptation process was easier than for middle-aged or young generations.

According to the study, the biggest disappointment for the Ingrians in Turku was the difficulties in finding a job. In addition to this, inadequate language skills prevented them from using good educational qualifications to the full, and recognition of foreign diplomas caused problems. Therefore, the majority of the Ingrian remigrants are living with the pessimistic idea that they will get only incompetent substandard jobs in Turku.

Ingrian opinions about living areas in Turku were quite contradictory. One part of the remigrants enjoyed international environment in the eastern part of the city where the immigrants concentrates, whereas the others stressed higher levels of discrimination and less security which they did not enjoy. Although the majority of the Ingrians were satisfied with the calm environment, there were several remigrants who were followed by the same insecure feeling as in their former living areas. The elderly generation was the most happy with their living areas. Concentrated services, nature and calmness of the districts were the main advantages stressed by the elderly interviewees.

The alternatives confronting the migrant, to settle permanently in the new country or to return to the old one, depended on extremely complex interactions of factors, which this paper has attempted to illuminate in terms of certain central concerns. Unquestionably, the low number of those returning was determined by economical security factors. Those who had plans to emigrate showed the least willingness to return to their previous living countries due to unwillingness to return to the socio-economic position prior to migration and preferred to move to other European Union countries. The wish to emigrate has shown Ingrian immigrant's encountered difficulties while integrating into Finnish society.

Plans to change the municipality were determined by similar pull factors as of emigration abroad – better employment opportunities, and more international environment. In addition to this, a shorter distance from previous living countries was stressed as the factor of high importance.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Ingrian returnee:

I am graduating student from the University of Turku, taking up my masters in Human Geography. I am conducting a research on the Ingrian returnees in Turku.

Please don't hesitate for further information about my research. Answer as many questions as you can.

I thank you for your cooperation!

Asta Gulijeva

Researcher, Turku University

Email: astala@one.lt

Background:

1. Sex:
2. Age:
3. Civil status:
 - single
 - married
 - divorced
 - widow
4. How many children do you have and where do they live?
5. The country of origin:
6. What is your religion?
 - Orthodox
 - Catholic
 - Lutheran
7. Education:
8. Languages you speak:
 - Russian
 - Finnish
 - Estonian
 - other.....

9. Profession:

10. Labour market status:

- employed
- unemployed
- student
- pension
- other (house wife..)

11. Is your work related to your profession?

12. From which country have you moved to Finland?

13. When did you move to Finland?

14. What were the first municipality and town to move in Finland?

15. The purpose of migration to Finland:

a) most important

.....

b) second most important

.....

c) third most important

.....

16. Do you feel safe in Finland?.....

17. Did you meet your expectations in Finland? Please tell more about it.

.....
.....
.....
.....

18. Are you thinking in the future to change the place of living within Finland? If yes, to where and why?

.....
.....

19. Do you have plans of moving out of Finland to an other country? For example to your home country or somewhere else. If yes, to which one and why?

.....
.....
.....

20. How do you like the last living place (region, for example Vaarisuo...) in Turku?

.....
.....
.....
.....

21. Why did you move to Turku (the reasons, motives)?

.....
.....
.....

If you moved to Turku from other place of Finland:

22. When did you move to Turku?

23. From which municipality, city?

If you changed the living place in Turku one or several times:

Year	From which living area did you move?	To which living area did you move?	a) Why did you want to move from the region? b) Why did you choose the latter region?	Labour market status: a) employed b) unemployed c) student d) pension e) other	Civil status: a) single b) married c) divorced d) widow	Children a) yes b) no

АНКЕТА

Дорогой возвращенец,
Я заканчиваю Университет Турку, и готовлюсь получить степень магистра по специальности социальной географии. Тема моего исследования посвящена возвращенцам б Турку. Если вы нуждаетесь в дальнейшей информации о моем исследовании, свяжитесь со мной, постараюсь ответить на все вопросы.

Спасибо за сотрудничество!

Asta Gulijeva

E-mail: astala@one.it

1. Пол:

2. Возраст:

3. Семейное положение:

- холост
- состою в браке
- разведен
- вдовец/ вдова

4. Сколько у Вас детей? Где они живут?

5. Из какой страны происходит Ваша семья?

6. Ваша религия:

- православие
- католицизм
- лютеранизм

7. Образование:

8. Языки которыми Вы владеете:

- русский
- финский
- эстонский
- другие:

9. Профессия:

10. Род занятий:

- работающий
- безработный
- студент
- пенсионер
- другое:

11. Работаете ли Вы в соответствии с полученной профессией?.....

12. Из какой страны Вы приехали в Финляндию?

13. Когда Вы приехали в Финляндию?

14. Первый город, в котором Вы поселились?

15. Цель приезда в Финляндию (например вы чувствуете что здесь ваши родовые корни; экономически здесь лучше; из за детей которые в России чтобы помочь им; безопасность; другие).

а) первая по важности

.....

.....

б) вторая

.....

.....

с) третья

.....

.....

16. Чувствуете ли Вы себя в безопасности в Финляндии?

.....

17. Оправдались ли Ваши надежды в связи с переездом в Финляндию. Пожалуйста

расскажите подробнее:

.....

.....

.....

.....

18. Собираетесь или хотели ли Вы (в будущем) сменить место жительства в Финляндии (в пределах Финляндии)? Если да, то куда и почему Вы переезжаете?

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19. Планируете или хотели ли Вы переехать из Финляндии в другую страну, на вашу родную страну или куда-либо еще. Если да, то почему?

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20. Что Вы думаете о районе (например Vaarisuo..) в Турку в котором сейчас проживаете?

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21. Почему Вы переехали именно Турку?

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Если вы приехали в Турку из другого места в Финляндии

22. Когда Вы переехали в Турку?

.....

23. Из какого муниципалитета, города Вы приехали?

Если Вы сменили место жительства в Турку

Год	Из какого района выехали?	В какой район переехали?	1) Почему Вы выехали из предыдущего района? 2) Почему выбрали данный район?	Род занятий: а) работающий б) безработный с) студент d) пенсионер е) другое:	Семейное положение: а) холост b) состою в браке c) разведен d) вдовец/ вдова	Дети: Да а) Нет b)

