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Sisältö • Contents

Pääkirjoitus • Editorial

Olavi Koivukangas

H. Arnold Barton

A folk divided; Homeland Sweden and Swedish Americans, 1840–1940

Norman Westerberg

624,000 claim Finnish ancestry in the USA

Anja Karhunen

Saksansuomalaisten lasten suomalainen maisema ja kieli

Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell

The Finnish migration to and from Russian Alaska and the Pacific Siberian Rim 1800–1900

Mika Helander

Ethnocentric, everyday racism – An outline of a conceptualisation of racism

Mika Roinila

Popularizing the Finnish sauna: The case of the American hospitality industry

Kirjat

Tutkimuspäällikön palsta

Kansi: Berndt Abraham Godenhjelmin maalaama Sitkan (Venäjän-aikainen Alaska) Evankelisluterilaisen kirkon alttaritaulu on tuotu Suomeen restaurointia varten. Konservoinnin ja retusoinnin on tehnyt taidekonservaattori, lehtori Tannar Ruuben (EVTEK Muotoiluinstituutti, Konservattoriosasto).

Cover: The altarpiece painted for the Sitka (Russian Era Alaska) Evangelical-Lutheran Church by Berndt Abraham Godenhjelm was brought to Finland to be restored. The conservation-restoration work has been done by Painting Conservator, Lecturer Tannar Ruuben (EVTEK Degree Program of Conservation).

Ulkosuomalaisparlamentti korostaa tutkimusta

Suomi-Seuran vuonna 1997 perustaman Ulkosuomalaisparlamentin kolmanteen kokoukseen 18.–19.11.2002 Helsingissä osallistui 260 edustajaa 26:sta eri maasta sekä 73 tarkkailijaa. Ulkosuomalaisyhteisöt olivat lähettäneet istunnon käsiteltäväksi kaikkiaan 75 aloitetta.

Aiemmissä istunnoissa keskeisenä aiheena ollut kaksoiskansalaisuus jäi nyt taka-alalle, sillä kaksoiskansalaisuuden salliva lakiesitys on edennyt jo eduskunnan käsittelyyn. Ehdotuksen mukaan Suomen kansalaisuuden takaisin saamista koskeva ilmoitus tulee jättää viiden vuoden määräajassa. Ruotsissa laki kaksoiskansalaisuudesta tuli voimaan heinäkuussa 2001, ja siellä määräaika on kaksi vuotta.

Eräät Ulkosuomalaisparlamentille tehdyt aloitteet käsittelevät ulkosuomalaisiin kohdistuvan tutkimustoiminnan tehostamista. Aloitteet liittyvät sisällöltään läheisesti Siirtolaisuusinstituutin omaan toimintaan.

Ruotsin Suomalaisseurojen Keskusliitto ehdotti ulkosuomalaisiin kohdistuvan tutkimusprofessorin perustamista. Valiokuntatyöskentelyn jälkeen Ulkosuomalaisparlamentti hyväksyi päätösehdotuksen, jonka mukaan ”Ulkosuomalaisparlamentti esittää, että ulkosuomalaisiin kohdistuvaa tutkimustoimintaa tehostetaan perustamalla määräaikainen tutkimusprofessori Siirtolaisuusinstituuttiin.”

Toinen aloite käsiteli ikääntyvään ulkosuomalaisväestöön kohdistuvaa tutkimustoimintaa. Seniorivaliokunnan ehdotuksen perusteella Ulkosuomalaisparlamentti hyväksyi päätösehdotuksen, joka suosittaa, että ”...sihteeristö yhteistyössä Suomalaiset Seniorit Maailmalla -työryhmän kanssa selvittää kanavia ja rahoitusmahdollisuuksia, joiden avulla Siirtolaisuusinstituutti voisi toteuttaa ulkosuomalaisiin kohdistuvaa tutkimustyötä.”

Siirtolaisuusinstituutin tavoiteohjelmassa ja toimintasuunnitelmassa on esitys muuttoliikkeiden tutkimusprofessorin perustamiseksi. Ulkosuomalaisparlamentin aloite tukee tätä hanketta. Ongelmana on vain rahoituksen hankkiminen. Rahoitusta pyritään hankkimaan yksityiseltä sektorilta sekä Suomesta että ulkosuomalaisilta ja heidän yhteisöiltään. Hyvä aloitus voisi olla se, että mahdollisesti perustettava tutkimusprofessori keskittyisi aluksi ulkosuomalaiseen vanhusväestöön ja heidän ongelmiinsa. Tämä on keskeinen ja kiireellinen tutkimusongelma ulkosuomalaisväestössä. Tutkimus palvelisi myös ikääntyvän ulkosuomalaisväestön hoivapalvelujen järjestämistä parhaalla mahdollisella tavalla, ennen kaikkea siirtolaisen omalla äidinkielellä.

Parlamentin yhteydessä järjestettiin myös epävirallinen neuvottelutilaisuus, joka käsiteli kansainvälisiin avioliittoihin liittyviä ongelmia. Kaksi vuotta sitten ulkosuomalaisparlamentti kiinnitti huomiota kansainvälisten avioliittojen vaikeuksiin ja erityisesti ulkosuomalaisten yksinhuoltajien vaikeaan asemaan. Sama koskee myös Suomessa solmittuja seka-avioliittoja. Sovittiin, että elokuussa 2003 järjestetään Helsingissä asiantuntijoiden ja tutkijoiden työkokous, ja mahdollisesti erillinen laajempi seminaari seuraavan Ulkosuomalaisparlamentin yhteydessä. Valmistelijana ja koordinaattorina toimii Siirtolaisuusinstituutti. Huhtikuussa 2003 kokoontuva Ulkosuomalaisparlamentin puhemiesistö nimennee varsinaisen työryhmän. Alustavan suunnitelman mukaan puhemiesistö kokoontuisi Turussa Siirtolaisuusinstituutissa.

Yhteistyö Ulkosuomalaisparlamentin ja Siirtolaisuusinstituutin välillä on lähtenyt käyntiin mitä parhaiten. Kiitän luottamuksesta.

Olavi Koivukangas

A folk divided; Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840–1940



H. Arnold Barton

In the historiography of migration an important dimension has been notably missing. Researchers in the lands of origins have been above all interested in the emigrants – who they were, where they came from, their reasons for leaving – up to the point of their departure from the homeland. Scholars in the lands to which they came have been mainly concerned with the immigrants – where they came from, when they arrived, where they settled, what occupations they went into, especially how they adapted to life in the new land – from the moment of their arrival. But there is another side to the story: the ongoing relationship between the emigrants and their homelands, between those who left and those who stayed behind.

The Swedes at home and in America offer a particularly good

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example of this relationship. The Swedish emigration was a sizable one, amounting to over 1.2 million persons between circa 1840 and 1930, comprising the seventh largest European element and the largest from the Nordic countries. Only Ireland and Norway had heavier emigration in relation to their total populations. Their emigration covered a longer time-span, across several generations, than most European emigrant groups. The Swedes were, moreover, a predominantly literate group from the beginning and they showed much interest in the events and developments of their time, in both the new country and the old.

The question of the relations between Swedes in Sweden and Swedish immigrants and their descendants in America is naturally a complex one. But reduced to its simplest terms, it was a "love-hate" relationship among members of the same family. On the one side, those who remained at home loved and missed those who had left, yet they could also keenly resent their departure as an abandonment of family, community, and nation, a tacit – and sometimes not so tacit – condem-

nation of conditions in the homeland. On the other side, the emigrants did not cease to love and miss their family, friends, and old home place, or *hembygd*. Yet they too could feel strong resentment against conditions in their native land that they felt had compelled them to leave it and seek to make their way far from its shores.

This relationship points to the central importance of immigrant ethnic identity, which raises significant questions. Did the best or the worst elements of the nation emigrate? Upon becoming "Swedish Americans" did they combine the best or the worst characteristics of the old and new societies? Was it indeed possible to be *both Swedish and American*?

Swedish immigrants in America were eager to prove that it was possible to be both, which brings up whole basic question of the ethnic culture the immigrants created in the new land. The traditional interpretation has been that ethnic cultures represent a defensive reaction against the *prejudices and exclusive nativism* of the older Americans. A close study of the Swedish-American case meanwhile clearly shows that their eth-

nic culture in America was at least as much intended as a demonstration to their countrymen at home, and not least to themselves, that they could remain "good Swedes," even if they no longer lived in Sweden. It strove to justify their rightful place in a wider Swedish national community that transcended Sweden's territorial limits.

I found that to study the relationship between homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans it was necessary to provide, really for the first time, a broad survey of the culture of Swedish America. This, it is clear, was not simply Swedish culture transplanted to American soil. It was, first of all, Swedish-American. Scholars in both Sweden and the United States have been above all interested in discovering survivals in America of homeland values, traditions, and customs, while they have shown less concern for its American side. This involved a clear rejection of aspects of Swedish society that the emigrants felt had justified their emigration, above all inflexible class barriers and prejudices, upper-class arrogance, lack of political rights, stiff bureaucratism, and the often doctrines and practices of the state church. The Swedish immigrants staunchly identified with American social, civic, and political ideals. They were on the whole proud to become citizens of the free American republic.

The Swedish Americans developed what the Norwegian literary historian Orm Øverland, in his recently published *Immigrant Minds, American Identities* (2000), has recently described as

"homemaking myths." For virtually all the European immigrant groups these have involved claiming the earliest possible presence in North America, the blood sacrifice of their nationality in America's wars, and the close affinity between America's and their own traditional values. The Swedes well fit this pattern. If the Italians held that their countryman Columbus discovered America in 1492, the Norwegians and the Swedes could proudly counter with Leif Ericson and the Viking discovery some 500 years earlier. The Viking tradition has thus remained a central rallying point, from at least the 1870s down to the present, among Scandinavian immigrants and their descendants. The Swedes – together with the Finns – were meanwhile able to point to the New Sweden colony on the Delaware River, established in 1638, and on that basis to claim that they were actually "colonists," rather than simply "immigrants," in the New World. They also made much of the sacrifices of their countrymen in defending American freedom and preserving the union, especially during the Civil War of the 1860s, their real "baptism of fire" in the new land.

As for the similarity of values, both Norwegian and Swedish cultural leaders made the ingenious claim by the 1870s that the ideal of "freedom" first saw the light of day in the Scandinavian North – "*frihetens hemvist på jorden*," as the Swedes like to say. From there, they maintained, it was brought by the Vikings to England, from whence it was carried in the seventeenth century to America, where

it reached its full flowering in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The influential Swedish-American editor Johan A. Enander went so far as to claim in the 1890s that the Swedes actually made better Americans than the Anglo-Americans themselves, since thanks to their own traditions they held more faithfully to America's true ideals. In effect, Swedish America's leaders liked to present their immigrant countrymen as the best Swedes – those who showed the old Viking spirit of enterprise and adventure – and the best Americans!

At the same time, notwithstanding their proud identification with America, the Swedish Americans were eager to prove their faithful attachment to the cultural traditions of their homeland. What they sought to preserve and cultivate, was nevertheless highly selective. In particular, the immigrants in America showed a notably ambivalent attitude toward Swedish upper- and middle-class culture. The vast majority of the immigrants came from peasant backgrounds, in the later period increasingly from an industrial working class only a generation or two removed from the countryside. Still, during the earlier immigration they showed surprisingly little attachment to their old peasant culture, which at this time was rapidly being abandoned in Sweden itself as a culture of social inferiority. Swedish immigrants sought on the whole a new identity in a mixture of strict, puritanical Swedish-American evangelical religion and conventional American middle-class respectability. They conceived

their Swedish identity in essentially religious and moral terms. They thus showed much hostility and contempt toward what they considered the decadent, refined and leisurely life style of the Swedish upper classes, as immigrant intellectuals and cultural leaders were often made uncomfortably aware.

The influential American-born Pastor Carl Aaron Swensson from Lindsborg, Kansas, was deeply impressed, upon visiting Sweden for the first time in 1890, by the sweetness of upper-class life there and wished that the Swedes could just learn to work like the Americans, and that the Americans, including those born in Sweden, could learn to enjoy life like the Swedes. Only gradually have descendants of the Swedish immigrants, often much to their surprise, come to discover Sweden's genteel tradition.

Swedish Americans today – unlike the earlier immigrants – love to celebrate traditional Swedish holidays, especially Lucia on 13 December, Christmas, and Midsummer. There is great enthusiasm for Swedish folk music, folk dance, folk dress, handicrafts, and cooking – that is, for the old Swedish *peasant* culture. They naturally like to believe that all of this was brought intact to America by the earliest immigrants and has lived on ever since. As we have seen, this was not the case. In Sweden the old folk culture was rapidly waning until it was deliberately revived during the National Romantic era between circa 1890 and 1920. As so much had by then disappeared, the revived folk culture consisted in good part of what

the British historian E. J. Hobsbawm has described as "invented tradition." New "folk" music, dances, and dance-games were composed. Old parish folk dress was often imaginatively recreated and in 1903 the artists Carl Larsson and Gustaf Ankarcróna designed the blue and yellow "Swedish dress" (*svenska dräkten*), often worn on ceremonial occasions nowadays by Queen Silvia and Crown Princess Victoria.

This National Romantic Swedish folk culture was introduced into Swedish America mainly by later immigrants with experience in the Swedish folk movements of the time, in particular the folk high schools and temperance lodges. It was thus only by beginning of the twentieth century that it was enthusiastically adopted by the Swedish Americans – whose present-day descendants have long since forgotten how relatively recently this took place.

The process of introducing Swedish customs among Swedish descendants in America continues even today. As lovingly practiced in America they have naturally become combined with American usages. As a Swedish-American newspaper some years back put it in announcing a "Swedish" pancake breakfast, "Swedes in Sweden do not eat pancakes for breakfast, but in America we do, so we consider it best to combine the best of both worlds." Such Swedish-American practices have naturally aroused mixed feelings over the years among visitors from Sweden. They have found it heartwarming, to be sure, that the immigrants' descendants has not forgotten old Sweden. Some, indeed,

have been much impressed by how much of the old Sweden has lived on across the Atlantic. Others have criticized and sometimes ridiculed Swedish-American ethnic culture as shallow, confused, and inauthentic, as mere "playing at being Swedes." This in turn has often offended Swedish Americans who feel they have been doing their best. As time has passed, however, there has been growing understanding and appreciation on both sides.

The relationship between homeland Swedes and Swedish immigrants during the migration era went, as I see it, through three basic phases: the "Spring Tide," the period of the heaviest emigration between roughly 1840 and 1902; the "High Tide," when cultural Swedish America reached its height, between 1903 and 1917; and the "Ebb Tide," from 1917 to 1940, when immigration rapidly fell off and the older Swedish-American cultural network went into decline.

Some individuals had left Sweden for America prior to the mid-1840s, but such persons were generally considered "black sheep" of mainly upper- and middle-class origins, persons in trouble at home or else idealistic dreamers, who represented no real loss to the homeland. The situation changed abruptly in 1845 when the farmer and miller Peter Cassel organized a little group of twenty-one persons who departed to establish their own New Sweden on the Iowa prairie. This was an altogether different matter and it immediately aroused widespread alarm both locally and nationally. These were peasant farmers, the

element Sweden could least afford to lose, and it was rightly feared that they would be followed by growing numbers of their kind. Already in 1846, over 1,200 peasant followers of the self-styled prophet Eric Jansson departed to establish their sectarian utopia, Bishop Hill, in northern Illinois.

The early emigration set off a lively debate in Sweden. Conservatives who considered Swedish society basically sound blamed the emigration on the emigrants themselves, whom they generally regarded as either fools or knaves. Liberals, on the other hand, held that emigration revealed serious faults in Sweden, proving the need for far-reaching reforms to prevent its most capable, industrious, and ambitious sons and daughters from leaving. The debate became particularly heated during relatively prosperous 1850s, raising virtually all of the arguments used either to attack or to defend the emigration down to its end in the 1930s. Swedish immigration reached a first peak in the later 1860s following serious crop failures at home, and its highest level during the 1880s. The record year was 1887, when over 46,000 Swedes left for America.

Swedish settlement in America spread by the later nineteenth century from its original core in Illinois and Iowa northward into Minnesota and the Dakota states – eventually onto the Canadian prairies – and westward into Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Texas, and out to the Pacific Coast. Swedish America meanwhile developed its own broadening cultural base: churches, secular societies, newspapers, publishing

houses, educational institutions, and businesses.

Times were difficult in Sweden from the mid-1860s down to the 1890s while the American economy boomed as never before. Increasing fatalism and discouragement regarding emigration became evident during these decades. The determined criticism of emigration and the emigrants of the 1850s gave way to the resigned feeling that the movement would simply have to run its course and that there was little Sweden could do to counter it. Swedish visitors at the time, mainly liberals, were on the whole enthusiastic about America and the conditions they found among their emigrated countrymen.

The situation shifted during the 1890s. America faced increasing economic difficulties, with its monopolistic trusts and cartels, and often violent labor conflicts. On top of these mounting problems came the financial Crash of 1893, resulting in widespread business failures and unemployment. At the same time, the 1890s saw the real take-off of Sweden's industrial economy, leading to a notable recovery of confidence. Large numbers of Swedes now returned from America and it was hopefully believed that the great emigration was over. Reborn optimism was now reflected in the increasingly critical tone of Swedish travel accounts from America and renewed propaganda against emigration.

Such hopes proved premature. Already in 1900 emigration again began to rise. This aroused widespread alarm in Sweden over the loss of industrial labor at the very

time the economy was rapidly developing and military manpower at a time of growing conflict with Norway over the union of the two kingdoms and rising alarm over the Russification campaign beginning in 1899 in Finland, which stirred old fears of the hereditary enemy to the east.

Opposition to emigration was never greater. By 1907 it led to three organized responses. The government's *Emigrationsutredning*, or Commission on Emigration, undertook to study the problem in depth and to propose practical remedies to deal with it. By 1913, when it dissolved, it brought out its voluminous report in twenty-one volumes, which remains a veritable gold mine regarding Swedish conditions at the beginning of the century and which pointed the way to Sweden's later development in the direction of industrialization and social welfare. *Nationalföreningen mot emigrationen*, the National Society against Emigration, was a private organization that sought to combat emigration through massive propaganda and an "egna-hem" movement to acquire independent smallholdings for landless agricultural laborers. *Riksföreningen för svenskhetens bevarande*, the Society for the Preservation of Swedish Culture in Foreign Lands, with its headquarters in Göteborg, strove to promote Swedish culture and pride among *utlandssvenskar*, Swedes abroad, including *amerikasvenskar*. The society still exists under the name *Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt*.

Swedish America reached its cultural zenith between from the

1890s on. Swedish Americans meanwhile reacted against the anti-emigration movement at home, which threatened to deprive them of fresh blood from the homeland, and even against *Riksföreningen's* well-meaning cultural imperialism. They were anxious for emigration to continue and felt need for direction from outside.

The "high tide" of Swedish America rapidly turned to "ebb tide" as a result of World War I. At its outbreak in Europe in 1914, Swedish Americans were generally opposed to American intervention while many felt a certain sympathy for Germany as the home of the Lutheran faith and the enemy of Sweden's old enemy, Russia. America's entry into the war on the Allied side three years later, in 1917, precipitated a powerful nativist reaction, the "100% Americanism movement." Its principal victims were the German Americans, but Swedish and Norwegian Americans were also affected. The reaction continued into the early 1920s, mainly due to the "Red Scare" aroused by the Russian Revolution and international Communism. This in turn largely motivated the restrictive immigration quotas passed by Congress in 1921, 1924, and 1927. After a final spurt in Swedish immigration in 1923, the Swedish quota was set in 1924 at a little over 9,000 per year, and in 1927 at only slightly over 3,000. These restrictions were soon followed by the Great Depression of the 1930s, when far more Swedes remigrated back to Sweden than emigrated to America. As America began to recover, World War II practically ended emigration altogether.

Meanwhile, Sweden's ongoing industrial development and social welfare system held out a more promising prospect to those who earlier might have been tempted to leave. America gradually lost its attraction as the era of the Great Migration faded into the past.

As emigration ceased to pose a threat to Sweden's national interests, the image of the emigrants began to change already during the 1920s. The emigration now began to be seen in Sweden, as it had long been among the Swedish Americans, as a great heroic episode in the history of the Swedish people, the proof of what Swedes were still capable of accomplishing when given the opportunity. This mythic view of the emigration and emigrants reached its height with Vilhelm Moberg's immensely popular emigrant novels from the 1950s on, which directly or indirectly inspired the beginning of serious academic emigration research in Sweden and the establishment of the Emigrant Institute in Växjö and the Emigrant Register in Karlstad, followed since then by a number of smaller emigrant museums and centers throughout the country.

In America, the gradual disappearance of the older, first-generation ethnic institutions and of the Swedish language did not mean the end of Swedish America. From around 1930 on, new, "American-Swedish" institutions began to appear, with English as their language, to keep the flame burning among later generations, such as the Augustana Historical Society in Rock Island, Illinois, the American-Swedish Institute in Minneapolis, and the American-Swedish

Museum in Philadelphia. A Swedish America lives on, albeit in a new form. And it continues to flourish, with new Swedish-interest organizations constantly coming into existence.

Since the end of World War II in 1945, there has been some emigration, small in numbers but qualitatively significant, consisting above all of well-educated and qualified professionals and business people. But that is another story, and one that thus far has hardly begun to receive the scholarly attention it deserves.

It has been my underlying belief throughout my research in this area that the relationship between homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans has been *essentially* similar to that between all emigrants and their homelands. There are, however, differences: between older and more recent immigrant groups; between emigrants from old, established national states and from more recent ones; between emigrants of their own free will and refugees from war and oppression; between emigrants belonging to national majorities or to ethnic minorities. So far no really similar studies have been made on this scale of any other homeland-emigrant relationship. It may be hoped that more such research will emerge in the time to come. Finland, for instance, would make an inviting topic in this regard.

Ultimately, it becomes evident, reactions throughout the world to America as a country, to emigration as a phenomenon, and to emigrants as people, both positive and negative, are conditioned by responses to the broader processes

of global modernization. Those who have looked with confidence to the future have defended America, the emigration, and emigrants. Those who mistrust the future have been opposed, fearful of the specter of worldwide "Americanization." The relationship I have described reflects, as I have written in the concluding sentence of my book on the subject, "the emotion-laden, yet often am-

bivalent struggle between unrelenting modernization and nostalgic antimodernism, between past and present."

A note on sources

This article is based upon my book, *A Folk Divided: Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840-1940* (Carbondale, Illinois, 1994), and upon various articles

written over a number of years. Most can be located through the LIBRIS on-line catalogue of Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm (www.kb.se). For some preliminary studies offering a comparative international perspective, see also Harald Runblom, ed., *Migrants and the Homeland: Images, Symbols, and Realities* (Uppsala, 2000).

624,000 claim Finnish ancestry in the USA

The US Census 2000 numbers for those claiming Finnish ancestry were published in September 2002. The long form distributed to every sixth household included the question What is your ancestry or ethnic origin? Adjusted statistically for the entire US population, the number for "Finnish" is 623,573. This includes all that answered Finnish only, as well as those claiming Finnish first or second in case of multiple ancestries. The total is about 5 percent less than the 659,000 persons declaring Finnish ancestry in 1990 Census.

The following states had the biggest Finn-population (% change since 1990 in brackets): Michigan 101,000 (-7%); Minnesota 99,400 (-4%); California 56,500 (-12%); Washington 40,300 (-9%). Fifth ranking Wis-

consin (36,000) and seventh ranking Florida (25,700) show a small gain of 3%. Examples of popular smaller Finn-states are Arizona, Colorado and Nevada with increases of 10-15%, and North and South Carolina with 30-50% more claiming Finnish ancestry than in 1990.

Census information on number of newcomers, citizenship, languages spoken, and other details, still to be published, will provide material for interesting studies and conclusions for months and years to come. The 1990 Census reported 23,000 persons born in Finland. For year 2000 they will be fewer, as the number of newcomers is small. The question "Where were your parents born?" was last asked in 1970. At that time 150,000 reported at least one parent born in Finland. It is esti-

mated that these second generation Finnish-Americans in year 2000 numbered less than 80,000. Thus, over half a million third, fourth, fifth, and possible even a few sixth generation Americans recognize their Finnish ancestry at the polls.

The combined number of those claiming Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish ancestry in year 2000 dropped 4 percent from the 1990 numbers. The US Census 2000 numbers (with % change since 1990 in brackets) are: Danish 1,430,000 (-12%); Icelandic 43,000 (+5%); Norwegian 4,480,000 (+15%); Swedish 4,000,000 (-15%). Obviously, Norwegian ethnicity is now a top choice among those claiming multiple Scandinavian ancestries.

Norman Westerberg

Saksansuomalaisten lasten suomalaisen maisema ja kieli



Anja Karhunen

Tämä artikkeli perustuu tekeillä olevaan väitöskirjatutkimukseen ”Saksansuomalaisten lasten suomen kieli ja suomalainen identiteetti”. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, mikä merkitys saksansuomalaiselle lapselle on suomen kielellä suomalaisuuden ja identiteetin rakentajana. Tutkimusta varten on haastateltu suomeksi 6–12-vuotiaita lapsia 12 saksansuomalaisesta perheestä Hampurin ja Münchenin seudulla. Artikkelissa olevat sitaattit ovat lainauksia lasten puheenvuoroista. Niiden tarkoitus on välittää autenttisia välähdyksiä peruskouluikäisten lasten ajatuksista. Heidän kuvauksistaan ja pienistä kertomuksistaan saa käsityksen heidän käyttämästään suomen kielestä ja sen avulla välitetyistä suomalaisuudesta. Suluissa mainitut lasten nimet on muutettu, mutta niiden avulla pyritään kuitenkin kuvaamaan nimien kulttuurisidonnaisuutta.

KM Anja Karhunen, Helsingin yliopiston opettajakoulutuslaitoksen tohtoriopiskelija. Artikkelit perustuu väitöskirjatutkimusta varten tehtyihin saksansuomalaisten lasten haastatteluihin.

Vaikka saksansuomalaisista voidaan koota tiettyjä yhtäläisiä piirteitä, kuten kohtalainen koulutus ja kielitaito, sopeutuminen ja se, ettei heitä syrjitä saksalaisen valtakulttuurin piirissä, on perheiden yksilöllisten piirteiden kirjo värikäs. Lapset poimivat ja suodattavat oman kokonaisuutensa napsien piirteitä aikuisten ajatuksista, asenteista ja toimista ja kutoen niistä oman maisemansa tässä ja nyt. Oletettavasti haastattelujen sisältöön on herkkävireisesti vaikuttanut se, miten kauan edellisestä Suomen-matkasta on aikaa, mutta lasten innostus tai epäily on aitoa.

– *Odotan, että pääsen Nallekoiran kanssa metsään tai niitylle keräämään kukkia*, sanoi 10-vuotias hampurilaistytö ennen kolmeviikkoista Suomen-matkaansa.

Saksansuomalaiset ja lapset

– *Mä oon syntyny täällä ja koko ajan asunu vaan Saksassa. Minun äiti on suomalainen ja isä on saksalainen ja minä oon suomalainen tai suomalainen saksalainen tai Saksan suomalainen. Minä puhun suomea mutta enemmän saksaa.* (Walter)

Saksassa asuu noin 18 000 Suomessa syntynyttä ensimmäisen polven suomalaista siirtolaista, joista arviolta 3000:lla on Saksan kansalaisuus. Saksassa asuvista suomalaisista noin 70 % on naisia. Maassa asuu noin 7000 toisen polven suomalaista, joilla vähintään toinen vanhemmista on suomalainen. Lapsella, jonka isä on saksalainen, on isänsä mukaan Saksan kansalaisuus ja suomalaisen vanhemman mukaan Suomen kansalaisuus. Toisen maailmansodan jälkeen erityisesti suomalaisia naisia muutti Saksaan, jonne he kieliharjoittelun tai kesätyösuunnitelmistaan poiketen perustivat perheen ja jäivät pysyvästi. Tavallisimmin saksansuomalaiset siirtolaiset ovat integroituneet saksalaiseen yhteiskuntaan hyvin, mutta he ovat kuitenkin säilyttäneet osan alkuperäistä kieltään ja kulttuuriaan. Samalla he ovat omaksuneet tiettyjä uuden kielen ja kulttuurin aineksia. (Tuomi-Nikula, 1989)

– *Saksalaista minusta on, ett minä oon sellanen Grossstadtmensch, ett mie piän isoista kaupungeista ... niitähän on Suomessakin mut niinkun sellasia ja sitten suoma-*



Saksansuomalaisia lapsia leikkimässä vettä kengässä -leikkiä Suomi-koululla.

lainen puoli; mie piän siellä on enemmän metsiä, rantaa ja vettä, joka ei oo niin likanen, se vesi.(Rosa)

Toisen polven saksansuomalaisilla lapsilla on mahdollisuus saada vaihteita kahdesta kulttuurista, jotka välittyvät saksan ja suomen kielillä. Suomen kielellä on merkitystä suomalaisen kulttuurin välittäjänä ja maailmankuvan laajentajana ja rikastuttajana. Saksansuomalaiset lapset ovat oppineet suomen kielen pääasiassa suomalaiselta vanhemmaltaan, useimmiten äidiltään. Suomalaisnaiset ovat pitäneet jatkuvaa yhteydenpitoa Suomeen tarpeellisena. Oma kieli on haluttu säilyttää ja opettaa lapsille, vaikka se vaatiikin erityisponnisteluja ympäristössä, jossa suomen kielelle on vähän käyttöä. Saksassa suo-

malaisiin suhtaudutaan yleisesti ottaen arvostaen ja myönteisesti, ja he ovat useimmiten ainakin ulkoisesti sulautuneet valtaväestöön.

Perheen kielitilanne

– Äiti puhuu mun ja veljen kanssa aina suomea mutta isän kanssa aina saksaa, joo ja koiran kanssa suomea. (Jouni)

Useimmat suomalaiset äidit nykyään puhuvat lapsilleen suomea. Perheiden suhtautumisessa saksan ja suomen kielen puhumiseen on tapahtunut ratkaiseva muutos 1980-luvulla. Ennen sitä Saksaan muuttaneista korkeintaan kolmasosa puhui lastensa kanssa kotikielenä suomea. Periaatteessa suomen kieltä on haluttu opettaa lapsille, mutta 1960–70-luvuilla

yleinen mielipide oli kaksikielisyttä vastaan, ja esim. opettajat ja lastenlääkärit suhtautuivat siihen kielteisesti. Tuolloin kaksikielisuuden ajateltiin olevan suorastaan vahingollista lapsen kielen kehityksen kannalta. Voimakkaana yhteiskunnallisena keskustelun aiheena Saksassa on ollut maahanmuuttajien oman kielen ja saksan kielen opettamisen merkitys. Vieraiden kielten opetus on ollut arvostettua, mutta vastavasti vähemmistökielien opetus ja luonnollinen kaksikielisyys on nähty jopa yhteiskunnallisena uhkana. Etnisten vähemmistöjen on ollut tärkeää ensisijaisesti oppia saksan kieli. (Luchtenberg, 2002) Suomenkieliset ovat pieni hajallaan asuva vähemmistö, mutta heidän omat kanavat, kuten kirkko, koulu ja kahviringit, ovat pitäneet saksansuomalaisten suomalaisuuden elävänä.

Lisääntynyt tutkimustieto kaksikielisydestä ja suomalaisten halu säilyttää yhteydet Suomeen ja suomen kieleen vahvisti pyrkimystä opettaa suomea toisen polven saksansuomalaisille lapsille. Tueksi kielen opiskelulle perustettiin Suomi-koulut, joita on nykyään 26 eri puolilla Saksaa. Suomen kielen käyttö yleistyi 1980-luvulla, jolloin yli puolet Saksaan muuttaneista suomalaisista vanhemmista puhui lastensa kanssa suomea kotikielenä. 1990-luvulla muuttaneiden osalta vastaava luku on 85 %. Pääsääntöisesti nykyään kotona puhutaan suomalaisen äidin kanssa suomea, mutta perheiden yhteinen kieli on melkein aina saksa. Ensimmäinen lapsi puhuu parhaiten suomea, ja perheen seuraavien lasten suomen puhuminen on vaikeampaa. Sisa-

rukset puhuvat useimmiten keskenään saksaa. (Siirtolaisuusinstituutti, 2001) Haastateltujen lasten isät puhuivat saksaa, olipa isä minkämaalainen tahansa.

– *Milloin puhut yleensä isän kanssa suomea?*

– *Am Frühstückstisch... eigentlich wenn wir Zeit haben.* (Laura)

Haastateltujen perheiden isistä kaksi oli suomalaisia, kolme puhui suomea, neljä ymmärsi jonkin verran ja kolme osasi joitakin sanoja suomeksi. Saksalaiset äidit pitivät lapsien suomen osaamista tärkeänä, kuljettivat lapsia Suomi-kouluun ja olivat itsekin käyneet suomen kielen kursseilla. Perheiden saksalainen vanhempi osasi suomea yleensä vain siinä tapauksessa, että hän oli tavannut tulevan puolisonsa Suomessa asessaan tai perhe oli yhdessä asunut Suomessa. Perheenjäsenten kieliroolit saattavat olla niin automaattisia, ettei kielen vaihtamista edes huomaa.

– *Jos minä ... istutaan pöytään, isä ja äiti ja sitten minä puhun äitille suomeks ja isälle saksaks ja kummatkii ymmärtää ja en minä huomaa yhtään.* (Jouni)

Kielten sekoittamisen välttämiseksi ja kielten oppimiseksi mahdollisimman tehokkaasti monet perheet ovat päätyneet yksi kieli - yksi henkilö -menetelmään. Perheen sisäinen kommunikaatio on toisenlaista kuin yhtä yhteistä kieltä puhuttaessa. Jos kaikki perheenjäsenet eivät osaa molempia kieliä, saattaa toisaalta syntyä kiusallisia ristiriitatilanteita, mutta toisaalta tämä menetelmä selki-

yttää tilannetta lapsen kannalta ja helpottaa määrätietoisien kaksikielisyystavoitteen saavuttamisesta. (Arnberg, 1987)

– *Jos mie sanon jotain mun isästä äidille ja mun isä on paikalla, niin siitä on tyhmää, ku puhuu suomee toisista, niin ei se oo kivaa, jos ei ymmärrä.* (Rosa)

– *Puhun äidin kanssa saksaa vain silloin, kun en tiedä mitä se on suomeksi mut me aina puhutaan suomee, kanss, kun meill on vieraita. Minunhan pitää oppia niin, että minä osaan sen. Jos mä en tee, kun meill on vieraita niin mie en ossais niinkun mie nyt osaan.* (Rosa)

Äidinkieli sanan varsinaisessa merkityksessä äidin kielenä on useimmiten luonnollisesti opittava kotikieli. Se on myös tunnekieli, jonka välityksellä lapsen ja äidin välittömintä kommunikaatiota on syntymästä lähtien ylläpidetty. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984) Äidin ja lapsen välinen suhde on muodostunut jopa korostuneen erityiseksi heidän yhteisen 'sala-kielensä' avulla.

– *Äidin kanssa puhun paljon, vaikka mitä, jos mulla on salaisuuksia tai jos mä oon surullinen ja vaikka mitä siis ihan normaaleja asioita.* (Rosa)

Sen lisäksi, että puhujilla on erilaisia rooleja, voi kielillä olla myös eri tehtäviä. Äidin kielen hellittelyrooli oli eräässä perheessä omistettu myös koiran käsitteeseen.

– *Jos sinä sanot, että mene istumaan niin mikä se on ... se on yksi*

Befehle ... käsky ... ne me sanotaan kaikki aina saksaks tai jos se tekee jotain rikki ja jos se on tehnyt jotain hyvää, niin silloin aina suomeks. (Jouni)

Kielen oppiminen ja suomen kielen käyttö

– *Kun minä olin aika pieni, niin minä osasin aika hyvin suomee ja saksaa, kun isi on sanonu kaikkee mikä se tarkoittaa mitä ja minä pistin sen päähän ja muistin sen koko ajan ja sitten minä opin enemmän suomea. Minä osasin aina enemmän. Minun eka sana, kun minä olin vauva, minä sanoin anka ja se oli aika kummallista. Minä olisin luullu, eka sana olis ollu joku saksalainen sana mut se oli anka.* (Simo)

– *Ihan mä oon vaan kuunnellu ja laittanu päähän. Joskus mä kuuntelen lastenlauluja ja siitä mä opin vähän. Äiti on lukenu mulle kirjoja... Autossa luen kans kirjoja ja jos ei oo lukemista niin luen vaikka liikennemerkkejä, Suomessa, niin siitä mä opin kanssa.* (Maija)

Saksansuomalaisten lasten suomen kielen taito on kirjavaa. Suomen kielen oppiminen on ollut luonnollista eivätkä lapset ole varsinaisesti kokeneet oppivansa, vaan se on omaksuttu äidin kanssa puhuessa. Sanoja ei ole päättetty eikä kielioppia hiostettu. Vanhemmat ovat valinneet tietoisesti tai tiedostamattaan kielen opettamisstrategian, jota sinnikkäästi tai tilanteen mukaan soveltaen on toteutettu. Kaksikielisyystutkimuksissa on havaittu, etteivät lapset saavuta syntyperäisen kaltais-



Suomi-koululaisia Hampurin merimieskirkolla.

ta kielitaitoa vähemmistökielisen vanhempansa kielessä (Romaine, 1995). Tavoitteen saavuttamiseksi jotkut äidit vaativat aina puhumaan kanssaan suomea ja lisäksi perheen lapsille saattaa tulla keran viikossa yksityisopettaja luettamaan ja kirjoittamaan pieniä tarinoita. Suomi-koulu on kuulunut kaikkien haastateltavien harrastuksiin ainakin jossakin vaiheessa. Lasten mielestä suomen kielen oppiminen on kivaa, vaikka Suomi-kouluun ei aina jaksaisi mennäkään. Ajoittain se on tuntunut raskaalta eikä aikaa muiden harrastuksien rinnalla aina riitä. Suomen puhuminen on vaikeaa ja pitää ajatella sanottavaansa tarkemmin.

– *Se on anstrengend, weil jedes Wort aussuchen muss ... haluan sprechen schon aber lernen in der Schule, na-jaa.* (Tero)

– *Minä olin Suomi-koulussa kaks-kolme vuotta. Voi olla, että minä opin vähän suomea, mutta mie en tykänny siitä. Minulle riitti, että mie osaan puhua ja ymmärtää suomea.* (Jouni)

Kouluikään asti vähemmistökielen oppiminen on herkempää, vaikka kodin ulkopuolella suomen kielen käyttötilaisuuksia on harvassa. Saksan kielen käyttö lisääntyy voimakkaasti, kun lapsi aloittaa koulun. Kodin ulkopuolisen ympäristön ja kavereiden merkitys kasvaa. Merkittäväksi tekijäksi kielten rinnakkaiselle oppimiselle nousee motivaatio. Yksikin suomalainen kaveri on merkittävä motivointikeino suomen puhumiseen. Kielen käyttömahdollisuuksien lisääminen on tärkeää. Kielelle tulee lisäkäyttöä, jos löytyy edes yksi sopivan ikäinen kaveri, joka puhuu suomea.

Haastatteluun osallistuneiden lasten osalta näyttää suomalaisella kaverilla olevan olennainen merkitys suomen kielen osaamisessa. Heikosti suomea puhuvilla ei ollut läheistä, ikäistään suomalaista ystävää.

– *Minun pitää Ollin kanssa puhua, koska se ei osaa paljon puhua saksaa ... Se on mun paras kaveri, asuu Suomessa. ... No oikeesti minä ajattelin asuvani Suomessa ja siellä on varmaan kivempi asua. Meen ehkä armeijaan kanssa, Ollin kanssa meen armeijaan.* (Simo)

– *Mun ystävä Reetta, myö tehään i-meilejä aina ja myö kirjoitellaan, joskus viikoittain, joskus päivittäin, jos ei huvita niin ei ... mul ei oo sellasta, saksalaista, sellasta, mille voi sanoo kaiken. Minusta tuntuu, etten mä voiskaan sanoo, ko on ite jotenkin silleen niinkun suomalainen.* (Tämän 9-vuotiaan Rosan mielestä parhaat kaverit olivat maahanmuuttajataustaisia.)

Kaverit olivat pääasiassa saksalaisia ja useimmiten heidän mielestään oli yleensä hienoa osata suomea. He ovat halunneet oppia joi-takin suomalaisia sanoja, ainakin laskemaan kymmeneen. Eräs 12-vuotias oli pitänyt kavereilleen suomen kielen kerhoa, joka oli muutaman kerran jälkeen kuitenkin kuihtunut. Kavereiden mieliteillä oli luonnollisesti suuri merkitys, mutta saksansuomalaiset lapset tuntuivat olevan vahvoja suomalaisuudessaan ja varmoja suomen kielen hyödyllisyydestä. Joidenkin koulutovereiden negatiivinen suhtautuminen oli omanarvontuntoisesti selitettävissä.

– *Monet kaverit on aika ka-teellisia, että minä osaan puhua suomea. Sit ne kiusaa sillä, et jos minä en saa tehdä jotain, sitten äiti sanoo jotain, niin ne kiusaa, mitä äiti sit sanoo. Se on vähän epärei-luu mut ne on vaan varmaan ka-teellisia, kun minä osaan ja ne ei osaa puhuu muuta kieltä ... mut jos en osais suomee niin menettäis-in aika monta kavereita enkä vois puhua puhelimesta kenen-kään kanss jos joku suomalainen soittaa. (Walter)*

– *Joskus ne sanoo, mutta ne on jotkut töpöt ... ei tykkä minusta ... töpöt mun luokassa, joo, sinä suo-malainen nipo, vähän noin vähän rechtkvalif..., et ne ei halua Aus-länder ... vähän indirekt se on vä-hän vitsi ja, että ei niin, että se sattuis ... Minä en kuole siihen ja aina ne samat, mikä sanoo sen. Sitten minä en kuuntele enää. (Jouni)*

Pääasiassa lapset eivät kokeneet kaksikielisyyttä poikkeavana. Suomen kieltä vähän puhuvat eivät olleet kertoneet suomalaisesta taustastaan. Kaveripiirissä oli usein muitakin kieliyhdistelmiä, mutta se ei vaikuttanut ystävyys-suhteisiin eikä siitä erityisemmin keskusteltu.

Lapset ovat tyytyväisiä omaan kielitaitoonsa. Useimmat sanoivat puhuneensa pienenä paremmin ja enemmän suomea, ja koska koulussa puhutaan vain saksaa, on se pääkieli.

– *Minä oon aika ylpeä siitä, että osaan suomea puhua ja minusta on kiva puhua sitä. (Kasper)*

– *Saksaa minä puhun joka päivä koulussa mut suomi on kanss aika hyvä. (Jouni)*



Lapsen piirros suomalaisesta mökkimaisemasta.

Hitaus häiritsee ja harmittaa, kun ei aina tiedä sanoja, mutta Suomen vierailuilla kieli aktivoituu ja sisarukset saattavat puhua Saksaan palattuun jonkin aikaa keskenään suomea. Useimmat lapset olivat joskus joutuneet tilanteeseen, jolloin oli tuntunut nololta, kun tiiviisti keskittyessään tai koulussa kesken kaiken on huudahtanut ”voi ei” tai lipsauttanut lauseenalun suomeksi.

Saksansuomalaiset lapset puhuvat suomeksi konkreettisista kotiasioista sujuvasti. Kotona voi tarpeen mukaan käyttää kumpaa tahansa kieltä. Jos ei muista jotakin sanaa toisella kielellä, voi lainata toisesta. Lapset eivät ole huomanneet mitenkään yleisesti oppivansa helpommin muita vieraita kieliä. Myös tulkkaaminen tuntui vaikealta tai oudolta ja harvat olivat joutuneet varsinaisesti käännöstehtävän eteen. Jouni oli kutsuttu koulussaan selvittämään vasta Saksaan muuttaneen suomalaislapsen asioita, ja Rosa, Walter

ja Aino olivat kääntäneet isälleen yksittäisiä asioita Suomessa.

Perheen kaksikulttuurisuutta lapset eivät juurikaan havaitse. Perheen tavat ja asiat olivat taval-lisia ja arkipäiväisiä, eivätkä he erotelleet niitä erityisesti suomalaisiksi tai saksalaisiksi. Haastat-teluissa mainittiin kodin suomalaisiksi asioiksi sauna, kieli ja joulupukki. Suomesta tullessa haastattelijana minun oli helppo huomata kotien suomalaisia esi-neitä tai ilmiöitä (mm. poppanat, iittalat, arabiat, sisustuksen vaa-lea puu, avaruus ja selkeys).

Lasten suomalainen maisema

– *Mennään Suomeen joka kesä ... minä odotan ... immer wieder ... Es ist als ein Gewohnheit geworden. (Tero)*

– *Kahen viikon päästä me men-nään Suomeen ... Me ollaan Hel-singissä ja mummin mökillä.*



Lasten piirtämiä suomalaisia eläimiä.

Monet suomalaiset ovat kokeneet tarpeelliseksi jatkuvan yhteydenpidon Suomeen. Isovanhempien tapaaminen ja lasten tutustuttaminen toisen vanhemman kotimaaan ja sen luontoon ovat tärkeimpiä syitä toistuviin Suomen matkoihin. Lapsille Suomi on ennen kaikkea loman, mummolan ja mökkeilyn maa, jossa on puhdasta luontoa, tilaa ja vapautta.

Suomi kuuluu lasten elämän huippukohtiin, koska siellä voi tehdä sellaisia asioita, jotka saksalaisessa arkipäivässä ovat harvemmin mahdollisia. Ritsan tai pajupillin voi vuolla itse puukolla. Onkimiseen ei tarvitse lupaa ja mökkirannasta pääsee isän kanssa moottoriveneajelulle. Järvessä tai meressä uiminen on tavallinen

ajanviete kesällä, ja talvella voi rakentaa lumilinnoja. Rannoilla ja kallioilla voi hyppiä ja metsässä voi kulkea yksin tai koiran kanssa. Luonto on olennainen osa saksansuomalaisen lapsen suomalaisuutta. Kokemukset loputtomista metsistä ovat vaikuttavia ja jännittäviä. Simon mielestä metsään tulee ottaa mukaan karhukello karhujen poisajamiseksi eikä hirven kohtaamista voi unohtaa. Ainin mielestä itse poimitut mustikat ja Teron mielestä itse ongitut kalat maistuvat parhaimmilta. Suomessa ollaan lähempänä luontoa ja Rosan mielestä ihmiset ovat myös luonnollisempia.

– *Mie oon huomannu, ett Saksassa pitää olla vähän stærker, ei saa*

olla niin naiv, sillon voi alkaa niinku verletzen. Suomessa on toisenlaista, voi olla offener. (Rosa)

Erityisen usein lapset mainitsivat mummin ja mummin lahjoittamat kirjat ja videot tai isovanhempien luona vietetyn ajan puuhat. Maija on oppinut virkkaamaan mummin kanssa ja mummolassa on hänelle varattu oma huone.

– *Minä en olis minä, jos en vois puhua mummin kanssa suomea.* (Aino)

Suomi, suomalaisuus ja suomen kieli solmiutuu saksansuomalaisen lapsen ajatuksissa aurinkoiseksi ja rauhalliseksi kimpuksi mukavia asioita. Vaikka saksalaisten kavereiden kuullen oli vähän noloa puhua äidin kanssa suomea, mutta toisaalta on hienoa, kun osaa jotain sellaista, mitä toiset eivät osaa. Suomeen liittyviä ikäviä asioita oli vaikea keksiä. Ainoastaan kaurapuuron syöminen aina keskipäivällä oli Eilan mielestä ikävää. Osalle toinen kotimaa merkitsee houkuttelevaa mahdollisuutta tulevaisuudessa tulla Suomeen opiskelemaan tai elää ainakin pari kuukautta tai jopa vuosi Suomessa.

Jompaakumpaa vai kumpaakin?

– *Se on vaikee, minä luulen, että minä oon semmonen moni, missä on moni ... että on aika moni minun sisällä. Oikeesti minä tunnen olevani vähän enemmän saksalainen, koska minä puhun paremmin saksaa.* (Simo)

– *Minä olen suomalainen, koska minusta tuntuu siltä.* (Walter)

Monikulttuuristen perheiden kielten ja kulttuureiden yhteen sovittaminen ei ole ongelmatonta perheen sisäpoliittisena asiana, eikä tilannetta helpota ympäröivän valtakulttuurin paineet. Saksansuomalaiset lapset ovat pohtineet vaikeita kysymyksiä, mihin kuulun, kuka olen, mistä tulen, ja onko meidän perheessä asiat toisin? Kieli tuntui ratkaisevan, koska saksaa käytettiin enemmän, tai ei sittenkään. Paikka tuntui määräävän, koska oli aina asuttu Saksassa, mutta Suomessa voisi ainakin tulevaisuudessa asua. Siis ei sekään. Vanhemmat, sukulaiset, mummit tai kaverit, eivät nekään ratkaise, sillä suomalaisuus tai saksalaisuus ei ole näille lapsille urheilukilpailu. Suomen kieltä ja kulttuuria saksalaisen valtakulttuurin keskellä oppineet lapset nauttivat molemmista puolista. Tilanteen mukaan voi olla luontoinen tai monenlaisten mahdoll-

lisuuksien kaupunkilainen, ja voi olla puoliksi suomalainen ja puoliksi saksalainen. Urheilijoitakin voi kannustaa tilanteen mukaan joko molempia, ei kumpaakaan tai vain toista.

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H yvää J oulua ja Onnellista Uutta Vuotta!
 God J ul och Gott N ytt Å r!
 Merry Christmas and a H appy N ew Y ear!

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The Finnish migration to and from Russian Alaska and the Pacific Siberian Rim 1800–1900



Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell

It is true that from a Finnish point of view our Finnish history in Russian Alaska covers a time-period of a mere 67 years (1800–1867). However, from an Alaska point of view, the Russian Era is a vital and significant part of that vast region's history. Furthermore, within the United States, this history in Alaska is both unique to this region, as well as exceptional. Today in Alaska its surviving tangible remains generate considerable tourist activities. Thus it adds much desirable revenue to the state of Alaska's coffers. As the Finns, Karelians, Ingrians and Balts played a major role in creating this history and thus to the development of Alaska today, one would think a thorough investigation of our part in it would be in our national self-interest.

Maria J. Enckell, MFA, has since 1988 researched the history of the Finns in Russian Alaska and the Pacific Siberian Rim. The article is a summary of the lecture given on October 28, 2002 at the Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland. Up to 2001 her main focus was the identification, rescue, and preservation of Berndt Abraham Godenhjelm's Russian Era Alaska Evangelical Lutheran Church altar painting.

Thus, if we wish to expand on the up-to-date rather limited research results, then we should not limit our research to Russian Alaska alone. Instead we should focus our attention on the Russian endeavors in the whole of the North Pacific region. The reason is that between 1800 and 1922 Imperial Russia's history making activities in this vast Northern region consists of an uninterrupted flow from one side to the other and back. Some perplexing obstacles are to be faced, however: Much of the published material on this unique history is based upon sources found mainly in Russia and some in U.S. archives. Thus the rich archives found in Finland, and in the Baltic states and Poland have never been searched in any truly systematic way. This is partly due to the fact that they are in languages other than Russian, such as Swedish, Finnish, German and Polish. Additionally, much of both tapped and untapped sources offer mere bits and pieces of information. In themselves they most often make little sense. However, if hooked up to bits and pieces found in archives located on the other side of the globe, they suddenly provide us with a near global vision of historical events previously unknown, or misunder-

stood. Sometimes a key piece of this puzzle is found in a mere two words found in some obscure old book.

In addition to obstacles mentioned above, it has been generally held that the Russian-American Company employees consisted mostly of single men. Moreover, it has been assumed that in any given year the Russian-American Company's white work force never numbered beyond one thousand. More likely it hovered between five hundred and seven hundred and fifty. Most likely this estimate is based upon accounts found in preserved Company records, such as payrolls. Therefore it might in fact leave out the following:

- Family dependents, including children both born in the colonies as well as born elsewhere, and household servants.
- Relatives and/or friends brought along.
- Skippers and ship-crews hired through the Åbo/Turku (Finland) based mega business tycoon Eric Julin & Co, for cargo hauling journeys made to Sitka and other company sites.
- Recorded long term visitors, including scientists who used Sitka as their base of operation.

- Skippers, navigators and seamen of the whaling ships belonging to the Russo-Finnish whaling company, as well as the later-on skippers and crews onboard the Helsinki-based whalers operating in this region.
- The local Creole population fathered by Finns, Ingrians, Karelians and Balts. This particular population grew into a significant part of the colonies' population as well as workforce. However, a one parent was Russian orthodox, Russian church law required their children to be registered as such.

Of the seventeen known individuals offered the position of Governor of Russian Alaska/Chief Manager of the Russian-American Company, eight were Evangelical Lutheran North Europeans. Of these men one died in 1811 on his way to Russian Alaska (the German-born Johann Koch), second who was to replace him (the Dane Johan Banner), never received his final confirming letter, and the third (the Finn Johan Joachim von Bartram) declined the repeated offer. Two of Governors were Finns, Arvid Adolph Etholén (1840–1845) and Johan Hampus Furuhjelm (1858–1864). Baltic Germans were Ludwig Karl August von Hagemeister (January 1818 – October 1818), Ferdinand Friedrich Georg Ludwig, Baron von Wrangell (1830–1835), and Nicolas Jacob (von) Rosenberg (August 1850 – March 1853). Thus out of fourteen serving Governors one third were non-Russian North Europeans.

The significance of the Russian-American Company board's

decision to seek official permission to establish an Evangelical Lutheran parish/pastorate to serve its increasing numbers of Lutheran employees with its seat in Sitka must also be taken into account. This clearly indicates that the Company considered its Lutheran labor force numerous enough to permit the board to do so. In June 24 in 1839 the Tzar granted such an official permission to the Company. To be noted is that the motive here was purely economical and thus self-serving. This calculation panned out with increasing numbers attracted to serve under renewed contracts. Thus this work force provided the Company with an increasing number of highly skilled skippers, navigators, seamen, office employees, medical men, pharmacists, as well as a full range of skilled craftsmen.

Between 1840 and 1865 three pastors, recruited from Finland, served this region, through Sitka, where its church-building was built. As approval was granted, it allowed St. Petersburg's upper consistory to take such actions it deemed desirable by providing this new parish/pastorate with a "care package", which among its many items also included Finnish artist Berndt Abraham Godenhjelm's magnificent altar-painting, "The Transfiguration of Christ". It is to be noted that to this day this painting proclaims of our large North European Evangelical Lutheran presence in Russian Era Alaska, and the Company's many far-flung sites in the shores and islands of the North Pacific. (See cover for Godenhjelm's painting.)

As this church served all its members equally, services were

held in Finnish, Swedish, and German. Every fifth service was held in German. Services were held not only on Sundays but also on all Russian-held national holidays, such as coronation days, Royal weddings and birthdays.

The distinctly separate ethnic entities this pastorate served was not any different from the one in Irkutsk, which was more than one hundred years older and served substantial numbers of naval officers and high ranking imperial military and civilian employees. Singularly different at Sitka was its population of civilian Finnish merchant skippers and seamen, including navigators, employed by the Company. It is a mistake to believe that these men came primarily from the Åbo/Turku region. Records preserved indicate that many came from Loviisa, Hamina, Viipuri, Pori, Rauma and Oulu, as well as from interior sites such as Kuopio, Joroinen, Mikkelä, etc. Additionally, hired ships complete with ships and crews with registered home ports have been identified in places such as Oulu, Pori, Turku and Viipuri.

Serving between 1800 and 1868 were at least thirty-six Lutheran medical doctors. Most were Baltic Germans trained at Dorpat University. Five came from Finland. Of the five, three served out of Sitka, the rest on board ships sailing the loop: Kronstadt – Sitka – Kodiak – Petropavlovsk (Kamchatka) – Okhotsk (initially) – Ajan (from 1846 onward) – Nikolajefsk on the Amur (after 1856) and back, sometimes via Hong Kong or Shanghai, mostly via Honolulu and/or Tahiti.

Furthermore, under study should be the Company's many other endeavors beyond its fur pelt harvesting, although many Finns and Balts took part in these endeavors as harvest site supervisors, furriers and accountants.

Acquiring the always-needed provisions, most often in short supply, necessary to the sustenance of staff and the labor force stationed both in Sitka and the many far flung Company sites.

Providing desired luxury goods such as champagne, cigars, silks, gloves, shoes etc. for the ladies, and other such things.

Designing and constructing numerous buildings at various sites all through the Company domains. Not only where they built for housing (never adequately provided for at Sitka), but also for business purposes. Some buildings are still standing today. Those with distinct stone foundations are all Finnish-built.

During his short reign Tzar Paul granted the Russian-American Company the monopoly on all the empire's endeavors taking place in the Russian Pacific domains and those instigated by the empire on other nearby sites. Thus numerous Finns and Balts, including naval officers, medical men, workmen, craftsmen, skippers and ship crews were involved in the following ventures:

Imperial Russia's repeated attempts made in their desire to penetrate Japan's then closed society in their hope of obtaining trade agreements with that nation. In 1792 the Finn Erik Laxman had instigated this attempt out of Irkutsk, east Siberia, the Russian American Company continued

this effort under its monopoly rights. Such an agreement was finally completed under Admiral Putiatin's leadership in 1855–1858. Many Finns were in his entourage as well as in the ship crews.

Imperial Russia's desire to dominate the full length of the Amur River and its basin. It was a politically motivated issue the same Erik Laxman brought to Tzarina Catharine the Great's attention in 1790. This matter was successfully brought to completion in 1856–1858. Many Finns and Balts were involved.

As the move away from Russian-held Alaska was directly caused by events taking place during the Crimean War (1853–1856), a thorough investigation of its Pacific War-scene should be included. Numerous Finns and Balts, both Russian-American Company employees as well as others, civilians, naval officers, and marine soldiers were involved. This includes the battles fought at Petropavlovsk, and this city's ensuing evaluation, as well as at Ajan, and at the Amur River delta, and other sites.

The sale of Russian Alaska was finally completed with the transfer of the territory to the United States on October 18 in 1867. However, the Russian-American Company's operating charter had already expired some years earlier, and although granted a three-year extension the Company was for all practical purposes defunct. Thus, dismantling the Company sites were started early. Ajan, on the Pacific Siberian side, was completed in the summer of 1865, the year Sitka's pastor Winter depart-

ed. The work in Ajan had been directed by the Finn, Russian imperial naval officer Alexander Elfsberg. One of his supervisors was Navigator Carl Constantin Swartz from Joroinen (Finland). Okhotsk had been dismantled in 1846 in favor of the better natural port found at Ajan. Fort Ross, the Company's Northern California site had been sold more than twenty years earlier in 1841. Ajan's subordinated sites had been dismantled at the time of Ajan, and then sold to the Finn Otto Wilhelm Lindholm and his partners Hutchinson and Törnqvist.

The migration away from the Company's Alaska sites started in 1861 and ended some fifteen years later in 1876, that is, some seven years after the actual transfer. However, due to the escalating famine years in Finland (1862–1870) it impacted heavily on destination choices. Additionally impacting on choices was the reality that the Company (or the government) only offered free passage to Nikolajefsk, de Castri Bay, Vladivostok, and Ajan. The rest of the journey home was far too costly for many-membered family units.

Thus considerable numbers left for San Francisco and other California sites. Others settled in the Puget Sound region, including Vancouver Island. Some left for Astoria on the Oregon coast lured by the rich fishing on the Columbia River. Sizable numbers of Finnish and Baltic fathered families remained in Alaska. In the late 1800 Sitka is reported to have had some 500 individuals who could point to their Finnish ancestry. A few found their way to Honolulu

and the other Hawaiian Islands as well as to Valparaiso. Significant is that all were thoroughly familiar sites to them all.

What attracted so many to move to the newly acquired Amur-land region was multifold:

- The government's offer of free passage to the New Pacific Siberian sites.
- The fact that the region was already familiar to most.
- The government's offer of free land.
- The fact that the region was governed by their former Governor, Johan Hampus Furuholm, now as a military Governor (from October 1865 to 1871). His seat was the region's capital Nikolajefsk on the Amur. It held promise the city would resemble the familiar Sitka.
- The fact that his sister Ludmila, was married to medical Doctor Gustaf Schneider, who formerly of Ajan (1853–1865) had been appointed chief medical Doctor of the Amur-land region, with its seat in Blagoveshchensk up the Amur.
- His brother Harald Furuholm was now serving as chief administrator over this new region's crown lands as well as the region's settlement and land grant programs. His seat was at Nakhodka west of Vladivostok. To those departing Sitka the familiarity of such facts offered them much comfort in their state of upheaval.

In 1864 when the Russian Evangelical Lutheran Church authorities had split from the huge

Irkutsk based East Siberian pastorate, its South-West corner thus formed a second East Siberian pastorate called Ajan Trak pastorate. The Saarijärvi-born Finnish pastor Herman Wilhelm Roschier served as its first pastor from 1865 to 1880. His flock consisted mainly of immigrants and some exiled from Finland, Ingria, Estonia and Latvia. A church and an altar painting were provided.

Then in 1865, a mere month after military Governor Furuholm took up his seat at Nikolajefsk on the Amur (which was just about six months after Sitka's last pastor Georg Gustaf Winter's departure from Sitka on April 14), the same church authorities made its second move in the East Siberian region. On October 22 they split off from the rest of the Irkutsk pastorate the Pacific Siberian maritime region, forming out of it a separate pastorate. In the South it stretched to the Korean border, in the North its reach was the Arctic Sea, including Kamchatka. Thus this move brought welcome comfort to those arriving from the former Russian Alaska. Nikolajefsk on the Amur was this pastorate's seat and the post was designated a military one. However, for the fifteen years between 1865 and 1880 this pastorate did not manage to attract a single pastor willing to serve. The region was notoriously inhospitable, lacking any roads. The only viable means of travel was up and down the river Amur. The climate was also harsh. Winters were very cold, summers short and cool, frequently plagued by impenetrable banks of fog.

While this was taking place on the Siberian side of the Pacific, on

the American side the Western Union Telegraph Company put into action its huge venture, attempting to draw a telegraph line from San Francisco up to the Bering Strait. The plan was to cross the strait and then draw it down to Nikolajefsk on the Amur. There it was to be connected to the one connecting to St. Petersburg via Irkutsk and Moscow. The goal was to connect the U.S. with Europe through Asia. Involved in this venture were many Finns and Balts. Among them the Finn Carl Constantin Swartz. However, in a few years this project was abandoned as the same Company had on its second attempt managed to connect the U.S. East coast with Europe by dropping a cable across the Atlantic.

By 1868 Nikolajefsk on the Amur was already a rough "city" several times larger than Sitka ever was. A large part of its population consisted of military men. Both the Pacific Siberian fleet's as well as the Amur's fleet's headquarters were there. Supplying them with desirable goods had attracted numerous German merchants. The garrisons were served by several medical doctors, all of them Baltic Germans educated at Dorpat University. Many of the officers stationed there were Finns and Balts. As no Lutheran pastor had taken up the post this maritime pastorate was added to the duties of Irkutsk's pastor Johann Rossini (serving from 1863 to 1872). He made regular journeys to Nikolajefsk, Ajan and Vladivostok as well as other sites. At Rossini's departure in 1872 Irkutsk remained without a pastor for several years. Thus pastor Her-

man Wilhelm Roschier from the Ajan Trak was assigned to serve the entire East Siberian region until the Baltic pastor Theodor Rathke arrived to Irkutsk at the end of 1875. Roschier's long journeys to all corners of this vast region are well documented. Rathke took on the pastorless maritime region too, until January 1880 when the maritime region finally got its own pastor, the Balt August Rumpeter, who had been educated at Dorpat University. By then much had changed in that region. By 1871 Governor Furuhjelm had departed and his brother had died at Nakhodka. Furuhjelm's sister Ludmila and her husband had been reassigned to Poland. Nikolajefsk on the Amur had been abandoned for the far better natural harbor at Vladivostok. The two fleets and the pastor's and Governor's seats were also moved to Vladivostok. Nikolajefsk reverted into a sleepy garrison out-post. The next two Governors of maritime Siberia were the Baltic-Germans A. G. Kraun (1871–1875) and Gustav Wilhelm Erdmann (1875–1880). Numerous Finns and Baltic officers, both high and low ranking were serving here. Although the leadership was no longer Finnish and familiar it was still North European and Evangelical Lutheran.

In 1867 at the time of the sale of Russian Alaska most of the Company's ships were purchased by the initial San Francisco partnership of Hutshinson & Hirsh, which shortly thereafter turned into Hutshinson, Kohl & Co., then into Hutshinson, Kohl, and Maksoutoff & Co., to then stay as Hutshinson, Kohl, Philippeus & Co. This

Company was granted fur harvesting permits at all the old Russian-American Company sites on the American side and Russian Government permits on some of these old sites. Thus in fact this Company continued the same operation in nearly exactly the same way as previously. However, this time out of San Francisco and under another name. Most of its site agents, skippers, navigators, seamen and expert furriers were former Russian American Company employees. One of the owners was the Finn Gustaf Nybom (Niebaum). The Company made millions, some through rather shade filled deals. This Company spawned the Alaska Commercial Company which also made millions.

In Vladivostok the partners Otto Vilhelm Lindholm and Törnqvist did equally well at the former Russian-American Company's old shore side whaling stations situated in the South West corner of the Okhotsk sea. The Company owned at least the following ships: Tugur, Alexander, Sibir, Carolina Törnqvist, and Hanna Rice. This Company owned lucrative gold mining sites, a shipping firm, the region's only flour mill, shipyards and an import firm. Most likely Lindholm surpassed Nybom in power and earnings.

The Commercial activities generated by these two firms crisscrossing the North Pacific was formidable. Anchoring as well as most likely protecting them and their activities were their old friends now serving as imperial Russian Consuls. In San Francisco it was Martin Klinkofström, then

Valdemar Welitkovsky, then Gustaf Nybom himself, and possibly one of the Hanson skipper-brothers from Lovisa (Finland). In Oregon it was the Finn Gustaf Wilson. In Honolulu served J. P. Pfluger, then J. Bollmann. In China it was Mr. Philippeus. Under such favorable conditions those two firms could not but prosper. On record are orders placed via Vladivostok to California firms for hundreds of yellow rain slickers and boots for the Lena goldmines. Huge machines for the mining fields. Orders for fine ladies shoes, kid gloves, candied fruits, luxury goods, and fried vegetables for the region's department stores. Huge amounts of dried fruits for the Finnish firm Fazer and others. By 1890 San Francisco had more seamen than any other city in the United States. By the turn of the century 11 % of them were Finns. In 1900 San Francisco's population counted 342.782 and Vladivostok's was 38.000.

This panoramic view is not complete without the ships built in Finnish shipyards. In 1836–1839 the Åbo/Turku old shipyards built the ships "Nicola 1" and "Naslednik Aleksandr" for the Russian American Company. In use these ships were mostly manned by Finnish skippers and crews. The same shipyards built several ships for the Russo-Finnish Whaling Company.

The Helsinki shipyards of Bergström & Suleman built the transporter "Baikal" for the Russian Government for the specific use in exploring the Amur River delta in 1848–1858.

The corvette "Varijag" built at the Oulu (Finland) shipyards of

Bergman & Cadelin was used at the Pacific Siberian side of the Great Western Union Telegraph Company venture. Much of its crew and command was Finnish.

For the Amur River traffic the Helsinki firm Maskin och Brobyggnads Aktiebolaget built the following tugboats and passenger ships. Some accommodating up to 700 passengers.

1902: "Finljandijet", "Stretensk", "Argun", 1906: "Boris", "Udaloj", "Provorni", 1910: "Merkuri", 1912: "Ingenieur", "Wurtseij", "Ivan Oparin".

These nine ships were brought in sections to the Ussuri River where they were assembled by Finnish crews brought along. Also mentioned are ships built by the Crichton firm in Åbo/Turku (Finland). But so far I have not found their names. These ships were also designed for the Amur River traffic.

With this I conclude my panoramic view hoping I have convincingly communicated this importance of focusing on the enormity in what this handful of Finns and Balts managed to accomplish in the North Pacific region. It is truly mindbogling!

However, in 1922 with the Soviet regime taking control over maritime Siberia the iron curtain came down with a bang and most of the region's Finns were rounded up and executed on Vladivostok's main square. Vladivostok was declared a closed city, and remained so up to the mid 1990.

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Because Finnish Seaman House ship-crew lists often lack actual

destinations, I have used Honolulu, San Francisco, and Sitka port records for incoming and departing ships, as well as imperial Russian Consular records and the listings there in. The contracts made by the Hutshinson firm for their East Siberian sites are also located in the above mentioned consular archives. The same goes for the ships arriving to Honolulu and San Francisco, including their crew-lists owners and homeports and destinations. The list of goods shipped to Vladivostok and from there forward are also found in said Consular archives. The Hutshinson firm's ventures have been documented in a number of books on San Francisco's history. Other sources are city address directories. Additionally San Francisco's Russian Benevolent Society's Rooster has been consulted.

Eric Laxman's endeavors in Irkutsk are recorded by Professor Lensen (now deceased). Professor Stephan of University of Honolulu has recorded the Pacific Crimean war scene. Professor Jensen of University of Washington has recorded the details of the sale of Alaska, with more detailed documentation in the imperial Russian Consular archives. The names of the Baltic medical doctors on both sides of the North Pacific come from many sources and have been checked against Dorpat University's Matricule. The same goes for East Siberia's Evangelical Lutheran Pastors. Roschier has himself recorded his many journeys made in East Siberia. The reports are part of the archives of the Governor Generals of Finland found in the National Archives of Finland. In one of his letters quoted, he

states he had upon his arrival received an altar painting for his church. The set of official letters requesting permission to establish an Evangelical Lutheran church/pastorate at Sitka I have published in my "Documenting the Legacy of the Alaska Finns from the Russian Period", Finnish-American Historical Society of the West. There is also much data on the history of the Godenhjelm altar-painting.

Much detailed documentation is found in bits and pieces in published accounts written by visiting scientists. This includes the early (prior to 1840) medical doctors serving in that region. Other sources such as ship-logs have been consulted. The Creole population fathered by Balts and Finns I have handpicked out of Russian Alaska's orthodox church records. Professor Kishamutdinov of Vladivostok has documented some of Lindholms and other Finns in Vladivostok as well as the execution in 1922.

The Western Union Telegraph Company's venture is well documented in several published accounts. One is authored by Bush who documents Swartz as their guide and interpreter. Other sources come from translated documents published by Oregon Historical Society. Much information of dramatic proportion is found in preserved letters, among them some written by the Finn Alexander Elfsberg born in Oulu (Finland). Much of above material can be found on microfilm at the Family History Library at Salt Lake City, it can be ordered through any Mormon church library.

Extrapolated and photocopied

original documents are available for study at the "Enckell archives pertaining to the Finns and Balts in Russian Alaska and the Pacific Siberian Rim". It is located at the archives of the Swedish-Finn Historical Society in Seattle, Wash-

ington, U.S.A. This collection includes some 500 books on the subject in a multitude of languages, as well as hundreds of photocopied original documents found in numerous archives across the world. It is available to interested

parties. A catalog of its holdings is also made available for a nominal fee. The Society's staff is very friendly and helpful in locating satisfactory accommodations for any length of stay.

The altarpiece painted for the Sitka (Russian Era Alaska) Evangelical-Lutheran Church by Berndt Abraham Godenhjelm was brought to Finland to be restored by the initiative of Maria J. Enckell together with Prof. Heikki Hanka from the University of Jyväskylä, and the Director of Degree Program of Conservation of the EVTEK Institute of Art and Design, late Mr. Rikhard Hördal.

The conservation-restoration work of the painting has been done by painting conservator, lecturer Tannar Ruuben partly assisted by the art history student Kati Huovimaa from the Helsinki University. The painting has been fully documented, investigated by means of analytical photography (infrared light, ultraviolet light, radiography) and also conserved and restored. EVTEK (Degree Program of Con-

servation) and Tannar Ruuben have donated the whole restoration work.

The altar painting will be exhibited at the beginning of the next year, first in Finland and in the early autumn also in St. Petersburg, Russia.

Arkistojen päivä Siirtolaisuusinstituutissa 9.11.



Pohjoismaisen Arkistojen päivän teemana oli "Lapsi arkistossa". Siirtolaisuusinstituutin arkiston näyttely "Laiva on lastattu siirtolaisesineillä" keräsi yli sata katsojaa. Arkistomme vanhat esineet tekevät siirtolaisten usein eksoottiset vaiheet eläviksi katsojalleen. Erityistä kiinnostusta sekä lapsivieraissa että aikuisissa herätti "Turun seudun sotalapset ry:n" kokooma näyttelyosuus "Sotalasten rakkaat lelut" ja aiheeseen liittyvät monet valokuvat ja dokumentit.

Ethnocentric, everyday racism

– An outline of a conceptualisation of racism

Mika Helander



After the UNESCO declaration in 1960s stating that the concept 'race' is biologically and scientifically flawed, the concept of racism has been challenged and modified in several different ways. According to the classical definition of racism, valid primarily for the period before the UNESCO declaration, racism is:

the doctrine that a man's behaviour is determined by stable inherited characters deriving from separate racial stocks having distinctive attributes and usually considered to stand to one another in relations of superiority and inferiority. (Banton, 1970, 18 in Miles, 1989, 47)

This has also been called scientific racism, where divisions of peoples into different categories and hierarchies between these categories were motivated scientifically.

As natural science and the Unesco declaration stated that races do not exist in objective nature,

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racism was considered consequently to be dead [as a concept and phenomenon] by some analysts (Cf. Banton, 1970). After this there has been many attempts to change the concept in order to describe situations of ethnic prejudices or discrimination that are motivated on different and varying grounds. According to John Rex:

[--] the common element in all these [racist] theories is that they see the connection between membership of a particular group and of the genetically related subgroups (i.e. families and lineages) of which that group is compounded as completely deterministic. It doesn't really matter whether this is because of men's genes, because of the history to which their ancestors have been exposed, because of the nature of their culture or because of divine decree. (Rex, 1970, 159 in Miles, 1989, 49)

One important common element in the definitions above is that they refer to an ideology in a more narrow, political sense, i.e. some kind of doctrine. However, the definition of racism, especially in relation to the Finnish case, but

even more generally in these late modern times of life-politics and decreasing expert influence (cf. Giddens, 1991), should be referring to ideology in a broader sense, a more micro sociological or phenomenological sense. Drawing on Peter Berger:

Sociologists speak of 'ideology' in discussing views that serve to rationalize the vested interests of some group. Very frequently such views systematically distort social reality [--] (Berger, 1963, 54)

But

it is [--] important to keep the concept ideology distinct from notions of lying, deception, propaganda or leger-demain. The liar, by definition knows that he is lying. The ideologist does not. (Berger, 1963, 131)

This broad way of considering ideology suggests the relevance of ethnocentrism in discussing racism. It follows from this insight that normality and "common sense" are ideological. By common sense and normality I refer to the everyday experience of obviousness in interpersonal encounters, where every detail does not

have to be explicitly described and defined in order to create intersubjectivity and to solve practical tasks at hand.

The classical definition of ethnocentrism by W.G. Sumner, can serve as a departure point in the creation of a new definition of racism, applicable for Finnish circumstances. Ethnocentrism is:

a view of things in which one's own group is the centre of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it. Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders. (Sumner, 1906, cited in Duckitt, 1992, 7 and in Liebkind, 1988, 24)

It is important that the prefix ethno, has to refer to ethnicity or to what is popularly, though scientifically falsely, called 'race'. This does not imply an essentialist view on ethnicity, but allows the processual approach on ethnicity where it refers to socially constructed ethnic relations. Another important issue is that racism is an outward directed negative ethnocentrism, which hierarchizes different groups in relation to the in-group of the racist individual.

Ethnocentrism is not synonymous with racism and includes much else that can not be regarded as belonging to the same ontological space, such as its emphasis on the in-group instead of the out-group. Racism in its turn refers traditionally to something else than ethnocentrism, in addition to its outgroup directedness and labeling practice, for example to his-

torical relations such as slavery and colonialism.

For the purpose of creating applicability in the Finnish case, it is crucial that ethnocentrism refers to everyday ways of thought constructed in the common sense of everyday life. This is in my view the most central part in what currently should be called racism, especially regarding Finland where racism as a more narrow, political doctrine or a historical relationship is less visible.¹ Intergroup hostility in Finland is a rather banal and nondramatic phenomenon, with less flag waving and more ridiculing jokes and moral anger directed against other nationalities (Cf. Puuronen, 2002).

Ethnocentric racism has following general features: Everything that breaks with the order of everyday normality is reacted against with suspicion. When "the other" is historically presented as superior (such as western Europeans) the ethnocentrism seldom becomes aggressive. The racistic element of negativeness in the ethnocentric outgroup directedness is related to the historical institutionalisation of group relations and consequently to power (Berger & Luckmann, 1971). Simultaneously the conclusion by Satu Apo of the selfracism of Finnish people can be understood with the ethnocentric view on racism. In elite constructions of Finnish cultural nationhood there is historically no ethnocentrism, but the opposite; a ridiculing of Finnish cultural patterns in relation to more civilized Swedes and Europeans (Apo, 1998, 83–128).

There have been usages such as symbolic, structural, institutional

and cultural racism referring also to other dimensions than ways of thought, such as discriminatory practices or historical intergroup relations. These approaches have produced a reasonable amount of research which in many European cases have proved fruitful for the understanding of racism. In the Finnish case, however, I do not find them for the time being very useful, of the following reasons:

- Finland does not have a history as a colonial power: Finnishness has not become a valuable cultural capital with which symbolic violence could be used against "the other". Finnishness is a small, isolated cultural phenomenon which rather represents "the other" for central and western Europe and even for itself (Alasuutari & Ruuska, 1998).
- There has been only small scale immigration to Finland during the 20th century and only few, small visible ethnic minorities – No institutionalisation of the presence of "the other" and no long-time institutionalisation of asymmetry or hierarchy has taken place. The sami and gypsy (cf. Thörn, 2002, 96–97) are exceptions,² which can be understood also in relation to the creation of the modern nation state, a pervasive machinery.
- No strong and well-organized extreme rightist political movements with clear ideological doctrines exist. In Finland egalitarianism (tasavalta) and the civil society are historically speaking strong and the latter has played a central role in the nation-building process. Consequently the state and its po-

litical culture are not obviously reflecting narrow ideological doctrines, but more "common sense and folkways".

Notes

- 1 In other words, epistemologically, the sociology of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1971) and phenomenology (Schutz, 1970) constitute a theoretical approach through which racism in my view could be understood.
- 2 Perhaps these, however, are different phenomena, related to different periods of nation-state development. The first one to modern nation-state construction, the second; immigration relating to nation-state defence against globalistic pressures and fragmentation.

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Popularizing the Finnish sauna: The case of the American hospitality industry



Mika Roinila

Abstract

The popularization of the Finnish Sauna in the American hospitality industry began in the 1960s. Brought to this continent by the Finnish immigrants, the use of the sauna was never – and to this day is not – fully understood. With the coming of the 1960 Winter Olympics and a high-profile visit of the President of Finland to the United States in 1961 provided impetus for a growing industry. This article briefly examines this history of the sauna in America, and concentrates on the popularity this amenity has shown in the hotels and motels of the country. By analyzing hotel and motel directories with the use of the location quotient, a distinct regional concentration of the amenity is found across the country. Various reasons for their concentration are proposed, including ethnic settlement patterns, climate and winter recreational activities.

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Introduction

Popular culture studies are an up-and-coming subfield in cultural geography. Courses dealing with this subject have expanded from the original courses offered in Bowling Green State University in the 1960s, to courses offered in many disciplines, including geography. Some of the leaders in this field include George Carney (1998,1995,1994), John Jakle (1996,1994), John E.Harmon (1998), Barbara and John Shortridge (1998), and Wilbur Zelinsky (1992,1980). Areas of interest have included aspects of music, fashion, sports, foods, and almost anything that is part of the society we live in. As such, popular culture studies provide a new venue of interest to a growing field of study that has boundless opportunities for study of our everyday culture.

It is in this area that I have begun to examine amenities available in the hospitality industry. Some of the amenities available in such context include the swimming pools, hot-tubs, weight rooms, the most recent trend-setting amenity of waterslides, as well as the sauna.

While the sauna is the mainstay and icon of Finnish culture in Finland, where some two million saunas exist for a population of about five million people, the traditional use of the sauna is not well understood abroad.¹ Without getting into the traditional practices involved in sauna bathing, it is of interest to examine the growing popularity of this phenomena here in the United States.² The history of the sauna in America dates to the coming of Finnish immigrants to the country as early as the New Sweden Colony of 1638. These Delaware Finns quickly assimilated to the early American society, but left the imprint of their presence in the log-cabin construction that diffused across the continent from this culture hearth area (Jordan & Kaups, 1989). These early Finns also brought their sauna, but it was not until the late 1800s, that a growing influx of Finns began to find their homesteads and settlements in areas such as the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, the Copper Country and Mesabi Range of Minnesota, as well as Wisconsin. Accordingly, the Finns built saunas in their homesteads, which often were ridiculed and misunder-

stood by their neighbors. Public saunas became available for many others, and over the years, Americans were introduced to the sauna tradition (Kaups,1976). It has been alleged that the impetus for the sauna in the American hotel and motel industry began in the early 1960s as a result of two factors. Firstly, the Finnish athletes of the 1960 Squaw Valley Winter Olympics were provided a sauna facility, which caught on amongst other athletes and the media. A second factor for the growth of interest in the sauna was the result of the state visit by President Kekkonen of Finland with President Kennedy in October, 1961. During this visit, President Kennedy was asked to locate a sauna for use by the Finnish President. An internal memo from the Kennedy Library in Boston shows that a mobile sauna was sought by the White House, which was obtained from a Connecticut sauna manufacturer named Cecil Ellis. A saunamobile was driven to the Finnish Consulate General in Pelham, NY, where the Finnish President was able to use the facility. While no media coverage of this sauna event is to be found in Finnish-American newspapers nor in the large American dailies such as the New York Times, the impact of this state visit was still seen a few years later. Prior to the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963, it was alleged in Life Magazine that the President was hoping to build a sauna into the White House. From these two events, a growing interest in the "fashion" of sauna was evident, and it is well-known that today, many hotels, motels and health facilities offer a sauna for their guests.³



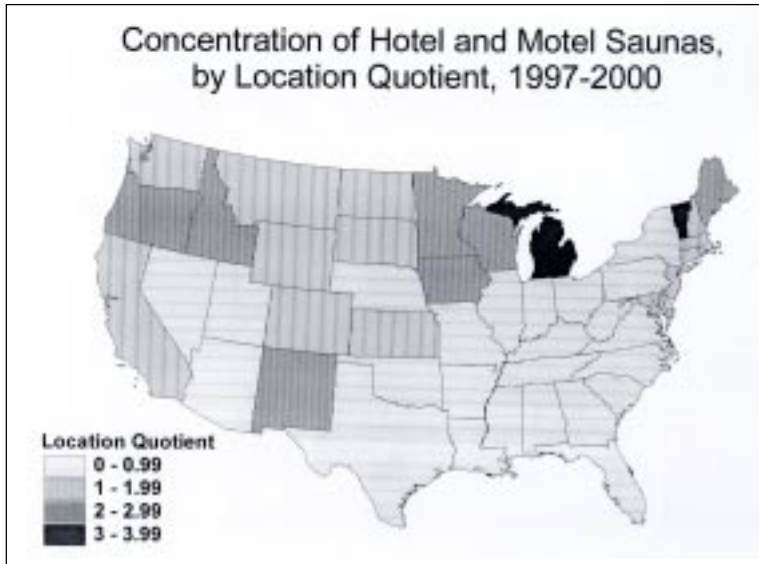
Harriet Ericksson, Miss Finland and Miss Scandinavia 1970 gives Johnny Carson some tips on how to take a sauna during a "Tonight Show" broadcast in 1970. Photo: Courtesy of Finnish Sauna Society, Helsinki, Finland.

A research proposal was developed as a result of staying in hotels and motels across the country and experiencing the sauna in various facilities. What is the geographic impact and distribution of saunas as part of the hospitality industry? By drawing information from a total of six different hotel/motel chain directories dating from 1997 to 2000, hours of examination by the author and student assistants provided data on the occurrence of the sauna across the country. The six hotel/motel chains chosen included Holiday Inn (1999–1,030 US properties), Ramada Inn (1999–961 US properties), Howard Johnson's (1999–462 US properties), Best Western Motels (2000–2,154 US properties), Super 8 Motels (1999–1,837 US properties), and Days Inn

(1997–1,698 US properties). A total of 2,453 hotel locations and 5,689 motel locations totaling 8,142 properties in the United States were analyzed

Methods used

Detailed analysis of the directories provided data on the occurrence of saunas. A direct mention of the sauna in the write-up or the presence of a specific symbol used to indicate the sauna on premises were used in tabulating the totals. The data may be slightly biased due to this classification scheme, but terms such as "holidomes", "health facilities", "fitness centers", were too vague and were not included – especially since each hotel has a different definition for each of these terms. Hundreds of



phone calls would be prohibitive as well. Thus, the data is based on obvious occurrences only. Finally, the published dates for each annual directory (1997–2000) allows for a fairly accurate tabulation of the locational tendencies of sauna locations across the United States. While the results provide a general picture of the sauna within the hospitality industry, additional work is possible with more hotel/motel chains in the future.

To analyze the collection of data, the use of the Location Quotient was utilized. This statistical measure simply measures the general trend of phenomena which occurs in a given location (state). The LQ compares some quality of an area with a specified norm. In this study, the quality involves the presence of a sauna within the hotels/motels in area i (S_i), and the norm the percentage of the country's total saunas within the hotel/motel chains (T_i). The location quotient for area i (LQ_i) is obtained as: $LQ_i = S_i / T_i$

If LQ is greater than 1.0, saunas are concentrated in area i relative to the percentage of all the saunas within the country. If the LQ is below 1.0, the presence of saunas is relatively under-represented within the state in question.

Results

The collected data indicates a number of interesting facts. In terms of hotel/motel chains, it became apparent that the hotels had the highest occurrence of the sauna within their facilities. Leading the way was Holiday Inn (16.9%), Howard Johnson's (16.3%), and Ramada Inn (13.4%). It appears that hotels will tend to build saunas in over 10% of their locations. Motels, on the other hand, rank lower in this concentration. The largest single motel chain Best Western leads the motels with 8.7%, followed by Super 8 (4.8%) and Days Inn (3.7%). As motels are less expensive for the traveler/tourist, their amenities do not

reach the levels of their hotelier cousins. In terms of the presence of saunas across the United States, the absolutely highest occurrence of saunas is found in the 71 hotels or motels in California (Table 1). However, when the percentage of saunas occurring in 50 states are considered, it is noted that the most concentrated occurrences are in the states of Vermont and Michigan, with some 33% and 26% of all hotels/motels respectively offering a sauna. By using the statistical measure of Location Quotient, it is noted that a number of states in the northern part of the US have a higher occurrence of saunas relative to other states (Figure 1). The states of Vermont ($LQ=3.99$) and Michigan ($LQ=3.42$) lead the country, followed by Wisconsin ($LQ=2.84$), Maine ($LQ=2.73$) and Minnesota ($LQ=2.59$). The concentration of saunas within hotels/motels in the Midwest may not be surprising, but the strong occurrence of saunas in New England states was initially unexpected. A number of possibilities exist for the findings. The settlement of Finns in the United States is strongest in the Midwest. The states of Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin have always maintained a strong Finnish presence. The importance of the sauna has been seen and documented in the Midwest by numerous authors (Viherjuuri,1965; Kaups,1976; Aaland,1978; Edelsward,1993; Rajala,2000). Scandinavians and especially Swedes are also found in Iowa as well as other Midwestern states. Whether these ethnic concentrations have had any impact on the occurrence of saunas within the regions' hotels/

Table 1. Saunas in US hotels and motels by state

State	# of motels and hotels	Saunas	LQ	State	# of motels and hotels	Saunas	LQ
Alabama	152	2	0.16	Illinois	290	22	0.91
Montana	84	14	1.99	Rhode Island	12	1	1.00
Alaska	26	1	0.46	Indiana	176	13	0.88
Nebraska	90	6	0.80	South Carolina	166	6	0.43
Arizona	177	9	0.61	Iowa	170	29	2.04
Nevada	70	0	0.00	South Dakota	91	13	1.71
Arkansas	139	6	0.52	Kansas	117	15	1.53
New Hampshire	24	2	1.00	Tennessee	258	9	0.42
California	693	71	1.23	Kentucky	159	3	0.23
New Jersey	119	15	1.51	Texas	614	25	0.49
Colorado	185	25	1.62	Louisiana	127	5	0.47
New Mexico	97	18	2.22	Utah	94	6	0.76
Connecticut	53	6	1.35	Maine	35	8	2.73
New York	234	18	0.92	Vermont	21	7	3.99
D.C.	72	4	0.66	Maryland	70	7	1.20
North Carolina	261	12	0.55	Virginia	242	6	0.30
Delaware	13	0	0.00	Massachusetts	108	12	1.33
North Dakota	41	6	1.73	Washington	115	14	1.46
Florida	541	11	0.24	Michigan	210	60	3.42
Ohio	257	20	0.93	West Virginia	60	2	0.40
Georgia	349	4	0.14	Minnesota	185	40	2.59
Oklahoma	134	10	0.89	Wisconsin	177	42	2.84
Hawaii	10	0	0.00	Mississippi	125	5	0.48
Oregon	104	19	2.19	Wyoming	68	9	1.56
Idaho	54	11	2.44	Missouri	231	18	0.93
Pennsylvania	242	14	0.69	<i>Totals</i>	<i>8142</i>	<i>681</i>	<i>1.00</i>

motels may be assumed, but further investigation is needed to verify this correlation. The concentration of New England states is somewhat less known. Finns and Swedes settled in many of the New England states in the early 1900s, but the presence of Vermont and Maine as leading the region may be better explained by the winter sports that attract many to the region. The well known alpine ski hills and other destinations are most noted for Vermont (Sugar Bush Ski Area, Stow Ski

Area, Killington Mountain) and Maine (Sugar Loaf and Sunday River Ski Areas). Other states that place within the top ten in the country include Idaho ($LQ = 2.44$), New Mexico ($LQ = 2.22$), Oregon ($LQ=2.19$), Iowa ($LQ = 2.04$), and Montana ($LQ=1.99$). New Mexico may be influenced by the many seasonal migrants – “Snowbirds” – who travel to the region during the cold winters of the north, who in turn may find the sauna an attraction which the northerners are already used to.

The mountains of Nevada, Idaho, Montana and Oregon also pose a colder climate which have many alpine ski areas which may have led to a growing number of sauna facilities as well. The general lack of saunas is noted in the southern states, and it is not surprising that states such as Hawaii and Nevada have no saunas at all. Smaller states such as Delaware also share in the lack of sauna facilities. Further analysis of directories may also provide a distinct regional occurrences of sauna/hotel com-

binations within states. By analyzing the distribution of hotel/motel facilities and sauna by counties, correlations with ethnic groups and alpine ski areas may be better able to answer the suggestions noted above.

As noted earlier, hotel chains provide more amenities than do motel chains. By analyzing the three major hotel chains themselves, it is noted that the strongest representation of saunas are found in the states of Vermont ($LQ = 5.60$) and North Dakota ($LQ = 4.50$). These values, however, may be somewhat misleading, since seven of Vermont's nine hotel locations, and five of North Dakota's eight hotel locations had the amenity. A smaller representative sample obviously affects the results and introduces bias. The Location Quotient does not offer any statistical limits which would interpret significance of the findings, and this needs to be remembered in reading the findings presented here. Following the states mentioned above were Oregon ($LQ=3.36$), Maine ($LQ = 3.32$), South Dakota ($LQ=3.20$), Minnesota ($LQ = 2.79$), Michigan ($LQ = 2.61$), Wisconsin ($LQ = 2.53$), Idaho ($LQ = 2.40$), and Kansas ($LQ=2.16$). Overall, it is still noted that the mid-western states remain well represented with the sauna amenities. Of all the hotels examined, an average of 13.9% of hotels have a sauna facility. A total of 25 states show an under-representation of the saunas, while the other 50% of states has an over-

representation of saunas compared to the national average for hotel saunas.

In analyzing the three motel chains, an even more obvious concentration in the Midwest is seen. The top two states with saunas are in Michigan ($LQ = 5.97$) and Wisconsin ($LQ = 4.82$). Following in the top 10 are Idaho ($LQ = 4.36$), Minnesota ($LQ = 4.23$), New Mexico ($LQ = 4.10$), Montana ($LQ=3.46$), Iowa ($LQ=3.35$), Oregon ($LQ=3.14$), Colorado ($LQ = 2.66$), and South Dakota ($LQ = 2.55$). Of all the motels examined, only 5.9% of motels offer a sauna to their guests. Twenty-nine states in the union have an under-representation of saunas in their facilities, while twenty-one state have more than the national average.

Conclusions

Interesting spatial analyses are possible from tabulating hospitality industry data. The distribution of hotel saunas may be related, in part, to ethnic settlement patterns, recreational/ winter sports destinations as well as climate. Colder climates make the sauna a viable option and attraction for hotel/motel guests in the northern as well as mountainous western states. Conversely, the sauna does not have a large impact on hotels/motels in more southern and southeastern locations due to the already warm to hot climate. A second reason for this distribution can be made in regards to the dominant ethnic populations. Scandi-

navians and Finns in particular have tended to settle in the Midwest as well as New England, hence a possible correlation to the presence of saunas. Indeed, it would not be incorrect to assert the premise that many saunas were built by Finnish construction workers in some of the areas in Minnesota, Michigan and elsewhere. A number of shortcomings in this analysis are being addressed, and additional and more up-to-date data may provide somewhat different results. Notwithstanding this dilemma, it appears that the sauna is most likely to be found in the northern states, most specifically in the states in the Midwest and New England. The next step in an ongoing analysis of the sauna in America is to find the historical roots and diffusion of the sauna across the country. When did the first saunas of Holiday Inn appear in New York City or in Duluth, Minnesota? From where did the diffusion process begin? Some interesting results are bound to follow in the future. The latest findings indicate that while the Holiday Inn chain in America had no saunas in 1961 nor in 1964, Howard Johnson's had saunas available at two locations in 1964. These included Hyannis, Massachusetts and Cincinnati, Ohio. Further analysis into old hotel and motel directories will provide valuable information in the quest to find the diffusion patterns of this amenity within the hospitality industry.

Notes

- 1 The Finnish Sauna Society estimates that there are three million saunas worldwide, with two million in Finland alone!
- 2 Some of the traditional bathing methods in the sauna include alternating hot-steam and hot-dry air which is done by throwing water on the rocks. The Finns vehemently claim that there is no "dry sauna". Other practices, which in the past included childbirth and cupping, today still include the use of a birch whisk used to beat and cleanse the body, occasional plunge into a cold lake in summer and winter, or rolling in the snow. During the 1950s-60s, many public sauna facilities in the United States were closed due to increasing heterosexual and homosexual activity by non-Finns which is not a traditional practice in a real sauna.
- 3 The American media began writing about the sauna, which turned into a fad amongst the more affluent individuals. With television spots, such as the Tonight Show and Johnny Carson (see photo), this amenity was promoted and many bought or constructed a sauna. Yet, many did not adhere or fully understand the rules and use of the sauna. Thus, many were never used and the sauna was often made into a simple storage room.

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- Kuvateksti: Harriet Ericksson, Miss Finland and Miss Scandinavia 1970 gives Johnny Carson some tips on how to take a sauna during a "Tonight Show" broadcast in 1970. Photo: Courtesy of Finnish Sauna Society, Helsinki, Finland.

Matti Kurikan jälkimmäinen maailmalta

Ihmistä on aina kiehtonut utopia ja sen toteutusyritykset: Platonin Valtio, Thomas Moren Utopia, Campanellan Aurinkovaltio, Baconin Nova Atlantis, Fourierin Falansteriyhteisö, Owenin New Harmony, Noyesin Oneida Perfectionists jne. Utopian suomalaisetkin sovellukset ovat lukuisia: mm. Uusi Jerusalemi, Eldorado, Sointula, Sammon Takojat, Ponnistus, Paradiso. Teuvo Peltoniemi on esitellyt 18 suomalaista ihanne-siirtokuntaa 1700-luvulta nyky-päivään kirjassaan ”Kohti parempaa maailmaa” (1985).

Elämä toisaalla kuvitellaan vapaaksi erilaisista valtakulttuurin alisteista. Uudessa yhteisössä valitsivat vaihtoehtoiset, humanisemmat arvot: kansallisen identiteetin vapaa kasvu, uskonnollisten arvojen syvämpi merkitys, irtautuminen materialistisesta kilpailuyhteiskunnasta, terveellisen ravinnon vaaliminen tai ihmisen henkinen kasvu ja sukupuolten tasa-arvoisuus.

Viime vuosisadan vaihde oli maailmanlaajuisen utopiamigraation kulta-aikaa. Ilmiöstä on kehitelty jopa utopiateoriaa, joka painottaa päivänunelman potentiaalia ihmisen yhtenä voimavarana (Ernst Bloch 1959).

Vuosisadan alussa vaellettiin runsain joukoin myös pois Suomesta. Ruotsin holhouksen ja sittemmin Venäjän tsaarin vallan puristuksessa suomalainen nuori kansallisidentiteetti ei ollut pääsyt vahvistumaan. Moni koki Suomen aseman ahdistavana ja

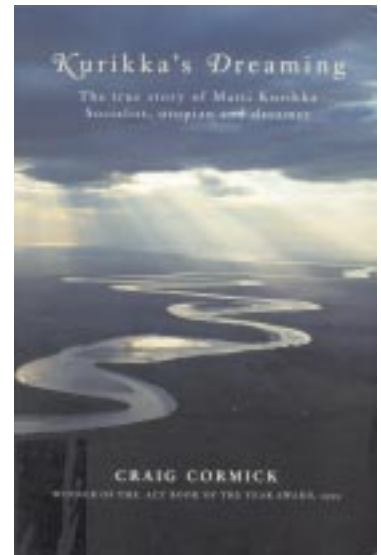
innostui muuttamaan maasta. Lähdettiin etupäässä Kanadaan, Pohjois-Amerikkaan, Australiaan ja myös muualle maailmaan, Kuubaan, Argentiinaan, Brasiliaan aina Paraguayn syrjäseuduille asti. 1900-luvun alkupuoliskolla siirtyi noin 100 000 suomalaista ulkomaille.

Yksi siirtolaisuutemme historian värikkäimmistä ihanneyhteiskunnan puoltajista ja toteuttajista oli Matti Kurikka, joka lyhyehkönnä elinkautenaan (1863–1915) ehti vaikuttaa kolmella eri mantereella: Euroopassa, Australiassa ja Pohjois-Amerikassa. Kalevan Kansan siirtolaisseuran (1899) perustamisen jälkeen hän suunnitelli kaikkiaan viittä eri ihanneyhteisöä maanmiehilleen.

Ensimmäinen yritys, Australian Chillagoen telttaleiri El Dorado (1899–1900) hajosi vuoden sisällä. Kanadan Sointula (1901–1905) oli elinvoimaisin ja merkityksellään Kurikan ihanneyhteisöistä. Miesyhteisö Sammon Takojat (1905–1912), johon sittemmin otettiin myös naisia, syvensi Sointulan aatelinjaa. Se toimi vuosia osuuskuntana ja hajottuun tavallisena suomalaisyhteisönä. Kaavailuasteelle jäivät sen sijaan New Yorkin lähistolalle perustettava naissiertola ja Intiaan suunniteltu suomalaisyhteisö.

Ihanneyhteisöaatettaan Kurikka oli esitellyt teoksessaan ”Elämän koulua 2. osa – Sointula-ate” (1907) sekä lukuisissa lehti-artikkeleissaan. Ideologiana oli sosialistis-teosofis-kalevalainen aatesynteesi, jonka mukaan irtautuminen patriarkaalista valtakenteestä, yksilön henkinen kasvu ja sukupuolten tasa-arvoisuus olivat päällimmäisiä tavoitteita.

Tämän vuosituhannen alussa tuli Kurikan siirtolanhankkeen perustamisesta täyteen sata vuotta. Kanadan Sointulassa on juhlittu jo kahtena kesänä historiallisin juhlaviikoin. Niin Australiassa kuin Kanadassakin on ilmestynyt Matti Kurikasta kertovia teoksia.



Craig Cormick: Kurikka's Dreaming. The true story of Matti Kurikka. Socialist, utopian and dreamer. Simon & Schuster Pty Limited, 20 Barcoo Street, East Roseville NSW 2069, Sydney, Australia 2000, 218 p. ISBN 0731810244.

Australialaisen Craig Cormickin Kurikka's Dreaming kertoo Matti Kurikan elämäntarinaa Australian vuosilta (1899–1900). Kurikka lähti elokuussa (1899) vastaperustetun siirtolaisseuran Kalevan Kansan edustajana Australian Queenslandiin tutkimaan ihanne-

yhteisön toteutusmahdollisuuksia. Queenslandin osavaltion siirtolaispolitiikka oli tuolloin erityisen suotuisa. Siirtotyövoimaa houkuteltiin maahan kustantamalla muuttajien laivamatka Lontoosta Australiaan. Matka Suomesta kesti lähes kolme kuukautta. Kurikka oli ahkera kirjeenkirjoittaja, niinpä Australian vaihe dokumentoituu hänen ystävilleen ja tyttärelleen Ailille kirjoittamistaan kirjeistä. Ihanneyhteisöhanke oli saanut huomiota myös paikallisessa australialaisessa lehdistössä. Muu kirjan faktatieto pohjautuu Olavi Koivukankaan tutkimuksiin Australian suomalaisista (1972, 1975, 1986).

Kurikka's *Dreaming on modern biografia*, jossa faktan ja fiktion symbioosi kietoutuu kirjoittajan nykyperspektiiviin. Sukellus aikatasolta toiselle ja kertojan position vaihdot pitävät lukijan valppaana. Kirjoittajan suhde tutkimuskohteeseensa selviää avoimesti: Kurikka kiehtoo vielä sadan vuoden takaa, hän ilmestyy kirjoittajan uniin ja paikkaa kirjoittajan omia utopistisia haaveita ja tarvetta ymmärtää suomalaisista kansanluonnetta. Cormick onkin onnistunut pääsemään melko lähelle suomalaisuutta: Hän on oleskellut Suomessa, opiskellut Kalevalan mytologiaa Helsingin yliopistossa ja löytänyt elämäntoverinsa Suomesta. Kalevalan sitaatit, jotka Cormick on itse tulkinut englanniksi, antavat biografialle lyyristä syvyyttä.

Kurikan persoonan karisma ei kuitenkaan aina erotu Cormickin kuvauksesta. Kurikka oli retorikan mestari, poikkeusyksilö kaukana suomalaisesta, vähäsanaisesta perustyypistä. Sellainen

henkilö löysi varmaan enemmän sanoja vastaukseksi vieraallakin kielellä kuin vai ”yes” ja ”no”. Varsinkin kun tiedetään Kurikan ansioituneen kääntäjänä ja kirjoittaneen artikkeleita englanniksi australialaisiin lehtiin ja jopa suunnitelleen englanninkielisen teoksen julkaisua.

Kalevan Kansan ankea Australian aika on kuvattu vaikuttavasti. Kielitaidottomat, raskaaseen työhön tottumattomat, mutta silti työväen oikeuksista varsin tietoiset suomalaiset eivät olleet työnantajien mieleen. Suomalaiset utopiahaaveilijat eivät alistuneet työorjuuteen, he tähtäsivät työllään vain yhteisen maapalstan hankintaan ihanneyhteisönsä varten.

Australian taloudellinen lama, luonnon katastrofit, suomalaisryhmän sisäiset ristiriidat ym. seikat hajottivat ryhmän jo vuodesa. Ihanneyhteisöä ei ehditty rakentaa Australiaan, vaan Matti Kurikka kutsuttiin Kanadaan, jossa hän jatkoi haaveensa toteuttamista jonkin verran paremmalla onnella.

Kirjan englanninkieli on selkeää ja helppolukuista. Kirja kokonaisuudessaan on suositeltava kaunokirjallinen lukuelämys Kurikan ja Kalevan Kansan Australian unelman ja todellisuuden törmäyksestä, palanen Australian siirtolaihistoriaa. Vaikka australialainen kaunokirjallisuus on tematiikaltaan paljon siirtolaiskuvasta, on suomalaistaustainen ihanneyhteisöyritys silti eksoottinen aihe. Kirjan kansikuva on kaunis ja puhutteleva. Se kuvastaa osuvasti Kurikan kauaskantoista ja alinomaa uusiutuvaa ajattelua.

Pauline Ballinger: *Martha & Jack. Two Unknowns. Seaview Press, South Australia, 2000, 146 p. ISBN 1 74008 054 8.*

Martha & Jack on kahden siirtolaistaustaisen nuoren, suomalais-syntyisen Marthan ja saksalais-syntyisen Jackin, tositarina Australiasta. Marthan vanhemmat Eva ja Matti Hannus lähtivät (1899) Etelä-Pohjanmaalta Matti Kurikan ideoista innostuneina Australian Queenslandiin paremman elämän toivossa. Ilmainen laivamatka Australiaan houkutti siirtolaiseksi lähtemistä.

Elämä koetteli ankarasti utopiahaaveilijoita. Osoittautui, että unelmaan tähtäys vaati raskasta työtä Queenslandin paahtavassa auringossa. Asuntona oli Chillingoen ratatyömaan kymmenen teltan leiri ”El Dorado”, jossa kirjan suomalainen päähenkilö, Martha, syntyi (1900).

Telttaleirin ihanneyhteisöhanke kariutui, Matti Kurikka kutsuttiin kesken yhteisön kriisiä Kanadaan uutta utopiaa rakentamaan. Jotkut lähtivät Kurikan mukaan, toiset taas hajaantuivat eri puolille Australiaa. Pieni kurikanmielinen joukko ”Erakko-seura” jatkoi yhteisöhanke Australiassa. Marthan vanhempien kohtalo kertoo, kuinka elämästä selvittiin utopian hajottua lamakauden Australiassa.

Ensimmäisen polven siirtolaiset olivat uudisraivaajia. Siirtolaisuuden karu todellisuus ymmärrettiin vasta perillä. Jos jotkut kotimaan puutteet korjautuivat, tulvi runsaasti muita ennakoimattomia pulmia tilalle. Suomalaisille siirtolaisille tuotti maan kielen

oppiminen vaikeuksia. Ensimmäisen polven siirtolaiselämä oli elettävä jonkinlaisessa umpiossa, asuinmaan marginaalissa; jossain mielessä paradoksaalisessa utopiassa.

Kirjan toisen päähenkilön, Jackin, sukujuurista saamme tietää, että Margaretha ja Paul Schroder päätyivät Australiaan Saksan Holsteinista (1864). Saksassa oli värvätty siirtolaisia erityisen sille perustetun siirtolaistoimiston välityksellä, koska saksalaisilla oli ahkeran työntekijän maine Queenslandissa. Australiassa runsaslukaiseen Schroderin perheeseen syntyi mm. poika, Peter, joka on kirjan toisen päähenkilön, Jackin isä. Jackin äidin, Lilianin juuret olivat Englannissa. Elämä oli rankkaa näilläkin siirtolaisilla, joita varjostivat vielä henkilökohtaiset tragediat. Silti yhteenkuuluvaisuuden tunne ja sukurakkaus ylittivät esteet.

Kirjoittajaa on kiinnostanut etenkin sukujen naisten kohtalot. Kouluttamattomilla, ammattitaidottomilla siirtolaisnaisilla ei ollut tuolloin mahdollisuutta oman elämänsä hallintaan. Huolimatta Australian naisten varhaisesta äänioikeudesta (1902) valtastruktuuri oli lujasti patriarkaalinen. Naisten väistämätön tulevaisuudenkuva oli avioliitto. Niinpä molempien sukujen naiskuvauksissa on tyytymättömiä, vapautta kaipaavia, avioliittoa hyljeksiviä ja katkeria naiskohtaloita. Varsinkin suomalaistaustaisten henkilöiden kuvauksessa esiintyy naisten tyytymättömyyttä ja hiljaista kapinaa perinteistä naisen roolia vastaan. Avioliitot olivat pettymyksiä, joissa siirtolaisnainen koki jäävänsä kotityrannian alle.

Aviomies saattoi tehdä kohtalokkaita päätöksiä perheen olosuhteista, talon myynnistä tai toisille seuduille muutosta kysymättä naisen mielipidettä.

Matti Kurikan ideologian kannattajat, tuoreessa muistissaan Minna Canthin kirjallisen salongin julistukset sukupuolten tasa-arvosta, saattoivat kokea ideologista takautumista Australiassa. Uuden maailman mahtipontisilla ajatusrakenteilla ei ollutkaan käyttöä suuressa maailmassa vaan ideat kuivuivat pienen siirtolaisryhmän sisässä. Matti Kurikka on puhunut ihanneyhteisönsä, ”Sointula-aatteensa”, puolesta lukuisissa lehtiartikkeleissa ja kaunokirjallisuudessa. On kiintoisaa saada tietää muidenkin yhteisön jäsenien elämän kulusta, utopian ja todellisuuden suhteesta.

Teoksesta piiryy Australian siirtolaistaustaisen kirjoittajan sukujuurten haku, sen kuvaamisen tärkeys osana Australian siirtolaisuushistoriaa. Se on myös tarinaa varhaisista siirtolaisnaisten kohtaloista, joiden kirjaaminen on jäänyt vähemmälle huomiolle. Marthan ja Jackin elämässä toteutuu heidän vanhempiansa paremman elämän toive. Martha ja Jack syntyivät Australian kansalaisiksi, oppivat englannin omaksi kielekseen, saavuttivat arvostetun aseman yhteiskunnassa ja saivat oman elämänsä hallintaan.

Ehkä kaipaisi kirjoittajan, Marthan ja Jackin tyttären Pauline Ballingerin, henkilökohtaisempaa otetta tai lyhyttä kirjailijan esittelyä. Runsaampi alaotsikointi olisi värittänyt ja selkeyttänyt kerrontaa. Mielenkiintoisena yksityiskohtana on kirjaan sisältyvä kirjanmerkki, jonka teksti

toivottaa lukijan tervetulleeksi seuraamaan kahden siirtolaistaustaisen nuoren tarinaa osoitetietoineen palautteen toivossa.

Ihanneyhteisön perustaminen – samoin kuin muukin siirtolaisuus – on utopian etsimistä. Suunnittelu ja innostus näyttelevät merkittävää osaa, todellisuuden realiteetit toista, karumpaa peräytymistä. Utopian unelma on universaalinen, siitä vahvisteena Martha & Jackin kertomuksen lomasta siirtolaisten unelmamaan oman asukkaan pyrkimys pois Australiasta Paraguayn ihanneyhteisöön. Kumpikaan haaveilija ei löytänyt utopiaansa. Utopia on saavuttamaton, paikka, jota ei fyysisesti olekaan.

Paula Wild: Sointula Island utopia. Harbour Publishing, Box 219, Madeira Park, BC, Canada 1996, 223 p. ISBN 1-55017-128-3.

Kanadan British Columbian Malcolm Island eli suomalaisittain Malkosaari soveltui mainiosti ihanneyhteisöjen tyyssijaksi. Ennen suomalaisryhmää siellä koetti kantavuuttaan englantilaisten ja irlantilaisten alkukristillismielinen ryhmä sekä joukko Pohjois-Amerikan omaa väkeä. Vain suomalaiset pystyivät rakentamaan Sointula-yhteisönsä selväpiirteiseksi ja elinvoimaiseksi. Se toimi viitisen vuotta alkuperäisenä sekä muuntuneena vielä useita vuosia vaikuttaen aina Sointulan nykypäivään saakka.

Saaren historia on erityisesti kiehtonut Sointula Island utopian kirjoittajaa Paula Wildia, joka on itsekin asunut Sointulussa. Niinpä

hän kertoo saaren perinteestä, sen etnologisten tutkimusten olettamasta varhaisesta kwakwaka' wakwien asutuksesta ja kalliopiirroksista. Pieni katsaus Suomenkin historiaan ja kalevalaiseen mytologiaan selittää Malkosaarelle muuttaneiden suomalaisten asukkaiden elämäntilannetta. Suomalaisilla oli erityinen tarve päästä rauhalliseen luonnon helmaan, jossa he voisivat elää itsenäisinä kaukana tsaarinvallan painostuksesta ja etäällä Kanadan kaivosjätin Mr. Dunsmuirin otteesta. Myös alkoholin liiasta kulutuksesta oli päästävä oman elämänsä herraksi.

Suuri osuus kirjasta käsittelee Sointulan lähihistoriaa. Haastateltuja henkilöitä on nelisenkymmentä. 70-luvun hippien rauhaista elämäntyylä sopi Kurikan aatteiden jatkeeksi, mutta häiritsi ensin ankkalammen kaltaista Sointulan idylliä, jossa oli pitkään torjuttu vieraita vaikutteita. Myöhemmin hipeistä tuli vastuuntuntoisia, ahkeria Sointulan yhteisön kansalaisia.

Kirjan miinuksena on melkein systemaattinen suomenkielisten nimien virheellinen kirjoitus. Jopa Kurikan omaa tytärtä Ailia kutsutaan Alliksi ja suomenkielisten lehtien nimet mainitaan huolimattomasti vain sinne päin tai jopa taivutetussa muodossa.

Sointula Island utopia pohjautuu ajankohtaisiin tutkimuksiin Sointulasta, Matti Kurikasta ja A. B. Mäkelästä. Paula Wild on mm. tiivistänyt huomattavan kanadalaisen Sointula-tutkijan, prof. Donald Wilsonin tutkimusraportit populaariin muotoon. Tekstiä elä-

vöittävät lukuisat vanhat Sointulan alkuvuosien arkistokuvat sekä valokuvaaja Rick Jamesin näkemykset nykyisestä Sointulasta ja sen asukkaista.

Karvonen Films Ltd: The people of Sointula, 2001. 2001-91 Ave, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6P 1L1.

Kanadansuomalaisen Karvonen Films Ltd:n dokumenttifilmi *The People of Sointula* valmistui sopivasti Kanadan Sointulan 100-vuotisjuhlaan. Sointulan historiallisen juhlatiimon lisäksi filmi on esitetty mm. Kanadan ja Suomen televisiossa sekä FinnForum VI konferenssissa Jyväskylässä.

Filmi valittiin Kanadassa neljän muun ohjelman ohella loppufinaaliin kilpailemaan vuoden parhaimmasta dokumenttiesityksestä. Se ei voittanut, mutta se toi Sointulan historian laajemman yleisön tietoisuuteen. Samalla se paljasti myös Sointulaan liitettyjä myyttejä.

Kansan keskuudessa kiersi monta tarinaa Kurikasta, mutta monikaan ei ollut perehtynyt syvemmin hänen kirjoituksiinsa. Kurikka julkaisi sanomalehtityönsä ohella koko joukon kaunokirjallista tuotantoa: näytelmiä, lyriikkaa, lyhyehköjä filosofisluonteisia teoksia ja käännöksiä. Kansan mukaelmana teosofis-kalevalaiset vapauden ihanteet pelkistyivät melkoisesti ja levisivät sensaatioaineksensa siivin saarelaisten harmiksi. Myös Kurikan persoona monine attribuuttei-

neen oli oiva spekuloinnin kohde. Naisasian edistäjänä ja esoteerisen filosofian välittäjänä Kurikan sanoma oli paikoin aikaansa edellä ja näin otollista väärinkäsityksille. Kurikan tapaus osoittaa, miten vaikeata on teoretisoida sukupuolten välisestä tasa-arvosta joutumatta itse yksityiselämälään teorioidensa esikuvaksi.

Utopiasosialismin kannattajajoukko seurasi Kurikkaa Sointulasta seuraavaan ihanneyhteisöön Vancouveriin. Alkuperäiseen Sointulaan jäi enimmäkseen Kurikan toverin A. B. Mäkelän marxistisen suunnan puoltajia.

Verrattaessa muihin Pohjoismaiden samanaikaisiin ihanneyhteisöihin oli suomalaisten Sointula syvähenkisin ja edistyksellisin. Se vaikutti mm. kanadansuomalaisten teatteriharrastukseen ja keskusteluun sukupuolten tasa-arvosta. Taloudellisella alalla se edisti kalastuksen ammatillista kehitystä keksinnöillään ja vilkastutti esimerkillään Kanadan osuuskauppaliikettä. Kanadan kulttuuri-intressit ovat herkistyneet kuulemaan suomalaisesta siirtolaistaustasta. Siitä on todistena päätös käännättää Sointulan ”*Aika*”-lehden artikkelit englanniksi.

Filmi on mukaansatempaava kokonaisesitys Sointulan ihanne-siirtolan vaiheista nykypäivään. Yhteisön ainutlaatuinen historia on läsnä nykypäivän asukkaiden haastatteluissa. Mennyt ja nykyinen yhdistyy sujuvasti filmissä.

Irene Virtala

Olavi Koivukankaasta professori



Siirtolaisuusinstituutissa nautittiin kakkukahvit sen kunniaksi, että tasavallan presidentti myönsi 25.11.2002 Siirtolaisuusinstituutin johtajalle, fil.tri., Ph.D. Olavi Koivukankaalle professorin arvonimen.

The President of Finland has on November 25th 2002 granted the Director of the Institute of Migration, Ph.D. Olavi Koivukangas the title Professor.

Kirja-arvonta

Apulaispääsihteeri Heikki Rantanen (alh.) Suomen Merimieskirkosta, Siirtolaisuusinstituutin tutkimuspäällikkö Elli Heikkilä ja onnetar Jooa-Maria Välimaa arpoivat 6.9.2002 kolme kirjapalkintoa kesän FinnFestillä Minneapoliksessa ”Ulkosuomalaisten tietotaito” -rekisteriin liittyneiden kesken.



Venäjän pääkonsulin vierailu

Venäjän Federaation Turun pääkonsuli Vadim Rozanov (vas.) vieraili Siirtolaisuusinstituutissa 22.10.2002 ja alusti keskustelutilaisuuden venäläisistä maahanmuuttajista.

Migration and integration in Europe

Elli Heikkilä



The 1st International Conference on Migration and Integration in the Baltic Sea Area was held in 15–16 November 2002 in Hamburg, Germany. There were 60 participants from 10 countries. The coordinator was GATE, non-profit organization from Hamburg. Our Institute of Migration was one of the organizers.

Helene Urth from European Commission emphasized that given the uncertainties which face our societies today and the insecurity which many of the citizens of Europe feel, the integration of migrants is perhaps the greatest challenge of the common policy on asylum and migration. Migration flows to Europe are very mixed, comprising many different kinds of people: refugees, asylum seekers, displaced persons, family members of migrants already established in the European Union, migrant workers and growing numbers of business migrants. The flows have become more flexible and dynamic, short-term and cross-border movements in particular have increased. There are also large numbers of illegal migrants in the EU and smuggling and trafficking have increased.

Economic and social motives are a major factor why migrants leave their country of origin. The existence of opportunities for work

in the European labour market, even if they are in the non-declared sector, will continue to make the Member States of the Union very attractive for large numbers of people from third countries according to Helene Urth.

Success in the field of integration is an essential part of an efficient migration management policy. Integration is a very emotional issue and it touches upon some very fundamental values within ourselves and in our societies. There have been many attempts over the years to define it, but there has still been no agreement on a common definition on integration. This is understandable, Helene Urth stresses, because integration means different things to different people, each individual experiences it in a different way.

The key to achieving an integrated society is to see integration as a process. The process is dy-

namic and two-way that places demands on both the host societies and the immigrant communities, and a process in which we all have a part to play as individuals whatever our nationality or ethnic origin is. According to Helene Urth we can't create a feeling of belonging within a person. What we can do is to facilitate the process by developing integration policies that enable the individual to become a part of social and political life as well as the labour market in our countries.

Gisela Euscher from GATE emphasized in her presentation "Beyond the Borders" that immigrants are still seen as a threat and competitors in the labour markets. The demographic development of Europe, however, is showing signs of population ageing and there will be demand for manpower in the future.

The leader of the GATE-project Gisela Euscher and Dr. Ekkehard Nuissl at the conference.



Entering multiculturalism: Finnish experience abroad



The first FinnForum was organized in 1974 in Duluth, Minnesota, and the sixth in Jyväskylä, Finland, in 2001. Numerous scholars from Finland, the United States, Canada and other countries have participated in the conferences and delivered papers on different topics related to Finnish migration movements and ethnicity.

The theme of the VI FinnForum was Finland entering multiculturalism. In the 1990's Finland turned from a land of emigration into a country of immigration with nearly 100 000 foreign citizens. The focus of the conference was how the Finnish experience abroad could help the present-day Finland in its efforts to become a multicultural and multilingual society.

The VI FinnForum was organized by the Institute of Migration, Turku, and the University of Jyväskylä.

The next two FinnForums were set for Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 2004 and Sweden in 2007.

Olavi Koivukangas (ed.): Entering Multiculturalism: Finnish experience abroad. Papers from FinnForum VI, Institute of Migration, Turku 2002, 253 p.

20 •

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