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OLAVI KOIVUKANGAS

FINNISH MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA SINCE WORLD WAR II

SUMMARY

Introduction

Since World War II 420 000 Finns have emigrated; 86 % of them went to Sweden. Out of the 60 000 who have migrated to other countries, 15 000 went to Australia, for this reason Australia is one of the most important countries of destination outside Sweden. However, apart from a few travel books Finnish migration to Australia has not been studied.

This study was begun by means of a postal interview in Australia, distributed in 1970 by the Finnish-Australian newspaper, the Suomi, Finnish clubs and church congregations. Replies came from 703 Australian Finns who represent approximately 10 % of the total number of the Finns in Australia. They represent the settled, married population rather than those who belong to the young, often unmarried and mobile migrant element.

The earliest migrant to answer the questionnaire had arrived in Australia in 1911 and the latest in 1970, the year of the interviews. Due to the long period of time involved, the period studied can be divided into three phases, each one defined by the manner in which the emigration was financed. Three groups emerge, consisting of the ones who migrated before 1955 (full-fare migrants), the ones who migrated between 1955-1965 (partly-assisted migrants), the ones who migrated between 1966-1970 (almost fully-assisted migrants).

One of the aims of the study was to compare these different phases, particularly to find out whether migration had been of a different type at different times, whether it took place from different parts of Finland, what different trades were represented, etc. A genetic point of view is a methodological necessity in a vertical study.

1. Finnish migration to Australia

The first Finn to visit Australia was Mr. Herman Dietrich Spöring, a naturalist, who was a member of Captain James Cook's crew at the time Australia was officially annexed in 1770. The next time Finns are mentioned was in connection with the Victorian gold rush in the 1850's. At the same time there were Finnish sailors who settled in Australia; the 1880's represent the culmination period of the so called seaman migration. At the end of the century the state of Queensland assisted approximately 200 Finns to Australia. There were Matti Kurikka's supporters in this group who came to build their utopian settlement in a Queensland desert.¹ When the United States

Government began to limit immigration in the 1920's, Australia, together with Canada, became one of the most important countries of destination. Since 1921, prior to which the Finns had been counted among the Russians in the Australian statistics of population, the number of Finns in Australia, who were born in Finland, has been as follows:

year	males	females	total
1921	1,227	131	1,358
1954	1,334	399	1,733
1961	3,939	2,549	6,488
1971	5,747	4,612	10,359

I.Olavi Koivukangas, "An Attempted Finnish Utopian Settlement in Queensland", Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, Vol.58 Pt 1 , March 1972.

After the World War II there have been considerably more Finns going to Australia than other Scandinavians; about 40 % of the total Scandinavian emigration to Australia has been from Finland. Another feature is the wavelike pattern in migration which coincides with the division into the three phases mentioned previously. The first peak occurred in the 1920's as a result of the enacting of fixed migration quotas in the USA. The second peak began in 1957 when the difficult economic situation in Finland (especially unemployment) and the partly assisted passage scheme of the Australian Government (1/4 - 1/3 of the fare) created conditions for a migration wave to Australia. During 1960's the economic situation in Finland improved and migration correspondingly diminished. Following this period of decrease in migration an almost free passage to Australia was also extended to the Finns; they had only to contribute 25 dollars. This, together with the economic difficulties in Finland at the end of the 1960's resulted in the latest high peak of emigration.

An interesting feature is the fact that some of the many Finns who migrated to Sweden during 1969-70 have later gone on to Australia. While, in the peak years in the late 1950's and 1960's, some 2,500 Finns went to Australia, in the 1970's the number has been only a couple of hundreds a year. At the moment Finnish emigration to Australia is at a quiet stage as the Australian Government has strongly limited the intake of immigrants. Nearly half the Finns who migrated to Australia before World War II left Australia¹. The return percentage among those who came to Australia during 1948-1968 was 37.1 among men and 30.5 among women. Due to the fact that some people return home many years after migrating, the percentage of those returned may go up to 40 % and even more, especially if the factor of a nearly-free passage is considered. Many who migrated under the latter conditions have remained only a short period of time.

Finnish migrants have been of the best working-age on arrival in Australia. Three-fourths of them were between the ages of 20-40 years. Earlier, for example, in the 1920's, people who went to Australia were generally younger than those who migrated after World War II. Earlier, the migrants had mostly consisted of unmarried men, but after World War II there has been more family migration. Thus in 1954, less than one-quarter of those born in Finland were women, whereas in 1971, they numbered as many as 44.5 %. Partly as a result of the uneven number of both sexes, more than 50 % of the Finnish men who migrated before World War II were unmarried in

Australia, whereas in 1966 only as few as 36.4 %. The average Finn (94 %) was married to a person of his own nationality: 82 % of the married migrants from the period before 1955 were married to Finns, 98 % of those who arrived during 1966-70 were married within their own nationality group.

1. Olavi Koivukangas, *Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II*, Kokkola 1974, p. 198.

At the time of departure most of the emigrants intended to stay in Australia only for a short period of time. However, the period of residence was generally extended. At the time of departure merely one-fourth or so intended to stay in Australia for the rest of their lives, but at the time of interview the percentage had reached nearly 60 %. Only a few had shortened their period of stay from the original plan. The reduction in the period of residence was most common among the newest migrants. Many of those among the earlier immigrants who integrated poorly in the new environment have probably returned to Finland. Since more than 50 % of the respondents intended to stay in Australia for the rest of their lives, Finnish migration to Australia would seem to be of a rather permanent nature.

2. Background to migration

To be able to understand migration and integration one must study the background of the migrants primarily from the ecological and socio-economic point of view. In the following sections only the most important factors are explained; namely the home, the level of education and training and areas of departure, with a special interest in the motivation-background for migrating.

The early Finns in Australia were mostly sons and daughter of farming people; of the interviewed as many as 83 % of those from the period before 1955, but only 31 % of those who left at the end of the 1960's. Accordingly, the number of those from industrial families has increased in the course of time. Due to the relatively low economic and social position of the parents the children's chances for higher education were poor; 57 % of the interviewed Finns in Australia had only an elementary education. The level of education among the recent migrants (1966-70) was naturally the highest, which is largely due to the fact that the level of education in Finland has risen dramatically.

There are considerable occupational differences among the migrants who went to Australia during different periods. Over 30 % of the men who arrived before 1955 were farmers, and most of the men since the end of the 1950's were tradesmen in manufacturing and building trades. Consequently the early migration meant moving away from agriculture; whereas the migration after 1954 was an escape from manufacturing industry, construction work included. Nearly one-third of the women had been housewives, and the ones employed were mostly doing service, office or industrial work. As a whole, it can be said that only a small portion of the Finns in Australia came from the higher professional and social classes. The majority of them had primarily belonged to the lower middle and working classes, being employed in farming, manufacturing, building work or service trades. It is interesting to note that there were relatively few who had been common labourers. Those belonging to the lowest professional classes were probably lacking both energy and economic qualifications to go as far as Australia.

In regard to the last place of residence in Finland it appeared that those interviewed who had arrived before 1955 mostly came from the province of Vaasa (54 %). In most cases this migration

took place in the 1920's, when people from areas especially north of Vaasa received information about the opportunities in the sugarcane plantations in Queensland. Quite differently, during the second period in 1955-65, people leaving for Australia came mainly from the southern and eastern parts of Finland, primarily from the triangle covering Helsinki - Tampere - Lappeenranta areas, which can be called industrial Finland. The most interesting feature in the latest emigration to Australia is the fact that most of the migrants came from the Uusimaa province (38 %). Every fifth Finn who went to Australia at the end of the 1960's had had his final place of residence in Helsinki. Only 40 % of them were born in Helsinki, which indicates the significance of the internal migration within the country itself before actual emigration. It is worth mentioning that nearly 40 % of the migrants from the end of the 1960's (who mainly went to Sweden) came from the provinces of Oulu and Lapland (altogether only about 13 % of the country's population). According to this study, 10 % of those interviewed who went to Australia during 1966-70, came from the province of Oulu, and only one per cent from the province of Lapland. In other words, migration to Australia has been emigration from southern Finland, thus differing considerably from the emigration that was generally characteristic of the country.

The great number of Karelians among the Finns in Australia is a very interesting feature. Of all respondents 15.3 % said that they had come from the Karelian area now part of the Soviet Union; those who had come during 1955-65 included as many as 19.3 %; that is, every fifth. According to the census of 1960, about 7 % of the Finnish population were those who had had to leave Karelia because of the war. For over ten years these Karelians had tried to adapt to the new environment elsewhere in Finland until economic and other difficulties at the end of the 1950's made some of them go to Australia.

Particularly in a long-distance migration the importance of relatives and friends in the country of destination is likely to be great. The fact that nearly two-thirds of the interviewed Finns in Australia had no relatives or friends awaiting them in Australia in a way shows some degree of average, as well as belief in one's own capacities. Due to the small number of Finns in Australia, it is true, many of them could not possibly have had any friends in Australia, so that in this respect the most recent migrants were naturally in a better position. On the other hand, however, it was typical of the pre-war migrants that they went directly to relatives as well as to jobs already arranged for them.

The idea of going to Australia had a variety of origins. During earlier times, the idea often came from relatives and friends abroad, but at the end of the 1950's and in the 1960's, it was mostly created by the information Australian migration officers gave to the Finnish press. The matter was discussed during work and along with the increasing strain in the economic difficulties "the Australian fever" began to expand with the result that "one just followed the crowd in 57-59", the same happening again at the end of the 1960's.

However, the time Finns have used to think over the matter and make a decision before migrating to Australia has been rather long, usually varying from half a year to two years, but often even exceeding five years. According to a study (TISSARI) the time for consideration among those migrating to Sweden was usually one to six months. In this respect, long-distance migration differs considerably from short-distance migration.

The reasons for migrating are various, and we can agree with one, of the respondents who admitted that there are very few who would actually know the reason for particularly choosing Australia.

The following were the most important reasons for going to Australia (%):

	males	females	total
love for adventure	17.6	17.8	17.7
unemployment	21.6	13.1	17.5
general economic reasons	21.6	10.8	16.5
keeping the family together	0.6	17.5	8.6
high taxation in Finland	8.1	5.7	7.0
climate	5.8	4.1	5.0
the future of the children	3.2	5.7	4.4
political reasons	3.7	2.2	3.0
other	15.3	19.0	17.1
no particular reason	2.6	3.8	3.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n)	(347)	(314)	(661)

Thus, three of the most important reasons for going to Australia have been love of adventure, unemployment and hope for better living. Ordinarily, unemployment belongs together with general economic reasons, but because of its importance it was grouped separately.

During the different periods, different reasons for emigration have prevailed. For those who went before 1955 and who mostly consisted of men, the main reason was to improve economic opportunities. Unemployment, or fear of it, together with heavy taxation, do not become apparent until the end of the 1950's and in the 1960's. Love of adventure as one reason also seems to become more frequent in our times. However, love of adventure is most common as a third reason, whereas unemployment and improving financial status strongly were primary motives. The three most important reasons for migration to Sweden also were, according to TISSARI, the bad employment situation, the low wage level in Finland and love of adventure. Analysing the secondary motives, "the need for new experiences", in other words, love of adventure was clearly dominating.

Migration is an unnatural phenomenon, the basic reason for it being dissatisfaction with the prevailing conditions. The phenomenon has been unnatural due to the fact that people have felt they have had to leave for material or/and mental reasons. During the last decades, Finnish society has undergone severe structural changes, and people with minor qualifications, especially with less education, were the ones to suffer from the change. The fact that the number of mental reasons for migrating has increased is due to the fact that not everybody has been able to adapt to the new conditions, which again is connected with the broader question of how to achieve a balanced human and social development.

1. Tissari, Jukka, Ruotsiin muuton motiivit (Motives for emigration to Sweden), Migration Reports 3, Ministry of Labour, Helsinki , June 1973.

3. Settling down in Australia

Finnish migrants arrived in Australia generally via Sydney and Melbourne, earlier by sea, nowadays by air. Those who arrived before 1955 most commonly, however, settled first in Queensland. Of the ones interviewed, as many as 70 % of those from the period before 1955 were living in that state. According to the census of 1933, however, only about 35 % of those born in Finland were living in Queensland. The interview indicates a migration wave of the 1920's to Queensland, but a more important reason is naturally the fact that the Finnish newspaper used in the distribution of the questionnaire is published in the state. As far as the number of the Finns is concerned, most of them have been living in New South Wales.

The number of persons born in Finland in the Australian states in the census of 1971 was as follows:

	males	females	total
New South Wales	2201	1738	3939
Queensland	1109	864	1973
Victoria	879	758	1637
Australian Capital Territory	556	526	1082
South Australia	530	422	952
Western Australia	299	203	502
Tasmania	84	80	164
Northern Territory	89	21	110
AUSTRALIA	5747	4612	10359

In Australia the Finns, like many other migrant nationalities, have preferred big cities to the country, mostly because of their varied employment opportunities. Canberra, the Federal capital where the actual Finnish settlement began at the end of the 1950's, together with Mount Isa, a mining town in the north and a place well-known to Finns ever since the 1930's, are other important Finnish centres in addition to the big cities.

Keeping in mind the relatively low socio-economic status before migrating to Australia and the difficulties, due to the lack of language and adaptability, in getting a job within one's own trade, in the beginning the Finns often had to accept work with less money . For example, over 40 % of the men interviewed from the period before 1955 had been engaged in farming in Finland; over 40 %

began their migrant lives as farm labourers and lumbermen, but before 1970, more than one fourth had managed to achieve the position of an independent farmer. Likewise, many of those who had arrived after 1955 had started as common labourers, but later possibly worked as construction workers until they were able to enter their own field (craftsmen in the metal industry e.g.) Because of the language difficulties and strange environment, it took a long time to become familiar with the conditions of the country and its working procedure, so they often found it better to take it easy in the beginning. Partly influenced by chain migration, many Finns started as employees of their own countrymen; this was the case among every third of the early settlers, the arrivals before 1955. Frequent changing of jobs was a typical feature, particularly among the newcomers; some even called their stay in Australia only a working holiday.

Construction work was the most common trade among the Finns in Australia. Only 8 % of the male respondents had been carpenters before going to Australia, whereas now about one third signified "carpenter" as their occupation. According to a Finnish industrial classification, 36.6 % of the men were working in the building trades; prior to Australia only 14 %. This shows that craftsmanship has often been obtained through practice. The Finns were attracted by construction work not only because they could work outdoors, but also because of the fact that there they could manage with limited, even non-existent knowledge of English, since the Finns often formed their own work groups. Again, construction work has generally offered a chance for a good living. Mining is another well-paid trade suitable for Finns in Australia. Hardly any of them had ever been miners, but in Australia 5, 5 % of the male respondents were miners. The most important mining centre for the Finns is Mount Isa where, together with the Germans, they form the two biggest non-British nationalities.

More than half the Finnish females, unmarried respondents included, were housewives. Relatively the largest proportion of Finnish females served in manufacturing and service industries. Many of the women did cleaning jobs for the very same reasons as the men who were construction workers. It is a well-paid independent job where insufficient knowledge of English does not do much harm.

In general, the Finns in Australia were satisfied with their jobs, according to the interviewed element. Carpenters and miners had the highest income. In 1970 the average income of the men who had arrived before 1955 was 6150 dollars¹, 6263 dollars among those who had come between 1955-65, and 5088 dollars among those who arrived in 1966-70. Thus the newest migrants had the lowest level of income. As a rule the Finns in Australia lived comfortably, with plenty of room. The newcomers often have to be satisfied with poor accommodation, but those who have been in the country longer, have aimed at, and have often reached as well, the Australian standard of living.

1. In 1970 one Australian dollar was equal to approximately 4, 7 Fmk.

3. Integration

In this study, integration is understood to be a process where a migrant comes to have a reciprocal relationship with the host community, adapting to the way of life in a particular geographical area in different forms and at different rates within the different sections of the community. Here the meaning of integration is understood to be so broad as to cover the process of change from the first contact all the way to total assimilation within the group, although only a few, if any, of the first generation migrants ever achieve this level.

In integration the knowledge of the language of the host country has a key position. The lack of English among three out of four Finns had been the greatest difficulty to integration, and many other difficulties were indirectly the results of a poor knowledge of English. Living conditions, home sickness, lack of adaptability in general, and difficulty in finding employment were other major problems.

Improving the knowledge of English would be the best help for the migrants to adapt to the new conditions, since over 50 % of the respondents had had no English before coming to Australia. The earliest settlers were the ones who had studied English least; three out of four migrants from the period before 1955 had studied none. Almost 50 % had attended English classes while in Australia, and almost every third had taken part in a correspondence course. About 50 % always read in Finnish, and only a few percent entirely in English. Women more often than men read in Finnish.

Nine out of ten Finns in Australia had not attained any professional training in Australia, partly due to a poor knowledge of English. There has probably been no need for further training, since work has been available.

In order to investigate the level of the maintenance of Finnish culture, the migrants were asked how many Finnish books and newspapers and how many Australian ones they had acquired. More than 50 % of them had no papers coming from Finland (except for the ones published in Australia). Finnish magazines were more popular than the newspapers. Finnish papers were mostly read by the migrants who had been in the country for either the longest or the shortest time. About one-third saw no English language Australian papers regularly and almost 50 % not even irregularly. The length of stay in the country is crucial; only 11 % of those who arrived before 1955 did not read any Australian papers, whereas 57 % of those from the late 1960's had not bothered to get Australian newspapers.

Another feature revealing the degree of integration of migrants is the extent of communication with people from one's own nationality or others'. Of the respondents, 41 % had not met any close Finnish friends, and three out of four had not met any close Australian friends outside work during the last two weeks before the interview. About 44 % of the respondents had not taken part in any strictly Finnish formal event, and nearly one third had not participated in any informal event during the three months prior to the interview. Only a very few had taken part in similar events organized by Australians and other nationalities. In general, the Finns in Australia - as well as in many other countries - seem to live somewhat isolated, due to their scant numbers and language difficulties.

The national churches are among the strongest institutions for migrant culture, and depending on the degree of the integration process, the church can either help or slow down adaptation to the new environment. Almost four out of five among the respondents had belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland; 12 % had not belonged to any religious group, while 4 % were counted among the Pentecostals, and only 1 % belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church. In Australia, 38.5 % did not belong to any religious group; almost the same amount belonged to the Finnish Lutheran Church; 6 % to the Australian Lutheran Church, and 5 % to the Pentecostals. The old migrants more often than the newcomers were members of the church. Even though as a group the number of the actual formal members of the church had gone down individually the frequency of attendance in church services had increased considerably. The increase in the activity of the migrants-church attendance is possibly also a sign of difficulties in adaptability and partly also shows a desire for organized activity. As many as 62 % of the respondents did not belong to any organization as a regular member, and over 80 % not even irregularly. The local Finnish society

and congregation were the most common forms of organization. Only small proportions were members in Australia or other organizations.

Reading was the most popular hobby among the Finns in Australia. After that, came needlework and looking after the home among the females; staying at home, working in the garden and looking after the house among the men. Picnics were the most favourite functions outside the home. The reasons for the different hobbies among the migrants who have come to the country during the three different periods are probably to be found in the age structure and the level of adaptability to Australia. The earlier migrants were more interested in reading, but on the other hand were more impelled toward activities outside the home than the newcomers were. The younger ones again were more interested in cars, sport, camping etc., but otherwise concentrated more on activities connected with the home. This homecentredness among the newcomers, which can also be seen clearly among the Finns who migrated to Sweden, has probably its origin in the fact that these migrants have had enough work for years in building up their homes. The insufficient knowledge of English among the new migrants has naturally also made it more difficult for them to take part in the leisuretime hobbies of the Australians.

About one-third of the respondents had become Australian citizens. Women more than men had stuck to their Finnish nationality. Important here is naturally the length of stay in the country. The reasons for naturalization have often been practical: work, children's education etc., and often the change of nationality was connected with a decision to stay permanently in Australia. An emotional attitude favouring the former home country has often been the reason for keeping Finnish nationality. More than 50 % of those who had still not become naturalized did not know whether they would apply for Australian citizenship or not. This uncertainty can be said to represent some kind of margin between Finland and Australia. The Finns more than other Scandinavians have remained more firmly committed to their own nationality, almost to the same degree as many Southern European nationalities in Australia.

Only a small proportion of the Finns had translated their names into Australian ones, and those who had done so, had most commonly done it for practical reasons, and they had also decided to remain permanently in Australia.

Two thirds of the interviewed Finns in Australia eat Finnish food always or in most cases. The ones who have stayed longest in the country, and men more often than women, have accepted Australian culinary habits.

To sum up about integration it can be stated that the Finns in Australia have, due to their diligence, adapted well to Australian society economically. On the other hand, social as well as cultural integration has been slower, the weak knowledge of English here being the most important inhibiting factor. Viewing matters from this standpoint it appears that the Finns in Australia lead a somewhat isolated life. The Finns, like many other minority nationalities, form their own peculiar sub-culture in Australia. Time certainly washes away the sharpest edges, but both in regard to language and customs the first-generation migrants will remain more Finnish than Australians.

5. Satisfaction

A migrant's integration can be graded according to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction he feels about the new conditions. The most common reasons for satisfaction among the Finns in Australia were the climate, good income and ease in finding employment. Special reasons for satisfaction were

freedom and equality, friendly people and good possibilities for getting a loan for a house. The realization of material needs has been the cause of greatest satisfaction for Finns in Australia, which shows that the reasons for satisfaction are connected with the reasons that led them to migrate.

The biggest reasons for dissatisfaction were the Australian health scheme and social security, and in some cases poor and expensive accommodation, particularly among the latest migrants. Additionally, impolite treatment in offices and shops, dishonesty and criminality, as well as Australia's climate and nature were among the most common reasons for dissatisfaction. It is difficult to estimate how much the lack of the English language among the Finns has caused dissatisfaction, e.g. while visiting a doctor or a social security office.

On the whole, however, more than one-third of the interviewed migrants were very pleased with Australia, a great number were rather pleased and only 6.5 were dissatisfied. A crucial factor is the length of stay in the country. None of the respondents who had come before 1955 were dissatisfied, but over 12 % of those from the late 1960's were dissatisfied. Women were slightly more dissatisfied than men. In general, the Finns in Australia are people contented with their living conditions; the discontented ones have either become contented, returned to Finland or died.

6. Contacts with Finland

The fact that the Finns in Australia are busily writing letters monthly and even weekly shows warm and steady relations with the former home-country. Little money is sent to Finland, whereas gifts are sent more abundantly. There have been plenty of friends and relatives of migrants coming to Australia as migrants in their turn. The share of the subsidiary migrants was approximately 50 % of the main migrants who answered the questionnaire thus indicating a considerable chain migration. There will probably be more migrants of this kind, since Finnish migration to Australia is still young. Over 60 % of the two subsidiary migrants closes to the principal migrant were living with or at least near-by the principal migrant.

Nearly four out of five respondents had not been outside Australia after coming there. More than two thirds of those from the period before 1955 had visited Finland or lived there; of the newcomers hardly any. Usually the visit was made 5 - 9 years after arrival, and in general they had visited Finland only once, but there were some who had been there six times.

Most of the respondents were planning to visit Finland, but only 9 % intended to stay permanently in Finland, naturally the newcomers more often than those who had stayed longer in the country; nearly every fifth of those from the end of the 1960's intended to return for good. The persons planning to return permanently, had more difficulties in regard to adaptability than the others, and they were much more dissatisfied with Australia than the rest of the interviewed.

7. The second generation and their Finnish characteristics

The second generation Finns in Australia are a heterogeneous group which is hard to study. Some of them were perhaps grown up when they came to the country; some were born in Australia. However, most of them were minors, and at the time of the interview they found themselves in the

middle of an integration process, the consequences of which are still shrouded in obscurity. However, certain courses of development can already be seen on the basis of the following results.

The 399 respondent units (families or single persons) taking part in the interview had 837 children of whom 70 % were born in Finland and 26 % in Australia. 81 of the children of the parents from the period before 1955 were born after migration, but only 3 % among those who had arrived in 1966-70. The time of arrival also influences the number of children. The average number of children was 1.66 at the time of arrival and 2.42 at the time of interview.

More than 3/4 of the children were living with their parents or at least very close to them (the same postal code). Only 22 % of the children over 20 years of age had had nothing but an elementary education, and 11 % had had a university or college education. The relatively high level of education is probably due to the fact that parents with little education often tend to educate their children. Secondly, in many cases migrant children obviously take their studies more seriously than others. This relatively high level of education has been followed by social mobility: the vocations of the first-generation Finns were more within construction work, the metal and other industries: the number of second-generation Finns employed in these trades was relatively much smaller. Accordingly, where there were only a few first-generation migrants having top jobs, in the second generation was a considerable number of those with a university degree or doing other white-collar jobs. Likewise, only a couple of percent of the first generation migrants were in the service trades: 13 % of the children belonged in this group. The children of old migrants (before 1955) have naturally settled best: the children of the newcomers have mostly entered manufacturing and service industries. The most important explanation for the higher socio-economic position is the level of education together with good knowledge of English, which most parents have failed to achieve.

Due to their young age, only a small proportion of the children of Finns in Australia were married. Of those married, a larger proportion was married to Finns than to Australians. To a certain degree this can be said to reflect a strong contacts with one's own nationality as well as a somewhat poor social integration.

The second-generation Finns in Australia are generally bilingual; normally they speak Finnish with the parents but with one another and outside the home they speak English. The ability to read and write Finnish is considerable weaker than the ability to speak it. Over 50 % of those who had reached school age were able to read, and about 50 %, to write Finnish.

I would like to mention would be intensive micro-studies of a limited area dealing, for example, the Finnish settlement in a Sydney or Melbourne suburb, and possibly also the Finnish mining community in Mount Isa, Queensland. Various separate themes, such as migrants, political attitudes and ideas of their legal security in a strange environment, would also offer interesting research topics.

At the moment Finnish emigration to Australia is quite negligible; annually only 100 - 200 emigrants. This is partly due to severe limitations of entries by the Australian Government because of economic difficulties (unemployment 6 % and inflation 12 % in February, 1975) in Australia. On the other hand, economic situation in Finland is quite good, compared with the periods of heavy emigration in the late 1950's and 1960's.

Although small in numbers, the Finnish emigration to Australia has its own unique features. At the same time it has been part of a broader international migratory movement. By broadening our knowledge about Finnish long - distance migration we would deepen the study and understanding

of migration phenomena as a whole, and we would also get useful material for comparison with short-distance migration, which in regard to numerical strength, is far more important.