THE RETENTION OF ETHNIC CULTURE AMONG THUNDER BAY FINNS

by

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This thesis is dedicated to my grandfather, Mikko Antti Maunula, who by being the person he was, taught me more about the spirit of the Finnish people than any other.

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Abstract

The thesis addresses the question: "What are the factors influencing the level of ethnic culture retention among Thunder Bay Finns?" The investigation is focused on three characteristics: residency (urban or rural), residential propinquity to other Finns, and socio-economic status.

The survey instrument gathers additional respondent characteristics to allow evaluation of the influence of other factors. In measuring culture, a distinction is made between knowledge and practise of Finnish customs and culture and efforts to maintain a Finnish identity. The latter allows a response to current ethnic assimilation literature which suggests a resurging interest in selective areas of ethnic heritage.

Preceeding the review of the literature, a historical perspective is given to the present situation by summarizing the history of the Finnish people, their emigration to Canada, and the experiences of the immigrants in Canada and particularly Thunder Bay.

Among the young adults of Finnish descent who formed the sample population, those who were raised in an urban setting were likely to have a higher culture retention level than those raised in a rural setting. Not surprising, those raised in a neighbourhood predom-

inantly Finnish also had a higher culture retention level than those raised in a non-Finnish neighbourhood. Socio-economic status proves interesting in that those respondents from families having a low socio-economic status retain more of their culture than those from families having a high socio-economic status. However, when the respondent's own present socio-economic status is considered, those with a high socio-economic status retain more Finnish culture than the low socio-economic status respondents. It is arguable that upward mobility among this group has not resulted in abandonment of their ethnic heritage. An adjustment, where both success in the dominant society and a continued identification with one's ethnic heritage co-exist, appears to have occurred. The bond of ethnic affinity displays considerable endurance.

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I. CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of the Study

One important focus for ethnic studies may be not so much the difference between ethnic groups, but the variety within an ethnic group. To study the degree of original culture retention within an immigrant ethnic group is to understand the likelihood of that ethnic group successfully surviving in a new society.

Close observation of the Finnish community in Thunder Bay reveals a wide range in the degree of adherence to Finnish culture within a relatively narrow age group. Generally, this is the problem the thesis will address: What is the level of culture retention among Thunder Bay Finns and can certain demographic characteristics be identified as being associated with the number and kind of cultural traits preserved?

To place the thesis into a standard field of endeavor in sociology would mean describing it as addressing the problem of acculturation or assimilation. However, the approach is different from most assimilation studies (Collins, 1975:84). Rather than attempting to measure how much of the dominant culture has been accepted by the immigrant ethnic group, the amount of original culture retained (in effect, the resistance given to total

assimilation) is measured in order to make some comment on the assimilation process among the Finnish ethnic group in the Thunder Bay area.

B. The Hypothesis

The methodology involves a sample survey using a self-administered questionnaire. The questionnaire, in attempting to measure the retention of culture and possible demographic characteristics affecting the level of retention, focuses on the following hypothesis:

> Finns who: 1) reside in rural areas; 2) have a high residential propinquity to other Finns; and 3) have a middle to low socio-economic status will retain more of their Finnish culture than those Finns who lack these characteristics.

Besides the three characteristics contained in the hypothesis, information concerning other characteristics -- generation Canadian, sex, sibling order, parentage, and command of the Finnish language -- also is collected. This collection facilitates the controlling of these variables when examining the hypothesis, as well as offering alternative characteristics that may be of equal or greater importance than the hypothesis characteristics in influencing the retention of culture.

c. Scope of the Study

Measurement of the retention of culture is limited

to the 17 - 27 year old age group. Reasons for using this narrow age group are several. First it allows study of a population likely to have certain age-specific traits. All have just completed or are completing many years of compulsory education which have socialized them into Canadian society. Most will be disengaging themselves from their family of orientation or just starting their family of procreation. So in a sense they represent an age group whose cultural awareness will predict the future health of the Finnish community.

The second aspect of the study's scope concerns what is to be measured. The study is restricted to non-material culture as defined by Milton Gordon. Culture is, "prescribed ways of behaving or norms of conduct, beliefs, values, and skills along with the behavioral patterns and uniformities based on these categories--all this we call 'non-material culture'..." (1964:32).

The questionnaire emphasizes common cultural traits and customs. It does have one segment dealing with 'high' culture and another one identifying Finnish values. These are intended to challenge the more culturally aware respondent.

Having more to do with the scope of the entire thesis than the scope of the methodological investigation proper, a historical synopsis preceeds the usual steps in

sociological research. This provides necessary background information to better understand the present situation and place in historical perspective the present state of the Finnish community.

D. Limitations

As will be explained more fully in Chapter Four, the sample is a nonprobability sample. Therefore, direct comparative statements from the sample population to the total population cannot be made. Because the purpose of the research is to arrive at generalizations about what characteristics tend to influence the retention of culture, the use of selective sampling is quite adequate. The balance and size of the eventual sample population provides confidence that the tendencies found for it are not extraneous to the rest of the population.

E. Organization of the Thesis

Following this chapter is Chapter Two entitled "A Historical Perspective". This chapter includes a summary of Finnish history and Finnish emigration to Canada and the early history of North American Finns and Finns in Thunder Bay. Especially for those unfamiliar with the Finnish people and their history, the information contained in this chapter should help the reader to better under-

stand the heritage of Thunder Bay residents of Finnish descent.

Chapter Three, "Review of the Literature", discusses ethnicity and theories of assimilation, beginning with such theorists as Robert Park and moving to current views on ethnicity in Canadian society by Wsevolod Isajiw and John Porter. Existing literature on assimilation among Finns, although not extensive, is also reviewed.

Chapter Four, "Methodology", presents the hypothesis in detail, explains the survey instrument, the sampling procedure and the method of analysis. Appendix I which contains the questionnaire and related information on deployment, Appendix II which contains the Index Marking Scheme, and Appendix III which contains the Coding System are introduced in this Chapter.

Chapter Five, "Presentation and Analysis of the Data", provides a profile of the sample population, evaluates the index scores, then analyzes the hypothesis characteristics. The influence of other factors on the retention of culture is investigated, a brief discussion of an elite group of respondents, and further general observations on the level of culture retention are made. Forty tables on the data are contained in the chapter. Ancillary tables are in Appendix IV.

Chapter Six, "Conclusion", makes final remarks on

the hypothesis characteristics, compares culture retention with identity maintenance as they are used in the questionnaire, summarizes the role of generation and language on culture retention, and provides conclusions on the nature and implications of the thesis.

II. CHAPTER TWO - A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

A. Introduction

It has been strongly argued by S. D. Clark that to understand and study a present day sociological issue, the sociologically significant historical events or situations that have preceeded today's phenomena must be considered. Only by understanding the past can the progression to the present be understood. An examination into the retention of ethnic culture among Thunder Bay Finns today can only be justly treated and set in perspective by tracing back through time the experience of Finns in Canada, the immigration process, the social milieu from which they came, and ultimately the historical, social and geopolitical events and situations that have shaped the Finnish people, the Finnish culture.

The general thesis that major historical events and geopolitical situations over time can have an impact, can shape a people is fairly well accepted. Nathan Glazer (1964) has shown how in coming to America, different ethnic groups reacted to their adopted land according to the national situation they left. He draws parallels between the sense of nationhood brought by an immigrant group and the extent to which assimilation takes place.

Glazer argues that Scandinavians came from states that were not yet nations. The peasant classes that came from these countries had more ties to a village or a religion than to a nation. "The Norwegians and the Swedes came to think of themselves as Norwegians and Swedes only when they banded together here to form communities of their fellows, particularly in the rural areas where the Scandinavians tended to settle." (1964:27). Germans and Irish on the other hand came with a clear sense of nationhood which facilitated rapid establishment of enclaves. However, their greater tendency toward city life, individual assertiveness, and for the Germans, involvement in the world wars caused a faster and more pervasive assimilation.

Therefore, it is the task of this chapter to provide a survey of Finnish history indicating the important events which have shaped the people. It must also describe the emigrants -- the nation they left, why they left, who they were, and when they did leave. On this side of the Atlantic, the destination of the immigrants, the reception they received, and the lives that they led are again precursors to understanding the retention of Finnish culture in Thunder Bay today. It is only after this has been done that the review of the literature can delve into the traditional areas of related studies and relevant

theory on the topic at hand.

B. A Summary History of Finland

The sense of a people shaped by their history and surroundings is not unfamiliar to Finnish authors. Mikko Juva writes:

> "Due partly to the size of the country and their own small numbers, the Finns have striven throughout their history to live their own lives, avoid assimilation with their neighbours and remain aside from the quarrels of the rest of the world. Right up to the present the forest has been a formative influence in their lives.....The severity of life in the north and the ever-present forest have moulded the Finnish character. In the backwoods a man must rely on himself, on his own strength and his own inventiveness. The Finns have not known the feeling of solidarity and strength in numbers which are common to village dwellers in the plains.....
>
> The first thousand years of unwritten history of the Finns in Finland determined their basic character, which has remained constant to the present day. The small-holdings, scattered villages, the vast wilderness, and the natural freedom of the men of the forest, have moulded a self-sufficient, independent and yet a stubborn people. The extremes of the Finnish climate -- a dark autumn, bright winter snows, an explosive spring and a short summer of almost continuous daylight -- have impressed upon generations of Finns the strength and immutability of the basic forces of nature. Hence the respect felt by the Finnish community for their social traditions." (1964:17,18)

Isolation is an undercurrent theme in most discussions of the Finnish people beginning with the origin of the people. As a people, the Finns are largely isolated both racially and linguistically from their neighbours. "The

language of the Finns differs radically from nearly all the other languages of the West. Although the Finns embraced Western culture at a very early date (a culture that evolved chiefly among peoples belonging to the Indo-European linguistic family), the Finnish language belongs to a completely different linguistic group known as the Finno-Ugrian. Less than twenty million people speak the languages in this group. Among them are three highly civilized nations: the Estonians, the Finns, and the Hungarians." (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:7). The Finno-Ugric languages are related to the languages spoken by the Samoyeds tribes of northern Soviet Union, and together are termed the Uralic language family (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:7).

The independence between language and racial origin has been substantially established. The philogist's estimation of the primordial Finno-Ugrian homeland, parent language and parent race are now questioned but no firm estimations have replaced them. Biologists using blood groups view their analysis of anthropological characteristics as more revealing because of the slower rate of change compared to linguistic characteristics. For example, Finnish and Hungarian may be related, but anthropologically there is no evidence to show a relation between the Finn and the Hungarian. On the other hand, Finns and Estonians

can practically understand each other and are also racially similar suggesting that the area south of the Gulf of Finland accounts for the majority of the Finns' racial home. Blood groups found in Finns and not among any other European peoples have led to the suggestion of an eastern composition for the Finns as well. The long skull and tall stature associated with the 'Nordic' racial type as well as fair hair and blue eyes however is also evident sufficiently in the Finnish population (not forgetting the influence of Swedish colonists in western Finland) to question this assertion (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:7-8, Sjöblom, 1982:38).

Although the early origins of the Finns may remain uncertain, the immediate departure area of the people who became dominant in Finland is known. The Finns came from the area known now as Estonia. These Baltic Finns first made hunting and trapping expeditions to coastal Finland but by the start of the Christian age became permanent settlers in the south and south-west parts of Finland. "The migrations from Estonia continued for centuries, but by the end of the Roman Iron Age (400 A.D.), an independent society consisting of those settlers began to develop in Finland." (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:9-10). The Baltic Finns are believed to have mingled with the aboriginal people -- presumed to be the Lapps and possibly

the Hämeans or Tavastians -- dominating them because of their advanced culture but not without absorbing some of their customs. During the centuries of barbarian invasions after the collapse of Rome, the ties between Finland and the people to the south weakened while westward contacts with Scandinavia increased. "Finland's Iron Age culture now triumphantly shed its Baltic features and definitely took on an independent character." (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:10).

The inhabitants of Finland may have begun to take on their own character but they did not sufficiently inhabit the country to develop anything more than a minimum of political organization. The Suomalaiset, or Finns proper, inhabited the southwest, the Tavastians or Hämäläiset inhabited the western lake district in the interior, and the Karelians were in the east mainly around Lake Lagoda. Between settlements were vast expanses of wilderness (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:16).

Finland's neighbours however were forming unified states. By the eleventh century the Scandinavian peoples had formed into three kingdoms.

Trade between economic entities in the east and west was becoming brisk having been begun earlier by Swedish Vikings traveling east through the Gulf of Finland on to Lake Lagoda and then on to the Near East through the head-

waters of the Dnieper River. Finland therefore became exposed to international trade and as an unorganized, sparsely inhabited middle territory with forests of wealth became the subject of aggressive actions by foreign powers (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:12, 16-17).

In sweeping terms, Sweden lost control of the Varangian centres it had established during the Viking era to the rising slavic power of Novgorod, the Church of Rome consolidated its power in northern Europe while the Church of Byzantium converted the Russians, and finally open hostility broke out in the greater Baltic area between east and west. The Finns sought alliance with Sweden and the west while the Karelians allied themselves with Russia (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:18, Juva, 1973:20).

The incorporation of Finland proper, nearest to Sweden, and then Häme into the Swedish political system in the thirteenth century began another theme in Finnish history that would last for six-hundred years. It involves the rather unusual paradox of a smaller people being included within the political system of a large power but despite centuries of such a situation not being absorbed fully into the culture of the dominant power. It is as if the Finns accepted the political reality of being dominated but maintained a sense of independence, a garrison-mentality when it came to intrusions upon their

culture. In some ways it can be counted as historical accident that the dominant power did not place enough emphasis on cultural integration and therefore it did not take place. However, there are also instances of resistance which suggest the possibility that the dominating powers realized the political inexpediency of attempting assimilation on a people dedicated to their culture.

For the first half of Swedish rule, Finland fared quite well. The Swedish kingdom like most medieval kingdoms was a loose association of provinces, of which Finland became an equal participant, meaning it could participate in the election of the king in 1362. Swedes did come to inhabit the unsettled areas of coastal Finland with peaceful co-existence between Swede and Finn being the norm. There was no confiscation of land. "The Finns retained control of the land they cultivated, provincial leaders were given a place in the rising mobility, and from the end of the fourteenth century only Finns were appointed to the Finnish see of Turku.... Only the higher military and political leadership in the main provincial centres was, not unnaturally, in the hands of the Swedish nobility." (Juva, 1973:21).

Certainly Swedish was the public language and was learned by those who sought to take part in public affairs. Finnish was not greatly diminished. The nobility was

mostly bilingual and, "Finnish was the local tongue spoken by priests, judges and state officials." (Juva, 1973:21). The written language was first Latin and then Swedish after the Reformation but this was of no real concern to an illiterate populace (Juva, 1973:22).

The Reformation was a positive influence on the state of the Finnish language. A major thrust of the Reformation was the provision of the Gospel in the language of the people. Therefore, in 1548, the New Testament was translated into Finnish and the entire Bible in 1642. Besides this, a good deal of religious literature was written in Finnish (Juva, 1973:22).

The reign of Swedish king Gustavus II Adolphus (1611-32) witnessed the transformation of Sweden into a modern state. Mercantilism was the dominant economic system and a centralized state was necessary to enforce one's position in the world economy. Centralization and a uniformization of the political apparatus caused a greater penetration of Swedish into the lives of the Finns. The nobility more and more spoke only Swedish. Office holders required fluency in Swedish. Much of the nobility moved closer to the center of power -- Stockholm -- while more and more functionaries in Finland were transplanted from Sweden. 'Swedishization' filtered more and more into the society with townfolks, tradesmen and minor

officials becoming 'Swedish' (Juva, 1973:22-23, Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:97-99). Rumblings about cultural imperialism began to be aired.

As Sweden strove to become a great power in the seventeenth century, the land and people of Finland were caught up in the hostilities. Sweden's main adversary to the east, as ever, was Russia. With Sweden claiming western Finland as its sphere of influence and Russia claiming eastern Finland as its sphere of influence, battle on Finnish soil was inevitable. The hostilities known as the Great Northern War (1700-1721) saw the collapse of Sweden as a great power and the occupation of Finland by Russia from 1713 to 1721, a period known as the Great Wrath. Long before this, eastern border raids had been common. The Great Wrath was the realization of the dreaded, for the Russians had, "acquired the reputation of persecutor, an attribute that was to become deeply imprinted in the Finnish consciousness." (Juva, 1973:23-24).

The collapse of Sweden as a great power further weakened the position of the Finnish language. It also marred the Finnish attitude toward Sweden. During the war, the nobility had fled to Sweden which was spared contact with hostile forces. There they became accustomed to speaking Swedish exclusively. After the Russians

withdrew many did not return. More and more Swedish officials came to replace them. Swedification of the educated class continued rapidly. Increasingly Finnish was relegated to only the common people. Tension based on language barriers increased between the ruled and the rulers. On top of this, Sweden's prestige was greatly reduced and, " the sense of security that had been enjoyed by the Finns during the period when Sweden was a Great Power was replaced by the fear that the occupation might be repeated and that Finland might eventually be annexed by Russia." (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:142-143). The loyalty of the Finns could no longer be taken for granted.

Running parallel to the increased use of Swedish was a growing rate of literacy among the Finns due to the active policy of education carried on by the Church. As more Finns learned to read, the amount of Finnish literature still remained largely in the religious domain while government documents and papers which the populace came increasingly in contact with were in Swedish (Juva, 1973: 22).

The eighteenth century continued as a century of both cold and hot war between Sweden and Russia. Apprehension in Finland as to the best course to follow continued to grow. Russia was seen as the growing power which Finland would have to deal with. Independence was seen as a possible

way of reducing the likelihood of Finland being the battleground between the two powers.

Independence at this time was more of a foreign import than a national movement. When war broke out between Sweden and Russia in 1741 Finland was again occupied by Russia. Empress Elizabeth proposed an independent Finland that would not be abused by being the front line for Sweden. By 1743 when peace was negotiated the notion of an independent Finland no longer appealed to Russia and a cessation of territory which brought the Russian border well into south central Finland occurred (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:148-151).

Early into the nineteenth century the tide had finally turned. In connection with the Napoleonic Wars, Russia conquered Finland in 1809 and did not withdraw. By the treaty of Hamina, Sweden ceded all its Finnish provinces to Russia.

> "However the ceded lands were not incorporated into the Russian Empire as Russian provinces. Tsar Alexander I knew that he had not heard the last of Napoleon and it was important that a defeated country as near to his capital as Finland should be pacified. This was best done by offering the Finns better conditions than they had enjoyed under the Swedes. Finnish loyalty was bought at the Diet held in Porvoo (Borgå) in 1809. The country was declared an autonomous Grand Duchy governed by Finns and separate from the Russian government. The Constitution and the entire legislation dating from the Swedish period remained in force. No conscripts were enrolled and taxes were frozen,

> which over the years meant their virtual reduction." (Juva, 1973:26)

Revenue collected in Finland was used to serve Finnish needs alone. Finland had its own civil service, currency and militia. Having dual citizenship, many Finns of rank entered the Russian civil and military bureaucracy. For the first time most Finnish-speaking people found themselves belonging to the same political unit. The conditions were present to nurture a greater sense of nationhood and cultural independence.

As the discussion enters a historical period when social history gains more prominence it is useful to pause and consider the social organization of Finland. While under the Swedish realm the social structure of Finland was based on the independent small farmer. The first settlers who came across the Gulf of Finland were free men and women. And so too were the generations of Finns who established settlements further and further into the wilderness. Whoever cleared the forest procured the land for himself and his children. The farmer's freedom was grounded by his, "inherited right to his own land, the principle that taxation was dependent on the taxpayer's agreement, and on the universal right to be allowed one's say in local and provincial courts and, in the last analysis, before the Diet." (Juva, 1973:27).

The collection of taxes by nominees within the parish and the administration of justice by judges chosen from eminent local men encouraged local government and local independence. "In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Diet became representative of the four estates, the farmer taking his regular place beside members of the nobility, the clergy and the burghers." (Juva, 1973:28).

Unlike feudal Europe the Finnish farmer was never a serf. The seventeenth century did witness a threat to the independence of the farmer and a decrease in local decision-making due to the transformation of Sweden into a more centralized and autocratic kingdom but in the next century the clergy came to the aid of the farmer and restored local autonomy (Juva, 1973:29-30).

The favourable position granted to the new Grand Duchy of Finland continued as St. Petersburg acknowledged the loyalty of the Finns to the Czar. "The Russians -- or the Czar's appointed representatives of native birth -- took a tolerant view of such general expressions of Finnish patriotism and even of the awakening Finnish nationalist movement, which aspired to promote the Finnish language and to create a Finnish-language culture." (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:197).

The political facet of the cultural awakening that was occurring revolved mainly around the issue of Swedish

being the language of the educated class. Literacy was quite extensive among the Finnish people by this time but it was of no use to them when government documents continued to be written in Swedish. The language difference only sharpened the difference between the commoner and the educated (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:200).

The romantic ideology of nationalism afoot throughout Europe came to Finland and especially the University of Turku early in the nineteenth century. Through its influence literary Finnish was advanced through the publishing of a Finnish grammar and dictionary of Finnish language. As well, a rising demand for Finnish as the language of instruction in the schools occurred (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:201).

Johan Wilhelm Snellman, considered Finland's greatest statesman during the national autonomy period, saw the issue to be the need to integrate language with nationhood. "The future of Finland therefore depended on Finnish becoming the language of government, public life and education. To achieve this the educated class, estranged from the people by their speech, had to learn Finnish in order that the language of the majority should regain its rightful place." (Juva, 1973:31).

The means to overcome the obstacle of a Swedish-speaking educated class unreceptive of such proposals for

change were again political ones. In 1865, state-subsidized elementary schools were allowed in municipalities and rural communes. The first Finnish language secondary school had been established in 1858. Thus Finnish was to become the language of the educated class by expanding the educated class, by increasing the social mobility of the Finnish-speaking lower classes (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:206, 216).

In 1858, Finnish became the language of self-government in communes having a majority of Finnish speakers. In 1863, Finnish was given equal status with Swedish in public proceedings (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:212).

Alexander II ratified the Diet Act in 1869 which gave Finland a constitutional law which made clear the power of sovereign and Diet and made more secure the position of the Grand Duchy. Convening regularly, the Diet was now able to initiate legislation increasing the sense of independence (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974: 214-215).

In conjunction with and adding impetus to these political changes, several cultural landmarks were achieved. Johan Ludvig Runeberg, to become known as Finland's national poet, in the first half of the nineteenth century wrote the poetic cycle the "Tales of Ensign Stål" (in Swedish). These patriotic poems that celebrated

the heroism of the Finnish Army during the war of 1808-9 aroused a sense of patriotism. The opening poem "Maamme" (Our Land) became the national anthem by 1848 (Chapman, 1973, Embassy of Finland, 1974:24).

During this time, the Finnish epic poem Kalevala was being compiled by Elias Lönnrot from folk lyrics or runes that had been verbally handed down for centuries and were best preserved in the Finnish-Karelian borderlands. The short version was published in 1835 and the definitive version in 1849. "The Kalevala had a profound influence on Finnish cultural life.....The Kalevala revealed that an original Finnish culture had existed and had survived among the common people in spite of their lack of formal education." (Embassy of Finland, 1974:24). The Kalevala at once gave Finland a sense of history and a deeply rooted culture. The international praise received for the Kalevala helped raise the stature of the Finnish language and consequently Finnish literature.

The first great author to write in Finnish, Aleksis Kivi (1834-73) then appeared on the scene and wrote realistically about rural life. His novel "Seitseman Veljesta" (Seven Brothers) became a classic of Finnish literature. His dramas gave birth to the Finnish language theatre. The first Finnish language theatre

was founded in 1872 in Helsinki and was to become the Finnish National Theatre in 1902 (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:205, Chapman, 1973).

The national romanticist painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela painted towards the end and turn of the century, his themes mostly taken from the Kalevala (Chapman, 1973).

The composer Jean Sibelius (1865-1957) is the giant in Finnish music and he too was largely inspired by the Kalevala. "His symphonies and tone poems are known the world over. Sibelius' significance was particularly felt in Finland during the breakthrough of the nationalistic period between 1900 and 1920. Upon Finland gaining her independence in 1917 -- Sibelius became a national hero." (Embassy of Finland, 1974:26).

While the early cultural landmarks occurred in a climate for the first time favourable to the awakening of Finnish culture, the later cultural figures were at the forefront expressing a growing nationalism that would not be suppressed even though the political climate had changed considerably.

As the twentieth century neared, Russia's attitude toward Finland was changing radically. Bismarck was causing unrest in Europe. Russia was responding by solidifying its position as a great power. Imperialism and panslavism were working hand in hand in the Russian

empire. Internal pressure on the Czar to change the special position of Finland was too great to be disregarded.

The February Manifesto of 1899 officially began the policy of Russification that initially stupified the Finns. Nicholas Bobrikov, appointed governor-general the year before, spearheaded the policy. Directly at issue was the Finnish claim to constitutional government which was to be replaced by imperial legislation. The ineligibility of Russian subjects to serve in the offices of the Grand Duchy was to be removed. Russian was to become the language of administration and eventually integrated into the school curriculum. National tariffs and Finland's independent monetary system were to be abolished. And perhaps most immediately contentious, the Finnish army was to be merged into the Russian Imperial Army. The conscription law of 1901 was openly defied along with other imperial decrees by both the people and the Diet (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:229-233).

A campaign of passive resistance was begun. The Russians responded with dismissal of officials, exiling of political leaders and coercive police control. In June 1904 Governor-General Bobrikov was assassinated.

With Bobrikov out of the way and the Russians preoccupied and eventually humiliated in the Japanese War

of 1904-05 pressure on Finland was relaxed slightly. The Finns took the opportunity to reform their Parliament in 1906 providing universal suffrage (Finnish women the first in Europe to receive the vote), secret ballot, and proportional representation.

> "As a result the working class was brought into the political arena and the Social-democrats gained 40 per cent of the seats in the first Parliament. The reform did not in the least add to the Parliament's power, although it could with better authority speak in the name of the whole country. The form of government was unaltered and this gave the Czar almost unlimited power.
>
> Once its hold on Russia had been restored, the Russian government began to tighten its grip on Finland. Once again Finnish passive resistance was broken. Laws passed by Parliament did not receive the Tzar's asset, and the Finnish Senate was dismissed and replaced by Russians. Finnish autonomy was in practice destroyed, but at the cost of unrelenting hatred of the Russians." (Juva, 1973:34).

Reforms in Russia as a result of revolutionary activity in 1905 did not benefit the Finns. The Russian upper classes gained a greater share of power in the Russian government through the Duma and Imperial Council. This group was by no means sympathetic to Finland but only sought to improve the opportunity for its own ranks by opening up Finland's bureaucratic positions more and more to Russians. As World War One neared, Finland had at least one accomplishment to be thankful for. Her unending resistance to conscription into the Russian army (in part manifested by the increasing emigration of

young men) had convinced Russia that Finns would not be loyal soldiers and Russia decided to substitute conscription with financial levees for military expenditures (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:245-247).

It seemed nothing short of the collapse of Russia could alter the fortunes of Finland and it is just that that ushered a new life for the Finnish state. As the Russian regime collapsed in the face of tremendous losses in the war, successive revolutions occurred in Russia. Finland was in a state of uncertainty as it remained unclear who would finally take power in Russia. By the time it was clear the Bolsheviks were claiming control, Finland's own political sparring between socialists and the bourgeoise had reached a point where each had its own private army -- the Red Guard for the former and the Civil or White Guard for the latter. The Finnish Parliament declared Finland an independent republic on December 6, 1917. The new state received recognition of its sovereignity from the Council of People's Commissars in St. Petersburg on December 31, 1917 (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:252-254).

With the Civil Guard established as the official Finnish army by the Senate, a war of liberation to remove Russian troops from Finland became a civil war with the

Red Guard and the revolutionary-spirited Russian troops opposing the Whites. The Red government that was set up never received wide support from the part of the country it tenuously held control of. It was not so much a lack of sympathy with the socialists but that they had sided with the Russians at that momentous period in Finnish history when independence was in their grasp. Under the leadership of Gustaf Mannerheim, the White Army entered victorious into Helsinki in May of 1918 (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:255-258).

The new nation was to experience considerable hardships as it recovered from the war. The economy had to be revived, a foreign policy amidst suspicious and more powerful neighbours had to be charted, and the wounds of the civil war had to be healed.[1] It took years for even minimal progress to be made in the last respect. The right continued to suspect the left parties, using its

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[1] "It has been estimated that the number who fought on the Red side during the civil war was around 100,000, against 70,000 who fought on the White side. Some 6,794 men were killed in battle. More than 1,500 were murdered during the 'Red terror' of the winter of 1917-1918; 8,380 were executed in the aftermath of war, and more than 9,000 died in the prison camps, into which the Whites herded as many as 80,000 men during the summer of 1918. The brutal trauma of these events was to affect Finnish society deeply, and it exercised decisive influence over the development of the newly independent state." (Kirby, 1979:64).

parliamentary majorities to pass repressive legislation and condoning public expressions of anger against leftist organizations.

For example, the labour movement in Finland was slower in reaching standard labour union/employer understandings because of the Red and White ideology tinge attached to the conflict between organized labour and employers. The strike-breaking organization, Vientirauha, formed in 1920, was frequently used to settle strikes (Kirby, 1979:74-75).

With the unfavourable record of Soviet activities in East Karelia and the sense of war nearing, greater agreement among the non-extreme parties did provide Finland with a greater sense of majority consensus. The Winter War of 1939-1940 saw Finland defending its independence against the Russians and precariously opting from policy to policy to ensure its own survival amidst a world at war.

After the war, hardships were again many. War reparations had to be paid. Refugees fleeing the ceded Karelian land had to be re-settled. Lapland, burned by the retreating Germans, had to be rebuilt. Reparations-in-kind to Russia caused Finland's resources to be exported, leaving little for the people. Russia insisted on the repeal of Finland's anti-Communist laws, the leasing of

Porkkala as a naval base, and later under a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance, a Finnish foreign policy that in no way discriminated against the Soviet Union -- all of which led to the Finnish refusal of postwar assistance under the United States Marshall Plan (Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974:284-286).

The unstable conditions in Finland after the war was a major factor in the second major wave of emigration to Canada from Finland. The first wave had occurred from around the turn of the century up to the Great Depression with World War I causing a brief interruption. It is to the topic of emigration, its causes and participants that the discussion now turns.

C. Finnish Emigration to Canada

The economic situation is often considered the main push-pull factor in emigration. The economic situation in Finland prior and during emigration to Canada not only helps explain why people emigrated but also who emigrated and what skills and values they had.

Between 1900 and 1913, 20,583 Finnish immigrants came to Canada. Immigration dropped during the war then reached its highest proportion as 37,274 immigrants arrived between 1920 and 1930. Immigration from Finland would not reach such high numbers again until the 1950's when

16,890 immigrants came to Canada between 1950 and 1960 (see Table 1).

From 1870 onward, there was an increased demand for timber and timber products on the world markets. Agriculture in Finland at this time is described as being at a dead end. With the rising demand for timber came the necessary capital to allow modern methods of cultivation to be introduced. The dominant land-based economic activity changed from cereal production to livestock raising, dairying, and forestry. By far the most dominant of these new activities was forestry. At first, lumber production was dominant, but by the First World War pulp and paper production was increasing. By the 1930's it was the leading export industry (Kirby, 1979: 3-4).

The rise of the forest industry gradually reduced the direct importance of agriculture for most people. In 1900, 87.5% of the population was rural (Kirby, 1979:3). The transition to urban continued gradually. "In 1920, the proportion of Finns who lived in a town was one in six; in 1940, it was one in four." (Kirby, 1979:77). Reforms in 1918 actually enabled tenants to purchase land they formerly rented. By 1930, about 90% of all rented land had been purchased. The plot sizes, however, were small so that farmers could produce just

Table 1

Immigration to Canada of People of Finnish Origin or Birth, 1900-77[1]

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1900-01	682	1926	4,811[3]	1952	2,308
1901-02	1,292	1927	5,167	1953	1,252
1902-03	1,734	1928	3,758	1954	717
1903-04	845	1929	4,712	1955	652
1904-05	1,323	1930	2,811	1956	1,128
1905-06	1,103	1931	136	1957	2,884
1906-07	1,049	1932	62	1958	1,296
1907-08	1,212[2]	1933	67	1959	944
1908	453	1934	79	1960	1,047
1909	1,348	1935	64	1961	381
1910	2,262	1936	61	1962	385
1911	1,637	1937	94	1963	325
1912	2,135	1938	81	1964	476
1913	3,508	1939	82	1965	656
1914	637	1940	32	1966	696[4]
1915	91	1941	20	1967	942
1916	276	1942	21	1968	819
1917	129	1943	18	1969	772
1918	15	1944	8	1970	694
1919	25	1945	26	1971	452
1920	1,198	1946	56	1972	311
1921	460	1947	81	1973	365
1922	654	1948	227	1974	362
1923	6,019	1949	267	1975	308
1924	6,123	1950	504	1976	266
1925	1,561	1951	4,158	1977	187

[1]Figures prior to 1918 are not statistically accurate as many of the Finnish immigrants were classified as either Swedish or Russian.

[2]Statistics for the period 1900-08 are from one March 31 to the next. Since 1908 the figures apply for the calendar year; thus, the figures for the year 1907-08 and the first three months of 1908 overlap.

[3]Figures prior to 1926 do not include immigrants from the United States.

[4]The figures after 1966 refer to Finnish immigrants by country of birth rather than by origin.

Source: Government of Canada, Statistics Canada, Canada Year Books (1939-68); Government of Canada, Employment and Immigration Canada, Immigration Statistics 1969-1977; and written information provided by Employment and Immigration Canada.

as quoted in Saarinen. "Geographical Perspectives on Finnish Canadian Immigration and Settlement", Polyphony III (Fall 1981), 17.

enough for themselves and then relied on additional work in the forest industry as cutters or floaters (Kirby, 1979:75-76).

With rapid population growth and increased work opportunities, a population of workers with no attachment to the land began to appear. Speaking about the major cause of economic changes during the period -- the lumber and sawmill industry -- Orta says,

> "It created a quite new and rootless labour force for whom employment, especially during economic slumps, was highly precarious and which thus constituted a very likely potential emigration population. It should be noted, furthermore, that coupled with the increase in the number of workers within the new industry, numerous new accessory jobs in lumber cutting, floating and transportation were created ... (T)he new railroad construction of the 1880's that initially created employment ... later released a large working force upon the completion of the roads." (Orta, 1975:23)

Another field of economic expansion, though on a much smaller scale, was mining. During the First World War, mining greatly expanded due to orders from Russia. When the war ended, Finland was left with a large number of unemployed miners (Kirby, 1979:38).

The picture we have of Finland, then, is a nation experiencing rapid economic change. For some, agriculture and forestry are becoming twin occupations. Those less fortunate in regards to owning land or maintaining some agricultural activity, are forming a migrant labour

force gaining experience as bushworkers, transportation construction workers, or miners. Because of the rapid change even these workers are not far removed from an agricultural lifestyle.

Table 2 shows the occupational categories for Finnish immigrants to Canada for selected years. From the table we see that farmers and farm labourers in 1911 accounted for one-fifth of the immigrants. In 1920, this figure rose to one-half. A decade later the figure was still at 40%. General labourers in 1911 accounted for close to half of the immigrant population. Thereafter, it held around the 10% to 15% mark. Other occupational groups of importance were miners in 1911 with 6.7% and female servants, especially in 1911 and 1930, comprising a good portion of the immigrant population. Mechanics, clerks and traders were consistently low.

Statistics compiled by Finnish authorities on emigrants are more detailed in regards to the relationship to the land. Being a traditional agricultural society, the occupational categorization of emigrants by Finnish officials provided several categories in contrast to Canada's two categories of Farmer/Farm Labourer and General Labourer. For the years 1893 to 1914, the occupations of emigrants were as found in Table 3.

Kero notes that,

Table 2

Categorization of Occupation for Finnish Immigrants to Canada for Selected Years

Year	Total	Occupations							Destination
		Farmers Farm Labourers	General Labourer	Mechanics	Clerks Traders	Miners	Female Servants	Not Classified	Ontario
1911	1,646	345 21.0%	793 48.3%	50 3.0%	11 .7%	110 6.7%	277 16.8%	60 3.6%	1,173 71.3%
1920	1,401	711 50.7%	172 12.3%	28 2.0%	8 .6%	9 .6%	77 5.5%	396 28.3%	1,121 80.0%
1930	2,354	923 39.2%	367 15.6%	44 1.9%	17 .7%	3 .1%	693 29.4%	307 13.0%	1,240 52.7%

Sources: Department of Interior-Immigration.
Sessional Papers, Vol. 18, No. 25, 1913.
Department of Immigration and Colonization.
Sessional Papers, Vol. 6, No. 18, 1922.
Hurd. Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People. Census Monograph No. 4 (Ottawa, 1937).

Table 3

The Occupational-Social Composition of Emigration, 1893 - 1914
(according to official emigration statistics)

Farmers	13,433	5.3%
Farmers' children	61,422	24.3%
Crofters	6,857	2.7%
Crofters' children	24,634	9.7%
Cottagers	67,915	26.8%
Workers	49,536	19.6%
Others	29,219	11.5%
Total	253,016	100.0%

Source: Kero. Migration from Finland to North America in the Years Between the United States Civil War and the First World War. Turku, Finland: Institute for Migration, 1974, 82, Table 9.

> "If farmers and farmers' children were combined they form the largest emigrant group: 29.6% of all emigrants. The bulk of emigration coming from independent farms came from the younger group, that of farmers' children. Since another 12.4% of the emigrants were either crofters or their children -- in other words, people who made their living from agriculture in a legally dependent station -- a total of 42% of Finnish emigrants were from various kinds of farms." (1974:83-84).

The two Finnish occupational categories which correspond to the Canadian category of general labourer are 'cottagers' and 'workers'.

> "Different kinds of cottagers made up 26.8% of Finnish emigration. This group was evidently quite motley in its occupational composition. The major portion, it seems, made its living from the opportunities for work offered either by farming or forestry ... Somewhat the same types of people belonged to the group 'workers' as to the 'cottagers'. This group, which formed 19.6% of Finnish emigration, included hired hands, maids, factory workers, and in some politically 'awakened' localities, cottagers who had begun to use the title 'worker'." (Kero, 1974:84).

These two categories combined accounted for 46.4% of emigration, a figure comparable to the Canadian figure for 1911 although the Finnish figure includes female servants while this is a separate category in the Canadian case.

From the Finnish statistics, then, the farming occupation category and general labourer category are roughly equal. As far as real skills, it can be argued there is considerable overlap between the two categories.

Many of the general labourers had agricultural experience and, considering the nature of farming in Finland, many of the farmers and farmers' children likely had experience in forest occupations.

The preceding figures of who was emigrating give suggestions as to why they were emigrating. That the reasons were mainly economic is correct but also a very general comment. A number of factors were at work most of which stem from the same economic root.

Although later than other European countries, Finland was then going through the transformation from an agricultural society to an industrial society. Emigration was a transitional phenomenon in this transformation. A rapid increase in population was a major cause of emigration. Reduced war and famine, better health care and agricultural techniques all worked to bring on the population increase throughout Europe (Kero, 1974:56).

The social composition was also changing. A landless rural proletariat was appearing. With existing farms in Finland left only to one heir, the other children added numbers to the new proletariat (Kero, 1974:56). The new proletariat in Finland found work in the expanding forest industry and the first major transportation construction projects. Wages were good drawing even more away from agricultural labour and providing improved

standards of living and offering new horizons to the lower class (Orta, 1975).

The proletariat's new found success was not all-encompassing. There was considerable social pressure against the proletariat by the traditionally privileged classes. Social pressure was felt by the, " 'inadequate appreciation of the human value of common labourers in the home country'." (Orta, 1975:34). New-found economic success was not accompanied by social or political influence in a society based on estates. Periodic economic down turns or completion of construction projects forced this new class of common labourers to be quite migratory moving from city to city, to neighbouring country and finally pursuing work and acceptance in North America (Orta, 1975:34-35).

"All these factors -- the increased material well-being, the backwardness of the society-based-on-estates in the industrialization process, and the imbalance in the social exchange of the proletariat -- caused 'readiness to emigrate' which is the major precondition for emigration." (Orta, 1975:35).

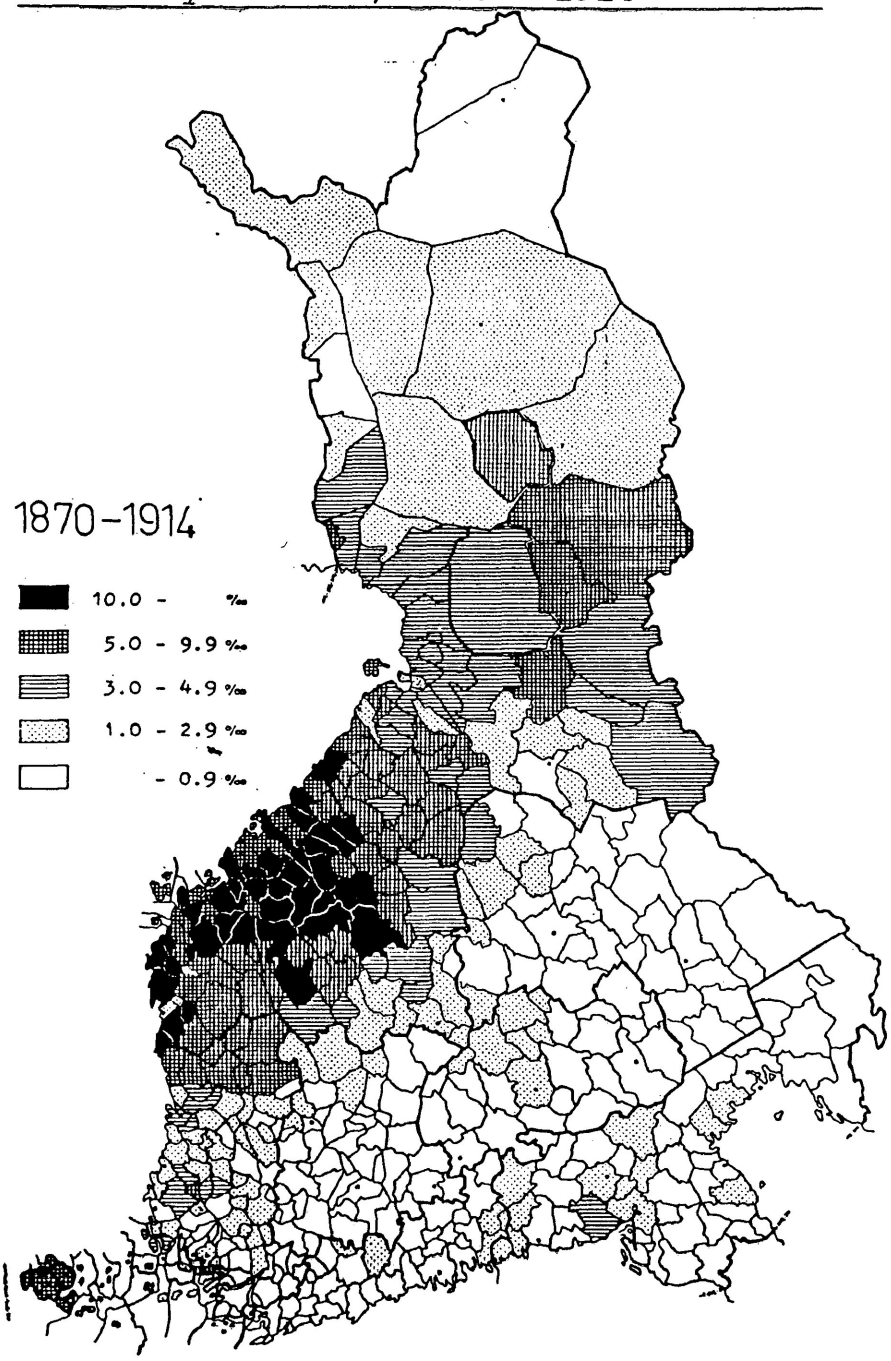
It has been argued that in certain regions of Finland emigration developed into a mass movement while in other areas internal migration was the answer to similar pressures. An expanding and changing economy and growing

population necessitated a shift in population introducing a previously unknown social mobility among Finns. For some regions of Finland the shift was to the cities and industrial centres. For those in the region of Ostrobothnia the dominant release valve was North America (see Figure 1). As a coastal region it has been argued Ostrobothnians were pre-disposed to consider overseas migration. They were more in contact with the earlier emigrating Swedes. The concept was less foreign to them. The particular economic climate in Ostrobothnia -- the forest depreciated by tar distilling so that the area did not enjoy the same surge in the lumber industry and an accompanying faster population increase than other parts of Finland -- is considered another factor. Whatever the initial reasons for the first few Osthrobothnians to emigrate to North America, letters back from North America, promises of assistance, and less anxiety knowing former neighbours would be there helped Ostrobothnian emigration develop into a group movement (Kero, 1974: 56-64).

Sillanpää has observed that the mass movement aspect of Finnish emigration to North America, "would account for the strong community feeling among Finnish immigrant organizations in Canada where many of the members shared a common local origin in the homeland." (1976:44).

Figure 1

The Stength of Emigration from Finland, by commune, 1870 - 1914



Source: Kero. Migration from Finland to North America in the Years between the United States Civil War and the First World War. Turku, Finland: Institute for Migration 1974, 51, Map 3.

Moreover group movement also meant family movement. While Finnish immigration to Canada was like other ethnic groups in that it was male-dominated, relative to other immigrant groups a larger proportion of Finnish families emigrated thereby showing the well-established nature of emigration in certain regions of Finland and further explaining the strong community life Finns were able to establish in Canada (Sillanpää, 1976:47).

There has been some mention of a restrictive political climate affecting emigration. Certainly for some, avoidance of Russian conscription, restrictive work regulations, and religious intolerance were contributing factors, but such reasons are best considered on the individual level (Kero, 1974:61-63).

Reino Kero has suggested that the practical problem of trans-atlantic transportation is worthy of consideration. Although difficult to determine which is the cause and which is the effect, trans-atlantic passenger service experienced an increase in operating companies and a competitive reduction in passage fares. Put simply, it was becoming more affordable to emigrate to North America. In addition, relatives who had emigrated earlier began the practise of pre-paid passage tickets for their relatives still in Finland (Kero, 1976:131-59; Niitemaa, 1976:78-87). Table 4 reveals that pre-paid

Table 4

The Number of Emigrants travelling with tickets bought in Finland and Prepaid Tickets, 1891 - 1914

	Bought in Finland		Prepaid		Total
1891	7	50.0%	7	50.0%	14
1892	2,599	81.8%	578	18.2%	3,177
1893	3,536	67.6%	1,695	32.4%	5,231
1894	608	56.6%	467	43.4%	1,075
1895	2,157	72.4%	824	27.6%	2,981
1896	3,766	76.2%	1,176	23.8%	4,942
1897	1,833	71.7%	724	28.3%	2,557
1898	2,763	75.3%	904	24.7%	3,667
1899	9,026	73.0%	3,331	27.0%	12,357
1900	6,533	61.4%	4,109	38.6%	10,642
1901	8,983	71.0%	3,676	29.0%	12,659
1902	15,364	70.6%	6,389	29.4%	21,753
1903	9,728	60.5%	6,359	39.5%	16,087
1904	7,108	68.7%	3,243	31.3%	10,351
1905	12,423	70.2%	5,285	29.8%	17,708
1906	10,912	66.3%	5,554	33.7%	16,466
1907	11,074	69.0%	4,982	31.0%	16,056
1908	4,736	75.8%	1,512	24.2%	6,248
1909	15,397	75.9%	4,886	24.1%	20,283
1910	13,943	71.2%	5,628	28.8%	19,571
1911	6,568	66.0%	3,377	34.0%	9,945
1912	7,911	69.1%	3,536	30.9%	11,447
1913	15,637	73.2%	5,733	26.8%	21,370
1914	3,744	64.7%	2,042	35.3%	5,786
Total	176,356	69.9%	76,017	30.1%	252,373

Source: Kero. Migration from Finland to North America in the Years between the United States Civil War and the First World War. Turku, Finland: Institute for Migration, 1974, 176, Table 25.

tickets played a substantial role in getting immigrants to North America.

Again, the practise of pre-paid tickets was another mechanism promoting ethnic group solidarity among Finnish immigrants. "The saving for tickets and sending for relatives created a tight-knit network for emigration and settlement." (Sillanpää, 1976:40).

The recruiting activities of company agents is also worth consideration. The agents involved help explain why Finns settled in the areas they did and the employment they found. It was the expanding companies requiring large numbers of labourers that utilized the recruiting agent process.

As early as the 1860's there is some suggestion that Finns residing in or near northern Norway were among emigrants recruited to work in the copper mines of northern Michigan. Finns were also enticed to the Great Lake port of Duluth in the hope of eventually finding their way to railway construction sites further inland. The Canadian Pacific Railway is known to have made recruiting drives for Finnish immigrants to work on railway construction in Canada (Kero, 1974:160-69).

Just as Finnish emigration to North America was concentrated in a certain area of Finland so too did the North American destination of Finns tend to concen-

trate in one area. The Great Lakes region received the greatest number of Finns. On the United States side it was first northern Michigan, with its copper and then iron mines, that drew Finnish immigrants. Railway construction and later iron mines in northern Minnesota attracted the Finns to that state. Agriculture and forestry also attracted Finns to these two states as well as neighbouring Wisconsin.

Not to discount the effects of certain economic pulls of a region or a tradition of emigration to a certain region, Jokinen points out that the order in which emigrant groups arrived in the United States affected where they settled. As a later group, the Finns had to settle for the tri-state area because better homestead land had already been taken by earlier groups (1976:103).

On the Canadian side the Province of Ontario has long been the traditional receiver of Finnish emigration. Labour-intensive economic activities such as mining and forestry in an expanding northern Ontario and Canadian economy attracted large numbers of Finns to places like Sudbury, Timmins, Sault Ste. Marie and Thunder Bay. Some of the Finns were directly from Finland while some, especially the earliest, came up from the United States.

Table 5 shows the geographical pattern of settlement

Table 5

Geographical Pattern of Finnish Settlement in Canada, 1901 - 71

Geographical Pattern of Finnish Settlement in Canada, 1901 – 71

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Total Population	5,371,315	7,206,643	8,787,949	10,376,786	11,506,655	14,009,429	18,238,247	21,568,330
Total Finnish Population	2,502	15,500	21,494	43,885	41,683[1]	43,745	59,436	59,215
Per cent of Total Population	0.05	0.22	0.24	0.42	0.36	0.31	0.33	0.27
Percentage Urban	34.9	41.1	31.0	45.8	42.0	54.0	68.7	75.9
By Province and Territory								
Newfoundland	—	—	—	—	—	31	36	45
Prince Edward Island	—	—	1	1	1	7	16	—
Nova Scotia	6	43	45	99	96	159	254	235
New Brunswick	2	24	35	135	109	149	165	145
Quebec	115	216	76	2,973	2,043	1,600	2,277	1,865
Ontario	1,225	8,622	12,835	27,137	26,827	29,327	39,906	38,515
Manitoba	76	1,080	506	1,013	808	821	1,070	1,450
Saskatchewan	137	1,008	1,937	2,313	1,940	1,805	1,891	1,725
Alberta	99	1,588	2,926	3,318	3,452	2,958	3,662	3,590
British Columbia	780	2,858	3,112	6,858	6,332	6,790	10,037	11,510
Yukon Territory	62	61	21	34	55	50	72	95
Northwest Territories	—	—	—	4	20	48	50	35

1. Prior to 1951 the figures include persons of Estonian background.

Source: Government of Canada, *Census of Canada (1901 – 1971).*

as quoted in Saarinen. "Geographical Perspectives on Finnish Canadian Immigration and Settlement", Polyphony III (Fall, 1981), 20, Table 2.

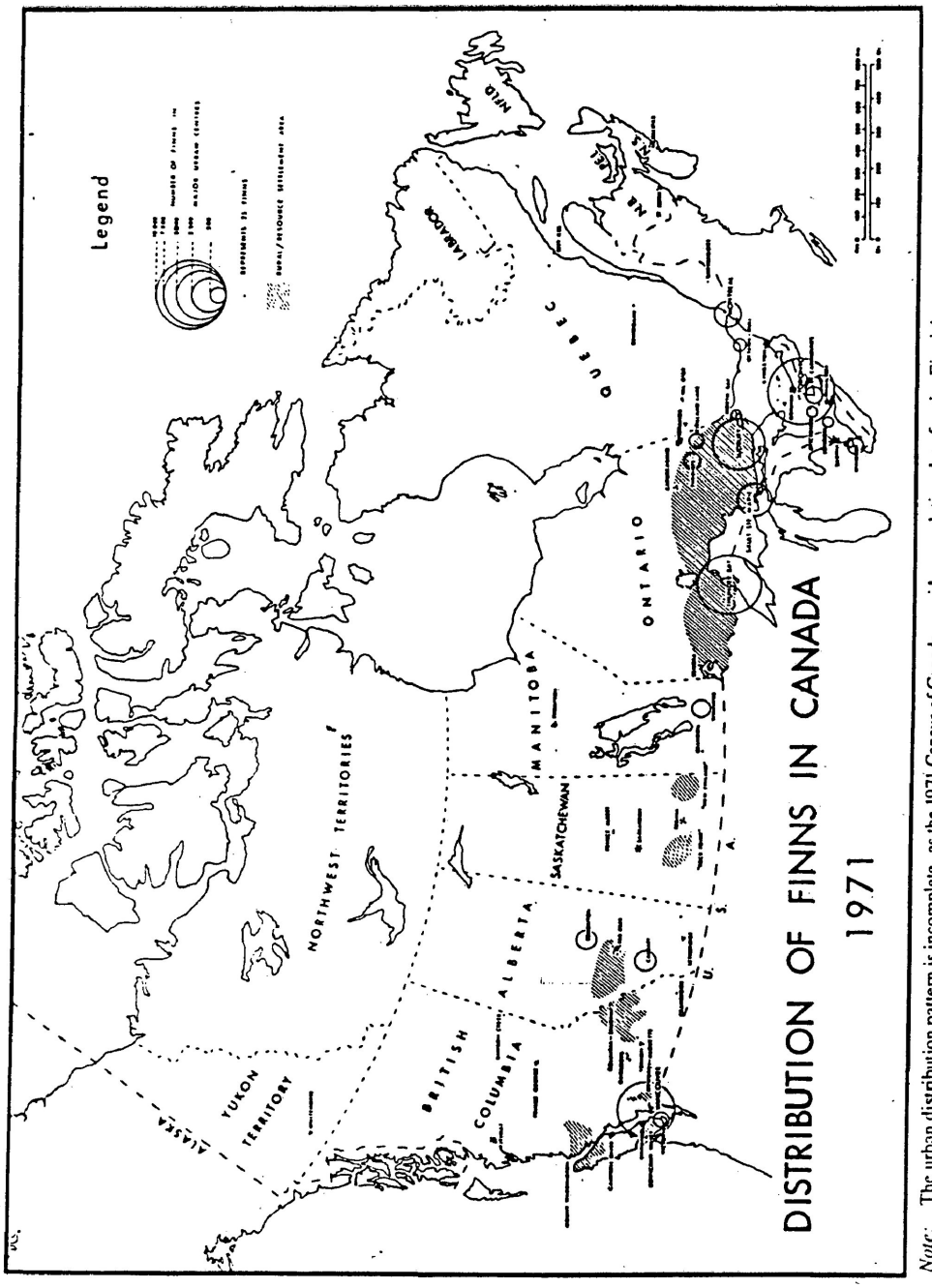
in Canada from 1901 to 1971. Ontario consistently ranks the highest with British Columbia a distant second. Figure 2 visually presents the areas of high Finnish settlement. Finns in Canada as a whole were not found to have a majority urban population until the 1951 Census.

A more detailed depiction of the settlement pattern of Finns as shown in Table 6 not only shows the rapid urbanization that took place from 1951 to 1971, but also the dramatic shift from rural farm to rural non-farm. The move to large urban centres is concurrent with the limited information available on the characteristics of Finns who made up the second big wave of immigration to Canada in the 1950's.

Economic reasons were again a priority. Postwar Finland was suffering under a severe reparations program while Canada was undergoing a major economic upsurge. Those who came to Canada at this time appear to have come largely from urban Finland and many came considerably skilled. Emigration was a more individual decision than in the earlier emigration wave and settlement in Canada was more towards the large urban centres like Vancouver and Toronto where good wages for skilled labour could be had (Sillanpää, 1976:41-48).

Figure 2

Distribution of Finns in Canada, 1971



Note: The urban distribution pattern is incomplete, as the 1971 Census of Canada provides population data for the Finnish ethnic group only for census divisions and municipalities of 10,000 population or over. The rural/resource settlement areas include regional clusters of at least 300 Finns.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada (Bulletin 1.3-2).

as quoted in Saarinen. "Geographical Perspectives on Finnish Canadian Immigration and Settlement", Polyphony III (Fall, 1981), 21, Figure 1.

Table 6

The Changing Finnish Settlement Pattern in Canada, 1951 - 1971

	1951	1961	1971
Canada Total	43,745	59,436	59,215
	%	%	%
Rural Total	45.9	31.2	24.1
1. Farm	22.1	8.5	3.9
2. Non-farm	23.7	22.7	20.1
Urban Total	54.0	68.7	75.8
1. 100,000	15.1	30.0	47.9
2. 30,000 - 99,999	20.7	27.6	12.5
3. 10,000 - 29,999	6.2	3.0	5.7
4. under 10,000	11.8	8.0	9.6

All percentages based on Canada Total

Source: Sillanpää. The Political Behavior of Canadians of Finnish Descent in the District of Sudbury. Licentiate Thesis in Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki, 1976, 119, Table A-3.

D. Early History of North American Finns

The intention of this section is to draw out some of the major themes in the early history of North American Finns. By remaining at the North American level the common response of Finnish immigrants to their new land becomes evident. Despite distance and political boundaries a sense of community was nurtured through nation-wide branches of organizations, festivals and conferences, the Finnish language press, and a common interest in Finland. This is the collective history of an immigrant group that is the heritage of present day Canadian and American Finns.

Immigrant groups upon arrival in North America very often were found concentrated in a narrow range of economic activity. The means to explain such an occurrence are varied.

One method is to examine the skills or occupational groups represented in the emigrating group. As discussed earlier the first period of Finnish immigration consisted heavily of agricultural workers and common labourers who had had experience in domestic work, lumbering, mining, and transportation construction. John Porter (1965) has noted that W. B. Hurd in Racial Origins and Nativity of The Canadian People, a 1931 Census Monograph, spoke of the 'racial aptitudes' or 'occupational preferences' of various ethnic groups. Porter himself elaborates by

stating, "It is undoubtedly true that when ethnic groups are closely knit their cultural milieu will encourage certain kinds of occupational choice and discourage others." (1975:74).

Another method is to examine the intentions of the immigration policy of the host nation. The importation of workers with specific skills required for a certain economic activity has been a common practise in Canada and has been cited as a reason why immigrant groups have been slow to move out of their 'entrance status' (Tepperman, 1975:142-45). Canada's policy regarding Scandinavian and Finnish immigrants was to admit, "bona fide agriculturalists, bona fide farm labourers, female domestic servants and members of the immediate family." (Lindstrom-Best, 1981a:8). Whether Finns did not fit the bill because of their preference for forested regions where alternate income sources were available or the government with pressure from labour intensive industries recognized the need for common labourers in the mines, lumber camps and railroads, Finns came to settle in the Great Lakes region.

It is worth considering how the Finns were viewed by others in the society. "In 1901, for example, the Port Arthur Board of Trade made the following appeal to the minister of the interior: 'So many pulp and papermills

have been building in the northern country, which by reason of its unlimited supply of spruce timber and paper trade, that labour is becoming very scarce, and we need immigrants who, whilst making pulpwood in clearing their farms, will also help to work the mills.' The arrival of Finnish and Scandinavian 'agriculturalists' experienced in 'woodcutting and timber floating' and the cultivation of marginal lands soon provided an abundant source of manpower." (Avery, 1979:25-25).

The labour skills of the Finns had become well known (also well stereotyped?). Edmund Bradwin in The Bunkhouse Man reiterates the work skills of the Finn but goes further in providing an outside impression of the Finnish immigrant.

> "Offspring, also, of an old ethnic stock in Europe, the Finlander wherever found is assertive of his nationalism. It becomes with him a personal factor that makes him at times almost bitter. No Finlander is flattered to be called a Swede even in a bunk-house. His racial pride is supersensitive, not unakin in its intensity to the yearnings of the Macedonian in his long struggle for recognition.
>
> The Finlander is an individualist. He is fond of music and very keen for education. These new arrivals, though possessing a very fair education in their own land, are easily the most eager to acquire a working knowledge of English even under the handicaps of the camp conditions. Age does not debar, adults of forty-five may be found with the men of earlier youth. The strides made by the Finnish people, however, in social legislation is reflected occasionally among these workers in the expression of radical ideas. They appear loath to abide the slower constitutional methods.

> As campmen the Finlanders have proven their worth. Strong and willing, they have claimed a foremost place, particularly in rock-work and with the axe. Their services are sought for particular jobs. The men themselves, as encountered on frontier works, are taciturn, silent but reliant. As a race they possess the clannishness of the Scandinavians, but even the closest friendship of a work group en route to camp, disrupted by the presence of high wines in tins, may lead to stolidness, quarrels and brutal personal onslaughts.
>
> Reared under climatic conditions not unlike those which prevail over the greater stretch of the Dominion, the Finlander has shown native initiative, and ranks among the most virile of all bunkhouse workers. Not even the French-speaking Canadian can show more adaptiveness in encountering the physical drawbacks of life in the northern lands, than do the Finnish people who come to Canada." (1972:102-03).

In these few paragraphs, Bradwin has touched upon almost all the major themes in Finnish immigrant history. These themes are Finnish involvement in labour radicalism, the political orientation of the immigrant Finns, and the community life established by Finns through temperance societies, churches, political organizations, and co-operatives.

The theme of labour radicalism and left-wing political orientation among immigrant Finns is a complex and at times sensitive issue. A proper perspective should be attempted.

Rapid economic expansion occurred in Canada in the 1920's. As the minerals and forests of northern Ontario were being exploited, the immigrant labour used to extract

the resources was also exploited. With the United States establishing immigration quotas in the early 1920's many Finns had been re-directed to the mining and mill towns of northern Ontario and British Columbia.

Finns coming to Canada in the 1920's no doubt brought with them their political and social experiences. Having been exposed to socialist thought, to centres of socialist activity in Europe -- even before the civil war -- and having experienced the order-shaking events of the civil war, can all be cited as contributing to a radical orientation or a disposition to loathe slower methods of reform.

The situation of the labour movement in Canada at the time and the actual working conditions are equally important to the understanding of union activities in the forest and mining industries.

The interwar period witnessed an increasing number of labour bodies challenging the conservative, American-dominated Trades and Labour Congress. These challengers in varying instances advocated more radical plans of action, industrial unionism, national unionism, and in the extreme cases, overthrow of the existing system. The All-Canadian Congress of Labour, the One Big Union and the Worker's Unity League are some of the more important bodies that attracted numerous workers discontent with the

Trades and Labour Congress.

Increasing economic prosperity that was not quickly translated to the worker was an immediate cause of discontent. Rapid industrialization was occurring. Living costs were rising faster than wages. Working conditions were slow to improve. Later, the depression provided further impetus for the union movement to struggle for greater control over the worker's welfare.

In Canada, specifically northern Ontario, Finns were naturally involved in the union activities in the forest and mining industries. Their large numbers in both these industries caused them to play major roles in the organization of the unions. Finns were active as union organizers for the One Big Union and the Industrial Workers of the World. Both Hill (1952:9) and Viita (1970:11) mention that the Lumber Workers Industrial Union, a part of the One Big Union, was mainly composed of Finns. In 1924, Ontario bushworkers of the LWIU voted to join the Industrial Workers of the World bushworkers organization. In 1930 the LWIU joined the communist-sponsored Workers' Unity League. In 1936 the majority of the LWIU membership joined the Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labour.

In some ways the work in northern Ontario mines was even more hazardous and the resistance of the mine owners to union organization stronger than in the forest industry.

The Finnish Organization of Canada, which "best reflected the concerns of the working-class immigrant, with its far-reaching program of reform and its ultimate ideal of a classless society, popular control of industry and production for use instead of for private gain" (Seager, 1981:38), provided the basis for Finnish union involvement in the mining centres and elsewhere. Finns readily joined the Western Federation of Miners, a Colorado-based radical industrial union, and the Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers before the First World War in spite of severe strike and union breaking tactics used by the owners. It was not until the eve of the Second World War that the latter organization achieved recognition in the gold fields around Kirkland Lake. As these miners moved down to Sudbury to help produce nickel for the war, this city also finally became unionized (Seager, 1981).

For the early Finnish immigrants there was little government assistance in finding employment. It was quite natural then that one of the earliest organizations developed by the Finns were workingmen associations. The first such association, named Imatra, was formed in Brooklyn, New York in 1890. Based on bourgeois reformism, "Imatra's purpose was thus the promotion of higher aspirations and mutual aid among the Finnish-American workers." (Kostiainen, 1976:208). Imatra branches were

soon established throughout the United States and Canada wherever a concentration of Finns occurred. The unity of the Imatra League did not last long as there were varying degrees of adherence to international socialism among the branches. By the first decade of the 1900's, most of the Finnish workingmen's associations were affiliated with either the Socialist Party of America or the Socialist Party of Canada.

North American Socialist Finns realized the need to participate in the main stream of the North American labour movement. This meant joining the national organizations and becoming eligible to vote. However, they continued to insist on special status, as the Finnish branch of the organization. This distinctiveness of the Finns frequently led to intra-organizational conflict, often expressed in ethnic prejudices and often culminating in schism. In Canada by 1910, the Finns had been evicted from the Socialist Party of Canada. At least two reasons are usually given for the eviction. One reason was that the English speaking members resented immigrants for purportedly taking jobs away from Canadians. "Another account suggests that the split occurred between those favouring solely political, parliamentary action and those favouring emphasis on economic improvements." (Kouhi, 1976:33).

The Finns soon reorganized themselves as the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada in 1911 and became the dominant organization of the Finnish working class in Canada, having nearly 100 locals across the nation. That same year the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada was active in the establishment of the Social Democratic Party of Canada, being a charter member. The Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada and the Social Democratic Party of Canada were suppressed by the government in 1918. The Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada re-emerged as the Finnish Organization of Canada in 1923, this time, closely affiliated with the Communist Party of Canada.

Division also occurred among the Finnish socialists. In the United States the Finnish Socialist Federation, numbering 12,500 in 1914, first experienced a schism when those discontent with slow political action either quit or were expelled. Many of them joined the Industrial Workers of the World, an umbrella organization of the trade union movement that advocated syndicalistic ideas. Later in reaction to the Communist International taking a leading role in the international labour movement and dictating a reorganization along the Bolshevik line, the Socialists both in Canada and the United States were divided among those who accepted the new direction (which attacked the concept of all Finnish branches) and those

who did not (Kostiainen, 1976:219).

With the realization that abandonment of the organizational structure along language lines was causing Finns to fall away, the Communist Party relaxed its former position. This in part helped the Communist Party increase in membership in the 1920's among Finns. In the United States the public communist party, called the Workers' Party, had considerable support from American Finns.

> "During the early years, the activity of the Finnish-Americans in the communist movement consisted of organizational work and building up the party. Party ideology was vigorously propagandized among the Finns, who also took an active part in organizational tasks of the party. The Finns were the biggest national group belonging to the Workers' Party by far, for in 1924 the party had 7,099 Finnish members, or 40.8% of the total membership." (Kostiainen, 1976:225).

In Canada the situation was similar. "Of 4,400 members in the Communist Party, 2,640 were Finns in 1928 and there is an indication these members increased." (Tolvanen, 1979: as quoted in footnote 14).

The Finnish socialist locals were highly active organizations. A first priority of the local was to obtain a hall, either build one or secure the rental of one. From these halls emanated women's associations, drama clubs, sewing circles, athletic clubs, language classes, choirs and bands, and libraries along with the meetings and fund raising projects related to socialist

causes.

> "Because of the variety of the activities that centered in the halls, the charge has been made that Finnish-American socialism was only 'hall socialism'. By this is meant that socialism, as an ideal, remained secondary and the main thing for the Finnish-American socialists was social activity, plays, gymnastics, co-operative enterprises and so on.
>
> The important share of social functions in the halls cannot be neglected. The activity, however, can hardly be dismissed as mere 'hall socialism' because there was also considerable participation in the activities of the parent party and the effort was made to spread socialism among not only the Finns but also other ethnic groups." (Kostiainen, 1976:215).

One of the community organizations that usually pre-dated the workmens' organization was the temperance societies. The heavy use of alcohol among Finnish immigrants was viewed by the leaders of the temperance movement to be largely attributable to the new surroundings. The normal sanctions of the immigrants' former community were absent. The temperance societies acted to provide guidelines and opportunities for upright living. Finnish central organizations for the various temperance societies were already established in the 1880's. For close to 20 years the societies were a major focus for Finnish cultural activity. However, by 1910, the temperance movement had begun to decline. The socialist labour movement was increasingly attracting the Finnish immigrant. In many instances, the socialists not only deprived the temperance societies of members but

actually took over their facilities by infiltrating the societies and overwhelming the membership (Kero, 1976:116-118).

The organization of Finnish Lutheran churches was an early occurrence in the history of Finnish immigrants in North America. The churches were to continually face many forms of opposition. Many Finns were not very inclined to join a church after having had negative experiences with the State Church in Finland. As left-wing ideologies became more prevalent among the immigrant Finns, the church's share of the Finnish population's attention became even smaller. The fellowship and social activities of the conservative Lutheran church were no match for the lively multivarious activities that emanated from the socialist halls.

The variety of religious professions among the church Finns also served to reduce their impact on the whole population. The State Church of Finland had to a certain degree, allowed revivalist movements and deviant sects to exist within it. Once in North America, these variances were to become separate bodies typical of North American religious pluralism. The Lutherans were divided among the Suomi Synod, the Finnish National Church, and the Laestadians. There were Methodist Finns as well. Many Finns joined existing North American

denominations such as the Anglican Church and the United Church of Canada.

Despite the assimilation that has occurred among the Finnish churches, as evidenced by an increased use of English and entrance into wider church bodies, the Finnish congregations outlasted the socialist organizations and continue to contribute to Finnish ethnic culture in North America.[2]

Worthy of mention are two organizations which sought to rectify the negative image the wider society had of Finns because of the highly visible union and socialist activities. In the late 1920's nationalistic Finnish societies began to appear in Canada. Prior to this, the Finnish Organization of Canada was the centre of Finnish political, social, and cultural life. Reasons for the appearance of nationalistic organizations included the poor employment situation of the depression and a more conservative political mood in Finland itself.

> "Encouraged and influenced by changing political attitudes in Finland, recently arrived Finnish Canadians in Toronto decided to establish an organization in Canada. On February 22nd, 1931, the Central Organization of Loyal Finns in Canada was founded to provide cohesion for the scattered nationalistic societies. The aims of

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[2] The Finnish National Church merged with the Luthern Church-Missouri Synod in 1964 and the Suomi Synod formed part of the newly organized Lutheran Church in America in 1962 (Ollila, 1976:170-171).

> the organization were to change the political image of the Finnish Canadians, to increase employment opportunities and, eventually put an end to Finnish radicalism in Canada." (Lindstrom-Best, 1981b:97).

Although the Loyal Finns in Canada never attained a large membership, it did "provide an alternative platform of expression in many Finnish communities." (Lindstrom-Best, 1981b:103). Like the Finnish Organization of Canada, it provided numerous social activities and nurtured Finnish culture in Canada.

The Knights and Ladies of Kaleva was a nationalistic organization which avoided political patronage as much as possible so as to be a conciliator within the divided Finnish community. "Their goal was to win respect for Finnishness and to unite the Finns in a national effort..." (Kero, 1976:121). Lodges of the Knights and Ladies of Kaleva were to be, and still are, found throughout the United States and Canada.

Another outstanding feature of the early history of Finnish immigrants in North America is their involvement in the co-operative movement. Especially strong in the Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan Finnish communities, consumer co-operation is the one activity of the Finns that attracted many other ethnic groups and was largely adopted by the wider society around them. In Finland, the co-operative movement had started in the 1890's. In

North America, the Finnish co-operative movement really got going when the Finnish socialists adopted the concept. However, many of the co-ops eventually became independent of any one political group.

For the Finns who set up co-op stores, they were not just a business organization but a way of life for the immigrant Finns. They were centres of organized social activity. Non-material as well as material needs were to be satisfied through co-operation. As the immigrant Finns passed away and second-generation Finns and non-Finns took over the co-operatives, the social function of the co-operatives faded (Jokinen, 1976, Alanen, 1975).

Up to this point, the major community organizations of the North American Finns have been outlined. They express a diversity in orientation. However, whether the Finn joined the temperance society, the socialist organizations, the Lutheran Church or the co-operative, there were many common latent functions. "To the Finns, each of the economic and political endeavors represented a 'way of life'. In addition to their manifest functions, these associations provided the immigrants with many of the social satisfactions that were denied to them by the dominant society." (Jokinen, 1976:112).

The similar cultural and social activities established

by the Finns do point to a unity among the Finnish people in terms of cultural expression. A first commonality is the zealous adherence to the Finnish language. The Finns realized the need to know English to communicate with their English-speaking counter-parts in socialist parties, labour unions or church synods, but when meeting as the Finnish branch, they reverted to Finnish in order to fully express their views.

They nurtured their language through a Finnish language press and publishing facilities that could produce immigrant Finnish literature. A highly literate people, the Finns avidly read the material available. A Finnish hall was not complete without a reading room and library that housed the immigrant newspapers, newspapers and periodicals from Finland, and Finnish works of literature. The Finnish home, even if a crude homestead, usually had a small treasure of books.

The various organizations set up language and grammar schools for the children with varying degrees of success. The Finnish churches by providing religious instruction to the young in Finnish helped the language survive longer amidst forces of assimilation.

Music was also very dear to the Finn. Any social gathering usually included some music. Bands and choirs were very popular among all Finns with the choirs, especially

male choirs, having lasted to this day (Kero, 1976:126-128).

Drama groups were also common auxiliaries of the Finn halls. Political viewpoints, the working conditions of the immigrant and social criticism of life in Finland were popular themes (Kero, 1976:126-128).

Athletic organizations were also widespread among the Finnish immigrant community. Individual sports such as track and field, wrestling, and gymnastics were especially popular as well as winter sports. Finns actively followed the successes of Finnish athletes in international competition and fund-raising drives to aid participation in international events were not uncommon (Kero, 1976:121-124).

That these means of expressing their Finnish culture are as important or even more important than the divisiveness that permeates the history of the Finnish immigrant community is probably best supported by the present day situation. The ideological organizations are either non-existent or weak images of their former stature. It is now the apolitical culture organizations that dominate Finnish community life in North America. Athletic clubs, dance groups, choirs, Finnish media, service clubs and federations that serve to promote exchanges between all of the above are now the dominant organizations. Their sole purpose is the provision of

cultural activity for the Finnish community (see Jalava, 1981).

E. Finns in Thunder Bay

"The first Finns arrived in Port Arthur in 1876 from the United States. America was at that time in the midst of a depression, and it appears that news of the proposed Canadian railway enticed some Finns here in search of work." (Chronicle of Finnish Settlements in Rural Thunder Bay, 1976:16). The attraction of work, the presence of other Finns, and government and industrial encouragement of Finnish immigrant settlement all acted to establish Finland -- Thunder Bay migration by the turn of the century. By 1911, 1,643 Finns resided in the cities of Port Arthur and Fort William, composing 5.9% of their total populations. The Finns tended to settle close together, with the Bay Street area having the heaviest concentration. Then as now this area was the focus of the Finnish business community (Kouhi, 1976: 19-22, 28).

Besides settling in the two Lakehead cities, Finns settled in the rural townships around Thunder Bay. Lybster Township, around Nolalu, and Ware Township were well settled in the first decade of this century. "About 1911-12 rural settlement increased dramatically, Port

Arthur Finns seemed to have been stricken by an epidemic of 'land fever'. In fact, they were in many cases seeking relief from the hard conditions of the pre-war depression by acquiring land on which food at least would be plentiful. Settlements were started in McGregor, the Dawson Road Lots, Pearson, Oliver and McIntyre at this time." (Chronicle of Finnish Settlements in Rural Thunder Bay, 1976:17).

Table 7 shows the Finnish concentration in the Thunder Bay Census Division, Port Arthur, Fort William and selected townships for various years. The concentration of Finns in the Census Divison has maintained a fairly constant level up to 1961. Port Arthur Finns have increased their concentration up to 1961. The concentration of Finns in Fort William is significantly lower than in Port Arthur. The very high concentrations of Finns in the surrounding townships show the existence of several almost exclusively Finnish rural communities.

Table 8 shows the Finnish population in Port Arthur and the Thunder Bay Census Divison for each census year and the level of urbanization in the Census Division. Two decades stand out as periods when the number of Finns in the Census Division rapidly increased -- the 1920's and the 1950's. Between 1961 and 1971 a clear decline in the concentration of Finns in the Census

Table 7

Finnish Concentration (% of Area's population) in Thunder Bay Census Division, Port Arthur, Fort William, and selected surrounding Townships for various years.

Area	Year 1921	1941	1961
Thunder Bay Census Division	10.6	11.1	9.1
Port Arthur	10.5	12.0	13.8
Fort William	2.9	2.9	2.3
Shuniah Township	38.1	30.0	23.7
Gorham Township	97.4	92.9	89.9
Ware Township	85.3	86.3	78.1
Conmee Township	40.5	55.2	50.1
Pearson Township	37.9	46.4	47.2
Lybster Township	90.2	91.6	89.8
Marks Township	45.5	36.1	30.6

Source: Orr. Population at the Canadian Lakehead from 1901 to 1961: An Analysis of Patterns and Trends. B. A. Thesis, Lakehead University, 1970, 74-76.

Table 8

Finnish Population in Port Arthur and Thunder Bay Census Division, also showing Urbanization of Finns (% residing in the Lakehead)

Year	Port Arthur		Thunder Bay Census Division		Urbanization: Finns in T.B.C.D.
	Finns	Total	Finns	Total	Residing in the Lakehead
1911	1,068 9.5%	11,220			
1921	1,566 10.5%	14,886	5,258 10.6%	49,761	2,225 42.3%
1931	3,252 16.4%	19,818	9,000 13.8%	85,118	4,247 47.2%
1941	2,943 12.1%	24,426	9,420 11.1%	85,200	3,827[1] 40.6%[1]
1951	3,720 11.9%	31,161	9,922 9.4%	105,367	4,653 46.9%
1961	6,257 13.8%	45,276	12,607 9.1%	138,518	7,281 57.8%
1971[2]	8,120 7.5%	180,455	11,105 7.6%	145,390	8,120 73.1%

[1]The 1941 Census provides a rural-urban breakdown of 55.9% rural, 41.1% urban for the Thunder Bay Census Division. Other Census years did not provide this, thus the use of the Lakehead (comprising the only two cities in the Thunder Bay Census Division) to address the question of urbanization.

[2]In 1971, figures are for the new city of Thunder Bay composed of the former cities of Port Arthur and Fort William and the townships of Neebing and McIntyre.

Source: Census of Canada. various years.

Division is evident. The absence of any significant Finnish immigration to the area in the 1960's is largely responsible for this change. It is significant to note that urbanization of the Finns did not occur until 1961. Finns leaving the rural areas, and the Finnish immigrants of the 1950's being more urban, help explain the ten percent increase between 1951 and 1961. By 1971, almost three-quarters of the Census Division's Finns were urbanized.

As in other Finnish communities across North America, the Finn's associative spirit manifested itself in the establishment of many community organizations in the Thunder Bay region. Kouhi writes, "The earliest Finnish organizations in Thunder Bay were the Lutheran Church congregations founded in Port Arthur and Fort William about 1896-1897. Five years later, a temperance society was formed and a workingmen's association came into being soon after." (1976:28). Churches in the rural communities were not very prevalent. Nolalu and Lappe alone had Finnish National Churches during the early part of the century.

As in other Finnish communities, the temperance societies did not last long and the socialist organizations became the dominant community organization.

In the Lakehead cities an Imatra branch was the first

workingmen's organization. This group broke away from the parent organization as the local's increased concern for political activism and union radicalism did not sit well with the American parent organization. In 1907, the local had divided into two groups, one in each city. The Port Arthur group joined the Socialist Party of Canada in 1907 and the Fort William group joined in 1908. With the eviction of the Finnish branches from the Socialist Party of Canada in 1910, Thunder Bay socialist Finns joined the new Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada (later the Finnish Organization of Canada) and affiliated with the Social Democratic Party of Canada (Kouhi, 1976:29-34).

The dedication of the Finnish socialists is shown in various ways. The official organ of the Finnish Socialist Organization, the Työkansa was published in Thunder Bay during its seven year life. The Finnish socialists ran a full slate of candidates in the Port Arthur municipal elections of 1908. In 1910, the Finnish Labour Temple at 314 Bay Street was completed. "The Labour Temple contained a large hall, a stage on which the opening performance was 'Devil's Church,' a library and schoolroom, offices for the use of committees, and the Työkansa offices. The hall became a centre of Finnish and socialist activity." (Kouhi, 1976:32-34).

After World War One the Finnish socialists became divided between the Finnish branch of the Industrial Workers of the World and the successor of the Finnish Socialist Organization, the Finnish Organization of Canada, which was associated with the Communist Party of Canada. Because of the split a second hall appeared in Port Arthur and even in some of the rural communities which also had their socialist organizations.

The socialist Finns were active in the local Finnish labour movement providing organizers, mediums for propaganda, meeting facilities, and financial assistance during strikes.

Co-operatives took a major place in the community life of Thunder Bay area Finns.

> "One was the International Co-op Trading Company, Ltd., a network of co-operative stores owned and operated by customer-shareholders, which was patterned after American models. The Port Arthur Co-op was incorporated in 1926 and ten years later had branches in Fort William, Pike Lake and Hurkett. The second was the People's Co-operative network of shareholder stores that started operation in Port Arthur and Sudbury in 1934, followed by branch stores in Current River, Lappe and Sunshine.
>
> The third organization was also a co-op, but a diary rather than a foodstore: Thunder Bay Co-op Dairies Ltd. The dairy was formed in 1928 when government pasteurization regulations made it impossible for small farmers to continue in the dairy business by themselves -- since the necessary pasteurizing equipment was too much too expensive." (Chronicle of Finnish Settlements in Rural Thunder Bay, 1976:20).

Kouhi has made these conclusions about the early Finnish community in Thunder Bay:

> "The Canadian environment seems to have affected the Finns who found themselves in Thunder Bay before the First World War in two major ways. On the one hand, the Finns were given a chance to work but as 'foreigners' rather than Canadians. That the Finns were largely confined to general labour jobs occurred partly because many of the Finns were unskilled, partly because of language difficulties, but also because the immigrants were perceived by native-born Canadians to in some sense 'belong' to the labouring class. On the other hand, the Finns were forced to rely on their fellow compatriots for material aid and companionship, and as a result formed organizations of various kinds -- churches, temperance societies and workingmen's associations. Before World War One at least, all of these groups led an extremely active existence, attending to the material, social and intellectual welfare of their members.
>
> It appears, too, that the Finns preferred to order their lives within the context of their own ethnic community as much as possible. The reluctance of both the temperance and workingmen's societies to enter into any formal relationship with sympathetic English-speaking or 'kielinen' groups support this thesis. The Finns who in most cases worked in an alien environment seem to have felt the need to balance this experience with others in which their familiar language, customs, and modes of thinking were preserved." (1976:34-35).

Historical analysis of the Finnish community after the early establishment period (or immigrant generation) is limited. As the second generation was educated in Canada, conservatism increased in Finland, and economic prosperity and occupational diversity increased, adherence to socialist principles declined and exclusively

Finnish social activities were deemed less essential. The movement to purely cultural Finnish organizations in Thunder Bay is evident.

The second wave of Finnish immigrants in the 1950's were more urban, more skilled, and more conservative. Their arrival certainly revitalized the cultural life of the community and in some ways stalled the assimilation process.

The old Labour Temple on Bay Street in many ways remains a major focus of cultural activity as it now houses the unbrella organization Finlandia Club and the popular Hoito Finnish restaurant. Athletic clubs, choirs, dance groups, and churches remain. They are now joined by Finnish historical societies, organizations that promote Finnish language instruction at public school and university level, and the international Suomi Society which was founded in Helsinki in 1927 to promote "Finnish language and culture among immigrants around the world through language seminars, scholarship programs and travel aid; in co-operation with local societies it arranges concert and theatre tours for performers from Finland." (Jalava, 1981:107).

The Finnish language newspaper Canadan Uutiset is still published in Thunder Bay after over sixty-eight years of existence. Other Finnish language newspapers

and periodicals are also available. Finnish language programs are available on community television and local radio.

All of these present day organizations are by no means rapidly expanding. They have a fairly stable clientele as well as a fairly stable disinterest on the part of a good portion of the community of Finnish descendents. Jalava's concluding remarks on the cultural organizations in Ontario is applicable to Thunder Bay and demonstrates one of the generalized views of the health of the Finnish ethnic community -- a generalization which this thesis intends to evaluate through sociological methods.

> "The Finnish cultural associations in Ontario form an important factor in the lives of many Canadians. While the societies are, generally speaking, no longer growing in size, there is a richer variety of activities in their programs than ever before. People are staying healthy and vigorous to a more advanced age, have more leisure time and are financially better off than the Finnish people in previous times. Federal and provincial support for multicultural projects, Finland's growing interest in its emigrants, easier and relatively less expensive travel between Finland and Canada, publications, radio programs and cultural visits from Finland -- all are factors in securing the survival of Finnish cultural life in Canada for years to come." (1981;109).

III. CHAPTER THREE - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A. Ethnicity and Theories of Assimilation

Max Weber's discussion on ethnic groups is an appropriate point at which to begin a review of the literature on ethnicity and the process of assimilation. For Weber, the ethnic group arises from shared differences which, "give rise to a consciousness of kind. This consciousness of kind may then become the bearer of communal social relations," the "bearer of shared customs." (1961:305).

The feeling of ethnic affinity is foremost determined by the sharing of language and the 'ritual regimentation of life'. On a second level, style of housing, dietary habits, clothing, and sexual division of labour add to the feeling of ethnic affinity. Causes of distinct customs are listed by Weber as linguistic, religious, economic, political and geographic (1961:307-308).

Finally Weber notes that differences in custom can imbue their practitioners with a sense of honour and dignity (1961:305-306). This sense of honour can exist for all members of the ethnic group regardless of how concrete the claim of membership is.

> "The sense of ethnic honor is a specific honor of the masses, for it is accessible to anybody who belongs to the subjectively believed community

of descent." (1961:308)

Some elaboration on what is meant by culture naturally follows Weber's discussion of ethnic groups. The anthropologist E. B. Taylor defines culture as:

> "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (1891:1)

Another dimension is added to the definition of culture by Milton Gordon when he explains how culture is perpetuated.

> "Culture, as the social scientist uses the term, refers to the social heritage of man--the ways of acting and the ways of doing things which are passed down from one generation to the next, not through genetic inheritance but by formal and informal methods of teaching and demonstration." (1964:32)

As Gordon becomes more specific and breaks down culture into two types, his assistance in operationalizing the hypothesis becomes important. Culture is,

> "prescribed ways of behaving or norms of conduct, beliefs, values and skills, along with the behavioral patterns and uniformities based on these categories--all this we call 'non-material culture'--plus, in an extension of the term the artifacts created by these skills and values which we call 'material culture'." (1964:32-33)

The survey instrument confines itself to non-material culture asking for reports on own behavior and knowledge.

Robert Park and Ernest Burgess writing in the 1920's provided this widely quoted definition of assimilation.

> "Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life."(1969:735)

Later theorists felt the need to further classify the subtle variances in the processes subsumed under this definition. Although Park and Burgess did not provide further labels, their writings indicate an awareness of the degrees of assimilation. While they noted, "the immigrant readily takes over the language, manners, the social ritual, and outward forms of his adopted country....there is no reason to assume that this assimilation of alien groups to native standards has modified to any great extent fundamental racial characteristics. It has, however, erased the external signs which formerly distinguished the members of one race from those of another." (1969:757).

Park raises a methodological issue when he says that the above considerations raise the question whether the measuring of assimilation by external signs of ethnic culture is an "index of fundamental national solidarity" or just a "superficial 'like-mindedness', a meer veneer covering profound and more or less irreconcilable moral and cultural differences. It is evident that there are grades and degrees of assimilation whether or not we are able to measure them." (1930:282).

Although the developing of questions which address fundamental ethnic characteristics is a more difficult task, the survey instrument does include questions on values known and practised and provides the opportunity for the respondents to express what being Finn means to them. These questions will hopefully allow the survey instrument to measure ethnic culture beyond the obviously identifiable cultural traits and provide insight into the degrees of assimilation.

While in the literature there is basic agreement with what assimilation is, there is considerable argument as to how it occurs. The concept of mutual diffusion is usually the focus of attack. George Simpson notes that Vander Zanden, "distinguishes unilateral assimilation, the process in which one group relinquishes its own beliefs and behavior patterns and takes over the culture of another, from reciprocal fusion, in which a third culture emerges from the blending of two or more cultures..." (Simpson, 1968:438).

Others wish to be more blunt in acknowledging the structure of power in dominant/minority group relations. On the theoretical level they acknowledge that assimilation does not have to be one-sided and in some cases reciprocal or mutual diffusion occurs. However, in practise it is usually the minority, the immigrant, that must do the

most changing (Taft, 1965:5).

Milton Gordon contributes to the understanding of assimilation by distinguishing between cultural assimilation and structural assimilation. Cultural assimilation or acculturation involves the process by which the immigrant group learns the manner and style of a new society. Structural assimilation or simply assimilation is where the members of an immigrant group relate to members of the dominant group, such as happens with the forming of friendships and families, without regard to ethnic differences (1964:71).

Gordon notes that acculturation is usually the first type of assimilation to occur. However, the assimilation process may be stalled indefinitely at this stage. Acculturation can occur in isolation. The structural forms of assimilation such as intermarriage and entrance into the institutions of the host society need not occur at all or occur with the same pervasiveness as acculturation (1974:77).

Raymond Breton has presented the argument that the examination of ethnic communities is too often confined to the assimilationist viewpoint where the prevailing notion is eventual absorption into the wider society. He suggests that ethnic communities should be examined in terms of integration. Integration can occur with

the native community, with the community of his ethnicity, or the other ethnic communities. Integration can occur with any one or a combination of the above. It is also possible for the immigrant to be unintegrated. "It is argued that the direction of the immigrant's integration will to a large extent result from the forces of attraction (positive or negative) stemming from the various communities. These forces are generated by the social organization of the communities." (1974:193).

A key to integration within the community of ethnicity is the institutional completeness of the ethnic community. While some ethnic groups reach only informal levels of organization, "Many, however, have developed a more formal structure and contain organizations of various sorts: religious, educational, political, recreational, national, and even professional. Some have organized welfare and mutual aid societies. Some operate their own radio station or publish their own newspapers and periodicals. The community may also sustain a number of commercial and service organizations. Finally, it may have its own churches and sometimes its own schools." (1974:194).

Both the group movement aspect of Finnish immigration and the historical record of the many organizations established by the Finns in the first half of the century

suggest the predominant direction of integration was into the ethnic community.

Revisions on the earlier emphasis of assimilation as being inevitable, linear and one directional have appeared as the persistence of ethnicity was observed. Gordon's work argued against the inevitability of total assimilation. Other authors became interested in the cyclical nature of assimilation. Terms such as 'third generation return', 'resurging ethnic identification', and 'awakening ethnic awareness' became common in the literature.

Andrew Greeley's "Steps in Ethnic Assimilation" is intended as a simplification of the phases in the assimilation process that would promote re-evaluation of the process (1971:58).

In Phase One, entitled 'Culture Shock', survival is the prime issue. The ethnic culture is felt to be under severe attack. The immigrants are disorganized and frightened (1971:53).

Phase Two, 'Organization and Emerging Self-Consciousness', is when leaders of fraternal organizations, journalists, and the clergy become important figures in the community. The group has begun to move up the economic ladder. It fears a loss of identity through assimilation while at the same time realizing the need

to adapt. Ethnic pride is rekindled as the immigrants assert themselves (1971:54).

Phase Three, 'Assimilation of the Elite", breaks up the homogeneity of the group. Those with talent and skill see the avenue to greater socio-economic success open up by entering the main stream of society. The ethnic group is in part abandoned (1971:54-55).

Phase Four, 'Militancy', finds the immigrant group as predominantly middle class. Being secure the immigrants feel they do not need the larger society. A need to resume their former posture of pride to erase the intermittent period of being downtrodden and made to feel inferior is felt. "Suspicion and distrust of the larger society and noisy, highly selective pride in the accomplishments of one's fellow ethnics are the order of the day." (1971:55-56).

Phase Five, 'Self-hatred and Antimilitancy', is where substantial numbers of the ethnic group are of the upper middle and professional class. Many are well integrated into the dominant society. They are embarassed by the past militancy, narrowness, and provincialism of themselves, their ethnic leaders and organizations (1971:56).

Finally, in Phase Six, 'Emerging Adjustment', a new generation has appeared. This generation sees no reason

why it cannot be part of the larger society and also loyal to its own traditions. This phase features a strong interest in ethnic culture and delight in differentness. "Many elements of the ethnic traditions survive, some on the level of high culture, some in a continuation of older role expectations." (1971:57).

Greeley sees four indicators of resurging interest in one's ethnic heritage. There is an increased interest in the high culture of the ethnic group. Trips are made to the home country. Ethnic names are used more. And most importantly, the ethnic language is learned (1971: 57).

In part because of the pronouncement of a multi-cultural policy in 1971, Canadian scholars have debated the issue of the persistence of ethnic identification.

Isajiw argues that technological culture is the one layer of contemporary Canadian culture that is readily assimilated by ethnic groups - largely out of necessity. The language and the ways of the economic community must be learned in order to survive (1978:32).

Relying on arguments by Peter Berger, Isajiw points out that technological culture tends to foster impersonal social relationships. A process of self-anonymization occurs where the individual sees her/himself through external roles rather than concrete qualities of her/his

own personality. Technological culture then heightens identity needs and creates an identity search (1978: 35-36).

The resulting renewal in ethnic identification and thwarting of total assimilation does not come from the re-emergence of ethnic enclaves. Modern technological culture is too strong and too universal to allow that. "The 'new ethnicity' is not a total culture: it is a phenomenon of identification with selected ethnic culture patterns." (1978:36). It is complementary, filling in the gaps of technological culture. It provides roots with the past which a rapidly changing technological culture cannot.

Isajiw states,

> "It is this link with the past that is central to our understanding of the persistence of ethnicity within technological society. Whatever symbolic meanings these extracted ethnic patterns may or may not have to those who are involved in them today, they share one thing: feelings of identity. Ethnic patterns, even if completely torn out of their original social and cultural context, become symbols of an individual's roots. Such symbols are necessary for the support of a person's identity. Hence, in any search for identity, ethnicity becomes relevant because through its ancestral time dimension a person can, at least symbolically, experience belonging." (1978:35)

Part III of the questionnaire addresses the issue of consciously seeking an ethnic identity. It is designed to gather information on actual efforts to retain and even

regain a sense of Finnish identity.

John Porter views the revival of ethnic identification as a very regressive and harmful step and is appalled at government support for it. He admits that, "a strong case can be made for the role of ethnic group affiliation in solving problems of personal identity in the modern world of bureaucracy and technology." However, it is done, "at the possible cost of perpetuating ethnic stratification." (1975:301).

Porter says, "It would seem then that the promotion of flourishing ethnic communities is directly opposed to absorption, assimilation, integration, and acculturation and could lead to a permanent ethnic stratification and thus is likely to interfere with the political goal of individual equality." (1972:196). As a qualifying statement to the above it should be added that for Porter, absorption, assimilation, integration and acculturation are aspects of liberal assimilationist policies that provide opportunities of mobility for the ethnic group and are not viewed in the negative manner of other students of ethnic relations.

For Porter, ethnic groups that strive to maintain their language and other distinctions will be hindered in their striving for high social and economic positions. Attempts to maintain a historic culture in a post-industrial

Canada with its "one culture of science and technology" condemns one to failure in society. "Opportunities will go to those individuals who are future oriented in an increasingly universalistic culture. Those oriented to the past are likely to lose out." (Porter, 1975:304).

Howard Palmer has countered by stating that the advocates of multiculturalism share with Porter a concern for stratification in Canadian society. While Porter sees the multicultural policy as hindering the alleviation of ethnic stratification, others point to the benefit to be derived from increased awareness of other groups and opportunities for interaction. Palmer says,

> "Anglo-conformists argue that the policy is dangerous because it will lead to ghetto-ization or fragmentation. Aside from the fact that the policy is designed to promote more interaction between groups, I think that with the powerful homogenizing elements of the public school and the mass media, we need rather to be concerned about how to protect ethnic diversity. For groups which have a sense of being left out of Canadian society, the multicultural policy, by recognizing their contribution, can heighten their feeling that they belong in Canada." (1971:114)

Palmer feels that whether ethnic group solidarity affects chances of upward mobility depends largely on the ethnic group (1971:115). Isajiw states that when an ethnic group member's economic or social aspirations are halted by community closure of the dominant group, similar ethnic community closure may help the members of the group

achieve through a concerted effort (1975:135-36).

Finally, Palmer does point out one significant fact that is forgotten in the great debate over whether increased ethnic awareness harms or helps social mobility. The point simply is that other values exist besides that of upward mobility (1971:115).

Edward Laine has also entered the multiculturalism debate and in doing so has written of the options open to the Finnish Canadian community. Laine writes,

> "... it becomes clear that the immediate challenge faced by the Finnish-Canadian community...is how are they to maintain the integrity and vitality of their own particular cultural heritage in the midst of the seductive permissiveness of today's avowedly pluralistic society. Ironically, it has been Canada's very acceptance of this version of cultural pluralism--or multiculturalism--that has become a two-edged sword with respect to the maintenance of various minority cultures. On the one hand, multiculturalism has created a climate of tolerance toward the minority cultures that enables and even encourages members of the non-charter groups to retain their ancestral heritage; on the other, it also creates a climate whereby these same people are freer to integrate and assimilate themselves into the cultural milieu of the two official language groups. Thus, if a Finnish element is to continue to survive in Canada's cultural landscape, it will only do so if the Finnish-Canadian community is able to recognize and cope with this freedom that has been given to its members to choose for themselves their cultural identity." (1981:2-3)

With the Finnish-Canadian community being small and fragmented, having little Finnish immigration to reinforce it, and major portions of the second and third generation without knowledge of language and heritage,

Laine sees an "immediate willingness of its members to commit themselves and their communal resources to the acceptance of a commonly shared cultural identity" as the only way to ensure survival (1981:3).

B. Assimilation Among Finns

There have been numerous studies on assimilation of ethnic groups, but very few on Finns, let alone Canadian or Thunder Bay Finns. The few comments on the cultural adaptations of Thunder Bay Finns are restricted to pre-World War Two periods and are contained in historical or immigration studies. A review of related studies, therefore, largely involves examining what has been stated about the assimilation of Finnish-Americans (and in one case Argentinian Finns) and examining historical, political, geographical, and linguistic studies on the Finns to extract useful information or general sociological statements.

D. Spady and H. Thompson have looked at the community efforts to maintain a Finnish identity in the Upper Michigan Peninsula. Their efforts are guided by Fredrick Barth's two distinctions of how ethnic groups are identified. The first is through shared cultural orientation and the second is based on boundary maintenance mechanisms set up by the ethnic group. The maintenance of a distinct

Finnish identity among the Upper Peninsula Finns is attributed to the boundary maintenance mechanisms they have established -- mechanisms such as educational courses and institutions, Finnish language media services, ethnic religion, and self-help programs like co-operatives (1977:12-21). Gordon might explain the same situation by stating that acculturation has occurred but structural assimilation is not complete.

Another study looking at the assimilation of Finns is presented in Enrique Tessieri's article "On How Second Generation Finns Started to Become Argentines". Despite the distance from the Thunder Bay situation, the prominent points in this article are relevant. Finnish immigrants to Argentina tended to concentrate in one area, the Colonia Finlandesa. "The original settlers understood the importance of living together. They had the right idea: 'If we live and work together, we can also preserve and pass on our culture'." (1980:32). Tessieri concludes that, "Finnish culture in Argentina was undermined by two significant factors: 1) the failure of the colony as an economic entity, resulting in the dispersal of the community; and 2) the high rate of marriage outside the ethnic group." (1980:32).

Studies of Finnish immigration to other parts of the world such as Australia, South Africa and Sweden also

exist (see Karni, 1981). The assimilation of Finns in Sweden has to be viewed as a special case. The geographic closeness of Finland and Sweden, a long history of the mingling of people and language, Sweden's progessive immigration and minority policies, and the Finnish government's strong interest in Finns in Sweden all make assimilation of Finns in Sweden a quite different matter from assimilation in Canada.

One of the few studies addressing a specific aspect of assimilation of Finns is Kolehmainen's, "The Finnicisation of English in America." He notes the weakened command of the Finnish language among Americans of Finnish descent. Enforced use of English in outside contact, the native-born learning only English, mixed marriages, cessation of immigration, and decay of the Finnish language press in North America are all factors in this weakening (1937:65).

After forty years of observation and study, Kolehmainen has attempted to identify the forces that influenced the assimilation of first generation American Finns. His endeavor is singular within the literature and thus deserves considerable attention.

Kolehmainen in random order identifies ten influencing forces. They are: "1) The prevailing climates of opinion in the United States; 2) The demographic, geographical,

physical, and other features of the settlements in which the immigrants and their offspring lived; 3) The parents and their families; 4) The language situation; 5) Family names or patronymics; 6) Life's many experiences; 7) Contingency or the play of chance; 8) Age and sex; 9) The psychic make-up of each individual; 10) The nature, frequency, and continuity of ties with the old Country." (1976:267).

Although Kolehmainen does not elaborate on all ten it may be worth noting some of the comments he does make. In item 1, Kolehmainen is refering to, "the intermittent yet powerful prejudices in the nation as well as in local regions and communities against the maintenance of separate ethnic enclaves." (1976:268). Although it is popular to contrast the American 'melting pot' to the Canadian 'mosaic', past adherence to much a melting pot theory and to anglo-conformity in Canada have been sufficiently evident (Palmer, 1975) to ascribe this influencing factor to the Canadian situation as well.

Kolehmainen elaborates on the language situation by describing the victory of public school education over parochial education. Schooling broke the monopoly of the Finnish language. It also presented the parents with an assimilating force within their own home -- their

American educated children (1976:268-69).

Insightfully, Kolehmainen elaborates on item 3, the parents and their families, by explaining that,

> "Most immigrants, however well-intentioned, were in no position to mediate Finland's cultural heritage to their offspring. Overwhelmingly humble and rural in origin, largely deficient (although through no fault of their own) in the educational advantages enjoyed by the country's better classes, often possessing as their only literary treasures the family Bible, the hymnal, and sometimes the Maammekirja, the culturally impoverished immigrants obviously could not transmit what they did not have--an intimate and comprehensive understanding of Finland's cultural history." (1976:271)

From non-assimilation studies, several sociological insights into the Finns can be gathered. In the chapter, "The Possibilities for Preserving a Particular Ethnic Heritage" in The Finns in North America: A Social Symposium, it is stated that the Finnish immigrant tended to live in isolation from other groups (Jalkanen, 1969:208-209). The term clannish is sometimes used to describe the Finns (Baldwin, 1972:103). Immigrant Finns were 'joiners'. They developed an associative spirit to replace lost village and family ties. Organized self-effort was a prominent trait of North American Finns (Morrison, 1976:47, Hoglund, 1960, Spady and Thompson, 1977:17). This tendency to group together could have had and could continue to have an influence on the degree of assimilation.

Sillanpää in his thesis on the political behavior of Finnish-Canadians makes these comments on the assimilation of Finnish immigrants:

> "The degree to which a Finnish immigrant integrated into the wider society and into his own ethnic group depended on the services available in his group: if few were available, he must adjust to the wider society." (1976: 53)

For the immigrants of the early period little help was forthcoming from the government of Canada to become settled in their new society. Finns learned to rely extensively on their own community devices to cope with their individual and collective economic problems (Sillanpää, 1976:57).

Post-war immigrants were helped by the Department of Manpower and Immigration. They were taught skills, retrained and enrolled in English language programs. These immigrants were more urban than the earlier groups. Finnish clubs existed for social reasons only. The net result was a faster introduction to Canadian society (Sillanpää, 1976:58).

Laine has traced the variables affecting the cultural development of Finns in Canada. The period of Finnish immigration to Canada explains certain differences between the Finnish-Canadian and Finnish-American communities. Finnish immigration to the United States occurred much earlier and the immigrants can be

characterized as conservative and church-oriented. Canadian Finns came after Finland had experienced movements of socialist reform and thus the early Finnish-Canadian community had a clear socialist bent. Not until sometime after the Finnish civil war did more conservative Finns arrive to form the basis of a conservative, Lutheran faction of the Finnish-Canadian community. The Finnish immigrants of the 50's increased this faction so that it has become the largest and most influential part of the community (Laine, 1981:5-6).

Once in Canada, Finns engaged in the dynamic process of adapting to the Canadian environment. Although cultural conformity was a clear policy in the first half of the century, refused admission into the cultural establishment and the underlying bicultural and bilingual character of Canada provided conditions where, "the early Finnish-Canadian community (including its Canadian-born members) was left with no alternative but to accept its innate Finnishness as the fundamental quality of its being." (Laine, 1981:3).

Individual Finnish-Canadians naturally borrowed from the cultural heritage of the homeland in establishing a life in Canada. Thus the same divisions in Finland were evident in Canada. Maintained interest and, to some degree, involvement in Finnish life and politics also

shaped Finnish-Canadian cultural life (Laine, 1981:4).

In later years Finland would increase its interest in Finns who had emigrated abroad. The result was that links with the homeland were strengthened but the cultural achievements of Finns in Canada were downgraded. "This stems from the fact that the suomalaisuus or cultural experience of Finland becomes the standard by which the ulkosuomalaisuus or cultural achievements of Finnish-Canadian and other emigrant communities are to be judged." (Laine, 1981:4).

To adhere to this standard could cause considerable anxiety as Finnish-Canadian culture is then made to appear as a "slavish imitation" or a "stagnant reservoir of faded memories". In reality the culture has been dynamic, adapting to the Canadian setting when necessary. Its achievements have been many, as Laine expresses:

> "They included the establishment of temperance societies, churches, local and national organizations to provide the community with a full range of social, cultural, religious and political activities. For the most part, all of this was undertaken by the community itself without outside assistance in order to provide its members with essential services that were lacking in the new land and to give them a sense of belonging and participating in the life of this country.
>
> Thus, while Finnish-Canadians were often seen as being dense or stupid by their Anglo-Canadian neighbours for their difficulty in learning the King's English, they were underwriting very expensive and sophisticated operations such as publishing newspapers, satirical and literary

> journals; writing prose, poetry and drama; producing plays and encouraging the development of music and sports. All of this was done with the intellect, talent and various other resources of the Finnish-Canadian community and generally without direct assistance from any other source within or without the country." (1981:5)

The literature focused on Finns in the Thunder Bay area is historical, geographical or linguistic in nature. It does not add to the preceding observations on the assimilation of Finns but rather provides local evidence and detail to observations made about Finns generally. A Chronicle of Finnish Settlement in Rural Thunder Bay Bay Street Project No. 2 (1976) gives descriptions of the cultural life of more than a dozen rural Finnish communities surrounding Thunder Bay. Project Bay Street (1974) gives detailed accounts of the Finnish Temperance movement, the Finnish Churches, and the schooling of Finns in Thunder Bay. Christine Kouhi, in her article, "Labour and Finnish Immigration to Thunder Bay, 1876-1914" (1976), gives an interesting account of the Finnish workingmen's organizations as well as reinforcing the statement that Finnish organizations provided cultural and physical support to the Finnish ethnic community. Martin in her article "Finnish as a Means of Communication in Thunder Bay" (1981), looks at the use of Finnish and English in Thunder Bay.

Rasmussen (1978) provides a geographical dimension

to local history and gives life to the concept of strong independent Finnish communities by mapping the location of Finnish halls, co-operatives and churches. He also delves heavily into the transfer of Finnish material culture to the local area, namely architectural layout, design, and technique. Of all the cultural carry-overs, Rasmussen sees this as the greatest. Northern Ontario was new but not of an unfamiliar geography to the Finn. He could readily transfer his building techniques and methods of dealing with the physical environment providing a distinct Finnish image to the rural Thunder Bay communities.

In summary, there have been historical, geographical, and linguistic studies on the local Finnish community but there has not been a strictly sociological examination of the ethnic group. Contained in these other studies are general statements about the state of culture among Thunder Bay Finns but no systematic study exists to justify or challenge these statements. The sociological-like statements made are largely based on macro-level analysis or informal personal contact. Because there is a Finnish business district or local Finnish publications does not necessarily mean there is cultural awareness among the majority of Thunder Bay residents of Finnish descent. Such macro to micro inferences are ill-advised. Nor should the culturally active Finn write a paper on

the health of Finnish culture simply because his/her contacts and experiences support such a view.

The more accurate study will begin with a micro analysis -- the individual's level of culture retention -- and then determine the influencing factors. It may well be that the larger ethnic community facilitates a high level of culture retention, but it may just as well rely for the most part on the familial situation.

The sociological study, too, has its limitations. A workable scope must be decided upon. The operationalization process must be made quite specific with regard to definitions of what represents Finnish culture and what is a respectable or viable level of culture retention. It is hoped that this thesis will break uncharted ground by providing data with which to test current generalizations, thereby creating a better understanding of the Finnish community and the process of assimilation as well as providing the focus for further sociological research on this ethnic group.

IV. CHAPTER FOUR - METHODOLOGY

A. Introduction

The intention to investigate the retention of an ethnic culture in Thunder Bay is an ambitious endeavor. It falls upon the researcher to choose and develop a methodology that helps find answers to both general and specific queries in order to be able to make statements based upon a comprehensive analysis of the situation. A hypothesis must be prepared that provides focus to the investigation and guides the operationalization of the research inquiry.

B. The Hypothesis

The hypothesis chosen to guide the investigation into the retention of ethnic culture among Thunder Bay Finns is as follows:

> Finns who: 1) reside in rural areas; 2) have a high residential propinquity to other Finns; and 3) have a middle to low socio-economic status will retain more of their Finnish culture than those Finns who lack these characteristics.

The reasoning behind the selection of these three characteristics can be briefly given. In the literature there is general agreement about the effect of rural living as opposed to urban living on the retention of traditional ways. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism

and Biculturalism noted that language and old ways tend to be retained more in the rural areas (1969:118).

In studies of the local rural Finnish communities the vibrant cultural life is said to have peaked long ago. The question arises whether Thunder Bay Finns who still reside in the rural areas, but largely work, attend school, shop, and attend social and entertainment functions in the city and who through modern transportation and mass media in the home are far from isolated, still have an edge over urban Finns in the preservation of their ethnic culture.

The second characteristic regarding the level of residential propinquity to other Finns is based on the argument that being surrounded by fellow Finns, the individual is "insulated" from the assimilation forces of the dominant society. Children raised in such an environment are given the social support to continue the culture.

The decline of ethnic enclaves or neighbourhoods has been cited as an indication of integration with the wider society. Historical studies of Thunder Bay Finns have delineated certain areas of the city as having been distinctly Finnish neighbourhoods. The wider dispersal now of the Finns throughout the city is considered indicative of their increased integration with the wider society. The second hypothesis characteristic provides

the opportunity to evaluate such an assumption.

The assigning of an entrance status to immigrants to Canada is an integral part of Porter's vertical mosaic thesis (1965). The extent to which subsequent generations of the immigrant group are also found within a narrow range of occupations can be related to the assimilation process. Most immigrant groups were assigned labour occupations. It can be argued that to move out of the labouring occupations, increased communications skills, familiarity with the business ways of the dominant society and acceptance as part of the in-group are required. The third hypothesis characteristic then, offers a starting point to investigate whether or not socio-economic success does mean a greater adoption of the dominant culture with a subsequent loss of former culture.

C. The Survey Instrument

The method chosen to investigate the hypothesis was a sample survey. The survey instrument chosen was a self-administered questionnaire. The questionnaire was first developed as part of the course work for an undergraduate research methods course and an ethnic relations course. This early research acted as a pre-test of the methodology. Minor revisions were subsequently made to produce the present questionnaire as found in

Appendix I. The choice of questions was arrived at through the researcher's knowledge, consultation with other Finns, reading of books on Finnish society and culture, and a review of related literature.

The questionnaire has three sections. Section I, "General Information", seeks categorical information, most importantly, information that allows the characteristics in the hypothesis to be operationalized.

Besides the three characteristics contained in the hypothesis, information concerning other characteristics -- generation Canadian, sex, sibling order, parentage, and command of the Finnish language -- is also collected. This collection will facilitate the controlling of these variables when examining the hypothesis, as well as offering alternative characteristics that may be of equal or greater importance than the hypothesized characteristics in influencing the retention of culture.

Section II, "Knowledge and Practise of Finnish Customs and Culture", seeks socio-cultural information which is used in composite to arrive at a level of culture retention for each respondent. By use of an indexing system, the data is usable at the ordinal level of measurement. Each cultural trait is weighted in relation to the others and each response receives a certain number of points. The respondent's score divided by the total possible points places each respondent on the index in relation to the

other respondents. The index marking scheme is contained in Appendix II.

Consideration was given in Section II to include very common Finnish customs that were not biased by socio-economic status or particular to the region of origin within Finland. It was necessary, however, to include a series of questions on high culture to challenge and distinguish the more culturally aware respondent.

Section III, "Efforts to Retain a Finnish Identity", also seeks socio-cultural information that is usable at the ordinal level of measurement through an indexing system like the one described for Section II (see Appendix II).

Section III is a response to the sociological literature suggesting that a sense of ethnic identity is pursued by present generations. This section is an attempt to find out if an ethnic identity is actively being cultivated and if so, how this is being done, and by whom.

In general, the questionnaire is composed of both open-ended and close-ended questions. Many questions are in two parts. If the respondent answers affirmatively to practising a certain custom, he/she is asked to elaborate how, thereby attempting to verify that the response is genuine.

The coding system for the questionnaire which puts

the information into machine-readable format for computer processing is contained in Appendix III. For the most part, the coding is straightforward and self-explanatory. However, attention should be brought to how occupations, both the respondent's and the respondent's parents' were categorized and how a socio-economic status (SES) was determined for the respondent and family since such categorization is essential to the hypothesis.

The respondent was asked to give his/her own occupation (variable 015) and that of his/her parents (variables 045 and 046). To code, the occupation was placed in the appropriate decile interval of Blishen's socio-economic index for the occupational titles used by Statistics Canada in the 1971 Census. Blishen's scale considers the income level of the occupation, the educational status of the occupation, and the prestige assigned to a selection of occupations (Blishen, 1976:71).

Although by using Blishen's scale an SES rating was achieved using only the information on occupations, an additional method was used to arrive at an aggregate SES level for the respondent (variable 016) and family (variable 052). This was done by collapsing the level of education into high, middle, and low, each one assigned a value of 3, 2 and 1 respectively. Similarly occupation was collapsed into high, middle and low, The values of the two were

then added together and divided by 2 to arrive at a high, middle, or low SES level. In the case of a 1.5 or 2.5 for the respondent, the value for education determined whether to round up or down. For the familial SES level education was also the determinant, although the education level and occupation of the other parent -- the higher of the two parents was used (variable 048 and 051) -- also helped determine the rounding.

D. Sampling Procedure

The questionnaire was distributed to individuals between the ages of 17 and 27 who were of Finnish ethnic background. The sampling procedure utilized informal networks -- sometimes called snowball sampling (Coleman, 1958:29, McCall and Simmons, 1969:64-65) -- to attain a sample population. In seeking potential respondents, two aspects were kept in mind. First a balanced mixture of rural-urban, high and low residential propinquity, and high and low socio-economic status was aimed for. Second, an effort was made to avoid delivering the questionnaire to individuals with obviously biased interests -- for example, members of Finnish language classes or social clubs.

The ongoing networking (or snowballing) was achieved by a page added to the end of the questionnaire which

asked the respondent to provide additional names of individuals of Finnish descent within the chosen age group. After a distribution of around twenty questionnaires by the researcher, the networking system reached another 54 through the hand-delivery method. Thereafter, as the networking became larger, the delivery of questionnaires proceeded by mail, adding another 105 responses. The mailed questionnaires included a covering letter and a self-addressed, stamped envelope for the return of the questionnaire. After a period of two weeks, a reminder postcard was sent (see Appendix I).

Responding to a concern that the very low socio-economic status group might not be sufficiently represented in the sample, the services of a municipal social worker were used to contact Finns of a low socio-economic status. The questionnaire was administered over the phone to 15 such individuals.

The total number of cases received at the close of the collection period was 206. Eleven were considered ineligible because they were outside the age group or had less than one-half Finnish parentage. The resulting count of 195 represents a 77.4% response rate. By method of deployment, the hand-delivered method ensured a 97.4% response rate. The mailed questionnaire method received a 66.0% response rate.

By assuming a close parallel in the age distribution between the total Thunder Bay population and the Finnish population and assuming that there has not been dramatic changes in the age group distribution or the Finnish population since the 1971 Census, we can estimate that there are about 1,545 Finns between the ages of 17 and 27 in Thunder Bay. The sample size of 195 then represents 12.6% of the total population (Census of Canada, 1971).

The distribution and collection phase lasted from March, 1981 to October, 1981. This length of time was required largely because of the interruption of a postal strike in July and August which was detrimental to the return of questionnaires mailed just prior to the strike. The development time line for the entire questionnaire process is contained in Appendix I. A record of the orgainzation of questionnaires by method of distribution is also contained in Appendix I.

The decision to use selective sampling was based on practical assessment of the purpose of the research and the impossibility of using a random sample. The purpose of the research is to arrive at generalizations about what characteristics tend to influence the retention of culture among Finns. Precise representativeness is not necessary to test these influences. Therefore, the nonprobability sample is acceptable (Blalock, 1972:528,

Babbie, 1973:106). Random sampling was ruled out due to the impossibility of attaining an accurate list of the population. Analysis of Finnish surnames on voters lists or high school records immediately biases the sample by excluding the offspring of Finnish mothers married to non-Finns. "Whenever lists are incomplete,... we have in effect another example of non-probability sampling." (Blalock, 1972:528).

As in field research, the method was dictated by the peculiarities of the inquiry and the conditions of the research field (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973:38-39, 42, 143). Because of the hypothesis, some directed sampling was needed. The extensive nature of the questionnaire made it quite lengthy and time-consuming to complete, and so it was felt that the human contact in the beginning stages of the informal network sampling would ensure an adequate response rate.

E. Method of Analysis

As previously mentioned, the data was coded into a machine-readable format for analysis by computer. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was the program used to analyse the data. Rates of frequency or percentages comprise the main form of statistical analysis. Levels of significance such as Chi square tests are used

on the crosstabulations to determine whether the hypothesis is supported.

F. Validity

The validity of the methodology can best be assessed by discussing the pre-test. In the pre-test involving fifty-one cases, the questionnaire was found to be an effective measuring instrument. A balanced sample was easily achieved through informal network sampling with a concern for quotas, and the hypothesis seemed to be a useful tool in explaining variations in the degree of adherence to Finnish culture within a narrow age group.

As a result of this pre-test, the questionnaire was further refined by removing the less useful questions, re-working socio-economically biased questions, and adding more pertinent questions.

The final open-ended question in the questionnaire, "What does it mean to you to be Finnish?", was intended to see if the respondents felt the questionnaire missed the essence of Finnish culture. As intended, it also provided the respondent with the opportunity to comment on the questionnaire. The responses were largely favourable and enthusiastic. Many of the comments reiterated the validity of the questioning earlier in the questionnaire. Criticism was virtually non-existent.

The effectiveness of the methodology is borne out by the data obtained. The following chapter begins with a profile of the sample population. The hypothesis characteristics are investigated as are other factors which might possibly influence the retention of culture. Finally, general observations on the level of culture retention among the sample population are made. Throughout, the methodology appears to have successfully obtained the data to make a thorough and relevant analysis.

V. CHAPTER FIVE - PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

A. Profile of the Sample Population

The first statistical manipulation of the data involved a frequency run of all the variables. This provides the opportunity to present a general profile of the sample population under analysis. By sex, the sample population is 39% male and 61% female. The average age of the respondents is 21.5 years. Seventy-three percent of the respondents give Port Arthur or Thunder Bay as their place of birth. Twenty-five or 13% were born in Finland. On average, the respondents have lived twenty years in the Thunder Bay area. By generation Canadian, the respondents break down as shown in Table 1.

The frequency distributions for the hypothesis characteristics are important initial information. Considering residency, the distribution for residence during childhood and youth is 130 or 67% urban and 65 or 33% rural. This changes only slightly for present residence where 69% are urban and 31% rural. Table 2 contains a crosstabulation of the two periods. Of the respondents who resided in an urban setting during their childhood and youth, 91% are still in an urban setting at the present time. Of those who were in a rural setting during childhood 75% are still in such a

Table 1

Respondent Distribution by Generation Canadian

	N	%
First Generation	68	35
Second Generation	56	29
Third Generation	30	15
Fourth Generation	8	4
Foreign-Born	29	15
Missing Cases	4	2
TOTAL	195	100

Table 2

Present Residence by Childhood Residence

Present Residence	Childhood Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Urban	118 91%	16 25%
Rural	12 9%	49 75%
N=195	130	65

Chi Square = 85.2 with 1 degree of freedom (df).
Significance = 0.00

setting at the present time. The higher movement from rural to urban is expected.

Concerning residential propinquity, 48% indicate their childhood neighbourhood as predominantly Finnish, whereas 25% indicate their present neighbourhood as predominantly Finnish.

The other question on residential propinquity required the respondents to indicate how many of their ten closest neighbours are or were Finnish. This is intended to verify the more subjective reply of whether one's neighbourhood is or was predominantly Finnish or not. Crosstabulating the two, as in Table 3, there is general concurrence between the two questions. However, the table does indicate that a larger number who consider their childhood neighbourhood predominantly Finnish are not supported by the ten neighbours question than those who feel their childhood neighbourhood was not predominantly Finnish.

Most respondents have a middle socio-economic status (SES). Low SES accounted for 13%, middle SES for 65%, and high SES for 22%. The higher educational attainment of the respondents is largely responsible for the high figure in the middle SES level. Without having a middle level occupation post-secondary students would most often be considered in the middle SES level.

Table 3

Crosstabulation of the Two Childhood Residential Propinquity Variables

"Think of the ten nearest neighbours to the house you spent most of your childhood and youth in. How many of those neighbours were Finnish?"	"Could the neighbourhood you spent most of your childhood and youth in be described as a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood?"	
	Yes	No
0 - 5	26 29%	94 94%
6 - 10	65 71%	6 6%
N = 191 Missing cases = 4	91	100

Chi Square = 84.6 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.00

The familial SES level from which the respondents came presents a rather different distribution. Low SES accounted for 54%, middle SES for 32% and high SES for 13%.

Through directed sampling, sufficient quantities were attained in the various categories to allow valid comparisons to be made on almost all of the bivariate crosstabulations. Where variables with many categories did not provide sufficient amounts in each cell, collapsing of the categories was usually done with little loss in the pertinency of the data.

B. Index Scores

Section II of the questionnaire is entitled "Knowledge and Practise of Finnish Customs and Culture". For the sake of brevity without losing recognition of what it represents, the Section II Index will be refered to by the term Culture Retention Index in this discussion and in the presentation of tables. The Culture Retention Index is further broken down into a High Culture Index and a Values Index.

Section III of the questionnaire is entitled "Efforts to Retain a Finnish Identity". The Section III Index for the reasons cited above will be refered to by the shorter phrase of Identity Maintenance Index in the

discussion and presentation of tables.

Table 4 shows the range, mean and median of each of these indices.

To make the crosstabulations with the indices useful, it was necessary to divide the index scores into a high and a low category. Having reviewed the statistics on the two main indices, Culture Retention and Identity Maintenance, it was felt the mean did not offer an adequate dividing point between a high level of culture retention and a low level of culture retention. Basically the average was too low. A better dividing point was felt to be the half way point of the range. Since the range for both the major indices was around 80, the decision was made to use the criteria of low to 39 and 40 to high to represent low and high culture retention and identity maintenance for the purpose of statistical analysis of the data. The figure of 40 also coincides with the mean when the high culture component is subtracted from the Culture Retention Index. The high culture section is clearly the most challenging section of the questionnaire as far as culture retention. It is useful in indicating an elite group, but the subtraction of the high culture section probably gives a more realistic distribution of Finnish ethnic culture retention in Thunder Bay.

Table 4

Range, Mean, and Median for Questionnaire Indices

	Range		Mean	Median
	Minimum	Maximum		
Section II				
1. Culture Retention Index	0	77	31	32
1.1. High Culture Index	0	97	11	5
1.2. Values Index	0	99	12	0
1.3. Culture Retention Index less High Culture	0	88	41	44
1.4. Culture Retention Index less Values	0	80	33	34
1.5. Culture Retention Index less High Culture and Values	0	90	45	48
Section III				
2. Identity Maintenance Index	0	82	34	33

C. Hypothesis Characteristics

1. Residency - Urban or Rural

The hypothesis first suggests that those residing in a rural setting will be more likely to retain their ethnic culture. Table 5 provides information which disputes this suggestion. Based on childhood residence, those who resided in an urban setting are more likely to score high on the Culture Retention Index. The percentage placing high on the Culture Retention Index is 16% higher for childhood urban dwellers as opposed to rural dwellers.

By breaking down the Culture Retention Index into its sub-components it is evident the difference between urban and rural comes largely as a result of the better showing of the urban respondents with the high culture and values section. As shown in Table 6 when these two sections are removed not only does the percentage scoring high on the index increase but the difference between urban and rural is insignificant.

When individual customs and practises are investigated, consistency is not evident. In some cases, there is no significant difference (at least a 10% difference) between urban and rural, as in the cases of frequency of eating Finnish food, wearing Finnish clothing or even speaking

Table 5

Culture Retention Index by Childhood Residence

Culture Retention Index	Childhood Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Low	81 62%	51 78%
High	49 38%	14 22%
N = 195	130	65

Corrected Chi Square = 4.5 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.03

Table 6

Culture Retention Index less High Culture and Values by Childhood Residence

Culture Retention Index less High Culture and Values	Childhood Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Low	50 38%	24 37%
High	80 62%	41 63%
N = 195	130	65

Corrected Chi Square = 0.0 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.96

Finnish.

In other cases, urban dwellers are found to adhere to a specific Finnish cultural practise more than rural dwellers. While 59% of the urban-raised respondents observe a Finnish Christmas only 45% of rural-raised respondents observe Christmas with Finnish customs (Table A-1).[1] Such customs as mentioned by the respondents include exchanging of gifts Christmas Eve, special foods for a large meal on Christmas Eve such as kinkku (smoked ham) and lanttulaatikko (turnip casserole), and attending church services early Christmas morning.

The young adult age group of 17 to 27 year olds was chosen because they represent a group that has recently gone through or are just completing many years of compulsory education which presumably has socialized them into Canadian society. Because they are not far removed from their family of orientation, and the familial situation as prime socializing agent especially in regard to ethnic heritage is accepted, it is considered of first importance to evaluate the hypothesis based on the childhood and youth time frame. Each of the hypothesis characteristics were also operationalized for the present situation of the respondent. By comparing the data based on the present situation with the

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[1] Tables prefaced with an 'A' indicate the table is located in Appendix IV.

childhood period an indication of the ongoing dynamics of factors which influence culture retention can be obtained.

Table 7 provides the crosstabulation of the Culture Retention Index with present residency. The data in this table can be compared with the results shown in Table 5. While those residing in an urban setting still place better on the Index, the difference between urban and rural has declined from a 16% difference for childhood to 9% for the present, with a subsequently lower Chi Square value. The decrease in the range is caused by the urban residents decreasing their likelihood of scoring high on the Index and the rural residents improving their likelihood of scoring high.

Table 8 provides a comparison with Table 6 by cross-tabulating the Culture Retention Index, less high culture and values, with present residency. While Table 6 does not show a significant trend, Table 8 gives the nod to the rural resident as far as being more likely to score high on the Index. However, once again the Chi Square level is not good. As mentioned in the discussion of Table 6, this further indicates that it is the urban dweller's better performance on the high culture and values section of the questionnaire which places them above the rural dweller on the Culture Retention Index.

In a crosstabulation of the Identity Maintenance Index

Table 7

Culture Retention Index by Present Residence

Culture Retention Index	Present Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Low	87 65%	45 74%
High	47 35%	16 26%
N = 195	134	61

Corrected Chi Square = 1.1 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.29

Table 8

Culture Retention Index Less High Culture and Values by Present Residence

Culture Retention Index less High Culture and Values	Present Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Low	55 41%	19 31%
High	79 59%	42 69%
N = 195	134	61

Corrected Chi Square = 1.3 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.25

with childhood residency, those respondents who resided in an urban setting are still more likely to score high on the index (Table 9). The percentage difference between urban and rural is less than 10% and therefore, less than for the Culture Retention Index. The low Chi Square places caution on any strong conclusions.

When several of the individual items making up the Identity Maintenance Index are associated with residency such as belonging to Finnish clubs and buying or borrowing Finnish music records or tapes, there is limited difference between urban and rural. Of these two examples, belonging to clubs receives affirmative responses from 59% of the childhood urban dwellers and 50% of the childhood rural dwellers. The acquiring of Finnish music is rarely done.

Items where urban Finns show stronger efforts to retain a Finnish identity include the purchasing of imported Finnish food products, traveling to Finland, having been purposely taught the culture by parents, and intending to teach their children the culture. As an example of the above, Table A-2 shows that even allowing for the greater tendency for rural dwellers to cite a financial constraint when saying they had not traveled to Finland, urban residents are still much more likely to have traveled to Finland.

Table 9

Identity Maintenance Index by Childhood Residence

Identity Maintenance Index	Childhood Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Low	78 60%	45 69%
High	52 40%	20 31%
N = 195	130	65

Corrected Chi Square = 1.2 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.27

An item which counters the overall predominance of the urban Finn is the number of close friends who are of Finnish origin. In residency during childhood and at the present time, rural Finns are much more likely to have Finns among their five closest friends than are urban Finns (Table A-3).

When the Identity Maintenance Index is distributed across present residency the difference between urban and rural becomes insignificant, a mere 1% difference (Table 10). This suggests that at the present time means to retain a Finnish identity are equally available and pursued by both the urban and the rural Finn.

2. Residential Propinquity to Other Finns

The second characteristic of the hypothesis which states that Finns having a high residential propinquity to other Finns are likely to retain more of their ethnic culture than those with a low residential propinquity is strongly supported by the data. Table 11 indicates that 13% more Thunder Bay Finns who resided in a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood during childhood place high on the Culture Retention Index than Finns who did not reside in such a neighbourhood. The same crosstabulation but for present neighbourhood is not significantly different.

Table 10

Identity Maintenance Index by Present Residence

Identity Maintenance Index	Present Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Low	84 63%	39 64%
High	50 37%	22 36%
N = 195	134	61

Corrected Chi Square = 0.0 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.99

Table 11

Culture Retention Index by Childhood Neighbourhood

Culture Retention Index	Childhood Neighbourhood	
	Predominantly Finnish	Not Finnish
Low	57 61%	75 74%
High	36 39%	26 26%
N = 194 Missing Cases = 1	93	101

Corrected Chi Square = 3.2 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.07

Using the other question which operationalizes residential propinquity -- of ten closest neighbours how many are Finnish -- the same results are shown. Table 12 indicates that of the respondents who had seven or more Finns among their ten closest neighbours during childhood, 42% score high on the Culture Retention Index. Those with six or fewer Finns among their ten closest neighbours have only 28% score high on the index.

What encourages the statement that the data strongly supports this part of the hypothesis is that in all the crosstabulations done on individual items making up the Culture Retention Index (and Identity Maintenance Index), the respondent raised or living in a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood has the higher level of culture retention.

Table A-4 is one such example of this. While over half of the respondents who did not reside in a Finnish neighbourhood during childhood state their home is not furnished in a Finnish manner, only 35% of those who live in such a neighbourhood say the same. Rather, 50% say their home is moderately furnished in a Finnish manner and 15% say it is largely furnished in a Finnish style.

Considering Section III of the questionnaire dealing with efforts to retain a Finnish identity, the hypothesis is supported showing an even larger difference between

Table 12

Culture Retention Index by Childhood Residential Propinquity to Other Finns

Culture Retention Index	Number of Finns among Ten Closest Childhood Neighbours	
	0 - 6	7 - 10
Low	97 72%	33 58%
High	38 28%	24 42%
N = 192 Missing Cases = 3	135	57

Corrected Chi Square = 3.0 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.09

the Finnish neighbourhood dweller and the non-Finnish neighbourhood dweller. Table 13 indicates a spread of 16% between the two with respect to scoring high on the Identity Maintenance Index. Noticeable too is the generally better performance on the Identity Maintenance Index as opposed to the Culture Retention Index.

Considering present neighbourhood, where understandably far fewer claim to live in a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood (48% for childhood as compared to 25% for present neighbourhood), the gap between the Finnish neighbourhood dweller and the non-Finnish neighbourhood dweller closes somewhat to a 9% spread in favour of those surrounded by fellow Finns.

The frequency of attending Finnish social activities is used as one way of measuring efforts made to maintain a Finnish identity. In a crosstabulation of this with residential propinquity the reading of the Identity Maintenance Index is reiterated. Those who reside in a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood attend Finnish social functions more frequently. Half of those who were raised in non-Finnish neighbourhoods never attend Finnish social functions (Table A-5).

3. Socio-economic Status (SES)

The hypothesis suggests that those with a low or

Table 13

Identity Maintenance Index by Childhood Neighbourhood

Identity Maintenance Index	Childhood Neighbourhood	
	Predominantly Finnish	Not Finnish
Low	51 55%	72 71%
High	42 45%	29 29%
N = 194 Missing cases = 1	93	101

Corrected Chi Square = 5.0 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.03

middle SES level would be more likely to retain their Finnish culture than those of a high SES level. The questionnaire contains several variables which can be used to define SES. They include occupation, education and a calculation of SES based on the previous two. These are available for both the respondent and the respondent's family of orientation. As already mentioned the main emphasis is on how the childhood and therefore, familial situation has affected the retention of culture. The respondent's own SES provides interesting comparisons, but must also be evaluated more carefully since many have not had the time to establish a SES level independent of their parents.

Table 14 is a crosstabulation of the family occupation level with the Culture Retention Index. Support is given to the hypothesis in this crosstabulation. The lower end of the Blishen scale refers to occupations having a lower average income, educational requirement, and prestige level. The table shows that 31% more of those respondents with a low family occupation level attain a high culture retention rating compared to those with a high family occupation level. The division of the Blishen scale at 50 roughly places blue collar workers and clerical office staff at the 49 or less category. The 50 or over category would include semi-professionals,

Table 14

Culture Retention Index by Family Occupation Level

Culture Retention Index	Family Occupation Level	
	Blishen 49 or less	Blishen 50 or more
Low	96 61%	35 92%
High	60 39%	3 8%
N = 194 Missing Cases = 1	156	38

Corrected Chi Square = 11.7 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.00

middle level management on up to full professionals and high level management positions.

Despite the strong support for the hypothesis in Table 14 a crosstabulation of education with the Culture Retention Index shows a negligible difference between a family education level of high school or less and a post-secondary education level. When this crosstabulation is further controlled by the respondent's education level no clear support is given to either education level.

Using the calculation of SES level described in the methodology and distributing it across the Culture Retention Index, support for the hypothesis is again indicated. Table 15 by providing the three levels of SES demonstrates a clear transition from low SES to high SES in regards to culture retention. Low SES respondents maintain a 32% spread over high SES respondents. Middle SES respondents lie between the two.

When individual cultural traits are associated with SES the index result is generally supported. Finns from low SES families are much more likely to do traditional Finnish crafts than those from high SES families (Table A-6).

Even in the crosstabulation of SES with a cultural trait which on the surface might appear biased socio-economically, the low SES respondents are most likely to

Table 15

Culture Retention Index by Family Socio-economic Status

Culture Retention Index	Family Socio-economic Status		
	Low	Middle	High
Low	60 57%	48 77%	23 89%
High	46 43%	14 23%	3 11%
N = 194 Missing Cases = 1	106	62	26

Chi Square = 13.7 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.00

have a sauna in the home. Constraints for not having a sauna that were accepted include living in an apartment and being too expensive. Those of high SES are most likely to say no with constraints (Table A-7).

It is only after asking about having a sauna elsewhere -- mostly at a summer camp -- that a socio-economic bias appears to enter. Those of high SES do rate better this time, although all SES levels do well in this regard (72% say yes to having a sauna elsewhere). The spread between high and low SES is 10%, while for a sauna in the home the spread is 26% in favour of the low SES.

When the Identity Maintenance Index is crosstabulated with the family occupation level, the low occupation groups rank highest with 41% having a high rating compared to 21% for the high occupation groups. Using family ecucation the data is not conclusive, although the low education group has a slightly larger spread over the high education group in this index compared to the Culture Retention Index. When we consider SES level, as SES level declines the level of Identity Maintenance increases, with a 24% difference between the high and low SES levels.

Support of the hypothesis is given with individual Identity Maintenance indicators. Possible socio-economically biased questions are again discounted as the low SES group

was more likely than the high SES group to purchase imported Finnish food and to travel to Finland.

When considering the SES level of respondents themselves several points must be considered. Because of the age group, it is questionable if many have established their own SES level. Close to one-third are still in school. Over half are still living in the parent's home. Since it has been conceded that it is the family's socializing influence during childhood which constitutes the focal point for the hypothesis, it is important to know how the SES level of respondents from the low familial SES level has developed or changed.

A general trend of upward mobility is clearly evident. Table 16 compares the family situation to the respondent's own situation for each of the SES indicators. Even though the respondent group is still in transition, in each of the areas the respondents show marked advancement over their parents. When family SES is associated with respondent's SES, it is found that of the 106 respondents who indicated their family was of a low SES level, only 16% find themselves in the same situation. Fifty-seven percent now have a moderate SES level and 27% have a high SES level.

With the preceeding points in mind several cross-tabulations can be presented. Table 17 presents the

Table 16

Comparison of Familial and Respondent's Own Socio-economic Status, Occupation Level, and Education Level

		Familial Situation	Respondent's Own Situation
Socio-Economic Status	Low	106 55%	25 13%
	Middle	62 32%	126 65%
	High	26 13%	43 22%
	N	194	194
Occupation Level	Blishen 49 or less	156 80%	93 70%
	Blishen 50 or more	38 20%	40 30%
	N	194	133
Education Level	High School or less	141 73%	106 55%
	Post-Secondary	52 27%	87 45%
	N	193	193

Table 17

Culture Retention Index by Respondent's Occupation Level

Culture Retention Index	Respondent's Occupation Level	
	Blishen 49 or less	Blishen 50 or more
Low	71 75%	22 55%
High	23 25%	18 45%
N = 134	94	40

Corrected Chi Square = 4.6 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.03

Culture Retention Index crosstabulated with the respondent's occupation level. The sixty student responses have been omitted. Forty-five percent of those respondents having an occupation set at 50 or better on the Blishen scale place on the high side of the Culture Retention Index. This compares to 25% for those whose occupations place at 49 or less on the Blishen scale.

When the Value Index is distributed across occupation the higher occupation group again places better than the lower occupation group (Table 18). Noticeable is the lower percentage generally that place high on the Index.

There is no significant difference between occupation levels in the scoring on the High Culture Index.

Using the respondent's education level, it is found that those with a post-secondary education are more likely to score high on the Culture Retention Index (Table 19). While 40% of those with a post-secondary education obtain high scores, only 26% of those with a high school education do so.

If the Value Index is crosstabulated with education level, the higher educated place better in regards to knowledge and practise of Finnish values (Table 20).

There is no significant difference between education levels when the education variable is crosstabulated with the High Culture Index.

Table 18

Value Index by Respondent's Occupation Level

Value Index	Respondent's Occupation Level	
	Blishen 49 or less	Blishen 50 or more
Low	90 96%	32 80%
High	4 4%	8 20%
N = 134	94	40

Corrected Chi Square = 6.7 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.01

Table 19

Culture Retention Index by Respondent's Education Level

Culture Retention Index	Respondent's Education Level	
	High School	Post-Secondary
Low	79 74%	53 60%
High	28 26%	35 40%
N = 195	107	88

Corrected Chi Square = 3.5 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.06

Table 20

Value Index by Respondent's Education Level

Value Index	Respondent's Education Level	
	High School	Post-Secondary
Low	100 93%	73 83%
High	7 7%	15 17%
N = 195	107	88

Corrected Chi Square = 4.3 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.04

Table 21 uses the SES calculation based on education and occupation. The trend shown in regards to culture retention is opposite to that shown by familial SES and contrary to the hypothesis. Over half of the respondents with a high SES level obtain a high rating on the Culture Retention Index whereas only 29% of the middle SES group and 16% of the low SES group obtain a high rating.

However, since it has been argued that many of the respondents have not established a SES independent of their family of origin, it is useful to run this cross-tabulation again but this time only those who have been independent for four years or more are included. When this is done a new trend emerges. Although reduced cell totals and a poor significance level is apparent, Table 22 shows that those of a middle SES have the highest percentage placing high on the Culture Retention Index. Cautious support is therefore given to the argument that because of the respondents' upward mobility, the highest level of culture retention would no longer be found among the low SES group.

It has also been suggested that the higher SES groups were among the first to embrace the multiculturalism policy introduced by the federal government in 1971. Multiculturalism has become fashionable. Specifically for the Finns in Canada, the status of Finnish-designed

Table 21

Culture Retention Index by Respondent's Socio-economic Status

Culture Retention Index	Respondent's Socio-economic Status		
	Low	Middle	High
Low	21 84%	90 71%	21 49%
High	4 16%	37 29%	22 51%
N = 195	25	127	43

Chi Square = 10.6 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.01

Table 22

Culture Retention Index by Respondent's Socio-economic Status for Those Living Independently for Four Years or More

Culture Retention Index	Respondent's Socio-economic Status for those Living Independently for Four Years or More		
	Low	Middle	High
Low	9 90%	17 81%	7 88%
High	1 10%	4 19%	1 12%
N = 39	10	21	8

Chi Square = 0.5 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.78

objects in the world allowed the higher SES groups to express their ethnic culture, but also to have furnishings of reputed quality and expense which symbolize their higher SES.

Isolating just the high culture section of Section II of the questionnaire, Table 23 is produced. While no respondent of low SES obtains a high score on the High Culture Index, 14% of the high SES respondents receive a high rating. A small elite group scoring well on the High Culture Index and Value Index is increasingly evident. High SES appears to be one characteristic which identifies them. Later in the discussion the qualities of this group will be further analyzed.

In examining several crosstabulations of individual items making up the Culture Retention Index with the respondent's SES, the same consistent pattern already revealed continues. In areas such as furnishing of home, doing of crafts, having a sauna, and the naming of Finnish athletes, respondents with a high SES level do better than respondents of low SES.

Placement on the Identity Maintenance Index continues to show the same trend in regard to respondents' occupation, education, and total SES calculation. Therefore, presentation of these crosstabulations is not required. In general a modest increase in the total percentage placing

Table 23

High Culture Index by Respondent's Socio-economic Status

High Culture Index	Respondent's Socio-economic Status		
	Low	Middle	High
Low	25 100%	121 95%	37 86%
High	0 0%	6 5%	6 14%
N = 195	25	127	43

Chi Square = 6.6 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.04

high on this Index as opposed to the Culture Retention Index is evident.

Individual items making up the Identity Maintenance Index provide additional support for the predominance of respondents of a high SES level. Whereas the predominance of the low familial SES group allowed the possibility of a socio-economic bias on individual items to be discounted, it remains a possibility that for the respondents themselves, cost factors and availability of leisure time affect their participation in language courses, Finnish organizations, travel to Finland and the purchasing of imported Finnish products.

One Section III question does seem to provide some insight into the change from the family situation to the respondents' own situation. Table 24 compares the family and the respondent's socio-economic distribution for those who answer affirmatively concerning whether or not their parents made deliberate efforts to teach them Finnish culture. Since we are dealing with the same seventy-four people it is evident that the middle and high SES respondents were most likely taught Finnish culture while in a family having a low SES.

4. Inter-relationship of Hypothesis Characteristics

Dealing strictly with the childhood situation, what

Table 24

Taught Finnish Culture Comparing Family and Respondent's Socio-economic Status

Socio-economic Status	Taught Finnish Culture	
	Family	Respondent
Low	47 64%	8 11%
Middle	21 28%	43 58%
High	6 8%	23 31%
N	74	74

has been found so far is that urban Finns, Finns from a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood, and Finns from families of low SES retain more of their ethnic culture than do their counterparts. In crosstabulations of the hypothesis characteristics with one another interdependency is sometimes shown and other times not.

Table 25 which presents the crosstabulation of childhood residence with childhood neighbourhood shows that those who resided in a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood were more likely to have also been rural dwellers. The difference between urban and rural is 12%. However, of those who did not reside in a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood a considerable 88% were urban as opposed to 12% rural. Hence, because urban Finns were much less likely to be from a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood, their good showing on the Indices is relatively independent of the residential propinquity characteristic.

In the same way, family SES crosstabulated with childhood residency shows that rural Finns were more likely to be of a low SES while urban Finns were more likely to be of a high SES (Table 26). Hence, because urban Finns were much likely to be of a low SES, their good showing on the indices is relatively independent of the SES characteristics.

The third possible crosstabulation of family SES with childhood neighbourhood does indicate some interdependency. As shown in Table 27 over two-thirds of those

Table 25

Childhood Residence by Childhood Neighbourhood

Childhood Residence	Childhood Neighbourhood	
	Predominantly Finnish	Not Finnish
Urban	41 44%	89 88%
Rural	52 56%	12 12%
N = 194 Missing Cases = 1	94	101

Chi Square = 40.5 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.00

Table 26

Family Socio-economic Status by Childhood Residence

Family Socio-economic Status	Childhood Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Low	66 51%	40 62%
Middle	43 33%	19 30%
High	21 16%	5 8%
N = 194 Missing Cases = 1	130	64

Chi Square = 3.5 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.18

Table 27

Family Socio-economic Status by Childhood Neighbourhood

Family Socio-economic Status	Childhood Neighbourhood	
	Predominantly Finnish	Not Finnish
Low	62 68%	43 42%
Middle	27 29%	35 35%
High	3 3%	23 23%
N = 193 Missing Cases = 2	92	101

Chi Square = 10.5 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.00

who resided in a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood were also of a low SES.

As for the three components of the SES characteristic when crosstabulated with one another, both for the familial situation and the respondent alone, it is clear they all are interdependent. A high education level strongly equates with a high occupation level and they both strongly equate with a high SES calculation.

As evidence of this interdependence, the relationship between culture retention and the respondent's SES -- as shown previously in Table 21 -- does not differ significantly when the respondent's education is controlled for (Tables A-8 and A-9).

D. Investigation of the Influence of Other Factors On the Retention of Culture

When considering the problem of factors affecting the rate of assimilation among ethnic group members several demographic characteristics come to mind. Briefly a few of those characteristics can be presented.

1. Parentage

While one criteria for respondents to be eligible was that they have at least half Finnish parentage, this still allows three levels of Finnish parentage. All Finnish parentage accounts for 71% of the respondents,

three-quarter Finnish parentage accounts for 12%, and half Finnish parentage accounts for 17%. Table 28 reveals what would be expected. Those respondents of all Finnish parentage are much more likely to have a higher level of culture retention. Forty-one percent of them place high on the Culture Retention Index while the percentage doing the same for the other two parentage categories is less than half that.

Being half Finn means that one parent is entirely Finnish and the other not, or that both are half Finnish. If just the first case is isolated and crosstabulated with the Culture Retention Index, it is found that having a Finnish mother and a non-Finnish father is more conducive to retaining the ethnic culture than if the father is Finnish and the mother non-Finnish.

From the sample population, 50 of the respondents are married. Forty percent of them have spouses of Finnish ethnic background, 22% have spouses of East European extraction and 18% have spouses of British origin. By sex the married males are more likely than the females to have a Finnish spouse -- 46% to 38%.

2. Sex

Differentiation by sex is quite straightforward. Tables 29 and 30 are crosstabulations of the Culture

Table 28

Culture Retention Index by Parentage

Culture Retention Index	Parentage		
	All Finn	Three-quarter Finn	Half Finn
Low	82 59%	19 83%	29 85%
High	56 41%	4 17%	5 15%
N = 195	138	23	34

Chi Square = 11.2 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.01

Table 29

Culture Retention Index by Sex

Culture Retention Index	Sex	
	Male	Female
Low	59 78%	73 61%
High	17 22%	46 39%
N = 195	76	119

Corrected Chi Square = 4.9 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.03

Table 30

Identity Maintenance Index by Sex

Identity Maintenance Index	Sex	
	Male	Female
Low	60 79%	63 53%
High	16 21%	56 47%
N = 195	76	119

Corrected Chi Square = 12.4 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.00

Retention Index and the Identity Maintenance Index by sex. In both cases, females as a group score higher on the indices. The range between males and females is much more pronounced for the Identity Maintenance Index (26%) than for the Culture Retention Index (17%).

3. Sibling Order

The position of the child within the family has been considered to have an effect on how much of the ethnic culture is taught the child by the parents. The desire to pass on the ethnic culture is evident and one child may be singled out more than others. Table 31 indicates that those who are the only one of their sex among siblings have the largest percentage score high on the Culture Retention Index. Next in importance, either being the eldest or the youngest prompts a higher level of culture retention. Those who are middle children have the lowest percentage scoring high. It must be noted, however, that the significance level for the Chi Square value is not good.

4. Generation Canadian

After the immigrant generation, whether one is the first generation to be born in Canada or the fourth generation to be born in Canada has a considerable effect

Table 31

Culture Retention Index by Sibling Order

Culture Retention Index	Sibling Order			
	Eldest	Middle	Youngest	Only of Sex
Low	45 65%	29 78%	49 69%	9 50%
High	24 35%	8 22%	22 31%	9 50%
N = 195	69	37	71	18

Chi Square = 4.8 with 3 df.
Significance = 0.19

on the level of ethnic culture retention. Table 32 indicates that 68% of the Finnish-born score high on the Culture Retention Index. First generation Canadians are 14% lower at 54%. Thereafter, the percentage of second, third and fourth generation Canadians scoring high on the index falls dramatically with little significant difference between them.

When the High Culture Index is associated with generation Canadian high scores are recorded only among the Finnish-born and first generation Canadians. Twenty-four percent of the Finnish-born score high while 9% of first generation Canadians score high.

When the Value Index is associated with generation Canadian the observations are quite similar. The Finnish-born and first generation Canadians account for the majority of high scores. The difference between the two is much less. Second and third generation Canadians this time do place on the high side of the index (Table 33).

The crosstabulation of the Identity Maintenance Index with generation Canadian is shown in Table 34. Once again Finnish-born have the largest percentage scoring high on the index with 68%. First generation Canadian is next with 54%. Second, third and fourth generation Canadians have improved their placing somewhat when their percentages are compared to those on the

Table 32

Culture Retention Index by Generation Canadian

Culture Retention Index	Finnish-Born	Generation Canadian			
		First	Second	Third	Fourth
Low	8 32%	31 46%	51 91%	28 93%	7 88%
High	17 68%	37 54%	5 9%	2 7%	1 12%
N = 187	25	68	56	30	8

Chi Square = 57.4 with 4 df.
Significance = 0.00

Table 33

Value Index by Generation Canadian

Value Index	Finnish-Born	Generation Canadian			
		First	Second	Third	Fourth
Low	19 76%	57 84%	52 93%	29 97%	8 100%
High	6 24%	11 16%	4 7%	1 3%	0 0%
N = 187	25	68	56	30	8

Chi Square = 9.9 with 4 df.
Significance = 0.04

Table 34

Identity Maintenance Index by Generation Canadian

Identity Maintenance Index	Finnish-Born	Generation Canadian			
		First	Second	Third	Fourth
Low	8 32%	31 46%	46 82%	26 87%	6 75%
High	17 68%	37 54%	10 18%	4 13%	2 25%
N = 187	25	68	56	30	8

Chi Square = 37.0 with 4 df.
Significance = 0.00

Culture Retention Index. The high percentage among fourth generation Canadians loses its impact when the small cell total is considered.

Several of the individual items making up the Identity Maintenance Index are of considerable interest when crosstabulated with generation Canadian. For example, what generation Canadian one is makes no significant difference in having other Finns as one's closest friends. The trait of clannishness among Finns cited in the literature appears to have considerable endurance, even over many generations.

Considerable interest, without great differentiation among generations, is shown in the taking of Finnish language courses. All four generations place within the range of 43% to 56% having taken a Finnish language course. In the same way, interest in taking a course on Finnish culture is quite uniform among all the generations. The percentage having taken such a course is less than for language instruction but the lesser availability of such courses helps explain this.

When asking the open-ended question of what it means to be Finnish, all generations give a sense of pride as their foremost response.

With such drastic differences in the index scores between the first generation and subsequent generations,

it is necessary to further evaluate the relationship between generation and the hypothesis characteristics. What is found is that over three-quarters of first generation Canadians were urban dwellers during their childhood. As generation Canadian increases, the percent who were urban dwellers decreases. Eighty percent of the Finnish-born were urban dwellers as well. Similarly for childhood residential propinquity, 56% of first generation Canadians lived in a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood whereas only 39% of second generation, 37% of third generation and 50% of fourth generation lived in such a neighbourhood. Sixty-three percent of the Finnish-born resided in a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood. Family SES shows that 75% of the first generation were from a low SES whereas 34% of the second generation, 33% of the third generation and, in somewhat of a reversal, 63% of the fourth generation were of a low SES. Seventy-nine percent of the Finnish-born came from families having a low SES.

The exception to the trend by the fourth generation in residential propinquity and family SES does not have a great impact because of the small numbers. It can be safely stated that the propensity for the Finnish-born and the first generation Canadians to have been raised in an urban setting, to have lived in a predominantly

Finnish neighbourhood, and to have a low familial SES contributes to these three characteristics being associated with a high level of culture retention.

In the next step to test the effect of generation Canadian, the hypothesis characteristics are again cross-tabulated with the Culture Retention Index, the High Culture Index, the Value Index and the Identity Maintenance Index with generation Canadian being controlled for. Table 35 provides a summary of the results. The hypothesis characteristic of high residential propinquity to other Finns received strong support before and continues to receive it from all generation levels. Similarly, support for the low SES characteristic of the hypothesis differs very little from when it was examined without controlling for generation. The hypothesis characteristic of rural residency does show a difference in support depending on generation Canadian. While without controlling for generation the hypothesis is disputed, it is supported when only the third and fourth generation respondents are considered. Because of their smaller numbers, the lack of support from the first generation respondents is able to sway the total results.

In general terms, the hypothesis is more strongly supported by the third and fourth generations than the first and second generations. This suggests that for the

Table 35

Culture Retention Index, High Culture Index, Value Index and Identity Maintenance Index by Hypothesis Characteristics Controlling for Generation Canadian Indicating Support or Rejection of Hypothesis

Index	Hypothesis Characteristics	Generation Canadian			
		First	Second	Third	Fourth
Culture Retention	Urban/Rural	--	-+	+	++
	Propinquity	+	-+	+	++
	S.E.S. -Family	-+	-+	+	+
	-Respond-ent	-	-+	-+	+
High Culture	Urban/Rural	-	-+	-+	-+
	Propinquity	-	-+	-+	-+
	S.E.S. -Family	+	-+	-+	-+
	-Respond-ent	-	-+	-+	-+
Value	Urban/Rural	-+	-	-+	-+
	Propinquity	+	-+	+	-+
	S.E.S. -Family	+	-	-+	-+
	-Respond-ent	-	-	-+	-+
Identity Maintenance	Urban/Rural	-+	-	+	++
	Propinquity	+	-+	++	++
	S.E.S. -Family	+	-+	-+	+
	-Respond-ent	-	+	-	+

Hypothesis: ++ Strong Support
+ Support
-+ Inconclusive
- Rejection
-- Strong Rejection

third and fourth generation Canadians of Finnish descent in Thunder Bay, the hypothesis characteristics are important in influencing the level of culture retention. Being less far removed from the ethnic culture, the first generation is less influenced by the hypothesis characteristics. Because later Finnish immigrants were more urbanized, it is not unusual to see the rural residency characteristic disputed by the more recent generations.

5. Language

Language is usually considered of high importance in the retention of an ethnic culture. The language is not only a means of access to the culture, but it is an obvious identity maintenance mechanism. The language in its use of culture-specific symbols and labels embodies the values of a culture and, "acts as a filter on reality, molding our perceptions of the universe around us." (Werner, 1973:398). Of the 74 respondents whose parents made deliberate efforts to teach them the culture, 50% indicate this was done by being taught the language.

Therefore, it would be expected that those respondents who have a command of the Finnish language would do better on the various Indices than those who do not speak Finnish. Table 36 indicates that half of those who speak Finnish place high on the Culture Retention Index. This compares

Table 36

Culture Retention Index by Ability to Speak Finnish

Culture Retention Index	Speak Finnish	
	Yes	No
Low	62 50%	69 99%
High	62 50%	1 1%
N = 194 Missing Cases = 1	124	70

Corrected Chi Square = 45.9 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.00

to the mere 1% of non-Finnish speakers who place high on the Index.

When the High Culture Index is associated with ability to speak Finnish it is clear that almost all who score high on the Index speak Finnish but as a group, only 9% of the Finnish speakers score high on this Index.

The same is true when the Value Index is considered. Most who score high are Finnish speakers but only 15% of the Finnish speakers score high on the Index. This compares to 5% of non-Finnish speakers scoring high on the Value Index.

Table 37 shows the distribution of the Identity Maintenance Index with the ability to speak Finnish. As in the Culture Retention Index, half of the Finnish speaking respondents score high on the Index. Only 14% of the non-Finnish speakers score high on the Index. However, the non-Finnish speakers do much better on the Identity Maintenance Index than the Culture Retention Index.

Since receiving a high score on the Culture Retention Index and Identity Maintenance Index is highly dependent upon the ability to speak Finnish, it is appropriate to evaluate the relationship between speaking Finnish and the hypothesis characteristics. Table 38 indicates that there is a minimal amount of difference between urban or

Table 37

Identity Maintenance Index by Ability to Speak Finnish

Identity Maintenance Index	Speak Finnish	
	Yes	No
Low	62 50%	60 86%
High	62 50%	10 14%
N = 194 Missing Cases = 1	124	70

Corrected Chi Square = 22.9 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.00

Table 38

Ability to Speak Finnish by Childhood Residence

Speak Finnish	Childhood Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Yes	85 65%	39 61%
No	45 35%	25 39%
N = 194 Missing Cases = 1	130	64

Corrected Chi Square = 0.2 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.65

rural childhood residency as far as the ability to speak Finnish. Chi Square indicates a poor significance level. Language, then, cannot be viewed as a major contribution to the higher culture retention level of urban-raised respondents compared to rural-raised respondents.

Table 39 is a crosstabulation of the ability to speak Finnish with childhood neighbourhood. Those living in a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood during childhood are more likely to speak Finnish than those raised in a non-Finnish neighbourhood. While 76% of those from a Finnish neighbourhood speak Finnish, the lesser figure of 53% of those from a non-Finnish neighbourhood speak Finnish. The greater propensity for Finns from predominantly Finnish neighbourhoods to speak Finnish suggests that this contributes to their having a higher level of culture retention. It is interesting to note, however, that over half of the respondents from a non-Finnish neighbourhood still speak Finnish.

The final hypothesis characteristic of socio-economic status shows a strong relationship between SES level and the ability to speak Finnish. As indicated in Table 40, 78% of respondents from a low family SES are able to speak Finnish. This compares to 59% of those from a middle SES and 15% of those from a high SES being able to speak Finnish. This relationship then also contributes

Table 39

Ability to Speak Finnish by Childhood Neighbourhood

Speak Finnish	Childhood Neighbourhood	
	Predominantly Finnish	Not Finnish
Yes	70 76%	53 53%
No	22 24%	48 47%
N = 193 Missing Cases = 2	92	101

Corrected Chi Square = 10.6 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.00

Table 40

Ability to Speak Finnish by Family Socio-economic Status

Speak Finnish	Family Socio-economic Status		
	Low	Middle	High
Yes	83 78%	36 59%	4 15%
No	23 22%	25 41%	22 85%
N = 193 Missing Cases = 2	106	61	26

Chi Square = 36.6 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.00

to the finding that those respondents from a low family SES retain more of their ethnic culture than those from a high family SES.

E. The Identification of the Elite

Throughout this chapter it has been recognized that only a small group of individuals score high on the High Culture Index and the Value Index. These two sections of the questionnaire went beyond common Finnish customs to test for a deeper knowledge of Finnish culture. Without these two sections the respondents en masse would greatly improve their score on the Culture Retention Index.

The High Culture Index is based on a set of questions asking the respondent to name as many Finnish writers, Finnish works of literature, Finnish musicians, athletes, statesmen and artists as they can. Twelve people place high on the Index. All 12 are from families having a representative occupation that places at 49 or less on the Blishen scale. In addition, 9 were from a low family SES, the other 3 from a middle family SES. Eleven were raised in an urban setting. Eight have a post-secondary education and all are themselves classified as having a middle or high SES. All are either Finnish-born or first generation Canadians, being equally divided between the

two. All but one can speak, understand, read and write Finnish. Ten are single. Eleven are female.

The Value Index is based on the question concerning awareness of Finnish values. Respondents were asked to name as many values as possible and also to indicate which of the values named guide their own behavior. Twenty-two people place high on the Index. Of these 22 people, 21 come from families having a representative occupation that places at 49 or less on the Blishen scale. In addition, 12 are from a low family SES and 9 from a middle family SES. Nineteen were raised in an urban setting. Fifteen have a post-secondary education and all are themselves classified as having a middle or high SES -- eleven in each category. Eleven are first generation Canadians and another 6 were born in Finland. Nineteen can understand and speak Finnish. Seventeen are single. Sixteen are female.

F. General Observations on the Level of Culture Retention Among the Sample Population

The researcher would be remiss in his obligations to the reader if some of the general frequencies on the questions asked in the questionnaire are not shared.

The sampling procedure was not random and therefore, concise statements cannot be extended to the total population. However, being the only sociological study

to date (as far as the author is aware of) examining the Thunder Bay Finnish population, the general frequencies may provide some indication of assimilation trends within the total population.

Within the sample, 50 of the respondents are married. Of those 50, 20 or 40% are married to a Finn. Since intermarriage has been cited as a factor causing decline in ethnic culture retention, this reasonably high in-group marriage among the young adult age group bodes well for the continuance of the ethnic culture in the near future.

Eighty-seven percent of the respondents have mothers who speak Finnish. Ninety-one percent of the respondents have fathers who speak Finnish. The number of respondents who can speak Finnish is considerably less than the parents but is still a healthy 64%. It was indicated that over 75% of the parents speak Finnish at home. Around half of the parents also use their Finnish at work. In comparison, of the respondents who speak Finnish, a similar 78% speak Finnish at home and 60% speak Finnish at work. Finnish is very often used (around 90%) by the parents when speaking to their spouse. A similar percentage of the parents speak Finnish to their friends. Between 55% and 60% of parents speak Finnish to their children. Of the Finnish speaking respondents, 35% speak Finnish to their children. This signals a gradual decline.

Moving into knowledge and practise of Finnish customs and culture, it was found that 32% of the respondents eat Finnish cuisine at least every three days. Fifty-three percent eat Finnish cuisine at least once a week. Over half of the respondents indicated they wear Finnish-style clothing or clothing accessories. Finnish Christmas customs are observed by 55% of the respondents. Other Finnish holidays such as Juhannuspäivä (Midsummer's Day) and Itsenäisyyspäivä (Independence Day) are observed by 43% of the respondents. The practising of traditional Finnish handicrafts such as weaving, embroidery, and woodcarving is done by 35% of the respondents.

Results from the high culture section show 21% of the respondents able to name from one to seven Finnish writers or poets. The most frequently named are Kivi, Päätalo, Linna and Waltari in that order. Twenty-two percent of the respondents named from one to five famous Finnish works of literature. The most frequently named, in descending order, are the Kalevala, Tuntematon Sotilas (The Unknown Soldier), and Seitsemän Veljestä (Seven Brothers). From one to four Finnish musicians or composers are named by 49% of the respondents. Sibelius is named eighty-four times while next in order are Katri Helena at only 9 times, then Tapani Kansa and Tapio Rautavaara, both at 6 times. Finnish athletes are most easily named

as 54% of the respondents are able to name from 1 to 7 athletes. Paavo Nurmi is most popular having been named 87 times. Then came Lasse Viren with 56 and the Juha Mieto with 17. From 1 to 6 Finnish statesmen or military leaders are named by 40% of the respondents. Former President Kekkonen is named 60 times, General Mannerheim 35 times and former President Paasikivi 9 times. Finally, Finnish artists, designers or architects are named by 31% of the respondents. The numbers named range from one to eight. In descending order the most frequently named are architect and designer Alvar Aalto, architects Revell (Toronto City Hall) and Saarinen, and designer, Tapio Wirkkala.

Only small numbers of respondents are able to identify a Finnish value. The most common value given is hard work with 15% of the respondents naming it. Honesty is second in frequency with 11% naming it. The third most frequent value is family at 9%. The other remaining values are independence with 9%, cleanliness at 8%, sisu (perserverance) at 8%, religion at 7%, pride in endeavors at 6% and pride in heritage at 5%.

The third section of the questionnaire on efforts to retain a Finnish identity examines participation in certain activities conducive to maintaining a Finnish identity. Fifty-six percent of the respondents belong

to a Finnish club or organization. Over half of these belong to more than one such organization.

Use of the Finnish language media by the respondents is considerably lower. Of those who can read Finnish, 30% read a Finnish newspaper at least once a month. Only 14% of the readers read a Finnish periodical each month. Considering all respondents, 17% listen to Finnish radio programs at least once a month while 9% watch Finnish programs on television if they can.

Imported Finnish food is bought weekly by 16% of the respondents. Local Finnish foods are bought weekly by 35% of the respondents.

The majority of the respondents (53%) have traveled to Finland, an action considered by Greeley to indicate a renewed interest in the ethnic culture (1971:149-150). Of those who have not, 36% give a financial constraint as their reason why they have not traveled to Finland.

A language course has been taken by 47% of the respondents. This action is also cited by Greeley as an indicator of renewed interest in the ethnic culture (1971:149-150).

Perhaps counter to some of the very positive efforts the respondents have made, when those respondents who are parents are asked if they teach their children Finnish culture, only 27% answer affirmatively.

G. Summary

This chapter has presented the data obtained through the questionnaire. Numerous tables have been presented. Analysis has closely followed the major points of information contained in the tables especially as they relate to the hypothesis and the broader issue of culture retention among the sample population. In the final chapter which follows, conclusions are drawn from the data gathered. It is hoped that interpretation is facilitated by the historical and theoretical perspectives contained in earlier chapters.

VI. CHAPTER SIX - CONCLUSION

A. Hypothesis Characteristics

1. Residency - Urban or Rural

Neither the often touted view that the rural setting is more conducive to the retention of ethnic language and old ways nor the reverse argument that urbanization's, "tendency toward conformity acts against survival of minority language" (Joy, 1972:9), were supported by the data. Thus, the special situation of the ethnic group under study must be considered.

In Chapter Two, it was indicated that Finnish immigrants to Thunder Bay before the Depression were largely rural. The Finnish population in the Census Division of Thunder Bay was not found to be predominantly urbanized until the 1961 Census. The largely urban character of Finnish immigration in the 1950's and an abandonment of marginal farming in rural Thunder Bay at this time effected this change.

Rural Finnish communities around Thunder Bay have been described as reaching their peak in the 1930's, long before the respondents under consideration were born (A Chronicle of Finnish Settlements in Rural Thunder Bay, 1976:18). Since the childhood years we are talking

about would be roughly the 1960's, the limited isolation of the rural communities by this time is also a factor. Television entered the home. Travel to the city was easy. Rural residency was increasingly of the non-farm nature. Employment was found in the distant bush camps or the city with its mills and plants. In that sense, community life was limited. The halls and co-ops had largely disappeared. Even among the few Finnish churches that existed, some had closed, their parishoners going to the city churches.[1]

In the city, the Finnish population steadily grew. While the Finnish organizations have changed in character and patronage and the spatial distribution of the Finnish population has become more diverse, the urban Finnish community has not declined as the rural communities have. Finnish clubs and organizations prevail. A distinctive Finnish business district is evident.

The influx of diverse immigrant groups to the young expanding transportation and resource industry center early in its history precluded a large established population to force conformity. The Finnish community maintained its character with little difficulty.

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[1]Grace Lutheran Church of Intola amalgamated with Christ Lutheran Church of Thunder Bay in 1964. The Lutheran parish in Nolalu no longer had a visiting Finnish minister by the mid-1960's.

It is not with great surprise then that the respondents raised in an urban setting retained more of their culture than rural Finns.

2. Residential Propinquity to Other Finns

The part of the hypothesis that suggested Finns who have a high residential propinquity to other Finns will retain more of their ethnic culture is the most straight forward. The data provided strong support. In both the childhood and present time frame those Finns living in predominantly Finnish neighbourhoods had a higher level of culture retention than those who did not reside in such a neighbourhood. While such settings are conducive to culture retention, there are fewer and fewer of them. While 48% of the respondents indicated their childhood neighbourhood was predominantly Finnish, only 25% said the same for their present neighbourhood. With the influx of other nationalities into the traditionally Finnish rural communities and the integration of Finns into all residential areas of the city, easily identified Finnish neighbourhoods are few.

3. Socio-economic Status

The hypothesis proposed that Finns of a middle to low socio-economic status would retain more of their

ethnic culture than those of a high socio-economic status. Considering the familial situation, the hypothesis is supported. Those from families having a low occupation level and a low socio-economic status (occupation level and education level combined) retained more of their Finnish culture than the high occupation group and high socio-economic status group. The concentration of the parent generation in labouring jobs such as bushwork, carpentry, and mill work where many of their fellow workers are Finnish and contact with a non-Finnish clientele or associates is limited in part aids the retention of the culture. On the other hand, the few families with the primary household occupation being a higher level occupation such as a teacher, manager, or businessman suggests the scenario of special training, involvement with associates of many ethnic origins, business contacts with the wider society, and a diverse clientele to be served. Integration with the wider society is important. Ethnic identification is de-emphasized.

Education by itself does not provide support for the hypothesis. There is no significant difference between the culture retention level of respondents from a family with a high school education or less or a post-secondary education as the representative education level.

Controlling for the respondent's education there is still no great difference.

When a reversal of the trend shown for family socio-economic status is shown in crosstabulations of the respondent's socio-economic status with the Culture Retention Index and the Identity Maintenance Index it is for the most part expected. Respondents who have been in the culture retentive environment of a low or middle socio-economic status during childhood have experienced upward mobility. But as Greeley suggests in the Emerging Adjustment phase of his 'Steps in Ethnic Assimilation' a social-psychological adjustment can be achieved whereby loyalty to their own traditions and being a part of the larger society are both possible. Socio-economic success can be had while still retaining and practising Finnish customs and culture (1971:57).

The difference between the family of origin and the respondent's current family situation as it relates to socio-economic status and culture retention is a significant one. It suggests a rapid change from the parent generation where success meant acceptance of the dominant culture and adoption of the dominant culture's formula for success to the respondents' generation where success is achieved by following the same ground rules but in a multicultural society where it is possible to rely on one's ethnicity

to provide a self-identity different from others. It could be stated as being fashionable to have different self-identity sources.

With Thunder Bay's relatively large Finnish community, it could be argued that Finnish professional and business people can now do quite well by counting the Finnish population as a relatively stable entity among their clientele. Whereas their parents lived Finnish culture, success often provides these people with the means to indulge in Finnish culture -- travel to Finland, purchase imported Finnish products, and study Finnish high culture.

The fact that the respondents have but recently attained their high socio-economic status prevents further conclusions to be drawn. A useful test would be to measure the culture retention level of the respondents' children several years from now to see if the hypothesis holds true or if the upwardly mobile, yet culturally aware, respondents have a lasting commitment to Finnish ethnic culture strong enough to pass on to yet another generation.

B. Culture Retention and Identity Maintenance

While both Section II of the questionnaire on knowledge and practise of Finnish customs and culture

and Section III of the questionnaire on efforts to retain a Finnish identity fall under the broad definition of culture retention, they do represent distinct mechanisms for the retention of culture. Section II is concerned with culture obtained largely through socialization by the family. It answers queries such as how the household carried on folkways and customs, was the environment there to nurture appreciation of Finnish culture, and were values and knowledge about high culture part of the respondent's learning process. It goes without saying that if the parents did not or could not imbue the socialization process with a good dose of Finnish ethnic culture, the respondents would have great difficulty in influencing their level of knowledge and practise of customs in the home.

Section III sought to address the literature which argues that a revival in cultural awareness can occur in later generations. Ethnic roots are used to develop an identity and a sense of belonging. The new cultural awareness is deliberately and selectively sought. There is the element of choice involved. While the child socialized in the home has little choice if he/she is taught Finnish first, used the sauna as the way to bathe and ate Finnish foods as routine -- or had none of these -- there is a decision involved when the respondent is asked whether he/she now belongs to a Finnish organ-

ization, reads a Finnish newspaper, has taken a language course, travels to Finland, and intends to teach his/her children Finnish culture.

The data generally gave support to the concept of a new form of ethnicity. There was less differentiation between the urban and rural resident for the Identity Maintenance Index (Section III) than for the Culture Retention Index (Section II). The same is true for the levels of socio-economic status. For the present situation, the difference between urban and rural for the Identity Maintenance Index was insignificant. For propinquity and socio-economic status, the present situation indicated less differentiation on the Identity Maintenance Index than for the Culture Retention Index. Slightly better scores on the Identity Maintenance Index as opposed to the Culture Retention Index are evident.

It can be concluded that the means to maintain a Finnish identity are more universally available. Those with a strong Finnish cultural background improve and maintain their awareness while those lacking a childhood socialization into Finnish culture can reassert their heritage by learning about the culture and language.

C. The Role of Generation and Language

Of the other factors influencing the level of culture retention, generation Canadian and language are the most

important in their effect on the hypothesis characteristics. The data indicated obviously that the Finnish-born and first generation Canadians retained more of their ethnic culture than second, third and fourth generation Canadians. Since being Finnish-born or first generation Canadian equated strongly with urban residency, high residential propinquity to other Finns and low family socio-economic status this factor contributed strongly to the positive outcome of the hypothesis testing.

Individual items making up the Identity Maintenance Idex gave further support to the idea of resurging interest in ethnic heritage. Regardless of generation, strong interest in Finnish language courses and Finnish culture courses were evident. Having Finns among one's friendship network also did not vary greatly by generation. The ease with which identification takes place reminds one of Weber's, "subjectively believed community of descent." (1961:308).

When generation was controlled for on crosstabulations of the hypothesis characteristics with the indices, the conclusion emerged that the hypothesis is more strongly supported by the third and fourth generations than the first and second generations. While as a whole the data did not support the rural residency characteristic, it

was supported by respondent data from the third and fourth generations.

Clearly, generation has its effect on retention of culture. There are some cultural traits that are lost very rapidly. Others can linger for generations. Thus, the situational conditions that influence the level of culture retention can vary a good deal from one generation to another.

The ability to speak the Finnish language equated strongly with a high residential propinquity to other Finns and a low family socio-economic status, augmenting the support given to these two hypothesis characteristics. The ability to speak Finnish was only slightly differentiated between the urban and rural Finn in favour of the latter.

The Finnish language is used among the respondents primarily as a conversational tool. The language was highly used at home (78%) and at work (60%) by those who could speak it. Only a limited number read Finnish newspapers or periodicals.

However, with such wide interest in Finnish language courses and the generally high level of language retention (64%) among the respondents, it is evident that language will continue to be a means whereby the Finnish ethnic culture is retained.

D. On the Nature and Implications of the Thesis

In order to investigate the factors that influence the retention of ethnic culture among Thunder Bay Finns a rather comprehensive approach was taken. Being a small nation, the history of Finland is not well known to non-Finns. As one of the numerically smaller ethnic groups to emigrate to Canada, Finns have not been much studied. Because only limited studies on the Finns in Canada have been done it was considered important to provide a historical perspective on the Finnish people -- their geo-political and social history, the causes and periods of emigration, their experiences in North America, and the community life they have established. Knowing about the waves of immigration to Thunder Bay helps to explain why among a tight age group, ranging from Finnish-born to fourth generation Canadian, there is found wide variance in levels of culture retention. A cursory history of the Finns in North America gives a perspective over time of the boundary maintenance mechanisms established and the type of integration that occurred. While a decline in community life could be argued it is also possible to speak in terms of an evolution of the Finnish community in keeping with changes occurring in the wider society. Through a survey of the history of the Finnish people it is even

possible to find evidence in present day decendents of an attitude towards their culture instilled through centuries of struggle. Pride in their culture is a typical response. Certain customs are clung to zealously. The clannishness persists.

The survey instrument also shared to some extent the broader approach to the topic at hand. While focusing on the hypothesis and the means to operationalize it, the questionnaire gathered a wealth of information that could be utilized to investigate other queries about the Thunder Bay Finnish population. The opportunity is there to more closely evaluate the use of the Finnish language. A heirarchy of cultural traits and customs most retained could also be determined. The opportunities and guidelines for further investigation are there, be they focusing on one generation, exploring male/female differences, charting social mobility, or evaluating the most successful means of maintaining ethnic awareness.

The possibilities for further research are in themselves an accomplishment. But primarily, this thesis can be measured by evaluating whether the intended goals have been attained. By this measure, the methodology chosen was successful in providing the data with which to test the hypothesis. In testing the hypothesis, the influence of residency, level of propinquity to

other Finns, and socio-economic status on the retention of ethnic culture has become more clear. The influence of several other demographic characteristices are also better understood. As a result of this study, the theoretical concepts currently found in the sociological literature on ethnicity, concepts such as a resurging ethnic awareness and the functional selectivity of the new ethnicity, have been supported.

The complexity of determining what factors influence culture retention and consequently the caution that must be used in making tendency statements is very evident. This notwithstanding, a better understanding of the ethnic culture retention of young adults of Finnish descent in Thunder Bay and thereby the future health of the Finnish community has been attained.

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APPENDIX I

1. Development Time Line
2. Organization by Method of Distribution
3. Covering letter in mailed questionnaires
4. Reminder card for mailed questionnaires
5. Questionnaire

1. Development Time Line

Questionnaire Revision	December, 1980 to January, 1981
Printing	February, 1981
Distribution	March, 1981 to October, 1981 (Postal Strike - July to August, 1981)
Coding Preparation	September, 1981 to October, 1981
Coding	November, 1981 to December, 1981
Placed on Computer	January, 1982

2. Organization by Method of Distribution

METHOD	CASE NUMBER
Phoned	001 - 015
Mailed	116 - 112
Mailed Paired Sibling[1]	113 - 120
Non-Mailed Paired Sibling[1]	121 - 140
Non-Mailed	141 - 195

[1]Besides gathering the sibling order for each respondent (variable 005), fourteen sets of paired siblings were gathered to further test a suggested thesis that sibling order affects ethnic culture retention.

3. Covering letter in mailed questionnaires

September , 1981.

Terve, Greetings,

My name is Michael Maunula. I am a graduate student at Lakehead University. I am conducting a survey among young adults of Finnish descent in the Thunder Bay Area regarding Finnish culture. I have been given your name by another person who has already filled out a questionnaire. Would you also kindly fill out the enclosed questionnaire. A self-addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed for you to return the completed questionnaire to me. If you have any questions regarding the questionnaire you may contact me at 345-6497. It would be appreciated if you would return the questionnaire within a week. Thank you for your co-operation.

Sincerely,

Michael Maunula

4. Reminder card for mailed questionnaires

A REMINDER....

If you have not yet completed and mailed the questionnaire I sent you, would you please take the time to fill it out and return it to me soon. Your co-operation in this endeavor will be most appreciated.

If you have qny questions or concerns do not hesitate to call me at 345-6497. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Michael Maunula

Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is being conducted by Michael Maunula as part of a Master's Degree program with the Department of Sociology at Lakehead University.

The intent of the questionnaire is to gather information regarding Finnish culture among young adults of Finnish descent in the Thunder Bay Area.

In the processing of your completed questionnaire with others received, confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained. Thank you for your co-operation by completing this questionnaire.

Instructions:

This questionnaire should take about 20 minutes to complete. Please read each question carefully and answer according to your own knowledge and situation.

Please check the appropriate blank when responses are provided. Print your answer in the space provided when asked to provide the response. Questions contained in boxes may not apply to you. Read the qualifying statement in the upper left hand corner. If you qualify, answer the question, if not, proceed to the next question.

Screening Question

Are you of Finnish ethnic background? YES ____

NO ____

If "NO", you do not have to answer any further questions.

Section I - General Information

In this first section we would like to know some information about yourself, your family, and your place of residence.

* * * * * * * * *

1. Sex. Male ____

   Female ____

2. Age. _____

3. How many older brothers or sisters do you have? (If none, write in NONE)

   Number of older brothers _____

   Number of older sisters _____

4. How many younger brothers or sisters do you have? (If none, write in NONE)

   Number of younger brothers _____

   Number of younger sisters _____

5. Answer if you have any deceased brothers or sisters.

		Year of death
Number of deceased older brothers	____	_____
Number of deceased older sisters	____	_____
Number of deceased younger brothers	____	_____
Number of deceased younger sisters	____	_____

6. Where were you born? _____

   (Please be specific, eg. Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada)

7. Answer if you were born in Canada.

a. Are you the First Generation of your family born in Canada? _____

b. Second Generation? _____

c. Third Generation? _____

d. Fourth Generation? _____

e. Fifth Generation? _____

8. Answer if you were born outside Canada.

What year did you come to Canada? _____

9. How many years have you lived in the Thunder Bay Area?

_____

10. Marital Status

a. Single ____

b. 1) Married ____

2) Living together ____

c. Divorced/Separated ____

d. Widowed ____

11. Answer if you are married.

What is your spouse's ethnic background? _____

12. Living Arrangement. Which of the following best describes your situation.

    a. I have continually and am presently living with my parents. _____

    b. I have lived away from my parents for a period greater than one year but am now living with them. _____

    c. I am temporarily living away from my parents now. (I.E. away at school, job placement, etc.) _____

    d. I have permanently moved out of my parents house. (Married, fully independent, parents deceased, parents live in another town, etc.) _____

13. Answer if you do not live with your parents.

    How many years have you lived away from home? _____

14. What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

    a. Some Elementary _____

    b. Completed Elementary _____

    c. Some High School _____

    d. High School Graduate _____

    e. Some Community College - Applied Arts Division _____

    f. Graduate Community College - Applied Arts Division _____

    g. Some Vocational school/Community College - Technology Division _____

    h. Graduate Vocational school/Community College - Technology Division _____

    i. Some University _____

    j. University Graduate First degree (B.A., B.Ed., B.Sc., etc.) _____

    k. Postgraduate/professional school Please specify what field _____

15. What is your occupation? _____

(Please be specific eg. Primary school teacher, Lakehead Board of Education)

16. Indicate your father's ethnic background.

a. All Finn (both his parents were Finnish) _____

b. Half Finn (one of his parents was Finnish or each parent half Finn) _____

What other ethnic background does he have?

_____

c. Non-Finn (please state his ethnic background: _____) _____

d. Don't know _____

17. Where was your father born? _____
(Eg. Port Arthur, Ontario)

18.

Answer if father born outside Canada.
What year did your father come to Canada? _____

19. Indicate your mother's ethnic background.

a. All Finn (both her parents were Finnish) _____

b. Half Finn (one of her parents was Finnish or each parent half Finn) _____

What other ethnic background does she have?

_____

c. Non-Finn (Please state her ethnic background:_____) _____

d. Don't know _____

20. Where was your mother born? _____
(Eg. Port Arthur, Ontario)

21 | Answer if mother born outside Canada.

What year did your mother come to Canada? _____

22. Does your father speak Finnish? YES ___

NO ___

23. Answer if you answered YES to the above question.

Indicate where and with whom your father speaks Finnish.

Where?		With whom?	
a. Home	____	a. Spouse	____
b. Work	____	b. Parents	____
c. Other	____	c. His children	____
Specify:	_____	d. Fellow workers	____
	_____	e. Friends	____
		f. Other	____
		Specify:	_____
			_____

24. Does your mother speak Finnish? YES ___

NO ___

25. Answer if you answered YES to the above question.

Indicate where and with whom your mother speaks Finnish.

Where?		With whom?	
a. Home	_____	a. Spouse	_____
b. Work	_____	b. Parents	_____
c. Other	_____	c. Her Children	_____
Specify:	_____	d. Fellow workers	_____
	_____	e. Friends	_____
		f. Other	_____
		Specify:	_____
			_____

26. In what occupation was your father employed for most of your life at home? (Please be specific eg. Welder at Can Car)

_____

27. In what occupation was your mother employed for most of your life at home? (Please be specific eg. Clerk at Safeway)

_____

28. Who was the principle wage earner?

a. Father _____

b. Mother _____

c. Other (specify who and their occupation) _____

_____

_____

25. Answer if the principle wage earner died early in your life or for some other reason no longer held that position (eg. illness, separation, etc.)

Who took over the role of principle wage earner? _____

What was his/her occupation? _____

30. Indicate the highest level of education your father and mother achieved?

	Father	Mother
a. No School	____	____
b. Some Elementary	____	____
c. Completed Elementary	____	____
d. Some High School	____	____
e. High School Graduate	____	____
f. Some Community College - Applied Arts Division	____	____
g. Graduate Community College - Applied Arts Division	____	____
h. Some Vocational school/ Community College - Technology Division	____	____
i. Graduate Vocational school/Community College - Technology Division	____	____
j. Some University	____	____
k. University Graduate First degree (B.A., B.Ed., B.Sc., etc.)	____	____
l. Postgraduate/Professional School	____	____
Please specify what Field	_____	

31. For most of your childhood and youth, where have you lived?

    a. In an urban, city setting. _____

    b. In a rural, country setting. _____

32. What was the name of the area you lived in as a child and youth? (eg. Jumbo Gardens, Intola, East End. If the area did not have a name, then please identify it by main streets in the area, eg. Red River Road, John Street, etc.)

    _____

33. Where do you live now?

    a. In an urban, city setting. _____

    b. In a rural, country setting. _____

34. What is the name of the area in which you live now? (eg. County Park, Forest Park, MacKenzie, etc. If the area does not have a name, then please identify it by main streets in the area, eg. Hilldale Road, Victoria Avenue, etc.)

    _____

35. How many years have you lived in the urban or rural area specified in question 34.

    _____

36. Think of the ten nearest neighbours to the house you spent most of your childhood and youth in. How many of those neighbours were Finnish?

None	____	Three	____	Six	____	Nine	____
One	____	Four	____	Seven	____	Ten	____
Two	____	Five	____	Eight	____		

37. Of the ten nearest neighbours to your present residence, how many are Finnish?

None	____	Three	____	Six	____	Nine	____
One	____	Four	____	Seven	____	Ten	____
Two	____	Five	____	Eight	____		

38. Could the neighbourhood you spent most of your childhood and youth be described as a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood?

YES ____ Give reason why _____

NO ____ _____

39. Can the neighbourhood you live in now be described as a predominantly Finnish neighbourhood?

YES ____ Give reason why _____

NO ____ _____

Section II - Knowledge and Practise of Finnish Customs and Culture

In this section we would like to know what Finnish customs you practise and your knowledge of Finnish culture.

* * * * * * * * *

1. How often do you eat Finnish dishes or traditional foods of Finland as part of your diet?

   a. Every day _____

   b. Every 2 to 3 days _____

   c. Once a week _____

   d. Once every two weeks _____

   e. Once a month _____

   f. A few times in the course of a year _____

   g. Never _____

2. Answer if your diet does include Finnish foods and dishes.

   Name some of the Finnish foods and dishes you eat.

   _____ _____

   _____ _____

   _____ _____

3. At any time during the year do you wear Finnish-style clothing or apparel? (This would include Finnish winter hats, mittens, and other clothing accessories.)

   YES _____ NO _____

4. Answer if you do wear Finnish-style clothing or apparel.

Name some of the items you wear.

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

5. Do you observe special Finnish customs during the Christmas season?

YES ___ NO ___

6. Answer if you do observe special Finnish customs during the Christmas season.

Briefly list the Finnish customs you observe during the Christmas season.

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

7. Are there other Finnish holidays you observe, even if only by the simple recognition that it is a special day in the Finnish year?

YES ___ NO ___

8. Answer if you do observe other Finnish Holidays.

Name the other Finnish Holidays you observe.

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

9. Would you describe your home as being furnished:

   a. Largely in a Finnish manner _____

   b. Moderately in a Finnish manner _____

   c. Not in a Finnish manner _____

   Note: Let furnishings include dishes, wall hangings, nick nacks, ornaments, as well as furniture.

10. Do you do any traditional Finnish handicrafts such as the weaving of rugs and wall hangings (ryijy), wood carving, etc.?

    YES ____ NO ____

11. Answer if you do traditional Finnish handicrafts.

    Name the handicraft activities you do.

    _____ _____

    _____ _____

    _____ _____

12. Do you have a sauna in your home?

    YES ___ NO ___

13. Do you have a sauna elsewhere? (Eg. such as a summer camp or you have <u>regular</u> use of your parents sauna, etc.)

    YES ____

    NO ____

14. Answer if you said NO to either Question 12 or 13.

    If there are restricting circumstances why you do not have a sauna that you would like to indicate (eg. you live in an apartment, you are not able to afford a summer camp, etc.), please give them here.

    _____

    _____

    _____

For questions 15 - 20 see how many names you can give for each category.

15. Prominent Finnish writers/poets

_____
_____
_____
_____

16. Famous Finnish Works of Literature

_____
_____
_____
_____

17. Finnish Musicians/Composers

_____
_____
_____
_____

18. Finnish Athletes

_____
_____
_____
_____

19. Finnish Statesman/Military Leaders

_____
_____
_____
_____

20. Finnish Artists/Designers/ Architects

_____
_____
_____
_____

Values are something regarded as desirable, worthy, or right, as a belief, standard, or moral precept: eg. The values of a democratic society.

21. What Finnish values are you aware of?

a. _____ ____

b. _____ ____

c. _____ ____

d. _____ ____

e. _____ ____

f. _____ ____

g. _____ ____

h. _____ ____

i. _____ ____

j. _____ ____

Please check in the space provided on the right those values that guide your behaviour.

22. What is your understanding of the Finnish language? (respond to each statement.)

a. Can speak Finnish. YES ____
NO ____

b. Can understand spoken Finnish. YES ____
NO ____

c. Can read Finnish. YES ____
NO ____

d. Can write Finnish. YES ____
NO ____

23. Answer if you answered YES to Question 22a.

Indicate where and with whom you speak Finnish.

Where?		With whom?	
a. Home	_____	a. Spouse	____
b. Work	_____	b. Parents	____
c. Other	_____	c. Your children	____
Specify:	_____	d. Fellow Workers	____
	_____	e. Friends	____
		f. Other	____
		Specify:	_____
			_____

24. Answer if you answered NO to all sections (a-d) of Question 22.

Respond to this statement: I can only understand and speak a few Finnish words and phrases.	YES	____
	NO	____

Section III - Efforts to Retain a Finnish Identity

In this section we would like to know what efforts you take to retain your Finnish identity.

* * * * * * * * * *

1. Do you belong, or have you belonged to any Finnish organizations or clubs? (A Finnish church can be considered an organization.)

   YES ____ NO ____

2. Answer if you do, or have belonged to a Finnish club or organization.

   Name the clubs or organizations.

   _____ _____

   _____ _____

   _____ _____

3. Do you ever attend any of the public social functions put on by various Finnish organizations or clubs?

   a. At least once a month. _____

   b. 6 - 11 times a year. _____

   c. 1 - 5 times a year. _____

   d. Less than once each year. _____

   e. Never _____

Answer if you can read Finnish.

4. Do you read any of the Finnish language newspapers such as Canadan Uutiset or Vapaa Sana?

Weekly ___
1-3 times a month ___
6-11 times a year ___
1-5 times a year ___
Never ___

5. Do you read any Finnish Magazines such as Seura or Apu?

Monthly ___
6-11 times a year ___
1-5 times a year ___
Never ___

6. Do you watch the Finnish programs on community television?

Weekly ___
1-3 times a month ___
6-11 times a year ___
1-5 times a year ___
Never ___
Programs Unavailable ___

7. Do you listen to the Finnish programs on radio?

Weekly ___
1-3 times a month ___
6-11 times a year ___
1-5 times a year ___
Never ___

8. How often are imported Finnish food products bought for your household?

a. Every week. ____
b. Every month. ____
c. A few times a year. ____
d. Never. ____

9. How often are Finnish food products from local stores (such as Finnish baking, prepared fish) bought for your household?

a. Every week. ____
b. Every month. ____
c. A few times a year. ____
d. Never. ____

10. When shopping in general do you look for Finnish-made products to purchase?

YES _____ NO ____

Why? _____

_____

11. Have you ever visited Finland?

YES ____ NO ____

12. Answer if you have visited Finland.

How many times have you visited Finland? _____

By what means have you traveled to Finland? _____
(Please be specific, eg. Suomi Seura _____
charter flight, Ocean liner, group _____
tour.)

13. Answer if you have not visited Finland.

For what reasons have you not visited Finland?
(Eg. too expensive, no desire, no time, dislike travelling.)

_____

14. Have you ever taken a course on Finnish Culture?

YES ____ NO ____

15. Have you ever taken a Finnish language course?

YES ____ NO ____

16. Do you ever buy/borrow Finnish music records or tapes?

    a. At least once a month. ____

    b. 6-11 times a year. ____

    c. 1-5 times a year. ____

    d. Less than once a year. ____

    e. Never. ____

17. Of your 5 closest friends, how many are Finns?

None	___	Three	___
One	___	Four	___
Two	___	Five	___

18. Did your parents make deliberate efforts to teach you Finnish culture?

    YES ___ NO ___

    If yes, in what way? _____

    _____

19. Answer if you have children.

    Do you teach your children Finnish culture?

    YES ___ NO ___

20. What does it mean to you to be Finnish?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. The researcher would like your help in getting this questionnaire to other Thunder Bay area Finns between the ages of 17 and 27. Do you know other Finns within this age group whom I could contact to complete a questionnaire? If so, please give their name, address and telephone number on the spaces provided below. Like yours, their completed questionnaire will be kept anonymous. Thank you once again.

Name	Address	Telephone Number

APPENDIX II

1. Index Marking Scheme for Section II of Questionnaire
2. Index Marking Scheme for Section III of Questionnaire

Index Marking Scheme for Section II of Questionnaire

Item	Value	Calculation
1	a. 6 b. 5 c. 4 d. 3 e. 2 f. 1 g. 0	$\frac{x}{6}$
2	1 per item	$\frac{x}{10}$ (greatest number given)
3	Yes 2 No 0	$\frac{x}{2}$
4	1 per item	$\frac{x}{8}$ (greatest number given)
5	Yes 3 No 0	$\frac{x}{3}$
6	1 per item	$\frac{x}{8}$ (greatest number given)
7	Yes 2 No 0	$\frac{x}{2}$
8	1 per item	$\frac{x}{4}$ (greatest number given)
9	a. 4 b. 2 c. 0	$\frac{x}{4}$
10	Yes 2 No 0	$\frac{x}{2}$
11	1 per item	$\frac{x}{5}$ (greatest number given)

Item	Value	Calculation
12	Yes 2 No 0	$\frac{x}{2}$
13	Yes 2 No 0	$\frac{x}{2}$
14	Use this item to determine whether to include 12 and 13 in Index calculation.	
15	1 per item	$\frac{x}{7}$ (greatest number given)
16	1 per item	$\frac{x}{5}$ (greatest number given)
17	1 per item	$\frac{x}{4}$ (greatest number given)
18	1 per item	$\frac{x}{7}$ (greatest number given)
19	1 per item	$\frac{x}{6}$ (greatest number given)
20	1 per item	$\frac{x}{8}$ (greatest number given)
21a	1 per item	$\frac{x}{10}$ (greatest number given)
21b	1 per item	$\frac{x}{\text{number of values named by respondent}}$
22	a - d Yes 4 No 0	$\frac{x}{16}$
23	Information only; excluded from index calculation.	

Item	Value	Calculation
24	Yes 1	x
	No 0	1

Final Calculation:

$$\frac{\text{total score of questions respondent eligible to answer}}{\text{total possible score of questions respondent eligible to answer}}$$

Index Marking Scheme for Section III of Questionnaire

Item	Value		Calculation
1	Yes 2 No 0		$\frac{x}{2}$
2	1 per item		$\frac{x}{5}$ (greatest number given)
3	a. 4 b. 3 c. 2 d. 1 e. 0		$\frac{x}{4}$
4	Weekly 1 - 3 x's mo. 6 - 11 x's yr. 1 - 5 x's yr. Never	4 3 2 1 0	$\frac{x}{4}$
5	Monthly 6 - 11 x's yr. 1 - 5 x's yr. Never	3 2 1 0	$\frac{x}{3}$
6	Weekly 1 - 3 x's mo. 6 - 11 x's yr. 1 - 5 x's yr. Never Programme Unavailable	4 3 2 1 0	$\frac{x}{4}$ (considered ineligible to answer)
7	Weekly 1 - 3 x's mo. 6 - 11 x's yr. 1 - 5 x's yr. Never	4 3 2 1 0	$\frac{x}{4}$
8	a. 3 b. 2 c. 1 d. 0		$\frac{x}{3}$

Item	Value	Calculation
9	a. 3 b. 2 c. 1 d. 0	x 3
10	Yes 2 No 0	x 2
11	Yes 3 No 0	x 3
12	1 per time	x 5 (greatest number given)
13	Use this item to determine whether to include 11 in Index calculation. (Legitimate excuse: too expensive)	
14	Yes 3 No 0	x 3
15	Yes 3 No 0	x 3
16	a. 4 b. 3 c. 2 d. 1 e. 0	x 4
17	5 4 3 2 1 0	x 5
18	Excluded from Index calculation. (dependent variable)	
19	Yes 3 No 0	x 3
20	Excluded from Index calculation	

Final Calculation:

$$\frac{\text{total score of questions respondent eligible to answer}}{\text{total possible score of questions respondent eligible to answer}}$$

APPENDIX III

1. Questionnaire Coding System

QUESTIONNAIRE CODING SYSTEM

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
General	Blank or no response = 0 or 00			
Case Number		1 2 3	001	CASENUM1
Card Number		4	002	CARDNUM1
1	Male __ 1 Female __ 2	5	003	SEX
2	__ __ Exact Age	6 7	004	AGE
3 - 5	Raised as: Eldest Male __ 01 Eldest Female __ 02 Middle Child __ 03 Youngest Male __ 04 Youngest Female __ 05 Eldest Child and only Male __ 06 Eldest Child and only Female __ 07 Only Male __ 08 Only Female __ 09	8 9	005	SIBORDR

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Column	Variable #	Variable Name
	Youngest Child and Only Male __ 10 Youngest Child and Only Female __ 11 Possible Recode: 01 + 02 + 06 + 07 = 01 Eldest 03 = 03 Middle 04 + 05 + 10 + 11 = 04 Youngest 08 + 09 = 09 Only sex			
6	Port Arthur __ 1 Fort William __ 2 Thunder Bay __ 3 District of Thunder Bay __ 4 Ontario __ 5 Rest of Canada __ 6 U. S. A. __ 7 Finland __ 8 Europe __ 9	____ 10	006	BIRTHPLC
7	1st Generation __ 1 2nd Generation __ 2 3rd Generation __ 3 4th Generation __ 4 5th Generation __ 5 Foreign-Born __ 9	____ 11	007	GEN

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Column	Variable #	Variable Name
8	___ ___ Year Not Applicable = 99	12 13	008	ARRIVAL
9	___ ___ Years	14 15	009	RESLENTH
10	Single __ 1 Married __ 2 Living together __ 3 Divorced/Separated __ 4 Widowed __ 5	16	010	MARITSTA
11	Finnish __ 1 Scandinavian __ 2 Baltic __ 3 Central European __ 4 South European __ 5 East European __ 6 British __ 7 Other __ 8 Not Applicable __ 9	17	011	SPOUSETH

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Column	Variable #	Variable Name
12	a. __ 1 b. __ 2 c. __ 3 d. __ 4	18	012	LIVARANG
13	___ Years 9 = 9+ years 0 = blank & no response & n/a	19	013	YEARSIND
14	S.E.S. Calc. a. __ 01 — 1 } Low (1) b. __ 02 — 2 c. __ 03 — 3 d. __ 04 — 4 } Middle (2) e. __ 05 — 5 f. __ 06 — 7 g. __ 07 — 9 h. __ 08 — 6 } High (3) i. __ 09 — 8 j. __ 10 — 10 k. __ 11 — 11	20 21	014	EDUCATN
15	S.E.S. Calc. 70+ — 1 } High (3) 60 - 69.9 — 2 50 - 59.9 — 3 40 - 49.9 — 4 } Middle (2) 30 - 39.9 — 5 Less than 30 — 6 } Low (1) Student — 7	22	015	OCCUPATN

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Column	Variable #	Variable Name
Based on 14 and 15	S. E. S. Level High ___ 3 Middle ___ 2 Low ___ 1	23	016	RESAGSES (Respondent's aggregate S.E.S. Level)
16	All Finn ___ 1 Half Finn ___ 2 Non Finn ___ 3 Don't Know ___ 4	24	017	FATHRETH
16	Finnish ___ 1 Scandinavian ___ 2 Baltic ___ 3 Central European ___ 4 South European ___ 5 East Eurpoean ___ 6 British ___ 7 Other ___ 8	25	018	FOTHRETH
17	Port Arthur ___ 1 Fort William ___ 2 Thunder Bay ___ 3 District of Thunder Bay ___ 4 Ontario ___ 5 Rest of Canada ___ 6 U. S. A. ___ 7 Finland ___ 8 Europe & Other ___ 9	26	019	FATHRBLC

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
18	__ __ Year Not Applicable = 99	27 28	020	FATHRAVL
19	All Finn __ 1 Half Finn __ 2 Non Finn __ 3 Don't Know __ 4	29	021	MOTHRETH
19	Finnish __ 1 Scandinavian __ 2 Baltic __ 3 Central European __ 4 South European __ 5 East European __ 6 British __ 7 Other __ 8	30	022	MOTHRETN
20	Port Arthur __ 1 Fort William __ 2 Thunder Bay __ 3 District of Thunder Bay __ 4 Ontario __ 5 Rest of Canada __ 6 U. S. A. __ 7 Finland __ 8 Europe & Other __ 9	31	023	MOTHRBLC

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
21	___ ___ Year Not applicable = 99	32 33	024	MOTHRAVL
22	Yes speak Finn __ 1 No speak Finn __ 2	34	025	FATHRSPF
23	Where? a. Speak at home __ 1 No speak at home __ 2	35	026	FATHRSPH
	b. Speak at work __ 1 No speak at work __ 2	36	027	FATHRSPW
	c. Speak other __ 1 No speak other __ 2	37	028	FATHRSPO
	Not applicable = 0			
23	Whom? a. Speak to spouse __ 1 No speak to spouse __ 2	38	029	FATHRTFS
	b. Speak to parents __ 1 No speak to parents __ 2	39	030	FATHRTFP

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
	c. Speak to children ___ 1 No speak to children ___ 2	40	031	FATHRTFC
	d. Speak to workers ___ 1 No speak to workers ___ 2	41	032	FATHRTFW
	e. Speak to friends ___ 1 No speak to friends ___ 2	42	033	FATHRTFF
	f. Speak to other ___ 1 No speak to other ___ 2	43	034	FATHRTFO
	Not applicable = 0			
24	Yes speak Finn ___ 1 No speak Finn ___ 2	44	035	MOTHRSPF
25	Where? a. Speak at home ___ 1 No speak at home ___ 2	45	036	MOTHRSPH
	b. Speak at work ___ 1 No speak at work ___ 2	46	037	MOTHRSPW
	c. Speak at other ___ 1 No speak at other ___ 2	47	038	MOTHRSPO
	Not applicable = 0			

Question #	Categories and/or Codes		Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
25	Whom?				
	a. Speak to spouse	__ 1		039	MOTHRTFS
	No speak to spouse	__ 2	48		
	b. Speak to parents	__ 1		040	MOTHRTFP
	No speak to parents	__ 2	49		
	c. Speak to children	__ 1		041	MOTHRTFC
	No speak to children	__ 2	50		
	d. Speak to workers	__ 1		042	MOTHRTFW
	No speak to workers	__ 2	51		
	e. Speak to friends	__ 1		043	MOTHRTFF
	No speak to friends	__ 2	52		
	f. Speak to other	__ 1		044	MOTHRTFO
	No speak to other	__ 2	53		
	Not applicable = 0				
26	70+	__ 1		045	FATHROPN
	60 - 69.9	__ 2	54		
	50 - 59.9	__ 3			
	40 - 49.9	__ 4			
	30 - 39.9	__ 5			
	Less than 30	__ 6			

Question #	Categories and/or Codes		Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
27	70+	__ 1	55	046	MOTHROPN
	60 - 69.9	__ 2			
	50 - 59.9	__ 3			
	40 - 49.9	__ 4			
	30 - 39.9	__ 5			
	Less than 30	__ 6			
28	a. Father	__ 1	56	047	PRINCWGE
	b. Mother	__ 2			
	c. Other	__ 3			
		S.E.S. Calc.			
Based on 26 - 29	70+	__ 1 }	57	048	FAMSESOC (Highest, most representative occupation for familial S.E.S. level)
	60 - 69.9	__ 2 } High (3)			
	50 - 59.9	__ 3 }			
	40 - 49.9	__ 4 }			
	30 - 39.9	__ 5 } Middle (2)			
	Less than 30	__ 6 } Low (1)			
30	Father a.	__ 01	58 59	049	FATHREDC
	b.	__ 02			
	c.	__ 03			
	d.	__ 04			
	e.	__ 05			
	f.	__ 06			
	g.	__ 07			
	h.	__ 08			
	i.	__ 09			
	j.	__ 10			

Question #	Categories and/or Codes			Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
		k. ___ 11				
		l. ___ 12				
30	Mother	a. ___ 01		60 61	050	MOTHREDC
		b. ___ 02				
		c. ___ 03				
		d. ___ 04				
		e. ___ 05				
		f. ___ 06				
		g. ___ 07				
		h. ___ 08				
		i. ___ 09				
		j. ___ 10				
		k. ___ 11				
		l. ___ 12				
			S.E.S. Calc.			
Based on 30	a. ___ 01		1	62 63	051	FAMSESED (Highest, most representative education for familial S.E.S. level)
	b. ___ 02		2			
	c. ___ 03		3			
	d. ___ 04		4			
			Low (1)			
	e. ___ 05		5			
	f. ___ 06		6			
	g. ___ 07		8			
	h. ___ 08		10			
			Middle (2)			
	i. ___ 09		7			
	j. ___ 10		9			
	k. ___ 11		11			
	l. ___ 12		12			
			High (3)			

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
Based on 26 - 30	S.E.S. Level High __ 3 Middle __ 2 Low __ 1	64	052	AGGFASES (Aggregate familial S.E.S. level)
31	Urban __ 1 Rural __ 2	65	053	CHILDRES
33	Urban __ 1 Rural __ 2	66	054	PRESNTRE
35	___ ___ Years	67 68	055	YRSPRES
36	None __ 99 1 __ 01 2 __ 02 3 __ 03 4 __ 04 5 __ 05 6 __ 06 7 __ 07 8 __ 08 9 __ 09 10 __ 10	69 70	056	CHDPROPQ

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
37	None __ 99 1 __ 01 2 __ 02 3 __ 03 4 __ 04 5 __ 05 6 __ 06 7 __ 07 8 __ 08 9 __ 09 10 __ 10	71 72	057	PRTPROPQ
38	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	73	058	CHDPREDF
39	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	74	059	PRTPREDF
SECTION II				
1	a. __ 1 b. __ 2 c. __ 3 d. __ 4 e. __ 5 f. __ 6 g. __ 7	75	060	FREQFOOD

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
2	___ ___ Number of dishes named Unable to name = 99 Not applicable = 00	76 77	061	NAMEFOOD
3	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	78	062	FINNWEAR
4	___ Number of items named Unable to name = 9 Not applicable = 0	79	063	NAMEWEAR
5	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	80	064	CHRISTMS
Case Number		1 2 3	065	CASENUM2
Card Number		4	066	CARDNUM2
6	___ Number of customs named Unable to name = 9 Not applicable = 0	5	067	NAMECHRI

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
7	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	6	068	HOLIDAY
8	___ Number of holidays named Unable to name = 9 Not applicable = 0	7	069	NAMEHOLI
9	a. __ 1 b. __ 2 c. __ 3	8	070	FURNISH
10	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	9	071	CRAFTS
11	___ Number of handicrafts named Unable to name = 9 Not applicable = 0	10	072	NAMECRAF
12	Yes __ 1 No __ 2 No, with constraining reason (Q. 14) __ 3	11	073	SAUNAONE
13	Yes __ 1 No __ 2 No, with constraining reason (Q. 14) __ 3	12	074	SAUNATWO

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
15	___ Number of names given Blank or no response = 0	13	075	WRITERS
16	--"--	14	076	LITERATR
17	--"--	15	077	MUSICIAN
18	--"--	16	078	ATHLETES
19	--"--	17	079	LEADERS
20	--"--	18	080	ARTISTS
21	a.Hardworking-Identified ___ 1 Not identified ___ 2	19	081	HARDWORK
	b.Honesty-Identified ___ 1 Not identified ___ 2	20	082	HONESTY
	c.Family-Identified ___ 1 Not identified ___ 2	21	083	FAMILY
	d.Cleanliness-Identified ___ 1 Not identified ___ 2	22	084	CLEAN

Question #	Categories and/or Codes		Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
	e.Pride in endeavors-Identified	1		085	PRENDEAV
	Not identified	2	23		
	f.Pride in heritage-Identified	1		086	PRHERIT
	Not identified	2	24		
	g.SISU-Identified	1		087	SISU
	Not identified	2	25		
	h.Independent-Identified	1		088	INDEPEND
	Not identified	2	26		
	i.Religious-Identified	1		089	RELIG
	Not identified	2	27		
	j.Other-Identified	1		090	OTHER
	Not identified	2	28		
21	a.Hardworking-Practised	1		091	HARWORX
	Not practised	2	29		
	b.Honest-Practised	1		092	HONESTYX
	Not practised	2	30		
	c.Family-Practised	1		093	FAMILYX
	Not practised	2	31		
	d.Cleanliness-Practised	1		094	CLEANX
	Not practised	2	32		
	e.Pride in endeavors-Practised	1		095	PRENDEAX
	Not practised	2	33		

Question #	Categories and/or Codes		Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
	f.Pride in heritage-Practised	__ 1		096	PRHERITX
	Not practised	__ 2	34		
	g.SISU-Practised	__ 1		097	SISUX
	Not practised	__ 2	35		
	h.Independent-Practised	__ 1		098	INDEPENX
	Not practised	__ 2	36		
	i.Religious-Practised	__ 1		099	RELIGX
	Not practised	__ 2	37		
	j.Other-Practised	__ 1		100	OTHERX
	Not practised	__ 2	38		
22	a. Yes __ 1			101	SPEAK
	No __ 2		39		
	b. Yes __ 1			102	UNDERSTD
	No __ 2		40		
	c. Yes __ 1			103	READ
	No __ 2		41		
	d. Yes __ 1			104	WRITE
	No __ 2		42		

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
23	Where?			
	a. Speak at home ___ 1 No speak at home ___ 2	43	105	SPKHOME
	b. Speak at work ___ 1 No speak at work ___ 2 (or school)	44	106	SPKWORK
	c. Speak at other ___ 1 No speak at other ___ 2	45	107	SPKOTHER
	Not applicable = 0			
23	Whom?			
	a. Speak to spouse ___ 1 No speak to spouse ___ 2	46	108	SPKSPOUS
	b. Speak to parents ___ 1 No speak to parents ___ 2	47	109	SPKPAREN
	c. Speak to children ___ 1 No speak to children ___ 2	48	110	SPKCHILD
	d. Speak to workers ___ 1 No speak to workers ___ 2	49	111	SPKWORKR
	e. Speak to friends ___ 1 No speak to friends ___ 2	50	112	SPKFRIEN

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
	f. Speak to other __ 1 No speak to other __ 2 Not applicable = 0	51	113	OTHERSPK
24	Yes __ 1 No __ 2 Not applicable = 0	52	114	PHRASES
Section II Index	___ ___ Exact figure	53 54	115	IIINDEX
High Culture Index	___ ___ Exact figure	55 56	116	HCINDEX
Values Index	___ ___ Exact Figure	57 58	117	VALINDEX
Section II Index less High Culture Index	___ ___ Exact Figure	59 60	118	LESSHC

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Column	Variable #	Variable Name
Section II Index less Values Index	___ ___ Exact figure	61 62	119	LESSVALU
Section II Index Less High Culture Index and Values Index	___ ___ Exact figure	63 64	120	LESSHCVA
SECTION III				
1	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	65	121	CLUBS
2	___ Number of clubs named Unable to name = 9 Not applicable = 0	66	122	NAMECLUB

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
3	a. __ 1 b. __ 2 c. __ 3 d. __ 4 e. __ 5	67	123	SOCIALS
4	Weekly __ 1 1 - 3 x's mo. __ 2 6 - 11 x's yr. __ 3 1 - 5 x's yr. __ 4 Never __ 5 Not applicable = 8 No response = 0	68	124	NEWSPAPR
5	Monthly __ 1 6 - 11 x's yr. __ 2 1 - 5 x's yr. __ 3 Never __ 4 Not applicable = 8 No response = 0	69	125	PERIODCL
6	Weekly __ 1 1 - 3 x's mo. __ 2 6 - 11 x's yr. __ 3 1 - 5 x's yr. __ 4 Never __ 5 Programme unavailable __ 6	70	126	WATCHTV

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
7	Weekly __ 1 1 - 3 x's mo. __ 2 6 - 11 x's yr. __ 3 1 - 5 x's yr. __ 4 Never __ 5	71	127	RADIO
8	a. __ 1 b. __ 2 c. __ 3 d. __ 4	72	128	IMPORTFD
9	a. __ 1 b. __ 2 c. __ 3 d. __ 4	73	129	LOCALFD
10	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	74	130	SHOPFINN
10	Why? Quality, Uniqueness __ 1 Pride __ 2 Shop Canadian __ 3 Too Expensive __ 4 Do not shop __ 5 Inconvenient __ 6 Shop for best buy __ 7 Other __ 8	75	131	REASONSF

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
11	Yes __ 1 No __ 2 No, with constraining reason (Q. 13)	76	132	FINLAND
12	___ Number of times Unable to state = 9 Not applicable = 8	77	133	XFINLAND
13	Too expensive __ 1 No time __ 2 No interest/desire __ 3 No opportunity __ 4 Other __ 5 Not applicable = 8 No response = 0	78	134	NOSUOMI
14	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	79	135	CULTUREC
15	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	80	136	LANGUAGC
Case Number		1 2 3	137	CASENUM3
Card Number		4	138	CARDNUM3

Question #	Categories and/or Codes	Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
16	a. __ 1 b. __ 2 c. __ 3 d. __ 4 e. __ 5	5	139	FINMUSIC
17	None __ 9 One __ 1 Two __ 2 Three __ 3 Four __ 4 Five __ 5	6	140	FNFRIEND
18	Yes __ 1 No __ 2	7	141	TAUTCULT
18	How? Language __ 1 Practise Customs/Culture __ 2 Parental Example/Upbringing __ 3 Literature __ 4 Encouraged to Participate in Finn activities __ 5 Taught/Told by Parents __ 6 Sent to cultural/ Language School __ 7 Other __ 8	8	142	HOWTAUT1

Question #	Categories and/or Codes		Columns	Variable #	Variable Name
18	Second item mentioned categorized as above.		9	143	HOWTAUT2
19	Yes __ 1 No __ 2		10	144	TEACHCLD
20a	First reason: Pride	__ 01	11 12	145	TOBEFIN1
	Special Qualities (not language)	__ 02			
	Finnish language	__ 03			
	A heritage born to	__ 04			
	Want to know more about; preserve	__ 05			
	Share good reputation	__ 06			
	Tolerant of others/ Part of Mosaic	__ 07			
	Not important/apathetic	__ 08			
	Canadian first	__ 09			
	Other	__ 10			
20b	Second reason: Categorized as above plus Nothing else said = 00		13 14	146	TOBEFIN2
Section III Index	Exact figure		15 16	147	IIIINDEX

APPENDIX IV

1. Chapter Five Ancillary Tables

Table A-1

Observance of Finnish Christmas Customs
by Childhood Residence

Observe Finnish Christmas Customs	Childhood Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Yes	76 59%	28 45%
No	52 41%	34 55%
N = 190 Missing cases = 5	128	62

Corrected Chi Square = 2.9 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.09

Table A-2

Visited Finland by Childhood Residence

Visited Finland	Childhood Residence	
	Urban	Rural
Yes	80 61%	23 35%
No	31 24%	28 43%
No With Constraint	19 15%	14 22%
N = 195	130	65

Chi Square = 12.1 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.00

Table A-3

Frequency of Five Closest Friends Being Finnish by Childhood Residence

"Of your 5 closest friends, how many are Finns?	Childhood Residence	
	Urban	Rural
5	10 8%	15 23%
4	11 9%	14 22%
3	24 19%	17 27%
2	34 27%	7 11%
1	32 25%	8 12%
None	16 12%	3 5%
N = 191 Missing cases =4	127	64

Chi Square = 25.6 with 5 df.
Significance = 0.00

Table A-4

Furnishing of Home by Childhood Neighbourhood

Would you describe your home as being furnished:	Childhood Neighbourhood	
	Predominantly Finnish	Not Finnish
Largely in a Finnish Manner	14 15%	6 6%
Moderately in a Finnish Manner	46 50%	43 43%
Not in a Finnish Manner	33 35%	52 51%
N = 194 Missing cases = 1	93	101

Chi Square = 7.2 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.03

Table A-5

Attendance at Finnish Social Functions
by Childhood Neighbourhood

"Do you ever attend any of the public social functions put on by various Finnish organizations or clubs?"	Childhood Neighbourhood	
	Predominantly Finnish	Not Finnish
6 - 12 times a year	14 15%	8 8%
1 - 5 times a year	29 31%	16 16%
Less than once a year	26 28%	26 26%
Never	24 26%	50 50%
N = 193 Missing cases = 2	93	100

Chi Square = 14.3 with 3 df.
Significance = 0.00

Table A-6

Practising of Finnish Handicrafts by Family Socio-economic Status

Do you do any traditional Finnish handicrafts?	Family Socio-economic Status		
	Low	Middle	High
Yes	48 45%	14 23%	5 19%
No	58 55%	48 77%	21 81%
N = 194 Missing Cases = 1	106	62	26

Chi Square = 12.0 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.00

Table A-7

Sauna in Home by Family Socio-economic Status

Do you have a sauna in your home?	Family Socio-economic Status		
	Low	Middle	High
Yes	56 53%	25 40%	7 27%
No	23 22%	23 37%	7 27%
No with Constraint	27 25%	14 23%	12 46%
N = 194 Missing Cases = 1	106	62	26

Chi Square = 11.0 with 4 df.
Significance = 0.03

Table A-8

Culture Retention Index by Respondent's Socio-economic Status for those with a High School Education or Less

Culture Retention Index	Respondent's Socio-economic Status for those with a High School Education or Less		
	Low	Middle	High
Low	21 84%	57 71%	1 50%
High	4 16%	23 29%	1 50%
N = 107	25	80	2

Chi Square = 2.2 with 2 df.
Significance = 0.33

Table A-9

Culture Retention Index by Respondent's Socio-economic Status for those with a Post-secondary Education

Culture Retention Index	Respondent's Socio-economic Status for those with a Post-secondary Education	
	Medium	High
Low	33 70%	20 49%
High	14 30%	21 51%
N = 88	47	41

Corrected Chi Square = 3.4 with 1 df.
Significance = 0.07