



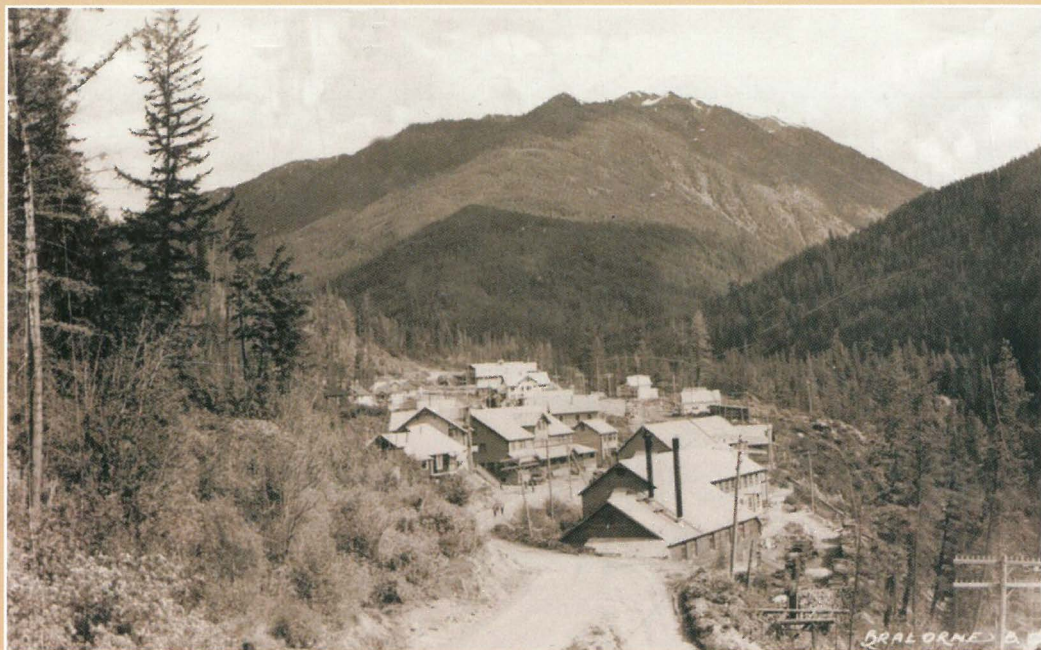
Mika Roinila

# **Finland-Swedes in Canada**

**Migration, settlement and  
ethnic relations**

Migration Studies C 14





**Mika Roinila**

## **Finland-Swedes in Canada**

**Migration, settlement and  
ethnic relations**



Finland-Swedes are not well recognized outside of Finland. Based on extensive research across the country, this book explores the history of this group within Canada dating from the 1800s, to the cultural integration, shifting identities and reasons for the apparent decline and assimilation within the multicultural soci-

ety of Canada at the end of the 1990s. The author explores Old World attitudes and current ethnic relations which this group maintains in North America. Illustrated with many photos and graphs, the book adds to our understanding of immigration from Finland and the destinations abroad of her emigrants.

**ISBN 951-9266-66-6**

**ISSN 0356-780X**

# **Finland-Swedes in Canada**

**Migration, settlement and ethnic relations**





# **Finland-Swedes in Canada**

**Migration, settlement and ethnic relations**

**by Mika Roinila**

ISBN 951-9266-66-6  
ISSN 0356-780X

Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, Saarijärvi 2000

## Preface

The author of this book, Mika Roinila, comes from an emigrant family. He spent his childhood in Australia and later the family emigrated to Canada. Mika Roinila studied sociocultural geography continuing studies into the cultural retention which occurred within the Finnish ethnic groups in Canada. Roinila received Bachelor of Arts, Honours, in May 1986 from the University of Winnipeg. His Master's thesis, University of Turku Finland, in June 1987, dealt with the language retention and ethnic identification amongst Winnipeg Finns.

Since September 1994 Mika Roinila continued his studies on a dissertation on Swedish-speaking Finns in Canada. This topic has been badly neglected in Finnish and Canadian migration studies. In 1995 Mika Roinila received a Kaarlo Hjalmar Lehtinen grant of the Institute of Migration in Turku to study Finland-Swedes. During the years passed Mika Roinila has published also many articles in the journal "Siirtolaisuus-Migration" of the Institute of Migration.

In October 1997 Mika Roinila received his Ph.D. in cultural-historical geography at the University of Saskatchewan with the dissertation topic "The Migration, Settlement and Ethnic Relations of Finland-Swedes in Canada". We are glad now to publish these Thesis for a wide audience. At the moment Mika Roinila is an assistant professor at West Virginia University, Morgantown.

The aim of this study is to explore the intergroup relations of Finland-Swedes towards other ethnicities, particularly the Finnish-speaking Finns. The findings of such a study will help in understanding the societal position of the Finland-Swedes in Finland itself, which has recently become a land of immigration.

The dissertation also makes a significant contribution to the knowledge of Canada's multicultural society and the part Finland-Swedes have held in the settlement and assimilation process.

I would like to thank Dr. Mika Roinila having his dissertation published by the Institute of Migration. Also as a colleague and friend I wish Mika Roinila all the best in his future studies in the field of human migration and ethnicity.

*Olavi Koivukangas*  
Director, Institute of Migration  
January, 2000



# Abstract

The purpose of this work is to address the lack of research dealing with minor ethnolinguistic immigrant groups in Canada. More specifically, this text examines the Finland-Swedish population in Canada. This ethnolinguistic group is approached in two ways.

The first half of the book focuses on a historical-interpretative (hermeneutics) analysis of the Finland-Swedish population in Canada. Data were collected from numerous archives, church membership records, historic documentations and interviews in Canada and abroad. Much of the Finland-Swedish immigration pre-dates, albeit slightly, the Finnish-speaking immigration in many regions across the country. The social, cultural and economic impact of the Finland-Swedes in the Canadian multicultural society is recognized. A desire to keep up a distinct Finland-Swedish culture and heritage exists through a small number of fraternal and religious organizations in the regions with the highest Finland-Swedish population.

The second half of the book undertakes an analysis of a detailed survey of Finland-Swedish respondents in Canada, which provides data for a quantitative (empirical-analytic) approach and focuses on the shifting identities and attitudes. Generational and regional differences for both variables are shown to vary. This gives rise to a three stage model of shifting identities, which follows three distinct time periods of immigration to Canada. These three periods are characterized by Swedish, Finland-Swedish and Finnish self-identities amongst the respondents. Comparisons between attitudes held by Finland-Swedes towards outgroup members – including the Finns – are also possible from this research and a previous study conducted in Finland by McRae, Bennett and Miljan (1988).

The present research is based on an interdisciplinary approach using theories and methodologies of cultural, historical, and behavioural geography combined with theories from sociology, social psychology, and cross-cultural psychology. This work provides a stepping stone to additional research which can focus on inter-ethnic relations between the Finland-Swedes and Finns, along with other groups. By so doing, it is hoped that this makes a significant contribution to the knowledge of Canada's multicultural society and the part Finland-Swedes have played in the settlement and assimilation process.

# Acknowledgements

The ultimate goal and honour of any graduate student is to have their dissertation published. What you are about to read is the result of such an academic exercise. Begun in the fall of 1994 at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, Canada, this research developed into a project that was successfully completed in 1997. Those three years went very quickly, and throughout this period, much support was given to me by many individuals, institutions and organizations which I would like to acknowledge here.

At the "professional level", I want to thank my supervisor, Professor John McConnell for helping me come up with the idea of researching the Finland-Swedish ethnic group in Canada. Thank you for your suggestions and criticisms which were an integral part of the make-up of this work. I also want to thank the other members of my supervisory committee, Dr. Jim Pooler, Dr. Bill Barr, and especially Dr. Alan Anderson who was a strong supporter. It did turn out to be a gold-mine! Thanks for your friendship. A special thanks to Dr. John Lehr for accepting the challenge in examining this text.

Acknowledgement is also given to a number of individuals whose interest in this research helped in the making of this dissertation. I would like to thank the members of the Order of Runeberg in Vancouver and New Westminster, BC, for accommodating me in their homes and providing much help in my research of the West Coast Finland-Swedes during the summer of 1995. Similarly, thanks go to the many individuals whom I had the pleasure of visiting during a research visit to Ontario during the summer of 1996. To all others who have helped in any way, big or small, you all have made an impact on this research.

Without the support of a number of organizational grants and scholarships, this research would not have been possible. I would like to thank the following for financial support which enabled the author to travel extensively across Canada and visit Finland for a one month period for pertinent archival research. Without the collective support of all, the success of this research would not have been possible.

1. Messer Fund for Research in Canadian History, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada.
2. Canadian Suomi Foundation Research Grant, Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada.
3. Kaarlo Hjalmar Lehtinen Research Grant, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland.

4. International Order of Runeberg Western District Scholarship, Tacoma, Washington, USA.
5. Canadian-Scandinavian Foundation Travel Grant, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
6. Order of Runeberg Lodge No. 124 1996 Scholarship, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.
7. Swedish-Finn Historical Society Research Grant, Seattle, Washington, USA.
8. Order of Runeberg Lodge No. 130 Grant, New Westminster, British Columbia, Canada.
9. Prairie Division of Canadian Association of Geographers Graduate Student Scholarship, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Support was also received from the Canadian Institute for Nordic Studies Scholarship, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada; and from the Swedish Emigrant Institute Research Grant, Vaxjö, Sweden. Unfortunately, these awards had to be cordially declined.

I would also like to thank the continued support of the Institute of Migration, and Dr. Olavi Koivukangas in accepting this work for publication. Thanks also to the staff of the institute for incorporating many of the photos I collected through my travels across Canada in the book.

At a more personal level, I want to thank my parents. Kiitos teille, äiti-mummu Orvokki ja isi-pappa Olavi, kaikesta avusta ja tuesta jota annoitte minulle tässä työssä. Kuka olisi koskaan uskonut että joku Roinilan suvusta olisi päässyt näin pitkälle? Nyt vain pitäis löytää työpaikka! Rakastan teitä molempia.

To Merv and Winnifred Sedlar, thanks mom for your help with Grace and the kids while I was in Finland. To know you were here helping meant a lot to me. To both of you, a Big Thank You for all your help, love and prayers. I love you.

Finally, I want to thank you Grace, for allowing me to work endless hours on the computer at home while you tended to the children. Often I was oblivious to your work and struggles with our family, and know that it has been difficult. I love you Grace! To Ari, Marita and Sinikka, this work has been a stepping stone for a better future, which you will see in years to come. How do I know? Because we know that in all things God works for the good of those who love Him, who have been called according to His purpose. (Romans 8:28)

This book is dedicated to the family most dear to me, my wife Grace, and children Ari, Marita, Sinikka and Laura.

*Mika Roinila*  
West Virginia University  
February, 1999



# Contents

Preface

Abstract

Acknowledgements

## Chapter 1

<b>Introduction</b> .....	19
1.1 Nature of the study.....	19
1.2 Terminology .....	20
1.3 Overview .....	20

## Chapter 2

<b>Literature review and theoretical underpinnings</b> .....	23
2.1 Introduction.....	23
2.2 Cultural and ethnic geography .....	23
2.2.1 Spatial interactions and relations.....	26
2.2.2 Migration .....	27
2.2.3 Ethnic regionalism .....	28
2.3 Sociology .....	29
2.3.1 Assimilation .....	29
2.3.2 Acculturation .....	31
2.3.3 Pluralism .....	32
2.4 Social psychology .....	33
2.4.1 Social identity theory.....	34
2.4.2 Five-stage model of intergroup relations .....	36
2.5 Cross-cultural psychology .....	41
2.5.1 Attitude balance theory and ethnocentrism .....	42
2.5.2 Stereotypes.....	43
2.6 Conclusions .....	44

## Chapter 3

<b>Brief history of Finland-Swedes in Finland</b> .....	47
3.1 Introduction .....	47
3.2 Pre-history (pre-1157).....	47
3.3 Finland as part of Sweden (1157–1809) .....	48
3.4 Finland as part of Russia (1809–1917).....	49
3.5 Finnish Civil War (1917–1918) .....	52
3.6 Finland-Swedes in an independent Finland.....	54
3.7 Conclusions .....	57

## **Chapter 4**

<b>Emigration from Finland</b> .....	59
4.1 Introduction .....	59
4.2 Emigration prior to World War II .....	59
4.2.1 Emigration to Sweden .....	61
4.2.2 Emigration to Russia/Soviet Union .....	62
4.2.3 Emigration to Norway .....	62
4.2.4 Emigration to North America .....	63
4.2.5 Emigration to other destinations .....	66
4.3 Emigration after World War II .....	66
4.3.1 Emigration to Nordic countries .....	68
4.3.2 Emigration to continental Europe .....	68
4.3.3 Overseas destinations .....	69
4.4 Role of Finland-Swedes in the emigration process .....	69
4.4.1 Finland-Swedish emigration, 1870–1990 .....	69
4.4.2 Reasons for Finland-Swedish emigration .....	71
4.4.3 Finland-Swedish immigration to North America .....	72
4.5 Conclusions .....	76

## **Chapter 5**

<b>Finland-Swedes in Canada</b> .....	77
5.1 Introduction .....	77
5.2 Settlement history, distribution, and the reason for being .....	78
5.2.1 Census information on Finland-Swedish immigration .....	78
5.2.2 Finland-Swedish settlement history .....	80
5.3 Economic, social, and cultural impact of Finland-Swedes in Canada ....	86
5.3.1 Economic development .....	86
5.3.2 Social impacts .....	92
5.3.3 Cultural impacts .....	94
5.4 The upkeep of ethnic cohesion and retention of ethnic self-identity .....	95
5.4.1 Religion .....	96
5.4.2 Finland-Swedish cultural organizations and clubs .....	98
5.5 Historical interrelations between the Finland-Swedes and Finnish-speaking Finns and Swedes in Canada .....	104
5.6 Finland-Swedes in Canada today: an overall summary .....	107
5.7 Conclusions .....	109

## **Chapter 6**

<b>The Finland-Swedish ethnic group survey and methodology</b> .....	111
6.1 Introduction .....	111
6.2 Goals of the survey .....	111
6.3 The survey instrument .....	112
6.4 Survey sample and methodology .....	113

6.5 Independent variables .....	115
6.5.1 Geographic location.....	115
6.5.2 Ethnicity .....	116
6.5.3 Socio-economic variables.....	118
6.5.4 Age and sex of respondents .....	120
6.6 Data analysis .....	121
6.7 Conclusions .....	122

## **Chapter 7**

### **Descriptive statistics – demographic and socioeconomic profile**

<b>of the sample .....</b>	<b>123</b>
7.1 Introduction.....	123
7.2 Geographic characteristics.....	123
7.3 Reasons for Finland-Swedish immigration .....	125
7.4 Ethnic characteristics .....	129
7.4.1 Erickson area Finland-Swedes .....	131
7.5 Influence of mother tongue and language .....	136
7.6 Socio-economic characteristics .....	137
7.6.1 Educational attainment .....	137
7.6.2 Employment of Finland-Swedes .....	140
7.6.3 Respondent family income .....	142
7.7 Conclusions .....	142

## **Chapter 8**

### **Attitudes towards ethnic and national groups.....**

8.1 Introduction .....	145
8.2 Stereotyping .....	145
8.3 Inter-ethnic attitudes .....	147
8.4 The effect of gender on sympathy scores .....	150
8.5 The effect of age on sympathy scores .....	151
8.6 The effect of education on sympathy scores .....	152
8.7 The effect of income on sympathy scores .....	154
8.8 The effect of employment on sympathy scores.....	156
8.9 The Finnish-Canadian response .....	158
8.10 The Finland-Swedes of Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto: a study of three regional populations.....	159
8.10.1 Immigration and year of arrival .....	159
8.10.2 The effect of geography on attitude differences .....	162
8.11 Conclusions .....	164

## **Chapter 9**

### **Retention or shift in ethnic identity? .....**

9.1 Introduction.....	167
9.2 The effect of independent variables on ethnic identity .....	168



9.2.1 The effect of gender on ethnic identity.....	168
9.2.2 The effect of education on ethnic identity.....	169
9.2.3 The effect of income on ethnic identity.....	170
9.2.4 The effect of occupations on ethnic identity .....	170
9.3 Other variables effecting ethnic identity .....	172
9.3.1 Intermarriage.....	172
9.3.2 Children.....	174
9.3.3 Upkeep of traditional Finland-Swedish culture .....	177
9.4 Ethnic identity shifts .....	179
9.5 3-stage model of Finland-Swedish identity shifts.....	181
9.6 Conclusions.....	183
<b>Chapter 10</b>	
<b>Integration or separation? Assimilation or marginalization?</b>	
<b>The acculturation paths of Finland-Swedes.....</b>	<b>185</b>
10.1 Introduction .....	185
10.2 Acculturation paths of the national sample .....	186
10.3 Acculturation paths in Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto.....	187
10.4 Acculturation paths among generations .....	189
10.5 Acculturation paths and decade of immigration.....	191
10.6 Regional association with ethnic media .....	192
10.7 Finland-Swedish acculturation with the Swedish ethnic community in Canada .....	195
10.8 Acculturation paths towards Swedes in Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto .....	197
10.9 Conclusions .....	200
<b>Chapter 11</b>	
<b>Conclusions .....</b>	<b>203</b>
11.1 Introduction .....	203
11.2 Geographic settlement pattern .....	203
11.3 The 5-stage model of intergroup relations revisited.....	204
11.4 The 3-stage model of Finland-Swedish identity shifts.....	205
11.5 Regional and national attitude shifts.....	205
11.6 Acculturation into the Finnish and Swedish ethnic communities .....	206
11.7 A critique and recommendations for future research .....	207
11.8 The placing of Finland-Swedes in cultural geography.....	208
11.9 Epilogue .....	208
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>209</b>
<b>Sources.....</b>	<b>225</b>

## Appendices

Appendix I	Finland-Swedes listed in the Russian consular records, 1898–1922 .....	229
Appendix II	Montreal Finnish immigrant home records, 1927–1931 ....	232
Appendix III	Immigration via ocean ports and from the United States aged 10 years and over by Finnish racial origin and Swedish mother tongue, 1926–1935 .....	237
Appendix IV	Immigration by country of birth (Finland) and racial origin (Swedish) by fiscal year, 1926–1991 .....	238
Appendix V	Finland-Swedish church membership in Canada – various congregations .....	240
Appendix VI	Finland-Swedish members of the Swedish Society SVEA, Vancouver, B.C., 1908–1949 .....	254
Appendix VII	Pioneer settlers of the Scandinavia colony, ca. 1890.....	255
Appendix VIII	Respondent roots in Finland .....	257
Appendix IX	Location of Finland-Swedes survey population by city .....	260
Appendix X	Questionnaire .....	261

## List of tables

Table 3.1	Finland-Swedes in Finland, 1610–1994 .....	54
Table 3.2	Sympathy scores towards selected ethnolinguistic groups, Finnish and Swedish samples, 1983 .....	55
Table 4.1	Finnish emigration prior to World War II, 1860–1945.....	60
Table 4.2	Emigration by provinces, 1870–1930 .....	64
Table 4.3	Emigration following World War II, 1945–1987 .....	67
Table 4.4	Finnish population in Europe, 1987–88 .....	67
Table 4.5	Nordic immigration and ancestry in the United States.....	73
Table 4.6	Immigration and ethnicity in Canada .....	73
Table 4.7	Immigration to 1920 and ethnic origin in 1921 .....	74
Table 4.8	Immigration to 1930 and ethnic origin in 1931 .....	74
Table 5.1	Finland-Swedes in Canada, 1921–1991 .....	79
Table 5.2	Swedish mother tongue and Finnish racial origin by province, 1921–1941 .....	81
Table 5.3	Finland-Swedish population by mother tongue for Canadian cities over 30 000 population (1941) and CMA's (1991).....	81
Table 5.4	New members to join Swedish-language congregations in Vancouver (1903–1953) and New Westminster (1909–1989) .....	97
Table 5.5	Finland-Swedish religious affiliation in Vancouver, Thunder Bay, and Toronto CMA's and Canada, 1991 .....	97
Table 5.6	Membership of the Order of Runeberg lodges in Canada ..	100

Table 6.1	Respondent locations.....	114
Table 6.2	Finland-Swedes in three metropolitan areas.....	116
Table 6.3	Respondent origins or claim of ancestral roots.....	117
Table 6.4	Present and past economic activities of working age and retired respondents .....	119
Table 6.5	Annual family income levels .....	119
Table 6.6	Educational attainment of respondent .....	119
Table 6.7	Age of respondent .....	120
Table 6.8	Sex of respondent .....	120
Table 7.1	Finland-Swedish sample population and total population according to province of residence.....	124
Table 7.2	Swedish and Finnish speaking populations, along with total Finnish population of Canada, 1991.....	124
Table 7.3	Urban distribution of Finland-Swedes and Finns, 1991 .....	126
Table 7.4	Most commonly cited reasons for immigration to Canada.....	126
Table 7.5	Reasons for Finland-Swedish immigration during the major immigration waves of the 1920s and 1950s .....	130
Table 7.6	First generation respondents' provincial roots in Finland ...	131
Table 7.7	Ethnic identification of respondents and respondent origins .....	132
Table 7.8	Ethnic self-identity vs. generation of respondent .....	132
Table 7.9	Self-identity vs. respondent roots: Erickson, Manitoba area sample .....	132
Table 7.10	Ethnic self-identity and mother tongue of respondent.....	134
Table 7.11	Ethnic self-identity of respondent vs. mother tongue of respondent's mother .....	134
Table 7.12	Ethnic self-identity of respondent vs. mother tongue of respondent's father .....	134
Table 7.13	Language spoken at home, 1996.....	135
Table 7.14	Education vs. age of respondent .....	136
Table 7.15	Education vs. respondent generation .....	136
Table 7.16	Present and past Finland-Swedish occupations according to major occupational groups.....	138
Table 7.17	Most commonly occurring occupations of respondents presently employed and retired.....	140
Table 7.18	Past and present economic activity of Finland-Swedes in Canada, according to industrial categories .....	141
Table 7.19	Family income vs. education .....	141
Table 8.1	Sympathy scores towards selected ethnolinguistic groups, Finnish and Swedish samples, 1983 .....	146
Table 8.2	Finland-Swedish sympathy scores towards ethnic and national groups, 1996 .....	147



Table 8.3	Finland-Swedish sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups in Canada, according to generation.....	148
Table 8.4	Overall changes in attitudes towards other ethnic and national groups in Canada, over three generations.....	149
Table 8.5	Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to gender .....	150
Table 8.6	Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to age .....	152
Table 8.7	Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to educational background of respondent .....	153
Table 8.8	Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to income level of respondent.....	154
Table 8.9	Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to present economic activity of respondent .....	155
Table 8.10	Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to economic activity of retired respondents.....	156
Table 8.11	Comparison of positive sympathy scores between employed and retired sample population .....	157
Table 8.12	Finnish-Canadian sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups, 1996 .....	158
Table 8.13	Immigration to Vancouver, Toronto and Thunder Bay by decade .....	160
Table 8.14	Finland-Swedish sympathy scores in Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto .....	161
Table 8.15	Rank order of ethnic group sympathies for CMA's .....	161
Table 8.16	Attitudes towards Finno-Ugric languages in major CMA's, above or below national percentage average values.....	163
Table 9.1	Age vs. ethnic self-identity .....	168
Table 9.2	Gender vs. ethnic self-identity .....	168
Table 9.3	Education vs. ethnic self-identity.....	169
Table 9.4	Income vs. ethnic self-identity .....	170
Table 9.5	Economic activity (presently working respondents according to industrial categories) vs. ethnic self-identity .....	171
Table 9.6	Economic activity #2 (retired respondents according to industrial categories) vs. ethnic self-identity.....	172
Table 9.7	Ethnic identity of spouse and language spoken at home .....	173
Table 9.8	Support for the parents' mother tongue in children .....	174
Table 9.9	Number of children and language spoken at home .....	175

Table 9.10	Upkeep of traditions amongst Finland-Swedes in Canada ....	176
Table 9.11	Most commonly occurring traditions .....	176
Table 9.12	The most enduring traditions .....	178
Table 9.13	Ethnic identity shifts in Vancouver CMA, according to generation .....	178
Table 9.14	Ethnic identity shifts in Thunder Bay CMA, according to generation .....	179
Table 9.15	Ethnic identity shifts in Toronto CMA, according to generation .....	179
Table 9.16	Ethnic self-identity vs. decade of immigration to Canada .....	180
Table 10.1	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group in Canada.....	186
Table 10.2	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group in Vancouver, BC .....	187
Table 10.3	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group in Thunder Bay, Ontario .....	188
Table 10.4	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group in Toronto, Ontario.....	188
Table 10.5	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group among first generation respondents .....	189
Table 10.6	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group among second generation respondents .....	190
Table 10.7	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group among third generation respondents.....	190
Table 10.8	Dominant acculturation path for respondents according to decade of immigration .....	191
Table 10.9	Assimilation path towards the Finnish ethnic group according to immigration decade.....	192
Table 10.10	Finland-Swede subscriptions in Vancouver CMA .....	193
Table 10.11	Finland-Swede subscriptions in Toronto CMA .....	194
Table 10.12	Finland-Swede subscriptions in Thunder Bay CMA.....	195
Table 10.13	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Swedish ethnic group in Canada.....	196
Table 10.14	Dominant acculturation path for respondents according to decade of immigration or ancestors arrival in Canada ...	197
Table 10.15	Assimilation path towards the Swedish ethnic group according to immigration decade or ancestors arrival in Canada .....	198
Table 10.16	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Swedish ethnic group in Vancouver, B.C .....	199
Table 10.17	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Swedish ethnic group in Thunder Bay, Ontario .....	199

Table 10.18	Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Swedish ethnic group in Toronto, Ontario .....	200
-------------	---	-----

### List of figures

Figure 2.1	Schematic representation of social identity theory .....	35
Figure 2.2	Stages in the dynamics of intergroup relations.....	37
Figure 2.3	Four varieties of acculturation, based upon orientations to two basic issues .....	42
Figure 2.4	Degree of cultural and psychological change as a function of phases and varieties of acculturation .....	43
Figure 4.1	Seasonal labour migration streams from Finland .....	60
Figure 4.2	Emigration to North America, 1870–1945 .....	63
Figure 4.3	Finnish emigration, 1870–1914 based on communes .....	65
Figure 4.4	Emigration to Sweden and total emigration, 1945–1997 .....	68
Figure 5.1	“Lilla Munsala” in the Sapperton neighbourhood of New Westminster, ca. 1950s .....	87
Figure 6.1	Distribution of Finland-Swedish sample .....	115
Figure 7.1	Finland-Swedish population in Canada, 1991 .....	127
Figure 7.2	Total Finnish-speaking population in Canada, 1991 .....	127
Figure 7.3	First generation respondents’ provincial roots in Finland .....	128
Figure 7.4	Respondent roots in Finland, according to parish .....	130
Figure 7.5	Scandinavia colony settlement, ca. 1890, showing Finland-Swedish homesteads.....	133
Figure 9.1	3-stage model of shifting identities.....	181



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Nature of the study

Virtually all corners of the globe have contributed to the immigration movement, which has brought millions of people to North America. From Afghanistan to Zimbabwe, all nations are represented within the immigrant population. While immigrants are recognized and labelled by government statisticians according to certain obvious nationalities, many smaller national groups or sub-groups remain hidden by statistics. Some of the many European groups include the Flemings and Walloons of Belgium, the Basques of Spain and France, the Galicians of Spain, the Occitans of France, the Friulians of Italy, and the Finland-Swedes of Finland.

A vast amount of literature on immigration and major ethnic groups has appeared. This concentrates on three general themes, namely:

- 1) the reason for being in Canada;
- 2) the immigrants' impact in Canada in terms of geography, culture, economy, social and political life;
- 3) the degree to which the immigrant group remains an identifiable and cohesive group.

The purpose of this text is to examine the Finland-Swedish population of Canada, which has remained "hidden" by federal statistics, but constitute a sub-national group within Finland. The text will focus on four major questions:

- 1) What are the "raison d'être" of, and the geographic distribution of Finland-Swedish immigrants in Canada and in what way do they differ from the Finnish immigrants in these respects?
- 2) What is the impact of Finland-Swedes on Canada (socially, economically, culturally)?
- 3) What is the degree of Finland-Swedish self-identity and how cohesive is the ethnolinguistic group?
- 4) What are the interrelations between Finland-Swedes and Finns in Canada?

Of the many ethnic groups and immigrant populations who have settled Canada, the Finland-Swedes are among the least studied. In fact, very few people outside the Finnish and Swedish ethnic groups of Canada may recognize this term.

## 1.2 Terminology

Who are the Finland-Swedes? Over the years, many individuals with such a background have often found it much easier to identify themselves as Finnish or Swedish in order to avoid difficult explanations. In terms of defining Finland-Swedes, there appears to be some ambiguity as to the terms used to identify the group. In the early 1900s, the Swedes from Finland as described by Anders Myhrman (1972), established churches, organizations, clubs, etc. , with the names "Svensk-Finsk", Swedish-Finnish, etc. , and thus called themselves Swede-Finns. Later, in the 1920s, the term Finland-Swede or "suomenruotsalainen" emerged in Finland, and the immigrants coming from Finland following this date basically identified themselves as Finland-Swedes or "Finlandssvenskar". Thus, even today, Finland-Swedes in Canada as well as in the United States mix the two terms, which essentially describe the same ethnic group.

According to Christer Lauren (1983), numerous terms need defining. Foremost is the term *Finland-Swedes*, who are those citizens of Finland whose native language is Swedish. Their variety of Swedish is Finland Swedish. *Sweden-Finns* is a term used to describe Finns in Sweden, and their variety of Finnish is Sweden Finnish. The term *Swedish-speaking Finn* should not be used because it might include a Finnish citizen whose native language is Finnish, but who has learned Swedish. Swedish-Finn or Swede-Finn is "hopelessly ambiguous" as it might mean almost anything: a Finland-Swede; a Finn in Sweden; an immigrant from Sweden living in Finland. Finally, Finnish-Swedish is a term that should only be used in jointly organized enterprises by citizens of the two countries. To eliminate any possible confusion, the term Finland-Swede (Finn-Swede) will be used throughout this work.

## 1.3 Overview

This book is organized into 11 chapters. Chapter 2 examines the theoretical basis to which this research is tied, and gives guidance to the following chapters. Theoretical underpinnings are based on a number of theories found in different disciplines, including geography, sociology, social psychology and cross-cultural psychology. Without the input from these various disciplines, the material in this text could not be examined as a cohesive entity.

Chapter 3 examines the history of the Finland-Swedes, which provides much background to understanding the co-existence of the two ethnolinguistic groups in Finland. Much of this material builds up the reader's awareness of stereotypes and biases which have existed amongst the Finns and Finland-Swedes for centuries.

Chapter 4 deals with the migration history of Finns and Finland-Swedes abroad, especially to North America. The emigration history of Finland dates to the 1600s, and although it has a long history, the period since 1900 has accounted for the largest emigration phase. This has led to a significant population loss, most notably amongst the Finland-Swedish communities found along the coastal areas.

Chapter 5 provides a detailed examination of Finland-Swedish migration to, and settlement in, Canada from the 1800s to the present. Three geographic regions with the largest Finland-Swedish population in the entire country are examined. These are Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto. An overview of the cultural, religious, economic and social activities of the Finland-Swedes across Canada is presented. Concern is also raised about the lack of statistics which could explain the "disappearance" of many Finns from the 1931 census. The actual number of immigrants arriving from Finland between 1900–1930 exceeds the 1931 figures of Finnish immigrant residents in Canada. The chapter suggests that many Finland-Swedes who did not claim a Finnish ethnicity may be the reason for a deflated ethnic population.

Chapter 6 provides a detailed overview of the survey design, methodology and data analysis techniques to be used in this research. The chapter also deals with the goals of the survey, and introduces two hypotheses which deal with the transfer of Old World attitudes to Canada, and the influence of these on their choice to accept or reject association with Finnish-speaking immigrants in Canada. The questionnaire design is explained, along with independent variables of respondent generation, identity, attitudes, and identifiable ethnic regions based on Finland-Swedish settlement.

Chapter 7 deals with basic descriptive statistics by examining the geographic characteristics of the sample, reasons for Finland-Swedish emigration, the ancestral country of origin, and ethnic self-identity. The influence of the mother tongue and language spoken at home are considered, and the chapter concludes by looking at various socio-economic characteristics which help describe the respondent population according to education, employment and income.

Chapter 8 tests the first hypothesis. Attitudes of Finland-Swedes towards other ethnic groups, in particular towards the Finnish-speaking immigrants are examined. The chapter brings the reader back to the matter of stereotyping which affects generational shifts in attitudes. A regionalized analysis of ethnic identity and attitudes in Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto is also examined.

Chapter 9 introduces the reader to the dilemma of assimilation or retention of ethnicity. Factors such as a large ethnic population, intermarriage, and the retention of an ethnic language are just a few of the signs of assimilation, which erode ethnic identity. The chapter deals with various aspects of assimilation which help to understand better the Finland-Swedes in Canada.

Chapter 10 attempts to answer the second hypothesis of the text. The path of acculturation with the Finnish ethnic population in Canada can include integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization. By analyzing the Finland-Swedish

population, a definite acculturation path of marginalization is discovered for the sample. A discussion of the implication of this to the future of the ethnolinguistic group follows.

In the concluding Chapter 11, a 3 stage model of ethnic shifts amongst the Finland-Swedes is proposed, and provides conclusions as to the integration and separation of a collective Finnish ethnicity which is shown in the Census tabulations. A summary, with criticisms and suggestions for further research is suggested.

The bibliography, a sample questionnaire, and numerous appendices follow; these provide the reader with accurate immigrant records, church membership records, organizational listings, and many others which may be of future use to researchers.

It is the sincere wish of the author that this research will help the two ethnolinguistic groups to begin analyzing each other and appreciating their ties to one another. It is time to learn of each other rather than ignore one another. As a Finnish-speaking Finn, it is time for "us" Finnish-speakers to improve our attitudes and appreciation for the Finland-Swedes.

*"To be ignorant of one's ignorance is the malady of the ignorant"*  
(A. B. Alcott, 1799–1888)



# Chapter 2

## Literature review and theoretical underpinnings

### 2.1 Introduction

Investigation of the theoretical foundations of study involving migration, settlement and ethnic relations leads into areas of cultural and ethnic geography, sociology, social and cross-cultural psychology. Various theories exist in all areas which are particularly relevant to the research at hand. With the foundations of this study based largely on an interdisciplinary array of theoretical and tangible approaches, it is hoped that some of the complex ideas and philosophies can be better explained by intertwining them to form a model of Finland-Swedish identity and heritage in Canada. At the very least, if no explicit theoretical propositions emerge from this research, some of the previous theories and assumptions will be supported and built upon.

### 2.2 Cultural and ethnic geography

Cultural geography as a subject is defined as a field of study which concerns itself with the impact of human culture on the landscape (Mayhew & Penny, 1992). Cultural geography has been a preoccupation within North American human geography, and has been influenced to a large degree by Carl Sauer, who studied human intervention in the evolution of landscapes through plant and animal domestication, fire, diffusion of artifacts and ideas such as hydrological techniques, farming and settlements (Johnston, 1991:91–92).

In their introductory textbook on human geography, Fellmann, Getis and Getis (1995) define cultural geography as a branch of systematic geography that focuses on culturally determined human activities, the impact of material and nonmaterial human culture on the environment, and the human organization of space.

So what is culture? According to Zelinsky (1992), the best definition for the term was offered by Kroeber and Kluckhohn in 1952 after a detailed study of the literature available on the subject:

*Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i. e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further actions (Zelinsky, 1992:69–70).*

Essentially, culture is seen as a man-made phenomenon, transmitted through learning. For analytical purposes, the anthropologist Leslie White (1969) suggested that culture can be divided into a three-part structure composed of subsystems that are termed *ideological*, *technological*, and *sociological*. A similar classification was developed by the biologist Julian Huxley (1966), who identified three components of culture: *mentifacts*, *artifacts* and *sociofacts*. Together, according to these interpretations, the subsystems comprise the system of culture as a whole.

Within the ideological subsystem, we encounter mentifacts. Mentifacts are basically cerebral, psychological, or attitudinal in character, and include religion, language, ideas, beliefs, customs, mythologies, legends, philosophy and folk wisdom. According to Anderson & Frideres (1981) anthropologists have recognized this as being part of the *non-material culture* – all of which is passed on from generation to generation.

The technological subsystem is composed of the material culture, recognized by anthropologists, sociologists and geographers as involving artifacts. Artifacts are those elements of culture that are directly concerned with man-made objects. This involves tangible objects such as tools, weapons, buildings, clothing, etc. , and the ways in which they are used. The sociological subsystem of culture is the sum of those experiences and accepted patterns of interpersonal relations that find their outlet in economic, political, military, religious, kinship, and other associations. These are sociofacts which define the social organization of a culture.

Within the above three categories, cultural geography has developed a large body of literature that follows in the directions of mentifacts, artifacts and sociofacts. General works which discuss all three categories include Jordan & Rowntree (1990), David Ley (1983), and Dicken & Pitts (1971). Some works dealing with mentifacts (languages, beliefs, etc) include Fishman (1966), Zelinsky (1955, 1970), Roinila (1987), Shortridge (1976), and Miller (1968). Some studies involving material culture and artifacts include Jordan & Kaups (1989), Turner (1953), Ennals (1972), and Hart (1975), while sociofacts such as political behaviour, kinship ties and interpersonal relations can be read in Brunn (1974), and Zelinsky (1980).

Many cultural geographers such as Hart (1975) and Parsons (1986), have an interest in the "look" of the land, in patterns visible on the surface of the earth along with the discovery of previously unnoticed patterns. However, there is an interest in the less tangible traits such as religion, language and ethnicity (Smith & Foote, 1994). While culture might be examined objectively, there is also a subjective aspect of group identity. The subjective study of ethnic groups and the sub-discipline of ethnic geography itself, has been of interest to human geographers as well.

Ethnicity has been defined by Gordon (1964), as a sense of peoplehood based on a group of individuals with shared sociocultural experiences and/or similar physical characteristics. This could include racial, religious, national and linguistic groups. According to Matwijiw (1979), the term ethnic group refers to the efforts which group members of a particular ethnic background make in order to maintain an ethnic identity and/or group solidarity. Isajiw (1981) defines an ethnic group as an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group. Most recently, Milton Yinger (1994) describes ethnicity and an ethnic group as a segment of a larger population whose members are thought, by themselves or others, to have a common origin and to share important segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients. A distinction between ethnicity and ethnic group is useful at this stage. According to Fleras & Elliott (1996), an ethnic group is

*more a social organization than an organizing principle, ethnic groups are defined as a kind of social collectivity comprised of people who see themselves as united by physical, social, cultural, and political attributes (Fleras & Elliott, 1996:165).*

The term ethnicity in turn connotes a very general label attached to groups who express this sense of belonging and distinctiveness (Jaret, 1995).

Geographers Ley, Peach & Clarke (1984), describe ethnicity as a clear sense of identity based on shared tradition, including language, and a sense of racial or biological descent. Finally, Zelinsky notes that ethnicity deals with a "sizable collection of individuals, . . . who feel united in having a unique and cherished social and cultural identity and set of traditions" (Zelinsky, 1992:149). Ethnicity, according to Zelinsky, is essentially a product of modern times.

*Although there may have been certain dim stirrings of such cultural self-awareness many centuries ago, it could not develop fully until communities had crossed a critical threshold of socioeconomic evolution (Zelinsky, 1992:149).*

Ethnic geography, in essence, is the study of spatial distributions and interactions of ethnic groups and of the cultural characteristics on which they are based.

Numerous studies have been conducted in the field of ethnic geography (Allen & Turner, 1988; Clarke, Colin, Ley & Peach, 1984; Dawson, 1936; Driedger, 1978; Fellows, 1972; Halli, Trovato & Driedger, 1990; Jiobu, 1988; Katz & Lehr, 1991; McKee, 1985; Noble, 1992; Raitz, 1979; Zelinsky, 1992).

When culture and ethnicity within geographic literature in the recent past is considered, it is noted by Kent Mathewson,

*that there is an increasing attention towards culture as a focus of contemporary research, along with it's salience in everyday life and current realities. Examples of newer approaches and positions include postcolonial, subaltern, and identity studies; the cultural/ social construction of race, gender, sexuality, and nature; contextualism, deconstructionism and intertextuality; and cartographies of cultural/symbolic capital and corporeality (Mathewson, 1996:114).*

According to Philip Wagner,

*cultural geography can help to analyze and attack the human problems in our own societies that attach to race and poverty, age and gender, ethnicity and alienation. Spatial imagination, historical awareness, cultural sensitivity, and ecological insight, as well as that observational gift on which fieldwork depends, can all play a part in rendering service, and committed engagement will enrich our vision as well (Wagner, 1994:7).*

Wagner's statement well epitomizes the goal of this text, which falls into one of the "newer approaches" of cultural geography. By using aspects of both mentifacts and sociofacts, the approach adopted in this work uses a very interdisciplinary approach which incorporates theories that help in explaining the identities and inter-ethnic relations of the Finland-Swedish population in the Canadian spatial landscape.

### **2.2.1 Spatial interactions and relations**

In the context of human existence, there have always been interactions between man and nature. From the earliest of times, mankind has interacted with the environment and over time, has made lasting impacts on the land, air, and water on which we depend for our existence. This is the cultural landscape, which has been modified by human actions and is, in itself, a physical and tangible record of a given culture. Cultural conflicts and oppression, colonization and extermination have been present amongst the inhabitants of the world since the beginning. Spatial interaction, however, is more than conflict and destruction. According to Jakle, Brunn & Roseman (1985) spatial interaction is defined as the social interaction as it requires movement in or communication across geographical space. Cultures, language and ethnic groups co-exist in various areas of the world, and spatial

interaction between individuals and groups of people can be successful. While spatial interaction also involves the transfer of goods and services, ideas and technologies, we will focus on the spatial interaction of two ethnic groups – namely, the Finns and Finland-Swedes. As later chapters will indicate, history will provide a better understanding of the present state of interaction between these two ethnolinguistic groups found in Finland as well as Canada. In this examination of Finland-Swedes in Canada, the spatial interaction and movement through migration is also of great interest.

### 2.2.2 Migration

The history of human existence has recorded numerous major migrations, including the migrations of language families such as the Indo-European languages from central Asia to Europe, the Angles and Saxons from the European mainland to the British Isles, and the Finno-Ugric languages to Finland, Estonia and Hungary. The migration of "races" from Asia to North America, the eventual migration of Europeans to various continents around the globe, and the forced migration of the African people abroad, are all examples of human spatial movement. Not until recently have geographers and other social scientists developed a theory to encompass the many causes and patterns of these movements. Much of the migration theory is based on the writings of the demographer E. G. Ravenstein (1834–1913) who in the 1870s and 1880s established a series of laws which have been universally accepted. These "laws of migration" have remained relevant to this day and are as follows:

1. *Most migrants go only a short distance.*
2. *Longer-distance migration favours big-city destinations.*
3. *Most migration proceeds step-by-step.*
4. *Most migration is rural to urban.*
5. *Each migration flow produces a counterflow.*
6. *Most migrants are adults; families are less likely to make international moves.*
7. *Most international migrants are young males. (Ravenstein, 1885 & 1889).*

Various additions to Ravenstein's original "laws of migration" include additions made by William Petersen (1958), who recognized the following different classes of migration: 1) primitive, 2) free-individual, 3) mass or groups, 4) restricted, and 5) impelled or forced. He emphasized innovative migration, while formulating the concepts of push and pull factors. In 1966, Everett S. Lee added various hypotheses regarding volume, streams and counterstreams, and the significance of migrant characteristics such as selectivity according to age, gender, employment and ethnic

background; all of which provide a rather simple schema for examining migration at local, national, and international levels (McKee, 1985:x-xii). In 1969, Lee introduced the idea of intervening obstacles, the most obvious being distance. According to Lee, the migration process is never completely rational as it includes a number of personal factors, where individuals may migrate for a variety of personal reasons, which may seem irrational to others (Koivukangas, 1996:262).

Most recently, our understanding of place and of culture as a result of world-wide migrations has been improved by geographers such as Massey and Jess (1995).

### 2.2.3 Ethnic regionalism

Every nation, province, city and neighbourhood has a sense of regionalism, territory and corresponding territoriality. Regionalism is seen as

*a move to foster or protect an indigenous culture in a particular region. This may be a formal move, made by the state as it creates administrative or planning regions, or an informal move for some degree of independence arising from an emotional feeling, based on territory, of a minority group (Mayhew & Penny, 1992:192).*

It appears that regionalism, in terms of ethnicity, is a common feature in the North American landscape. In urban settings, we are all familiar with the sections of town where concentrations of different ethnic groups exist. In larger centres, there are the distinct sectors with Italians, Chinese, Greek, Irish, Native and other neighbourhoods with a strong emphasis on a particular ethnic group (Kalbach, 1980; Perin & Sturino, 1988; Zucchi, 1988; Balakrishnan & Selvanathan, 1990; Breton et al, 1990; Driedger, 1991). In rural areas, ethnic islands – regions with a distinctive ethnic makeup, are often observed (McKee, 1985; Allen & Turner, 1988; Loewen, 1990; Zelinsky, 1992). Some ethnic islands in the Canadian Prairies include the Mennonites at Steinbach, Manitoba; German Catholics at Humboldt, Saskatchewan; and Hussar, Alberta; – the Ukrainians in Dauphin, Manitoba; Canora, Saskatchewan; Vegerville, Alberta; – and the Scandinavians in Gimli, Manitoba; Stockholm, Saskatchewan; and Eckville, Alberta. Various cultures, language and religious groups have established their own regions which remain very distinct. The Amish, Doukhobors and Hutterites all provide an example of a more isolated, self-segregated regionalism. Rural settlement by various ethnic groups was the norm in the pioneering days of the Canadian prairies, and these have now left a distinctive imprint on the landscape. These areas have fostered ethnic regionalism, which is promoted and maintained by various organizations, festivals, and activities which attract additional members of the ethnic groups. While ethnic regionalization can have positive effects on the local economy and the social well-being of the ingroup members, there are always dangers in further polarization of ethnic regions, which can lead to increased nationalism and desires for separatism and independence. Ethnic provinces such as Quebec present such a case.

## 2.3 Sociology

A number of sociological theories exist which often revolve around socio-demographic, economic, racial and class issues. The collection is so vast that only a few approaches which have proven stable and persistent in terms of their relation to ethnic groups are relevant in this study. They include the areas of assimilation, acculturation and pluralism.

### 2.3.1 Assimilation

Within sociological thought, the most pervasive theory that has been applied to North American society is that of the process of assimilation. The term assimilation refers to the process of forsaking one's native culture and adopting another. The idea of assimilation came about in the mid nineteenth century, as non-English immigrants quickly became fully assimilated into American society. As a result, people began speaking of the United States as the "Great Melting Pot" in which many different cultural heritages were blended into a common culture (Stark, 1985). This assimilation was further supported by Frederick Jackson Turner (1893) when he proposed that

*...the frontier promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people....In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics. The process has gone on from the early days to our own... (F. J. Turner, 1893:215–216)*

While the theory of assimilation has remained powerful within sociology, the first major signs that the melting pot was failing to "Americanize" immigrants were evident before F. J. Turner. This involved the first waves of Irish immigrants who were fleeing starvation caused by the Potato Famine of 1845–46. The Irish non-assimilationist tendencies were caused by the difference in religions between the Catholic Irish and the earlier European immigrants who were Protestant. The arrival of millions of Irish immigrants after the mid-1840s caused much difficulty amongst the Irish population, who did not become assimilated as expected (Stark, 1985:28).

A more complete definition of assimilation was offered by the Chicago School of Sociology, where Robert Park and Ernest Burgess were influential in their field. According to them,

*Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life (Park & Burgess, 1921:735).*

Numerous other, yet similar, definitions have also been developed. Social assimilation, according to Park (1950), is

*the process or processes by which people of diverse racial origins and different cultures, occupying the same territory, achieve cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence (Anderson and Frideres, 1981:271).*

According to Fairchild (1944), assimilation is

*the process by which different cultures or individuals or groups representing different cultures, are merged into a homogeneous unit. Social assimilation does not require the complete identification of all the units, but such modifications as elimination of the characteristics of foreign origin, and enable them all to fit smoothly into a typical structure and functioning of the new cultural unit. . . assimilation is the substitution of one nationality pattern for another. . . (Anderson and Frideres, 1981:271).*

Perhaps one of the most influential in building upon the assimilation theory is the contribution of Milton Gordon (1964), who reviewed a number of definitions and concluded that the concept has a number of different aspects. In his opinion, assimilation has no single definition, but is multidimensional. Gordon distinguished seven dimensions, involving:

1. Cultural or behavioural assimilation
2. Structural assimilation
3. Marital assimilation
4. Identificational assimilation
5. Attitude receptional assimilation
6. Behaviour receptional assimilation
7. Civic assimilation

Each of these dimensions is characterized by a subprocess or condition that helps define the term. Large-scale intermarriage leads to marital assimilation, while the development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society promotes identificational assimilation. Absence of prejudice leads to attitude receptional assimilation and the absence of discrimination leads to behaviour receptional assimilation. The absence of value and power conflicts is believed to lead to civic assimilation.

The main distinction, however, appears between structural assimilation and cultural assimilation. Structural assimilation refers to large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society on the primary level. Cultural assimilation, on the other hand, refers to changes of cultural patterns to those of the host society. According to Gordon, cultural assimilation can be described better by the term acculturation (Gordon, 1964:71).

According to some other views, assimilation refers to the dominant group's attempt to absorb a minority group on its own terms without regard to the desires



of the minority group. It is then a loss of a minority's identity through merging with a dominant community (Davis, 1978; Kinloch, 1979; Fleras & Elliott, 1996). Therefore, when full assimilation occurs, the minority status ceases to exist (McKee, 1985, p. xiii).

More recently, Yinger sees assimilation as a process of boundary reduction that can occur when members of two or more societies, ethnic groups, or smaller social groups meet (Yinger, 1994:39).

### **2.3.2 Acculturation**

Some sociologists such as Gordon have considered acculturation to be essentially a form of assimilation, or the initial stage of assimilation, but others have either distinguished between these terms or have preferred to use them interchangeably (Anderson and Frideres, 1981:283).

While assimilation generally refers to the mixing of a minority ethnic group with a majority ethnic group and thus a loss of identity, acculturation refers to the process whereby individuals adopt traits from another group. According to McKee, acculturation usually involves the adoption of material traits, language, and secular behaviour. Certain elements of the minority culture, however, can be maintained and practised in a sub-cultural fashion. In time, cultural attitudes, values, and other non-material traits from the dominant culture are acquired. Most ethnic groups must acculturate to some extent with the dominant or host culture. In return, the dominant or host culture frequently makes accommodations and adopts some of the minority's cultural traits, thereby enabling both cultures to coexist (McKee, 1985: xiii). Indeed, examples of this acculturation process are evident in numerous instances. The Russian-America Company employed many Finns and Finland-Swedes in Alaska in the 1800s, and through the acculturation of Finns to the dominant Russian society and population, the Russians adopted the Finnish culture trait of bathing in a sauna. Russian agents were also active among the native population for several generations, and the Indians adopted many Russian cultural customs, most notably the sauna which the Russians had already borrowed from the Finns (Norris, 1971:162).

Banton (1967), views the process of change in the culture of a group adjusting to continuing contact, as normally leading to acculturation. According to him, it is conceivable that in certain circumstances the two cultures concerned might be equally balanced and of an inward-looking nature so that a permanent state of peripheral contact would be maintained, in which case symbiosis occurs. Symbiosis is here understood as the relationship between assimilation and acculturation where minority cultures can change without necessarily becoming assimilated (Anderson and Frideres, 1981:284).

A more recent definition for acculturation is the process of change toward greater cultural similarity brought about by contact between two or more groups (Yinger,

1994:69). Thus, an ethnic group is acculturated to the degree that the range of values and norms held by its members fall into a pattern similar to that of the general population.

### 2.3.3 Pluralism

A third sociological area of interest involves pluralism which emphasizes the co-existence of several distinctive cultural patterns within the same society. This is cultural pluralism, where two or more groups accommodate each other by ignoring some important difference between the groups in order to emphasize their common interests (Fleras & Elliott, 1996: 20). In this situation, ethnic groups have traditionally lost their native language and their bonds with the old country. Their present culture, however, retains some elements of the old – religious affiliation, for example – plus a new heritage based on the special experiences of the group in the new country of residence (Glazer & Moynihan, 1970).

A somewhat similar definition is given by Driedger (1978) for the term ethnic pluralism, which sees ethnic minority groups as being able to maintain their ethnic identities through time. Driedger proposes two different forms of pluralism in his earlier work, termed enclavic and regenerative pluralism (1975). Enclavic pluralism includes dimensions of territorial segregation, institutional completeness, cultural identity and social distance, and has most successfully maintained itself in rural areas.

A second, more dynamic form of pluralism is regenerative pluralism, which includes dimensions of ideological mythology, historical symbols, charismatic leadership and social status, and is thought to be needed in urban areas in order to sustain minority identity.

In looking at the two forms of pluralism, Driedger analyzed data for seven ethnic groups. Cultural identity and social distance for the Scandinavians followed the assimilationist model, while other groups, such as the Jewish and French showed substantial pluralist factors. In regenerative pluralism, although the Scandinavian minority showed rising socio-economic status, they did not appear to have a sufficiently strong enclavic community to support them long enough to generate and maintain a dynamic ideology, history or charisma until a high status Scandinavian elite would emerge to sustain it. Other ethnic groups scored higher on these measures. Driedger concluded that the more effective pluralist counterculture is in resisting assimilation, the greater will be the ability of minority groups to maintain a distinct identity. His studies suggest that this could be done by cultural, institutional, social psychological and ideological means (Driedger, 1975:92).

Sociologists, anthropologists, historians, geographers, as well as social psychologists have studied the various aspects of assimilation, acculturation and pluralism. Numerous studies have examined how these processes relate to ethnic

groups, their retention of identity, language and culture, while comparative studies for different ethnicities have provided some understanding of the variable strength of retention for each group (Gibbon, 1938; Cartwright & Zander, 1960; Gordon, 1964; Fishman, 1966; Shibutani & Kwan, 1968; Lieberman, 1970; Timms, 1971; Balakrishnan, 1975; Driedger, 1975, 1978, 1991, 1996; O'Bryan et al, 1976; DeVries & Vallee, 1980; Peach, 1980; Reitz, 1980; Anderson & Frideres, 1981; Isajiw, 1981; Taylor, 1981; Clark et al, 1984; Herberg, 1989; Kivisto, 1989; Breton et al, 1990; Satzevich, 1992).

## 2.4 Social psychology

The area of social psychology relates closely to areas of sociology. Yet this is a separate discipline which concentrates on the field of psychology. Social psychology is the study of individual behaviour in a social context. While the unit of analysis is the individual, the context of such behaviour can involve, either implicitly or explicitly, both other individuals and social groups. According to Taylor and Moghaddam (1994), the unique perspective of social psychology in an intergroup context is that the perceptions, motivations, feelings, and overt actions of individuals are studied to identify how they influence, and are affected by, relations between groups. As a part of psychology, social psychology tries to bridge the gap between the social and the psychological forces in human behaviour. The central aim to this, as argued by Taylor and Moghaddam (1994:3), should be the topic of intergroup relations. However, the authors feel this has not been the case. Citing examples of work done in social psychology, they suggest that the thrust of the discipline has tended towards studies examining small, closed groups rather than societally based groups such as social classes, ethnic groups, labour movements, or protest groups. Various reasons exist for this lack of interest, which in the end have slowed the progress of social psychology in understanding relations between societal groups. Rather, disciplines such as sociology and political science have pushed ahead of psychological interests in this area (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994:5).

Intergroup relations relate directly to the present research, as can be seen in the title of the book. By intergroup relations (in this case ethnic relations) I mean any aspect of human interaction that involves individuals who perceive themselves as members of a particular linguistic or ethnic category, or are perceived by others as belonging to a linguistic or ethnic category.

A number of theories exist which help understand intergroup relations between individuals and social groups; these include the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and a five-stage model of intergroup relations (Taylor & McKirnan, 1984). These two theoretical approaches will be examined as providing a base for understanding the Finland-Swedish population in Canada.

### 2.4.1 Social identity theory

According to Taylor & Moghaddam (1994), the social identity theory has been the most important impetus for social psychology research on intergroup relations since the late 1970s. Developed by Henri Tajfel and J. C. Turner (1979, 1986), the theory attempts to explain relations between groups from a group perspective. The theory assumes that individuals are motivated to achieve a positive "social identity", defined as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978:63). This desire will prompt individuals to make social comparisons between the in-group and out-groups, with the ultimate aim of achieving both a positive and distinct position for the in-group (Figure 2.1) (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994:61).

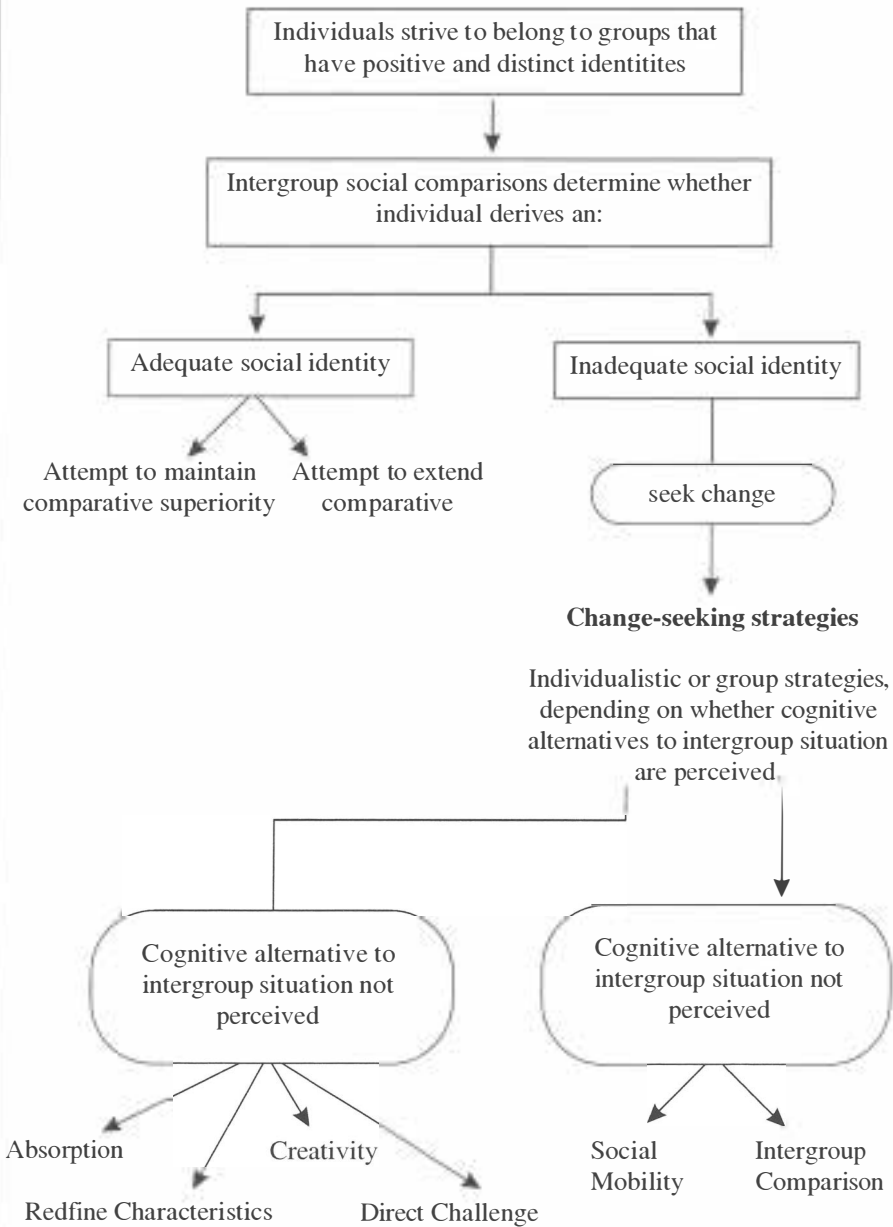
In the case of ethnic identity according to Taylor & Simmard (1979), the focus will be on that aspect of an individual's self-definition which is derived from membership in a particular ethnolinguistic group. Thus, Gardner & Kalin (1981) feel that members of a particular ethnic group and community have to balance the anticipated social and instrumental rewards for getting to know the other ethnolinguistic group(s) better, with the possible costs of endangering their own identity. If language is an important subjective dimension of ethnic identity, it is also an objective one. It might be expected then that in situations where ethnic group membership is a salient issue, language divergence may be an important strategy for making oneself psychologically distinct from members of other groups (Gardner & Kalin, 1981:183).

Research in the Canadian context has shown that French and English Canadians maintain distinct and separate patterns of identity. For both groups, language, even more so than cultural heritage, has emerged as a major determinant of their identity (Taylor, Bassili and Aboud, 1973). It has been assumed that learning or speaking a second language has for the most part positive social consequences. However, Lambert (1977) found it useful to distinguish between "additive" and "subtractive" bilingualism. With additive bilingualism, one is adding a second, socially relevant language to one's repertory of skills, and in such cases, no perceived threat to identity seems imminent. Subtractive bilingualism on the other hand, endangers the existence of the native language. In such circumstances, it would make sense for French Canadians – or Finland-Swedes – to choose some of the following strategies: 1) not to become bilingual (French/English – or – Finnish/Swedish), 2) not to interact with English-Canadians (or Finnish-Canadians) or 3) not to accommodate if they do interact since second language speaking could be detrimental to autonomy and the maintenance of a strong ethnic identity (Gardner & Kalin, 1981:183).

As we will see later, the Finland-Swede's inability to communicate in Finnish with the Finnish-speaking Finns has helped maintain a segregated population with a distinctive self-identity as Finland-Swedes.

**Figure 2.1 Schematic representation of social identity theory**

(Source: Taylor &amp; Moghaddam, 1994:82)



### 2.4.2 Five-stage model of intergroup relations

Taylor and McKirnan (1984) proposed five distinct developmental stages to intergroup behaviour (Fig. 2.2). These stages are 1) clearly stratified intergroup relations, 2) individualistic ideology, 3) individual social mobility, 4) consciousness raising, and 5) collective action. It is further assumed that all intergroup relations involve this five-stage development in the same sequential order. The time for this process to reach completion can range from a relatively short period to centuries. The time required for intergroup relations to move from one stage to the next is not specified, but it is believed that the time is variable and is dependent upon historical, social, economic, political and psychological factors (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994:141).

#### ***Stage 1 – Clearly stratified intergroup relations***

At stage 1, groups are stratified on the basis of assigned characteristics, and there is a distinct division between the advantaged group and the disadvantaged group. Examples of such societies are feudal and caste social structures, along with "paternalistic" societies. According to Van den Berghe (1967), the relationship between the slaves and slave owners of the southern U. S. fits the paternalistic society.

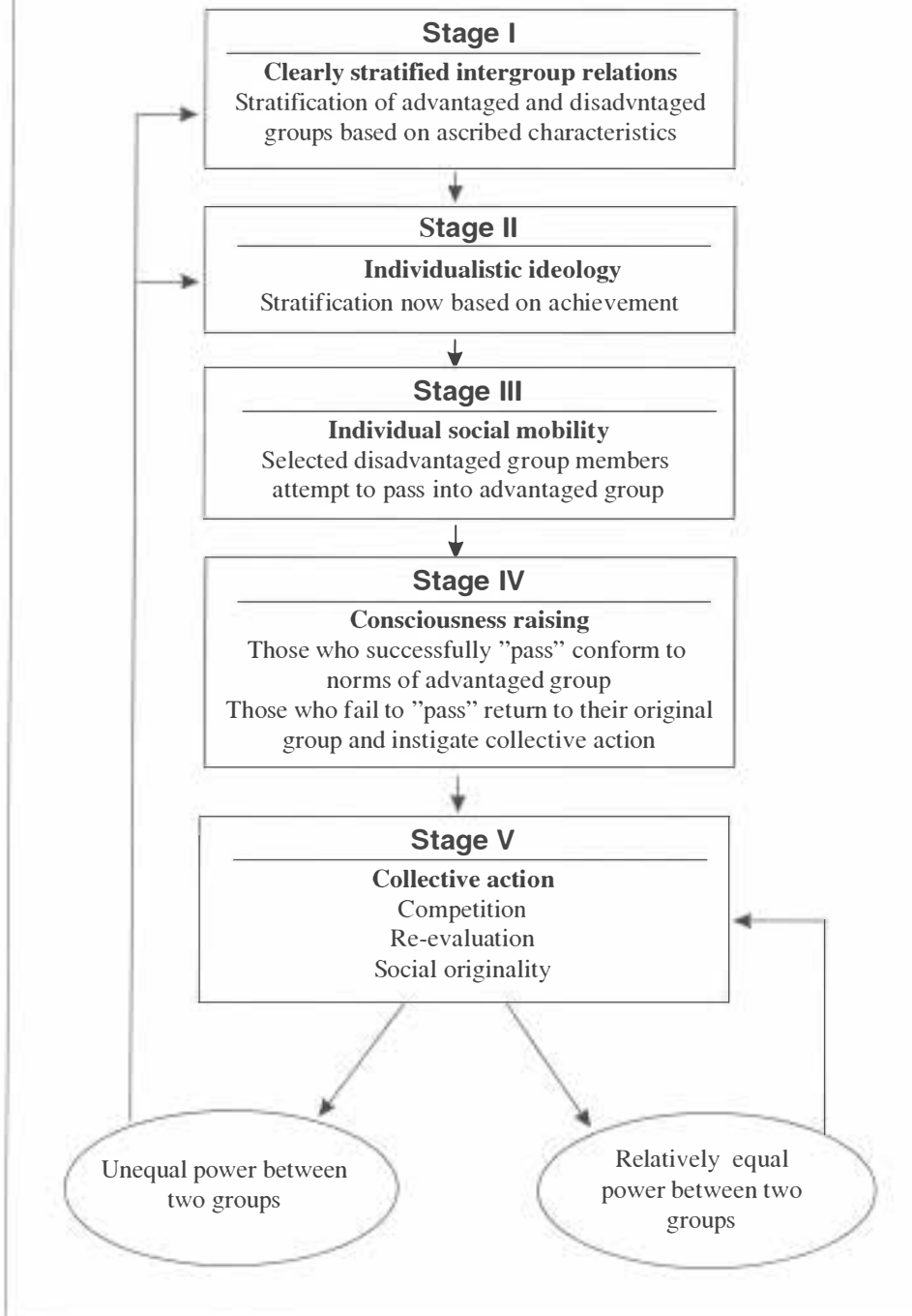
A more current example involves the caste system in India. According to Taylor and Moghaddam, the basis for social stratification can be inherent, such as race and sex, or ascribed, such as religious belief and role. However, in all cases it is assumed that stratification takes place only on the basis of selected criteria for group membership, and this division is not questioned by members of either group. From the earliest times, the Finland-Swedes have maintained a role and position of a more civilized society, more cultured and essentially superior. These views were supported by much research into the racial, psychological and cultural differences, along with contacts and group consciousness between the two groups which involved individualism and collectivism (Myhrman, 1937; Shearman, 1950; Lille – Svenska National, n. d; Hilden, 1932; Westerlund – det Svenska Finland).

According to Puntila (1944), part of this difference in mental attitudes is seen as the difference between the "races". The Finland-Swedes were descendants of a Swedish Viking stock who had inhabited the coastal areas of western and southern Finland for centuries. The two races differed in outward appearance, behaviour and facial features. In areas where the Swedish population remained most pure, such as Närpes in Western Finland, the appearance of a "noble Aryan race" was most evident: "Fine, white skin, clean, somewhat superior facial features, clear blue eyes and black hair" (Puntila, 1944:149).

The image the Finland-Swedes maintained of the Finns was the result of long lasting prejudices and experiences which coloured their feelings toward the Finns. This inbred belief and stratification between races was brought to North America by the immigrants.

**Figure 2.2 Stages in the dynamics of intergroup relations**

(Source: Taylor &amp; Moghaddam, 1994:142)



*My home was very Swedish. We spoke the Swedish language and read Swedish authors, played Swedish music, danced Swedish dances. When I say 'Swedish', I do not necessarily mean that all this had been directly imported from Sweden; much of it had been written on Finnish soil by men and women born in Finland. What I want to emphasize is that my upbringing was thoroughly Swedish. I came into contact with Finns all the time. My playmates were sometimes Finns; the maids and the hired men were Finns. So I learned the Finnish language as well as the Swedish. But I never regarded it very highly. To me it was the language of the maids and the hired men – and of the peasants. It is hard to describe the curious attitude I had – and have – toward the Finns. I was very fond of some of them, and I was willing to use their language to a certain extent. Sometimes I even felt a passionate patriotism that included the Finns as well as the Swedes of my country. But all the time there was a feeling of superiority, that I belonged to a better race, and was different from them. As I grew older this feeling was emphasized because of the Finnish attitude toward us Swedes. It became absolute contempt. By the time I left Finland I had no use at all for either the Finns or their language, because of the behaviour politically. I felt that they had betrayed the country – as no doubt some of them had done. (Park, 1922:46).*

Apart from a difference in "races", many scholars also have searched for other meaningful dimensions of culture and provide a number of alternatives. The best-known dimension of cultural variability is known as individualism-collectivism (Matsumoto, 1996:24). Anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists have used this dimension to explain differences between cultures. With this view, members of individualistic cultures see themselves as separate and autonomous individuals. Members of the collectivist cultures, however, see themselves as fundamentally connected with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Indeed, many early scholars in Finland argued that the Swedish-speaking population was more individualistic and less eager to become involved in mass movements which called for social and economic reform in Finland. The Finnish-speakers on the other hand, are seen as a collective group, easily led into mass movements and designed in part to gain the support of the population at large (Malmberg, 1919; Sievers, 1927; Ringbom, 1926, 1928, 1930; Rosberg, 1931).

### **Stage 2 – Emerging individualistic social ideology**

During stage II, stratification is on the basis of achievement rather than ascribed characteristics. This stage of development is reached as an outcome of modernization and the growth of a middle class. An increased importance of both occupational skills and role complexity gradually leads to an ideology of individual social mobility. According to Taylor and Moghaddam, a relatively advantaged and disadvantaged group membership is now assumed to be based on individual achievement rather than ascribed group characteristics. While in Stage I perceptions of the basis of social stratification coincide with the actual basis, in



Stage II the actual basis of social stratification may be different from the perceived basis. Thus, while the perceived basis for membership in an advantaged group could be individual achievement, the actual basis can still be race, sex, ethnicity, or birth into a rich family. The key psychological difference between Stages I and II is that in Stage I the groups are accurately perceived as being closed, but in Stage II the groups are perceived to be open.

### ***Stage 3 – Individual social mobility***

At Stage 3, individual members of the disadvantaged group attempt to move into the advantaged group. This social mobility will occur in two forms. The first involves an attempt by the disadvantaged group members to completely change their characteristics so as to "pass" as members of the advantaged group. The second form of social mobility is less extensive and involves an attempt by disadvantaged group members to adopt enough of the advantaged group's characteristics to be accepted as a member of that group, yet retain enough features of the disadvantaged group to maintain their own identity. The motivation for an attempt to move into the advantaged group is assumed to be a need for a positive social identity. By doing so, a disadvantaged group member necessarily rejects some of the features of the disadvantaged group. Taylor and Moghaddam assert that the most talented and highly successful individuals among the disadvantaged group in Stage 2 will pursue their abilities and strive to achieve the status of the more advantaged group members.

With the Finland-Swedish population of Canada, it will be noted that linguistic assimilation and association with Anglophones predates the linguistic assimilation encountered within the Finnish-speaking population. In fact, as numerous Finland-Swedes in Canada have expressed, while the Finn-Swedes attempted to participate in organized activities with the Finns using the English language, the Finns continued to maintain their Finnish language in meetings. This indicates an early linguistic affiliation with the English language. Matters of individual mobility along with language shifts and their implications, will be discussed in a later chapter.

### ***Stage 4 – Consciousness raising***

With the rise of ethnic nationalism in Europe in the 19th Century, various ethnic groups experienced a rise in their collective consciousness. Many of these movements included political actions that were led by individuals who were among the disadvantaged group. In Finland, industrialism, which appeared later than in other European countries, also brought about socialist political reforms and changes to the social structure of Finnish society (Soikkanen, 1961). The disadvantaged Finnish majority was led by individuals who wanted to gain more rights for the Finnish language. Interestingly, a number of individuals of the advantaged Swedish-speaking minority were very influential in raising the feelings of Finnish nationalism in the country. The author and philosopher J. V. Snellman

(1806–1881), Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) physician and the author of Kalevala – the epic of the Finnish peoples, and J. L. Runeberg (1804–1877) the author and poet who composed the words to the Finnish national anthem, were at the forefront of the Finnish nationality movement (Wuorinen, 1931; Karner, 1991).

Apart from the influence of Swedish-speaking individuals in raising the consciousness of the country, the Finland-Swedes also began to raise their consciousness with regard to their position within the Finnish society. Afraid of losing their status and position among the more privileged citizens, the Finn-Swedes were led in their struggle to maintain their power and positions by A. O. Freudenthal and C. G. Estlander (1834–1910), and Axel Lille (Myhrman, 1932; Puntila, 1944; Lindman, 1964).

### ***Stage 5 – Collective action***

Consciousness raising among the disadvantaged group members leads to collective attempts to improve the group's position vis-a-vis the advantaged group. The collective strategies foreseen in the five-stage model are those outlined earlier by Tajfel and Turner (1979) and the social identity theory. The first collective strategy is collective competition, which involves attempts to compete with the advantaged group in terms of certain dimensions of competence or status in a given society. This is competition according to the existing rules of the game. In Finland, both Finnish-speaking Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns organized their collective actions through a political forum. The Finns established two political parties, the Old Finn Party and the New Finn Party, which attempted to gain power from the Swedish-speaking population. The Finland-Swedes organized the Swedish People's Party, which fought to maintain the rights which the Swedish-speakers already enjoyed. With the abolition of the old Swedish-model form of government known as the Diet – made up of representatives of the four estates of the nobles, clergy, burghers and peasants – the coming of universal suffrage in 1906 opened the door for political parties and activities to support the nationalist ideals.

A second collective action involves redefinition. Essentially, this refers to the changing of characteristics of the group; characteristics which previously were defined as negative are redefined as positive, and attempts are made to obtain acceptance for this reevaluation. In a sense, the Finnish-speaking majority in Finland was able to change their "inferiority" to "superiority", as a result of redefining the political system within the country.

According to Taylor and Moghaddam, once Stage V has been reached, three possible outcomes exist. The first and second of these lead the groups back to Stage I or II, with the cycle beginning again. If the relative power between the advantaged and disadvantaged groups does not change, there may be a return to Stage II relations. Secondly, the previously disadvantaged group may emerge as dominant, resulting in a return to Stage II relations with the status position of the groups now reversed. Thirdly, the groups may become relatively, although never completely, equal in status and power. In this situation, constant intergroup comparisons, with

no clear-cut victor, will keep the intergroup situation in a healthy state of competition (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994:148).

This final outcome is, indeed, what has happened with the Finland-Swedish and Finnish populations. Finland is officially bilingual, and the Finland-Swedes have gained various rights and laws which guarantee equality between the two ethnolinguistic groups. The emigrating Finns and Finland-Swedes, however, have undergone a different development in their intergroup relations.

## 2.5 Cross-cultural psychology

Cross-cultural psychology is defined as the study of similarities and differences in individual psychological functioning in various cultural and ethnic groups; of the relationships between psychological variables and sociocultural, ecological, and biological variables; and of current changes in these variables (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, Dasen, 1992).

Berry has developed four aspects of acculturation, which is viewed as a multilinear phenomenon. With these four varieties of acculturation, there is assumed to be a set of alternative outcomes rather than a single dimension ending in assimilation or absorption into a "modern" society (Berry, 1980). The acculturation strategies that are available to individuals or cultural and ethnic groups involve integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization (Figures 2.3 & 2.4). From Figure 2.4, it is noted that prior to contact with a new host society, an immigrant group maintains a pre-set behaviour, which includes language, traditions, etc. which are part of the ethnic characteristics. Once the ethnic group arrives in a new country, the traditional linear assimilation process takes place. Over time, and through stages involving conflict and crisis, the new immigrant has the option of continuing assimilation, or choosing to adapt to the new society in a variety of ways noted earlier and discussed in more detail below.

When an acculturating individual does not wish to maintain culture and identity and wants to interact with the host society, assimilation occurs. This is the end of a direct line from the period of contact or date of landing for a new immigrant, to the complete adaptation of values and norms held in the host society.

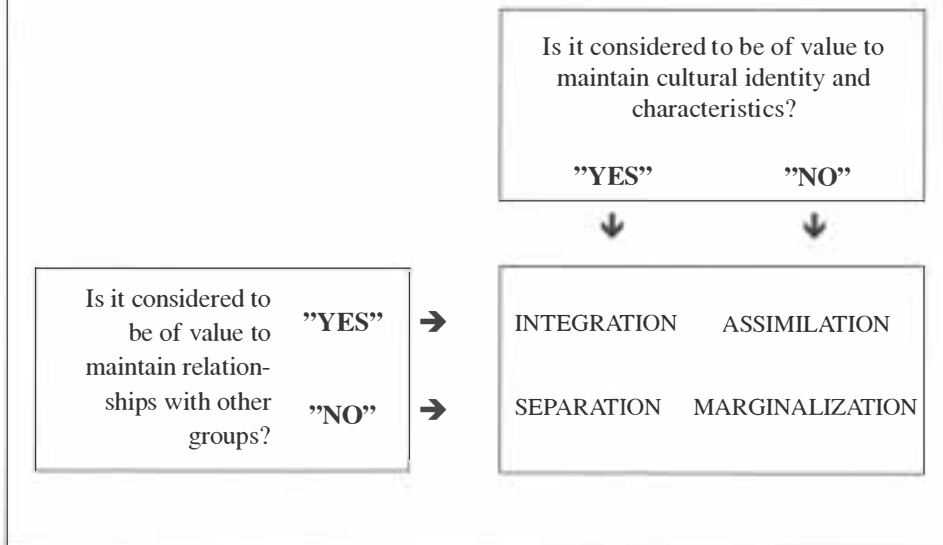
When an acculturating individual wants to maintain culture and identity and does not wish to interact with the host society, separation occurs.

When there is interest in both saving the culture and identity, and in having interaction with others, integration is an option. When there is little possibility of, or interest in, keeping one's culture and identity, together with little possibility of, or interest in, the host society and in interaction with it, marginalization takes place.

The present research will examine how the Finland-Swedes who have immigrated to Canada interact with out-group members, while also examining how the Finland-Swedes relate to the Canadian mainstream society. With these goals in mind, cross-cultural psychology presents theories of attitude balance and ethnocentricity, which directly relate to ethnic relations.

**Figure 2.3 Four varieties of acculturation, based upon orientations to two basic issues**

(Source: Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992:278)



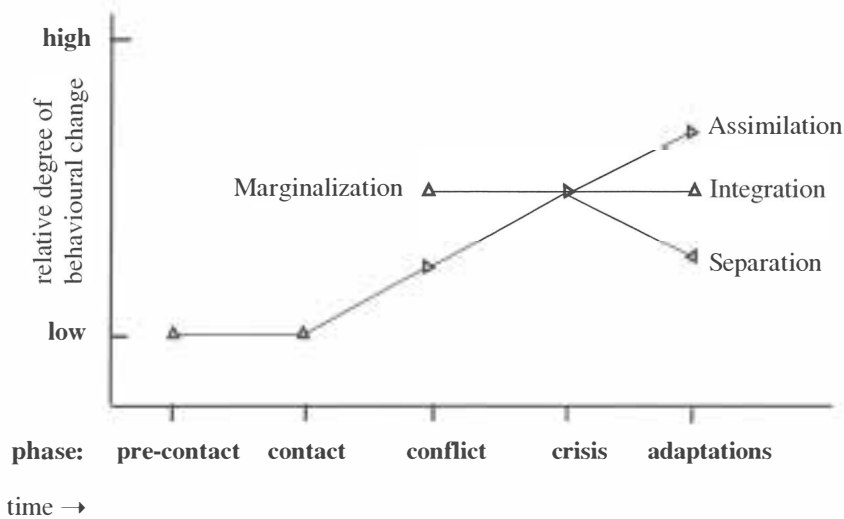
### 2.5.1 Attitude balance theory and ethnocentrism

Attitude balance theory is based on the work of Heider (1958) and Newcombe (1968). The argument is made that effective bonds between individuals (or groups) will be "balanced"; that is, liking or disliking will tend to be reciprocated. Thus, reciprocity of sympathies is believed to occur between groups. These can involve ethnic groups, religious groups, linguistic groups, and so on. Two further arguments have been made: one is that a state of "imbalance" motivates individuals (or groups) to alter their relationship in order to attain "balance"; the other is that attitudes towards objects which are relevant to their relationship may be incorporated into the attitude system (Brewer & Campbell, 1976; Berry & Kalin, 1979). In a national study of attitudes in Canada between English and French Canadians, as well as other ethnic groups, there were strong mutually positive evaluations between all groups, supporting the notion of balance (Berry et al, 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1979).

Ethnocentric theory on the other hand states that there is a universal tendency to rate one's own group positively in relation to most other groups. This is the classical ethnocentric view of things, first described by Sumner (1906). One's own group is usually termed the ingroup, while the other groups are termed outgroups. A more recent definition for ethnocentrism is found in Matsumoto (1996:23), where it involves viewing and interpreting the behaviour of others through our own cultural filters. Another definition is offered by Fleras & Elliott (1996:68), who see

**Figure 2.4 Degree of cultural and psychological change as a function of phases and varieties of acculturation**

(Source: Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992:280)



ethnocentrism as a belief in the superiority of one's own culture compared with others. In terms of ethnocentrism theory, it is expected that ingroups (Finland-Swedes) will be rated positively and outgroups (other ethnic groups) will be rated less positively (Berry & Kalin, 1979).

### 2.5.2 Stereotypes

The final important theoretical underpinning involves stereotyping. A stereotype is defined as an exaggerated belief associated with a category, such as a group of people. A stereotype may be either positive or negative, and is often used to justify behaviour toward a specific group (Allport, 1954). Stereotypes are essentially generalizations about others which are both unwarranted and unfounded on the basis of available evidence (Fleras & Elliott, 1996; Matsumoto, 1996). Negative stereotypes of racial and ethnic groups are common throughout the world and are found throughout history. In this study, although many Finland-Swedes in the past held positions of power in the government, educational system and economy, their role and presence in these positions has declined. While the Finland-Swedes and Finns are generally equal in terms of their socio-economic structure, old stereotypes still prevail, which are essentially negative. The stereotypical Finland-Swede is seen by the Finns as a well-to-do individual, better educated and

more "civilized" than the ordinary Finn, and given the historical ties to the Swedish Kingdom, many in today's Finland still label the Finland-Swedes as "Svenska talande bättre folk" ("Swedish-speaking better folk") (Paananen, 1996). According to interviews held in Finland, some Finnish-speakers still feel that the Finland-Swedes hold themselves superior to the Finns (Lampinen, 1996; Paananen, 1996). This belief is vehemently denied by many of the leading scholars in Finland. While old lessons die hard, many feel that only through education will this stereotype be eradicated (Liebkind, 1996; Allardt, 1996; Hultén, 1996; Tandefelt, 1996; Sandlund, 1996).

This leads to the question of whether these traditional stereotypes re-appear in Canada, bringing with them similar attitudes and values. Before this and some of the other concerns raised in these sections can be analyzed, some historical background on the Finland-Swedish population is in order.

## 2.6 Conclusions

The forgoing sections have introduced a number of theoretical underpinnings which provide guidelines for a very interdisciplinary study. It is in geography, however, that a connection between sociological approaches of assimilation, acculturation and pluralism, and social and cross-cultural psychological themes are tied together.

If assimilation, along with the other theories, represents a gradual movement in social space (for individuals and groups), then, according to Jakle, Brunn & Roseman (1976) there is a corresponding gradual change in spatial behaviour. Indeed, the assimilation process leads to a definite movement of many ethnic populations from the original site of settlement (such as the urban core area or ethnic neighbourhood) to a middle area, fringe and outlying clusters as social and economic conditions improve. This is the "immigrant's ladder", where earlier-arrived ethnic groups eventually abandon poorer residential areas and are replaced by newcomers of different backgrounds (Jordan, 1990: 304). The Swedes of Logan Avenue in Winnipeg represent an excellent example of this process (Ljungmark, 1991; Reitz, 1980).

While spatial behaviour involves the movement of individuals and groups, the concentration of ethnic populations most often relates to the settlement history of a particular location, the presence of services, amenities, institutions, along with individuals with leadership qualities that attract and promote ethnic groups to settle in distinct areas. Alongside the decisions to settle in particular areas, human behaviour also involves personal attitudes and beliefs, prejudices and biases, which relate to the various psychological theories examined earlier.

Cultural geographers who have shown interest in similar interdisciplinary approaches using sociology and psychology as does this research, are found within

behavioural geography. According to Johnston, behavioural geography is largely allied with these social sciences (Johnston, 1991:149–150). The behaviouristic approach is an inductive one, with the aim being to build general statements out of observations of ongoing processes. This is the method applied in this research.

Cultural geography's interest in behaviour has been in the behaviour of groups. Researchers have studied the values and beliefs of such groups as they are reflected in religion, language, economic systems, and the like (Foote, 1994:293). According to Foote, the use of in-depth interviews, questionnaires, etc. , has generated valuable insights into the worldviews of various social and cultural groups, such as the elderly and sightless (Hill, 1985; Rowles, 1978). Recent writings in behavioural geography include comparative research that has been done among varied social and cultural groups (Aitken, et al. , 1989).

Along with behavioural geography is the field of social geography, which also has adapted many views encountered in sociology. Social geography is concerned with the theoretical location of social groups and social characteristics, often with an urban setting (Cater & Jones, 1989, viii). Some of the social characteristics include crime, aging, health, marriage, divorce, and the quality of life, but social geographers have also shown interest in ethnicity (Robinson, 1991; Bourne & Ley, 1993).

In the end, theories and approaches provided by the disciplines of sociology and psychology are intertwined with geography, and will be used to provide a geographical analysis of an ethnic population that will fit into behavioural geography with ethnic and social geographical flavour.





# Chapter 3

## Brief history of Finland-Swedes in Finland

### 3.1 Introduction

Finland has traditionally been a land of emigrants. Literature on Finnish emigration is plentiful, but Finland-Swedes as emigrants have received a fairly limited coverage. Still, studies have been done on movements across the Gulf of Bothnia to Sweden, ranging from historical examinations of seasonal and labour migrations in the 1400–1800's (Korkiasaari, 1989; Norman & Runblom, 1988; Koivukangas, 1981), to the desires of the Swedish Crown to settle the Varmland region of central Sweden (Koivukangas, 1988) and the impact of Finland-Swedes on the fur-trading business as part of the Russian-America Fur Trading Company in Alaska (Kolehmainen, 1968). Studies have also examined the more recent 19th Century migrations to the Nordic countries and to some extent, overseas emigrations (Kero, 1974; Myhrman, 1972, 1976; Oman, 1986). Before the literature on emigration by Finland-Swedes to North America can be dealt with, a look at the history of the Finland-Swedish people is in order. The intergroup relations and attitudes between the Finland-Swedes and Finns can only be understood when the history of the people of Finland is considered.

### 3.2 Pre-history (Pre-1157)

Very little factual information exists on the earliest settlement of Swedes in Finland. The Finns, on the other hand are believed to have arrived some 3000 BC from areas east and southeast of the present country, i. e. from northern Siberia around the Ural Mountains (Zetterberg, 1987:916). Still, according to some scholars there were Swedes in Finland before there were any Finns, so great has been the historical influence of the Swedes upon western Finland. If this is true, however, it can be true only of the coastal region (Shearman, 1950:1). The culture that appeared in Finland around 2000 BC came from both eastern and western

influences. The eastern regions were receiving influences from overland, from what is now Russia, while the southern and southwestern shores of the mainland, and the Åland Islands were influenced by a maritime people of the west (Singleton, 1989:12). While the above is more proper and logical, it has also been stated that civilization came to Finland from Sweden (Reade, 1915:11).

The Åland Islands were settled by the Swedes as early as the ninth century and their initial arrival on the Finnish mainland was a result of Viking activities along the Gulf of Bothnia during the Viking Period (ca. 850–1050) as the Swedish Vikings crossed the Gulf and ventured further east in order to establish trade routes to the Black Sea, via Kiev and the Volga River (Wuorinen, 1965a:18–19). While doing so, a few settled along the rivers of Ostrobothnia, which is now the western province of Finland. However, most of the Vikings had no intention of exchanging one barren land for another. Rather, they moved to the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland and worked their way inland (Jackson, 1940:26–27).

Still, Finland was not made by the Finns alone. It was first organized as a political entity through the intervention of the Swedes. So great has been Finland's historical debt to the Swedes that the Finns have never quite forgiven the Swedes for it (Shearman, 1950:2).

### **3.3 Finland as part of Sweden (1157–1809)**

The Swedes began their rule over Finland after the Swedish crusades, by conquering Finland and bringing Christianity to the country in 1157. The crusades also brought vigorous Swedish settlement to the expanding Swedish kingdom. This occurred in the coastal areas of southern and south-western Finland (Shearman, 1950:3). By 1250, the colonization activity had grown to the proportions of a mass movement, and by the early Middle Ages, a Swedish zone of settlement had been established in the province of Nyland, in "Finland proper" (the southwestern corner of present-day Finland), and along the Bothnian coast. This Swedish zone extended some thirty kilometers inland from the coast, and has remained largely intact until the 1950s (Jutikkala, 1974:28). Jutikkala also states that as the Swedes settled nearly uninhabited coastal regions, the relations between the two nationalities developed from the very beginning along peaceful lines.

As the Swedes built up a political unit out of their newly settled Finland, numerous castles and fortifications were built to protect the Swedish realm. The labour performed in building the castles, the assessments paid for their upkeep, and the duty of entertaining members of the garrison, placed burdens on the Finnish population (Jutikkala, 1974:32). The Swedes established themselves as the nobility, as lords of the castles, owning farmland, etc. , while the Finns were less privileged. Finland's own nobles were appointed to less exalted administrative and military posts; as bailiffs and magistrates (Jutikkala, 1974:57). The Swedes managed to impose their rule on the Finns, but they could not enslave them. The

creation of a new social order caused tension and friction between the two groups, and the new economic burdens the Finns were obliged to bear were liable to be resented (Jutikkala, 1974:34).

In 1362, the Swedish community of Finland took part in voting through representatives, for the election of a Swedish king (Shearman, 1950:8). While the upper ranks of society were filled with Swedes, the Protestant Reformation in the 1500s also brought out the first few self-assertive Finnish individuals. They included Michael Agricola who translated the New Testament into Finnish (Shearman, 1950:9). Politically, by the late 1600s, the Swedish kingdom was developing into a modern state which greatly affected Finland. While there was no systematic plan, before 1680, to make Finland Swedish, it seems that the government aimed at a strict uniformity between Swedish and Finnish institutions. Many administrative, judicial and commercial reforms were introduced, and many Finnish towns received charters of incorporation. A separate diet was formed for the "Grand Duchy" by King Gustavus Adolphus, containing representatives of the four estates of the nobles, clergy, burghers and peasants, just as in Sweden (Shearman, 1950:10). However, Finland lost her special status of having royal governors, counties, and small administrative areas, as the administrative order became more centralized. This transformed Finland into a group of provinces among other provinces of the kingdom. The centralized administration attracted many Finnish nobles, and many leading families moved to Stockholm (Jutikkala, 1974:98).

The closing period of the 18th century was notable for the development among the Finland-Swedes of aspirations for independence. Some Finland-Swedes experimented with playing Russia off against Sweden. A mutiny was organized against the Swedish king in 1788, in hopes that an independent republic could be formed under the protection of the Empress Catherine of Russia (Shearman, 1950:12). At the beginning of 1808, Russia made war on Sweden. The Swedes were unprepared and poorly commanded, and many of the Swedish Finn aristocracy of the Grand Duchy were in "treacherous collaboration" with the Russians. The rank and file of the Finns, however, resisted stubbornly and heroically (Shearman, 1950:15). Despite this resistance, however, Finland was overtaken by the Russians and inevitably transferred from Swedish to Russian rule in September, 1808.

### **3.4 Finland as part of Russia (1809–1917)**

Feelings towards the Russians were not favourable amongst the Finns or the Finland-Swedes. This was the obvious result of war and conflict over a period of hundreds of years. The two ethnolinguistic groups, however, were distinguished differently by the Russians. A contemporary Russian historian records what was, for many years to come, the attitude of the Russians toward the two races which inhabited Finland:

*The difference of character in the two nations is distinctly marked; their language, their features, their manners and their dress differ from each other as much as their origin. The descendants of the Swedes possess more energy and have a strong love of their country; their habitations are more spacious and more convenient; they wear the European dress, and are particularly distinguished from the Finlanders by their superior civilization (Shearman, 1950:16).*

Attitudes and feelings between the Finns and Finland-Swedes, even among the most educated classes, involved an icy lack of friendly understanding. Far too civilized and reasonable to shoot on sight, they were nevertheless rarely seen in each other's houses and often spoke of each other with anger and contempt and considerable self-righteousness. Greater still, was the contempt which both these groups in Helsinki society had for the Russians (Shearman, 1950:28). The Finns, collectively, looked down upon the tea-drinking, vodka-consuming Russians with all the high scorn of a cultured people who drank coffee (Shearman, 1950:29).

During the initial period of the Russian takeover of Finland, some Finland-Swedes hoped for the return of Swedish power, but as years passed, this proved illusory. Eventually, nationalism arose in Finland, amongst both the Finns and the Finland-Swedes. This development led to a nationalistic battle between the two languages which strained the relations between the two groups. During the mid-1800s, both the Finns and the Finland-Swedes established political parties that pursued the goals of self-preservation and language rights (Myhrman, 1937).

In a Swedish-language university newspaper, August Sohlman in 1846 wrote about the attitudes of the Finland-Swedes towards the Finns. The Finland-Swedes felt strongly that the Swedish crusades had originally brought the Finnish tribes together as a cohesive unit. The Finns were seen as having a downcast mannerism, and as being tardy, slow and submissive. With these characteristics, many believed that the Finns lacked national pride and the enterprising spirit exhibited by the Swedes which in turn did not promote territorial expansion and conquest of its neighbours. Without the conquest by Sweden, the tribes in Finland would have been subjected to treatment by Russia, identical to that experienced by related tribes east of Finland. The Swedish cultural spirit affected the Finns and brought them on the road to nationalism, and brought positive changes to the Finns. The Swedish traits of lively mannerism, practicality and cheerfulness helped develop the slow and stubborn Finn into a faithful, industrious, and courageous people (Puntila, 1944:52–53).

The rise of nationalism within Finland led to the development of ethnic pride within the the Finnish majority as well as the Finland-Swedish minority. The Finland-Swede image of themselves centered on their roots in Sweden. Accordingly, the Swedes were seen as a high-minded and active people, well known for their autonomy which encouraged freedom and civilization. The respect and adoration of Finland-Swedes in southern Finland towards the Swedes was

evident in their outlook towards Swedish history. This focused on the Viking era, during which time the Swedish desire for territorial expansion was at its height. The result of this adoration was to be seen in the publication of the first Swedish nationalist newspaper, which adopted an appropriate name – *Vikingen* (Puntila, 1944:147–148).

The descendants of the Swedish Vikings were also to be found along the coastal regions of southern and western Finland. The Swedish-minded educated class and university students believed that the same noble spirit and nature of greatness characterized all the Scandinavian peoples since the Viking era, and affected the Swedish settlers of the islands and coasts (Puntila, 1944:149). Racial differences, however slight, between the Swedes and Finns were used to indicate the superiority of the Swedes over the Finns.

The image the Finland-Swedes maintained of the Finns was the result of long lasting prejudices and events which coloured their feelings towards the Finns. The Finnish nationality was belittled by the Finland-Swedes. The Swedish-speaking common people knew their privileged position. The civil servants and nobility used the Swedish language, and the Finnish language was not spoken in the official courts and administrative offices. This language practice brought a belief of privilege amongst the Finland-Swedes. With the general understanding that the upper-class had a Swedish origin, the Swedish-speaking population had become proud and believed itself to be superior to the neighbouring Finns (Puntila, 1944:152–153).

Verbal discrimination was common with regard to the Finns. Name calling, using terms such as *"fintampar"* and *"finnkolexar"* (*"finn-boneheads"*) were commonly used, and the question *"a tu finsk?"* (*"are you Finnish?"*) was meant in the manner as saying: *"are you really stupid?"* Stories that mocked the Finns included tales of relations with the Devil, the creation of the Finnish people, along with many others that were listened to and received with great delight amongst the Finland-Swedes (Puntila, 1944:153).

While the Finns and Finland-Swedes were beginning to struggle with their own nationalities and ethnolinguistic affiliations, the Russians, who had awarded numerous autonomous rights to the Grand Duchy of Finland, were beginning to desire Russification of the population. In two periods of repression, the Russians began to take over the country. During the first phase of the repression, begun in 1898, the Russians declared the suspension of the Finnish constitution. Finnish men were called to military service, and in 1900 a language manifesto extended the use of the Russian language to many branches of the administration and provided for the dismissal of such officials as could not, or would not, learn Russian within a certain time. It is this period at the turn of the century that led to much emigration from Finland to North America. The hatred of the Finns for the Russians was only equalled by the mutual hatred of the two Finnish parties – the moderates who believed in passive resistance of a mild type only, and the constitutionalists who believed in active resistance (Shearman, 1950:39–41). Following the 1904

assassination of Bobrikov, the governor-general of Finland, who had initiated the many repressive measures against the Finns, the Czar allowed the Finnish Diet to reassemble, which immediately petitioned the Emperor for the re-establishment of a constitutional government. In 1905, an altered constitution was adopted for Finland, drafted by the Diet. The Diet became a single chamber, the members of which were to be elected by the votes of all citizens, male and female, over the age of twenty-four years. It was claimed to be the most democratic parliament in the world (Shearman, 1950:42–43).

However, a second phase of repression saw a new effort at Russification in Finland beginning in 1908, which lasted until the Bolshevik revolution and the declaration of Finnish independence in 1917. During these years, the powers of the Diet were repressed by Russia by giving no business for it to perform. The Senate and administration were Russified, and Russians immigrated into the country where they enjoyed equal rights of citizenship with Finns and where their language was given priority (Shearman, 1950:45).

Overall, it appears that the Finns and the Finland-Swedes were against the Russians, especially during the early 1900s. Still, the Finns resented the Swedish-speakers, who still maintained positions of leadership and control over the population. With the rise of Finnish and Swedish nationalism, both ethnolinguistic groups attempted to enhance their positions in society. Finns desired to gain Finnish language rights, while Swedish-speaking Finns desired to maintain their centuries-old position within the country. These nationalistic movements led to the formation of a number of political parties which had ethnolinguistic labels and platforms. They included two Finnish language parties – the Old Finns (Nationalist Party) and the Young Finns, as well as the Swedish People's Party. All three were to play a role in the political development and growth of Finland after the turn of the century and following the founding of Finland as an independent nation.

### **3.5 Finnish Civil War (1917–1918)**

While the Swedish and Russian occupations of Finland lasted for centuries and created definite feelings between the two ethnolinguistic groups, it was the coming of Finnish independence and the turmoil of a Finnish Civil War that brought additional biases and memories that have lasted to this day among the population of Finland, and in the collective memories of the emigrants who left Finland during the 1920s and 1930s.

The Finnish Civil War, according to many scholars, was a battle between classes, and has received limited attention (Paasivirta, 1947, 1949; Smith, 1958; Polvinen, 1967, 1971; Wuorinen, 1965; Jutikkala & Pirinen, 1974; Kirby, 1975; and Upton, 1980). The limited attention is due to the fact that so many bitter memories and opinions existed amongst the population. According to Hämäläinen (1978), it took

some three to four decades before professional historians started to seriously examine the revolutionary and civil war period. The upper class, comprised of the Swedish-speaking minority was the bourgeoisie, who opposed the radical developments brought on by the working class, comprised mostly of the Finnish majority. Hämäläinen agrees with Ringbom (1918) that the civil war was neither a class war nor a race war in the proper sense. Nevertheless, one must concede that class contrasts as well as racial – or more correctly, language group – contrasts played a substantial part in bringing about the war. The end result of the war was the defeat of the "Red Guard", who followed the lead of the Russian revolutionaries who waged war against the upper-class bourgeoisie in order to bring socialism to power. The "White Guard", led by Swedish-speaking officers trained in Germany, became associated – especially in the view of the "Red Guard" – with the minority language group of the country. Still, there were many Finns in the fighting ranks of the Whites, while there were some Finland-Swedes who fought with the Red Guard. Although their numbers were fairly insignificant, their presence caused very little to be said against the Swedish-speakers in general which could have caused conflicts within the Red Guard. The results of the war were devastating. Atrocities were committed towards prisoners of war. While the Red Guard also acted in a similar manner prior to their defeat, thousands of men and women were tried, tortured, and executed at the hands of the White forces following the war (Paavolainen, 1966–67;1971).

In a recent publication on the atrocities committed during the Civil War, it is noted that the only times prisoners were immediately pardoned and freed occurred when they spoke Swedish, whereas Finnish-speaking prisoners were killed, thus indicating a bias towards the Swedish-speakers. In another instance, a Sergeant-Major of the White Guard and his battalion of Swedish-speaking soldiers (possibly volunteers from Sweden or Finland-Swedes from Osterbotten – the author does not qualify this) invaded the Red Guards' field hospital and went from bed to bed and shot every patient, not to kill, but to wound and make them suffer. Two days later the soldiers returned to assess their work and kill the suffering. Two of the patients feigned dead and were saved (Rislakki, 1995:87).

Rislakki also states that members of the White Guard emigrated from certain areas to other parts of Finland following accusations by spouses of assassinated or tortured prisoners (Rislakki, 1995:238–40, 248). Similarly, veterans of the Red Guard also emigrated, in one case to America and then to the Soviet Union (Rislakki, 1995:254). As a result of these experiences, it is not difficult to understand why immigrants from Finland held animosity towards members of the opposing side. The divided loyalties were further intensified with the immigration into Canada of both "Red" and "White" veterans during the 1920s. The effect of this – particularly since the regulatory devices in the immigration process favoured the "White" immigrants – drastically shifted the political balance in the Finnish-Canadian communities, creating a permanent and irreconcilable division that according to Laine (1981) has remained to this day.

### 3.6 Finland-Swedes in an independent Finland

With the ending of the Civil War on May 16, 1918, the White Guard made up of Finns along with the majority of Finland-Swedes gained power. Through legislation, a new constitution of Finland guaranteed language protection for the Swedish-speaking Finns by making Finland officially bilingual in 1919. While the Finland-Swedish population represented a larger proportion in the past, their proportionate numbers have declined steadily. Demographically, the highest absolute Finn-Swede population was reached in 1940, after which the population has declined in both absolute and proportionate terms (Table 3.1).

Allardt & Starck (1981) have postulated four reasons for the decrease of Finland-Swedes in Finland. These include a lower birthrate, emigration, language shifts and inter-marriage. Socio-economic characteristics such as wealth, education and political power, were associated with the Finland-Swedes. More recently, however, the Finland-Swedes no longer dominate the elite. According to Allardt (1977), the Finland-Swedes no longer represent a population with upper class characteristics, rather, their dominating feature is in their overrepresentation in the middle class. According to Allardt, there is an observable difference in the representation of managerial, administrative and professional occupations. Despite this observable difference Allardt concludes that the most striking feature is the similarity between the Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking populations.

**Table 3.1 Finland-Swedes in Finland, 1610–1994**

Year	Number	% of whole
1610	70,000	17.5
1749	87,200	16.3
1815	160,000	14.6
1880	294,900	14.3
1890	322,600	13.6
1900	349,700	12.9
1910	339,000	11.6
1920	341,000	11.0
1930	342,900	10.1
1940	354,000	9.6
1950	348,300	8.6
1960	330,500	7.4
1970	303,400	6.6
1980	300,500	6.3
1990	296,700	5.9
1994	295,182	5.8

Sources: McRae, 1988:93; F. Finnas, 1995:1; Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja, 1995:54.



The social processes which have raised the Finnish-speaking majority into a dominant position in higher social strata, have not developed without conflicts between the two language groups. Indeed, aggressive attitudes against the other language-group could be observed particularly during the period between the two world wars. After the Second World War this language controversy, according to Fougsted & Hartman (1956), has lost some of its acuteness. Still, the language climate during the past 20 years has not been harmonious. One of the exceptional examples of a hatred of Swedish was the suggestion made by a Member of Parliament, in the summer of 1990, that a barter be made with the Soviet Union to exchange the Åland Islands for Karelia (Tandefelt, 1992:34).

In a 1988 gallup survey conducted by McRae, Bennett and Miljan dealing with intergroup sympathies, the results were interesting and unexpected. The most obvious result indicated that while Swedish-speaking Finns ranked their Finnish-speaking fellow citizens highly, this sympathy was not reciprocated. Rather, the Finnish-speakers showed less sympathy towards the Swedish-speakers (Table 3.2).

**Table 3.2 Sympathy scores towards selected ethnolinguistic groups, Finnish and Swedish samples, 1983 (averages, on scale from 0–100) \***

Finnish sample target group	Score	Swedish sample target group	Score
1. Finns	92	1. Finland-Swedes	92
2. Sami (Lapps)	86	2. Norwegians	85
3. Norwegians	83	3. Sami (Lapps)	78
4. Estonians	78	Finns	78
5. Finns in Sweden	77	5. English	76
6. Hungarians	76	6. Swedes in Sweden	75
7. English	75	7. French	71
8. French	74	8. Estonians	70
9. Japanese	73	9. Japanese	67
10. Finland-Swedes	67	10. Hungarians	66
11. Swedes in Sweden	65	11. Finns in Sweden	65
12. Germans	60	Germans	65
13. Gypsies	52	13. Gypsies	47
<b>Averages (all groups)</b>	<b>73.4</b>		<b>71.9</b>

\* non-responses excluded

Source: K. McRae, S. Bennett, T. Miljan. Intergroup Sympathies and Language Patterns in Finland: Results from a Survey, Julkaisu No. 16, (Suomen Gallupin Julkaisusarja, Helsinki, 1988b):9.

The result of these sympathies points towards a basic asymmetry in attitudinal patterns between Finnish speakers and Swedish speakers. In other words, the two groups do not reciprocate their attitudes for one another, and goes against the attitude balance theory which will be examined closer in the following chapters. McRae, Bennett and Miljan conclude that possible reasons for these asymmetrical ratings could be sought in historical memories of Swedish supremacy; in ideological cleavages that touched off the Civil War in 1917–1918; in surviving stereotypes of Swedish speakers as an economically privileged class; in the current position of Swedish speakers as a small and almost invisible minority; in patterns of socialization and the educational curriculum; or in some combination of these and perhaps other factors.

One of the possible "other factors" includes a more recent cause for the asymmetrical attitudes which can be traced to the post-World War II period, when thousands of evacuees from Finnish Karelia had to be relocated after the Soviet takeover of eastern Finland. To help in the resettlement process, the Finnish government established the expropriation of many Finnish farm sections from Finnish-speaking farmers in order to facilitate the migration of Karelians (Hietanen, 1982). The Finland-Swedes however, were not obligated to fulfill this emergency legislation. The 1921 laws which guaranteed the survival of the Finland-Swedish areas along the coasts made the Finland-Swedes exempt from this quick settlement law. This legislation, especially in areas where the two ethnolinguistic groups were in close contact, would have affected attitudes between the groups, which included resentment amongst many Finnish-speakers (Paananen, 1996).

While the socio-economic status of Finland-Swedes today is not as evidently upper class, Tandefelt (1992) argues that in the mind of the Finnish majority a "typical Finland-Swede" can only be a man of means. This stereotype is in fact so strong that Swedish-speakers who do not meet the criteria sometimes feel that they are less Finland-Swedish than others (Herberts, 1988). With such strong stereotypes present even today among the Finnish-speakers and Swedish-speakers, it seems that the ethnic relations between the two groups will remain somewhat delicate. While the situation is not as drastic and evident as in the past, tensions still exist. And as these feelings exist in Finland, it should not be surprising that these Old World traits have also found their way to North America. Some sources which point to the presence of old world attitudes include studies which examine the co-existence of Finland-Swedes and Finns (Park & Miller, 1921; Syrjämäki, 1940; Mattson, 1977; Wargelin, 1984). According to Dr. Raymond Wargelin (1995), the

*intertwined political and military history of Sweden and Finland is no longer known today among the second, third and fourth generation Finns and Swedes in the USA. They know nothing about this interrelationship. But they still have some of the old prejudices (Personal correspondence, Jan. 30, 1995).*

### **3.7 Conclusions**

From the foregoing examination of the history of the Finland-Swedes, their demographics, socio-economic characteristics, intergroup relations and attitudes toward the Finnish-speaking population, it is noted that while the Finland-Swedes have a strong history within the country, their numerical strength and socio-economic status within the upper classes of Finnish society have declined steadily. Various reasons for this decline exist, while the remains of age-old biases and prejudices still simmer under the surface. One challenge of this research is to trace the transfer of many of the Old World traits to the present Finland-Swedish population of Canada.



# Chapter 4

## Emigration from Finland

### 4.1 Introduction

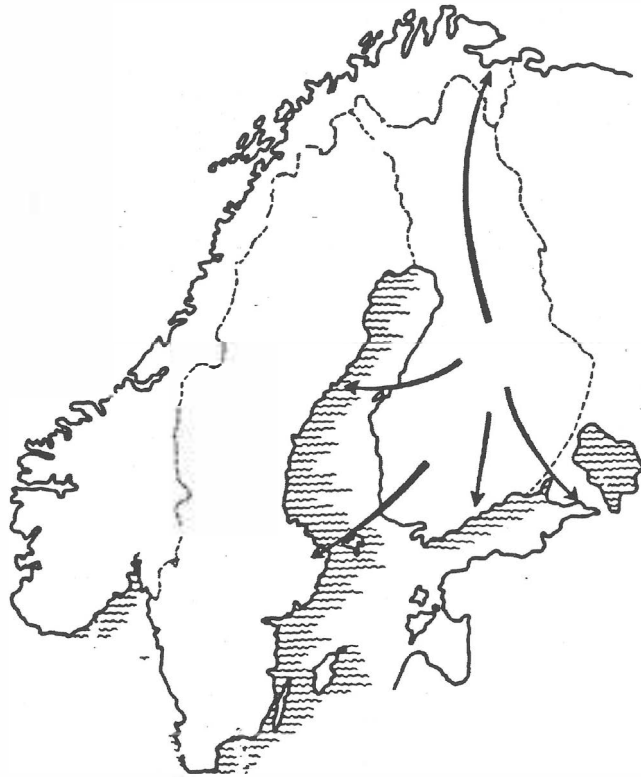
Finland has traditionally been a land of emigrants. Since becoming part of the Swedish Kingdom in 1157, Finns and the Finland-Swedes have been known to migrate across the Gulf of Bothnia to Sweden in search of work and a better life. Periodic emigrant waves occurred as the population fled war and famine, which have occurred throughout the history of Finland. While emigration from Finland has a long history, the modern period has accounted for the largest emigration phase. This has led to a significant population loss, most notably amongst the Finland-Swedish communities found along the coastal areas. Three major emigrant waves are recognized, occurring between 1890 and 1914, 1920 and 1930, and 1950 and 1960.

### 4.2 Emigration prior to Word War II

The earliest emigrants were destined for Sweden, Russia and northern Norway. These movements were related more to internal movements and seasonal labour migrations rather than long distance migration which developed somewhat later (Korkiasaari, 1989:7–8).

During the nineteenth century, five directions for labour migrations are recognized. Cities in southern Finland attracted large numbers of rural residents from different parts of Finland; this often resulted in permanent settlement. This was part of the urbanization and industrialization period which was common after the 1870s. Another stream went to the Stockholm area, while the Arctic Ocean in northern Norway and Russia attracted many fishermen. A fourth stream involved a flow of seasonal workers to St. Petersburg, and a fifth stream in the second half of the nineteenth century led workers to the forests, log drives and sawmills on the Swedish side of the Gulf of Bothnia (Fig. 4. 1) (Norman & Runblom, 1988:20–21).

**Figure 4.1 Seasonal labour migration streams from Finland**  
(Source: Adapted from Norman & Runblom, 1988:22)



**Table 4.1 Finnish emigration prior to World War II, 1860–1945**

Destination	1860–99	1900–23	1924–29	1930–39	1940–45
North America	81, 000	259, 000	28,000	5,500	350
Other Americas	*	-	500	350	20
Australia & N. Z.	-	200	1,000	250	-
Asia & Africa	-	300	100	200	100
Sweden	(35, 000)	(5, 000)	1,000	3,300	1,200
Russia/SU	(40, 000)	-	450	1,500	10
Other Europe	-	-	700	1,000	120
<b>Total</b>	-	-	<b>31,750</b>	<b>12,100</b>	<b>1, 800</b>

\* No data available.

Source: Korkiasaari, 1989:8.

As transportation and communications networks became more established, knowledge of the outside world spread amongst the people of Finland, and by the 1920s, large numbers of emigrants had left for North America, lured by the promise of a better and more prosperous life. The exodus to America became known as overseas migration, and became the greatest choice of destination amongst the population. Statistics show the importance of North America in this emigration process (Table 4.1).

#### 4.2.1 Emigration to Sweden

The total number of emigrants to Sweden prior to WWII is almost impossible to estimate. Statistics which have been kept since the 1860s do not include many who crossed the borders without passports, while historical figures cannot be verified. Still, Finns have emigrated to Sweden over a long period of time. The earliest emigration is believed to have occurred in the early Middle Ages. The Stockholm area, especially, provided the greatest attraction, and hundreds of Finnish names have been recognized in the City Directories. It has been estimated that in the 1200–1300s, perhaps some 20 percent of the city population was made up of Finns. These early Finns were workers, fishermen, shipwrights, craftsmen, as well as officials and clergy (Koivukangas, 1981:27–43).

Prior to 1570, the emigrants to Sweden originated from the farming and coastal areas of western Finland. After 1570, a large migration of Finns from the south-central interior of the country began to move to the unsettled areas of central Sweden. The interior Finns were known as "Forest Finns", and were identified by a traditional form of agriculture using a slash-and-burn method called burnbeating. It is estimated that between 12,000 and 20,000 "Forest Finns" emigrated to Sweden during this period. Although initially welcomed, Sweden outlawed the practice of burnbeating, and in 1638 began to deport Finns to the newly established New Sweden colony in the Delaware River area in North America (Koivukangas, 1988:16).

Emigration to Sweden was relatively slow in the 1700s, with Stockholm still attracting the majority of emigrants. In 1754, some 2,000 Finns were estimated to be living in Stockholm, representing 4 percent of the city population. Around 1800, it is estimated that about 40,000 Finnish-speaking individuals lived in Sweden. This number is believed to be low, as the "Forest Finns" alone could have included this many individuals (Korkiasaari, 1989:16).

Aside from economic reasons, Finns often were forced to leave Finland due to wars and periods of famine. In the 1700s the Great Northern War, and the 1809 Russian takeover of Finland caused many to leave for Sweden. The years 1896–1905 were years of drought, famine and depression, and the 1917–18 Civil War made many flee. More recently, the Second World War caused some 70,000 Finnish children and invalids to be evacuated to Sweden. May of these evacuees never returned or later re-emigrated to Sweden (Korkiasaari, 1989:16–17).

#### 4.2.2 Emigration to Russia/Soviet Union

The number of emigrants to Russia and later to the Soviet Union is difficult to estimate. This is because accurate statistics were not kept since Finland was part of the Russian Grand Duchy, and many Finns were thus moving as part of its internal migrations. Prior to 1809, St. Petersburg attracted some emigrants, but after 1809 many more ventured to work in the Russian capital. The number of Finns varied over the years, but in 1881 a total of 24,000 Finns were found in St. Petersburg. Many of these Finns were engaged in service and skilled trades. Men were employed as tailors, shoe-makers, carpenters, goldsmiths, and metal workers, while women were servants, domestics and cooks (Korkiasaari, 1989:11).

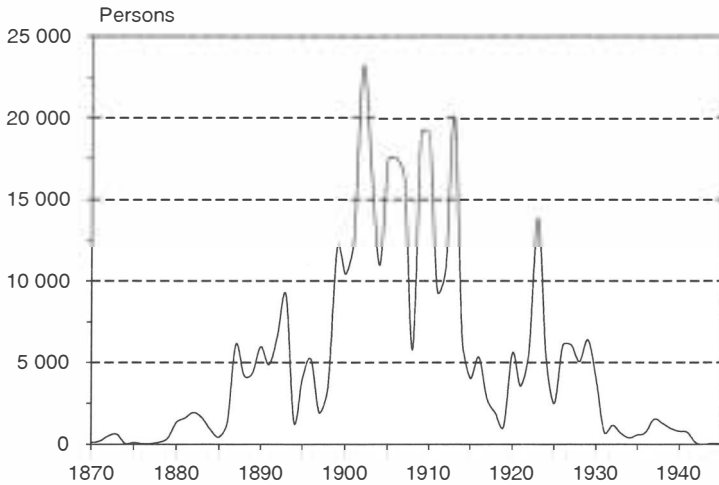
Finns also emigrated to areas to the north and south of St. Petersburg, namely the Karelian Isthmus and Ingria. Some emigrated to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, while some, after joining the military, travelled across Asia and served throughout the Russian Empire. After 1809 Finns established many joint ventures with the Russians, such as fur-trading in Alaska. By 1820, Finnish sailors were serving the Russian-American Company, and in the decades that followed, Finnish-built, and Finnish-manned vessels were engaged in the long haul of goods from Alaska (Kolehmainen, 1968:2). In 1839 the Czar appointed a prominent Finland-Swede, Arvid Adolf Etholen (1799–1876) as the Governor of Alaska; he helped in the establishment of a Lutheran church for emigrants (Pierce, 1990; Sweetland-Smith & Barnett, 1990). A Finnish pastor named Uno Cygnaeus served Sitka between 1840–45, and by the 1850s and 1860s, some 150 Finns had established themselves in New Archangel or Sitka (Siirtolaisuus-Migration, 1990:21).

According to Russian passport records, a total of 38,000 Finns were found in Russia in 1881, and in 1897 some 36,000 individuals, over 80 percent of whom lived in the St. Petersburg area (Korkiasaari, 1989:12). It has been estimated that prior to WWI some 150,000 Finns had emigrated to Russia. In addition to this number, some 15,000–20,000 Finns emigrated illegally to the newly formed Soviet Union in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Of this number, some 6,000–8,000 were Finnish emigrants from North America, who were attracted by the newly formed five-year economic plans of the Soviets and who sympathized with their communist ideals (Kostiainen, 1986:9). While the above noted number of 6,000–8,000 Finnish emigrants from North America to Soviet Union is accepted, no specific value has been determined for the number of Finns emigrating from Canada or the United States (Pogorelskin, 1996).

#### 4.2.3 Emigration to Norway

The third major destination for emigration before the late 1800s was northern Norway. Before WWII, slightly less than 10,000 Finns had moved from Lapland and northern Finland to the Norwegian shores of the Arctic Ocean. The largest



**Figure 4.2 Emigration to North America, 1870–1945**

Source: Passport lists (Statistics Finland); Figure: Jouni Korkiasaari (Institute of Migration)

proportion of this emigration was composed of the so-called "Kven Migration", which occurred between the 1830s and 1860s. The attraction of fishing, mining and farming brought many to the area, but they soon found that the fishing was very difficult due to the cold winds and poor sea conditions. Mining was difficult as well, and as the minerals were exhausted, workers became unemployed. Farming was also difficult on the poor soils. Furthermore, the Norwegians had a negative attitude towards many Finns who had strong religious convictions based on the teachings of Lars Levi Lestadius (Kolehmainen, 1968:3). These factors, along with the strong promotion for American settlement, helped to initiate emigration overseas. The Finns of Norway were the first Finns to emigrate en masse across the Atlantic and settle in North America.

#### 4.2.4 Emigration to North America

At the time of the California gold fever around 1850, Finnish sailors occasionally deserted ships that sailed American coastal waters. By the beginning of the 1860s, there were very likely several hundred Finnish sailors in America, many of whom later returned to Finland and spread the news about America, especially in the coastal regions (Kero, 1974:16–17).

The first major wave of Finnish emigrants to head to North America, however, began from northern Norway. The first group arrived in the agricultural regions of Minnesota in 1864, followed by others to the Upper Michigan mines in 1865. All

**Table 4.2 Emigration by provinces, 1870–1930**

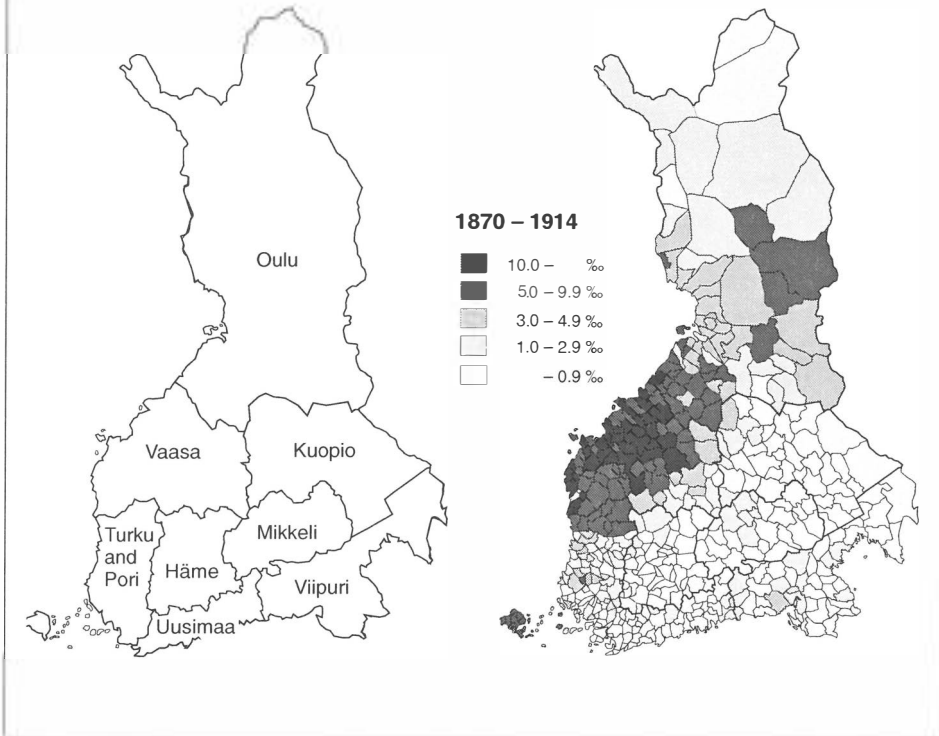
Province	1870–1914		1919–1930		1870–1930	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
Uusimaa	13,200	4	8,100	12	22,000	6
Turku-Pori	43,800	15	11,200	17	56,500	15
Häme	8,800	3	4,600	7	13,700	4
Viipuri	16,000	5	6,100	9	23,100	6
Mikkeli	5,000	2	1,300	2	6,600	2
Kuopio	9,900	3	3,000	5	13,300	3
Vaasa	158,400	52	24,600	38	190,800	50
Oulu	47,700	16	6,300	10	55,600	14
<b>Country</b>	<b>302,800</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>65,200</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>381,600</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Korkiasaari, 1989:24.

came from northern Norway. The news of America spread south into northern Finland, and especially to the Tornio-valley and Ostrobothnia. The strongest overseas emigration occurred between 1899–1913, when over 200,000 emigrated at the height of the "America-fever" (Myhrman, 1976:182) (Fig. 4.2). This period is recognized as the first major emigration wave. The First World War, along with periodically changing economic conditions in the United States and Finland slowed the process in some years, but an increase in the emigration occurred in the 1920s, until the United States established a quota law to restrict immigration. In 1924 only 471 Finns were allowed to enter the country, while a year earlier, some 12,000 Finns were admitted. Following the restrictions imposed by the United States, Canada and Australia became the destinations of choice. When these countries also began to restrict immigration beginning in 1929, emigration from Finland virtually ceased completely. The period of the 1920s is thus recognized as the second major wave of emigrants (Korkiasaari, 1989:23–24).

According to Finnish passport records, some 400,000 Finns emigrated to North America between 1870 and 1930. Of this total, 320,000 settled in the United States and 80,000 in Canada. This emigration to America has been recognized as a largely Ostrobothnian phenomenon. Before WWI and between the World Wars, the majority of overseas emigrants were from the western province of Vasa/Österbotten. Other provinces contributed to a lesser extent (Table 4.2). The majority of emigrants were thus from a highly rural and agricultural region of Finland. Between 1870 and 1914 over 300,000 emigrants left Finland, of whom 70 percent were from rural communities (Fig. 4.3). Cottagers, farmers and crofters made up this high percentage. Craftsmen and workers made up some 16 percent of all emigrants, and only 14 percent included other occupational categories such as businessmen, entrepreneurs and educated individuals (Korkiasaari, 1989:27).

**Figure 4.3 Finnish emigration, 1870–1914 based on communes**  
(Source: Kero, 1974:51)



Economic reasons have been cited as the greatest cause of emigration from Finland, but a number of other reasons have also been documented. The process of Russification and the obligation to do military service have often been presented as a cause for emigration. As the age of conscription was 21, many men in Finland decided against joining the Russian military and did not report to conscription centres. Instead, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the young men who emigrated often did so in order to flee from military service (Norman & Runblom, 1988:124–125). A heavy increase in the number of emigrants during these years indicated that future recruits would also seek to escape military service (Jutikkala, 1962:237). Other personal reasons also led many to emigrate, and documentation exists on religious bigotry which made emigration an attractive alternative. Political opinions and social pressures occurring within Finland also played a role (Kero, 1974:63–65).

Finland's upper classes were quick to condemn the emigrants. Pastors and sheriffs warned against the evils and unimaginable terrors that would be encountered in a foreign land, where freedom had degenerated into indulgence,

and people behaved "like horses without bells" (Kolehmainen, 1968:5). It was often argued that a large number of "America Widows" and half-starved children were left behind by once responsible men (Kolehmainen, 1968:5). Some highly educated Swedish-speaking Finns in the province of Vasa/Ostrobothnia founded an "emigrant society" in 1908 to restrain the heavy emigration from the region. It was active for a few years but was of little importance (Norman & Runblom, 1988:125).

#### **4.2.5 Emigration to other destinations**

A number of other destinations abroad also attracted Finns. These included utopian settlements, which were most often organized to promote social conditions, equality, and happiness that did not exist in Finland in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Perhaps the best known idealist was the utopian socialist and labour leader Matti Kurikka. He helped establish three utopian colonies, first in Australia (1899–1900), followed by Sointula (1901–05), and Webster's Corner (1905–12), both in British Columbia. Each one of these settlements failed, although descendants of these early settlers are still found in both Canadian locations, especially in Sointula located on Malcolm Island (Korkiasaari, 1989:56–61).

Only a small number of emigrants ventured to destinations such as Africa, Asia and Latin America prior to WWII. Australia, aside from Canada, was of greatest interest following the 1920s. The first Finns in Australia were sailors, and were followed by emigrants, many of whom became engaged in the sugar cane plantations of Queensland. A total of some 3,000 Finns emigrated to Australia before World War II (See Table 4.1) (Korkiasaari, 1989:45–52).

### **4.3 Emigration after World War II**

The emigration process following the Second World War changed dramatically from the pre-war period. Emigration in the pre-war period most often involved permanent settlements abroad while, more recently, emigration has been confined to a shorter period of time, involving temporary study periods in foreign schools, exchange programs, as well as short-term contractual employment. Changes in the educational background and employment abilities of the emigrant have changed since WWII. Emigration since the War has included better educated, linguistically and professionally capable individuals who have replaced the poorly educated, linguistically limited labourers who emigrated prior to WWII.

The number of emigrants following 1945 is again difficult to determine, especially since statistics were not kept for individual destination countries until 1980. Statistics for the Nordic countries were lacking in the 1950s and 1960s, and due to these limitations, exact numbers are also difficult to establish for these

**Table 4.3 Emigration following World War II, 1945–1987**

Destination	1945–50	1951–60	1961–70	1971–80	1981–87
Nordic countries	42,000	100,000	205,000	134,000	39,000
Cont. Europe & USSR	750	3,100	1,450	5,200	7,000
North America	3,100	18,100	4,400	3,000	2,400
Other Americas	150	300	100	450	250
Asia & Africa	100	450	300	3,350	1,250
Australia & N. Z.	200	7,150	4,000	1,150	1,100
<b>Total</b>	<b>46,300</b>	<b>129,100</b>	<b>215,250</b>	<b>147,150</b>	<b>51,000</b>

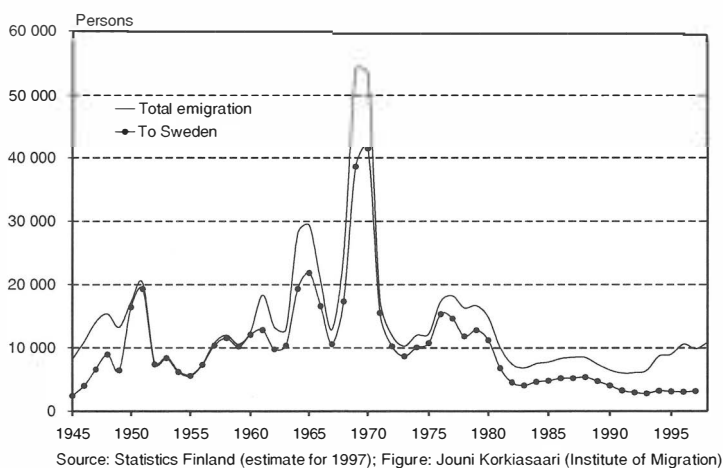
Source: Korkiasaari, 1989:76.

**Table 4.4 Finnish population in Europe, 1987–88**

Country	First Generation	Second Generation	Total I & II	Finnish Citizens
West Germany	12,000	5,500	17,500	10,350
Great Britain	4,500	2,300	6,800	3,800
Switzerland	2,900	1,050	3,950	1,450
Italy	2,100	900	3,000	2,800
Spain	1,700	300	2,000	1,750
France	1,300	700	2,000	1,260
Other W. European	2,570	1,225	3,750	2,750
Soviet Union	650		650	650
Hungary	95	40	135	125
East Germany	75	20	95	85
Other E. European	185	30	215	195
<b>Total</b>	<b>28,075</b>	<b>12,065</b>	<b>40,140</b>	<b>25,195</b>

Source: Korkiasaari, 1989, p. 105.

countries. Still, it is believed that over 80 percent of all emigrants have settled in Sweden, which has become the prime choice of destination (Korkiasaari, 1989:74). Apart from Sweden, Canada and Australia were still attracting many emigrants in the 1950s and 60s, while other destinations in Continental Europe as well as Asia, Africa and Latin America have attracted emigrants as well (Table 4.3).

**Figure 4.4 Emigration to Sweden and total emigration, 1945–1997**

### 4.3.1 Emigration to Nordic countries

Over half a million emigrants are believed to have moved to the various Nordic countries after 1945. Of this total, some 490,000 emigrated to Sweden; 14,500 to Norway; 13,000 to Denmark; and a few hundred to Iceland. As this emigration involves individuals who may have moved repeatedly between countries, the actual number of emigrants may be as much as one-fifth less than statistics indicate (Korkiasaari, 1989:74–75).

Emigration to Norway and Sweden was motivated primarily by economic conditions which prevailed in Finland in the late 1960s. Lack of employment and poor housing in southern Finland caused many to leave for Sweden, where employment and housing for emigrants was readily available. The highest number of emigrants moving to Sweden occurred in 1969–70, when a total of over 80,000 individuals moved across the Gulf of Bothnia (Fig. 4.4). Emigrants to Denmark included a higher number of better educated female emigrants in comparison to those moving to Sweden and Norway. This demographic trend is also characteristic of emigrants who moved to Continental Europe (Tuomi-Nikula, 1986:19).

### 4.3.2 Emigration to continental Europe

Although the majority of Finnish emigration has been destined to the Nordic countries and especially Sweden, thousands have also migrated to countries in central, western, and southern Europe. Finnish statistics indicate a total of 17,500 individuals as having emigrated to these areas following the Second World War. In reality, the numbers are

believed to be higher, as foreign statistics have indicated that some 28,000 Finnish born individuals reside within their countries (Korkiasaari, 1989:75). Statistics for individual country destinations were begun in 1980, and since then it has been noted that very few emigrants have settled in eastern Europe, while the former West Germany, Great Britain and Switzerland along with the rest of Continental Europe have attracted the most emigrants (Table 4.4).

### **4.3.3 Overseas destinations**

Emigration overseas during the period 1945–87 has involved a total of 51,000 Finns, of whom over 60 percent have emigrated to North America, and nearly 25 percent to Australia. Of the three major emigrant waves introduced earlier in this chapter, the third actual wave of emigration overseas occurred between 1950–60. During this decade, a total of over 25,000 Finns emigrated to North America and Australia. As of 1987, some 50,000 Finnish-born, first generation individuals, together with over 180,000 second generation Finns resided in North America. In Australia, a total of 9,000 first generation and 8,500 second generation Finns are found (Korkiasaari, 1989:129). A more complete statistical analysis of the Finnish and Finland-Swedish population in Canada appears in the following chapters.

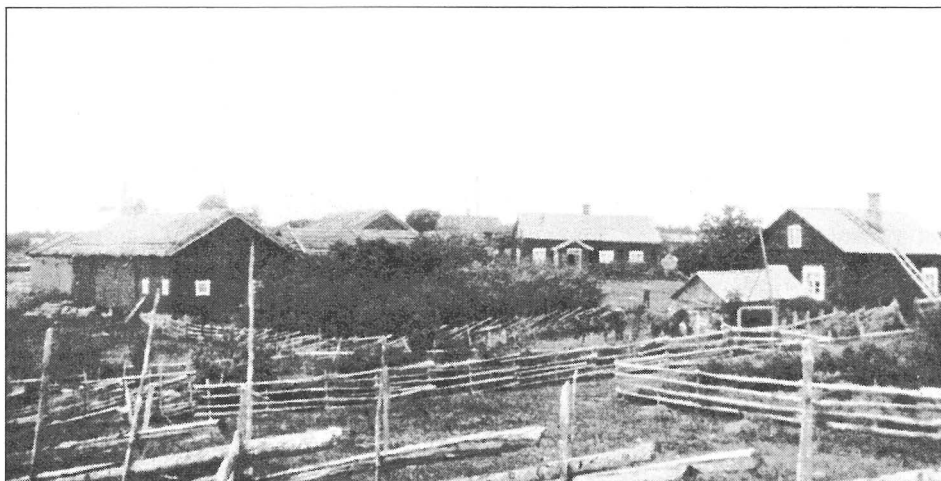
Other areas, such as Asia, Africa and Latin America have also attracted some Finnish emigrants (See Table 4.3).

## **4.4 Role of Finland-Swedes in the emigration process**

While Finland-Swedes have lived beside the Finnish-speaking Finns for hundreds of years, they have maintained a distinctive ethnolinguistic identity through their distribution along the coastal regions of Finland. The relative population of Finland-Swedes has declined since the 1600s, when some 18 % of the population was Swedish-speaking. At the end of 1994, the Finland-Swedish population of 295,182 individuals comprised a mere 5.8 % of the total population of the country (Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja, 1995:54). One reason for the steady decline in numbers is emigration (Sandlund, 1992:1).

### **4.4.1 Finland-Swedish emigration, 1870–1990**

It has been calculated that up to 1930, of a total of 400,000 emigrants, Finland-Swedes accounted for between 80,000 and 85,000 (Sandlund, 1981:217). Similar numbers have been established by others, noting that 70,000 Finland-Swede emigrants left Finland between 1870 and 1929 (Myhrman, 1966:262), and that a total of 222,157 Finland-Swedes left for Sweden or North America during the period



Österbotten and Åland Islands were common source regions for Finland-Swedish immigrants to Canada. An example of this was the Magnus Johansson farmstead, Mangstekta, Åland Islands, Finland ca. 1880s. – *Courtesy of E.R. Magnusson, Saint John, NB., 1995.*



Karl Evert Magnusson was one of the first Finns (Finland-Swede) to settle in the Maritimes, arriving in 1891. He achieved the position of Consul General for Finland during the 1920s–1930 working in Saint John, New Brunswick. He was well known for helping fellow Finnish countrymen with their passports and other immigration related matters. His presence is recorded in the book entitled "Kanadan Kirja" by Akseli Rauanheimo (1930). – *Courtesy of E.R. Magnusson, Saint John, NB., 1995.*



1899–1910 (Oman, 1986:39). Although these numbers are difficult to verify, it has been estimated and generally accepted that between 60,000 and 73,000 Finland-Swedes made up 20 percent of the total emigration from Finland during the period 1891–1929 (Robbins, 1986; Westerberg, 1995).

Of the total Finland-Swedish emigration, about 75 percent came from the province of Vasa/Ostrobothnia, although only one-third of all Finland-Swedes are found in this province (Sandlund, 1981:218). It must also be remembered, that this area was the source for 50 percent of all Finnish emigrants between 1870–1930 (See Table 4.2).

Finland-Swedish emigration to America began from the southern Ostrobothnian communities in the early 1870s. Before then the emigration had been to Sweden during the 1500s, 1600s, and 1700s. This was part of seasonal migrations in which Finland-Swedes worked in copper and iron mines in the winter months, returning to Finland during the summer (Oman, 1986:39).

Between 1790 and 1867, many Finns and Finland-Swedes were involved as sailors, shipwrights, seamen, skippers, clergy and company officials with the Russian America Company. Numerous company employees and their histories have been traced and presented. The first Finn in Russian Alaska, and perhaps in North America since the founding of the New Sweden colony along the Delaware River in 1638, was Matvei Gakkorein, who worked in the Russian colonies as early as 1829, predating the main flow which began with the coming of Governor Etholen in 1840 (Pierce, 1990:156). A second early settler to America was a Finnish farmer named William Lundell, who had settled in Massachusetts around 1830 (Järnefelt, 1899:21).

Following the same trends in emigration as noted earlier, the Finland-Swedish population, which has declined in both relative and absolute terms since 1950, has also been engaged in emigration to Sweden. Other reasons for a loss in the Finland-Swedish population aside from emigration involve lower birth rates, intergroup marriages and fennification or linguistic assimilation to the more dominant Finnish language, which has lowered the number of Finland-Swedes with a distinct identity or origin (Brandt, 1993:6; Allardt & Starck, 1981:120).

Although the number of Finland-Swedes dropped significantly after the 1950s, the demographic trends in general have appeared more positive than anticipated by studies done in the late 1970s. The number of Finland-Swedes will perhaps continue to decrease slowly, but according to more recent calculations (1992) it is considered possible that the Finland-Swedes will stabilize their numbers, rather than decline further (Brandt, 1993:7).

#### **4.4.2. Reasons for Finland-Swedish emigration**

Various reasons for the disproportionate amount of Finland-Swedish emigrants have been established. It has been widely accepted, that the Finland-Swedes have

a more restless disposition than the Finns (Nelson, 1943:73). In other words, the Finland-Swedes, due to their association with the sea, shipping, trade with Sweden, etc., have been seen as a mobile people more willing to migrate. The Finns on the other hand, and especially Finns of the interior, were not so easily moved. This, in contrast, was part of a lifestyle including an immobile, agricultural society (Ylikangas, 1989:82–83).

With the transfer of Finland to Russia in 1809, the Ostrobothnian region, which once was centrally located as part of the union of Sweden-Finland, became increasingly peripheral and an area of emigration as Finland became more oriented economically towards St. Petersburg in the late 1800s (McRae, 1988b:94). Ostrobothnia in the late 1800s was furthest away from St. Petersburg, and therefore a major source of emigration abroad to North America (McRae, 1995).

Other reasons, especially following World War II, involved the ease of settlement in Sweden by the Finland-Swedes. This was due to the Swedish language Finland-Swedes already knew in comparison to Finnish-speaking individuals with limitations in that language. The prosperous Swedish economy thus proved attractive to many Finland-Swedes, who faced no linguistic barriers (McRae, 1988b:94). A more detailed examination of the reasons for Finland-Swedish immigration to Canada is considered in Chapter 5.

#### **4.4.3 Finland-Swedish immigration to North America**

While emigration statistics according to Finnish sources are analyzed in the preceding section, it is also necessary to discuss immigration statistics, particularly Canadian immigration statistics. Past studies have all shared a common difficulty – that of obtaining statistics specifically on Finland-Swede immigration. Prior to 1917, Finland-Swedes were labelled as Russians, and after 1917 they were collectively identified as Finns. While statistics on the number of Finnish immigrants are available from both the United States and Canada, the Finland-Swedes remain hidden.

Among previous studies dealing with Finland-Swedes in Canada, Myhrman (1972) mentions that prior to 1930, some 10,000 Finland-Swedes immigrated to Canada. According to Sandlund (1981), between 5,000 and 10,000 Finland-Swedes immigrated to Canada. Interest has been raised in the "missing Finns", who have not identified themselves as having Finnish ancestry in both the American and Canadian Census counts of 1990 and 1991 respectively (Westerberg, 1995; Roinila, 1996). According to Westerberg, while 300,000 Finns and 300,000 Danes immigrated to the United States prior to 1930, the 1990 Census lists 1.6 million Danish-Americans and only 660,000 Finnish-Americans (Table 4.5). Westerberg asks where and why have one million Finns disappeared from the statistics?

Similar observations can be made with regard to Canadian statistics. Nordic immigration to Canada up until 1930 shows that although more Finns immigrated

**Table 4.5 Nordic immigration and ancestry in the United States**

Country of origin	Number of immigrants	Number claiming ancestry 1990
Sweden	1, 000,000	4, 700,000
Norway	700,000	3, 900,000
Denmark	300,000	1, 640,000
Finland	300,000	660,000
Iceland	15,000	40,000

Source: Westerberg, Finnish American Reporter, Vol. 8, No. 10, 1995:10.

**Table 4.6 Immigration and ethnicity in Canada**

Country of Origin	Number of immigrants (1900–1930)	1931	Ethnic Groups in Census Years		
			Diff.(+/-)	1971	1991
Finland	52564	43585	- 8979	59215	99095
Sweden	50497	81306	+ 30809	101870	236745
Norway	41413	93243	+ 51830	179290	?*
Denmark	25148	40604	+ 15456	75725	?*
Iceland	4856	19382	+ 14526	27005	?*

\* no data available

Source: Report on the Royal Commission on Bilingualism & Biculturalism, 1973; 1931 Canada Year Book; Statistics Canada 1931 & 1971 Census; unpublished 1991 Census of Canada material.

to this country, a lower than expected number identified themselves as having Finnish ancestry in the 1991 Census (Table 4.6).

These numbers suggest that the number of Finnish-Canadians could be closer to, if not higher than, the number of Swedish-Canadians, approximately 250,000! Also of note, is the fact that the number of Finnish-Canadians in 1931 is lower than the total number of immigrants up until 1930! It is hypothesized that the difference in immigrants and ethnic origin includes a sizeable Finland-Swedish population. These numbers appear to support the claim made by scholars that up to 10,000 Finland-Swedes immigrated to Canada. Finally, Myhrman notes that as the American quota laws on immigration were imposed in 1924, the period 1921–30 brought a total of 7,000–8,000 Finland-Swedes into Canada. Again, statistics support this claim, which are seen in Tables 4.7 and 4.8.

**Table 4.7 Immigration to 1920 and ethnic origin in 1921**

Country	Immigration for 1900–1920	Ethnic origins in 1921	Difference
Finland	22,954	21,494	– 1,460
Sweden	29,252	61,503	+ 32,251

Source: 1921 Canada Year Book and 1931 Census of Canada.

**Table 4. 8 Immigration to 1930 and ethnic origin in 1931**

Country	Immigration for 1900–1930	Ethnic origins in 1931	Difference
Finland	52,564	43,585	– 8,979
Sweden	50,497	81,306	+ 30,809

Source: 1931 Canada Year Book and 1931 Census of Canada.

As mentioned above, Myhrman states that during the period 1921–1930, some 7,000–8,000 “Swede-Finns” immigrated to Canada. The difference in the negative numbers between the 1931 and 1921 equals 7,519 and falls in the middle of Myhrman’s Figures.

If these numbers indicate the presence of Finland-Swedes in Canada, the reasons behind ethnic abandonment and rejection of Finnish ancestry must be considered. Although this question is beyond the scope of this work, it is interesting to note some studies have been done on the differing aspects of ethnic identity. Harald Runblom (1992) states that lack of a national consciousness for immigrants who arrived in North America prior to 1900 is a reason why many Finns and Norwegians identified closer to the Swedes while immigrants arriving after 1900 had a much deeper sense of solidarity and national pride. Thus immigrants arriving earlier or later would claim different identities. These thoughts are echoed in the following comments received through correspondence in regard to Westerberg’s one million missing Finns:

*I believe that some of the missing Finns can be found in the many Swedish Finns who came to America before 1900 and who insisted on calling themselves Swedes instead of Finns. It was not until much after, after currents of nationalism swept Finland that Swedish Finns began to identify themselves as Finns.*

*The earlier immigrants, like my grandparents who came to America from Finland before 1890 carried with them a mental picture of Finland as it was in*

*the distant past long before the movement for independence in Finland began. They passed on to their children and descendants, like me, an obsolete, out of date picture of a Swedish Finland as it was on the day they embarked for America. They never learned to speak Finnish and clung too [sic] the old Swedish ways.*

*The earlier immigrants from Finland never caught on to the idea of a Finland, independent of Sweden and Russia; a united country where Finnish and Swedish languages would be equal stature in school, in business and in government. They even found it difficult to imagine intermarriage between Swede Finns and Finns. My aunt Marie, bless her soul, even as late as World War II, just found it impossible to utter the word Helsinki; she just couldn't do it! She was of a generation that had been out of touch with events in Finland for over 60 years. My maternal grandparents were equally out of touch. In 1896, when my mother was born in Boston, her Finland born parents told the registrar of births that they were born in Sweden. As a result a whole generation of Americans was taught to identify their ancestry as Swedish, instead of Finnish.*

*My aunt Martha was a Swedish Finn who immigrated to America from Finland in 1924. Aunt Martha spoke Finnish as well as Swedish and English.*

*Until Aunt Martha arrived here in 1924 most members of my family had had no direct contact with Finland for almost fifty years. They were stuck in a time warp.*

*In my own household my mother taught me to claim Swedish ancestry. My aunt Martha, however, taught her children to claim Finnish. So I thought we were Swedish and my cousins thought we were Finnish.*

*During the last decade of the nineteenth century, persons residing in Finland really began to forget their former political ties to the Swedish crown. They had tasted the greater autonomy that developed as a consequence of the Czar's pre-occupation with matters of state other than events in the grand duchy of Finland.*

*When you stand in that lovely square in Helsinki, it's noteworthy that the central monument in front of the Church honours a Russian Czar not a Swedish King.*

*The earlier immigrants to the USA in the 19th century, like my grandparents never felt the stirring of autonomy and striving for independence and nationalism that were awakened during the latter years of the Grand Duchy. When they were called upon to declare their ancestry it was only natural for them to feel closer to Sweden than Russia and it just didn't occur to them to claim Finland. However, those who remained in Finland began to see things differently.*

*Those who left Finland after 1900 had tasted autonomy; they dared to believe that Finland would someday be free and independent. It was very logical and indeed a very patriotic thing to do; to claim a Finnish heritage. That's exactly what happened in my own family.*

*So, like my parents, I am one of those million missing Finns. If I add my children and grandchildren, the count would rise to 13. (Kuniholm, Feb. 10, 1996).*

Although many immigrants from Finland may have returned to Finland after arriving in Canada, the differences between the Swedish and Finnish ethnic populations cannot be explained simply by return migration or the movement of Finnish socialists to Soviet Karelia. Thus, the differences in individuals claiming a Finnish ethnic origin in 1921 and 1931 may suggest a Finland-Swedish presence.

## **4.5 Conclusions**

Emigration from Finland has a long history, and through this history the country has become recognized as a country of emigrants. While the Finns have ventured into practically every corner of the world, two distinct trends can be seen in the periods prior to, and following World War II. Before 1945, the majority of emigrants were caught in the "America-fever", which led a total of nearly 400,000 Finnish emigrants to North America. Following 1945, there has been an enormous flow of emigrants to Sweden. A total of some 490,000 has settled there. Finland-Swedes have followed these trends as well, while contributing a disproportionate percentage of emigrants to this process. Numerous reasons exist for this difference, most notably the differences between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns, which includes differences in personal character, language background, and the ability to assimilate to the host society. Among these differences, Old-World attitudes and identities have affected the collective makeup of the Finnish ethnic group in Canada. The following chapters present a historical-comparative analysis of empirical research that has included both qualitative and quantitative methods. Before present-day Finland-Swedes in Canada can be studied through a detailed survey and quantitative analysis, a qualitative examination of the history of Finland-Swedish settlement in Canada is necessary.

# Chapter 5

## Finland-Swedes in Canada

### 5.1 Introduction

Emigration from Finland has received much study, as the preceding chapters indicate. Historians, geographers, anthropologists, linguists and sociologists have all examined the aspects of Finnish emigration as well as immigration to numerous countries.

In North America, leading authors on purely Finnish immigration to, and settlement in the United States of America include Eugene van Cleef (1918, 1923, 1940, 1952), Salomon Ilmonen (1912, 1919, 1923, 1926, 1930, 1931), John Wargelin (1924, 1967), John I. Kolehmainen (1946, 1947, 1955, 1968, 1976), Ralph Jalkanen (1969, 1972), Carl Ross (1977), Arnold Alanen (1975, 1982, 1988), and Matti Kaups (1963, 1968, 1975, 1976).

Scholars who have extensively studied Finns in Canada include Varpu Lindström (1985, 1988, 1995), William Eklund (1983), Oiva Saarinen (1967, 1981, 1995), Yrjö Raivio (1975, 1979), Edward Laine (1981a, 1981b, 1989), and Mika Roinila (1987, 1992, 1993, 1996). However, only a few individuals have examined the Finland-Swedes in the United States, and even fewer the Finland-Swedes of Canada.

Among the American authors interested in the Finland-Swedes are most notably Anders Myhrman (1963, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1976, 1980), Johannes Näse (1922), Carl Silfversten (1931, 1932), Timo Riippa (1981), and Elizabeth Oman (1985, 1986). Among Canadian authors, only Elinor Barr (1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1992, 1996) has devoted much study to the Swedes and Finland-Swedes of Thunder Bay, and Lennard Sillanpää (1987) has published a paper on a proposed project involving the Finland-Swedes in Canada. Of the American scholars, only Näse, Silfversten and Myhrman mention the Canadian Finland-Swedes, in a short section of their works in each case. Thus, the present research will represent the first comprehensive examination of the history, migration and settlement of this ethno-linguistic minority within the Canadian borders.

The purpose of this text is to answer four basic questions. These are 1) what is the settlement pattern of Finland-Swedes and in what way does it differ from Finnish-speaking Finns; 2) what is the social, economic and cultural impact of this ethnolinguistic group to Canada; 3) do the Finland-Swedes maintain an ethnic cohesion and retention of ethnic self-identity; and 4) what are the inter-relations between the Finland-Swedes and Finnish-speaking Finns in Canada.

To answer these questions, the following sections deal with all four aspects separately. The aim of this chapter, then, is to gain a better understanding of the history of Finland-Swedes in Canada. While much of this material is based on archival research and reviews of literature, it also depends on personal communications and interviews with Finland-Swedes across Canada, and data drawn from the Finland-Swedish sample questionnaires discussed in Chapter 6.

## **5.2 Settlement history, distribution, and the reason for being**

Before a detailed history of the Finland-Swedish settlement in Canada can be given, some general facts which are pertinent to the study of immigrant numbers are necessary. It has been stated earlier that approximately 20% of all emigrants from Finland during the 1870–1930 period were considered Finland-Swedes. To verify this, a study of the Russian Consular Records (Li-Ra-Ma Collection, MG30 E406) dating from 1898 to 1922 maintained by the National Archives was done during the summer of 1996. These Russian Consular Records of over 10,000 "Russian" passports issued to individuals in Canada indicate a total of 117 Finland-Swedish names which were collected from a possible total of approximately 1000 Finnish individuals. This represents a 12% share of all passports held by Finnish immigrants (Appendix I). Although this percentage is lower than the 20% indicated earlier, it must be remembered that the majority of Finland-Swedes arrived in Canada in the late 1920s.

### **5.2.1 Census information on Finland-Swedish immigration**

A limited amount of census data is available on Finland-Swedish immigration to Canada. Data are available on Finland-Swedes defined as having a Finnish racial origin and a Swedish mother tongue. These were collected for the period 1921–1941, during which time Statistics Canada kept accurate records on racial origin and mother tongue (Table 5.1). Since 1941 data on racial origin and mother tongue were no longer collected. In examining this Table, it is noted that the greatest increase in Finland-Swedes occurred during the 1920s.

Some discrepancies occur with the Statistics for 1941 between the number of individuals born in Finland and the number of individuals claiming Finnish racial



**Table 5.1 Finland-Swedes in Canada, 1921–1991**

Finnish Racial Origin	Mother tongue:					Total
	English	French	Finnish	Swedish	Other	
1921	470	0	14821	405	78	15774 <sup>1</sup>
1931	1393	27	34497	1825	365	38107 <sup>1</sup>
1941	3594	147	36542	1040	360	41683
1951	10795	183	30780	2	1987	43745
1961	16874	489	40301	2	1772	59436
1971	23625	305	33135	1125 <sup>3</sup>	1025	59215
1981	20155	130	28100	32030 <sup>4</sup>	-	52320
1991	125	2	28100	975	70140	99215

## Sources:

- 1921–31 data from Mother tongue of population 10 years of age and over, by racial origin, 1931–1921. 1931 Census of Population, Vol. 1, Table 48.
- 1941 data from 1941 Census, Vol. I, Table 47, Population by mother tongue, racial origin and sex, for Canada 1941.
- 1951 data from Vol. II, Table 48, Population by mother tongue, origin and sex for Canadian rural farm, rural non-farm and urban areas, 1951.
- 1961 data from Series 1. 3 Population, Language by ethnic group, Bulletin 1. 3–10, Cat. No. 92–561, Vol. I – Part:3.
- 1971 data from Cat. No. 92–735, Vol:I – Part:4, Bulletin 1. 4–7, Table 21, Population by ethnic group showing a) mother tongue b) language most often spoken at home, c) official language and sex, Canada, 1971.
- 1981 data from Population by selected ethnic origins, mother tongue, and sex, showing official language, for Canada and provinces. Cat. No. 92–911, Table 4, 1981.
- 1991 data from unpublished Census material, custom cross-tabulations, 1995.

<sup>1</sup> Includes only Finnish population of 10 years of age and over. Total Finnish population for 1921 = 21494, 1931 = 43585, thus leaving some 5720 and 5478 under 10 year olds in the Finnish population during these census years.

<sup>2</sup> Swedish mother tongue is included in the "other" category.

<sup>3</sup> Value found for "Scandinavian" languages – includes Swedish, Norwegian, Danish and Icelandic.

<sup>4</sup> All languages other than English or French are listed under the "other" category.

origins. In fact, 2065/24387 (8.5%) Finnish born individuals listed their birthplace as Finland and Swedish as their mother tongue, but only 1040/41683 (2.5%) individuals listed having Finnish racial origins and a Swedish mother tongue. A hypothesis may be that many individuals wanted to cover up their origins due to the Second World War or they identified with a Swedish racial origin more than a Finnish one.

Provincially, the period 1921–1941 shows the growth of the Finland-Swedes in British Columbia as well as Ontario, especially in the 1920s (Table 5.2).

Over the years, Census questions have changed, which makes it difficult to trace the Finland-Swedish population in Canada. While the recent 1991 Census provides the most recent figures of Finland-Swedes in the country, the 1941 Census does present data on the urban concentration of Finland-Swedes in Canada (Table 5.3). A thorough analysis of statistics on Finland-Swedish immigration numbers are presented in Appendices III and IV.

### **5.2.2 Finland-Swedish settlement history**

The first Finns to arrive in Canada were descendants of the Delaware Finns who worked on the construction of the Welland Canal in 1829–1833. It has been alleged by various scholars, such as Engle (1975:63) that a small group of Finns lived in Vancouver, B. C. as early as 1840, and were later joined by others from Alaska in 1867. According to Norris (1971), the first Finns in B. C. probably came from Russian Alaska, where some were established by the Imperial Russian government as local mariners. However, there is no clear record of their activities in British Columbia (Norris, 1971:135, 162). Although allegations such as these have been made in the past, no proof has been given to back these claims (Rinta, 1996).

The first significant wave of Finnish immigration did not occur until the early 1880s, when the Canadian Pacific Railway was being constructed across Canada (Saarinen, 1967:113). Although it is most likely that the Finns who worked on the Welland Canal may have had Finland-Swedish blood (since they had originally arrived in the Delaware from central Sweden), the first identifiable Finland-Swedes in Canada appeared on the West Coast.

While the arrival of Finnish-speaking Finns in British Columbia is dated to 1885 (Rinta, 1996), the Finland-Swedes arrived earlier. The first record of a Finland-Swede dates to 1880, with the arrival of sea captain Victor Jakob Holmlund, later Captain Victor Jacobson (1852–1949) of Pedersöre, Finland (Victoria Daily Colonist, 1951; Myhrman, 1974). Other Finland-Swedes arrived in Vancouver by the late 1880s (Appendix VI; Vancouver Augustana L. C. Records, 1995).

Across British Columbia, many other localities attracted Finland-Swedes as well. In the interior of the province, gold-mining at Bralorne attracted Finland-Swedes (Nelson, 1995), while mining towns of Rossland, Trail and Nelson also attracted immigrants. On Vancouver Island, the logging industry brought

**Table 5.2 Swedish mother tongue and Finnish racial origin by province, 1921–1941**

Province	1921	1931 <sup>1</sup>	1941 <sup>2</sup>
P. E. I.	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	1	7	7
New Brunswick	1	4	5
Quebec	0	105	93
Ontario	134	799	759
Manitoba	23	50	28
Saskatchewan	51	69	63
Alberta	76	83	62
British Columbia	119	1350	1016
Yukon		16	27
N. W. T.		2	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>2485</b>	<b>2065</b>

<sup>1</sup> 1931 data for Swedish mother tongue, born in Finland – Vol. IV, Table 81.

<sup>2</sup> 1941 data for Swedish mother tongue, born in Finland – Vol. II, Table 35, Population by official language, mother tongue and birthplace for Canada. and provinces

**Table 5.3 Finland-Swedish population by mother tongue for Canadian cities over 30,000 population (1941) and CMA's (1991)**

City	1941	1991
Vancouver	270	340
Toronto	87	175
Hamilton	86	30
Montreal	47	20
Winnipeg	18	20
St. Catharines	16	10
Sudbury	14	-
Windsor	14	-
Victoria	11	25
Ottawa	9	15
Fort William	8	
Calgary	7	30
Kitchener	-	20
Edmonton	4	10
Regina	-	10
Saskatoon	-	10
Thunder Bay		10

Source: 1941 and 1991 Census of Canada.

many Finland-Swedes to the Port Alberni area (Myhrman, 1972:387). According to Rauanheimo (1930), Finland-Swedes could be found practically everywhere across the province.

While Finland-Swedes thus settled in a number of areas of British Columbia at an early date, it is the Vancouver and New Westminster areas which attracted and maintained the highest concentration. In the prairie provinces, the first Finland-Swedes appeared in Manitoba in association with a large concentration of Swedish immigrants who founded the settlements of New Scandinavia and New Stockholm. Winnipeg, however, became and has remained a strong centre for Swedish immigrants, and ranks second only to Vancouver, in terms of its concentration. Much has been written about the Swedish colony along Logan Avenue (Ljungmark, 1991; Reitz, 1980; Hardwick, 1978). It is not surprising, that Finland-Swedes are also found in Winnipeg and the settlements mentioned above.

Although many sources indicate that the first Finns to arrive in Manitoba including Finns in Winnipeg came after 1905, some Finland-Swede immigrants did arrive as early as the 1890s. Technically, the present borders of Ontario and Manitoba were not in place until 1912, and before that date, areas of present-day eastern and western Manitoba were part of either Ontario or the Northwest Territories. Thus it is interesting to find records from Whitemouth, Ontario (today Manitoba) indicating the arrival of a Finn-Swede family in 1892 (Appendix V) (Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church Records, Winnipeg, 1995).

Among the Scandinavian settlers of the Scandinavia Colony near Minnedosa, Manitoba, were Finland-Swedes who arrived in 1893 and 1894 (Forest to Field, 1984; Bethlehem L. C. Records, Erickson, Manitoba), (Appendix V). The Scandinavia Colony provides an excellent example of Swedish identity, which appeared prevalent amongst pre-1900 Finland-Swedish immigrants. The implications of this are discussed further in a later chapter. In Winnipeg, the earliest Finland-Swedes, according to Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Augustana Synod) records, appeared in Winnipeg in 1903 (Appendix V).

Among settlers in Saskatchewan, two ethnic block settlements stand out among the Finns and Swedes. New Stockholm (founded in 1885) and New Finland (founded in 1888) are located within 25 kilometres of each other, yet very few, if any, Finland-Swedes ever settled in either areas. Indeed, Finland-Swedes were not present in New Finland according to a number of area residents (Knutila, 1996; Lauttamus-Birt, 1995; Mäki, 1996; Denet, 1996).

In Stockholm, Halliwell & Persson (1959) make no mention of Finland-Swedish settlers, although church records indicate the presence of some Finland-Swedes (Evangelical Covenant Church Records, Augustana College, 1995), (Appendix V).

Some of the earliest Finland-Swedes in Alberta have also been found in church records. Immigrants arriving in Alberta in 1887 and 1898 are among the earliest from Finland. All lived in the well known Swedish settlement area near Wetaskiwin by the early 1900s (Bethlehem L. C. Records, Wetaskiwin, Alberta; Palmer, 1972), (Appendix V).

The first documented Finland-Swede in British Columbia was Victor Jacobson. Here Jacobson and Mary Ann McLean just before their marriage, ca. 1888. – *B.C. Provincial Archives, Photo #28012, Victoria, BC.*



The earliest Finland-Swedes to settle in Ontario, arrived in the Lakehead region in the 1880s. They included men who came to work on the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway (Myhrman, 1972:384). Others followed in the 1890s, but the immigration of Finland-Swedes to the region did not increase dramatically until the turn of the century. It is estimated that during the early 1900s, some 200 Finland-Swedes may have resided at the Lakehead. Many of these, however, later moved further west to British Columbia (Myhrman, 1972:384).

Finland-Swedish settlement elsewhere in Ontario dates to the early 1900s, and included small populations in Toronto, Hamilton, Windsor, and the Sault Ste. Marie area.

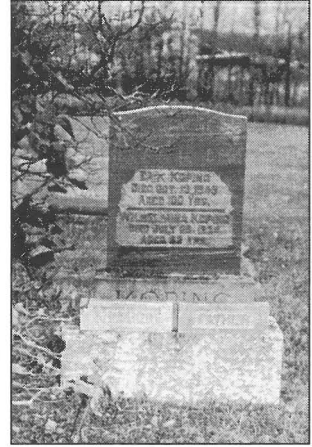
Quebec never attracted many Finland-Swedes, although hundreds passed through the province, and particularly Montreal. According to Victor Kangas, the main settlement of Finns in Montreal began after 1920 (Kangas Collection, Nat. Archives MG30 C138).

The Finnish Immigrant Home of Montreal (1927–1932), established in order to cater to newly arriving immigrants and providing help in locating employment and a permanent residence in Canada, assisted a total of over 5000 individuals. These included immigrants who settled in the Montreal area or moved away to settle in other parts of the country, as well as seamen and other transients of Finnish origin



The Scandinavia Colony near Erickson, Manitoba, was home to two Finland-Swedish families that arrived in the area in 1893–94. Primarily settled by Swedes from Sweden, the Koping and Nystrom families have roots in Finland. Of the two families, the majority of individuals identify themselves as Swedish.

In the picture Grandma (Wilhelmina) and Grandpa (Erik) Koping taken at the Koping place at Lund (near Scandinavia) about the year 1929–30. — *Joan Koroscil, Saskatoon, SK., 1997.*



The Koping grave in the Hilltop Baptist Church Cemetery, 1996. — *Joan Koroscil, Saskatoon, SK., 1997.*



Anna Wark, daughter of Erik and Wilhelmina Koping, mother of Joan Koroscil. Photo taken at the 50th Anniversary of the Hilltop Baptist Church gathering in Scandinavia, MB., 1996. — *Joan Koroscil, Saskatoon, SK., 1997.*



The Koping homestead, Scandinavia Colony (note the flagpole against the porch), 1978. — *Joan Koroscil, Saskatoon, SK., 1997.*

who were just passing through the city. The home also provided a placement service and, in particular, sought to take as many single female immigrants under its protection as it could. Some stayed only one day, others longer, while many returned for a second and even third period of residence. From the total of over 3376 immigrants who arrived from Finland, a total of 198 were Finland-Swedes. 111 men and 87 women are recorded in the Immigrant Home register. Thus, the proportion of Finland-Swedes amongst the immigrants using this facility nears 6% (Laine, 1989:28–29; Appendix II).

The immigrant settlers from Finland rarely established themselves in the Atlantic provinces. Although thousands landed in Halifax and travelled through the Maritimes, the vast majority continued to the West. Still, a few Finland-Swedish sailors and immigrants settled in these provinces as early as 1891 (Rauanheimo, 1930; Roinila, 1991; Magnusson, 1995).

Finland-Swedes were also amongst the many who participated in the Yukon Goldrushes to the Klondike in the late 1800s. Many of these individuals have been documented through detailed surveys of 1901–1910 Census material, which indicate that the majority of Finland-Swedes in the goldrush were actually citizens of the United States (Olin, 1996). The majority of these individuals moved back to the United States, by crossing into Alaska or returning south to the lower states. In comparing the settlement history of Finland-Swedes with the Finnish-speaking Canadians, it becomes apparent that in many provinces, the Finland-Swedes appeared earlier than the Finnish-speaking immigrants. In British Columbia, Finland-Swedes were found on Vancouver Island five years prior to the generally agreed date of 1885 when the first Finnish coal miners arrived in North Wellington, Ladysmith and Nanaimo. Similarly, Finland-Swedes appear to predate the Finns in the prairie provinces. In Ontario, the Finland-Swedes and Finns arrived at the Lakehead around the same time in the late 1870s.

While the first Finn-Swedes generally appeared in Canada by the 1880s, they showed a tendency to associate with Swedish immigrants rather than with Finnish-speakers. This was the case with Stockholm, Saskatchewan; Scandinavia, Manitoba; and the Wetaskiwin area in Alberta. In other areas, as well, the Finland-Swedes appeared to congregate closer to the Swedes, rather than become part of a Finnish-speaking settlement. While this is the geographic distribution and early settlement history, what were some of the reasons for their immigration?

Finland-Swedes had the same reasons for emigration as did their Finnish-speaking neighbours, especially prior to WW I and the Independence of Finland in 1917. These reasons included economic depression in Finland, lack of employment opportunities especially in cities, the Russification of Finland, the imposed military service for young men, rural overpopulation, along with other more personal reasons such as desire for adventure, broken hearts, arguments and family ties (Lindström-Best, 1985:5).

A more detailed examination of the reasons for immigration given by Finland-Swedes in Canada at present is considered in a later chapter.

## 5.3 Economic, social, and cultural impact of Finland-Swedes in Canada

To examine the impact Finland-Swedes have had on the economic, social and cultural development in Canada, it is worth considering some of the contributions made by this ethnolinguistic group to their surroundings.

### 5.3.1 Economic development

It is worth indicating immediately, that Finland-Swedes and Finnish-speakers shared many of the same jobs that were available to the new immigrants. These new jobs were usually to be found in the logging and mining industries, while opportunities in farming and fishing also provided a future. In the many primary industries across Canada, Finland-Swedes and Finns have shared the desire and ability to work hard and get established in their new homeland.

Many Finland-Swedes worked in logging camps and sawmills across Canada. In British Columbia, sawmills in Port Alberni and New Westminster attracted many (Snickars, 1995). Such was the case with Fraser Mills near New Westminster, BC, established in 1889 and still in operation (Pare, 1994). Since the 1920s, many Finland-Swedes were employed by Fraser Mills, as is noted by the following correspondence with the New Westminster Planning Department:

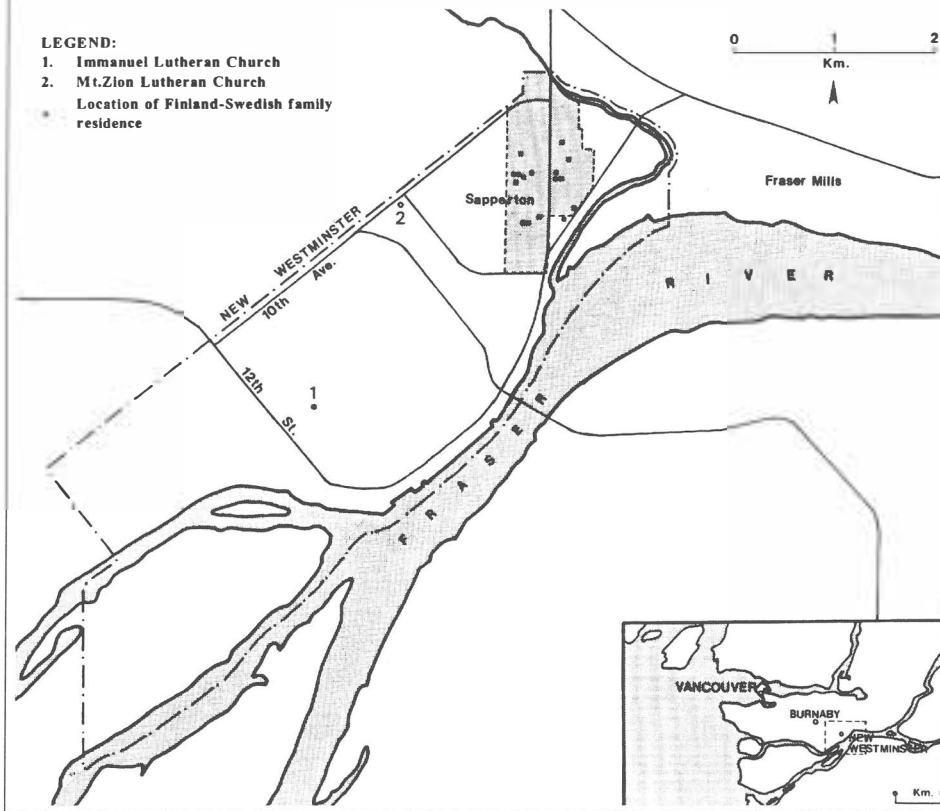
*According to the verbal accounts given to me by former residents of the area all the families came from Österbotten province in Finland. Mr. K. Renvall and his wife lived in New Westminster from 1923 to 1934. They returned to Finland. In 1951 they returned to New Westminster. Other families followed after 1951 and settled in the area. Mr. Renvall was a foreman at Fraser Mills and helped others to find jobs at the mill (Scheving, 1996)*

The Fraser Mills in fact attracted some 15 Finland-Swedish families to the New Westminster neighbourhood of Sapperton. According to sources, many arrived from the same Österbotten area in Finland and settled very close to each other during the late 1940s and 1950s. This exhibits distinct ethnic cohesiveness and clustering (Figure 5.1). This area, according to a number of respondents in the area became known as "Lilla Munsala" (Nymark, 1995). After the 1950s, most of the families moved to other locations in New Westminster and, also, outside this city (Scheving, 1996).

Many Finland-Swedes worked in the logging camps of British Columbia as well as Ontario in the early 1900s, which can be seen by the occupations held by members of the Svea Society in Vancouver (Appendix VI). In Ontario, logging and sawmills in the Lakehead region, Spragge, Algoma Mills, Blind River, Bruce Mines, Esterville, Searchmont, and Wawa provided work for many Finland-Swedes (Nyman, 1996; Marinich et al, 1996). In the 1920s, some Ontario



**Figure 5.1 "Lilla Munsala" in the Sapperton neighbourhood of New Westminster, ca. 1950s**



Finn-Swedes moved on to small scale farming operations as the forests were cleared, some worked at the papermills located at the Lakehead, while others entered the construction business. In BC, Finland-Swedes took positions in other wood related industries such as veneer factories, floorlaying, carpentry, and construction of all types (Myhrman, 1972:384).

However, some interesting comments are made by Thunder Bay area residents in regard to the position Finland-Swedes held in these logging camps, which are noted from the following statements:

*"Pure Finns were second class citizens due to the language family. The Scandinavians were able to assimilate faster than the Finns, while the Finns clustered together and got a poor job. "*

*"Swedes and Finland-Swedes got better jobs. "*

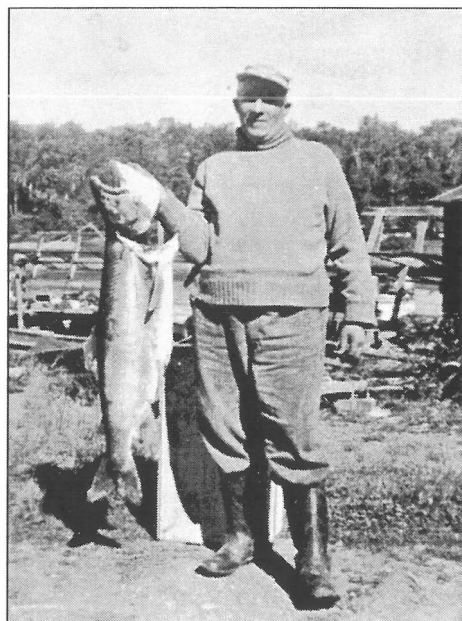
*"... to get along in the bush camps, father learned Finnish as a logger. He ran the horses. "*



Vern Erikson with the boat "Sea Scout", at Point Magnet, Lake Superior, 1956. — *Carl Westerback, 1996.*



Gunnar Westerback reeling gill nets, Camp Bay, Lake Superior, 1961. — *Carl Westerback, 1996.*



Gunnar Westerback, Silver Island, Lake Superior with prize Lake Trout, 1957. — *Carl Westerback, 1996.*

To commemorate the Finnish (and Finland-Swedish) fishermen of Lake Superior, a statue was dedicated to their memory at Green Point, on the northshore of Thunder Bay, ON. – Mika Roinila, 1996.

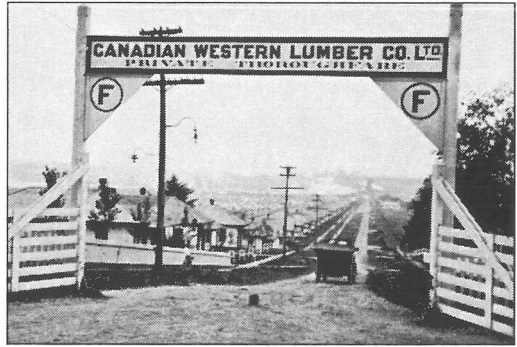


*"... in most cases it was hard physical labour, it was working on road gangs, construction, railroads, working in the logging areas, cutting the pulp the logs hauled in the spring time... raft them down the river. For the most part most of the higher paying jobs, according to my father, were being given to Swedish people with Swedish names rather than Finnish names, unless it was purely a Finnish camp, if someone had the ability to develop their own but that wasn't, there wasn't that many, that didn't probably develop until the later 40's and 50's. But for the most part, the two groups as I was told kept apart. In the bush camps the Finns stayed over there and the Finn-Swedes would be over here with the Norwegians and the Danes. And if the French guys were there, they were almost semi-isolated in the bushcamps themselves. "*

Mining industries in the interior of BC attracted Finland-Swedes in the early 1900s (Myhrman, 1972, 1976), while farming in the prairies was also practised amongst the few Finland-Swedes present in Wetaskiwin, Stockholm and Scandinavia. Commercial fishing operations were also held by Finland-Swedes on the West Coast as well as the Great Lakes (Roinila, 1997).

While Finland-Swedes in other parts of the country have appeared in the primary industries, Toronto area residents have contributed by establishing themselves in manufacturing new products for the transportation industry which have generated hundreds of jobs and economic growth for southern and central Ontario (Myhrman, 1972; Racinsky, 1996). The entrepreneurial spirit among the Finland-Swedes of Toronto began as early as 1913 with the establishment of a coffee importing business.

Finland-Swedes have also worked in secondary and tertiary areas, including steel mills, railways as both construction workers and railway engineers, and as grain elevator workers. Some became merchants, selling everything from jewelry and lumber to clothing and medicine (Barr, 1992:14). More recently, a number of professional positions in education and health have also been part of the

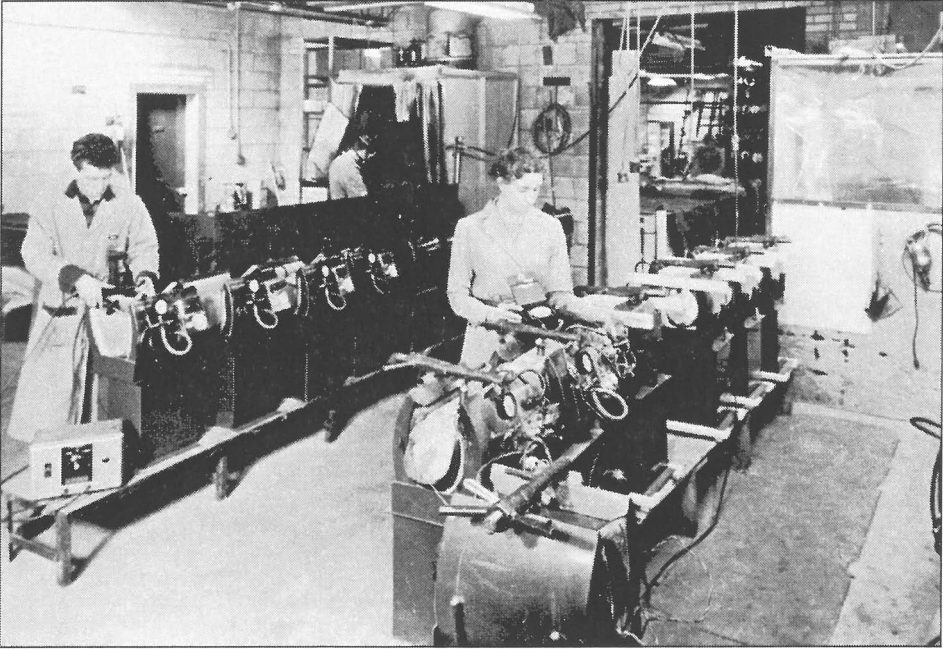


Canada Western Lumber Co. gate (Fraser Mills) factory employing 2000 hands at New Westminster, ca. 1913. Many Finland-Swedes worked here as well. – *Canadian National Archives*.

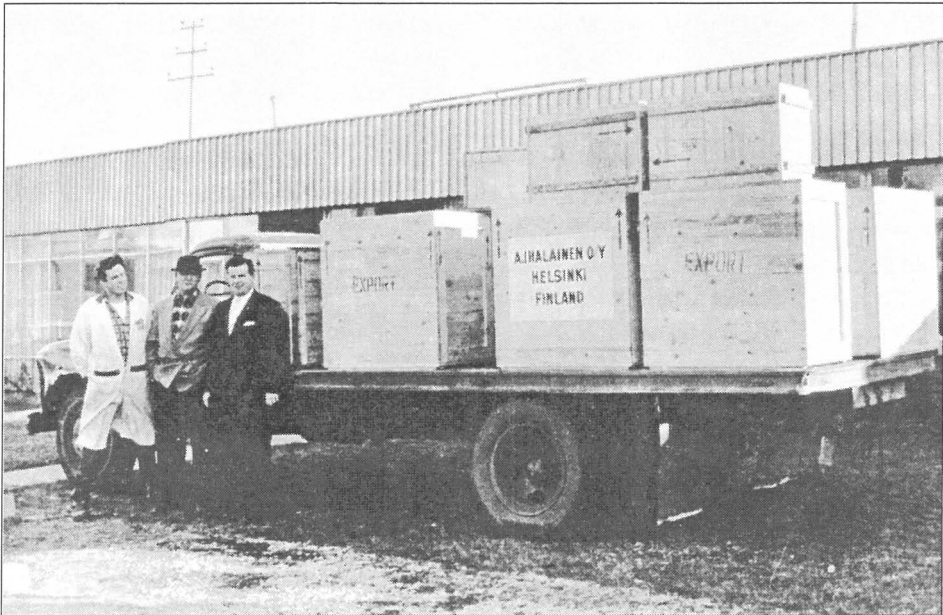
Photo of Finland-Swedish lumber-jacks cutting a Douglas Fir, date unknown. – *Åbo Akademi Bildsalmingar*.



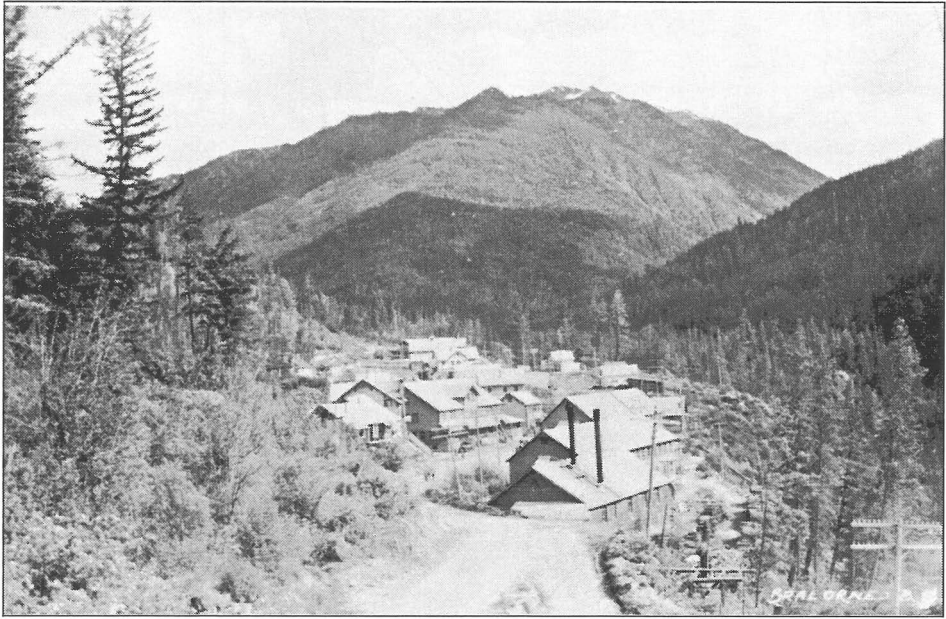
Canada W. Lumber Co. (Fraser Mills) sorting yards on the Fraser River near Vancouver, BC., date unknown. – *Canadian National Archives, C-7829*.



Employees at the Vulcan Co., Toronto, Ontario, ca. 1950's. – Åbo Akademi Bildsamlingar.



First Vulcan machine to be shipped to Finland, 1960. – Ethel Racinsky.



Bralorne Goldmine, company town in the Bridge River Valley, West of Lillooet, BC., ca. 1930s. – *Greta Nelson, 1995.*

employment structure of Canadian Finland-Swedes, and this is reflected by the increased proportion of employment in the quaternary industries.

As to their contribution to Canadian economic growth, one respondent commented that a Finland-Swede owned three logging camps along the Sunshine Coast in the 1920s, and hired mostly – up to 400 – “Swede-Finn” workers, a majority of the workforce (Snickars, 1995). According to another informant, during the late 1920s, logging camps could not have been run without the “Swede-Finns” (Carlson, 1995). The original operation of Vulcan Industries in Toronto was initiated by Finland-Swedes during the 1950s and 60s, and provided hundreds of jobs (Shaw, 1996). Today, this operation includes Shaw-Almex of Parry Sound, Ontario, while the Vulcan Industries relocated to the United States (Racinsky, 1996). From the few examples given here, it becomes evident that the Finland-Swedes have made contributions to the economic growth of Canada.

### **5.3.2 Social impacts**

The goal of every immigrant is to better himself/herself, prosper financially, and climb up the socio-economic ladder to a position which is better than where the immigrants came from. These goals are part of personal desires, which in a larger sense also involve the growth of the economy as a whole. This involvement of Finland-Swedes in the economic development of Canada has been shown above.



While work was of great importance to the Finland-Swedes, and especially the logging industry, the poor social conditions and the growth of the labour movement across North America affected them, most notably in the Vancouver area with its large Finn-Swede population. As early as 1906, the Industrial Workers of the World organized workers in the lumber and construction camps, which led to a series of strikes among railroad workers on the Grand Trunk Pacific, Canadian Northern and Kettle Valley Railways. Among the workers, many Swedes – as well as Finland-Swedes – were found. With the coming of the depression, the unemployment figures rose drastically, and Vancouver was actually described as being in a state of emergency. Unemployment figures rose from 351 in June 1, 1930 to 7,290 in June 1, 1932. In the House of Commons, the Hon. Ian MacKenzie M. P., read a telegram sent by the Mayor of Vancouver:

*Critical conditions exist in Vancouver due to inadequacy of relief scale as allowed by provincial government to meet shelter. Wholesale evictions involving hundreds of families under way resulting in increasing threatening condition (Howard, 1970:89).*

As a response to the conditions, the Finland-Swedes organized the *Svenka-Finsk Arbetarklubben* (Swede-Finn Worker's Club) in August, 1932. Initiated by V. Gåström who left for Finland in 1933 and later went to Russia, the F. S. A. K. had a very strong membership. By 1935, the membership included a total of 230 individuals, the majority of whom worked in logging camps. Within Vancouver, a total of 140 members participated in club activities, which included a choir and an amateur theatre group. The club offered a course in bookkeeping, organized a lending library, and established a women's sewing circle which raised money for the club at bazaars, and contributed to strike funds (Myhrman, 1972; Howard, 1970).

Towards the end of 1932, the *Skandinaviska Arbetarklubben* (Scandinavian Worker's Club) was formed. The newly formed club was the amalgamation of the already existing *Svenska Arbetarklubben* (Swedish Worker's Club) and the *Svenska-Finsk Arbetarklubben* (Swedish-Finns Worker's Club). However, the S.F.A.K. soon withdrew, taking with it the larger section of the membership but still leaving some ninety members in the newly formed club (Howard, 1970:90). Prior to the amalgamation, both the S. A. K. and S. F. A. K. were large enough to support permanent clubrooms. The main function of all the clubs, however, was political. On January 26, 1934, sixty-two men at Bloedel's Menzies Bay logging camp were laid off, presumably for union activities. The next day the 500-man crew voted to strike for a 15% wage increase, recognition of camp committees, time-and-a-half for overtime, double pay for Sunday work, abolition of the black list and reinstatement of the men who had been fired. The strike soon spread from Vancouver Island throughout the camps on the mainland coast and halted logging operations for a total of three months. The worker's clubs were solidly behind the loggers. According to Ernie Dalskog of Kronoby, then the secretary of the

Svenska-Finsk Arbetarklubben, there was not a single Finland-Swede strikebreaker (Howard, 1970:92).

Finland-Swedes of the Vancouver area, similar to the Finnish-speakers in Ontario and elsewhere, were involved in labour politics, organized and promoted union activities. With their small part in the labour movement, it is still worth recognizing that the Finland-Swedes did contribute to the development of better labour relations and social conditions.

### 5.3.3 Cultural impacts

The cultural impact of Finland-Swedes on Canada is the least noticeable element. It appears that the Finland-Swedes brought very little of tangible Finland-Swedish culture to Canada. Although well read, with much literature published in Finland, the Swedish-speaking Finns can only boast of one Swedish-language newspaper – the *Norden*, which is published in New York. To a Finland-Swede unable to read Swedish, this paper is meaningless in its content, even if the paper did convey possible cultural developments which may occur in the "Old Country".

Some cultural aspects which the Finland-Swedes and Swedes share with one another have shown themselves to the people of Canada. The celebration of Midsummer Day with the construction of a MayPole appeared in Vancouver for decades amongst the Swedes and Finland-Swedes who participated in this annual festival. The pre-Christmas celebration of St. Lucia has remained a strong part of Finland-Swedish and Swedish culture, which occasionally is seen by Canadians. On the whole, however, cultural impacts have been very limited. Only the sauna, which is synonymous with Finland, has become a part of the popular culture of North America, as it is often found in motel/hotel chains and health facilities. To the true sauna enthusiasts from Finland which includes the Finland-Swedes as well, the "Swedish Dry Sauna" however, is a distortion of an old tradition.

Still, some cultural impacts in areas of fine arts have come from Finland-Swedes. Bruce Carlson of Winnipeg is a recently well-known Canadian composer, whose works have been commissioned by the Manitoba Arts Council for compositions, and have been performed by various symphony orchestras in Canada and abroad (Sas, 1993; Timgren, 1995; Racinsky, 1996). Another Finland-Swedish master of music -Gunnar Abbors – conducted choirs and performed as a soloist in the Vancouver area (Myhrman, 1972:386). The promising future for a violin virtuoso Helen Hagnes of B. C. was cut short by an untimely death while studying at the Julliard School of Music in New York City during the 1980s (Snickars, 1995). Finally, actress Pamela Lee Anderson of Comox, B. C. , has Finland-Swedish roots (Chidley, 1995; Thompson, 1995). From the survey of Finland-Swedes across Canada, it is noted that in the entertainment industry which includes sports such as hockey, some Finland-Swedes have emerged as musicians, actors, and





Orchestra at a wedding, ca. late 1940s – early 1950s. From top right: Ray Timgren, 2nd from right back; Gus Timgren, 3rd from right back; Leonard Carlson, 2nd from left back; Bruce Carlson, 2nd from left middle; Rayful Carlson, 2nd from right middle; Elis Erikson, far left middle. A total of 8/13 individuals are Finland-Swedish. – *Ethel Racinsky, Scarborough, ON., 1996.*

professional athletes, thus presenting some impact on the developing culture of Canada (Roinila, 1996b).

## 5.4 The upkeep of ethnic cohesion and retention of ethnic self-identity

Amongst the various ethnic groups that have immigrated to Canada, there has risen a desire among many groups to remain cohesive, to uphold traditional values along with a distinct ethnic identity, culture and language. Much of this multi-ethnic composition of Canada has emerged in the multiculturalism which is so well recognized in Canada. Among the many options available for the retention of ethnic identity and cohesiveness of the ethnic group is the organization of church congregations, ethnic organizations and clubs. The Finland-Swedes are no different in this respect, and have attempted to follow this method of ethnic cohesion in various regions across Canada.

### 5.4.1 Religion

The Lutheran Church of Finland is the state church, and as recently as the 1980s, over 90 percent of the country's population were members (Lindström-Best, 1985:3). With the immigration of Finland-Swedes to Canada in the late 1800s, there was a desire amongst many to join a church similar to the Lutheran Church of Finland. Initially, Finland-Swedes became associated with the Swedish ethnic group, and in many cases, helped each other to organize Swedish-speaking congregations. Some of the best examples include the founding members of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church of Vancouver (later the Augustana Evangelical L.C.) dating to 1903 and the St. Ansgarius Mission in Port Arthur formed in 1906 (Appendix III).

While the earliest church services were held in Swedish congregations and Finland-Swedes participated with Swedes, various differences in attitudes and language led many Finland-Swedes to establish their own congregations. In response to the growing Finland-Swedish population in Vancouver and New Westminster in the early 1900s, the Immanuel Lutheran Church was formed in 1909. Although the Swedish congregation in Vancouver continued to receive support from the Finland-Swedes (especially with the coming of 48 new members in 1929), a good number of Finland-Swedes transferred their membership from the Augustana Evangelical L.C. to the Immanuel L.C. in New Westminster (Table 5.4). To show the strength of the Lutheran influence on the Finland-Swedes in the Vancouver area, it was estimated that some 80 percent of all the Finland-Swedes in the area were members of the two congregations during the 1970s (Myhrman, 1972:387).

In Port Arthur, Ontario, the Immanuel Lutheran Church was founded in 1908, and has always been the stronghold of Finland-Swedes. Earliest members of this congregation had joined the St. Angarius Mission in 1906 and transferred to Immanuel when the church was founded (Immanuel L. C. Records, Appendix III).

In the Toronto area, Finland-Swedes became associated with evangelical congregations, and joined churches such as the Beverley Street Baptist Church, the Church of All Nations (affiliated with the United Church), the People's Church of Toronto as well as the Swedish Lutheran Church (Racinsky, 1996; O. Timgren, 1996; Raivio, 1975; Lindström, 1985; Ander, 1963).

In terms of assimilation to the larger society, the churches provided a refuge of ethnic identity, traditions and language. This can be seen with the Immanuel Lutheran Church of Port Arthur, which has over the years remained an "ethnically exclusive church" (Boegh, 1991:11). This has brought problems in the growth of the congregation. Rigid standards of admission included proof of being a Finn-Swede who was born in Finland and spoke Swedish. However, as immigration from Finland declined, especially since the 1950s, the congregation has changed its admittance policies to include spouses and descendants of the Finland-Swedes who have historical ties to the church. Essentially, the Immanuel

**Table 5.4 New members to join Swedish-language congregations in Vancouver (1903–1953) and New Westminster (1909–1989)**

Year	Congregation	
	Augustana L.C. <sup>1</sup>	Immanuel L.C. <sup>2</sup>
1901–10	6	3
1911–20	3	14
1921–30	93	28
1931–40	1	4
1941–50	9	16
1951–60	-	18
1961–70	-	12
1971–80	-	1
1981–90	-	-
dates missing	-	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>102</b>

<sup>1</sup> Church records past 1953 were missing.

<sup>2</sup> In 1989 the Immanuel L. C. amalgamated with the Mt. Zion L. C.

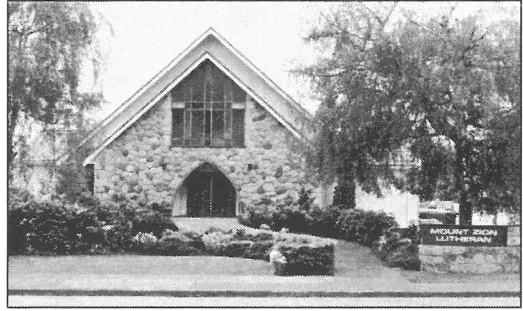
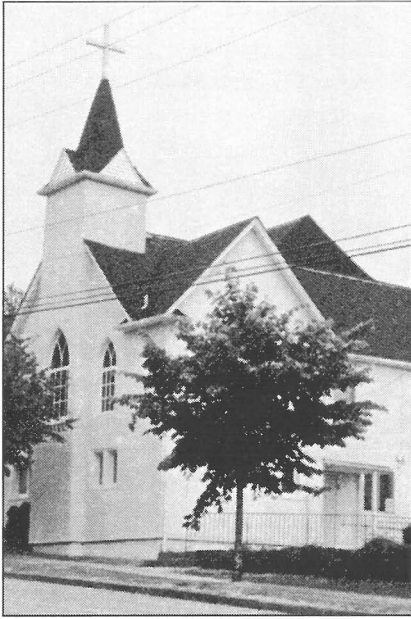
**Table 5.5 Finland-Swedish religious affiliation in Vancouver, Thunder Bay, and Toronto CMA's and Canada, 1991**

City	Religion:		Total
	Lutheran	Other religions <sup>1</sup>	
Vancouver	225	120	340
Thunder Bay	10	-	10
Toronto	110	65	175
<b>Canada overall</b>	<b>615</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>970</b>

<sup>1</sup> "Other religions" also includes non-religious individuals.

Source: 1991 Census Canada, unpublished material, Ottawa, 1995.

L. C. is a small, family-oriented church, which still clings to the old traditional values established in the early 1900s. With the few distinct Finland-Swedish congregations across Canada, the language used in services was originally Swedish. However, by the 1920s and 1930s, the English-language had displaced the Swedish language (Howard, 1970; Myhrman, 1972; Boegh, 1991). Only the Swedish Lutheran Church of Toronto remains an exclusively Swedish-language church (Astrom, 1996).



The Mt. Zion Lutheran Church in New Westminister, where many Finland-Swedes from the former Immanuel L.C. belong.

---

The Immanuel Lutheran Church of Westminister (left), built by the Finland-Swedes. Today used and owned by a Japanese Gospel congregation.  
– Mika Roinila, 1995.

Overall, support for church congregations and religious activities in cities with Finland-Swedish congregations has been strong. A similar trend is apparent from the 1991 Canadian Census which also attests to this fact (Table 5.5). It is noted that while a total of 66 percent of all Finland-Swedes in the Vancouver CMA was associated with the Lutheran Church, the entire Finland-Swedish ethnic population in Canada showed a high 63 percent affiliation rate to the Lutheran Church. This would include Lutheran congregations elsewhere, and include some Finnish-language congregations, which have often attracted Finland-Swedes as well. This is the case in Montreal, Toronto, Thunder Bay, and Vancouver. Across the country, English-language Lutheran Churches compose the remaining option for Finland-Swedish Lutherans (Appendix V).

#### 5.4.2 Finland-Swedish cultural organizations and clubs

A second strategy to maintain ethnic cohesiveness is the establishment of ethnic organizations and clubs. Again, the Finland-Swedes of Canada initially associated themselves with Swedish club and activities. Early Finland-Swedes in Vancouver joined the Swedish sick benefit lodge, Svea, which was organized in October 1908. A purely local society for men only, Svea provided some measure of protection against unemployment because of illness or accident (Howard, 1970:44). Sixteen Finland-Swedes were part of a membership of 264, representing six percent of all individuals who joined the organization between 1908–1949 (Appendix VI).

The most successful Finland-Swedish organization in North America, and possibly even in Canada, is the International Order of Runeberg. The Order of Runeberg was organized in Waukegan, Illinois on August 20, 1920 as an amalgamation of two separate groups, the Swedish-Finnish Benevolent and Aid Association, and the Swedish-Finnish Temperance Association.

The Order bears the name of Johan Ludvig Runeberg, one of Finland's greatest men. He was known as poet, a teacher and a statesman. The ideals as portrayed by this man, to a great extent, formed the organization that bears his name. The Order is a fraternal organization, and encourages unity, friendship, helpfulness and honour. The Order of Runeberg has a total of 49 Lodges or chapters in the United States and Canada as well as Finland.

Although the Swedish language formerly dominated all the activities and only individuals of direct Finland-Swedish descent were admitted as members, in 1946 the English language replaced the Swedish; this has opened the door for new members who are interested in the Finland-Swedes. This includes relatives and friends, some of the same origin, but also others of different nationalities. The activities held by the O.R., include mostly social activities – dances, sports, festivals, camp-outs, picnics, banquets, folk dancing, song fests, and many others (International Order of Runeberg – the Family Lodge).

In Canada, the Order of Runeberg founded a number of lodges in Ontario and British Columbia. Over the years, due to declining memberships and lack of interest, only two lodges remain, both in British Columbia. Vancouver's Lodge No. 124, established in 1925, has been the largest in membership of all lodges across North America. In 1943, with a growing Finland-Swedish population in New Westminster, a second lodge – Lodge No. 130 – was organized in that city (Table 5.6).

Similar patterns of establishing ethnic organizations are found across Canada. In Hamilton, the Swedish Vasa Lodge (established in 1912 by the Swedes in Hamilton) initially attracted Finland-Swedes, but with enough Finland-Swedes in the area, the Order of Runeberg formed a lodge in Hamilton in 1927. In 1960, the membership was still 39, but the Lodge was forced to dissolve on June 1, 1967 (Myhrman, 1972:382). Some of the reasons cited for the decline of the OR included lack of interest from second generation Finland-Swedes, along with out-migration and the deaths of older members (Grönlund, 1996). The Order of Runeberg also established Lodge No. 37 in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario in 1958 with 29 charter members. In 1963, 37 members were part of the Order. However, due to financial concerns, the lodge disbanded operations in 1971 (Myhrman, 1972; Mattson, 1977), although residents at Sault Ste. Marie insist the Lodge operations were over by 1965 (Marinich et al, 1996). To replace the Order of Runeberg, the Finland-Swedes established their own Sault Scandinavian Society, which was founded in 1965 and was supported at its beginning by some 50 individuals. According to members of the Sault Scandinavian Society, very few Swedish residents lived in the area, and thus the majority of the membership includes Finland-Swedes, along with a few Swedes and Norwegians (Marinich, 1996).

**Table 5.6 Membership of the Order of Runeberg lodges in Canada<sup>1</sup>**

Lodge #/Location	Year					
	1937	1953	1958	1972	1977	1996
No. 124/Vancouver	88	112	129	739	404	38
No. 130/New Westminster	-	86	59	163	132	30
No. 213/Hamilton, Ontario	25	60	50 <sup>2</sup>	-	-	-
No. 37/Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.	-	-	27 <sup>3</sup>	-	-	-
No. 39/Blind River, Ont.	-	-	12 <sup>4</sup>	-	-	-

<sup>1</sup> Prior to 1937, Lodge No. 107/Trail, BC. existed from 1920–1924

<sup>2</sup> Lodge No. 213 existed from 1929–1967

<sup>3</sup> Lodge No. 37 existed from 1958–1971

<sup>4</sup> Lodge No. 39 existed from 1962–1971

Source: Mattson, Vern. History of the Order of Runeberg, Portland, Oregon, 1977; Snickars, 1995; Noronen, 1996.

A fifth Canadian Order of Runeberg Lodge was founded in 1962 at Blind River, located some 140 km east of Sault Ste. Marie along the North Channel of Lake Huron. Although membership grew somewhat to reach 20 in 1963, the lodge was forced to dissolve in 1971 due to declining membership and interest, as in the case of Lodge 37 at the Soo (Myhrman, 1972:384; Mattson, 1977).

The Finland-Swedes of Windsor were able to organize their own Order of Runeberg Lodge in 1929, which is recorded briefly in a number of OR Historical publications. However, no further details exist (Myhrman, 1968; Mattson, 1977).

While the Order of Runeberg has established a small number of lodges across Canada, Finland-Swedes have also established others which have provided community functions and upheld the ethnic values. Some of these are discussed briefly here.

It is interesting to note that the Order of Runeberg never established itself in the Thunder Bay or Toronto areas. Rather, the Finland-Swedes formed different organizations, which became a focal point of the Finland-Swedes of the area. In 1905, when the Sick Benefit and Funeral Aid Society Norskenet (Northern Light) was founded in Port Arthur, there were no social safety nets in existence. Finland-Swedes organized this group as an independent insurance scheme (Barr, 1992:57). Membership in Norskenet increased dramatically in the 1920s as a result of the influx of new immigrants, and the admission policy change which allowed other Scandinavians to join. Monthly meetings were held in various halls, but the most consistent was the Scandinavian Home. Social events included dances, bingos, celebrating the midsummer festival at locations outside the city limits. Most of the activities were fundraisers in an effort to supplement the



Order of Runeberg picnic. John Hoglund, far left bent over was President/Organizer of Hamilton O.R.; John Frederickson with straw hat was incoming, next president of Hamilton branch of O.R., 1925. – Henry Gronlund, Hamilton, ON., 1996.

Order of Runeberg No. 213 Hamilton Branch honorary membership card No. 359, from the 1920s. – Henry Gronlund, Hamilton, ON., 1996.



membership fees to cover the cost of sick and death benefits paid to members. Today, the association meets monthly at the Scandinavian Home.

The social side of Norskennet continued to flourish until the 1980s when loss of members through death threatened the group's continued existence. Beginning in 1992, Norskennet revitalized itself with new members of the second and third generation who were interested in their culture and heritage. However, present membership totals only 29, and is still a cause for concern (Norskennet 90th Anniversary Booklet, 1995; Norskennet Membership List, 1996).

The second major cultural and social organization involves the Scandinavian Home Society, which was founded in 1923. The organization was to provide a meeting place and social support for residents and for immigrants. A Scandinavian focus was adopted because the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish languages are similar and speakers can understand each other. However, the founding members were all Swedish, and the minutes were written in Swedish. According to the constitution:



Delegates of the Order of Runeberg Western District Circle No. 1 Spring Song Festival in Vancouver, B.C., Apr. 24–25, 1959. – *Swedish-Finn Historical Society Archives, Seattle, WA.*

*The Society's purpose shall be to achieve closer contact among Scandinavians. Also to provide a reading room for members with books, pamphlets and newspapers dealing with economic, political and social issues. Also to help countrymen in trouble, especially those new arrivals who have no relatives or friends here... (Barr, 1992:57).*

Religious and political freedom were guaranteed, as well as the right to discuss political, economic and social issues. At meetings, however, the topic of religion was strictly forbidden. Initially, a small room was rented in Port Arthur's Bay Street area to house the library, but the books were soon moved to larger premises in order to provide a meeting place that served coffee and would be open every day (Barr, 1992:59). This led to the opening of the two-storey Skandinaviska Hemmet or Scandinavian Home in 1926. In 1930, the coffee house on the main floor was transformed into a restaurant by building an addition on the back. The benefit of the restaurant was that for most years, earnings from the restaurant enabled the Society to maintain the building and pay the taxes without raising membership fees (Scandinavian Home Restaurant pamphlet, 1996). Surprisingly, the restaurant offers mainly the ordinary North American menu. The only ethnic dishes available from the menu include mojakka, Finnish pancakes, along with some homemade bakings (Scandinavian Home Restaurant Menu, 1996).

Some of the activities presented by the Society have included dances, picnics, midsummer celebrations. Today, the Society is enjoying a period of growth and renewal. A total of 142 members and 21 Honorary members belong to the Scandinavian Home Society. Among the directors of the Scandinavian Home Society today is the President, Carl Westerback, a Finland-Swede who has attempted to include the Finnish flag among the countries represented by the





Scandinavian Home Society, with people in from (man sitting without hat is E. Lindberg – former manager of the Scandinavian Home), ca. 1942. – *Ontario Provincial Archives, Toronto, Ontario, Photo # AO-3650.*



Scandinavian Home Society (Port Arthur), Thunder Bay, Ontario. – *Mika Roinila, 1996.*

Society's membership. Historically, a large number of Finland-Swedes have supported the Scandinavian Home, and it would only be proper to include the Finnish flag in the facade of the restaurant. However, this matter has not been resolved to date (Barr, 1996).

A third social organization was the Swedish Vasa Lodge. The Vasa Order of America is an international Swedish lodge based in the United States, which also offered sick/funeral benefits to members. Two short-lived Vasa lodges were founded in 1913 – Nordstjärnan (Northern Star) No. 261 in Fort William, and Klippan (The Rock) No. 262 in Port Arthur. Port Arthur No. 539 was founded in 1929, and this lodge still exists under the name Sleeping Giant. Today, the Vasa lodge meets in members' homes. Some Finland-Swedes were members of the present Vasa Lodge in the past (Barr, 1992:57; Karioja, 1996).

In the Toronto region, Finland-Swedes helped organize associations for the local entrepreneurs. A small number of Finland-Swedes associated themselves with the Scandinavian Canadian Business Association (Gestrin, 1996). Founded in 1960, The Scandinavian-Canadian Business Association is a more "professional" association for businessmen, it facilitates "networking" – the meeting of Scandinavian-Canadian business professionals in a friendly and social atmosphere.

A more cultural organization is the Scandinavian Canadian Club. This club was founded in 1935 by two Norwegians, Otto Johnson and Leo Christensen. Both men were married, one to a Dane and the other to a Finland-Swede, which led to the naming of the club. The Scandinavian Canadian Club has attracted a number of Finland-Swedes over the years. In fact, presidents and vice-presidents of the organization have included Finland-Swedes (Scandinavian Canadian Businessman, Vol. 13:4, 1980; MHSO, SWE-5867-SIM). Finland-Swedes in Toronto were also part of the Nordic Society of Toronto, which was in existence during the 1970s (Ritva Rasmussen Papers, Ont. Prov. Archives). Elsewhere in Canada, both Finland-Swedes and Swedes established the Scandinavian Centennial Club of Windsor in 1954, which was active for only a few years (Magee, 1985:67), and in Vancouver, Finland-Swedes are very active in the Finlands Svenska Klubben, which was formed in 1958. Finland-Swedes have also helped establish various Scandinavian clubs in Port Alberni, British Columbia (ca. 1942), Regina, Saskatchewan (ca. 1920s), as well as the Loyal Finns of Canada chapter in Winnipeg, Manitoba (ca. 1931) (Myhrman, 1972, 1976; Vapaa Sana, 1977; Norlen, 1943).

## **5.5 Historical interrelations between the Finland-Swedes and Finnish-speaking Finns and Swedes in Canada**

It has already become apparent that a definite association has existed, and still does exist, between the Finland-Swedes and the Swedes in Canada. However, what of the association with the Finns? According to respondents, difficulties with

language, uncompromising attitudes, past experiences and stereotypes have kept the two ethnolinguistic groups apart. This lack of association is seen in the following statements made by various informants across Canada:

*"The Finland-Swedes stay away from the Finns as they have their own clubs. Swede-Finns stick together."*

*"We never go to each others doings; not very much in the past and not very much today."*

*"In the 1970's we had more contact with the Finns and few couples through the bowling league... into only one pure Finnish 'do'."*

*"When two Swede-Finns work together with many others they speak English. When two Finns work together with many others they speak Finnish."*

*"Finns always have meetings in Finnish rather than English. We should go to more meetings if they did them in English."*

*"The Finland-Swedes and Finns are still in separate groups."*

*"There was no contact between the Finns and Finland-Swedes because of the language. Finns wanted to speak Finnish, no English. Therefore Swede-Finns were uncomfortable, and this was a strong feeling."*

*"There is bickering and putdowns. The two groups are very ignorant of one another, they don't know about each other."*

*"Both groups don't know each other...small minded, stuck on their ways."*

*"I can't say we do anything together except when all five Scandinavian countries participate in Mid-Summer festivals or when Finlanders celebrate Finland's Independence Day which happens only at special times like 50 years or 75."*

*"I'll take it back to a conversation I had with my father when I was probably about eight or nine years old, I remember quite well, and I asked him "Dad, am I a Finn or a Swede?", and he said to me "You are a Swede." And he said "don't even think yourself a Finn" he said "you're Swedish". So from that time I never considered myself a Finn-Swede, I was a Swede, because that's what my father said I was. I wasn't going to question that. And so later on I found that in most instances in this area people that were of Finnish background when they came over here very early on, were not considered, they were almost considered second class citizens. And I think a lot of it had to do with the fact that they had difficulty learning the English language, they were considered to be more foreign than the foreigners, because of their difficulty with the English language. And they clustered together in small groups, like in this area you've got Lappe, Kivikoski, you've got all these little pockets of purely Finnish speaking areas. In the work places, that my dad was telling me about it, that if you were a Swede you were given a better job than if you were Finnish. And so*

*that's evident even in the telephone book. If you look in the telephone book you'll see a whole list of Maki's and then if you turn to Hill, you'll see a whole list of Hill's and there'll be Toivo Maki/Toivo Hill, Seppo Hill, and the same thing named Stone going from Kivi. So there was a lot of Anglicizing of Finnish names to try to get away from the stigma of being classified as a second class citizen"*

*"I don't think, as I said on the job, there was a lot of time for animosity. I know in social events, my dad would tell me of the fights that would go on Saturday night at the Finn Hall, when the Finn-Swedes would come in and go to a dance, have a couple of beers, couple of drinks, and the next thing you know there would be a brawl going on. They would usually be between the Finns and the Finn-Swedes. . . The Scandinavian Home didn't have a big hall, so any dances that were held were held at the Labour Temple or the Finn Hall. But I know that from what my dad told me, was that there was a lot of social animosity and there wasn't a lot of mixed marriages between the Finn-Swedes and the Finns. Not until later on, to my understanding, it didn't start occurring until the late 30's and into the 40s. But if you look at the records.. . the marriages back in the 1920s say after the Revolution in Finland in 1917-1918, and those that came here they basically clustered together so that you had very few Finns marrying Finn-Swedes, or Finns marrying Norwegians or Finn marrying a Dane, they basically stayed to themselves."*

*"Uncles said they fought because 'he' (the opponent) was a Finn."*

*"Finn-Swedes dissociate themselves from the Finns. "*

Association with the Swedes has been better, as is indicated by the membership of the Scandinavian Home Society in Thunder Bay, the involvement of Finland-Swedes in the early Swedish Lutheran Churches in Vancouver and Toronto, or the Finland-Swedish residents of the Swedish-Canadian Resthome in Burnaby, BC. However, some respondents have also shown reservations:

*"In the early 1900s, when a Swedish man married a Finn-Swede woman, their social status lowered. "*

*"Swedes all think they're better. "*

*"There was,I would think, no difference between the Swedes and the Finn-Swedes, except that there was always joking about the languages you know, you speak slang, you don't speak pure Swede. It was always a standing joke that my dad would say to someone "Du har da tar Närpes sproken".... "you have an accent from Närpes", or you've got that Malax sproken. So there was [sic] jokes along dialects, but apart from that I never noticed any animosity between groups. "*

*"The Finn-Swedes are in more contact with the Swedes, and I think that as the English language is being spoken more by each group, it brought them closer together again. "*

*"We are ostracized by the Swedes. "*

*"There is no contact with the Swedes – no communication. Resthome, yes – otherwise, no. "*

## 5.6 Finland-Swedes in Canada today: an overall summary

The Finland-Swedes of Canada have undergone some significant changes since the first immigrant arrivals; the growth of cultural and religious organizations, along with declining rates of Finnish immigration to Canada. On the West Coast, the Finn-Swedes remain relatively strong in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, which has historically had the largest concentration of Finland-Swedes. With the process of assimilation, many have lost their Swedish language, and many younger generation Finn-Swedes have no interest in the cultural organizations such as the Order of Runeberg or the Finlands Svenska Klubben. Similarly, the Finn-Swede involvement in traditional Lutheran church activities promoted by the original Finland-Swedish Immanuel Lutheran Church in New Westminster, has brought about the scattering of the descendants of the early immigrants.

In a sense, the Finland-Swedes are very similar to the Swedish population of Canada. Because of their close affinity over the years, it is not surprising that Irene Howard (1970) includes the Finland-Swedes in her book about "Vancouver's Svenskar". She also gives a very appropriate summary of the maintenance of ethnic identity and tradition, noting that:

*The second generation Swede in Vancouver whose family has not been a part of the community very soon loses any consciousness in his day-to-day life of his national origin. But the roots are there, and the roots are very deep. Take, for example, a typical Scandinavian family of two generations ago. The Swedish father and Norwegian mother speak with one another and with their friends in a mixture of the two languages, but encourage their children to speak English. As a result the children never learn to speak Swedish or Norwegian and lose all affinity with homelands of their parents, except perhaps for a nostalgia for certain traditional foods. But even though the date of the signing of the Magna Carta may be engraved on their minds, while the story of the heroic escape of Gustav Vasa from the Danes is quite unknown to them, their sense of the languages, which are very closely related, has not been lost. A fragment of Swedish conversation overheard on a Vancouver street will bring back as will a Swedish song on the radio, a store clerk with a Swedish accent, an hour at the airport among strangers who are, however, speaking that incomprehensible yet familiar language. And it will come back with a quite*



Swedish-Canadian Resthome, Burnaby, BC. – Mika Roinila, 1996.

*unexpected surge of emotion. One understands how much ethnicity has to do with language, which is at the very springs of one's consciousness. For an even later generation, for the third generation, the Swedish experience will be even more submerged, yet not unlikely it too may be brought to the surface by some surrounding activity, like writing about Swedish community, or making the initial attempts at translating a Swedish newspaper, or going to Sweden to look for the past (Howard, 1970:117–118).*

While the Finland-Swedes have organizations and congregations in the Vancouver area that are supported by the aging immigrant population, there is an attempt underway to encourage younger Finn-Swedes to return to their ethnic heritage and cultural awareness. During the summer of 1995, the Scandinavian House Committee of Vancouver proposed the amalgamation of all Scandinavian organizations of the area, to form the Scandinavian Centre. Prior to this, the Norwegians, Swedes, Finns, Danes, Icelanders, as well as Finland-Swedes all had their own respective club facilities, but with the loss of the Finnish Hall to a fire, and the proposal by the Norwegian Consulate to sell the Roald Amundson Centre near Burnaby Lake which housed the Sons of Norway, the Scandinavian groups adopted a plan to facilitate all ethnic organizations under the same roof. The end result was that the Finland-Swedes along with the Finns joined the Scandinavian Centre. According to the President of the Vancouver Lodge of the Order of Runeberg, the Finns and Finn-Swedes have never worked in co-operation in the past, in matters dealing with cultural organizations, etc. In this instance, the Finlandia Club approached the Order of Runeberg inviting them to join forces, share resources, and amalgamate with the Scandinavian Centre (Peterson, 1996).

This, indeed happened. It is interesting, however, to note that the Finland-Swedes have since then aligned themselves under the "umbrella" of the Swedish House Society, rather than the Finnish House Society – both of which are now part of the Scandinavian Centre. The Runeberg Social Club and Finlands Svenska Klubben, on the other hand, have associated themselves with the Finland House Society (Länsirannikon Uutiset, Oct. 1996:6).

It may be premature to conclude that the Finns and Finn-Swedes will have close relations simply due to their joint involvement in becoming associated with the Scandinavian Centre and belonging to a Swedish or Finnish House Society. Still, it is significant that the Finland-Swedes are attempting to attract new members to their ranks, while holding on to their distinctive identity and organizational activities.

Among Finland-Swedes in other areas of Canada, only the Thunder Bay and Toronto regions stand out. In Thunder Bay, numerous Finland-Swedes continue to support the Immanuel Lutheran Church, while the Scandinavian Home Society and the Norskennet survive. It is significant that so many Finland-Swedes appear in the Lakehead, even though the 1991 Census of Canada lists a mere 10 individuals as being Finland-Swede. The Finland-Swedes in Thunder Bay appear so well hidden amongst the population, that few are aware of their presence. This is especially true among the Finnish-speakers.

In the Toronto region, a large number of Finland-Swedes is present, many of whom have integrated themselves into various Finnish ethnic activities. A large number subscribe to the Finnish-language *Vapaa Sana* newspaper, some participate in the Finnish Lutheran Church, and others participate in Finnish activities provided by clubs and associations. Still, the Toronto area appears to maintain a cluster of Finland-Swedes. The early arrivals have held on to their Swedishness, while the more recent immigrants have integrated to the Finnish community. Many of the younger generation Finn-Swedes are totally unaware of the older generation, and vice versa. A generation gap, supported by better education of the younger generation, bilingualism and general acceptance of "things" Finnish, appears to keep the two groups apart.

## 5.7 Conclusions

The Finland-Swedes in Canada share a very similar settlement pattern with the Finnish-speaking immigrants. The Finland-Swedes share a similar position as the Finns in terms of their impact on the economy, social, and cultural life in Canada. From hard-working men in the logging camps, mines, lakes and fields, Finland-Swedes have climbed high on the socio-economic ladder. As will be seen in a later chapter, the industrial and occupational categories in which Finland-Swedes are found today show a strong tendency for professional occupations.

The three most populous urban centres for both Finland-Swedes and Finns correspond fairly closely with one another. While the two groups have thus settled relatively close in spatial terms, their association with one another does not follow a similar pattern. Much activity has occurred in these three urban areas, but through time, and with a lower number of immigrants arriving from Finland, the older generation is in a position of no return. Many cultural organizations and congregations have declined or disappeared, and assimilation seems unavoidable. This chapter has examined in detail the settlement history of Finland-Swedes in Canada, along with the impact Finland-Swedes had on the economic, social and cultural life in Canada, and now turns to consider the Finland-Swedish population at present.



# **Chapter 6**

## **The Finland-Swedish ethnic group survey and methodology**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The preceding chapters have dealt specifically with the history of Finland and emigration patterns of Finland-Swedes as part of the Finnish emigration streams that have spread across the globe. By doing so, the chapters have provided some understanding of the Finland-Swedes and their position in both Finnish and Canadian societies. This qualitative background helps lead to the more quantitative analysis of data which follows this chapter. Before the analysis however, this chapter outlines the specific goals of the survey research, and how these goals were pursued. The chapter is broken into four sections. The first examines what the survey intended to accomplish. This is followed by a description of the survey instrument and an outline of how the sample was selected. A description of independent variables used in the study is presented, followed by a brief discussion on the methods of data analysis and statistical procedures employed.

### **6.2 Goals of the survey**

In Chapter 3, a history of the Finland-Swedish presence in Finland was given. As mentioned in that chapter, relations between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns have been quite poor over the centuries. According to McRae, Bennett and Miljan in their research for Suomen Gallup (1988), an asymmetrical sympathy exists between the two ethnolinguistic groups. With this in mind, the survey focused on two major goals. The first goal is to ascertain attitudes held by the Finland-Swedes of Canada towards other ethnic groups, particularly the Finnish-speaking immigrants in Canada. The assumption is made that the asymmetrical sympathies which exist in Finland will also occur in Canada,

and that the Finland-Swedish population in Canada will rank the Finnish-speakers relatively highly on their scale of sympathy scores. Thus the first hypothesis is:

*Hypothesis 1: Old World attitudes towards Finnish immigrants will be encountered in Canada (Asymmetrical sympathy scores encountered in Finland between the two ethnolinguistic groups are also expected to occur in Canada).*

The second goal is to establish not simply the level of assimilation of the Finland-Swedes into Canadian society, but the possible assimilation, integration or separation of the Finland-Swedes and the Finnish-speaking Finns of Canada. This gives rise to the second hypothesis:

*Hypothesis 2: Acculturation of the Finland-Swedes falls into a multilinear phenomenon, encompassing strategies of integration and/or assimilation with, or marginalization and/or separation from, a host society, which here includes the identifiable Canadian population as well as the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking immigrant populations.*

To test this hypothesis, comparisons with the work of Berry (1980) and his four varieties of acculturation are made based upon two basic issues involving ethnic/cultural identity and association with out-groups.

### 6.3 The survey instrument

The instrument – a mail-in questionnaire – was developed to assess a variety of information, including the demographic, social, and cultural characteristics of the respondents. Central to the questionnaire was the assessment of attitudes towards other ethnic groups and the determination of the ethnicity and other relevant characteristics of the respondents. A total of 42 questions was posed. Some were open-ended while others were closed questions requiring the respondent to choose one, most appropriate, response. Following the work of McRae, et al. (1988) a question on attitudes was arranged on an 11-point scale. Respondents were instructed that a rating of 0 would express strong negative attitude or sympathy towards specific ethnic groups, while 10 would express strong positive attitude or sympathy towards the ethnic groups listed on the question. A copy of the questionnaire is found in Appendix X.

A second phase of the collection of data included interviews which were conducted with willing and interested questionnaire respondents. A shorter open-ended questionnaire was used to guide the interview visits, which allowed for the collection of pertinent data dealing with local settlement histories, personal migration histories, and other valuable insights into the Finland-Swedish population in Canada.

## 6.4 Survey sample and methodology

According to the 1991 Census of Canada, Canada was home to a total of 975 individuals who claimed a single or multiple Finnish ethnicity and who spoke Swedish as their mother tongue. Given the fact that so few Finland-Swedes by this definition exist in Canada, it was decided to try to reach as many Finland-Swedes as possible through a detailed mail-in survey. In other words, the research aimed at contacting as many of the 975 Finland-Swedes identified by Statistics Canada, and thus sampling the entire population.

By approaching the entire population reported by Statistics Canada, the survey ensures a better representation of the Finland-Swedes in Canada. If a smaller sample was drawn using random sampling, the chance of sampling error would be greater and the sample would be unrepresentative of the true population (Johnston, 1980:15).

Relying initially on the names of early Finland-Swedish settlers to North America documented by Anders Myhrman (1972), many of these names were located from the most recent local telephone directories available for Finn-Swede areas across Canada. Thus names and addresses of many individuals identified by Myhrman were located, while many other identical surnames were found and recorded. Additional sources for prospective respondents included names and addresses obtained through organizational membership lists, church directories, as well as through advertising in ethnic newspapers which reached numerous Finland-Swedes. Finally, personal referrals and contacts were established through personal communications with Finland-Swedes as well as Finnish-speaking Finns across Canada.

A growing list of names was tabulated between 1994-1995 (the final count included a total of 837 names and addresses), and a pilot questionnaire along with a letter of introduction was first administered to some thirty respondents. Responses from these individuals were evaluated and a number of changes were made to the questionnaire. Once the final questionnaire design was fixed, a six-page questionnaire with open and closed questions and a cover letter along with a stamped return envelope were sent to 837 prospective respondents in Canada. The period covered for this mail-out procedure lasted a total of 14 months, from June 1995 to August 1996.

The total response rate of 57% includes a number of questionnaires that were returned by Canada Post as undeliverable (7%), while fewer were returned by respondents who were not Finland-Swedes (5%). With these limitations, the total "usable" responses constitute 45% of all mailed questionnaires (Table 6.1). The geographical distribution of the surveyed Finland-Swedes is noted in Figure 6.1. Once the questionnaires were returned, data analysis was begun.

In the second phase of data collection, interviewees were selected from those who returned questionnaires in which they indicated the desire to receive a summary of results at the end of the research. The otherwise totally anonymous

**Table 6.1 Respondent locations**

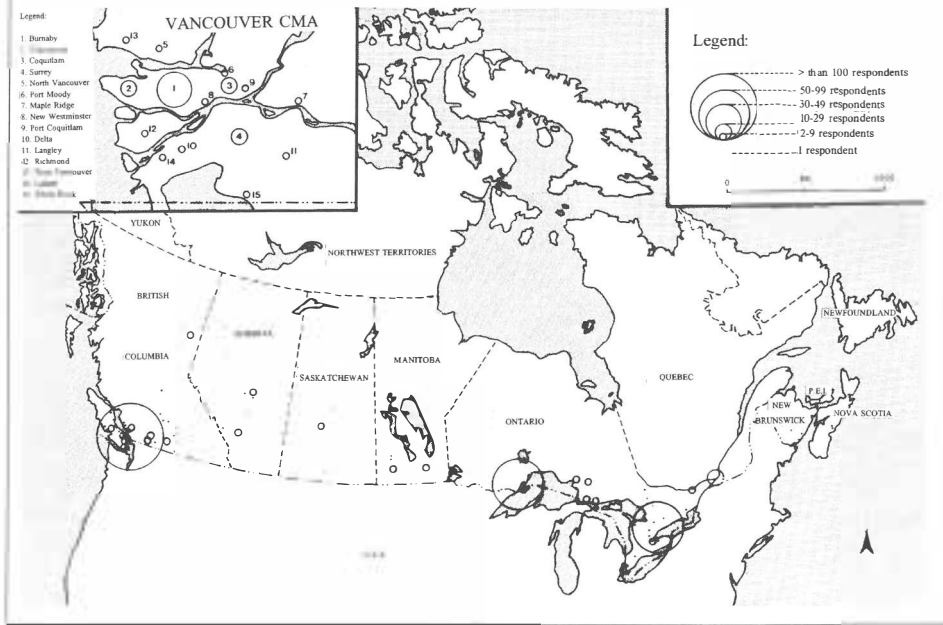
	Returns	sent	% return
British Columbia	164	380	43
Ontario	157	340	46
New Brunswick	3	6	50
Nova Scotia	3	8	38
Quebec	19	21	90
Manitoba	10	32	31
Alberta	13	27	48
Saskatchewan	5	19	26
Yukon & NWT	0	2	0
Prince Edward Island	1	2	50
Responses from non-Finn-Swedes	45		5
Undeliverable	56		7
<b>Grand total (max)</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>837</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>Usable responses</b>	<b>375</b>		<b>45</b>

questionnaire in these cases indicated the name and address of the respondent. Thus, the rationale that "if the respondents want feedback, they might also be willing to participate in an interview" was used. Interviews were held during the summers of 1995 and 1996.

The first set of interviews was held in the Vancouver area, and between May 29 and June 10, 1995, a total of 35 Finland-Swedes were visited. Each respondent was contacted ahead by a letter introducing the research project, and with the help of members of the Order of Runeberg, visits were made to respondents' homes. These, along with collection of data from organization libraries, church offices and archives proved very valuable. During April 29–June 2, 1996, a more extensive visit to Ontario was conducted, during which time a total of 60 individuals were visited. Each interview lasted on average some two hours, but there were occasions when the visit lasted much longer. In Wawa, Ontario, for example, the entire Finland-Swedish community (4 large families with all descendants and relations), organized a pot-luck supper during which time much conversation and "interviewing" was done.

For the statistical analysis of data, only the mail-in questionnaires were used. Data obtained through interviews was applied to the historical examination of the Finland-Swedish population of Canada presented in Chapter 5. Many individuals who were not respondents were also interviewed during the course of this research, all of whom are listed separately in the bibliography.

**Figure 6.1 Distribution of Finland-Swedish sample**  
(See Appendix IX for list of respondent locations and numbers)



## 6.5 Independent variables

A number of questions were asked in the questionnaire survey to provide background information on each respondent. This information was used to make up the independent variables according to which the total sample was broken down, namely: (1) geographic location, (2) ethnic self-identity, (3) socio-economic status, (4) age and sex. The first three variables had multiple indicators. A detailed definition of each of these variables follows.

### 6.5.1 Geographic location

This variable identified the geographic location of the respondents who participated in the mail-in questionnaire, which was shown according to province in Table 6.1.

#### *Metropolitan area*

The concentration of Finnish-speakers along with the Finland-Swedes in three major metropolitan areas in Canada provided the basis for regional comparisons of both ethnolinguistic groups. The 1991 Census showed the highest concentrations of individuals with a single or multiple Finnish identity in Toronto

Table 6.2 Finland-Swedes in three metropolitan areas				
CMA	Survey		1991 Census	
	N	%	N	%
Vancouver	114	50.0	340	64.7
Thunder Bay	58	25.4	10	1.9
Toronto	56	24.6	175	33.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>525</b>	<b>100.00</b>

(12,525), Thunder Bay (12,515) and Vancouver (10,855). In terms of Finland-Swedish identity, Statistics Canada ranks Thunder Bay very low, but since the survey produced higher than "expected" values from the Lakehead, the CMA's chosen included Vancouver, Toronto, and Thunder Bay. A census metropolitan area is the main labour market of a continuously built-up area with a population of at least 100,000 (Table 6.2). This variable will be used to analyze regional differences and shifts in ethnic attitudes and identities, along with the integration of Finland-Swedes and Finns in a more homogeneous and cohesive ethnic group in a later chapter.

6.5.2 Ethnicity

While the definition of ethnicity is not a simple matter, a concise definition was given by Gordon (1964), where ethnicity is seen as a sense of peoplehood based on a group of individuals with shared socio-cultural experiences and/or similar physical characteristics. This would include racial, religious, national and linguistic groups.

Numerous different ways have been utilized in order to differentiate the origin of an individual. Census counts measure ethnicity by the paternal country of origin. However, a number of other options exists as well. These include the self-identity of the individual, along with identity based on the mother tongue spoken by the individual. In this research, ethnicity was determined according to the self-identity chosen by the respondent. As well as three categories of "single" ethnicities which were given as an option (Finnish, Swedish, and Canadian), the hyphenated "Finland-Swede" option was also provided. It needs to be emphasized, that the term "Finland-Swede" is not a traditionally accepted hyphenated identity. The goal of this question was to establish the number of individuals who do, indeed, identify themselves as a distinct ethnicity – which is different from the Finnish or Swedish ethnic categories. To further understand ethnic allegiance, it would have proven valuable to ask each respondent how he/she labelled his/her identity during the past Census counts. Since Statistics Canada do not have data on a category of

**Table 6.3 Respondent origins or claim of ancestral roots**

Country of origin claimed	Survey	
	N	%
Finland	360	96.0
Sweden	5	1.3
United States	3	0.8
No data	7	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.00</b>

"Finland-Swedes", it is quite likely that given the obscurity of the ethnic category in general, many Finland-Swedes may have chosen either a simple Finnish, Swedish, or Canadian identity. This possibility is bolstered by the fact that numerous Finland-Swedes across the country noted that they call themselves Swedes rather than Finns. Factors which have a bearing on this are the generation of the individual and year of arrival in Canada, among others.

### ***Generational status***

One aspect of ethnicity is recency of immigration. The respondents were offered four options:

- 1) *First generation: respondents who were born in Finland.*
- 2) *Second generation: respondents who were born in Canada, with at least one parent born in Finland.*
- 3) *Third generation: respondents who were born in Canada, with at least one grandparent born in Finland.*
- 4) *Fourth generation: respondents who were born in Canada, with at least one great-grandparent born in Finland.*

A number of interesting analyses can be done with generational data. Do generations affect the identity of an individual? Do generations affect the attitudes of Finland-Swedes towards other ethnic groups? Do generations behave differently in terms of maintaining their traditional language, heritage, intergroup associations, and so on. Many of these are analyzed in the following sections.

### ***Ancestral country of origin***

With the majority of respondents arriving from, and claiming ancestral roots in Finland, it is most obvious that Finland must be examined to find any regionalization of the emigration. While this is well shown in Map 1, the influence of Sweden deserves consideration in one specific example. Only five respondents claim Sweden as their country of ancestry (Table 6.3).

A group settlement involving numerous Scandinavians (mostly Swedes), was founded in 1885 near Erickson, Manitoba. This was the Scandinavia Colony, which also was known as New Sweden, and later simply as Scandinavia. Among the settlers, two Finland-Swedish families also found their way to this settlement, arriving in 1893 and 1894 respectively (Forest to Field, 1984; Bethlehem L.C. Records, 1891–1921, Erickson, Manitoba). What is of great interest in terms of the Scandinavia Colony, is the fact that of the five respondents in Canada who claim Swedish roots, four are descendants of the Scandinavia Colony Finland-Swedes.

Considering that only 5 individuals in the entire sample feel that their ancestral roots are in Sweden, the fact that all except one are from Erickson and the Scandinavia Colony settlement is significant. This perhaps illustrates the isolation that these pioneer settlers lived in, along with the lack of knowledge pertaining to the development of Finland as a nation. These are some reasons which may reflect ethnic self-identity. The connection between identity and roots, along with the time of immigration will be examined in a later chapter.

### **6.5.3 Socio-economic variables**

Three questions were used to measure socio-economic variables, which can help in determining ethnic self-identity, maintenance of language, customs, traditions, and so on.

#### ***Occupational status of respondent***

Respondents were asked what kind of work they do or have done. A wide range of occupations were reported, which are here classed into economic activity/industrial categories. These were primary, secondary, tertiary, and quaternary industries, and are based on the Standard Industrial Classification categories. Respondents who were retired often indicated their past occupations, which were also recorded and included in a separate column (Table 6.4). Occupations were further classed according to the Standard Occupational Categories to provide a better understanding of the occupational areas in which Finland-Swedes could be found. A more detailed breakdown of the occupations is found in Chapter 7.

#### ***Family income***

Respondents were asked to indicate the average family income for the past year. According to the 1991 Census, the average family income in Canada was \$52, 000, which led to the formation of 6 separate income ranges. Although a very personal question, only 17% of the respondents declined to answer this question. Thus, a total of 310 individuals participated in this question, and were included in further analyses (Table 6.5).



**Table 6.4 Present and past economic activities of working age and retired respondents**

Category	Present (Working age)		Past (Retired)	
	N	%	N	%
Primary industries	7	2.9	6	4.5
Secondary industries	30	12.3	31	23.7
Tertiary industries	61	25.0	30	23.0
Quaternary industries	99	40.6	41	31.3
Others not categorized	35	14.3	19	14.5
Missing	12	4.9	4	3.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Table 6.5 Annual family income levels**

Level in \$/year	Survey	
	N	%
Under 20,000	34	10.9
20 – 40,000	86	27.7
40 – 60,000	89	28.7
60 – 80,000	42	13.5
80 – 100,000	29	9.4
Over 100,000	30	9.7
Missing observations	65	
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Table 6.6 Educational attainment of respondent**

Educational level	N	%
Elementary school	58	15.7
High school	84	22.7
Vocational school or college	76	20.5
University	126	34.1
Other training	26	7.0
Missing	5	
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Table 6.7 Age of respondent**

Age group	Survey		1991 Census	
	N	%	N	%
Under 18	0	0.0	35	3.6
18–25	9	2.4		
25–35	41	11.0		
35–45	61	16.4	695 <sup>1</sup>	71.6
45–55	63	16.9		
55–65	79	21.2		
Over 65	119	32.0	240	24.7
Missing	3			
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>970</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<sup>1</sup> This includes all individuals aged 18–64.

**Table 6.8 Sex of respondent**

Sex	Survey	
	N	%
Male	182	48.7
Female	192	51.3
Missing	1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.00</b>

***Educational level of respondent***

Respondents were asked to indicate the highest level of education attained, by choosing one of five response categories. Only five individuals did not reply to this question (Table 6.6).

**6.5.4 Age and sex of respondents**

Information on the age and sex of the respondent was also solicited, with age being coded into six categories, ranging from under 18, to over 65. Considering that a high proportion of respondents are over the age 65, it seems obvious that an older generation forms the dominant part of the Finland-Swedish population of Canada who at least identify themselves as Finland-Swedes or as having roots in Finland. This is also verified by the 1991 Census (Table 6.7). However, when the 18–64

age categories are added together, a total of 253 (68.0%) respondents fall into this range, while 695 (71.6%) of the Census Figures includes these age categories.

In order to analyze a very balanced population, it would help to obtain information from both male and female respondents in equal numbers. It is a delight to report that an almost balanced sample responded to the survey. This balance takes away any bias that may have occurred with an over-sampling of one gender (Table 6.8).

According to age then, the survey has been able to contact a consistent group of respondents. This balance follows the national Census Figures fairly closely. In terms of sex, a very balanced population has also responded to the research. A statistically representative sample of Finland-Swedes has thus been contacted, and can now be analyzed further.

## 6.6 Data analysis

Tests indicating statistical significance were used in the analyses of the data. Following similar procedures employed by McRae, Bennett & Miljan (1988:33–36), as well as Berry, Kalin & Taylor (1977:29–30), the purpose of these tests is to decide whether a given empirical outcome could be the result of chance, or whether it reflects reliable results. By applying a test of significance, the probability that a given outcome was due to chance or random variation was obtained. The lower the probability, the higher the significance of the test and the more certain it is that the results are stable and would appear again if a different sample was surveyed. Probability levels are indicated under each Table by asterisks. One asterisk means that a chance outcome could only occur five times in a hundred ( $p .05$ ); two asterisks once in a hundred ( $p .01$ ); and three asterisks once in a thousand ( $p .001$ ).

Statistical tests were used for two major purposes. First, they are applied to determine if differences between various categories of respondents were sufficient in magnitude to be significant and reliable. This involved analysis of variance using the One-way ANOVA procedure, which produces a one-way analysis of variance for an interval-level dependent variable by a single factor (independent) variable. A comprehensive computer based system of social science data analyses, SPSS Version 6.1 for Microsoft Windows was used throughout this study. This computer program was accessed through the University of Saskatchewan computer facilities.

Second, statistical tests were applied to determine how strongly two or more variables were associated or related to each other and whether such relationships were significant. This was done by employing Chi-square tests and correlation coefficients (Phi-coefficient).

Missing observations were treated within the data by marking them simply as missing. The SPSS program used in the data analysis treated missing observations routinely in all statistical analyses.

## 6.7 Conclusions

The methods of this survey involve quantitative and qualitative methods. The first part of the data collection involved a questionnaire survey that collected mostly quantitative data using both open and closed-ended questions. The second phase of data collection involved personal interviews of respondents who were willing to participate in the study in more detail. Additional data and information was received through visits to archival holdings in various locations, collecting photographic evidence of early settlement and individuals, and procuring assistance through correspondence with a variety of individuals and organizations. It is from this methodological background, that the research can continue on with its analysis of Finland-Swedes in Canada.

# **Chapter 7**

## **Descriptive statistics – demographic and socio-economic profile of the sample**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter is divided into five sections dealing with descriptive statistics. The first section deals with the geographic characteristics of the respondent population in Canada, which is compared to the Finnish ethnic distribution based on the 1991 Census data. The second section examines the reasons for Finland-Swedish emigration, while the third section explores various ethnic characteristics based on the ancestral country of origin and ethnic self-identity. Here, a brief study of a small Scandinavian settlement in Manitoba is used to illustrate the changing ethnic self-identity. The third section introduces the influence of the mother tongue and language spoken at home on the Finland-Swedish respondents. The final section deals with various socio-economic characteristics which help describe the respondent population according to education, employment and income.

### **7.2 Geographic characteristics**

Before examining the settlement of Finland-Swedes in Canada, the correlation between the actual Finland-Swedish population based on unpublished 1991 Census sources and the sample population needs to be examined.

The distribution of Finland-Swedes by province of residence as reflected by these two sources is shown in Table 7.1. The two distributions are similar; the largest deviations are 4.6 percent under-sampling in British Columbia and a 5.4 percent over-sampling in Ontario.

**Table 7.1 Finland-Swedish sample population and total population according to province of residence**  
(absolute and percentage values of provincial totals)

Province	Survey		1991 Census*	
	N	%	N	%
British Columbia	164	43.7	470	48.2
Ontario	157	41.8	355	36.4
Quebec	19	5.1	50	5.1
Alberta	13	3.5	50	5.1
Manitoba	10	2.7	20	2.0
Saskatchewan	5	1.3	20	2.0
New Brunswick	3	0.8	10	1.0
Nova Scotia	3	0.8	10	1.0
Prince Edward Island	1	0.3	0	0.0
Yukon & NWT	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>975</b>	<b>100.00</b>

\*This unpublished 1991 Census data was obtained from Statistics Canada, 1995.

**Table 7.2 Swedish and Finnish speaking populations, along with total Finnish population of Canada, 1991**

Province	Mother tongue				Total Finnish pop.*	
	Swedish (N)	%	Finnish (N)	%	(N)	%
British Columbia	470	48.2	6045	21.5	23575	23.8
Ontario	355	36.4	19040	67.8	58110	58.6
Quebec	50	5.1	525	1.9	1705	1.7
Alberta	50	5.1	1300	4.6	9415	9.5
Manitoba	20	2.0	500	1.8	2485	2.5
Saskatchewan	20	2.0	485	1.7	2775	2.8
New Brunswick	10	1.0	85	0.3	370	0.4
Nova Scotia	10	1.0	60	0.2	430	0.4
Yukon & NWT		0.0	40	0.1	275	0.3
Prince Edward Island	0	0.0	10	0.03	60	0.06
Newfoundland	0	0.0	10	0.03	30	0.03
<b>Totals</b>	<b>975</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>28100</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>99215</b>	<b>100.00</b>

\*The total Finnish population also includes individuals who speak a language other than Finnish or Swedish as a mother tongue.

Source: Unpublished 1991 Census Canada data, Ottawa, 1995.

When these geographic distributions are compared to the distribution of Finnish-speaking immigrants in Canada, it is noted that many similarities exist. These involve the dominance of Ontario and British Columbia as the two most favoured provinces for both ethnolinguistic groups. However, with the Finland-Swedes, British Columbia ranks higher than Ontario (Table 7.2).

When urban concentrations are considered, similarities with the Finnish-speaking immigrants also exist (Table 7.3). While Thunder Bay and Toronto have the highest concentration of Finnish-speakers, Vancouver has the highest Finland-Swedish concentration.

Some interesting facts emerge from this data as well. Thunder Bay, with the highest number of Finns in all of Canada, has only 10 Finland-Swedes; while Sudbury with the fourth largest concentration of Finns has no Finland-Swedes. In general, however, Finland-Swedes appear to have located in urban areas in a pattern similar to that of the Finnish-speaking immigrants. A detailed map shows the distribution of Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking Finns in Canada as a percentage of the total ethnolinguistic population (Figures 7.1 and 7.2).

Among rural settlement areas, some differences do emerge. Some of the Finnish colonies, such as New Finland in Saskatchewan appeared to have attracted no Finland-Swedes, while Swedish colonies in Stockholm, Saskatchewan and Scandinavia, Manitoba did attract some Finland-Swedes. These rural settlements are dealt with further in section 7.4.1.

## 7.3 Reasons for Finland-Swedish immigration

A number of general reasons for emigration from Finland was proposed in Chapter 4. The following section is a more detailed analysis of the reasons cited by respondents as to why they or their parents and grandparents migrated to Canada. The most common reason amongst the respondents was simply "economic reasons" at 26.1% of the survey. Jobs were second at 15.6%. Economic reasons do include jobs, and collectively these two reasons account for some 42% of all reasons cited by the respondents (Table 7.4).

A much more interesting analysis of the above reasons for immigration is encountered when the decade of immigration is considered. With the two major immigration waves which occurred during the 1920s and 1950s, some differences are encountered (Table 7.5).

From this Table, it is noted that economic reasons prevailed during both immigration waves, although the percentage share declines from the 1920s to the 1950s. Immigration in order to seek a better life ranked second during the 1920s (13.9%), but during the 1950s, this reason was shared equally with the desire for adventure (16.5%). Political reasons for immigration, along with family ties increased most dramatically between the two periods in question. However, as many respondents indicated "no idea" for the reasons behind the immigrations of

**Table 7.3 Urban distribution of Finland-Swedes and Finns, 1991**

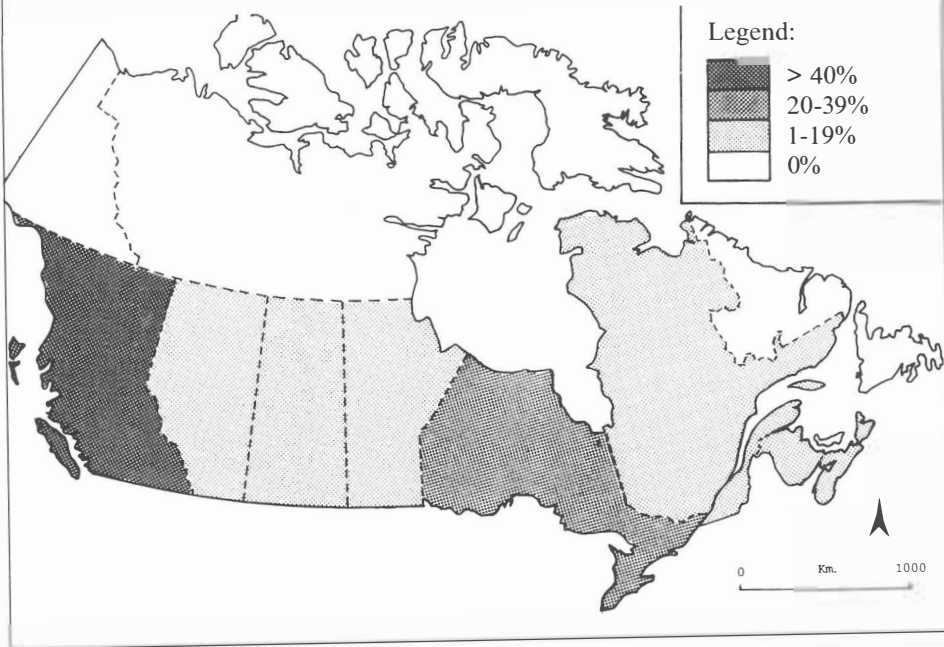
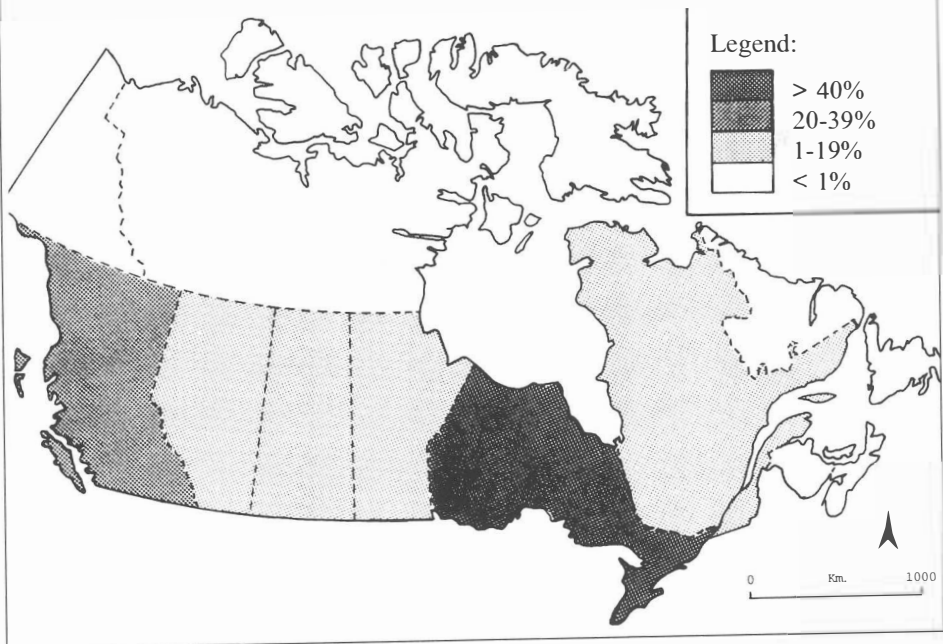
City (CMA)	Finns (N)	Finland-Swedes (N)
Thunder Bay	12370	10
Toronto	12220	175
Vancouver	10415	340
Sudbury	6670	-
Calgary	2790	30
Edmonton	2700	10
Ottawa-Hull	1940	15
Victoria	1675	25
Winnipeg	1660	20
Montreal	1345	35
Hamilton	1280	30
London	1175	-
St. Catherines-Niagara	1020	10
Windsor	905	-
Kitchener	810	20
Oshawa	730	-
Regina	495	10
Saskatoon	490	10
Halifax	205	-
Saint John	50	-
St. John's	20	-

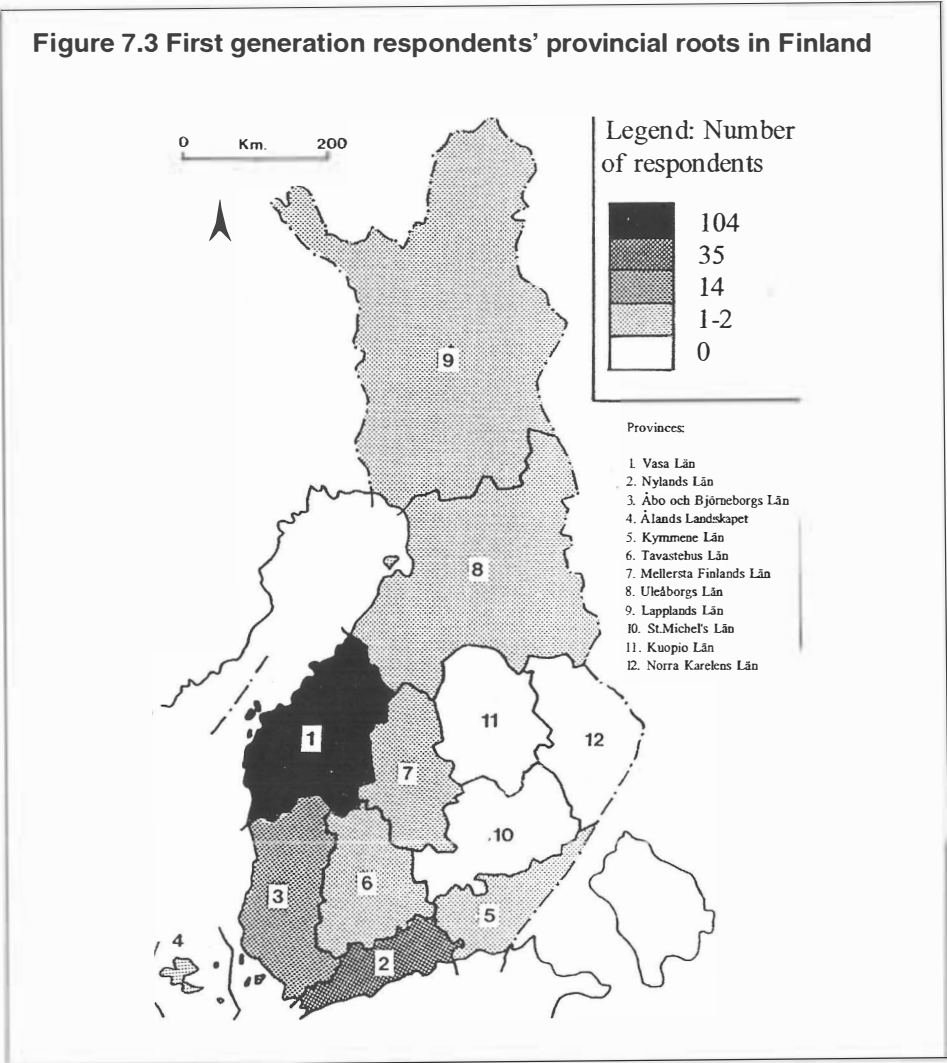
Source: Unpublished Census 1991 material on 21 Census Metropolitan Areas with population over 100,000.

**Table 7.4 Most commonly cited reasons for immigration to Canada**

Reason	Survey (N)	%
Economic reasons	90	26.1
Jobs	54	15.6
Better life	42	12.2
Adventure	34	9.9
Opportunity	29	8.4
No idea	22	6.3
Politics	20	5.8
Family ties	20	5.8
Other reasons	34	9.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>345</b>	<b>100.00</b>



**Figure 7.1 Finland-Swedish population in Canada, 1991****Figure 7.2 Total Finnish-speaking population in Canada, 1991**



their parents or grandparents who arrived during the 1920s, the reasons for immigrating to Canada are better known and well remembered by the immigrants who arrived during the 1950s. This interpretation is supported by the data.

Depending on the decade of immigration, some correlations to economic, political and social conditions in Finland and Canada are possible. Amongst the "other" reasons cited for immigration since the late 1800s, were the opportunity to homestead in the Prairies during the 1890s; avoidance of military service in the Russian army during the first decade of this century; the 1905 General Strike in Finland with its social and political implications; and the avoidance of war during the decade of the Finnish Civil War which occurred in 1917-18.

## 7.4 Ethnic characteristics

With regard to ancestral country of origin, most respondents (96%) indicated their roots as being in Finland, more specifically in the Österbotten region within the Vasa Province which is most heavily populated by Finland-Swedes (Table 7.6). The data here provide an objective classification of the first generation roots and origins (Figure 7.3).

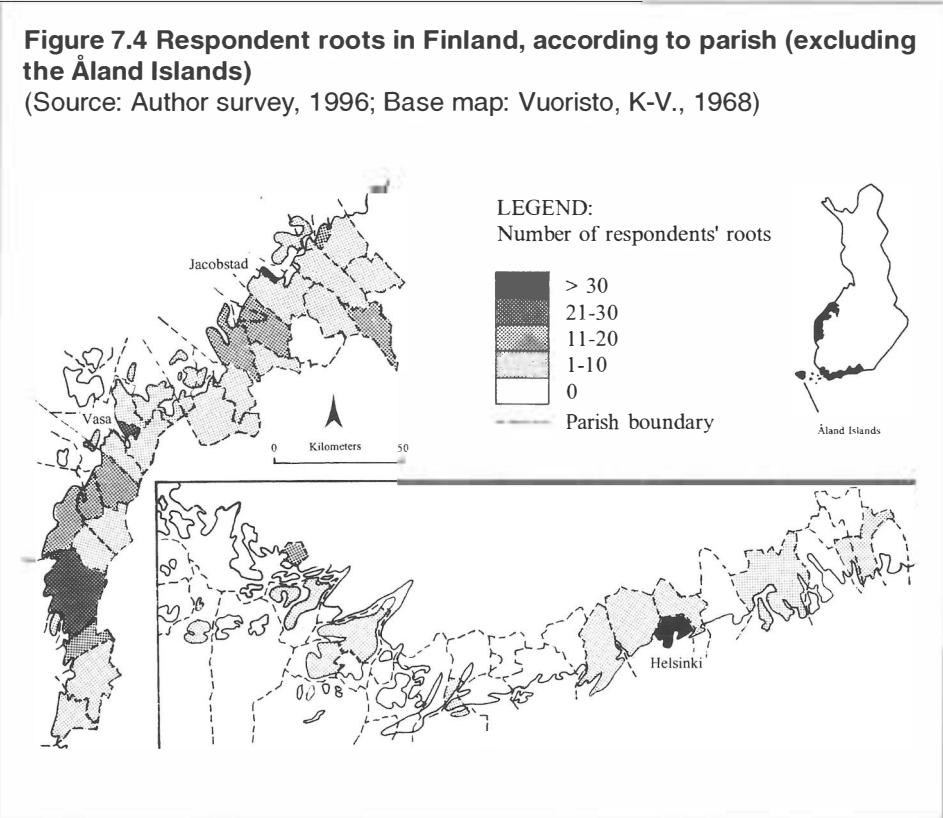
When all responses to the question of roots are analyzed, it emerges that the origins and ancestral roots of Finland-Swedes are concentrated in two urban areas. The cities of Helsinki in the south and Jakobstad on the western coast were the source regions for the highest number of respondents. While these two cities dominated, it is also evident that the Österbotten region in general dominates in the background of a majority of Finland-Swedes (Figure 7.4).

The distribution of the sample according to the self-identity of respondents provides a subjective index and is shown in Table 7.7. This Table measures the identity and association or ties to the land of origin, which again is Finland. Respondents were supplied with five response options to the question "How do you identify yourself?"

It is clear that there has been a "differential drift" in the subjective classification in Table 7.7 from the objective classification which appeared earlier in Table 4.3. (Both subjective and objective classifications are shown below.) Of the 96% with roots in Finland, only 50.1% retain identity as a Finland-Swede. These two Tables indicate that the Finland-Swedish sample has significantly changed their identity to a "Canadian" one.

When ethnic self-identity is crossed with generational status, it becomes evident that a strong association exists between these two variables (Table 7.8). A total of 60.8% of all first generation respondents identify themselves as Finland-Swedish. By the second generation, Finland-Swedish identity had declined to 13.7%, and in the third generation, it is surprising that no respondent identified with this ethnic identity. However, Canadian identity increased from 22.3% in the first generation, to 73.3% in the second generation, and maintained a close level of 72.3% in the third generation. Finnish identity decreases from 9.9% in the first generation to 0.6% in the second, and zero in the third.

Another great surprise is the strength of the Swedish identity, which follows through all three generations, increasing from 2.5% to 3.7% to 12.8% respectively. The "other" category for self-identity included individuals who generally see themselves as Scandinavian-Canadian, Finnish-Canadian, Swedish-Canadian, or some other hyphenated identity, and their proportions also increase from 4.3% to 8.7% to 14.9% through the three generations. Overall, the Canadian identity prevails within the total sample, as 50.9% of the sample identifies themselves with this term. Finland-Swedish identity makes up 32.5% of the total, followed by "other" identities (7.6%), Finns (4.6%), and Swedes (4.3%).



**Table 7.5 Reasons for Finland-Swedish immigration during the major immigration waves of the 1920s and 1950s**

Reason	Immigration decade			
	1921–30		1951–60	
	(N)	%	(N)	%
Economic	44	36.1	23	21.1
Better life	17	13.9	18	16.5
Jobs	12	9.8	14	12.8
Opportunity	11	9.0	8	7.3
Adventure	10	8.2	18	16.5
No idea	10	8.2	1	0.9
Politics	6	4.9	11	10.1
Family ties	2	1.6	7	6.4
Other reasons	10	8.2	9	8.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Table 7.6 First generation respondents' provincial roots in Finland**

Province	Survey	
	N	%
1. Vasa Län	104	64.2
2. Nylands Län	35	21.6
3. Åbo och Björneborg Län	14	8.6
4. Åland Landskapet	2	1.2
5. Kymmene Län	1	0.6
6. Uleåborgs Län	1	0.6
7. Tavastehus Län	1	0.6
8. Mellersta Finlands Län	1	0.6
9. Lapplands Län	1	0.6
10. Kuopio Län	1	0.6
11. Norra Karelen Län	1	0.6
12. St. Michel's Län	1	0.6
Karelia (Russia)	1	0.6
Unspecified	2	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>100.00</b>

In essence, inter-generational mobility has occurred in many instances, where ethnic identity shifts over generations. Intra-generational mobility may also occur where individuals change ethnic identity from one Census period to the next, although this is more difficult to verify. The survey produced a very sizeable cluster of first and second generation respondents, followed by the third generation. No fourth generation respondents were contacted.

#### 7.4.1 Erickson area Finland-Swedes

It was already shown earlier, that of the five Finland-Swedish respondents who claim Swedish roots, four are related to the pioneer settlers of the Scandinavia Colony near Erickson, Manitoba. When ethnic self-identity is added to the analysis, it is noted that although all respondents involve successive generations of the original two families who have their roots in Finland, only one claims a Finland-Swedish identity, while a relatively large number (6) sees themselves as Swedish or Canadian (Table 7.9). Why does this occur?

The reason for a Swedish identity may involve a number of factors. First, the fact that Scandinavia Colony was initiated by the Swedes and attracted mostly Swedes could be a reason for the self-identity presenting itself in this manner (Appendix VII). Figure 7.5 indicates the original homesteads established by the

**Table 7.7 Ethnic identification of respondents and respondent origins**

Identity	Survey		Origins	Survey	
	N	%		N	%
Finnish	17	4.5	Finland	360	96.0
Swedish	17	4.5	Sweden	5	1.3
Finland-Swedes	188	50.1	U. S. A.	3	0.8
Canadian	120	32.0	No data	7	1.9
Other	28	7.5			
No data	5	1.3			
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Table 7.8 Ethnic self-identity vs. generation of respondent<sup>1</sup>**

Generation	Ethnic self-identity						Total
	Finn.	Swe.	Fin-Swe.	Can.	Oth.	Mis.	
First	16	4	98	36	7	2	163
Second	1	6	22	118	14	1	162
Third	0	6	0	34	7	0	47
Missing						3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>375</b>

$$\chi^2 = 151.0 ***$$

d. f. = 8

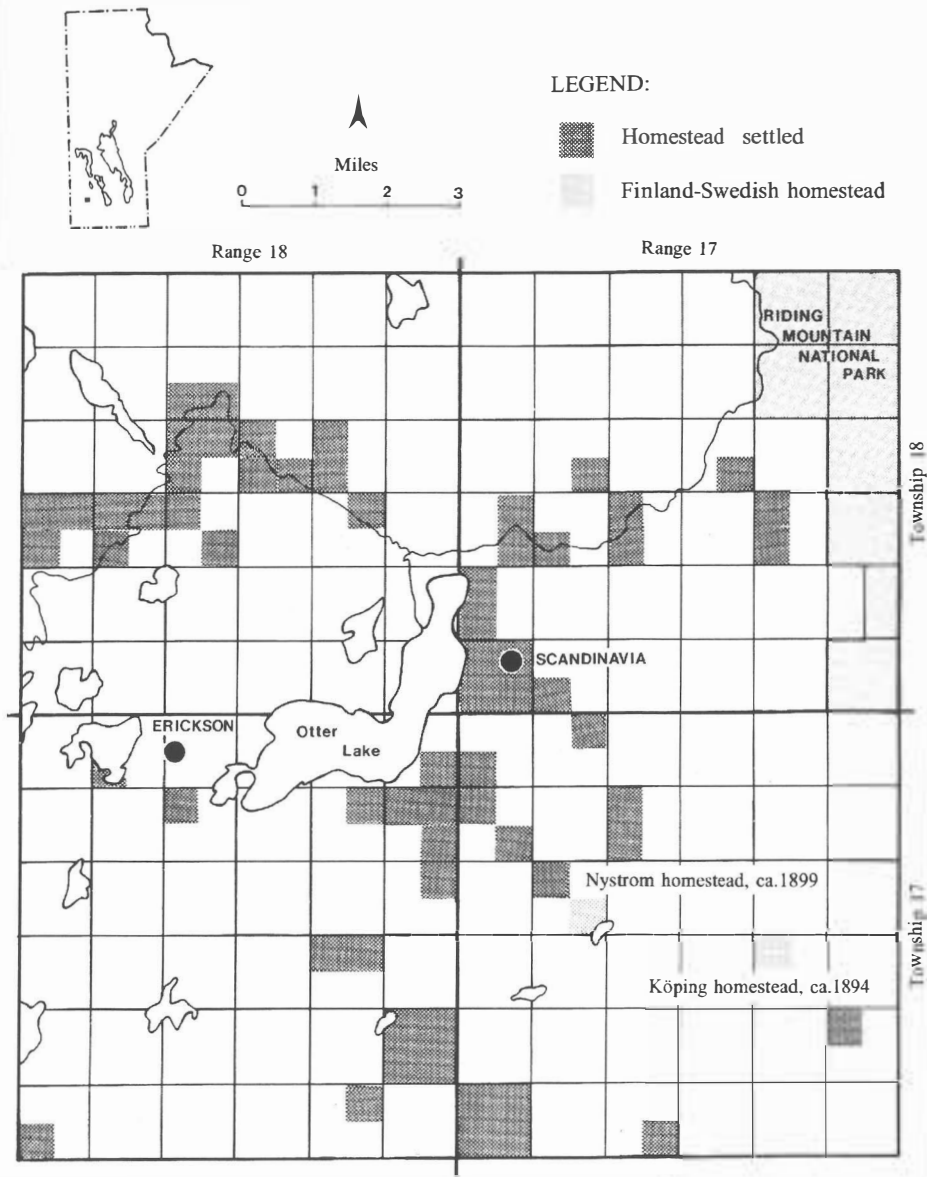
<sup>1</sup> First generation includes Finland-Swedes who were born in Finland. Second generation involves respondents whose one or both parents were born in Finland. Third generation includes respondents who had at least one grandparent born in Finland.

**Table 7.9 Self-identity vs. respondent roots: Erickson, Manitoba area sample**

Self-Identity	Roots in			Total
	Finland	Sweden	USA	
Canadian	1	1	0	2
Finland-Swedish	1	0	0	1
Finnish	0	0	0	0
Swedish	1	3	0	4
Other	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>

**Figure 7.5 Scandinavia colony settlement, ca. 1890, showing Finland-Swedish homesteads**

(Source: Data from Den Scandinaviske Canadiensaren, Vol. 4:37, 1890, p. 1)



**Table 7.10 Ethnic self-identity and mother tongue of respondent**

Self-identity	Mother tongue				Total
	Swedish	Finnish	English	Other	
Finnish	10	5	1	0	16
Swedish	12	0	5	0	17
Finland-Swedes	108	2	7	0	117
Canadian	69	10	106	1	186
Other	10	2	15	0	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>363</b>

Note – Some cell values are too small to allow for significance testing.

**Table 7.11 Ethnic self-identity of respondent vs. mother tongue of respondent's mother**

Self-identity	Mother tongue of mother				Total
	Swedish	Finnish	English	Other	
Finnish	11	5	1	0	17
Swedish	12	0	4	1	17
Finland-Swedes	105	10	0	1	116
Canadian	124	12	43	3	182
Other	16	7	4	1	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>268</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>360</b>

Note – Some cell values are too small to allow for significance testing.

**Table 7.12 Ethnic self-identity of respondent vs. mother tongue of respondent's father**

Self-identity	Mother tongue of father				Total
	Swedish	Finnish	English	Other	
Finnish	6	7	1	0	14
Swedish	12	0	4	0	16
Finland-Swedes	106	5	1	1	113
Canadian	123	12	36	10	181
Other	19	0	5	4	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>266</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>352</b>

Note – Some cell values are too small to allow for significance testing.



**Table 7.13 Language spoken at home, 1996**

Language	Survey	
	(N)	%
Swedish only	7	1.9
Finnish only	7	1.9
English only	224	59.9
Swedish and Finnish	1	0.3
Swedish and English	85	22.7
Finnish and English	11	2.9
English + 1 other language	7	1.9
Swedish, Finnish and English	21	5.6
Swedish, English and 1 other language	4	1.1
Finnish, Swedish, English + 1 more language	7	1.9
Missing data	1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Swedes, Norwegians and Danes who settled the Scandinavia Colony, ca. 1890. By 1894, two Finland-Swedish families had moved in, and although the map does not show it, the area was also further settled by additional Scandinavians – mostly Swedes. Thus, living close to Swedish-speaking immigrants from Sweden may have easily led to the adoption of a Swedish ethnic identity.

Secondly, identity can shift over time, and inter-generational and intragenerational mobility has often been cited as the reason for changes in self-identity. Thirdly, language is an obvious issue. Finns are identified with the Finnish language, while Swedes are identified with the Swedish language, no matter where the dialect may be originally from. Finally, the best explanation for the loss of identity involves the rising Finnish and Swedish nationalism in Finland which reached its peak after 1900. This rise, especially in Finnish nationalism, provided a definite identity for the Finnish-speakers. Prior to 1900, this nationalist spirit was not as prevalent (See Ch. 3).

Thus, through the lives of two families who have their roots in the Swedish-speaking coast of western Finland, we encounter the maintenance of an Old World identity that has not changed over time. This view has also been established by others, such as Harald Runblom (1992) in his work on the Chicago Swedes, where he states:

*It is striking that immigrants from the Nordic countries who arrived in America in the middle of the 1800's had a much less developed sense of their home nations than those who arrived after 1900. . . This is most evident among the Finns and the Norwegians, while the Icelanders already upon arrival in the new country were much more cognizant of their national culture (Runblom, 1992:78).*

**Table 7.14 Education vs. age of respondent**

Age	Highest level of education reached					Total
	Elem.	High	College	Univ.	Other	
Under 18	0	3		5	0	9
18–25	0	4	17	20	0	41
25–35	0	12	12	35	2	61
35–45	1	10	24	25	2	62
55–65	13	31	8	20	7	79
Over 65	44	24	14	19	15	116
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>368</b>

Note – Some cell values are too small to allow for significance testing.

**Table 7.15 Education vs. respondent generation**

Generation	Highest level of education reached					Total
	Elem.	High	Coll.	Univ.	Other	
First	43	28	34	42	13	160
Second	15	44	26	66		162
Third	—	12	16	17	2	47
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>369</b>

$$\chi^2 = 39.496 ***$$

$$d.f = 8$$

## 7.5 Influence of mother tongue and language

Mother tongue is defined as the first language learned by a person. Most often it will be the language spoken at home by the mother, who (more so in the past) remained at home to care for the children. This provides the first contact with any language, and as such, often leads a child to learn the language spoken by the mother. Although often forgotten once school age is reached, many people know that their first language may have been very different from the present language spoken at home. Such is the case with many Finland-Swedish immigrants who arrived in Canada. Thus mother tongue is an important variable which helps in understanding language maintenance and upkeep, as well as the level of language loss. When ethnic self-identity and mother tongue of the respondent are compared, it is noted that 57% of all respondents have Swedish as their mother tongue. The English language is spoken by 36.9% of all respondents as the mother tongue (Table 7.10). When language loss is considered, it is interesting to compare the

significance of the mother tongues of parents with the respondent (Tables 7.11 & 7.12). From these two Tables, it is noted that the mother tongue of mothers vs. fathers is somewhat different. A total of 74.4% of all mothers spoke Swedish as their first language, while 75.5% of the fathers spoke Swedish. English was spoken by only 14.4% and 13.3% of the mothers and fathers respectively. Thus we see that the Swedish language was overwhelmingly present in the lives of the respondents' parents, and in turn was passed on to the respondents as they were children.

However, over time, changes occur to all individuals, and in terms of the language which is presently spoken at home, it is significant that a total of 60% of Finland-Swedes today speak only English at home (Table 7.13). Nearly 23% are bilingual in Swedish and English, and use both languages at home. While some respondents' homes involve a number of languages, including Finnish, the Tables clearly show the decline of the Swedish language. This, in fact, was evident in the interviews conducted across Canada. I encountered not a single individual to whom I could not speak in English, and everyone interviewed had a good command of English.

## 7.6 Socio-economic characteristics

A number of basic socio-economic characteristics of the Finland-Swedish population is considered next. This includes an analysis of educational attainment, employment, and income characteristics, all of which are often a trade-mark of the stereotypical Finland-Swede who is considered "betra folk" (better folk) in Finland. Many of these characteristics can lead to improper conclusions, especially when comparisons to other ethnic groups are sought. The following section attempts to examine the socio-economic position of the Finland-Swedes alone. Thus, comparative analysis is not attempted at this juncture.

### 7.6.1 Educational attainment

Finland-Swedes, as stated earlier, have often been stereotyped with the label of "well-to-do" individuals. Whether these "well-to-do" individuals are encountered in Canada can be partially ascertained by examining their educational background.

According to the data collected through the survey, a majority of respondents have, indeed, reached a relatively high level in their education (See Table 6.6). A total of 61.6% have reached beyond the high school level, with the majority gaining degrees, or have at least pursued some studies in a university setting (34.1%). Only 15.6% of the total has only an elementary school background.

To further indicate the impact of education, the respondent's age is considered with reference to educational attainment (Table 7.14). It is clear that the older respondents have an overall lower level of education, when compared to the

**Table 7.16 Present and past Finland-Swedish occupations according to major occupational groups**  
(1980 Standard Occupational Classification)

Occupational category	Present workforce		Retired	
	(N)	%	(N)	%
<i>Major Group 11</i>				
• Managerial, administrative and related occupations	26	10.6	16	12.2
<i>Major Group 21</i>				
• Occupations in natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	12	4.9	12	9.2
<i>Major Group 23</i>				
• Occupations in social sciences and related fields	9	3.7	3	2.3
<i>Major Group 25</i>				
• Occupations in religion	2	0.8		
<i>Major Group 27</i>				
• Teaching and related occupations	24	9.8	8	6.1
<i>Major Group 31</i>				
• Occupations in medicine and health	17	6.9	2	1.5
<i>Major Group 33</i>				
• Artistic, literary, and recreational and related occupations	9	3.7		
<i>Major Group 41</i>				
• Clerical and related occupations	26	10.6	12	9.2
<i>Major Group 51</i>				
• Sales occupations	18	7.4	3	2.3
<i>Major Group 61</i>				
• Service occupations	12	4.9	8	6.1
<i>Major Group 71</i>				
• Farming, horticultural and animal husbandry occupations	4	1.6	1	0.8
<i>Major Group 73</i>				
• Fishing, trapping and related occupations	2	0.8	2	1.5
<i>Major Group 75</i>				
• Forestry and logging occupations	1	0.4	3	2.3
<i>Major Group 77</i>				
• Mining and quarrying including oil and gas field occupations				
<i>Major Group 81/82</i>				
• Processing occupations	5	2.0	8	6.1
<i>Major Group 83</i>				
• Machining and related occupations	1	0.4	5	3.8

<i>Major Group 85</i>				
•Product fabricating, assembling and repairing occupations	7	2.9	5	3.8
<i>Major Group 87</i>				
•Construction trade occupations	17	6.9	13	9.9
<i>Major Group 91</i>				
•Transport equipment operating occupations	5	2.0	7	5.3
<i>Major Group 93</i>				
•Material handling and related occupations				
<i>Major Group 95</i>				
•Other crafts and equipment operating occupations	1	0.4		
<i>Major Group 99</i>				
•Occupations not elsewhere classified	24	9.8	19	14.5
Unemployed	1	0.4		
Students	9	3.6		
No data	12	4.9	4	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.00</b>

younger age categories. A total of 58.6% have achieved elementary or high school education. However, it is still significant that a total of 28% of respondents over 65 years of age have achieved college or university level education. The younger age categories indicate an increase in educational attainment. A higher proportion has studied in universities; this has helped them attain certain employment positions which are indicative of the educational background. When the generation of the respondent is considered, it becomes obvious that elementary education is the dominant level achieved by the older first generation members (Table 7.15). However, numerous first generation respondents fall into age categories below 65 years, as is seen by the distribution of post-secondary education.

Of all first generation respondents, 26.8% have reached elementary school status, 17.5% graduated from high school, 21.2% achieved college diplomas, 26.3% received university education, and 8.1% undertook other educational training. Among the second generation, the largest proportion of respondents had received a university education. A total of 40.7% has received university education, followed by high school (27.1%), college education (16%), elementary education (9.2%), and other training (6.7%). In the third generation, those with either university or college education accounted for 70.2% of the sample, followed by high school graduates (25.5% of the respondents). Only 4.2% have undertaken other educational training.

**Table 7.17 Most commonly occurring occupations of respondents presently employed and retired**

Occupation	Employed		Occupation	Retired	
	(N)	%		(N)	%
1. Homemaker	18	7.3	1. Homemaker	14	10.6
2. Teacher	17	6.9	2. Engineer	9	6.8
3. Nurse	9	3.7	3. Accountant	7	5.3
4. Secretary	9	3.7	4. Carpenter	7	5.3
5. Student	9	3.7	5. Secretary	5	3.8
6. Contractor	6	2.5	6. Teacher	5	3.8
7. Engineer	6	2.5	7. Logger	4	3.1
8. Entrepreneur	6	2.5	8. Railway engineer	4	3.1
9. Accountant	4	1.6	9. Entrepreneur	3	2.3
10. Carpenter	4	1.6	10. Seamstress	3	2.3
11. Doctor/dentist	4	1.6	11. Maid	3	2.3
12. Professor	4	1.6	12. Welder	3	2.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>39.3</b>		<b>67</b>	<b>51.1</b>

### 7.6.2 Employment of Finland-Swedes

When considering socio-economic factors, it is essential to examine the various occupations held by the Finland-Swedish population. In Chapter 6, employment was classed according to industries, which indicated a move towards more quaternary industry categories, while the primary and secondary industries were less well represented when presently employed and retired respondents were tabulated (Table 6.4).

By classifying the occupations of the respondents presently employed according to the Standard Occupational Classification, it is noted that three major occupational classes dominate the employment structure (Table 7.16).

These include positions in the areas of managerial, administrative and related occupations (10.6%); clerical and related occupations (10.6%); and teaching and related occupations (9.8%). Among the most commonly occurring single occupations, it is surprising to find that 19 teachers and 4 professors make up the majority of the education related positions. Nine secretaries belong to the clerical and related occupations category. Nearly 40% of all employees are found in a dozen occupations. Two of these also include students as well as homemakers. The most commonly occurring occupations are listed in Table 7.17.

When the retired Finland-Swedes are considered, it is noted that with this group, four major occupational categories dominate. These include the managerial, administrative and related occupations (12.2%); construction trades occupations (9.9%); clerical and related occupations (9.2%) and occupations in the natural

**Table 7.18 Past and present economic activity of Finland-Swedes in Canada, according to industrial categories**

Industry	Respondents presently			
	Retired (N)	%	Employed (N)	%
Primary	6	4.7	7	3
Secondary	31	24.4	30	12.9
Tertiary	30	23.6	62	26.7
Quaternary	41	32.3	99	42.7
Unclassified*	19	15.0	34	14.7
No data	4		12	
<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>100.00</b>

\* This category includes homemakers and housewives.

**Table 7.19 Family income vs. education**

Income	Highest level of education reached					Total
	Elem.	High	Coll.	Univ.	Other	
Under \$20,000	17	8	3	4	1	33
\$20 – \$40,000	22	29	17	11	6	85
\$40 – \$60,000	3	17	22	39	8	89
\$60 – \$80,000	1	11	11	19	0	42
\$80 – \$100,000	1	4	4	17	3	29
Over \$100,000	0	2	6	21	1	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>308</b>

Note – Some cell values are too small to allow for significance testing.

sciences, engineering and mathematics (9.2%) (See Table 5.13). Among the most commonly occurring single occupations amongst the retired Finland-Swedes are engineers (6.8%), accountants (5.3%), and carpenters (5.3%). It is noted that more occupations in the processing and construction categories are encountered amongst the retired population. Occupations as loggers and sawmill workers, railway/train engineers, seamstresses and housemaids have historical importance among the early settlers who often found positions with the forestry companies, railways and as domestics. Of all 131 retired individuals, the dozen most commonly occurring occupations account for over 50% of the entire retired sample (Table 7.17).

Overall, the occupational status of the Finland-Swedes has changed over time. Earlier settlers were involved in the primary and secondary industries, namely logging, construction, and domestic services (Table 7.19). With the increase in educational backgrounds and general improvement in the socio-economic conditions, occupations in education and health have increased dramatically and led to a stronger representation in the quaternary activities, while the number employed in the tertiary industries have increased only slightly. With these changes, family income levels have increased and followed a similar pattern of improvement.

### **7.6.3 Respondent family income**

The final measure of socio-economic status relates directly to levels of income. A moderately strong correlation exists between the educational level reached and family incomes. This correlation seems logical, since higher-paying positions in the workforce are most often associated with higher educational levels. Teaching positions which are so numerous among employed Finland-Swedes required university education, while the salary level of teachers is traditionally better than that of blue-collar positions. A distinct pattern emerges from the data (Table 7.19).

The majority of individuals (70%) who earn over \$100,000/year have received university education. Conversely, a total of 51.5% of individuals who earn less than \$20,000/year have an elementary school background. The trend appears consistent when moving from the lower income categories to the highest.

Finally, the range of incomes is close to a normal distribution. With the average Canadian income level of \$52,000/year (1991 Census), the Finland-Swedish population appears to follow the Canadian average closely.

## **7.7 Conclusions**

Among the geographic characteristics to which this research points, are the similarities in population distribution between the Finland-Swedes and the Finnish-speaking immigrants. Provincially as well as in terms of urban populations, the two ethnolinguistic groups appear to share similar patterns. There are a few exceptions, such as the rural settlements in southeastern Saskatchewan and western Manitoba which show a difference in settlement patterns and locational decisions.

The reasons for Finland-Swedish immigration to Canada is considered according to the responses to the questionnaire. A number of possibilities exist, but the most overwhelming response relates to economic well-being. When reasons for immigration are considered for the two major migration waves which occurred in



the 1920s and 1950s, some interesting changes occur in family ties and politics which caused a higher proportion of immigration after the Second World War, compared to the inter-war period. Finally, some interesting historical correlations are indicated by some of the other reasons which were cited by respondents, some of whose forefathers arrived in Canada as early as the late 1800s.

Ethnic characteristics indicate a decline in self-identity as Finland-Swedes. Immigrants who are part of the first generation hold on to their Finland-Swedish identities the best, while a total loss of identity occurs with the third generation. Swedish identity appears stronger with the third generation as compared to Finnish or Finland-Swedish, and some reasons are given to explain this development. Canadianization is prevalent across the generations.

The influence of mother tongue and language also indicates a decline in identity as Finland-Swedes. The language spoken at home is most often English; this affects self-identity and the eventual upkeep of the original mother tongue – Swedish.

Socio-economic characteristics of educational background, employment in occupations, as well as family income levels all work together to develop a socio-economic profile of the Finland-Swedes in Canada. The last section of this chapter has shown that while the occupations held by presently retired respondents indicate some ties to the historical trend in occupations of the past, the presently employed Finland-Swedes have gained many respected occupations. With more schooling, better jobs and incomes are encountered. In the end, it does appear that the Finland-Swedes in Canada have attained a good and respected socio-economic status in many areas.



# Chapter 8

## Attitudes towards ethnic and national groups

### 8.1 Introduction

In order to test the first hypothesis established in Chapter 6, this chapter deals with the attitudes of Finland-Swedes towards other ethnic and national groups, and in particular the attitudes of the Finland-Swedes towards the Finnish-speaking immigrants. The analysis of data follows closely the work of McRae, Bennett & Miljan (1988), but also expands to include generational shifts in attitudes along with a geographically regionalized analysis of attitudes in the three largest Finland-Swedish concentrations of Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto. The influence of independent variables such as age and gender, education, employment and income are also considered.

### 8.2 Stereotyping

It is important to begin by reminding the reader of the historical antagonisms and differences the Finland-Swedes and Finns have experienced over the centuries. Both ethno-linguistic groups exhibit stereotypes for each other, as was shown in Chapter 3.

The social processes which have raised the Finnish-speaking majority into a dominant position in higher social strata in Finland did not develop without conflict between the two language groups. Indeed, aggressive attitudes against the other language group could be observed particularly during the period between the two world wars. Since the Second World War this language controversy has lost some of its acuteness (Fougstedt & Hartman, 1965:34). Still, the language climate during the last 20 years has not been harmonious. One of the more exceptional examples of a hate of Swedish was the suggestion made by a Member of Parliament, in the summer of 1990, that the Åland Islands be exchanged for Soviet Karelia (Tandefelt, 1992:34).

**Table 8.1 Sympathy scores towards selected ethnolinguistic groups, Finnish and Swedish samples, 1983**  
(averages, on a scale from 0–100\*)

Finnish sample		Swedish sample	
Target group	Score	Target group	Score
1. Finns	92	1. Finland-Swedes	92
2. Sami (Lapps)	86	2. Norwegians	85
3. Norwegians	80	3. Sami (Lapps)	78
4. Estonians	78	Finns	78
5. Finns in Sweden	77	5. English	76
6. Hungarians	76	6. Swedes	75
7. English	75	7. French	71
8. French	74	8. Estonians	70
9. Japanese	73	9. Japanese	67
10. Swedo-Finns	67	10. Hungarians	66
11. Swedes in Sweden	65	11. Finns in Sweden	65
12. Germans	60	Germans	65
13. Gypsies	52	13. Gypsies	47
<b>Mean (all groups)</b>	<b>73.4</b>		<b>71.9</b>

\* Non-responses excluded

Source: McRae, Bennett, Miljan (1988).

In McRae et al.'s 1988 Gallup survey dealing with intergroup sympathies, the results were interesting and unexpected. The most obvious result indicated that while Swedish-speaking Finns ranked their Finnish-speaking fellow citizens highly, this sympathy was not reciprocated (Table 8.1). Rather, the Finnish-speakers showed lower sympathy scores towards the Swedish-speakers. These findings do not follow with accepted theories on attitude balance and reciprocity, introduced earlier in Chapter 2.

This result in terms of sympathies points towards a basic asymmetry in attitudinal patterns between the Finnish speakers and Swedish speakers. McRae concludes that possible reasons for these asymmetrical ratings could be sought in historical memories of Swedish supremacy; in ideological cleavages that touched off a civil war in 1918; in surviving stereotypes of Swedish-speakers as an economically privileged class; in the current position of the Swedish-speakers as a small and almost invisible minority; in patterns of socialization and the educational curriculum; or in some combination of these and perhaps other factors (McRae et al., 1988:14).

While higher socioeconomic status of Finland-Swedes today is not as evident in the upper classes, in the Finnish majority's mind, a "typical Finland-Swede" can

**Table 8.2 Finland-Swedish sympathy scores towards ethnic and national groups, 1996**  
(averages, on a scale from 0–100\*)

Target group	Score	N
1. Finland-Swedes	92.4	302
2. Canadians	91.6	301
3. Swedes	88.5	301
4. Norwegians	87.5	292
5. Finns	87.0	300
6. Danes	85.3	286
7. English	81.8	291
8. Americans	79.1	294
9. Estonians	78.8	275
10. Hungarians	75.7	277
11. Germans	73.9	291
12. Japanese	73.4	284
13. French	69.7	284
<b>Average (all groups)</b>	<b>81.9</b>	

\*Non-responses excluded

only be a man of means (Tandefelt, 1992:25). This stereotype is in fact so strong that even Swedish-speakers who do not meet the criteria sometimes feel that they are less Finland-Swedish than others (Herberts, 1988). With such strong stereotypes present even today among Finland-Swedes and Finns, it seems that the ethnic relations are strained. It should not be surprising then, to discover these attitudes in Canada as well. Some sources which point to the presence of Old World attitudes include studies that examine co-existence of Finland-Swedes and Finns (Park & Miller, 1921; Syrjämäki, 1940; Mattson, 1977; Wargelin, 1984).

### 8.3 Inter-ethnic attitudes

The analysis of data relating to attitude scores was achieved by taking the average value of each ethnic and national group. The computer calculated the mean scores, excluding cases pairwise, where cases or observations with no missing values for variables in a cell are included in the analysis of that cell. The case may have missing values for variables used in other cells. The result of this procedure is consistent with McRae, where non-responses are excluded from the analysis. Thus, the mean sympathy scores is the average of attitude scores given by each respondent for any particular ethnic or national group. For example, respondents were most familiar with the Finland-Swedes, and provided attitude scores a total

**Table 8.3 Finland-Swedish sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups in Canada, according to generation**  
(averages, on a scale from 0–100\*)

Target group	I	II	III	Overall	(N)	F-ratio
Finland-Swedes	94.2	91.6	89.2	92.4	(302)	2.54
Canadians	90.7	92.2	91.8	91.6	(301)	.32
Swedes	87.3	89.2	89.2	88.5	(301)	.48
Norwegians	86.7	88.6	86.4	87.5	(292)	.45
Finns	85.5	87.7	89.0	87.0	(300)	.69
Danes	84.0	86.1	86.5	85.3	(286)	.43
English	79.2	83.7	83.2	81.8	(291)	1.46
Americans	78.8	80.3	75.6	79.1	(294)	.71
Estonians	77.7	79.7	78.9	78.8	(275)	.20
Hungarians	71.4	78.0	80.2	75.7	(277)	2.63
Germans	71.0	76.1	75.8	73.9	(291)	1.41
Japanese	69.2	75.3	79.0	73.4	(284)	2.33
French	67.8	70.6	71.5	69.7	(284)	.36
<b>Averages</b>						
<b>(all groups)</b>	<b>80.3</b>	<b>83.0</b>	<b>82.8</b>	<b>81.9</b>		
<b>max n =</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>302</b>		

\*Non-responses excluded

of 301 times. However, Estonians are not as well known, and only 283 respondents gave a sympathy score for members of this ethnic group. As stated earlier, this is exactly how McRae also conducted his data analysis (McRae, 1996).

In examining the total Finland-Swedish sample, it is noted that the ethnocentrism theory holds true. Within the total sample, the Finland-Swedes rank themselves highest above all other ethnic groups with a rating of 92.4 (Table 8.2).

While the Finland-Swedes in Finland ranked Finns in third place, in Canada, the Finns rank fifth, behind the Canadians, Swedes and Norwegians. Some of the reasons why the Finns rank so low may include the memories of history from Finland, the lack of knowledge of one another in Canada, and the continued separation that exists between the two language groups in Canada. However, a more interesting analysis involves shifts in sympathy scores when the respondents are separated according to generation.

By separating the attitudes according to generation, it is seen that shifts occur for all ethnic and national groupings. Some groups increase their sympathy scores while others decline. In the case of the Finnish ethnic group in Canada, an increasing trend towards better attitudes is apparent (Table 8.3).

A number of trends appear in this Table. First, the Finland-Swedes hold their sympathy for themselves in first place only in the first generation. Each following

**Table 8.4 Overall changes in attitudes towards other ethnic and national groups in Canada, over three generations**

Target group	Generational change in attitude (+/-)		Overall 1-3
	1-2	2-3	
Finland-Swedes	- 2.6	- 2.3	- 4.9
Canadians	+ 1.5	- 0.4	+ 1.1
Swedes	+ 1.9	+ 0.0	+ 1.9
Norwegians	+ 1.9	- 2.2	- 0.3
Finns	+ 2.2	+ 1.3	+ 3.5
Danes	+ 2.1	+ 0.4	+ 2.5
English	+ 4.5	- 0.5	+ 4.0
Americans	+ 1.5	- 4.7	- 3.2
Estonians	+ 2.2	- 0.8	+ 1.4
Hungarians	+ 6.6	+ 2.2	+ 8.8
Germans	+ 5.1	- 0.3	+ 4.8
Japanese	+ 6.1	+ 3.7	+ 9.8
French	+ 2.8	+ 0.9	+ 3.7
<b>Overall change</b>	<b>+ 35.8</b>	<b>- 2.7</b>	<b>+ 33.1</b>

generation shows a decline in ethnocentrism, while the attitude and sympathy towards the Canadian nationality increases in the second generation and declines only somewhat in the third generation. Still, at the third generation level, the Canadians receive the highest sympathy scores of all groups, at 91.8.

Secondly, the Swedes receive higher sympathy scores with each successive generation, and share second place with the Finland-Swedes in the third generation with a score of 89.2. The Finns rank in fifth place in the first generation with a score of 85.5, but by the third generation, this level of sympathy has risen to third place at 89.0, very close to the Swedes and Finland-Swedes.

The Tables indicate a definite improvement in attitudes towards some of the other ethnic and national groups (Table 8.4). The greatest increases over the three generation period are in attitudes towards the Japanese (+9.8), the Hungarians (+8.8), the Germans (+4.8), and the English (+4.0). On the opposite side, we note the decline in attitudes towards the Finland-Swedes (-4.9), the Americans (-3.5), and the Norwegians (-0.3).

While none of the sympathy scores for any ethnic group across the three generations show significant F-ratios, two groups showed significance at the .05 level between the first and second generation scores. These include the Finland-Swedes, who were the only ethnic group to decline (-2.6) from 94.2 to 91.6. The Hungarians were the second group to show significance, by gaining more sympathy between the two generations (+6.6).

**Table 8.5 Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to gender**

Target group	Gender		F-ratio
	Male	Female	
1. Finland-Swedes	91.4	93.3	1.65
2. Canadians	90.2	92.8	2.49
3. Swedes	86.4	90.4	4.50*
4. Finns	85.5	88.4	1.81
5. Norwegians	84.6	90.3	7.84**
6. Danes	82.3	88.1	5.84*
7. English	79.9	83.7	2.30
8. Americans	77.0	81.1	2.59
9. Estonians	74.9	82.7	7.43**
10. Hungarians	70.7	80.6	10.39 **
11. Germans	70.0	77.8	6.83**
12. Japanese	68.3	78.3	9.03**
13. French	65.4	73.9	6.05*
<b>Average (all groups)</b>	<b>78.9</b>	<b>84.7</b>	

Some of the reasons for these improvements in attitude may include better association with the groups in question, which is most often assisted by the use of a single, dominant language – English. With the use of one common language comes acceptance, which is easier, especially when distant pasts and histories are not known.

Indeed, according to Smith and Bond (1994:180), language is an important medium for eliciting ethnically charged responses both for those who use the language and those who hear it. The increasing use of English as "the language of wider communication" (Naisbitt and Aburdene, 1990) amongst the Finland-Swedes and the Finns may defuse some of the past antagonisms, especially when the English language becomes more detached from any particular ethnic group.

It is also highly possible, that the younger generation is oblivious to the past, which would otherwise colour their views. Lack of knowledge, interestingly enough, becomes a vehicle for improving ethnic relations.

## 8.4 The effect of gender on sympathy scores

The question of gender in attitudes has been examined in the past. As early as 1928, Emory Bogardus explained the gender difference in attitudes towards racial groups. The conclusions of his study indicated that women react more sympathetically and have less prejudice than do men towards immigrants, and



other racial and ethnic groups (Bogardus, 1928: 192). Indeed, McRae et al. also included gender in their attitude study, and concluded that what stands out first and most consistently is that women rate every group more positively than men in both samples (Finns and Finland-Swedes), without a single exception (McRae, Bennett & Miljan, 1988:10).

It should then come as no surprise that within the Finland-Swedish population in Canada, a similar result is encountered (Table 8.5). The differences are as noticeable with this Table as with McRae's results. Without exception, the female respondents ranked the ethnic and national groups higher in sympathy than did the men. Most significant differences occur in attitude towards the Japanese (+10.0) and Hungarians (+9.9). The smallest margin of difference between the sexes involves the sympathy scores towards the Finland-Swedes (+1.9) and the Canadians (+2.6). Why the female respondents react this way is a question beyond the scope of this dissertation.

## 8.5 The effect of age on sympathy scores

By age groups (Table 8.6), the pattern of responses is much more mixed. The highest average sympathy score of 94.4 for all ethnic and national groups is shared between the sympathies towards the Finland-Swedes by the over 65 year old respondents and towards the Japanese by the 18–25 year old respondents. The sympathy towards Canadians ranks third (94.2) amongst the respondents in the over 65 year age category.

The lowest average sympathy scores appears towards the French. The 55–65 year old respondents as well as the over 65 year old respondents give sympathy scores of 64.3 and 65.5 respectively. The Japanese follow with 67.0 amongst the over 65-year old category, and the Americans, who receive a sympathy score of 68.6 from the 25–35 year old respondents.

Among trends over the age groups, it is noticed that while most ethnic and national groups receive fairly even values across the age spectrum, only two groups receive an increase in sympathies from the 18–25 year old category to the over 65-year old category. These include the Finland-Swedes and the Canadians, who accumulate a net increase of +2.2 and +0.9 respectively. The sympathies towards all other groups declines with age. The most significant decline in attitude occurs amongst the 18–25 and 25–35 year age categories. The sympathy scores towards the Americans drops by 20.3 points, while the sympathy score towards the French drops by 18.3 points. A few ethnic and national groups receive increased sympathy scores during some age categories, but the increases are in a minority in comparison to the overwhelming negative trend. The greatest drop in sympathy scores through all age groups occurs with attitudes towards the Japanese (-27.4) and the Hungarian (-21.8) ethnic groups.

**Table 8.6 Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to age**

Target group	Age						Mean	F-ratio
	18–25	25–35	35–45	45–55	55–65	65→		
1. Finn-Swedes	92.2	91.3	91.2	93.1	90.5	94.4	92.3	.79
2. Canadians	93.3	88.4	90.0	89.4	92.3	94.2	91.5	1.33
3. Swedes	92.2	88.2	90.2	86.7	86.0	90.1	88.4	.79
4. Norwegians	92.2	87.3	88.8	88.1	84.2	88.8	87.6	.69
5. Finns	93.3	86.8	89.2	87.0	85.5	86.1	86.9	.45
6. Danes	93.3	85.7	87.9	85.6	81.7	85.6	85.4	.82
7. English	92.2	81.8	84.8	81.3	78.5	81.9	81.9	.88
8. Americans	88.9	68.6	81.1	76.5	80.0	82.2	78.9	2.78
9. Estonians	92.2	79.1	84.3	80.8	75.9	74.8	78.8	1.69
10. Hungarians	92.2	78.9	82.3	77.9	71.0	70.4	75.7	2.59*
11. Germans	90.0	77.4	76.7	76.0	69.4	70.9	73.9	1.67
12. Japanese	94.4	78.9	77.8	75.0	70.2	67.0	73.4	2.52*
13. French	87.8	69.5	76.9	65.5	64.3	70.0	69.6	1.87
<b>Averages</b>	<b>91.9</b>	<b>81.7</b>	<b>84.7</b>	<b>81.8</b>	<b>79.2</b>	<b>81.3</b>		

From this Table, it is concluded that age distinctly affects sympathies towards other ethnic groups. Only the sympathy scores towards the Finland-Swedes and Canadians increase with the age of the respondents, while all others decline in strength. This may indicate a lack of openness, lack of knowledge and/or education, lack of contact, as well as the "old way of life" which includes old attitudes and beliefs which influence the attitudes of the older respondents. While the range of sympathy values amongst the youngest age category is only between 92.2–87.8 and shows very close proximity to one another, the range of sympathy scores fall between 94.4–70.0 amongst the oldest respondents.

## 8.6 The effect of education on sympathy scores

A common finding for many attitudes is that those higher in status, especially those with higher educational attainment, have more open, tolerant or liberal views (Berry & Laponce, 1994:311). According to Berry, Kalin & Taylor (1980:275), higher status respondents hold more positive attitudes towards other cultural groups than do those of lower socio-economic status. These differences are particularly evident for educational level, but the same pattern is generally exhibited for occupational status and income measures as well (Smith & Bond, 1994:195).

**Table 8.7 Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to educational background of respondent**

Target group	Educational attainment*					Mean	F-ratio
	1	2	3	4	5		
1. Finn-Swedes	94.1	95.1	93.0	90.0	90.5	92.4	1.89
2. Canadians	96.0	94.8	92.7	86.5	94.5	91.6	5.65***
3. Swedes	88.6	90.9	90.5	86.3	84.8	88.5	1.31
4. Norwegians	87.3	90.8	89.5	85.5	81.9	87.5	1.59
5. Finns	82.7	87.6	89.4	86.8	88.0	86.9	.84
6. Danes	80.3	87.6	87.7	84.9	83.0	85.3	1.07
7. English	83.5	86.2	80.6	80.0	78.1	81.8	1.08
8. Americans	83.1	85.6	77.3	74.4	79.0	79.0	3.27**
9. Estonians	75.6	80.2	78.7	78.6	82.1	78.8	.29
10. Hungarians	72.8	79.8	78.0	72.9	74.2	75.7	.92
11. Germans	74.7	74.5	77.1	72.0	69.0	73.9	.60
12. Japanese	69.2	77.0	77.9	70.2	71.1	73.3	1.22
13. French	71.7	70.3	66.9	69.1	75.3	69.6	.37
<b>Averages</b>	<b>81.5</b>	<b>84.6</b>	<b>89.9</b>	<b>79.8</b>	<b>80.9</b>		

\* 1 = Elementary education

2 = High school education

3 = Technical/Vocational college education

4 = University education

5 = Other education and training

Amongst the Finland-Swedes in Canada, the results are variable, and do not show a consistent pattern of improved attitudes from lower to higher levels of educational attainment (Table 8.7). In fact, the trends appear quite varied, and do not follow the views noted above.

For respondents with only elementary education, the sympathy scores vary, with seven of thirteen ethnic and national groups receiving sympathy scores above the overall averages. When respondents with high school education are considered, the sympathy scores are all higher than the overall average scores. In comparing this with respondents who have received college education, nine groups receive sympathy scores which rank above the overall mean scores. When the university educated respondents are compared with the overall mean sympathy scores for all ethnic and national groups, it is noted that without exception, all groups receive lower sympathy scores than the overall means. This is a significant difference from what is generally expected of more highly educated individuals. Finally, respondents who have attained other training and education provide higher than average sympathy scores for only five of the thirteen groups.

**Table 8.8 Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to income level of respondent**

Target group	Annual income level in dollars*						mean	F-ratio
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1. Finn-Swedes	94.1	92.7	90.4	93.1	95.0	86.0	91.8	1.64
2. Canadians	91.1	93.3	90.1	90.6	93.9	82.0	90.8	2.44*
3. Swedes	88.7	87.8	88.4	86.6	89.6	83.2	87.7	.50
4. Norwegians	85.0	87.2	87.7	87.6	88.6	79.2	86.6	1.03
5. Finns	83.3	86.9	86.8	86.9	90.0	80.4	86.2	.83
6. Danes	81.1	83.6	85.1	85.9	87.9	78.8	84.1	.69
7. English	81.9	80.6	82.9	75.6	84.1	74.8	80.5	1.01
8. Americans	76.6	82.0	78.1	70.9	80.7	73.2	77.9	1.57
9. Estonians	69.2	75.2	81.1	76.6	84.6	72.8	77.3	1.71
10. Hungarians	72.7	70.8	78.5	74.2	75.9	68.3	74.1	.88
11. Germans	70.0	72.7	74.7	72.0	71.4	72.8	72.8	.17
12. Japanese	65.6	74.0	75.9	69.1	70.7	65.2	71.8	.97
13. French	68.5	67.2	69.9	66.8	68.9	68.4	68.4	.08
<b>Averages</b>	<b>79.1</b>	<b>81.1</b>	<b>82.3</b>	<b>79.7</b>	<b>83.2</b>	<b>75.8</b>		
<b>(n)</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>(308)</b>	
* 1 = <\$20,000/year								
2 = \$20,000 – \$40,000/year								
3 = \$40,000 – \$60,000/year								
4 = \$60,000 – \$80,000/yea								
5 = \$80,000 – \$100,000/year								
6 = > \$100,000/year								

The highest sympathy scores occur amongst the respondents with elementary (Canadians -96.0) and high school education (Finland-Swedes -95.1), while the lowest sympathies occur amongst the college (French -66.9), "other" (Germans -69.0), and university (French 69.1) education areas.

The results indicate that higher education amongst the Finland-Swedes in Canada does not play a significant role in improving sympathies and ethnic attitudes towards the thirteen ethnic and national groups in question. Rather, the highest sympathies are expressed by individuals who have attained high school education. Further analysis of the influence of education on attitudes amongst the Finland-Swedes needs to be done.

## 8.7 The effect of income on sympathy scores

It was earlier stated that a higher socio-economic status often reflects more sympathetic and liberal attitudes. The effect of income on sympathy scores does seem to support this claim (Table 8.8). However, some variations in this trend of

**Table 8.9 Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to present economic activity of respondent (according to industrial classes)**

Target group	Economic activity*					Mean	F-ratio
	1	2	3	4	Oth.		
1. Finn-Swedes	100.0	87.9	93.2	90.8	91.3	91.6	1.33
2. Canadians	100.0	91.7	91.7	88.5	88.7	90.3	1.14
3. Swedes	98.6	83.0	88.7	87.4	88.0	87.7	1.21
4. Finns	92.9	83.8	87.1	86.9	91.3	87.2	.56
5. Norwegians	95.7	82.9	87.9	86.4	88.0	86.9	.83
6. Danes	95.7	80.9	85.2	84.5	87.3	84.9	.88
7. English	91.4	79.5	81.4	81.4	80.0	81.5	.44
8. Estonians	82.9	75.5	82.0	79.6	80.7	80.1	.34
9. Hungarians	85.7	72.2	78.7	76.8	82.0	77.6	.72
10. Americans	80.0	77.9	76.4	77.4	80.0	77.4	.11
11. Germans	85.7	68.8	74.3	75.4	78.0	74.8	.82
12. Japanese	85.7	71.9	75.3	73.5	79.3	74.8	.54
13. French	78.5	61.9	67.2	69.3	73.3	68.5	.59
<b>Averages</b>	<b>90.2</b>	<b>78.3</b>	<b>82.1</b>	<b>81.4</b>	<b>83.7</b>		
<b>(n)</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>81.8</b>	

\* 1 = Primary industries

2 = Secondary industries

3 = Tertiary industries

4 = Quaternary industries

Oth. = Homemakers, students, and the unemployed

improving attitudes are noted. Overall, every ethnic and national group receives higher sympathy scores as the sample moves from respondents earning less than \$20,000/year towards the respondents earning between \$80 and \$100,000/year. In fact, the average sympathy score towards all groups for the \$20,000/year category is 79.1, while the average sympathy amongst the \$80–\$100,000 income level is 83.2. The trends thus do seem to coincide with the statements of Berry & Laponce (1994:311).

However, this trend is broken by the final income category of respondents who earn more than \$100,000/year. This income category shows an almost exclusive attitude reversal, as every group with the exception of the Germans, receive a considerably lower sympathy score than exists among the income group just below it. The most significant drop in sympathy occurs towards the Canadians (-11.9) and the Estonians (-11.8). The sympathy scores for most other groups decline between -5.5 and -9.6 points. Only the French show a consistent sympathy level, as it does almost throughout all the income categories. Indeed, this is verified by

**Table 8.10 Sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups according to economic activity of retired respondents (according to industrial classes)**

Target group	Economic activity*					Mean	F-ratio
	1	2	3	4	Oth.		
1. Canadians	92.9	96.3	95.2	93.3	93.6	94.5	.30
2. Finn-Swedes	91.4	95.0	96.1	93.7	91.0	94.2	.48
3. Swedes	80.0	92.0	91.4	91.7	82.7	89.8	1.61
4. Norwegians	90.0	84.7	92.9	88.9	84.4	88.9	.75
5. Finns	78.6	83.7	91.7	87.9	79.0	86.6	1.21
6. Danes	67.1	86.5	87.4	86.3	91.4	85.5	1.23
7. Americans	80.0	83.7	83.9	79.7	84.4	82.3	.19
8. English	91.7	79.5	84.4	81.4	74.4	81.9	.64
9. Estonians	77.1	67.6	73.8	78.9	82.8	75.3	.57
10. French	78.6	63.5	68.3	73.6	75.0	70.6	.50
11. Germans	90.0	61.6	73.5	67.1	78.8	70.5	1.44
12. Hungarians	65.7	58.8	74.5	72.6	80.0	70.4	.90
13. Japanese	65.7	68.3	66.3	70.4	80.0	69.3	.28
<b>Averages</b>	<b>80.7</b>	<b>78.6</b>	<b>83.0</b>	<b>82.0</b>	<b>82.9</b>		
(n)	7	26	41	38	15	81.5	

\* 1 = Primary industries

2 = Secondary industries

3 = Tertiary industries

4 = Quaternary industries

Oth. = includes mainly homemakers.

the low F-ratio of 0.08, which indicates a very low variance between the income groups. Thus, the consistent sympathy score expressed towards the French holds true while other ethnic and national groups show more variation. The most significant variation occurs only amongst the Canadian sympathy scores, where the F-ratio is significant at the .05 level (2.44). Within the highest income level, only the German ethnic group receives a positive increase in their sympathy score (+1.4).

## 8.8 The effect of employment on sympathy scores

The final independent variables to be considered with attitude shifts include present and past employment patterns of the Finland-Swedish population.

In comparing the two Tables (Tables 8.9 & 8.10), it is noted that the average overall sympathy scores appear almost equal between the two economic groups. However, definite differences do exist between the two groups of respondents.

**Table 8.11 Comparison of positive sympathy scores between employed and retired sample population**

Sample	Economic activity*				
	1 (Number of ethnic groups receiving positive sympathy scores above the group mean score)	2	3	4	Oth.
Retired population	5	5	11	8	7
Presently working pop.	13	2	8	2	10

\*1 = Primary industries

2 = Secondary industries

3 = Tertiary industries

4 = Quaternary industries

Oth. = includes mainly homemakers.

Among the presently employed respondents in the quaternary industrial category, only the German (75.4) and French (69.3) ethnic groups receive sympathy scores higher than the average score for their ethnic group. In comparison to the retired quaternary sector respondents, a total of eight ethnic and national groups receive higher scores than their respective averages. These include the Canadians, Swedes, Finns, Danes, Estonian, French, Hungarians and Japanese.

The tertiary industries also show a similar trend. The presently employed show eight ethnic or national groups, while the retired respondents indicate eleven ethnic or national groups as receiving higher than average sympathy scores.

In the secondary industries, the presently employed place only the Canadian and American national groups at a more positive sympathy score compared to the average, while the retired respondents indicate five groups receiving more positive scores.

The primary sector among the presently working respondents shows all thirteen groups receiving a more positive sympathy score than the average scores. In fact, the Finland-Swedes and Canadians receive a perfect score of 100. Respondents in the retired sample give a more positive sympathy score to only five ethnic or national groups.

Finally, differences in the "other" category indicates that among the presently working sample, ten of thirteen groups receive a more positive than the average sympathy score, while seven groups among the retired sample show a similar result.

The result of this analysis seems to indicate that when the two economic groups are compared directly, the retired respondents show a more positive attitude and sympathy towards the thirteen ethnic and national groups, when based on comparisons to the average sympathy scores given towards each group (Table 8.11). Thus, it is noted that amongst the retired respondents, the higher economic and industrial sectors appear to show an increase in sympathies. The results for the

**Table 8.12 Finnish-Canadian sympathy scores towards other ethnic and national groups, 1996**  
(averages, on a scale from 0–100)\*

Target group		Score	N
1.	Finns	94.1	17
2.	Canadians	91.7	17
3.	Norwegians	86.0	17
4.	Estonians	85.8	15
5.	Finland-Swedes	84.6	15
6.	Japanese	84.1	15
7.	Swedes	83.5	14
8.	Hungarians	82.3	15
9.	Americans	82.0	15
10.	Danes	81.6	15
11.	English	74.2	15
12.	French	72.1	15
13.	Germans	71.4	15
<b>Average (all groups)</b>		<b>82.6</b>	

\*Non-responses included

presently working population seems very much the opposite. The primary industrial category receives the most positive sympathies, while the secondary and quaternary industries have the lowest levels of positive sympathy scores. To add to the inconsistent "trend", the "other" category also receives a higher than average sympathy distribution.

## 8.9 The Finnish-Canadian response

Out of curiosity, we now examine a comparative sample of Finnish-speaking immigrants in Canada, and their corresponding attitude scores. Although this dissertation does not allow for a comprehensive statistically significant examination, it should be pointed out that a possible trend in reciprocal attitudes can be hypothesized from the responses that were returned to the author by Finnish-Canadian respondents. These are individuals who are not tied to the Finland-Swedish ethnic group. Through the survey, a total of some 30 questionnaires were received from Finnish-speakers, but only 17 contained pertinent data related to the sympathy scores. Although these findings are extremely limited, it is nonetheless interesting to note the scores. While the Finland-Swedes give a score of 87.0 to the Finns, the Finns reciprocate this



sympathy with a fairly similar score at 85.0 (Table 8.12). Given the attitude balance theory discussed earlier, it seems that in Canada, reciprocal attitudes appear to exist between the Finland-Swedes and Finnish-speaking populations. This aspect of attitudes must be studied further, and can be an impetus for future research. The question arises from the following Table: why would the sympathies of the Finland-Swedes change from ranking the Finns in third place in Finland, to fifth place in Canada, while the Finnish-speakers rank the Finland-Swedes relatively low in both countries. More accurately, why do the asymmetrical attitudes exhibited in Finland disappear in Canada? This leads to an area of speculation, and may involve reasons such as domestic politics and policy in Finland which do not apply nor affect the Finland-Swedes and Finns in Canada.

In Canada, the two groups no longer need to coexist as they do in Finland. The Finnish and Swedish languages are not legislated to have any bilingual rights in Canada as they appear in Finland. Rather, in Canada the official languages of English and French dominate, and the many minority languages have obtained rights within the multicultural policy of Canada. With freedom from domestic politics and linguistic struggles that faced Finland-Swedes in Finland, who also had to conform to the majority of the population, the Finland-Swedes do not have to remain tied to the Finnish-speaking population. People with the asymmetrical attitudes encountered in Finland are free to show reciprocity for one another in Canada. Thus, I argue that the Finland-Swedes and Finns are free to show their true feelings and attitudes towards each other, rather than trying to satisfy the status quo which may be the case in Finland. Thus, more balanced attitudes between the two groups are encountered in Canada.

## **8.10 The Finland-Swedes of Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto: a study of three regional populations**

It has already been established that the urban centres in Canada with the largest populations of Finland-Swedes are Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto. This chapter now turns to examine more closely ethnic attitudes in these three centres. The decade of arrival in the urban centre is examined, followed by the status of ethnic self-identity, and finally a comparison of attitude scores encountered in the three cities. These attitudes are also compared to the average national findings. The aim of this section is to discover variations between the geographical regions, and suggest some reasons for any differences.

### **8.10.1 Immigration and year of arrival**

The immigration history to Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto was examined in Chapter 4, where it was noted that the earliest Finland-Swedes appeared on the

**Table 8.13 Immigration to Vancouver, Toronto and Thunder Bay by decade**

Decade	Vancouver		Immigrants to Thunder Bay		Toronto	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
1881–1890	3	2.8	–	–	–	–
1891–1900	–	–	2	3.5	–	–
1901–1910	2	1.9	11	19.3	–	–
1911–1920	2	1.9	7	12.3	–	–
1921–1930	28	26.2	30	52.6	24	45.3
1931–1940	1	0.9	–	–	–	–
1941–1950	5	4.7	1	1.7	1	1.9
1951–1960	56	52.3	6	10.5	13	24.5
1961–1970	8	7.5	–	–	6	11.3
1971–1980	2	1.9	–	–	4	7.5
1981–1990	–	–	–	–	3	5.7
1991–1996	–	–	–	–	2	3.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100.00</b>

West Coast. In examining the responses received from all three urban areas, the above trend is supported (Table 8.13). Three respondents in Vancouver indicated their grandparents' arrival in Canada dated to the 1880s. During the 1890s, Thunder Bay received 2 respondent families. The earliest Finland-Swedish immigrants to Toronto whose descendants participated in this study arrived in the 1920s. Some trends in the immigration flows are noted from the Table. Early immigration was to the West Coast, although a large proportion of all Lakehead Finland-Swedes (19.3%) moved to Thunder Bay in the first decade of this century. Immigration was heavy during the 1920s, when 52.6% of all Thunder Bay Finland-Swedes, 45.2% of Toronto Finn-Swedes, and 26.1% of Vancouver Finn-Swedes arrived. A large influx occurred again during the 1950s in Vancouver (52.3%) and Toronto (24.5%). The decade of the 1950s attracted only 10.5% of the respondents to reside in Thunder Bay. The post-1960s period has attracted the most respondents to the Toronto CMA. A total of 28.3% of the Toronto area respondents arrived here since 1960, compared to 9.3% in Vancouver and zero in Thunder Bay. This trend in migration to the Toronto area appears also in the unpublished 1991 Census Figures obtained for this research.

Some implications of these migration flows appear in the cultural, religious and social lives of the Finland-Swedes. In Toronto, for example, a definite division of generations exists between the older settlers who have their roots in the 1920s arrival period, and arrivals since the 1960s. From the many interviews held amongst the Finland-Swedes, the two groups are very much unaware of each other.

**Table 8.14 Finland-Swedish sympathy scores in Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto**

Target group	CMA area in Canada						F-ratio
	Vancouver Score	(N)	Thunder Bay Score	(N)	Toronto Score	(N)	
Finland-Swedes	93.2	(91)	91.3	(38)	93.7	(45)	.48
Canadians	92.0	(89)	94.4	(38)	92.0	(45)	.61
Swedes	88.2	(91)	89.7	(38)	89.7	(44)	.24
Norwegians	88.2	(86)	85.9	(37)	87.4	(43)	.22
Finns	86.4	(89)	86.0	(38)	85.7	(45)	.02
Danes	84.2	(82)	85.2	(36)	85.8	(43)	.08
English	82.6	(84)	85.5	(36)	83.0	(43)	.27
Americans	79.7	(89)	84.3	(37)	78.3	(43)	.24
Estonians	79.2	(75)	81.7	(35)	79.7	(42)	.14
Hungarians	76.6	(81)	77.4	(35)	70.2	(42)	.95
Germans	75.2	(86)	76.6	(35)	73.6	(42)	.17
Japanese	72.1	(81)	79.4	(35)	74.4	(43)	.84
French	70.7	(80)	76.0	(35)	72.5	(43)	.43
<b>Average (all groups)</b>	<b>82.2</b>		<b>84.1</b>		<b>82.0</b>		

**Table 8.15 Rank order of ethnic and national group sympathies for CMA's**

Vancouver	Thunder Bay	Toronto
1. Finland-Swedes	1. Canadians	1. Finland-Swedes
2. Canadians	2. Finland-Swedes	2. Canadians
3. Swedes	3. Swedes	3. Swedes
4. Norwegians	4. Finns	4. Norwegians
5. Finns	5. Norwegians	5. Danes
6. Danes	6. English	6. Finns
7. English	7. Danes	7. English
8. Americans	8. Americans	8. Estonians
9. Estonians	9. Estonians	9. Americans
10. Hungarians	10. Japanese	10. Japanese
11. Germans	11. Hungarians	11. Germans
12. Japanese	12. Germans	12. French
13. French	13. French	13. Hungarians

Finland-Swedes who arrived in the Thunder Bay region prior to the 1960s have maintained old traditions established by the early settlers, while "new blood" and new immigrants have not immigrated to the region. On the West Coast, only a small number of Finland-Swedes have settled in Vancouver since the 1960s, which also has been a cause for concern among organizations and clubs whose membership is declining due to the aging of members. The decade of arrival and the length of stay in Canada also reflect changing identities amongst generations.

### **8.10.2 The effect of geography on attitude differences**

The chapter now turns to consider the effect of geographic settlement on attitude or sympathy scores for the three CMA's. With different social, cultural, and religious affiliations available in all three centres, it is assumed that attitudes may be more positive towards the Finnish ethnic group in the three CMA's as compared to those of Finland-Swedes living in other regions across the country. Thus, settlement geography becomes a valid concern in terms of perpetuating a more positive or negative attitude. However, some variation in sympathies does appear in the three cities (Table 8.14).

In ranking the ethnic and national groups, only Thunder Bay places Canadians in first place and the Finland-Swedes in second, while in Vancouver and Toronto the Finland-Swedes hold first place followed by the Canadians. The rank of the Finnish ethnic group changes from fifth place in Vancouver, to fourth in Thunder Bay, and sixth in Toronto (Table 8.15).

To understand the amount of change that occurs in attitudes between the three CMA's, a closer examination of the values in relation to the national average is necessary (Table 8.16).

Some comparisons can be made from this Table. The Finland-Swedes of Thunder Bay present sympathy scores which are far above the national average values encountered. In terms of specific ethnic or national groups, the highest increase is found in attitudes towards the French (+9.7 above national average), the Japanese (+6.0 above the national average), and the Americans (+5.2 above national average). The lowest scores in Thunder Bay appear in attitudes towards the Norwegians (-1.6 below the national average), the Finland-Swedes (-1.1 below the national average), and the Finns (-1.0 below the national average).

The overall sympathy scores encountered among the Toronto Finland-Swedes indicates that the Hungarians receive the lowest scores (-5.5 below the national average), followed by the Finns (-1.3 below the national average).

In Vancouver, the highest increase of a positive score includes the Germans (+1.3 above the national average), while the Japanese have the lowest score (-1.3 below the national average). This decline in sympathy scores may reflect the image and possible stereotypes given to the Japanese immigrants who reside in the Vancouver area.

**Table 8.16 Attitudes towards Finno-Ugric languages in major CMA's, above or below national percentage average values**

Target group	National average	CMA area in Canada		
		Vancouver	Thunder Bay	Toronto
		+/- above or below national average		
Finland-Swedes	92.4	+ 0.8	- 1.1	+ 1.3
Canadians	91.6	+ 0.4	+ 2.8	+ 0.4
Swedes	88.5	- 0.3	+ 1.2	+ 1.2
Norwegians	87.5	+ 0.7	- 1.6	- 0.1
Finns	87.0	- 0.6	- 1.0	- 1.3
Danes	85.3	- 1.1	- 0.1	+ 0.5
English	81.8	+ 0.8	+ 3.7	+ 1.2
Americans	79.1	+ 0.6	+ 5.2	- 0.8
Estonians	78.8	+ 0.4	+ 2.9	+ 0.9
Hungarians	75.7	+ 0.9	+ 1.7	- 5.5
Germans	73.9	+ 1.3	+ 2.7	- 0.3
Japanese	73.4	- 1.3	+ 6.0	+ 1.0
French	69.7	+ 1.0	+ 9.7	+ 4.7
<b>Overall score +/-</b>		<b>+ 2.5</b>	<b>+32.1</b>	<b>+ 3.2</b>

In examining the sympathies extended towards the three Finno-Ugric language groups, it is noted that Toronto scores -5.9, Thunder Bay scores +3.6, and Vancouver scores +0.7. Interpreting these scores would seem to indicate that the Toronto area Finland-Swedes show the least sympathy towards members of the Finno-Ugric language groups, while Thunder Bay respondents give the most positive sympathy scores. In Vancouver, a positive value also exists which is almost equal to the national average. When the Finnish ethnic group is compared directly, all three CMA populations give lower than average sympathy scores. This is led by Toronto (-1.3), followed by Thunder Bay (-1.0) and Vancouver (-0.6).

Finally, two of the three centres exhibit above average sympathy scores towards the Swedish ethnic group. Only in Vancouver do the Swedes receive a sympathy score at -0.3 below the national average. The Swedes are consistent in their third place ranking.

Considering the characteristics of the Finland-Swedish populations in all three CMA's, some interesting questions arise. First, why do the Toronto area Finn-Swedes among the three "cities" rate the Finns lowest in sympathy scores? Secondly, why is the attitude of the Finland-Swedes towards themselves lower in Thunder Bay than in Toronto or Vancouver? And thirdly, why do Toronto respondents rank all Finno-Ugric language groups consistently lower than the other two centres? In terms of settlement geography, the fact that Finland-Swedes of

Thunder Bay exhibit such a positive overall sympathy towards all ethnic and national groups may be a result of the geographic location of Thunder Bay. While Toronto and Vancouver are major metropolitan centres with very large populations, Thunder Bay is a city far removed from the urbanized southern Ontario and Lower Mainland of British Columbia. Isolationism may be a key to fostering the growth of more positive sympathies. Along with isolationism is the possibility of a lack of knowledge which seems to affect attitudes between generations as was shown earlier. Additional analysis of sympathy scores towards out-groups according to age, gender, and other independent variables can only bring out additional insight into this regional variation of sympathy scores.

## 8.11 Conclusions

The goal of this chapter was to examine ethnic relations of the Finland-Swedes towards other ethnic and national groups, and more specifically the Finnish-speaking immigrants of Canada. This was done by examining attitudes at a national scale, as well as at a regional metropolitan scale involving the cities of Vancouver, Toronto, and Thunder Bay. Shifts in attitudes were noted by using independent variables of age, gender, education, income and employment. The age of the respondent shows a tendency for the older respondents to have a more positive attitude towards the other ethnic and national groups. Women indicate markedly higher sympathy scores than do men. Interestingly, higher education and even income beyond the \$100,000 level per year show lower sympathy scores towards out-group members. Finally, those in the higher status employment sectors/industrial categories show lower sympathy scores towards the ethnic and national groups than do those in primary and secondary industries, while the overall sympathy scores between retired and working respondents are nearly equal.

The chapter also attempted to test the first hypothesis of Old World attitudes which were expected to also occur in Canada. To do this, a number of Tables show that a positive shift in attitudes occurs from one generation to the next. Of all ethnic and national groups examined, only the Finland-Swedes indicated a consistent decline in sympathy scores from one generation to the next. Although this indicates a trend away from the Finland-Swedish group, the group maintains an overall ethnocentric view and ranks itself in first place overall, only slightly ahead of the sympathy expressed towards Canadians.

In comparing attitude scores between Finland-Swedes and Finns, it is suggested that the asymmetrical attitudes encountered in Finland do not occur in Canada. Due to the very small sample of Finnish-speakers, no statistical significance can be placed on this comparison. However, the comparison does indicate a possible trend which needs further research.

In comparing regional ethnic identities, it is concluded that in all three cities, the Finland-Swedish ethnic identity fades after the first generation, and the second and

third generation respondents identify themselves as Canadian. Most striking is the maintenance of a Swedish identity amongst Finland-Swedes of Thunder Bay. This identity is found in small numbers through all three generations, whereas a distinct Finnish identity is only encountered amongst the first generation Finland-Swedes of Vancouver and Toronto.

Finally, regional differences in sympathy scores indicates that Thunder Bay shows the highest overall increase of sympathy scores above the national average. The regional geography of isolation may be part of a reason for the higher cumulative sympathy scores encountered at the Lakehead, while Toronto and Vancouver exhibit only slightly higher scores compared to the national average. In all three cities attitudes towards the Finns show rankings only slightly below the national average.





# Chapter 9

## Retention or shift in ethnic identity?

### 9.1 Introduction

With the coming of immigrants to a new country, it is inevitable that questions of assimilation to the new society and the retention of ethnic identity and old traditions arise. Sociologists have most often studied these questions, and have developed a number of theories that explain the processes which occur in assimilation, discussed in Chapter 2. With retention of ethnicity, it is most evident that a significant ethnic population base is needed for maintaining and encouraging a unique ethnic background. Thus, within Canada, the Finnish population in Thunder Bay stands as the best example of the survival of the Finnish ethnicity and culture, since so many institutions, clubs, churches, etc. provide services and an infrastructure that support Finnishness. Many Finnish immigrants have lived their lives in Port Arthur's Bay Street area without ever having to learn English! Without a population such as this, it is very difficult to maintain and encourage ethnic awareness and uniqueness.

This is not to say that individuals themselves cannot retain their identity, customs, etc. They most definitely can, but support from a local ethnic community certainly makes ethnic awareness easier and less cumbersome. Without a population base, then, assimilation to the surrounding society is much easier.

Without an ethnic population base, aspects such as intermarriage become even more evident. With the ever increasing use of English as the language of choice in the home environment, the Swedish mother tongue disappears, while customs, etc. from the non-Finland-Swedish spouse are learned and passed on to the next generation. These are just a few of the signs of assimilation, which takes away from the retention of ethnic identity. The following sections deal with various aspects of ethnic identity and the effect of independent variables on it. The results indicate distinct shifts in the retention of a Finland-Swedish ethnic identity, as assimilation becomes more prominent. This chapter will help us better understand the identity of the Finland-Swedes in Canada.

**Table 9.1 Age vs. ethnic self-identity**

Age	Ethnic identity					Total
	Fin.	Swe.	F/S.	Cdn.	Oth.	
18–25	2	1	1	3	1	8
25–35	0	1	6	26	7	40
35–45	1	2	8	43	7	61
45–55	2	3	21	34	3	63
55–65	3	3	26	40	6	78
>65	8	7	58	41	5	119
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>369</b>

Note – Some of the cell values are too small to allow for significance testing.

**Table 9.2 Gender vs. ethnic self-identity**

Gender	Ethnic identity					Total
	Fin.	Swe.	F/S.	Cdn.	Oth.	
Male	11	8	53	97	11	180
Female	6	9	67	91	17	190
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>370</b>

$\chi^2 = 4.372$  (Statistically not significant)  
d. f. = 4

## 9.2 The effect of independent variables on ethnic identity

A number of independent variables were introduced in Chapter 5. These include the influence of age, gender, education, economic activity and income. However, the most interesting independent variable involves generation, which leads the research to formulate a model of shifting identities for the Finland-Swedes of Canada. The chapter begins with analysis of these independent variables and their effect on the self-identity of the respondent.

### 9.2.1 The effect of age and gender on ethnic identity

Two variables that may effect ethnic identity include age and gender. Age is clearly a factor that influences the identity of the respondents (Table 9.1). Among the

**Table 9.3 Education vs. ethnic self-identity**

Education	Ethnic identity					Total
	Fin.	Swe.	F/S.	Cdn.	Oth.	
Elementary	2	3	35	17		58
High school	5	7	20	48	4	84
College	2	3	24	37	8	74
University	7	4	29	73	12	125
Other	1	0	10	12	3	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>367</b>

Note – Some of the cell values are too small to allow for significance testing.

retired population, 48.7% (58/119) identify themselves as Finland-Swedes, followed by 34.4% (41/119) who identify themselves as Canadian. This retired population is the only age category which shows a dominating Finland-Swedish identity. This contrasts with all the other age groups, in which the Canadian identity clearly dominates. The most noticeable impact of Canadian identity is encountered amongst the 25–45 year age groups, where the two age categories maintain 65% (26/40) and 70.1% (43/61) shares amongst all identities.

The effect of gender on ethnic self-identity is not significant. Table 9.2 shows that although no significant difference between the two frequencies exists, the female respondents identify themselves as Finland-Swedes more readily while the men identify themselves as Canadians.

### 9.2.2 The effect of education on ethnic identity

A large proportion of Finland-Swedes have attained some university education. Thirty-four percent of all respondents fall into this category. When this variable is considered with ethnic self-identity, a pattern of identity emerges amongst the respondents who claim a Finland-Swedish vs. Canadian identity (Table 9.3). Of all respondents who have only received elementary education, 60.3% (35/58) identify themselves as Finland-Swedes. As we look at the higher levels of education among the respondents in the Finland-Swedish identity, the proportion identifying with this category declines. With university educated respondents, Finland-Swedish identity occurs only among 23.2% (29/125) of the respondents.

Within the Canadian identity category, the lowest percentage (29.3%) appears for the respondents who have only attained elementary education (17/58). In contrast to the trend with the Finland-Swedish identity category, the Canadian identity improves with increased education, and reaches a peak amongst the university educated, where 58.4% (73/123) claim a Canadian identity.

**Table 9.4 Income vs. ethnic self-identity**

Annual income level	Ethnic identity					Total
	Fin.	Swe.	F/S.	Cdn.	Oth.	
< \$20, 000	3	2	16	12	1	34
\$20 – \$40K	2	7	32	37	6	84
\$40 – \$60K	6	3	24	49	7	89
\$60 – \$80K	3	1	11	23	4	42
\$80 – \$100K	0	2	6	18	3	29
> \$100, 000	1	0	8	18	3	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>308</b>

Note – Some of the cell values are too small to allow for significance testing.

It is also interesting to note that respondents who identify themselves most with the Finnish (5.9%) and Swedish (8.3%) ethnicities are encountered among the high school educated category.

**9.2.3 The effect of income on ethnic identity**

Income does effect attitudes, as was concluded in the previous chapter. Although some variations occurred, the general trend appeared to be positive with the increase in income levels. Does this trend also occur with ethnic self-identity? Table 9.4 shows that initially, the values found in each cell do not have statistical significance, i.e., the Chi-square value shows that there is no statistically significant difference between the income and the ethnic self-identity variables.

Indeed, when examined closer, the Table shows that ethnic self-identities appear quite even across the income categories. No definite trend or pattern is noted from this Table, thus showing no similarity to the effect of income as seen with attitude scores.

**9.2.4 The effect of occupations on ethnic identity**

In Chapter 8 the occupational makeup of the Finland-Swedish population was examined. We now turn to consider the effect of occupations of ethnic identity. This is done by making comparisons between economically active and retired individuals. Rather than try to examine individual occupational categories, this section will deal with major industrial categories which is easier for analytical purposes. Among respondents who are presently employed (Table 9.5), 59.4% (132/222) of all respondents identify themselves as being Canadian. Twenty-five percent (56/222) of all respondents identify themselves as Finland-Swedish.

**Table 9.5 Economic activity (presently working respondents according to industrial categories) vs. ethnic self-identity**

Industry	Ethnic identity					Total
	Fin.	Swe.	F/S.	Cdn.	Oth.	
Primary	0	0	1	7	0	8
Secondary	2	0	9	13	2	26
Tertiary	2	4	21	40	4	71
Quaternary	3	4	20	59	13	99
Other*	0	0	5	13	0	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>222</b>

\* Other categories include homemakers, students and unemployed respondents.

Note – Some of the cell values are too small to allow for significance testing.

Among the Finland-Swedish identity category, support of this ethnicity is received from 34.6% (9/26) of the respondents who are employed in secondary industries. This is followed by 29.5% (21/71) of the respondents involved in the tertiary sector.

Among the Canadian identity category, support appears constantly above the 50% level for all industrial categories. Although 87.5% (7/8) of these appear in the primary industry sector, this percentage cannot be included when considered with the more significant levels of respondents in other industrial categories. The "other" category which involves many homemakers, students as well as unemployed respondents has the highest identity towards the Canadians at 72.2% (13/18), followed by the quaternary sector with 59.6% (59/99).

When respondents who have retired from their active role in the economy are considered, the Finland-Swedish identity dominates with 46.5% (59/127) respondents. The Canadian identity falls back to 37% (47/127) among all respondents (Table 9.5).

Among the Finland-Swedish identity, respondents in the "other" categories indicate the highest support at 73.3% (11/15). This includes mostly "retired" homemakers, rather than students or unemployed individuals. A general decline in identity follows from the secondary (57.8%) to the quaternary (39.5%) sectors.

The Canadian identity in turn, although weaker than the Finland-Swedish, increases from the secondary sector (26.9%) to the quaternary sector (42.1%). Again, due to the small representation in the primary industrial category, the six respondents who claim a Canadian identity cannot be used as a comparable population.

The findings in Table 9.6 are in contrast to Table 9.5 where the respondents overwhelmingly identified with the Canadian identity more than the Finland-Swedish. Thus, there appears to be a shift in identity according to the stage in

**Table 9.6 Economic activity #2 (retired respondents according to industrial categories) vs. ethnic self-identity**

Industry	Ethnic identity					Total
	Fin.	Swe.	F/S.	Cdn.	Oth.	
Primary	0	0	1	6	0	7
Secondary	2	0	15	7	2	26
Tertiary	3	4	17	16	1	41
Quaternary	3	2	15	16	2	38
Other*	0	1	11	2	1	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>127</b>

\* Other category includes mainly homemakers.

Note – Some of the cell values are too small to allow for significance testing.

economic activity amongst the respondents. This is also demonstrated clearly in the "other" industrial sectors for both samples. While 73.3% (11/15) of the retired respondents identify with the Finland-Swedish identity and only 13.3% (2/15) identify as being Canadian, an almost perfect reversal occurs with the working population. Here, 72.2% (13/18) identify as being Canadian, while 27.8% (5/18) identify themselves as Finland-Swedish.

Other trends that are noticed between the presently working and retired samples, include the similarity in increasing Canadian identity from secondary to quaternary sectors, and a declining Finland-Swedish identity from secondary to quaternary sectors.

## 9.3 Other variables effecting ethnic identity

A number of other variables may also effect ethnic self-identity. These include variables such as the ethnic background of the spouse, language spoken at home, the presence of children and support of a different mother tongue, along with the upkeep of a distinct culture and traditions which help in promoting a Finland-Swedish identity. The chapter now turns to consider how these influence the retention of ethnic identity.

### 9.3.1 Inter marriage

Inter marriage is one of the indicators of a trend towards assimilation. Given the small ethnic population of Finland-Swedes in Canada, it is not surprising to find that only 12.3% (38/308) of all presently married respondents have a

**Table 9.7 Ethnic identity of spouse and language spoken at home**

Ethnic identity of spouse	Language at home					Total
	Finn.	Swed.	Eng.	Sw. & Eng.	Other	
Canadian*	1		85	18	3	107
Finnish*	5	5	8	7	17	42
Finland-Swede		2	9	23	4	38
Swedish*			8	6		14
English*			9	2		11
Scottish*			10	1		11
German			6		4	10
French*			4	1	4	9
Irish*			8			8
Norwegian*			1	3	2	6
American			5			5
Italian			3	1	1	5
Other	1		36	3	2	42
Single			15	2	7	24
Widowed			5	5	4	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>346</b>

<sup>1</sup> Only ethnic groups who had 5 or more representatives are included in this Table.

\*These categories all include hyphenated ethnic identities, where the given ethnicity was the first reported.

Finland-Swedish spouse (Table 9.7). On the other hand, it is somewhat surprising that 13.6% (42/308) have a Finnish spouse. Five of these households use the Finnish language in their home exclusively.

Slightly more than a third of the respondents indicate having a Canadian spouse (34.7% or 107/308). Of these families, the language spoken at home is English in 79.4% of the cases (85/107). The Swedish language is only spoken in seven homes, where the spouses identity is either Finnish or Finland-Swedish.

Bilingualism also occurs amongst the respondents. However, this is mostly found among the respondents who have Finland-Swedish, Canadian, Finnish or Swedish spouses. Some other possibilities included the use of English along with bilingualism in German, French, Italian or Norwegian. A total of 22.5% (70/308) of all respondents indicate using both English and Swedish at home. Sixty-one percent (23/38) of respondents with Finland-Swedish spouses speak both Swedish and English at home, while 42.8% (6/14) of respondents with Swedish spouses use the two languages at home. Finally, 16.8% (18/107) with a Canadian spouse use the two languages at home. The respondents with Finnish spouses follow closely behind at 16.7% (7/42) bilingualism.

**Table 9.8 Support for the parent's mother tongue in children\***

Attitude	Survey	
	(N)	%
Strongly in favour	116	40.0
Somewhat in favour	78	26.9
Indifferent	48	16.6
Somewhat against it	0	0
Strongly against it	0	0
No opinion	48	16.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>100.00</b>

\* Many include English as a mother tongue.

Some of the "other" ethnic groups represented by the respondent spouses include Austrian, Chinese, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, East Indian, Estonian, Greek, Hungarian, Icelandic, Jewish, Lebanese, Native, New Zealand, Polish, Portuguese, and Ukrainian identities. Some of the "other" languages encountered amongst the respondents include German and French, while some also indicated using three or more languages at home. A few families, for example, use English, French, German and Swedish at home.

Overall, a very high proportion of respondents have married outside of the Finland-Swedish ethnicity. At the same time, the English language dominates the homes across the country, and a very small percentage, a mere 2.3% of all respondents, use only Swedish at home. The loss of language is thus inevitable and almost complete.

### 9.3.2 Children

Through intermarriage, the following generations have a choice as to self-identity. Intergenerational ethnic mobility occurs here, where the children in time can choose one ethnic identity over another. The choice may be simply between two ethnicities, i. e. Scottish and Finland-Swedish, or it may be more complex, perhaps involving a large number of ethnicities or nationalities. This choice will be often guided by the ethnic awareness and practices that are part of the everyday life of the home, and that include the language spoken at home. Whatever practices and customs are the most strongly represented, they may be passed to the children who may choose their identity accordingly.

In the case of the Finland-Swedish respondents across Canada, a question was asked relating to the parents' desire for learning or continuing to use the Swedish language, which so many respondents had learned as their first language. Over



**Table 9.9 Number of children and language spoken at home**

Number of children	Language at home					Total
	Finn.	Swed.	Eng.	Sw. & Eng.	Other	
1-2	4	5	102	48	21	180
3-4	3	2	61	25	11	102
5 →			4	2	1	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>289</b>

60% of respondents indicated that they would encourage their children to learn the Swedish language (Table 9.8).

Indifference was encountered amongst 16.6% of the respondents. Some of the reasons given as to this indifference about the Swedish language included: 1) there is no practical use for the Swedish language in Canada; 2) the English language is most useful and dominant in Canada; 3) lack of available language classes; and 4) children have no desire to learn the language.

Many respondents as indicated, do support the idea of language upkeep, but even without the language, respondents show a desire for passing on their values. This can be seen in the following statement:

*"To know a language means to know a culture; I think it's very important to know one's roots. Even if my children never learn the language, however, I will make sure they know something of our heritage. "*

Many respondents noted the benefits of learning more than one language, while others expressed a desire to hold on to the culture and heritage of their ancestors. Upkeep of traditions, communication with parents locally and relatives in Finland, and the expression of pride were reasons why many were supportive of the upkeep or learning of Swedish amongst the children.

Of the 289 respondents who have children, 57.7% speak only English at home, followed by 25.9% who speak both Swedish and English at home. An additional six families use two languages, such as Swedish and Finnish, or Finnish and English. Trilingualism occurs in a total of 20 homes, while the use of four languages occurs in 3 homes. English and another language (not listed above) are spoken in 4 homes (Table 9.9).

In comparing the languages spoken at home with inter-marriage (Table 9.7 and the effect of children (Table 9.9), it is seen that the two Tables coincide almost perfectly. Only a slight variation occurs with the bilingual use of English and Swedish. The implication of these Tables is simple. Although 57.6% of the respondents maintain Swedish as their mother tongue (See Table 7.10), the language is not passed on to the next generation. The English language spoken at home dominates. Thus, the retention of a Swedish language is almost non-existent.

**Table 9.10 Upkeep of traditions amongst Finland-Swedes in Canada**

Tradition	(N)	Survey* %
Celebrate Christmas Eve	303	88.6
Preparation of traditional foods, breads, baking	286	83.6
Use the sauna	192	56.1
Celebrate Midsummer Day	88	25.7
Celebrate St. Lucia Day	84	24.6
Follow F/S fine arts & literature	84	24.6
Other traditions	43	12.6
May Day	35	10.2
Wear traditional folk costumes	29	8.5
Construct a Maypole	6	1.8
Follow no traditions	1	0.3
<b>Total respondents</b>	<b>342</b>	<b>100.00</b>
No data	33	
<b>Total survey</b>	<b>375</b>	

\* 342 individuals responded to this question, many following more than one tradition. Thus the actual total of response choices is 1151.

**Table 9.11 Most commonly occurring traditions**

Traditions	(N)	Survey %
Foods, Christmas eve & sauna	42	12.3
Foods & Christmas eve	40	11.7
Foods & sauna	13	3.8
Foods, Christmas eve, sauna & arts and literature	12	3.5
Christmas eve & sauna	12	3.5
Other multiple combinations	184	53.8
Single traditions	39	11.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>342</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The overwhelming majority of respondents indicate that children do not know the Swedish language at all.

From the historical analysis of language use in church congregations, Myhrman (1972:387) states that the Swedish language was replaced with English by the late 1930s. Similar changes took place in cultural and social organizations such as the Order of Runeberg. Thus, it appears that while institutions changed their attitude towards the Swedish language, individual families may have done so as well. This is seen as "speech accommodation", which facilitates assimilation to the host society (Smith & Bond, 1994:180). It is thus concluded that although the Swedish language seems to receive support amongst the Finland-Swedish population in Canada – especially among respondents with children – the desire and support for learning and maintaining the language do not proceed further. Language loss seems inevitable, which is further caused by exogamy and the use of English language at home.

### 9.3.3 Upkeep of traditional Finland-Swedish culture

It has been argued that the Finland-Swedes have a distinct and traditional culture, which is different from the Finnish culture (Jutikkala, 1976; Valkonen, et al. 1980; Pentikäinen & Ahonen, 1985). Some aspects that differ between the two ethnolinguistic groups include special holidays and festivals such as the Swedes' Day (Nov. 6), St. Lucia Day (Dec. 12), Runeberg's Day (Feb. 5); preparation of distinct Finland-Swedish foods at special occasions such as Christmas, constructing a Maypole for the midsummer festival on June 21, or the upkeep and following of Finland-Swedish folk music, literature and fine arts.

Thus, the questionnaire also asked what traditions are maintained by the Finland-Swedes in Canada. The respondents were given a number of possibilities, which can now be examined (Table 9.10). From these, the highest response was towards the celebration of Christmas Eve (88.6%). This is followed closely with traditional foods and dishes (83.6%). Some of these foods include "lutefisk" or lyefish, which is a traditional Christmas dish prepared by all Scandinavian groups and shared by the Finland-Swedes. This practice was also explained to the author in the numerous interviews conducted. The third most popular tradition includes the sauna, as a total of 56.1% indicated using the sauna.

Since this question could be answered with as many choices as corresponded to the practices maintained by each respondent, an analysis of all the traditional practices of each respondent questionnaire must be made. Thus, the most commonly occurring combination of traditions includes the preparation of foods, the celebration of Christmas eve and the sauna, as 12.3% of all respondents practice all three traditions together (Table 9.11). This is followed by preparation of foods and celebrating Christmas Eve (11.7%).

In third place far behind is the preparation of traditional foods and dishes along with the use of the sauna. Only 13 (3.8%) of all respondents combine these two

**Table 9.12 The most enduring traditions**

(only single category responses measured as part of total sample n=342)

Traditions	Survey	
	(N)	%
Celebrating Christmas Eve	21	6.1
Preparing traditional foods	9	2.6
Using the sauna	5	1.5
Other practices	4	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>11.4</b>

**Table 9.13 Ethnic identity shifts in Vancouver CMA, according to generation**

Generation	Ethnic identity					Total
	Finn.	Swe.	Finn/Swe.	Cdn.	Other	
First	5	0	43	14	3	65
Second	0	0	6	30	5	41
Third	0	0	0	3	2	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>111</b>

activities. A total of 91.2% of all respondents replied to the question on the upkeep of traditions. While only one individual indicated that no tradition was kept up, the respondents who do not follow any Finland-Swedish tradition is only 9.9%, while 90.1% do, indeed, follow some traditions, which can range from a single item to a combination of items.

While many traditions and practices may be lost over generations, it is of value to discover which practices stay with the Finland-Swedish population the strongest. If only one single tradition is maintained, what would be the most important tradition? By analyzing the occurrence of only one tradition, it becomes evident that the celebration of Christmas – the time for giving and receiving gifts, is the tradition that remains intact even if other traditions disappear or are not practised (Table 9.12).

Twenty-one (6.1%) respondents indicated celebrating Christmas Eve only. Finland differs from most other countries in that Father Christmas or Santa Claus really *does* visit the homes in person on Christmas Eve. Thus, it is tradition that Santa Claus would come in person to distribute the toys to the children and the entire family. Another tradition that stays while others may be lost includes the preparation of traditional food dishes. Nine (2.6%) respondents maintain these

**Table 9.14 Ethnic identity shifts in Thunder Bay CMA, according to generation**

Generation	Ethnic identity					Total
	Finn.	Swe.	Finn/Swe.	Cdn.	Other	
First	0	1	8	2	0	11
Second	0	4	7	20	1	32
Third	0	1	0	12	2	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>58</b>

**Table 9.15 Ethnic identity shifts in Toronto CMA, according to generation**

Generation	Ethnic identity					Total
	Finn.	Swe.	Finn/Swe.	Cdn.	Other	
First	5	0	15	11	3	34
Second	0	0	0	17	2	19
Third	0	0	0	2	1	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>56</b>

practices, while the use of a sauna remains third with only five (1.4%) respondents using only this traditional bathing method.

From these Tables it is concluded that a number of traditions do maintain themselves. The most popular and enduring involve Christmas Eve celebrations, the preparation of ethnic foods and dishes, as well as the use of the Finnish sauna. Overall, it is encouraging to know that some of the other traditions and practices are maintained as well.

## 9.4 Ethnic identity shifts

Ethnic identity shifts can occur within and between generations as was noted earlier in this chapter. Now, a closer examination of identity shifts is done for the three CMA's.

In Vancouver, the strongest self-identity as Finland-Swedes and Finns occurs amongst the first generation respondents (Table 9.13). In fact, the Finland-Swedish identity accounts for a total of 66.2% of all first generation respondents in Vancouver. This is followed by the Canadian identity (21.5%), the Finnish identity (7.7%), and others (4.6%).

**Table 9.16 Ethnic self-identity vs. decade of immigration to Canada**

Year	Ethnic self-identity (N)					Total
	Finn.	Swe.	Finn-Swe.	Can.	Other	
1881–1890		1			3	4
1891–1900		3	2	5		10
1901–1910		2	4	17	1	24
1911–1920		2		8	1	11
1921–1930	1	5	26	85	9	126
1931–1940			1	2	2	5
1941–1950		1	2	3	1	7
1951–1960	8	2	51	47	8	116
1961–1970	2		12	4	2	20
1971–1980	1	1	6	3	3	14
1981–1990	1		5			6
1991–1996			2			2
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>345</b>

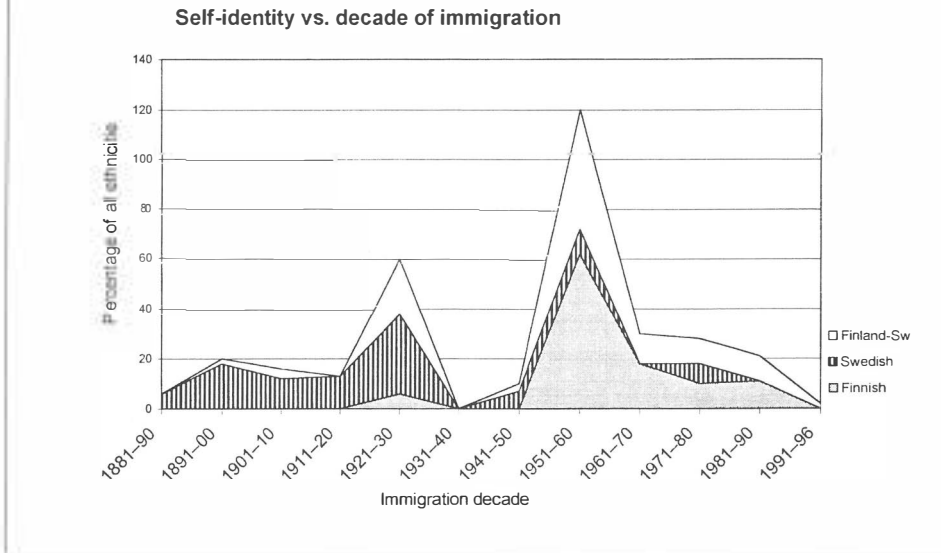
Amongst the second generation, the Canadian identity prevails at 73.2%, followed by Finland-Swedes (14.6%), and other identities (12.2%). In the third generation, a lack of identity with Finland-Swedes, Finland or Sweden is noted, as respondents indicated a Canadian (60%), or some other (40%) ethnic identity. Overall, the Finland-Swedish (44.1%) and Canadian (42.3%) identities are very close to each other, while the Finnish identity follows far behind (4.5%).

In Thunder Bay, some differences are noted in comparison to Vancouver. While Vancouver showed some respondents who identified with the Finnish ethnicity, a number of Thunder Bay respondents show a distinct Swedish ethnic identity (Table 9.14). Amongst the first generation, Finland-Swedish identity prevails (72.7%), while Canadian (18.2%) and Swedish (9.1%) identities follow. In the second generation, Canadian identity leads at 62.3%, followed by Finland-Swedes (21.9%), Swedes (12.5%), and some other ethnic identity (3.1%).

In the third generation, Canadian identity reaches 80%, while 13.3% claim some other identity, and Swedish identity occurring once for a 6.7% share. Overall, Canadian identity is the strongest among all respondents (58.6%), followed by Finland-Swedish (25.8%), and the Swedish (10.3%) identities.

In Toronto, some similarities to Vancouver exist. Most obvious is the Finnish identity amongst the first generation respondents (Table 9.15). Within the first generation, Finland-Swedish identity prevails (44.1%), followed by Canadian (32.3%), Finnish (14.7%) and other identities (8.8%).

In the second and third generations, Canadian identity is almost exclusive with 86.4% of respondents, while 13.6% identify with some other identity. Overall, Canadian identity (53.6%) is the strongest amongst the Toronto respondents,

**Figure 9.1 3-stage model of shifting identities**

followed by Finland-Swedish (26.8%), others (10.7%), and the Finnish identities (8.9%).

To summarize some of the similarities and differences of the three respondent populations in Vancouver, Thunder Bay, and Toronto, it is clearly seen how some Vancouver and Toronto Finland-Swedes have identified themselves as Finns whereas Thunder Bay respondents identify with Swedes. The overall identity of respondents tends towards a Canadian identity, although Vancouver exhibits the strongest Finland-Swedish identity just slightly ahead of the Canadian. The first generation respondents appear to carry the Finland-Swedish identity the strongest, which fades by the second generation and is completely lost by the third generation. An exclusively Finnish identity appears only in the first generation, while the retention of a Swedish identity lasts into the third generation among the Thunder Bay respondents.

### 9.5 3-stage model of Finland-Swedish identity shifts

Of all variables used to examine ethnic identity shifts, the most intriguing involves the decade of arrival in Canada by the respondents and their parents and/or grandparents. In considering the ethnic self-identity amongst the respondents contacted, it is clear that identities change over time (Table 9.16). The effect of original decade of arrival, however, indicates that a distinct shifting in ethnic

identities has occurred. Indeed, when tabulated and presented in graphic form, the shifts in identity become clearer (Figure 9.1). From this graph, the relative strength of identity changes according to the decade of immigration is clearly seen.

From the data and tabulations, a three-stage model of identity shifts among the Finland-Swedes in Canada is recognized, which in turn has influenced the Finland-Swedish population. The three stages include:

Stage I: Pre-1930s Pro-Swedish period: During this period, the Finland-Swedes claimed and preferred to call themselves Swedes. Considering that Finland did not become independent until 1917, the majority of immigrants in the period immediately prior to this are noted as having very little identity placed upon the Finland-Swedish, let alone the Finnish ethnicity. Indeed, according to Runblom (1992), the lack of knowledge about the nationalism movement in Finland and the ties to the distant past involving Swedish rule has given many the Swedish identity. Much of this would also be seen amongst the immigrants who arrived during the 1920s.

Stage II: 1920s–1960s: Period of strong Finland-Swedish identity. During the 1920s, the Finland-Swedes in Finland had secured themselves political rights, gained linguistic equality, and ensured the future of the ethnolinguistic group. This undoubtedly increased everyone's identity, which in turn is noted as a distinct section in the immigrants who arrived in the 1920s. The 1930s and 40s produced little immigration due to WWII, but in the 1950s, the share of Finland-Swedes again was large. The identity of this group remained strong until the 1960s.

Stage III: 1950s onward presents a period of strong identity with Finland. This shift began to emerge amongst the Finland-Swedish immigrants already in the 1950s. This was the new identity of the majority population in Finland – Finnishness. Prior to the 1950s, the Finnish identity was almost non-existent. However, the post-50s period has shown that the importance of Finnish identity has increased. Most recently arriving immigrants in the 1980s indicate a Finnish identity as easily as a Finland-Swedish one.

Over-riding the entire identity development is the Canadianization of all respondents. This is noted especially for Finland-Swedes who arrived in the 1920s and 50s, but occurs in all decades with the exception of the 1980s and 90s.

The 3-stage model of identity shifts operates differently from the traditional view of shifts which includes a similar three-dimensional process. The difference between this model and the traditional three stage identity shift is dependent on the foundations established by the ethnicities in question. The Finland-Swedish immigrants have been subject to the struggles for identity within Finland, and upon arrival in Canada, have had the option of beginning their assimilation process with identities of being Swedish, Finland-Swedish, and/or Finnish. Each of these choices can then be followed by the hyphenated ethnic-Canadian identity, and finally a Canadian identity. While the Canadianization of Finland-Swedish immigrants is the same as with other ethnic groups, their basis for starting this process varies according to their date of arrival in Canada. As has been argued,



this has undoubtedly affected the accuracy of census tabulations for the Swedish and Finnish ethnic group members.

## 9.6 Conclusions

The chapter heading asks the question whether to assimilate or retain ethnic identity? Ethnic identity varies according to the age, gender, education, income, and employment levels of the respondents. Older, retired immigrants maintain a closer affinity towards the Finland-Swedish identity, as do respondents with a lower level of education. Younger respondents, with better education and working in all industrial categories adhere to a Canadian identity better.

Some of the analysis points to a desire to maintain some aspects of ethnic identity, by holding on to old traditions and practices, such as the Christmas Eve celebrations, the preparation of traditional foods and dishes, and the use of the sauna. However, with intermarriage and the presence of children, the language most often spoken at home affects ethnic identity, and this in turn causes shifts in ethnic self-identity. The Canadianization of the Finland-Swedish population of Canada is inevitable, given the small population and widespread distribution across the country. The distinct dichotomy of identity shifts towards Canadianism and the maintenance of ethnic traditions seems to indicate that although assimilation may be the end result of the process underway, at present, acculturation is also prevalent. Some of the Canadian lifestyle, identity and language are adopted closely, while some of the Old World traditions are held. In the final analysis, it is a sad commentary to stress the fact that while many Finland-Swedes would like to maintain or learn the Swedish language, for reasons such as no available schooling, not enough interaction in the Swedish language, and the limited value in practical use given to the language, it is not being learned by the younger generations.

The most significant finding of the chapter leads to a 3-stage model of ethnic identity change. Depending on the decade of original arrival in Canada, Finland-Swedes have identified themselves as Swedes, Finland-Swedes and Finns. With these changing identities, there are possible implications for the accuracy of ethnic statistics that include the Swedish and Finnish ethnic groups. During Stage I – Pre 1930s period, the Finland-Swedish immigrants claiming a Swedish identity may have been counted amongst the Swedish immigrants to Canada during a Census year. This identity in turn could be passed to the descendants of the early Finland-Swedish settlers. Indeed, a number of respondents did follow this scenario. This finding supports the claims made earlier in Chapter 4.

According to Yinger (1994), ethnic identity shifts are quite common. In the United States, studies have found that local, tribal, or regional lines among immigrants are replaced to some degree by enlarged pan-ethnic clusters. Immigrants from Italy might identify themselves as Sicilians, perhaps from a particular region of Sicily. Their descendants become Italians, the shift in identity

being toward a "high" Italian culture not previously their own (Tricarico, 1989:24–26). Is it possible, that while assimilation to the Canadian society occurs amongst the Finland-Swedes in Canada, the option of shifting identities to become more "Finnish" or "Swedish" is available? Have the Finland-Swedes integrated or assimilated into, or separated and marginalized themselves from the Finnish or the Swedish ethnic communities? These questions are considered in the following chapter.

# Chapter 10

## Integration or separation?

## Assimilation or marginalization?

## The acculturation paths of Finland-Swedes

### 10.1 Introduction

The second hypothesis of this dissertation asks what form of acculturation does the Finland-Swedish population of Canada adopt. Acculturation of the Finland-Swedes is believed to fall into a multilinear phenomenon, where options of integration with or separation from the Finnish immigrant population is available. At the same time, the Finland-Swedes have an option of integrating or assimilating with the Swedish immigrant population or the Canadian society in general.

To answer the question posed in the chapter heading, an analysis of two variables will be able to provide some indication whether the Finland-Swedes have followed any of the four paths established by Berry (1988) and explained in Chapter 2.

In order to respond to the question "Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?" the following analysis depends entirely on the self-identity as prescribed by the Finland-Swedish population itself. Self-identity in the category Finland-Swede means "yes", while any other choice for self-identity equates to "no".

In order to respond to the question "Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups, i. e. Finnish-Canadians?" the analysis will depend on a cumulative analysis of respondent association with 1) exclusively Finnish clubs and organizations; 2) Finnish congregations; 3) subscriptions to Finnish language publications; 4) the respondent's mother tongue; and 5) the language spoken at home. Any respondent who has at least one of these ties to the Finnish ethnic group is considered as replying "yes". All respondents who have no contact in any way with Finnishness will receive the reply of "no". By using the Phi-correlation coefficient, the correlation between the variables is determined.

**Table 10.1 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group in Canada**

		ISSUE I Self identity		
		Finland-Swedish	Other	Total
ISSUE 2				
Association with "things" Finnish	Yes	32 (Integration)	50 (Assimilation)	82
	No	88 (Separation)	201 (Marginalization)	289
Total		120	251	371

Phi-coefficient = 0.076 (statistically not significant)

The correlations range from -1.00 to 0.00 to +1.00. Where  $\phi = 0.00$ , the two variables in question are independent from each other. Where  $\phi = \pm 1.00$ , a perfect positive or perfect negative relationship exists between the variables.

An analysis of acculturation towards the Swedish immigrant population is also presented. However, the final option of assimilation with the Canadian society is not examined here, as it is quite clear that the Finland-Swedes, to a large extent have indeed, assimilated. This tendency is also reinforced by the inclusion of the "other" category which is dominated by the "Canadian" identity.

## 10.2 Acculturation paths of the national sample

The acculturation paths for the Finland-Swedes in Canada show clearly that the majority of respondents fall into the marginal category (Table 10.1). A total of 201 individuals (54.2%) fall under the category of "marginalization", which Berry (1992) defines as individuals who have little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (i.e. identity), and little possibility or interest in relations with others ("things" Finnish).

A total of 88 (23.7%) of all respondents retain their distinct ethnic identity, but have no association with "things" Finnish. These individuals fall under the separation path of acculturation. Here, an acculturating individual wants to maintain the Finland-Swedish identity and culture, but does not wish to interact with the Finnish ethnicity.

A total of 50 (13.4%) of all respondents desire to associate with "things" Finnish, while at the same time identify themselves outside the Finland-Swedish identity. This category corresponds to the assimilationist path of acculturation, and indicates

**Table 10.2 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group in Vancouver, BC**

		ISSUE I Self identity		
		Finland-Swedish	Other	Total
ISSUE 2				
Association with "things" Finnish	Yes	7 (6.2%)	14 (12.4%)	<b>21</b> <b>(18.6%)</b>
	No	42 (37.2%)	50 (44.2%)	<b>92</b> <b>(81.4%)</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b> <b>(43.4%)</b>	<b>64</b> <b>(56.6%)</b>	<b>113</b> <b>(100%)</b>

Phi-coefficient = 0.097 (statistically not significant)

that a total of 50 individuals have assimilated to the Finnish ethnic population. Some of these individuals speak Finnish at home, participate in Finnish clubs and activities, or attend a Finnish church where services are conducted in the Finnish language. Essentially, these individuals would include the more recent immigrants who hold a better bilingual language knowledge, and have become identified as Finns, rather than Finland-Swedes. The recency of this assimilation trend is also seen later when the decade of immigration is considered.

Integration occurs with a total of 32 (8.6%) of all respondents. These individuals choose to maintain their ethnic identity, but also interact with the Finnish ethnic community in general. Finally, it is noted that statistically, the two issues are almost independent from each other, with  $\phi = 0.076$ .

### 10.3 Acculturation paths in Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto

When the acculturation paths are considered according to the three major urban centres, some interesting differences are encountered.

In Vancouver, a large majority prefers to choose the marginalization (44.2%) path of acculturation or the separation path (37.2%). Only 12.4% assimilate with the Finnish community, while 6.2% integrate themselves with the Finnish-speakers (Table 10.2).

In Thunder Bay, marginalization among 63.8% of the respondents is the most common acculturation path, which is followed by complete separation by 24.1% of the Thunder Bay Finn-Swedes from the Finnish-Canadian community.

**Table 10.3 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group in Thunder Bay, Ontario**

		ISSUE I Self identity		
		Finland-Swedish	Other	Total
ISSUE 2				
Association with "things" Finnish	Yes	1 (1.7%)	6 (10.3%)	7 (12.1%)
	No	14 (24.1%)	37 (63.8%)	51 (87.9%)
Total		15 (25.9%)	43 (74.1%)	58 (100%)

Phi-coefficient = - 0.098 (statistically not significant)

**Table 10.4 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group in Toronto, Ontario**

		ISSUE I Self identity		
		Finland-Swedish	Other	Total
ISSUE 2				
Association with "things" Finnish	Yes	10 (17.9%)	15 (26.8%)	25 (44.6%)
	No	5 (8.9%)	26 (46.4%)	31 (55.4%)
Total		15 (26.8%)	41 (73.2%)	56 (100%)

Phi-coefficient = 0.268 (significant at .05 level)

Assimilation occurs only in 10.3% of the cases, while integration has the least support at 1.7% (Table 10.3).

In Toronto, marginalization is most common (46.4%), but while assimilation is quite advanced (26.8%), so is the decision to integrate with the Finnish-Canadian population (17.9%). Separation is not among the favoured options (8.9%) (Table 10.4).

In comparing the three urban centres, it is immediately noted that the Finland-Swedes of the Toronto area prefer to integrate or assimilate with the Finnish community. Statistically, the respondents in Toronto show a stronger

**Table 10.5 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group among first generation respondents**

		ISSUE I		
		Self identity		
		Finland-Swedish	Other	Total
ISSUE 2				
Association with "things" Finnish	Yes	31 (19.2%)	32 (19.9%)	63 (39.1%)
	No	67 (41.7%)	31 (19.2%)	98 (60.9%)
	Total	98 (60.9%)	63 (39.1%)	161 (100%)

Phi-coefficient = - 0.192 \* (significant at .05 level)

relationship towards association with "things" Finnish amongst the "other" identities ( $\phi = 0.268$ ) when compared to the other urban centres. In Vancouver and especially Thunder Bay, the Finland-Swedish community remains more segregated from "things" Finnish.

The position of the Canadian Finland-Swedish population, as well as the three cities examined in the four-phase acculturation process developed by Berry, indicates that the overwhelming choice for acculturation with the Finnish ethnic population involves the marginalization of the Finland-Swedes in Canada. Little desire to maintain ethnic identity and associate with the Finnish ethnic group leaves only one choice – to assimilate to the Canadian society.

## 10.4 Acculturation paths among generations

When generations are controlled for, the analysis of Finnishness vs. identity changes somewhat (Table 10.5). Among the first generation respondents, the majority of Finland-Swedes choose to follow the separation path of acculturation with the Finnish community. A total of 41.7% do not associate with "things" Finnish, but maintain a Finland-Swedish identity. The remaining three options for acculturation: assimilation, integration and separation receive almost equal support at 19%.

With the second generation, marginalization becomes the most common option, as a total of 76.4% of all second generation respondents have no contact with "things" Finnish, nor do they identify themselves as Finland-Swedes (Table 10.6). Only 13.0% maintain a position of separation. A total of 9.9% assimilate to the Finnish ethnicity, while only 1 individual representing only 0.7% of the second

**Table 10.6 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group among second generation respondents**

		ISSUE I Self identity		
		Finland-Swedish	Other	Total
ISSUE 2				
Association with "things" Finnish	Yes	1 (0.7%)	16 (9.9%)	17 (10.6%)
	No	21 (13.0%)	123 (76.4%)	144 (89.4%)
Total		22 (13.7%)	139 (86.3%)	161 (100%)

Phi-coefficient = - 0.078 (statistically not significant)

**Table 10.7 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish ethnic group among third generation respondents**

		ISSUE I Self identity		
		Finland-Swedish	Other	Total
ISSUE 2				
Association with "things" Finnish	Yes	0 (0%)	2 (4.2%)	2 (4.2%)
	No	0 (0%)	45 (95.8%)	45 (95.8%)
Total		0 (0%)	47 (100%)	47 (100%)

Phi-coefficient cannot be calculated.

generation sample, has chosen the integration approach of maintaining the Finland-Swedish identity while associating with "things" Finnish.

Finally, in the third generation, no Finland-Swedish identity is maintained, and the overwhelming majority (95.8%) of respondents choose a marginal acculturation path, where identity and association are lost. Only 4. 2% maintain some contact with "things Finnish" while identifying themselves with some other ethnic background (Table 10.7).



**Table 10.8 Dominant acculturation path for respondents according to decade of immigration**

Immigration Decade	Assoc. w/Finns		Identity		Dominant path
	Yes	No	F/S	Other	
1881–1890	0	2	0	2	Marginalization
1891–1900	1	9	2	8	Marginalization
1901–1910	2	22	4	20	Marginalization
1911–1920	3	8	0	11	Marginalization
1921–1930	8	118	26	100	Marginalization
1931–1940	1	4	1	4	Marginalization
1941–1950	1	6	2	5	Marginalization
1951–1960	33	83	51	65	Marginalization
1961–1970	9	11	12	8	Integration & Separation
1971–1980	6	8	6	8	Marginalization
1981–1990	5	1	5	1	Integration
1991–1996	1	1	2	0	Integration & Separation
<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>230</b>	

In comparing the three generations, it is noted that although statistically not very strong, the first generation still holds more to "things" Finnish ( $\phi = -0.192$ ), while the second generation falls behind ( $\phi = -0.078$ ). The third generation cannot statistically be included, but the obvious result seems to show that Finland-Swedish identity no longer exists and only a very small fraction of this generation shows interest in "things" Finnish.

## 10.5 Acculturation paths and decade of immigration

In examining the trends in acculturation paths according to the decade of immigration, it is noted that recent immigrants chose to integrate with the Finnish community more. The following Table gives the majority position during each decade in question (Table 10.8). Overall, marginalization dominates the entire Finland-Swedish population in Canada, but since the 1960s, more integration and separation has occurred. Assimilation to the Finnish ethnic population has not been a dominating option during any of the time periods. However, to explain the trend of recent immigrants opting for the assimilationist path of acculturation, it appears that the decade of arrival in Canada does correspond to the claim made earlier (Table 10.9). When the two largest sub-samples which immigrated to Canada in the 1920s and 1950s is compared, it is noted that a much higher assimilation rate occurs with the more recent immigrant group. Of the immigrants who arrived in the 1920s, only 4.7% or 6/126 individuals have assimilated to the

**Table 10.9 Assimilation path towards the Finnish ethnic group according to immigration decade**

Immigration decade	Assimil. path (N)	Total immigrants/decade (N)	% share
1881–1890	4	4	0.0
1891–1900	1	10	10.0
1901–1910	2	24	8.3
1911–1920	3	11	27.3
1921–1930	6	126	4.7
1931–1940	1	5	20.0
1941–1950	1	7	14.3
1951–1960	22	116	18.9
1961–1970	3	20	15.0
1971–1980	3	14	21.4
1981–1990	1	6	16.6
1991–1996	2	2	0.0
Missing data		30	
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>345</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Finnish ethnicity. Amongst the immigrants who arrived in the 1950s, 18.9% or 22/116 assimilate with Finns, revealing a definite trend. With the decades following this, the assimilated population remains fairly steady in the 15–21% range.

Thus, when considering the immigration decade, it appears that the percentage of respondents arriving since 1950 who choose the assimilationist path, i. e. association with the Finnish ethnic group in Canada, is stronger than in the pre-1950s period. Indeed, during decades prior to 1950, a total of 14/187 individuals followed the assimilationist path, representing 7.5% of all respondents during this period. Conversely, from 1950 forward, a total of 29/158 respondents chose to assimilate with the Finnish ethnic group, representing 18.4% of all respondents who arrived after 1950.

## 10.6 Regional association with ethnic media

One indication of the acculturation path chosen by the Finland-Swedes in Canada includes the readership of material written in either the Swedish or Finnish

**Table 10.10 Finland-Swede subscriptions in Vancouver CMA**

Name of publication	Subscribers (N)	Percentage %	Percentage of total resp.
Swedish Press	18	33.3	21.1
Vasabladet <sup>1</sup>	9	16.6	10.6
Norden	8	14.8	9.4
Leading Star	8	14.8	9.4
Scandinavian Press	7	12.9	8.2
Swedish/Finnish books	6	11.1	7.1
Syd Osterbotten <sup>1</sup>	4	7.4	4.7
Allers Veckotidning <sup>1</sup>	3	5.6	3.6
Hemmets Journal <sup>1</sup>	3	5.6	3.6
Huvfudstadsbladet <sup>1</sup>	3	5.6	3.6
Swedish newspapers	3	5.6	3.6
Other	15	27.8	17.6
<b>Total subscribers</b>	<b>54<sup>2</sup></b>		<b>63.5</b>
No subscriptions	31		36.5
Missing data	26		
<b>Total</b>	<b>111</b>		<b>100.00</b>

<sup>1</sup> These newspapers are printed and published in Finland.

<sup>2</sup> A number of respondents subscribe to more than one publication, thus 54 respondents subscribe to a total of 87 publications (average = 1.61 publications/subscriber).

languages. Some interesting facts emerge from the data that further support the acculturation trends noted in the previous sections.

In examining the three urban centres once again, it becomes evident, as has already been noted in previous chapters, that the Finland-Swedes of Vancouver have held closer ties with the Swedish rather than the Finnish population. This is demonstrated by the readership of newspapers and magazines. Many individuals in the Vancouver area whose mother tongue is Swedish have subscribed to various Swedish language publications. These include the monthly magazine *Svenska Pressen*/Swedish Press (written mostly in Swedish) and the quarterly magazine Scandinavian Press (written mostly in English), which are both printed in Vancouver. The *Svenska Pressen* was also edited by Helge Ekengren (1896–1961), a Finland-Swede from Frederickshamn, during the 1920s (Myhrman, 1972:393). The Order of Runeberg publishes the monthly newspaper *Leading Star*/Ledstjärnan from Portland, Oregon in English. Finally, the only weekly Finland-Swedish newspaper *Norden*, published in New York, is received by some Vancouver area residents (Table 10.10). With no language knowledge in Finnish,

**Table 10.11 Finland-Swede subscriptions in Toronto CMA**

Name of publication	Subscribers (N)	Percentage %	Percentage of total resp.
Vapaa Sana <sup>1</sup>	18	69.0	40.0
Norden	5	19.2	11.1
Swedish magazines	3	11.5	6.7
Swedish Press	2	7.7	4.4
Swedish/Finnish books	2	7.7	4.4
Osterbottningar <sup>2</sup>	1	3.8	2.2
Hufvudstadsbladet <sup>2</sup>	1	3.8	2.2
Other	9	34.6	20.0
<b>Total subscribers</b>	<b>26<sup>3</sup></b>		<b>57.8</b>
No subscriptions	19		42.2
Missing data	12		
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>		<b>100.00</b>

<sup>1</sup> The *Vapaa Sana* is a Finnish-language weekly published in Toronto.

<sup>2</sup> These newspapers are printed and published in Finland.

<sup>3</sup> A number of respondents subscribe to more than one publication, thus 26 respondents subscribe to a total of 41 publications (average = 1.57 publications/subscriber).

it is inevitable that the Finland-Swedes read news and report their activities in the pages of Swedish-language publications.

In Toronto, a number of publications are available to the respondents. Of historical interest is the newspaper *Canada Svensken* which was established in 1961 by Thorwald Wiik, a Finland-Swede born in Finland in 1915, who immigrated to Canada in 1928 at the age of 13 (MHSO-SWE-4257-W11). Initially published semi-monthly, it later became a monthly publication. As this paper was provided free of charge to Finland-Swedes and others interested in a Swedish language newspaper in the Toronto area, it depended almost totally on advertisements derived from private enterprises. After a lengthy struggle to keep the paper in operation without government assistance, the paper could not survive and it folded in 1978 (National Archives).

Of all newspapers subscribed to by the Toronto area respondents, an overwhelming majority receive the *Vapaa Sana* or "Free Word" (Table 10.11). Although printed in Finnish, with only a small English-language section, it appears that many of the Toronto respondents are fluent in the Finnish language. This is a reflection of better educated immigrants who have moved to Toronto since the 1950s.

**Table 10.12 Finland-Swede subscriptions in Thunder Bay CMA**

Name of publication	Subscribers (N)	Percentage %	Percentage of total resp.
Norden	5	45.4	10.2
Scandinavian Press	3	27.2	6.1
Swedish Press	2	18.1	4.1
Vasabladet <sup>1</sup>	2	18.1	4.1
Swedish magazines	1	9.1	2.0
Other	2	18.1	4.1
<b>Total subscribers</b>	<b>11<sup>2</sup></b>		<b>22.4</b>
No subscriptions	38		77.6
Missing data	9		
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>		<b>100.00</b>

<sup>1</sup> The *Vasabladet* is published in Finland.

<sup>2</sup> A number of respondents subscribe to more than one publication, thus 11 respondents subscribe to a total of 15 publications (average = 1.36 publications/subscriber).

Finally, the respondents of Thunder Bay provide the weakest association with ethnic publications. Only some 22% (11/58) of all respondents read the publications listed in Table 10.12. The Swedish-language newspaper *Norden* has five subscribers, along with other Swedish-language papers and magazines. No Finnish-language newspapers or magazines were reported amongst the respondents.

## 10.7 Finland-Swedish acculturation with the Swedish ethnic community in Canada

The acculturation paths chosen by the Finland-Swedes in becoming more involved with the Finnish-speaking community in Canada is now established. This has answered only part of the second hypothesis proposed earlier. Next, the association with "things" Swedish must be considered. These data were tabulated according to the respondent association with 1) exclusively Swedish clubs and organizations; 2) Swedish congregations; and 3) subscriptions to Swedish language publications. With newspaper subscriptions, only Swedish-language publications published in Sweden or Canada, whose main interest is to serve the Swedish ethnic population in Canada, were considered. These include the *Swedish Press*, *Svenska Pressen*, *Swedish Women's Educational Association (SWEA) Newsletter*, and magazines or

**Table 10.13 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Swedish ethnic group in Canada**

		ISSUE I Self identity		Total
		Finland-Swedish	Other	
ISSUE 2  Association with "things" Swedish	Yes	37 (Integration)	34 (Assimilation)	71
	No	87 (Separation)	214 (Marginalization)	301
	Total	124	248	372

Phi-coefficient = 0.193\*\*\* (significant at the .001 level)

newspapers which arrive directly from Sweden. Some of these publications were also listed on Tables 10.10–10.12.

In terms of religious affiliation, the designation of a "Swedish Lutheran" church was understood as being part of the former Swedish Augustana Synod, which was organized by the Swedes. Only in a few instances were the Finland-Swedes instrumental in forming their own congregations which were apart from the Swedish congregations (an example is the former Immanuel Lutheran Church in New Westminster, BC.). Clubs and organizations which included clear Swedish origins, rather than Finland-Swedish origins, were also identified from the questionnaires.

The acculturation path chosen by the vast majority of Finland-Swedes in terms of trying to associate with the Swedish-speaking Swedes appears slightly more positive when compared to the Finland-Swedish association with the Finns ( $\phi = 0.193$ ). However, the overwhelming majority of respondents choose the path of marginalization (Table 10.13). Nearly 81% of all respondents have no association with "things" Swedish. When 66.7% claim a self-identity other than Finland-Swede, the result indicates that a total of 57.5% of all respondents are marginal towards the Swedish ethnic group.

When the dominant acculturation path according to time of arrival in Canada is considered, it is noted that assimilation towards the Swedish ethnic group in Canada seemed to be at its height during the 1880–1910 period (Tables 10.14 & 10.15). Indeed, this observation was made earlier in regard to the ethnic identity claimed by the respondents whose ancestors arrived during the period in question. Some similarities with the Finnish ethnic population are encountered however. The Finland-Swedes do not show a very strong affiliation to either the Finnish-speaking Finns, nor the Swedish-speaking Swedes. This observation supports the tendency

**Table 10.14 Dominant acculturation path for respondents according to decade of immigration or ancestors arrival in Canada**

Immigration Decade	Assoc. w/Swedes		Identity		Dominant path
	Yes	No	F/S	Other	
1881–1890		4	0	5	Marginalization
1891–1900	6	4	2	8	Assimilation & Marginalization
1901–1910	4	12	3	13	Marginalization
1911–1920	0	8	0	8	Marginalization
1921–1930	19	114	30	103	Marginalization
1931–1940	1	4	1	4	Marginalization
1941–1950	1	6	2	5	Marginalization
1951–1960	21	94	52	63	Marginalization
1961–1970	2	18	12	8	Separation
1971–1980	4		7	8	Marginalization
1981–1990	5	1	5	1	Integration
1991–1996	1		2	0	Integration & Separation
Date missing	6	24	8	22	
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>248</b>	

and claim made by John Syrjämäki (1940), where "the Swedes high-hat us (the Finland-Swedes) and the Finns look down upon us". The overall trend is a definite marginalization, where the Finland-Swedes reject their Finland-Swedish ethnicity and association with "things" Swedish. In comparison to association with "things" Finnish, the Finland-Swedes appear to associate with the Finnish-speaking community somewhat more willingly (22.1%) than with the Swedish ethnic group (19.1%).

## 10.8 Acculturation paths towards Swedes in Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto

A relatively low level of association has been established for the Finland-Swedes and Finns across Canada. The association towards the Swedes shows a slightly higher correlation.

In Vancouver, marginalization is the choice of a large proportion of respondents (50.4%) (Table 10.16). Association with "things" Swedish attracts a total of 20.4% of the respondents. In this category, integration occurs amongst 14.2% of the population, but more significant is the acculturation path of separation, which is chosen by 29.2% of the respondents. The correlation between identity and association with "things" Swedish is fairly low ( $\phi = 0.267$ ). This

**Table 10.15 Assimilation path towards the Swedish ethnic group according to immigration decade or ancestors arrival in Canada**

<u>Immigration</u> decade	Assimil. path (N)	Total immigrants/decade (N)	% share
1881–1890	1	5	20.0
1891–1900	4	10	40.0
1901–1910	3	16	18.8
1911–1920	0	8	0.0
1921–1930	10	133	7.5
1931–1940	0	5	0.0
1941–1950	0	7	0.0
1951–1960	9	115	7.8
1961–1970	0	20	0.0
1971–1980	0	15	0.0
1981–1990	1	6	16.6
1991–1996	0	2	0.0
Missing data		30	
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>372</b>	<b>100.00</b>

value, however, is more significant that the correlation towards the Finnish ethnic community in Vancouver.

In Thunder Bay, the Swedish influence is noticeably stronger. Here, 25.9% of respondents fall into the assimilation path of acculturation (Table 10.17). Indeed, Thunder Bay has many Finland-Swedes who identify themselves as Swedish, which is reflected by the assimilation category. Association with "things" Swedish ranks high, as 41.4% of all respondents have some association with the Swedish ethnic community of Thunder Bay. Still, marginalization is the most dominant acculturation path, as 48.3% of all respondents can be classed into this category. The relationship between the variables is lower than for Toronto ( $\phi = 0.223$ ), which indicates that the variables are fairly independent of each other.

In Toronto, 66.1% of the respondents follow the path of marginalization (Table 10.18). Only 19.6% of the respondents associate with "things" Swedish. Integration is most prominent in Toronto, as 14.3% of all respondents identify themselves as Finland-Swedes while maintaining ties to the Swedish community. Of interest is the relative strength of the relationship between the two variables ( $\phi = 0.412$ ), which indicates a fairly strong relationship between identity and association with "things" Swedish.

In comparing the three urban populations, it is noted that while marginalization dominates all centres, Thunder Bay shows a high level of assimilation towards the



**Table 10.16 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Swedish ethnic group in Vancouver, B.C.**

		ISSUE I Self identity		
		Finland-Swedish	Other	Total
ISSUE 2				
Association with "things" Swedish	Yes	16 (14.2%)	7 (6.2%)	23 (20.4%)
	No	33 (29.2%)	57 (50.4%)	90 (79.6%)
Total		49 (43.3%)	64 (56.7%)	113 (100%)

Phi-coefficient = 0.267\*\*\* (significant at the .001 level)

**Table 10.17 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Swedish ethnic group in Thunder Bay, Ontario**

		ISSUE I Self identity		
		Finland-Swedish	Other	Total
ISSUE 2				
Association with "things" Swedish	Yes	9 (15.5%)	15 (25.9%)	24 (41.4%)
	No	6 (10.3%)	28 (48.3%)	34 (58.6%)
Total		15 (25.8%)	43 (74.2%)	58 (100%)

Phi-coefficient = 0.223 (statistically not significant)

Swedes. Here, Finland-Swedes often identify themselves as Swedish, and desire to participate in Swedish activities, etc. This is in contrast to Toronto and Vancouver, where separation involves the desire to maintain the ethnic identity, but does not include a desire to interact with the Swedish ethnic community in general. This is followed by integration where association with the Swedish is sought and the Finland-Swedish identity is kept up.

The overall correlation between the variables shows that the Toronto Finland-Swedes show the highest relationship between their identity and their association with the Swedes. Meanwhile, the correlations found in Thunder Bay and

**Table 10.18 Acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Swedish ethnic group in Toronto, Ontario**

		ISSUE I Self identity		
		Finland-Swedish	Other	Total
ISSUE 2  Association with "things" Swedish	Yes	7 (12.5%)	4 (7.1%)	11 (19.6%)
	No	8 (14.3%)	37 (66.1%)	45 (80.4%)
	Total	15 (29.8%)	41 (70.2%)	56 (100%)

Phi-coefficient = 0.412\*\*\* (significant at the .001 level)

Vancouver are slightly lower. Still, when the national and regional correlations of association with Finland-Swedes towards the Finnish ethnic population are considered, it is concluded that a higher level of association is found between the Finland-Swedish and Swedish populations. This indicates a continued interest amongst the Finland-Swedes to maintain ties to the Swedish population of Canada – especially in Thunder Bay, although interest in the Finnish ethnic group is developing further in cities such as Toronto and Vancouver.

## 10.9 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the alternatives available for the Finland-Swedes in acculturating with the Finnish-speaking immigrants in Canada and in the three CMA's of Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto. Consideration of the acculturation paths towards the immigrants from Sweden was also examined. From these analyses, it is concluded that the Finland-Swedes have maintained a historic pattern of choosing marginalization as the dominant path in acculturating with both the Finnish and Swedish immigrant population. Some assimilation of Finland-Swedes with the Swedes occurred between 1891–1900, but the dominant marginalization pattern has lasted until 1960. Since 1960, the Finland-Swedes have become more integrated with the Finns and Swedes, while two decades of separation paths towards both Finns and Swedes are noted. Assimilation as an option in the acculturation of Finland-Swedes to the Finnish community has never appeared dominant, although it has received more emphasis among the post-1950s immigrants. This conclusion is further supported by the involvement of the more

recently immigrated Finland-Swedes in Toronto's Finnish community, and their interest in reading Finnish ethnic newspapers and literature.

The conclusions based on the age-old difference between the Finland-Swedes and Finnish-speaking immigrants which seems to maintain itself in Canada can be seen in the barriers experienced by the two different languages, which is supported by the theory of speech accommodation (Smith & Bond, 1994). As has been shown in the regional analyses of Finland-Swedes in the three major CMA's and their interaction with Finnish-speaking immigrants, the problem of interaction can be seen in the comments of Smith and Bond:

*"If two cultural groups are antagonistic towards one another and if group membership is a salient component of the interaction, divergence of speech will probably occur. Participants will refuse to speak the other party's language, effectively isolating one another behind a wall of inscrutability. Given the close perceived association between language and culture, members of one cultural group may even refuse to learn the other group's language. They may believe that including it in their educational curriculum would subtract from their own cultural heritage, or perpetuate the dominance of a resented culture" (Smith & Bond, 1994:180).*

Finland-Swedes in Canada have gone through this dilemma. In Vancouver, Finland-Swedes and Finns have not been able to mix together due to the language issue. In Toronto, a similar situation seems to exist, as the older Finland-Swedish residents have isolated themselves from the Finnish-speaking population. Only the younger, more recently arrived have mixed with the Finnish-speaking population. In Thunder Bay, as in Vancouver, isolationism from the Finnish-speakers is more common, and the result of the national sample of all Finland-Swedes indicates that the path chosen by the majority of respondents in terms of acculturating into the Finnish ethnic community involves marginalization, where a respondent has little possibility or interest in maintaining a distinct Finland-Swedish identity, and shows little possibility or interest in relating to the Finnish-speaking ethnic group in Canada.

The Finland-Swedes do show, however, a higher interest in associating with the Swedish immigrant population of Canada. Assimilation as an acculturation path towards the Swedish community is most common in Thunder Bay, while Toronto and Vancouver also indicate a choice of association with the Swedes.



# **Chapter 11**

## **Conclusions**

### **11.1 Introduction**

The goals of this dissertation were to examine the migration, settlement and ethnic relations of the Finland-Swedish population of Canada; to ascertain the locational settlement tendencies of the Finland-Swedes in relation to the Finnish settlement patterns in Canada; and to examine the place this ethnic group has had in various economic, social and cultural areas in Canada. The research also aimed at understanding the degree of Finland-Swedish self-identity and the cohesiveness of the ethnolinguistic group, along with an examination of Finland-Swedish relations and attitudes towards the Finnish-speaking and Swedish immigrants in Canada.

From the foregoing chapters, a number of interesting aspects emerge, which may be developed further in order to understand better the Finland-Swedish ethnicity in Canada. They include the settlement pattern of the Finland-Swedes, changing identity patterns as expressed by the Finland-Swedish respondents, and the acculturation paths chosen by the respondents in the three largest Finland-Swedish population clusters of Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Toronto.

### **11.2 Geographic settlement pattern**

One of the initial aims of this dissertation was to examine the settlement pattern chosen by the Finland-Swedes, and to make comparison with the settlement patterns of the Finnish-speaking immigrants. A total of nearly 100,000 Finns resided in Canada as of 1991, with the largest majority in the province of Ontario, followed by British Columbia. In terms of the three largest urban concentrations, Finns are found in Toronto, Thunder Bay, and Vancouver. When Finland-Swedes are compared, both the 1991 Census and the present survey conclude that the highest concentration of Finland-Swedes is found in British Columbia, with the

Vancouver CMA holding the largest share of Finland-Swedes in all of Canada. Vancouver is then followed by Thunder Bay and Toronto respectively. Although Toronto has a sizeable Finland-Swedish population according to the 1991 Census, Thunder Bay does not. The present research has shown clearly that the 1991 Census Figures are misleading, and that Thunder Bay holds at least the contacted 58 respondents who are Finland-Swedish, and definitely more than the 10 individuals reported by Statistics Canada as speaking Swedish as a mother tongue.

Apart from this detail, it appears that Finland-Swedes have followed closely the Finnish immigrants, and settled close to them. Indeed, many have shared the same jobs, and organized clubs and churches near to the Finnish clubs and congregations. Yet, due to the language differences, the two groups have remained mostly apart from one another.

### **11.3 The 5-stage model of intergroup relations revisited**

As noted in Chapter 3, the rise of Finnish as well as Swedish nationalism in Finland helped in the development of an independent nation while also ensuring equal rights for the Finnish and Swedish languages. The Finland-Swedes received rights to uphold their language and culture in the Swedish-speaking areas of the country, areas which essentially have remained intact for hundreds of years. Although a number of Swedish-speakers held leading roles in the rise of Finnish nationalism, the five stage model of intergroup relations does appear more accurate in the historical development of Finland. With the emigration of thousands of Finnish and Swedish-speakers to Canada, however, there was no need for co-existence amongst the two ethnolinguistic groups. In Canada, all immigrants sought to assimilate and learn the language of the new homeland, and both Finns and Finland-Swedes fought the same battles to overcome their difficulties in a new country. The clearly stratified intergroup relations still exist in Canada as a carryover from past conditions in Finland. This coincides with Stage I of the model. Stage II – individualistic ideology and Stage III – individual social mobility may have occurred in Canada as well, but there was no need for Stage IV – consciousness raising, nor Stage V – collective action amongst the Finland-Swedish population.

For Finland-Swedes in Canada, emigration from Finland may have brought about the end of improvements in intergroup relations. Emigration most certainly brought an end to the rise of ethnic consciousness and collective actions to ensure rights and freedoms. These were guaranteed to the Finland-Swedes who remained in Finland by the Finnish government in 1921. With immigration to Canada, the two ethnolinguistic groups could remain segregated from one another in a multicultural society, where the language of survival was and still is either English or French.

## 11.4 The 3-stage model of Finland-Swedish identity shifts

In terms of model building, a 3-stage model of identity shifts dependent on the decade of immigrant arrival in Canada was shown to influence the Finland-Swedes in Canada. The descendants of immigrants who arrived in Canada prior to 1930 often claimed a Swedish identity. In fact, when all ethnic identities are compared with each other, it becomes obvious that the majority of respondents with a Swedish identity have their immigration roots in the pre-1930s period. The majority of respondents who claim a Finnish identity arrived in Canada after 1950, while Finland-Swedish identity dominates between 1920 and 1960. This model suggests that the lack of knowledge in regard to the rising nationalism and eventual independence of Finland caused many to assimilate with the Swedish ethnic group. This is supported by the acculturation paths examined in Chapter 10. The declaration of rights for the Finland-Swedes in Finland promoted their self-identity, which was brought to Canada during the 1920–1960 period, while the post-WWII period has helped merge the two ethnolinguistic groups closer together. Thus, the Finland-Swedes arriving since 1950 show a greater tendency to identify with Finnish ethnicity. To this is added the bilingual ability of most Finland-Swedes, and thus integration into the Finnish ethnic group activities is more evident than in the past. This is especially true amongst the Toronto Finland-Swedes.

In North America, identity of an immigrant often changes from an "Old World" identity to a "New World" identity. As an example, a foreign born Italian becomes an American or a German becomes a Canadian. A hyphenated identity often exists before assimilation is complete. With the term Finland-Swedish, there is no intention of a hyphenated identity in the context that it occurs in North America. The Finland-Swedes represent an entity to themselves. Depending on the date of immigration to Canada, the Finland-Swedes show a process of changing identities three separate times from a Swedish identity, to a distinct Finland-Swedish identity, to a third distinction of Finnish ethnicity. A hyphenated Canadian identity does occur amongst some of the Finland-Swedes, and as such become known as Finland-Swedish-Canadians. Due to the difficulties in explaining this meaning, very few Finland-Swedes use this designation of themselves. Rather, many respondents indicated that the terms Swedish-Canadian or Finnish-Canadian are preferred by many Finland-Swedes in Canada.

## 11.5 Regional and national attitude shifts

The three largest urban concentrations along with all Finland-Swedes in Canada depict differences in their attitudes and sympathies towards other ethnic groups. Support for the ethnocentric theory is found here, as the Finland-Swedes place themselves at the top of the list of ethnic groups. The only exception was Thunder

Bay, where Canadians were first. However, the tendency for Finland-Swedes to rank the Finns lower in comparison to what was encountered in Finland (McRae et al., 1988), becomes of interest. It is here concluded that the Finland-Swedes no longer have to associate themselves with the Finnish-speaking population as is the case in Finland. In Finland, a situation exists where the majority of the nation speaks Finnish, and although the Finland-Swedes maintain a definite position amongst the population and have guaranteed rights, the two ethnolinguistic groups strive for a harmonious co-existence. Speech accommodation by the Finland-Swedes has helped the Finland-Swedes to associate with the Finns in order to become accepted more readily. In order to try to alleviate the old historical antagonisms still held by many Finnish-speakers, the Finland-Swedes appear to "turn the other cheek" and show affection towards the Finns, which is not reciprocated by the other group. Since the Finland-Swedes live in Finland next to the Finnish-speaking majority, their survival and happiness in life depends on living alongside the Finns in harmony. Thus the asymmetrical attitudes. It appears that in Finland, the accommodation offered by the Finland-Swedes is a one-way effort. Speech accommodation is ideally a mutual concern, but is obviously dependent on the interpersonal attractions and relative power of the groups involved (Smith & Bond, 1994:180).

In Canada, this no longer holds true. There is freedom to use any language, and as English is the language of the majority, the Swedish and Finnish language groups have not needed to interact as in Finland. Thus the Finland-Swedes and Finns have remained separate, and according to the very tentative comparisons, do reciprocate each others attitudes.

## **11.6 Acculturation into the Finnish and Swedish ethnic communities**

The Finland-Swedes show a definite pattern of marginalization towards both the Finnish and Swedish ethnic groups of Canada. This marginalization according to Berry, et al. (1988) involves the lack of ethnic self-identity and the lack of opportunity or desire to associate with the culture and activities of either the Finns or Swedes. Integration towards the Finnish ethnic group has been more evident in the last few decades, especially in Toronto and Vancouver. Similarly, integration with the Swedish community occurs across Canada, and association with the Swedish immigrants and Swedish culture is more evident when compared to the Finnish. The Swedes in Thunder Bay show a strong tendency to assimilation, although this is not as strong as in Toronto or Vancouver. Historically, it was shown that assimilation with the Swedes was a choice adopted by earlier immigrants, and maintained by the descendants of the settlers who arrived in the late 1800s and very early 1900s.



The end result of this analysis shows that Finland-Swedes do not maintain strong associations with either the Finnish or Swedish immigrant population, and choose a marginal association path with these groups.

## 11.7 A critique and recommendations for future research

A number of criticisms need to be addressed before some recommendations for future research can be made. Some questions in the questionnaire did not allow for analysis because of sampling error. This was especially true when considering questions on support for mother tongue amongst respondent children. When the respondent claimed an English mother tongue (question #13), responses for question numbers 17, 18 and 21, and 22 often related to the knowledge of English or the support of English. As a result, these questions could not be included in the analysis because of inconsistency throughout the survey.

Another criticism includes the omission of a question which should have been included on the questionnaire, involving past responses given to Statistics Canada Census counts. To evaluate accurately the tendencies of ethnic identity, it would be very helpful to know how the respondents identified their ancestry in the last census. The answer to such a question would validate the matter of self-identity where some respondents claim an identity of being Swedish or Finnish, since Finland-Swedes as a group and as an identifying term are generally unknown.

There are numerous opportunities for research involving the Finland-Swedish and the Finnish populations of Canada. This research only skims the surface of possibilities in making comparisons between the ethnolinguistic groups residing in Finland and in Canada. The attitudes and asymmetrical sympathy scores that exist in Finland between the groups may or may not emerge in Canada. Thus, a detailed analysis of Finnish attitudes towards other ethnicities, and the Finland-Swedes in particular would be most helpful. A more up-to-date analysis of attitudinal trends in Finland would be appropriate in comparing Canadian results, while the Finnish and Finland-Swedish populations need to be analyzed according to generations, major urban centres and other regional concentrations. This analysis can also be undertaken for groups in other countries, such as the United States, where the Finland-Swedes have a sizeable population.

In terms of other ethnic minorities, who share a homeland in common but are divided along linguistic lines, it would be very valuable and interesting to make similar studies on the people of Belgium, i. e. the Walloons and Flemish Belgian immigrants to North America. Similarly, groups such as the Bosnians and Croatians of former Yugoslavia, and the ethnic Germans from the Ukraine and Ukrainians in Canada, might all be similarly researched. Results of such studies could provide a better understanding of not just assimilation to the host society, but assimilation and acculturation with the other ethno-national group which has emigrated from the same country of origin. In the end, in the case of smaller ethnic

groups living away from their country of origin, such as the Finland-Swedes and the Finns, assimilation and acculturation has also become a matter of collective ethnic cohesiveness and consciousness.

## **11.8 The placing of Finland-Swedes in cultural geography**

The contribution this work makes to the field of cultural-historical geography and by extension to behavioural geography, is in its attempt to understand the internal dynamics of an ethnic group that composes part of the multicultural society of Canada. According to Kivisto (1995:462), a greater understanding involves understanding the nature of intergroup relations over time. It requires locating these groups and patterns of relationships in terms of the economic, political, and cultural character of the larger Canadian society. In this case, the Finland-Swedes of Canada can only be understood when the intergroup relations towards the Finnish as well as the Swedish immigrant population of Canada are considered.

This research has involved cross-fertilized concepts found in a number of disciplines. By combining concepts from social and cross-cultural psychology and sociology, the text becomes part of behavioural geography. According to Aitken, Cutter, Foote & Sell (1989:227), the overlap of behavioural research and historical geography is small, being confined to a few scholars who are committed to both subfields (Lowenthal, 1985; Doughty, 1987; Sonnenfeld, 1994). In this context, this text extends the comparative research among varied social and cultural groups.

## **11.9 Epilogue**

While this work has contributed to the fields cultural, historical, and behavioural geography, its aim has also been to bring about the understanding of the Finland-Swedes for the Finnish ethnic community of Canada. The Finns' knowledge of their fellow Swedish-speaking Finns may be enhanced by this research and a number of articles which have already been derived from it (Roinila, 1996a; 1996b; 1997). As a Finnish-speaking Finn, with possible Finland-Swedish roots (Grand-father changed his surname in 1906 from the Swedish name Helin to Roinila), this investigation has been of both personal and academic interest. With the improved knowledge of the English language amongst both the Finns and Finland-Swedes, I believe that the time has come to begin to bring the two groups together by educating members of both groups, rather than maintain the old views and differences which have kept the two groups apart. As stated earlier, more understanding is needed. To understand the past will help us understand the present, and focus on the possibilities of the future. This work is, I hope, a beginning.

# Bibliography

- Aitken, Stuart C. ; Cutter, Susan L. ; Foote, Kenneth E. & Sell, James L.** "Environmental perception and behavioural geography", in Gaile, Gary L. & Willmott, Cort J. (Eds.). *Geography in America*, Merrill, Columbus, 1989, pp. 218–238.
- Alanen, Arnold.** "The development and distribution of Finnish consumers' cooperatives in Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin, 1903–1973". in Karmi, Kaups & Ollila (Eds.), *The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives*, Migration Studies C3, Institute of Migration, Turku, 1975, pp. 103–130.
- Alanen, Arnold.** "Kaivosmiehistä maanviljelijöihin: suomalaiset siirtolaiset pohjoisten Suurten järvien alueella Yhdysvalloissa", *Terra*, Vol. 94, No. 3, 1982, pp. 189–206.
- Alanen, Arnold.** "Finns and other immigrant groups in the American Upper Midwest: Interactions and comparisons", in *Finns in North America*, Proceedings of Finn Forum III, Sept. 5–8, 1984, Migration Studies C9, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland, 1988, pp. 58–83.
- Allardt, Erik.** *Finland's Swedish Speaking Minority*. Research Report No. 17, Research Group for Comparative Sociology, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, 1977.
- Allardt, Erik.** "Implications of the ethnic revival in modern, industrialized society", *Commentationes Scientiarum Socialium*, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki, Vol. 12, 1979.
- Allardt, Erik.** "Ethnic mobilization and minority resources", *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1981(b), pp. 427–437.
- Allardt, Erik.** "Bilingualism in Finland: the position of Swedish as a minority language", in Beer, William and Jacob, James (Eds.), *Language Policy and National Unity*, Rowman & Allanheld Publishing, Totowa, 1985, pp. 79–96.
- Allardt, Erik & Karl Johan Miemois.** "A minority in both centre and periphery: an account of the Swedish-speaking Finns", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 10, 1982, pp. 265–292.
- Allardt, Erik & Christian Starck.** *Sprakgranser och samhallsstruktur. Finlands-svenskarna i ett jämförande perspektiv*, Lund, 1981(a).
- Allen, James Paul, and Turner, Eugene James.** *We The People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity*, McMillan, New York, 1988.
- Allport, Gordon W.** *The Nature of Prejudice*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Reading, Mass. , 1954.

- Ander, J.** "10 years anniversary of the Swedish Lutheran Church in Toronto", in *Svensken: Toronto Utgiven av Svenska Forsamlingen i Toronto*, Vol. 4:1, 1963, pp. 1–2.
- Anderson, Alan B. & James S. Frideres.** *Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives*, Butterworths, Toronto, 1981.
- Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church.** 85th Anniversary Booklet, AELC, Vancouver, 1988.
- Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church Directory**, Vancouver, 1995.
- Balakrishnan, T. R.** "Ethnic residential segregation in metropolitan areas of Canada", *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 1, 1975, pp. 481–498.
- Balakrishnan, T. R. and Selvanathan, K.** "Ethnic residential segregation in metropolitan Canada", in Halli, Shiva S; Trovato, Frank; and Driedger, Leo (eds.), *Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations*, Carlton University Press, Ottawa, 1990. pp. 399–413.
- Banton, M.** *Race Relations*, Tavistock, London, 1967.
- Barr, Elinor.** "Swedish language retention", in *Thunder Bay's People – Polyphony*, Vol. 9:2, 1987, pp. 84–85.
- Barr, Elinor.** "Swedes of the Lakehead", *Northern Mosaic*, April–June, 1988(a), pp. 12–13.
- Barr, Elinor.** "Swedish language institutions and activities in the Canadian Lakehead area of Northwestern Ontario 1900 to 1930", in Carlsen and Streijfert (Eds.) *Canada and the Nordic Countries: Proceedings from the 2nd International Conference of Nordic Association for Canadian Studies*, Lund University Press, 1988(b), pp. 49–55.
- Barr, Elinor.** "Swedes at the Lakehead, 1900–1930", in the *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, Papers and Records*, Vol. 20, 1992, pp. 50–62.
- Barr, Elinor.** *The Scandinavian Home Society, 1923–1993: A Place to Meet, A Place to Eat*, Scandinavian Home Society, Thunder Bay, 1996.
- Berry, John W.** "Acculturation as varieties of adaptation", in A. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, Models, and Some New Findings*, Westview, Boulder, 1980, pp. 9–25.
- Berry, J.W. & Laponce, J.A.** (Eds.), *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1994.
- Berry, John & Rudolph Kalin.** "Reciprocity of inter-ethnic attitudes in a multicultural society", *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 3, 1979, pp. 99–112.
- Berry, John W. & U. Kim.** "Acculturation and mental health", in P. Dasen, J. W. Berry & N. Sartorius (Eds.), *Cross-cultural Psychology and Health: Towards Applications*, Sage, London, 1988, pp. 207–236.
- Berry, John; Rudolph Kalin & Donald Taylor.** *Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada*, Minister of Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1977.
- Berry, John W. , Ype H. Poortinga, Marshall H. Segall and Pierre R. Dasen.** *Cross-cultural Psychology: Research and Applications*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.
- Boegh, Elizabeth.** *Immanuel Lutheran Church: The History of Immanuel Lutheran Church, 1906–1991*, 85th Anniversary booklet, Thunder Bay, Ontario, 1991.

- Bourne, Larry S. and Ley, David F.** (eds.). *The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities*, McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 1993.
- Brandt, Christian.** "The Swedish-speaking Finns (The Finland-Swedes)", paper presented at the Minorities on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia: The Case of Croatia and Serbia, for the Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Stadschlaining, Austria, Jan. 21–25, 1993.
- Breton, Raymond; Isajiw, Wsevolod W. ;Kalbach, Warren E. ; and Reitz, Jeffrey G.** *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1990.
- Brewer, M. & Campbell, D. T.** *Ethnocentrism and Intergroup Attitudes: East African Evidence*, Sage-Halsted, New York, 1976.
- Brunn, Stanley.** *Geography and Politics in the United States*, Harper & Row, New York, 1974.
- Carlson, Joan.** *The Nylund Family in Canada*, Dec. 1986.
- Cartwright, Dorwin & Zander, Alvin** (Eds.), *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory*, Tavistock Publications, London, 1960.
- Cater, John & Jones, Trevor.** *Social Geography: An Introduction to Contemporary Issues*, Edward Arnold, London, 1989.
- Chidley, Joe.** "The most famous Canadian on the planet?", *Macleans Magazine*, Nov. 27, 1995, pp. 48–51.
- Clark, Colin; Ley, David; and Peach, Ceri** (eds.), *Geography and Ethnic Pluralism*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1984.
- Dahlie, Jorgen and Fernando, Tissa** (eds.). *Ethnicity, Power & Politics in Canada*, Methuen, Toronto, 1981.
- Davis.** *Understanding Minority-Dominant Relations*, AHM Publishing, Arlington Heights, 1978.
- Dawson, Carl.** *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*, MacMillan Company of Canada, Toronto, 1936.
- De Vries, John & Vallee, Frank G.** *Language Use in Canada*, Minister of Supplies and Services Canada, Ottawa, 1980.
- Dicken, Samuel & Forrest Pitts.** *Introduction to Cultural Geography*, Xerox College Publishing, Waltham, Mass. , 1971.
- Doughty, R.** *At Home in Texas: Early Views of the Land*, Texas A & M University Press, College Station, 1987.
- Driedger, Leo.** "Toward a perspective on Canadian pluralism: Ethnic identity in Winnipeg", *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 2, 1975, pp. 77–95.
- Driedger, Leo.** *The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1978.
- Driedger, Leo.** *The Urban Factor: Sociology of Canadian Cities*, Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1991.
- Driedger, Leo.** *Multi-Ethnic Canada*, Oxford Press, London, 1996.
- Eklund, William.** *Canadan Rakentajia: Canadan Suomalaisen Järjestön Historia*, vv. 1911–1971, *Canadan Suomalainen Järjestö*, Toronto, 1983.
- Engle, Eloise.** *Finns in North America*, Leeward Publications, Annapolis, Maryland, 1975.

- Engman, Max & David Kirby.** Finland: People, Nation, State, Hurst & Company, London, 1989.
- Ennals, Peter.** "Nineteenth Century barns in Southern Ontario", Canadian Geographer, Vol. 16, 1972, pp. 256–270.
- Evening Times-Globe,** Saint John, NB. Jan. 4, 1958.
- Fairchild, H. P.** Dictionary of Sociology, Littlefield, Adams. Patterson, NJ. , 1944.
- Fellmann, Jerome; Getis, Arthur; Getis, Judith.** Human Geography: Landscapes of Human Activities, Wm. C. Brown, Dubuque, 1995.
- Fellows, Donald.** A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Minorities, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1972.
- Finnäs, Fjalar** (ed). Finlandssvenskarna 1993: En Statistisk Översikt, Svenska Finlands Folkting, Rapport Nr. 29, Helsingfors, 1995.
- Fishman, Joshua A.** Language Loyalty in the United States, Moulton and Company, the Hague, Netherlands, 1966.
- Fleras, Augie & Elliott, Jean Leonard.** Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race, Ethnic and Aboriginal Dynamics in Canada, Prentice Hall, Scarborough, 1996.
- Foote, Kenneth E.** "Introduction to 'What the world means'", in Foote, K. E. ; Hugill, P. J. ; Mathewson, K. ; & Smith, J. M. (Eds.). Re-reading Cultural Geography, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1994, pp. 291–296.
- Fougstedt, Gunnar & Hartman, Tor.** "Social factors affecting the choice of language by children of Finland-Swedish mixed marriages in Finland", Transactions of the Westermarck Society, Vol. 3, 1956, pp. 34–54.
- Gambier, Yves.** La Finlande Bilingue: Histoire, droit et realites, Etude realisee pour le Conseil de la langue francaise, Bibliotheque nationale du Quebec, 1986.
- Gardner, Robert C. and Kalin, Rudolph** (Eds.). A Canadian Social Psychology of Ethnic Relations, Methuen, Toronto, 1981.
- Gibbon, John Murray.** The Canadian Mosaic, McClelland and Stewart Ltd. , Toronto, 1938.
- Giddens, Greg.** "Monument for Finnish fishermen", Focus '92, Thunder Bay, Ontario, Vol. 1:7, 1992, pp. 1, 10.
- Glazer, Nathan & Moynihan, Daniel P.** Beyond the Melting Pot, 2nd Edition, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1970.
- Gordon, Milton.** Assimilation in American Life, Oxford University Press, New York, 1964.
- Halli, Shiva; Trovato, Frank; and Leo Driedger** (Eds.), Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations, Carleton University Press, Ottawa, 1990.
- Halliwell, Gladys M. & Persson, M. Zetta D.** Three Score and Ten 1886–1956. A Story of the Swedish Settlement of Stockholm and District, Yorkton, SK. 1959.
- Hardwick, Francis C.** (Ed.) The Return of the Vikings: Scandinavians in Canada, Campbell Printing, Vancouver, 1978.
- Hart, John Fraser.** The Look of the Land, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ., 1975.
- Heider, F.** The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations, Wiley, New York, 1958.
- Herberg, Edward N.** Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptations and Transitions, Nelson Canada, Scarborough, 1989.

- Herberts, Kjell.** "Detta svenskatalande bättre folk..." En dokumenterande innehållsanalys av språkdebatter i finsk huvudstadspress under åren 1984–1988, Institutet för finlandssvensk samhällsforskning, forskningsrapport No. 7, Åbo, 1988.
- Hietanen, Silvo.** Siirtoväen Pika-asutuslaki 1940: Asutuspoliittinen Tausta ja Sisältö Sekä Toimeenpano, Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Helsinki, 1982.
- Hilden, Kaarlo.** The Racial Composition of the Finnish Nation, Helsinki, 1932.
- Hill, Miriam H.** "Bound to the environment: Towards a phenomenology of sightlessness", in Seamon, David & Mugerauer (Eds.), *Dwelling, Place, and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*, Martinus Nijhoff, Dordrecht, 1985, pp. 99–111.
- Howard, Irene.** Vancouver's Svenskar: A history of the Swedish community in Vancouver, Vancouver Historical Society, Vancouver, B. C. , 1970.
- Hutnik, Mimmi.** Ethnic Minority Identity: A Social Psychological Perspective, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991.
- Huxley, Julian S.** "Evolution, cultural and biological", *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 7 (1966), pp. 16–20.
- Hämäläinen, Pekka Kalevi.** In Time of Storm: Revolution, Civil War, and the Ethnolinguistic Issue in Finland. State University of New York Press, Albany, 1978.
- Ilmonen, Salomon.** Amerikan Suomalaisen Raittiusliikkeen Historia, Hancock, Michigan, 1912.
- Ilmonen, Salomon.** Amerikan Suomalasten Historia I, Hancock, Michigan, 1919. II ja Elämäkertoja, Jyväskylä, Finland, 1923. III, Hancock, Michigan, 1926.
- Ilmonen, Salomon.** Amerikan Suomalaisten Historia I–II, Hancock, Michigan, 1930 & 1931.
- Isajiw, W. W.** Ethnic Identity Retention, University of Toronto Centre for Urban and Community Studies, Toronto, 1981.
- Jackson, J. Hampden.** Finland, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. , London, 1940.
- Jalkanen, Ralph.** "The possibilities for preserving a particular ethnic heritage", in Jalkanen (Ed.), *The Finns in North America. A Social Symposium*, Hancock, Michigan, 1969, pp. 208–223.
- Jalkanen, Ralph.** The Faith of the Finns: Historical Perspectives on the Finnish Lutheran Church in America. East Lansing, Michigan, 1972.
- Jaret, Charles.** Contemporary Racial and Ethnic Relations. Harper Collins, Scarborough, 1995.
- Jiobu, Robert.** Ethnicity and Assimilation, State University of New York, Albany, 1988.
- Johnston, R. J.** Geography and Geographers: Anglo-American Human Geography Since 1945, Edward Arnold, London, 1991.
- Johnston, R. J.** Multivariate Statistical Analysis in Geography, Longman Group, London, 1980.
- Jordan, Terry & Matti Kaups.** The American Backwoods Frontier, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1989.
- Jordan, Terry & Lester Rowntree.** The Human Mosaic: A Thematic Introduction to Cultural Geography, Harper & Row, Grand Rapids, 1990.
- Jutikkala, Eino.** A History of Finland, Praeger, New York, 1962.

- Jutikkala, Eino.** "Ethnic problems of Swedish Finns and Finnish Finns", SPS Plural Societies, Vol. 7:1, 1976, pp. 57–67.
- Jutikkala, Eino & Pirinen, Kauko.** A History of Finland, rev. ed. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1974.
- Jutila, Heikki.** Ruotsinsuomalaisten koululaisten Suomi-kuva, Turun yliopiston maantieteen laitoksen julkaisu ja no. 144, Turku, 1994.
- Järnefelt, Akseli.** Suomalaiset Amerikassa, Otava, Helsinki, 1899.
- Kalbach, Warren.** Historical and Generational Perspectives of Ethnic Residential Segregation in Toronto, Canada: 1851–1971, Research paper No. 118, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1980.
- Karner, Tracy X.** "Ideology and nationalism: the Finnish move to independence, 1809–1918", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 14, No. 2, April 1991, pp. 152–169.
- Karni, Michael** (ed.). Finnish Diaspora I: Canada, South America, Africa, Australia and Sweden, Papers of the Finn Forum Conference, Nov. 1–3, 1979, The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto, 1981.
- Karni, Michael** (Ed.). Finnish Diaspora II: United States, Papers of the Finn Forum Conference, Nov. 1–3, 1979, The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto, 1981.
- Karni, Michael; Koivukangas, Olavi; Laine, Edward** (Eds.), Finns in North America: Proceedings of Finn Forum III, Institute of Migration, Turku, 1988.
- Katz, Yossi & John Lehr.** "Jewish and Mormon agricultural settlement in Western Canada: A comparative analysis", The Canadian Geographer, Vol. 35:2, 1991, pp. 128–142.
- Kaups, Matti.** "The Finns in the copper and iron ore mines of western Great Lakes region, 1864–1905: Some preliminary observations", in Karni, Kaups & Ollila (Eds.), The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives, Migration Studies C3, Institute of Migration, Turku, 1975, pp. 55–88.
- Kaups, Matti.** "From savusaunas to contemporary saunas: A century of sauna traditions in Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin", in Teir, Collan & Valtakari (Eds.), Sauna Studies, Proceedings of the VI International Sauna Congress, Helsinki, 15–17. 8. 1974, Helsinki, 1976, pp. 34–56.
- Kaups, Matti & Cotton Mather.** "The Finnish Sauna: A cultural index to settlement", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 53, 1963, pp. 494–504.
- Kaups, Matti & Cotton Mather.** "Thirty years later in a Finnish community in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan", Economic Geography, No. 44, 1968, pp. 57–70.
- Keith, Michael & Pile, Steve** (Eds.). Place and Politics of Identity, Routledge, New York, 1993.
- Kero, Reino.** Migration from Finland to North America in the Years between the United States Civil War and the First World War, Institute of Migration, Turku, 1974.
- Kero, Reino.** "Migration traditions from Finland to North America", in Vecoli, Rudolph J. & Suzanne M. Sinke (Eds.) A Century of European Migrations, 1830–1930, University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1991, pp. 111–133.
- Kinloch, G.** The Sociology of Minority Group Relations, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ., 1979.



- Kirby, D. G.** Finland and Russia, 1808–1920: From Autonomy to Independence. A Selection of Documents, Barnes & Noble, New York, 1975.
- Kivisto, Peter** (Ed.). The Ethnic Enigma: The Salience of Ethnicity for European-Origin Groups, The Balch Institute Press, Philadelphia, 1989.
- Kivisto, Peter.** Americans All: Race and Ethnic Relations in Historical, Structural, and Comparative Perspectives. Wadsworth Publishing, Belmont, 1995.
- Koivukangas, Olavi.** Siirtolaisuus Suomesta Ruotsiin kautta aikojen, Institute of Migration, Turku, 1981.
- Koivukangas, Olavi.** Delaware 350: The Beginning of Finnish Migration to the New World, Institute of Migration, Turku, 1988.
- Koivukangas, Olavi.** From the Midnight Sun to the Long White Cloud: Finns in New Zealand, Migration Studies C11, Institute of Migration, Turku, 1996.
- Kolehmainen, John I.** "Amerikan suomalaisen työväenliikkeen historian piirteitä vv. 1890–1945", Työväen Osuustoimintalehti, Superior, Wisconsin, 2. 3. 1946,
- Kolehmainen, John I.** "Finnish immigrants and a 'Frii Kontri'." Social Science, Vol. 22, 1947, pp. 15–18.
- Kolehmainen, John I.** Sow the Golden Seed: A History of the Fitchburgian Finnish-American Newspaper Raivaaja, 1905–1955, Fitchburg, Mass. , 1955.
- Kolehmainen, John I.** The Finns in America: A Student's Guide to Localized History, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, New York, 1968.
- Kolehmainen, John I.** "Americanization and the search for identity", in V. Niitemaa, J. Saukkonen, T. Aaltio, O. Koivukangas (Eds.), Old Friends – Strong Ties, Institute of Migration, Turku, 1976, pp. 261–278.
- Korkiasaari, Jouni.** Suomalaiset Maailmalla: Suomen Siirtolaisuus ja Ulkosuomalaiset Entisajoista Tähän Päivään, Institute of Migration, Turku, 1989.
- Kostiainen, Auvo.** "Illegal emigration to the USSR during the Great Depression", Siirtolaisuus-Migration, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1986, pp. 7–12.
- Kroeber, Alfred L. , and Clyde Kluckhohn.** "Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions", Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, Vol. 47 No. 2 (1952), p. 181.
- Laine, E. W.** "National Finnish Organizations in Canada", Polyphony, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1981(a), pp. 81–90.
- Laine, Edward W.** "Finnish Canadian Radicalism and Canadian Politics: The First Forty Years, 1900–1940", in Dahlie, Jorgen and Tissa Fernando (Eds.), Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada, Methuen Publications, Toronto, 1981(b), pp. 94–112.
- Laine, E. W.** Archival Sources for the Study of Finnish Canadians, National Archives of Canada, Ethnocultural Guide Series, Minister of Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1989.
- Lambert, W. E.** "The effects of bilingualism in the individual: cognitive and sociocultural consequences", in Hornby, P. A. (Ed.), Bilingualis: Psychological, Social, and Educational Implications, Academic Press, New York, 1977.
- Lauren, Christer.** Canadian French and Finland Swedish: Minority Languages with outside standards, regionalisms and adstrata, International Centre for Research on Bilingualism, Quebec City, 1983.

- Ley, David.** *A Social Geography of the City*, Harper & Row, New York, 1983.
- Ley, David.** "Pluralism and the Canadian state", in Clark, Ley, Peach (Eds.), *Geography & Ethnic Pluralism*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1984.
- Lieberson, Stanley.** *Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1970.
- Liebkind, Karmela.** "The Swedish-speaking Finns: A case study of ethnolinguistic identity", in Tajfel, Henri (Ed.) *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 367–421.
- Lille – Svenska National**, n. d. , n. p. (Author's collection).
- Lindman, Sven.** "The concept of 'Nationality' in Swedish-Finnish political thought", *Annales Academiae Reginae Scientiarum Upsaliensis*, No. 8, 1964, pp. 8–20.
- Lindström-Best, Varpu.** *The Finns in Canada*, Canada's Ethnic Groups Booklet No. 8, Canadian Historical Association, Ottawa, 1985.
- Lindström-Best, Varpu.** *Defiant Sisters: A Social History of Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada*, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto, 1988.
- Lindström, Varpu.** "Finnish Canadian culture in 1995: Toronto perspectives", Unpublished manuscript, York University, 1995.
- Ljungmark, Lars.** "Swedes in Winnipeg up to the 1940's: Inter-ethnic relations", in Blanck, Dag & Runblom, Harald (Eds.) *Swedish Life in American Cities*, Center for Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University, 1991, pp. 44–71.
- Loewen, R.** "Ethnic farmers and the 'outside' world: Mennonites in Manitoba and Nebraska, 1874–1900", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, Vol. 1, 1990, pp. 195–215.
- Lowenthal, D.** *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1985.
- Lutheran Council in Canada.** *Directory of Lutheran Churches in Canada 1994*, Lutheran Council in Canada, Winnipeg, 1994.
- Magee, Joan.** *A Scandinavian Heritage: 200 years of Scandinavian presence in the Windsor-Detroit border region*, Dundurn Press, Toronto, 1985.
- Malmberg, Aino.** "The psychology of the Finns", *Finland Sentinel*, Vol. 1:2, 1919, pp. 61–68.
- Mann, W. E.** *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1972.
- Markus, H. R. & Kitayama, S.** "Cultural variation in self-concept", in Goethals, G. R. & Strauss, J (Eds.), *Multi-disciplinary Perspectives on the Self*, Springer-Verlag, New York, 1991.
- Massey, Doreen & Jess, Patt (Eds.).** *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995.
- Matwijiw, Peter.** "Ethnicity and urban residence: Winnipeg 1941–1971", *Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 23, 1979, pp. 45–61.
- Mattson-Schelstraete, Nancy (Ed.).** *Life in the New Finland Woods*, Rocanville, SK. 1982.
- Mattson, Vern.** *History of The Order of Runeberg*, Portland, Oregon, 1977.
- Mayhew, Susan & Penny, Anne.** *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Geography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992.

- McKee, Jesse O.** *Ethnicity in Contemporary America: A Geographical Appraisal*, Kendall-Hunt, Dubuque, 1985.
- McRae, Kenneth.** "Finland: Marginal case of bicomunalism?", *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 18, Spring, 1988, pp. 91–100.
- McRae, Kenneth.** Personal correspondence, Ottawa, Jan. 10, 1995.
- McRae, Kenneth; Bennett, Scott; and Miljan, Toivo.** *Intergroup Sympathies and Language Patterns in Finland: results from a survey*, Suomen Gallupin Julkaisusarja No. 16, Helsinki, 1988.
- Metsäranta, Marc** (ed). *Project Bay Street: Activities of Finnish-Canadians in Thunder Bay before 1915*, Thunder Bay Finnish-Canadian Historical Society, Thunder Bay, 1989.
- Miller, E. Joan.** "The Ozark culture region as revealed by traditional materials", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 58, 1968, pp. 51–77.
- Mt. Zion Lutheran Church Directory**, New Westminster, B. C. , 1993.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** *The Rise of Swedish Nationalism in Finland*, Unpublished Ph. D. disseration, Dept. of History, University of Chicago, 1937, 83 p.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** "The Finland-Swedes in Duluth, Minnesota", *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1963, pp. 19–29.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** *The Finland-Swedes and Their Cultural Organizations in America*, International Order of Runeberg, 1964.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** "Finlandssvenska immigranter i Amerika", *Historiska och Litteraturhistoriska Studier, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursallskapet i Finland*, Helsingfors, Vol. 41, 1966, pp. 261–283.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** (Ed.) *Memorabilia "Minnesskrift" of the International Order of Runeberg 1898–1968 in Words and Pictures*, International Order of Runeberg, 1968.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** "Amerikanfinländarna i dag – deras situation och framtid", *Svenskbygden*, Jacobstad, No. 4–5, 1970, pp. 62–64.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** *Finlandssvenskar i Amerika*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursallskapet i Finland, Nr. 453, Folkvisstudier IX, Helsingfors, 1972.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** "Säljägaren Victor Jacobson", in *Emigrantbiografier Vol. II*, Åbo Akademi Bibliotek Stencilserie 6, Åbo, 1974, pp. 43–58.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** "Emil Peterson", in *Emigrantbiografier Vol. II*, Åbo Akademi Bibliotek Stencilserie 6, Åbo, 1974, pp. 88–89.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** "Erhard J. Alm", in *Emigrantbiografier Vol. V*, Åbo Akademi Bibliotek Stencilserie 6, Åbo, 1974, pp. 2–5.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** "Victor Lars Johnson", in *Emigrantbiografier Vol. V*, Åbo Akademi Bibliotek Stencilserie 6, Åbo, 1974, pp. 17–30.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** "Magnus Nyman, pälsgägare", in *Emigrantbiografier Vol. V*, Åbo Akademi Bibliotek Stencilserie 6, Åbo, 1974, pp. 55–58.
- Myhrman, Anders M.** "The Finland-Swedish immigrants in the USA", in Vilho Niitemaa, et al. (Eds.), *Old Friends – Strong Ties*, Turku, Vaasa, 1976, pp. 181–204.
- Myhrman, Anders.** "The Finland-Swedes in America", *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1980, pp. 16–33.

- Nelson, Greta.** Looking Back: The Vesterback Family 1891–1943 from Finland to Aldergrove, G. V. Nelson, White Rock, 1993.
- Nelson, Helge.** The Swedes and Swedish Settlement in North America, 2. vol. , University of Lund, Sweden, 1943.
- Newcomb, T.** "Interpersonal balance", in R. Abelson et al. (Eds.), Theories of Cognitive Consistency, Rand McNally, Chicago, 1968.
- Noble, Allen (Ed.).** To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1992.
- Nordale, Rev. Theo B.** The fortieth Anniversary Festival of the Immanuel Lutheran Church, Port Arthur, July 31, 1946. Ontario Provincial Archives, MV 9966. 12, FI 405, Ser. 78–003, MSR 4288.
- Norlen, M.** "Loyal Finns in Canada", Scandinavian News, London, Ontario, 15.9.1943, p. 12.
- Norman, Hans & Harald Runblom.** Transatlantic Connections: Nordic migration to the New World after 1800, Norwegian University Press, Oslo, 1988.
- Norris, John.** Strangers Entertained: A History of the Ethnic Groups of British Columbia, British Columbia Centennial '71 Committee, Vancouver, 1971.
- Norskennet.** Norskennet/Northern Lights Swedish Sick Benefit Society 90th Anniversary Booklet, Thunder Bay, April 2, 1995.
- Norskennet Membership List,** 1996.
- Näse, Johannes.** "Finlandssvenskarna i Amerika", Arkiv for Svenska Österbotten, Vasa, 1922, pp. 245–277.
- O'Bryan, K. G. ; Reitz, J. G. ; & Kuplowska, O. M.** Non-official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism, Minister of Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1976.
- Olin, K. G.** Alaska Guldrushen, Vol. 2, Olimex, Jacobstad, Finland, 1996.
- Oman, Elizabeth.** "Finland-Swedes", Swedish American Genealogist, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1985, pp. 54–58.
- Oman, Elizabeth.** "Swede-Finns on the Iron Ranges of northeastern Minnesota", Finnish-Americana, Vol. 7, 1986, pp. 39–42.
- Oryschuk, Yuri (ed).** Les Communautés Culturelles du Québec: Originaires de l'Europe du Nord, La Société d'histoire des communautés culturelles du Québec, Edition Fides, Quebec, 1987.
- Paasivirta, Juhani.** Suomen itsenäisyyskysymys 1917, 2 vol. , Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, Porvoo, 1947–1949
- Paavolainen, Jaakko.** Poliittiset Väkivaltaisuudet Suomessa, 2 volumes, Tammi, Helsinki, 1966–1967.
- Paavolainen, Jaakko.** Vankileirit Suomessa 1918, Tammi, Helsinki, 1971.
- Pare, A. G.** The Mansions on the Hill, New Century Press, Surrey, BC, 1994.
- Park, Robert & Ernest Burgess.** Introduction to the Science of Sociology, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921.
- Park, Robert & Herbert Miller.** Old World Traits Transplanted, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1921.
- Park, Robert E.** The Immigrant Press and Its Control, Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York, 1922.

- Parsons, James.** "A geographer looks at the San Joaquin Valley", *Geographical Review*, Vol. 76, 1986, pp. 371–89.
- Peach, Ceri.** "Which triple melting pot? A re-examination of ethnic intermarriage in New Haven, 1900–1950", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1980, pp. 1–16.
- Pentikäinen, Juha & Anttonen, Veikko** (Eds.). *Cultural Minorities in Finland: An Overview Towards Cultural Policy*, n. p. , Helsinki, 1985.
- Perin, Roberto & Sturino, Franc** (Eds.). *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigrant Experience in Canada*, Guernica, Montreal, 1988.
- Petersen, William.** "A general typology of migration", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23, 1958.
- Pierce, Richard A.** *Russian America: A Bibliographical Dictionary*, The Limestone Press, Kingston, 1990.
- Pogorelksin, Alexis,** "The Karelian settlement movement among North American Finns in the 1930's", paper presented at FinnForum V Conference, Laurentian University, Sudbury, May 25, 1996.
- Polvinen, Tuomo.** *Venäjän vallankumous ja Suomi*, 2 vols., Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, Provoo, 1967 and 1971.
- Puntila, L. A.** *Ruotsalaisuus Suomessa: Aatesuunnan Synty* (Swedishness in Finland: The Birth of an Idea of Thought), Otava, Helsinki, 1944.
- Raitz, Karl.** "Themes in the cultural geography of European ethnic groups in the United States", *Geographical Review*, Vol. 69, 1979, pp. 79–94.
- Raivio, Yrjö.** *Kanadan Suomalaisten Historia* (2 vol.), Canadian Suomalainen Historiaseura, Vol. I, Copper Cliff, 1975 & Vol. II, Sudbury, 1979.
- Rauanheimo, Akseli.** *Kanadan Kirja*, Porvoo, 1930.
- Ravenstein, E. G.** "The laws of migration", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 48, June, 1885, pp. 167–227.
- Ravenstein, E. G.** "The laws of migration", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 52, June, 1889, pp. 241–301.
- Reade, Arthur.** *Finland and the Finns*, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1915.
- Reitz, Jeffrey G.** *The Survival of Ethnic Groups*, McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. , Toronto, 1980.
- Report on the Royal Commission on Bilingualism & Biculturalism**, Ottawa, 1973.
- Riippa, Timo.** "The Finns and Swede-Finns", in Holmquist, June (Ed.), *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups*, Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul, 1981, pp. 296–322.
- Ringbom, Lars.** *Inbordskriget i Finland. Psykologiska anteckningar*, Holger Schildts Forlag, Helsingfors, 1918.
- Ringbom, Lars.** "Finsk och Svensk Raskänsla", *Åbo Underrättelser*, June 16, 1926
- Ringbom, Lars.** "Finsk och Svensk Stamning", *Nya Argus*, Vol. XXI, 1928, pp. 261–64.
- Ringblom, Lars.** *The Renewal of Culture*, translated from the Swedish by G. C. Wheeler, New York, 1930, pp. 203–217.
- Rislakki, Jukka.** *Kauhun Aika, Vastapaino*, Tampere, 1995.
- Robbins, Betsey.** "A note on Finland-Swedes", *Finnish Americana*, Vol. 7, 1986, p. 38.

- Robinson, Guy M.** (Ed.), *A Social Geography of Canada*, Dundurn Press, Toronto & Oxford, 1991.
- Roinila, Mika.** Language retention in the ethnic identification of Winnipeg's Finnish population, Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Turku, Turku, Finland, 1987.
- Roinila, Mika.** "The Finns of Atlantic Canada", *Terra, Journal of the Finnish Geographical Society*, Helsinki, Finland. Vol. 103:1, 1992, pp. 38–49.
- Roinila, Mika.** "Finns of Interior B. C. , Canada – Okanagan Valley Case Study", *Siirtolaisuus-Migration*, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland, Vol. 21:1, 1993, pp. 12–22.
- Roinila, Mika.** "150,000 Finnish–Canadians missing!", *Suomen Silta - Finland Bridge*, Finland Society, Helsinki, Vol. 69:1, 1996(a), p. 25.
- Roinila, Mika.** "Ray Timgren juhli Stanley Cupia jo 1949", *Helsingin Sanomat*, Helsinki, Dec. 29, 1996(b), p. C6.
- Roinila, Mika.** "Finnish fishermen of Lake Superior", *Finnish-American Reporter*, Superior, Wisconsin, Vol. 10:1, January, 1997, p. 11
- Rosberg, J. E.** *Nordiskt Kynne*, Helsingfors, 1931, pp. 145–226.
- Ross, Carl.** *The Finn Factor in American Labor, Culture and Society*, Parta Printers, New York Mills, MN. 1977.
- Rowles, Graham D.** *Prisoners of Space? Exploring the Geographical Experience of Older People*, Westview, Boulder, 1978.
- Runblom, Harald.** "Chicago compared: Swedes and other ethnic groups in American cities", in Anderson, Philip J. & Dag Blanck (Eds.) *Swedish-American Life in Chicago: Cultural and Urban Aspects of an Immigrant People, 1850–1930*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana & Chicago, 1992, pp. 68–88.
- Runblom, Harald & Hans Norman.** *From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1976.
- Saarinen, Oiva.** "The pattern and impact of Finnish settlement in Canada", *Terra*, Vol. 79:4, 1967, pp. 113–120.
- Saarinen, Oiva.** "Geographical perspectives on Finnish Canadian immigration and settlement", *Polyphony, Multicultural History Society of Ontario*, Toronto, 1981, pp. 16–22.
- Saarinen, Oiva.** "Perspectives on Finnish settlement in Canada", *Siirtolaisuus-Migration*, Vol. 22:3, 1995, pp. 19–25.
- Sandlund, Tom.** "Patterns and reasons in the emigration of Swedish Finns", in Karni, Michael (Ed.), *Finnish Diaspora I*, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto, 1981, pp. 215–230.
- Sandlund, Tom** (ed). *Finlandsvenskarna 1990: En Statistisk Oversikt*, Svenska Finlands Folkting, Rapport Nr. 20, Hango, Finland, 1992.
- Sas, Trish.** "High school music association commissions work", *Education Manitoba*, May/June, 1993, pp. 1, 13.
- Satzvich, Vic** (Ed.). *Deconstructing a Nation: Immigration, Multiculturalism and Racism in the 90's Canada*, Fernwood Publishing, Saskatoon, 1992.
- Scandinavian News**, London & Toronto, Ontario, 1941–1943.

- Shearman, Hugh.** Finland: The Adventures of a Small Power, Stevens and Sons Ltd. , London, 1950.
- Sherif, M.** Group Conflicts and Co-operation: Their Social Psychology, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1966.
- Shibutani, T. & Kwan, K. M.** Ethnic Stratification, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1968.
- Shortridge, James.** "Patterns of religion in the United States", *Geographical Review*, Vol. 66, 1976, pp. 420–434.
- Sievers, Olof.** Studier over isoagglutinationen, Helsingfors, 1927.
- Siirtolaisuus-Migration,** "Sitka Lutheran Church celebrates its 150th year: The Finnish legacy in Russian Alaska", Vol. 17, No. 4, 1990, pp. 21–22.
- Silfversten, Carl J.** Finlandssvenskarna i Amerika, Interstate Printing Co. , Duluth, 1931.
- Silfversten, Carl J.** "Finland-Swedes in Northeastern Minnesota", unpublished manuscript, Jan. 8, 1932, Northeast Minnesota Historical Centre Archives, Duluth.
- Sillanpää, Lennard.** Finnish Swede Immigration to Canada: A Neglected Chapter of the Finnish Canadian Experience, CREME Working Paper Series #14, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1987.
- Singleton, Fred.** A Short History of Finland, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989.
- Smith, C. Jay.** Finland and the Russian Revolution, 1917–1922, University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1958.
- Smith, Jonathan M. & Foote, Kenneth E. ,** "Introduction to 'How the world looks'", in Foote, K. E. ; Hugill, P. J. ; Mathewson, K. ; & Smith, J. M. (Eds.). *Re-reading Cultural Geography*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1994, pp. 27–34.
- Smith, Peter B. & Bond, Michael Harris.** *Social Psychology Across Cultures: Analysis and Perspectives*, Allyn and Bacon Publishers, Boston, 1994.
- Soikkanen, Hannu.** Sosialismin Tulo Suomeen, WSOY, Porvoo, 1961.
- Sonnenfeld, Joseph.** "Way-keeping, way-finding, way-losing: Disorientation in a complex environment", in Foote, K. E. ; Hugill, P. J. ; Mathewson, K. ; & Smith, J. M. (Eds.). *Re-reading Cultural Geography*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1994, pp. 374–386.
- Stark, Rodney.** *Sociology*, Wadsworth Publishing Co. Belmont, California, 1985.
- Statistics Canada,** 1921 Canada Year Book, Ottawa, Ontario.
- Statistics Canada,** 1931 Canada Year Book, Ottawa, Ontario.
- Statistics Canada,** Census of Canada, 1931, Ottawa.
- Statistics Canada,** Census of Canada, 1971, Ottawa.
- Statistics Canada,** Census of Canada, 1991, Unpublished material, Ottawa, 1995.
- Stouffer, S. A. ; Suchman, E. A. ; DeVinney, L. C. ; Star, S. A. ; & Williams, R. M.** *The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life (Vol. 1)*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1949.
- Sumner, W. G.** *Folkways*, Ginn, New York, 1906.
- Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja,** Helsinki, 1995.
- Sweetland-Smith, Barbara & Barnett, Redmond J.** *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier*, Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma, 1990.

- Syrjämäki, John.** Mesabi Communities: A Study of their Development, Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Sociology, Yale University, 1940.
- Tajfel, Henri.** "Social categorization, social identity, and social comparison", in Tajfel, H. (Ed.), *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology on Intergroup Relations*, Academic Press, London and New York, 1978.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C.** "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict", in Austin, W. G. & Worchel, S. (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, Brooks/Cole, Monterey, Calif. , 1979, pp. 33–47.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C.** "The social identity theory of intergroup behavior", in Worchel, S. & Austin, G. (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, Nelson-Hall, Chicago, 1986, pp. 7–24.
- Tandefelt, Marika.** "The Finland-Swedes; the most privileged minority in Europe?", in Blom, Gunilla; Graves, Peter; Kruse, Arne; Thomsen, B. T. (Eds.), *Minority Languages: The Scandinavian Experience*, Nordic Language Secretariat, Oslo, 1992, pp. 21–42.
- Taylor, D. M. ; Bassili, J. N. , and Aboud, F. E.** "Dimensions in ethnic identity: an example from Quebec", *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 89, 1973, pp. 185–192.
- Taylor, D. M. and D. J. McKirnan.** "A five-stage model of intergroup relations", *British Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 23, 1984, pp. 291–300.
- Taylor, Donald M. and Moghaddam, Fathali M.** *Theories of Intergroup Relations: International Social Psychological Perspectives*, (2nd edition), Praeger, Westport, CT., 1994.
- Taylor, D. M & Simard, L. M.** "Ethnic identity and intergroup relations", in Lee, D. J. (Ed.), *Emerging Ethnic Boundaries*, University of Ottawa Press, Ottawa, 1979, pp. 155–171.
- Taylor, Patricia Ann.** "Education, ethnicity and cultural assimilation in the United States", *Ethnicity*, Vol. 8, 1981, pp. 31–49.
- Thunder Bay Finnish Historical Society.** *A Chronicle of Finnish Settlements in Rural Thunder Bay: Bay Street Project No. 2*, Canadian Uitiset, Thunder Bay, 1976.
- Timms, Duncan.** *The Urban Mosaic*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1971.
- Tommila, Päiviö (ed).** *Herää Suomi: Suomalaisuusliikkeen Historia*, Kustannuskiila Oy Kuopio, Jyväskylä, Finland, 1989.
- Tricarico, Donald.** "In a new light: Italian-American ethnicity in the mainstream", in Kivisto, Peter (Ed.). *The Ethnic Enigma: The Salience of Ethnicity for European-Origin Groups*, The Balch Institute Press, Philadelphia, 1989, pp. 24–46.
- Tuomi-Nikula, Outi.** "Suomalaisten akkulturoituminen Saksan liittotasavallassa II maailmansodan jälkeen", *Siirtolaisuus-Migration*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1986, pp. 19–27.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson.** *The Frontier in American History*, Krieger, Melbourne, Fla., 1953 (reprinted from the 1893 publication).
- Upton, Anthony F.** *The Finnish Revolution 1917–1918*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1980.
- Valkonen, Tapani; Alapuro, Risto; Alestalo, Matti; Jallinoja, Riitta; Sandlund, Tom** (Eds.). *Suomalaiset: Yhteiskunnan Rakennetekijä Teollistumisen Aikana*, WSOY, Helsinki, 1980.



- Van Cleef, Eugene.** *The Finn in America*, Duluth, Minnesota, 1918.
- Van Cleef, Eugene.** "The Old World in the new", *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 16, May 1923, pp. 498–504.
- Van Cleef, Eugene.** "Finns of the Pacific Coast of the United States", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 30, 1940, pp. 25–38.
- Van Cleef, Eugene.** "Finnish settlement in Canada", *Geographical Review*, Vol. 42, 1952, pp. 253–266.
- Van den Berghe, P. L.** *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1967.
- Van Oudenhoven, Jan Pieter & Willemsen, Tineke M.** *Ethnic Minorities: Social Psychological Perspectives*, Swets & Zeitlinger B. V. , Amsterdam, 1989.
- Vapaa Sana** – Free Word, Toronto, Ontario, April 14, 1977, p. 2.
- Victoria Daily Colonist** Victoria, B. C. , Nov. 25, 1951.
- Walster, E. ; Walster, G. W. & Berscheid, E.** *Equity, Theory and Research*, Allyn & Bacon, Boston, 1978.
- Wargelin, John.** *The Americanization of the Finns*, Hancock, Michigan, 1924.
- Wargelin, John.** *A Highway to America*, Hancock, Michigan, 1967.
- Wargelin, Raymond.** *Dear Uncle: Letters by J. K. Nikander and other pioneer pastors*, Parta Printers, New York Mills, MN. , 1984.
- Wargelin, Raymond.** *Personal correspondence*, St. Paul, MN. , Jan. 30, 1995.
- Warwaruk, Larry.** *Red Finns on the Coteau*, Core Communications Inc. , Saskatoon, 1984.
- Watson, William A.** *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1976.
- Westerberg, Norman.** "More on the Missing Finns", *Finnish American Reporter*, Vol. 8, No. 10, 1995, p. 10.
- Westerlund, F. W.** "Om svenskarnas i Finland kroppsliga egenskaper eller antropologi", *Det Svenska Finland*, III, 103–27, n. d.
- White, Leslie.** *The Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 1969.
- Wuorinen, John H.** *Nationalism in Modern Finland*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1931.
- Wuorinen, John H.** *A History of Finland*, second printing, Columbia University Press, New York, 1965(a).
- Wuorinen, John H.** *Scandinavia*, Prentice-Hall Inc. , Englewood Cliffs, N. J. , 1965(b).
- Yinger, J. Milton.** *Ethnicity – Source of Strength? Source of Conflict?*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1994.
- Yli-Kangas, Heikki.** "Ostrobothnia in Finnish history", in Engman, Max & David Kirby (Eds.), *Finland: People-Nation-State*, Hurst & Company, London, 1989, pp. 73–84.
- Zelinsky, Wilbur.** "Generic terms in the place names of Northeastern United States", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 45, 1955, pp. 319–349.
- Zelinsky, Wilbur.** "Cultural variation in personal name patterns in the Eastern United States", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 60, 1970, pp. 743–769.

- Zelinsky, Wilbur.** "North America's vernacular regions", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 70, 1980, pp. 1–16.
- Zelinsky, Wilbur.** *The Cultural Geography of the United States (A Revised Edition)*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1992.
- Zetterberg, Seppo.** *Suomen Historian Pikkujättiläinen*, WSOY, Helsinki, 1987.
- Zucchi, John.** *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875–1945*. McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal/Kingston, 1988.

## Sources

### *People interviewed*

#### **Author's Collection**

Aaltonen, Rauno	Nov. 14, 1994, Saskatoon, SK.
Aller, Marg	May 7, 1996, Sault Ste. Marie, ON.
Backstrom, Annie	May 7, 1996, Sault Ste. Marie, ON.
Barr, Elinor	May 5, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
Carlson, Walter	June 3, 1995, New Westminster, BC.
Carlson, Nils	June 3, 1995, Port Coquitlam, BC.
Carlson, Elsie	June 3, 1995, Port Coquitlam, BC.
Christenson, Rev. Ray	June 4, 1995, Vancouver, BC.
Christiansen, Karl	May 6, 1996, Wawa, ON.
Christiansen, Helen	May 6, 1996, Wawa, ON.
Deresky, Audrey	May 6, 1996, Wawa, ON.
Elmer, Susan	May 16, 1996, Ajax, ON.
Fredbeck, Manda	June 5, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Gestrin, Bengt	May 16, 1996, Toronto, ON.
Gestrin, Carita	May 16, 1996, Toronto, ON.
Groop, Vern	May 4, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
Green, Mildred	May 27, 1996, Hamilton, ON.
Grönlund, Henry	May 27, 1996, Hamilton, ON.
Hagblom, Hilma	May 31, 1995, Kelowna, BC.
Hedman, Roy	May 1, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
Hoeflicker, Rev. Gord	June 2, 1995, New Westminster, BC.
Hunter, Pastor David	Oct. 11, 1995, Saskatoon, SK.
Husband, Gunilla	May 9, 1996, North Bay, ON.
Ingves, Gunnar	May 1, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
Isosaari, Ann	May 6, 1996, Wawa, ON.
Joensuu, Rev. Jukka	June 5, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Karioja, Freda	May 3, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
Karioja, Peter	May 3, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
Klockars, Bill	June 5, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Klockars, Randy	May 6, 1996, Wawa, ON.
Knutila, Murray	Nov. 5, 1996, Regina, SK.
Koroscil, Joan	Oct. 3, 1996, Saskatoon, SK.
Laakso, Yrjo	April, 1986, Charlo, NB.
Leistner, Lil	May 7, 1996, Sault Ste. Marie, ON.
Lindblom, Erna	June 2, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Lindgren, Bertil	May 2, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
Londen, Lars	May 26, 1996, Toronto, ON.
Mara, Oscar	June 7, 1995, White Rock, BC.
Mara, Birdie	June 7, 1995, White Rock, BC.
Mara, Bjorn	June 5, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Marinich, Astrid	May 7, 1996, Sault Ste. Marie, ON.
McNeilly, Lee	May 12, 1996, Ottawa, ON.

Nelson, Greta	June 6, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Noronen, Sheila	June 1, 1995, Coquitlam, BC.
Noronen, Ray	June 1, 1995, Coquitlam, BC.
Nuppola, Veikko	May 18, 1996, Toronto, ON.
Nygård, Nick	May 18, 1996, Toronto, ON.
Nylund, Mr.	May 27, 1996, Hamilton, ON.
Nylund, Mrs.	May 27, 1996, Hamilton, ON.
Nyman, Carl	May 6, 1996, Wawa, ON.
Nymark, Stig	June 4, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Nymark, Berit	June 4, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Peterson, Anna	June 2, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Peterson, Doris	June 2, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Peterson, Elsie	June 5, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Pierron, Sylvia	May 31, 1995, Kelowna, BC.
Pousette, Elna	May 7, 1996, Sault Ste. Marie, ON.
Racinsky, Ethel	May 18, 1996, Scarborough, ON.
Renlund, Gary	May 4, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
Roseback, Ture	June 6, 1995, Coquitlam, BC.
Roseback, Ethel	June 6, 1995, Coquitlam, BC.
Sandvik, Eric	May 7, 1996, Sault Ste. Marie, ON.
Sauer, Pastor Rick	Nov. 1, 1995, Saskatoon, SK.
Selin, Pastor Aimo	May 19, 1996, Toronto, ON.
Shaw, Jonathan	May 22, 1996, Parry Sound, ON.
Smith, Bishop Richard	Nov. 9, 1995, Saskatoon, SK.
Snickars, Nancy	June 6, 1995, Coquitlam, BC.
Snickars, Elis	June 6, 1995, Coquitlam, BC.
Storm, Herb	June 3, 1995, West Vancouver, BC.
Storm, Johann	June 3, 1995, Burnaby, BC.
Strom, Al	May 7, 1996, Sault Ste. Marie, ON.
Strom, Gladys	May 7, 1996, Sault Ste. Marie, ON.
Sundlin, Carl	May 4, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
Timgren, Mike	Oct. 21, 1995, Gimli, MB.
Timgren, Ole	May 19, 1996, Toronto, ON.
Timgren, Gwen	May 19, 1996, Toronto, ON.
Timgren, Ray	May 16, 1996, Manilla, ON.
Timgren, Mrs. R.	May 16, 1996, Manilla, ON.
Timgren, John.	May 16, 1996, Ajax, ON.
Timgren, Joyce	May 16, 1996, Ajax, ON.
Tornquist, Manfred	June 7, 1995, Coquitlam, BC.
Tornquist, Margareta	June 7, 1995, Coquitlam, BC.
Westerback, Carl	May 1, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
Westerback, John	May 1, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.
White, Stan	May 7, 1996, Sault Ste. Marie, ON.
White, Lil	May 7, 1996, Sault Ste. Marie, ON.
Wiken, Linda	May 12, 1996, Ottawa, ON.
Vitick, Olof	June 5, 1995, Vancouver, BC.
Åkervall, Henry	May 2, 1996, Thunder Bay, ON.

Åstrom, Rob	May 19, 1996, Toronto, ON.
Åstrom, Katja	May 19, 1996, Toronto, ON.

### **Multicultural History Society of Ontario collection**

Anderson, George	by A. Tolvanen (Thunder Bay, Aug. 13, 1981)
Gustafson, Gunnar	by R. Hammaren (Thunder Bay, Jun. 11, 1980)
Norskennet	by H. Hogstad (Thunder Bay, Mar. 3, 1978)
Peterson, Walter	by E. Nordstrom (Thunder Bay, Apr. 15, 1979)
Scandinavian Home Society	by H. Hogstad (Thunder Bay, Feb. 3, 1978)
Simola, Astrid	by M. Bolin (Toronto, Apr. 25, 1978)
Swedish Lutheran Church	by H. Hogstad (Thunder Bay, Mar. 3, 1978)
Wiik, Thorwald	by M. Bolin (Toronto, Jan. 19, 1978)

### **Academic consultation with**

Allardt, Dr. Erik	Visit on Feb. 3, 1996, Helsinki
Birt, Hazel	Corresp. May 22, 1995, Winnipeg
Erickson, Dr. Vincent	Corresp. Mar. 1, 1995, Fredericton
Herberts, Dr. Kjell	Visit on Feb. 28, 1996, Helsinki
Hulden, Dr. Lars	Visit on Feb. 27, 1996, Helsinki
Jalava, Mauri	Visit on May 12, 1996, Ottawa
Johansson, Christina	Corresp. Sept. 19, 1996, Rock Island
Jungar, Dr. Sune	Visit on Feb. 13, 1996, Turku
Karvonen, Pirkko	Corresp. Jan. 11, 1995, Edmonton
Kero, Dr. Reino	Visit on Feb. 6, 1996, Turku
Koivukangas, Dr. Olavi	Visit on Feb. 5, 1996, Turku
Kuniholm, John	Corresp. Feb. 10, 1996, Baltimore, MD.
Lampinen, Lisbe	Visit on Feb. 1, 1996, Helsinki
Liebkind, Dr. Karmela	Visit on Feb. 27, 1996, Helsinki
Lindstrom, Dr. Varpu	Corresp. Oct. 18, 1994, Toronto
Lund, Pentti	Corresp. Sept. 5, 1996, Thunder Bay
McRae, Dr. Kenneth	Visit on May 14, 1996, Ottawa
Marshall, Peter	Corresp. May 24, 1995, New Westminster
Myhrman, Mrs. Mildred	Corresp. May, 1995, Lewiston, Me.
Olin, K. G.	Corresp. Apr. 4, 1995, Jacobstad
Paananen, Dr. Mauri	Visit on Feb. 27, 1996, Helsinki
Raivio, Rev. Yrjo	Corresp. Jan. 9, 1995, Kitchener
Riippa, Dr. Timo	Corresp. Apr. 21, 1995, St. Paul
Rikkinen, Dr. Kalevi	Visit on Feb. 27, 1996, Helsinki
Rinta, Ray	Visit on June 2, 1995, Vancouver
Sandlund, Dr. Tom	Visit on Feb. 28, 1996, Helsinki
Scheving, S.	Corresp. May 13, 1996, New Westminster
Sillanpää, Dr. Lennart	Visit on May 13, 1996, Ottawa
Tandefelt, Dr. Marika	Visit on Feb. 26, 1996, Helsinki
Thompson, Dr. Nile	Visit on June 8, 1995, Seattle, WA.
Tracie, Dr. Carl	Corresp. Nov. 9, 1995, Langley
Vickstrom, Bishop Erik	Corresp. Feb. 16, 1996, Borgå, Finland

Vincent, Timothy L.	Corresp. Nov. 22, 1995, Salt Lake City
Virtanen, Dr. Keijo	Visit on Feb. 5, 1996, Turku
Vähämäki, Dr. Börje	Corresp. Sept. 10, 1995, Toronto
Wargelin, Rev. Raymond	Corresp. Jan. 30, 1995, Minneapolis
Westerberg, Norman	Corresp. Sept. 26, 1995, Seattle
Wilson, Dr. Donald	Visit on June 5, 1995, Vancouver
Wurl, Dr. Joel	Corresp. Mar. 22, 1995, St. Paul
Yli-Jokipii, Dr. Pentti	Visit on Feb. 4, 1996, Turku
Ylikangas, Dr. Heikki	Visit on Feb. 27, 1996, Helsinki

### **Correspondence with churches**

Baglo, Rev. Ferdy	Corresp. Feb. 17, 1995, Sardis, BC.
Bestvater, Rev. Ron	Corresp. Jun. 26, 1995, Messiah Lutheran Church, Assiniboia, SK.
Deiderick, Rev. V. R.	Corresp. Apr. 11, 1995, Grace Canadian Lutheran Church, Broadview, SK.
Erickson, Rev. Vincent	Corresp. Dec. 18, 1995, Camrose, AB.
Glud, Rev. Kai	Corresp. Apr. 21, 1995, Danish Lutheran Church, Burnaby, BC.
Johnson, Rev. Donald	Corresp. Mar. 21, 1995, Gloria Dei Lutheran Church, North Vancouver, BC.
Juurinen, Erkki	Corresp. Feb. 2, 1995, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Windsor, ON.
Knutson, Rev. Lanny	Corresp. Feb. 22, 1995, Erickson Lutheran Church, Erickson, MB.
Koester, Roger	Corresp. Feb. 28, 1995, Salem Lutheran Church, Chauvanon, SK.
Lainen, Rev. Paul	Corresp. Jan. 26, 1995, Bethel Lutheran Church, Thunder Bay, ON.
Organ, Rev. Gerry	Corresp. Jun. 7, 1996, Peoples Church, Toronto, ON.
Pitts, Rev. Kyllikki	Corresp. Nov. 30, 1994, St. Michael's Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Montreal, QC.
Sjoberg, Rev. Donald	Visit on Feb. 27, 1995, St. Mark's Lutheran Church, Winnipeg, MB.
Swedberg, Rev. Paul	Corresp. Feb. 21, 1995, Peace Lutheran Church, Wainwright, AB.
Ulmanis, Rev. J. Krister	Corresp. Mar. 14, 1995, Faith Lutheran Church, St. Catharines, ON.

### **Correspondence with senior citizen's homes**

Dundee, Darlene	Corresp. Apr. 14, 1995, St. Joseph's Heritage, Thunder Bay, ON.
Mauno, Johanna	Corresp. Apr. 25, 1995, Timmins Finnish Seniors' Home Inc, Timmins, ON.
Munro, Murray	Corresp. Jan. 25, 1995, Teck Pioneer Residence Home for the Aged, Kirkland Lake, ON.

# Appendix I

## Finland-Swedes listed in the Russian Consular Records, 1898–1922

National Archives of Canada LI-RA-MA collection, (MG30 E406)

The 1898–1922 Russian Consular Records involve records of over 10,000 "Russian" passports issued to individuals in Canada. The following list indicates names of Finland-Swedes, identified by surname and place of birth in Finland. A total of 117 Finland-Swedish names were collected from a possible of approximately 1 000 Finnish individuals. This represents a 12% share of all passports involving Finnish immigrants.

	Name	Year of birth	Birthplace
1	Aasberg, Aleksander	?	"Finland"
2	Abbol, Carlson Axel	1889	Wasa
3	Algars, Carl Henrik	1875	Lappfjärd
4	Anderson, Viktor	1869	Lappfjärd
5	Anderson, Viktor	1886	Pedersöre
6	Anderson, Gustaf	1876	Kristinastad
7	Eklund, Gustaf Alfred	?	"Finland"
8	Eckström, Ernst Anton	?	"Finland"
9	Erickson, Frans Ivar	?	Närpes
10	Erikson Snell, Otto	1887	Petalaks
11	Falström, Julius	1884	Esbo
12	Fransen, Carl	1892	Hammarland
13	Franson Nieminen, Elmer	1892	Vasa
14	Fridlund, Karl Wilhelm	1891	Oravais
15	Holm, Anders Mattson	1895	Pörtom
16	Holmberg, Richard J.	1883	Nagu
17	Holmes, Frans Ludvik	1884	Karis
18	Haggblom, Erick	1880	Närpes
19	Hakala, Isak	1885	Lappfjärd
20	Hannila-Anderson, Ernst Victor	1889	Gamlakarleby
21	Hendrikson, Axell	1895	Lappfjärd
22	Hendrikson, Edvard Magnus	1893	Vestanfjärd
23	Hill, Alex Kauster	1891	Gamlakarleby
24	Hjelm, Alfred	1886	Nykarleby
25	Hjort, Herman	1888	Överflaks
26	Höglund, Johan Arthur	1885	Gamlakarleby
27	Höglund, Johannes	1892	Korsnäs
28	Isakson, Frans	1890	Mustasaari
29	Jansson, Johan Hjalmar Charles	1880	Nagu
30	Jobbens, Karl Henrik	1894	Korsnäs
31	Johanson, Alfred	1876	Pedersöre

32	Johanson, Elmer Alexander	1893	Oravais
33	Johanson, Frank	1893	Korsnäs
34	Johanson, Henrik Johan	1863	Korsnäs
35	Johanson, Robert	1882	Terjärv
36	Johanson, Victor	1868	Terjärv
37	Johnson, Rafael Henry	1892	Kristinastad
38	Johnson, Anders	1893	Kronoby
39	Johnson, Henry	1892	Kristinastad
40	Johnson, Ivar	1895	Wasa
41	Johnson, Jack	1888	Oravais
42	Johnson, Victor	1883	Helsinki
43	Johnson, Wille	1889	Närpes
44	Kaas, Erland	?	Kristinastad
45	Kala, Johan Ernst	1893	Gamlakarleby
46	Karlson, Carl Wilhelm	1892	Korsnäs
47	Lahti, Sam Smet	1882	Vassa [sp]
48	Larka, Johan Fritioff	1878	Närpes
49	Larson, Johannes	1886	Pedersöre
50	Lindroos, Julius Alfred	1883	Winsonbäte, Tenala
51	Löfdahl, Anselm Mattson	1884	Vörå
52	Lundberg, Ernest	1897	Wasa
53	Lundell, Theodor	1873	Iniö
54	Lundman, Karl	1887	Borgå
55	Luoma, Matti	1889	Närpes
56	Luoma, Paunus	1885	Jacobstad
57	Malmberg, Frans	1882	Esbo
58	Mangs, John	1881	Lappfjärd
59	Mann, Viktor	1890	Korsnäs
60	Mara, Alfred	1864	Mustasaari
61	Mara, Charles	1868	Mustasaari
62	Matson, Anders Leonard	?	"Finland"
63	Matson, Fred S.	1883	Terjärv
64	Matson, Jones	1871	Malaks
65	Mattson Forsell, William	1887	Kronoby
66	Mikkelsen Berg, Johan	1899	Lemland
67	Nordblom, Johannes	1894	Rauma
68	Nygård, Carl Johan-Erikson	1880	Korsnäs
69	Nygård, Isak Alfred	1891	Munsala
70	Nygård, Wilhelm	1896	Mustasaari
71	Olenius, Gustaf Adolf	1883	Sibbo
72	Osterman, Frans Victor	1881	Ingo
73	Osterman, John	1894	Korsnäs
74	Peltoniemi, Alex	1888	Karlfkake
75	Peterson, Charles Vincent	1896	Virballen
76	Peterson, Carl Wilhelm	1888	Lumparland
77	Roslund, Oscar	1884	Noormarkku
78	Rökman, Frank	1878	Helsinki



79	Samson, John	1878	Helsinki
80	Sandberg, Matias	1866	Nykarleby
81	Sandell, Karl	1887	Mustasaari
82	Sandlund, Erik	1895	Houtskär
83	Sandqvist, Alex	1888	Gamlakarleby
84	Sändström, Leonard	1893	Pedersöre
85	Selenius, Georg	1892	Helsinki
86	Siider, Sylvester	1899	Helsinki
87	Sjöberg, Julius Vitalis	1884	Turku
88	Sjön Johnson, Matt	1872	Närpes
89	Skoglund, John	1894	Karijoki
90	Skogman Berg, Axel Erland	1883	Sideby
91	Skogman Berg, Josef Werner	1887	Sideby
92	Smith, Ivar	1882	Lappfjärd
93	Soderberg, Johan Remigius	?	"Finland"
94	Söderholm, Anders Edward	1894	Närpes
95	Söderholm, George Wilhelm	1897	Närpes
96	Söderholm, Karl Johan	1900	Närpes
97	Söderholm, Karl Oscar	1889	Närpes
98	Söderlund, Arthur	1888	Sideby
99	Strang, Hemming	1880	Wimpele
100	Styris, Emil	1885	Mustasaari
101	Sundberg, Barry Alex	1884	Karijoki
102	Sundblom, Carl Georg	1881	Föglö
103	Sundell, Matt	1883	Nykarleby Landsf.
104	Sundell, Otto	?	"Finland"
105	Sundqvis, Nick	?	"Finland"
106	Sundholm, Axel Erik	?	"Finland"
107	Tallgren, Arthur Alarik	?	"Finland"
108	Thome, Karl August	?	"Finland"
109	Wallin, Isaak Wictor	1889	Poomarkku
110	West, Isaac	1874	Petalaks
111	Wester, Victor	1895	Lappfjärd
112	Wicklund, Oscar	1883	Vasa
113	Wik, Gabriel Oscar	1883	Korsnäs
114	Wikholm, Arthur Albin	?	"Finland"
115	Wilson, Eric	1883	Vasa län
116	Wilson, Viktor Alexander	1880	Malaks
117	Witick, Thure Hjalmar	1893	Korplax, Gamlakarleby

## Appendix II

### Montreal Finnish immigrant home records, 1927–1931

**Table 1.**

*Female* Finland-Swedes listed in the registers of the Montreal Immigrant Home, 1927–1931, according to name, birthdate, place of origin "kotipaikka", with arrival and departure dates to/from Immigrant Home. Source: National Archives MG28, V128, Vol. 6, files 1–2.

Name	Born	Place of birth	Arr.	Left
<i>1927</i>				
Weckström, Martha	1895	Helsingfors	14.09.	1.06.1928
Bygden, Elvina Bertha	1908	Oravais	26.09.	27.09.
Laren, Aili Olivia	1909	Oravais	27.09.	28.09.
Häll, Maria Sofia	1889	Helsingfors	13.10.	15.10.
Rosendahl, Berta Emilia	1906	Sideby	16.10.	17.10.
Estlander, Ester	1902	Helsingfors	17.10.	20.10.
Reihn, Bertha Alvina	1891	Helsingfors	23.10.	4.11.
Ståhl, Maria	1900	Helsingfors	23.10.	31.10.
Hengård, Maria	1860	Wörå	4.11.	6.11.
Borg, Irja Elisabeth	1906	Viborg	9.11.	14.11.
Karlsen, Aina Alina	1906	Närpes	17.12.	22.12.
Nygård, Anna Alina	1896	Närpes	17.12.	27.12.
<i>1928</i>				
Norrgård, Anna	1907	Karperö	17.01.	18.01.
Backas, Gerda	1907	Lappträsk	17.01.	18.01.
Bengström, Tanja	1908	Trastberg	17.01.	18.01.
Karlsson, Signe	1906	Korsnäs	20.01.	21.01.
Aström, Ester Emilia	1899	Helsingfors	15.02.	16.02.
Malmgren, Greta	1905	Helsingfors	15.02.	16.02.
Weckstrom, Freija	1898	Esbo	22.02.	22.02.
Kock, Matilda	1904	Mustasaari	22.02.	22.02.
Stöbe, Taimi	1896	Helsingfors	5.03.	?
Alart, Ellen	1890	Helsingfors	5.03.	?
Ohman, Agnes	1895	Helsingfors	5.03.	7.03.
Fagerlund, Martha	1901	Lemland	5.03.	6.03.
Konn, Sofia	1901	Pörtom	15.04.	18.04.
Mansmerus, Ulla Regina	1907	Åbo	25.04.	27.04.
Rosvall, Greta	1909	Åbo	25.04.	27.04.
Karlson, Margit	1909	Strömbolstad	25.04.	27.04.
Lömmby, Judit	1898	Helsingfors	30.04.	1.05.
Strandberg, Siiri	1899	Helsingfors	15.05.	16.05.
Lindholm, Idelette	1906	Krokstad	7.08.	7.08.
Hansen, Ellen Johanna	1909	Sideby	7.08.	23.10.

Hansen, Edith	1907	Sideby	7.08.	23.10.
Bergström, Aina Irene	1895	Helsingfors	8.08.	?
Andersson, Ester	1895	Helsingfors	8.08.	?
Näsman, Auni Regina	1903	Kaskinen	17.09.	28.09.
Back, Elsa Elisabeth	1901	Kaskinen	17.09.	25.09.
Lindmark, Hilda Elisabeth	1898	Kaskinen	17.09.	26.09.
Sjöberg, Anni	1910	Föglö	1.11.	2.11.
Gustafsson, Aino	1897	Helsingfors	1.11.	3.11.
Grönroos, Mrs.	?	?	?	?

1929

Selander, Signe Ericka	1899	Lumparland	16.04.	?
Johansson, Ellen	1904	Kaskinen	16.04.	?
Harberg, Judith	1901	Lemland	23.04.	?
Massfokk, Ellen Maria	1907	Kaskinen	16.04.	?
Pettersson, Wanda Ruth	1898	Helsingfors	28.04.	?
Skaren, Lydia	1901	Föglö	20.05.	22.05.
Englund, Elin Amanda	1886	Saltvik	22.05.	27.05.
Aura, Elsa Maria	1906	Mustasaari	25.05.	26.05.
Nyman, Ida Maria	1906	Mustasaari	25.05.	26.05.
Orm, Ester Olivia	1907	Mustasaari	25.05.	27.05.
Nygård, Maria Johanna	1894	Närpes	19.08.	21.08.
Olin, Alissa	1881	Åland Islands	6.09.	9.10.
Olin, Ebba	1922	New York	6.09.	9.10.
Rounholm, Ida Maria	1901	Mustasaari	23.09.	22.09.
Sjöder, Alin Evelinn	1907	Vasa	23.09.	22.09.
Lindfors, Elin Johanna	1905	Liljendal	29.09.	30.09.
Falkenberg, Elina	1903	Johannes	8.10.	18.10.
Vardberg, Ida Astrid	1910	Brandö	14.10.	14.10.
Vardberg, Signe Amanda	1911	Brandö	14.10.	14.10.
Wistbacka, Ida Maria	1904	Terjärv	23.10.	23.10.
Wanderbacka, Fanny Maria	1896	Terjärv	23.10.	23.10.
Skog, Ethel Evärlin	1905	Terjärv	23.10.	23.10.
Furu, Neby Katariina	1909	Terjärv	23.10.	23.10.
Granberg, Margit	1901	Uusikarleby	23.10.	23.10.
Granberg, Maud	1910	Uusikarleby	23.10.	23.10.
Manderbacka, Aini	1908	Terjärv	23.10.	23.10.
Gulden, Edith Emilia	1895	Närpes	14.11.	16.11.
Ståhl, Aili	1912	Petalaks	2.12.	3.12.
Norback, Saimi Matilda	1891	Kaskinen	20.12.	27.12.

1930

Kars, Hilma Emilia	1907	Siipyy	15.01.	20.01.
Rosendahl, Hilma Sanna	1878	Siipyy	28.01.	28.01.
Mattsson, Ellen Johanna	1913	Geta	19.05.	26.05.
Pettersson, Sylvi Elise	1906	Houtskari	9.06.	9.06.
Björklund, Göta	1907	Alaveteli	13.06.	18.06.

Forsgård, Voza Elisabet	1910	Alaveteli	13.06.	18.06.
Sabel, Ida Valdine	1907	Mustasaari	16.06.	16.06.
Nordman, Sylvia Maria	1892	Kaskinen	4.08.	4.08.
Osblom, Hulda Irene	1899	Brandö	4.08.	4.08.
Lindstrom, Aili Helena	1908	Lovisa	30.08.	8.09.
Rosenberg, Rosa	1895	Kaskinen	29.08.	29.08.
Granfors, Vera	1900	Kaskinen	29.08.	29.08.
Granfors, Liisa	1929	Kaskinen	29.08.	29.08.

### 1931

Note – Records for 1931 do not indicate date of birth, origin in Finland, arrival nor departure at the Immigrant Home.

**Table 2.**

*Male* Finland-Swedes listed in the registers of the Montreal Immigrant Home, 1927–1931, according to name, birthdate, place of origin "kotipaikka", with arrival and departure dates to/from Immigrant Home. Source: National Archives MG28, V128, Vol. 6, file 3.

Name	Born	Place of birth	Arr.	Left
<i>1927</i>				
Westerholm, Algot	1899	Hangö	10.09.	13.10.
Wärngren, Johan	1895	Hagfors	20.09.	5.10.
Wärngren, Helge	1909	Hagfors	20.09.	5.10.
Signal, Severin	1880	Helsingfors	26.09.	29.09.
Melkko, Urho	1896	Korpo	26.09.	29.09.
Engström, Nathaniel	1899	Bränsjöoken	26.09.	26.09.
Hellgård, Anders	1896	Korsnäs	4.10.	5.10.
Granroth, Emil	1900	Lappfjärd	12.10.	19.10.
Nygård, Eliel Jakob	1892	Jeppo	15.10.	19.10.
Sjö, Werner Joh.	1900	Jeppo	15.10.	19.10.
Lindholm, Hemming	1896	Maaria	17.10.	17.10.
Ahlgren, Frans	1897	Parainen	17.10.	17.10.
Nyqvist, Marten Albert	1893	Oravais	4.11.	6.11.
Signal, Severin	?	Helsingfors	12.11.	24.11.
Fand, Alfred	1899	Wasa	24.11.	26.11.
Åkerman, Joh. Albert	1906	Mustasaari	24.11.	26.11.
Lindblad, Alfred	1901	Pörtom	24.11.	26.11.
Jansson, Edvard	1907	Moisa	28.11.	?
Häldman, Anders	1895	Jacobstad	28.11.	29.11.
Häggblom, John Arvid	1897	Petalax	28.11.	29.11.
Östergård, Johan	1892	Korsnäs	28.11.	29.11.
Ehrs, Jean	1904	Wäyri	5.12.	6.12.
Lauri, Lennart	1904	Lappfjärd	9.12.	10.12.
Blomqvist, Albert	1900	Borgå	26.12.	28.12.
Hasselholm, Olof	1905	Färgelanda	26.12.	28.12.

1928

Hilding, Vicktor	1882	Bolly [sp]	17.01.	18.01.
Wickström, John Frit.	1896	Björneborg	17.01.	18.01.
Englund, Oskar	1891	Ockelbo	17.01.	18.01.
Forsström, Oskar	1902	Wörå	20.01.	21.01.
Bergman, John	1900	Närpes	10.02.	?
Grönroos, Edvard	1877	Wiljakkala	14.02.	9.03.
Rosengren, Per Helge	1901	Hvesta	23.02.	?
Gammelsved, Henrik	1903	Sideby	22.02.	22.02.
Weckström, Thor	1911	Esbo	22.02.	22.02.
Hallbäck, Erik	1905	Jacobstad	6.03.	?
Glasberg, Karl	1892	Maksmö	28.03.	4.04.
Ruths, John	1900	Maksmö	28.03.	4.04.
Björklund, Ivar	1899	Petalax	28.03.	4.04.
Nystrom, Matts	1883	Lappträsk	2.04.	11.04.
Elmgren, Mårten	1905	Pernosocken	2.04.	12.04.
Sundman, Eric	1905	Munsala	9.04.	18.04.
Nyby, Anders	1911	Munsala	9.04.	18.04.
Mattson, Isak Viktor	1896	Malaks	9.04.	11.04.
Eriksson, Josef Leonard	1904	Vasa	15.04.	5.05.
Kronman, Frans Ivar	1897	Mustasaari	15.04.	?
Hägg, Magnus	1903	Oravais	20.04.	21.04.
Friman, Alfred	1903	Maksmo	20.04.	21.04.
Kullman, Victor	1890	Maksmo	20.04.	21.04.
Sjöholm, Alfred	1890	Munsala	20.04.	21.04.
Lindman, Arthur Edwin	1902	Pernodegerby	23.04.	5.05.
Andersson, Anders	1879	Vanstad	23.04.	?
Westblom, Johannes	1902	Korsnäs	3.05.	4.05.
Aspholm, Elis	1901	Malaks	3.05.	4.05.
Mattfolk, Oskar	1887	Korsnäs	3.05.	4.05.
Holmström, Nils	1892	Bodsjö	3.05.	4.05.
Engqvist, Gösta	1905	Halmstad	6.05.	?
Wide, Alvar	1901	Dragfjärd	14.05.	?
Lindberg, Viktor	1902	Oravais	25.06.	28.06.
Lindberg, Oskar	1899	Oravais	25.06.	28.06.
Åvik, Erik Henrik	1899	Korsnäs	26.06.	28.06.
Blomster, John	1908	Borgå	30.06.	23.07.
Mattson, Alfred	1902	Wöyri	25.08.	1.09.
Stenback, Valter	1910	Petalax	4.09.	4.09.
Sandblom, Edwin	1898	Jacobstad	12.09.	14.09.
Sarlin, Siivo Solomo	1905	Finby pit.	18.11.	?
Stubb, Arthur	1898	Lovisa	22.11.	?
Korsberg, August Erland	1902	Wasa	5.12.	?

1929

Brandeu, Jarl	1892	Wasa	3.01.	?
Sundman, August Anshelm	1894	Sideby	13.04.	?

Lindqvist, R.	1902	Kaskinen	7.04.	?
Olin, Karl Edvin	1883	Saltvik	22.05.	24.05.
Lindroos, Frank	1883	Normarkku	25.05.	?
Lindberg, Vielos	1902	Oravais	3.06.	4.06.
Anttel, Lennart	1907	Oravais	1.06.	4.06.
Erikson, Erik	1907	Vöyri	1.06.	4.06.
Johnson, Verner	1905	Vöyri	1.06.	4.06.
Lundberg, John Erik	1906	Brändön	16.06.	3.07.
Jorndahl, Valter John.	1904	Jacobstad	16.06.	3.07.
Haga, Isak Wilhelm	1906	Malaks	21.06.	22.06.
Herrgård, Herman Edvin	1882	Malaks	21.06.	22.06.
Herrgård, Hugo Alexander	1886	Malaks	21.06.	22.06.
Rosenblad, Oscar Severin	1895	Nykarleby	13.07.	13.07.
Nygård, Karl Wilhelm	1904	Sulvan pit.	13.07.	14.07.
Branting, Oscar John	1899	Munsala	13.07.	14.07.
Granvik, Emil	1898	Munsala	13.07.	15.07.
Kvaruström, Klas Johan	1906	Geta	3.08.	5.08.
Johansson, Torsten	1895	Jacobstad	30.09.	10.01.'30
Sandb-, Anders Arthur	1899	Terjärv	16.11.	17.11.
Hauner, Johannes Alfred	1895	Vöyri	20.11.	23.11.

1930

Storgard, Hugo	1898	Vasa	6.02.	8.03.
Skog, Ragnar	1905	Vasa	6.02.	8.03.
Walsås, Oskar Walfrid	1905	Petalax	14.03.	15.03.
Söderblom, Johan	1910	Uusikaupunki	7.04.	12.04.
Lindmark, Karl Helmer	1895	Kaskinen	9.04.	11.04.
Heinfvek, Ragnar Sigfrid	1907	Närpes	9.04.	10.04.
Lagerstead, Karl Vilhelm	1905	Närpes	9.04.	10.04.
Yrlund, Otto Einar	1905	Närpes	14.04.	14.04.
Hagman, Karl Armas	1901	Parainen	21.04.	21.04.
Liljeberg, Harald Matts	1891	Ruotsinpyhtää	22.04.	27.05.
Hoffstrom, Frans	1906	Pernaja	22.04.	27.05.
Asplund, Teodor Melvin	1906	Kronoby	13.06.	13.06.
Eklund, Anders Elis	1909	Kronoby	13.06.	13.06.
Sjoork, Elis Sigfrid	1906	Kronoby	13.06.	18.06.
Ståhl, Nils Edvin	1904	Terjärv	13.06.	16.06.
Hahnberg, August Viktor	1904	Pernaja	21.06.	28.06.
Alhus, Andress Alfred	1902	Vöyri	12.07.	12.07.
Granbäck, Axel	1906	Pörtom	27.11.	28.11.
Villför, Eino	1909	Mustasaari	1.12.	6.12.

1931

Dahlskog, Victor	1881	Malaks	26.01.	31.01.
------------------	------	--------	--------	--------

## Appendix III

### Immigration via Ocean ports and from the United States aged 10 years and over by Finnish racial origin and Swedish mother tongue, 1926–1935

Year	Immigration via Ocean ports Swedes/Finns	USA Swedes/Finns	Total with Swedish mother tongue	Total with Finnish origins
1924–25	-no data prior to 1925			
1925–26	78	2	80	
1926–27	261	1	262	
1927–28	132	0	132	
1928–29	120	0	120	
1929–30	147/4159	0	147	
1930–31	57	1	58	
1931–32	3/52	1/31	4	83
1932–33	2/21	0/27	2	48
1933–34	0/34	0/15	0	49
1934–35	0/38	0/17	0	55

Source: Report of the Dept. of Immigration and Colonization for the fiscal years 1925–1935, Annual Departmental Records.

## Appendix IV

### Immigration by country of birth (Finland) and racial origin (Swedish) by fiscal year, 1926–1991

Year	Born in Finland/ Swedish origin	From the USA	Total immigration from Finland	% share
1926–27	654	1/38	5800	11
1927–28	550	7/60	5287	10
1928–29	629	2/40	4266	15
1929–30	845	3/47	5368	16
1930–31	247	1/26	2533	10
1931–32	9	0/15	99	10
1932–33	2	1/15	31	6
1933–34	0	2/10	49	-
1934–35	0	0/6	59	-
1935–36	1	0/7	45	2
1936–37	5	0/5	52	10
1937–38	27	0/6	104	26
1938–39	2	0/6	52	4
1939–40	0	0/20	57	-
1940–41	1	1/11	3	33
1941–42	0	0/3	1	-
1942–43	0	0/8	0	-
1943–44	0	0/3	0	-
1944–45	0	1/3	0	-
1945–46	0	0/8	6	-
1946–47	3	0/9	19	16
1947–48	2	0/10	74	3
1948–49	4	0/13	190	2
1949–50	5	1/11	214	2
1950–51	25	2/8	601	4

	Swedish racial origin with Finnish nationality	Total immigrants with Finnish nationality	% share
1951–52	86	5030	2
1952–53	3	1352	0.2
1953–54	6	1232	0.5



	Swedish racial origin with Finnish citizenship	Total immigrants with Finnish citizenship	% share
1954	3	717	0.4
1955	2	652	0.3
1956	6	1128	0.5
1957	8	2884	0.3
1958	4	1261	0.3
1959	4	890	0.4
1960	2	989	0.2
1961	0	348	0
1962	0	343	0
1963	1	281	0.4
1964	1	401	0.2
1965	0	558	0

	Immigrants with Swedish mother tongue & Finnish ethnicity	Total Finnish immigrants	
1961–71	110	3990	3 *
1971–81	140	2355	6 *
1981–91	30	1180	3 *
<b>Total</b>	<b>3011</b>	<b>22/388</b>	<b>24910</b>
			<b>12 %</b>

\* Data from 1961–91 was obtained from unpublished Census 1991 data, Ottawa, 1995.

#### Sources:

- Canada Dept. of Immigration and Colonization Annual Departmental Records for the fiscal years April 1 – March 31, 1925/26 – 1934/35;
- Canada Dept. of Mines and Resources Annual Report for the fiscal years 1936/37–1948/49;
- Canada Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration Annual Report for the fiscal years 1949/50–1953/54, and calendar years 1954–1965.
- From 1925–1950, a total of 3033 Finland-Swedes immigrated to Canada. Of this number, a total of 3011 arrived directly from Finland and only 22 from the United States. The percentage share of Finn-Swedes in this immigration process equals 12%.

## Appendix V

### Finland-Swedish church membership

A large number of church membership records were consulted. These records were obtained from a number of sources, which were:

1. Individual churches (various locations)
2. Swedish-Canadian Church Records at Swenson Swedish Immigrant Research Centre (Rock Island, Illinois)
3. Ontario Provincial Archives (Toronto, Ontario)
4. Saskatchewan Lutheran Theological Seminary Archives (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)
5. Saskatchewan Provincial Archives Board (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)
6. University of Turku/History Dept./America Collection Archives (Turku, Finland).

A complete list of all church records examined are listed below with the source of the records. Only churches that had records for Finland-Swedish individuals are included in the remainder of this appendix, and are identified with an asterisk below.

### Church records consulted

Province/Church	Years	Location	Source of data
<i>British Columbia</i>			
1. First Swe. Ev. L. C.	(1903–1953)	Vancouver	1 *
2. Immanuel Ev. L. C.	(1909–1989)	New Westminster	1 *
3. Mt. Zion L. C.	(1989–1995)	New Westminster	1 *
4. Danish L. C.	(ca. pre–1995)	Burnaby	1
5. Gloria Dei L. C.	(ca. pre–1995)	North Vancouver	1
6. Emmaus L. C.	(ca. pre–1995)	Burnaby	1
7. Abb'ford Baptist C.	(1910–1939)	Abbotsford	2
<i>Alberta</i>			
1. Bethlehem L. C.	(1908–1969)	Wetaskiwin	2 *
2. Augustana Evang. L. C.	(1929–1951)	Edmonton	2 *
3. Evang. Covenant C.	(1911–1960)	Calgary	2
4. First Lutheran C.	(1899–1957)	Calgary	2
5. Scand. Bethel Baptist	(1909–1916)	Calgary	2
6. Swe. Luth. Fridheim C.	(1901–1963)	Camrose	2
7. Swe. Ev. Luth. Saron C.	(1901–1971)	Czar	2
8. Scand. Baptist C.	(1909–1932)	Edmonton	2
9. Swe. Ev. Luth. Dalby C.	(1905–1907)	Falun	2
10. Freidheim L. C.	(1911–1972)	Ferintosh	2
11. Wilhelmina Ev. L. C.	(1908–1976)	Hay Lakes	2
12. Bethany L. C.	(1910–1957)	Hughenden	2
13. Swe. Ev. L. C.	(1906–1969)	Meeting Creek	2

14. Wetaskiwin Swe. Baptist Church	(1905–1941)	Nashville	2
15. Swe. Baptist C.	(1910–1921)	Water Glen	2
16. Swe. Ev. L. Svea C.	(1898–1975)	Water Glen	2
17. Ebenezer Baptist C.	(1908–1940)	Wetaskiwin	2
18. Elim Ev. Mission ovenent Church	(1916–1940)	Wetaskiwin	2

#### *Saskatchewan*

1. Evang. Covenant C.	(1888–1967)	Stockholm	2 *
2. Salem L. C.	(1909–1945)	Shaunavon	4 *
3. Elim Evang. L. C.	(1912–1950)	Buchanan	2 *
4. Augustana L. C.	(1929–1994)	Saskatoon	1 *
5. Emmanuel L. C.	(1913–1964)	Assiniboia	4
6. Bethesda L. C.	(ca. pre-1995)	Beatty	4
7. First English L. C.	(ca. 1919)	Churchbridge	1
8. Bethel L. C.	(1910–1958)	Kelliher	4
9. Zion L. C.	(ca. pre-1995)	Kinistino	4
10. Bethel L. C.	(1911–1945)	Marchwell	4
11. St. Peter's L. C.	(1908–1969)	Meacham	4
12. St. John's L. C.	(ca. 1893)	New Finland	5
	[no membership records available]		
13. Salem L. C.	(1911–1958)	Young	4
14. New Stockholm L. C.	[no membership records available]		
	(1893–	Stockholm	4
15. Elim L. C.	(1912–1955)	Theodore	4

#### *Manitoba*

1. Swedish Evang. L. C.	(1890–1920)	Winnipeg	1 *
2. Bethlehem L. C.	(1891–1921)	Erickson	2 *
3. Grant Memorial Baptist	(1894–1926)	Winnipeg	2 *
4. Hilltop Baptist C.	(1896–1976)	Scandinavia	2 *
5. St. Mark's L. C.	(1920–1995)	Winnipeg	1 *
6. First Covenant C.	(1885–1954)	Winnipeg	2
8. First Scandinavian Mission Church	(1899–1916)	Tyndall	2
7. Ev. Covenant C.	(1908–1966)	Minnedosa	2

#### *Ontario*

1. Evang. Zion L. C.	(1906–1953)	Port Arthur/Thunder Bay	1 *
2. Immanuel L. C.	(1906–1953)	Port Arthur/Thunder Bay	1 *
3. St. Angsarius Swedish C./	(1906–1908)	Port Arthur	1 *
4. St. Mark's L. C.	(1951–1983)	Port Arthur/Thunder Bay	1 *
5. Ft. Frances Zion L. C.	(1919–1950)	Fort Frances	2 *
6. Wuoristo L. C.	(ca. 1936)	Copper Cliff	6 *
7. Swedish L. C.	(1953–1975)	Toronto	3
8. Bethesda L. C.	(1894–1944)	Kenora	4

#### *Michigan*

1. Swedish Elim L. C.	(ca. 1955)	Sault Ste. Marie	6
-----------------------	------------	------------------	---

**The First Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church –  
Augustana Lutheran Church**  
5 King Edward Street, Vancouver, B. C.

Names taken from the church register of the First Swedish Evangelical  
Lutheran Church, 1903–1953

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in Canada
1903	Lina Sofia Peterson	Jacobstad, 1864	1892
	Hanna (Vinqvist) Anderson	Kristinastad, 1875	1895
1909	Aina Johanna (Lind) Göranson	Munsala, 1878	?
	Britta Charlotta (Kynell) Kellberg	Gamlakarleby, 1880	1908
	Elsa Ulrika (Peterson) Grönlund	Kristinastad, 1893	?
	Anna Johanna Lind	Munsala, 1878	?
1911	Oscar Johannes Söderman	Iniö, 1887	1907
1912	Leonard Mattson	Iniö, 1882	?
1915	Helmi Maria Söderberg	Esbo, 1896	1913
1922	Ernest Frederick Eklund	Åbo, 1879	1907
	Sofia Adeline (Hermans) Eklund	Norra Helsingby, 1878	1907
1923	Johan Erick Nylund	Nykarleby, 1869	1922
	Maria Ellen Ekström	Soklofby	?
	Signe Elizabeth Nyby	Munsala, 1905	1922
1924	Anna Matilda (Israelsdotter) Törnquist	Solsfärs, 1906	1923
	Elna Sofia (Jutbacka) Erickson	Oravais, 1905	1923
	Elizabeth Sofia Holm	Maxmo, 1898	1923
	Helmi Sofia (Andersson) Norback	Pörtom, 1897	1924
	Sanna Brita Anderson	Munsala, 1889	1923
	Maria Sofia Wickstrom	Munsala, 1899	1924
	Axel Augustine Sundsten	Soloköping, 1895	1923
	Arne Helge Olof Ekengren	Hamina, 1896	1924
	Henrick Johanson (Rönn)	Kristinastad, 1883	1923
1925	Janne Elis Niemi	Jukkasjärvi,	?
	Verner Johannes Viklund	Nykarleby, 1900	1923
	Edith Augusta (Södergren) Holm	Närpes, 1901	1925
	Edith Alina Isakson	Malax,	?
	Elna Maria Finne	Vörå, 1900	1924
	Ellen Irene Rönnquist	Jeppo, 1899	1924
	Vera R. Thorn	Korsholm,	?
	Hjardis Alice Lille	Gamlakarleby, 1906	1925
	Runar Nylund	Jacobstad, 1909	1923
	- recarded to New Westminster, 1925		
	Tyra Elizabeth Backman	Nykarleby, 1903	1925
	Erik Herman Kellberg	Korsholm, 1866	1925
	Hildur Olivia Åstbacka	Turejärvi, 1899	1924
	Wilhelm Severin Holm	Närpes, 1903	1925
1926	Elna Maria Helena Sjöberg	Larsmo, 1907	1925

	Karl Alfred Antas	Närpes, 1900	1925
	Anna Genia Antas	Overmark, 1897	1925
	Hilma Johanna (Hendrickson) Nylund	Munsala, 1906	1926
	John Robert Nyholm	Karis, 1894	1926
	Dagmar Elizabeth Sundell	Pojo, 1889	1926
	Lydia Anderson	?	?
	Hilda Sofia Sjöblom	Pernå, 1899	1924
1927	Helmi Adile Johansen Bäck	Korsholm, 1908	1927
1928	Oscar Nordman	Närpes, 1881	?
	Catherine Nordman	Munsala, 1882	?
	Victor Lars Johansson	Pedersöre, 1906	1928
	Karin Alice Lundholm	?	?
	Alice Lindblom	Jacobstad, 1905	1926
	Karin Alice Ekengren	Jacobstad, 1905	?
	Mrs. Fanny Valdime (Astergard) Holmgren	Yttresund, 1901	1927
1929	Otto Edwardson	Lappfjärd, 1903	1926
	Mrs. Ester Adelina Edwardson	Vasa, 1902	1924
	Elvi Mathilda Ahlroos	Lappfjärd, 1907	1926
	Sigrid Maria Björkman	Finland, ?	?
	Agnes Modig		
	Johan Soderman		
	Paul Johanson		
	Oskar Lennart Johanson	Närpes, 1904	1926
	Mandy Alina Nordgren	Portom, 1906	1928
	Karl Henry Johannes Nordling	Korsnäs, 1896	1923
	Mrs. Ida Maria Nysted		
	Johan Gunnar Walberg Johanson	Overmark, 1900	1923
	Anna Alvina Sjästrand	Korsues, 1902	1926
	Elna Maria Bobacka	Jacobstad, 1898	1926
	Karl Henrik Johnson	Nordling,	?
	Alfred Hugo Sandström	Korplux, 1880	1924
	Maria Emelia Sandström	Kalvia, 1882	1928
	Hugo George Sandström	Karleby, 1904	1928
	Inga Maria Alfreda Sandström	Karleby, 1907	1928
	Ernst Alfred Sandström	Karleby, 1910	1928
	Sven Johannes Sandström	Karleby, 1912	1928
	Uuno Alexander Sandström	Karleby, 1914	1928
	Saara Ingrid Sandström	Karleby, 1919	1928
	Katariina Sandström	Karleby, 1921	1928
	Frida Zeanderson Granskog	Nedervetil, 1908	1928
	Oskar Lennard Petterson	Finland	
	Adelina Sofia Augustana Nyman	Salo, 1900	1926
	John Ture Erickson	Brändö, 1905	1928
	Anders Elis Erickson	Brändö, 1909	1928
	Anders Axel Kåll	Pedersöre, 1900	1928
	Elna Sofia Finell	Härstadis, 1909	1929
	Nancy Kristina Eugström	Sarvsalo, 1908	1929

	Sigurd Viktor Matheus Walkamo	Helsingfors, 1897	1929
	Charles Victor Gunn	Pedersöre, 1897	1923
	Tyre Johanna Gunn	Pedersöre, 1900	1923
	Gästa Bexar		
	Elna Bexar		
	Svea Malvina Mäntylä	Salo, 1913	1929
	Emil Peterson	Kristinastad, 1870	1887
	Johan Alfred Söderman	Karleby, 1892	1909
	Edwin Skutnabba	Karleby, 1901	?
	Johann Edwin Skutnabba	Karleby, 1901	?
	Ellen Lovisa Skutnabba	Pedersöre, 1897	1928
	Maria Lovisa Peterson	Kristinastad, 1868	1891
	Alfred Karlsson Nygard	Kersnäs förs, 1894	1913
	Hilma Gran Nilsson	Finland, 1903	?
	Elsa Irene (Naslund) Vikman	Overmark, 1907	1926
	Ida Maria Vikman	Purmo, 1903	1929
1930	Harold Valfrid Soderberg		
	T.A. Westerberg	Åbo, 1886	1930
1931	Helmi Hellström	Finland, 1903	1930
1943	Otto Sigfrid Sundell	Lappfjärd, 1889	?
	Kristina Eveline (Englund) Sundell	Kristinastad, 1883	?
1944	Matt Sigurd Haga	Kroneby, 1901	1923
	Mrs. Vivian Adele Haga	Kroneby, 1903	1923
1947	Gunnar Alexander Abbors	Lapplaxby, 1906	?
	Viveno Ilta Abbors	n. p. , 1915	
	Leo Mattias Blomquist	Nykarleby, 1905	1923
	Ester Alma Blomquist	Karleby, ?	1923
	Ida Maria (Lindholm) Hermanson	Helsingfors, ?	?
1950	John Earl Brann	Finland, 1904	?
	Mrs. Helen Hilma (Kaltrask) Brann	Finland, 1897	?

### Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church (Augustana Synod)

(1909–1989 – New Westminster, B.C.)

#### Mt. Zion Lutheran Church

(Cumberland Avenue, New Westminster, B.C.)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in Canada
1909	Alexander Johnson	Kollby, 1870	1890
	Maria Matilda Johnson	Pedersöre, 1864	1891
	Lydia Maria Storm	Munsala, 1870	1893
1911	Chas Toivo Ferdinand Granholm	Marienshamn, 1886	?
	Maria (Peterson) Granholm	Lumparland, 1887	?
	Charles Wilhelm Peterson	Lumparland, 1888	?

1913	Rosa Susanna Pettersson	Lumparland, 1890	1913
1914	Karl Edward Storm	Korsholm, 1864	1893
	John Hågman	Korsholm, 1850	?
	Anna Sanna Hellgren	Munsala, 1867	1912
1918	Johan Adolf Johansson Fagerholm	Larsmo, 1889	1911
	Irene Fanny Latval	Vasa, 1902	?
	Edith Maria Latval	Vasa, 1903	?
	Görda Vilhelmina Landborg	Vasa, 1902	?
1920	Hulda (Pollman) Johansson	Korsholm, 1876	?
	Gerda Louise (Nääs) (Pollman)	Vasa, 1901	?
	Jacob Alfred Latvala	Vasa, 1876	
1921	Ida Sofia (Rönn) Mahusten	Vasa, 1881	1911
1924	Lea Maria (Nylund) Mellander	Jacobstad, 1907	1923
	Johan Erik Nylund	Nykarleby, 1869	1924
	Väinö Johannes Nylund	Nykarleby, 1904	1922
	Ragnhild Maria Nylund	Nykarleby, 1904	1923
	Ragner Johannes Nylund	Jacobstad, 1905	1922
	Tekla Olivia Jacobson	Munsala, 1898	1923
	Anna Alexandra Nilson	Munsala, 1901	1924
	Runar Gustafson	Jacobstad, 1906	1923
	Ragnhild Maria Carlson	Jacobstad, 1904	1923
1925	Runar Johannes Nylund	Jacobstad, 1909	1923
1928	Jacob Verner Julin	Hirvlaks, 1899	1922
	Elin Johanna (Nymark) Julin	Munsala, 1898	1922
	Anders William Julin	Hirvlaks, 1906	1926
	Helmi Alexandra (Nylund) Julin	Nykarleby, 1908	1927
	Jacob Vilhelm Haglund	Hirvlaks, 1898	1925
	Ida Maria Bäckström	Vörå, 1904	1927
	Esther Peth	Vörå, 1909	1928
	Edith Irene (Erickson)	Korsholm, 1887	1927
1929	Edith Maria (Nyman)	CarlsonPedersöre, 1903	1928
	Alfred Mattson Yrjäs	Vörå, 1904	1927
	Anna Werna Emilson of Reeth	Korsholm, 1894	1927
	Helmi Sofia Westerlund	Munsala, 1908	1929
	Ellen Maria Nilson	Munsala, 1909	1929
	Hilma Sofia West	Munsala, 1909	1929
	Jakob Lennart Ackren	Munsala, 1898	1926
	Ellen Elvina (Westerlund) Oback	Munsala, 1912	1929
1930	Victor Valdemar Nordberg	Helsingfors, 1874	?
1931	Wendla Maria Westmalm	Övermark, 1899	1928
	Elna Sofia (Beck) Wallin	Sodrawallgunne, 1907	1928
1932	Runar Nelson	Munsala, 1906	1924
1933	Axel Arthur Berg	Sideby, 1895	1927
1943	Lilly (Latval) Oliphant	Vasa, 1899	?
	Hilda Lovisa Latvala	Vasa, 1876	?
1945	Gunhild Kare (Lundstrom) Selander	Oravais, 1908	?
1946	Lennart Alvar Nygren	Lappfjärd, 1912	1933

	George Wansen	Storkyrö, 1903	1926
	Selma (Bergman) Wansen	Oravais, 1902	1927
	Frida Paulina (Backa) Nygren	Wöra, 1910	1934
1947	Isak Hostman	Petalax, 1901	1925
	Gerda Linnea (Steen) Hostman	Replot, 1909	1925
	Volmar Nordman	Pörtom, 1932	1937
	John Gideon Soderberg	Petalax, 1909	1929
	Alefina Elisa (Ehrs) Soderberg	Vörå, 1906	1929
1950	Johan Sanfred Storm	Korsholm, 1905	1923
	Astrid Alice (Wikman) Storm	Korsholm, 1910	1937
	Jorgen Herbert Storm	Korsholm, 1935	1937
	Iris Nordman	Petalax, 1934	1937
1952	Frank Lennart Engelquist	Harrstrom, 1912	1934
1954	Anna Gunnel Linnea Nyback	Munsala, 1938	?
1955	Eric John Sundman	Munsala, 1905	1928
	Ester Emilia (Sikström)	Munsala, 1906	1929
	Carl Alfred Renvall	Munsala, 1904	1951
	Susanna Sofia (Sundvick) Renvall	Munsala, 1905	1951
	Albin Lager	Munsala, 1905	1924
	Karen Lager	Munsala, 1906	1929
1956	Mrs. Mary (Arne) Nelson	Vörå, 1910	1929
1957	Edwin Waldimar Nordman	Petalax, 1907	1937
	Signe Adele (Bjurback) Nordman	Portom, 1911	1937
1958	Karl Anselm Bertlin	Vörå, 1908	1949
	Manda (Haggman) Bertlin	Oravais, 1912	1949
1959	John Erik Nyback	Munsala, 1943	?
	Siv Alice Margareta Lundqvist	Jacobstad, 1943	?
	Karl Göran Bertlin	Vasa, 1942	1949
1960	Gun-Britt Lundqvist	Jacobstad, 1945	?
	Solveig Birgitta (Bertlin) Henderson	Vasa, 1946	1949
1961	Bjarne Bjurback	Pörtom, 1944	1961
	Sigfrid Eskil Eilert Gullmes	Lappfjärd, 1922	1951
	Else Elise (Rosenback) Gullmes	Lappfjärd, 1921	1951
	Karen Nina Lovisa (Nyback) Renvall	Munsala, 1934	1951
1962	Bernt Frans Backlund	Pedersöre, 1922	1956
	Saga Helena (Granvik) Backlund	Nykarleby, 1922	1956
	Bert Michael Backlund	Jacobstad, 1948	1956
	Rols Eilert Gullmes	Lappfjärd, 1948	?
1963	Ernst Johan Linden	Munsala, 1924	1953
1969	Ann Charlotte Helena (Backlund)		
	Kleisterlee	Jacobstad, 1953	1956
1970	Jarl Gustav Cederberg	Jacobstad, 1929	?
	Britta Margareta Cederberg	Munsala, 1933	?
1972	Lena Margareta Cederberg	Jacobstad, 1958	?
<i>Year received as member not given</i>			
?	Sven Alvar Lundqvist	Pedersöre, 1920	?



Elsa Alice (Nyvall) Lundqvist	Pedersöre, 1916	?
Else Marianne Lundqvist	Jacobstad, 1949	?
Elsa Alice Hollander	Pedersöre, 1913	?
Karl Ole Blomkvist	Hirvlaks, 1921	?
Gun-Brit (Lundqvist) Gaucher	Jacobstad, 1945	?

### **Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Wetaskiwin, AB.**

(church register 1908–1969)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in Canadal
?	Johanson, Erik	Nykarleby, 1865	1898
	Johanson, Anna Katarina	Kortes, 1869	1900
	Johanson, Hulda Elvira	Finland, 1898	1900
1944	Carlson, William	Närpes, 1869	1887
1954	Loude, Mrs. Ida Ileen Rango	Vasa, 1874	1954

### **Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church, Edmonton, AB.**

(church register 1929–1951)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in AB.
1938	Carlson, Nils Julius	Spekerörsfors, 1888	1913
	Carlson, Karin Agneta (nee. Rehn)	Esbo, 1898	1914

### **Evangelical Covenant Church, Stockholm, SK.**

(church register 1888–1967)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in SK.
?	Hendrickson, e. K.	Finland, 1840	1895
	Hustin?/Tuokla?	Finland, 1851	1895

**Shaunavon Salem Lutheran Church, Shaunavon, SK.  
(originally the Libanon Lutheran Church, 1909–1916)**

(church register 1909–1945)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in SK.
?	Anderson, Johanna Maria	Föglö, 1863 – d. 1945	1912
	Anderson, Edith Amanda (nee. Erickson)	Föglö, 1908	
1928	Johnson, Frida Hilma Linnea (nee. Sjölund)	Föglö, 1903	1926
1933	Gjevre, Thyra Mathilda (nee. Erickson)	Föglö, 1909	?

**Elim Evangelical Lutheran Church, Buchanan, SK.**

(church register 1912–1950)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in Canada
?	Hermanson, Herman married in 1880 to ?	Vasa, 1854 – d. 1944	?

**Saskatoon Augustana Lutheran Church (Augustana Synod)**

(1929–1994 – Saskatoon, SK.)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in Canada
1945	Lunggren, Elsa Adina (nee Bjorklund)	Vasa, 1901	1940
	Lunggren, Iver Ragnar	Sweden	
	- dropped from books, 1947		
<i>Non-members in attendance</i>			
1951	Knuttila, Len	New Finland, 1922	1951
	Knuttila, Inez	Buchanan, 1923	1945
	Knuttila, Lynn	Saskatoon, 1951	
	- family moved to Kelvington, SK. 1953		
1962	Holch, Miriam (nee Ahlgren)	Jämsä, 1927	1962
	Holch, Dr. Horst	Germany, 1927	1962
	Holch, Mark	Pori, 1955	1962
	Holch, Risto	Germany, 1959	1962
	Holch, Thomas	Germany, 1959	1962
	Holch, David	Idaho, USA, 1961	1962
	- family moved out of Saskatoon in 1963		
1975	Pulkkinen, Evelyn	b. 1938	1975
1978	Tapanainen, Tiina	Saskatoon, 1978	1978

**Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Erickson, MB.**

(church register 1891–1921)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in MB.
?	Koping, Johanna Matilda	Petalax, 1882	1893
?	Nystrom, Erick Mattson	Wörå, 1852	1894
	Nystrom, Sofia Mickelsdotter	Mustasaari, 1857	?
	- children:		
	Nystrom, Carl Albert	Gudmundrå, SW. 1883	
	Nystrom, Tikla Julia	Gudmundrå, SW. 1888	
	Nystrom, Edvin	Scandinavia, MB. 1895	
	Nystrom, Robert Alexander	Scandinavia, MB. 1900	

**Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Augustana Synod)**

(1890–1920, Winnipeg, MB.)

**St. Marks Lutheran Church (Augustana Synod)**

(1920 – 1995, Winnipeg, MB.)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in Canada
1904	Tiainen, Johan Larson	Pihtipudas, 1873	1903
	Tiainen, Sofia Wilhelmina (nee Hjukisön)	Finland, 1877	1903
	Tiainen, Carl Alexander	b. ?, 1903	?
1911	Thunberg, Erik Thomasson	Wöråfors, 1849	1911
	Thunberg, Eva Kristina Josefina (nee Edström)	Wöråfors, 1849	1911
	Thunberg, Edda		
	Aurora Adolphine	Almöfors, Sweden, 1887	?
	Thunberg, Frans Archibald Edström,	b. ?, 1898	?
	- family arrived in Whitemouth, ON. in 1892		
1913	Glad, Knut Emil	Helsingfors, 1872	1913
1916	Abo, Breta (nee Mara)	Vasa, 1875	1911
	Abo, Hilda Maria	Winnipeg, 1911	
	Abo, Edward	Winnipeg, 1913	
	Erickson, Eva Maria	Winnipeg, 1915	1915
1918	Johnson, John Wilhelm	Normäs, 1887	1906
	Johnson, Martha	Winnipeg, 1913	
	Johnson, John	Winnipeg, 1915	
	- family dropped from books in 1924		
1919	Freskbeck, Axel	Vasa, 1875	1907–09
	Freskbeck, Josefine	Sweden, 1874	
	- family and 3 children dropped from books in 1922		
?	Tengerstrom, Edda Johanna (nee Vesterlund)	Narjus, 1865	1911

1923	Roos, Uno Henrik	Finland, 1871	1923
	Roos, Hulda Sofia	b. ? , 1863	
	Roos, Erik Wilhelm	b. ? , 1908	1925
	Anderson, Maj-Lis (nee Roos)	Oulu, 1901	1924
	Anderson, Arthur	Sweden, 1894	
	Anderson, Leonard Arthur	Sweden, 1920	
	Anderson, Ole Jan	Sweden, 1923	
	- family dropped from books in 1940		
1931	Carlson, Carl Erik	Finströmfors, 1865	1889

**Grant Memorial Baptist Church, Winnipeg, MB.**  
(church register)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in MB.
?	Lindblad, Einar Bertil	Helsingfors, 1893	1926
	Pira, Esther	Helsingfors, 1899	1926
	Grönlund	Finland, ?	?
	Sjoman	Finland, ?	?
1926	Heikinen, Anna	Uleåborg, 1904	
	Tappila, Katri	Uleåborg, 1906	

**Wuoristo congregation archives**  
Copper Cliff, ON.

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in Canada
1945	Englund, Anders Lennart	Teerijärvi, 1897–1963	1926
	Englund, Hanna (nee. Harju)	Evijärvi, 1901– ?	
	Children: Lennart, Euga, Sanja		
?	Erickson, John A.	Finland, 1895-deceased	1908
	Erickson, Aili (nee Harju)	1902	

**St. Ansgarius Swedish Church, Port Arthur**  
(list of families in church register, 1906)

Name	Birthplace	Birthdate
Lindström, Gustaf Vilhelm	Karis parish	09.07.1859
Lindström, Olga Lovisa (nee. Tötterman)	Ingå parish	13.07.1871
Lindström, Elis Vilhelm	Karis	29.10.1889

Lindström, Algot Alfred	Karis	20.11.1890
Karlson Westerman, Edvard	Närpes	16.04.1879
		d. 1908
Karlson Westerman, Ida Sofia	Närpes	15.12.1883
Eriksson, Karl Oscar (Mannfolk)	Närpes	21.09.1885
Eriksson, Hulda Maria Westerman	Närpes	05.08.1888
Johnson, Joseph Wilhelm	Närpes	13.04.1874
Johnson, Magdalena Liikala	Närpes	05.07.1882

### List of burials in church register (1906–1908)

Name	Birthplace	Born	Died
Martinsen, Gunne	Eurajoki parish	02.10.1868	27.08.1906
Neutze, William	Lumijoki parish		15.11.1906
Kajander, Joho	Strömfors	1861	31.05.1907
Mikkola, Signe Johanna	Finland	1893	18.05.1908
Karlson Westerman, Edvard	Närpes	16.04.1879	26.06.1908
Mukkovaara, Frans Alexander	Neder Torneå	1885	26.06.1908

The pastor of the St. Angsarius Mission was Knute Selisu Tötterman, born 27. 06. 1863 in Ingå parish, Nylands län. His ministry began with this congregation on April 20th, 1906.

### Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church (Augustana synod)

(1906–1953, Port Arthur, On.)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in Canada
1906	Danielson, Ida Christina	Finnström, 1877	1896
1910	Danielson, Johan Waldemar	Finnström, 1892	1910
1912	Danielson, Sigfrid Matilda (nee. Jonsson)	Finnström, 1891	1912
	Forsstrom, Ida Matilda	Hangö, 1884	1901
1913	Grönros, Carl Henrik	Strämfors, 1872	1903
	Grönros, Wilhelmina	Strämfors, 1870	1904
	Grönros, Signe Sofia	Strämfors, 1900	1904
	Grönros, Karl Waldemar	Strämfors, 1902	1904
1914	Eriksson, Jenny Maria	Magni Pring, 1893	1913
1921	Hedman, Gabriel Wilhelm	Närpes, 1882	1908
	Hedman, Edla Maria	Matsari, 1886	1908
	Hedman, Karl Johan	Närpes, 1873	1905
	Hedman, Helena Marja (nee. Mattfrok)	Närpes, 1882	1910
	Hedman, Elna Linnea	Närpes, 1906	1910
	Hedman, Karl Einar	Närpes, 1909	1910
	Johansson, Adrian	Närpes, 1877	1910

	Johansson, Ella Johanna (nee. Mattfrok)	Närpes, 1884	1910
	Anderson, Erik Henrik	Overmark, 1877	?
	Anderson, Lena Gustava (nee. Hedman)	Overmark, 1885	?
1940*	Roos, Ivan Alexander	Pargas, 1889	1910
	Roos, Mrs.	Finland, 1895	1925
	Roos, Mildred Alice	Finland, 1923	1925
	Roos, Annie Wilhelmina	Finland, 1925	1925
1942	Wall, Einar Adolph	Finland, 1910	1929
1944	Nordlander, Carl Oscar	Finland, ?	?
	Nordlander, Signe	Finland, ?	?
1949	Rudman, Eric Victor	Kronsby, 1883	?
	Rudman, Selma Maria (nee. Hansen)	Kronsby, 1891	?

\* 1940 membership listed in the register of the Zion Evangelical Lutheran congregation, Fort William, 1906–1953.

**St. Marks Lutheran Church**  
(1951–1983, Port Arthur/Thunder Bay, On.)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in Canada
?	Erkas, Eskil Arvid	Närpes, 1905	1923
1920	Suline, Olga Irene	Åland Isl. , 1897	1910
1972	Anderson, Anna Viola	Finland, 1911	1929
	Anderson, Leonard	Sweden, 1908	1909
?	Roos, Anna Ofelia	Finland, 1902	1929

**Fort Frances Zion Lutheran Church,**  
**Fort Frances, On.**  
(church register 1919–1950)

Year	Name	Birthplace/date	Arrival in ON.
?	Swanson, Gust Emil	Holms, Bergs par. 1886	?
	Swanson, Amanda Alina (nee. Johnson)	Solf parish, 1888	1904
	Johnson, Victor	Pörtom, 1885	1906
	Johnson, Betta Louisa	Pörtom, 1888	?
	Danielson, Selma (nee. Asplund)	Finland, 1889	1911
1923	Hatcher, Mrs. Signe	Nykarleby, 1901	1913
1950	Adahl, Uno Fred	Pörtom, 1903	1925
	Adahl, Ellen Susanna	Nykarleby, 1907	1927
	Peterson, Frank	New Finland, 1899	
	Pearson, Mrs. Peter	Pörtom, 1898	

**Swedish Elim Lutheran Church**

Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan

Material collected from America Collection, University of Turku/History Department/  
Archives Microfilm No. MF472TYYH/S/M/8/114.

- no information related to Finland-Swedes in Ontario.

*Marriage records:*

1955 Phyllis O'Brian & Francis Jackson,  
- both of Sault Ste. Marie, ON.

1956 Joyce Fireomonte, Sault Ste. Marie, ON., married to an American in  
Sault Ste. Marie, MI.

## Appendix VI

### Finland-Swedish members of the Swedish Society SVEA Vancouver, B.C., 1908–1949

Formed in 1908, names taken from SVEA Register book 1908–1949. Source: Swenson Swedish Immigration Centre, Augustana College, Swedish-Canadian (non-lodge) Organizational Records, SA-142.

Name	Born	Place	Year of immigration	Occupation
Carlson, Mathias Arthur	1874	Jelby, Åland	1892	Lumberjack
Johnson, Erland	1886	Kristinastad	1905	Sailor
Hillberg, Erik	1866	Vasa	1896	Sailor
Grönlund, Knut Alfred	1871	Kristinastad	1886	Sea captain
Alexson, John	1882	Jurö	1909	Sailor
Grönroos, Gunnar W.	1883	Helsingfors	1904	Businessman
Peterson, Carl	1899	Finland	1912	Floorlayer
Soderman, Carl G.	1894	Finland	1915	Carpenter
Gustafson, Isaac	1886	Vasa	?	Joiner
Viikson, Fred	1893	Finland	1910	Logger
Carlson, Charles	1891	Finland	1910	Logger
Dahlstöm, Lennart	1901	Finland	1923	Floorlayer
Österback, Carl	1897	Mustasaari	1924	Farmer
Ståhlstedt, John	1908	Åland Isl.	1928	Painter
Peterson, Enas	1895	Finland	1912	Floorlayer
Roebuck, Edward	1905	Vasa	1926	Company worker

A total of 16 Finn-Swedes were part of a membership of 264 individuals. Thus, Finland-Swedes represented a 6% proportion of the Swedish Svea Society in Vancouver.



## Appendix VII

### Pioneer settlers of the Scandinavia colony, ca. 1890

Location	Name	From	No. in family
SE-4-17-17	J. Knudsen	Sjaelland, Denmark	1
SE-6-17-17	C. Wallstedt	Gefle, Sweden	4
SW-6-17-17	S. Carlson	Göteborg, Sweden	7
NW-6-17-17	Fred Johnson	Sjaelland, Denmark	1
NE-6-17-17	Isak Johnson	Sjaelland, Denmark	5
NW-20-17-17	A. Edvardson	Upsala län, Sweden	1
NW-12-17-17	A. Osterberg	Skåne, Sweden	2
NW-28-17-17	J.W. Wendelbo	Jylland, Danmark	4
SW-28-17-17	Soren Wendelbo	Jylland, Danmark	1
SE-30-17-17	P. O. Wallstrom	Hernosand, Sweden	7
NW-30-17-17	P. E. Larson	Dalarna, Sweden	4
SW-31-17-17	J. P. Peterson	Dalsland, Sweden	1
NE-31-17-17	John Asserlind	Göteborg, Sweden	1
SW-5-18-17	Adolf Lundgren	Westergötland, Sweden	6
SW-6-18-17	Per Johnson	Dalarna, Sweden	7
SE-6-18-17	Gustaf Anderson	Dalarna, Sweden	2
NE-6-18-17	G.W. Högberg	Stockholm, Sweden	2
NW-6-18-17	Emanuel Turner	Upsala, Sweden	4
W-7-18-17	J. Hemmingson	Sjaelland, Denmark	4
SW-14-18-17	P. Håkanson	United States	5
NW-14-18-17	M. Bengtson	United States	1
NE-16-18-17	J. W. Berg	Westergötland, Sweden	3
SW-16-18-17	A. Hak	Bohuslän, Sweden	2
NW-16-18-17	J.A. Gustafson	Stockholm, Sweden	4
SW-17-18-17	John Malkulm	Stockholm, Sweden	6
SE-18-18-17	J.E. Carlson	United States	5
NE-18-18-17	Chr. Nilson	Namndalen, Norway	5
SE-20-18-17	Fr. L. Engman	Stockholm, Sweden	1
SE-22-18-17	N. O. Nordqvist	Norrbotten, Sweden	1
NE-2-17-18	Klas Person	Westergötland, Sweden	1
SW-12-17-18	Lars Oman	Westergötland, Sweden	6
SE-12-17-18	Chr. Gulbranson	Gudbrandsdalen, Norway	4
NE-12-17-18	C.A. Johnson	Småland, Sweden	7
NW-12-17-18	S.P. Johnson	Småland, Sweden	5
NE-14-17-18	C.J. Svanson	Småland, Sweden	5
NW-14-17-18	R.G. Anderson	Småland, Sweden	4
SW-4-17-18	M. Paulson	Kristiania, Norway	4
NE-24-17-18	F. G. Hill	Småland, Sweden	9
SE-25-17-18	I. Ullberg	Dalarna, Sweden	6
N-25-17-18	R. Pederson	Falster, Denmark	3

NE-26-17-18	M. Pederson	Falster, Denmark	3
NE-26-17-18	S. Knudsen	New Zealand	1
SW-32-17-18	P. Abel	Sjaelland, Denmark	1
NW-28-17-18	M. Moller	Sjaelland, Denmark	8
SE-38-17-18	O. Bermtson	Hernostad, Sweden	7
NE-14-18-18	K. Kjelsen Resvig	Namndalen, Norway	1
NW-16-18-18	Svan Olson	Christiansand, Norway	5
SE-16-18-18	Olof Stone	Namndalen, Norway	1
NE-17-18-18	Chr. Ortum	United States	3
SW-17-18-18	S.F. Wetteland	United States	6
NW-17-18-18	E.C. Hansen	Namndalen, Norway	2
SE-18-18-18	L. Odell	Mariestad, Sweden	4
NE-18-18-18	O.B. Anderson	United States	5
NW-18-18-18	J. Holmström	Wermland, Sweden	7
NE-21-18-18	G. Amundson	Namndalen, Norway	3
NW-21-18-18	W.A. Stone	Namndalen, Norway	1
SE-28-18-18	Chr. Stone	Namndalen, Norway	1
SW-21-18-18	W. Stone	Namndalen, Norway	4
NW-22-18-18	J.A. Erikson	Dalarne, Sweden	4
SE-22-18-18	John Eklund	Dalarne, Sweden	1
SW-22-18-18	A. Landström	Namndalen, Norway	4
SW-23-18-18	A.F. Skog	Westmanland, Sweden	3
SW-28-18-18	Chr. Krog	United States	6

**Total** **232**

Source: Den Skandinaviske Canadiensaren, Vol. 4, No. 37, Sept. 30, 1890, p. 1.

## Appendix VIII

**Respondent roots in Finland (See Figure 7.4). Birthplace of 1st generation respondents & 2nd and 3rd generation roots in Finland**

	G1	G2	G3	Total
Helsinki	24	10	-	34
Jacobstad	18	11	3	32
Vasa	12	11	5	28
Terjärv	8	10	1	19
Närpes	9	8	1	18
Nykarleby	3	13	1	17
Munsala	6	7	3	16
Åbo	7	7	-	14
Karleby	6	2	4	12
Malax	1	8	2	11
Petalax	4	5	2	
Korsnäs	3	6	-	9
Gamlakarleby	6	1	1	8
Jeppo	-	6	2	8
Kristinastad	-	8	-	8
Strömfors	1	6		8
Lappfjärd	4	3	-	7
Pörtom	3	4	-	7
Övermark	1	4	1	6
Korsholm	3	2	-	5
Sideby	-	4	1	5
Sundom	1	4	-	5
Borgå	2	2	-	4
Ekenäs	2	2	-	4
Kronoby	-	4	-	4
Mönås	-	2	2	4
Vörå	1	3	-	4
Esbo		2	-	3
Frederickshamn	-	3	-	3
Karperö	-	2	1	3
Kevlax	2	1	-	3
Lovisa	-	1	2	3
Molpe	-	3	-	3
Nornäs	-	3	-	3
Tammerfors	1	2	-	3
Tjock	3	-	-	3
Finmark	2	-	-	2
Grankulla	1	1	-	2
Himanka	1	1	-	2
Hirvlaks	-	2	-	2

Houtskar				2
Imatra	-			2
Kalvholm	1		-	2
Kaskö	-	2	-	2
Kyrsklat	2	-	-	2
Larsmo	2	-	-	2
Lepplaks	-			2
Mariehamn	2	-	-	2
Oravais			-	2
Svarvar	-	2		2
Ytter-Esse	-		1	2
Åland Islands				2
Öja	1	-	-	1
Dalsbruk		-	-	
Esse	-		-	
Harström	-		-	1
Huissi	-		-	1
Kannus	-		-	
Kimitö		-	-	1
Korpo	1	-	-	1
Kotka			-	
Kuopio		-	-	
Larsmo	-	1	-	1
Lohja		-	-	
Maxmö	-		-	
Miekka	1	-	-	
Nedervetil	-		-	1
Noormark		-	-	
Oxgangor	-		-	
Pargas		-	-	
Pedersöre		-	-	
Petsamo		-	-	
Ronsby	-		-	1
Rödso	-		-	
Rymättylä		-	-	
Savonlinna	-		-	1
Skratnas	-	1	-	
Seinäjäoki	-	-		1
Solve	-		-	
Taklax	-		-	
Teuva		-	-	
Torshala		-	-	
Uleåborg		-	-	
Ulfsby	1	-	-	
Vanda	1	-	-	1
Velkmoss	-	1	-	
Viborg	1	-	-	

Vähäkyrö		1		1
Ytermark		1		1
Österbotten		1		1
Sweden		2	3	5
Swedish Finland			2	2
Rural Finland		1		1
Finland		10	12	22

(Note – A number of respondents gave their roots according to both maternal and paternal lines. Thus, some respondents provided two areas of origin rather than one single location. All locations are listed on the above Table.)

## Appendix IX

### Location of Finland-Swedes survey population by city

Thunder Bay	56	Mississauga	2	Loon Lake	1
Toronto	33	Oakville	2	Madeira Park	1
Burnaby	30	Port Alberni	2	Manilla	1
Vancouver	16	Princeton	2	Melbourne	1
Montreal	13	Progress	2	Milton	1
Coquitlam	12	White Rock	2	Mount Royal	1
Surrey	11	Windsor	2	North Bay	1
North Vancouver	8	Agassiz	1	Nanaimo	1
Sault Ste. Marie	8	Ajax	1	Newmarket	1
Abbotsford	6	Aldergrove	1	Nisku	1
Hamilton	6	Assiniboia	1	Onanole	1
Maple Ridge	6	Aurora	1	Orangeville	1
Ottawa	6	Banff	1	Owen Sound	1
Victoria	6	Beeton	1	Parksville	1
Calgary	5	Black Harbour	1	Penticton	1
Port Moody	5	Brampton	1	Port Alberni	1
Winnipeg	5	Brantford	1	Prince Albert	1
New Westminster	4	Cache Creek	1	Port Hawsbury	1
Port Coquitlam	4	Campbell River	1	Qualicum Bay	1
Scarborough	4	Courtney	1	Red Deer	1
Wawa	4	Dartmouth	1	Rosemere	1
Delta	3	Denman Island	1	Salmon Arm	1
Ladysmith	3	Desoronto	1	St. Lazare	1
Langley	3	Dorset	1	Stanley	1
North York	3	Duncan	1	Stoney Creek	1
Richmond	3	East Riverside	1	Stony Plain	1
Saskatoon	3	Erickson	1	Stroud	1
West Vancouver	3	Etobicoke	1	Sundridge	1
Willowdale	3	Fredericton	1	Thornhill	1
Baie d'Urfe	2	Gh. L. Village	1	Tofino	1
Blind River	2	Gimli	1	Ucluelet	1
Bradford	2	Grandby	1	Valleyview	1
Brandon	2	Halfmoon Bay	1	Wawa	1
Chapleau	2	Halifax	1	Westbank	1
Crofton	2	Hudson Hope	1	Whonnock	1
Edmonton	2	Kaministiquia	1	Williams Lake	1
Gibsons	2	Kamloops	1		
Ladner	2	Kensington	1	<b>Total</b>	<b>374</b>
Mission	2	Keremeos	1	Missing	1

## Appendix X

### Migration, settlement and ethnic relations of Finland-Swedes in Canada

#### A questionnaire

Circle the most appropriate choice and fill in the answers below. Please return the questionnaire in the stamped, self-addressed envelope provided. Please note the concluding remarks on p. 7.

1. Where do you presently live? (City and province)
2. Where were you born? (City and country)
3. How do you identify yourself? Do you identify yourself as being...  
(Circle only one choice)
  - a) Finnish
  - b) Swedish
  - c) Finland-Swedish
  - d) Canadian
  - e) other
4. Are you male/female?
5. What is your age?
 

a) under 18 years of age	e) 45–55
b) 18–25	f) 55–65
c) 25–35	g) over 65
d) 35–45	
6. If married, to what nationality did/does your spouse belong?
7. When did you or your ancestors move to Canada?
8. From where did you or your ancestors move to Canada? (Please indicate city/town and country.)
9. If you moved to Canada from Finland, from where in Finland are you and/or your spouse?
10. What were the reasons you or your ancestors moved to Canada?
11. What generation of immigrants do you represent? Circle the best answer.
  - a) first generation (born outside of Canada)
  - b) second generation (born in Canada, one or both parents came from outside of Canada)
  - c) third generation (born in Canada, one or both grandparents came from outside of Canada)
  - d) fourth generation (born in Canada, one or both great grandparents came from outside of Canada)
  - e) fifth generation (born in Canada, one or both greatgreat grandparents came from outside of Canada)

12. If you are 2nd, 3rd, 4th or 5th generation respondent; to the best of your knowledge, where are your roots?

13. What is your mother tongue? (First language learned)

- a) Swedish
- b) Finnish
- c) English
- d) other

14. What was the mother tongue of your mother/father?

*Mother*

*Father*

- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| a) Swedish | a) Swedish |
| b) Finnish | b) Finnish |
| c) English | c) English |
| d) other   | d) other   |

15. What language(s) do you speak at home? (Circle all that apply)

- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| a) Swedish | c) English |
| b) Finnish | d) other   |

16. When and where do you speak the above languages most often?

17. How often do you speak in your mother tongue?

- |                             |           |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| a) every day                | d) rarely |
| b) often, but not every day | e) never  |
| c) occasionally             |           |

18. How well do you understand, speak, read or write your mother tongue?

*Understand*

*Speak*

- |                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| a) very well     | a) very well   |
| b) well          | b) well        |
| c) fairly well   | c) fairly well |
| d) not very well | d) not well    |
| e) not at all    | e) not at all  |

*Read*

*Write*

- |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| a) very well   | a) very well   |
| b) well        | b) well        |
| c) fairly well | c) fairly well |
| d) not well    | d) not well    |
| e) not at all  | e) not at all  |

19. How do/did your parents feel about your learning or keeping the mother tongue; do/did they...

- a) strongly want you to learn and keep it
- b) somewhat want you to learn and keep it
- c) not care
- d) somewhat not want you to learn or keep it
- e) strongly not want you to learn or keep it
- f) no opinion

20. If you have children, please indicate their ages?



21. Do they understand, speak, read or write the mother tongue?
22. How do you feel about your children learning or continuing to use your mother tongue; are you
- a) strongly in favour
  - b) somewhat in favour
  - c) indifferent
  - d) somewhat against it
  - e) strongly against it
  - f) no opinion
23. What are some of your reasons, (either in favour or against the mother tongue) for the above response?
24. What is your occupation? (If retired, what did you do for a living?)
25. What is your educational background. Please circle the highest school level completed.
- a) elementary school
  - b) high school
  - c) vocational college/technical school
  - d) university
  - e) other training
26. If you know individuals in you area who share your nationality, do you interact with them, i. e. visit or spend time with them?
27. Do you associate with any ethnic/cultural organizations? If so, please list them and indicate their national origin.
28. What are the reasons why you do/do not associate with Finnish or Swedish ethnic/cultural organizations?
29. Using the scale provided, circle the appropriate number to indicate your feelings and sympathies towards the following ethnic and national groups.
- |                | <i>not sympahatetic</i> | <i>sympahatetic</i> |
|----------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Canadians      | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| Americans      | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| Finns          | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| Swedes         | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| Finland-Swedes | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| Norwegians     | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| Danes          | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| Estonians      | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| Hungarians     | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| English        | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| French         | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| Germans        | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
| Japanese       | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  |                     |
30. To which of the following seven groupings do you feel the closest and then second closest to? (indicate choice 1 and choice 2 only).
- a) language group
  - b) neighbourhood or commune
  - c) province or region
  - d) religiuos group
  - e) political party
  - f) union or professional association
  - g) other (specify)

31. To the best of your knowledge, have you, your parents or grandparents, ever been discriminated against because of their ethnicity involving their nationality or language background?
32. If yes, please comment briefly on the experience; how, when, where, why, and by what nationality.
33. Has the above experience caused any unresolved attitude towards the ethnic group or nationality involved? If yes, please explain how you feel towards these people.
34. If you maintain your traditional ethnic culture, please circle all that apply to your situation. Do you...
  - a) prepare traditional foods, dishes, breads, baking
  - b) celebrate Christmas Eve
  - c) celebrate St. Lucia Day
  - d) celebrate May Day
  - e) celebrate Midsummer Day
  - f) construct a Maypole
  - g) wear traditional folk costumes
  - h) follow Finland-Swedish literature/fine arts
  - i) use the sauna (where/how often)
  - j) other (please specify)
35. Do you/have you read any ethnic newspapers or literature? If yes, please name them.
36. Have you ever visited your country of origin? If so, when?
37. In the local church which you are most closely associated with, what proportion of the congregation shares your background?
  - a) all or almost all
  - b) more than a half
  - c) about half
  - d) less than a half
  - e) few or none
  - f) not associated with any church (go to #42)
38. If the church you attend is an ethnic church, please indicate the ethnic affiliation and denomination of it has (i. e. Finnish-Lutheran, etc. )
39. How often do you attend your "ethnic church"?
  - a) regularly (every week)
  - b) on special occasions (please specify)
  - c) other
40. Please indicate the name and location of your "ethnic church".
41. In the local church which you are most closely associated with, what language(s) are used in the service?
42. On average, what is your total yearly family income? Please circle the best answer.
  - a) under \$20, 000
  - b) \$20 – \$40, 000
  - c) \$40 – \$60, 000
  - d) \$60 – \$80, 000
  - e) \$80 – \$100, 000
  - f) Over \$100, 000

Thank you for filling out this questionnaire. Your help in the research of Finland-Swedes in Canada is greatly appreciated. If you are aware of any other Finland-Swedes in Canada, I would ask you indicate their names and addresses in the space below, so that I may contact them as well. Finally, if you are interested in the findings of this study, I would be pleased to forward a short summary of results to you. If so, please indicate your name and address below as well.

---

