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Feeling Finnish and Canadian: Second-generation Finnish immigrant views on ethnic identity and intercultural communication

Katrina Jurva

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Communication

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ABSTRACT

This thesis research contributes to the literature on Finnish Canadians, and in particular the second-generation, which has attracted limited scholarly attention. It examines how these individuals make sense of their Finnish ethnic and Canadian cultural identities, and the intercultural communication issues that emerge out of their sense of belonging to two cultures. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 second-generation Finnish immigrants in the Ottawa area following Rubin and Rubin's (2005) responsive interviewing approach. It was found that these individuals identify strongly with being Canadian but largely experience symbolic ethnic identity, acknowledging their ethnicity as important but not living day-to-day within Finnish ethnic culture. While some did not report difficulties as a result of their two cultures, others experienced intercultural communication issues with Canadians and/or Finns. These findings suggest that, in some cases, even symbolic ethnic identity may result in intercultural communication issues with both ethnic and broader cultural group members.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis research was sparked by my personal interest in intercultural issues. As a second-generation Finnish immigrant, and a student of communication, I am very interested in the cultural issues faced by others like me, as well as how these issues have shaped their communication experiences. On a recent trip to Finland with my partner Alain, I became very aware of how I operated in Finnish culture, as well as how I saw myself as a member of the Finnish ethnic group and as a Canadian. I became fascinated in how others like myself make sense of belonging to two cultures, and how this plays out in the social world. Thus, this thesis research was born.

The purpose of this thesis research is to understand the experiences of second-generation Finnish immigrants. To shed light on this issue, I investigated how these individuals identify with the Finnish ethnic group as well as mainstream Canadian society, the extent to which they participate in ethnic culture, and the intercultural issues that emerge out of their sense of belonging to two cultures.

Finns began immigrating to Canada in significant numbers during the late 19th century and contributed significantly to key nation-building industries such as forestry and mining (Lindström-Best, 1985). Many research studies have looked at the group from a historical perspective; however, according to Lindström (1997), very few have looked at the second-generation population, those born in Canada to Finnish immigrant parents. Since the last substantial cohorts of Finnish immigrants came to Canada in the 1960s and 70s, a significant portion of the community is comprised of the descendants of immigrants (Korkiasaari & Roinila, 2005). Therefore, the Finnish Canadian community

provides a good way of understanding the experiences of second-generation immigrants while also contributing to the literature on intercultural communication, ethnic identity and the Finnish ethnic group.

Background and History

According to the 2006 census, 131,040 people in Canada claim Finnish as at least part of their ethnic origin, making up 0.4% of the overall population.[1] In the Ottawa-Gatineau area, 3,260 individuals claim Finnish as part of their ethnic origin. While Canadian data is not readily available in terms of generational cohorts, Korkiasaari and Roinila (2005) place 80,000 second-generation Finnish immigrants in the United States in 2000, out of 624,000 individuals who identify themselves as having Finnish ethnic background (13%).[2]

Finnish Immigration to Canada

According to Lindström-Best's (1985) history of Finnish Canadians, Finnish immigration to Canada began during the late 19th century, and by 1901 the number of Finns in Canada numbered approximately 2,500. While some of these original settlers settled in coastal British Columbia, the vast majority of these individuals settled in northern Ontario. The largest cohort of immigrants came between 1921-1930, when over

---

[1] Statistics Canada (2008) and Westerberg (1997) suggest that declarations of ethnicity may not be completely accurate, as some respondents may not understand or want to mark "Finnish" on the census form. However, though census reporting is based on self-declaration, it is the only method used by Statistics Canada to collect information on ethnic backgrounds across the country.

[2] It should be noted that immigration to the United States from Finland was not identical to that of Canada. American statistics are for information only, and not meant to be the basis for comparison.

36,000 people left Finland for Canada, at least for some period of time.[3] The Depression and World War II slowed down immigration, and for several years it stopped altogether. Once the war ended, over 17,000 Finns made their way to Canada between 1947-1960 and again settled largely in northern Ontario, but also in Toronto and Vancouver. This marked the last major wave of migration, as 6,000 came between 1961-1970, and just under 3,000 between 1970-1980. Since the 1980s, Lindström-Best estimates that 200 Finns immigrate to Canada each year.

Second-generation Finnish immigrants

Studying second-generation immigrants is important in the study of ethnic identity and Finnish Canadian history, as they are the first generation to be born and raised in Canada. Much of the work on the Finnish Canadian community has focused on the immigrant generation and "the maintenance of Finnish culture in Canada rather than its malleability, its unique character, its adaptation to the new environment" (Lindström, 1997, p. 36). A focus on second-generation immigrants encourages the further understanding of how these individuals have developed their ethnic identity in Canada and their connection to Finnish culture.

There are several matters that must be addressed when looking at second-generation immigrant issues. For example, the era in which one's parents immigrated has a profound influence on the experiences of the family and how individuals see Finnishness. As Stoller (1996) notes,

---

[3] Lindström-Best (1985) notes that these numbers do not indicate permanent migration, as some continued on elsewhere, such as to the United States, and others returned to Finland.

> the generation of immigration… must be considered within the context of historical time. First-generation European immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1900 and 1920 encountered a very different economic and social reality than did immigrants who arrived much later in the century. Both the countries they left behind and their social locations within those countries also differed dramatically (p. 147).

In his account of Finns in Canada, A. Heinonen (1930) writes about the industriousness of the people, and their work in mining, as well as lumber and railroad construction camps. They belonged to religious and political organizations, often based on their beliefs from their home country. However as time progressed, those coming from Finland were more educated and no longer concentrated in these professions or locations, nor did they participate in ethnic organizations, at least in such great numbers (Laine, 1989). These changes mark significant differences between the lives of immigrants and their children earlier in the century, versus more recent families.

The geographical location of settlement has also historically affected the integration of immigrants to Canadian life. As a result of the concentration of Finns in certain areas, well-developed Finnish ethnic communities have continued to flourish. Cities that have large Finnish populations may offer more opportunities to participate in ethnic activities and organizations than those with fewer ethnic group members. According to 2006 Census data, the Finnish ethnic community in Ottawa and surrounding areas (3,260) is quite small in comparison to other Canadian cities, such as Toronto (16,005), Vancouver (12,750), Thunder Bay (14,510), and Sudbury (7,280). While these cities have dedicated Finnish Lutheran and/or Pentecostal churches, and in some cases meeting halls, the Ottawa community surrounds the Canadian Friends of Finland organization, as well as the OSKU children's Finnish language school. Because of the in-group cohesiveness and the use of the Finnish language, many individuals in high

concentration areas are able to maintain their Finnishness to higher degrees. Furthermore, with the increased opportunities in recent years to communicate with Finland, people are able to maintain connections with Finland, regardless of location (Korkiasaari & Roinila, 2005). Ties can be made based on connections with Finland itself, rather than with the local ethnic community (Saarinen, 2002), marking new ways to maintain ethnic identity for those outside high Finnish population areas.

Theoretical location

This thesis research locates itself in the intercultural communication domain. Intercultural communication is defined by cultural difference (Stewart, 1978; Chen & Starosta, 2005; McDaniel, Samovar & Porter, 2006). It occurs when aspects of culture influence communication, intentionally or unintentionally. In essence, communication becomes intercultural when our cultural beliefs, values and norms influence our social interactions with those outside of our group (Ting-Toomey, 1999).

Since the 1980s, intercultural communication scholars have become increasingly interested in identity issues, particularly ethnic identity (Shin & Jackson, 2003). Ethnic identification is important in pluralistic societies because as diversity increases, intercultural situations become more commonplace. Research has shown that ethnic identity has positive impacts at the individual; it is positively associated with personal well-being (Yip, 2005) and self-esteem (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). Similarly, ethnic identity also has implications for the societal harmony; the pressure to give up one's connection to ethnic culture may result in anger, depression and violence (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001), making the broader social context an important

factor. As Phinney, Berry, Vedder and Liebkind (2006) found, countries with a tradition of immigration, such as Canada, are more likely to have minority youth who identify with both ethnic and national cultures compared to other societies, where their findings suggest minority youth face more difficulty in identifying with two cultures. In the same vein, they found that individuals who report facing little discrimination more likely identify with both ethnic and national cultures, rather than only their ethnic culture or neither. Clearly, both ethnic and broader cultural identification are integral to understanding the second-generation immigrant experience in Canada.

Drawing on the intercultural communication literature, culture not only defines who we are, but it also affects how we function in the social world (Ting-Toomey, 1999; Gudykunst, 2001). In the context of ethnic groups in a pluralistic society, intercultural communication often refers to communication with the mainstream culture (e.g. Levo-Henrikkson, 2007). However, research has shown that ethnic identification is variable; that is, the extent to which group members identify and engage in ethnic culture depends—at least in part—on the individual (Gudykunst, 2001; Phinney, 1990). Therefore, careful attention must be paid not only to how individuals identify with their ethnic group as well as mainstream culture, but also how intercultural issues emerge in their communication with both groups.

In the context of this study, an intercultural communication framework allows a deeper investigation of what it means to be a second-generation Finnish immigrant with connections to both Finnish and Canadian cultures. Rather than focusing solely on the identification and ethnic behaviour of these individuals, this research aims to put these issues into context, and understand the social outcome of ethnic identity. In other words,

how do individuals who identify with an ethnic group make sense of their ethnicity in the social world?

Central Research Questions

Born into Canadian culture, but raised by foreigners and the values brought with them from their home country, second-generation Finnish immigrants are neither fully Finnish nor Canadian, at least in long-term generational standards. At school and play, they learn how to operate in Canadian culture. At home and with relatives, they learn ethnic culture and practice ethnic activities—or at the very least are aware of their ethnic background—which differs from mainstream Canadian culture. To investigate their identification and the implications on communication, the following central and supporting research questions were developed:

1. How do second-generation Finnish immigrants identify with the Finnish ethnic group?
    a. What are their perceptions of Finnishness?
    b. How do they experience Finnish ethnic identity through ethnic involvement?

2. How do second-generation Finnish immigrants identify with mainstream Canadian culture?
    a. What are their perceptions of Canadianness?
    b. What is their sense of being Canadian?

3. How do second-generation Finnish immigrants experience intercultural communication as a result of their ties to Finnish and Canadian cultures?
    a. How do they perceive the differences between Finnish and Canadian cultures?

Methodology

This study employed a qualitative approach to address the research questions, which demanded a depth of understanding of participants' experiences. Qualitative interviewing is recognized an excellent way to assess ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989; 1996) and shed light on the meaning of an individual's experiences (Kvale, 1996; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Seventeen semi-structured interviews were conducted between December 2007 and April 2008 following Rubin and Rubin's (2005) responsive interviewing approach. Their approach emphasizes the depth of understanding of social phenomena and recognizes the mutual influence of the interviewer and participant on the interview. It also takes into account ethical issues surrounding the research. Following their approach and university guidelines, the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board reviewed and approved all materials used. Participant anonymity is protected by compiled responses and the use of pseudonyms, which were chosen by the participants at the interview session. After the interview session, recorded interviews were transcribed and coded using N-Vivo software, and analyzed for overall meaning and nuance.

Structure of Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. After the Introduction, the scholarly literature pertinent to the topic is reviewed in Chapter two. Ethnic identity theory and research, as well as its ties to the intercultural communication literature are outlined in the context of the Finnish ethnic group and second-generation Finnish immigrants. Then, the overarching theoretical framework and research questions are presented.

The third chapter is dedicated to methodology. Justification for the chosen qualitative interviewing approach is provided, and research methods and tools are discussed, including ethics, recruitment, participants, the interview guide and subsequent data analysis.

Chapter four presents the findings of the research and is divided into four main sections: Identification, Finnishness, Canadianness and Intercultural Issues. Excerpts from interviews are used to enhance the discussion, shedding light on how participants identified with ethnic Finnish and mainstream Canadian cultures, as well as the intercultural issues that emerge out of this sense of belonging to two groups.

Chapter five concludes the thesis, placing key findings in the context of the academic literature. Their practical implications are also discussed. Limitations and suggestions for further research are addressed, and concluding thoughts are presented.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section provides an overview of the literature on ethnic identity and the Finnish ethnic group. First, the relevant literature will be discussed, with a focus on ethnic identity theory and research, as well as its ties to intercultural communication literature. Secondly, the conceptual framework of the research and central research questions are presented. Finally, the rationale for the research, its objectives, and its contributions to scholarly work will be discussed.

Relevant Literature

Scholars assert that ethnic identity can have powerful implications for communication (Ting-Toomey, 1999; Gudykunst, 2001). As pluralistic societies such as Canada become more diverse, intercultural situations are more common on a day-to-day basis. As such, how second-generation immigrant individuals identify with their ethnicity and how their identification presents itself on the social level are paramount to understanding multicultural societies. As Tirone and Pedlar (2005) note,

> Individuals who are born in one country to parents who are immigrants from another know first-hand the culture, values, and beliefs of their parents' host community, and they also know, and may have strong allegiance to, the culture, values, and beliefs of their parents' countries of origin (p. 33).

To shed light on these issues, the following section will review the literature on ethnic identity and its ties to intercultural communication research, as well as highlight issues pertinent to second-generation Finnish immigrants.

Ethnic Identity

Theories of identity look at how individuals identify with certain social groups. Scholars have looked at issues of group identity from several angles. Theories of identity include social (Hogg, Abrams, Otten & Hinkle, 2004; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), collective/group (Ashmore, Deaux & Mclaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Cheek & Briggs, 1982; Munday, 2006), cultural (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004; Kolman, Nooderhaven, Hofstede & Dienes, 2003; Ronen & Shenkar, 1985; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998) and ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989, 1990; Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001; and others). While each conceptualizes different aspects of identity, these theories maintain that there is a group aspect to how individuals understand the world as well as themselves. Essentially, such theories of identity explain social phenomena in terms of group memberships.

Social identity theory, first introduced by Tajfel and Turner (1986), is the basis of much of the theoretical development in the overall discussion of identity and groups. Since social identity theory deals with group memberships in general, ethnicity is understood to be just one of several possible memberships. Ethnic identity theory builds on the social identity perspective, but emphasizes ethnicity as the predominant characteristic of identity and how people identify with their ethnic group, that is, a group of people who share traditions unlike those of others in society (De Vos, 1995).

De Vos (1995) defines *ethnic identity* as the "subjective, symbolic or emblematic use of any aspect of a culture, or a perceived separate origin and continuity in order to differentiate themselves from other groups" (p. 24). In other words, while an ethnic group

is defined by a common set of traditions, identification with the group is based on one's self-identification as a member and/or through the use of culture such as language, food or symbols as markers.

While scholars have differing ideas on the components of the concept, it is widely held that self-identification as a member and a sense of belonging to the group are the basis for ethnic identity. Following in the steps of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), self-identification as a group member is often used as the primary foundation for the concept (Phinney, 1990; 2002). Social identity theory is based on the idea that we understand and categorize ourselves in social groups, and constantly compare ourselves to members of other groups with the aim of maintaining a positive self-image. It emphasizes these group categorizations as factors in communication. According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), social categorizations such as ethnicity "create and define the individual's place in society" (p. 16), and provide individuals with a way of identifying themselves.

Self-identification is also important in the conceptualization of ethnic identity because one's declared ethnicity is not always reflective of genetic ancestry. As Stephan and Stephan (2000) point out, individuals may be connected to an ethnic group, yet not declare this or even consider themselves as part of the group. Personal relevance, mixed heritage, and little ethnic knowledge are possible reasons for not declaring an ethnic group affiliation (Alba, 1990). Similarly, individuals may identify with a group with which they have no genetic links or cultural heritage. Due to this complex nature of ethnic identity, Stephan and Stephan suggest that the most appropriate way to classify individuals and assess ethnic identity is through self-identification.

The second main component of ethnic identity is a sense of affinity with the group through origin and/or culture. De Vos (1995) argues that a perception of belonging, rather than behaviour, is indicative of ethnic identity, as ethnicity is fluid and different for each group. To him, ethnic identity is based on a sense of belonging to "a real or imagined past" (p. 25). This is reinforced by Stephan and Stephan (2000b), who explain that ethnic identity "is not simply the consequence of cultural exposure or biological heritage: one can identify with a group in the absence of in-depth information regarding the group or experience with the group" (p. 229). Rather, it is a subjective sense of belonging, reinforcing self-identification as key.

Other scholars also place emphasis on a connection with the group. Branch et al. (2000) define ethnic identity as a feeling of connection to a group based on a shared background and geographical origin. Marks, Szalacha, Lamarre, Boyd and Coll (2007) assert that the term refers to the feelings and attitudes towards one's ethnic group, and involves ethnic pride and participation. In other words, as Ting-Toomey (2005) states, ethnicity is "basically an inheritance wherein members perceive each other as emotionally bounded by a common set of traditions, worldviews, history, heritage, and descent on a psychological and historical level" (p. 216).

In addition to the two main components of ethnic identity, that is, self-identification and a sense of belonging, Phinney (2002) asserts that the development of ethnic identity is important. She explains the development process as "the extent to which their feelings and understandings about their group have been consciously examined and issues surrounding ethnicity have been resolved" (p. 65).

Based on Marcia's (1966, 1980) paradigm of ego identity development, Phinney's (1989) model of ethnic identity development outlines three stages that may be used across different ethnic groups to explain how adolescents and young adults experience and identify with their ethnic group. These stages are not meant to be chronological, rather they are used for their explanatory power rather than a strict delineation of progress in ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1996). The first stage of Phinney's (1989) model, called unexamined ethnic identity, has two components. *Foreclosure* refers to when individuals accept majority culture and its views; there is no questioning of one's ethnic identity. In some cases, Phinney found that negative views of the majority culture towards one's ethnic group are accepted. However, this base stage may also be due to an overall lack of exposure to ethnicity, what Phinney deems *diffuse ethnic identity*, which refers to the situation where an individual simply has not come across their ethnic identity, and it therefore has little personal importance. The second stage, *exploration* or *moratorium*, occurs when individuals actively explore and seek out the meaning of their ethnicity through thinking and talking with others about it. They may also try to learn more about their ethnicity from outside sources, such as books, museums and cultural events (Phinney, 1990). Finally, the third stage, and "the optimum outcome of the identity process," is *achieved ethnic identity* (Phinney, 1989, p. 38). Achievement of ethnic identity occurs when an individual accepts and internalizes his or her ethnicity. There is a sense of belonging, comfort and pride with the ethnic group and in the context of pluralistic culture, the individual accepts both his or her broader cultural (e.g. Canadian) and ethnic identity.

The significance of Phinney's model is its breakdown of development stages. Recognizing the subjective nature of ethnic identity and the role of the individual, her model explains that ethnic identity is achieved when an individual makes sense of his or her belonging to ethnic culture. Rather than a result of birth or genetics, ethnic identity is developed through the exploration of what it means to be an ethnic group member in the context of pluralistic society. The relationship to broader society in the discussion of ethnic identity is particularly necessary to address in terms of second-generation immigrants. For some of these individuals, the tension between ethnic and broader culture may be difficult to navigate, particularly if there are large cultural divisions between the cultures. As James (2003) asserts, in Canadian culture, "There are evidently strong and not-so-hidden messages that promote conformity to Anglo-Celtic (and in Québec, French) ideas, knowledge, symbols, customs, languages, goals and aspirations, as well as views on how people should or should not behave" (p. 218). Living within this broader Canadian culture, second-generation immigrants may or may not hold ethnic identity as a central component of their lives. Therefore, understanding how they perceive themselves in the context of broader pluralistic society also sheds light on their ethnic identification. In fact, scholars such as Gong (2007) suggest that ethnic identity and identification with the broader culture must be considered together.

Ting-Toomey et al. (2000) also posit that ethnic identity and the broader culture are linked. Because ethnic identity is variable, they use the concept of *ethnic identity salience*, defined as "the extent to which individuals hold their ethnicity to be of importance" (p. 49). Those individuals whose ethnic identities are highly salient consider ethnic group membership and activities as very important in their lives, whereas weak

ethnic identity refers to having little interest in or commitment to one's ethnic group. Accordingly, Ting-Toomey et al. use the concept of *cultural identity salience* to describe the extent to which individuals hold broader society—in their case, American culture—as important. Drawing on the acculturation framework (Berry, Kim & Boski, 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989), they see, among others, those who identify strongly with both ethnic and national cultures to be bicultural; that is, "they favour ethnic tradition maintenance and at the same time express movement to become an integral part of the larger society" (Ting-Toomey et. al, 2000, p. 50). As Phinney (2002) explains, "a bicultural identity is not simply a midpoint between an ethnic and American identity; it is rather the result of identification with two cultures" (p. 64). However, biculturalism is not the inevitable outcome of belonging to two cultures. Rather, it is possible to identify weakly with one or both; that is, individuals may have high or low salience in regards to both their ethnic and broader national cultures (Ting-Toomey et al., 2000).

Ethnic Involvement

Research suggests that certain behaviour is related to ethnic identity. Ethnic involvement, that is, participation and engagement in ethnic culture, is key to "enhanc[ing] feelings of ethnic belonging and positive ethnic attitudes" (Phinney, 2002, p. 76). Speaking the ethnic language, family involvement and interest as well as participating in the local ethnic community and having ethnic friends are the basis for ethnic involvement.

Language. According to De Vos (1995), language is perhaps the most important or frequently mentioned characteristic of ethnic identity. As Clement and Noels (1992)

point out, "language and ethnicity are inextricably linked" due to the pivotal role of language in the development of cultures (p. 204). It is also key to the maintenance of ethnic culture in pluralistic society. Pigott and Kalbach (2005) found that those Canadians who speak their ethnic language are more ethnically connected, or have stronger ethnic identities, than those who do not speak the language. They also found that speaking the ethnic language at home, that is, within the family, is integral to ethnic language maintenance. However, as Kalbach (2003) points out, the overall trend in Canada for ethnic language maintenance is a decline over generations.

Family involvement and interest. The extent to which family members, particularly parents, involve themselves and take pride in ethnic culture is a significant factor in how individuals identify and participate. As Xu, Shim, Lotz and Almeida (2004) found, young Asian American adults who perceived their parents as identifying highly with their ethnic culture also had a strong ethnic identity, even while living away from home. Similarly, in their study of the transfer of Jewish ethnic identity, Davey, Fish, Askew and Robila (2003) suggest that to encourage ethnic identity maintenance among children, parents must maintain a strong Jewish identity and show pride in their ethnicity.

Ethnic community and friends. Participating in the ethnic community, where available, is important in maintaining ethnic identity. Phinney, Romero, et al.'s (2001) findings suggest that well-established ethnic communities with cultural amenities, such as ethnic language schools, provide group members with opportunities to engage in ethnic culture. They found that by enrolling their children in ethnic language school, parents encouraged ethnic language acquisition as well as socialization with ethnic friends. Having ethnic peers, in turn, reinforces ethnic identity. As well, according to Xu et al.

(2004), having ethnic friends is positively related to a strong ethnic identity, and a greater likelihood to engage in ethnic cultural elements such as food, music, and events.

Ethnic Identity as Fluid Through Time and Place

As ethnic identity deals with individual experience and how an individual defines him- or herself, it is not static. Rather, it is subjective; ethnic identity is a reflection of the shared traditions and history of an ethnic group, and is influenced by generation, time and place.

Generational changes. Scholars suggest that ethnic identity is subject to change over generations (Butterfield, 2004; Phinney, 2002; Song, 2003). As previously discussed, descendents of immigrants earlier in the 20th century experienced very different social realities than more recent immigrants, though they may belong to the same ethnic group (Stoller, 1996). Similarly, over time and through generations, how individuals know and understand their ethnic culture may be very different from what their ancestors brought with them from their home country (Alba, 1990). The countries to which they trace their lineage may no longer exist, or may have changed dramatically (e.g. former members of the Soviet Union). Furthermore, how group members adapt and make use of ethnic culture in a pluralistic society may also shift over time. Using the example of third- and fourth- generation descendents of Armenian immigrants, Song argues, "what it *means* to be Armenian is subject to change, and is re-created and reinvented over time" (p. 9). In turn, the way in which ethnic identity is experienced also changes.

Changes over time and place: Situational effects. In addition to generational changes, ethnic identity is a "fluid and dynamic understanding of self and ethnic background," and may fluctuate over one's lifetime (Phinney, 2002, p. 63). For example, Doan and Stephan (2006) found that among their sample of Hispanics in New Mexico, participants reported using different ethnic labels over time, and sometimes used more than one. Research also suggests the fluid nature of ethnic identity lends itself to not only changing over time, but also in different contexts (Kim-Ju & Liem, 2003).

Ethnic identity fluctuates and is variable on a day-to-day basis within individuals. Yip and Fuligni (2002) and Yip (2005) found that participation in the ethnic community and ethnic behaviour, such as speaking the language and eating foods, are associated with higher ethnic identity salience. They also found that identification is influenced by environment, particularly ethnic concentration. In other words, those who participate in the ethnic community and associate with coethnics feel more ethnic.

Similarly, grounding themselves in social identity theory, Clement et al. (2006) also see ethnic identity as "situationally responsive" (p. 291). In their research on first- and second-generation Indo-Guyanese immigrants, they found that ethnic identity is more salient in private situations and individuals are more likely to identify with being Canadian in public situations. Similarly, context plays a role in the use of ethnic cultural products. Xu et al. (2004) found that Asian Americans consume ethnic cultural products, such as eating ethnic food, watching ethnic movies, listening to ethnic music or attending cultural performances, to a higher degree when with coethnics, as opposed to when they are with Caucasian Americans. It should be noted that although ethnic behaviour was found by these studies to be associated with higher degrees of ethnic identity salience,

Yip and Fuligni (2002) found this tendency was moderated by the extent to which participants identify with their ethnic group. That is, overall ethnic identity salience influences the extent to which factors such as environmental pressures play a role.

Outcomes of Ethnic Identity

As De Vos (1995) suggests, ethnicity is an important concept in understanding identity, as "defining oneself in social terms is a basic answer to the human need to belong and to survive" (p. 25). In more empirical terms, scholars have found several outcomes of developed ethnic identity.

Notably, ethnic identity has been linked to overall psychological well-being, which Yip (2005) defines in terms of positive mood and a lack of anxiety and depressive symptoms. Phinney (1989) found that among those adolescents that had achieved ethnic identity, there were higher levels of overall psychological adjustment. Similarly, Phinney and Alipuria (1990) found that commitment to ethnic identity, or ethnic identity achievement, was significantly related to self-esteem among college students from four ethnic groups, though most significant for racial minority (non-White) group members.

Yip and Fuligni (2002) explain the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being, which may shed light on overall benefits and consequences of ethnic identity achievement. They assert that those with high levels of ethnic identity, that is, achieved ethnic identity, "have chosen to make ethnicity a core constituent in the construction of their social identity; that is, they have decided to make ethnicity central to their identity" (p. 1568). By making ethnicity central to one's self-understanding, Yip and Fuligni suggest that purpose and security may be gained, reinforcing well-being.

Ethnic identity and generational issues have also been associated with perceptions of others. In terms of outward perceptions, Phinney et al. (2007) found that ethnic identity had no significant influence on orientation towards other ethnic groups for European Americans; however, Asian and Latino group members had more positive and open attitudes towards other groups when they had achieved ethnic identities. Dion and Dion (2004) also found that of their multicultural sample, those born in Canada were more likely to want to interact and befriend those outside their ethnic group. They suggest that the multiculturalism policy of Canada, which emphasizes tolerances and cultural respect, and the pluralistic nature of Toronto—where the study was completed—drove the difference. Furthermore, on a societal level, ethnic identity can be a source of pride in pluralistic societies. As Gong (2007) found, high ethnic identity salience was associated with strong national identity among United States-born Asian Americans.

Ethnic Identity in Racial Majority Group Members

Despite European immigrant groups being the original foci of ethnic identity research (e.g. Child, 1943/1970), a shift has occurred towards studying racial minority groups due to their increasing numbers in North American society (Phinney, 1992, 1996). A result of this new focus has been that contemporary studies have generally overlooked ethnic identity within European groups (Branch et al., 2000).

In North America, using an ethnic group label is usually a matter of choice for members of the dominant racial group (Phinney, 1990; Song, 2001). As Collier (2005) and Martin, Krizek, Nakayama and Bradford (1996) point out, the privilege associated with being a member of the dominant racial group is often unconsidered by those within

the group. For many, being a part of the broader cultural fabric and considering oneself Canadian, for example, may never be questioned. In other words, for these individuals, national cultural identity salience is high. This differs dramatically from racial minority groups, as in many cases their racial or ethnic identity may be ascribed to them automatically by others. This may require a more cautious consideration of their role in ethnic and national cultures. Phinney (1990) asserts that visual or cultural distinctiveness—including race, facial characteristics, language, and clothing—mark minority individuals as outside of the majority group. For these individuals, identification as a minority group member is not completely their choice. As she states, "Calling oneself Black or Asian American is less self-categorization than recognition of imposed distinctions, and the issue is less *whether* to use an ethnic label than *which* ethnic label to adopt" (Phinney, 1990, p. 504, emphasis in original).

This notion of ethnic ascription for racial minority group members is reinforced by Nagel (1994), who defines ethnic identity as a balance between what others expect one's ethnic identification to be and how the individual identifies on a personal level. In other words, "what *you* think your ethnicity is, versus what *they* think your ethnicity is" (p. 154). Nagel argues that ethnic identity is socially constructed, and that both internal and external forces influence with which groups individuals identify. Since individuals are limited to the ethnic concepts available in their culture as to how they identify themselves, Nagel asserts that Caucasian individuals in the United States have more choice in whether and when they identify with their ethnic groups, and others, such as racial minorities have little or no choice in whether they identify.

In his seminal piece, Gans (1979) argues that among third and fourth generation immigrants from Europe, ethnic identity is symbolic rather than active. Since these individuals have distance from the immigrant generation, and the conflicts between the ethnic and new culture, he asserts they tend to have limited knowledge and familiarity with ethnic cultural practices. Thus, they adopt a symbolic approach to their ethnicity rather than a true engagement in the ethnic culture on a day-to-day basis.

While Gans focuses on the third generation of immigrants, he notes that symbolic ethnicity may start as early as in the immigrant generation. As time passes, social networks and ethnic organizations fade, or become less important to these individuals; it becomes less necessary for them to participate in the ethnic culture actively. However, despite the departure from day-to-day cultural involvement, Gans argues that individuals continue to perceive themselves as members of their ethnic group. In his words, they are "more concerned with maintaining their ethnic identity, with the feeling of being Jewish, or Italian, or Polish, and with finding ways of feeling and expressing that identity in suitable ways," rather than maintaining and living within their ethnic culture (p. 7). In this way, Gans purports that symbolic ethnic identity may be continued for several generations, however, the end result is ultimately assimilation into mainstream culture.

Alba (1990) traces the shift to symbolic ethnicity to increased economic achievements and social mobility of European ethnic groups over the 20th century. He points to Glazer and Moynihan (1970) who first addressed the maintenance of ethnicity and ethnic culture as a possibility over assimilation into broader American society, as ethnic identity was no longer viewed negatively by the general public. Rather than rejecting ethnic culture to be better received by mainstream culture, it became socially

acceptable to be ethnic. At the same time, however, Alba suggests that European ethnic communities became less necessary, in that the social support they provided was no longer needed by individuals, who now were able to achieve more economically and socially. He names these factors, as well as the loss of language—common over generations—and interethnic marriage as contributing to the shift towards symbolic ethnicity among European groups.

According to Alba's (1990) concept of symbolic ethnicity, ethnic identity is highly variable among European groups. Ethnic experiences, such as consuming food or attending ethnic events, are occasional. In his words, they are "mainly experiences in private rather than public realms; they are innocuous, unlikely to give offense or even attract negative comment, and they need not be ethnically exclusive" (p. 297). As a private entity, ethnic identity is often considered in relation to family; that is, ethnic affiliations are thought of as a result of one's personal family history. As a result, Alba suggests that for those of European descent, involvement in ethnic organizations and having strong ethnic friendship networks are rare. In sum,

> Symbolic ethnicity is concerned with the symbols of ethnic cultures rather than with the cultures themselves, and this seems true also of the cultural commitments of ethnic identity: the cultural stuff of ethnicity continues to wither, and thus ethnic identity tends to latch onto a few symbolic commitments (such as St. Patrick's Day among the Irish). (p. 306)

It is worth noting that while he sees ethnic identity as symbolic, Alba does not see a necessary decline to assimilation like Gans (1979). Rather, he asserts that young European ethnics may maintain their ethnicity, but at the symbolic level. Some researchers, such as Edwards and Doucette (1989), see Gans' symbolic identity as merely one manifestation of ethnic identity. They suggest that ethnic identity is a "continued

sense of groupness," of which there is no specific measure and that cultural involvement may change over time (p. 55). This is in line with notions of ethnic identity as fluid and that assert a subjective sense of belonging to an ethnic group.

Ethnic Identity Among Second-generation Finnish Immigrants

Since the last significant numbers of Finnish immigrants came to Canada in the 1960s and 70s, a good portion of the community is comprised of the descendents of immigrants (Korkiasaari & Roinila, 2005). According to Lindström's (1997) review of the literature on the Finnish Canadian ethnic group, scholarly work has been largely focused on the immigrant generation, "sometimes at the expense of second and subsequent generations" (p. 36). Publications on the Finnish Canadian or Finnish American group have looked at ethnic and immigrant experiences from both social science (T. Heinonen & Harvey, 2001; Roinila, 2006), and historical perspectives (Hoglund, 1960; Jarvenpa, 1992; Karni, Kaups & Ollila, 1975). Accounts of Finnish organizations, largely dominated by the immigrant generation, have also flourished (Eklund, 1987; A. Heinonen, 1930). A few scholars have looked at the second-generation in the United States, concentrating on pre-WWII times (Hummasti, 1990; Kostiainen, 1990). However, as Lindström points out, the children of immigrants and their experiences have not been studied at length—particularly in terms of the contemporary group (Korkiasaari & Roinila, 2005)—with the exception of a handful of studies discussed here.

One key qualitative study on Finnish ethnic identity in second-, as well as third-generation, Finnish immigrants was done by Stoller (1996). Following Ganz (1979) and

Alba (1990), she suggests that "European American ethnicity is a variable with differing modes of expression and levels of intensity," as such individuals have choices in the extent to which they engage in and share their ethnic identity, and whether or not they do so at all (1996, p. 146). Stoller asserts that this choice is a product of various factors, including the social environment, location and time period in which one lives.

Stoller (1996) found that feelings of affinity with fellow ethnic group members, and recognition and comfort with other Finns were common among those interviewed. While some participants felt strongly about their Finnish ethnic identity, there was a wide variance in the degree to which they identified with the group. She found that for some participants, being Finnish was fundamental to their self-concept; whereas for others, it was an emotional attachment, and again for a few, ethnic activities were simply something to do. Personality and behavioural traits were also important, as many explained their own traits, such as perseverance and quietness, as a result of their Finnishness.

Orientation to Finland was also a key concept, as individuals have come to know the country through their parents and their stories, as well as through their own experience. Stories from the immigrant generation, and contact with Finland, through relatives and Finnish items or media, characterized one's orientation to Finland. As well, some had visited the country. However, Stoller notes that generally, "attachment to the homeland is treated in largely symbolic terms," as attachment to Finland was only exhibited occasionally and in general did not make up a significant part of daily life (1996, p. 168).

Similar to previous research, family was a major contributor to ethnic identity development and, in particular for third-generation individuals, a close relationship with a grandparent was key. Attending Finnish churches and being a part of Finnish organizations were characteristic, though more likely in older people. Having Finnish friends, receiving ethnic publications, preparing Finnish food dishes and speaking Finnish were common, though many elements were symbolic in that they were purposefully done on occasion rather than a part of daily life. In sum, Finnish ethnic identity was found to be symbolic, in that it is "selective or intermittent in nature, making few demands on the individual," and relies on a particularly engaged sub-group to continue traditions (Stoller, 1996, p. 165). It is also created and renewed, as when people relearn Finnish or restart cultural activities. However, despite this symbolic approach, Stoller notes that participants continue to "attach strong sentiments to their Finnish heritage" (p. 168) and these connections are strongest at the second-generation, rather than third-generation level (Stoller, 1997).

Tamaraa (2007) points to Korkiasaari and Roinila (2005) as key contributors to the research on the Finnish ethnic group in North America today. They studied second-generation Finnish immigrants in their research on Finnish descendents in the United States and Canada.[4] Like Stoller (1996, 1997), Korkiasaari and Roinila found Finnish ethnic identity to be symbolic and highly variable. They created two variables to assess identification with the Finnish ethnic group across generations: genetic distance and

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[4] It should be noted that Korkiasaari and Roinila (2005) use the term second-generation to mean the second-generation born in Canada or the United States. The terms have been adjusted in this paper to coincide with how I have defined second-generation immigrant. When the authors discuss 75% Finnish for a third-generation (that is, fourth generation immigrant), this means that 3 out of 4 grandparents were of Finnish background genetically though not born in Finland.

emotional affiliation. Genetic distance was measured by the percentage of Finnish ancestry, where 100% meant all grandparents were Finnish, whereas 75% meant that one grandparent was not Finnish. They found that twenty percent of the sample was close genetically to the Finnish ethnic group—that is second-, third- or fourth-generation immigrant with at least three grandparents with Finnish background—but not emotionally close to the group. Others were close and identified strongly with the Finns. Most notably, one group was distant genetically, with only one Finnish grandparent, but identified closely with the ethnic group. These results are significant as they emphasize the importance of categorizing oneself as part of the Finnish ethnic group as the fundamental basis for being a member rather than meeting the requirements through close proximity to the immigrant generation. In other words, it is the feeling of being Finnish that matters, rather than a matter of genetics.

Other research on the Finnish Canadian or Finnish American group also supports the notion that members of these groups largely experience symbolic ethnic identity, continuing to emphasize their ethnicity as significant but not fully active in ethnic culture. Susag (2002) found that being American was a more important group identity to his sample of Finnish Americans than ethnic identity. However, the participants still felt it was important to maintain their ethnic identity and consider themselves an ethnic American. Susag points to pride in belonging to an ethnic group and the resulting positive self-esteem to explain his findings, noting participants' sense of belonging to two cultures. "This identity is meaningful and gives group members something soulful, something that touches them deeply, and is not contradictory to their more central identities as Americans and individuals" (p. 53). In her analysis of the work of second-

and third-generation Finnish American ethnic writers, Tamaraa (2007) applied her model of Finnishness and found key behavioural and personality traits of the Finnish ethnic group to mark how participants expressed Finnishness, similar to Stoller's (1996) findings. Tamaraa's analysis, which drew on ethnic identity literature, also pointed to a lack of Finnish language knowledge, the fading of ethnic institutions, and migration away from ethnic centres to larger cities. Despite this movement towards symbolic ethnic identity, the main topic of the works analyzed was the Finnish American experience, reinforcing the emotional attachment individuals experience in terms of their Finnish ethnicity.

Saarinen (2002) suggests that as a result of the fading Finnish ethnic institutions over the last decades, and the increased social mobility in contemporary times of the descendents of the immigrant generation, new ways to engage in Finnish ethnic identity have emerged. While his discussion focuses on the Sudbury Finnish ethnic community—which he notes is still active, though smaller than in the past—he points to other sources as ways to connect to Finnish culture: a heightened awareness of Finland due to its increased international profile, the creation of an expatriate Finnish parliament, the implementation of dual-citizenship to those with close Finnish heritage, the Internet, ethnic publishing firms that offer Finnish and English books, as well as university and college projects and exchanges with Finnish schools. Significantly, Saarinen sees these methods in terms of increased ties and contact with Finland itself, rather than Finnishness in the Canadian context and emphasizes the matter of choice that contemporary Finnish ethnics face, in that Finnish identity becomes largely a matter of self-interest.

Based on the research presented on Finnish ethnic identity, Finnishness does not seem to conflict with the sense of belonging to the broader culture. Rather, Finnish Canadian individuals are able to see themselves as both Canadian and Finnish. In their study of Thunder Bay Finnish immigrant women and their daughters, Chahal and Mäki (2002) use the term Finnish/Canadian to describe the sense of belonging experienced by these individuals. In their words, "the slash signifies its context-specific break apart character – convergence and divergence – as at times both sides are claimed, at other times a woman adopts one side or the other, or she may oscillate between the two" (p. 60). Following conceptualizations of the situational effects of ethnic identity (Clement et al., 2006), Finnish ethnicity may be salient in some places or circumstances over others, and the same may be said for feeling Canadian. Furthermore, as Chahal and Mäki point out, these identities are not fixed; the meaning of being Finnish and/or Canadian is subject to change. Therefore, a careful consideration of how individuals perceive these cultures as well as how they identify with them is needed.

As this section has presented, ethnic identity varies greatly among the descendants of Finnish immigrants. As members of the racial majority group, these individuals have some choice in how they identify themselves. However, as both Stoller (1996) and Korkiasaari and Roinila (2005) found, many individuals have high emotional attachment to the Finnish ethnic group, developed through their involvement in the ethnic community, Finnish traditions and practices within the family, and the maintenance of relationships and ties to Finland. As individuals raised in Canada, but with ties to Finnish culture and Finland, how do second-generation Finnish immigrants who identify with their ethnicity make sense of their cultural connections in the social world?

Linking Ethnic Identity with Intercultural Communication Theory and Research

Ethnic identity, essentially how one perceives themselves as part of a particular ethnic group, has important implications for pluralistic societies. In addition to playing a fundamental role in the understanding of oneself, ethnic identity is integral to how people perceive others in society. Ethnic identity therefore is of interest to communication scholars, not only in terms of the process of creating and maintaining ethnic identity, but also the implications of such group affiliations in communication.

Scholars have looked at the ties between the identity and communication in several ways (e.g. Jaya and Randall, 2003, 2004). Social identity theorists Tajfel and Turner (1986) first outlined how group memberships influence communication. Group membership and group norms are key to communication in this domain (Hogg & Reid, 2006). Stemming from social identity theory, a wealth of research on intergroup communication has been published, including further theoretical refinements and additions, for example, Communication Accommodation Theory (Gallois, Ogay & Giles, 2005; Giles & Coupland, 1991). In social identity or intergroup research, ethnicity is one of many possible group memberships that may be investigated. In the context of intercultural communication literature, however, ethnic identity has been a topic of particular interest.

The study of intercultural communication can be traced to the post-World War II period, when the American government began training its overseas workers for intercultural situations (Martin & Nakayama, 2007). While developments occurred over subsequent decades, Chen and Starosta (2005) suggest that the field gained a coherent

focus starting from the 1980s and has largely concerned the interpersonal intercultural level, that is, communication between two individuals from different cultures.

In the study of intercultural communication, social scientists are particularly interested in how communication is influenced by culture (Martin & Nakayama, 2007). As Chen and Starosta (2005) point out, culture and communication are intertwined; one cannot be considered without the other. Within our own cultures, however, cultural factors may not be salient as difference is not apparent. Neuliep (2006) suggests that in day-to-day life, for example, people do not generally think of themselves in terms of their national or cultural affiliations. While culture drives many thoughts and behaviours, it is largely when difference is met that culture becomes salient. As Neuliep states, "one need only step into a culture different from one's own to feel the immense impact of culture" (p. 20).

According to Ting-Toomey (1999), *intercultural communication* occurs when "our cultural group membership factors (e.g., cultural norms and scripts) affect our communication process—on either an awareness or an unawareness level" (p. 16). In other words, intercultural communication occurs when culture affects the communication process. Ting-Toomey asserts that culture is multifaceted; aspects of a particular culture may be deeply hidden from view. She argues that these underlying beliefs and values drive "people's thinking, reacting, and behaving" (p. 10) and are often the basis of cultural difference. In addition to cultural artifacts such as art, music and trends, shared traditions and beliefs—for example, ideas of time or space—may differ between cultures. Values that guide notions of good and bad, and cultural norms, which guide behaviour in social interaction, may also play a factor in intercultural situations. As Ting-Toomey

notes, these cultural aspects may not align with national or geographical borders, rather they belong to cultural communities, such as ethnic groups, who uphold such ways of life.

For individuals with links to two cultures, cultural influence is complex. Scholars interested in ethnic identity have conceptualized emerging intercultural communication issues in terms of the mainstream culture, and the differences between ethnic and broader culture (Chen & Starosta, 2005; Klopf & McCloskey, 2007). For example, Levo-Henrikkson's (2007) research on Hopi Indians discusses intercultural communication as interactions with those outside the group, that is, mainstream Americans. In her research, many participants lived within geographical boundaries of the Hopi area, creating a physical separation between their native culture and mainstream America. However, in the context of immigrant ethnic groups such as the Finns, intense ethnic concentration—particularly in a confined geographical area—existed largely at the immigrant generation, as their children now have the skills and resources necessary to live outside the ethnic community (Saarinen, 2002). Furthermore, as Levo-Henrikkson points out, the perceptions of Hopis held by mainstream Americans are largely influenced by the portrayals of Indians in the American media. As members of the racial majority group, European immigrants do not contend with this issue in the same way.

The previous discussion of ethnic identity suggested that the notion of salience is integral to understanding the extent to which an identity influences self-concept. In the same way, Ting-Toomey (2005) asserts that ethnic and national cultural identity salience influence communication. "The more strongly our self-image is influenced by our larger cultural value patterns, the more we are likely to practice the norms and communication

scripts of the dominant, mainstream culture" (p. 215). In other words, the more salient an identity, the more it influences how we communicate with and perceive others. This is mirrored by Gudykunst (2001), who notes that while ethnicity should influence communication for individuals with strong ethnic identities, it may not be a significant factor in the communication of those with low ethnic identity salience. Therefore, in understanding how intercultural communication—that is, communication influenced by cultural difference—emerge out of a sense of belonging to two cultures, it is important to first understand how individuals identify with these cultures.

Conceptual Framework and Research Questions

At the heart of this research is the concept of ethnic identity. As individuals born in Canada but with ties to Finland and ethnic culture, second-generation Finnish immigrants may or may not hold their ethnicity as a central component of their lives. Research (e.g Korkiasaari & Roinila, 2005; Stoller, 1996, 1997) suggests that these individuals identify in symbolic terms, but often have strong emotional connections with the Finnish ethnic group. These studies have addressed ethnic involvement and emotional affiliation; however, an important aspect of Finnish ethnic identity is the broader cultural fabric. As scholars such as Ting-Toomey et. al (2000) point out, ethnic identity must be addressed in the context of the larger cultural framework, that is, Canadian culture.

Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) assert in their research on ethnic minority youth in the United States that it is important to understand how individuals are oriented towards wider American society. If Americans, and American culture, are perceived to belong to a certain racial or ethnic group, then those outside of this group cannot be

considered American. However, if individuals perceive American culture to be inclusive and diverse, then "there is no necessary contradiction between being ethnic and American" (p. 9). Following this, in the context of this study, not only is it necessary to seek out how second-generation Finnish immigrants identify with Canadian and Finnish cultures, but also how they perceive these cultures to be. Therefore, two main research questions were developed:

1. How do second-generation Finnish immigrants identify with the Finnish ethnic group?
    a. What are their perceptions of Finnishness?
    b. How do they experience Finnish ethnic identity through ethnic involvement?

2. How do second-generation Finnish immigrants identify with mainstream Canadian culture?
    a. What are their perceptions of Canadianness?
    b. What is their sense of being Canadian?

The second component of this research regards the cultural connections of second-generation Finnish immigrants; specifically, how their ties to Finnish and Canadian cultures affect them socially. Intercultural communication theorists suggest that culture is at the heart of communication; culture not only defines who we are, but it also affects how we function in the social world (Ting-Toomey, 1999). In the context of ethnic identity, intercultural issues are often discussed with regard to mainstream culture, that is, broader Canadian society (e.g. Gudykunst, 2001; Levo-Henrikkson, 2007). However, since research has shown that ethnic identity varies greatly among second-generation immigrants, and these individuals have been born into broader Canadian

society, it is important to consider how their cultural connections affect them in the context of both cultures. Therefore, the final research question is as follows:

3. How do second-generation Finnish immigrants experience intercultural communication as a result of their ties to Finnish and Canadian cultures?
    a. How do they perceive the differences between Finnish and Canadian cultures?

METHODOLOGY

This section will provide an overview of the research strategy employed, and the research methods and procedures adopted. First, the rationale for the qualitative interviewing approach used (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) is discussed. Secondly, all aspects of data collection, including ethical soundness, recruitment, and research tools, as well as methods of analysis are presented.

Research Strategy Employed and Justification

Qualitative research contributes to the understanding of the social world by investigating its processes, meanings and structures (Flick, von Kardorff & Steinke, 2004). In particular, interviewing is a widely used qualitative research method (Hopf, 2004) and provides a good way of understanding the experiences and worldviews of individuals. As Seidman (1991) asserts, "At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (p. 3). He suggests that interviews are useful to the researcher in that they provide context and background to both the experiences and behaviour of participants. In other words, interviewing can be used to understand not only the experiences of individuals and the meaning associated with these experiences, but also how these experiences and meanings came to be (Kvale, 1996; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

While some research on ethnic identity is done from a quantitative perspective, such as those studies focused on ethnic identity development (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001), the chosen research questions suggested a qualitative

framework. The focus on understanding people's experiences and how they develop their ethnic identity demands a depth of understanding of an individual's experiences, thoughts and perspectives on the subject matter.

Several qualitative interviewing research approaches were considered as possible approaches to guide this research, including narrative analysis and grounded theory. Narrative analysis emphasizes story-telling, the elements of a story such as sequence, theme and structure, and is often focused on the individual (Creswell & Maietta, 2002). It is used to look at the stories told by individuals and gain insight into their experiences. As Reissman (1993) argues, studying narratives sheds light on how an individual understands and creates meaning of his or her experiences. However, this research looks beyond individual story-telling, and the events constructed in specific narratives. Rather, the focus of this research is the experiences of individuals across the group, and how members individually and collectively identify with and make sense of Finnish ethnic and Canadian cultures, as well as how they operate within them. While narratives and key events are important to this process, the opinions and perspectives of the participants are also integral to addressing these chosen issues.

The grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) relies on an in-depth look at concepts and themes that emerge from the data. As Lindlof and Taylor (2005) assert, key to this method is the notion that "theory is grounded in the relationships between data and the categories into which they are coded" (p. 218). Coding occurs as data is gathered, and the boundaries of the research project remain flexible. More data is gathered as and when gaps in the data are found, until data collection no longer reveals meaningful information, or saturation, occurs. However, as Rubin and Rubin (2005) note, this

approach requires huge amounts of coding and recoding as themes and concepts evolve, making it more time-consuming than the timeline for this thesis allowed. Furthermore, the review of literature done on ethnic identity and intercultural communication heavily informed the development of the research questions and the path of the research. Therefore, the inductive nature of grounded theory did not seem to be in keeping with the platform from which this research was launched.

Finally, Rubin and Rubin's (2005) *responsive interviewing approach* was considered. It seeks to not only learn about an issue or topic through interviews, but to also understand how and why individuals see these as important. They assert that while each participant will see issues in his or her own way, these opinions and experiences will shed light on what others in the group also experience. The goal of their approach is depth of understanding of social phenomena through the careful consideration of both unique individual and shared group experiences.

Rubin and Rubin's (2005) approach rejects positivist assumption of research objectivity, and acknowledges that both individuals in the interviewer-participant dyad are human beings with feelings, experiences, and conversational styles that influence the interview. They assert that the interviewer and participant establish a relationship during the interview session. As a result, a flexible interviewing style is accepted, one that is marked with self-awareness of biases and expectations, rather than an expectation of complete neutrality or objectivity. As Fontana and Frey (2005) note, seeing the interview as a product of both the interviewer and participant recognizes the subjectivity of qualitative research, and that data needs to be seen within the context it was gathered.

Qualitative Interviews in Ethnic Identity Research

In addition to shedding light on individual experience as a whole, a secondary reason for choosing the qualitative interviewing approach was that qualitative approaches are also considered to be useful in ethnic identity research. Phinney (1989, 1996) asserts that interviewing is the ideal way to assess stages of ethnic identity. While she acknowledges quantitative approaches may provide results in less time, ethnic identity is best assessed by a thorough and deep exploration. Interviewing can also shed light on how participants think about themselves as a part of the group, as well as how they perceive other groups. In their study of intergroup attitudes, Phinney et al. (2007) noted that "the ways in which young people talk about other ethnic groups should reveal their thinking and attitudes and provide insight into why they hold particular views" (p. 484). Therefore, when considering questions of self-identification, as well as perceptions and communication with others, interviewing provides an excellent method of addressing ethnic identity and intercultural communication issues.

In terms of the Finnish ethnic group, much of the historical research on Finnish immigrants and their experiences has been done through a qualitative approach (Eklund, 1987; Lindström-Best, 1989; Lindström, 2000; Roinila, 2006). Korkiasaari and Roinila (2005) conducted a comprehensive study of contemporary Finnish North Americans which, in addition to a quantitative aspect, emphasized qualitative interview findings to gain an understanding of the experiences of self-declared Finnish Canadians and Finnish Americans, as well as their current status of identification with the Finnish ethnic group. Adopting Rubin and Rubin's responsive interviewing approach therefore complements

previous research on the Finnish ethnic group and serves as an excellent method to address the chosen research questions.

Methods and Procedures Adopted

As noted, Rubin & Rubin's approach guided the overall methodological approach. Following this approach, and University of Ottawa guidelines, ethical issues were considered. All materials used, including recruitment texts, consent forms, demographic information sheet and interview guide, were reviewed and approved by the University of Ottawa Ethics Board to ensure ethical soundness. All participants were required to sign the consent form to ensure informed consent prior to starting the interview, and they were assured that all information would remain strictly confidential. Anonymity was protected by compiled responses and the use of pseudonyms, which were chosen by the participants at the interview session. All hard-copy material, including raw data, will be kept for a period of five years in the thesis supervisor's locked office. Any documentation linking participants to pseudonyms was kept electronically under password control, and will be destroyed after the thesis is defended, officially submitted to and accepted by the Faculty of Graduate and Postgraduate Studies.

Recruitment and Sampling

Although the Finnish Canadian group is relatively small in comparison to other ethnic groups, recruitment was facilitated primarily through the targeting of Finnish Canadian organizations, personal contacts within the community and snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a referral sampling method, where participants are asked if they know of another individual who may meet the participation criteria (Jackson, 2003). It is

particularly useful in gaining access to members of specific ethnic groups, which can be difficult to locate (Butterfield, 2004; Gaudet, Clement & Deuzeman, 2005; Larkey & Hecht, 1995). In the case of the Finnish ethnic group, which makes up less than 1/10 of one percent of the Canadian population based on self-declared census information (2006), snowball sampling was chosen as a very feasible method of recruitment.

A recruitment email was sent in December 2007 to the Canadian Friends of Finland organization in Ottawa. The email was then forwarded to the organization's members as well as other organizations on behalf of the researcher. Most participants responded to this email, having received it directly from the organization or from a family member that receives correspondence from the organization. A lack of young males was identified and a second email was sent out through the organization in January 2008. Participants were also asked to pass on research study information to others in their family or friends who are also second-generation Finnish immigrants.

Interview Sessions and Participants

The interviews took place between December 2007 and April 2008. The sessions lasted between approximately one and two hours, including the time it took the participant to read and sign the consent form and complete the demographic information sheet. In one case, the interviewer, due to the participant's vision impairment, completed the demographic information sheet by asking the questions verbally. The average length of interview recording was one hour and 10 minutes. The interviews took place at a location of the participant's choice such as their home or place of work, a coffee shop or restaurant, or the University of Ottawa campus.

In total, 17 individuals were interviewed. All participants met the two criteria: (1) over 18 years of age; and (2) self-identified as second-generation immigrants from Finland, that is, they identified as an individual who was born in Canada and has one or two Finnish immigrant parent(s). Participants were nine females and eight males between the ages of 20 and 95. Seven participants were between 20 and 30; three were between 31 and 50; four were between 51 and 70; and three were between 71 and 95. The vast majority held at least one university degree; only three did not, two of whom were current students.

Research Tools

A semi-structured interview guide was used to provide organization to the interview while also allowing for sequence changes and follow-up questions (Kvale, 1996). According to Flick (1998), the semi-structured interview approach provides flexibility; interviewers may encourage participants to further discuss issues of importance, rather than moving on to the next question due to the order of questions in the interview guide. Furthermore, interviewers may skip less pertinent questions to spend more time on more those that are most fruitful in a particular interview. The existence of an overall structure, however, helps create at least some consistency across interviews (Weston et al., 2001).

The interview guide was created following key concepts identified in the literature (see Appendix A), but as data was collected and interviews were reviewed, the focus of interviews shifted to the most relevant issues in the guide following the

responsive interviewing approach.[5] A Demographic Information Sheet was also created to facilitate the gathering of information such as age, sex, and year of parental immigration from Finland (see Appendix B). Notes were taken during the interview, and immediate thoughts were written up following the session. These notes included thoughts on the interview as a whole, areas to follow up with in future interviews or in the literature, possible key concepts, the physical surroundings, and problems encountered during the interview. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed.

Interviewer and Participant: Mutual influence

The notion of reciprocity was important in the interviewing process. Rubin and Rubin (2005) suggest that since a relationship is formed between the interviewer and participant during the interview, there is a need to acknowledge that both exert mutual influence over the conversation. They note that there is sometimes a need for the researcher to answer some of the questions posed to the participant in order to enhance trust and comfort in the interview.

In the context of this research, since the interviewer also belongs to the ethnic group examined, it became necessary at times to divulge personal information during the interview when prompted by the participant. For example, when the participant talked about where his or her family came from, the interviewer was sometimes asked, "Have you ever been there?", or "Where is your family from?". In such cases the interviewer

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[5] It should be noted that while Rubin & Rubin (2005) suggest a very flexible research design, the time limits and scope of this Master's thesis research demanded a more rigid approach. Flexibility was maintained by the use of follow-up questions and a shift in interview focus in terms of overall issues indicated in the interview guide, if and when needed, based on issues discussed during the interview.

answered briefly and politely to ensure a certain level of reciprocity, and then redirected the focus to the participants' experience.

Reliability and Validity

Validity, which refers to how a measure reflects the concept it is measuring, and reliability, which concerns the replication of the study to gather similar findings, are often considered as the basis for evaluating research (Jackson, 2003). Rather than adopting terms created within the quantitative research realm, Guba and Lincoln (1981) suggest the use of the terms credibility, fittingness and auditability in qualitative research.

Credibility refers to the internal validity of the study; "how one can establish confidence in the 'truth' of the findings" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p. 103). They suggest a close monitoring of responses, self-monitoring of the researcher in the research environment, and the careful recording and analysis of data as some methods to increase credibility. Fittingness refers to how the findings of one study may be applied to other contexts, corresponding with the notion of external validity or generalizability (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). They posit that researchers should instead use working hypotheses, as the ability to generalize findings is difficult in even scientific studies. Jackson (2003) points to Sandelowski (1986), who suggests keeping careful records of decisions made and methods adopted, noting typical and atypical responses, avoiding reliance on the most articulate respondents, and confusing researcher's and participant's experience, as key to enhancing reliability in qualitative research.

In the context of this study, Rubin and Rubin's (2005) emphasis on the interviewer-participant mutual influence enhanced credibility and fittingness, as

participants were comfortable and on equal footing with the researcher. Furthermore, as will be discussed in the next section, the data was carefully handled and analyzed. Quotes are used to enhance content and were carefully selected to ensure they reflected participants' intended meaning.

Finally, Guba and Lincoln's (1981) auditability corresponds to the notion of reliability in the qualitative realm. It refers to the idea that a second party reviews the work of the primary researcher to ensure the consistency of evaluation. In this study, the analysis and write-up of research findings was supervised by Professor Jaya, enhancing auditability. Furthermore, the raw data will be kept for a period of five years, in the case other researchers would want to review the data collection and analysis completed in this study.

Data Analysis

Once interviews were transcribed, Rubin and Rubin's (2005) two phases of analysis were followed. First, a coding guide was created based on emerging themes and concepts in the interviews (see Appendix C). As Weston et al. (2001) note, "coding is not what happens before the analysis, but comes to constitute an important part of the analysis" (p. 382). Therefore, careful consideration was taken in the creation of the coding guide. Following Rubin and Rubin's approach, questions asked by the interviewer, frequently mentioned concepts, themes indirectly revealed, and related or opposing concepts were analyzed. In addition, key concepts in the literature were examined. For example, Phinney (1990) suggests both the assessment of ethnic self-identification and a sense of belonging are integral when researching ethnic identity. She

notes these as important, as many individuals have choice in the groups with which they identify, and although they identify with a particular group, they may not feel a sense of belonging towards it. Furthermore, language, friendship, religious affiliation, structured ethnic social groups, political ideology and activity, area of residence and various cultural activities were noted to be the most studied components of ethnic identity by Phinney, and thus were considered in the analysis. Once all relevant concepts and themes were identified, they were checked for clarity by creating definitions for each and then comparing against several interview transcripts. The coding guide was then finalized, and the transcripts were coded using N-Vivo software.[6]

In the second stage of analysis, each instance of a concept or theme was combined into one file and compared for overall meaning and nuance. Differences between participants and/or definitions used were examined to determine patterns and links between concepts and themes. The goal was not to find the same concepts across all interviews; rather, as Schmidt (2004) suggests, care was taken to consider how each individuals articulated and understood their experiences, as well as what the concepts and themes raised meant to them.

In some cases, new sub-concepts and themes were found at the second-stage of analysis. For example, broad codes such as 'Finnishness' used in the initial coding brought forward concepts such as sisu, stubbornness, and love of nature, which emerged through comparison and frequent mentions by participants, but would have been tedious to code at the first level of analysis.

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[6] The software was used predominantly for organizing the data, rather than as an analytical tool. This is in accordance with Gibbs (2002), who notes that N-Vivo is a powerful electronic tool, however, the data analysis is still up to the researcher.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the results of the 17 semi-structured interviews conducted. To address the research questions, this section is divided into several parts. The chapter begins with a discussion of how participants identified with the Finnish ethnic group, as well as mainstream Canadian culture. Then, the supporting aspects of the first research question are taken up; perceptions of Finnishness and participants' ethnic involvement are discussed. The third main section addresses the second research question in terms of conceptualizations of Canadianness and participants' overall sense of belonging to Canadian culture. Finally, the intercultural issues that emerge out of participants' sense of belonging to two cultures, as well as their communicative experiences, are discussed in the context of the overall findings.

The results of the interviewing process and data analysis are presented largely in the form of interview excerpts. Following Levo-Henrikkson's (2005) approach to ethnic identity and intercultural communication, the researcher need not speak on behalf of the participants; they are perfectly capable of speaking for themselves. Therefore, I have included rich quotes where needed to help illustrate how participants made sense of their belonging to two cultures. Where less critical, summaries of responses are provided, drawing on concise and relevant participant quotes.

It should be noted that as a member of the Finnish ethnic group, I took great care—and interest—in the analysis of participants' experiences. While many aspects of Finnishness and Canadianness discussed by participants resonated with my personal experience, some things did not. While complete objectivity is impossible, I verified

findings against other participants' experiences to avoid personal bias, or focusing on the extreme or the abnormal. In this vein, I have attempted to highlight overall tendencies as well as anomalies to provide readers a sense of which perceptions and experiences were common to the group.

Feeling Finnish and Canadian:
Identification with the Finnish Ethnic Group and Mainstream Canadian Culture

It became clear during the interview process and the subsequent data analysis that participants' ethnic identity was intertwined with their broader Canadian cultural identity. While a large part of the interview was regularly dedicated to the discussion of Finnishness or how participants identified with Finnish culture, their relationship to mainstream Canadian society often could not be ignored or separated from their ethnicity. This section discusses how participants identified as Finnish ethnic group members, as well as how they viewed their overall ethnic and Canadian cultural identities.

Identifying as a Finnish Ethnic Group Member

As was found by Stoller (1996) and Korkiasaari and Roinila (2005), ethnic identity salience among participants varied greatly. Some emphasized its importance in their lives, while others indicated it was something to acknowledge, but not dwell on. It was seen positively; that is, participants felt that being part of the Finnish ethnic group was a good thing. However, many stated during or after the interview that the subject matter discussed was not something they had given much thought to in their everyday lives.

> A lot of these questions I'd never really thought of, you know. What it means to be Finnish, and you know, the sort of counter-point to that, what it means to be Canadian. It's odd that these things, you feel them at some level in the gut but... these aren't questions I would stop and think about every day. [Laugh]. And I'd be surprised if most people do. (Kullervo)

While this was not true of all participants, it is worthwhile to note that for some, the issues associated with being a second-generation Finnish immigrant were not—and had never been—everyday or regular concerns.

In terms of feeling Finnish or having a sense of belonging to the Finnish ethnic group, participants saw themselves as part of the group on the basis of various criteria. Several felt that it was, at least partly, a genetic issue; one was born into it. For example, one participant stated that being Finnish referred to who your mother was. Since her mother and father were Finnish, so was she. This was mirrored by Pud, who stated that he felt Finnish, and noted, "even our kids when you look at it genetically they're totally Finnish... totally, in terms of their genetic make-up." Loviisa, whose mother was Finnish and father was American, explained her background like this: "I feel that I'm half-Finnish. Sometimes I say I'm half-Finnish, half-American, all Canadian. [Laugh]." She acknowledged her parental heritage, but saw herself as fully Canadian. In fact, the vast majority of participants talked about their Finnishness and/or a sense of belonging to the Finnish ethnic group as part of being Canadian.

As Ting-Toomey et al. (2000) note, how individuals identify with the majority cultural group is integral to understanding how they identify with their ethnic group. In this study, two groups emerged in how individuals identified. Members of the first group defined themselves as Canadian with a Finnish background. Members of the second group saw themselves as a mix of Finnish and Canadian.

Canadian with a Finnish background

Those individuals who identified themselves as Canadians with a Finnish background saw their ethnicity as part of their identity, but not the most important aspect, making their Canadian cultural identity more salient than their ethnic identity. Many emphasized that since they were raised in Canada, it was where they felt most comfortable. The connection to their ethnicity and to Finland was seen through their parents; that is, they had no direct connection with the Finnish culture of Finland.

> It comes down to question of identity. What do I consider myself, am I a Finlander living in Canada or am I a Canadian? ... I guess you have to have some connection to the homeland. And a sense of, I don't want to [say] belonging, because I don't think I belong in Finland. I belong in Canada. It's almost a heritage that I would relate it to. A sense of heritage, my parents came from [Finland]. So, [it's] a connection to the past. (Kalervo)

As Kalervo explained, Finnishness is his heritage, and not his main culture, as his connection to it is based on his parents' roots and not his own experience. He identifies most with being Canadian, and does not see himself as a Finn living in Canada.

Similarly, Kullervo explained that he cannot see himself as a Finn because he does not feel he fully understands the culture or national dialogue.

> I don't feel it. In terms of really understanding the culture. Or being part of a national conversation. I was at a friend's place a couple years ago and they were talking about Olavi Virta. And I said, 'Who is Olavi Virta?' And my cousin just goes, 'Oh! [smacks hands], you don't know?' 'No, never heard of him,' [I said]. 'Finnish tango singer,' [he said]. But you know, how would I know this? [It was] the idea that part of being a normal, educated Finn is knowing who some tango singer was. No, this was not me. [Laugh]. So it's curious, but it strikes me as pretty exotic. So, um, yeah, my identity derives mostly from being Canadian.

His unfamiliarity with Finnish popular culture made it problematic for Kullervo to consider himself as part of the Finnish cultural framework. He also mentioned that this lack of knowledge meant that he had difficulty even considering taking Finnish

citizenship, a right to which he was entitled. To him, as well as others, his cultural framework is in Canada. Therefore, these individuals considered themselves first and foremost Canadian. To this end, Kullervo stated, "I probably identify with the Finnish Canadian community and a Finnish Canadian tradition more so than a Finnish tradition."

To these individuals, Finnishness was largely a secondary identity. Lupa explained that it is common for Canadians to have a heritage or background with which they identify, and as such, his ethnicity as part of being Canadian.

> I feel that I'm Canadian. And most Canadians have got some kind of background that they acknowledge... You don't realize how much of a Canadian you are until you leave the country and you suddenly see the difference. But I mean, I'm a Canadian, I've got Finnish background. It's part of who I am, but it's only a part.

Lupa emphasized his ethnicity as a background rather than his dominant cultural framework. He suggested that for Canadian born individuals, any connection to an ethnic culture was secondary, so although he had a Finnish heritage, he could not consider himself as Finnish.

> We had guys in my basic training course that were landed immigrants... [Including] one guy who came from Somali, he actually grew up in Mogadishu and he was like 12 years old when the helicopter went down and stuff. Yeah, him and his brothers spent the whole day up on the roof watching the Americans blow the crap out of the city... Okay, they can say where they're from. Guys who were born outside of the country, you know. You ask me where I'm from; I'll tell you where I'm from. It's kind of a hair splitting thing... You know, I could tell you right now that I'm not Finnish 'cause I've been to Finland. You know, they're Finnish. I'm Canadian of Finnish origin.

To Lupa, being Finnish meant being born in Finland and living within that culture. He considered himself as Canadian, because Canada is where he lived most of his life, and where he felt most comfortable.

Others who identified as Canadians with a Finnish background noted a higher level of comfort with Finnish society compared to other cultures. For example, one

participant talked about how if she had to leave Canada, she would prefer to go to Finland over the United States, noting that this was in contrast to how many Canadians would respond. "Just their way of looking at things and everything, I feel a lot closer to the Finns than I do to Americans" (Lynn).

These individuals also discussed a sense of pride that came with having a diverse background. Marie, whose father was a Finnish immigrant, stated that while being Canadian came first for her, she felt that having pride in her dual-heritage was important. "I think for me, definitely first and foremost I am Canadian, but I do pride myself on being French [Canadian] and Finn... Both my parents have always advocated [that] being proud of both was really important." Similarly, Lynn noted that having Finnish background and associating with the ethnic group gave her "something more unique," compared to other Canadians.

Mix of Finnish and Canadian

The second group identified as a mix of Finnish and Canadian cultures. These individuals felt that they were a product of both cultures. As Alisa explained, identifying with both cultures meant that she felt both Finnish and Canadian.

> I guess 'cause I feel like I'm both Finnish and Canadian. So I've got kind of the dual thing going on inside of me. So I think I always felt like that. I knew I was different but I didn't feel necessarily like I didn't belong.

While Alisa emphasized her two cultures as part of her identity, she explained that one did not—and could not—see herself as one over the other. "I don't know if I'm exactly Finn or Canadian... I can't say one way or another. I couldn't answer what it feels like to be Canadian or [Finnish], you know, one by itself." Similarly, Billy stated that because he

identified with both cultures, defining or explaining them individually was difficult: "I'm a mix of both. It's hard to tell when you're Canadian and Finnish sometimes, which good trait comes from where 'cause it seems to come from both a little bit. It's a bit of a combination."

It should be noted that while these participants defined themselves as a sort of product of both cultures, they also expressed feeling most comfortable in Canada. Finnishness and Finnish values had influenced their lives, but it was Canadian culture where they saw themselves fitting in. In this way, the second group mirrored the first, in that their Canadian cultural identity was more pertinent to their current lives, and thus more salient than their ethnic identity.

While most discussed belonging to two cultures with relative ease, one participant discussed conflicting feelings. After spending much of her childhood abroad due to one parent's international job, Linda shared that she could not identify fully with either Canadian or Finnish culture. She explained: "I am so in the middle with these two. Every time I'm in Finland or around Finns, I feel more Canadian; but as soon as I'm here, I feel more Finnish" (Linda). Although she had lived in Europe for many years and spent many summers in Finland, she was not fully comfortable in Finnish society. Conversely, when in Canada, did not feel Canadian; rather, she felt much more Finnish. In other words, she was unable to find a balance between her sense of belonging to two cultures, making neither identity highly salient.

Finnishness

Following the literature review, in order to understand how second-generation Finnish immigrants identify with the Finnish ethnic group, it is important to discuss their perceptions of Finnish culture, or Finnishness, as well as the extent of their ethnic involvement (Phinney, 1990). Participants conceptualized Finnish culture in many ways. Ethnic activities, such as folk dancing and attending Finnish church or language school; social and political perspectives, including belonging to traditional Finnish red or white (left- or right-wing) political parties and social policy beliefs, such as social welfare; and family holiday traditions, such as celebrating Christmas on December 24, were named as being Finnish. In general, however, participants focused on the characteristics of Finnish people and culture, which was in line with the findings of Stoller (1996). Among the Finnish behavioural and personality characteristics discussed were sisu and stubbornness, a quiet and melancholic nature, as well as nationalism and pride.

Perceived Finnish Behavioural and Personality Characteristics

One of the predominant characteristics of being Finnish discussed was sisu, a trait that Stoller (1996) defines as perseverance and tenacity. Sisu has long been considered a fundamental characteristic of Finns, both in Finland and in North America (Taramaa, 2007). In this study, participants talked about sisu in terms of hard work and determination, as well as achieving goals.

> I find that I like the aspects of sisu, they're admirable qualities of people and you really see it [in Finnish people]. Even just in aspects of work, like when people take on a task. I watch it all the time in my parents' community and I think, these people are eighty already, give it a rest. You've put in your dues, but it's just that determination of 'no, I'm going to do this if it kills me'... I think that Finnish

> people might be crazy but they definitely have the determination to get a job done. It's admirable. (Alisa)

Another participant, Ann, saw sisu as central to being Finnish. "I think anything you see of the Finnish background certainly is very much tough and sisu, as they say, in terms of: 'I'm going to eat rocks and stones and not care, I'm going to make it happen.'" Similarly, Kalervo suggested that a strong work ethic is key to achievement in Canadian society, and said, "I would get the impression, the work ethic I think a lot of these Finns give to their kids, would translate into success."

Related to the notion of sisu was stubbornness, which was seen to be part of a hard-working culture that achieves goals and meets obligations. John shared that thanks to the Finnish stubbornness, Finland is the only country in the world that paid its debts to the United States after both World Wars, and "they have even refused [when] countries are prepared to forgive the debts; they would not accept forgiveness, but pay them off." On an interpersonal level, however, one participant suggested that the stubbornness can be the cause of conflict.

> There is a real bloody-minded side to people who are, you know, Finns... I've only been married for a couple of years [but] my husband comes up against it sometimes with me too. I mean, you know, I don't envy him. I really don't, you know! [Laughs]. It's just stubbornness. You tend to clam up, you know. You don't say [anything]... You expect people to understand you when you've like expressed it in a monosyllable, you know... I don't think it's easy for people from outside it to really get it. (Pirkko)

To this participant, stubbornness was not just a personality or cultural trait. Rather, it was acknowledged as a challenge in intercultural contexts, as others may not understand the trait as Finns do.

Quietness and a reserved nature were also often mentioned as characteristics of Finnish people. In particular, Finnish men were seen to be quiet. "The typical male

doesn't say a lot. I don't want to say soft-spoken because it's more not spoken" (Kalervo). Finnish women were described as talkative and strong in comparison. "A lot of men I find are pushovers, but the women are awkwardly powerful. I feel like it's a female-dominated country" (Linda).

On a more general level, Sammy used the example of well-known hockey players to illustrate the difference between Finns and Canadians.

> Contrast Koivu and Selanne with Mark Messier for example. [Messier is] bombastic, in a quiet way. His presence is very, very imposing. Saku Koivu is quiet spoken, Teemu Selanne is quiet spoken, yet both of them are players of some prominence, some capability.

Some saw quietness as a trait that faded as relationships are formed. Lynn explained, "when you get to really know them then obviously they're just as talkative and friendly as anyone else, but I think they're more reserved initially when you first meet them."

Related to the Finnish quietness was the perceived seriousness of Finnish people. "We have all sent around that joke [e-mail] with… the seven moods of a Finn. It's just a serious-looking Finn in all of them" (Billy). The seriousness of Finns, coupled with their quietness, translated to a direct approach in communication, which Sammy explained in conversational terms. "They tend to say what they mean and mean what they say, and say only what they have to, if you want to nutshell it."

To one participant, Finns were described as joyful and friendly. "There is something about them, they are always, always, always smiling" (Linda). To most, however, the quietness and seriousness of Finns and Finnish culture resulted in a melancholic nature, particularly in comparison to other cultures.

> There's a melancholy, which my wife—not being a Finn—she's the one that perceives that more than myself. She sees this melancholy trait that comes out in all the Finns that she's met. Even the Finns that we have in Ottawa. We have our

> big festivities, Juhannus and all that. Yeah, they'll, you know, have a bright side to them. But the music, for example, can be very melancholy. (Sauna)

Closely related was the mention of depression and alcoholism among Finns. Several participants noted that Finns are known to suffer from these diseases. This is in line with the findings of Statistics Finland (2007), which point to alcohol and alcohol-related diseases and accidents as the leading cause of death among Finns between the ages of 15 and 64. Lynn explained this tendency towards depression and alcoholism as a result of genetics and the darkness and coldness of the Finnish winter.

> A lot of them do suffer from depression and they can kind of [be] moody… Then if they're drinking, alcohol becomes a problem. So, um, it's not about them, but it's just a tendency… [My husband] has read that alcoholism is a gene. Like there's a gene that predisposes you to that. So, I guess for a lot of people, because of the long winters and everything, and then they've got this gene, I guess. So, the suicide rate and alcoholism, and depression, I think is kind of higher than in some other populations.

Like this participant, Marie also found alcoholism to be a very negative trait associated with Finnishness, as it had affected three members of her family. When asked if there was something about Finnish culture she did not like, she responded: "It's annoying when people say, 'you're Finnish, [you're] big drinkers!' and it's just always associated with [being Finnish]. And I find that almost sometimes, it's sad they're identified with that."

On a societal or national level, Finns were perceived to be very proud and nationalistic. "They're very proud of their culture, but not in an arrogant way" (Phoenix), as overt pride or bragging was seen as a negative trait. Pride was largely seen as a result of the achievements of Finland in the international sphere. Several participants mentioned the struggles faced by Finland, including Russian-Finnish conflicts, full repayment of war debts, and the current economic contributions in the European Union, as the reasons for such strong national pride. One participant, John, highlighted this: "[There] is a

tremendous nationalism and a feeling of Finnishness that you don't find in Canadians. I'm sorry, but Canada has not had to go through what Finland has had to do to survive." As a result, he said, there is a large emphasis on nationalism. He told the story of one trip to Finland, where he and his wife attended a dance hall with relatives. "Before you know it the Finnish and Canadian flags are put on the table... I say, 'what is this all about?' So my cousin says, 'hey, you're Canadian. We want to show you're our Canadian guest.'"

Others discussed pride in terms of ancestral background. Many felt that Finnishness itself was something for people to be proud of and share. "There's always a promotion of Finnish, the Finlander. You should be proud of that part of your ancestry" (Marie). Accordingly, not being proud of one's Finnish background was seen negatively. For example, one individual discussed his dislike of those who do not share his pride in their Finnish heritage.

> A guy's read a history of the Winter War, and thinks that's it. That's like, 'dude, where do you come from, where do your family come from?' You know, this one tassel of guys who were [at an event] from Sault Ste. Marie... [There is a] pretty large Finnish community out there. [There was] no sort of local knowledge of what their families were doing back in the 50s. Or what time did their family immigrate over, you know. You get some knucklehead, like I said, going on about the Winter War as though he was there, kind of thing. I was like, 'dude, you don't even know when your family came here.' ... It just kind of annoys me. You've got some people that just really haven't bothered to sort of think about things, you know. (Lupa)

As this participant described, it is not only a sense of awareness of Finnish history, but also knowing about and having pride in one's background and family experiences that are part of being Finnish.

What is Finnish about me?

The discussion of Finnishness led some participants to point out their own Finnish characteristics. Participants discussed their Finnishness on different levels. Among the issues discussed were: holiday traditions, a love of Finnish things, Finnish characteristics, name, and physical appearance. These aspects differed from ethnic involvement as they were largely at the personal level.

Holidays

Holidays, in particular Christmas, were discussed as ethnic times. As Phoenix explained, the holiday season is the only time her family gets together. Keeping the Finnish tradition of celebrating the holiday on Christmas Eve was important to her, because of this family tradition. Similarly, Sauna shared that he and his family always have a live spruce Christmas tree that they cut themselves, following Finnish custom. One participant also mentioned that celebrating Juhannus, the mid-summer holiday in June, was important, as it was an occasion to meet with other Finns.

Love of Finnish things

Many participants discussed their love of traditional Finnish foods and items. One food in particular, pulla, a sweet coffee bread, was mentioned by several individuals. "I love coffee bread. When I can get the pulla, I buy it. You know, I'm going to even learn how to make it; I'm determined to get it" (Sauna). Others talked about the Finnish tradition of Finnish sauna baths. As Kalervo stated, having a sauna meant having a weekly tradition: time to himself. "What is Finnish about me? Love for saunas. I can't

wait to build my sauna, we're building a house now. I'm missing my sauna more than anything else... Wednesday [and] Saturday nights are lonely time" (Kalervo). Some also discussed a love of certain sports in the context of their Finnishness. For example, one individual stressed his love of javelin, which he explained as a sport in which Finns had made significant accomplishments. "It comes out loud and clear the influence that I have had on me by these [Finnish] athletes, these coaches and that country on this event" (Pud).

Behavioural and Personality Traits

As was the case in the broader discussion of Finnishness, participants focused on particular behavioural and personality traits to explain how they were Finnish. As Stoller (1996) asserts, attributing traits to an ethnic background is a way to identify oneself as Finnish. It should be noted that these traits are highly personal; however, they are central to how participants saw themselves as Finnish and, as such, deserve mention here.

Some participants felt that at least parts of their overall identity were a result of their Finnishness. As Pud explained, Finnish culture had influenced him greatly.

> The country and our parents and what we've learned growing up, it's had a huge influence on me. Some of my Finnish friends think I'm more Finnish than Canadian... Just 'cause they can tell that I have a lot of the same values they have. I'm proud of the heritage that we have. It comes out. I kind of wear it on my sleeve. [Laugh]. (Pud)

While Pud saw his Finnishness as an overall influence in his life, many explained particular personality characteristics as being of Finnish origin. Stubbornness, independence, athleticism, love of nature, seriousness, honesty and directness were frequently mentioned, and are in line with the findings of Stoller (1996).

> I think the Finnish traits, being really strong-willed, independent and athletic definitely, really in tune with nature, I do identify with that, [and have] from a very young age. And I think that comes through my father and that side of my family. And being a proud, strong woman, I think also comes from [them]. Definitely my dad's mom is very much a strong-willed and proud woman, so I do identify with that. Those Finnish women that I did grow up [with] and have in my life [from] a young age. (Marie)

> [I'm] tenacious. [There's a] kind of stubbornness in terms of getting things done. You know, you get on a track; you're going to get it done no matter what it takes. (Ann)

> I'm stubborn. [Laugh]. I'm not one to get into an argument with. Black is white. Actually, to a fault I'm stubborn. And that's typical. (Sauna)

> I think I talk a lot, but people tell me, 'geez, you're very quiet'... There's some element of truth in this [Finnish idea of] 'just stay quiet'. And maybe being reflective to the point of being ponderous. [Laugh]. (Kullervo)

> I'm very serious. At times. When I was working as a lifeguard when I was younger, I was voted the most serious lifeguard. (Billy)

> When I speak with people, if I say something, you can take it to the bank in effect... It's just the way I am. And I'm not saying that's Finnish, but I'm Finnish and I know a lot of other Finns that are exactly the same way. I feel at ease with them. If they tell me they're going to do something, I count on it. (Sammy)

While personality traits were the most common traits discussed, several participants explained how certain habits could be attributed to their Finnish background. Two participants, for example, explained their neatness as Finnish.

> I think, with Finns, most of them are really clean and tidy and organized. And everybody is always teasing me about how neat I keep things. And at the cottage I'm always like picking up branches and tidying and, you know, burning brush and clearing and raking and whatever... One of the girls' friends was, up with her dog and she said she couldn't find a stick to throw. Here she was in the middle of the forest and she's looking around trying to find a stick to throw for her dog. [Laugh]. 'Cause she just didn't know where to look 'cause I have my brush piles. But just the area around the cottage was, you know, raked and cleared and everything. (Lynn)

As Stoller (1996) notes, cleanliness is often associated with Finnishness in part because of the historical role of many immigrant Finnish women. As they often found work as domestic women in the hospitality industry, Finnish women became known for their hard work and efficient cleaning. One participant, who worked as a cleaning woman, stated, "I always liked working, tidying up my house and hav[ing] it spotless" (Esteri).

Other participants emphasized their approach to financial issues as part of their Finnishness. As previously mentioned, several participants discussed the repayment of war debts as one of the sources of Finnish pride. To this end, John talked about how his parents had emphasized being financially responsible.

> [I] have a very strong doctrine, I think, that my parents brought to me, that a Finn always pays their debts... And that has always been my parents' motto to me. Pay your debts no matter what. That's the most essential thing and that's something that I've always respected.

Similarly, Kullervo shared that being conservative in financial matters was something he had been taught. "When I say conservatism, I mean, 'pay off that mortgage as fast as you can, son.' I have a good job but I'm driving an [early 1990s] Honda Civic."

Physical Appearance and Name

Several participants discussed their physical appearance or certain physical traits as Finnish. While most pointed to one trait, for example, their hair colour or cheek bones, Alisa felt that she looked different than other White people, and as a result, was often identified as being 'from somewhere else'.

> People see me [and] they think I look different. People always [think that], even if they don't know my name... I find I get questioned about it a lot. Yeah, for being White, in a White society, it's different [for me], I think, than [for] some of my Canadian White friends who never really get that question, 'oh, where are you

> from?' Not that they would necessarily have an answer to that but they don't really get questioned about it either.

Similarly, Marie felt more Finnish than French Canadian in terms of her appearance and, like Alisa, was often identified as different from other Canadians.

> I think in the way that I look, I feel more Finn than I do French-Canadian. I've always been a bigger athletic female and always had blond hair. In that sense. And even people, once they meet me, learn my name, [they say] "it makes sense, you look [Finnish]." And even just looking at, watching any Finnish movies or reading Finnish magazines, [and] seeing Finnish women, I just saw myself more as a Finn than I did as a French-Canadian.

Marie also noted that in addition to her appearance, her distinctive first and last names identify her as being Finnish.[7] Similarly, another participant talked about how she is able to use her first name only, as it was very uncommon, and particularly so in Canada. "I've been very happy to use my first name and kind of sign it as Madonna. I just use my first name and it's unique and nobody else has one of those!" (Ann).

Nothing Finnish about me

While most were able to articulate what was Finnish about them, either when prompted or through the discussion of other topics, several were not able to think of a particular Finnish trait. One participant felt that there was really nothing Finnish about her, while a few others had difficulty pinpointing their Finnish characteristics. This inability to name one's Finnish traits may be due to limited familiarity with Finnish culture, a lack of self-awareness in regards to how Finnish culture had influenced their

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[7] Finnish first names are generally distinguishable from common English language names. According to the Population Register Centre (2008), run by the Finnish Ministry of Finance, the most popular first names for males are Juhani, Johannes, Olavi, Antero, and Tapani, while the most popular female first names are Maria, Helena, Anneli, Johanna, and Kaarina.

development, or that these participants, while they identified with their ethnicity to some degree, simply did not see themselves as Finnish on a personal level. For example, Loviisa explained that she could not state what exactly was Finnish about her because she was not completely sure of what Finnish characteristics were.

> I think that's hard to say because I haven't really lived in Finland long enough to say what personality traits really stick out in Finns. [Pause]. I remember when I went to Finland this summer and my friend [there], I met her roommates and stuff. And they wanted to take me out dancing. I remember that they said [that] they thought I was very wild, and I was like, 'wow, in Canada I'm really not considered wild.' [Laugh]... Maybe I am [louder] than most Finns, but I don't know, it's so subjective.

Phoenix also had difficulty pinpointing her Finnish characteristics, but acknowledged that at least physically, she did not appear typically Finnish. "My sister and my brother are both very fair and they both have blue/green eyes... I have all dark features like my dad does. So I guess my Finnish trait wouldn't be physical, it would be [pause], I don't know."

When am I Finnish?

As Clement et al. (2006) assert, ethnic identity is situationally responsive, meaning that the extent to which individuals feel Finnish may change according to context. Participants were asked if and when they felt particularly Finnish, or if there were certain situations in which their Finnishness came out.

Times and situations

Participants explained that they felt Finnish during certain situations. For example, Sammy talked about how he felt Finnish in situations where there was a cultural

conflict, in terms of his Finnish characteristics and mainstream Canadian culture, or when he was involved in an activity, such as skiing, which he saw as Finnish.

> I feel Finnish when I'm dealing with people who can't come out and say what they mean. I mean, that's part of my Finnish background. I feel Finnish when I see people wanting to quit before you have to quit. This is sisu. I feel Finnish when I give something back to somebody that I found that I could have put in my pocket. That's part of my cultural background; it's honesty. I feel Finnish when I help somebody who I don't have to help. I used to be on the executive of [a non-profit organization]. You picked long shot causes that are right but most people don't want to get involved because it's too messy. You pick one of those and you see it through. That's the Finnish in me that's doing that. When I cross country ski and I go in the bush, yeah, yeah. [Pause.] That's the Finn in me.

Others felt that they felt most Finnish with their family, which is in accordance with Clement et al. (2006). For example, Lupa explained that it is with his family that he feels at home and comfortable, and most Finnish. "All these subtle mannerisms, it just feels really familiar and really comfortable. It's like, this is where I came from." Similarly, Loviisa noted that it was often with her mother or other Finnish family that she felt most Finnish. "I guess [it's] when I'm talking Finnish or even talking about Finland and the connections that I have. It's really kind of [the] sentimental and linguistic connections that I have to Finland, and memories."

While most participants emphasized situations in which their Finnish characteristics came out or when they were with family, a few participants stated that they felt most Finnish during ethnic events or with other Finnish people. This is in line with Yip and Fuligni (2002), who found that participation in ethnic activities promotes higher ethnic identity salience.

Places

Some participants felt Finnish in particular places. As previously noted, Linda suggested that her Finnishness faded in Finland but she identified with it more while in Canada. Lynn said she felt most Finnish at her family cottage. She explained, "When we're there, yeah, it feels more like it could be in Finland. When I look at pictures [of Finland] on calendars and stuff, oh yeah, it looks just like the cottage." Similarly, Pud felt particularly Finnish in the sauna, both at his family cottage and at home. In fact, his love of sauna was passed down to his daughters, who then shared it with their friends.

> I was actually just looking at the yearbook when [my daughters] graduated from high school. And, you know, typically kids will write things to their friends in the yearbook so they have a souvenir. There are so many references to sauna parties that they had, and the influence, I guess, that our kids [had on other kids]... introducing [them] to things like sauna and other things that are important to us.

To Pud, taking sauna baths was important on a personal level, but it was also a way to introduce others to Finnish culture. This is in line with how scholars have discussed the role of sauna in Finnish immigrant life. As Warkentin (2002) notes, the sauna is a symbol of Finnish ethnicity within and outside Finland.

Finnish Ethnic Involvement

The previous section discussed participants' identification with both Finnish and Canadian groups, and how they engaged in their ethnicity on a personal level. However, it is important to understand not only if they identify with the Finnish ethnic group, but also how they participate in the ethnic culture. As noted in the literature review (e.g. Phinney, 1992), certain behaviours, such as maintaining ethnic language skills, family ethnic behaviour, and participation in the ethnic community, are linked to ethnic identity.

Participants in this study varied greatly in their ethnic involvement; that is, the extent to which they engaged in Finnish ethnic culture. In addition to the aspects noted in the literature, this study found that having Finnish items and a connection to Finland were also key in how these individuals identify with Finnish ethnic culture.

Finnish language skills

As De Vos (2006) suggests, language is often considered to be the most significant aspect of ethnic identity. As Phinney, Romero, et al. (2001) found, ethnic language maintenance is positively related to ethnic identity, as "it provides a link to the culture in which their parents were raised" (p. 149). In other words, speaking the ethnic language allows group members to create and maintain links in the ethnic community, as well as connect with family and friends in the country of origin.

In this study, there was a wide variation in Finnish language skills. A few participants had not been significantly exposed to Finnish, either occasionally or at all, as a child. Others were fluently conversant and used mainly Finnish with their families, and some fell in the middle, understanding some but not fluent. All were most comfortable in the English language.[8]

Little to no Finnish skills. De Vos (2006) acknowledges that while use of the language may be common to ethnic group members, it is the association of the language with the group that may be most important. In other words, to consider oneself a group

[8] It should be noted that several participants were raised in Québec, and developed French language skills concurrently. One individual learned French from one parent, and English from the other parent. Others learned French through playing with other children.

member, speaking the language is not necessarily a requirement in belonging to the ethnic group.

Several participants used English as the primary language of communication within the family. Having little to no Finnish language skills was often a result of growing up in a family with only one Finnish parent, as the common language between parents in this case was English. However, it was also true of some individuals in two-Finnish immigrant families. Billy, whose parents are both Finnish, discussed how English was always the language used in his family. Although his parents had used Finnish with his older brother, English was the dominant language used by the time Billy was small.

> My parents spoke English to me when I was young so that was my primary language. I did learn Finnish at intervals. You know, when we'd go to Finland and visit my grandparents... By the end, I was speaking fluent Finnish. But then I'd come back to Canada and I'd go back into my French class and when I went to say something in French, I'd say something in Finnish. And so, then I learned the French again. And so the Finnish has never been very strong with me because I just don't use it very often.

Like several others, Billy recalled learning and improving his Finnish language skills by visiting relatives in Finland. However, in his case, he lost it again upon his return to Canada, as he said it conflicted with learning French at school. While not the case for all, the conflict between French and Finnish was discussed by several participants in the sense that learning French was considered to be more important, or more of an advantage, than learning Finnish. As Billy stated later in the interview, bilingualism in English and French is highly advantageous to life in Canada. As a result, Billy acknowledged that he focused on learning the French language at school, and was able to understand very little Finnish, using English exclusively with his family.

For some participants that were not fluent in Finnish, a sense of guilt was evident. One participant emphasized that her lack of Finnish skills meant missed opportunities to learn about the Finnish culture and know her Finnish relatives. Another individual, Linda, discussed the regret she felt over not embracing the Finnish language, opting to learn other languages in school instead. In one story, she recalled the difficulty she experienced sitting with her ill grandmother during their last visit before she passed away.

> When I was sitting with her for the last time, granted she had no idea who I was, but it was just weird. I felt like I had so many years like I could have learned it and I could have been able to say something at that time but I was just sitting there in silence because I had no way of saying what I wanted to. So it's kind of brutal in that sense.

Because of her connection with the Finnish culture through her mother, and her many trips to Finland, Linda felt that she had not taken advantage of important opportunities to learn the Finnish language. As a result, she said she was unable to form or maintain relationships with some of her Finnish family.

It should be noted that while a lack of Finnish language skills was a challenge in forming and maintaining relationships with Finnish friends and relatives, it did not always prevent participants from doing so. Several participants reported speaking English in the Finnish ethnic community. Furthermore, like in many European countries, English is commonly spoken in Finland. Some participants discussed using a mix of English and Finnish with relatives, particularly when their Finnish was not fluent, or the conversation went beyond everyday vocabulary. Other participants with little to no Finnish skills were sometimes able to communicate only in English with Finns, depending on the Finns' English language skills. However, the ability to do so was limited with certain individuals, especially with older adults and those outside of urban areas in Finland.

While Linda emphasized her choice in not learning Finnish, others felt they simply did not have the opportunity to do so. Kullervo discussed that while he did learn a few Finnish words or sentences, he used English with his Finnish mother. He explained that his mother had said learning Finnish was not necessary for life in Canada.

> Of course you don't need it, but it would have been nice to know [Finnish]. You know, I think part of that is [my mother's] experience of having been registered as an enemy during the Second World War... The thought is, 'it's best to identify strictly as Canadian.' And '[why] have knowledge of this other language, when you should be learning English and French.'

While Kullervo did not learn Finnish as a child, he later enrolled in Finnish language classes as an adult, and became conversational. In fact, several participants reported enrolling in Finnish classes as adults, either to regain lost language skills or to learn Finnish for the first time as a way to connect to their ethnicity. This is in line with Gans (1979) who asserts that some individuals may have a strong desire to connection with lost aspects of ethnic culture.

Conversant or fluent in Finnish. Several participants reported using Finnish as the main language within the family. For some, being fluent in Finnish was mentioned as a matter of pride. For example, Esteri's eagerness to speak in Finn was evident throughout the interview. She explained that speaking Finnish was something that she had to do, because she was a Finn. "This is just what my mother said: 'Suot suomalainen ja sä puhut suomea.' You're a Finlander, you're going to talk that Finn. 'Till you're old" (Esteri). Others, such as Lynn, grew up using Finnish with relatives, but no longer used it on a regular basis. Rather, Finnish was used in Finland or at the occasional Finnish community event attended.

Only a few participants discussed using Finnish as the dominant family language, at least on a current basis. Several older individuals used Finnish regularly with their families, but as their parents passed away, they likely had fewer opportunities to use it. One participant who uses Finnish regularly shared that while she and her siblings are most comfortable in English, they are fluent in Finnish and use it as the main language within the family.

> My parents know how to speak English but within the family we communicate in Finnish… Let's say if we had a Canadian friend at the house, they would speak to us in English at that point. When it's private family time, it's done in Finnish. (Alisa)

Furthermore, since Alisa had grown up largely involved in the Finnish community and was fluent in Finnish, she was able to use her language skills outside the home, finding work at Finnish stores as a teenager.

It is worthwhile to mention that among those fluent or conversational in Finnish, very few used the language with their siblings. Rather, these participants used Finnish with their parents and, sometimes, their parents' Finnish immigrant friends. As Kalervo explained, English was used always between his siblings, because that was the language in which they felt most comfortable. "[It's] the level [at which] we speak. If we had very basic conversation, we could, but it's just so much faster speaking in English very quickly."

In one-immigrant parent families, the issue of language fluency was more complicated. Ann, whose mother was Finnish but father Estonian, learned both languages at home, and English and French at school and with other children. As a result, she became very comfortable speaking in all four languages, though she acknowledged that sometimes it is a mix of two.

> I spoke Finnish during the daytime when Mom was at home and when Dad came home at five, I had to switch to Estonian. 'Cause Dad said he couldn't understand me, so it was interesting that way. And as a kid you kind of learn French on the street, 'cause that's what all the kids were talking. So language mutated very quickly for me, because English and Finnish for me became a blend of the two. So my language is not necessarily pure. Because of the two backgrounds for me, it's very natural to listen to both. It doesn't matter which one I'm listening to.

To maintain her Finnish language as an adult, Ann speaks with her mother, noting that this is most natural in their relationship. "When she starts using English, I say, 'what's the matter?'" In the same way, Loviisa discussed the emotional attachment to Finnish, but also noted that speaking in Finnish with her mother depended on the topic. "It's almost like Finnish is a kind of sentimental; it has a sentimental value to us. So when we talk about something sentimental, we'll talk in Finnish." Conversely, in other issues, such as politics, Loviisa and her mother use English. Bilingual communication can occur when bilingual individuals interact (Liebkind, 1999), which may be common in the context of ethnic groups in pluralistic society. Switching between languages, known as code switching, can be the result of a particular situation or the social context of communicators. In the case of Loviisa and her mother, English may seem more natural when discussing issues of the public realm, whereas Finnish may be used for more personal or family matters.

Ethnic Community Involvement

Two aspects of ethnic community involvement were explored. As this study included adults of all ages, it was important to differentiate between childhood and current ethnic community involvement, as many had left the towns and cities where they had grown up and settled in Ottawa.

Childhood ethnic community involvement. Participants were involved in the ethnic community during childhood on both a formal level, that is through organizations such as clubs and churches, and an informal level, through casual social networks. Since participants were not only from the Ottawa area—in fact, most were raised in other towns and cities in Ontario and Québec—the opportunities for participants' families to participate in the Finnish ethnic community varied greatly. Furthermore, differences were found between individuals who had one- or two-immigrant parents.

For those individuals raised in ethnically concentrated areas, participation in the Finnish community during childhood was common. As Alisa explained,

> Thunder Bay has a rather large Finnish population, so that seriously affected my growing up because we did a lot–a lot–of Finnish things. We were Finnish folk dancers, we belong to a church that is run entirely in the Finnish language. So it was kind of like a little Finland in Canada, I guess you'd say.

Similarly, Kalervo stated that as a child, his family's social circle consisted of only other Finnish people. "My parents' social circle was Finlanders for the most part. [There were] very few English people that we knew or visited with...Before school started, I don't think I [had] ever met an English person." Since his family was active in the Finnish community, Kalervo spent most of his time with other Finnish people, particularly as a small child. However, this was not the case for all of those participants from highly populated Finnish areas, as many spent time in both Finnish and Canadian cultures. As Sauna discussed, while Finns made up a large part of the northern Ontario city where he grew up, they were not the only ethnic group present. "Basically, I played with the kids in my community," regardless of background.

For many, the main connection with Finnish ethnic culture was through friends of the family. Lupa stated that although he had attended various parties and events as a

child, his main connection with the Finnish community was through his parents' friends. "As far as the Finnish community and all that, it was mostly friends of my parents. You know, people who would come over and they'd be speaking Finnish and I'd recognize a word or two here and there." As a result, he noted that most of the friends he had were from school and were not Finnish.

A few participants, particularly those from families in which just one parent was an immigrant from Finland, had little to no involvement in ethnic activities during childhood. For example, Kullervo, whose mother was Finnish, recalled that he did not participate in any Finnish activities or behaviour as a child. "I'm trying to think of anything other than some peculiar tastes in food. Probably [there] would have been not much that would have distinguished what we were doing from any Anglo or Scottish kid on the street." For others, such as Marie, the other side of the family was a stronger presence. "Our French Canadian family was definitely a stronger presence in our lives at a younger age. My dad's parents, my Finnish grandparents, didn't travel as well, so it was us going to Sudbury. That was maybe twice a year." Because her father's side of the family was far away, she had limited exposure to Finnish culture.

However, while some participants from one-immigrant parent families reported little to no Finnish ethnic behaviour during childhood, others did participate in the community. The primary reason for this was interest in Finnish culture from the non-Finnish parent. In fact, several of these non-Finnish parents had spent several years living in Finland or had learned the Finnish language. For example, Linda stated that her father had learned Finnish when he first met her mother. "I think he was sort of forced to [learn Finnish], because when he first met my mom, she was so Finnish. I don't even know how

much English she knew." As a result, these non-Finnish parents, and their families as a whole, were more inclined to participate in the Finnish ethnic community, either on an informal or an organized level.

Current ethnic involvement. Despite the fact that most participants were involved, at least at some level, in the ethnic community where they grew up, only two reported being active on a regular basis in the Ottawa Finnish community as adults. The vast majority attended on an occasional basis, most often citing the annual Christmas, St-Urho's Day and Juhannus celebrations, or a particular movie or guest speaker of interest. Many stated that they were simply too busy to participate regularly at this time. Several also noted the differences among Finnish community members, which included political and religious divisions. "There's the old red and white division. And among some of the people I've talked to who are my contemporaries, they still talk about that.... There are [also] some Finns that are more religious than others" (Sammy). While these differences were not discussed by all, those that did mention them did not identify with those aspects of the community.

There are several reasons for the lack of regular participation in the Finnish ethnic community other than the general decline of involvement in such organizations in recent decades among Finnish Canadians (Laine, 1989) and overall society (Putnam, 2000).[9] The data showed that for the youngest participants, those in their twenties, participating in the ethnic community was something to be done later in life, perhaps once they had children. Several also mentioned that those who do attend organized activities tend to be

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[9] Putnam (2000) argues that society in general has become increasingly detached from social networks over past decades. It is likely both this overall societal tendency and, following Saarinen (2002), the trend for Canadian-born Finnish ethnics to participate less in ethnic organizations than the immigrant generation that explain participants' lack of involvement in the ethnic community in this research.

older adults. As Marie explained, "I've had a hard time getting involved... They're older, they're more my father's age or older. And it's hard to hang out with them when they're not the same age group." Another participant, Linda, agreed but also noted that, in some ways, she did not feel as though she could attend comfortably. "I feel like I'm not, in a sense, worthy of going to any of those meetings because I'm not Finnish enough. I feel like I'm not a good representation of a Finn." Furthermore, compared to other cities, such as Vancouver, Toronto, Sudbury and Thunder Bay, Ottawa has a relatively small Finnish ethnic population. As a result, Ottawa has no dedicated Finnish church, community hall or retirement home, as are common in these other cities, which may play a factor in the variety of organized activities offered.

Ethnic Friends

Among the seventeen participants, only two discussed having a network of Finnish friends from childhood. Both of these individuals had grown up in northern Ontario, in high Finnish ethnic concentration areas. A few shared that they had one close, or relatively close, friend in the community. Many others talked about having a few or several Finnish friends as children or teenagers, but admitted that they had lost touch over the years or were never very close. Often, this lack of ethnic friends was because they simply had not known or met many others in the Finnish community. As Billy explained, "As far as what I've experienced, I've known more non-Finns than Finns. Like I've met a couple of the young Finns here in Ottawa, here and there, and they're just like anybody else, really." Later in the interview, he expanded this further, noting that he had had one

Finnish friend at one time, but due to the demands of school and getting married, he had not kept up the friendship.

Finnish Items

As Stoller (1996) found, having Finnish items is one way to identify with Finnish culture. Items such as traditional wall hangings, glassware, ceramics, woodwork, sauna tools, hunters' knives, and children's toys were discussed by nearly all participants.

Most participants recalled having Finnish items in their homes during childhood. Those who did not have these things often attributed it to the era in which their parents immigrated, in that they were only able to bring the most necessary of items with them from Finland. However, in general, participants had some Finnish items in their childhood homes, and as adults have at least some in their own homes. Often a certain style, such as having light-coloured wood or a minimalist approach, was mentioned. Common Finnish brands, such as Iittala glassware and decorations, as well as Arabia ceramics and Marimekko textiles were also common, and for many, had emotional significance. One participant described her love of Finnish textiles:

> I love vibrant things and colourful things. Totally different from anything you can find in North America. [Laugh]... It's definitely very Scandinavian and very Finnish. And I just find it's a way to identify myself too. People always ask [what it is], "oh, it's the Marimekko poppies," [I say]. It's that pattern, it's really distinct. So I walk around [with something that has that pattern], instead of walking around with a flag. [Laugh]. (Marie)

As Marie explained, having Finnish items is not only enjoyable, but it also serves as a way to acknowledge and show pride in her Finnish culture.

Connection to Finland

The participants' connection to Finland emerged as an important concept in how they identified with and participated in Finnish ethnic culture. As Saarinen (2002) suggests, connections to Finland may dominate how contemporary Finnish Canadians identify with Finnish culture. Generally speaking, connections to the country in this study were based on family and friends, rather than the frequent use of Finnish media.

Participants saw visiting Finland as a way to connect to their ethnicity. As Phoenix explained, being in Finland is the best way to gain a connection to Finnish culture.

> I think you have to make such a big effort when you're here [in Canada] because it doesn't just come to you easily; you're in Canadian culture, not Finnish culture here. You have to go out there, find out who's doing what and get in contact with the schools, the organizations and things. So I think a big part of exposing my family or my children, or whatever, is to actually go to Finland. And experience it there.

All but one participant had visited Finland, and the vast majority had made several visits throughout their lives. Some, particularly the youngest participants, had visited starting from a young age. Others went occasionally, starting in adulthood.

The primary reason for spending time in Finland was visiting family, often spending summer holidays at family cottages or farms.[10] Many participants had spent several weeks, if not months, during their visits. A few had also lived in Finland; two

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[10] While most discussed the purpose of visiting Finland in terms of visiting family, others found their first inspiration elsewhere. One participant shared that as a university student, he was not interested in visiting Finland, despite invitations from relatives. However, once he was invited to attend the Helsinki Olympics, he jumped at the chance to visit the country. After spending several months in the country, he became fluent in Finnish and learned much about the country and culture. As a result, he continued visiting throughout his life. Similarly, another participant first visited Finland to attend a Finnish language course, but found himself returning soon after to visit family and friends.

had spent a year in the country as adolescents, and another had returned with her father for several years to help an ailing grandmother.

Visiting Finland: At home or not at home? While a sense of familiarity and comfort were seen in how participants discussed being in Finland, it was often offset by a feeling of cultural difference. As Kullervo explained, he is "at home but not at home" in Finland.

> It's odd but I'd almost liken it to visiting the United States of America, which is in so many ways, so similar to Canada... The landscape looks the same just as Finland's does. Clearly the language is the same in the US but then something reminds you, language aside that you really are in a foreign country. So [in] Finland I feel really very much at home. I see so many similarities between Canada and Finland, more so than when I've been in, you know, Britain, another English speaking country. Part of that is the landscape, but you know [laugh], part of it is—if I can be so broad—the character of the people are, you know, a little more reserved. [Laugh]. Love great clothes just like us. You know, I've been there in the winter and, geez, it seems an awful lot like small town Ontario in the winter. So I feel very much home, and yet, with all these reminders, again, language aside, which you'd expect to be different, but you know, that it is different.

Several other participants noted the similar geography between the two countries, as it made them feel at home in Finland. For example, Lynn shared that because so many things were similar to Canada, she was at ease during her first visit to the country. "It didn't seem like I was in another country... When I started traveling around [it felt different], but even then it's just so much like northern Ontario that you feel kind of at home."

Sammy also saw the similarities between the two countries on his first visit to Finland, but he also emphasized how he found, to his surprise, that he fit into Finnish culture. He was able to communicate easily with Finns, and understood the subtleties of

language and the expressions that they used. Sammy explained that this was in contrast to his experience in Canada, where he had to work to make his messages understood.

> Culturally I found it really interesting that unspoken level I could understand the unspoken, all the nuances that was there ... and I'd never had that experience before in my life. I'd always have to work to make myself clearly understood... I mean that's what culture is; it's understanding the meanings behind meanings, if you want to put it that way.

Sammy, who identified strongly with Finnish culture, felt comfortable and at ease in communication with Finns because he understood the cultural norms and practices, following Neuliep (2006), who notes the ease experienced by individuals within their own cultures. Similarly, John expressed his comfort in Finland, noting, "It's like, 'oh, you're back home.'" To others, however, while being in Finland felt comfortable, it was not as comfortable as Canada.

> It feels like it's home, and [then] it's like, you know, everyone is speaking Finnish around me so it's totally different than being here [in Canada]. And I feel comfortable in that but in the same sense it's that same feeling I have in Canada where I'm not necessarily just Finn. There's that other side of me. I definitely feel more comfortable in Canada than when I'm there. (Alisa)

For Alisa, being in Finland is pleasant, but while there, she does not feel fully Finnish. Rather, her dual-cultural background, which she explained as being a mix of Finnish and Canadian, is salient in both countries, but it is in Canada where she feels most at home.

As was the case in terms of identification to Finnish and Canadian cultures, several participants explained their connection to Finland as part of their heritage. As Kalervo suggested, his connection to Finland is based on the past; the link exists through his parents and their generation, rather than his personal ties to the country.

> I don't know if I really feel myself connected to the Finnish of today, the Finland of today. It's an odd way, I know, to say that. When I think of, you know, my parents' Finland, they came from their roots. So I would more relate myself to their family, and maybe my grandfather and grand[mother]. But I don't think I

> can really say, 'oh yeah, I really relate to Finnish society' any differently than I relate to Canadian society. It's more kind of the heritage over there, than anything else. (Kalervo)

Sauna expanded this idea, acknowledging that although he is familiar with Finland and its happenings, he does not feel Finnish in the same way as someone who was born in Finland.

> [The] Finland of today, I read about it but I don't know much about [it], you know. I can't say I'm proud because Finland has a sauna somewhere, you know, or Nokia has done well and whatever. [It's] more what I gain from being of Finnish background and having the experiences that I had in the Finnish community.

For these participants, the relationships with family and their experiences within the Finnish community, and those as a result of their Finnish heritage, were of importance. They saw this to be in contrast to "born and bred" Finns who have a strong connection to Finland as a country.

An emotional journey. For some, visiting Finland was an emotional experience. Esteri, in her 90s, recalled her excitement on her first trip to Finland. "When I went [on my] first trip to Finland, I looked like a boho, I'm telling you. I didn't know what to do or what to say. 'Cause I was so excited. [I went] to my mother's and father's home towns." Loviisa, who spent many summers in Finland as a small child, talked about spending time at her great-grandmother's mökki (cabin).

> Her mökki was just this magical little place for me and she had a huge [garden]. Well I went back and visited and the yard doesn't look that big anymore, but in my memory, it was just this jungle garden. She had so many flowers and everyday she used to send me out to pick flowers for her and she'd play with me. And that whole mökki was very magical for me as a kid and just up the road there's a blueberry forest... And on the other side of it, there's this strip of houses where they made some regulation where nothing is allowed to be changed, so everything looks exactly as it did 200 years ago. Even the colour of the houses has to be kept in the original. They repaint it in the same colour, so it's like you go back in time, cobble-stone streets, and then there's an inlet to the sea there. [I have] memories

> of swimming in the sea, it's kind of half-salty, half-freshwater. And yeah, [the] play structures that I used to like to play in. It was a very magical place.

Loviisa's memories of being in Finland and spending time at her great-grandmother's mökki were full of nostalgia. Later in the interview, she shared that the mökki had been abandoned since her childhood, and a recent visit to its site brought strong emotions. "It was just really magical for me… A beautiful place, a place where I was kind of free, free to do my own thing… it was just beautiful."

One participant pointed out that it was in Finland where she could be amongst others like her. As Pirkko shared, it is comforting to seek out your roots, and meet like people. "It's very nice to go because you see people that look like you… or you feel like you're around people who look like you [laugh] for a change."

Challenges in visiting. While most participants discussed wanting to visit Finland when they could do so—depending on finances and time available—one participant acknowledged the challenges in having a non-Finnish spouse, which was typical of participants in this study of those who were married or in a long-term relationship. In fact, only two of the participants in this study were married to, or romantically involved with, other individuals with a Finnish background. As a result, some visited the country on a less frequent basis or went alone. As John explained, it was his family and connections in Finland that sparked his visits, and because his wife did not speak Finnish, she was relatively isolated when she had been there in the past.

> I think [my wife] has been over there twice… When she hears me blabbering away for half an hour, and [then] an hour, she's twiddling her thumbs there and wondering what's going on, and trying to look busy, or drinking coffee. You know. So, it's not for her to go over [to Finland]. She hasn't really got any link up there.

As was the case for many participants, Finns' skills in the English language moderated a spouse's lack of Finnish language skills. For example, Kalervo noted that between his Finnish relatives' English language skills and his wife's conversational Finnish, they were able to communicate. While it presented some challenges, he noted that their visits went well and it was often his wife, rather than himself, who kept in touch with some of his relatives in Finland.

Use of Finnish media. Although Korkiasaari and Roinila (2005) and Saarinen (2002) suggest that the Internet allows for increased connection with Finnish culture, such as current events, most participants in this study did not actively make use of Finnish media products, online or otherwise. As the connection to Finland was based on social connections, and because they lived in Canada, participants generally saw Finnish news and popular culture as irrelevant or simply not a priority. As Billy explained,

> I find I don't really have much of an interest in it, just because I'm a little bit removed from the country at this point. I'll read, like, a Canadian political story before I read a Finnish story. I always find it has more to do with me.

Several acknowledged that they visited the main Finnish newspaper's Web site, the Helsingin Sanomat, on occasion, but most simply relied on Finnish news to come by chance through Canadian news sources, or through their family members, either in Finland or their immigrant parent(s).

Some participants reported subscribing to Finnish Canadian publications. These typically cover news in the Finnish ethnic community in Canada, as well as some current events in Finland. One participant, for example, inherited a share of the main Finnish Canadian publication, Vapaa Sana, and was a frequent reader. Others, who were raised in the Toronto Finnish community, shared their copies of Kaiku, a local ethnic newspaper.

Many also discussed viewing copies of these publications at their parents' homes, if they did not order them themselves. Despite this, over the last decades, many Finnish ethnic publications have closed shop, making availability of such items limited (Laine, 1989). As Kullervo stated, "the trend is downwards, in terms of circulation and revenue," for these publications.

Canadianness

As discussed in the first section of this chapter, participants identified with both Finnish and Canadian cultures. Many emphasized their broader Canadian identity in that it was more pertinent or relevant, as Canada is where they were born and raised. However, to shed light on how participants see themselves as members of both cultures, their perceptions of the mainstream cultural group must be addressed. Following Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997), how individuals define mainstream Canadian culture is integral to understanding how they identify with and operate in both Finnish and Canadian societies. Perceptions of Canadian culture are presented here, followed by a discussion of how participants perceived their Canadianness.

Perceptions of Canadian Culture

Several themes emerged in discussing Canadianness, particularly in terms of what it means to be Canadian and who may be considered Canadian. Some participants stressed the differences between Canadian and American cultures, noting a preference for Canada. Concepts such as freedom, opportunity, international respect, and the unique weather and climate were discussed. Overall, however, notions of multiculturalism and tolerance were dominant.

Multiculturalism and Diversity

Multiculturalism was seen as a cornerstone of Canadian culture. Participants discussed the concept in terms of what it meant for Canadian society in general, particularly how it allowed for inclusivity and a diversity of cultures. For many, multiculturalism and diversity were seen as the most positive qualities of Canadian culture.

> I don't know necessarily [what it means to be Canadian]. I can tell you what I like about it, like what makes me feel at home here, it's because this personal interest of mine, like how many different types of people can live together… That's the best thing about Canada in my opinion. I really like it. [Pause]. I guess it's multiculturalism, I guess that's what we would call it. (Alisa)

> Canada is very, very diverse and it's better to consider that diversity [as] sort of a strength because everybody sort of bring their weaknesses and strengths to the table, and the more diversity that you have, the sort of more balance of view you have in the overall. (Billy)

Both participants noted that diversity is a positive aspect of Canadian culture. And, as Billy highlighted, the more diversity that exists, the better Canadian culture is, as the strengths of contributing cultures make Canada stronger.

Closely related to the multiculturalism and diversity of Canada was the discussion of how immigration plays a role in the country. Participants felt that it was through immigration that Canada achieved its diversity. One participant, John, in his 70s, discussed how he saw the make-up of Canada change throughout his life, from a focus on English and French, to a multicultural society.

> Canada has changed so much in a sense of being basically a bilingual country to now being a very multinational or multicultural country. The change even in Ottawa is unbelievable. We came here in '66 and you basically saw a white race, I guess, here. You saw very little else. A few restaurants and a few hotels, but nothing doing… Of course the big change was—and I was involved with it, [I] was helping a family—the Vietnamese, in the 1970s… Three or four thousand

> Vietnamese and their families [came] and that changed Ottawa and brought out that Canada could become more than just a bilingual country. So, it's pretty multicultural at least in Ontario, B.C., and here… I don't know if it makes me anymore Canadian or appreciate Canada, but it certainly brings out… that there's something going on in Canada that makes it successful.

To John, the notion of multiculturalism and the shift towards diversity is seen as an improvement; a sense of enrichment through immigration is evident. Others also saw immigration as central to the make-up of Canada. Marie, in her 20s, was born into a Canada that, to her, is naturally multicultural.

> I love Canada, I love this country, I just think it's, like, the best place to live. For the fact that we are really inclusive and pretty much everyone here is an immigrant. We all come from different backgrounds so I like the variety of it. I think that because we're such a young country... There's a definite pride in being Canadian. I think we're losing that more and more now. Just because there's so many ethnic backgrounds and I think everyone carries with them, you know, their own culture. But I think that maybe that's what Canada is. Multiculturalism... It's hard to describe. 'Cause yeah, just being Canadian can be yeah, you're Canadian but you have different backgrounds... Other countries are more distinct, I think in that respect. They don't have the same nationalities under one roof.

While she emphasizes her appreciation of Canada's inclusiveness, Marie's comment also highlighted the challenges of having diversity. Namely, she noted that the Canadian identity is difficult to articulate because of the heterogeneity of the population.

Tolerance

Related to the notion of multiculturalism was tolerance. Many participants discussed how tolerance, defined here as a sense of open-mindedness and acceptance, were part of living in multicultural Canada. Kullervo talked about tolerance as the quintessential Canadian characteristic, something common to the Canadian people. While he acknowledged his own liberal views, he saw tolerance or acceptance of others as a socially desirable trait in Canadian society.

> I like to think that if I could think of one national characteristic, I would say it's tolerance. [Pause]. And when we're not tolerant, I think we aspire to it. So you know, folks I know who are what you would call pretty conservative in outlook, for instance, by and large—and I don't know too many out-and-out rednecks but people with a conservative outlook—[they] couldn't care less or are bored about discussions about the rights of gays, for instance. The idea being, whatever. [Laugh]. There ain't enough love in this world; find it where you can. So the idea that I would care about whom my neighbour loves seems pretty alien, or I like to think it's alien to Canadians. And again, this might be a reflection of the circles I move in rather than anything truly Canadian. You know, you go to school in a city like Ottawa, which is by-and-large fairly tolerant and liberal. And a lot of the people, you tend to know people who have many of the same outlooks you do. So maybe I overstress this but I do, I really do think that even when you have those bad thoughts, or even when Canadians do, we somehow feel guilty about it. 'I wish I didn't think this way.'

Not all participants agreed that tolerance or acceptance of other cultures was widespread. While he acknowledged that tolerance may be socially desirable, Sammy pointed out that that it is not always practiced in Canada.

> One of the things about being Canadian is an acceptance of others and I say that as a qualified statement because there are the two founding societies that deem themselves somehow better because they were founding societies. And that's past history. Let's take a look at who did what and who's doing what. But a lot of people still think that their British heritage [is better].

For Sammy, the notion of two founding societies, that is the English and the French, conflicts with his view of Canada and the concept of cultural acceptance. As the next section will present, length of stay and inclusivity are two yardsticks used to measure Canadianness.

Who is Canadian?

Participants discussed the influence of immigration and a multitude of cultures on how they perceive Canadians. When asked, "How would you describe a typical Canadian?" participants often had difficulty articulating who—or what—may be

considered to be representative. While some participants could name stereotypical characteristics, many felt that Canada simply did not have a cohesive culture with well-defined cultural characteristics.

> I don't know if there is a typical [Canadian] because so many are immigrants and each, depending on where they come from, their values and what they've grown up with and what they are, are understandably quite variable. (Pud)

> I think you have French Canadians and again there are many hues of French Canadians, and you have Anglophone Canadians… the majority of whom are not British in background. The growing proportion is coloured. By that I mean Asiatic, Black, Inuit, Indian, you name it. The blend hasn't finalized yet. (Sammy)

As Pud suggested, the cultural diversity of Canada makes it difficult to pinpoint who or what is typically Canadian. Similarly, Sammy's comment highlights the changing dynamics of Canadian society. He saw the creation of a Canadian identity as a process, one that is ongoing.

One participant felt that 'true' Canadians were those who had long-standing roots in the country, that is, several generations of Canadian-born family. This was described in contrast to her experience as a second-generation immigrant.

> I find a typical Canadian is almost coming from a British, Scottish background... But I find 'typical Canadian' is also somebody that has longer duration and stay in Canada, that can associate with some parts. So here's an example. A girlfriend of mine is from Ottawa. Her grandfather… founded Ottawa, put the first [bridge] across. The first bridge across the river, put the pulp and paper mill together and hired, I don't know, a hundred people, which was the first company of any sorts that was running here in Ottawa. But she talks about that, she can associate with Ottawa, the location, you know, [her] cousins, and uncles and whatever else, have lived here. Which for that reason, she can really say she knows the area, she's been here forever, and you know, she's got duration or sustained time in a place. Which is kind of neat. And her connections in terms of people and who she knows, so it's at a very different level. So I think that's a big difference between who is Canadian, who has been here longer. Even if they were an immigrant at one point in time, they have played a role in kind of changing the elements around. (Ann)

While Ann discussed the notion of being Canadian in terms of long-standing heritage, and a contribution to the building of Canada, others felt that the idea of a typical Canadian was an out-of-date concept. Marie explained that the typical Canadian no longer exists in the context of diversity, and being Canadian is about pride.

> I think that Canadians, typical Canadians, are proud to be Canadian, they're proud to live in this country. Even new immigrants, they're just really happy to be here, and I think that anyone who comes and visits, just loves the variety of Canada.

Here, Marie alluded to the idea that Canadians are open to newcomers, a notion which Billy extended, noting that most Canadians are from "somewhere else."

Being a Canadian: Conflicts within Canadian culture

Several participants in this study discussed the issues associated with growing up in a French-Canadian area or having one French-Canadian parent. While most participants used the term Canadian to encompass English Canada, several noted a difference between French and English Canada. Some, such as Sammy who did not have French Canadian roots, stated that they developed competence in the French culture. "I've got two cultures. Actually, I've probably got two and a half. I have half a French culture as well, because I grew up in [that] environment" (Sammy). Others, such as Marie, declared the importance of pride in one's heritage, and it was in this way that she was able to identify with both French Canadian and Finnish roots.

What is Canadian About Me?

Participants did not express Canadian characteristics in the same way that they expressed their Finnish traits. Responses mirrored discussions of Canadianness in that particular traits could not be identified, which resulted in their frequent inability to

explain how they were Canadian. Rather, participants noted an admiration of certain values, such as multiculturalism, ties to Francophone and Anglophone cultures, and the love of the climate and distinct seasons. A few participants stated that being in Canada and Canadian culture was where they felt most comfortable, noting that they felt "linguistically and culturally most at ease" (Loviisa).

When am I Canadian?

Feeling Canadian was most often discussed in relation to being outside of Canada. Many noted that they felt particularly Canadian or identified most while traveling in the United States or abroad. "If anybody asks me when I'm outside Canada, 'where are you from?' [or] 'What's your nationality?' I always say Canadian" (Kullervo). This is in line with Neuliep (2006), who suggests that culture only becomes salient when difference is met. While talking about being Finnish generally came easily to participants, when or how they were Canadian was difficult to identify, as to them, it was the norm. One participant noted, however, that he felt particularly Canadian when Canada wins the World Hockey Championships, pointing to the role of pride in the Canadian identity in national cultural salience.

Intercultural Communication Issues

The purpose of this thesis research was to understand the ethnic experiences of second-generation Finnish immigrants, and the intercultural communication issues that emerge out of their connections to Finnish and Canadian cultures. The previous three parts of this chapter have covered how participants perceive and identify with both cultures. This final piece will present how participants discussed the intercultural

communication issues they face as second-generation Finnish immigrants. Following Klopf and McCroskey (2007) and Chen and Starosta (2005), key to this discussion are the differences between Finnish and Canadian cultures. These differences, as perceived by participants, are presented first. Then, intercultural issues are discussed in terms of specific communicative situations; that is, how their cultural connections affect second-generation Finnish immigrants in social interaction with Canadians and Finns.

Finnish versus Canadian: Conflicting Cultures?

Participants were divided on the differences between Finnish and Canadian cultures. Several thought that there was nearly no difference between them. In terms of values, one person said that he was unable to think of any differences between the two cultures, and another said that there was nothing significant that would create major cultural difference. Some participants discussed that Finland and Canada had much in common, particularly in comparison to other countries, such as the United Kingdom or the United States. Key to this idea were the climate and landscape similarities between the two countries, a common love of nature and winter sports—particularly hockey—as well as overall political ideologies.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, one participant said that being Finnish was the opposite of being Canadian.

> Finnish[ness] is so distinctly one way, whereas Canadians now [are] super multicultural. I can barely find a Canadian now that doesn't have ancestors from somewhere else. Or isn't half something. I don't know. But I think it's almost the opposite of being Finnish." (Linda)

Perceptions of multiculturalism and diversity marked a major theme in how participants compared cultures. This is in line with how Berry et al. (2006) define Canada and Finland

in their assessment of traditional settler societies and recent immigrant receiving countries. Of thirteen countries, Canada was ranked the highest in diversity, due to its long-standing history of immigration, and the presence of French and English linguistic groups. In contrast, Finland was categorized as a recent receiving society that, in practice, encourages assimilation of its very small immigrant population.

Homogeneity and Racism in Finnish Culture

The homogeneity of Finnish culture was discussed in sharp contrast to Canadian culture, which was frequently described as multicultural or diverse. Immigration to Finland was perceived to be uncommon and as a result, many participants had encountered none or very few people of non-Finnish origin in Finland. "I've never, ever seen a Finnish-speaking person of colour. In my life. Not in Finland, other than the Estonian immigrants, or whatever" (Linda). Pirkko, who talked about Finland's insularity as a negative trait, reinforced this idea. "You go there, and you know, there's [one] building where the Somalis live. You know, there hasn't been much immigration in Finland." To one participant, this homogeneity not only posed problems to immigration, but to the idea of who may fit into the Finnish culture. "If you're not Finn, it's hard to integrate, I guess" (Marie).

Racism and discrimination were mentioned as a result of the homogeneity of the country. One participant, Linda, recalled the racism experienced by her sister on one visit to Finland.

> My sister is dark-skinned, with really, really dark hair. Anyway, nothing like the rest of the family... But, um, like this isn't even funny, I don't even understand this... My sister and I were walking around with one of our cousins in Finland one time and there's this gang of guys on the side of the road who just started

> shouting neekeri [nigger] at my sister, because she was dark-skinned. I was like, this is ridiculous.

Similarly, Kullervo found the discrimination towards minorities, and sexist attitudes, difficult to deal with, as it was so different from Canadian culture.

> There's such wide spread acceptance of attitudes that I would consider to be racist or sexist that I'm really shocked by them. Um, the sexism, I'm willing to consider that it may be cultural. The racism though, hostility to Roma [or Romani people] or Gypsies, from people that I wouldn't expect it from. So a little bit of stereotyping of my part, but you don't expect to encounter racism among polite, liberally-educated here for the most part. But man, the discussions there about the Roma, I'm shocked. And I even remember learning, the first time I was there, one of the first long sentences I learned, 'En minulle racista, mutta en pidä mustalaisista.' 'I'm not a racist myself but I don't like gypsies.' Now funny that I could learn that on my first trip to Finland.

To both Linda and Kullervo, the overt racism and discrimination within the Finnish public sphere were noted to be in vast opposition to their own experiences, as well as Canadian social norms. But while they both discussed their own rejection of racist views, they noted that it was a difficult issue to address.

> My mom is super racist. It's so awkward! … It makes me really uncomfortable. My mom is really [open] in what she says sometimes, and so are a few of her friends, so I don't really like being out in public with them… All the time, it kind of makes me nervous that they're going to say whatever. (Linda)

> I have real trouble when you find out someone who's your pal has these terrible attitudes and yet you think, well, you know they're not rotten people. Which you know, is good to know. And it opens your eyes a little bit… So I find myself shutting down and becoming cold towards them. And yet at the same time, it makes me think about, well, where do these ideas come from? (Kullervo)

For Linda, the racist views of her mother opposed her own views, but she saw them as a product of Finnish culture, one that could not be changed. Conversely, Kullervo saw it necessary to understand why his friends held racist views.

Although many discussed frequent and overt racism within Finnish culture, several participants talked about how the make-up of Finland was changing. For example,

Billy discussed the changes between his first memories of visiting Finland and more recent visits.

> Me and my brother, we made this game while we were touring around Helsinki. We said, 'let's see if we can count the number of people who aren't light, pale-skinned, [with] blond hair and blue eyes.' ... We counted between us, like three... I don't know if it's just where we went, but we just didn't see that many. And then the last time we were there for my uncle's wedding, suddenly, we couldn't keep count on our fingers anymore. It was different. And for the first time, we saw somebody on Finnish TV who was not light-skinned and blue-eyed, speaking Finnish. And it just blew our minds because we had never seen this on Finnish TV before... From then on we were asking, 'well, how come we didn't see any black people in Finland before, and now there's more of them? What has changed?' I guess the country has become a little more open.

To Billy, the changing demographic was seen as evidence of a shift in how Finns perceive minorities, and how they are adopting a more diverse social make-up. As a result, the cultural gap between the two cultures, in terms of views on diversity, was seen by some to be closing.

Communication

In addition to views on diversity, communication norms were also noted to be a key difference between Canadian and Finnish cultures. Many participants discussed this difference, and felt that Finns did not communicate well. One issue in particular, the Finnish quality of quietness, was noted to be a source of conflict.

> I think we're generally open to talk here [in Canada]. You know, regardless of who it may be, you know, just in general. And I think, maybe I learned it here and that's why, and I appreciate it and it's Canada's pro and Finland's con, sort of thing. So I think it's because I've seen what it could be like. And how many things could be, I think of silly, stupid things like when you get into a disagreement with a person. Finnish people are extremely hard to get into a disagreement with, because it's either they don't want to talk about it, [or] they want to erase it from their minds like it never happened. And for whatever reason, I'm not that type of person, so I want to communicate, especially in like a fight of some sort. (Alisa)

Phoenix, who lived in Finland for one year on a high school exchange, talked about how the typical quiet temperament of Finns made it difficult for her to meet people and make friends.

> I don't know if you've ever heard this but my dad and I discuss it a lot because he lived there for ten years. He said, Finns can be quite cold towards you, like, towards foreigners. Like, they're not necessarily cold people but if they don't know you, they [can be]… I don't know, I guess it depends on the people but I notice especially in my school that no one really talked to me at all. No one in my grade talked to me except maybe two people. And I actually made friends with people who were older than me because they had gone on exchange other places so they were very welcoming towards me.

Phoenix saw communication as something that improved over time and as relationships were formed, similar to how some perceived the quiet nature of Finns, however, most saw poor communication as more constant.

As was the case for quietness, several participants noted that poor communication skills were particularly common among Finnish men. As Kalervo explained,

> They're not great communicators. Uh, this obviously is a problem in our family to some degree but I don't think that Finnish men are known for their communication skills... The show of affection is another example kind of thing… 'He loved his wife so much, he almost told her.' These typical lines you hear. So, all said and done, I don't think they show affection very well and I think women have to put up with a lot. Maybe they get it behind doors that I'm not seeing. But in general, they relate to women a lot differently than I would in my generation, where the show of affection is much more expected.

The lack of affection in Finnish Canadian families is noted by Lindström (1997), who deems such behaviour as typical of group members, but not often discussed except in humorous terms, as Kalervo points out here.

Quietness not only had implications for families, but also in everyday conversation. During his interview, Kullervo described one situation in Finland where the quiet male norm affected him.

> [I] mentioned about not talking. This is a true story, I know it sounds like 'BS' but it goes back to one of the times in the late 80s or early 90s when I was in Finland. I was in a pub, Angleteeria, you know, [an] English pub in Helsinki... I was there with one of my cousins and maybe seven or eight of her friends who were talking a lot. And then I realized they were addressing me. [It was] a combination of shyness, not wanting to admit I couldn't understand them and drink[ing]. Instead of just going 'I'm sorry, I don't understand,' I just started to nod and say 'no, niin' [well]. [Laugh]. Or 'niinkö? [Is that right?]' Or 'totta on' [Exactly]. This went on, I swear for twenty minutes, [and] they thought I spoke Finnish. They didn't even notice that I was giving these one-word responses. And it was only when one of them asked me a direct question, 'mitä ajatellat?' What do you think about it? I said, I don't know, I don't understand and they all said, 'what, you don't speak Finnish? You've just been speaking for 20 minutes!' [Laugh]. So that may be my own sexist observation of course, [but] these were all women. Or most of them. Other than one of the poor boyfriends, who if I remember right was just as silent as I was, except he actually did understand what was going on, although his contributions to the conversation were about the same as mine. (Kullervo)

One result of the quiet and direct Finnish communication style was that communication with Finns was limited, or at least occurred on an as-needed basis as they are not expected to engage in small talk. As John described, "When you go there you're treated like a king or a queen... [but then] you don't hear from them... Just the Finnish nature I think of really communicating only when there's something damn important to communicate."

Other Differences

In addition to views on diversity and communication habits, participants noted several other differences between Canadian and Finnish cultures. Some pointed to perceptions of nudity, which was also mentioned as a difference between North American and European perspectives in general. "Being naked is not such a big deal [in Finland]... They don't have the kind of Victorian, puritan kind of background that we have in North America" (Loviisa). The custom of taking a sauna bath, which is

commonly done as a family activity and in the nude, was central to this idea. As Alisa explained, nudity in the sauna is the norm in Finnish culture. "To anybody else here [in Canada], they are almost shocked when you tell them, 'yeah, I've seen my parents naked before.' You know, it's like [to them], it's horrible, don't even tell me" (Alisa). Other participants identified social policy differences between Canada and Finland. Issues such as education, environmental sustainability, social welfare, and the arts culture were mentioned as areas in which Finland excels, based on the notion that "they take care of their people better" (Lynn).

Intercultural Issues: Communicating with Canadians

Because participants' identification with Finnish ethnicity varied greatly, so did their intercultural communication experiences with Canadians. As Ting-Toomey (2005) points out, the salience of one's ethnic identity and broader cultural identity plays a role in the extent to which these group affiliations influence communication. As previously discussed, ethnic identity salience varied greatly, while Canadian cultural identity was highly salient. It should be noted that not all participants discussed or exhibited indications during the interview that they had experienced intercultural communication issues as a result their ethnicity. Those that did encounter such situations discussed them in relation to communicating with both Canadians and/or Finns.

It is tempting to say that it is those who identify with their ethnicity the strongest that experience intercultural communication challenges with Canadians, and those that have less defined ethnic identities that have greater problems communicating with Finns. While this does address some cases, particularly in regards to linguistic challenges, it is

an oversimplification of the issue. The individuals that participated in this research have complex relationships with Finnish and Canadian cultures that have changed over time, throughout their lives. It is not possible to say with precision or objectivity which culture is responsible for a particular characteristic, or exactly why one participant expressed major intercultural communication issues and others do not. Therefore, participants' intercultural experiences are put into context here, to shed light onto how they made sense of their experiences, and understand how they explain the issues that emerge in communication with Canadians. In essence, this section is dedicated to understanding the situations in which cultural difference comes to the surface in communication as a result of their sense of belonging to both Finnish and Canadian cultures.

It should be noted that intercultural communication issues with Canadians were raised mostly by older adults. This is likely due to the era in which these individuals were raised. As Stoller (1996) notes, historical time must be taken into account when considering the experiences of immigrants and their families. For those participants born prior to the 1970s when Canada adopted its policy of multiculturalism, Canada was heavily focused on its British and French history. As a result, some of these participants faced challenges as second-generation immigrants and members of the Finnish ethnic group.

Imposed Ethnicity: "Others saw me as different"

Two participants discussed their difference as seen by other Canadians, following Nagel's (1994) discussion of external forces and others' perceptions on ethnic identity. Esteri saw herself as both Finnish and Canadian, but took much pride in her Finnishness.

While she did not explicitly state that she had experienced discrimination due to her ethnicity, she alluded to the fact that others perceived her as different. Pointing to a particular flag in her apartment, Esteri recalled the story of how she 'became' Canadian.

> I was working at the time in Wawa, at the big building. Government building. Town building. And this man comes, the Reeve [mayor] comes to me. He says, Esteri [pronounced in English], they called me Esteri [in the English way]. They can't say it [in the Finnish way]. So he says, 'there's a flag for you.' 'Well, what is it [for]?' [I said]. 'You're a Canadian now,' [he said]. I says, 'you're kidding!' And that's the flag. And I put a Finland flag beside it.

Although she was born in Canada, and had formed relationships with other Canadians, it is clear that to Esteri, she was different from others. Being a Canadian was something that could be given to outsiders by 'true' Canadians, rather something that she earned through birth or by living in Canada. It is important to point out that although this story reflects how she became Canadian, her Finnishness was still seen as an important aspect of how she saw herself. While she told this story with pride, the Canadian flag, which represented her newfound status as a Canadian, was kept beside a Finnish flag to honour her ethnic culture.

Sammy, who shared many stories of the discrimination he experienced as a child and young adult, distanced himself from his ethnicity in his youth. He explained that in the small town in Québec where he lived as a small child, he was perceived as different, and suffered because of it.

> Curiously enough when I was about two or three, I guess, I noticed that people around me spoke French or English, and I chose to speak English, and I would not speak back in Finn. I would only speak English... And that's at a very young age, realizing that speaking Finnish language invited hostility. There was tremendous amount of overt discrimination in the neighborhood. I used to have to carry rocks in my pockets because the French kids would gang up on me. [Pause]. To cross the street to go to the store, I'd have to check both ways to make sure there was no French kids around. When I was in grade one I was coming home from school

> at noon and four French kids came out with hockey sticks and pounded me into unconsciousness.

As he explained, Sammy chose not to speak Finnish as a small child because even then he sensed the conflict it created. However, not only did he struggle with differences between Finnish and Canadian cultures, he was shaped by the conflicts between English Canada and French Canada. When Sammy was eight years old, his parents decided to move to an English neighbourhood, which in his words "was a relief." Nonetheless, he explained that he still did not fit in with other children his age.

> As an immigrant, you feel a little bit ashamed that you're not mainstream. I did anyway. And I was made to feel that [way] by teachers. I was made to feel that [way] by some of the parents of the kids I hung around with... I can recall, one of the biggest shocks of my life was when I moved to an English neighborhood and I changed schools. And the first day I was there, I was asked to stand up in front of the class, it was a grade four class, [I was] like, what, eight years old, nine years old. And the teacher asked me what my name was, and I said what my name was. And she said 'What kind of name is that?' And she was, I think the president of the IODE, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. And then, that sort of befuddled me and kids laughed, and you're nervous on the first morning of school. And I [had] moved in the middle of the school year so I didn't know a soul. And then [the teacher] asked me why I didn't get a good name like Smith or Brown. Which is really demeaning, okay. I still feel resentment today... Those kinds of things make you very aware that you are not of the dominant cultural group.

It is interesting to note that although he was born and raised in Canada, Sammy defined himself as an immigrant, much like Esteri. The discrimination he faced as an individual with a Finnish background clearly affected him deeply, following him through childhood and into adulthood. He shared that to avoid discrimination, he adopted a false name in university. He explained, "It was easier to pass. And as Sam Finn, I was a popular guy on campus. That was a deliberate choice. My [real] name was a burden. It labeled me as an immigrant." Later, however, he became involved in the national dialogue surrounding immigration and multiculturalism to fight for cultural inclusion.

> When I was in Winnipeg, I wrote in favor of a Canadian flag that did not have a Union Jack on it, in the mid-sixties. And there were threatening phone calls that came, 'An immigrant shouldn't talk about the Canadian flag!' ... [At the time] I was boarding in a home. The father was a British subject who had never taken his Canadian citizenship, and when he read my letter in the paper which said, 'Having the union jack on the Canadian flag means that anybody who doesn't have a British background is somehow not quite as good as those who are British' ... he accosted me at the supper table and told me that if I didn't like Canada why the hell didn't I go back to where I came from. And I said to him, "I'm from here, you're the bloody immigrant—not me—and welcome to Canada.' And he got up, and he left the table and he wouldn't sit at the same table as me for over a week.

At the heart of the matter was a sense of superiority Sammy perceived British and French Canadian societies having, as a result of being founding societies. To him, Canadian culture based on British and French traditions could only result in the exclusion of those who did not fit this profile, including himself. This also resonated with Esteri who explained that she did not identify with the French Canadian culture, because she felt that they saw themselves as better than other Canadians. To this, she declared, "I think that we're all the same."

Other participants that expressed being seen by other Canadians as different discussed the matter in less serious terms; for example, one's Finnishness was seen as the source of a particular personality trait or habit that other Canadians did not identify with. John shared that his Finnish upbringing gave him a direct communication style, which is at times a source of conflict between him and his wife, who does not have a Finnish background. "She just doesn't understand why I don't bother calling my friends up. I don't call them unless there's something that I have to ask for, or I've heard something has happened to you... And I think Finns generally are the same... They call for a purpose." To John, his direct style of communication was a Finnish trait, something that other Finns would understand.

"You're Canadian: Act more like it"

While some participants were labeled as different due to their Finnish ethnicity, others were expected to be more Canadian. Throughout the interviewing process, hockey was frequently mentioned to illustrate the differences between Finnish and Canadian cultures, or the love of the game was named as a common trait between the countries. Some individuals stated that in the world hockey championships, they cheer for Canada over Finland, or vice versa. A few participants, ones that cheer for Team Finland, noted that their choice was not always a popular one. "Our son-in-law's always teasing us 'cause we'll be rooting for the Finnish hockey team or Finnish athletes or something and he'll say, 'You're a Canadian! What are you cheering for them for?'" (Lynn). While Lynn emphasized the good-natured aspect of her son-in-law's comment, another participant experienced a similar situation in a very different way.

> I always cheer for Finland and my friends get mad at me. They say, 'oh, you're not a real Canadian.' They actually say that to me! Like, that's one thing that's a bit of, the only kind of struggle that I've come up against is when I cheer for Finland when they play Canada in hockey... When I was living in Toronto, one of my roommates, I told her, 'I'm going [to cheer] for Finland' and she was like, 'No, you can't! Why?' She was very adamant. 'Why are you going for them?' [she asked]. 'Because I'm Finnish' was the answer I gave her. And [she was] like, 'No, you're Canadian.' 'No, I'm Finnish too,' [I said]. She wasn't satisfied with that answer... [I felt] frustrated. I didn't feel that it should matter that much. I'm sure it was just a fun conversation, I'm sure she doesn't hold it against me to this day! But, at that moment, I was frustrated with her for kind of being angry with me for choosing my other culture, you know. She thought that I should be choosing [Canada]. (Phoenix)

While Phoenix was content to cheer for Finland, her friend did not accept it. Key to this conflict was that Phoenix felt that it was her choice to do so; that is, she felt that she could identify with her ethnic group's team, even though she was born a Canadian. To

her friend, however, Phoenix should have taken a more patriotic or assimilationist stand, one that prioritized her Canadianness over her ethnic culture. It is worthwhile to note that while Phoenix's story alludes to deeper issues, she acknowledged that this was perhaps the only time she faced a strong conflict in how she identifies with Finnish and Canadian cultures.

"Conflicts? Yes, but not because I'm Finnish"

As discussed earlier, the pluralistic nature of Canadian society made it difficult for participants to pinpoint who—or what—is a Canadian. In addition to challenging concepts of Canadianness, the linguistic divide between English and French Canada was discussed by one participant as a factor in intercultural communication situations when ethnicity was not involved. Billy, who explained his identity as a mix of Finnish and Canadian cultures, discussed that his Finnish culture was not a factor in intercultural situations with his wife, who was French Canadian.

> My wife is Quebecois and so you know, when I think that we're sort of a cultural or a language barrier, I don't say that 'you're on the French side and I'm on the Finnish side.' I consider myself more English [Canadian] than Finnish because, you know, I don't have a Finnish accent and I barely speak the language anymore.

Rather than attributing the cultural difference between himself and his wife as a result of his ethnicity, Billy suggested that his Canadian cultural identity was most salient, due to the divide between English Canadian and French Canadian cultures.

Intercultural issues: Communicating with Finns

In terms of communication with Finns, a few participants suggested that intercultural communication issues were a result of generational rather than cultural

differences. As Loviisa stated, "I'd have the same kind of problems with someone of a certain generation [as] I would with a Canadian [of the same age]." Alternatively, Pirkko suggested Canadians are used to diverse views and practices. She considered cultural differences between herself and Finns as unimportant, because they were simply to be expected. "If you grew up in this country you realize that there's many degrees of separation from a culture, you know. So, we're all kind of basically trying to understand something." As a result, cultural differences affecting communication were not seen as significant or problematic. Others, however, saw cultural differences playing a larger role in communication with Finns, in terms of norms, linguistic challenges, and immigrant experiences.

Cultural Norms: Differences Between Two Cultures

As discussed earlier, the most significant difference between Finnish and Canadian cultures that participants identified was views on diversity and racism. Several individuals felt uncomfortable when this difference was salient, not knowing how to make sense of views that differed so much from their own. Kullervo explained that when he faced these issues, he tried to understand why his Finnish friends and family would think such things.

> I know a couple of guys that work in the hotel business, and [they were] saying, 'yeah, we've got this new Euro Human Rights law so we can't ban gypsies anymore, so we had a bunch of gypsies staying with us and they trashed a room, and we have to let them back in the hotel, blah, blah.' Okay, I [couldn't] take this, you know. [Laugh]. [I said,] 'Okay, so how would you deal with it if a bunch of guys who weren't gypsies trashed the hotel room?' [They said,] 'Well, we'd find out who they were and ban them.' [I said,] 'So you'd find out who the individuals were, and you'd say you're not welcome in this hotel room again. Would you say no Americans allowed because you had some, you know, American college boys partying too hard and wrecking your room?' [They said,] 'Well, no, no, of course

> not.'... But I [was] completely in the minority in this discussion, you know? [Laugh]. So again, [I was] sitting around with ten or so Finns and they're looking at me like, 'oh yeah, some guy from North America who really doesn't understand.'

Although he sought to understand the source of the racist views, Kullervo was unable to engage in a meaningful discussion with his Finn friends, as they held deeply imbedded beliefs. Cultural difference between himself and Finns was evident; in the end, he was perceived as an outsider, someone who did not understand.

Another participant, Marie, also discussed the cultural differences between herself and Finns. Raised in the Ottawa area, she did not have a strong Finnish presence in her life, and felt that her family in Sudbury was more Finnish than herself. She explained that when family from Finland came to visit, there were many similarities between them and those from Sudbury, who had retained their Finnishness to a higher degree.

> I could see the similarities between them, and the Finnish stoicism and [laugh] being somewhat introverted at first. Shy, until you get to know them, and then they come out a little more animated. My father definitely was different in that sense; he's very outgoing, very talkative [laughs], so it's kind of respecting that boundary at first, I guess, with them, and letting them come out of their shell. It's different... [For me] I guess also having that French Canadian side, you're emotional and you tell it like it is, and everyone has an opinion about everything, and yeah, it's just trying to not be as confrontational with [Finns]. It's a quieter conversation with them, I find. Until the booze comes out [laugh], and the wine is poured. But at first, the first interaction is definitely different. They [have] different personalities and it's just trying to get a feel for that.

Because Marie had a strong French Canadian—rather than Finnish—presence in her life at a young age, she found it challenging to communicate with Finns, particularly those she did not know well.

Linguistic Challenges

Not being fluent in Finnish was a factor in intercultural communication with Finns. While many were able to communicate with relatives in English, or partly in English and Finnish, this was not always possible. Linda, who expressed a sense of guilt over not learning the Finnish language, experienced anxiety when faced with situations where she had to speak Finnish. For example, when answering a phone call from her grandmother who spoke only Finnish, she was able to say hello with relative ease. However, this was the extent of her Finnish language skills in that context, and Linda struggled to explain that she could not say anything else.

> The most stressful time I've ever had [communicating with a Finn] was when my mother's mother called and she only speaks Finnish, and I did that beginning of the telephone conversation thing very well, and she was super impressed, but then she started speaking Finnish to me, and she wasn't well at the time, and so I was trying to tell her to hold on, and I'm going to get my mom, 'cause I obviously know she wants to talk to my mother. But she was like, 'no, no, you spoke really well in Finnish!' and starts asking me stuff, and I have no idea what she's asking, and I'm getting super stressed out 'cause my mom just isn't coming fast enough.

While Linda acknowledged that her grandmother was ill, and possibly did not know or remember that she could not converse in Finnish, this telephone call was a stressful situation for her. As she explained later in the interview, she was simply did not have the Finnish language skills "to actually communicate" with her relatives, or maintain relationships with them.

The Finnish Canadian Immigrant Experience: Using Finglish

Some participants discussed linguistic differences between the Finnish Canadian community and Finns from Finland as a source of conflict. For those raised in northern

Ontario, where there is a high concentration of Finnish ethnic communities, Finglish (or Fingelska) was often the language used by the Finnish community. Alisa explained that when her relatives from Finland came to visit, conflicts over Finnishness were common, particularly in regards to the use of Finglish.

> I don't know if it's a Finnish national thing, but maybe because they lost of citizens when there was this immigration boom in North America. Really, a lot of Finns left, so maybe there was resentment that came from it or something like that. But it comes to this argument always on who is more Finn, and 'let's point out all the negativities.' ... A truck in Thunder Bay, you'll hear people call it a 'trukki.' Now that is just like putting two languages together, right? So you know, it's a Finnish Canadian society, they have their own dialect and some words like these come about, and pretty much everyone uses them too. But to a Finlander, it's almost like offensive, where in all honestly, it's just humourous... So I find that it's like, 'oh, they're practicing Finland here, but they talk funny and they do things like this.' [But] after generations and generations, you see things like mixed marriages happen, and the children are only partially Finn and you know, so, I think it stirs up the community. Not necessarily like in a horrible way or anything but it definitely is a point of conflict... I like to argue a lot, so I do argue with those people. Because I just don't see anything in it. I'm a very avid believer in that we can have peace if people can just get along. So I definitely make every Finlander, when they make some comment like that, I'll at least make a comment in retaliation, which will hopefully spark some sort of thought. They're just rude comments. It's not like people are outright mean or anything is done out of hatred, but they're just rude. (Alisa)

Key to this conflict was the immigrant experience. Over time, Finnish ethnic communities across North America began combining Finnish and English languages (Hellstrom, 1978). As Alisa explained in her story, the visitors did not understand this, and expressed that as Finns, they should use a pure form of the language. Alisa did not feel this was appropriate, because Finglish was a result of their own culture, a mix of Finnish and Canadian traditions. Thus, she felt it necessary to discuss this with them, with the hope of provoking some thought on their part to respect the Finnish Canadian tradition.

While it was the use of Finglish that provoked conflict between Alisa and her Finnish relative, Sauna experienced difficulty communicating with Finns as a result. While visiting Finland with his family he found, to his surprise, that his vocabulary consisted of words that differed from the Finnish in Finland.

> I'd ask for something in Fingelska and, of course, they'd look at me. [In] some cases, they would be annoyed that I was teasing them, or they didn't understand that I didn't know these words, you know. It was sort of strange; I remember we went to supper one night in a restaurant. And I said to my wife and kids, let's have a typically Finnish meal. And the waitress came and I asked for mojakka. ...Well the word mojakka is strictly North American Finn. I didn't know that. I mean here, if you want to have festivities in that part of Timmins, you always have mojakka. Always. Great stuff. You go to the United States, you go to Flint, Michigan, Finns have [it]. They have mojakka. But I didn't know [it was a North American word]... But anyway, I asked for this typical meal of mojakka [in Finland]. And the waitress looks at me and in Finnish she says, 'What is it? We don't have it, what are you talking about?' And I said, 'you know mojakka.' ... I started to describe it and she said, 'oh, you mean kalakeitto [fish soup]?' or whatever she said. And I said, 'I guess!' (Sauna)

It is worth noting that although differences exist between Finglish and Finnish, Sauna shared that the Finnish used in Finland also evolved over the years. He explained that on his first visit to the country, he had used the word "bussi" to refer to bus, and was told that the correct word was "linjaautto." On a subsequent visit thirty years later, he used the word "linjaautto," and was told that the correct word was "bussi." In Sauna's words, "they did what I had done, thirty years before that. Sort of funny." Noting this change of vocabulary in the country reinforced the difference between Finnish and Finnish Canadian cultures and languages for Sauna, but it also demonstrates the linguistic challenges faced by those who learn Finnish in Canada, and use it only sporadically in Finland.

This chapter has presented the main findings of the data collection and analysis to address the three main research questions. In the next chapter, the key findings will be

reviewed in the context of the overall theoretical framework. Then, the main findings will be discussed in terms of their practical implications, followed by a discussion of the limitations of the research. Finally, suggestions for further research will be presented in the context of the overall findings.

CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the key insights and implications of this thesis research. First, the key findings are put into context of the overall theoretical framework. Then, practical implications of the findings are discussed. Thirdly, the contributions and limitations of the research are addressed. Suggestions for future research are provided based on the work completed and, finally, concluding thoughts are presented.

Key Findings

To place the research results in the context of the overall theoretical framework, this section will briefly overview the key findings in relation to the literature. The first research question of this thesis research asked, "How do second-generation Finnish immigrants identify with the Finnish ethnic group?" The findings of this study support previous research on the Finnish Canadian or Finnish American group, in that these individuals experience symbolic ethnic identity (Stoller, 1996, 1997; Korkiasaari & Roinila, 2005; Tamaraa, 2007). For the vast majority, participation in the ethnic community and the use of the Finnish language occurred on an occasional basis rather than in day-to-day life. The participants clearly self-identified as members of the Finnish ethnic group, and felt at least some sense of belonging to Finnish ethnic culture. Following Alba (1990), we can conclude that this connection was based on strong emotional attachment, family history, and/or personal interest, and participants varied greatly in ethnic identity salience, the extent to which Finnish ethnic identity was important to them. Some expressed wanting contact with Finnish culture for the rest of

their lives, and others thought of it as secondary, something to be proud of, but not necessarily engage in.

Saarinen (2002) and Korkiasaari and Roinila (2005) suggest in their work on the Finnish ethnic group that connections to Finnish culture may be shifting to new means, most significantly, more direct ties with Finland and the use of new technologies. Nearly all participants had visited Finland, and the youngest participants discussed visiting frequently, particularly during childhood. Most of the links to Finland expressed by participants were in the form of family and friends, and spending time in the country. In general, little ethnic media (i.e. Internet sites, news) was consumed, other than on an occasional basis or by chance. For some, identification with Finnish culture was actually based on their ties to Finland, as participation in the local ethnic community was limited. In this way, Saarinen's (2002) suggestions for contemporary ethnic identity maintenance are supported, as there is a visible shift from reliance on the local community to more direct connections with Finland itself.

The second main research question concerned how participants identified with mainstream Canadian culture. For the most part, Canadian cultural identity was highly salient; all participants saw themselves as Canadian, and for the most part, this identity was unquestionable. It is worthwhile to point out that the notion of multiculturalism was important in how participants envisioned Canada, as well as in how they, as Finnish ethnics, saw themselves fitting in to Canadian society. Participants talked about diversity and multiculturalism in a positive way, and expressed Finnishness in relation to their Canadianness, in that being ethnic was part of being Canadian. Notably, Chahal and Mäki

(2002) also discuss the value of multiculturalism in their discussion of Finnish/Canadian identity.

> In Canada, the unquestioned white skin privilege, hidden in official multiculturalism, produced through the media and effected through the hidden curriculum of schooling and everyday social and cultural practices, allows certain people more choices. As well, it contributes to the taken-for-granted notion that every person in Canada is similarly situated with equal opportunities to choose; as one woman stated, *I think anybody moving to Canada will fit in.* (p. 62; emphasis in original)

Chahal and Mäki's observation points to the choice held by Finnish Canadians as members of the racial majority group. In this study, multiculturalism was seen as a way for participants to fit into Canadian culture; they saw it as largely a universal value in that anyone could be accepted here. Following Collier (2005) and Martin et al. (1996), the privilege associated with being a member of the racial majority group is often unconsidered by those of European origin. For the most part, the findings of this study support this suggestion. Being Canadian was unquestioned for the vast majority; it simply was who they were though living their lives in Canadian culture. As a result of their ease in feeling Canadian and their pride in being a Finnish ethnic group member, participants emphasized the positive nature of Canada's multiculturalism, contrasting it with the perceived homogeneous—and at times racist—character of Finnish culture.

This main difference was the launching point at which several participants outlined cultural clashes between Finnish and Canadian cultures. The third main research question, which addressed the intercultural communication issues experienced by participants, elicited a wide variety of responses. Some saw no difference between Finnish and Canadian cultures, while others highlighted views on diversity and multiculturalism, as well as communication norms, as key divisions between the cultures.

Despite the dominance of symbolic ethnic identity among these participants, and their general lack of day-to-day participation in ethnic culture as adults, several experienced intercultural communication issues in their lifetimes as a result of their ties to two cultures. As Ting-Toomey (1999) asserts, intercultural communication occurs when culture, including widely held values and communication norms, affect social interaction. In this study, intercultural issues appeared on both ends, with Canadians and Finns. Clearly, not all participants found it easy to be both Canadian and a Finnish ethnic group member. Being perceived as an outsider, or wanting to be ethnic but being perceived as Canadian was key to intercultural situations with Canadians. With Finns, some intercultural difficulties may be explained by certain participants' lack of competency in the Finnish language and culture, and other difficulties were driven by differences between Finnish Canadian culture and Finnish culture in Finland. In sum, despite having clear links to Finnish and Canadian cultures, and identifying at least to some extent with both, some participants in this study expressed intercultural challenges as second-generation Finnish immigrants. Given the overall lack of attention given to this group, as outlined by Lindström (1997), and the noted mobility of the second-generation in comparison to their immigrant parents beginning in the post-WWII period (Saarinen, 2002), these findings are significant.

Practical Implications of the Key Findings

The findings of this research have two main real-world implications. First, the symbolic nature of ethnic identity experienced by participants has major implications for the local ethnic community, which largely surrounds the Canadian Friends of Finland and

the OSKU Children's school. As most participants attended events only occasionally, and with the youngest participants deeming involvement in the community as a future commitment, the future of the adult-based organization seems precarious. While Saarinen's (2002) suggestions of more direct links with Finland itself among contemporary Finnish Canadians were in part supported, the existence of a local community can only enhance opportunities to connect to Finnish ethnic culture. Obviously, trips to Finland likely cannot be made on a very frequent basis; in the same vein, consumption of Finnish media products can only go so far. Ethnic community involvement not only provides group members with a way to spend leisure time, but an opportunity to create social links and form ethnic friendships (Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001), which in turn are associated with stronger ethnic identities (Xu et al., 2001).

It may be argued that perhaps these individuals do not need to be involved; if they have not participated actively until now, ethnic community involvement may simply be a non-issue for these participants, whose Canadian cultural identities were highly salient. However, as the findings of this research suggests, many participants felt a strong emotional connection to their Finnish identity. For many, though notably not all, it was an important aspect of their overall identity and something they wanted to maintain. Given the relatively small size of the Ottawa population citing Finnish as part of their ethnic origin, and the small involvement of participants in this study, the local ethnic community may not be not the main source of ethnic connections in the future for Ottawa-based Finnish Canadians. However, it can perhaps play *some* role in prompting Finnish Canadian to explore and maintain their ethnic identities. Therefore, careful attention must

be paid by ethnic community leaders to engage group members—particularly the youngest adults—to encourage their participation and future involvement.

In addition to addressing ethnic and Canadian cultural identification, this thesis looked at the intercultural issues that emerge from being part of both Finnish and Canadian cultures. While Ting-Toomey (2005) and Gudykunst (2001) assert that ethnic identity salience affects the extent to which these identities influence communication, the findings of this research suggest that even symbolic ethnic identity may influence communication. On a practical level, this means that belonging to two cultures is not completely seamless, even for individuals of European origin who experience symbolic ethnic identity. Cultural issues can emerge due to both group affiliations, and may have a profound effect on the individual level, as demonstrated by several participants in this study.

Limitations and Possibilities for Future Research

This thesis research employed a qualitative approach to understanding the experiences of second-generation Finnish immigrants. Using snowball sampling, seventeen individuals were interviewed in the Ottawa area. While this approach yielded rich and valuable data, it is impossible to generalize these results. Future research should adopt a quantitative or mixed methods approach to examine the ethnic and intercultural experiences of this population at the overall group level. In particular, scholars interested in the Finnish ethnic group should look at how intercultural communication issues emerge and change over time, as well as across age groups.

Furthermore, it would be worthwhile to seek out second-generation Finnish immigrants in other cities across Canada to see how their experiences coincide and differ from those in this research. While this research contributed to the understanding of how such individuals make sense of their ethnicity in a relatively small ethnic population environment, it would be of interest to examine how these experiences shift across locations and ethnic communities. It would also be worthwhile to explore such experiences in Québec or other Francophone environments, which were found in this research to be distinct from those in English Canada.

Another area that deserves further exploration is how one's connection to Finland plays a role in ethnic identification. This study found that the youngest participants, in particular, spent significant time in Finland. As Saarinen (2002) suggests, more direct connections to Finland may be a large aspect of how contemporary Finnish Canadians identify with Finnish culture. Clearly, further work is needed in this area. Finally, since this research pointed to the intercultural communication challenges experienced by at least some second-generation Finnish immigrants, scholars should investigate how other European-based groups deal with these issues, particularly in the context of modern pluralistic Canada.

Concluding Thoughts

This thesis sought to understand the ethnic and broader cultural identification of second-generation Finnish immigrants and the intercultural communication issues that occur as a result of their ties to both cultures. The findings of this research suggest that as members of the broader Canadian culture, second-generation Finnish immigrants identify

as members of the Finnish ethnic group, but do so largely on a symbolic level. Intercultural issues were experienced with both Canadians and Finns, though some participants saw little conflict between the two identities. In sum, these findings suggest that in the context of pluralistic Canadian society, Finnish ethnicity is seen as part of or in relation to being Canadian, but for some individuals, is a source of conflict.

These research results contribute to three key areas. First, the findings add to the literature on the Finnish ethnic group. The Finnish Canadian immigrant experience has been relatively well documented from a historical perspective; however, limited work has been done on the second-generation, those born and raised in Canada (Lindström, 1997). This thesis research helps address this gap in Finnish Canadian literature, supporting the limited work done on second-generation individuals, and how they identify with the Finnish ethnic group and participate in ethnic culture, as well as Canadian culture.

Secondly, this research addresses the experiences of second-generation immigrants specifically. Understanding the ethnic identity processes of second-generation immigrants illuminates possible areas of concern for pluralistic cultures on a policy level, as well as for academia, particularly in terms of how these individuals understand and communicate with those within and outside of their ethnic group. Such issues are of importance when considering the shift Canada has experienced in recent years towards new immigrant source countries (Boyd & Vickers, 2000). As Phalet (2006) asserts, how second-generation immigrants transition to adult life and live within multiple cultures "is crucial for the success or failure of immigrant integration in our societies" (p. xi). Understanding how second-generation immigrants have coped with these issues in the past provides valuable knowledge for future immigration cohorts.

Finally, this research adds to the literature on ethnic identity and intercultural communication, contributing to the understanding of how these concepts are related. While scholars have looked at this relationship in the past, research has largely focused on racial minority groups (e.g. Gudykunst, 2001; Levo-Henrikkson, 2007). The findings of this research suggest that at least some individuals of European-origin who identify with both ethnic and Canadian cultures in fact do experience intercultural communication issues due to their sense of belonging to both cultures.

On a personal level, this research has contributed to my own sense of ethnic and Canadian cultural belonging. I began this thesis research as a way to understand my own experiences and connection to the Finnish ethnic group. Through the interviewing process and the analysis of other group members' experiences, I came to understand the complexity of the topic. Ethnic identification is highly variable and is influenced by a multitude of factors; it cannot be dealt with in simple terms. In many ways, while it makes a small but significant contribution to scholarly work on the Finnish Canadian group, this thesis research has played a large role in my own understanding of these issues. Ethnic identity is an important component of pluralistic Canadian society, as the diverse make-up of the country places culture and cultural difference at the forefront of social interaction. It is important to remember, however, that ethnic identity is not the result of birth or genetics; it requires an active interest from the individual. Therefore, the consideration of ethnic identity and intercultural issues on both the scholarly and personal level is essential to the understanding—and progression—of Canadian pluralistic society.

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Appendix A — Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1. **Tell me about your family and growing up.**
    a. What was your home like growing up?
    b. Tell me about growing up with your parents/family.
    c. What was it like having immigrant parent(s)?
    d. Did your parent(s) talk about Finland? Tell me about that.
    e. How did you spend your time as a child?
    f. How did you spend your vacations?
2. **Have you ever been to Finland?**
    a. How often?
    b. How do you feel when you're there?
    c. What are the things you remember best?
3. **Tell me about your extended family.**
    a. Where are they?
    b. How much of your family is in Finland or in Canada (or elsewhere)?
    c. What role do they play in your life?
4. **Do you speak Finnish?**
    a. When do you use it?
    b. How do you feel when you're speaking it?
5. **Tell me about what it means to be Finnish.**
    a. How would you describe a typical Finn?

b. Do you feel you are Finnish?

c. Has this changed over time?

6. Can you remember ever having difficulties communicating with Finns?

a. How did you handle it?

7. Do you stay up-to-date on current events and/or music?

a. Do you follow Finnish current events and/or music?

8. Tell me about what it means to be Canadian.

a. How would you describe a typical Canadian?

b. Do you feel you are Canadian?

c. Has this changed over time?

9. Do you have friends from different ethnic groups?

a. Any Finns?

10. Do you participate in the local Finnish community?

a. Is it important to you?

b. Tell me about how you are involved.

c. If you have a family, are they involved in the local Finnish community?

Appendix B — Demographic Information Sheet

<table>
<tr><td>Self-assigned pseudonym*</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Age</td><td colspan="2"></td><td>Place of birth</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Marital Status</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Highest level of education</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Which of your parents immigrated to Canada?

(please circle)</td><td colspan="2">Mother: Yes No</td><td>Father: Yes No</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Year:</td><td>Year:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Are you a Canadian citizen?

(please circle)</td><td colspan="3">Yes No</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Are you a Finnish citizen?

(please circle)</td><td colspan="3">Yes No</td></tr>
</table>

*The pseudonym you choose will be used if quoting your interview in the final report, in order to protect your real identity.

Appendix C — Coding Guide

Theme: Who am I?

Finnishness	What is it? Anything in relation to being Finnish. Culture, Language, Country, People. Main question: What does it mean to be Finnish?
Canadianness	What is it? Anything in relation to being Canadian. Culture, Language, Country, People. Main question: What does it mean to be Canadian?
Regret	Regret about cultural involvement or ethnic identity.
Pride and Importance	Pride in and importance placed on cultural involvement or ethnic identity.
When am I Finnish?	Times and situations in which individuals feel Finnish or Finnishness comes out.
When am I Canadian?	Times and situations in which individuals feel Canadian or Canadianness comes out.
Feeling both Canadian and Finnish	Idea that individual feels Finnish and Canadian. Is a mix of both or feels both.
What is Finnish about me? (Finnish traits)	Individual's own Finnish traits. I.e. Physical attributes, personality traits, habits, etc.
What is Canadian about me? (Canadian traits)	Individual's own Canadian traits. I.e. Physical attributes, personality traits, habits, etc.
Preference	Preference of Canadian or Finnish culture over the other, for living, citizenship, culture. E.g. Team Finland over Team Canada.
Feeling Finnish	Do you feel Finnish? Sense of connection to Finnishness not in overall discussion of what being Finnish/Finnishness is.
Feeling Canadian	Do you feel Canadian? Sense of connection to Canadianness not in overall discussion of what being Canadian/Canadianness is.

Theme: Ethnic culture

Speaking Finnish	Talking about speaking Finnish or Finnish language skills.
Visiting Finland	Talking about visiting Finland. Places/people visited, activities, purpose, best memories, feelings, what it's like.
Finnish Pop culture and News	Following Finnish music, movies, news, sports. Does not include Finnish ethnic material in Canada.
Finnish things	Having Finnish items such as glassware, rugs, decorations, etc.
Politics	Finnish politics, historical and current. E.g. Discussion of reds/whites.
Religion	Finnish religious communities, religion.
Childhood ethnic community involvement	Involvement in the Finnish ethnic community during childhood/teenage years.
Current ethnic community involvement	Current involvement in the Finnish ethnic community. Also includes use of Finnish ethnic material in Canada.
Ethnic friends	Discussion of friends in Finnish ethnic community.
Finnish friends	Discussion of friends in Finland.
Changes in self - ethnicity	Changes over time regarding feelings towards ethnicity.

Theme: Family and ethnicity

Parental immigrant experience	Immigrant generation's experience in the immigration process and the Canadian culture. Also, reason for coming to Canada and era of immigration.
Parental Finnishness	Immigrant parents' Finnishness. Cultural involvement (in either country), connection, and encouragement. Talking about Finland.
Sibling Finnishness	Finnishness of brothers and sisters. Cultural involvement and connection.

2nd generation experience	Experience regarding being child of immigrants or part of immigrant family. Often as response to main question: What was it like growing up?
Finnish Canadian Family	Family of Finnish origin living in Canada, for those individuals whose parents also had family that immigrated. Contact with them, etc.
Family in Finland	Family living in Finland. Contact with them, how, etc. Does not include when visiting Finland but includes when they come to Canada.

Theme: Intercultural

Finnishness vs. Canadianness	Differences between Finns and Canadians, and Finnish and Canadian cultures.
Conflict within Finnish Canadian community	General conflict -- not necessarily cultural -- in the FC community. Issues such as cultural difference, personal feeling of not belonging, political divides.
Finns vs. Finnish Canadians	Differences between Finns from Finland and those in the Finnish Canadian community.
Cultural conflict within family	Cultural conflict between parents' cultures/backgrounds (in one immigrant parent families) and within family (i.e. mixed family).
Romance and culture	Issues in romantic relationships when culture plays a part.
Personal cultural conflict	Conflict experienced personally, based on cultural issues. E.g. Choosing hockey team (Finland over Canada), discrimination, etc. Either with Finns or Canadians.

Appendix D – Consent Form

Ethnic Identity and Intercultural Communication: Understanding the Experiences of Second-generation Finnish Immigrants

Katrina Jurva, Master's student and
Dr. Peruvemba Jaya, Thesis Supervisor
Department of Communication, Faculty of Arts
554 King Edward,
Ottawa, Ontario

Telephone: or (613) 562-5800, ext. 2538
Email: or jperuvem@uottawa.ca

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Katrina Jurva under the supervision of Peruvemba Jaya.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the study is to understand how second-generation Finnish immigrants form and maintain their ethnic identities, and how this affects their communication with others.

Participation: My participation will consist essentially of attending one 60-minute session during which I will be interviewed and I will complete a short demographic information sheet. The session will be arranged at a location and time of my convenience.

Risk: The researcher has assured me that there are no known risks or inconveniences, whether emotional, psychological, physical, social or economic, as a result of my participation in this research.

Benefits: My participation in this study will help provide a further understanding of ethnic identity and its role in understanding interpersonal and intercultural communication. It will illuminate issues specific to second-generation immigrants, a group that has been born and raised in Canada but has close ethnic and familial ties to another country and culture. It will also shed light on the experiences of individuals of Finnish descent in Canada.

Confidentiality and anonymity: I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential. I understand that the contents will be used only for this thesis research and that my confidentiality will be protected, as all responses will be anonymous in the final report. **Anonymity** will be protected in the following manner by compiling responses and assigning pseudonyms to quoted material. My identity will never be explicitly stated in any publication.

Conservation of data: The data will be collected by using a demographic information sheet and by tape recording the interview, which will be transcribed. The data will be

kept in a secure manner in the Thesis Supervisor's locked office for five years, which is typical of research in this domain. Only the student and supervisor will have access to the data.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be discarded.

Acceptance: I, ______________________, agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Katrina Jurva of the Department of Communication, whose research is under the supervision of Dr. Peruvemba Jaya.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher of her supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethnical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 159, Ottawa, ON, K1N 6N5.

Telephone: 613-562-5841

Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: ______________________

Date: ______________________

Witness: ______________________

(*needed in case where a participant is illiterate, blind, etc.)

Date: ______________________

Appendix E – Formulaire de consentement

L'identité ethnique et la communication interculturelle: Comprendre les expériences des immigrants finlandais de seconde génération

Katrina Jurva, Étudiante à la maîtrise et
Dr. Peruvemba Jaya, Directeur de thèse
Département de communication, Faculté des arts
554, rue King Edward
Ottawa (Ontario)

Téléphone: ou 613-562-5800, ext. 2538
Courriel: ou jperuvem@uottawa.ca

Invitation à participer: Je suis invité(e) à participer à la recherche nommée ci-haut qui est menée par Katrina Jurva sous la supervision de Dr. Peruvemba Jaya.

But de l'étude: Le but de l'étude est de comprendre comment les immigrants finlandais de seconde génération forment et maintiennent leur identité ethnique et comment cela affecte leur communication avec les autres.

Participation: Ma participation consistera essentiellement à assister à une séance de 60 minutes pendant laquelle je vais participer à une entrevue et compléter un court formulaire d'informations démographiques. La séance aura lieu à une heure et dans un lieu qui me conviendra.

Risques: Le chercheur m'a assuré qu'il n'y a pas de risques connus, ni d'inconvénients, soit émotionnels, psychologiques, physiques, sociaux ou économiques, suite à ma participation à cette recherche.

Bienfaits: Ma participation à cette recherche aura pour effet d'établir une meilleure compréhension de l'identité ethnique et son rôle dans la compréhension de la communication interpersonnelle et interculturelle. La recherche dévoilera des enjeux spécifiques aux immigrés de seconde génération, un groupe né et élevé au Canada mais qui a des liens ethniques et familiaux envers un autre pays ou une autre culture. En plus, la recherche éclairera les expériences d'individus d'origine finlandaise au Canada.

Confidentialité et anonymat: J'ai l'assurance du chercheur que l'information que je partagerai avec elle restera strictement confidentielle. Je m'attends à ce que le contenu ne soit utilisé que pour la recherche de cette thèse et selon le respect de la confidentialité, toutes les réponses seront anonymes dans le rapport final. **L'anonymat** est garanti de la façon suivante en compilant les réponses et assignant des pseudonymes aux citations. Mon identité ne sera jamais explicitement déclarée dans une publication.

Conservation des données: Les données seront recueillies à l'aide d'un formulaire d'informations démographiques et par l'enregistrement de l'entrevue, qui sera transcrite. Les données seront conservées de façon sécuritaire dans le bureau verrouillé du superviseur de thèse pour cinq années, ce qui est typique pour la recherche dans ce domaine. Seulement l'étudiant et le superviseur auront accès aux données.

Participation volontaire: Ma participation à la recherche est volontaire et je suis libre de me retirer en tout temps, et/ou refuser de répondre à certaines questions, sans subir de conséquences négatives. Si je choisis de me retirer de l'étude, les données recueillies jusqu'à ce moment seront détruites.

Acceptation: Je, ____________________________, accepte de participer à cette recherche menée par Katrina Jurva du Département de communication, dont la recherche est sous la supervision du Dr. Peruvemba Jaya.

Pour tout renseignement additionnel concernent cette étude, je peux communiquer avec le chercheur ou son superviseur.

Pour tout renseignement sur les aspects éthiques de cette recherche, je peux m'adresser au Responsable de l'éthique en recherche, Université d'Ottawa, Pavillon Tabaret, 550, rue Cumberland, salle 159, Ottawa, ON, K1N 6N5

Téléphone: 613-562-5841

Courriel: ethics@uottawa.ca

Il y a deux copies du formulaire de consentement, dont une copie que je peux garder.

Signature du participant: ____________________________

Date: ____________________________

Témoin: ____________________________

(*nécessaire dans le cas où le participant serait illettré, aveugle, etc.)

Date: ____________________________

Appendix F – Research Ethics Board Approval

Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa

November 20, 2007

Peruvemba Jaya
Department of Communication
University of Ottawa
554 King Edward Avenue, Room 107
Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5

Katrina Jurva

Object: **Ethnic Identity and Intercultural Communication: Understanding the Experiences of Second-generation Finnish Immigrants (File # 10-07-09)**

Dear Professor Jaya and Miss Jurva,

You will find enclosed the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Committee ethical clearance for the abovementioned study.

During the course of the study, any modifications to the protocol or forms may not be initiated without prior written approval from the REB. You must also promptly notify the REB of any adverse events that may occur.

This certificate of ethical clearance is valid until November 20, 2008. Please submit an annual status report to the Protocol Officer in November 2008 to either close the file or request a renewal of ethics approval. This document can be found at: http://www.rges.uottawa.ca/ethics/application_dwn.asp.

A copy of this approval will be sent to research services, if necessary.

If you have any questions, you may contact the undersigned at the number (613) 562-5800 ext. 1783.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie-Anne Barber
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Peter Beyer, Chair of the Social Sciences and Humanities REB

Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa

HEALTH SCIENCES AND SCIENCE RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that the University of Ottawa Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Committee has examined the application for ethical approval of the research project entitled **Ethnic Identity and Intercultural Communication: Understanding the Experiences of Second-generation Finnish Immigrants (File #10-07-09)** submitted by Katrina Jurva and supervised by Peruvemba Jaya from the Department of Communication of the University of Ottawa. The Board found that this research project met appropriate ethical standards as outlined in the Tri-Council Policy Statement and in the Procedures of the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Boards, and accordingly gave it a Category 1a (approval). This certification is valid one year from the date indicated below.

Leslie-Anne Barber
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Peter Beyer, Chair of the Social
Sciences and Humanities REB

November 20, 2007
Date