Significance of cultural heritage, language and identity to second and third generation migrants: the case of Finns in Australia

Tiina Lammervo

Siirtolaisuusinstituutti
Migrationsinstitutet
Institute of Migration

Migration Studies C17

This research focuses on the significance of heritage culture and language among second and third generation informants. The study discusses how second and third generation Australian Finns have experienced language and culture contact, what their linguistic and cultural competence is and what their attitudes are towards their heritage and their ethnic or multicultural identity. These issues are also relevant to the future of Finnish language and culture in multicultural Australia.

Data consists of in depth interviews of selected diverse informants. The report discusses the relevance of background factors traditionally considered in acculturation research, informants' language skills and features of language contact, the role of cultural elements in the lives of second and third generation migrants, and issues of identity.

The post-doctoral project was funded by the Academy of Finland and was undertaken at the Institute of Migration in Turku, Finland and the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia.

Siirtolaisuusinstituutti
Migrationsinstitutet
Institute of Migration

ACADEMY OF FINLAND

THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA

School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies

Migration Studies C 17

Tiina Lammervo

Significance of cultural heritage, language, and identity to second and third generation migrants: the case of Finns in Australia

Institute of Migration
Turku 2009

Institute of Migration
Eerikinkatu 34, 20100 Turku
Finland
http://www.migrationinstitute.fi

Layout: Newprint
Cover photos: A. Geraghty, M. Lammervo
ISBN 978-951-9266-98-5
ISSN 0356-780X

Newprint Oy, Raisio 2009

Foreword and acknowledgements

After completing a research project on first generation Finnish migrants in Australia, I was left with a myriad of unanswered questions concerning the following generations and what Finnish heritage meant to them. Discussion with Elli Heikkilä, Research Director at the Institute of Migration, resulted in my writing the ideas down as a research plan and application for funding. This study presents the outcome of a three year post doctoral research project funded by the Academy of Finland. The research was undertaken in 2007-2009 at the Institute of Migration in Turku and at the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies at the University of Queensland in Brisbane.

I wish to thank the Academy of Finland for granting the funding for this project and the Institute of Migration for supporting my application and providing the facilities to undertake the work. I would also like to thank the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies at the University of Queensland for welcoming me as a visiting scholar and Honorary Research Consultant while I worked in Brisbane.

I am grateful to the Finnish community in Brisbane for their warm welcome when we returned to Australia after a few years absence. Special thanks are due to the informants who agreed to discuss their migrant experience and welcomed me to their homes. This project would not have been possible without their co-operation.

Support and advice from colleagues has been invaluable during the many stages of the work. I wish to thank Director Olavi Koivukangas for supporting the funding application, Research Director Elli Heikkilä for helping with everything from administration issues to the final draft of the manuscript, Professor Roly Sussex for advice with analysis and structure of report, Lecturer Hannele Jönsson-Korhola for expert advice in the Finnish language and ideas for the manuscript and Dr Maryam Jamarani for encouragement, ideas and many good conversations on migrant issues we are both enthusiastic about. Many thanks also to trainees at the Institute of Migration who helped to transcribe data and search for and work through reference literature, and staff at the Institute of Migration and the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies for sharing a supportive working environment.

Brisbane, December 2009
Tiina Lammervo

List of abbreviations

BCC	Bicultural competence
CALD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
CL	Community language
CMC	Computer mediated communication
Csf	Contemporary spoken Finnish
ESL	English as a second language
GAPS	General assisted passage scheme
LCP	Language contact phenomena
LOTE	Languages other than English
NESB	Non-English speaking background
RAEM	Relative acculturation extended model
SMS	Short message service
SOSE	Study of society and environment
SPAP	Special passage assistance program

List of contents

1. Introduction

The idea for this research project emerged from a previous larger project (PhD) which investigated language and culture contact and attitudes among first generation Australian Finns (Lammervo 2007). The informants in that study were elderly at the time of the interviews and represented the larger migration waves of Finnish migration to Australia during assisted passage schemes (GAPS, SPAP) in the late 1950s and 1960s. While that project focused on issues among first generation migrants, the informants often talked about how their children and grandchildren, the second and third generation Finnish Australians, valued their Finnish heritage. This inevitably led to a need to talk to representatives of those generations and hear their side of the story.

Finns are a small minority among Australia's many ethnic and linguistic groups. In fact, the number of Finland born individuals in Australia has not exceeded 10,500 and in Australian statistics Finns are often lumped in the elusive category 'other'. Census statistics do, however, display the numbers of people claiming to speak Finnish or have Finnish heritage. This does not mean that Finns have not been significant to the building of multicultural Australia, only that their importance is more relevant in smaller local contexts than on a national level.

Maintaining a small minority language like Finnish in an English-speaking country like Australia requires institutional support and particularly language education. In multicultural Australia the resources are limited and much remains the responsibility of the ethnic community, particularly in the small language groups. Even if attitudes within the community appear positive, creating the opportunities for the children to gain full literacy in Finnish with very little institutional support is often too big a task. The reality in multicultural Australia is that Finnish, as sentimentally valuable as it may be to the first generation, has very little market value for the following generations.

The first generation could take their Finnish skills for granted and did not see a need to make a conscious effort to maintain their first language. However, they often struggled with gaining skills in English. Similarly they continued with many Finnish cultural practices (e.g. cooking and celebrations) as a matter of course, and did not deliberately teach these to their offspring, perhaps hoping that they would just naturally adopt these customs and traditions. In contrast to the culture and language maintenance behaviour, the first generation's attitudes towards maintaining Finnish language and culture were

positive. This lack of correlation is not unheard of in attitude studies. It is, in fact, common that people claim an attitude, but behave in a manner contrary to the attitudes and opinions they express. It is argued that the attitude concept has little predictive power (Vaughn & Hogg 2002, 114). Even if it seemed that the success of first generation efforts in passing on Finnish language skills and cultural practices to the following generations had been extremely varied, there were indications that the positive attitude towards heritage culture had been passed on.

On the other hand, on community level, Finnish culture has been maintained at the level of social and cultural practices. It appears that among Finns the Finnish ways, traditions and cultural symbols are maintained through decades and Finnish cultural identity is considered important. Reaching these conclusions regarding the first generation made it clear that the following generations' cultural identity, attitudes and language and culture maintenance efforts needed to be investigated.

There are generalization among and about Australian Finns such as Finns tend to congregate and seek the company of other Finns, that they cling to the language and although integrate economically, do less so socially. When it comes to the second and further generation migrants in Australia the general expectation is that children of migrants become English speaking Australians and typically by the third generation the heritage language is lost (Clyne 1991; 2003). This is the expected pattern also among Finns in Australia, except that the language is often lost already in the second generation (Kovács 2001). However, it is also clear that the typical and generalized story is only part of the truth and that there were also those families and migrants who had lived in a less typical manner, or in a less typical location. Hence the aim of this study was to also find informants who had not lived in close contact with a tight Finnish community and those who had arrived at a less typical time, outside passage assistance periods, to a different Australia.

The study on the first generation raised new questions and one of them was whether the migrants' positive attitude to heritage culture, language and identity had had an effect on the second and further generations. What effects could this underlying positive attitude have in the long run, particularly as the attitude environment in Australia and in the world has been changing towards a more tolerant direction? Do the following generations still identify as Finnish or has the balance shifted to an Australian identity? Every immigrant's life story is unique and it was clear in considering the methodology that generalizing

and talking about an average typical way of dealing with the challenges an immigrant faces at any particular time would not be the best approach. The current project looks at fewer selected cases in more depth. The aim is to find out as much as possible about the experience of fewer informants, how they have experienced life in Australia as descendants of Finns. The force of example is considered more useful in this case than generalization, which has become overvalued as a source of scientific development. Human science research recognizes the value of qualitative designs and methodologies and that studies of experience are not approachable through quantitative approaches (Moustakas 1994, 21).

This report will discuss the results of research on how second and third generation Australian Finns communicate their Finnish culture and heritage. How have they experienced the language and culture contact, what is their linguistic and cultural competence and what are their attitudes towards their Finnish heritage and Australian Finnish identity? First generation Australian Finns have been shown to have positive attitudes towards maintaining Finnish language and culture, but concrete actions to that effect have not always been extensive. In this report we will look at how children of the first generation feel about their heritage; what their attitudes are towards it, what action they have taken, what their Finnish skills and cultural knowledge are and what their cultural identity is.

Chapter 2 will give background to the situation of Finns in Australia both in relation to Finnish migration and Australia as a migration destination. Australian migration policies and public attitudes have undergone great changes. Finnish migration to Australia has decreased consistently since Australian government's assistance schemes and recruitment efforts ceased in the 1960s. Chapter 3 will explain how the study was conducted and chapter 4 contains brief descriptions of the nine cases that were investigated in the project.

Chapter 5 discusses subjective sense of belonging as expressed through language and cultural elements. The issues are divided into sections so that 5.1 covers the role of factors that are traditionally considered to affect maintenance or loss of language and culture in the cases that are under investigation. The role of language is discussed in section 5.2 which also contains examples of language contact phenomena from recorded speech as well as self evaluations of language skills and significance of Finnish language to identity and culture. Section 5.3 focuses on the role of Finnish cultural elements in different life spheres: core, intermediate and public spheres.

Although issues of identity are naturally involved in the discussion of culture and language, a separate chapter (Chapter 6) has been allocated to discuss the informants' self-identification, feelings of otherness and belonging and the attitude environment. Chapter 7 discusses the outcomes and presents the conclusions drawn based on investigation of this particular set of cases among the Australian Finnish community.

2. Background to the study

Australian Finns and Finnish language and culture in Australia

Finns were among the first Europeans to arrive in Australia, but research on the history of Finnish migration to Australia and the life of Finns there started only in the 1960s with the research of Olavi Koivukangas. After Herman Dietrich Spöring, who sailed with Captain James Cook in 1770, Finns from all walks of life have chosen Australia as their new home. In the early years their numbers were small. One reason for this was that around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries North America was a more attractive destination. Only in the 1950s and 1960s, when assisted passages were available for Finns, did more substantial numbers of migrants arrive. Individual peak years for Finnish migration to Australia were 1958 and 1968. In the years around each of these peaks about 5,000 Finns arrived in Australia (Koivukangas, 1998). According to the 2001 census there were 8,258 first generation Finns in Australia. The total number of people claiming Finnish ancestry was 18,106. In the 2001 census 6,229 people indicated that they spoke Finnish at home. Five years later the respective figures were 20,988 people claiming ancestry, 7,946 people were Finland born, and 5,877 claimed to speak Finnish at home. The numbers of new Finnish migrants are very low. In the period 1980-2001 only 2,929 people migrated from Finland to Australia. Of the 200,100 people who left Finland in that period over 116,000 relocated to another Nordic country, and nearly 55,000 people to other European countries (Korkiasaari 2003). However, the numbers of Finns migrating to Australia have slightly increased in the last twenty years. In 1987 only 108 Finns were recorded as having migrated to Australia, while in 2008 the figure was 210. The annual figure has varied between 69 (in 1992) and 241 (in 2004) in the twenty year period (Statistics Finland 2009). Research on the languages of Finnish immigrants in Australia started much later with Hannele Hentula's (1990) collection of Australian Finnish vocabulary. Since her study there has been increasing interest in Australian Finns and Finnish, resulting in several studies on the subject. There are Masters Theses on the typical features of Australian Finnish and also on features of a Finnish dialect in Australia. These show how the Finnish variety spoken in Australia is different from Finnish in Finland (Gita 2001; Hirviniemi 2000). Another finding was that among the dialect speakers, a representative of the third generation spoke the purest dialect (Hirviniemi 2000). Australian Finnish is a variety that also preserves Finnish language. Features still heard in Australian Finnish are no longer heard in Finland Finnish. There are also studies on the adjusting of first generation Australian Finns. English language skills often emerge as a problematic issue (Baron 2000; Koivukangas 1975; Mattila 1990).

Mattila (1990) conducted a study on Finnish integration challenges among 236 first generation Australian Finns in the 1980s. She concluded that the majority had reached certain equilibrium in their new environment, but that they were not particularly well integrated and had remained a separate ethnic group. This can conversely be interpreted as good culture and identity maintenance. The second generation were considered to be more Australian than Finnish. In contrast Watson's study (1996) found that many of the second generation indicated a closer intimacy with Finland even if they had never been there. Although there has been research on second and third generation Australian Finnish and some of these studies have suggested that Finnish culture survives longer than the language in communities outside Finland, the experiences and attitudes of the further generations have not been focused on.

In the current data the times the original first generation migrants left vary from the early nineteen hundreds to the 1990s. This has relevance to the type of cultural practices maintained by the parent generation and perhaps also the following ones. Much of what has been maintained in the migrant families would be outdated compared to contemporary Finnish culture, but would carry significant Finnish, although symbolic, meanings for the migrants and their descendants. The relative ease of world travel for those who migrated later and access to information technology also has an impact. However, it appears that the offspring of the main migration groups (the 1950s and 1960s arrivals) are already so detached from contemporary Finland that even visiting or Internet contact will not help update their cultural competence, but what was brought to Australia by their parents and passed on by them, even if in an Australianised form, will continue to carry the meanings of Finnishness. For those fewer migrants who have arrived later, in the 1990s and the 21st century, travel and information technology appear to have a much greater importance.

Multilingual and multicultural Australia

Australian census for 2006 lists almost four hundred languages as languages spoken at home. Some hundred and seventy of them are indigenous languages (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009). According to the census, 21.5% of the population speaks a language other than English at home. The biggest community languages are Italian, Greek, Cantonese, Arabic, Mandarin and Vietnamese, numbers of speakers ranging from about 317,000 to just under 200,000. These languages and groups are in stark contrast to the declining numbers of Finns and Finnish presented above.

Migration to Australia has consisted of many waves influenced by the political or economic situation in different parts of the world, as well as Australia's immigration policy. Phases of policies towards multilingualism have changed from the acceptance of the colonial times through rejection and English monolingualism back to accepting multilingualism with the introduction of multiculturalism policies, starting in the 1970s (Clyne 1991). At the policy level attitudes towards languages other than English look favourable (e.g. Clyne 2003). Australia is among the societies most tolerant of ethnic, linguistic and cultural difference. Nevertheless, the dominance of English in Australia is absolute. As in most migrant societies, it is expected that the second generation of refugee or migrant minorities will become 'Australian', in effect that they will act in accordance with Anglo-Australian behavioural norms, and that they will be native speakers of Australian English (Gibbons & Ramirez 2003).

Taking all the speakers or potential speakers of an immigrant language in Australia, the rate of shift in home language will vary widely between language communities and subgroups between them. In the first generation there is a continuum which extends from people born in the (former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia (3% shift) to the Netherlands-born (61.9% shift). Language 'shift' in the second generation is much higher than in the first generation, but the continuum is very similar (Clyne 2003). In the second generation only 4.2% regularly uses a language other than English (Romaine 1991). The data does not enable differentiation between actual shift and non-acquisition. Census data does not indicate whether the language was learnt and lost or not learnt at all, just whether it is spoken in particular situations. The lowest shift is recorded for those born in Australia with at least one parent born in the (former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia (14.8%), Turkey (16.1%), Korea (18%), and the Lebanon (20.1%). The highest shift is among the second generation of Dutch (95%), German/Austrian (89.7%), Maltese (82.1%), Hungarian (82.1%), French (77.7%) and Polish (75.5%) backgrounds (Clyne 2003). Factors that have an effect on language shift are individual factors, such as generation, age, exogamy, gender, socioeconomic mobility and English proficiency; group factors, such as community size, cultural distance, religion, premigration experience and situation in the homeland; and general factors, such as time and place (Clyne 2003). It seems that language shift is complete within three generations in many ethnolinguistic groups in the urban immigrant situation. "In the long run, it would appear that perceived cost-benefits will tip the balance between language maintenance and shift in favour of the latter. But how and when this occurs is subject to a great deal of variation" (Clyne 2003, 68).

Language shift, maintenance and loss, although not easily measured, are possible to study via census questions and large questionnaires in a larger scale, but measuring other aspects of culture maintenance is more challenging. An additional point to consider suggested by Suárez-Orozco (2001, 62) is that immigrants today (in a study of the USA) face a "culture of multiculturalism" where there is no relatively uniform mainstream culture into which they could integrate. They call it navigating the complex currents of culture of multiculturalism. This is also true in contemporary Australia. As discussed above, the period of migration is relevant to the experience and in the case of Finns the earlier migrants would have left a relatively more homogeneous Finland to arrive in a more homogeneous Australia, but today diversity and multiculturalism have changed the circumstances.

Acculturation studies have traditionally focused on the immigrants' or sojourners' perspective. Only more recently has there been a gradual, but noticeable shift in research toward the experience of host communities. The pace of change has accelerated since September 11 events, and there is a strong socio-political impetus to study how members of immigrant recipient societies view immigrants and immigration policies (Leong 2008). In a study conducted through archival databases of Hofstede's (1980) study on four cultural dimensions and the 15-nations Eurobarometer survey from the year 2000, Leong (2008, 126) identifies two broad dimensions of acculturation experience: invasion is grounded in security motivation and threat related perceptions and a general sense of encroachment in both cultural and economic aspects of immigration and multiculturalism; enrichment experience reflects the perception how immigrants and multiculturalism can benefit the host societies.

Of country specific studies Canada, as the country first to introduce multiculturalism, is an interesting case. There overall attitudes towards immigration are positive, but this approach varies by the region of residence, ethnic origin, and level of education of respondents. The most positive attitudes were held by respondents in Ontario who were not French or British, but of other ethnic origin with a university degree (Berry 2006).

In Australia Ang et al. (2002) conducted a study among a national sample (Anglo-Australians), five NESB (non English speaking background) samples and an indigenous sample (n=3101). That report demonstrates largely positive attitudes to immigration, diversity and multiculturalism. Two thirds of the national sample and higher levels in the NESB samples believe that immigration has been of benefit to Australia. However, about one third of the national sample considers cultural diversity neither a strength, nor

a weakness to Australian society, suggesting uncertainty/ambivalence about its value; about 10% has negative views about immigration, multiculturalism and cultural diversity. Australians generally see their society as tolerant – migrants more so than long time Australians. Forty percent of the national sample considers Australia a tolerant or very tolerant society. The figure is much higher across the NESB samples (47% of Lebanese and 67% of Vietnamese, for example). The second generation of NESB, although still higher, is more akin to the national sample (p. 6). The authors of this study do not mention the possibility of informants, and particularly NESB informants, giving answers they expect the researchers wanting to hear. If this were true, the critique towards levels of tolerance could be higher in reality. The fact that second generation answers are more in line with the national sample is an indication of second generation acculturation.

Reports of levels of personal satisfaction show that in 2002 most Australians including people of NESB were highly satisfied with their lives. However, there is less satisfaction with Australia as a society and interestingly NESB samples give slightly higher report cards to Australia than the national sample (Ang et al. 2002, 7). These evaluations, of course, depend on what kind of life in the country of origin one compares Australia to. Similar results were also reported by Fozdar and Torezani (2008) among people with refugee background. While they reported experiencing general discrimination and discrimination in the job market, they also reported a generally positive quality of life. Also the stage of acculturation would have a lot to do with what answer an immigrant gives to a question on general life satisfaction. There is also a chance of informants giving more polite than truthful answers.

Interestingly there is no dramatic difference between the attitudes of capital city dwellers and regional Australia towards immigration, multiculturalism and diversity (Ang et al. 2002, 21). Tranter & Donoghue (2007) found that city dwellers are more likely to see post-war migrants as an important influence on how Australians see themselves, and middle-class Australians are more willing than the working class to embrace post-war immigrants. So depending on the study there are differences according to region and class. The cultural divide between the educated, cosmopolitan 'Australian intelligentsia', and mainstream 'parochials' (Betts 1999, 3), is also echoed.

One of the main findings of the Ang et al. 2002 study, which then led to the 2006 study on younger people of diverse background, was that younger informants in national and

NESB samples mixed more with other cultures and had more positive attitudes towards diversity.

Looking at attitude studies from different decades a definite change in host society attitudes is apparent. The results are, of course, averages and always affected by the research setting to a degree, and comparing results of different studies is not as reliable as results of a longitudinal study with the same setting would be. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that a data set from the late 1990s reveals somewhat different attitudes (Chiswick & Miller 1999). The survey population largely believed that cultural diversity had costs and that it was undesirable for immigrants to retain their own culture. Similarly there was strong opposition to government spending on ethnic organisations for the purpose of cultural retention. Australians believed that multiculturalism creates ethnic enclaves (which in turn would inhibit learning English) and promotes cultural and linguistic diversity and the separation of Australians along cultural and ethnic lines. At the same time the ethnic background of immigrants are shown not to matter to Australians as long as immigrants are perceived as wanting to become Australian rather than remain apart. There is a large emphasis on language as a means of measuring integration and in many cases assimilation. Those immigrants who felt that identifying as Australian is important, or felt that immigrants should change to be like other Australians, or felt that Australians should have a commitment to the country are reported to have a higher English language proficiency. Australians also strongly supported public funding for English language teaching and informing about government programs and services as these would facilitate integration into Australian society (Chiswick & Miller 1999).

Ang et al. (2006) studied attitudes among ethnic background youth in Australia and discovered interesting views on multiculturalism. While the value of multiculturalism is almost universally endorsed, it is clearly still unfinished business in practice. It is very much work in progress in which younger Australians of culturally diverse backgrounds have a dedicated stake (Ang et al. 2006, 25). Multiculturalism is seen as a positive and at its best as an opportunity to learn from other cultures, however, many younger Australians of culturally diverse backgrounds still feel an incomplete acceptance by mainstream society. Racism is an everyday experience as is discrimination because of an accent. Multiculturalism is seen as something that defines Australia. Acceptance and awareness of diversity has increased dramatically in the last two decades, but there is still a long way to go. Multiculturalism should be about intercultural connection, not about segregated

groups. Hage (2003) wrote about multiculturalism being about the white Anglo-Australian in the centre tolerating the diversity around them. The pressure has been on the people with diverse backgrounds to adjust to the mainstream. Now the emphasis is shifting to interaction. Informants in the Ang et al. study make a good point that this should work both ways and Australians should be able to join a group of other cultures. Liu's (2007) Brisbane study also concludes that immigrants' adjustment involves adaptation on the part of both the immigrants and the receiving population. At the same time people with diverse backgrounds can be prejudiced against other groups and those who have greater numbers of people from the same background can more easily just stick to the company of their own group. It is a difficult balance to get everyone mixing with everyone, but respecting each other's background.

These three reports on the attitude environment in Australia reveal how recent and slow the change towards multiculturalism has been on the grass roots attitudinal level. As implied by the social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto 1999) multiculturalism will appeal less to the majority than the minority as they may see it as a threat to their group identity and status position (Barker 1981; Van Oudenhoven et al. 1998; Verkuvten & Martinovic 2006). Bastian and Haslam (2008) concluded that among Australians people who believe human attributes to be deeply rooted, fixed, biologically based and informative tend to see an immigrant outgroup as less desirable, more homogeneous and distinct from themselves, and tend to oppose the integration of that group, especially when their national identity is framed in an exclusive way. Essentialist beliefs among host society members lead to prejudice which in its turn slows down integration of the migrant groups. On the other hand, essentialist beliefs among immigrants enhance a person's likelihood of marginalization or separation during the acculturation process. The policy may have changed in the 1970s, but people's behaviour and thinking patterns change over time. The trend is positive and particularly hopeful is the scenario painted by Ang (2006) about the younger generation growing up in a diverse, global, transnational and multicultural reality. Living with diversity is not unproblematic, but at least for the younger generations the reality of diversity is a given. In the longer term globalisation may well erode many of the cultural differences between people, ultimately making redundant much of the debate that takes place in the name of multiculturalism (Phillips 2007, 157). It could be argued that multiculturalism which was created to draw attention to the differences that needed to be accepted, actually made acceptance harder by drawing attention to difference. What most people want is to be accepted in the Australian context as themselves and not as an extension of the established Australian.

In the Garrett et al. (2006) study on attitudes towards globalisation, Australians overall expressed the least favorable or secure associations with globalization when compared to informants from New Zealand, USA and UK. Explanations include the fact that Australia has a small population in relation to the size of its territory. Globalisation is perceived as a threat to Australian national identity. Although it shares a colonial past with the USA, its population is not as large, and there is much stronger sense of geographical apartness as an island of predominantly European culture. These results are relevant to the multiculturalism attitudes revealed by other studies.

The above description of the attitude environment sheds light on the constant change. Clearly second generation migrants of the 1970s would have experienced a very different Australia than those who arrived or were born in the 1990s or the 21st century, not to mention the earlier settlers from the early 1900s.

In the Australian demographic Finns are a small minority, but they have been a significant group in certain locations at particular times in history. Considering the size of the population in Finland, migration to Australia is not insignificant. Australian Finns are also special with respect to the unexpectedly high levels of language maintenance in the first generation (Clyne 1991). Studies have suggested that the lack of English skills has been a hindrance in adjusting to Australia, while the Finnish of the first generation has remained strong (Koivukangas 1975; Mattila 1990; Kovács 2001). How the second generation has coped in situations where parents spoke Finnish and maintained Finnish traditions, but everything outside the home emphasised English has not been extensively studied. This project investigates what chances Finnish language (or Swedish in the case of a Finland Swede), or at this stage of macro level shift to English, what chances aspects of Finnish culture have of remaining part of multicultural Australia.

Finns or Finnish do not have a special status in Australia or North America, which they do for instance in Sweden (status of official national minority, and official minority language since 2000). Australian and American Finnish share many similarities. Both are English speaking immigrant countries of long standing and Finns in these countries are comparable in many ways. There are certainly differences, such as the period and extent of migration. However, it is encouraging to know that although Finnish is used less and less in North America, pride in Finnish roots and heritage is still strong and there are other ways of expressing membership of a group (e.g. Jönsson-Korhola 2003).

Theories of culture contact

Although this study does not focus on ascertaining the level of integration into the Australian society by the second and third generation Finnish Australians, it is nevertheless useful to consider models developed on the psychology of acculturation. These issues will be relevant to the discussion of informant's migration history, attitudes and cultural maintenance.

Berry's (1997) integration model was developed to make sense of what happens to individuals who have developed in one cultural context when they attempt to live in a new cultural context. In this model integration consists of declared preferences for merging one's life and for being functional in several domains of two cultural worlds identified by country/national labels (Boski 2008). The Berry model suggests that minority members face two central issues within host societies: maintaining and developing their own ethnic distinctiveness and formulating the terms of their relationship with the larger society. Four central strategies are offered: assimilation, integration, segregation and marginalization. The model has been critiqued and shown to have limitations (Navas et al. 2005), but integration conceived as attitudinal preference for biculturalism remains a legitimate concept. Interestingly the model has also been shown to be relevant for understanding cases of return migration (Tannenbaum 2007) perhaps even more so than for instance the Cultural Identity Model (CIM) suggested by Sussman (2000; 2002) for cases of remigration (returning to country of origin).

There is also an approach where integration is defined as the common subjective area of two culture sets. When interaction has occurred for a long enough time across cultural borders often a fusion of the constituent elements is the outcome. The merger may also be conceived of as a third value. Interestingly this model of two cultures merging into a third (fusion), which is similar to the bicultural idea of integration in the Berry model, is not universally perceived as preferred. Cultural distinctiveness prevails at the perceptual level and it is more appealing than a bland merger (Boski 2008, 147).

Arends-Toth (2003) discovered that integration strategies vary depending on the domain being public or private. Separation (culture of origin) may reign in the home/family life while integration dominates in public life. It is much easier to have one culture dominant in one life domain and the other culture dominant in remaining activities than to assume complete biculturalism in all life domains.

Integration is also connected to bicultural competence and frame switching. The main idea – frame switching – links cultural identity with the cognitive style of bicultural individuals. Biculturality assumes that either identity can be activated with meaningful and affectively binding symbols. Similarly each of the two languages can be spoken with equal ease and competence (complete bilingualism). Clearly this model is useful only for investigating that section of the migrant communities who meet the criteria for biculturalism/bilingualism and even for them it is not unproblematic. In case of harmonious integration the identity and cognitive style of the individual are parts of the same cultural context and correspond to each other. Conflictual biculturality is paradoxical and reflects a psychological turmoil between the elements of two cultures e.g. Chinese-Americans when switched to American identity start thinking holistically (Boski 2008, 148). In a way the idea of frame switching is appealing, much like bilingualism and being able to switch from one system to another. Unfortunately those who have such balanced competencies are a minority and as was shown in the above example having the entire frame (identity, cognitive style, language) switched is not automatic.

Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) is a framework for investigating individual differences in bicultural identity organization (Nauven & Benet-Martinez 2007). BII captures the degree to which biculturals perceive their mainstream and ethnic cultural identities as compatible and integrated vs. oppositional and difficult to integrate. It focuses on how individuals manage dual cultural identities and uses two different and independent components; cultural distance (vs. overlap) and cultural conflict (vs. harmony).

Integration has also been divided into encapsulated marginality and constructive marginality (Bennett 1993; Bennett & Bennett 2004). The former refers to a situation where separation from culture(s) is experienced as alienation and the latter where movements in and out of cultures are necessary for a positive self-identity. Comprehending marginalisation as a form of integration is a challenge for those of us who consider them to be at opposite ends of the acculturation continuum.

The Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) (Navas et al. 2005) shares similarities with the above models and particularly with the Arends-Toth model. It includes both immigrant attitudes and perceived acculturation and host societies' attitudes and perceptions about immigrants' behaviour. In the RAEM there is no one single acculturation strategy or attitude. The adaptation process is complex (different options can be preferred and adopted at the same time) and relative, since the same strategies are not always used or the same

options preferred when the interaction with other cultures takes place in different domains (i.e. work, family relationships, religious beliefs and customs) (p.27). The use of domains is not new, what is new, however, is that domains are placed in the centre of the matrix, as a key element to understanding how immigrants adapt to the new environment and how the native population perceives this adaptation. With this model the aim is to get at the reality which studies (also the current report) show that people can assimilate in one respect or in one domain, integrate in another and separate in the third. Elements from the material or instrumental areas (e.g. work, economic) would be expected to be adopted more rapidly whilst there is a greater tendency to preserve symbolic or ideological elements (religious beliefs and customs, ways of thinking, principles and values) of the cultural heritage. This hypothesis can also be applied to host society. The sensitivity towards immigrant acculturation strategies is different depending on the domain at issue (p.29). It is also to be expected that what the host society finds important for immigrants to adopt is often exactly what the immigrants want to preserve from their culture of origin (Navas et al. 2005; 2007).

Another new model for acculturation is Jamarani's (2009) SLAM Sociolinguistic Acculturation Model. In this model the two parameters: desire to socialize with mainstream people and desire to socialize with ethnic people are introduced separately, together with the variables: host language proficiency and willingness to make concessions in communication.

Transnationalism broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states (Vertovec 1999). Although transnationalism may reflect linkages across multiple countries, in many instances the term is used to refer to the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Basch et al. 1994). An essential element of transnationalism is the great number and variety of involvements that immigrants sustain in both home and host societies. Examples are: money remittances, commercial ties between the country of origin and the new country, intensive links with relatives and friends in the country of origin, branches of religious organizations that are set up in the new country, second homes in the country of origin, and mutual visits. Transnationalism is facilitated by geographical proximity and good telecommunication services. Transnationalism has provided immigrants with a wider range of alternatives for life in their new country. It also affords greater opportunities for immigrants to distance themselves from the host

society when their identity is being threatened. Paradoxically, the availability of several options to deal with the new society may make immigrants also feel more at ease and more 'at home' in the new society (Van Oudenhoven et al. 2006, 648). Same authors also bring up creolization and pluralism as emerging acculturation strategies and outcomes. When there is no really dominant group it is possible for a process of creolization to take place i.e. the mixing of two or more formerly discrete traditions or cultures. In the end, the implications of creolization are that immigrants shape the transformation of the host culture by adding elements from their own culture and in doing so find it easier and more appealing to identify with the evolving national culture. Another plausible outcome is pluralism which encourages both cultural maintenance and intergroup contact; however, the cultural mixing, which is seen in creolization, does not occur. Although there may be status differences among the groups, each represents an important component of societies where no clear majority group is apparent.

We have above presented several theories about acculturation. In this study the focus is on second and third generations and what, if anything, Finnish cultural elements have to do with their life in Australia. The study does not test informants' acculturation level, rather it starts from an understanding that they are acculturated and full members of mainstream society. The elements of heritage culture are only expected to be found in the private domains or in RAEM (Navas et al. 2005) terms in family relations, customs, ways of thinking etc. Second and further generations of migrant background are expected to be fully integrated, but integration includes maintenance of original heritage culture as well as adopting the host culture (Berry 1997). Perhaps this is more significant in the first generation, but just as there is great variation in how groups and individuals in the first generation deal with the integration challenges, there is also variation in the role of cultural heritage in the following generations. This study is essentially about the importance of Finnishness and how it is played out.

Culture and identity

Culture has been defined in different ways in different disciplines. The cognitive, social and contextual approaches are brought together by Ting-Toomey (1999), who defines culture as "a learned meaning system that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms and symbols that are passed on from one generation to the next and are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of the community" (p.10). Many of the patterns are acquired in early childhood, because at that time a person is most susceptible to learning and

assimilating. In the immigrant context this shows in how first generation migrants find it so natural to continue with their original culture in the new host country and also why some of the later generations have an innate feeling of belonging and identifying with a culture they have little contemporary knowledge of, or actually are not perceived to belong to.

The relation of culture and society is complex and it is manifested in different ways: creative expression, giving meaning to life, lifestyles, the value given to products of our work and the symbolic structure of our society. Culture is born out of people's creative individual freedom. Culture is preserved in symbolic values which form a system that people as communities depend on. Culture manifests in time as a local national or other group identity. Culture can even be seen as a universal and timeless symbolic structure: a semantic framework of life which in the name of humanity unites people globally to communicate (Ahponen 2000, 84).

To have a culture is to find your ways of doing things more natural than any other and to feel greater allegiance to those you regard as your own (Phillips 2007, 20). However, culture is in most people's lives such a taken-for-granted background that we only become aware of the norms and assumptions that give meaning to our actions when confronted with cultures very different to ours (Phillips 2007, 62). Although definitions of culture vary, they tend to share the broad view that culture is an enduring product of and influence on human interaction (Vaughn & Hogg 2008, 606). On the same note Baumann (1999) says that culture is not an imposition of fixed and normed identities, but a dialogical process of making sense with and through others.

Culture is studied within the framework of functionalism, a theory whereby social and cultural phenomena are studied according to the functions they undertake in a socio-cultural system (Ahponen 2000, 85). In addition, "culture has no existence outside of our individual representations of it, and since these representations are variable, there exist no single place where the whole of any culture is stored or represented. Thus culture is necessarily and intrinsically a distributed system" (Kronenfeld 2002, 430). Sharifian's (2008) distributed, emergent cultural cognition is useful in understanding culture. At a global or group level a cultural model consists of cultural elements negotiated in interaction among a cultural group. However, the cultural cognition is distributed, i.e. not all individuals who claim membership of the cultural group share all these elements. In fact individuals can share varied combinations of cultural elements and still share a

cultural model. Cognition is viewed as a property of cultural groups, and not just the individual. In this sense, cognition is a heterogeneously distributed system with emergent properties that arise from the interactions between the members of a cultural group.

Cultural conceptualizations such as models, schemas and categories are often instantiated in various cultural artifacts and activities. Language in this perspective is viewed as a distributed system and as a repository for cultural conceptualizations. Cultural cognition is largely, but not solely, transmitted through language (Sharifian 2008). If it is possible to ascertain that a culture has a corresponding language, in a migrant situation we are asking the question of how important or essential is a particular language to the corresponding culture or can a culture take on a different language? In this case, can Finnish culture be practised in English?

The way we keep our culture alive when outside our original cultural environment consists not only of the visible symbols we surround ourselves with, but as discussed above each individual cultural cognition contains elements of the group cognition and these elements can be categories, schemas, models or metaphors. Nishida (1999) talks about schemas for social-interaction, while for Sharifian (2008) categories, schemas and cultural models are units of organization in our conceptual knowledge. Schemas are generalized collections of knowledge of past experiences which are organized into related knowledge groups and are used to guide our behaviours in familiar situations (Nishida 1999). Schemas come to characterize the behaviour of the members of the culture. We have learnt a certain way of dealing with people (role schemas) or what we expect to take place at, for instance, a wedding (event schema). Schemas are a way of looking at issues in acculturation, but also in cultural cognition and membership of a cultural group. Recognising elements of an event schema, such as celebrating a public holiday, can have great significance for cultural identity for a person who on many other levels is considered a member of another (mainstream) group.

As discussed above, the strategies of integration have been modelled in research. There is great variation in how individuals from different backgrounds entering different environments react or choose to behave. Do they integrate to mainstream society while maintaining their cultural heritage or do something else? However, it is common for people who have relocated to another culture to continue practices of their original culture in the private domains, but adjust to mainstream in the public domains. What ever the strategies chosen, it is common to use different ones in different life spheres and domains.

In investigating how Finnish culture is still present in the lives of Finnish Australians it is harder to tap onto the deeper layers, the traditions, beliefs and values which are hidden from our view. It is easier to see and hear – or at least to be consciously aware of seeing and hearing – only the uppermost layers of cultural artifacts and of verbal and non verbal symbols (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001). The unilinear definitions of culture in the tradition of e.g. Hofstede (1980) and Andersen et al. (2003) which not only suggest that when learning a new culture one must be unlearning the old, or that if one identifies with individualism one cannot identify with collectivism, also suggest that a stable system of culture is passed on from generation to the next. However, research has shown that the situation is more complex than that and strategies of dealing with life in a new environment are extremely varied.

The general expectation when relocating to a new culture is to adapt: when in Rome do as the Romans do (St. Ambrose, Advice to St Augustine, 387 A.D.). This advice also represents the linear view that while adopting the Romans' ways one is also to lose the ways of one's own culture. Knowledge of the host culture (perhaps along the lines of Hofstede's dimensions of culture) may help us behave as the locals do, to adjust our behaviour to the host culture if we so wish. However, passing as one of the 'locals' requires such a complex and thorough understanding of the local traditions, beliefs and values that they cannot be learnt without extensive immersion, if at all. Todorov (1989) has gone so far as to claim that we can acquire perhaps only one or two cultures other than our own in a lifetime.

We must bear in mind though that culture is not bounded, cultures are not homogenous and it is people who produce culture rather than culture explaining people's behaviour. All this undermines that notion of a culture as defined by core values or underlying principles that differentiate it from others (Phillips 2007, 45). People do not live their lives as robots programmed with cultural rules. In this study we look at what the informants do to feel Finnish, what is important for them if anything. It is about the informants' perception.

Identity is not natural, or original, or permanent, or even necessarily particularly enduring. It is fluid, ever-changing (to varying degrees) and inescapably political (Kukathas 2003), but it serves as a bridge between culture and communication" (Martin & Nakayama 2004, 148).

Acculturation research sometimes uses the terms 'culture' and 'identity' imprecisely and interchangeably which is problematic. Van Oudenhoven et al. (2006) define culture as

a complex construct which may be seen as encompassing artifacts, social institutions, language, customs, traditions and shared meanings. Cultural identity, however, refers to a sense of pride and belongingness to one's cultural group. Immigrants may easily adopt the language, the dress code and the working habits of the new country and even love the new food – all the external trappings of 'culture' – but they may still identify strongly with their nation of origin. This means that immigrants may give up parts of their cultural heritage without giving up their cultural identity. Therefore the question is which aspects of culture are essential for immigrants to retain their cultural identity (Van Oudenhoeven et al. 2006, 647)?

Cultural identity has been divided into subconcepts of ethnic identity, national identity and local identity (Sevänen 2004). This study will focus on ethnic identity, but national identities are also discussed.

In the previous section about culture, maintaining Finnish culture was often presented as manifested through behaviour, as the deeper layers beliefs and values are hidden from our view. Behaviours should be construed as reflections of ethnic identity rather than a core component of ethnic identity. On the other hand Phinney (2003) in summarising several studies concludes that cultural involvement is a crucial factor in ethnic identity change. Similarly the attitudinal component is central to ethnic identity (Gong 2007, 505).

Ethnic identity has been described as a set of ideals about one's own ethnic group membership, including self-identification and knowledge about ethnic culture, and feelings about belonging to a particular ethnic group (Martin & Nakayama 2004). Both ethnic and national identities usually contain fictional and mythical elements, that is, idealized stories about the distant past, and about ancestors stemming from an ethnic group or a nation (Sevänen 2004). Finnish identity contains such fictional and mythical elements depicted for instance in the poems of Kalevala (the national epic). Similarly Maamme kirja by Topelius (1870) covers much of the lore combined with history in a work aiming to explain who Finns are and what their land is. This Topelian thinking is to this day recognised and referred to as significant in the development of Finnish identity.

According to Phinney (1990) ethnic identity consists of four components: self-identification, sense of belonging, attitude to one's group, and ethnic involvement, which includes language, friendship, religious affiliation and practice, structured ethnic social

group, political ideology and activity, area of residence, and miscellaneous ethnic/cultural activities and attitudes.

It has been suggested that ethnicity is likely to play a lesser role in the future when the self-developing individual in a modern society is more drawn to weaker forms of ethnicity i.e. lifestyle and modernist identity (Friedman 1994). There is a development from citizenship and national identities towards the importance of more local identities or primordial loyalties (Sevänen 2004). A similar view is also expressed in the Ang et al. study (2006) where they found that younger Australians of diverse background often claim communal belonging other than the ethnic or national, for instance belonging to a greater global community. Their use of communication and entertainment technology has a key role in enabling this. It may not be about developing a multicultural identity, but that ethnicity overall is less central to the way people identify and associate themselves with others. Younger Australians of diverse backgrounds indicate multiple ways of belonging. These forms of belonging are based on an array of social domains and categories beyond ethnicity and nation: generation, gender, work, school and leisure, region, town and neighbourhood, friendships and subcultures, religion and so on (Ang et al. 2006, 27).

Behavioural ethnic identity refers to cultural expressions such as language and its use, the practice of endogamy, and the choice of best friends from one's own ethnic group. Symbolic ethnic identity refers to the knowledge and pride that one reflects about one's own ethnic group (Berry & Laponce 1994). The role of language for ethnic identity is not straight forward. Phinney (1992) argues that since language has a different salience within various groups (and virtually none for some), it cannot be considered as a factor when measuring general ethnic identity. On the other hand, for instance, Fishman (1966; 1977) has seen language as precious in its role of a carrier of dimensions of ethnicity, but also admits that ethnic identity can be maintained even though the language is lost or not used. There is evidence to this effect for instance among Finnish Americans (Taramaa 2007 for overview of studies). Language is an important marker of cultural/ethnic identity, but both culture and ethnicity can be maintained without competence in the corresponding language.

Cultural identity is considered to be dynamic and to allow features of a new culture to be added without losing anything of the old (Sussman 2002). Such change in identification has been called interculturality, which refers to alternating between feeling a member of the new culture and old culture, but really belonging somewhere between the two (Tange

2005). The same situation has been approached also in studies on bicultural competence which focus on how people actually deal with adapting to a new host culture, how they do it. Bicultural people may still feel the pressure to choose just one of their cultures. This is referred to as low bicultural identity integration (BII). Individuals with high BII see themselves as part of a hyphenated culture, or even a third culture (Benet-Martinez et al. 2002).

According to Benet-Martinez & Haritatos (2005) there are significant individual differences in the way bicultural identities are negotiated and organized, contrary to what traditional acculturation studies have suggested. The differences include socio-cultural (generational status, cultural make up of the community), socio-cognitive (personality, attitudes), and socio-emotional factors (stress due to discrimination or in-group pressure). The ability to negotiate bicultural identification is referred to as Bicultural Competence (BCC) (LaFromboise et al. 1993). In most studies this refers to first generation migrants whose original cultural identity is based on the culture as the person knew it at the time of leaving. This also applies to language skills. Unless the migrants, or in fact their offspring, have had extensive opportunities to update their cultural competence, they identify with a culture and language that no longer exists as such. The cultural heritage that many long term migrants and their children cling to is in this sense symbolic. This only becomes an issue, when a person with these identifications and competences returns to the country of origin and is faced with the changes.

In this study the focus is on coping with cultural diversity in Australia. What do second and third generation Australian Finns maintain of the heritage when they may no longer have complete command of Finnish or their skills are becoming archaic? Who identifies as Finnish and why?

3. How the study was conducted

Research questions

The project set out to investigate how second and third generation Australian Finns communicate their Finnish culture and heritage. The central questions are:

- How have second and third generation Finnish Australians experienced language and culture contact?
- What is their linguistic and cultural competence?
- What are their attitudes towards their Finnish heritage and Australian Finnish identity?

This project aims to find out how the children of the first generation feel about their heritage; what are their attitudes towards it, what action they have taken, what their Finnish skills are and cultural knowledge and what is their cultural identity? The project will describe the main differences between the generations' experiences, attitudes and identity, and will discuss how these are likely to affect the future of Finnish language and culture as part of multicultural and multilingual Australia.

This study belongs to the realm of human science research which according to Moustakas (1994, 21) shares common bonds including recognizing the value of qualitative designs and methodologies, studies of human experience that are not approachable through quantitative approaches. Considering the number of Finnish heritage population in Australia, attempting to gather large numbers of data e.g. via multiple choice questionnaires, to allow for statistical computations and averages, would not be cost effective. Firstly, to find enough suitable informants would not be very easy and convincing them to take part in yet another migrant study would be challenging. On the other hand, it could be argued that generalization in research is overvalued. After all, the average behaviour calculated from N number of instances is, in fact, the actual behaviour of no-one and as such tells us very little.

This study makes use of case study methods. Based on previous experience in the field and with the community under investigation, it was clear that a limited number of selected cases studied in depth was an appropriate method to answer the research questions. The aim was to study cases that are, although comparable as representative of the group under investigation, diverse with respect to relevant aspects of migration history and conditions. For instance, the existence of a close knit ethnic community or distance from such can be considered an important aspect to the experience. Studying a limited number of selected cases is more useful when the aim is to gauge the diversity of experiences. The power of examples is in this research setting more effective than outcomes of generalization.

The study is phenomenological in that it does not so much aim at finding universal generalizations, but understanding the semiotic world of the people under investigation at the time of the investigation. The researcher did not just visit the informants but re-immersed in the community she has been a member of. This role was an advantage and allowed participant observation and access to many more hours of casual interaction which served as background to the actual core data collection. The study is also hermeneutic and analyzing conversation data involves extensive interpretation of communication. In this research setting the main emphasis is on interpretation of linguistic expressions (recorded conversations), but also of facial expressions, gestures etc.

According to Seidman (1998, 4) qualitative interview research is based on the presumption that the significance we give our own experience has an essential effect on how we live with those experiences. It is possible to try and understand other person's experience, but an experience cannot be shared in its entirety. If we could completely understand someone else's experience we would be that person (Ibid, 3). However, in the hermeneutic view it is not doubted that behind a person's individuality something common and intelligible could be re-enacted. The hermeneutic circle of interpretation, critique and re-interpretation is one of the methods used to analyze the conversations and other data.

Researcherers inevitably have their own preconceptions and views of the matter and situation which are studied and it is important that they recognize these. The semiotic world under investigation is already known to us in some way before the actual investigation because we often live in the same cultural environment. Some preconception of the matter at hand is in fact a necessity to understand the conceptualizations. The aim of such research could be described as turning something that is already familiar into something that is known (Laine 2001, 31).

In this study the researcher's familiarity and preconception of the migrant experience come not only from research background in the field, but also from personal migrant experience and having been a member of the Finnish community in Brisbane for altogether six years. This background gives insight into the issues under investigation and provides access to the community. It also constitutes the preconception. In hermeneutic research the researcher has a dialogue with the data and returns to it after initial and later interpretations. The data and interpretations are critically reflected and tested.

Informants

The cases studied in this project represent second and third generation Finnish Australians. There are five second generation informants and four third generation informants. The definition of generation is not strictly tied to age at the time of migration, which particularly in language acquisition studies is held to be a crucial criterion. In a study focusing on cultural maintenance, attitudes and identity it is less crucial whether the person was under seven years of age or in their early teens at the time of migration. The informants were young at the time of migration and left Finland with their families as a result of their parents' decision to migrate. It is clear, of course, that the more years a child has had in Finland, the better their opportunities to develop Finnish skills. The second generation informants' ages on arrival to Australia vary from one to fourteen years and one of them was born in Australia. There are two male and three female informants. Parents' arrival years are 1968 and 1995.

Third generation informants were all born in Australia. The years of grandparents' original migration are 1903 and 1968. Three of the third generation informants are female and one is male.

The informants were selected among the Australian Finnish community which the researcher already had access to as a member of the community and through previous research. A main variable in selecting diverse cases was existence of and contact with local Finnish community. Three of the second generation informants had lived in close contact with Finns, while two have lived mostly in areas with sparse Finnish population. All second generation informants had lived in several locations in Australia, so where they were at the time of the interview was not necessarily the area where they had spent their childhood and teenage years.

Data collection and analysis

Data was collected during three field trips in Australia in the period 2007-2009. The informants were interviewed 2-3 times which allowed for follow up once data previously collected had been analyzed.

At the time of the first field trip informants were interviewed in the Atherton Tablelands, Brisbane and Melbourne. On consequent rounds the informant from Melbourne was met in South East Queensland.

Interviews were generally done in the informants' home. On one instance, due to time restrictions, a meeting was arranged in a restaurant at the informants' suggestion. A quiet restaurant had been chosen where the interview could be carried out while other people in the party chatted nearby. One second round interview was conducted over the phone. A small digital voice recorder was used to record the conversations. This was introduced to the informants as a necessary tool to allow the researcher to concentrate on the person and not on taking notes. No-one objected to being recorded or appeared to be performing for the recorder. The audio files were then stored on a PC and copied on CD as backup files. Since only the researcher and the informant took part in the conversation it often bore the signs of an interview, at least to start off with. However, particularly with the second generation, who had a migration story to tell, the atmosphere soon relaxed into a conversation or a chat about the experience. None of the recorded conversations followed a rigid interview format, but were slightly structured conversations. Younger third generation informants seemed to expect, at least on the first round a clearer question-answer structure. Data on the fourth third generation informant is based on notes of several conversations over the course of the project. The choice of language was in theory left to the informant, but in practice it followed the pattern usually used between the researcher and these individuals. Three informants were interviewed in Finnish and six in English.

At the end of the first round interviews the informants were asked to fill in a short questionnaire on attitudes. The purpose and the content of the questionnaire were briefly explained to them and completing it only took a few minutes (Appendix 1) Including a questionnaire into the procedure was a result of careful consideration. Although many attitudinal issues came up in conversation it was considered useful to also ask informants to indicate their attitudes towards issues on multiculturalism, integration and acculturation in a more systematic fashion. The questionnaire has 27 statements and each was followed by a five point scale from completely disagree (1) to completely agree (5) and informants were asked to mark one attitude per statement. The measurement method of using one or two statements per issue has been found the most appropriate in acculturation studies (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver 2006). Having four statements about the same issue becomes verbally complex and the social pressure to reply in an acceptable way increases.

In addition to the core cases, three other interviews were done which are used in the discussion below. One of the first generation migrants was interviewed to verify some of the background of the family's migration history. The spouse of a second generation

informant was interviewed to shed light on the reality of a multicultural marriage from a non-Finnish point of view. As a point of comparison a 21st century migrant living in a multicultural marriage and raising a bilingual second generation was also interviewed.

The 18 hours of recordings were transcribed focusing on content. Details pertaining to conversation analysis were not included, such as turn taking or overlapping speech, unless they had importance in conveying for instance an attitude.

The Word files were then entered into NVivo analysis package. The transcripts were read through several times and recordings listened to repeatedly to identify themes and issues emerging from the conversation and between the lines. These themes and issues as well as features of the language such as code-switching were coded (see appendix 2 for list of codes used). The idea of the Nvivo analysis tool is that similarly coded sections from different interviews are clustered together in a separate file for further analysis. For instance, expressions of perceived host country attitudes were coded as "oz attitudes" in all transcripts and NVivo then creates a node file for all these excerpts including information on the length of the excerpt and the original document.

After the first round of interviews, coding and analysis, it was possible to isolate issues that needed to be followed up in later data collection rounds. This is one of the particular strengths of this research design.

The analysis of the first interviews brought up questions of how much of Finnish traditional cultural symbolism and customs actually were relevant to the informants. It can of course be argued that these are no longer important in contemporary Finland either, but on the other hand, some of the old symbols can be surprisingly enduring. Informants were also encouraged to think further back in their earlier experiences of language change and adjusting to the new environment to get an idea of the process they had gone through and how they perceived it. The second interview round was similarly recorded, coded and analysed. During the last research year, it was possible to spend an extended time immersed in the community and observe the informants in informal situations.

Questionnaire answers on attitudes were entered into an Excel spreadsheet where it was possible to analyze answers per question and per case as well as compare it with data

which had emerged from the conversations. Questionnaire data is here used to support discussion of interview data.

The experience of the informants will be discussed in light of Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) (Navas et al. 2005), ethnic identity development in acculturation, and expressions of ethnicity which have already been discussed in more detail in the previous chapter on theoretical framework. Using the principle of the hermeneutic circle the researcher interpreted the data into hypothesis and critiqued that by returning to the data and mirroring it to relevant research findings elsewhere. There is always observer's paradox to be considered. The moment something is being observed the fact that it is being observed affects the object being observed. However, all possible precautions were taken to minimize the effects of this and the data and its interpretation are a reliable representation of the experience the informants expressed.

4. Cases

This chapter describes each case/informant briefly to help the reader appreciate the context of the data that is later discussed according to categories. The second generation is presented first followed by third generation informants.

Second generation

Jaana[1]

Jaana's parents migrated to Australia in 1968 when Jaana was one year old. Her brother was born in Australia later the same year. After the required two years, stated by the passage assistance scheme and agreed on by the parents, the family of four returned to Finland in 1971. At the time of remigration the children were Finnish monolinguals with some transference from English (words such as '*komikkia*' comics). After a year in Finland the family decided to head back to the southern hemisphere and moved to Papua New Guinea. The father went first and in the European summer of 1972 the family followed. Both children were under the age of seven (when school starts in Finland) so they had not had any formal training in the Finnish language. The community they entered in Papua New Guinea was very multicultural and although there were no other Finnish families with children, the children did not feel different because of their Finnish looks, language or heritage. However, as Jaana was old enough to start school in the Australian system, problems soon arose and taking the teacher's advice the parents decided to start using only English at home. Parents had studied English as a foreign language at school in Finland and had by this time acquired reasonable fluency living in Australia and the New Guinea.

The family left for Australia in 1978, bought a farm in Far North Queensland, but went to live and work in another town. The third child was born there later in the same year. Later the family moved to their farm and all three children have remained in that area, with the exception of the second child working in another part of Australia for a period of time but then returning to the area.

During the time in Papua New Guinea contact to Finland had been letters and the occasional recorded letter and slides. The mother made her first trip to Finland in 1979 with the youngest child. From this trip she took back a letter from one of her nieces to Jaana in the hope to re-establish the strong connection the girls had had when growing up together

1 *Names have been changed into pseudonyms*

in Finland. Correspondence from Finland was in Finnish and Jaana replied in English. The communication switched into English as soon as the Finnish cousin's English skills permitted. This put an end to the regular input of Finnish for Jaana, but on the other hand allowed the relationship between cousins to grow stronger more quickly.

Jaana visited Finland with her brother in the European winter 1986-87. She loved it and was able to communicate with grandparents and other relatives. Jaana visited Finland again in 1989 with her mother. They spent the summer visiting all the relatives and enjoying Finnish summer, as Jaana's previous visit had been in the winter. Jaana has not returned to Finland since 1989, but the dream of showing it to her Australian husband and children still lives on. Three of her four children have Finnish godparents (the cousin she continued to stay in touch with) and she is godmother to the daughter of one of her other Finnish cousins.

Jaana continues to stay in touch with her Finnish family. Contact with her mother's side of the Finnish family is mostly through her godparents and the cousin mentioned above. Until quite recently she had a special uncle on her father's side of the family that stayed in close contact and after his passing one of the cousins has continued to stay in touch. Jaana's Finnish skills are surprising. She can speak some Finnish, but naturally the latest developments in the language are strange to her and dialects can be impossible to decipher. She does ring some of her elderly relatives for birthdays and speaks Finnish to them, so she does rely on her Finnish to keep in contact. To keep in touch with her roots, she needs the language and she is not afraid to use the skills she has.

Jaana has not passed Finnish language skills onto her children. She would have liked to, but the physical and attitude environment were not favourable to this plan so she did not push it. She has, however, clung to her Finnish heritage and expressions of this sieve through to the next generation via the food, ceremonies, decorative items and memorabilia.

Peter

Peter was born in Melbourne in 1968. His parents and sister had migrated from Finland earlier that year. In his first years he stayed at home with his mother and sister, while the father worked. The family's language was Finnish. In 1971 they returned to Finland when Peter was still under three years of age. As he was so young he did not go to school or kindergarten in Finland, but was looked after either by mother or relatives. In Finland

everyone called him by his Finnish middle name, whereas in Australia his first name, which is Anglo, had been used. He did not have a special friend of his own age to play with in Finland, but tagged along with his sister. Before he turned four they left for Australia and Papua New Guinea. The family had changed home language into English before he started school. There are then no stories of his teachers or anyone commenting that he would have lagged behind the other multicultural background children. He became an "Aussie". His school time friends were mostly Anglo-Australians. Blond with a tan and the Aussie accent he looks and sounds Australian. Only his Finnish last name is a cue to the heritage. The family took Australian citizenship in 1975.

He visited Finland with his sister in 1986. Although he did not speak any Finnish and understood very little, he values the visit especially for the time he got to spend with his grandparents. He admits that the time at grandparents' place was a time when Finnish skills would truly have come in handy. He says that he learnt early on to "zone out" when Finnish was spoken around him and to this day says that it is a useful skill and happens quite automatically with any foreign language. It does not bother him that he does not understand what is said around him. Interestingly he is in such situation all the time since his partner is Italian and continues to speak Italian to their son. With his Finnish background he, however, is the native English speaking Australian in the family. He has not learnt Italian himself but is very proud of his son being bilingual and happy that they have been able to provide him with the opportunity of growing up with two languages.

After a very mobile childhood he has stayed quite steadily in the same area the family eventually settled in. Work took him and his family to another location for a period, but he has returned to the original area.

Eero

Eero arrived in Australia in 1968 with his parents, when he was twelve. He remembers that he did not want to leave Finland, his friends and his grandmother. In Australia the family settled in a town which had a large and active Finnish community and they were immediately included in it and made feel welcome. The parents never became fluent in English although they learnt enough to manage. The parents' social circle was always entirely Finnish. During Eero's first years in Australian school he did not learn much English as there were so many Finnish children in the same school they could speak Finnish amongst themselves. Noticing that their son was struggling with English the

parents decided to send him to a boarding school for a year where he would have contact with Australians.

After his year apart from the parents they reunited in another state. Again the area had many Finns and the parents continued to socialize with Finns, but Eero started to also have his own non-Finnish speaking friends. He married a non-Finn and their daughter was brought up English monolingual. Communication with Finnish grandparents was always through Eero as an interpreter. He has lived with two languages and cultural contexts comfortably, moving between Finnish to Finns and English to non-Finns. Later in life he had a chance to move to live close to his ageing parent and this naturally reinforces the Finnish again. Around the same time in life he also had the opportunity to visit Finland. He had not done this since leaving Finland some forty years earlier.

Tuuli

Tuuli arrived in Australia in 1995 at the age of fourteen with her mother and younger sister. Two brothers joined them later, but only the elder one remained in Australia while the younger returned to Finland. In the 1990s the numbers of new Finnish migrants to Australian were already very low. This family migrated due to family reasons and joined an elderly great grandmother who already lived in Australia. The great grandmother and her Finnish partner were members of an active Finnish community so the granddaughter and her children also had access to social activities in Finnish. Soon the entire family moved to a bigger city, where contact with the Finnish community was immediately established.

Tuuli says that when she started school in Australia she was placed in a class of academically less accomplished children because she had ESL (English as a second language). This was school policy simply because migrant children were not studying in their mother tongue. She remembers receiving some help with the language at school, although actual ESL teaching was not provided at that time yet. While school and friends provided an entry to the Australian society, home and family's social life continued to have a strong Finnish emphasis. In the mid 1990s the local Finnish community happened to receive several families with children of a similar age. For a while even the teenagers were active in community events and they had programs of their own and performed at club and church events. This did not last long though. As immersion into Australian life continued and the role of Australian peers grew, the importance of the Finnish contact diminished, particularly participation in events and celebrations.

After completing her first university degree Tuuli spent seven months, mostly winter, in Finland working in her field and gaining experience. Comments about that period in her life indicate its importance in her understanding of her identity. Having since married a non-Finnish speaking Australian she is also facing the issues of raising a multicultural and multilingual family herself. She would like her partner to have similar access to both cultures and languages as she does, but if that is not possible, she is at least determined to pass her language and culture onto her children.

Oona

Oona was four when she arrived in Australia in 1995. She grew up in a household of Finnish speaking great-grandparents, mother, brother and sister. There were also frequent visits from the Finnish grandmother. Contact with the local Finnish community was close although the nature of it changed when the great-grandparents passed away and as other social circles were established. After she started school she was headed down the typical second generation path of English gaining more ground and replacing Finnish in one life domain after another. When signs of this started to show, Oona's mother sent her to Finland to live with her aunt and grandmother, attend a semester of school and learn to read and write in Finnish. She did this on two occasions and has since also traveled back for visits. Close family contacts in Australia and in Finland provide her opportunities to speak Finnish and keep up with Finnish culture. She may not be very interested in contemporary Finland in general, but her family and its heritage are important.

Third generation

Cathy, Chris and Eveliina

Cathy, Chris and Eveliina's grandparents migrated from Finland in 1968. Their mother arrived as a baby of less than a year of age. The third generation has grown up living in close vicinity of their Finland born grandparents and were in weekly, if not daily, contact with them when little. Similarly the other grandparents, aunt and cousins have always lived next door. As the Finland born grandparents changed home language very early on, the common language in the family is English. The grandparents did, however, try to teach the grandchildren some Finnish when they were looking after them as very little. The children also spent a lot of time in the grandparents' house and got used to the Finnish ways of thinking and doing things, style of cooking and house decoration, which to them represent the grandparents, not necessarily their Finnish heritage. In the grandparent's house they would also have grown accustomed to hearing Finnish spoken around them. Although

their mother seldom speaks Finnish at home, she has continued with some Finnish food traditions and there are Finnish memorabilia, furniture and decorative items in the house. These too are mostly linked in the third generation's mind as something particular to their family, while the connection to Finland is not necessarily recognized.

Although the children have small age differences and have grown up in the same environment, the outcomes in relations to their affinity with Finnish heritage are very different. At the time of data collection they were in their late teens. Although all three are clearly Australian and acknowledge their Finnish heritage, with Cathy and Chris the balance is more clearly tipped the Australian way, while Eveliina is identified, at least by mother and grandmother, as the Finnish child in the family. This is mainly apparent on the attitude level, as she shows the most interest in Finland and Finnish, and best appreciates the importance these hold for her mother.

Sheryl

Our fourth member of the third generation represents a different period of original migration and the case is different in many ways. Sheryl's Swedish speaking Finnish grandfather arrived in Australia in 1903. He migrated to join his brother who had arrived a couple years earlier. At the time Finland was an autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia, a circumstance which was instrumental to their motivation for migrating. Both men soon learnt English, although the grandfather's speech held distinctive accented elements. He married an Australian and the family was raised English speaking. A successful businessman, he took his family on a trip to Europe in 1924 and visited Finland. At the time Sheryl's father was ten years old. He has not visited Finland since that trip. Sheryl remembers that family used some words that must have originated from Swedish, although the children did not realize that at the time, it was just how the family spoke. Particular traditions or customs were not passed on. None of her several aunts, uncles or cousins speak Swedish or have a particular affinity with Finland. It is interesting then that she felt the mantle of the grandfather as a family historian was passed on to her. When life took her to Europe and Scandinavia, she was able to visit her grandfather's home town and meet relatives. She also learnt Swedish during her two years in Sweden. Since then she has returned on visits and has started researching her family history.

5. Subjective sense of belonging – language and culture

5.1. Factors affecting maintenance or loss of language and/or culture

Factors influencing language maintenance have been discussed by many scholars (e.g. Kloss 1966; Clyne 1982; 1991; 2003; Romaine 1995). Language and culture are entwined and many of the factors behind language maintenance outcomes are also relevant to maintaining cultural elements, traditions, beliefs and values in a migrant context. The factors discussed below are particularly relevant in this context.

Presence of non-English speakers in the household

The presence of non-English speakers has been varied among these second generation informants. The case with the most powerful influence of non-English speakers would be Eero, whose parents never became fluent in English. For him continuing to speak Finnish with parents was inevitable and to this day he still speaks fluent Finnish. The family was also in close contact with the local Finnish community and parents' social circle was entirely Finnish.

Tuuli and Oona (and their brother) lived in a household of Finnish speakers most of whom could also speak English but chose to speak Finnish. Finnish speaking great grandparents were living with them and would naturally be spoken to in Finnish. Both sisters are fluent Finnish speakers. The family has also been active members of the local Finnish community, although their social circle has not been limited to the Finnish speaking.

Jaana and Peter are special in the sense that although their parents could speak both languages, they made a deliberate choice and conscious effort to shift the family language into English only. The household did not have permanent non-English speakers, however, there have been Finnish visitors and people staying short term. Peter no longer speaks any Finnish and Jaana has limited fluency.

In this data the third generation no longer speaks Finnish at the time of data collection, however, there have been some efforts to learn it. Jaana's children spent considerable time with their grandparents and interestingly the grandparents who had started speaking English at home to their children now wanted to teach Finnish to their grandchildren. This was not systematic though and not supported by schooling or other learning so the children now only know that they were taught some Finnish words when they were little. For

Eero's daughter the non-English speaking grandparents were too far away geographically to prompt language learning and during visits Eero acted as a translator.

Sheryl's immediate family did not include non-English speakers. However, she remembers that on visits to aunt and uncles when she was little, another language was spoken. This was Swedish, which the aunt who never learnt English would have spoken to her children, husband and brothers.

The presence of family members who only communicate in Finnish has clearly had the expected effect in this data. Needing to use Finnish regularly in family communication creates a natural language use domain. When the contact is more sporadic, as with Sheryl and her aunt and uncle, or not absolutely necessary, as with parents who could use either language, English is the language of choice.

Visitors from the home country

Although some of the visitors from Finland speak English, they may not be expected to speak it with their hosts as the Australian Finnish hosts welcome the have a chance to speak Finnish with them while also hearing all the latest from Finland. Some Australian Finns are very aware of the differences between their variety of spoken Finnish and spoken Finland Finnish, and have been heard commenting that they cannot speak their usual code-switched variant of Australian Finnish to a visitor fresh from Finland. On the other hand they may also have trouble comprehending the speech of a visiting Finn.

Finnish visitors from Finland started coming to Jaana and Peter's home after their language shift was already complete. They had a cousin stay with them for a year when they were in their teens. This certainly built a bond between the cousins, but language and culture wise the period really only worked for the benefit of the Finnish cousin whose English improved and who developed a strong attachment to Australia and its lifestyle. Later other cousins, aunts and uncles visited with whom the parents spoke Finnish and the children English if possible. Most of the visitors came after Jaana had moved out of the family home, so her contact with the visitors has been less intense. Naturally she spoke Finnish to those aunts and uncles who could not speak English, but since she only met them on short visits the impact on her Finnish skills would not have been great. However, the ability to communicate in Finnish and having the opportunity to do this every now and then with relatives, has been of great importance in building relationships and strengthening Jaana's

connection to the family history and heritage. Peter who stayed longer in the parents' house, however, comments that the parents really enjoyed having Finnish visitors and speaking Finnish, while he would just zone out. Even if the Finnish contact was not seen as directly beneficial to himself, it is interesting that he recalls how much it meant to his parents. Inevitably having more Finns in the house also emphasized Finnish customs, meals and behaviours in addition to the use of Finnish language. Peter grew accustomed to having this diversity around him and acquired behaviours even if the language was lost.

In addition to living with their Finnish great grandmother for several years, Tuuli and Oona have had several visitors from Finland. Their aunts and uncles have visited, but more importantly their grandmother has come to live with her mother and daughter's family on several occasions for months at a time. This has been important on many levels. First of all since she does not speak English, in her presence more consistent use of Finnish at home becomes natural. Also the entire family's contact with Finnish community livens up since she has many acquaintances of her own in the community dating back to her first extended visits. She is not just any Finnish speaking grandmother, but quite a special person who has in Finland been an illustrious cultural personality and to her Australian Finnish grandchildren she is an irreplaceable source of family history, Finnish folk lore and cultural history and she also brings with her the latest trends and fashions from Finland. The informants, however, do not so much notice the cultural input the visitors bring but naturally enjoy the opportunity to spend time with a family member and maintain that bond. The same goes with regard to the visits of the brothers. One of the brothers who has not lived in Australia with the sisters is due to come on a visit. Although he speaks English the language used between him the sisters and the mother is Finnish while with the other brother who did live in Australia for a period, they often switch to English.

Eero's home with his parents was entirely Finnish speaking all the time, but this was also emphasized by visitors from Finland. Relatives visited regularly as well as friends. They also welcomed in their home people introduced to them by their friends thus enlarging the circle of Finnish speaking friends and acquaintances. Although the language issue limited their social circle to Finnish speakers the parents were not otherwise only Finland oriented. In fact they were always very interested in anything Australia had to offer and were keen to take their visitors and any new comers around for drives to show them the sights and places of interest.

The younger third generation informants have had visitors from Finland, but since these days most of the Finns who travel have English skills, the third generation gets away with English in communicating with these visitors. However, it is possible that there is an influence on the attitudinal level and definitely on the cultural, as the visitors in their personae carry the message that there is real use for communication in Finnish and understanding more subtle levels of the culture. There would also be increased opportunities to hear Finnish spoken in the house and chances to realize that their mother, who generally is taken for an Aussie, is able to switch into this foreign language. The visitors would also bring with them items from Finland, photos and stories which make it real that there is an entire family of cousins, aunts and uncles over in Finland.

Sheryl has had very few visitors from Finland. In fact, she does not remember anyone visiting them in her childhood. Instead it was the Australian family's role to go and visit the original family home in Finland, a sort of pilgrimage she calls it, to go and have a family portrait taken in front of old family photos in the old house. She has, however, only recently, after her own visits to Finland, hosted a visit from a second cousin. This is all to do with the revitalization of language skills and discovering family history.

The role of visitors is very important. These informants have mostly been lucky in having had family in Finland who travel for visits. However, it is also common that family and relatives in Finland consider it to be more natural for those who have left the home country to return to it and keep in touch with the family. Not every family shares the migrants' enthusiasm for world travel. This data demonstrates that although visits from the homeland can be important for the second and third generation in enforcing the connection to the family overseas and the heritage culture, for those who still speak the language the visits also provide an important opportunity to maintain and update skills.

New migrants

Arrival of new migrants is considered to have a positive influence on language and culture maintenance among migrants, particularly when the new comers at least initially stay with relatives or friends who had perhaps sponsored them to come to Australia or offered to help at the beginning. This would have made a difference to Eero as his parents were always part of the local Finnish community. When they first arrived in Australia earlier arrivals helped them to get started and they successfully continued this tradition. The late 1960s was a time when new Finnish migrants were still arriving in greater numbers and

the Mt Isa community in particular continued to be revitalized by new migrants. Eero's parents continued the tradition also when Eero had already left home. This custom is strongly connected to the parents' lack of English skills and particularly the mother's need for social interaction.

Since Jaana's family did not go out of their way to seek the company of a Finnish community, the importance of new migrants to their ethnocultural environment would not have been great. Considering that they belong to the same wave of Finnish Australian migration as Eero's family above, a wave which in light of Finnish migration numbers had the best chance to find company of similarly circumstanced Finns, it is a less typical choice to stay away from the community. Much later, in the late 1990s Jaana's father assisted in bringing out a Finnish family as part of a business venture. For the period the new migrant family stayed with Jaana's parents, or in close proximity, they would have revitalized Finnish in the house. However, for Peter who lived on his parents' farm at the time, this was just another time to zone out when Finnish was spoken around him. For Jaana, who visited regularly, the new Finnish family was another opportunity to speak Finnish. Now that the family has moved to a nearby town she still bumps into them occasionally when shopping in that town and has said that taken by surprise she finds it hard to switch to Finnish, but she does.

> J[2]: we don't I don't speak Finnish
> I: mm
> J: unless I ring Finland
> I: yeah
> J: or *Eeva täti* or running to those *Joki* Finns in [their town] and just have a mental blank [gestures]

A cousin also migrated to Australia in the 1990s and initially stayed with the family. This would have been another boost to Finnish influence, however, the couple both spoke English and Finnish was only really used with the older generation when younger people were not around. Although the couple did not stay in the area, they have continued to be in close contact and provide a link also to the relatives in Finland.

Arriving originally decades later than the above families, Tuuli's and Oona's family were themselves late newcomers assisted by earlier arrivals and since they remained in close contact with the local Finnish community they would have made friends with families who arrived around the same time or later. Oona does actually mention how there were kids

2 *Initial of informant used in the quotes, I stands for interviewer.*

about the same age in church and association events and for a time they formed a closer cluster. However, with adolescence, different schools and new Australian friends these connections loosened and Finnishness did not prove to be a strong enough connecting force against the pressures of mainstream society.

For the young third generation informants new migrants from Finland would have influenced the environment in providing parents and grandparents more Finnish use situations and thus more Finnish influence in the homes. Since all recent Finnish migrants in this period speak English, there are no communication problems as such except that the English is accented and the third generation has grown to be so called "sympathetic listeners". They want to understand and help the ESL speaker. Similarly they have grown accustomed to different habits and customs which are just written off as things the Finns do.

In Sheryl's case the importance of new migrants from Finland dates back to the first generation. Her grandfather's sister migrated with her family to join her brothers, and since she never learnt English her children and other family had to continue speaking Swedish to her. Presumably some customs and traditions would have been maintained in her lifetime as well. Although language and culture shift were complete in the second generation of Sheryl's family, the visits and contact with this great aunt's family nevertheless continue to be special links to the origins of the family.

The importance of new migrants to language and culture maintenance is supported by this data. The closer the contact with the new migrants the more impact it obviously had on the daily life of settled Australian Finns. In addition to the more obvious benefits of language and culture immersion, which could result from welcoming any new migrants from the homeland, new migration of family members appears particularly powerful for the further generations in emphasizing the connection to the extended family overseas and developing the feeling of belonging to a family tree.

Extended families

There is evidence that extended families are better placed than nuclear families to foster language maintenance because of a more extensive network of community language speakers (Pauwels 2005). The same would apply for culture maintenance. It is not typical for Finnish Australian migration to have extended families in Australia, rather it has been migration of single people or nuclear families. One of the families in this data were special

in this sense because there were times when they had four generations living in the one household, although the grandmother has not lived permanently in Australia. However, as the great grandmother had migrated to Australia prior to her granddaughter and great grandchildren, it is not the more typical case of migrants bringing retired grandparents along with them.

Jaana and Peter, mostly only Jaana, had contact with extended family when they first arrived in Australia and stayed with the mother's second cousins in Melbourne. Because of the age difference and difference in migration periods these cousins took on a role of surrogate grandparents to Jaana and Peter. Later when they settled on opposite sides of the continent the relationship was maintained by mutual visits. As the cousins aged and stopped traveling, Jaana and her mother went to see them as often as possible. Jaana's children and Peter's son, third generation in this study, on the other hand, have had Finnish grandparents living close by when growing up (Finnish grandfather died 2002). As mentioned above it has been interesting to observe how the same people as grandparents valued their first language and culture very differently than they did as parents to their own young children. This is in line with Hansen's (1938) theory that by the third generation there is no real risk involved in emphasizing the heritage culture. It poses no threat to mainstream membership. The general attitudes in Australia would also have changed considerably from the late 1960s to the 1990s. Jaana has commented on the role of grandparents and pointed out the difference in her and her children's early childhood. She did not have the opportunity to spend time with grandparents as she was in Australia and grandparents in Finland. She is happy that her children have had their grandparents so near and have been able to share so much of their life with them.

Before leaving Finland Eero lived in a rural environment where his grandmother lived in the same household. She did not migrate with the family. In Australia Eero did not have extended Finnish family around him, although as mentioned above there was always a circle of Finnish friends and community. In fact, in his married life the household included his wife's English speaking mother. Thus when it comes to heritage language and culture, his daughter had even stronger influences of mainstream culture.

Extended families living together are rare in contemporary Finland. Hence the tradition does not exist among migrant families either. In this data we have two exceptional cases of close contact between generations. One is due to the oldest family member migrating first

and a grandchild and great grandchildren joining her later. The other family lives in a rural area and the lifestyle provides more opportunities for the family to stay together. This is atypical, as most Finnish migrants only have the nuclear family in Australia. On the other hand, in this respect they integrate well into Australian mainstream of nuclear families. As these cases show, having extended family around does not self evidently lead to a certain outcome, but it depends on what the extended family chooses to do with the situation. When grandparents had decided to switch language early on, the time and opportunity to pass Finnish onto the grandchildren came too late. There was already one non-Finnish speaking generation in between. Nevertheless, having extended family close by or in the same household certainly increases the input of heritage culture, ways of thinking and values, if not language use situations.

Endogamous families or exogamous families using the one parent one language principle

Both census data on community languages and ethno specific studies confirm that endogamous families have a greater chance of language maintenance than exogamous families. Nevertheless, there is increasing evidence that the community language can be maintained successfully in an exogamous situation using the one parent – one language principle (Pauwels 2005).

Eero had endogamous Finnish parents who spoke only Finnish. Finnish was the only language used at home and naturally Eero maintained his Finnish. When he married a monolingual English speaking Australian and had a child he did not pursue passing Finnish skills to her. Instead he chose to be the interpreter between his family (wife, daughter, mother-in-law) and his parents.

In the same period Jaana and Peter, who also had endogamous Finnish parents, had English as home language from the age of 5 and 4 onwards. Under pressure from education experts at the time the parents made a conscious decision to switch home language into English. Finnish was spoken in the home when parents spoke to one another and did not want the children to understand or when parents talked with Finnish visitors, but communication as a family was only in English.

Tuuli and Oona came to Australia with a sole Finnish parent who has continued to speak Finnish with her children. The household was for a long time very Finnish as the Finnish origin great-grandparents lived with the family. Lately it has been noted that mother and

the younger daughter do also speak in English depending on the topic and place. For instance school and study related issues are discussed in English, just because translating the terminology would be tedious. The elder daughter always speaks Finnish to her mother she says:

> "mutta äitin kanssa suomea ja pitää aina muistaa se että yrittää"
> "but with mum [I speak] Finnish and must always remember to try."

As a comparison there are of course cases of exogamous marriage, although among the 1950s and 1960s migration waves single people were a minority while it was mostly migration of young families. This example is of more recent migration when migration of single people to marry Australians has become more common. Maria was born in Australia in 2005 to a Finland born mother and Australian father. Her mother has consistently spoken Finnish to her and her sister, while the father speaks English and has no skills in Finnish. The fact that the mother has stayed at home with the children and has thus had hours of entirely Finnish input has been helpful. She has also made a real effort in creating a varied Finnish language environment with the help of videos, music and books. It must be mentioned though that the success of this one parent one language principle has been supported by regular extended visits to Finland.

The case of Jaana's children is more complex. In the second generation, as the definition of ethnic identity gets fuzzy on the edges, it is harder to call a marriage endogamous or exogamous. Jaana is Australian and native English speaker, but also Finland born and ethnically and culturally fluent in Finnish. She regrets not having pursued the one parent one language principle with her children. She thinks that had she had the house to herself and the children for some hours of the day, she could have stuck to the principle, but as this was impossible to arrange and she always had people around, she was not able to do this. She also mentions having been taught by her parents to think that it is rude to speak another language in the presence of those who do not understand or speak it and thus would not have felt comfortable speaking Finnish to the children even in the presence of her husband.

Interestingly Peter's son has been brought up bilingual with the one parent one language principle, but in his exogamous family Peter is the English speaking Australian parent while his wife is Italian born and speaks Italian to their son. While an Italian speaker does not consider speaking Italian in front of non-Italian speakers rude, she has, however, encountered other problems on her path. She says that as the child grows and has gone

to school for few years he is able to discuss more complex issues in English and gets frustrated for not being able to do the same in Italian. This naturally makes him less enthusiastic to speak Italian. The mother's analysis of the situation is that formal schooling in Italian would be necessary, but it would also have been helpful if the child had been exposed to dialogues in Italian, i.e. dialogues between other people, not just dialogues he was part of himself.

The solutions to life in a multilingual and multicultural family are various and almost as varied as there are families. It is never unproblematic. As these examples show even in the case of endogamous Finnish parents the language choice may be English. On the other hand endogamous Finnish parents who continue using Finnish may be faced with the dilemma of how to guarantee that their child learns English and integrates into the mainstream. Of the second generation in this data none have so far passed their heritage language on to their children. One informant talks about such plans with great conviction and many factors are in place to support her in this plan.

Individual and family visits to the home country

As world travel has become easier and more affordable, the role of visits to the homeland has become potentially more important in language and culture maintenance. However, since Australia is geographically almost as far away as one can get from Finland, the trips are nowhere near as likely as they are for Finns residing, for instance, in Germany or the UK. It is, however, undisputed that for young children and adolescents such visits not only provide a real immersion into the language, but also an opportunity to acquire peer group registers and to use the language with their peers (Pauwels 2005).

Visiting the country of origin is the ultimate way of updating cultural and linguistic competence. In this data all but one member of the second generation would still benefit from the chance of catching up with the latest in linguistic change in contemporary Finnish. For the third generation, with no Finnish skills, a visit would not so much help update their cultural competence, but allow them to put what they think are only their families' customs into perspective and learn that in fact there is a people of roughly five million who still share many of these customs.

Considering the remarkable Finnish maintenance in Eero's family it is extraordinary that he had not visited Finland for forty-one years since leaving it in 1968. His parents went

back a few times on extended holidays, but by this time Eero already had his own family and did not join his parents on the visits. He has a very practical take on life and would not put aside his work or family commitments in Australia to go and visit his country of origin for sentimental reasons. The visit in 2009 coincided with other major changes in his life. In Finland he visited relatives and friends and locations important in the history of the family. This is very similar to Jaana's trip plan with the exception that for Eero it was the first one. His daughter has not visited Finland yet. Eero was really happy with his trip. He had enjoyed himself and thought it was overall a very good experience. He hopes to visit again in a few years time. Now that he has had this experience he will be able to spend more time in places he particularly enjoyed such as Lapland, which made a particularly strong impression on him.

Jaana and Peter are special in this data because they and their parents are among those who returned to Finland after the initial two year period required by the SPAP program and Australian government. This is discussed in the following section.

Jaana has visited Finland twice, after the family's second and final migration in 1972. She made the first trip with her brother when she was 19 and he 17. Her second visit was with her mother in the Finnish summer of 1989. She has not visited since she had her children, although she has been dreaming about another visit all these years and a chance to show her family where she comes from. Her husband is very supportive of her connection to her Finnish heritage, and says: "yeah no look that's fine I mean she's always felt a pull to go back there and she's desperate for me to go…". Jaana cherishes the memories of the visits, the people she met and the places she saw. She remembers having become quite fluent in Finnish during the visits and keeps wondering about the feeling of miraculously understanding the language spoken around her. Spending time with the grandparents was very important to her. Since she could speak Finnish she was able to communicate with them and make the most of their time together. Jaana has often talked about feeling sad about having had to grow up without grandparents and how she envied her cousins in Finland who could visit them regularly. She treasures the memories she has of the time at the grandparents' place.

For Peter the visit with his sister in 1986-1987 was the only one he has made. Talking about it now the issue he brings up first is the time spent with grandparents. Although he did not have Finnish skills and grandparents only spoke Finnish they managed to communicate with sign language and just generally by wanting to understand each other. As he has

virtually no memories of Finland from his stay there as a small child, this visit provides all the memories he now has. Peter's Finnish skills did not improve noticeably during the visit, because he did not have such a strong language base as his sister. However, he does value having had the chance to build that bond with the grandparents.

Third generation children recognize the need to learn Finnish so they could visit Finland. None of them have been there yet, nor started studying the language. Their mother, however, often mentions how her youngest two are both keen to visit Finland and one has even expressed an interest in learning Finnish and doing an exchange year in Finland. In her sentimental mood of thinking about the bond with her Finnish family the mother even played with the idea that what if one of her children was to find her soul mate in Finland and how the grandmother would look down from heaven and give a sigh of relief saying one of the family has returned. This train of thought could be seen as an expression of her connection and loyalty to her roots. She had a strong bond with her *mummu* (grandmother) and felt that *mummu*'s disappointment in her parents' decision to take the family away was projected onto her; the guilt of leaving Finland and the family was transferred to Jaana.

Oona and Tuuli have been back to Finland on several occasions. Oona even went back for long stays enabling her to attend school for a semester on two occasions and to improve her Finnish skills.

> O: *nii joo äiti sanoo et jos mä en ala puhumaan suomee niin lähettää mut aust-suomeen takasin*
> I: @@@[3] *ai tämmönen uhkaus on käytetty se @@ senkö takia sä puhut niin hyvin suome vielä*
> O: *nii no mä olin menettämäs suomen*
> I: *nii no sähän oot ollu siel paljo*
> O: *siks mä puhuin englantia ni et äitin piti lähettää mut sit oppimaan suomee mut viime kerralla mää vaan ajattelin että se on kesäloma*
>
> O: yeah mum said that if I don't start speaking Finnish she'll send me back to Finland
> I: @@@ oh this kind of threat's been used @@ is that why you still speak such good Finnish
> O: well yeah I was about to lose my Finnish
> I: well you've spent a lot of time there
> O: because I spoke English mom had to send me to learn Finnish but the last time I thought it was just a holiday

3 *@ is used in transcription to depict laughter @=ha*

Hence she can read and write in Finnish and her spoken Finnish is fluent. More on language skills in section 5.2.

Oona has preferred to go to Finland in the winter and appears to have fitted into the Finnish lifestyle of the family (aunt's family and grandmother) without conflict or noticeable culture shock. What she mentions about the stays are good memories of the nice things she did, the lovely food she ate and the important people she spent time with. Visiting Finland is the most natural thing for her since she has never lost the connection. As she says herself "I'm a Finn just living in Australia".

Tuuli has also visited Finland a number of times, but the most recent and possibly most important of her visits was the seven month stay after graduating from university. She worked and lived in Finland in a town where she had no close family. The stay was an eye opener for her in many senses. She had to get used to speaking only Finnish again and try to unlearn an accent she did not know she had. In fact, she says she got comments from her Finnish colleagues that her Finnish sounded foreign and had an accent.

> "*pitkiä vokaaleja niitä mun piti harjotella kovasti kun kuulemma mul on aksentti*"
> "long vowels those I had to practise hard since apparently I had an accent"

She also tells about the vivid feeling of not belonging although she could clearly see how similar she was to the Finns around her. To have a name and looks that allowed her to blend in with no effort, yet to feel a cultural alien, was an experience she will not forget soon. She admits having experienced some culture shock which was all the more surprising because she did not expect it considering herself to be fluent in Finnish language and culture. She also mentioned the trouble she had in adjusting to the work place culture and the general mind set of Finnish people in the working environment. On the other hand, it may be that the experience has helped her accept the fact that she is perhaps more Australian than she thought possible. She was lucky, however, to have some of her Australian friends visit her in Finland so she had the experience of being the host and connoisseur of the place in the company of her Australian friends. She has not been back in Finland since that stay, but hopes to visit with her partner and there is also a glimmer of hope that they might live in Finland one day. Tuuli may feel a connection to Finland in general in addition to the close family ties. She was old enough when leaving Finland to have experiences and memories of her own. Her feelings of belonging will be discussed in more detail in the following identity chapter.

An example of recent second generation informants in the study are two little girls aged four and two who have had extraordinary contact with Finland. Perhaps this is not very unusual among modern day migrants, but the difference to the average Finnish migrant family from the migration waves or even later is striking. Since their birth Maria and Hanna and their mother have made annual visits to Finland for several months at a time. From the maintenance point of view this situation is very beneficial. There is concern, however, how long they will be able to continue with these extended stays as the children start school. Semester timetables on opposite hemispheres can make it difficult to take time off and attend school in the other country.

The young third generation informants have not visited Finland and only two of the three show an interest in visiting. There is an interesting development in the attitudes of these young adults though. In the first round of interviews all three agreed that it would be nice to visit and one added that she might even stay longer to study perhaps. In the second round the opinions and situations in life had changed. One informant who had moved to her own unit, had started full time work and was leading an independent life in a nearby town now expressed no desire to go overseas: "I don't see myself going far too far away I never wanted to travel or anything so ... this is where I know everybody too so it's all yeah". Another informant in a similar phase of life had actually planned a trip to Europe with a friend and the trip was to include a visit to Finland. This plan had to be postponed due to unexpected changes in the employment situation. The third of these informants still hopes to get to Finland. Mother's influence behind this idea is apparent, but she has also developed her own interest to the scheme:

> E: mum wants me to go over there next year
> I: yeah
> E: ah yeah after my schoolies she says she might come over with me and
> I: yeah yeah what do you think about that yourself would you do it
> E: I reckon it would be pretty cool
> I: yeah @@@
> E: <@[4] I'd love to go to Finland
> I: how long would you be prepared to stay and what would you do – would you just go and have a look have a sort of holiday or
> E: depending on how cold it gets @@@ <@ never know I could stay maybe a year without going home

For this informant a visit, particularly if it was an extended one perhaps involving study, might lead to also acquiring language skills not only immersing in Finnish culture. She

4 *<@ indicates speaking while laughing*

has demonstrated an interest in language studies in general and an aptitude and attitude to learn.

Our fourth third generation informant has visited Finland four times. The first visits took place while she lived in Sweden and was able to just cross the Golf of Bothnia to visit her ancestry's home. She has since returned with her entire family when her children were young, and once more on her own only recently in her role as a family historian. She refers to these trips as part of her rediscovery of the family roots. As the generation between herself and her grandfather has not kept close contact with Finnish family, she is now retracing the steps and learning about Finland and the family in Finland.

The effect and significance of visits to the homeland varies greatly in our data. For very young second generation children who are brought up bilingually in Australia, annual stays with Finnish grandparents and family are an excellent way to immerse in language and culture and build a strong base for feelings of belonging. At the other extreme we have an informant who after four decades makes the first trip to Finland. The case is special though, because the person had never lost his Finnish skills as was able to blend in and explore the country also on his own. For Tuuli and Oona trips to Finland can still be seen to support maintenance of an identity and cultural and linguistic competence. For Jaana and Peter in the second generation and particularly for Sheryl in the third the visits would work towards a recovery or rediscovery of roots.

Return – dream or reality

The statistics of remigration from Australia to Finland are surprisingly higher (about 40%) than for Finns who have migrated to other countries (Koivukangas 1998). This just shows that statistically Australian Finns have been slightly more likely to actually return. The thought of returning one day often changes into a dream of returning and as such is an important factor in the coping strategies, even if the return never actually takes place. Allowing oneself to dream and think that such a chance exists can be helpful while adjusting to the circumstances.

In this data two informants actually have the experience of returning, although it happened when they were very young (two and three). The family had arrived in Australia during the SPAP assisted passage scheme in 1968 and after staying the required two years, which had been the mutual agreement of the spouses, they returned to Finland. They arrived in

Helsinki in June 1970 on a Qantas charter plane for Finnish return migrants from Australia. The numbers of returnees must have been substantial for such arrangement to be feasible. The family's plan was to stay in Finland. However, by August the following year they were back in Australia and getting ready to relocate to Papua New Guinea.

Jaana was 3 at the time of return to Finland, Peter was not yet 2. They were fully Finnish speaking when they arrived as reported by relatives in Finland except for the occasional loan word such as '*komikkia*' for comics. The time in Finland would have allowed them to develop a full peer register, but understandably at such an early age (4 and 2.5 at the time of departure) language is not fully developed anyway. The children were looked after in the home and did not attend kindergarten. The age difference does not only explain difference in language attrition but also in extent of memories of the time in Finland. The siblings have often realized how very different their experience of Finland is. Peter thinks Jaana has a much stronger memory of being in Finland, and when she starts to reminisce about the things they did and places they went to, he cannot join her as he has no recollection of it, apart from one small memory of being at grandparents' farm.

The importance of the return would have been greater to the first generation parents who as a result grew stronger in their resolve that Finland was no longer the place for them. The children had some more months in Finland to build a base for their first language, which ended up being more useful for Jaana. Peter was perhaps too young to benefit as much. As clear as Jaana's understanding is of her parents' decision that Australia was the place for them, she does not actually know why the family returned to Finland and what pushed or drew them away from it again. The return and re-migration part of family history is known by the third generation, but it does not appear to have much relevance for them.

Perhaps because the family had returned once, the grandmother in Finland continued to live in hope that one day all or at least some of the family will return. Jaana had realized that *mummu* still clung to this hope when during her last visit she told her grandparents that she was going to marry an Australian in Australia. Since nothing explicit had been said about future plans, the grandparent had wanted to hold on to the belief that the family would return one day as they had done before. Granddaughter's marriage to an Australian was to a person of the grandmother's generation an event that would inevitably tie the granddaughter and therefore the rest of the family to Australia and hope of return to Finland was then lost to her mind.

Eero tells that the only time return to Finland was even mentioned in his family was at the very beginning of their stay in Mt Isa

> "*me luultiin että ollaan helvetissä ku se oli niin kuuma @ sillon oli ainoa aika että ehm että ois pi- männä takas Suomeen ...sen jäläkeen kun tottu siihen kuumuuteen nin se oli mukava*"
> "we thought we were in Hell because it was so hot @ that was the only time that ehm should have gone back to Finland ... but after that when we got used to the heat it was nice".

The family adjusted so well to their life in Australia that it took ten years before the parents visited Finland again after leaving it the first time. For Eero it took forty-one years. In this family it was the mother who had the strongest longing to visit Finland and spend time there and she often talked about it, but since she was not ready to travel alone, the trips were limited to the times when her husband was able to join her.

As discussed above, Oona is at ease with her situation as a Finn living in Australia. She talks about having been in Finland and going there again, but does not specify for how long she would like to stay, or what she would like to do there. Since she is currently between leaving high school and perhaps starting studies, she has no fixed plans. Also because her previous stays in Finland have included going to school and living the weekly routines, she does not see it only as a holiday destination. However, she does not bring up the option of moving to live there permanently. Her sister, on the other hand, does bring up the dream of perhaps one day living in Finland with her partner and future children. There is no fixed plan how and when this would take place, but it is something she needs to be able to dream about.

In this respect Tuuli in the second generation and Elisa, mother of the above mentioned little bilingual daughters (Maria and Hanna), in the first are similar. Both are in a multicultural relationship and would like one day to live with their family in Finland. In the first generation this is perceived as an issue of fairness. It would be only fair for both partners to experience being the fish out of water and having the home advantage. The mother would also like to give her daughters an opportunity to lay a strong foundation for their bicultural competence and identity. Since Tuuli in the second generation feels an otherness also in Australia, not belonging fully to either of her cultures or belonging to both to a degree, she would like her partner to also have that experience. Living in Finland would be a challenge for her too, and she may see that sharing that challenge would be an important experience for them as a couple.

The young third generation are overall quite detached from the family's connection to Finland. One of them says though that he has heard her mother and grandparents talk about going to Finland, but he thinks this has always meant visits, not moving to live there again. Interestingly enough, the grandchildren were not aware that the family had originally returned from their first stay in Australia. This had not been emphasized in talking about the family history.

Sheryl talks about possible future visits to Finland, although nothing definite is settled. When she had her years in Europe and Scandinavia, she and her husband were offered an opportunity to stay longer, but as she says now looking back, they realized how Australian they were and were not prepared to handle any more of those winters. The experience was valuable and allowed her to get in touch with her family and her roots, and she looks forward to visiting again, but there is no dream of returning more permanently.

Part of clinging to heritage culture can be clinging to the dream of visiting or returning to the country of origin. In this data, no-one dreams about returning to Finland permanently. Only one second generation informant would like to live there for some time, but even she sees her permanent home to be in Australia. On the other hand, there is a second generation informant who does not bring up even possible visits. He does not state specifically that he would not visit Finland if the opportunity arose, but clearly shows no need or enthusiasm to organize such a trip. It is more the women who express an interest in sharing their heritage with their non-Finnish origin family. Perhaps they hope that seeing and living the reality in the other country would help those family members understand the experience of the migrant. There are two things involved in these planned and achieved trips: the actual experience of the environment, people, places and customs, and the experience of being the other, the fish out of water or conversely for the migrant, feeling of belonging. In saying this we are simplifying the matter. Very often the feeling of belonging may no longer be complete, but that is not something that enters into it when these trips are planned and dreamt about.

Access to one's community language via electronic, visual and other media

Use of electronic media has increased dramatically in the past few years. Families who have access to these media can increase exposure to the community language for their offspring and potentially enhance and enrich the community language (CL) input (Pauwels 2005). Whilst the more educational aspects of interactive media are increasingly being

used in language classrooms, there is also a need to explore the entertainment aspects of such media as these will be more attractive to their users (Pauwels 2005, 129).

In this data Eero is perhaps the clearest case of a second generation Australian Finn to use the Internet for maintenance purposes. He looks up news and weather in Finland and uses Google Earth to look at the place he was born in and other familiar locations. Because he was over ten years of age at the time of migration, he has clearer memories of his own from Finland and realizes, to an extent, that Finland has changed a lot from the time he lived there. On his recent visit he was able to concretely experience the difference. He has been in the habit of telephoning relatives and writing emails, but after the visit there are several more people he is in Skype or Facebook contact with. Clearly these media work to continue with a relationship that was established face to face.

Jaana's use of the Internet is sporadic. She sometimes emails Finland and receives emails and photos from relatives. She is not known to use the Internet to stay in touch with Finnish events or news. Sometimes she sends SMS messages on her mobile, but these are mostly in English. She does not text to any non-English speaking relatives. Peter does not stay in direct contact with Finland or Finns in any way. The news about family or other events that he hears are transmitted by his sister or mother. He does not use the Internet. Their younger brother was contacted by some Finnish relatives via Facebook, but this has not prompted more regular contact with relatives or things Finnish.

Tuuli and Oona could, considering their language skills, make use of the media in a more general sense. Tuuli uses the Internet to an extent to help her prepare for her Finnish teaching tasks. The family does, however, make use of video technology and they talk regularly over a Skype connection to the brothers in Finland and in the UK, as well as to grandmother, aunt and uncle and cousin in Finland. In round two interviews, though, it was made clear by both Oona and Tuuli that this media is mostly their mother's forté. Oona finds it hard to talk to her brothers over a Skype connection and Tuuli says the same. Tuuli says that she does not like Skype very much because "you can't feel the people over Skype". She prefers to e-mail her brothers and says it is better also because then she does not have to cry every time either. The reason for the crying is the overwhelming sadness she feels over not having enough in common with her brothers. She feels that because she has not lived together with them all her childhood she does not always know what to talk about. "You can't even fight with them", she says. This is a valid point to anyone

communicating across vast distances after a long time apart. When you are not intimately familiar with the other person's routines and surroundings, you cannot refer to what you did that day or some event that took place because it does not mean anything to the other person. You are inevitably limited in topics and the discussion is not as intimate as it could be. Although Tuuli agrees that she has had email and Internet available pretty much all her life and finds it irreplaceable, Skype is fairly new and she has not gotten used to it yet. She admits that while it is extremely handy, it will never replace actually being together with the people face to face.

Considering the time Oona spends on the Internet one could deduce that she also communicates via it all the time. She does use email, but says that she is not comfortable to be on Skype on her own. When her mother is on it talking to members of the family she will join in to say hello, but will not stay. Grandmother is an exception. Since Oona's Finnish is less fluent than her English one could assume her to have more problems talking to the brother in Finland than the brother in the UK with whom she switches into English. She feels she should start talking more over Skype with both the brothers and talking to the Finland based brother can be really amusing as it is more like spending time together over Skype than talking. The fact that she has a smaller age difference with this brother is certainly also a factor.

The young third generation informants' use of the Internet varies greatly. The eldest uses it for communication with her friends and is, for instance, on Facebook. She has also been contacted by a Finnish relation via Facebook, but that conversation has not continued after the initial contact and establishing that a relation had in fact been found. Chris on the other hand does not use computers at all except to load music onto his Ipod. Eveliina mainly uses Internet for her school assignments and general information seeking, not for instance Facebook. They all talk on the phone with their Finnish godparents and since they have had a chance to build a closer relationship with them while the godparents have live in Australia, the children also SMS and occasionally email the godparents at their own initiative. This is all in English and the only Finnish aspect of it is that they are keeping in touch with the Finnish side of the family in that way. It may be that they do not so much see the godparents as representing a larger Finnish family but just being the godparents and temporarily away from the Australian context in which they are used to knowing them.

Elisa, the Finnish born mother who is determined to bring her children up bilingual and bicultural, uses Skype and other media to provide a more varied Finnish input when the children are in Australia. The four year old daughter Maria was observed talking on Skype to her Finnish grandfather. They were pulling faces and being silly, giggling and chatting away. She would leave the desk and go and talk to her father in English and then return to the computer and continue with grandfather in Finnish. The mother told later that this had only recently started working better. They had been on a long visit with the grandparents and after they had returned to their home in Australia they had tried to create a sense on continuity by setting this connection up and letting the children see and talk to grandparents that way.

The role of modern communication technology in acculturation has been recognized, but its influence varies greatly between people and circumstances. In acculturation, contact with original culture is just as important as contact with the new culture and computer-mediated-communication (CMC) (Cemalcilar et al. 2005 term) facilitates that contact. It is recognized that particularly Internet based communication is used and useful to expand existing face-to-face relationships by taking them to the cyber-world (Cemalcilar et al.2005). In the current study we can see that interactive media and the Internet are used more readily by more recent arrivals and younger second generation informants. Younger people in general have easier access to computers and networks and better skills in operating them. However, the third generation (youngest informants here) does not necessarily make any more use of CMC, and if they do, it is not related to cultural or ethnic heritage. It is difficult to build a relationship with a person or a connection to a place or physical environment over the electronic media. If, however, the connection is already there this media can go a long way in maintaining it, but as Tuuli says it will never replace the real thing, being together.

Access to local Finnish community

Australian Finnish community continues to undergo change. Activities, events and celebrations which have traditionally satisfied the audience are no longer inviting to newer migrants, or following generations of the earlier arrivals. The numbers of community members are decreasing through natural attrition and revitalization from new migration is not substantial to compensate for the numbers lost. This is a noticeable change for those living in bigger centers with traditionally active communities. In this study those living in more remote areas would never have had access to such activities and community support.

Informants in the remote area do, however, note that Finns tend to congregate. Even if there are only a few in the area they do find each other. Even if there is no established association or church that would organize regular activities, the people know each other and of each other and meet on a more casual basis. They definitely get together to pay their respects when one of them passes away.

On first arriving to Australia also Jaana's and Peter's parents made contact with Finnish relatives and through them with the Finnish community in Melbourne. Quite soon though, they left the area and went looking for opportunities elsewhere.

> "Mum and dad didn't want that they wanted to – even though they liked the Fi- they held onto their Finnish heritage and everything they wanted to embrace the new culture"

As stated above the family kept in contact with Finland and Finnish family, but they were not interested in Australian Finnish community organizations and community effort to recreate a Finnish environment. They had left Finland to live a different life and did not want to be very closely involved with a Finnish community in Australia.

Peter says that his parents never "dragged us to church", Finnish or other, or to other community events. He is aware though that there are Finns in the area and that his parents have kept in touch with some of them. Jaana even remembers that there was a Finnish family living near them at one time. The children did not speak Finnish having come to Australia via Canada, but they were still Finns. There was some Finnish contact but not organized community activities or support of a larger ethnic group.

Jaana tells that her mother still reads the Australian Finnish newspapers when she gets hold of them through her Australian Finnish friends. She does this mostly for the interest on the Australian Finnish community, not to catch up on news or any general Australian issues since she has full access to mainstream media. The parents did not want to be sucked into Australian Finnish community life, yet they were always proud of their Finnish heritage. This choice naturally had an effect on how their offspring see their Finnishness. None of them have an interest in Finns in Australia as a group, but they are interested and thrilled to meet fellow Finns. Peter says that when he was in the army he would automatically scan the list of names and if he found that any Finns were in the barracks at the same time he would make sure to look them up, and interestingly so did the other Finns there.

As a contrast, an informant who has always lived in the vicinity of large and active Finnish communities tells that when he was little he would naturally go to the activities that his parents took him to and he did not mind it since there were many other Finnish youngsters of his age to play and spend time with. However, as an adult he has not taken part in the activities and still has very limited contact and only through his father. This is not necessarily a criticism on the community as he does have several Finnish friends that he meets with regularly, but an indication of his dislike of parties and big events. In fact, the personal contact with individual Finns in Australia is a custom of his parents' that he has continued. He keeps in touch with many Finnish friends and always welcomes visitors and offers his help. It is only the organized community events that he prefers to stay away from.

Another second generation informant who has also had access to an active community describes phases their participation has gone through: her great grandmother had many Finnish friends and through her the whole family had a lot of Finnish contact. When the great grandmother passed away they continued to take part in many of the community activities, but their acquaintance expanded to include more non-Finnish speaking people through mother's work and other activities outside the home. Contact with the community varies from intensive at a time when a member of the family worked among the community to sporadic when there is only contact with close friends of the family.

This family arrived in Mt Isa where still in the 1990s the Finnish community was significant, although much smaller than in its hay days in the early 1970s. From that community and that period is also her negative comment about local Finns:

> "after that mother decided that we shall take them with us and sell their house there in Mt Isa and they came with us and we heard that everyone in Mt Isa thought that we had kidnapped them although they came very willingly"

This reflects the attitudes of envy and mistrust that sometimes emerge among Finns and among Finnish groups abroad. Envy and jealousy have been explained as elements of Finnish tradition and have their roots in the thinking that happiness or success is finite. There cannot be infinite amounts of them and plenty for everyone; hence the envy if someone appears to have more of something than you have. On the other hand, happiness and success should be kept secret so that no-one covets it and you risk to lose it (Knuuttila 2005). Comments of this kind of thinking have been heard among older first generation Finns, and it was interesting that also a younger second generation informant brought the issue up.

The family's relocating to Brisbane happened at a time when several other Finnish families with children of a similar age had arrived and were in the sphere of the Finnish community. There were more activities and the young people developed some program and performances of their own. The extent of it is remembered as unparallel in the local's memory and has not been matched since. Oona talks about how they made friends with other Finnish teens, but soon everyone went their own ways and found their own Australian friends through school and other activities. This is interesting that although in the 1990s the community had the best possible situation to activate young Finns and bring them together, teenagers still gravitated towards mainstream peers. It may well be that the times of active involvement in the community have left them with favourable attitudes for future involvement later in life, but the estrangement and disinterest appears to be an inevitable phase. Oona sees the importance of bringing small children into the circle of Finnish community activities and supports the work done by the community Finnish school in teaching Finnish language and culture. Herself she wants little to do with community events. There is the dichotomy of seeing the importance of keeping the Finnish community alive, but on a personal level not having much to do with Finns.

Tuuli's experience of the phases of the family's Finnish community contact has been different, since she was older at the time of arrival and has had more social contacts with mainstream youth. There was a time when she did not want to be involved in the community activities, but has recently been drawn back into it. This must be a result of many things, but settling down and starting a family is likely to have had an effect and emphasized the pull effect of the heritage culture.

Although participation in community activities varies among first generation Australian Finns too, it is clearly more common among second generation not to be active. The third generation in this data was not even aware that such organized community activities exist, although they had some idea that there are plenty of Finns in Australia, elsewhere in other states.

The informants who have access to communities all note that the activities by association and churches are bound for extinction. The lack of participation is often thought to result from the language barrier, the further generations no longer understanding Finnish. The churches, both Pentecostal and Lutheran have started having English church services and more English is used in all activities. The current data suggests though that this is not

only an issue of language, but people who have grown up in Australia are already so acculturated to the mainstream that the Finnish cultural traditions on the community scale have no special place in their life. The future of the Australian Finnish newspapers does not look promising either as readership continues to decrease. There is no great anxiety expressed about this among the community, mostly it is just stated as a fact that these activities and organizations will in the end cease to be as there are not enough participants. The new migrants or sojourners that come from Finland, do not always seek the Finnish community, let alone stay within its sphere. As much of the activities continue to follow the format set decades ago by the larger groups of migrants arriving at the time, they often seem outdated and archaic to more recent migrants. There is pressure to change the ways the community works, but change is slow.

Comparing countries, migration attitudes

Thinking about the phases of acculturation one often thinks that after the first critical period following the initial honeymoon stage a migrant settles into accepting the environment and worst of the comparisons would be over (e.g. Kim 2003). This, however, clearly is not always the case. Many continue to compare the cultures and countries, but perhaps in the long run the outcomes are more even. Comparisons are really useful when mirroring and talking about the two countries with another migrant. In such situation it is thought to be relatively safe to criticize Australia. Comparing and judging is in fact quite useless because factually it is near impossible to weigh one country against another. There are too many factors to consider. When people in multicultural families start to talk about their countries in a comparing tone of voice, facts have very little to do with it. It is all emotion and each praises their own.

Tuuli discusses comparisons. In fact, she brings this up unprompted. In her relationship comparing Finland and Australia has been tiresome and she wishes they would be able to rid themselves of the habit. She says she understands that in the beginning when moving to a new country one makes sense of the new by translating it through the old familiar cultural framework, in a similar way as one converts prices into the other currency. What she does not understand is why her mother all of a sudden, after a decade in Australia has started to emphasize her Finnishness more and gather Finnish symbols around her decorating her house with Finnish items and so on. Tuuli's perception is that there has been an increase and added emphasis on Finnish heritage in her mother's life and home. Tuuli sees comparisons as a negative and a downside of culture maintenance. She explains

that having two cultures and two ways of understanding the world is enriching and it is great to be able to identify with very different situations and people, but also admits that having to listen to the comparisons among the community is tiring and very negative. She is offended and stressed either way the comparisons go, because if Finland is criticized she is offended as a Finn and if Australia is criticized she is offended as an Australian. She is uncomfortable with people taking strong sides, when in all honesty comparisons are impossible. The countries and cultures are different. It is impossible to say which one is better, they are just different.

There are two Finnish-Australian couples in the data that report having these conversations on comparing Finland and Australia. Different backgrounds and personalities deal with the topics in different ways, but in both cases the Finnish women interviewed say that it is unpleasant and frustrating to get into these talks as they lead nowhere and no agreement can be reached.

On the second interview round the topic was brought up again as an informant talked about the disappointments they had had with members of the Finnish community and how these are in fundamental contrast with the favourable stereotype of Finns and the Finnish character. Finns' trustworthiness or reliability had been a disappointment. Since Finns are a very small minority in Australia, it is surprising that a sense of superiority can at any level be associated with them. A second generation informant mentioned how it is embarrassing that the family makes such a big deal of the Finnish background when in contact with Australian friends and relatives, as if they thought they were superior because of the cultural background. It is interesting how she as a member of the second migrant generation but also as a member of Australian mainstream observes this. In a minority situation, particularly being a small minority among minorities, Finns do not, as a rule, come across as those who assert their views on others. In a multicultural society such as Australia, mainstream has the advantage of feeling superior on a community or society level. It is interesting then that it can appear to a second generation migrant that her ethnic family is acting as if they were superior to the Anglo Australian mainstream.

Since Tuuli spent seven months in Finland working after her graduation from university she has a recent point of comparison between Finland and Australia. The weather inevitably comes up, but mainly she talks about the people. She mentions elements of her culture shock: people did not greet a new person in the workplace; they did not show any interest

to who she was and why she was there. In general Finns did not smile and least of all to strangers such as sales staff. It was also a shock for her to notice that there was this nation of people where her name or her looks were nothing remarkable. Everyone had similar features and general colouring and people of her name were all around her. This was not an altogether pleasant experience. She does also mention differences in work ethic. Since she had worked in the same industry in Australia she could see great differences in how the system worked and how people related to one another within the industry. Again the lack of communication was the most noticeable difference.

Oona mentions comparisons, but more as her own thoughts about differences between the countries. She compares the foods, traditions and even atmosphere, but in the end says that it is not possible to say which is better: "*että ei sitä oikeen tiä että mikä parempi*" "you don't really know which is better". In a way, with less philosophizing Oona comes to the same conclusion as her sister that both countries have things that they love, sometimes even the same thing can be good in both countries, but in different ways.

Jaana does not remember her parents comparing Finland and Australia, this at least is her perception. She remembers her father saying that "this is a better life" He must have said it often for it to be so engrained in her memory. Regardless of the hardship encountered in Australia that was the father's opinion. What ever experiences Australia threw at him, it was always better than what he remembered to have left behind in Finland. Standard of living was higher in Finland, but the parents had made the decision to choose a different lifestyle and the simplicity of life and the warmth and the sunshine were the most important reasons for Jaana's father to choose Australia for his family and he stood behind that choice to the end. In talking about this Jaana realizes that perhaps over time the parents inadvertently made comparisons, but these did not really stand out. Jaana on the other hand has sometimes wondered what would have happened and how her life would have turned out had they not left Finland the second time, or indeed at all. Interestingly she sees her life following a very similar path just in a different environment. This conviction could also be seen to reflect her knowledge of contemporary Finnish society. The chances of her not having continued her studies after high school, having remained in a rural area and having married a farmer would have been monumentally smaller in Finland in the 1980s than they were in rural Australia at the time.

Eero is familiar with the first generation's habit of comparing the two countries, although he says he has not discussed the topic much with his own parents. He says though that according to what little his father has said they have had it better in Australia.

> *"Suomessa eh niinkön isällä oli eh vaikeeta olla kun vaan oma farmi on ja siinä on siitä saaha ruuvat tehä koko vueks ja talavella mettätöissä että saa pikkusen enemmän rahaa ... ei oo heleppoo ... vähän täälläki on ihan nin nin kummattii isä ja äiti on kovasti tekivät töitä että mi- saavat olla missä ovat nyt"*
> "In Finland it was difficult for father because he only had his own farm and he had to make sure it provided food for the whole year and in the winter had to work in the forest to make some more money – it was not an easy life ... here as well they both dad and mum had to work hard to be where they are now."

The third generation also brings up cultural difference and comparisons. Eveliina says that her grandparents did compare Finland and Australia, but according to her it was not with the aim of giving judgment, rather just pointing out that there were differences. They also cover similar issues at school in her SOSE class (Study of society and environment). This includes learning about other societies and how they are different to the one they live in. She says that this is supposed to help the students see things both ways i.e. understand that their way is not the only way.

Comparing communication styles, Cathy has come to the conclusion that the reason why her grandmother and mother can come across rude in English to English speaking Australians is due to their cultural background. Their blunt way of saying things she accredits to Finnishness. Interestingly her mother does make a similar comment about the grandmother, but does not notice these characteristics in herself. The other nationality Cathy has paid special attention to are Italians. Very likely this is because of the Italian influence through her uncle's wife.

Comparisons of the family's original heritage culture and the mainstream culture continue on to the second generation. The degree of it and the experience depends greatly on the contact and competence in Finnish culture. Third generation may be aware that the older generations talk about differences between the cultures and countries, but this has no relevance to them as they are full members of Australian mainstream culture.

5.2. Language – skill and use

Often it appears that language maintenance and language acquisition are two sides of a coin. For instance, when a migrant in the US starts to use more English in the domains of work, friends, home and with their spouse, particularly English infiltrating the home is seen as assuaging the concerns of people that migrants are not integrating. English skills and English use in private domains is seen to indicate integration (Akresh 2007). On the other hand maintenance of ethnic/community/heritage language is equally important for a person's identity and, in fact, to the development of their second and other languages. Competence in the first language, even when it is not the mainstream language of the place of residence, is beneficial to the learning of that and other languages (Cummins 1996). Even young children who are learning a second language bring all of the knowledge about language learning they have acquired through developing their first language. They are no longer learning what language is, but what the new language is.

Language skills are significant in the process of integration. According to Berry's acculturation model though, integration refers to the situation where a person wants both to become part of the mainstream community around them and to maintain contact and membership of their ethnic group (Berry 1997). The special role of language in this has also been identified (Jamarani 2009). Language skills have an important role in both, integrating into the mainstream and maintaining ethnic culture. The situation depicted by the American study mentioned above is that of assimilation. Calming down the section of mainstream who worry about migrants not integrating are shown that migrants shift to English already in the first generation and particularly that shift in the private domains is a promising sign. The factors behind the outcome of language maintenance or shift are several and depend on the community. Traditionally listed are status factors (economic, political, sociohistorical and language status), demographic factors (numbers, birth rate, geographical concentration) and institutional support (recognition of the group and its language in the media, education and government) (Giles et al. 1977; Bourhis & Sachdev 1984). Persistent and consistent use of the community language in the family is an important factor in language maintenance (Pauwels 2005). In fact, a study on Pasifika speakers in New Zealand has shown that if a language is used at home it has been maintained to the fourth generation (Starks 2005). This is made even more interesting considering that another New Zealand study reports very positive attitudes towards English dominance among students of several backgrounds including Pasifika (Barkhuizen et al. 2006).

Research on Australian ethnic groups of migrant background show that there is great variety in language maintenance and shift patterns. The rate of shift in home language varies greatly between speakers of different languages and between ethnic groups. In the first generation at extreme ends of the language shift continuum are Macedonians with 3% shift and the Dutch with 61.9% shift. In the second generation language shift is more common, but the continuum is very similar: Australian born children of Macedonian born parents have the lowest rate of language shift (14.8%) and second generation Dutch have the largest rate (95%) (Clyne 2003). It appears that among migrants in the industrialized world language shift is complete in three generations. "In the long run, it would appear that perceived cost-benefits will tip the balance in favour of the language shift. But how and when this occurs is subject to a great deal of variation" (Clyne 2003, 68).

Work by Smolicz and Secombe (1976), Rado (1976) and others has shown that if the education system does not support CL (community language) in schools, the languages' long term existence is at risk. Clyne (1982) and Ozolins (1993) provide some evidence that supportive attitudes by governments in relation to multicultural issues may lead to higher language maintenance rates. However, supportive policies and educational provisions will only be of value if the family initiates CL acquisition and provides a practice ground for its continued use (Pauwels 2005, 125).

In the case of Finnish in Australia the Australian education system has not provided support through the school system. Supportive attitudes by governments to multicultural issues have extended over Finnish as much as such overall attitudes could be perceived. It would be safe to say that the responsibility of Finnish language maintenance has been laid at the door of the families and Finnish communities. Today financial and material support is increasingly available from Finland. In fact, Finnish government released its program for expatriate Finns 2006-2011 which mentions continuing active development of Finnish schools and continued support (Government policy program for expatriate Finns 2006-2011). Recent discussions with teachers of Finnish school in Brisbane indicated that their application for Finnish government funds had been successful. The funding does, however, only cover part of the costs. It is obvious then that the main responsibility to maintain Finnish instruction remains with the community and the families.

Self-evaluated Finnish skills

Research has confirmed that first generation Finnish migrants in Australia continue to

have good Finnish language skills after decades in Australia (Kovács 2001, Lammervo 2007). There is great variety in the level of transference from English and other languages in the spoken Finnish depending on the individual, how well and much they use English, and other background factors. The overall result is that first generation still has good Finnish skills and at least on an attitudinal level would prefer the following generations also to have Finnish skills or at least be able to speak Finnish (Lammervo 2007). Research on Finns abroad has not been able to show that Finnish language, as important as it can appear, would be a core value for Finns. Considering the history of the Finnish people, having been part of Sweden until 1789, then an autonomous Russian Grand Duchy until gaining independence in 1917, it would be reasonable to think that continuing to speak Finnish would be a major element in retaining Finnish identity under changing new circumstances.

In the current study informants' Finnish skills were ascertained by asking them to self-evaluate their skills on a scale from none to very good in the four skill areas: speaking, writing, understanding written and spoken Finnish. This was not pushed if they did not want to go to details, and from observation the researcher was also able to infer skill levels.

Jaana evaluates her spoken Finnish skills as a 2 (a little) but continues:

> "but saying that when I had the two visits to Finland when you – because I've seen Finnish as always just being a part of me it's in me I don't understand why I understand it but it's there so when I was in Finland when you see it hear it read it listen to it you become very fluent"

Her written Finnish skills she says to be about 'a half' which just allows her to write the greeting in Christmas cards in Finnish. She says that although she is not exposed to Finnish regularly, she can still understand it when she hears it or reads it, although some dialect or slang expressions can be impossible for her to understand. Another sign of her good understanding of spoken Finnish is that she comments on subtitled Finnish films she has watched with her family and says that the Finnish spoken does not really compute with the subtitling.

Her skills she credits entirely to exposure saying that she was never taught Finnish. By the same token then it is understandable to her that her younger brother (by 17 months) always had weaker Finnish skills having had less exposure to the language and at a younger age.

In addition to exposure, practice is another method she has noticed to work. She has been reading aloud in Finnish to entertain her youngest child and the more she does it the more natural she thinks she starts to sound.

Peter does not claim to have Finnish skills at all. Understanding spoken Finnish is evaluated as 2 (a little), but he cannot read, write or speak Finnish. He knows that he was Finnish speaking the first years of his life and then it all changed.

> "when we went to New Guinea – and we were still speaking Finnish of course and I can remember mum and dad sitting me and Jaana down and saying – okey we all gotta stop speaking Finnish now cause we gotta speak English cause we were having to start school in a weeks time"

He thinks that because he was that much younger than his sister at the time of their childhood stay in Finland he did not benefit from the exposure in the long term the way she did.

> "I think that seventeen months at that age group is critical"
> "she cemented a stronger foundation of it [...] she was that little bit older so she was able to absorb it better and remember it"

He has thought about why he lost his Finnish skills and says that he just let it go. Not knowing exactly why this happened he suggests shyness and wanting to fit in with his Australian peers. It is interesting though that neither of the siblings casts any kind of blame on their parents for the loss of Finnish skills. They are convinced that the change into English was the right thing to do at the time.

Eero's evaluation of his active (writing and speaking) and passive (understanding written and spoken language) Finnish skills is three and a half or four (i.e. between 'somewhat' and 'fairly well'). He comes to this conclusion because, as he says, he does not really have anything to compare his Finnish to. He admits that when he watches the occasional Finnish film, the English subtitles can help him at times to catch the meaning of some less common or very recent Finnish expression. Because he did start school in Finland before migrating, he has been taught to read and write Finnish. Although he is clearly part of Australian mainstream he has managed to keep his Finnish skills from deteriorating. His written Finnish is quite impressive considering that it is the hardest of the four skills to learn and maintain. The dichotomy of his life into the English and the Finnish people continues to provide him with practice in Finnish. It appears that with those people that he has met through his parents in Finnish he continues to communicate in Finnish, even

if they are bilingual. Emails provide a venue to continue writing in Finnish. Although it is clear that he does not have full command of all registers (e.g. business) in Finnish, he manages to communicate with very little code switching.

Tuuli evaluates her Finnish skills as almost fluent. She makes a point of saying that if "very well" means completely fluent she does not consider herself to be at that level in either of her languages. She explains that she sometimes feels that what she says does not come out naturally and she can have these feelings when speaking either of her languages. She does read and write Finnish as she was taught these skills at school before moving to Australia. She has, however, made an effort to maintain and develop her skills.

Oona on the other hand has no doubts that English comes more naturally to her:

> "*no englanniksi tulee enemmän* natural *englanniksi on paljo vähä helpompi puhua mutta kyllä mä osaan suomea ihan hyvin ... että kyllä mä pystyn puhua ihmisille suomee*"
> "well English comes more naturally it is a lot a bit easier to speak in English but I know Finnish well enough ... so yes I can speak Finnish to people"

She then continues that writing is a lot harder and takes a greater effort, but that she can do that too. The secret behind this is, of course, her visits to Finland and attending a semester of school there on two occasions. Although Finnish is her first language there is no doubt that English is the dominant one. When watching a Finnish DVD movie which had sections spoken in Swedish, she only refrained from putting on English subtitles instead of Finnish ones because she was watching it with her Finnish grandmother who would not have understood the English. Having had the grandmother in the household for a year and the consequent increase in use of Finnish has helped improve Oona's fluency in Finnish.

Second generation Finnish skills among these informants vary from virtually none to fluent. Explanations to this variation can be several. Some of the traditional factors have no doubt influenced the outcome, age on arrival, for instance. Those who arrived very young or were born in Australia would be likely to have less skills in Finnish than those who arrived older. However, none of the factors work alone in a vacuum and while other factors are also present the outcomes can be different as for instance in the case of Oona who was four years old on arrival but has maintained exceptional Finnish language and cultural skills.

It is atypical for members of the third generation to have Finnish skills, let alone fluency. In my earlier study (Lammervo 2007), focusing on the first generation among the same community and covering over 15 families, there was one case where the first generation grandmother would proudly talk about her grandchildren who were still able to speak Finnish. The secret to this was that the Finnish speaking second generation child had married a second generation Finnish Australian, thus the second generation parents could both speak Finnish in the home to their children. Outside research data, a few such cases have been observed.

Sheryl represents the less typical section of the third generation who has made the effort to learn the heritage language which was lost in the 2nd generation. Her Finnish grandfather's first language was Swedish which his children did not learn to speak or write, but which through other family connections remained familiar to the grandchildren. However, Sheryl is the only one of the grandchildren who has re-established language skills and close connection to relatives in Finland. This is by no means typical, but clearly possible.

The young representatives of the third generation in this data have no Finnish skills. They do recall having been taught by their grandparents when they were little, but have since forgotten what few words they knew.

Finnish use and attitude towards Finnish in second and third generations

Jaana stopped speaking Finnish in the family when parents made the conscious decision to change language. She was six. She has not spoken Finnish to her brothers since then. She says that they must have occasionally spoken in Finnish when they were very young, but she does not remember this. Their home language changed very early, but they had been Finnish speaking to start off with. However, she has continued to have some Finnish language contact all her life. First it was the aunt and uncle in Melbourne (really mother's second cousins, but through the migration experience became very close) and to this day whenever she visits that aunt they speak Finnish or a code-switched Finglish[5]. There have been visitors from Finland in whose presence Jaana has needed to speak Finnish and naturally on her visits to Finland and whenever she calls or receives a call from her Finnish relatives (see section 5.1 above).

---

5 *'Finglish' is here used of a variety of Finnish spoken by Australian Finns. Depending on the speaker, influence of Australian English can vary from extensive code-switching to borrowing and assimilating English words into Finnish.*

The usefulness of Finnish as a code incomprehensible to Australians of other language backgrounds is mentioned. She says that when she was young her parents would fight in Finnish so the neighbours could not understand what was said. She does not remember using Finnish as a sibling secret language with her brother when among non-Finnish speaking kids, but later she has used Finnish as a code for instance when out shopping with her Finnish cousin and wanting to exchange a comment without the sales staff understanding.

In the interviews she mentions two recent occasions of reading in Finnish. One is reading aloud Donald Duck comics in Finnish for her youngest child who asks her to do it. He does not understand Finnish as far as the mother knows, but clearly enjoys hearing it read to him. It is also possible that the child has figured out that asking to be read these particular comics will ensure that the reader is the mother, the only person in the household who can read them, and this gives them special moments together. It may also be relevant that this child has observed his same age cousin speak and be spoken to in Italian and may hope to have a similar language connection with his mother. Jaana's other reading material was memoirs of a beloved Finnish uncle. Jaana received a copy of the memoirs after the death of the uncle and wanted to read them. It was an effort since some of the language was unknown to her including archaic terms, dialect expressions and terms to do with forestry in the uncle's days. She says she had to read the text out loud to hear the language so she could understand it better (another indication of her Finnish being spoken Finnish).

Eero uses Finnish with his parents, with Finnish friends in Australia and relatives in Finland. It is mostly spoken Finnish, although he does write the occasional email in Finnish. Now that he has returned to live close to his parents and the Finnish community around them he has easy access to more Finnish reading materials and says that he flicks through the newspapers and magazines sometimes, whereas when he lived with his wife and daughter in another state he usually did not have these in his house.

Although Finnish is clearly a language allocated to the Finnish family there is one more general use for it. Eero says he swears in Finnish. He finds it more powerful than swearing in English and a bonus is that Australians around him cannot understand it and be offended by it. An example is lawn bowling where swearing is strictly prohibited, but if he swears in Finnish it goes unnoticed. This is one example of using Finnish as a code language.

He also does some of his work for Finns. In fact, 25% of his clients are Finnish. This would mean that he has to be able to talk about work topics also in Finnish. It has been observed that he does manage it very well, and since Australian Finns as a rule are familiar with the relevant Australian terminology, it is possible to code-switch into English terms if necessary in otherwise Finnish speech.

For Tuuli Finnish is the language of her childhood family. Currently the person with whom she must always speak Finnish is her mother whom she sees and talks to regularly. She says that it is important to remember to make the effort. This is perhaps rendered a bit easier while the Finnish grandmother is on an extended visit and Finnish is used more in the mother's household overall. However, with her sister, who lives in the same household with the mother and grandmother, she usually speaks English. It is as if she is surprised at this since they could just as well speak Finnish and sometimes start in it, but soon switch to English or speak in Finglish. She does admit that sometimes Finnish is handy as a code language if she wants to say something to her mother or sister in her partner's presence. On the other, hand she feels bad about doing this, leaving the partner outside. Sometimes there are social situations with several Finns around when the main language spoken is Finnish. In these situations she is aware of the awkwardness of it all to her partner who inevitably misses most of what is being said even if Tuuli interprets for him. This has made her see how important it would be for their future children to know Finnish and it would be helpful if the partner learnt some too. Interestingly she also mentions that the need for interpreting gives an opportunity to manipulate the story. The person interpreting can choose their expressions according to how they want the story to sound.

On the other hand, while Finnish is always used in the family home and particularly with the mother, she says that she could not do her work in Finnish. Even to talk about her work in Finnish is difficult because she knows the terminology only in English. This is typical enough among bi- and multilinguals that language of a specific domain is only ever learnt in one language. Other interesting language preferences she mentions are that she finds it sometimes easier to write poems in Finnish than in English. On the other hand jokes are easier to tell in English.

> "joskus runoilu on helpompaa suomeksi ... äääm koska si- se on semmoista niinkun äm - - semmosta tiettyä kieltä ... koska suomen kieli on niin hien- hienoo kieltä"
> "Writing poems is sometimes easier in Finnish ...ehm because it is kind of like ehm - - kind of particular language ... because Finnish is such a wonderful language"

Oona speaks Finnish to those who she knows do not understand English, for instance, her grandmother. She also speaks Finnish to her mother and sister, but often switches to English because many things are so much easier for her to say in English and mother and sister switch to English. She has commented on this herself and is often observed code switching. It has even become a habit with an Australian Finnish bilingual friend for Oona to switch back and forth between English and Finnish while the friend continues to speak Finnish. Oona also speaks Finnish to the family pet. The dog is said to be bilingual, but there are certain words that have to be said in Finnish to get the desired effect. For instance, to get her to fetch one of her many balls or toys one must say '*hae pallo*' or '*hae lelu*'. Fetch ball or fetch toy, even if uttered in the same tone and manner appear to mean nothing to her.

A recent new situation to push the boundaries of Oona's Finnish skills was doing confirmation school in Finnish. She was taught everything in Finnish and was able to read the biblical texts in Finnish. As much of the religious language is archaic, some translation was necessary. The experience was very interesting and rewarding. The person teaching did not know the material in English so the immersion into Finnish was complete. The Finnish Lutheran congregation in Brisbane offers confirmation school in a combination of Finnish and English depending on the skill level of the people attending. Had Oona attended the confirmation school and camp organized the same year, she would have undertaken the task mostly in English. The fact that her confirmation school was so clearly attached to Finnish language would also have to be meaningful to identity. She has completed Finnish Lutheran confirmation in Finnish.

As discussed above the third generation informants did not report any Finnish skills. However, a third generation Swedish speaking Finn who learnt the language of her grandfather by immersing herself in the language in Sweden has continued staying in contact with relatives in Finland in Swedish. Swedish speaking relatives in Australia who are already elderly speak English with her. This is by no means a typical case among Finns, but would fall precisely into the model suggested by Hansen (1938), that third generation feels safe in their mainstream identity to revive the cultural and linguistic heritage.

Informants' attitudes towards importance of language skills correlate with the description of skills above. On average, fluency in English is considered more important than fluency in Finnish when the languages are placed in a comparison. However, to all but one second generation informant it is important to be fluent in both Finnish and English.

Considering how very different the circumstances and background factors have been in the cases of Jaana and Tuuli, it is interesting that they reacted to the attitude statements in exactly the same way. Both strongly agreed with the importance of being fluent in both languages and disagreed with the comparisons that suggested fluency in one was more important than in the other. Peter who has no active Finnish skills was the only one to express a neutral attitude towards the importance of fluency in both languages. This is logical in his case, but also interesting in the sense that he is not compensating for lack of skill with an overly positive attitude, which has also been found in language attitude studies (e.g. Lammervo 2007).

For the third generation English skills were clearly more important than Finnish skills, but they also expressed a neutral attitude towards fluency in both languages being important. One of them even agreed with fluency in both languages being important. Eveliina expressed the most positive attitude towards the importance of both languages. Her attitude towards the importance of English was as strongly positive as it was towards the importance of fluency in both languages, i.e. English did not rule in her attitudes. For Chris fluency in English was clearly very important while bilingual skills were less so. Cathy's attitudes were neutral across all language statements. This could be an indication that she had not really thought about the issue and when asked felt safer in giving neutral answers. It could of course also be that she simply is not that concerned about language in general.

The current data falls in line with language use patterns which typify community language use patterns in many Australian families (as per Pauwels 2005, 126). Finnish skills are mainly for intergenerational use with parents or grandparents. Finnish is seldom used with siblings. Tuuli and Oona make an exception since they also speak Finnish to each other. They say though that if it is just the two of them they very soon start to switch more and more into English. None of these cases demonstrate the typical pattern that as children's willingness to use the community language i.e. Finnish decreases they would reply in English to their parents' Finnish. Such cases certainly exist among Finnish community, but are not present in this data. Oona might occasionally reply in English to her mother, but that is more likely to be due to the topic and will lead to code change for the rest of the conversation. The typical periods of decrease in willingness to use the CL (start of school, adolescence) do not apply to this data either, since those who have Finnish skills continue to use them and those who do not use Finnish have never used it at home or not for a long

time. Amount of exposure to the community language in the home is strongly related to the children making active use of their skills or developing receptive skills.

The challenge among adolescents and young adults lies with the fact that the centre of their life moves away from the home and the family to friends and school. These domains are seldom sites for strong CL use. Pauwels' and Winter's work (Pauwels 1995; Winter & Pauwels 2005) involving the Vietnamese, Greek and German communities revealed that the adolescents' use of the CL in such domains was (very) low. Bilingual families often mention that maintaining community language is alright while the children are small, but it is really hard to succeed when the children reach adolescence (Pauwels 2005). In this respect, our cases are not typical of immigrant families.

Does gender make a difference in second generation community language use? Research on community language use among the second generation has revealed the following: There are limited overall quantitative differences in LOTE (languages other than English) or English language use between second generation men and women. There are some gender differences with regard to sites of bilingualism – domains (e.g. German women used CL with friends, German men did not. Greek women did not use CL with friends, nor did Greek men). The transmission of the CL from the second to the third generation has been found to be largely the responsibility of mothers rather than of fathers (Winter & Pauwels 2005).

Winter and Pauwels (2005) summarise the discursive differences of masculinities and femininities in families as follows: masculinities of imperative for obligatory language maintenance. This is contrasted with femininities of facilitation for mothers and mothering i.e. women are seen as cultural and linguistic educators and gatekeepers of linguistic standards and practice. Relating to this there are femininities of revitalization and language maintenance for second-generation mothering. It is suggested that interpretations of women as bearers of cultural heritage in the first generation are being transmitted and maintained in the second generation. Intellectualization of bilingualism emerges from discourses of the degree to which the participants aligned themselves to their ethnolinguistic identities and its transmission to their children and/or successive generations.

Research on Finnish maintenance in Australia has not emphasized gender difference. On the attitudinal level Finnish first generation men have been reported to have more

tendencies to linguistic purism than women i.e. wanting their first language to remain unaffected by transference from other languages (Lammervo, 2007). Another study found that among Australian Finns females used more code-switching than males. A larger amount of code-switching used by women into the prestigious variety, in this case, the L2 English, can be understood as shifting towards the prestigious variety also when the base language is supposed to be L1 (Kovács 2001). Women's wish for upward social movement demonstrated in language is in contrast with the generally accepted role women are given as guardians of heritage language and culture. In the Lammervo (2007) study, attitudes towards importance of passing language on to following generations were positive overall, but those few with a neutral attitude were men. The importance of women's role in passing on the language to the next generation was often mentioned. On the attitude level and discussing efficient language maintenance methods many mentioned that children had learnt Finnish from their mothers at home and Finnish use at home was the best method to maintain the language. (Lammervo 2007). This will be discussed in more detail in the next section Intergenerational language maintenance.

In language maintenance studies home and family have been privileged locales of influence and transmission for ethnolinguistic identities and practices. However, friendship-based relationships are replacing many traditional forms of family relations and partnering, and increasingly form the basis of transnational movement of peoples (O'Connor 1992, 8) It has been argued that CL friendships are more important for language maintenance in the first generation (Clyne 1991). Further Australian research has found that there is variation between ethnic groups in whether the second generation would speak the ethnic language to their parents' friends (Winter & Pauwels 2006). In the current data Eero, for instance, takes it for granted that Finnish is the language used with friends of his parents who have also become his friends. Tuuli and Oona would do the same. Finnish friends of the family i.e. of the parents make up a Finnish domain. Naturally this only works if you still have the skills. When you do not, like in Peter's case, his option is to zone out, unless the Finnish friends also speak English and switch to accommodate him.

The general tendency reported traditionally also in Australian research is that second generation peer communication is predominantly in English. However, friendship is a particularly complex yet powerful site for language maintenance for many second generation members and LOTE still features strongly in many peer-group-based friendships (Winter & Pauwels 2006). In their study of German, Greek and Vietnamese groups Winter

and Pauwels found gender differences in this domain too. German women had higher use of LOTE than German men, but in the Greek group these roles were reversed, however, the difference was not as marked between the genders. The Vietnamese group showed no gender difference. In the current data informants did not indicate that they would seek contact with Finnish speaking peers for language or culture maintenance purposes. In the first generation it was clearer that having Finnish speaking friends was important not only for the language, but the shared background and mindset as a couple interviewed for my earlier study (Lammervo 2007) say in the following extract:

> S: *[...] Suomalaiset kuitenki on niinku samanlaisii enemmän ja puheenaiheet vähän ehkä erilaisii ja suomalaisten kesken että se niinku*
> A: even *jopa huumorikin joskus on niin erilaista*
> *S: pikkusen erilainen*
> *[...]*
> *A: siis en tiedä tosiaan mikä siin on onks se sitte että sanotaan sä voit jutella niinko Suomesta ja tiedät että toinen ymmärtää heti sen taa- taas tommosesta sanotaan mitä sä et voi taas aussin kanssa. Tietty se tietty sä voit kertoo sillekin minkälaista on mutta kuin pitkälle niilläkin kiinnostus riittää se on asia erikseen ja kellä riittää kellä ei niistäkin on tietty yksilöjä. Ja joku siinä on että sä tunnet niinkön se on jotenkin yksinkertasempaa seurustella suomalaisten kanssa*

> S: [...] Anyway Finns are more alike and the conversation topics are maybe a bit different between Finns so that
> A: even the humour is sometimes so different
> S: a little bit different
> [...]
> A: don't know what it is. is it that say you can talk about Finland and you know that the other person understands straight away while you couldn't with an Aussie. Of course you can tell them too but how long will they stay interested is another thing some are some aren't there are differences. And there is something that it just feels easier to socialize with Finns.

Even these first generation parents in the recorded conversation talk about the second generation and how they have no Finnish speaking friends and have nothing to do with the Finnish community. The father wonders at this how the second generation appears to be going to the other extreme of wanting to have absolutely nothing to do with Finns. They do mention that in the community children of the more recently arrived families still attend some of the activities, but in the end very few stay active.

Preferring to socialize with Finnish origin people when possible is also related to the concept

of linguistic longing. This refers to the emotional response one can have to the realization that opportunities for using and exposure to L1 have diminished. The consequences may be individual and intergenerational language loss (Gary & Knoch 2005). This is perhaps more commonly an issue the first generation has to deal with, but also further generation depending on the circumstances.

Since the second generation has full access to and are members of mainstream culture, contact with Finnish peers is not essential to fill a social void. When Eero, Tuuli and Oona were surrounded by peers in the Finnish community they naturally made friends and spoke Finnish with them, but as life took them to different locations and social circles the contact stopped and was not deliberately sought.

> *O: ää kun me tavattiin täällä ekana noi toi Marja ja Erkki*
> *I: joo*
> *O: ni mä ystävystyin niitten tytön kanssa* Sophie Sophie *ja sit se x sitte mä ystävystyin* Maddie*n kanssa kuka oli myös* Sophie Sophie*n tota noi nii ystävä*
> *I: joo*
> *O: mutta sitten nykyään ei oikee – ajat menee ihmiset muuttuu*
>
> O: eh when we met here first Marja and Erkki
> I: yeah
> O: I became friends with their daughter Sophie Sophie and then I became friends with Maddie who was also Sophie Sophie's friend
> I: yeah
> O: but nowadays not really – time passes people change

It is not certain how much Finnish was used with these Finnish peers from the beginning. Certainly today the communication is in English.

Winter and Pauwels' (2006) conclude that in the second generation friendship is a multifaceted site, imbued with meanings of independence, subject to differing opportunities meshed with hyphenated belongings and gendered ethnolinguistic identities. The second generation are defined to have bilingual identities as second generation migrants, but first generation locals.

In their analysis of the census data on language Clyne and Kipp (2006) say that the population speaking community languages is concentrated even more than the entire population in the state capitals, and particularly in Australia's two largest cities, Sydney and Melbourne. The non-metropolitan area with the largest linguistic diversity is the Northern Territory

(excluding Darwin), where Australia's indigenous languages are concentrated and 41% of the population speaks LOTEs. Not only does rural Australia (apart from the areas with a concentration of indigenous languages) constitute a largely monolingual English-speaking territory, but where speakers of other languages live in these areas, they are more likely to shift to English as their only home language. In this data two second generation informants grew up in a rural area. Although the decision to change home language into English had already been made in another location, continuing to live in a small rural community would according to the pattern presented above have enhanced the shift to English only. The attitudes of the people around them would also have encouraged this.

Intergenerational language maintenance

First generation Australian Finns generally have a very positive attitude towards language maintenance, particularly passing the language on to the following generations (Lammervo 2007). Their own Finnish skills are so strong that there really is no concern about loosing Finnish skills or having to work towards their maintenance. Typically the language skills were passed on to the children in the home by the mother and this was overall also chosen as one of the best methods. However, as positive as the attitudes can be, on their own they do not lead to language maintenance. Often the effort of consistently keeping home language Finnish, teaching reading and writing skills, or taking advantage of Finnish school (if there was one in the area even sporadically) was considered too big and in the end the effort was not made. The outcome is that many of the second generation have no Finnish skills or only limited spoken Finnish.

What happens in the second generation? What is their attitude towards passing on community language skills or cultural competence? In the Winter and Pauwels study (2005) of second generation Germans and Greeks, parenting strategies (real or planned) varied from disengagement with the community language and ethnolinguistic histories to strong activism for language maintenance and use of CL. In-between positions included non-compulsory CL knowledge as part of preferred bilingualism and alignments where the intellectualizations needed to be grounded in CL schooling. This embraces issues about the degree of agency participants would take up in the transmission process e.g. using CL at home or ensuring there was formal language learning and education. In the current data opportunities for formal language learning are not brought up except by one informant whose son has grown up bilingual in Italian and English and has been fortunate enough to have Italian offered as the compulsory foreign language in his school. The

second generation does not mention formal language learning in Finnish as something they would expect their children to have in Australia. The general understanding is that language is something that is just picked up, that it would not have to be learnt. This is surprising considering that we are taught to read and write also in our first language.

Of these five second generation informants three have children and none of them have passed Finnish language on to their children. Jaana regrets not having done this as she has a very positive attitude towards language maintenance in general, but circumstances were not in her favour at the time. She blames herself and clearly sees that providing the language would have been her responsibility (no mention of possible help from grandparents, or school). One of the male informants would have had fluent enough Finnish himself to have continued speaking it to his daughter, but he never did. The other male informant does not have Finnish skills, but is very encouraging and supportive to his wife's effort of bringing their child up bilingual, while he is happy to be the English speaking Australian in the multilingual family. It appears that the belief in the mother's role in intergenerational language maintenance is very much alive in the second generation. Winter and Pauwels' (2005, 165) findings also suggest that interpretations about women as bearers of cultural heritage in the first generation are being transmitted and maintained in the second generation.

Contrast in our male informants is great. One has fluent Finnish skills, but has not spoken Finnish to his child. The child is part of his English language life in Australia, while Finnish is his and his parents, and their family's language. This sounds very simple, but this dichotomy has been in his life from very early on as far as can be deciphered from interviews and observation. Perhaps he does not place much sentimental value on the Finnish language which is only seen to have practical value for communication, and he did not think it essential for the child to know Finnish. Peter, on the other hand, who has no Finnish skills left, has a very supportive and positive attitude towards teaching the child the mother's community language. It is not possible to argue that had he had Finnish skills he would have insisted on the child also learning Finnish and effectively becoming trilingual. Since he has no skills this is too hypothetical. His support for his wife's effort can then also be seen as a case of belief in the special role of mothers in transmitting language and culture.

Looking at the female informants a few issues emerge. Jaana and Tuuli are both Finland

born, but have since become Australian and their partners are Australian. The biggest difference between these two is that one has always had Finnish as home language while the other shifted to English early on. Leaving this and several of the background factors aside let us look at how differently their bilingual bicultural marriages in different decades and environments work out. Jaana was clearly taught the role of mother as the bearer of culture and language even if her mother decided to start speaking to her children in her second language. Nevertheless, Jaana wanted to speak Finnish to her children and had planned to do so, but when the children came it proved to be harder than expected. She analyses this in hindsight saying that maybe had she had the house to herself during the day she could have stuck to speaking Finnish, but as it turned out, the pressure of being the only Finnish speaker in the house was too much for her. She felt that it was rude to speak Finnish to the children in front of her husband and his family who could not understand.

> J: yeah but unfortunately not the language - as little ones they could like the they've all been able to count to ten and say the very basic but they've forgotten all that because Michael wasn't interested in learning Finnish - not any idea so I just thought oh why bother I always regret with him the idiocy in that I didn't persistently speak Finnish and so they'd had some language skills of their own that's my biggest regret - I did because I've seen Angelina do that with Philip with the Italian and Stevie understands basic Italian through her speaking with Philip
> I: yeah
> J: and I think well gees my kids have missed out big time because of my laziness - but it was a decision we made when we got married
> I: yeah yeah
> J: and I thought well where would I ever go back to Finland or would any of my kids but as the years go by the doors that open for the kids

It is interesting that she remembers her Finnish skills to have been fluent enough for her to have chosen to consistently speak it to her children. She had been in Finland on extended visits just before the first children were born and that had improved her fluency. However, while a first generation mother (Elisa) says that she feels compelled to speak to her child in her first language and would be worried that she could not communicate her feelings in another language, Jaana does not mention this as her reason, or that she would have been deprived of something having to speak English to her babies. It is all about the skills and the value of these skills that she thinks she could have been able to give her children. There is the instrumental value of knowing a second language and being able to communicate with the Finnish side of the family as well as the symbolic value of keeping her first language, the language of her heritage, alive through her children. The situation was complex. It is argued that it is important that children growing up bilingual

hear dialogue in the minority language as well. Only one parent talking to the child is not the best possible scenario. Skill wise Jaana's parents could easily have spoken Finnish in front of the grandchildren and to the grandchildren, similarly Jaana could have spoken Finnish to her parents in front of her children. Because the family had changed the home language into English when Jaana was little, it was impossible to change back and start communicating in Finnish. In addition, the parents were always very sensitive to foreign languages being spoken in the presence of those who could not understand them and thought it extremely rude. With this background, it would clearly have been extremely difficult for Jaana to succeed in passing Finnish skills to her children.

Tuuli, who is starting a family, says that she has every intention of teaching her children Finnish and the husband should learn some too so as not to be completely left out of conversations.

> "*mä haluaisin että mun lapset tulee oppimaan suomen kieltä mutta mä kumminkaan en haluais eristää siinä* Paul*:ia mut sitten toisaalta tuntuu siltä että se sais vähä opetellaki suomea että* – "
> "I would like my children to learn Finnish language but I would not like to isolate Paul in this but on the other hand I think that he should learn some Finnish"

They have all along talked about the language question and the partner is interested in learning Finnish. The question is how to actually do it. From his interaction with the Finnish speaking family and visit to Finland he has picked up routine phrases and Tuuli and Oona seem to think that he can understand some of the routine things said. Some formal study would, however, be necessary. On the attitudinal level he certainly supports bringing the children up bilingual.

If Tuuli decides to speak Finnish to her future children, she will have the support of her mother, who will immerse them in Finnish and with Tuuli provide Finnish dialogue for them to listen. It is possible that Tuuli's and Oona's language choice would also veer more towards Finnish, unless Oona's loyalties to the brother-in-law get in the way. The family's close contact with the local Finnish community and its activities including Finnish school would also support language maintenance. A crucial element in Tuuli's case is whether her Finnish is strong enough for her to feel natural in speaking even the baby talk to a new born in Finnish.

As a contrast to the above second generation mothers also a recently arrived Finn was

interviewed. The main aim was to observe and discuss her children, second generation Australian Finns, but interesting language issues in her multicultural marriage also emerged. When her first child was born it was natural that she would speak Finnish to the baby. Finnish is the language of her bond with her children. There is, of course, also the consideration of making sure the children have Finnish skills to communicate with their Finnish grandparents and other relatives. She is also experiencing all the awkwardness of speaking a minority language to her daughters. Although the husband's family is overall accepting of the effort, there are moments when she feels that being monolinguals they cannot fully understand her situation. Another difference to second generation mothers and earlier arrivals on the time continuum of Finnish migration to Australia is the ease and availability of travel in the 21st century. Elisa has been able to take the children to Finland every year for extended visits. During the visits they live with her parents and are immersed in Finnish language and culture. Although the girls get much Finnish input in Australia from interaction with their mother, there would not be many opportunities to hear their mother speaking Finnish to other people. It is then all the more important that the girls get to visit Finland regularly. The Internet and particularly Skype has been a useful tool in maintaining relationships developed face to face during the visits.

A difference between first and second generation mothers regarding visits to homeland is that there is more motivation to go if your own parents are still there. Second generation mother's by way of definition have their parent(s) in Australia. Tuuli is different in this respect too since her father lives in Finland and she is very close with her maternal aunt and grandmother in Finland. Hence there would be a pull and support factor also in Finland for her family.

The role of English

The role of English in Australia goes unchallenged. Although it does not have the status of an official language, it is clear that life in Australia entails speaking English. First generation Finnish migrants have often struggled with English, particularly those earlier arrivals who had not had any formal training in foreign languages before migration. Formal ESL training in Australia has not been readily available for very long.

Second generation remembers the challenge of learning English although the experiences have naturally been different. Regardless of the Child Migrant Education Program put in place in 1970, informants who went to Queensland public schools in the 1970s report that

no ESL teaching was available. Jaana says:

> "well everybody was learning to read and write and spell and we just learned with them but we were a little disadvantaged because we only spoke Finnish and didn't have an understanding of what these other people were speaking"

Jaana recalls having spoken in Finnish to her teacher and only realizing her mistake when the teacher asked her to speak English so she could understand. She remembers having to do a lot of lining up to the teacher to ask how a word was spelled, as that was the method used at her school in the 1970s. She mentions having struggled with English, but does not tell any specific stories about problem situations. It is hard to say whether she truly realized at the time that she was struggling more than her classmates or is this an understanding she has come to looking back at those times in her life. The family changed home language into English at a teacher's suggestion and ever since then that choice has been the justification for loss of Finnish in the family. The adopted line of thinking is: because I struggled at school due to language problems parents shifted into English language to help.

Peter shares this opinion. Learning English was essential and he has not questioned the method how this was brought about in the family.

> "I remember mum and dad sitting us down and saying – okey we all gotta stop speaking Finnish now cause we gotta speak English cause we were having to start school in a weeks time [...] well it was very embarrassing going to school and not understanding anybody"

Peter does not mention any particular problem situations in learning to speak English, but he does say that pretty soon he would remind his parents to stick to speaking English when they occasionally reverted back to Finnish. His comment about correcting his father's English hints that as a young child he would have learnt English fairly quickly. He considers English as his language and was surprised to hear only recently that his Australian school mates thought him to have an accent.

> "I'd never noticed I had an accent till I bumped into one of my school friends that I went to school with and I was really surprised that they said oh you've lost your accent
>
> [...] and I said I'd never had an accent they said yes you did when you were when we were going to school and I I must have been already – you know my teenage years and they reckoned they they remembered me having an accent"

He did not notice his parents spoke accented English, nor was he aware that his own

English sounded accented to another Australian. He is in fact really impressed by his parents' English skills, wonders where they had picked it up from, and is amazed that they were able to switch the home language into English. It appears that he was not aware of his parents belonging to a generation which as part of their education in Finland would have studied foreign language(s) and in their case this language was English. Thus they had some formal training to base their improving skills on.

Eero also talks about his initial language problems. He started school in grade five in Australia and that was hard because he did not know any English. On the other hand, it was not all that difficult to fit in socially, because there were a lot of Finnish children in the school and even in the same class with him.

> "*samassa luokassa oliii ainakii viis suomalaista joten siinä ei sitte englantia oppina ollenkaa*"
> "there were at least five Finns in the class so you didn't learn any English"

Somehow he managed to pass years five and six, but for the seventh grade he was sent to a Catholic boarding school. His parents organized this so that their son could learn English. He was there for a year and in that time became fluent in English. He jokes though that he got better marks for German than English at that school. Looking back, he has accepted the decision his parents made to help him integrate through language learning, but says that at the time he did not understand why his parents would send him away. He does not know of anyone else who would have taken a similar path to English language learning, but agrees that as a strategy it was very effective. He never returned to Mt Isa and its Finnish community as the parents went to work in South Australia. At the time there must have been a great dichotomy in his language skills and use. The school environment would have taught him a peer register, an academic and public register in English, but his domestic and family register would still have remained entirely Finnish. This was to change with marriage and a child. Perhaps this is one of the reasons he did not want to continue Finnish alone in his own home domain, but wanted that to become English and Australian leaving Finnish to carry the values of his parents' family unit.

Tuuli who arrived three decades later (1995) was categorized at her Brisbane school as an ESL student and placed in a class of less advanced students because of her imperfect English skills. Although she agrees that she had problems with the language she remembers feeling discriminated against because of the language. She also critiques herself of being a perfectionist and wanting to excel at school regardless of the language slowing her

progress. She remembers having to work extra hard all the way through high school to master the content as well as the language. ESL classes are not mentioned, but she does recall having had the opportunity to have her written work marked and corrected before handing it in. She soon stopped doing this though, because it meant earlier deadlines to allow for the checking and correcting to take place. Although today Tuuli sounds and appears Australian, she claims to have an accent and to say "funny things" at times. Her partner and friends joke about her being foreign, whenever she makes one of these slips of the tongue. It is not entirely clear how much of this perceived foreignness is in fact cultural and how much linguistic.

Oona who was five at the time of arrival has had more problems with maintaining Finnish than learning English. However, her mother tells that one of Oona's primary school teachers told them that Oona's first language was slowing down her development in English and her school work in general. Such a comment was a shock to the family, particularly in the times of multiculturalism and diversity in mid to late 1990s. There is no mention of ESL classes in Oona's case either, although she would have been Finnish monolingual on entering school. Oona does not mention hearing comments about her English. She does, however, talk about someone commenting on her code-switching. She had been talking on the phone with her mother and an Australian friend hearing her had then commented on how Oona had spoken in two languages. The friend had understood every other world and then again not. The code-switched language variety is used within the family and with Australian Finnish friends as it obviously would not communicate with anyone else.

Oona does not mention problems with English, and considering that she arrived at a very young age, one would expect her to have grown up fluent Australian. She repeats family lore when telling that apparently when she started school at five she would naturally speak Finnish to everyone at school and no-one understood. When she came home she would speak mumbo jumbo imitating the sounds she had heard others speak and her sister would think she spoke English. Later she displayed the typical second generation antics of preferring to speak English also at home to her mother. At this stage, however, her mother took action and sent her to Finland. The first extended stay in Finland was on second grade, which would have meant that she attended Finnish first grade and was taught to read and write in Finnish. The second time was in Australian fifth grade when she spent six months in Finland and attended one semester of grade three in Finnish compulsory school. She comments on English lessons in Finland that the materials and topics were funny and old

fashioned and had nothing to do with the kind of everyday English she obviously was used to living with. This is an interesting comment and should be considered in relation to her limited experience of foreign language learning. To her English and Finnish are first languages in the sense that she has not learnt them in classroom situations only.

Among these second generation informants the paths to fluent Australian English have been varied. Age on arrival and family language are the most clear cut factors. Tuuli and Eero who were eldest of the informants at the time of being introduced to English have had to make the greatest effort to learn the language. Only Tuuli had some ESL support, even if it was not actual training. Eero learnt the immersion way, by being separated from his Finnish family and environment.

Language contact phenomena in recorded speech

This study did not set out to do a thorough linguistic analysis of the spoken language of the informants. However, since interview material was transcribed and entered into analysis software it was also possible to excerpt examples of language which display influence or interference from another language. We must also remember that the interview language was Finnish with three second generation informants and English with two informants, while the third generation all spoke English.

Overall it can be commented that when the informant chose to speak in English, Finnish influence in speech is limited to individual words or terminology that does not translate into English or is originally or only known in Finnish, or Finnish names. Those who spoke in Finnish switched between Finnish and English much more and in more varied ways.

Our second generation Finnish speakers have very different speaker profiles in terms of the language contact phenomena (LCP) they produce. The analysis of contact phenomena is not taken to great linguistic detail. The categories are:

- Long code-switches i.e. switches into non-matrix language for a stretch longer than one word.
  "*meillä on se tuolla tota* underneath the sink in the cupboards"
  "we have it over there underneath the sink in the cupboards"
- Short code-switch is a switch to unassimilated non-matrix language word.
  "*niin sun piti pistää* subtitles *ja sitte mä ajattelin että jos pistettäis englanniks*"
  "you had to put on subtitles and I thought how about we put on the English ones"

- Eng+Fin is in Finnish interviews a word which is pronounced in English but has Finnish morphology.
  "*meidän japanilainen* student:*ti opetti meitä*"
  "our Japanese student taught us"
- Fin+Fin is an English word that has been assimilated into Finnish both phonologically and morphologically.
  "*sitte mä* <u>*sainasin*</u> *isän nimen*"
  "then I signed father's name"

Other contact phenomena include the use of the word jee/yeah, English intonation and using a Finnish word unsuitable for the context. Problems with sentence structure mainly stemming from issues of governance are coded as SS for sentence structure (included in 'Other').

Table 1. Language contact phenomena in Finnish language interviews

	Long Cs	**Short Cs**	**Eng + Fin**	**Fin + Fin**	**Other**	**Total LCP**	**Total words**	**%**
Tuuli 1st interview	16	14			15	45	3877	1.2
Tuuli 2nd interview	11	9	1		3	24	4366	0.6
Tuuli total	**27**	**23**	**1**	**0**	**18**	**69**		
Oona 1st interview	9	40	33		51	133	5069	2.6
Oona 2nd interview	48	24	15	3	18	108	3000	3.6
Oona total	**57**	**64**	**48**	**3**	**69**	**241**		
Eero 1st interview	2	11	16	10	5	44	2301	1.9
Eero 2nd interview	10	12	18	6	8	54	2562	2.1
Eero total	**12**	**23**	**34**	**16**	**13**	**98**		

Among the Finnish speaking second generation informants Oona's recorded speech had the most language contact phenomena per number of words spoken. Interestingly the difference in number of LCP occurrences per number of words spoken is much higher on the second interview round (2.6% and 3.6%). The topics discussed on both interview rounds were similar and the location was the same. One feasible explanation to the relaxing of code-switching is that by this time the informant was more familiar with the interview situation and the interviewer and the language used while the recorder was running was very similar to everyday communication between the two people.

Oona's speech is characterized by code-switches, both short and long. These are the two largest categories overall, however, on first interview round there were more of the short switches and on the second round more long switches. Among these informants Oona's speech has the most expressions that differ from standard spoken Finnish in the sentence

structure level e.g. problems with governance.

> "*se menee pois – ei paljo nuoret ovat kiinnostuneita" csf*[6]*. Ei paljo nuoret ole kiinnostuneita*
> "it goes away – the teens are not much interested"

She also has several cases of a typical feature in second generation speech of overusing the first infinitive instead of other verb forms. In this example the Finnish third infinitive illative (-mAAn) has been replaced by first infinitive (-A):

> "*niitten piti lähtee jonnekin missä vauva ei pystyny olla" csf. ei pystynyt olemaan*
> "they had to go somewhere where the baby could not be"

On the other hand, she has only three cases of adapting an English word both phonologically and morphologically into Finnish, a strategy much used by first generation Australian Finns. However, she is able to quite fluently give words pronounced in English Finnish morphology and in fact has the highest occurrence of these in the data.

> "*nii mä puhun sitte suomeksi vai* Finglish:*iä vaan*"
> " so I'll speak in Finnish or just Finglish"

Many on these cases are names.

> " *hän oli sitte mun kanssa siellä koulussa* Runcorn:*issa*"
> "he went to school with me there in Runcorn"

Tuuli's speaker profile is overall very different. However, also her speech has a significant difference between interview rounds. On the first round the interview took place at her home (the percentage of LCP 1.2), while on the second round the location was her mother's house (the percentage down to 0.6) Her speech has no cases of completely assimilating an English word into Finnish and only one of giving Finnish morphology to a word pronounced in English. She does not mix the languages on the morphological level. The switches on sentence level are clean switches into a word or a longer stretch in English. The largest group of LCP in her speech is switches to English for longer stretches than one word.

> "*nii se* being the other *mutta jos sä sanot että sä oot* culturally ja linguistically diverse *nin seki tarkottaa että jos jos ne ihmiset jotka ei sitä voi . . niinkun pistää siihen* tick that box *nin* everybody else is the other *niinku*"
> "yeah that being the other but if you say that you are culturally and linguistically diverse that too means that if if those people who cannot . . sort of tick that box so everybody else is the other sort of".

One word switches are the second largest group.

---

6 *cfs stands for contemporary spoken Finnish*

"*tää ei oo mitenkään semmonen* immersion"
"this is in no way an immersion"

Being able to make material from another language fit the rules of the matrix language is considered a sign of considerable skill in the languages. However, not needing to do this at all also indicates good skills, as there is less need to borrow from the other code in the first place. Clearly we switch also for reasons other than limited competence. However, in Tuuli's Finnish speech she may, in the effort of not switching to English, sometimes end up using an incorrect word. All informants occasionally do this, but in Tuuli's Finnish, since she has none of the other Finnish phonology LCP, these stand out slightly more in her speaker profile. Also interesting element of her speech are some relatively new spoken Finnish expressions, which she has been able to include in her repertoire. They tell their tale of the contact she has with contemporary Finland: *eskari* -preschool, *maahanmuuttaja* –immigrant (includes everyone who moves into a country also refugees and sojourners).

Considering that Tuuli and Eero have very similar level skills in Finnish and were about the same age on arrival, it is interesting to see how very different their speaker profiles are in terms of the LCP. It is not that Eero would not have the English skills to include longer stretches of English in his speech, or that his Finnish would be so much better than Tuuli's that he would know how to control this from happening. Rather his Finnish represents that kind of further generation Finnish which in studies (Hirviniemi 2000) has been shown to preserve varieties of language and even archaic expressions. Eero speaks a regional dialect of Finnish, which he and his parents continued to speak in Australia. Although he has had contact with visitors and recent migrants from Finland, he had not at the time of recording visited Finland and had not had a chance to thus update his Finnish skills. He mentions this himself and explains that he has trouble understanding new words and expressions although he is fine with Australian Finns. The largest group of LCP in his speech is words pronounced in English but assimilated morphologically (34 cases). Many of these are names, but there are also cases such as:

"*Puhuttiin että mitä urheilijoita on Suomessa jotka pärjää no* mogul:*li on yks jossa pärjäävät*"
"we were talking about what athletes in Finland are successful and mogul is one where they do well"

"*no se oli paljon* pasta:*a ja* rice:*ia ja oli tota mitä hän teki ehm perunoita ei niin paljon mutta suomalaisilla on perunoita*"

"well it was a lot of pasta and rice and what she made ehm potatoes not so much but Finns have potatoes"

Although the strategy typical to first generation speakers, such as his parents, of assimilating English words into Finnish both phonologically and morphologically is not typical of Eero's speaker profile, he has the most cases of these LCP among these second generation Finnish speaking informants.

Oona has the most code-switches and she also has the most non-standard Finnish sentence structures as well as the most cases of using an incorrect Finnish word. Her speech then has phonologically the strongest English influence. Although her Finnish skills are remarkably good considering her background as a second generation speaker, it is clear that compared to the other two informants interviewed in Finnish her command of the language is not as strong.

Eero has the least code-switches and of those most are short one word switches. When speaking Finnish he assimilates most English material at least morphologically and has the most assimilated material among these speakers. It is as if he has command of the Australian Finnish code, which allows for quite extensive English influence when used in its context. Tuuli on the other hand has virtually none of these LCP. Because of her contact with Finland and orientation towards the issues of language and culture maintenance and teaching, she possibly takes spoken Finland Finnish as her target rather than the Australian Finnish variety. There are still lapses, but they are in different categories of phenomena. As a rule, if she cannot speak in contemporary spoken Finnish she switches into Australian English.

English speakers do produce some Finnish in the interviews, but these are predominantly one word switches and very often names. The fact that they chose to speak English to the interviewer is already an indication of the Finnish skills.

Table 2. Language contact phenomena in English language interviews with Jaana

	Long Cs	**Short Cs**	**Name**	**Fin + Eng**	**Total LCP**	**Total words**	**%**
Jaana 1st interview	2	22	25	3	52	5498	0.95
Jaana 2nd interview		24	33	1	58	4474	1.3
Jaana total	**2**	**46**	**58**	**4**	**110**		

Jaana's profile shows that most of the Finnish material in her English is Finnish names

pronounced in Finnish. The next biggest category is individual Finnish words. The one that is repeated most often is '*mummu*' the Finnish word for grandmother, a word also used by her children when talking about their Finnish grandmother. This word counts for 13 of the 46 cases of CS. Others include words for Finnish food and other items which when speaking to another Finnish origin person are quicker to refer to in Finnish.

> "you know those kids would just sit there and eat all the *korvapuustit*" [cinnamon buns]

There is also an interesting sentence of mixing back and forth:

> " I read *Pentti setä*'s *muistot*" [I read uncle Pentti's memoirs]

Replacing the English genitive apostrophe-s with Finnish genitive -n would have made this a longer continuous stretch of Finnish 'I read *Pentti setän muistot*'. This would be well within her repertoire of Finnish, but for some reason this is not how the sentence came out.

Unfortunately it was not possible to record an interview in Finnish with her. Considering the relationship between her and the interviewer this would have been too artificial to yield useful data. However, telephone conversations between Jaana and her aunts in Finland were overheard and it was clear that although she understood everything that was said at the other end of the line it was quite difficult for her to express anything more complex than the usual greetings in Finnish. She admits this herself, but is convinced that if immersed in Finnish again, she would regain some of the fluency she remembers having.

The other second generation interview conducted in English only contained very few Finnish linguistic elements. Peter said five names in Finnish and the three other Finnish words used were *mummu* and *ukki*, (grandmother and grandfather) and *sauna*. It is interesting that although he claims to have no Finnish skills, he still pronounces Finnish names in Finnish and for instance his sister's name which many around them have Englishised he usually says correctly in Finnish.

Third generation interviews were all in English and Finnish elements were very limited. In fact the only Finnish words in the interviews were *mummu* and *ukki* which the third generation regularly uses to talk about their Finnish grandparents. It is interesting though that when the children were small and spent quite a lot of time with their grandparents one of them was claimed to have picked up the grandparents accent in English. At an early stage of the children's schooling a teacher had asked about the accent and together

with the mother they had concluded that it must come from spending so much time with *mummu* and *ukki*. This was never a problem though and the child soon unlearnt it after starting school. It is interesting that although these grandparents switched to English and stopped speaking Finnish to their children in order to facilitate assimilation to the new culture; they inadvertently passed on to their son and grandson an aspect of their foreign background in their accented English.

Summary

In our data of diverse cases, Finnish language skills vary from fluency to no skills. This would average at some skills, which would be in line with what second generation Finnish skills are taken to be in general. However, as has been shown the circumstances have been very different for our informants and while some have maintained atypical fluency others shifted to English very early on.

Perhaps the clearest cases allowing comparison between second generation language acquisition or maintenance are Jaana and her brother Peter who only have a 17 month age difference. They see this difference as the main contributing factor to the different levels of Finnish skills. However, there are reported differences in speed of acquisition between siblings i.e. boys and girls (Bonvillain 2008). Whether differences are individual or gender dependent, can be hard to prove. The critical period of language learning is also often considered a main contributing factor and it is possible that being that little bit older when the family stayed in Finland Jaana was able to acquire a better foundation for her Finnish skills. It is clear the difference between these siblings' first language skills is not explained by one or two factors, but the cases are more complex and further examination of it is not within the scope of this study.

Community language use patterns are also fairly typical in the sense that private and home domains, if any, are the domains for Finnish use. An exception in this data is Eero, who from early on had also the private and family domain divided into Finnish and English environments. Interestingly he also continues to do some of his work in Finnish with Australian Finnish clients.

First generation Australian Finns considered it important for their children to know Finnish so they could keep in touch with family in Finland and were able to talk to relatives when they went on a visit (Lammervo 2007). Similar practical motivation for Finnish

maintenance is expressed also among second generation. For instance, Oona says that the value of being bilingual is that she can live in both countries. However, she adds that English is also useful as an international language but Finnish is her home language. This takes us to the symbolic meaning of Finnish. Being the first language and the family language it has layers of meaning beyond the practical. For those who no longer speak Finnish or speak very limited Finnish this symbolic meaning can still remain. In Jaana's case, for instance, she enjoys hearing Finnish and is pleased every time she hears it and realizes she can still understand it. The language does play an important role in the feelings of belonging, it makes her feel Finnish.

Tuuli mentions how she was surprised to find Finnish language in an unexpected context. A book she was reading had Finnish incorporated in the illustrations. She had later met the author and found out that he had a Finnish connection, a Finnish girlfriend, hence the choice of Finnish. Tuuli thought that by incorporating Finnish in the book the author had given Finnish readers a gift. A gift of recognizing their language in a work otherwise written in English and aimed at an English speaking audience. For her finding the Finnish words had felt like a gift. The author did not perhaps deliberately mean it as such, but a Finn comes across Finnish so seldom in such contexts that it still carries a special importance.

For the third generation to have ethnic language skills is quite extraordinary and has required endogamy also in the second generation (rare in Finnish community) or third generation relearning the language of their ancestors for a reason and motivation of their own. This is by no means typical either. As a general rule, Finnish no longer is the home language in the second let alone third generations. However, many language related elements may have been passed on or have rubbed off in the environment, for instance, on the attitudinal level: positive attitudes towards bringing children up bilingually in multicultural families, positive attitudes towards speakers of other languages, and confidence to be surrounded by other languages without feeling threatened by them. For some informants Finnish also appears to have a symbolic meaning. Eveliina claims to be able to recognize Finnish when she hears it spoken and is thrilled that she is able to do it. Jaana's youngest child must have some reason to ask his mother to read Finnish comics to him. The language itself, not the story conveyed is important in these situations.

This data indicates that although there are individual cases of language maintenance, even in the third generation, on the community level Finnish is slowly disappearing from

Australia. In addition to the diminishing numbers of new migrants, socioeconomic factors for those arriving and already settled are a major contributing factor as mentioned, for instance, by Clyne (1991, 2003). If even extrinsic minorities, who remain territorially next to their original language group, tend to shift (Paulston et al. 2007), it is no wonder migrant groups dislocated from their language community weigh their options and go with the mainstream language around them which offers all the opportunities in life.

5.3. Role of cultural elements in life spheres

Traditional Finnish cultural markers include both traditions and values hidden from our view, and visible symbols, artifacts and behaviour. The latter are easier to investigate, but in this research set up some of the deeper layers were also tapped onto. The following sections discuss the relevance of elements of Finnish culture in the lives of second and third generation Australian Finns.

If we consider the issues discussed below in the framework of the RAEM spheres (Navas et al. 2005, 2007), we see that most of the issues that have Finnish elements belong to the intermediate sphere i.e. family and social relations sphere. Some also to the core sphere. The public sphere is typically very Australian and Finnish culture and heritage has very little importance there.

Core sphere

Often description of Finnish culture and mind set is based on ancient history. It is true that history explains much of our contemporary world, and traditions do not get to be called traditions without a long history. Sometimes the history referred to is too distant from everyday life to still be meaningful. Reference to time of Fennism when there was great effort to build a Finnish identity and teach it through compulsory education is one of these, however, that effort undoubtedly is the back bone of Finnish national identity. But do we still see our characteristics as negatives, and compare ourselves to other Europeans as: impolite, serious, blunt and realistic? Some positive clichés include: Finns keep their promises, obey the law and order, without a doubt Finland is a country that pays its debts (Ylikangas 1996, 35). On the other hand, no matter how old fashioned the cultural markers may sound they are surprisingly durable. In 2003 a survey by Helsingin Sanomat revealed that Finns' most loved items were still very traditional: rye bread, sauna, salmiakki (salted liquorice), Fazerin sininen (particular brand of chocolate), Karelian pastries, followed by a more recent symbol: Nokia mobile phone.

Sisu, sauna, Sibelius – traditional Finnish cultural markers

In a sentence, traditionally speaking, Finland is a Lutheran country of sisu, sauna and Sibelius. This description can sound outdated in the modern world of Nokia and the World Wide Web. However, one second generation informant in the current study still recognized these three (Tuuli), while others do not, or only know them as separate concepts (Eero). Lutheranism is a way of thinking and a base for the Finnish national culture rather than

a religion. In fact only about a half of Finns consider themselves religious (Klinge 2005) and only 80.6% are Lutheran according to Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church's (2009) statistics. Finns have freedom of religion, but the next largest groups after Lutheran are Finnish Orthodox 1.1% of population and Pentecostal under 1% (Statistics Finland 2009). Other groups are even smaller. The traditional lists of national characteristics and symbols are useful, but we must bear in mind that their importance to Finns who leave Finland in the new millennium is perhaps less significant, and definitely different to the importance they held for those who migrated earlier en masse to North America, Australia or Sweden.

Sisu is a characteristic traditionally associated with Finns. It is difficult to translate. Perhaps the most viable explanation is toughness, patience and an ability to endure trials and trouble (Knuuttila 2005). Other translations include stamina, guts or perhaps most aptly 'can-do-if-it-kills-me' attitude as compared to the American can-do-attitude (Virtanen 2006). The word has in fact originally meant the inside of a person, the soul, the mentality or mind set (Knuuttila 2005, 25). It has also been suggested that Finns claiming to have *sisu* can be a way of undermining other peoples, as if no other groups can have the same extraordinary quality (ibid).

In the current data *sisu* was brought up by the researcher. Third generation informants did not recognize it or claim to ever have heard of its importance as a Finnish characteristic. The youngest representative of the second generation was familiar with the concept and discussed the trouble of its translation

I: *mitä se tarkottaa*
O: *että onko sulla sisua*
I: *mm*
O: *se on tota nii* – hard to explain *eiks se oo tota ni se on suomalainen vain sitä ei oo englanniks*
I: *nii joo*
O: *englanniks*
I: *joo se ei suoraan käänny mut et sä niinku suomalaisena*
O: yeah – you're tough [gestures with clenched fist]

I: what does it mean
O: that do you have sisu
I: mm
O: it is well – hard to explain isn't it it's only Finnish it doesn't exist in English
I: yeah right
O: in English
I: yeah it doesn't translate directly but as a Finn you

O: yeah – you're tough [gestures with clenched fist]

An older second generation informant (Tuuli) even recognized the *sisu sauna Sibelius* list.

> I: ... *mitä sun mielestä nää sisu sauna Sibelius on ne vanhat mut mikä ois niinku oikein suomalaista*
> T: *äää – jos niin - - no ehkä ne on kaikista eniten no onhan täällä australiassakin meil on täällä nin* Don Bradman *ni* Pavlova *ja samanlaisii ne on täälläkii*
> I: *nii jokaisel on omas*
> T: *mutta tota mitäs muita ois Suomessa - - en mä tiedä yleensähän ne on ne sisu sauna Sibelius*
> I: ...what do you think these sisu sauna Sibelius are the old symbols but what would be really Finnish
> T: äää – if well - - well maybe they are the most well in Australia we have Don Bradman, Pavlova and they are similar here too
> I: yeah everyone has their own
> T: but well what else would there be in Finland - - I don't know usually they are sisu sauna Sibelius

Jaana does not recognize the word *sisu* off hand, but when given the can-do-if-it-kills-me translation, immediately rephrases it as stubbornness and goes on to contemplate that having to live in a climate like the Finnish one, people would develop that kind of ethic simply to survive. It is interesting how she connects the characteristic to the climate and hardship caused by conditions in Finland. It is certainly a necessary quality when in Finland, but it is not entirely clear if she sees it as a national characteristic that also migrants would cling to abroad. Eero took a different approach to the list of *sisu sauna Sibelius* and discussed each of them individually and systematically. Without blinking he explained *sisu* as *Sisu pastilli* the popular Finnish cough drop named after the Finnish characteristic. It was not specified whether this really is the only context he knows the word in, or was it deliberately humorous to take this example of *sisu*.

In the RAEM spheres *sisu* would belong to the core sphere of principles. However, since none of the informants, although recognizing the Finnish characteristic, really claimed to have it themselves, it remains to have more of a symbolic significance. Sauna, discussed below, could be considered to belong to the intermediate sphere as the practice takes place in the family and social circles. On the other hand, sauna has deeper layers of meaning for Finns which justify its place in the core sphere.

Sauna is one of the core cultural symbols for Finns. Although *sauna* is not originally a Finnish invention and many peoples around the world have had sweat baths, Finnish people is definitely a *sauna* people. No-one claims that the French invented wine making, but no-one would dare to challenge their special position in the world of wine. The same goes for Finns and *sauna* (Korhonen 1993). Kalevala (the Finnish national epic) laid the foundation for *sauna* to become a central symbol of Finnishness (Laaksonen 2005, 137). It is a combination of traditions and mystic beliefs. It is not only a place for cleansing your body. It used to also be the place for birth and death, and continues to carry a spiritual significance in addition to the practical everyday purpose. Currently there are about 1.5 million *sauna*s in Finland (population 5 million). Finns have taken the tradition of *sauna* with them wherever they have migrated and for their offspring *sauna* can be a symbolic way of separating themselves and contrasting against the mainstream mass culture (Warkentin et al. 2005).

In an earlier study of first generation Australian Finns (Lammervo 2007) the importance of *sauna* was clear. Informants talked about their saunas and presented them to the researcher at their own initiation. In the current study second generation informants all talked about *sauna* and said they enjoyed it. One of them lived at the time in a house which had an inbuilt *sauna* and another used to have a log *sauna* in her back yard. Unfortunately it had only recently been destroyed in a storm. All informants had access to a *sauna* either at friends' houses or with family. In fact, one informant said that going to *sauna* is part of the program every time she visits her mother. For one second generation informant the importance of *sauna* is patriotic. Being a Finn one should have a *sauna* or at least seek it and enjoy it (Oona). She has introduced the Finnish tradition to some of her Australian friends and reports that they quite enjoyed it. She also elaborates that although *sauna* is a patriotic cultural marker for her, it is even more important to her mother who finds its relaxing effect irreplaceable. The informant who lost her *sauna* in a storm claims to miss it dreadfully and has plans a foot to rebuild it as soon as possible. Her family are making do for the time being, but have not sought an opportunity to visit somebody else's *sauna*. Peter has access to his parents' farm which has a *sauna* that the father built in the house. Peter says he enjoys having a *sauna* bath and every time they go to the farm he makes sure he has time to heat the *sauna* and enjoy it. He says that it, and the feeling you get from it, is very addictive. He also remembers how the *sauna* was a place where he would talk about important issues of business with his father and brother and make decisions. He was not sure if this was something typical to Finns, just that it certainly was part of their family's *sauna* culture.

The young third generation informants all claimed to enjoy the *sauna* and said they would even like to have one in their own home one day. Cathy says that for her *sauna* represents the Finnish family and more specifically *ukki* (the Finnish word the children have always used of their maternal grandfather). It was of course *ukki* who built their log *sauna*, so he is the personification of that tradition for this grandchild. Chris on the other hand has a more practical approach to the resurrection of the *sauna* and says that since there are no machines in Australia that would make the boards the log *sauna* was built with, it is not likely to be repaired. The third generation appears to take *sauna*, as so many of the Finnish elements in their family environment, for granted and although they know that *sauna* is Finnish, not having visited Finland themselves, they are not likely to realize what a fundamental part of contemporary everyday Finnish life it is. In comparison, Sheryl's family did not have *sauna*s in Australia, but she is familiar with the importance of it through her life in Sweden and visits to relatives in Finland. She does not express a special personal connection to the *sauna* tradition.

Jean Sibelius, the famous Finnish composer (1865-1957) appears last on the *sisu sauna Sibelius* -list and is discussed only by one of the informants. He is second generation and goes on to explain that he does not particularly like Sibelius's music. It is assumed that the other informants either did not recognize the name of the famous Finnish composer, did not think him significant to contemporary Finnish culture, or just forgot to talk about him as got carried away with the first two things on the list.

On the second interview round the informants were asked more general questions about Finnish music and its importance to them, whether they listened to Finnish music or were aware that the music they listened was in fact Finnish. The younger representatives of the second generation were more aware of Finnish popular music than the older representatives. Jaana had seen a Finnish band interviewed in the Today show, and said that she made a special effort to see that interview because they were Finnish. Otherwise she did not make an effort to find Finnish music. For Eero on the other hand Finnish music means the kind of dance music his parents were used to listening and he is quite emphatic about his dislike of it. The younger second generation informants Tuuli and Oona on the other hand had surprising knowledge of Finnish music. They knew about, had records of and had even been to the concerts of such international Finnish bands as Nightwish, HIM and Sixty Nine Eyes, and also claimed to know and like Apocalyptica and Värttinä.

> T: *ei ja kyllä mä kävin HIMmiä katsomassa konsertissa vain juuri ja ainoastaan sen takia kun se oli suomalainen*

I: *aijaa*
T: *mun kaveri joka tuli mua kattomaan Suomessa sillon ku seittemän kuu- ku mä olin siellä sen seittemän kuukautta ni se on tämmönen siitä tuli ihan tämmönen Suomi höpö*
I: @@@
T: *se tykkää Suomen kaikesta ja se* Nightwish *oli sen oli sen tota se on ostanu kaikki* Nightwish*in seedeet ja antanu mulle kopiot enkä mä sitä hirveesti kuuntele*
I: *nii*
T: *mun mielest se on vaan hienoa et se – ja sitte* HIM*in konserttiin mentiin varta vasten eiku kyllähän me mentiin* Nightwish*inki konserttiin – joo niin – vaan sen takia ku ne oli suomalaisia*

T: no and I did go to see HIM in concert only because it was Finnish
I: oh really
T: a friend of mine who came to see me in Finland when seven mon- when I was there those seven months she became a Finnish enthusiast
I: @@@
T: she likes all things Finnish and Nightwish was her she has bought all Nightwish's cds and given me copies and I don't listen to the band very much
I: yeah
T: I just think that it's great that it – and we made a particular effort to go to the HIM concert no we did go to the Nightwish concert as well –yeah sure – only because they are Finnish

Of the third generation informants none claimed to know Finnish music, but when given a list of the above mentioned bands one of them recognized Nightwish and HIM and even listens to these bands just had not realized they were Finnish.

Music as such could be seen as belonging to the intermediate sphere in the RAEM model, but if we think of its meaning to the listener there are deeper layers that would justify it belonging to the core sphere. As the informants say, listening to contemporary Finnish musicians in Australia gives them a special feeling of recognition and perhaps belonging just because they are Finnish. In fact it is not only the music, but the Finnish performer recognized outside Finland that evokes the patriotic feelings. Sibelius having been the most illustrious Finnish classical composer in his time has a special role also in the creation of Finnish identity and independence and he is thought to have succeeded also in presenting the Finnish melancholic mind set in his works.

When informants were asked what they would list as Finnish symbols, one informant, Eero, mentions an important one, the Finnish flag. He says he knows the Finnish flag, but

not the national anthem. On the other hand when he watches international sports he cheers for both Australians and Finns as does Jaana on the occasion she watches international sports. The third generation was asked if they cheered Finns in sports, but they had not noticed any Finnish participants in the sports they follow. This appears to be first and second generation behaviour.

Puukko – Finnish knife

Studies on Finns in North-America often mention Finns having their special knives and using them as tools in everyday chores as well as for craft. In contemporary Finland *puukko* continues to be an everyday item. Puukko has its roots in prehistoric times. Although *puukko* taps in some universal way to the masculine hunting instinct, it has also served as a tool/utensil for both sexes. In fact, Finnish Iron Age gravesites have revealed remains of knives carried by both men and women as part of their everyday apparel. Later it became a symbol of a free man, soon however, restrictions of carrying knives were issued. *Puukko* is an immensely practical tool which is used for a host of other task than carving wood, e.g. gutting, slicing, drilling. In skillful hands it has become a tool for making decorative items (Korhonen 2005).

In the current study only the older second generation informants recognize the significance of the *puukko*. In fact, Jaana brought the topic up outside data collection when she inquired into obtaining Finnish knives for her children. She is not sure if her father's *puukko* is with one of her brothers or what has happened to it.

> J: my niece her husband he's German has got a hand made Finnish *puukko*
> I: really
> J: yeah that *Marttiini*
> I: yeah *Marttiini*
> J: just a little one he lent it to Cathy to go pig hunting once and it was like in in the traditional the leather
> I: yeah
> J: the reindeer
> I: oh really I wonder how one could import it
> J: and that's where I started thinking there must be a way I can get them I just wanted it was just something special they'd always have

Had the plan materialized it would have been an interesting merger of cultures. Young North Queenslanders pig hunting with traditional Finnish knives.

Peter has the most hands on experience of *puukko* in this data. He remembers his father having a couple of them and using them on and off, but he is also proud to say that he has his own *puukko* which he remembers was given to him or brought over from Finland to him when he was younger. He has learnt how to use it and says that it is very handy and was particularly useful to him with wood work when he was renovating his house.

Eero knows that his father has several Finnish knives, but he himself has never had a *puukko*. He does not know the history or traditions behind using *puukko*, only that his father always had them. When asked about *puukko* Oona visualizes the very traditional hand made knives with the handle made of or decorated with reindeer horn. This is an image from Finland. She does not remember her family in Australia having had a *puukko*. However, one was actually lying in the kitchen drawer amongst other utensils. Further inquiry revealed that it was originally the Finnish great grandmother's and was left in the household after her passing.

Third generation informants are not aware of the significance of Finnish *puukko*. They do not recognize the Finnish word or after hearing the English explanation for it reveal any sign of recognition. They do not remember if their grandfather had one. They do not claim they were never shown or told about it, just that they do not now remember it. This is again a case of different views between generations. What would have happened had the mother been able to get those Marttiini knives for her children's eighteenth birthdays? They would not perhaps have been as thrilled as their mother would have expected, but just taken them as hunting knives. Nice knives, but still just knives. The pride of them being Finnish would have mainly been felt by the mother.

Celebrating holidays, weddings, confirmation and funerals

Celebration of religious or public holidays is something migrants continue to do following traditions from the country of origin. For Finns the most important is Christmas. One of the biggest differences between Finnish and Australian Christmas celebrations is that Finns celebrate Christmas Eve. This is a tradition continued in all families in this study. Jaana says that they continue to celebrate Christmas Eve and the children also realize that this tradition is Finnish. They were happy to have lots of presents, first on Christmas Eve with mother's side of the family and again on Christmas day with father's side of the family.

Jaana says that her mother used to make a big deal out of Easter and particularly Christmas:

> J: the little ceremonies you know I always remember growing up Easter was a big thing for Mum
> I: ah yeh
> J: and she used to thread the cotton wool balls and make a curtain at the window with it to
> I: aah
> J: I don't know what was it to emulate snow I don't know what it was but that was Easter time she used to do those sorts of things and you know
> I: yeah
> J: she made a big thing about and Christmas particularly we've always had *jouluaatto* [Christmas Eve]
> I: mm mm
> J: except last year x[7] and my family it's part of who we are those little Finnish traditions they're very important parts of our lives

Eero who arrived in the same period as Jaana and who continues to speak Finnish and whose parents never shifted to English, on the other hand, says that his family follows the British tradition in celebrations. The only exception is that they do occasionally celebrate Christmas Eve as an addition to the Christmas morning traditions. Another Finnish tradition he mentions are name days. This tradition is often given up when not in Finland, but Eero's mother always used to send him a card congratulating him on his name day. This tradition in Finland and other European countries stems from the old Calendar of Saints. Today an official list is held of current assignations of names to days.

Jaana, Peter and Eero would all have had a childhood home which followed Finnish traditions as much as possible with Australian resources. In addition Eero's home language was Finnish and they were members of an active Finnish community. All three married non Finnish speakers and had children. Yet the outcomes in continuing Finnish traditions are dramatically different. It would be tempting to say that this is a gender issue and women in their roles as carriers of culture would pass their own heritage onto their children while men do so less often. While this may not be universal, in this data men have not insisted on continuing and passing on their cultural traditions.

Because the family members of the two younger second generation informants travel and move quite frequently, many things are not set in a routine. When possible, Oona and Tuuli

---

7 *x in transcription indicates utterance that could not be deciphered from recording.*

celebrate Christmas with their mother in the mother's home. Depending on the year the number of friends and family present varies. During this study it was possible to observe Christmas celebrations. The house was decorated with lights and a Christmas tree as well as a nativity display. The food included the main Finnish traditional dishes from ham to casseroles and *rosolli*. Family traditions from Finland were perhaps slightly more emphasized that year since grandmother from Finland was staying with the family at the time. On Christmas Eve Tuuli's Australian partner's family was invited and some of the traditions were explained to them. These included having a sauna bath before dinner so as to be clean and ready to enjoy the special meal. Of the Australians present only one was willing to try it. One of the family traditions was the reading of the Jouluevankeliumi Luke 2 from the Gospel of Luke which Tuuli read in Finnish and her partner in English and the singing of the hymn 'Enkeli taivaan' (Angel of heaven). Presents were handed out by Mrs Clause (Tuuli) and her helper (Oona) appropriately dressed in a red hooded coat and elves ears respectively. Glögi (mulled wine) and gingerbread as well as plum pastries were also served. The following day the roles were changed and the Finnish family went to have Christmas lunch with the partner's family in the Australian tradition. An issue worthy of comment, which also applies in contemporary Finland, is that the time taken to prepare the food, the baked goods etc. is very short. It is almost an instant Christmas. There is no big cleaning of the house, baking ginger bread weeks earlier, but most of the dishes are bought ready made from the bakery and the last touches added on Christmas Eve. In this sense the change in traditions is global. The busy lifestyle has cut back the time spent preparing for the special occasions.

Oona mentioned celebrating New Year in Finland one year and enjoying the spectacular fireworks in the dark and cold night. As New Year is celebrated in the middle of winter, as opposed to mid-summer in Australia, the experience would have been very different for her. In Finland people buy fireworks and fire them off their backyards. There are also displays by cities, but Oona spent New Year at the family's lakeside cottage and in the wintry landscape with no distraction from city lights the fireworks would have looked really spectacular.

It remains to be seen whether the young third generation informants continue Finnish celebration of Christmas when they settle in their own homes. At the time of data collection even those who already lived outside the family home returned to celebrate Christmas with parents and other family. This meant following the Finnish tradition on Christmas Eve and Australian on Christmas Day. Sheryl says that Finland Swede's traditions were lost in their family already by the second generation. Her great aunt's family may have

continued with some traditions since she had migrated with her Finnish husband and Finland born children, but the traditions did not transfer into further generations.

In this data the role of Finnish cultural elements in weddings and funerals was discussed with two female informants. Jaana's wedding according to her was an Australian Catholic wedding with a very Australian reception and she had her Finnish influences with the colours chosen for the flowers and decorations (white and blue as in the Finnish flag) and the way their wedding bands were engraved.

Tuuli's wedding followed an Australian tradition although the venue even if very Australian, was not typical. The plan all along was to make the ceremony and reception look like them, but as Tuuli claims not even to know what a Finnish wedding reception would include and how it would be different, she was not going to incorporate such elements. However, she had looked up some old Finnish traditions having to do with getting married such as sauna spells (pre wedding spells performed by bride and her female friends often in a sauna to ensure happiness of marriage) and the stealing of the bride (during the reception a group of male guests kidnap the bride who will only be returned to the groom for a ransom in the form of some embarrassing task like singing to the guests). None of these Finnish traditions were part of the wedding though. She was determined, however, to have a wedding cake that was eaten at the reception, and not the "small piece of horrid fruit cake they give you at the weddings here". The main meal was traditionally Australian but during the festivities also Finnish specialties such as Karelian pastries, cocktail size open sandwiches of salmon on rye bread, meat balls and *glögi* (mulled wine) were served.

Although the wedding was not formally or visually Finnish, the bride's Finnish heritage was present in the people and the speeches. The ceremony itself had Finnish readings and a Finnish song which were translated for the benefit of the English monolingual audience. Finnish family who spoke at the reception all spoke in English. Australian friends also brought up the bride's Finnish background which judging by the tone of the speeches and people's reactions continues to be a source for humor.

The third informant to bring up weddings in conversation was Sheryl. She was at the time working on family history and while in contact with Finnish relatives had asked if there was any folk music that would be suitable to be played at a wedding. She then surprised her niece (4th generation Australian Finland Swede) by performing at the wedding folk

music from her grandfather's home district. Since the wedding took place in a location near the place where the grandfather and great uncle had started their life in Australia the event awoke some nostalgia.

Jaana talks about her father's funeral and how in hindsight she thinks they could have done things differently. The funeral did not have particularly Finnish elements and she says she does not know what they could have been as she is not familiar with the procedure of a Finnish funeral. What she regrets is that they could have made the burial reflect her father's personality better if not particularly emphasizing his Finnish identity:

> "we've heard there's few Finns have been buried at sea with the Finnish flag. Dad would have loved that.... Cause dad was a Finn he was an Aussie but he was he was still Finn and he just liked the warmth here and always in the water".

The headstone on his grave is made of timber cut from his forest but according to Jaana this continues to be a temporary solution:

> "mother is still dithering within herself as to she wants just a simple Finnish style granite – or marble headstone"

The Finnish Lutheran Church in Brisbane organizes confirmation school when there are several young people around the age of fifteen. This is then not an annual proceeding. In Finland the most common way to do this is to attend a confirmation school camp in the year one is fifteen years old, but under these migrant conditions the ages of the confirmed may vary. One of these events was observed during the data collection phase. The proceedings at church followed a pattern familiar also to church goers from Finland. However, what was interesting was the choice of language. Much of the sermon was delivered in English, particularly the sections where the congregation or the confirmed participated. This was dictated by necessity since of the twelve young people being confirmed few had fluent enough Finnish to have undertaken the confirmation studies in Finnish. Saying the creed and the prayer in English accommodated them, but was perhaps strange to some of the older members of the congregation.

Discussing the event with visitors from Finland it was agreed that the dress code at the Australian Finnish confirmation was much more relaxed than in a similar situation in Finland. From a Finland Finnish perspective it could easily have been interpreted that the solemnity of the occasion was not fully appreciated by the confirmed if dressed in strapless dresses, Capri length pants or sandals. On the other hand the congregation was also dressed more colourfully and some young men even sported caps all through the

ceremony. The differences were between generations: behaviour in Finland is relaxing too and traditions are changing, and cultures: dressing for church related celebrations and events is more relaxed in Australia than in Finland.

One of the confirmation parties was also observed. The setting of the confirmation party was completely non-Finnish. Parents of one of the confirmed invited two other families of confirmed children to bring their party and invite their guests to their house. In a relatively small community many people know each other and are friends. Rather than going to three separate parties all could just come to the one and the confirmed could celebrate together. It was agreed that all three parties brought food: *täytekakku* (sponge cake layered with jam and cream), *pulla*, *kuivat kakut* (tea cake) and the hosts served *karjalanpiirakat* (Karelian pastries), *voileipäkakut* (sandwich cakes) and the drinks. So what was served was very traditionally Finnish, but how this was organized was not.

Interestingly all the celebrations mentioned here are fundamentally religious, although the people approach them more as traditions carried out in the intermediate sphere.

Religion

None of the informants admitted being particularly religious or practicing their religion, but it is the Finnish Christian traditions of celebrating religious events that they follow. In this sense it is viable to say that religion in the core sphere has among the second generation definitely remained Finnish, if anything at all.

Although religion is not a taboo subject in Finnish culture, it is rarely a topic of general conversations. It would not have come up in the interviews unless brought up in relation to the relative accommodation model topics presented to the informants. Although none of the second generation informants claim to be particularly religious or practice their religion, they nevertheless admitted that deep down their beliefs were Finnish, the ones learnt in childhood from Finnish parents. It is, of course, relevant that in these cases the parents' religion is Finnish Lutheranism. Outcomes may have been different if their background was Pentecostal or Jehova's witness.

Religion often has a role in the interplay of factors affecting language maintenance. Among the Tamil in Melbourne religion has the power to promote Tamil maintenance even in situations where other factors such as high education level would predict the

opposite (Fernandez & Clyne 2007). Though religion and the church have traditionally been important in the lives of Finns in Australia, this is mainly the case for the first migrant generation. The importance of practicing your religion in your own language is a first generation issue. However, as was witnessed in observing the confirmation school studies in this data, the opportunity of learning the confirmation school material in Finnish instead of in English must be significant to the identity of a young Finnish Australian

Connection to nature, climate and weather

When asked to list more Finnish things or symbols in addition to the traditional *sisu sauna Sibelius*, Jaana can only think of the nature connection. She calls Finns a nature loving people, but also mentions their love of a good drink and a yarn. Affinity with nature and love of the outdoors are characteristics given to Finns also in studies of them in North America (Pentikäinen 1982; Palo-Stoller 1996).

The importance of smells in prompting memories is below discussed in relations to foods. For Jaana a particularly Finnish memory and a symbol of Finland is snow, or the smell of snow. She talks about a time when she was reminded of this as a child in Queensland.

> "it was a really cold winter and I remember dad took Peter and I on the tractor and carrier and I had all these crocheted green mittens with a little vest from Finland that someone had made me and we're picking the frost up and dad's going this is what snow looks like do you remember @@@ I said yeah yeah and the smell it was like you could just smell it was snow smell and it was something I remembered was the snow smell which is a weird thing to remember"

First generation migrants who had decided to leave Finland often talk about the weather and climate in Finland in a very negative light. Few admit that escaping the weather would have been their main motivation for migrating, but for many it was a relief no longer having to cope with it (Lammervo 2007). In the second and further generations, one would expect the perceptions of Finnish weather and its significance to be different than it is for those who have lived in it and escaped it.

Tuuli does mention in passing that "yeah it was dark and cold (and I was there alone)". She does not, however, dwell on the actual weather as a problem. It is implied that the climate has a lot to do with how the people are and how the society works. These were issues she was more acutely bothered by as if she was comparing herself to the Finnish type of person who actually lives in that environment and found that she was not like them in the end.

Oona has repeatedly talked about her love of winter and how she always wanted to time her visits/stays so that she would experience Finnish winter. This is not typical among Australian Finns. Although experiencing winter can seem like an exciting exotic thing to do, especially for someone who has not lived in it permanently, it is not so simple in practice for those who in their home country have had no need for winter clothing in the Scandinavian meaning of winter. It is so much simpler to visit Finland in the summer and that is what most Australian Finns do. Oona mainly talks about the winter temperature being more comfortable for her and she talks about snow. Winter is presented as an idyllically beautiful season. The lack of daylight, which so many resident Finns suffer from, is not an issue Oona would bring up.

Jaana and Peter look back onto their winter trip to Finland as something really special they consider themselves lucky to have experienced. For Peter there is no point of comparison, since he has not visited Finland in the summer like Jaana. Jaana would also like her children to one day have the chance to experience Finland and also Finland in the winter. On the other hand, she has stated that she would find it very hard to imagine having to live in that climate. She does seem to have an understanding of the scope of influence the climate has on the psyche of a people. This comes up in our talks of the Finnish drinking habits or solitude seeking.

She says she is becoming more and more antisocial the older she gets and this characteristic people around her put down to her being Finnish. She is inclined to think the same, particularly when there is another Finn down the road who seems to be going through a similar phase:

> J: the older I get the more antisocial I'm becoming I don't know they tell me I'm being a Finn but I don't believe that one @@@
> I: becoming a hermit
> J: yeah @@@@ like Merja down the road @@@ we like to have our little solitude time @@ does it come from the being in long cold dark winters and I don't know

The weather has an essential role in making the Finnish mind set what it is. Coping with the climate inevitably affects the people. It is interesting how Jaana sees the influences originating from the climate, but then the mind set becomes a characteristic which passed on in the DNA or in the Finnish identity.

The only third generation informant to have visited Finland, and also in the winter, agrees

that she is too much of a Queenslander to choose to live in that climate now that she has the choice. Having experienced it does, however, allow her to better understand her heritage and what her ancestors went through.

Work ethic

Strong work ethic has traditionally been part of Finnish culture. Emphasis on the necessity of hard work and rewards earned by it were already present in the classic Maamme kirja (1875) in which Finns were described as suited for hard work and duty bound to make a living out of the rough and poor, yet precious and beautiful, Finnish land. *Sisu*, perseverance beyond realistic possibilities, continues to be seen as a Finnish quality and evidently also connects to the work ethic.

The Lutheran work ethic i.e. notion of hard work, still exists although the essence of work has changed towards less physical efforts (Taramaa 2007). In the old days Finns were known as good workers and many employers in Australia were happy to employ Finns and even sought them (Koivukangas 1975; Lammervo 2007). In the current data one second generation informant refers to Finns as a "contributing race" which hints at his own positive attitudes as well as attitudes among mainstream around him. Another informant says that over all Australians think that Finns are hard workers and adhere to the ethic of doing what you promise to do. He adds that this is not necessarily only a Finnish characteristic and that there are all kinds of people in any ethnic group, but that this is generally thought among Finns and about Finns. Here is a third take on the topic by a second generation informant:

> J: work ethics – I think they're very – depends on the person and wherever you are in the world if you've got a good work ethic you gonna get on
> I: yeah yeah
> J: I don't know I hadn't thought of differentiating between Finnish and Australian
> I: yeah could there be a difference some people say there are
> J: well growing up with mum and dad dad used to they worked hard
> I: yeah
> J: they did what they could and - - so there's all of that but then so does Michael
> I: mm
> J: his parents did the same thing so
> I: yeah it's not necessarily a cultural or do Irish have a similar work ethic
> J: yeah

Whether these qualities: trustworthy and hardworking still define contemporary Finns

remains a matter of individual perception. As the society changes so do its values. The generations now entering the workforce have grown up in an entirely different world and their ethics, work or other, are necessarily different. Finns arriving in Australia today would perhaps not be preconceived as better workers than any other nationality, but thanks to the ground work done by earlier migrants here, being Finnish does not have a negative ring to it either.

Cleanliness

Cleanliness is a Finnish characteristic often mentioned in studies concerning for instance Finns in North America (Palo Stoller 1996; Taramaa 2007). In communications with Australian Finnish informants this has not emerged as a topic and quite frankly being Finnish myself I have not been able to fully understand how this characteristic comes across to non-Finns before talking to an Australian husband of a second generation Australian Finn. Here he is asked if he found his future parents-in-laws' home much different to his own family's house:

> I: but what about their - - their home and that – you've been a part of the family so long that it could be hard to sort of think that back and remember but did it
> M: oh it was definitely different to what I was used to yeah
> I: yeah
> M: Ehm – I mean Finns are just naturally neat and tidy from <@everyone I've ever bloody come across>

Finns themselves have not commented on this difference i.e. pointed out that other people's homes would be less tidy, or that Finns' would be particularly tidy. It is possible that the Finnish attention to keeping the home neat and tidy is a cultural model passed on as a matter of course. Among Finnish Americans the images have been bifold: Finns dirty from the work they do, and clean Finnish homes and clean Finns after they have had their sauna bath (Taramaa 2007). In the current data a newly arrived first generation Australian Finn talks about the importance of the home for Finns and the importance of making the home comfortable and enjoyable by renovations and decoration ideas as well as keeping it tidy:

> *"mä ymmärrän niinku sen et se koti on niinku sen takiiki niin tärkee koska se vuadenajat on niin vaihtelevat et kotona vietetään kauheesti aikaa ja sen takia sitä kotii halutaan niinku kunnostaa ja remontoida ja tuoda siihen sitä vaihteluutta ja viihtyvyyttä eihän täällä semmost niinku tehä semmottis – ihmiset asuu miten sattuu monta kertaa"*

> "I understand that the home is very important also because the seasons are so very varied and people spend so much time at home and that's why they want to renovate it and make it varied and comfortable and that is not the custom here – often people live in very ramshackle homes really."

The second generation Finn, whose husband comments about the cleanliness, does not mention cleanliness or aspiration for tidiness as a Finnish characteristic in this data. She has mentioned the issue in relation to the homes of her relatives she has visited in Finland and how she would like to have her home look like that, but how it is not happening on her initiative only. Her husband clearly sees this as Finnish influence:

> "Jaana goes off the bloody tree if the house is dirty so she's going off the tree all the time because we've got kids – and she's not here and you know there's nothing you can do about it but it does bug her."

To give the issue of cleanliness more perspective it is interesting to note that a travel diary written by a second generation Australian Finn in the 1920s on his first visit to Finland also includes comments on how very clean Helsinki and its suburbs were (Back 1924).

This characteristic of cleanliness, much like many other issues in this study, can be seen to belong to two spheres, the core and intermediate ones. The practice of keeping the home tidy is visible in the intermediate sphere, but the inbuilt drive to do this comes from the core sphere's principles learnt early on in socialization and from example.

Intermediate sphere

Food and drink

As a cultural symbol food has been compared to language. There is a system to its preparation, presentation and consuming which allow for creation of social, national and ethnic communion (Kolbe 2005, 120). Food, eating, serving and drinking are culturally specific and also communication tools. Food is also important in a nationalism sense: flavours familiar from childhood feel safe and relate to original homeland. Finnish food tradition is based on grains and its unchallenged champion is rye bread. As an everyday necessity it has become a symbol of strength and modesty. Wheat took much longer to become available for everyone and remained until the beginning of 1900s food of the privileged. Once it did become available the sweet buns called '*pulla*' became one of the central elements of Finnish culture. The smell and taste of freshly baked *pulla* brings back childhood memories of feeling secure in a clean cozy home. *Pulla* continues to be an element of celebrations as well as everyday life.

There is great variation in the role Finnish food has in the lives of the informants. Jaana remembers growing up in a very Finnish household. She talked about the role of Finnish heritage in her childhood home and emphasized how everything was Finnish, because naturally the parents would bring the children up the way they knew, the Finnish way. Their meals were very Finnish:

> J: we always had typical Finnish meals and when we went there [to visit non Finnish friends] it was always vegetable soup and very vegetarian which we always had meat
> I: yeh
> J: *lihapullat kastike ja perunat* [meat balls gravy and potatoes]
> I: *joo aivan* [yeah exactly]
> J: that was our meals every night it was potato and gravy and some meat @@.
>
> I: do you think did it change at any stage like - - did your mum sort of integrate or
> J. yeah
> I: all this international food into her cooking at some stage
> J: yeah because it was such a multicultural community there was erm mum had Philippino friends so sometimes she tried to experiment and did a bit of Philippino and bit of Chinese and that sort of stuff but ultimately overall it was always very basic good Finnish food

She says she grew up with very basic food and some of that she has clung to in her own cooking. Although Finnish cooking has not infiltrated the entire diet of her family, several dishes from the Finnish tradition have remained their everyday meals:

> "it's become such a multicultural world but the kids still love their mm *makaronilaatikko* [macaroni and mince casserole] their friends don't really enjoy it like we do the simplicity of it it's really amazing you know you see these kids go ohh but my husband and my kids just think it's the best thing"

Home made rye bread, *pulla*, *korvapuustit* and *piparkakut* are also mentioned as part of a regular diet over the years and interestingly these items have also been popular among the children's friends.

Peter has revived a skill that his grandfather was famous for in Finland. He can smoke fish. Interestingly Peter did not learn the skill from his grandfather. This was not possible since his only visit to Finland took place in the middle of winter and smoking of fish is a summer activity. Peter learnt the skill from an elderly Finnish relative in Australia and has continued preparing hot smoked fish for his friends' and family's enjoyment. The connection to Finnish heritage is

clear as he talks about remembering the smell of hot smoked fish in Finnish supermarkets. He also says that Australians do not have a clue of what he is talking about when he mentions hot smoked fish, but as soon as they have tasted it they too want to learn how to prepare it. Peter also says he tries to cook a lot of Finnish meals, soups being his specialty.

In Eero's case the changes in his life circumstances and environment are reflected in his diet just as they were in his choice of language. While he lived with his parents the diet was very Finnish in essentials although naturally the ingredients were Australian. In his own life, as he chooses to call the period he was married and lived in another state, he ate what his wife cooked and that was a mixture of international foods. When he relocated to live with his aged Finnish father the diet changed again. It has Finnish elements such as rye bread, and having porridge for breakfast. Dinner always includes the very Finnish ingredient potato. The fact that Finnish meals are traditionally based on potato was noted by several informants and other community members who also commented that unfortunately they could not recreate those meals in Australia as they did not find local potatoes as tasty as Finnish ones. The father and son in this case, however, have stuck to the original custom of eating potatoes, presumably also because the father is accustomed to it.

Oona eats an ethnically diverse diet her favorites ranging from spaghetti to Japanese curries. However, it would appear that while her great grandmother was with them the diet included more Finnish elements.

> "when Kaisa and Heikki were with us… it was the big pot over there the fish soup was always salmon soup"

This fish soup has remained an occasional part of the menu as well as *makaronilaatikko* and meat balls. When asked about the importance of Finnish food in her diet in Australia, Oona starts to talk about Finnish food in Finland, what is good there and what foods she misses. Although her mother cooks also Finnish meals and Oona does mention this, she has such a lot of recent experience from Finland that when talking about Finnish food she is able to also associate it with contemporary Finland.

O: *no mää ku mulla on ikävä viiliä*
I: *joo*
O: *mä haluun viiliä ja Suomessa on paljo parasta kaakaota O'boyta*
I *aaah*
O: *Vaalio jäätelöä Vaalio tosi mahtava*
I @@

O: *ää sit siellä on suklaata mm Fazerin suklaata kaikkea niitä on ikävä ja sitten siellä on se tunnelma ja ilma mikä on tosi kirkasta*

O: well I miss *viili* [a particular Finnish dairy product]
I: yeah
O: I want *viili* and in Finland there's a lot there's the best hot chocolate O'boy
I: aaah
O: Vaalio ice cream Vaalio is really great
I: @@
O: ää and then there's chocolate mm Fazer's chocolate all those I miss and then there is the atmosphere and air which is really clear

Tuuli, on the other hand, has the role of the cake maker in the family and she also baked traditional plum pastries for Christmas. From observation it appears that she knows the traditions and feels their value, but her everyday cooking is not likely to be particularly Finnish.

The topic of food proved to be one of those issues where the perception of generation two and three differs. The mother says that the children have very Finnish tastes and that Finnish food from Finnish fish soup to *makaronilaatikko* are everyday meals. They may be described as bland, but the family loves them. In the mothers' view:

"even down to the food that we eat @@@@ we still have very Finnish meals @@@@ and children they have very Finnish tastes @@"

When asked the third generation did not immediately know what Finnish food was.

E: I don't know – what's Finnish food
I: well we made *piparkakut* one Christmas
E: oh that's nice
I: yeah @@@ and now the pressure's on to make *karjalanpiirakat* Karelian pies
E: never heard of that
I: oh haven't you no your mother told me that it would be nice if we could make them so that you could learn ah I didn't know that you didn't know about this haa she's been scheming behind your back
E: no I make ginger bread men or cinnamon rolls and everything
I: what about *mummu* does she make Finnish food
E: yes she does it tastes very good

This informant and her sister have a particular favorite among *mummu*'s cooking and that is *porkkanalaatikko*, carrot and rice casserole, a traditional Christmas dish, in Finland also served as part of a traditional feast.

When the other daughter was asked about importance of Finnish culture in their home she suggested the food that mum cooks to be pretty much the only Finnish element. She then goes on to say that it tastes very good and that she knows how to cook some of it. In the second interview she associates mother's Finnish cooking mainly with special events such as Christmas and Easter, but overall her cooking is Australian. The brother thinks along the same lines and says that "apart from the cooking they don't really do anything else Finnish".

Food obviously plays an important part in the lives of Finnish heritage people in Australia. It is interesting that the third generation recognizes the presence of Finnish elements in the diet even if they cannot point out each individually. It appears that after language, which would be the most obvious symbol of culture, food is the next most recognizable element.

"Culture shapes what people eat, how they eat, when they eat, and the meaning of food and eating. Culture also defines foods that are acceptable or unacceptable" (Miller 2007, 14). Another argument is that it simply is patriotic to continue eating what you have learnt to eat as a child (Kolbe 2005). This may not be a conscious patriotic effort for all, it is just what comes naturally and in a new environment what we cook at home is one of the few things we are in control of. Making it resemble our tradition creates some sense of normality and security. The preference for our kind of food is part of our identity. On the other hand, it can be a conscious strategy of resisting complete assimilation. Foods and also the smells of foods remind us of previous experiences and emotions. This is significant to our identity.

To find out how the informants perceived ethnicity and multiculturalism in relation to food and whether they categorized Finnish as ethnic they were asked if they ate ethnic foods and what were their favorites. It appears that all eat a variety of ethnic foods, the first ones listed being curries, Chinese, Greek, Italian. Interestingly the third generation young informants also suggest that mother's cooking is ethnic.

I: do you eat ethnic food
E: yeah sometimes
I: what sort of things
E: <@ I don't know what do you class as ethnic>
I: yeah that's the thing – what would you class as ethnic
E: I don't know curries – that kind of stuff
I: yeah

E: all the stuff that mum makes from Finland
I: yeah
E: I guess you could kind of class it in that

There is then something called ethnic in the minds of our informants, something which is from outside Australia. Finnish can also be classed as ethnic, but not systematically. On the level of food, what you eat can make you the 'other' if what you eat is different to mainstream and you claim it as your heritage. What you eat can also work towards inclusion as ethnic foods are available to all, regardless of origin.

A negative cultural model among Finns is the alcohol drinking habits. This is mentioned in studies of Finnish Americans and Finnish Australians (see e.g. Susag 1999; Taramaa 2007; Mattila 1990). Although alcohol culture in contemporary Finland has changed a lot, the stereotype still remains that Finns and particularly Finnish men are hard drinkers. The concept was brought up in conversation with some of the informants. The younger third generation informants were not aware of this stereotype. However, they found it humorous that their heritage being Finnish and Irish they would have an explanation for heavy drinking. Jaana is familiar with the old stereotype of Finns, particularly men, drinking hard and drinking particularly spirits. She links it to the climate and Finnish mind set.

> " yeah but I think when you look at it in one perspective that winter time is so dark and dreary and cold you can get depressed summer time comes you work hard the sun's shining it's glorious and you want to celebrate"

It is interesting how again her reference point is Finland and Finns in Finland, not Finns in the migrant community.

Coffee schema

How people prefer to drink their coffee and tea is highly ritualized behaviour down to the kind of cups used let alone how the drink should taste. Coffee drinking is an important Finnish cultural marker. Serving coffee and *pulla* is a schema that Finns transferred also to the United States (Taramaa 2007). In this day and age of globalization and Starbucks (and its like) taking over the world also Finnish coffee drinking tradition is under pressure. It remains to be seen whether the mochas, espressos and cappuccinos remain an addition to the Finnish perculated or filtered coffee, or will this eventually have to give way. Cafeteria culture is of course a different matter to everyday life at home and in Finnish homes a visitor is still offered filtered coffee or tea and very often some form of sweet buns (*pulla*). The

Australian schema of putting the kettle on and having a cuppa merges relatively well with the Finnish schema provided that one is willing to accept Nescafe. In Australia, however, the current coffee shop and take away coffee culture is not in apparent competition with a preceding cafeteria culture in the same extent as in Finland. If people in Australia have started to drink more coffee also in the home it would be an extension of the coffee shop type drink made at home with an espresso machine or alternately a plunger. Filtering or using a dripolator is not the fashion.

If older first generation Finns in Australia serve their visitors instant coffee it is at least followed with an explanation as to why this is the case, as instant coffee is not traditionally considered 'real coffee'. A difference immediately apparent between the original Finnish and Australian schemas is the lack of formality in the Australian schema as opposed to the Finnish tradition of setting the table with cups and saucers and serviettes and serving *pulla* and cakes.

A recently arrived migrant (Elisa) determined to maintain and pass her Finnish heritage onto her children talks about the coffee serving traditions:

> E: *no tota – kyl se siis mulla – kyl me kuka vaan yleensä tulee tänne näin ni kyl me aina yritän pyrin kysymään et haluuks he niinku teetä vai kahvii*
> I: *nii*
> E: *mut sit enhän mä välttämättä nyt sitä semmottis kata tosiaankaan niinku suamcs oikein laitettais kaikki hianosti*
> I: *mm*
> E: *no – mut kyl mä ehkä enemmän sit jos joku suomalainen tulis*
> I: *joo*
> E: *pyrkisin mut sit mä huomaan et seki riippuu siit - minkä ikänen ihminen se on*
> I: *joo*
> E: *mm sit jos se on vaik mun ikänen ni sit mä en oo ehkä niin tarkka*
>
> E: well – yes with me – yes whoever comes here I mean to ask them if they would like tea or coffee.
> I: yeah
> E: but I don't necessarily set it the way you would it Finland set everything really nice
> I: yeah
> E: well – but maybe I would do more if it was a Finnish visitor
> I: yeah
> E: I'd try to but I notice that that also depends on – how old the person is
> I: yeah
> E: mm if it was someone my age I wouldn't be so particular

One of the second generation informants in this data has reverted back to using a dripolator to make her coffee. This was motivated by regular visits to new migrants from Finland who had brought their Finnish dripolator among their household goods and continued to make Finnish style coffee also serving it to our informant. She discussed the differences in the Finnish and Australian traditions:

> I: well you've visited Finland and you visit Finns here erhm you know the the coffee drinking tradition - - what do you think of that
> J: oh it's very much alive at our place
> I: @@@
> J: though not to the point that Finns do you know with their elaborate open sandwiches and *piparkaku- piparkakun korvapuustit* and all that
> I: mm
> J: we've become I suppose with food intolerances and weight gain as one gets older that one can't indulge as often
> I: mm
> J: but I think with the Finns it's – it's erh - - like having a - - it's special you know the length into which the people go into and the presentation of your cup with a little serviette you know and all the little nice things whereas it's become very lazy here
> I: yeah it's more relaxed with the mugs and you know
> J: yeah very casual whereas but even with my mother-in-law's generation they had the ladies tea cups and the scones and the nice cakes
> I: that's right
> J: but as we're getting
> I: the high tea that sort of maybe it comes from that
> J: yeah but over here we're cup of tea is always on
> I: mm mm
> J: and the scones and cakes have been long forgotten as the waist line expands

In another second generation informant's family it was clear from observation how the nice rose cups and saucers with silver spoons play an important role in the family heritage. Setting the table with the inherited cups and silver signifies a special occasion, a birthday, Christmas or similar events. The great grandmother, who originally owned the china, is told also to have been quite fussy with her coffee. It was also suggested that possessing such fine bone china cups was a status issue at the time of the great grandmother and among her peers in the Australian Finnish community such setting told its tale about the owner's socio-educational background.

The young third generation in this data are not aware of the Finnish coffee drinking schema yet follow the family's Australian way of offering visitors a cuppa. Sheryl on the

other hand is well aware of the Finns and Swedes addiction to strong coffee and serves it to them even though her own tastes are for a milder brew. Having lived in Sweden she has a personal understanding of the importance warm strong coffee has in keeping people going.

The smell of fresh baked *pulla* is something that is ingrained to every Finnish child's memory, or at least we have learnt to think that that smell in the home relates to security (e.g. Halonen, 2005). This cultural schema is very common among first generation Australian Finns but generally less so among the following generations. However, in this data the sweet buns or cinnamon buns are a great hit also among third generation informants. They indicate that these have been a part of their diet forever, but also know that they come from the Finnish tradition. One of the third generation girls even says that she can make them. The main importance of Finnish style cinnamon buns is that they obviously taste good. There is also an indication in the way the third generation talks about this that the *pulla* baking tradition is one of the few they know both their mother and grandmother to continue and share.

With a younger representative of the second generation *pulla* is closely linked to mother who is the Finnish person in the family to make it. There is the undertone of the above mentioned "warm and fuzzy feeling of security and cosyness" in the discourse when talking about mother baking *pulla* for certain occasions or certain people. It is made with love and as a symbol of love (this is from outside the recorded conversation). The other daughter tells that she had made *pulla* according to her mother's recipe and instructions, but since it never turns out the way she thinks it should, she has given up trying and is satisfied with treating herself to mother's *pulla* when it is available.

Home decoration

Decorating homes with Finnish memorabilia and artifacts has been typical among first generation Australian Finns (Lammervo 2007) just as it has been among first generation Finns in North America, Germany and so on (e.g. Taramaa 2007; Tuomi-Nikula 1989). Further generations have carried on with some of this, but to a lesser extent and the items may carry a different meaning to them. There is also a difference between recent arrival first generation and 1950s and 1960s arrivals. The items displayed are different and global decoration trends also have an effect. The Finnish items are not necessarily so traditional in younger first generation migrants' homes although Finnish and Scandinavian design may well be present.

Jaana's home has always had Finnish items. She mentions repeatedly how important her Finnish heritage is to her and it is also visible in her home, at least to a Finn. According to her children, Australian friends who come over do not realize that the items are Finnish, so they carry symbolic meaning only to the Finns in the family, those who recognize them as Finnish. Jaana has brought items from Finland herself from her trips e.g. glass and design items as well as handicrafts. Family has also sent her items as presents. Godparents and grandparents were happy to hear that she appreciated those items and sending something Finnish helped in finding gift ideas. Jaana has also inherited several items from her mother. As the mother moved house and had less room she gave things to Jaana knowing that she will appreciate them. A special group of items in the family are the furniture and wood crafts made by the maternal grandfather. Considering how difficult it is to import wooden items into Australia, getting these items into their home has taken great effort. Jaana's home is an interesting compilation of important items from both sides of the family. They have old furniture that has been passed on in her husband's family in harmony with items from Jaana's family which in addition to the Finnish items also include memorabilia from times the family spent in Papua New Guinea. A nice symbolic set up is the Finnish wall hanging Raanu (loom woven wool textile) on the living room wall next to a gigantic shell of a tortuous shot by Jaana's father in Bougainville.

Jaana's children, the third generation have grown up surrounded by these items but their significance as particularly Finnish is not so great to them. The eldest two only realize the Finnishness of the items when asked about them, but also say that visitors to the house would pay no special attention to them. The younger daughter, however, talks about the importance the Finnish symbols have for her mother and mentions that "she has the little ice-skates out" referring to Jaana's first skates that she had as a four year old learning to skate in Finland. For some reason this third child has the closest connection to Finnish heritage and language and it is mostly because the mother for some reason has singled her out as the Finnish child in the family. Reasons for this are impossible to point out. Nevertheless, Eveliina is perhaps the most aware of the significance Finnish heritage has to her mother.

Peter says he has memorabilia and Finnish crafts and a flag put away for the time being. At the time of the interview they had just moved and renovated the house and as he said he was not able to put any of it up, yet. He hoped to be able to do this later on as the furnishing of the house was finished.

Tuuli touches on house decoration when talking about mother's house and how all of a sudden decorating it with Finnish items has become so important to her mother.

> "*yhtäkkiä siitä on niinkun se sillon ku me tultiin tänne nuor- tai siis kymmenen vuotta sitten kakstoista vuotta sitten niin äitil oli ihan sama että oliko se suomalaisten kanssa vai oliko se australialaisten kanssa eikä sillä ollu semmosta että sen pitää saada suomalainen kauha tai suomalainen mattopiiska tai suomalainen ja-* "
> "all of a sudden it has well when we came here young- or ten years ago twelve years ago it didn't matter to mum whether she was with Finns or with Australians and she didn't think she had to have a Finnish ladle or Finnish carpet beater or Finnish –"

Tuuli's home was still in removalist boxes at the time of the interview and it was not possible to observe how much of Finland is exhibited in her own home. It is possible that she does not consider this an important part of expressing her cultural identity. Certainly conversation with her about Finnish items in the mother's home does not lead into mentioning the role of such items in her own home. In fact, a later conversation on the topic clarified that a piece of *Marimekko* cloth, given to her as a gift, was first meant to be made into curtains but ended up serving once as a tablecloth and then being stored. Oona who lives with her mother comments about the house that it is very nice, and has Finnish elements such as the *sauna*. Their home has a very Finnish feel to it. Because of their recent trips to Finland the feel is particularly contemporary. *Marimekko* has been a Finnish icon for decades, but has made a come back to the top of the trends in the last years also in Finland, particularly in fabrics for home décor. It is quite striking to walk into this home in Australia and have the *Unikko* curtains and tablecloths dominate the living areas much in the fashion they do in Finnish homes today. The *sauna* in the house naturally has Finnish *sauna* textiles including the linen seat covers and *sauna* pillows. Tiles are white and blue and the wooden ladle and water bucket have been brought from Finland. Now that friends and family know that they have a *sauna* in their new house they expect to be inundated with *sauna* related items; thermometers, towels, hats, drink holders and so on.

Sheryl has a Swedish wall hanging and artwork of Scandinavian landscapes in her home. She has acquired these on her trips and when living in Europe, She also mentions that they are special to her and her husband, but few visitors would recognize them as specific to the Nordic countries or the connection to Sheryl's heritage. This is similar to the comments above by the younger third generation informants regarding memorabilia in their home.

Australian Finnish community

Immigrant situation preserves language and culture (Kovács 2001; Hirviniemi 2000; Lammervo 2007). This is also mentioned by second generation informants in this study and a first generation recent arrival. The Finnish customs and culture of the elderly section of the Australian Finnish community are something from a bygone era which relates poorly to contemporary Finland. This of course is most obvious to someone just recently arrived from Finland, but also second generation community members have commented how the organizations' events continue to be the same year after year and how in their opinion they should already have been changed and updated.

Here a second generation informant talks about her recent experience in trying to introduce elderly Australian Finns to a computer based activity in day respite:

> I: @@ no miten se onnistu ku sä menit tänne tuonne sitä näyttään tykkäskö ne
> O: no
> I: ymmärsikö <@ ne ollenkaan mistä on kyse>
> O: ne on suomalaisia
> ...
> O: siis nää australiansuomalainen se ovat niin erilaisia kun suomen suomalaisia ne on oma laji
>
> I: well how did it go when you went to show them did they like it
> O: well
> I: did they understand what it was about
> O: they are Finnish
> ....
> O: you see these Australian Finns they are different from Finland Finns they are a different species.

The language issue in community activities is becoming more and more acute. Pentacostals have already taken action and introduced English meetings. Lutherans are also introducing bilingual activities to accommodate second and further generations and non-Finnish speaking spouses and family members.

In our data second generation informants do not regularly take part in community activities. Eero says he never participates. He does not enjoy the community level Finnish maintenance, yet within own family it is the most natural thing. Peter comments how the Finns in their area are not interested in coming together as a clan, but when one of them passes away fellow Finns go to the funeral to send yet another one of them off.

Third generation informants had very limited knowledge about Finns in Australia. The first reaction to the question is "have no idea". When discussed a bit further they do admit knowing that there are some Finns that live around their area. One of them suggests quite correctly that there would be a fair few Finns in Victoria and in the southern states of Australia. None of them has ever thought about the size of the Finnish minority in Australia and estimate it generously to be "up there" with the biggest migrant groups or "maybe a million". There are no organized Finnish community activities in their vicinity and the only Finnish peer in the area has been spotted by accident in sport competition where her Finnish last name caught their attention.

The future of Finnish communities in Australia has long been forecast as heading for extinction. This has mainly been based on the numbers of new migrants continuing to decline. What should be born in mind though is that it is the community that is to be sustained rather than specific practices or beliefs (Kymlicka 1989). The people will need the support of the community and it will not matter so much if the activities of the community or even the language is changed. Kymlicka thinks that people need the strong and secure cultural community as the context in which to develop as autonomous beings.

Public sphere

Work

As expected Finnish language or culture does not have a great role in the domain of work among second generation Finns. Much like the first generation also for the second generation work is an English domain. It is then all the more interestingly that one of them says that 25% of his clients are Finnish. The situation described by another informant, who claims that she could not do her work or talk about it in Finnish because she has learnt it and always done it in English, is more typical in the migrant and bilingual situation.

Politics

When presented with the topic of government and politics domain, two informants say that they are really only familiar with the Australian system so in that sense the domain is Australian. Neither are really interested in politics, and take the topic no further. Two other informants take a different approach and say that their political convictions originate from their parents and family "it's what you're brought up with" and "I feel strongly against the communist side of things but that's because all our relations fought against them".

Summary

Billy Connolly was taken to a Scottish festival when visiting Newfoundland on one of his TV show trips. He observed that the people dressed in kilts, playing the bagpipes and throwing trees were more Scottish than Scotland. He admitted being a bit taken aback by it, but on the other hand could not stop loving it. As he said there is something in the tunes they strike up with the pipes that stirs something so deep in you it is out of your control.

Migrants continue the practices of their home land to feel more at home in their new environment. On a community level this means organizing events such as the Scottish one described above or Finnish Independence Day celebrations among Brisbane Finns. On a personal level, however, there is greater variance in how people practise their culture. This variation demonstrates the distributed nature of culture as a system (Sharifian 2008). Different individuals do different elements of Finnish culture to feel Finnish, yet other Finns recognize these different elements or their combinations as Finnish. For one person it is important that Christmas is celebrated on Christmas Eve, for another the full repertoire of traditional dishes is required before Christmas feels right. The schemas and symbols that are important vary from family and individual to another. It has not yet been possible to say what would be a core value or core values for Finns outside Finland as there appears to be significant variation in what people practice as well as in what their attitudes are. Definitions of core practices and beliefs for any culture continue to change.

Terminology also presents a challenge. Asking second generation migrants what Finnish culture, Finnishness, or feeling Finnish and being proud of it means, is not entirely correct as the term Finnish has not been defined according to, for instance, location or time. Australian Finnish and Finland Finnish culture are very different. On the other hand, as the further generations may not be aware of this and Finnish to them means what they have learnt, the term may not be so misleading after all. The Finnishness passed on to the second and further generations is a blend of cultures created and lived by their parents. My earlier study (Lammervo 2007) indicated that what is passed on by the first generation is not Finnish culture or Finnish language as those exist in Finland, but hyphenated forms developed over the years and overseas. Of course, this is not a uniquely Finnish phenomenon.

The issues discussed above focus on the private domains of the informants' lives, in RAEM (Navas et al. 2005) model terms the core and intermediate spheres. This is not surprising

as life in the public sphere is lived as members of the mainstream. Having discussed the issues under headings and collecting comments on them by each informant may give the impression that these elements make up culture in this context and for these individuals. The issues discussed are ones that emerged in the interviews prompted by interviewer or interviewee, but the list is by no means meant to be exhaustive. Since there is considerable overlap in the issues relevant to all informants it was considered useful to look at the issues as they were presented in the data. However, in this summary we will also look at each individual and the role of Finnish culture in their lives.

Jaana admits to clinging onto her Finnish heritage. Before being interviewed she may not have analyzed the experience very much, and when we discussed the topics she would say that she had not thought about the issue and had just taken them as ordinary, but now they were coming to her attention in a different light. Overall she has always felt a strong connection to her Finnish roots and has felt a pull to Finland and her relatives there. She may not be determined to pass the Finnish customs, practices and cultural symbols on to her children, although some of this naturally happens as Finnish foods and items are part of their home and everyday domestic life. However, they mean a lot to her as symbols of the heritage she comes from. Because she is so well adjusted to Australia, in fact an Aussie to those who do not know her background, she does not need the Finnish elements to fill a void that in some sphere of her life would not be there (cf. first generation experience). Rather they are an added extra on top of her otherwise Australian life. She regrets having lost most of her Finnish language skills and it may well be that this realization has caused her to cling to the more material symbols with even more enthusiasm. Nevertheless, her limited Finnish has not stopped her from keeping in touch with family in Finland. This is important. She does not only rely on her mother to be in contact with Finnish family, but has ever since teenage years been in direct contact herself. Her two visits have naturally helped in establishing relations that have then been continued over the phone, letters or email. As has been apparent from the discussion of various cultural issues above, Jaana has continued with behaviours learnt from her parents. She displays family memorabilia in her home and cooks meals that her mother used to cook. What is interesting is that she also has other sources of Finnish culture. For instance, with regard to the coffee drinking schema she is more Finnish than her mother. It could be a personality thing that Jaana seems more sentimental about Finnish heritage than her mother, but it could also be a generation thing in the sense that the mother would have had a completely different take on things as a migrant who had chosen to leave Finland in search of a better life and had

entered Australia at a time when assimilation was still the expected strategy. Regarding the Hansen (1938) theory, it is as if Jaana is already the third generation who is free to seek her roots and to embrace her heritage. What is really significant in Jaana's case is that her clinging to and reproducing of Finnishness is in no connection to the Australian Finnish community. That support has not been readily available and not sought by the parents in their time. However, the connection to own family in Finland has remained strong.

Peter claims to be very proud of his Finnish heritage. Although he does have some memorabilia and cooks some Finnish type meals, he does not cling to the heritage or need to emphasise it. In fact, he comes across as such an Aussie that his knowledge of or attitudes towards Finnish heritage came as a surprise. It appears that Finnish heritage has not been a problematic issue for him to have to work through. The childhood home had Finnish elements and Finnish language was spoken in it, but he was able to zone out when this happened. As he has very few memories of Finland as a small child, he is grateful to have had the opportunity to visit while grandparents were still alive and to have spent time with them. He has not continued to keep in touch with any of his relations there, but is kept in the loop by his mother and sister. Although he does not emphasize Finnishness as such, he clearly has a multicultural take on things and being married to an Italian heritage person he understands and accepts the diversity.

Eero's experience has been completely different although on the timeline of Finnish migration to Australia his coincides with Jaana and Peter. His childhood home would have been entirely Finnish. The parents who never learnt English very well socialized with fellow Australian Finns and in their domestic life continued to follow Finnish customs and traditions as far as it was possible in the Australian environment. It appears that adjusting to Australia, although there must have been challenging times, was not emphasized within the family unit as an invincible obstacle. The family seems to have a very stable approach to adversity and take things one at a time without huge expectations. When Eero left home, married a non-Finn and had his own family he did not continue Finnish traditions or carry cultural symbols over to that life. He did not see the point, he says. No-one would have understood the language or the meaning of the customs. However, at the same time he kept in close contact with his Finnish parents, their circle of Finnish friends and also family in Finland. It is almost as if the Finnish heritage which his parents continued to keep up in their home was so much a given that not being Finnish in that context was never an issue. Then again in his own family he was the only Finn, and although contact

with Finnish parents never stopped, their culture or language was not passed on to their son's family. Being Finnish was always something Eero and the parents shared, while wife and daughter were in an other sphere somehow. Unlike Jaana, Eero has not needed the outward presentations of his heritage, yet has managed to stay very Finnish in many ways.

Tuuli and Oona have enjoyed having access to both worlds: Finnish Australian community as well as Finland and family there. Their experiences are naturally different not least because of the six year age difference. Tuuli follows some traditions, listens to Finnish music and follows the careers of some Finnish bands, she cooks some Finnish foods although has not been very succesfull in baking *pulla*. Much of the Finnish experience and culture maintenance is something lived through close contact with mother and sister and takes place in their house. Tuuli will have to start doing more maintenance related things herself if she really is as serious as she claims to be about transferring linguistic and cultural competence to her children. Close contact with mother and sister in the same city will naturally be essential in the process. She is in contact with the Finnish community, but it is implied that in her late teens she went through a phase of less participation. Although she may count many Australian Finns as her friends, I believe she does not have close friendships with Australian Finns of her own age. She is fluent in Finnish culture and language which comes from having migrated at the age of fourteen and having had constant input in Finnish and opportunities to update competence. However, she says herself that she has no idea of, for instance, contemporary teenage culture in Finland. All through the interviews there is a strong impression of how emotionally/sentimentally important Finnish traditions, customs and items are for her, yet she is uncomfortable with the emphasis her family puts on them particularly in front of her partner's Australian family. This inevitably links to identity which is discussed in the following chapter.

Oona lives with her mother so decisions on home decoration and diet are a joint effort. Her room has *Marimekko* curtains in her favorite colour, but much of the other décor is not particularly Finnish. However, she loves to shop at the Swedish owned IKEA and many of their items have found their way into Oona's room. She is interesting in the sense that although entirely mainstream in language and culture competence she claims to be fully Finnish only living in Australia. True enough, she has spent enough time in Finland to be fully conversant in the foods, holidays, traditions and even some of the contemporary youth culture such as popular music. Inevitably there are gaps, even though

she has spent extended periods of time in Finland since she migrated to Australia at the age of 4. Although many of the Finnish items and customs in their home are a given for her, she also expresses a certain pride in having a house that has particular Finnish touches to it.

Young third generation informants are much more distant to Finnish culture. They may be familiar with some symbols and items they have learnt to regard as something from the Finnish side of the family, but these inevitably have a much shallower meaning for them as it is all hearsay. Cathy actually says it in a nutshell when she talks about the importance of *sauna*. It symbolizes *ukki*, her grandfather, for her. *Ukki* built it for them and since she has no other experience of *sauna* or understanding of its role in Finnish culture, it is grandfather personified. As much as Jaana has tried to include Finnish elements in her family life, it is not likely that her children will continue them in their turn. Her youngest daughter Eveliina, who is currently the child most interested in things Finnish, may potentially continue with some of these, particularly if she gets a chance to spend some time in Finland in the future. This would help her tie all the hearsay down to something concrete she experiences herself and would have own memories of.

Sheryl rediscovered her heritage language and culture in her twenties and has been on a quest to retrace the fascinating history of family's migration to Australia. Language skills play a big role as a symbol of that heritage, but customs or traditions were not passed on to her or relearned. Her recognition of heritage in herself goes deeper into identity and philosophy as she has traced back texts written by family members and sees likenesses between her family's and Finnish relations features and characteristics.

Van Oudenhoven (2006) says that immigrants can easily adopt the external trappings of a new culture (the language, dress code, working habits etc.) but identify with their heritage culture. This is discussed in more detail in the identity chapter. However, if the external trappings are easy to learn from the new culture why do we continue with similar external trappings of the old culture? It is not the trappings themselves that are hard or easy, what is significant is what they mean to us. The Finnish foods and traditions are not that complicated as such to maintain, but we only do it if their meaning to us is somehow valuable enough. Van Oudenhoven includes language in external trappings. Although language and learning a new one sufficiently are no small things to learn compared to say cooking a meal, they are compared to such skills by migrants themselves. In listing what

is important in maintaining Finnish heritage, knowing the language is listed as an equal with food and traditions.

Taken to the Australian Finnish context the distributed cultural cognition model (Sharifian 2008) presents well how different cultural elements are representations of Finnish cultural model. The question is, however, what are the necessary clues or gestures that point to Finnish cultural cognition when individuals do not all share the same ones? Another interesting idea is that from an Australian Finnish perspective the cultural elements are Finnish, yet from the Finland Finnish perspective it could be said that the cultural cognition among Finns in Australia has been influenced by other cultures and has become outdated compared to Finland so that it really is a cultural model in its own right. The terminology can also be misleading. When talking about these cultural elements and cognition with Finns in Australia we naturally call them Finnish because the association is Finnish. It may well be that community members do realize that the substance of their community culture could be argued to be something other than Finnish, but there is no better terminology to talk about it. The concept of Australian Finnish culture is not widely established, but on the other hand it is inferred – silently agreed on among community members. It is hard to be sure whether they are aware of it, but sometimes it appears to be almost taken for granted.

6. Identity

Cultural identities are identifications with and perceived acceptance into a group with shared systems of symbols and meanings as well as rules for conduct (Martin 1993). It is a construction, meaning it is not given at birth, but an accomplishment achieved some time later in life. We must learn our cultural identity. If we do not, we cannot appropriately convey it to others (Leeds-Hurwits 2006). There is great variety in how people understand and display cultural identity. It can include everything from language to food, clothing to martial arts, history to beliefs. These in the current Finnish Australian sample were discussed in section 5.3.

Cultural identity has subconcepts: ethnic identity, national identity and local identity (Sevänen 2004). Ethnic and national identities usually contain fictional and mythical elements, that is, idealized stories about the distant past, and about ancestors stemming from an ethnic group or a nation (Nairn 1977).

Phinney (2003, 63) defines ethnic identity as a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group. Ethnic behaviors and practices have been widely used in an effort to determine the key components of ethnic identity. The two more generally useful aspects of these are *involvement in social activities with members of one's group* and *participation in cultural traditions*. Language usage, another widely used indicator of ethnic identity, has different salience with various groups (and virtually none for some) and thus cannot be included in a general measure. Phinney's measure also assesses ethnic pride, feeling good about one's background and being happy with one's group membership as well as feelings of belonging and attachment to the group.

In earlier chapters we have described how in these cases Finnish identity is present in the behaviours of the informants. In the following the focus is on discussions about identity and how the informants self label and understand their identity.

Self-identification

Research has generally shown that the use of an ethnic or national label dominates in the first generation, and the use of a compound or bicultural label becomes more common in the second generation (Phinney 2003). The question is whether the first generation starts to also identify as Australian. In contrast, the question with their children and grandchildren is whether they continue to identify as Finnish.

The informants were asked what ethnic label they would give themselves. If necessary, examples were given such as Finnish Australian, Australian, Finnish. The topic of identity did come up also elsewhere in conversations. Often informants went on to discuss and distinguish between citizenship/nationality and their heritage and ethnicity.

Jaana identifies herself as Finnish Australian and is proud of it.

> "I'm Australian to the bone but no not to the bone but I'm very very proud and very attached to my roots, to my culture and that's where my regret is I didn't continue the language with my children I feel that I've let them down – the older I get @@@ at the time I didn't"

She does not remember when the family was naturalized, but remembers that she had to make a decision about giving up Finnish citizenship:

> J: I remember when I turned 18 the embassy must have written and said I had a choice and mum and dad as always said you know Jaana you have a decision to make do you want to retain your Finnish citizenship or do you want to just let it go and just be an Australian and at that time it was like I'm Australian aren't I @@ but now when I look back I really regret I should have had dual citizenship because now I can see the benefits for my children
> I: but that was the time when Finland was really strict with it that if you keep Finnish you can't have any other
> J: yeah yeah and I think that was the thing that I couldn't have dual I had to be either Finnish or Australian and I thought well I didn't see me ever living in Finland I don't know why I think I was going with Michael and ....

She goes on to say that "today I'd like to have dual citizenship because for my kids". This is because of the access it would provide them to the whole of the European Union, but also "to retain some sense of their culture that they come from and a sense of who we are where we come from".

Peter identifies first and foremost as Australian, but he also recognizes and is very proud of his Finnish heritage. In his current multicultural family he, in fact, is the native English speaking Australian, while wife is first generation Italian Australian. He is comfortable in this identity and also claims a strong connection to his Finnish roots and is proud of his heritage.

Eero labels himself as Finnish Australian saying:

> *"noo mä voin olla että oon Australian suomalainen – enemmän australialainen kun suomalainen mutta kuitennii vielä"*

"well I may be Australian Finnish – more Australian than Finnish but still"

The connection to national identity is also clear as he immediately continues on to recount the story of how at a time of Finland not accepting multiple citizenships, he was able, entirely by accident, to retain both Finnish and Australian citizenships and has both to the day. When applying for Australian citizenship he was aware that as a consequence he would lose Finnish citizenship. We will never know if would later have wanted to reapply for Finnish citizenship, since by the time dual citizenships became accepted by Finland, Eero had by chance discovered that he still had his original citizenship status.

Oona's first reaction to the question of which identity is stronger, Australian or Finnish, is that she could not say. When the issue is discussed in closer detail she says:

> *"mä sanoin koulussa että* I'm a Finn I should know *en mä oikee oo ikinä sanonu kyllä että mä oon aussi mä sanon että mul on Australian kansalaisuus että kyllä mä oon sanonu että mä oon suomalainen"*
> "At school I said that I'm a Finn I should know I haven't really ever said that I'm Aussie I say that I have Australian citizenship so I have said that I'm Finnish"

This falls in line with the pattern of distinguishing between the feeling of ethnicity and the official status of citizenship. What is perhaps surprising is that Oona, who migrated very young and who to an outside eye sounds and seems Australian, would be able to make such a clear distinction. As Ang et al. (2002, 48) say she is "in Australia but not of Australia".

Like many first generation Finnish migrants, Oona and her mother waited until the Finnish law changed before applying for Australian citizenship so they did not lose Finnish citizenship. She now holds two passports. She found it extremely upsetting when one year on arrival to Finland an immigration officer said to her that it did not look like she was a Finnish citizen. The mix up was immediately cleared, but even the questioning of her Finnish citizenship was upsetting to her.

Conversations with Tuuli reveal that she has given her situation and identification serious thought and is approaching an achieved ethnic identity (in Phinney 2003 terms). She was also involved in defining goals for the local Finnish school's teaching of bicultural children. They included supporting the children's identity by emphasizing that it is a good thing to be both Australian and Finnish and helping them realize that they are unique in having the two identities.

Her own self image, as she calls it, is that she is neither Finnish nor Australian. When she was in Finland she felt very Australian and suffered from culture shock, but when in Australia she feels Finnish. Similar descriptions of identity, depending on where one is, are recounted by young informants in Ang et al. study (2006, 35) on the paradoxes of multicultural Australia. Although Tuuli admits identifying more and more with Australia, she still feels she is dangling halfway between the two identities and not really belonging to either. When asked to give herself an ethnic label she says she is Finnish in Finland "*kyl mä oon ihan ihan suomalainen siellä*", but when in Australia required to fill in official forms she would tick the box for culturally and linguistically diverse people (CALD). Although Australian, she counts herself as a diverse Australian.

According to Phinney (2003), for members of the second migrant generation, mainstream identity is generally secure and ethnic identity is likely to be associated with retention of ethnic language and social networks. On the other hand, individuals become increasingly clear about and committed to their ethnicity as they grow older. In this data Tuuli's case bares the most resemblance to ethnic identity development reasons and phases described by Phinney, although she was not born in Australia but migrated in her early teens. At that time her ethnic identity would not have been fully established and then Australia took over. She also recalls feeling discriminated against in the school system (see othering below) and is constantly reminded of her foreigness in the jokes of her partner and friends. She says she does this herself too, blames her slips of tongue or silly behaviour on her foreigness. Nevertheless, the fact that she is different is constantly recognized. She did also take the opportunity to revisit her Finnish identity when she lived and worked in Finland for seven months. After all these phases and emotions, she admits to being in the middle, or both, Finnish and Australian, but also neither.

For Tuuli Finnish language is very strongly connected to her identity as a Finn. She talks about having children and how she wants to teach them Finnish and adds that this would require her partner also learning some Finnish. She wants, ideally, her whole family to be bicultural and bilingual not just herself and her children. She often talks about 'the other' and being the other, and does not want her family to be divided in that sense.

Her national identity is also dual. She took Australian citizenship with her brother at a time when this caused them to lose their Finnish citizenship. It is unclear what the motivation for doing this was at the time, but most likely it was a requirement for something they

needed or wanted to do. However, as soon as Finland changed the law and multiple citizenships became accepted for Finns, she bought her Finnish citizenship back and now holds two passports.

Simmel ([1908] in Levine ed. 1971, 145) universalizes the experience of the stranger as the experience of being 'near and far at the same time'. De Korne et al.'s (2007) immigrant informants were clear that they belong to both and neither culture entirely, and that this is a positive thing. Generally it has been thought that the first migrant generation, which has had first hand knowledge of both cultures, has been able to arrive at a bicultural identity. The process for them involves acculturation to the new, acquiring new skills, including the language, maintaining and losing elements of the first culture. Second generation has been generalized as distanced from the original culture and full members of the new host culture. They may start to examine their identity and go through exploration to achieved identity. Those who go through this are said to arrive at positive attitudes towards retention of ethnicity. However, to have bicultural identity as the achieved identity would be less common, simply because it involves more extensive language and cultural competence. In this data Tuuli and Oona, Tuuli more so, are the second generation informants who are, or are closest to being, bicultural through atypical maintenance of original language and culture. Having an identity rooted in more than one culture allows one to look at the world from more than one perspective. It is naturally a matter of perception when one feels one has this bicultural competence (BCC). Thinking about second generation migrants' situation, the question is how competent they are in the culture of origin, while for first generation the issue is gaining competency in the host culture. Under pressure to fit in into the new society migrants have not traditionally necessarily stopped to think about the skills they were gaining. This would be different in the current world of internationalization and globalization where cultural and language skills are perhaps more valued (this should not be over generalized though considering the power of few monolingual countries). Depending on the attitude environment, second and further generation migrants have had different opportunities to build their ethnic or bicultural identity. For instance, in Australia openly enjoying ones cultural heritage has not that long been acceptable. In this data Tuuli has the most balanced bicultural identity. She has confronted many of the issues and continues to negotiate her bicultural identification. Because she has the language skills and recent exposure to life in Finland, she has real practical competence in Finnish culture. Oona is in a similar situation although her language competence is not quite so good.

The other second generation informants in this study have a more symbolic connection to Finland and their identity as Finns. The heritage is very important to them, but there is less updated first hand knowledge of the culture. If placed on a continuum of Bicultural Competence, Tuuli and Oona would be at the competent end, Eero in the middle, with competence in Australian Finnish culture, but less of Finland Finnish. Jaana would be next and Peter would have the least bicultural competence. On the other hand, if the identifications are considered through the concept of ethnic identity, it could be suggested that all have gone through ethnic identity development and have had to negotiate the role of Finnish background to their identity. The outcomes are different levels of ethnic identity retention. Peter's is possibly the weakest and only limits to himself, Jaana clings to it, and feels Finnish on some levels, and has passed the appreciation of ethnic background to her children. Eero's Finnish identification is an addition to his Australian identity, and as he ages the appreciation is growing. Oona and Tuuli identify as ethnically Finnish as well as Australian, but they also have contemporary Finnish competence.

As Tuuli puts it:

> "*vaikutteita mul on kummastaki että muu- tuntuu että siis mä aina tunnen sillälailla että mä oon vähä niinku jossakin limbossa että että mä en kuulu tänne enkä mä kuulu sinne.*"
> "I have elements of both [cultures] so that I always feel in a way that I am in a little bit of a limbo and that I don't belong here and I don't belong there either."

This bears close resemblance to comments by bicultural people in for instance the De Korne et al. (2007) study.

Third generation:

Nationality and ethnic identity are often thought to be connected, as was also clear in the above comments of second generation Finnish Australians. However, it appears that in talking about these the informants are aware of the difference in the levels of belonging these convey. It is understood that having citizenship does not make a person completely Australian, or re-establishing Finnish citizenship make an Australianized second generation migrant more Finnish.

Discussing both nationality and ethnicity continued in the third generation conversations. When Eveliina was asked what label she would give herself she said:

> "well Australian 'cause I don't have any other like citizenships but I've always got the Finnish and Irish so quite proud of that"

Cathy is also aware of the background and cultural heritage of her family and that father's side of the family is Irish. She summarises her self-labeling to be either English-Finnish (presumably talking about grandparents and politically incorrectly lumping Ireland together with English, unless of course she is talking about language), or Australian-Finnish (supposing she is talking about parents).

Chris does not count himself a hundred percent Australian as there is some Finnish in him and concludes to be about ninety percent Australian. He acknowledges that technically he could in official documents identity himself as having diverse ethnic background, but when presented with the case of the new term culturally and linguistically diverse, he hurries to say that he would just tick Australian. The concept of diversity and its connection to otherness is discussed in the section below.

The third generation has mixed knowledge and mixed feelings about Finnish or dual citizenship. Eveliina would like to have it because she also sees herself as one day going to Finland for an extended period to study and live. Chris and Cathy are not that interested in Finnish citizenship because their ambition is only to travel on holidays to see Europe and this can be done on tourist visas. This is a very practical approach and they mention no sentimental reasons for wanting to be also legally Finnish.

A very different third generation informant, Sheryl, identifies and labels herself as Australian. She never thought she was anything else, although she always felt drawn to Europe and knew her grandfather to have come from Finland. She does, however, mention a recent realization of her foreign background when a form she was filling out asked her to indicate if she was culturally and linguistically diverse CALD. After stopping to consider this she decided that yes, she was, and she ticked that box.

> "and I thought, yes I think I have enough of that to say I am diverse"

The issue of national identity is important in multicultural societies. Nations that support maintenance of cultural heritage while at the same time promoting a superordinate national identity show high levels of ethnic tolerance. Canada is a good example of this. The tendency for migrants to identify by national label is higher in Canada than in the United States or Australia (Van Oudenhoven 2006).

Rumbaut (1994) found that the majority of US-born minority adolescents used bicultural

labels such as Vietnamese-American to describe themselves while foreign-born adolescents were less likely to use bicultural labels and were more likely to identify themselves by the nation or culture of origin. This data in the Australian context is different. There are indications that for the Finland-born the Finnish identity is significant, yet they do not use bicultural labels. Eero is an exception, but even he specifies on the balance between the two identifications, more Australian but still also Finnish. Jaana and Peter are Australian with Finnish heritage and Tuuli and Oona Finnish with Australian citizenship. The Australian born third generation identifies as Australian, unless particularly asked about family heritage.

Otherness – being the other, othering

We talk more and more often about the other, distinguishing those who are not like us. This has been going on forever, of course, but as increasing mobility sets us more requirements of tolerance and accepting difference we talk about it more and need a new term to do it. Racism and discrimination based on any characteristic are strongly negative while 'other' can be used in a more neutral tone. A recent definition includes alterspeak as a type of judgmental discourse whose subject is the other, be it a negated, a tolerated or an accepted one. By 'other', we mean one person, thing or group which is considered different in certain identity aspects from the speaker/addresser (Rojas-Lizana 2009, 105).

In this data Tuuli talks about othering as she talks about the Australian categories of CALD and NESB:

> "*mmm sen takia niil onki tällasia tämmösiä niinkun ääm esimerkiksi* culturally and linguistically diverse peoples. *Sitä ennen oli tämä oli tämä se on siis* CALD *sitä ennen se oli* NESB non English speaking background *mutta se ne ajatteli että että ne vaih- se on on vaihettu* NESB to CALD *koska* NESB *tarkottaa sitä että* everything except English speaking people are the other *ja sehän on hirvittävän tämmönen eristettävä niin se* being the other *mutta jos sä sanot että sä oot* culturally *ja* linguistically diverse *nin seki tarkottaa että jos jos ne ihmiset jotka ei sitä voi - - niinku pistää siihen* tick that box *nin* everybody else is the other *niinku että se on silti ihan sama*"
>
> "mmm and that's why they have these for instance culturally and linguistically diverse peoples. Before it was this is CALD and before it was NESB non English speaking background but they thought they chang- it has been changed from NESB to CALD because NESB means that everything except English speaking people are the other and that is terribly discriminating so being the other but if you say you are culturally and linguistically diverse that also means that if if those people who can't - - like tick the that box so everybody else is the other so it is still exactly the same"

She has thought about diversity and otherness and is annoyed that such categories are still used to place people in a hierarchy. Diversity is considered a thing for the ethnically diverse, when in fact every family is diverse from the next. She has no problem accepting difference and even being considered different herself, her problem is with categories, the labels and who is categorized and who is not. She does tick the CALD box in forms indicating her linguistic and cultural diversity. She talks about instances of funding applications where including CALD individuals has been beneficial for the application, so CALD can be a positive thing. Biculturalism is her identity so she could not claim to be other than of diverse background.

There are also less positive views to the CALD category. It is not entirely clear why this information is requested. Is it to benefit the person or can it turn against them, as claiming to be culturally and linguistically diverse does not specify how involved the diversity is. This more negative view is supported by comments from third generation informants and particularly the young third generation said they would not tick the box. Although, for instance, Chris is aware and proud of his Finnish and Irish heritage he would not give himself away as CALD. Cathy would not tick it either and thinks that it would be aimed at recently arrived people, although she has no idea why this information would be needed. She is aware of the "special things" available for Torres Strait Islanders and Aboriginals, but does not think a recent migrant would qualify for any special treatment in that sense. Eveliina on the other hand thinks that people who have recently arrived, have English as a second language or are strongly tied to the homeland could claim this background. She even thinks that she could claim to be culturally and linguistically diverse. As mentioned above, Sheryl, our fourth third generation informant also claims CALD background.

Is the CALD category asking people to other themselves negatively, to give information that would allow mainstream to discriminate against them, or are they othering themselves in a positive light, in fact, claiming that diversity is more prestigious than monoculturalism and monolingualism? One of the second generation informants, in fact, expresses this sentiment in criticizing how her family's emphasizing Finnish heritage and background in the company of Australian friends and family sometimes sounds like they are flaunting their special foreign qualities in the face of those who are only ordinary and local. This is the only context in this community that this attitude has come up.

Language choice was discussed in chapter 5.2, but the behaviour described by a second

generation informant is also relevant to othering. The first generation parent thought that if there is someone present who does not understand Finnish, English should be used to include everyone in the conversation. As speakers of a heritage language give up their own language in the presence of those who do not speak it, they are being loyal to 'others' and disloyal to their own. On the other hand it is only practical to use a language that everyone understands if such a language exists and in Australia this is naturally expected to be English. When the Finnish origin family was joined by an Italian speaking daughter-in-law who speaks Italian to her son, she was considered rude in doing this in the presence of non-Italian speakers. In this multicultural family the recent migrant who continues to use her first language in public becomes the 'other'.

Australians' attitudes towards migrants and diversity

As discussed in Chapter 2 attitudes towards multiculturalism and diversity are changing towards acceptance. Times and attitudes have changed since the 1960s when some of our informants were young second generation immigrants in Australia, but the process of change continues.

There are two very different experiences about attending school in the 1960s and 1970s when multiculturalism had not been introduced yet. Jaana was under such pressure to switch into English that her parents were advised to change home language, while Eero could freely speak Finnish even at school. The latter was in Mt Isa where the Finnish community was so large at the time that there were several Finnish students in the same class. Eero does not remember that teachers or anyone would have had negative attitudes towards Finns or tried to stop them speaking Finnish. He remembers that they spoke Finnish anyway.

Australians ask him where he is from when they see his name. Often people guess that he is Dutch. Although he first says that it is his name that prompts the questions of his origin, he also claims to have an accent which Australians have trouble placing. This and his Finnish looks then also contribute to the guesses. When he tells people that he is Finnish it means nothing to most Australians, as they do not know anything about Finland. Some people have called him a "white wog". He says that this is meant as a joke. Later the matter was pursued further by the interviewer wondering about Australians still pestering him with questions and jokes of his origins after his decades in Australia and being and acting Australian. He agreed that they still do it, but he is not bothered by it and gives them

their own back. He says, for instance, that in these times of political correctness he tells a joke about the Irish by substituting the Irish with himself, but everyone still knows that the joke was on the Irish.

Talking about Australians' attitudes towards foreigners, Jaana first identifies racism and negative attitudes as relating to "the original, the older Aussies". She does not define who these people are, but they appear to have been a distinguishable group i.e. representatives of white Australia, and of British origin. She says that around the war years when Italians and other Europeans came to Australia there was a more negative attitude and a stigma about being foreign. She mentions this as a part of history she is aware of, but it does not appear relevant to herself or her family. In fact, she does not talk about prejudices she and her family would have encountered. On the other hand, she agrees that there still are people with attitudes, and that it will never stop. She agrees that overall attitudes have been getting better, but also accepts that people will always have prejudices. She does not talk of any negative experiences without prompting and only when asked if she can remember a negative incident does she tell a story about a Lion's club event when she was little. It was Christmas and a man read out loud children's names so they knew when to go and pick up their present. The man did not know how to pronounce her name and made it into a joke by calling her "Jaana Wheelbarrow" and embarrassed her in front of everyone. That made her feel different. She says that they lived very sheltered lives and their social circle was small. She does remember that when they moved to the area other children thought them as something exotic or extraordinary because they had been to all these places and flown all over the world:

> "Though when I was in school there I always remember I had friends that have never left the area and so I was I did feel different there because I came from Finland we'd lived in New Guinea and we'd flown on so many planes every year regularly"

On the other hand, the parents' decision to change home language into English was a reaction to the current attitude environment. The parents did not want their children to be pointed out as speaking a strange language in public. Soon the children were so well integrated they blended into the mainstream. Although Jaana does recognize that struggling with the language in the beginning must have had an effect on who they were to become later, she does not admit noticing this too much when growing up. Her parents' accents and their difference from others in this sense were really only brought to her notice by friends and when she started to date her future husband. Overall she

was from a very young age well integrated into Australian mainstream and her parents succeeded in shielding her from negative treatment. It is interesting how she includes herself in Australians when she admits that prejudices are always around, but the racist white Australia remarks belong to an Australia she is not part of. Perhaps when there are no obvious signs of crude discrimination, one does not notice the undertones of othering. When there is a feeling of having been accepted in some levels it compensates for the ill fit in relation to other things.

Jaana talks about how her mother and sister-in-law are misunderstood at times by mainstream Australians because their way of speaking English is influenced by their mother tongue and they may come across as blunt or rude to native English speakers. They are othered because of the way they speak English. When asked if friends of her children consider their household any different from mainstream, she admits never even having thought about it. It appears that the children's friends take it as a given that in this home they are served certain kind of meals and do not think about reasons for it. Rye bread and *korvapuustit* (cinnamon buns) are a great hit among all the kids regardless of their ethnic background.

Tuuli says that overall she thinks that she has not met with serious discrimination and the comments about her foreigness within her social circle are kindly meant. However, she does talk about the time at school when she was placed in a class of lower academic achievers simply because she was of non English speaking background and had English as a second language. That is when she thinks she was treated unfairly because of her background. As mentioned in the above section on othering, she has considered the problem of the other and thinks that Australia and Australians still continue with the tradition of categorizing people in this way, although the names of the categories have changed.

Oona had a similar experience of the start of school as Eero. She started school in Mt Isa and somewhat surprisingly still in the 1990s there were several Finnish children in the school there. Hence she does not think her Finnishness would have distinguished her from others. When asked about the attitudes of people in her school towards those of diverse background she agrees that although people do not in general notice such things, it is an attitude some people nevertheless have. She thinks more of a person's individual qualities rather than their racial or cultural background. She sees the attitudes and reactions of people as mixed.

Like other members of the second generation Oona includes herself in some Australian opinions and is strongly opposed to and an outsider in others. She is not offended if her Australian friends and family call Finnish food bland, as she thinks so herself at times, but she is offended when people call her Finnish gibberish:

> I: *kukaan ei tuu sanoon että mitä sä puhut*
> O: *niin no mulle se on vähä että –mitäh* you were just talking in gibberish
>
> I: no-one say to you what are you saying
> O: well for me it's a bit like – what you were just talking in gibberish

When Australians do not understand a language, they can call it gibberish, a comment which, although meant to be funny, can sound like it undermines the value of a foreign language as a legitimate code. Oona does not remember herself having been told not to speak Finnish but tells in shocked accents about her reaction when she heard a teacher tell another younger Finnish student in her school not to speak his first language:

> "*mä kuulin kerran tota nin ku mä olin englannin luokassa ja me oltiin kirjastossa niin meillä Markus oli mun koulussa myös se on tuota nii se oli hänen luokka oli myös siellä jossa mekin ja mä muistan että mä kuulin opettaja sanoi hänelle että Markus* talk English cause no-one understands you. *Mä aattelin* WHAT shocking *kertoo lapselle ettei se voi puhua suomea mutta tie- tietysti se on koulu eli ei kukaan ymmärrä mutta kyllä se on ihan hyvä jos se puhuu sielläki itsekseen suomea*"
> "I heard once during my English class we were in the library and Markus was in my school then too and his class was in the library as well and I remember I heard the teacher say to him that Markus talk English cause no-one understands you. I thought WHAT shocking to tell a child that he shouldn't speak Finnish but of course it the school and no-one does understand but still it would be all right for him to speak Finnish to himself there too."

In the third generation Eveliina tells about the situation at her school:

> "immigrants are accepted but they're not really accepted. Like we know they're there but we act differently to them than we do like yobbo Aussies, like we don't really know what to say to them and everything 'cause you don't know will you offend anyone or anything"

She also agrees that there is a difference in the attitude towards people who look different (racism) and those whose ethnic background is not immediately visible. She tells that in SOSE (Study of society and environment) they learn about different nationalities and how their societies are different to Australia. She sees that the point of this education is to help them understand differences both if they actually go and visit those countries and if they encounter people from those countries in Australia. Apparently in their school situation

a foreign origin person may still be hard to approach. It is an example of the complexity of intercultural encounters and how in a country of such a mixture of ethnic backgrounds people are not prepared to meet with difference in their own environment, but only expect it when they go overseas. It is likely that having grown up with ethnic grandparents has affected her take on diversity and allows her to observe that people have trouble dealing with this but she does not offer judgment.

Herself, she has to deal with mainstream attitudes on a daily basis. People find her name and the spelling of it strange and she ends up always having to explain that it is Finnish. This she does not seem to mind too much. "I say it's like Finnish, that's how it's spelled <@ get over it>. There are no signs that her Finnish heritage would have made her vulnerable to prejudice or discrimination. She does not mention noticing that grandparents would have stood out as different from the community because of their Finnishness. She does acknowledge though that they had struggled with learning the language at first. Overall she seems proud of her heritage though she does not make a big deal about it in general.

In conversation Cathy comes across as completely Australian and mainstream in the local rural Australia sense. She talks about her school and how students from different backgrounds are accepted just as ordinary people – with a different background. In the next sentence she talks about a more general context and says she does not want people from Afganistan and Pakistan and that to come and bring terrorism to Australia. This reflects what is typical of stereotypes. It is one thing to have an attitude against a stereotyped group and quite another to know someone in your school or neighborhood. She does not think that her family stands out in anything other than the names, but does not mention that the names would have caused them any grief.

Chris also talks about the school environment and how students from different backgrounds are not treated any differently. However, he goes on to say that there are some racist people:

> C: ooh there's some racist people but otherwise apart from that they don't react any different at all
> I: how have you noticed the racism
> C: oh just people [yawns] making fun of black people and stuff but

There is a contradiction in what he says. People from different background are not reacted any differently to, but people who look different are objects of racism. People react to

visible difference, but as long as a person looks similar to us we think that they are similar to us also in other respects. Among school age children and teens those who come from a different cultural background would be quick to accommodate their behaviour to match that of mainstream and thus go unnoticed. Accented English can for some people be a give away of ethnic origin, but Chris says that accents do not worry him because "everyone's sort of got one".

Talking about people's reactions to foreign languages spoken around them Chris says that

> "ehm aah me I don't react any differently apart that I don't understand it but most people get frustrated by it 'cause they don't know what they're saying but yeah but really doesn't bother me"

This is a similar comment that Peter, a second generation informant made, about some English monolinguals being bothered by foreign languages and their speakers around them (see section 5.2). These attitudes, although towards an unintelligible language are also attitudes towards their speakers. Although these second and third generation informants have no command of their heritage language, they are accustomed to being surrounded by another language and do not perceive it as threatening or frustrating.

Having spent time with the informant families it has become clear that growing up and living in such multilingual and multicultural family environments has equipped the further generations with the valuable quality of flexibility, the ability and will to understand less than perfect English and to live in harmony with other languages. Multicultural marriages have been shown to have an important role in increasing intercultural awareness and tolerance among family, friends and acquaintances (Viertola-Cavallari 2004). According to Blommaert & Verschueren (1998, 192) when attention is drawn to accepting diversity this also stresses diversity and can create more distance between groups. Their advice is that diversity should be taken so seriously that its locus be the individual not a group. This is not easy considering the power of generalization and stereotypes. As an increasing number of Australians are second and third generation migrants one could hope for continuous change in the attitude environment.

Summary

Second generation Australian Finns' self-identifications varied from 'Finnish just living in Australia' to 'Australian, but really proud of Finnish heritage'. Interestingly the hyphenated

identifications expected to be common with second generation were not used, at least not without further explanation of the relative importance of each hyphenated element. One informant describes her identity as not being fully Australian or Finnish while being both. She is describing a bicultural identity although does not use that term. The third generation identifies as Australian and only one of them would publicly claim culturally and linguistically diverse background.

While those with strong identification with both Finland and Australia also have strong competence in both languages and cultures, for those who have less competence the identification with Finland and Finnish heritage may still be there, but it is inevitably of a more symbolic nature. Interestingly all but one of the second generation identify as Finnish to some degree. Although ethnic identification has been shown to endure many more generations than competence in relevant language or culture (Phinney 2003), in this data 'doing culture' and making use of the language skills are connected to the identification. Those with bicultural identity also have bicultural competence. Eero and Jaana claim a Finnish identification although are more Australian. Eero has fluency in Finnish which has allowed him to stay in touch with both Finns in Finland and the family's close circle of Australian Finnish friends. Jaana keeps in contact with Finnish relations with less fluent Finnish and clings to many Finnish traditions. Identity is so closely entwined with culture and language it cannot be taken out of that context.

It is not necessarily simple for a person to define what makes them a member of an ethnic group e.g. Finnish. In any case the definitions would vary between individuals even if they could attempt one. The other side of the coin is, what would a person need to do or be to be excluded from the group (Phillips 2007, 137)? But here too we are already facing several problems of definition. Some members of the Australian Finnish community think that knowing Finnish language is a requirement, others think language is not that important. Having Finnish ancestry really is the only absolute requirement, but then it does not matter how many generations back it goes. But what kind of a Finn is someone whose great grandfather was Finnish, but the entire linguistic or cultural heritage has faded away? Sometimes it seems that interest in the heritage is enough for a person to claim their place among the people.

Although the word 'other' allows neutral reference to those who are in some respect different, in these discussions it often came across as judgmental. Most had at some

stage been made to feel different. Since Finns' appearance does not single them out from the crowd it is often the name, the language or the accented English that generate the comments. It is disappointing that to this day there are attitudes that having non-native English or speaking a LOTE is connected to lower intelligence (placing ESL children in class of lower academic achievers) or that maintaining a LOTE slows the learning of English.

This data supports the trend that attitudes towards diversity are changing – slowly. There will always be prejudice, as Jaana says, but people who have themselves grown up in a multicultural family environment and claim identification with an ethnic background are more likely to have a more flexible attitude to difference. Unlike first generation migrants the second and further generations also have the advantage of being fluent in the mainstream language and culture.

7. Discussion and conclusion

Discussion

The study set out to investigate how second and third generation Finnish Australians have experienced language and culture contact and what their linguistic and cultural competence are like. Attitudes towards Finnish heritage and issues of identity were also studied.

The approach was to talk to diverse informants instead of seeking the typical and as expected the results show much variation in behaviours and attitudes. These diverse cases serve as examples of different possible outcomes of second and third generation immigrant experience.

The second generation experience and contact with Finnish language and culture and the entire background could be presented as having taken three different paths among these informants. Tuuli and Oona have Finnish as their first language and culture which they have maintained while acquiring fluency in Australian English and Australian mainstream culture. At the time of data collection English was stronger of the two languages. Their contact with Finnish language and culture includes contact with both local Australian Finnish community and family and friends in Finland. They continue to update their Finnish competence through the Finland Finnish contacts and bring their contribution to the local Finnish community. Finnishness for them is a combination of Finland Finnish and Australian Finnish language and culture.

Eero also had Finnish as first language and culture, but after initially learning English by attending boarding school he has become fluent in Australian English and mainstream culture. His contact with Finns has been dominated by contact with Australian Finnish community. His parents had close contact with local Finns and never learnt much English. Thus Eero could be considered to be fluent in Australian Finnish language and culture. He has not sought the company of Finns and considers himself Australian, but contact with parents has inevitably meant contact with Finnish and Australian Finnish community. He did not involve his own family in the Finnish community. Recently there has been more contact with Finland and this has shown that the differences in language and cultural competence do not stop communication, although differences are often noticeable. Interestingly, even if Eero's Finnish contact has been mostly to Finns in Australia, his child's interest towards Finnishness, the little there is, is directed towards Finland Finnish and not the community in Australia.

Jaana and Peter have lived perhaps a less typical migrant child life, particularly considering that their arrival time is similar to Eero's. Their parents changed home language into English and did not seek the company of Australian Finns or take part in the community activities. However, they did stay in touch with family in Finland. The parents' view of migration was that the old country was left behind and they wanted to embrace the new. As much as the parents wanted to make the entire family fit into the new country and did not want to recreate Finland in Australia, which they thought much of the community activities were aiming at doing, their life at home would, nevertheless, have taken time to change and the children inevitably learnt Finnish values, traditions and customs. This was supported by contacts with family in Finland, which in the 1960s and 1970s was slower and less frequent than the Skype calls available today. In contrast to the above two cases where Finnish culture and language were seen to continue and have a role in Australia, in this case Finnish heritage was clearly only to do with Finland. The third generation springing from this background has some interest in Finland, but has no idea of there even being an active Finnish community in Australia.

Another atypical path is presented in the case of Sheryl whose second generation Australian Finnish father was already a monolingual English speaker. Sheryl's Finnish grandfather, whose first language was Swedish, had arrived in Australia as a very young man. Had he not had his brother and sister also in Australia, he would not have needed Swedish at all. As it was, Swedish continued to be used among the siblings and particularly with the sister. This aunt, and great aunt to Sheryl, provided the Finland Swedish context that is still remembered in the family. Sheryl has set on a journey of rediscovery to better understand and document family history. She has learnt Swedish and visited Finland on several occasions. This kind of genealogical interest is growing currently. This is a trend that might see more Finnish heritage people return to their roots and re-establish contacts with Finland. However, the North American model of third and further generations completing their identity by researching their roots and congregating with others of similar background is not likely in Australia. The times are different and the numbers of migrants much smaller.

The second generation demonstrates language skills which average out into the predictable: some skills. However, skills vary from fluency to no skills. Those who have fluency have had Finnish as the home language with their parents. Those who have lost Finnish skills had English as the home language from very early on. Maintaining, or in fact gaining

fluency in all skills and various domains of language use requires formal training in the language, and three of our informants had benefited from that: two of them immediately before leaving Finland and one during extended stays organized exactly for this purpose. Although these periods of education in Finnish have not resulted in full command of registers, these three informants are able to read and write Finnish in addition to speaking fluent Finnish.

When the speaker profiles of those who chose to speak Finnish with the researcher where analysed, a predictable difference to similar analysis of first generation speakers was found. Second generation Finnish speakers rarely assimilate English material into Finnish both morphologically and phonologically. In Finnish speech code-switching into English for shorter or longer stretches is the most typical type of language contact phenomenon. One informant who has particular fluency in first generation Australian Finnish has as the largest LCP (language contact phenomenon) category English words with Finnish morphology. Although fluent in Finnish, all three Finnish speaking informants admit that when visiting Finland or talking to Finland Finns in Australia they are aware of unfamiliar expressions. These do not, however, stop communication.

Many studies show that language loss is not synonymous to a loss of group membership, solidarity and sense of belonging. Ethnic language loss may occur without ethnic identity being reduced (see Bentahila & Davies 1992; Pandharipande 1992). Nevertheless, several studies show that ethnic language is strongly associated with ethnic identity (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey 1990). Other studies suggest that ethnic language maintenance is important for second and later generation immigrants, but not for the first (Cameron & Lalonde 1994). Among first generation Australian Finns skills in the first language are taken for granted and their importance for identity is not realized, since there is no perceived risk of losing the skills (Lammervo 2007). Research has yielded conflicting findings. However, Phinney et al. (2001) found that adolescents from three American ethnic groups who have higher ethnic language proficiency and usage report stronger levels of ethnic identity.

It has been argued that identity needs may be served by cultural maintenance in the place of language maintenance (Wright et al. 2006; Joseph 2004). However, often migrant groups fall into the pattern of language loss within three generations (Clyne 2003). In a situation where the second generation is bilingual and also the third knows the heritage language, there are better circumstances and chances for culture to be passed on through

the language, although emphasis generally is more on mainstream language and culture (Wright et al. 2006). Reasons for maintenance can derive to a much greater extent from loyalty and integrative motivation than instrumental reasons. Among the Australian Finnish community Finnish language is lost often already in the second generation (Kovács 2001) a pattern also present in this data. It was expected that cultural maintenance would serve identity needs in the place of language. It was not that straight forward. Language gives access to deeper layers of a culture, allows a person to update their cultural competence and follow more traditions which involve language skills. What is passed on without the language would then necessarily be more symbolic and material. This was found to be true to a degree.

Migrants traditionally continue with customs and traditions of their heritage culture after moving into a new host culture. This is particularly important to the first generation, but as also shown by this data, many of the traditions have in some shape or form been carried onto the second generation. Artifacts, memorabilia, foods and traditions have been passed on to all the second generation informants in this data, whether they have fluency in Finnish or not. In fact, in one case these symbols of Finnish heritage are very important to the person's identity. Jaana regrets having lost much of her Finnish skills, and admits clinging onto cultural elements and wanting to retain as much as possible of Finnish cultural heritage.

The significance of Finnish language and culture was approached also from the point of view of the RAEM models domains, and informants' perception of the meaning of Finnish background in domains from religious beliefs to politics and government (Navas et al.2005) was discussed. It was unexpected that values behind core sphere/RAEM domains were often identified as Finnish by informants. Regardless of the language the parents brought their children up in, or geographic location where it took place, the family's Finnish values, ways of thinking, religious and political preferences had been passed onto the children. The informants' Finnish background is clearly present in even more different ways than is at first apparent or thought typical in such immigrant situation. In fact, even those who do not "do culture" or have language skills, still admit to adhering to value systems that are Finnish. Peter, for instance, appears to have none or very few of the external trappings of his first culture, or his parents' culture. He does not have Finnish skills, does not follow festive traditions, has very few items of memorabilia, and to the outside world looks and sounds Australian. But he cooks Finnish meals and acknowledges that his political and

religious views are very much affected by his Finnish heritage. At the other end of our continuum is Tuuli with fluency in Finnish language and culture i.e. the external trappings of her original identity, but she is also a full member of Australian mainstream, effectively bicultural and bilingual. She too claims to have Finnish principals and values received from her Finnish family, and although not wanting to claim any particular religion, she does admit the traditions she follows are Finnish.

We could argue that naturally the family values passed onto the children are Finnish if both parents are Finnish. When the importance of values was discussed with second generation informants whose partners are Australian (of Irish and English heritage), they commented that their values had not clashed and in that sense they did not see a problem in bringing children up into their own value system. Is this an indication that these cultures are not very different in essentials, or that the individuals and families are similar in values, or that the migrant child has grown up to be adapting and open to difference? The data does not give a definite answer.

Van Oudenhoven et al. (2006) argue that migrants may learn the external trappings of a second culture (including language) while maintaining their ethnic identification. The new culture's external trappings are easier to learn than adopting its values and ways of thinking. Hence we may also give up or change many of those external trappings and still identify with the original ethnicity. The importance of Finnish values to informants was surprising and sheds new light on the importance and role of the external trappings. Values and ways of thinking are more enduring than external trappings and this data shows that it is possible to have maintained values and a level of identification without external trappings. Many of the informants have both the values and a variety of trappings. Van Oudenhoven asks what aspects of culture are essential for migrants to retain their identity. Could we argue that maintaining Finnish origin values would have more of an impact on identity than more material elements of culture?

Clearly it is not wise to generalize on how individuals build and perceive their ethnic identity. Someone with strong Finnish value system, but no language skills and little culture maintenance effort does not claim a Finnish identity, and someone with fluent Finnish only claims a weak connection to a Finnish identity. How reliable is self-identification as a measure? Giving themselves labels informants are asked to work with categories made by others and effectively they are still seeing themselves through others' eyes. The informants

are comparing their own situation to something they think is proper Finnishness and judge their own authenticity in relation to that. The observing researcher has her views. It is all relative, but the diversity in expressions of identity, importance of language and cultural items and traditions is considerable.

Gong (2007) found that among Asian-Americans the more they identify with their ethnicity the more they identify with being American. This implies that the bicultural identity of Asian Americans carries considerable weight of Americanness. There are no indications of such pattern in this data. Ethnically Finnish people are such a small minority in Australia that this line of thinking would not be feasible. With increasing mobility and globalisation identifications continue to change, and also in Australia diversity and multicultural identity will be established as acceptable identities.

In acculturation and maintenance studies we talk about the symbolic meaning of things. An example of this emerged in talks with Sheryl. She mentioned her Australian relatives going to see the family house in Finland, sit on the sofa under the portrait of the great grandparents to have their picture taken. It sounds almost like a pilgrimage, a ritual a member of the family undertakes and then the duty is done. The value of the house and the photos may well be other than symbolic and the layers of meaning will, of course, vary between individuals, but the way Sheryl talked about it referred to symbolic meaning and value of something very practical. The family has a house there, but no one stays in it. They just go to look at it to acknowledge that this is where the family comes from. The house and its contents hold symbolic and emotional meanings about the ancestry. After so many generations the connection to the people in the family is no longer there and the Australian branch of the family no longer knows Swedish nor Finnish or the Finnish family's culture and traditions. The connection for most of them is only through their family history and family lore.

The role of various cultural elements present in the personal, intermediate and public spheres in a migrants life have been discussed and the link many of these have to the deeper level of values and ways of thinking. Even the most practical or superficial custom or behaviour can have other deeper symbolic meanings to an individual. This is very personal. Why do we make the effort to find certain type of ingredients for our cooking or think we should have a Finnish *puukko* in the house, when we could well live on a diet of whatever is readily available in the supermarkets or use any other type of knife?

No, rye bread is not just rye bread, it has a deeper meaning. It reminds us on some level of something that we want to be reminded of. It has a symbolic meaning beyond the ingredients. It is not rye bread, or coffee or *pulla* that we want. They are just the carriers of the feeling or the memory of something that was experienced earlier or something that still exists but somewhere else. We are regenerating familiar feelings.

In the first migrant generation the reality of these feelings as they are in the country of origin has been experienced. The meanings conveyed would have to be different for someone who does not have the original experience but has only been presented with the symbols in the new environment. What meaning the symbols carry would depend on how they have come to the person's life. For Cathy, *sauna* links to *ukki*. Peter smokes fish because he was shown by a Finnish elderly relative. This is relevant in maintaining family history and family heritage abroad. It is much less relevant to maintenance of Finnish culture in general.

On immigrant community level the future of Finnish has been questioned for years. Examples from North America show that language has been changed into English so that community activities can be continued with the following generations. The content would surely have to change as well. The reason that first comes to mind, for why the following generations would come to the activities is respect for the first generation or their request. Perhaps seeing that other people in similar circumstances are also attending would provide the necessary link to keep these people taking part in the activities also when the first generation is gone. It is never as simple as this, of course, as every family and individual has different interests and circumstances. There are various generations present originating from different periods in Finland and with varying contacts with Finland. This inevitably leads to subgroup division within the community.

One of the questions was: what is passed on if Finnish language is not? Above I argue that culture maintenance really is not about the original culture any more, but what those symbols of the culture mean to the person that is introducing it to the next generation. While passing on what they know about life, which is what parents do, they inevitably also pass on their attitude system, or parts thereof. In fact, it appears that it is possible to pass on a positive attitude towards multilingualism and multiculturalism without passing on either language or cultural elements as such. In this data we have examples of this in both generations. While the family changed their home language into English very

early on effectively choosing not to maintain second generations Finnish skills, the second generation demonstrate very positive attitudes and behaviours towards multilingualism and the heritage culture and language. Peter encourages his son to become bilingual in his mother's language and English, and is very proud of his own Finnish heritage. Jaana, who theoretically could have passed some Finnish skills on to her children has instead clung strongly to her cultural heritage and introduced it to her children. Interestingly her children, although monolingual, are all very positive towards other languages and cultures either in the way that they are interested in learning them (Eveliina), or at least in the way that they are not bothered by having them around (Chris and Cathy). Having had family members come from other cultures and speaking other languages has taught them to zone out and not worry about not understanding every word spoken within earshot.

Conclusion

The project has confirmed some earlier findings and expectations about second and third generation language and culture maintenance and identity, but also shed new light on the experience.

For Finnish to be maintained as a community language in Australia and second generation to have any fluency, the role of home and family cannot be emphasized enough. Finnish must be used at home and continue to be the language used among family members so that there is constant motivation for language use. However, this is not enough if the language is to develop into fuller fluency of registers. Contact with ethnic community in Australia is a very good way to create language use opportunities. Unfortunately this is not a viable option for second or further generation Finns. While community activities are organized and attended by first generation migrants, many of them elderly, the second generation is not allured into participating. Their social circles are for the most part Australian and English speaking. The other avenue for Finnish use and cultural updating is contact with Finland and Finland Finns. In the current times of electronic communication and relative ease of world travel this is a feasible strategy. As this data showed, contact with Finland and opportunities to update competence were valuable. It should be noted though, that as much positive impact as the Internet has as a medium, our informants also agreed that it is at its best in maintaining a face to face relationship temporarily when people cannot be together. None of the new communication methods are seen as being comparable to talking face to face and being together.

Phinney (2003) says that in the US context it has been shown (at least with non European groups) that strength and valence of ethnic identification declines from the first generation to the second, but it then levels off to a much slower decline in the later generations. On the other hand, cultural knowledge, ethnic behaviours such as language proficiency show a substantial and continuing decline across generations. Language proficiency is lost first, other cultural behaviours may stay and play a role in identification. In this data cultural maintenance was still present in the lives of most of the second generation informants. Those who also have language skills do not cling so strongly to them as someone for whom the traditions and customs are the only way to "do their culture". Third generation is already distanced from Finnish traditions and cultural elements. Even in a case where the third generation had made the effort of rediscovering the heritage, actual cultural behaviours do not become part of the person's cultural repertoire but remain anecdotal.

Identification with cultural heritage stays longest after cultural knowledge has declined (Phinney 2003), but in this data it is gone, if not by the second, by the third generation at the latest. The level of identification with a heritage and ethnic background is difficult to measure. It is difficult to put into words even regarding ones own identifications as we found by listening to our informants. National identity is easier to define and all referred to their citizenships and official nationalities as they talked about their identifications. As big a role in identity as the above mentioned language and cultural behaviours have it was discovered that second generation informants recognized the values and principles learnt from parents as Finnish. These are the deepest layers of identity which are slowest to change in acculturation (Navas et al.2005). In this data third generation no longer recognizes their value systems as Finnish.

Each migration story is different and each experience even in the same time period, or in similar circumstances is different. Our data of diverse cases has discussed outcomes of language culture and identity maintenance in second and third generations in very different circumstances. The cases have also shared many similarities as discussing elements of Finnish culture or use of Finnish language revealed. In all this diversity it is then interesting to find that the role of the family is so crucial regardless of the time or space. This is traditionally the understanding in integration and maintenance studies. Factors behind family's circumstances and decisions affect the outcomes and some of those have been discussed, but it was not within the scope of this study to find cause and effect relations between family background and maintenance outcomes. For Finnish migrants

family traditionally means immediate family and in an immigrant context this inevitably results in language and culture use being quite limited and the responsibility of a very small core unit. In this data the Finnish community still played a role for some informants, but non-English speaking parents who rely completely to a Finnish social circle is now a thing of the past. It would appear that in the future the role of the Finnish community in Australia in providing support for Finnish language, culture and identity maintenance of second and further generations will continue to decrease. On the other hand, as direct contact with Finland is quicker, easier and less expensive, it is likely to provide more efficient support and avenues for updating culture and language competence.

Discussion of the future of Australian Finnish community has been lively for decades among community members and researchers. A member of the Brisbane community says that there was talk of the end of the Association and the Lutheran congregation already in the 1960s and both are still going relatively strong. Perhaps this will continue: people will talk and worry and the activities continue regardless. However, in light of migration statistics, the future looks less bright. The numbers of new migrants arriving have been on the decline since the 1970s and are down to under two hundred settler arrivals per year. And of those who migrate to Australia in the 21st century many have no urge to seek the company of other Finns. As it is apparent that the current community activities attract almost only first generation migrants (and their young children), the prognosis is clear. Among the community there has long been talk about introducing English language to the activities to attract the further generations and non-Finnish speaking spouses of Finns. Where this has been done it has been relatively well received. However, as also the current study shows second and further generations do not often feel the need to congregate with Finns. The first generation worries about the future of community activities, but do not know how to solve the riddle for the following generations nor for the few new first generation Finns that arrive. Perhaps it is best to let nature take its course. Activities stop when there no longer are sufficient numbers of people to organize them or take part in them. If then, sooner or later, some other group of Finnish heritage people decide they want to do something together or know about each other, no doubt they will find a way.

Along the changing nature of mobility, the importance of multicultural identities and competencies continues to gain ground. How will this change the patterns of integration, acculturation, and language and culture maintenance? Supposedly the new first generation will continue to move for shorter term, perhaps remigrate or continue to a third country.

Do they become bicultural? Does the second generation have a chance to grow roots in Australia and what will their identifications be? Considered from this perspective, it is a viable suggestion that local identities, smaller group identities, and identities to do with lifestyles are likely to become more important. It is a slow change and while the new generations may identify with similar minded people at other ends of the world via digital media, they live amongst those who identify with the local environment and perhaps generations of ancestry in the same place. This will require tolerance, patience and versatile communication skills.

Similarly theories of acculturation are soon to be useless if mobility, diversity and multiculturalism continue on the predicted path. As Australia becomes more at ease with diversity and being Australian actually starts to mean diversity, the process of entering and becoming a member of that society will inevitably change. This is related to the Suarez-Orosco (2001) comment that what does one adapt to when the host culture is so diverse you do not know what it is you are adapting to. Will this eventually mean not having to adapt at all but continuing to practise your own culture also in the new environment? Perhaps the main task is to accept that everyone else is also practising their culture. For someone coming from a less diverse society this will be challenge. In even longer term, when diversity has penetrated the entire world, what would be the elements that people maintain? They would not be culturally specific as we now still think, but perhaps more along the lines of lifestyle. Or will local identities continue to be more and more important as is already a starting trend. Are we going back towards smaller group identities, glocalizing as opposed to globalizing?

Bibliography

Ahponen, P. (2001). *Kulttuurin pesäpaikka: Yhteiskunnallisia lähestymistapoja kulttuuriteoriaan*. Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö WSOY.

Akresh, I. R. (2007). Contexts of English language use among immigrants to the United States. *International Migration Review*, 41(4), 930-955.

Andersen, P. A., Hecht, M. L., Hoobler, G. D., & Smallwood, M. (2003). Nonverbal communication across cultures. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Cross-cultural and intercultural communication* (pp. 73-90). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Ang, I., Brand, J., Noble, G., & Sternberg, J. (2006). *Connecting diversity: Paradoxes of multicultural Australia*. Artarmon, NSW: Special Broadcasting Service.

Ang, I., Brand, J., Noble, G., & Wilding, D. (2002). *Living diversity: Australia's multicultural future*. Sydney: Special Broadcasting Service.

Arends-Tóth, J. (2003). *Psychological acculturation of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Dutch University Press. Australian Bureau of Statistics (2009). *2006 Census of population and housing*. www.abs.gov.au

Arends-Tóth, J., & Van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2006). Assessment of psychological acculturation. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology* (pp. 142-162). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Back, E. (1924) Unpublished travel diary.

Barker, M. (1981). *The new racism*. London: Junction Books.

Barkhuizen, G., Knoch, U., & Starks, D. (2006). Language practices, preferences and policies: Contrasting views on Pakeha, Maori, Pasifika and Asian students. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27(5), 375-391.

Baron, S. (2000). The Finnish migrant community in post-war Melbourne. *Siirtolaisuus-Migration*, 4, 21-35.

Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N., & Szanton Blanc, C. (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments and deterritoriolized nation-states*. Amsterdam:
Gordon &Breach.

Bastian, B., & Haslam, N. (2008). Immigration from the perspective of hosts and immigrants: Roles of psychological essentialism and social identity. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 11, 127-140.

Baumann, G. (1999). *The multicultural riddle: Rethinking national, ethnic, and religious*

identities. New York: Routledge.

Benet-Martinez, V., & Haritatos, J. (2005). Bicultural identity integration (BII): Components and psychosocial antecedents. *Journal of Personality*, 73(4).

Benet-Martinez, V., Leu, J., Lee, F., & Morris, M. (2002). Negotiating biculturalism: Cultural frame-switching in biculturals with oppositional vs. compatible cultural identities. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 33, 492-516.

Bennett, J. M., & Bennett, M. J. (2004). Developing intercultural sensitivity: An integrative approach to global and domestic diversity. In D. Landis, J. M. Bennett & M. J. Bennett (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bennett, M. J. (1993). Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. In R. M. Paige (Ed.), *Education for intercultural experience* (2nd ed., pp. 21-71). Yarmouth: Intercultural Press.

Bentahila, A., & Davies, E. E. (1992). Convergence and divergence: two cases of language shift in Morocco. In W. Fase, K. Jaspaert & S. Kroon (Eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority languages* (pp. 197-210). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46(1), 5-68.

Berry, J. W. (2006). Mutual attitudes among immigrants and ethnocultural groups in Canada. *International Journal of Intercultural relations*, 30, 719-734.

Berry, J. W., & Laponce, J. A. (1994). Evaluating research on Canada's multiethnic and multicultural society: an introduction. In J. W. Berry & J. A. Laponce (Eds.), *Ethnicity and culture in Canada: The research landscape*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Betts, K. (1999). *The great divide: Immigration politics in Australia*. Sydney: Duffy and Snellgrove.

Blommaert, J. & Verschueren, J. (1998). *Debating diversity: Analysing the discourse of tolerance*. London: Routledge.

Bonvillain, N. (2008). *Language, culture and communication: The meaning of messages*. (5th ed.). Upper Saddle River: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Boski, P. (2008). Five meanings of integration in acculturation research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32, 142-153.

Bourhis, R. Y., & Sachdev, I. (1984). Vitality perceptions and language attitudes: Some Canadian data. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 3(2), 97-126.

Cameron, J., & Lalonde, P. (1994). Self, ethnicity and social membership in two

generations of Italian Canadians. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 514-520.

Cemalcilar, Z., Falbo, T., & Stapleton L. M. (2005). Cyber communication: A new opportunity for international students' adaptation? *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29, 91-110.

Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P.W. (1999). Immigration, language and multiculturalism in Australia. *The Australian Economic Review*, 32(4), 369-385.

Clyne, M. (1982). *Multilingual Australia*. Melbourne: River Seine.

Clyne, M. (1991). *Community languages: The Australian experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clyne, M. (2003). *Dynamics of language contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clyne, M., & Kipp, S. (2006). Australia's community languages. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 180, 7-21.

Cummins, J. (1996). *Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society*. Ontario, CA: California Association for Bilingual Education.

De Korne, H., Byram, M., & Fleming, M. (2007). Familiarizing the stranger: Immigrant perceptions of cross-cultural interaction and bicultural identity. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 28(4), 290-307.

Fernandez, S., & Clyne, M. (2007). Tamil in Melbourne. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 28(3), 169-187.

Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (2009). Kirkko numeroina. www.evl.fi/kirkkonumeroina

Fishman, J. A. (1966). *Language loyalty in the United States: The maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups*. London: Mouton.

Fishman, J. A. (1977). The spread of English as a new perspective for the study of language maintenance and language shift. In J. A. Fishman, R. L. Cooper & A. W. Conrad (Eds.), *The spread of English* (pp. 108-133). Rowley: Newbury House.

Fozdar, F., & Torezani, S. (2008). Discrimination and well-being: Perceptions of refugees in Western Australia. *International Migration Review*, 42(1), 30-63.

Friedman, J. (1994). *Cultural identity and global process*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Garrett, P., Evans, B., & Williams, A. (2006). What does the word 'globalisation' mean

to you? Comparative perceptions and evaluations in Australia, New Zealand, the USA and the UK. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27(5), 392-412.

Gary, B. P., & Knoch, U. (2005). Missing Afrikaans: 'Linguistic longing' among Afrikaans speaking immigrants in New Zealand. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 26(3), 216-232.

Gibbons, J., & Ramírez, E. (2003). The role of attitudes in the development of a full literate proficiency in Spanish. In P.M. Ryan & T. Terborg (Eds.), *Language: Issues of inequality* (pp. 189-213): Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico.

Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations* (pp. 307-348). London and New York: Academic Press.

Gita, J. (2001). *Kahden toisen polven australiansuomalaisen suomen kielen piirteitä.* Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Helsinki, Helsinki.

Gong, L. (2007). Ethnic identity and identification with the majority group: Relations with national identity and self esteem. *International Journal of Intercultural relations*, 31, 503-523. *Government policy program for expatriate Finns 2006-2011*. (2006) Finnish Ministry of Labour. Helsinki.

Gudykunst, W. B., & Ting-Toomey, S. (1990). Ethnic identity, language and communication breakdowns. In H. Giles & W. P. Robinson (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social psychology* (pp.309-327). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Hage, G. (2003). *Against paranoid nationalism*. Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press.

Halonen, T. (2005). Kahvi – nautintoa ja kofeiinisoitumista. In E. Halonen & L. Aro (Eds.), *Suomalaisten symbolit* (pp. 124-129). Jyväskylä: Atena.

Hansen, M. L. (1938). The problem of the third generation immigrant. Augustana Historical Society: Reprinted in *Commentary* (November 1952) pp. 492-500 and by Edward N. Saveth in his *Understanding the American past* (Boston 1954) pp. 472-288.

Hentula, H. (1990). *Australiansuomen sanaston luonteenomaisia piirteitä. Suomen Akatemian Amerikan- ja australiansuomen tutkimushankkeen raportti ja australiansuomen sanaluettelo* (Unpublished report). Turku: Institute of Migration.

Hirviniemi, R. (2000). *Sademetsässä, saremehtästä, saremessähän: Havaintoja kolmen alenevan sukupolven australiansuomen puhujan kielestä.* Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Turku, Turku.

Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Jamarani, M. (2009). *A study of languages and cultures in contact among Iranian female immigrants in Australia*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Queensland, Brisbane.

Joseph, J. E. (2004). *Language and identity: National, ethnic, religious*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan

Jönsson-Korhola, H. (2003). Pussaa se peipipoki kitsistä petiruumaan. Suomalaiset ja suomen kieli Amerikassa. In H. Jönsson-Korhola & A.-R. Lindgren (Eds.), *Monena suomi maailmalla. Suomalaisperäisiä kielivähemmistöjä*. (pp. 386-448). Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Kim, Y. Y. (2003). Adapting to an unfamiliar culture: An interdisciplinary overview. In W.B. Gudykunst (Ed.), Cross-cultural and intercultural communication (pp. 243-258). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kloss, H. (1966). German American language maintenance efforts. In J. A. Fishman, V. C. Nahirny, J. E. Hofman & R. G. Hayden (Eds.), *Language loyalty in the United States* (pp. 206-252). The Hague: Mouton.

Knuuttila, S. (2005). Kolme mentaliteetin säiettä. In T. Halonen & L. Aro (Eds.), *Suomalaisten symbolit* (pp. 22-25). Jyväskylä: Atena.

Koivukangas, O. (1975). *Suomalainen siirtolaisuus Australiaan toisen maailmansodan jälkeen*. Turku: Institute of Migration.

Koivukangas, O. (1998). *Kaukomaiden kaipuu: Suomalaiset Afrikassa, Australiassa, Uudessa-Seelannissa ja Latinalaisessa Amerikassa*. Turku: Institute of Migration.

Kolbe, L. (2005). Kotimaista ruoka- ja juomakulttuuria. In E. Halonen & L. Aro (Eds.), *Suomalaisten symbolit* (pp. 120-123). Jyväskylä: Atena.

Korhonen, T. (1993). Suomalaisuuden aineellisista symboleista. In T. Korhonen (Ed.), *Mitä on suomalaisuus* (pp.86-107). Helsinki: Suomen Antropologinen Seura.

Korhonen, T. (2005). Puukko – vapaan miehen merkki. In E. Halonen & L. Aro (Eds.), *Suomalaisten symbolit* (pp. 140-145). Jyväskylä: Atena.

Korkiasaari, J. (2003). *Maastamuuttaneet sukupuolen ja kohdemaan mukaan 1980-2001*. Retrieved in 2004 from www.migrationinstitute.fi/dbstat/fin/art.php?artid=10.

Kovács, M. (2001). *Code-switching and language shift in Australian Finnish in comparison with Australian Hungarian*. Turku: Åbo Akademi.

Kronenfeld, D. (2992).Culture and society: the role of distributed cognition. In R. Trappl

(Ed.), *Cybernetics and systems* (Vol.1, pp. 430-431). Vienna: Austrian Society for Cybernetic Studies.

Kukathas, C. (2003). *The liberal archipelago*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kymlicka, W. (1989). *Liberalism, community and culture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Laaksonen, P. (2005). Sauna – aatetta ja kulttuuria. In E. Halonen & L. Aro (Eds.), *Suomalaisten symbolit*. Jyväskylä: Atena.

LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H. L. K., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological bulletin*, 114(3), 395-412.

Laine, T. (2001). Miten kokemusta voidaan tutkia? Fenomenologinen näkökulma. In J. Aaltola & R. Valli (Eds.), *Ikkunoita tutkimusmetodeihin II*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus.

Lammervo, T. (2007). *Language and culture contact and attitudes among first generation Australian Finns*. Webreports No. 26, Turku: Institute of Migration.

Leeds-Hurwits, W. (2006). Introduction: Maintaining cultural identity over time. In W. Leeds-Hurwits (Ed.), *From generation to generation: maintaining cultural identity over time*. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press.

Leong, C.-H. (2008). A multilevel research framework for the analyses of attitudes towards immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32, 115-129.

Liu, S. (2007). Living with others. Mapping the routes to acculturation in a multicultural society. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 31, 761-778.

Martin, J. N. (1993). Intercultural communication competence: a review. In R. L. Wiseman & J. Koester (Eds.), *International communication competence* (pp. 16-29). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Martin, J. N., & Nakayama, T. K. (2004). *Intercultural communication in contexts*. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.

Mattila, T. (1990). *Australiansuomalaisten elinolot ja sopeutuminen*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Turku, Turku.

Miller, B. (2007). *Cultural Anthropology*. Boston: Pearson Education.

Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods*. Thousand Oaks Cal., London: Sage.

Nairn, T. (1977). *The brake-up of Britain: Crisis and neo-nationalism*. London: New Left Books.

Navas, M., García, M. C., Sánchez, J., Rojas, A. J., Pumares, P., & Fernández, J. S. (2005). Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM): New contributions with

regard to the study of acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29, 21-37.

Navas, M., Rojas, A. J., Garcia, M. C., & Pumares, P. (2007). Acculturation strategies and attitudes according to the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM): The perspectives of natives versus immigrants. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 31(1), 67-86.

Nauven, A.-M., & Benet-Martinez, V. (2007). Biculturalism unpacked: Components, measurement, individual differences, and outcomes. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 1(1), 101-114.

Nishida, H. (1999). A cognitive approach to intercultural communication based on schema theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 23(5), 753-777.

O'Connor, P. (1992). *Friendship between women: A critical review*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Ozolins, U. (1993). *The politics of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Palo Stoller, E. (1996). Sauna, Sisu, and Sibelius: Ethnic identity among Finnish Americans. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 37(1), 134-175.

Pandharipande, R. (1992). Language shift in India. Issues and implications. In W. Fase, K. Jaspaert & S. Kroon (Eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority languages*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.

Paulston, C. B., Haragos, S., Verónic, L., & Martelle, W. (2007). Some thoughts on extrinsic linguistic minorities. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 28(5), 358-399.

Pauwels, A. (1995). Linguistic practices and language maintenance among bilingual women and men in Australia. *Nordlyd*, 23, 21-50.

Pauwels, A. (2005). Maintaining the community languages in Australia: Challenges and roles of families. *The International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8(2&3), 124-131.

Pentikäinen, J. (1982). Amerikansuomalaisten kulttuuri-identiteetti ja maailmankuva tutkimuskohteina. *Siirtolaisuus – Migration* (1), 1-13.

Phillips, A. (2007). *Multiculturalism without culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol 108(3), 499-514.

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7, 156-176.

Phinney, J. S. (2003). Ethnic identity and acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista & G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement and applied research* (pp. 63-81). Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Phinney, J. S., Romero, I., Nava, M., & Huang, D. (2001). The role of language, parents and peers in ethnic identity among adolescents in immigrant families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30(2), 135-153.

Rado, M. (1976). Language use of bilingual adolescents: Self-appraisal. In M. Clyne (Ed.), *Australia talks* (pp. 187-200). Canberra: Pacific Linguistic Series.

Rojas-Lizana, I. (2009). *Discourse and genre in everydau texts: Letters to the editor in the local press of Australia and Chile*. Saarbrucken: VDM Verlag Dr, Muller.

Romaine, S. (1991). *Language in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism* (2nd ed.). Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Rumbaut, R. G. (1994). The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. *International Migration Review*, 28, 748-794.

Seidman, I. (1998). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences* (2nd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.

Sevänen, E. (2004). The study of cultural identity: Development and background of a multi-disciplinary field of research. In J. Kupiainen, E. Sevänen & J. A. Stotesbury (Eds.), *Cultural identity in transition: Contemporary conditions, practices and politics of a global phenomenon* (pp. 33-63). New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.

Sharifian, F. (2008). Distributed, emergent cultural cognition, conceptualization, and language. In R. M. Frank, R. Dirven, T. Ziemke & E. Bernández (Eds.), *Body, language and mind: Sociocultural situatedness* (Vol. 2). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Simmel, G. ([1908] 1971). Der Fremde [The Stranger]. In S. Levine (Ed.), *On individuality and social forms*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Smolicz, J. J., Secombe, M. (1976). Ethnic languages and immigrant youth. In M. Clyne (Ed.), *Australia talks* (pp. 131-175). Canberra: Pacific Linguistic Series.

Starks, D. (2005). The effects of self-confidence in bilingual abilities on language use: Perspectives of Pasifika language use in South Auckland. *Journal of Multilingual*

and Multicultural Development, 26(6), 533-550.

Statistics Finland (2009). *Maahan- ja maastamuuttaneet lähtö- ja määrämaan iän ja sukupuolen mukaan 1987-2008*. www.stat.fi/tup/tilastotietokannat/index_fi.html

Statistics Finland (2009). Suomi lukuina. www.stat.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk_vaesto.html

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Susag, C. (1999). Finnish American ethnicity as measured by collective self esteem. *Publications in Social Sciences* No. 37. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.

Sussman, N. M. (2000). The dynamic nature of cultural identity throughout cultural transitions: why home is not so sweet. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 4(4), 355-373.

Sussman, N. M. (2002). Testing the cultural identity model of the cultural transition cycle: sojourner's return home. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26, 391-408.

Tange, H. (2005). In a cultural no man's land. *Journal of intercultural communication* (10).

Tannenbaum, M. (2007). Back and forth: Immigrants' stories of migration and return. *International Migration*, 45(5), 147-174.

Taramaa, R. (2007). *Stubborn and silent Finns with 'sisu' in Finnish American literature*. Oulu: University of Oulu.

Ting-Toomey, S. (1999). *Communicating across cultures*. New York: Guilford.

Ting-Toomey, S., & Oetzel, J. G. (2001). *Managing intercultural conflict effectively*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Todorov, T. (1989). *Nous et les autres: La réflexion française sur la diversité humaine*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Topelius, Z. (1875). *Maamme kirja*. Ennen myöhemmän ajan lisäyksiä ja uudelleen kuvitettuna. Paavo Cajanderin suomennoksen pohjalta toimittanut Vesa Mäkinen. (1981). Helsinki: WSOY.

Tranter, B., & Donoghue, J. (2007). Colonial and post-colonial aspects of Australian identity. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 58(2), 165-183.

Tuomi-Nikula, O. (1989). *Saksansuomalaiset: Tutkimus syntyperäisten suomalaisten akkulturaatiosta Saksan Liittotasavallassa ja Länsi-Berliinissä*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Van Oudenhoven, J. P. (2006). Immigrants. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The*

Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology (pp. 163-180). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Oudenhoven, J. P., Prins, K. S., & Buunk, B. P. (1998). Attitudes of minority and majority members towards adaptation of migrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28, 995-1013.

Van Oudehoven, J. P., Ward, C., & Masgoret, A.-M. (2006). Patterns of relations between immigrants and host societies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 637-651.

Vaughan, G. M., & Hogg, M. A. (2002). *Introduction to social psychology* (3rd ed.). Frenchs Forest N.S.W.: Prentice Hall/Pearson Education Australia.

Vaughan, G. M., & Hogg, M. A. (2008). *Introduction to social psychology* (5th ed.). Frenchs Forest N.S.W.: Prentice Hall/Pearson Education Australia.

Verkuvten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2006). Understanding multicultural attitudes: the role of group status, identification, friendship, and justifying ideologies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 1-18.

Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22, 447-462.

Viertola-Cavallari, R. (2004). Seka-avioliitot yhteiskunnallisena katalysaattorina. In E. Heikkilä (Ed.), *Monikulttuuriset avioliitot sillanrakentajina* (Webreports No. 2). Turku: Institute of Migration.

Virtanen, B. L. (2006). Suomi on kaunis maa: Memories of Finland as cultural markers in Finnish-American autobiography. *Journal of Finnish Studies*, 10(2), 4-22.

Warkentin, R., Kailo, K., & Halonen, J. (2005). *Sweating with Finns: Sauna stories from North America.* Thunder Bay, ON, Canada: Centre for Northern Studies, Lakehead University.

Watson, G. (1996). The Finnish-Australian English corpus. *ICAME Journal: Computers in English Linguistics*, 20, 41-70.

Winter, J., & Pauwels, A. (2005). Gender in the construction and transmission of ethnolinguistic identities and language maintenance in immigrant Australia. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 25(1), 153-168.

Winter, J., & Pauwels, A. (2006). Language maintenance in Friendships: second generation German, Greek and Vietnamese migrants. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 180, 123-139.

Wright, S., & Kurtoglu-Hooton, N. (2006). Language maintenance: the case of a Turkish-speaking community in Birmingham. *International Journal of the*

Sociology of Language, 181, 43-56.

Ylikangas, H. (1996). Metsä suomalaisen mentaliteetin kasvualustana. In P. Laaksonen & L. Mettomäki (Eds.), *Olkaamme siis suomalaisia* (pp. 35-42). Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Appendix 1.

Attitude questionnaire.

Do you disagree or agree with these statements? Please circle one of the options under each statement.

1. I feel that Finns should adapt to Australian cultural traditions and not maintain those of their own.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

2. I feel that Finns should maintain their own cultural traditions but also adapt to those of Australia.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

3. I feel that it is not important for Finns either to maintain their own cultural traditions or to adapt to those of Australia.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

4. I feel that Finns should maintain their own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of Australia.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

5. I prefer social activities that involve both Australian and Finnish members.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

6. I prefer to have only Australian friends.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

7. I prefer to have only Finnish friends.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

8. I prefer social activities that involve Australians only.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

9. I prefer to have both Finnish and Australian friends.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

10. I don't want to attend either Australian or Finnish social activities.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

11. I prefer social activities that involve Finnish members only.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

12. I don't want to have either Australian or Finnish friends.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

13. It is more important for me to be fluent in Finnish than in English.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

14. It is more important to me to be fluent in English than in Finnish.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

15. It is important to me to be fluent in both English and in Finnish.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

16. It is not important to me to be fluent in either Finnish or in English.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

17. I feel that I am part of Finnish culture.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

18. I am proud of being Finnish.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

19. I am happy to be Finnish.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

20. I feel that I am part of Australian culture.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

21. I am proud of being Australian.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

22. I am happy to be Australian.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

23. Being part of Finnish culture is embarrassing to me.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

24. Being Finnish is uncomfortable to me.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

26. Being part of Finnish culture makes me feel happy.
Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

27. Being Finnish makes me feel good.

Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, not sure/neutral, somewhat agree, strongly agree

Appendix 2.

Codes used in analysing interview transcripts:

Attitude	Language learning
	Language
	Diversity
	Otherness
	Cultural difference
	Migration
	Identity
	Contact
Language	Attitude
	Language learning
	Value
	LCP
	Use
	Accent
	Skill
Culture	Symbol
	Attitude
	Diversity
	Web contact
	Web info
	Schema
	Habit/custom
	Return
	Visit contact
	Oz Finns
	Family history
	Lack of contact
	RAEM relig
	RAEM values
	RAEM family

	RAEM consumer
	RAEM politics
	RAEM work
	RAEM social relations
Identity	Ethnic id
	Otherness
	Belonging
	Change
	Symbolic
	Local
	Social
	Citizenship