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FINNS IN THE SUDBURY AREA

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Immigration to North America

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Glossary

Liberals: -The Liberal Party has formed the Government in Canada in the following years: 1874-78, 1896-1911, 1921-30, 1935-57, 1963-79.

Progressive Conservatives--PC: -Official name until 1942 was the Conservatives. The Conservatives have formed the Government in Canada in: 1867-74, 1878-96, 1911-21, 1926, 1930-35, 1957-63, and 1979- .

Co-operative Commonwealth Federation--C.C.F.:

-A social democratic party appealing to farmers and labour. Formed in 1931, dissolved in 1961 merging into the NDP. Never formed the government of Canada. Formed provincial government in Saskatchewan (1944-64).

New Democratic Party--NDP: -Formed as an amalgamation of the C.C.F. and the Canadian Labour Congress. Social democratic and labour-oriented. Never formed government of Canada. Has formed provincial governments in Manitoba (1969-77), British Columbia (1972-75), and Saskatchewan (1971 -).

Social Credit: Considered to the right of the Conservatives. Never formed the government of Canada. Has formed provincial governments in Alberta (1935-70) and British Columbia (1952-72 and 1975 -). Also has been strong in rural Quebec.

Communist Party of Canada--CP:

Founded in 1921. Also known as Labour Progressive Party from 1940 to 1959. Has elected only one Member of Parliament and a few members to provincial legislatures. Has been influential in some industrial areas. Pioneered many union organizing efforts. Has been in eclipse since Canadian Labour Congress formally endorsed the NDP as its political spokesman.

1. Introduction

A political behavioural study can be a useful method of examining the acculturation of migrant settlers and their descendants in a new region and homeland. Such a study of Finnish Canadian voters could examine such questions as:

- (1) whether Finnish immigrants secured Canadian citizenship and whether they voted;
- (2) the political party preferences of these voters;
- (3) changes in the pattern of party preferences over a period of time;
- (4) special factors that may influence Finnish Canadians collectively to support one political party over others.

This paper is based on a political ecological analysis of the voting patterns of Finnish Canadian residents in the District of Sudbury over a number of Canadian General Elections and on a survey of Canadian voters of Finnish descent in the Sudbury area after the 1972 Canadian General Election. The results of this survey are compared with the findings of other surveys and with other studies on migration and acculturation.

Finnish emigration statistics ¹ provide a composite background of the Finnish emigrant at the time he left his homeland for Canada. The Census of Canada ² contains data on regions in Canada where Finnish migrants have settled.

2. Area of Study

Finns have migrated to the Sudbury region for the past ninety years. Sudbury, the largest city in Northern Ontario, is part of the District of Sudbury, an area covering about 1500 square miles. When the Canadian Pacific Railway was being built in the 1880's, the small Jesuit missionary post of Sudbury was the centre for the construction crew. The first Finns appeared in the area at this time as construction workers but did not settle. The discovery of copper in this area initiated the mining industry. Later, nickel came to be the major metal mined in the area.

A major attraction of the Sudbury area for Finnish immigrants has been the availability of well-paying jobs for unskilled workers in the vast nickel mining operations. Early Finnish settlers found ready employment at the Canadian Copper Company (the predecessor of Inco Metals Limited of today). In 1943, after several unsuccessful attempts, the trade union movement established when the International Brotherhood of Mine, Mill and Smelterworkers was certified. Today, the United Steelworkers of America local represents most of the Sudbury area mine employees. Many Finns who worked for the mining companies of the regions have played an active role in both of these unions.

Another attraction for Finnish immigrants was the availability of Crown Land in the rural areas surrounding the mining sites--land available at very low prices for those willing to farm and develop it. The land was not choice farming territory by Ontario standards but proved suitable to the desires of many Finnish settlers who found the land similar to farming areas in their homeland. For many Finnish settlers who never owned their

own land in Finland (nor could ever entertain even the possibility of doing so), there was a great attraction to owning their own farm in Canada. Many of these Finnish farmers in Northern Ontario first saved money by working in the mining or lumbering industries before moving to farming.

Of the Finns arriving in the Sudbury region after the Second World War, most were still attracted to jobs in the mining industry. Fewer of these Finns went into farming. More Finns in the period were prepared to go into business.

3. Background of Finnish Immigrants

There have been two major periods of Finnish migration to Canada-- the lengthy period stretching from 1870 to 1930 and the decade of the 1950's.³ Up to 1914, most Finnish emigrants went to the United States; a small minority (about 10 per cent) settled in Canada. In the 1920's, Canada became the main destination of Finnish migrants as the United States began to apply quotas on aliens. The Depression ended the early period of Finnish migration to Canada.

The main factor in the Finnish emigration to North America to 1930 was economic: many Finns experienced severe economic difficulties in their homeland (most particularly in their native commune) and wanted new opportunities. Economic factors were reinforced by group movement; emigration to North America became a mass movement in the regions of southern Ostrobothnia, Oulu, Turku-Pori and to a lesser extent, Helsinki but not in other regions of Finland. Secondary factors influencing the decision of some emigrants were compulsory military service in the

Imperial Russian army, the general russification policies in Finland at the turn of the century, and the hope of being able to practise one's religion in comparative freedom in North America. When Canada emerged as the main destination of Finnish emigrants in the 1920's, there is little evidence that political motivation was a determining factor for migrating overseas except in some individual cases.

Emigration to Canada in the 1920's continued as part of a long-range movement from precisely those areas and from among those social groups where it had been a mass movement before the First World War. An indication of the well-established nature of Finnish emigration was the numbers of families that migrated to Canada.⁴ While Finnish immigrants in Canada had a large proportion of single males, it was not as male-dominated as other ethnic groups in Canada. This long-developed mass movement from certain regions of Finland would account for the strong community feeling among Finnish immigrant organizations in Canada where many of the members shared a common local origin.

Finns again migrated to Canada in large numbers in the 1950's attracted by the expanding Canadian economy. Finnish emigrants of this period were more urbanized than earlier and had a higher degree of skills.⁵ The decision to emigrate did not appear to be so much part of a mass movement but rather was based on considerations of the individual family. As the Finnish economy began to expand in the late 1950's, the economic motives to leave for Canada decreased.

4. Development of Finnish Cultural Activities in the Sudbury District

There have been a wide variety of Finnish organizations in the Sudbury area over the past ninety years to meet the many and varied

needs of Finnish immigrants and their descendants.⁶ There have been sharp differences within the community but the various Finnish-language clubs and churches were able to attract a large number of Finns to participate regularly in their social and cultural activities and to maintain their loyalty to the Finnish Canadian community.

The Finnish churches and halls provided very real services to their members. The early Finnish immigrants received little government assistance in finding employment and acquiring linguistic skills in their new homeland. They came to rely on the individual and collective services of the Finnish community. For those Finns arriving in the 1950's, the Canadian government had developed a wider network of programs to assist them and they did not have to rely as much on the resources of their own community.⁷

The first Finnish hall in the Sudbury area was built by the Temperance Society in 1895. Church-going Finns had built a Lutheran Church in Copper Cliff in 1908. In 1911, many local Finnish organizations with socialist ideas formed a national organization, the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada, which later became the Finnish Organization of Canada. The F.O.C. had a number of branches in the Sudbury area. In 1917, the F.O.C. founded Vapaus, a weekly newspaper published in Sudbury. As more Finns arrived in the Sudbury area in the 1920's, the activities of the F.O.C. expanded and Vapaus became a daily newspaper in 1928--the first daily newspaper in the District. The F.O.C. sponsored a number of cultural and sporting events. Many F.O.C. leaders became involved in organizing an industrial union for the workers in the mines.

The F.O.C. was frequently in conflict with Canadian authorities for alleged political activities. In 1918, the F.O.C. and Vapaus were banned under the Enemy Aliens Act as were other Finnish halls, churches, and newspapers. A number of other ethnic groups in Canada were also affected by this Order in Council. The F.O.C. and Vapaus continued to suffer harassment from the authorities during the late 1920's and 1930's. The police often raided their halls and the offices of Vapaus. Many individual F.O.C. members were deported during the Depression. During the Second World War, the F.O.C. was banned by the Canadian government for three years although Vapaus continued to publish.

From 1928 to 1931, there was a bitter internal struggle within the Finnish Organization over the question of communist influence. A minority faction founded Vapaa Sana in 1931; it was originally published in Sudbury but later moved to Toronto. A number of new Finnish halls with no connections with the Finnish Organization were founded in the 1930's. These organized a different programme of activities. Of the Finnish immigrants arriving in Canada after the Second World War, most joined halls not affiliated with the Finnish Organization.

There have been instances of Finnish community co-operation. All Finnish churches and clubs joined together after the Second World War to form Canadian Suomiapuyhdistys (Aid to Finland). These joint activities raised thousands of dollars of aid for Finland. In 1966, the various Finnish groups in the area came together to present a program of activities for a Finnish Week as part of the Canadian Centennial Year activities in the city of Sudbury. 8

Internal rivalry within the Finnish Canadian community has limited the development of a collective Finnish identity in the Sudbury area-- there are no spokesmen for the Finnish community as a whole. Conversely, there has been a great deal of primary group work in the community and Finnish group leaders have, by necessity, been in close contact with their membership.

5. Finnish Voting Behaviour 1930-72

A sociological analysis using the methodology of political ecology can be made of the voting patterns of Finnish immigrants and their descendants over a series of Canadian elections in the District of Sudbury. From an analysis of the Canadian Census and of the Preliminary Voters' Lists for a number of Canadian General Elections, it is possible to identify a number of polling areas with a large concentration of Finnish residents and voters. The 1931 Census showed many rural areas in the outlying areas surrounding the city of Sudbury with a large percentage of Finns. In the Preliminary Voters' list for the 1935 Canadian General Election in the Riding of Nipissing (of which the District of Sudbury was a part), a large number of the Finnish residents in these areas were registered as voters. In polls where Finnish-Canadian voters formed a large proportion of the electorate, it is possible to examine their political party preference over a number of years.

The 1935 Preliminary Voters' List showed a number of polls in rural areas with a large concentration of Finnish voters. It also indicated two polls in the town of Copper Cliff with a large number of Finnish

voters and one in the city of Sudbury. There were large numbers of Finnish Canadian voters in other polling areas in the city of Sudbury but their concentration in specific polling areas was too small to make significant observations. By 1945, the Finns in the city were too scattered to reveal significant data by this method. Much of this analysis, therefore, is concentrated on Finnish voters in rural polling areas. Many of these areas have had a strong Finnish cultural identity from before the First World War to the present.

The analysis showed that many Finnish voters living in rural areas voted for the Communist (Labour-Progressive) Party of Canada and other left-wing candidates. While the Communist Party fared very poorly in the federal constituency as a whole, its candidates received exceptionally strong support in those rural polling areas with a large concentration of Finnish Canadian voters. (In 1930 and 1935, the Communist candidate in Nipissing riding was Armas Tobias Hill, a Canadian-born Finn and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada). Communist candidates contested the elections of 1930, 1935, 1945 and 1953. In each of the four elections in which a Communist candidate contested, the only polling areas they won were those with a large concentration of Finnish voters. This left-wing tendency did not apply to the two polling areas in the town of Copper Cliff with a large proportion of Finnish voters. Both of these polling areas voted Conservative in both 1935 and 1945. Copper Cliff was the administrative centre for INCO operations in the Sudbury area.

The pattern of voting in rural areas in this period was such as to indicate that many Finnish voters were isolated from the rest of the constituency in respect to their voting behaviour and there is much evidence to support this contention. For Finnish immigrants settling in the rural areas of the District in the 1920's, there was no cultural alternative to the activities of his own ethnic group. All social and economic life was in the Finnish language as were the only newspapers read (Vapaus, Liekki, Vapaa Sana). Until the late 1950's, there was little outside mass media except radio which often carried local programming in the Finnish language. Inadequate road conditions isolated many of these farming areas from other communities. As the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has pointed out, rural settlements such as these, composed of a cultural group different from the majority of the area, would preserve their cultural identity much longer than they would in urban areas.⁹ The voting pattern established over a number of elections over a twenty-year period would bear out this observation.

The Finnish Organization of Canada had branches in these rural areas and sponsored a wide range of social and athletic activities. In many cases, these were the only community activities available. It is not unusual, therefore, that leftist candidates fared well in these farming communities.¹⁰

By the late 1950's, this pattern of support was not as pronounced. There was greater support for traditional parties--Liberals and Progressive Conservative--with a substantial support for the social democratic C.C.F.

In recent elections, these same polling areas (which still have a large proportion of Finnish Canadian voters) have supported the labour-oriented New Democratic Party. Yet while these Finnish polling areas supported the NDP in much greater proportions than the rest of the constituency, it was not an isolated occurrence as had been the earlier pattern of support for the Communist party as the NDP has done very well in the Sudbury area in recent federal and provincial elections. This support for the NDP by a large number of Finnish rural voters is very much part of a regional pattern and is determined by regional issues rather than ethnic considerations as earlier.

6. Political Behaviour

Political scientists in Canada do not consider ethnicity to be an important primary variable for influencing political party preference. It does have an indirect influence in that it can determine other background variables that have a more direct relationship--religion, language spoken at home, birthplace and period of immigration.

This study is based on a 1972 survey of Finnish Canadian voters in the District of Sudbury taken after the Canadian General Election of that year. The survey was designed to measure the influence of ethnic-related variables on political behaviour and to compare these findings to other variables such as social class. The results of the 1972 survey will be compared against a 1965 survey of voters in the city of Sudbury conducted by Professor J.E. Havel which gathered data on ethnicity and party preferences. This 1965 survey indicated that there were strong ethnic-related cleavages in the Sudbury area. 11

Of the 77 Canadian voters of Finnish ancestry who responded to the survey, 38 were born in Canada, 38 in Finland, and one in the United States. Taken by itself, the results of the survey would not be conclusive. However, the observations derived from this survey should be seen in the broader context of social research: the earlier survey of Sudbury voters, the political ecological analysis already presented, Canadian Census and Finnish Emigration statistics, as well as numerous other political behavioural studies conducted in Canada and the United States.

6.1 Ethnic-Related Variables

This study will analyze three ethnic-related variables--length of residence in Canada, language spoken at home, and religion--and measure their influence on the voting behaviour of Finnish-Canadians.

6.1.1 Length of Residence in Canada

TABLE I. Party Preferences, by Length of Residence in Canada, for Voters of Finnish Descent in the Federal Constituencies of Nickel Belt and Sudbury, 1972.

	PC	Lib.	NDP	DNV NA	N
Post-World War II	11.1	22.2	44.4	22.2	18
Pre-World War II	14.3	4.8	57.1	23.8	21
Canadian-born	5.3	23.7	50.0	21.1	38

N=77

There was a significant difference between post-World War II Finnish immigrants and their predecessors. The post-war Finns, aided by Canadian government policies were more inclined to vote Liberal.

Among Canadian-born Finns, there was greater support for the Liberals. However, all three groups provided support for the NDP above the regional average.

6.1.2 Religion

Although 71 per cent in the survey were of the Lutheran faith, only 24 per cent of these attended church regularly (once a month or more). This casual church attendance among Lutheran Finns compares with reports elsewhere in North America. ¹²

TABLE II. Party Preferences by Church Attendance and Religious Affiliation for Voters of Finnish Descent in the Federal Constituencies of Sudbury and Nickel Belt, 1972.

	PC	Lib.	NDP	DNV/ NA	N
Regular:					
Lutheran	15.4	15.4	46.2	23.1	13
Other Religion	16.7	0.0	66.7	16.7	6
Occasional:					
Lutheran	9.5	21.4	47.6	21.4	42
Other Religion	0.0	40.0	0.0	60.0	5
Non	0.0	9.1	81.8	9.1	11

N=77

Of those who regularly attended the Lutheran church, 46 per cent voted NDP; of those who attended only occasionally, 48 per cent voted NDP. This survey did not show any substantial differences in collective party preferences in the Sudbury area between those Finnish Lutherans who attended their church regularly and those that did not; both supported the NDP in virtually identical numbers.

Both the 1965 and 1972 surveys indicate that religion was not a strong influence for Finns to support any particular political party.

Havel's survey showed a small but positive correlation between Lutheran Church affiliation and support for the NDP. In the 1972 survey, this relationship was more pronounced but it applied equally to regular and irregular church members.

For many immigrant groups, the national church is the most important ethnic institution for the ethnic community-- 13 especially if services are conducted in the national language of the group. The Roman Catholic Church has been active in perpetuating the national cultures of various ethnic groups. One outcome of these efforts is the separate school system of Ontario.

The Lutheran Church has been more passive in community affairs. There is no school question to rally its adherents as Lutheran children attend Ontario public schools. Many Finnish immigrants did not actively support the Lutheran church. Most of the activities of the Lutheran churches were directed inwards to meet the religious needs of parishoners. The Lutheran Church gave less political direction to its members than did the national church of other ethnic groups.

6.1.3 Language Used at Home

TABLE III. Party Preferences by Language Spoken at Home for Voters of Finnish Descent in the Federal Constituencies of Sudbury and Nickel Belt, 1972.

	PC	Lib.	NDP	DNV/ NA	N
English Only	0.0	25.0	25.0	50.0	8
Finnish Only	8.3	8.3	66.7	16.7	12
English & Finnish	10.5	19.3	50.9	19.3	57

N=77

The NDP had a substantial advantage among voters who spoke only Finnish at home (although this number was not large in the survey). Among those who spoke both English and Finnish, the party choices approximated those for the survey as a whole. A further measure of the influence of language is to compare the party choice of those reading Finnish-language newspapers to those not doing so. Of those who spoke only Finnish at home, all ordered a Finnish newspaper. If one includes in this category those who had earlier read a Finnish newspaper, then 58 per cent would have read or were reading a Finnish-language newspaper.

Of those reading a Finnish newspaper, 61 per cent voted NDP; this compares with only 41 per cent among non-readers. Of those who had earlier read a Finnish newspaper, 50 per cent voted NDP. Finnish-language newspapers have had a substantial effect on the political attitudes of their readers. This influence is declining as readership of Finnish-language newspapers numbered less than half of the respondents and can be expected to decline substantially.

TABLE IV. Party Preferences by Finnish-Language Newspapers Read and Language Spoken at Home for Voters of Finnish Descent in the Federal Constituencies of Sudbury and Nickel Belt, 1972.

	PC	Lib.	NDP	DNV/ NA	N
Reads Regularly:	8.3	8.3	61.1	22.2	36
Finnish Only	8.3	8.3	66.7	16.7	12
English & Finnish	8.3	8.3	58.3	25.0	24
Does not Read:	9.8	26.8	41.5	22.0	41
English Only	0.0	25.0	25.0	50.0	8
English & Finnish	12.1	27.3	45.5	15.2	33
Has Read Earlier:	20.0	10.0	50.0	20.0	10
English Only	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	1
English & Finnish	22.2	11.1	48.8	22.2	9

N-77

Of those reading a Finnish-language newspaper, the greater number read Vapaa Sana, even more than read Vapaus which was published locally. Liekki, a literary weekly published by Vapaus Publishing Company, and Isien Usko, a monthly published in Canada by the Lutheran Church, were also mentioned.

Only about half of those reading these newspapers followed news about politics. Most subscribed for general news, cultural events, personal items, etc., and maintained that the respective newspapers' handling of politics "didn't make any difference" to their subscribing to their newspaper.

Both Vapaus and Vapaa Sana have supported various workers' causes although Vapaus in earlier years has associated with the Communist Party and Vapaa Sana generally supported the C.C.F. (Today, Vapaa Sana describes itself as an independent in political matters.)

Vapaus readers liked the paper's support for workers' causes, cultural events, and the Finnish Organization. Vapaa Sana readers praised the paper's overall "balanced coverage", anti-communism, and community news. Of those who felt that Vapaaa Sana favoured a political party (only a minority did), the only party mentioned was the NDP. Most respondents, however, received most of their political news from television and English-language newspapers.

Many Finns actively maintain their cultural ties by subscribing to a Finnish-language newspapers. With respect to party choice, the Finnish-language newspaper has been more important to Finnish immigrants than the Finnish Lutheran Church.

6.1.4 Other Ethnic Variables

Very little was obtained about the voting behaviour of those who had lived in Finland. Of those who had voted in a Finnish parliamentary election, the only two parties mentioned were the Social Democrats and the Agrarian Union. Both of these parties have had a strong base in the Finnish countryside. When asking those who had parents who had voted in Finnish elections, again the only parties mentioned were the Social Democrats and Agrarian Union.

6.2 Social Class

There was a substantial regional swing in the District of Sudbury to the New Democratic Party in the 1965 Canadian General Election. A regional polarization along social class lines emerged which in many ways replaced the ethnic-religious cleavages observed in Havel's study.

TABLE V. Party Preferences based on Class Self-Identification for Voters of Finnish Descent in the Federal Constituencies of Sudbury and Nickel Belt, 1972.

	PC	Lib.	NDP	DNV/ NA	N
Middle Class	0.0	41.7	25.0	33.3	12
Working Class	2.1	8.3	72.9	7.8	48
Neither	35.3	29.4	5.9	29.4	17

Table V indicates that class self-identification was a very influential variable. Of the Finnish Canadian voters who considered themselves working class, 73 per cent voted for the NDP. These working-class Finns provided 89 per cent of the NDP support in the survey. Of those who considered themselves middle class or did not identify with either class, the NDP did poorly. The Conservatives did best with those who did not feel committed to either class.

It is this class identification and issues related to it that distinguished the large support Finnish Canadians gave to the NDP. Ethnic variables may indirectly influence this support for the NDP: the earlier leftist editorial positions of the two Finnish-language newspapers read in the area; the passiveness of the Lutheran church in directing the political interests of its members; the general experiences of Finnish immigrants in the area. These were undoubtedly influential in moving large numbers of Finns to support the NDP but they are secondary to regional issues based on social class cleavage. Issues mentioned as important in the survey included unemployment, pensions, foreign control of the economy, taxation on corporations; all were issues stressed by the NDP. An issue such as

national unity, which John S. Porter, the Canadian sociologist, has termed the "national obsession" among Canadian politicians, was not mentioned nor was bilingualism, women's rights, or immigration.¹⁴

Although not highly rated as an issue, bilingualism aroused some hostility. Several respondents mentioned that they disliked the Liberal party for being "pro-French." In the 1972 election, it was widely felt that there was a backlash against the bilingual policies of the Trudeau administration. The responses indicate that the acculturation of Finns was very much into the English-speaking culture although there has been a very large proportion of French Canadians in the Sudbury region throughout the period of Finnish settlement. This anglophone trend is the same for all other non-French-speaking immigrant groups in Canada.

The Conservatives were poorly perceived by most respondents except, of course, by those who were party supporters. A few of the older respondents (both Finnish- and Canadian-born) mentioned the Conservative government of R.B. Bennett (1930-35) and its policies to immigrants during the Depression as one source of disenchantment towards the Conservatives.

This support for the NDP reflects two distinct traditions of support tracing back to earlier divisions in the Finnish community. Many Finnish Canadians and their descendants who had supported the left-wing policies of the leadership of the Finnish Organization were ready to support the NDP. Other NDP supporters were very hostile to communism and expressed this strongly in the survey. The fact that

the Finnish Organization has had a very strong position in the area over many years would account for the intensity of their opinions. The reaction to communism for many Finnish Canadian voters appeared to be very strong, personal, and first-hand.

7. Conclusions

A major factor as to why the Finnish impact has been so small in the political affairs of the Sudbury District for such a large and long-established group has been the long and active participation of Finnish residents for left-wing political parties--both the C.C.F. and the Communists--in an area that was traditionally Liberal. Many of the major spokesmen in the Finnish Canadian community (newspaper editors, hall members, co-operative supporters) worked for either the C.C.F. or the Communists. Both of these parties were clearly underdogs in the region. Only since 1965 has the NDP exerted a strong influence in the area.

Individual Finns did participate in the Liberal and Conservative parties but with so many of their ethnic community members actively engaged in supporting other parties, their activities would be as individuals not as spokesmen for Finnish community interests. The Finnish bloc vote could not be delivered to either the Conservative or Liberal parties. As the Finnish Canadian community of the Sudbury area was divided into three basic political factions--traditionalist (Liberal/Conservative), moderate leftist (C.C.F./NDP), and radical leftist (Communist/Labour Progressive)--there was little possibility that the Finnish community would unite behind a candidate

of their community once his political background was established.

As the Finnish group votes along basically class lines, there is every expectation that the collective party preferences of the group will change as more Finns move into the middle class. There were indications that younger voters were not as interested in the same political party as their parents. The numbers were small but indicated the expectations of greater rewards from Canadian society than those obtained by their parents.

The collective voting behaviour of Finnish-Canadian resident in the Sudbury region for the NDP has been a product of regional cleavages. The Finnish leftist tradition can be termed a political inheritance only in a secondary sense--that a national religion, culture and language is inherited in diluted form by a new Canadian-born and-educated generation and these indirectly shape political attitudes to regional issues. Whereas the earlier left-wing voting of many Finns was exceptional and even politically deviant to the regional norm, the present-day voting behaviour is very much a part of the regional pattern.

TABLE I Major Ethnic Groups by Percentages in the District of Sudbury
and Per Cent Foreign-Born 1921 - 1971

	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Total Population	43,180	58,251	80,815	109,590	165,862	198,080
British	35.3	32.4	36.1	35.4	33.4	37.1
French	43.5	41.0	39.2	40.8	39.3	38.5
Finnish	5.8	8.0	5.8	4.9	4.5	3.6
Italian	4.0	3.9	4.3	4.3	5.4	5.5
Ukranian	1.2	2.9	3.8	3.4	3.8	3.3
German	1.6	1.9	1.7	2.2	3.8	3.3
Polish	1.0	2.2	2.1	1.8	2.2	1.7
Scandinavian	0.5	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.1	0.8
Dutch	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.8	1.0	1.0
Canadian Indian	2.3	2.2	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7
Others	4.6	4.3	4.7	3.8	4.8	4.5
% Foreign-Born	18.7	23.1	16.0	13.4	14.1	(?)

Source: Census of Canada