BECOMING A NEW FINN THROUGH LANGUAGE

Non-native English-speaking immigrants' views on integrating into Finnish society

Tanja Nieminen

Pro gradu thesis

Intercultural Communication

Department of Communication

University of Jyväskylä

June 2009

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta – Faculty **Faculty of Humanities**	Laitos – Department **Department of Communication**
Tekijä – Author **Tanja Nieminen**	
Työn nimi – Title **BECOMING A NEW FINN THROUGH LANGUAGE** **Non-native English-speaking immigrants' views on integrating into Finnish society**	
Oppiaine – Subject **Intercultural Communication**	Työn laji – Level **Pro gradu thesis**
Aika – Month and year **June 2009**	Sivumäärä – Number of pages **127 + 4 Appendices**

Tiivistelmä – Abstract

The Finnish government has in their 2006 migration policy program put forward the idea of work-related immigration as the answer to the predicted shortage of labor. The integration measures have usually for the lack of resources not targeted these kinds of educated immigrants. It has been suggested that the lack of integration measures will lead to these work-related immigrants leaving Finland.

Furthermore, the focus of integration is usually put on learning the language of the host society. However, there already are immigrants who are working and seem quite well adapted to Finland, although they have not learned Finnish. Instead they are using English as lingua franca. This study examines their views on the interconnection of language and integration.

This study takes a qualitative approach and uses semi-structured theme interviews as a data collection method. The interviewees are non-native English-speaking immigrants. The interview themes address questions of the context of language use; interviewees' relationship with language; language learning; and other factors interviewees found important for integration in addition to language.

The interviewees emphasize the importance of learning the host language for integration. State measures are not given much emphasis, but whether it is because the interviewees have not received them or that there is not need for them remains ambiguous. Language learning without social connections is not felt enough for integration and thus best integrated are those who have Finnish speaking friends or family and have in addition learned the language.

Asiasanat – Keywords
Integration, language learning, lingua franca English, Finnish

Säilytyspaikka – Depository
University of Jyväskylä / Tourulan library

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta – Faculty **Humanistinen tiedekunta**	Laitos – Department **Viestintätieteiden laitos**
Tekijä – Author **Tanja Nieminen**	
Työn nimi – Title **BECOMING A NEW FINN THROUGH LANGUAGE** **Non-native English-speaking immigrants' views on integrating into Finnish society**	
Oppiaine – Subject **Kulttuurienvälinen viestintä**	Työn laji – Level **Pro gradu -tutkielma**
Aika – Month and year **kesäkuu 2009**	Sivumäärä – Number of pages **127 + 4 liitettä**

Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Suomen hallituksen maahanmuuttopoliittinen ohjelma vuodelta 2006 esittää työperäisen maahanmuuton vastauksena ennustettuun työvoimapulaan. Usein resurssien puutten vuoksi kotouttamistoimenpiteitä ei ole tarjottu tällaisille koulutetuille maahanmuuttajille. On esitetty että jos työperäisiä maahanmuuttajia ei kotouteta, on vaarana että he muuttavat pois Suomesta.

Kotouttamisen keskeisin tavoite on yleensä ollut maahanmuuttomaan kielen oppiminen. Kuitenkin Suomessa on jo maahanmuuttajia, jotka työskentelevät ja vaikuttavat sopeutuneen hyvin maahan, vaikka eivät ole oppineet suomen kieltä. Sen sijaan he käyttävät englantia lingua francana. Tässä tutkimuksessa keskitytään heidän näkemyksiinsä kielen ja kotoutumisen yhteyksistä.

Tämä on laadullinen tutkimus ja aineistonkeruuseen käytetään puoli-strukturoituja teemahaastatteluja. Haastateltavat ovat englantia toisena tai vieraana kielenä käyttäviä maahanmuuttajia. Haastattelun teemoja ovat kielen käyttötilanteet, haastateltavien suhde kieleen, kielen oppimisen kysymykset ja muut tekijät, jotka kielen lisäksi vaikuttavat kotoutumiseen.

Haastateltavat painottavat maahanmuuttomaan kielen oppimisen tärkeyttä kotoutumiselle. Valtion kotouttamistoimenpiteille ei anneta paljoa painoarvoa, mutta on epäselvää johtuuko se puutteellisista kotouttamistoimenpiteistä vai siitä, että toimenpiteille ei alunperinkään ole tarvetta. Kielen oppiminen ilman sosiaalisia kontakteja ei yksinään riitä kotoutumiseen, vaan parhaiten kotoutuneita ovat he, joilla on suomea puhuvia perheenjäseniä tai ystäviä ja jotka tämän lisäksi ovat oppineet suomen kielen.

Asiasanat – Keywords
Kotoutuminen, kielen oppiminen, englanti lingua francana, suomen kieli

Säilytyspaikka – Depository
Jyväskylän Yliopisto / Tourulan kirjasto

Preface

This work would not have seen the light of day without the encouragement and help from certain individuals.

I would like to thank Sirkku Latomaa for providing materials unavailable in any library on her study. Thanks are further in order to Jaana Suokonautio and Barbara Crawford for their help in finding suitable interviewees for this study. Of course, all my interviewees deserve a thank you for their cooperation.

Last, but not least thanks to my dear friend Anne for proof-reading and giving editing tips, and to my soon-to-be husband Henry for patience, love and an occasional nudge.

Jyväskylä, June 2009
T.N.

CONTENTS

FIGURES

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation for the study

In the past decades Finland has slowly changed from an emigration country into an immigration country. Finns are no longer the ones leaving Finland, but there are foreign people moving to live here.

In Finland these people are often seen as work force. The layman might see them as the ones coming here to take away our jobs, the government is starting to see them as solution to the predicted future shortage of labor. In the end of the year 2006 the government published its new migration policy program, which discusses the new policies and measures regarding immigration. The promotion of work-related immigration is mentioned as the first issue in the list of policy guidelines and measures (Government Resolution 19.10.2006:3).

As it is important that the immigrants feel at home here and get along with the host population, the government lists also “Promotion of multiculturalism and non-discrimination” and “Guiding foreigners and fostering the integration of immigrants” as important focus points. Learning the Finnish language has always been seen as the most important single feature of integration. And it is no wonder; language and culture are very much linked.

Nevertheless, it is more and more possible to get by in Finland by only using English. Latomaa (1995, 1998) interviewed Americans in Helsinki and found that it is possible to live in Finland in a so-called English bubble, without knowing any Finnish. In Jyväskylä one can get basic services in English. This is probably due to a growing number of foreign students, but also simply, because most Finns learn English at school. Increasingly, university faculties and many companies have English-speaking staff members who do not need to know Finnish in their work.

The Finnish integration policy focuses mainly on enabling the immigrants to get work. As our culture is based on the Protestant work ethic, it is seen very important that one is employed. This is of course also very important for the sake of the state economy.

Mostly due to the limitations in resources, the integration measures including Finnish courses have been focusing on refugees and Ingrian returnees (Latomaa 2002:67). There are many people who have come here through e.g. marriage or directly to work and have been left outside the integration measures, such as Finnish language courses. As the current policy has focused on the problems of workforce and how to get and keep so-called desirable workforce – the educated ones - in Finland, there has been a shift towards paying more attention to the successful integration of highly educated workforce. In 2004 there was an article in Ministry of Labor's website discussing the danger of losing highly educated immigrants, if they are not integrated (Asikainen 2004).

In the immigration and integration discussion in Finland, the focus for integration has usually been in learning the language and, through this, finding employment. However, there are already many immigrants successfully working in Finland using English. They have not learned Finnish, but nevertheless have filled the other criteria of finding work and are thus active members of society. I started my study with the wish to give light to their views on language learning and integration.

1.2 A look at previous studies

To my knowledge, the role of English language in the integration process of immigrants in Finland has not been studied before. The role of languages, i.e. Finnish and mother tongue (Russian) has been studied by Iskanius (2006); however, this study discusses the language and cultural identity of the immigrant youths and does not comment directly on the link between using

different languages and integrating to Finland. She (2006:194-5) found that mother tongue proficiency was a big part of the ethnic identity of young immigrants of Russian speaking origins. Further, it was noted in her work that feeling closeness with one's mother tongue supports the ethnic identity but does not exclude having also a bilingual/bicultural identity.

The meaning of English to Finns has also been under scrutiny. For example, Hyrksted (1997) has studied attitudes towards the English language in Finland. At the moment in academic circles there is a growing interest concerning the role of English in Finnish society. There is currently a project funded by the Finnish Academy, English Voices in Finnish Society, which "investigates the use of English in modern Finnish society in three social domains; the media, education and professional life." (http://www.jyu.fi/tdk/hum/englanti/EnglishVoices/). Starting in the fall 2007, they conducted a large nationwide survey to find out how English is used in Finland.

1.3 Aim of the study and research questions

What makes this work different from earlier research is that, although integration has been studied a great deal - even from the point of view of language learning and use - none of the studies I have encountered have focused on the use of English as a lingua franca by immigrants. The issues most often discussed have been the employment issues, and in particular unemployment due to not being fluent in Finnish (see, for example, Marjeta 1998, Forsander 2002, Pehkonen 2006).

The public policy in Finland aims at integrating immigrants, and this is mainly done through teaching Finnish and offering services to help them find work. English generally is not an issue; after all, it is not an official language in Finland. However, it is a language many Finns speak, and is probably a language most often used in communication between Finns and foreigners.

This work is based on theories of integration, in particular that of Y.Y. Kim (2001), who stresses the importance of “host communication competence”, the competence in the local language. Kim presents a structural model of cross-cultural adaptation, in which personal communication - being able to communicate with the locals - as well as understanding mass communication in the local “host” language, are considered crucial to integration.

In the context of Central Finland, acquiring this crucial host communication competence means learning Finnish. However, the target group of this study are people who mostly manage their daily lives in English; this study tries to map out what is their relationship with English and Finnish, and how these two languages are used and interact in their daily life. Further, the idea is to find out what they find to be the most important prerequisites for integration.

With these aims in my mind I have formulated the following research questions:

1) In what contexts do the interviewees use English, Finnish, and their mother tongues?
2) What kind of relationship do the interviewees have with English, Finnish, and mother tongue?
3) What makes a difference in learning Finnish?
4) What is felt important for integration in addition to learning the language?

To find answers to these questions I have used qualitative semi-structured theme interviews, as in my view it best brings out the views of the informants.

As my interest lies particularly in the use of English, I have chosen to interview immigrants fluent in English. By fluency I mean that they feel comfortable using English in everyday conversations with friends and can also handle day-to-day situations in English. I did not test the interviewees’ English skills, but made sure they felt at ease speaking English.

This work is divided into 7 chapters. In the following chapter 2 I will give background on language, culture and their interplay. Chapter 3 will focus on English language as lingua franca in global and Finnish scale. Further background on what kind of society Finland is to integrate into is given in chapter 4. Chapter five discusses the execution of this study. Finally, the results are displayed in chapter 6 and final discussion and conclusions take place in chapter 7.

2 THEORIES OF CULTURE AND ACCULTURATION

As this study focuses on the role of language in the process of integrating into a new culture, it is based on an underlying assumption that language and culture are intertwined. In this chapter I will first take a closer look at what culture is, and how language, communication, and culture interact. This chapter further discusses acculturation and the role of language and communication in cross-cultural adaptation.

2.1 Culture as communication

There is no one definition of culture. As Spencer-Oatey (2000:3) observes, Kroeber and Kluckhohn in their 1952 study listed 164 definitions found in anthropological texts, and many have since appeared. Her own definition is the following:

> Culture is a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and each member's interpretation of the 'meaning' of the other people's behaviour. (2000:4)

What is worth noticing in this definition is the impact that culture has on our lives. Not only does it influence our behavior - the way we act, speak, and go about our daily business – but also the way we perceive and understand other people's behavior.

What is not made clear in the definition above, however, is that all this happens unconsciously. We might be influenced by our culture, but as we acquire most of our culture informally through mimicking, and formally by being told the correct way of doing things by our elders (see Hall 1990), we consider our culture as something innate, and are unaware of its rules (Hall 1976:43). Hall calls this the "cultural unconscious". He points out that as we are unaware of the cultural norms that guide our lives, coming into contact with a person who does not act according to our expectations we tend to assume they are "slightly out of their mind". Furthermore, he demonstrates that it is these very

encounters with strangers that force people to become aware of their cultural "control system". (Hall 1976:43-44)

In addition to the cultural unconscious, Hall's work includes the idea of culture as communication. In his 1959 book *The Silent Language* he proclaims, "Culture is communication". By this he means that culture works in the same way language does, and everything we do can be seen as communication. Hall uses time and space as prime examples of this phenomenon. The ways we handle time (for example, how much one can be late for an appointment before one needs to apologize) and space (e.g. what is the expected distance of conversation partners) tells something about us and our culture.

Both time and space belong to the sphere of nonverbal communication, which often carries more information than the actual words we use. Indeed, one of the most quoted communication theory principles is "one cannot not communicate" (Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson 1967 cited in Kim 2001:36). This means that everything we do, or do not do, gives something for others to interpret. And, as the way things are done (and not done) differs across cultures, it is inevitable that there are misinterpretations between people who come from different cultures.

In addition to the perhaps less obvious nonverbal communication, people of course communicate with words. When it comes to different languages, you can expect to find cultural differences with little effort. Clear distinctions between languages are found in the writing systems, grammar, and vocabulary (Samovar and Porter 2001:140). Examples of these could be the differences between the Latin and Cyrillic alphabet, the typical word order of English compared to that of Finnish, and whether a house is called "a house" or "una casa".

However, more interesting than these superficial differences are the differences that sometimes make translating from one language to another almost impossible. Such is the case when a language lacks words for certain concepts. A classic example is Sámi languages having hundreds of words to describe

snow, whereas other cultures have one or perhaps none. (Samovar and Porter 2001:143.) Hall (1990:13) gives a more drastic example of the Sioux language, which of old did not have the same concept of time as the Western languages. As a result the Sioux did not grasp what "being late" means.

Furthermore, it is possible that what appear to be the same words have different meanings assigned to them in different cultures. Here again our cultural lenses are influencing the way we perceive things.

> …The meanings of institutions such as CHURCH – KIRCHE –ÉGLISE – IGLESIA – etc. or UNION – GEWERKSCHAFT – SYNDICAT – etc. or SCHOOL – SCHULE – ÉCOLE – ESCUELA – etc. are culture-bound, because they point to very different social uses that different cultures make of them and thereby also to different social functions. (Müller-Jacquier 2003:58)

Edward Sapir is one of the first anthropologists who saw the worth of linguistics - the study of languages - in understanding cultures. He saw "language as the *symbolic guide to culture*." (Sapir 1949b:70, emphasis original) His early essay, originally published in 1929, explains the influence language has on our interpretation thus:

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality…We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation. (Sapir 1949b:69)

Sapir's student Benjamin Lee Whorf developed Sapir's ideas further and their theory became known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Also known as the Whorfian hypothesis (as the idea was further extended by Whorf), the theory claims that the "structure of a language influences how its speakers view the world." (Wardhaugh 1992:218.)

Wardhaugh (1992:220-4) emphasizes the fact that the Whorfian hypothesis is quite unproved. Although the lack of certain type of vocabulary has been admitted as evidence for the hypothesis - suggesting that cultures which do not have certain vocabulary would be less equipped to talk about matters in that

particular sphere - it has been shown that in fact people *can* discuss matters for which they do not have vocabulary by using circumlocution.

Wardhaugh (1992:218) also points out that the Whorfian hypothesis can be questioned by turning the problem of cause and effect around:

> The opposite claim to the Whorfian hypothesis would be that the culture of a people finds reflections in the language they employ: because they value certain things and do them in a certain way, they come to use their language in a ways that reflect what they value and what they do.

It is very likely that, like most things in this world, the two are interdependent and influence each other. The way things are done certainly influences the way things are talked about in a particular culture, but also as children learn their culture and language simultaneously (Kalliokoski 1996:73), it is difficult to rule out that the language, which is used to make sense of the world, would *not* influence the way we experience things.

Yet another link between language and culture can be observed in how the use of language divides people into cultural subgroups. Sapir (1949a:16) points out that different social groups have different languages:

> Each of these tends to develop peculiarities of speech, which have the symbolic function of somehow distinguishing the group from a larger group into which its members might be too completely absorbed.

For instance, my mother-in-law's Savonian dialect differs a great deal from my own South-East-influenced-by-years-in-Central-Finland-youth-speak. Social class, age, gender, leisure-, and professional groups are just a few subcultures into which we can divide people. Although speaking the same language, each group might use a slightly different vocabulary and grammar. Many foreign language learners are often quite bewildered when they realize that the language taught in books is very different from the varieties heard on the street. Naturally, such differences are not without meaning. Sapir (1949a:17) explains that looking at subcultures one can grasp how language influences one's identity, as "'He talks like us' is equivalent to saying 'he is one of us.'"

Indeed, the language we use is not only part of our identity, but it is also a message to the others as to which group we belong. The language we use unites us with our group and distinguishes us from other groups (Dufva 2002:24).

2.2 Culture as acquired and learned

In the section above I discussed the relationship of interdependency between language and culture. This alone however does not adequately explain the nature of culture for the purpose of this study. Since I am interested in the phenomenon of integration, we also need to consider how one acquires and learns culture, for, as already pointed out, our cultures are not innate.

Hall (1976:16) explains that, although there is no one definition of culture, there is some agreement as to the nature of the concept among anthropologists:

> Anthropologists do agree on three characteristics of culture; it is not innate, but learned; the various facets of culture are interrelated – you touch a culture in one place and everything else is affected; it is shared and in effect defines the boundaries of different groups.

The fact that culture is said here to be shared and defining a group's boundaries shows that culture partly defines our identity as members belonging to a certain group. Furthermore, pointing out the interrelatedness of various cultural facets emphasizes the complexity of culture. However, I would like to draw attention to the first characteristics of culture mentioned here: it being something we learn. No one is born with culture. Thus, it seems possible that one can learn new cultures, just as one learns new languages.

However, in *The Silent Language* Hall explains that most of our cultural behavior is usually learned through formal and informal means. *Formal learning* takes place when "the adult mentor molds the young according to patterns she or he has never questioned" (Hall 1990:73). These are the things that are taken for granted and if asked why things are done this way, the reply may be simply "because" or "this is the way it has always been". In *informal*

learning things are not explained at all, as it takes place through observing and imitating what is seen. (Hall 1990:74) Children often repeat their parents' actions and pick up lessons from the surrounding world.

In addition to formal and informal learning, Hall introduces a third concept, *technical learning*. This is the way we learn in school: with the help of a teacher who can explain to us the analyzed, premeditated, and logical information we are there to learn.

As culture for major part is learned through formal and informal learning, it is also largely unconscious. Thus, just as it is often difficult for a native speaker to explain the grammar of one's mother tongue to a foreigner, when one has never needed to learn the grammatical rules technically – one has just acquired and internalized the correct usage – it is quite challenging to teach and learn a culture, when most of it is never learned technically.

Nevertheless, learning of new cultural behavior does take place. The next chapter looks at the ways people adapt culturally.

2.2.1 Acculturation and other terms for intercultural adaptation

When we were children, we learned the way things work in our culture. We learned what is considered accepted behavior. In other words, we became enculturated. When one is faced with living in a new cultural context where those rules learned in childhood no longer apply, both acculturation (learning the new cultural system) and to some extent deculturation (unlearning some of the old cultural rules) take place. (See e.g. Kim 2005:382)

Originally the term acculturation has been used to refer to the phenomenon on a group level. Graves (1967 cited in Berry 2001:616) coined the term *psychological acculturation* to refer to intercultural adaptation on the individual's level. Acculturation for cultural groups happens when cultures come into contact with each other. Both groups are affected by the contact, but

Berry (2001:616) explains that typically the non-dominant group experiences more changes in these contacts; thus it is this group that usually has been the focus of acculturation research. However, recently the changes in the dominant group, i.e. immigrant receiving society, have also been noted and studied (ibid.).

Acculturation is thus used as a general term to describe what happens when people of different cultures come together, and have to adapt to each other. There are other terms, which have different focus depending on what is seen as the outcome of such cultural encounters. Kim (2001:31) mentions among others *assimilation* as "acceptance and internalization of the host culture by the individual", *acculturation* as "the process by which individuals acquire some (but not all) aspects of the host culture" and *integration* as "social participation in the host environment."

Kim herself uses a "more generic and overarching concept of cross-cultural adaptation" to include all meanings of the above terms and explains the term thus:

> -- the dynamic process by which individuals, upon relocating to new, unfamiliar, or changed cultural environments, establish (or reestablish) and maintain relatively stable, reciprocal, and functional relationships with those environments. (Kim 2001:31)

There has also been debate over the meaning implied by *adaptation*. Ekholm (1994:44) observes that the term is nowadays usually avoided, as it seems to refer to the adapting procedures executed by the authorities that aim at assimilation. Ekholm sees that especially in Finnish there should be no reason why the word adaptation (sopeutuminen) should not be used, and that, in the end, what matters is how the researchers define the terms they use.

M. J. Bennett also emphasizes that adaptation is not equal to assimilation. He explains that through adaptation one becomes "a bicultural or multicultural person:"

> Adaptation -- is the process whereby one's worldview is expanded to include behavior and values appropriate to the host culture. It is "additive", not substitutive. (Bennett 1998:25)

Adaptation, when properly defined, is a useful term. In this work I have already used and shall use both acculturation and intercultural adaptation as general terms to describe what happens when two cultures come together. I will use the attribute *intercultural* rather than *cross-cultural*, as the latter term generally refers to cross-cultural research, which focuses on comparing cultural differences. Intercultural research is more focused on what happens when people from different cultural background interact. (For definitions of cross-cultural and intercultural communication see e.g. Scollon 1997:4, Gudykunst 2003:7, 163.) I agree with Kim (2001:35-8), in regarding people as open systems in which new encounters and contexts lead to learning and adaptation, ideally on both sides.

2.2.2 Acculturation as a process towards integration

Individuals face the need to change their cultural patterns when they move to different cultures in which most people do not act like they do. Cultural unconscious becomes conscious and people start adapting. Bennett's (e.g. 1993, 1998) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity suggests that in intercultural adaptation people move from having an ethnocentric worldview to having an ethnorelative one. The crucial point for this process is the stage of acceptance. At this point the person who is adapting becomes aware that there really are cultural differences, whereas in the preceding stage of minimization, they were convinced that deep down all people are the same.

Bennett's model is based on what Y. Y. Kim (1989:281) calls a cumulative-progressive view of adaptation. In this view, the people who are adapting progress linearly. They can go back on their achieved level of adaptation, but they all have only one possible outcome, which in Bennett's model is to become integrated.

There are also models which offer more than one result for the adaptation process. Such models are called pluralistic-typological (Kim 1989:281) and the best-known of such models is that of J. W. Berry (see Figure 1). In Berry's

model the acculturating group and individuals have to answer two questions: “is it considered to be of value to maintain -- 1) cultural identity and characteristics, and 2) relationships with dominant culture”. By answering either yes or no to these questions, one can arrive at four different solutions for acculturation: integration (yes, yes); assimilation (no, yes); separation (yes, no) and marginalization (no, no). (Berry, J. W., M. H. Segall and C. Kagitcibasi 1997:296-7)

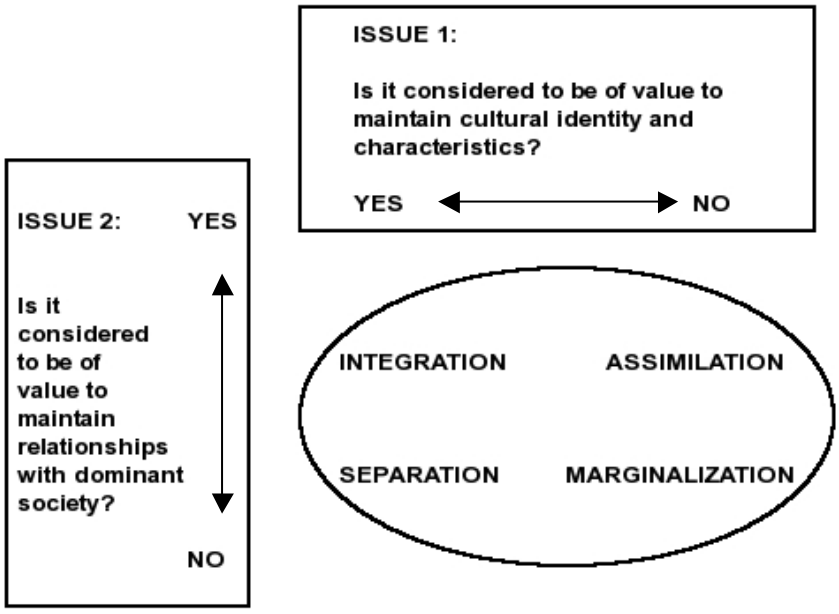

Figure 1: Acculturation strategies, Berry, J. W., M. H. Segall and C. Kagitcibasi. 1997: 296

The issue can be seen from both the dominant and the non-dominant group’s point of view. When we look at it from the point of view of the minority - i.e. those acculturating - the four options form the possible acculturation attitudes. The group’s and/or individual’s answer to the above questions reflects their attitude towards acculturation. Although an individual’s views can differ from those of the group, one cannot be entirely separate of one’s peers. For example, if the whole minority is assimilated, no matter how willing one is to be integrated (i.e. also maintain one’s cultural identity) it is hard to do so when there are no others willing to maintain the heritage. (Berry 2001:618-9)

The model can be also used in discussing the “multicultural ideology” of the dominant host society. (Berry 2001:618-9) For example, the immigrant receiving society could be inclined towards integrating or assimilating the immigrants in its public policy. In Finland the public policy has been towards integration, but, of course, there are also individuals or groups within society who support assimilation or even separation.

Integration can also be defined in various ways. In Berry’s model we can see it as a result of acculturation when the adapting individual or group is interacting with both their ethnic group and the dominant society. As previously noted, Kim (2001:31) regards integration “as social participation in the host environment”. Bennett, on the other hand, sees integration as the last stage in a continuum of developing intercultural sensitivity. Those who are integrated have a multicultural identity and can function in various cultural contexts.

The Finnish Act on the integration of immigrants and reception of asylum seekers 1999 defines integration as:

> 1) the personal development of immigrants, aimed at participation in work life and the functioning of society while preserving their language and culture; and
> 2) the measures taken and resources provided by the authorities to promote such integration.
> (Laki maahanmuuttajien kotouttamisesta ja turvapaikanhakijoiden vastaanotosta 9.4.1999/493)

It is worth noticing that although today a lot of emphasis is placed onto integrating the immigrants through Finnish language courses, the definition mentions explicitly only the preservation of the immigrants’ own language. Language learning is of course implicitly part of that personal development that enables one to actively participate “in work life and the functioning of society”. However, as it is not explicitly stated which language would facilitate the participation in society, it can be suggested that it is possible to become integrated in Finnish society without fluently speaking Finnish, if other languages enable one to actively participate in the society. Naturally, learning Swedish instead of Finnish is a viable – although sometimes questioned - option for those immigrants residing in Swedish-speaking or bilingual regions of the country.

2.3 The relationship between language learning and integration

Reading studies on integration and following the public discussion in Finland it has become clear that one of the most important factors of integration is learning the Finnish language. When both immigrants and employers are asked about the most important factor for employment, most say it comes down to having sufficient skills in Finnish. One needs to be fluent in Finnish in order to get a job or education. (See, for example, Forsander & Alitolppa-Niitamo 2000, Pehkonen 2006) However, school principals and employers can give no clear description of fluency. Martin (2002:47-8) remarks that:

> [s]ometimes it becomes evident that 'good skills in Finnish' in practice means that only Finns are accepted for the job even if one would hardly need to speak or write at all to perform the work. Lack of language skills is a handy way to hide racism, one can always find fault in the speech or writing of a non-native speaker... (translated from the Finnish by T.N.)

Martin (2002:48) goes on to say that although multiple reports on integration have concluded that the lack of sufficient skills is a problem, the reports never define what exactly is meant by "insufficient". It is, thus, very unclear what the sufficient level of skills is, or even on what basis one's skills are assessed as insufficient. Marjeta (1998:46-7) suspects that part of the difficulty for immigrants to find employment lies in the attitudes of the host environment. She doubts whether it truly is because of insufficient skills in Finnish that a Somali father, who is fluent in four foreign languages and speaks Finnish passably, has not found work or an opportunity for further education despite his active efforts.

Nevertheless, as language skills are seen in the center of integration process, it is logical to focus next on a theory that discusses the role of language learning within integration.

2.4 Integration through host communication competence: Kim's integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation

Language and communication are at the core of Y.Y. Kim's model for cross-cultural adaptation. She (2001:32) maintains that as long as the adapting individual communicates with the host environment, cross-cultural adaptation is taking place.

There are countless models and theories explaining what happens when people cross cultural boundaries. The theories take different viewpoints according to the group they focus on (i.e. refugees, sojourners, native ethnic groups, majority population etc.) and the assumed outcome of cross-cultural encounters, as already discussed in the section above.

Already in the 1970s Taft (1977:124) commented that all the different studies of adaptation should take into consideration all forms of "culture coping" and would benefit from learning about each others' findings. Kim has attempted to achieve just this by developing a theory of cross-cultural adaptation that strives to put together different - sometimes even opposite - traditions of acculturation research, such as sojourner and immigration studies. Her aim is to create a universal theory that applies to anyone who is going through a cultural adaptation process. As previously noted, Kim uses the term *cross-cultural adaptation* as a general term to refer to all kinds of cultural coping. Furthermore, she employs the term *stranger* to refer to all those who are going through this experience – irrespective of the length of stay in the host environment.

Kim's theory is based on three assumptions:

> Humans have an innate self-organizing drive and a capacity to adapt to environmental challenges.
>
> Adaptation of an individual to a given cultural environment occurs in and through communication.
>
> Adaptation is a complex and dynamic process that brings about a qualitative

> transformation of the individual. (Kim 2001:35-37)

Her second assumption is what makes this theory interesting for my study. Although communication is about more than just learning the local language (though as Kalliokoski (1996) points out, the pragmatic uses and nonverbal language are also important part of learning the language), language is often seen as a principal form of communication. Kim also suggests that learning the local language, acquiring *host communication competence* is crucial if adaptation is to be successful.

Kim is not the only one to focus on communication with the host environment as the essential part of integration. According to McGuire and McDermott (1987:94), whether the immigrant assimilates or alienates is facilitated by the amount of neglectful communication by the host culture. Neglectful communication leads to alienation. McGuire and McDermott use the term *neglectful communication* to refer to "negative messages… that seek to dissuade a deviate by showing negative consequences to deviance…[and] an absence of messages."

There seems to be an interactive relationship between the (perceived) deviance of the immigrant and the frequency of neglectful communication from the host culture, i.e. when members of the host culture perceive deviance, they tend to encage in neglectful communication. In turn, the neglectful increase in communication leads to increase in deviation, and thus, alienation. (McGuire and McDermott 1987:103.)

2.4.1 The process of cross-cultural adaptation

Kim's theory includes two models, which aim to explain "the essential nature of adaptation process individual settlers undergo overtime" and "why are some settlers more successful than others in attaining a level of psychological fitness in the host environment" (Kim 2005:381).

The first one is the process model, which explains how transformation takes place in the adapting stranger. Kim asserts that adaptation takes place through the *Stress-Adaptation-Growth Dynamic* (see Figure 2). This means that when people are faced with a challenging situation in the new cultural context and are at loss how to act, they experience stress. “Stress -- is a manifestation of the generic process that occurs whenever an individual’s internal capabilities are not adequate to the demands of the environment” (Kim 2005:383). Individuals tend to resist change, but stress pushes them towards adaptation and they slowly learn new cultural habits. This is followed by “subtle *growth*”. “A crisis, once managed, presents the stranger with an opportunity for new learning and for strengthening his or her coping abilities.” (Kim 2001:56) Stress, adaptation, and growth thus form a dynamic interplay of the three elements, so that the overall adaptation is not happening linearly but in “cyclic and continual ‘draw-back-to-leap’” form. “Strangers respond to each stressful experience by ‘drawing back’, which in turn activates adaptive energy to help them reorganize themselves and ‘leap forward’” (Kim 2001:57).

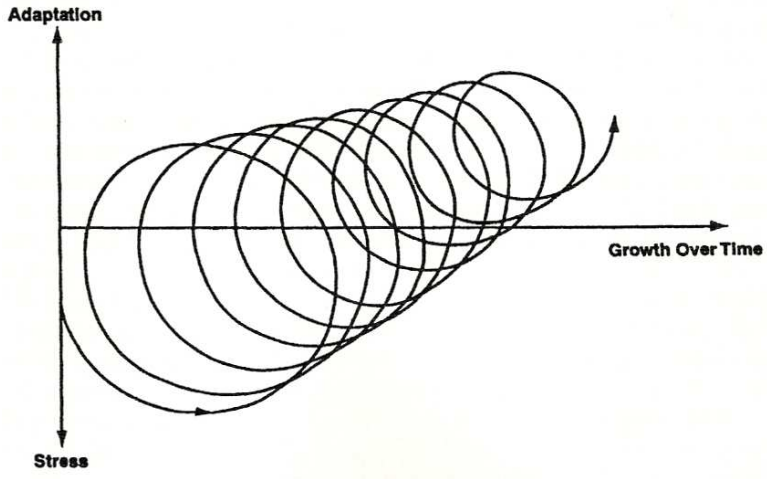

Figure 2: Stress-Adaptation-Growth Dynamic (Kim 2001:59)

The second of Kim’s models is *the structural model of cross-cultural adaptation* and it aims to map out all the different components that affect the adaptation of an individual to explain why some adapt faster than others. The structural model is illustrated in Figure 3. Although the components are many

and not all of them are focused on in this study, I will briefly go through them in the following section to represent the all-encompassing nature of Kim's theory. Some of the elements will be returned to in the analysis and findings chapters of this work.

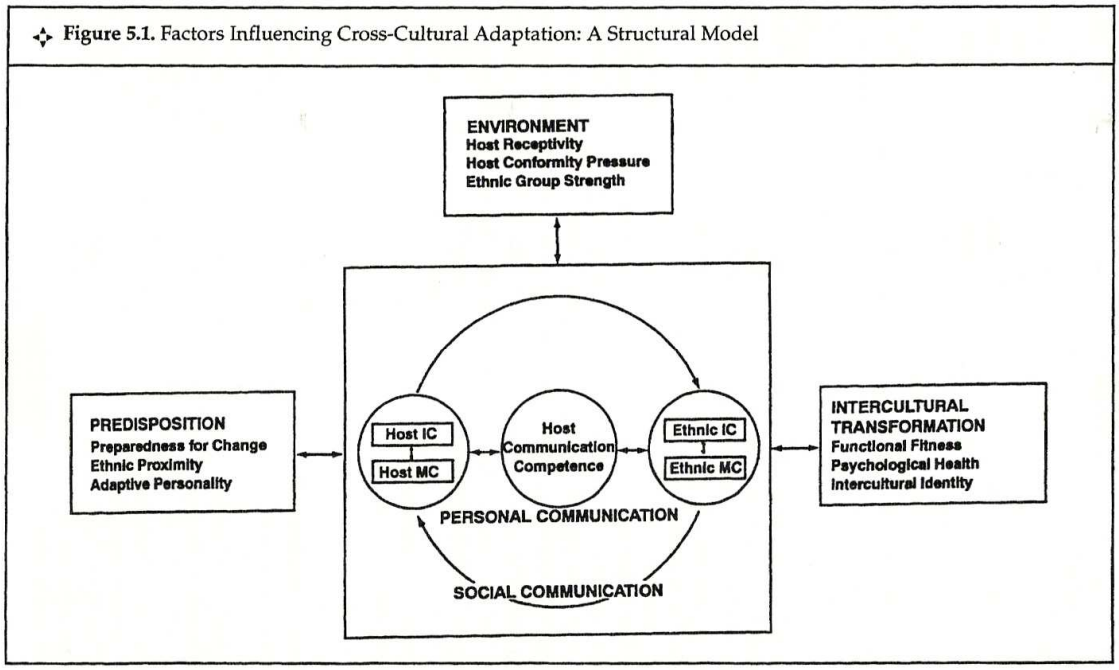

Figure 3: Factors influencing cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 2001:87)

2.4.2 The structure of cross-cultural adaptation

The model of the structure of cross-cultural adaptation divides the entity of the phenomenon into six interacting dimensions of factors. These are 1) personal communication, 2) host and ethnic social communication, 3) environment, 4) predisposition and 5) intercultural transformation. Each of them can be divided into smaller components and next I will discuss all of them briefly.

2.4.2.1 Personal communication

Personal communication is at the heart of Kim's theory. To be able to communicate with the environment one needs to be proficient in the host communication. Kim calls this *the host communication competence* (from hereon HCC). HCC includes being able to take part in interpersonal and mass communication in the host environment (Kim 2001:74). She underlines that communicating with the native members of the host environment is significant for the success of adaptation: not only does it provide information and insights on the mind-sets of local people, but it also helps in language and cultural learning, as well as in finding social support for handling difficulties (2001:75). Kim has divided HCC into three components: cognitive, affective and operational.

Cognitive competence includes the knowledge and understanding of host communication, including language and cultural codes and rules. In addition to language and cultural knowledge, cognitive competence includes cognitive complexity, which suggests that as the individual gains more knowledge about the host environment, there is "structural refinement in an individual's internal information processing ability" (Kim 2005:385).

Affective competence is seen as facilitating cross-cultural adaptation. Kim (2001:108) talks of affective competence as "the emotional or motivational 'drives' or 'reflexes' toward successful adaptation". Affective competence thus provides the motivation to adapt to the host environment. In addition, having flexible identity, i.e. being open to change and new learning while adapting, is part of affective competence. Furthermore, affective competence includes aesthetic co-orientation, which refers to being able to appreciate the aesthetic experiences – such as art, sports and music - of the host culture.

Cognitive and affective competences function through *operational competence*. This enables the strangers to act correctly in the host culture. Operational competence includes technical skills of being able to perform needed day to day tasks, synchrony of being able to choose the right kind of behavior for the

right context, and resourcefulness, i.e. having creativity to deal with unfamiliar situations.

2.4.2.2 Social communication

If personal communication, along with HCC is in the core of cross-cultural adaptation, then *social communication* is what surrounds it. This surrounding element is divided into two: *host and ethnic social communications.*

HCC is directly related to host social communication. To be able to interact with the host environment the stranger needs a certain amount of HCC and through interacting with the host environment the stranger is developing that competence. Host social communication can be divided into interpersonal and mass communication. Host interpersonal communication "helps strangers to secure vital information and insight into the mind-sets and behaviors of the local people (Kim 2005:386)," whereas host mass communication "expos[es] strangers to the larger environment (ibid.)".

The strangers often have networks inside the host country of their own ethnicity or nationality. These networks provide support at the beginning of the adaptation, but limiting one's social relations to only those in one's ethic group is likely to slow down one's adaptation to the host culture. The ethnic social communication is also divided into interpersonal and mass communication.

2.4.2.3 Environment

In Kim's view, there are three major environmental conditions affecting the stranger's adaptation. These are host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength. *Host receptivity* means how welcoming the host society is toward the stranger. Usually the level of reception depends both on the stranger's perceived similarity or difference from the hosts, and also on how used to strangers the hosts are. For example, Finns are more likely to be

accepting towards white Western Europeans than black Africans. Moreover, people in Helsinki are more likely used to seeing foreigners than those living in small towns of rural Finland.

Host conformity pressure refers to how much the hosts expect the stranger to behave like them. This includes speaking the local language. Usually, more pressure is put on the long-term strangers, such as immigrants, than, for example, short-term exchange students. The amount of pressure further depends on how homogeneous or heterogeneous the host society is. Heterogeneous host societies tend to exert less conformity pressure.

Ethnic group strength refers to the position of the stranger's ethnic group. The stronger the group, the more possibilities they have to influence the society at large. Furthermore, if the group is strong, it can pressure the stranger to maintain cultural heritage and interact with the ethnic group only, thus diminishing host social communication.

2.4.2.4 Predisposition

There are certain pre-existing conditions within the adapting strangers themselves. Kim lists these as *preparedness for change*, *ethnic proximity* and *adaptive personality*. Preparedness for change refers to a stranger's "readiness for and understanding of challenges of crossing cultures" (Kim 2001:166). There are several things influencing preparedness. Formal education prepares an individual for future learning; training in host language and culture give strangers an idea what to expect, as do prior cross-cultural experiences. The voluntary or involuntary, and the planned or abrupt nature of the transition also make a big difference. Refugees are usually less prepared, as they often abandon their homes involuntarily with little time to plan for the move. Often they do not have knowledge of their future destination, so it is impossible to study a certain language and culture, nor are there usually resources for such learning. Furthermore, refugees often come from poor countries, and might thus lack even basic education, further making them less prepared. However,

being a refugee does not necessarily determine the individual's adaptation, and opposite cases exist. For example, Taft (1966 cited in Taft 1977:125) found that Polish refugees adapted better to life in Australia than Italian immigrants who had left voluntarily.

Ethnic proximity refers to both physical and psychological ethnic markers, according to which the stranger can be classified to either being ethnically similar to or different from the hosts. Ethnic similarity is used when discussing the more apparent physical traits; when talking about psychological characteristics Kim uses the term *ethnic compatibility*.

Adaptive personality refers to the psychological makeup of a person, and it can be divided into three components: openness, strength, and positivity. Adaptive personality facilitates the adaptation process. When the stranger is open to change and learning, is confident about oneself, and has a strong and positive self-image, he or she is less affected by stress, and is more likely to find solutions to challenges. How adaptive a stranger's personality is can depend, for example, on the age of the stranger; older people are less open to change, and more eager to cling to their own culture and language.

2.4.2.5 Intercultural transformation

Intercultural transformation is what results from the process of cross-cultural adaptation. However, the level of transformation also affects the other components. When a stranger has achieved *functional fitness* it means that they are able to perform their daily activities and feel comfortable in the host environment; in other words, they have become active subjects in the host society.

Another result of intercultural transformation is also "increased *psychological health* vis-à-vis [a stranger's] host environment" (Kim 2005:391). Psychological health is often not very noticeable, as it is the "normal, taken-for-granted state of being" (Kim 2001:187). It is possible that experiences of

culture shock and the stress in cross-cultural adaptation shake one's mental health. However, as adaptation proceeds, and as the stranger achieves functional fitness, also psychological health is increased.

The stranger emerges from the process of intercultural transformation with an *intercultural identity*. Intercultural identity is shaped from one's cultural identity with added features from the new cultural behavior learned in the adaptation process. The stranger then, through individualization, is becoming aware of their own identity and the identity of others, as constituting from unique individual features, rather than basing them on stereotypes, while at the same time becoming aware of the universal oneness of human nature through universalization. Intercultural identity is thus the same phenomenon Bennett (1998:29) describes as the last stage of developing intercultural sensitivity: in integration "people achieve an identity which allows them to see themselves as 'interculturalists' or 'multiculturalists' in addition to their national and ethnic backgrounds."

3 ENGLISH AS THE GLOBAL LINGUA FRANCA

Having examined the interplay of language and culture above, I now move on to discuss language in a more specific manner - namely, the role of English in the world, in Finland, and in this particular study.

3.1 English - the global language

Without a doubt, English is nowadays the global lingua franca. At the end of the 20th century, there were approximately 375 million speakers of English as a second language and 750 million speakers of English as a foreign language. The number of non-native speakers well exceeds that of native speakers, which was estimated to be 375 million. (Graddol 2000:10).

It is undeniable that today's international communication - be it business negotiations, news reporting, or online forum discussions - is conducted mainly in English. English is also the language of science. Graddol (2000:9) reports that 98 percent of German physicists claim English as their working language. Not only in academic texts, but in all publishing, English is the most common language, with 28 percent of all published books printed in English (Graddol 2000:9). In popular culture, Hollywood dominates film production and distribution, and most films we see are in English; for computer games English is practically the sole medium (Ammon 1994:2). Other uses of the computer are also often tied to English. Although operating systems might be translated into the users' language, the entire computer vocabulary is based on English and most terms are loans from the original English words. Furthermore, the Internet is perhaps the most prominent English language medium, with up to 85 percent of all websites in English according to the Internet Society (cited in Graddol 2000:52).

As the use of English has spread, it has also become another language of identification for many officially non-native speakers, and as Graddol (2000:56) explains, here lies the challenge for the future of English as a global lingua franca. As it is used more, the language generates new varieties that might come mutually unintelligible. At the same time English should have one international variant that would be comprehensible to all users in order to maintain the role of number one lingua franca.

As late as in the 1980s there were still predictions that within a century British and American English would become mutually unintelligible - a prediction that had already been made a hundred years previously without coming into reality (Quirk 1985:3). Today, people are well aware of the existence of different varieties thanks to modern developments, such as the Internet and international radio and television broadcasts via satellite (Crystal 2001:135, Yano 2001:125). Further - and perhaps more significantly – the current written standards of different English speaking countries are not that far apart (Crystal 2001:135). Crystal (2001:137) on one hand suggests that it is possible for a "World Spoken Standard English" to develop and to be used as the lingua franca by those who domestically use a national or regional dialect. Yano, on the other hand, argues that a single spoken standard is unlikely to develop, but people are already able to modify their language if needed for intercultural interaction. Furthermore, he opines that, as "there have always been major differences between varieties of English", the role of English as lingua franca is not threatened by the further development of New Englishes. (Yano 2001:125-126)

House (2003:559-60) argues that for the ELF (English as lingua franca) users in general English is actually not a language of identification, but simply a tool for communication. Yano (2001) suggests that these non-native users will be the ones who determine the development of English as an international variety. What seems significant is that the native speaker's English is no longer the only norm. In business, for example, more and more multinational corporations adopt English as their official language, even if it is not the native language of any of the home countries of the corporation. What is important for the English

use in such contexts is not to follow the norms of national varieties (e.g., politeness in British English) but to have intercultural competence to communicate with lingua franca speakers from various backgrounds (Louhiala-Salminen 2007).

3.2 English as lingua franca

A lingua franca is any language used between speakers who are not able to communicate in either one's mother tongue (See e.g. Ife 2003:23, Meierkord 2000, Seidlhofer 2001:146). Traditionally lingua franca has referred to situations in which the language used is a foreign language to all speakers, although sometimes also second language speakers are included (Ahvenainen 2003:12). In my study, some of the interviewees are second language speakers of English.

Yano (2001:122-5) observes how these distinctions are not always clear-cut. An increasing number of second language speakers consider themselves native speakers of English. Yano also mentions that already in earlier studies, a distinction between *genetic* and *functional* nativeness has been proposed. Yano (2001:123) points out that also many EFL (English as a foreign language) speakers could be functionally second language speakers, i.e. semi-native speakers.

The varieties of English differ not only in vocabulary and pronunciation, but also in pragmatic and idiomatic ways. Sometimes two native speakers with different variants might have difficulties understanding each other, but misunderstandings seem even more likely when non-native speakers, who use different variants and whose mother tongues influence their use of English, interact. Yano (1995 as paraphrased in Yano 2001:120) underlines that SLA (Second Language Acquisition) professionals are well aware that language learning includes the pragmatic side of using the language in the target culture, i.e., achieving communicative competence. He regards it thus problematic that

English is taught as a second or a foreign language in non-English speaking contexts, as “English is no longer used in the Anglo-American sociocultural framework alone”. For example, most Finns learn English in schools under the instruction of non-native teachers. It is also likely that there are immigrants coming to Finland who have also been taught by non-native English teachers. If only one, or neither, group has learned English in the original sociocultural context, it is quite likely that we have acquired a different pragmatic usage, and misunderstandings are bound to arise.

Meierkord (2000) also emphasizes the role of sociocultural competence, and points out that in any lingua franca interaction there are at least three cultures present: not only those of the interlocutors, but also those acquired (even if inadequately) through learning of English (usually either American or British, or perhaps a mixture of both).

That lingua franca communication is a fertile ground for misunderstandings was also the main assumption when researchers first started to explore the use of English as lingua franca in the late 1980s (House 2002:247). Today, however, the flexible and cooperative nature of lingua franca is highlighted:

> Here we have the most important ingredients of a lingua franca: negotiability, variability in terms of speaker proficiency, and openness to an integration of forms of other languages. (House 2003:557)

Meierkord (1996 cited in House 2002:248) found that in a lingua franca context misunderstandings are quite rare. However, when misunderstandings do occur, they are usually left unresolved and are followed by abrupt topic changes. Furthermore, according to House (2002:249), Firth and Wagner (1997) have found similar features of ELF use. ELF users are tolerant towards misunderstandings and language mistakes as they strive for consensus between the co-participants. This is manifested particularly in “let-it-pass” and “make-it-normal” procedures, in which the misunderstandings are not negotiated, but the person who is having trouble waits for the talk to progress and clarify the issue at hand, and where the “correct” usage of English is not a priority as such.

Others have made similar findings and Ahvenainen (2003:16) has summarized the main views held by most of lingua franca studies thus:

> 1) Discarding the native speaker standard of a speaker, and native speaker communication as an ideal model. In Seidlhofer's (2001:150) words, the focus is shifted from "Can one say that in English as a mother tongue?" to "Has this been said and understood in English as a lingua franca?"
> 2) Treating L2 speakers predominately as users of language rather than learners of language (Firth and Wagner 1997:286-289)
> 3) Highlighting the success in communication rather than failure (Meierkord and Knapp 2002:16; Firth 1996:239)
> 4) Recognition of the uniqueness of lingua-franca contexts compared to native or NS-NNS settings (Seidlhofer 2001:138)
> 5) Acknowledgement of the more elusive role of culture and community/society in communication (Firth 1990, 1996; Meierkord 1998), including sociopragmatic knowledge (Spencer-Oatey and Jiang 2003)

The above views reflect the idea that lingua franca English should be treated as a language in its own right, not as some kind of a flawed interlanguage. Seidlhofer (2001:134) uses the term *conceptual gap*: while it is recognized that the majority of English speakers are L2 and EFL speakers, the norms of the language are still that of the native speaker. This realization has led lingua franca researchers to start compiling ELF corpuses. Examples of such are ELF Corpus project by the University of Vienna, supported by the Oxford University Press (Seidlhofer 2001:146) and the corpus project on English as Lingua Franca in Academic Setting (ELFA) at the University of Tampere (Mauranen 2003:124). Seidlhofer (2001:150) suggests that once the ELF corpuses start to map out the real use of English as lingua franca, it would be possible that "a description and codification of ELF use would constitute a new resource for the design of English instruction." In other words, there would be a model for international English, which could then be taught as a variety of English, just as native varieties are taught at the moment.

As the ELFA project at Tampere University demonstrates, in Finland, too, there is interest towards English as global language and lingua franca. Currently a cooperation between the universities of Helsinki and Jyväskylä, the Center of Excellence for Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English, is researching this phenomenon, and starting in the fall of 2007, they conducted a large nationwide survey to find out how English is used in Finland. (http://www.jyu.fi/hum/laitokset/ kielet/varieng/en/survey)

However, this is not a recent development at all: in the past there have been several projects and studies investigating the role of English language in Finland from various perspectives. In the following section I will discuss this role as explained by existing research.

3.3 English as a foreign language and lingua franca in Finland

3.3.1 English in everyday use in Finland

Finland is a bilingual country with Swedish as the second national language. Around five percent of the population has Swedish as their mother tongue. All Finnish speakers learn Swedish at school and Swedish speakers learn Finnish. Despite there being some areas, which are practically monolingual Swedish, the majority of the Swedish speakers are bilingual, whereas for most Finns, Swedish is virtually a foreign language (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003:5). It has often been noted that English is perhaps (becoming) the unofficial second language in Finland.

Indeed, we seem to be surrounded by English. Just walking down the high street in any city center in this country one will come across store signs and advertisement banners and posters either fully in English or mixing Finnish with English. Moore and Varantola (2005:2) found that English usage seems to be most common in business names of "enterprises associated with beauty enhancement, sex, gambling, alcohol, music, and information technology."

English is thus the language of entertainment and popular culture. It comes as no surprise then that English is the most frequently heard language in films in Europe (Ammon 1994:1). Further, in 1997 over 40 percent of all broadcasting on the four Finnish channels was in English (Battarbee 2002:262). In this country most of the movies and television series - excluding children's content

- are broadcast in their original language with Finnish subtitles. This often helps in learning English.

Furthermore, as noted earlier, English is the global lingua franca and used in international communication even in areas which traditionally have used another lingua franca. For example, in the Nordic countries, the language of international communication has traditionally been Swedish, but today large, multinational companies are adopting English as their internal language. Thus, also in Finland, one is required to speak fluent English in an increasing number of workplaces:

> In a 2001 report, Business Environment Policy in the New Economy, the Ministry of Trade and Industry specifically defined corporate internationalisation as one of the focal areas in its industrial policy. With internationalisation, English has become an integral part of the professional repertoire of a steadily growing number of Finns. In the Finnish branches of global companies, the official language is English, but in practice language use depends on context and function. (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003: 7)

This is not that much to ask, however, as most of us learn English as our first foreign language, starting at the age of nine. Nevertheless, English was not a significant part of language instruction in schools until after the Second World War. As a bilingual country, preference was put on learning the second national language. For some time after war, German was the first foreign language of choice, English and French being offered less frequently. However, by 1970s approximately 95 per cent of secondary school students chose English as their first foreign language. (Battarbee 2002:266-7) Today more than 80 percent of schoolchildren learn English as their first foreign language (Moore and Varantola 2005:1), and in 2000, 98 percent of secondary school pupils study it as one of their foreign languages (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003:6).

In February 2008 YLE news reported that the foreign language skills of Finns are deteriorating; the reason given for this was that foreign language teaching is given fewer resources. Currently only a handful of municipalities have schools which offer pupils other options for the first foreign language than English or Swedish. Furthermore, in the recent years, over forty municipalities have given up elective language teaching in the lower comprehensive school. Part of the

problem appears to be that there is not enough interest for learning additional foreign languages, and that pupils seem to think that one can only take additional languages starting at the upper comprehensive school. (YLE 2008.) One can also imagine, as English is constantly hailed as the most important international language, that the usefulness of learning other languages is starting to be questioned more and more.

Furthermore, English is fast becoming the language of higher education in this country. Practically every Finnish university and most of the other institutions of higher education offer teaching or full degree programs in English. Indeed, I myself have studied mainly in English at the University of Jyväskylä, where there are currently 16 different Master's Degree Programs taught in English.

Another example of the importance of English use on the academic level is the survey study by David Wilson (2002) at the University of Jyväskylä. The study shows that there was great variability in how much of the post-doctoral publishing was done in English. The faculties that were most prone to using English were the Faculty of Natural sciences and Mathematics and the Faculty of Information Technology, which published almost exclusively in English. Also the school of Business and Economics and the Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences published two thirds of post-doctoral works in English, and slightly less than one third in Finnish. English was least used in the Faculty of Humanities, where only a quarter of research was published in English, half of the research was published in Finnish and another quarter was published in other languages. As the Faculty of Humanities includes the department of languages, it is naturally most likely to use also other languages besides English and Finnish in its research reporting. The Faculty of Education published over half of the post-doctoral research in Finnish, and English was used in less than a third of the publications. In the Faculty of Social Sciences one half of the post-doctoral research was published in English, and the other half in Finnish.

3.3.2 The influence of English on Finnish and the Finn's attitudes toward English

As noted above, the role of English in Finland has been of interest to linguistic researchers. In the late 1970s there was a research project at the University of Jyväskylä which surveyed the influence of English on Finnish language and culture (see e.g. Sajavaara 1982). The focus was both on analyzing the amount of English that had penetrated everyday Finnish as Anglicisms, and on the attitudes of Finnish students towards Anglicism. The study reveals that the influence of English on Finnish was quite superficial, as Anglicisms were mostly single loan words, which could be easily recognized as having English origins. These kinds of loans have been made throughout history from various languages and as such are nothing new, nor particularly threatening.

The students' attitudes varied so that in the more bilingual area of Helsinki, students were better able to point out Anglicism and also had a more negative attitude towards them than in Kuopio. It would seem then that in the bilingual speakers have a better sense of an appropriate context in which to use Anglicisms. Sajavaara concludes that "international contact and multiculturalism may thus be one of the strongest safeguards for the integrity of small European languages". (Sajavaara 1982:47)

Hyrkstedt (See Hyrkstedt 1997, Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998) has also studied language attitudes. As her Master's Thesis she conducted a qualitative study of Finnish college students' attitudes toward English in Finland. The data consisted of the written responses to a letter-to-the-Editor constructed by the researcher that argued against the use of English in Finland (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998:348-9). The responses could be divided into either negative (agreeing with the arguments presented) or positive (disagreeing with them) attitudes depending on how they viewed English in Finland.1. The negative attitude can further be divided into four repertoires: segregating (condemning

[1] These are the categories from the 1998 article. In the original MA thesis the classifications were reversed, so that positive attitude was that which agreed with the arguments of the letter-to-the-Editor and negative attitudes those that disagreed with them.

mixing Finnish with English), national-romanticist (speaking negatively of foreign, e.g. American influence and glorifying pure Finnish), fatalist (regarding Finnish speakers as victims of institutions like media and educational system which feed us English) and realist (warning about the negative consequences of using English, as older people do not understand it, and younger the generation's Finnish skills are at risk). The positive attitude repertoires include empiricist (making language change the norm and speaking as a linguist expert), nationalist (defending Finns' language skills), and utilitarian (advantages of using English loan words and having English skills). (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998:350-2.) The study is noteworthy for its innovative methodology, as it moves away from the positivist view of attitudes as something to be measured on a Likert-scale, and instead employs qualitative discourse analysis to find out how attitudes are constructed in argumentative texts.

From time to time one can see newspaper articles or letters-to-the-Editors - similar to what was used in Hyrkstedt's study - complaining about the deterioration of the pure Finnish language and about the invasion of foreign languages, such as English and German on our beautiful mother tongue. Practically all such concerns are unnecessary, as most foreign influences are superficial loans which come and go like fashion, and they do not affect the core vocabulary of the Finnish language, which is probably very similar to that of thousands of years ago. Only if we would start to use English numerals and personal pronouns would we have something to worry about. (Dufva 1992:82.)

In general, Finns have actually quite positive views on English. Paradoxically, the positive attitude, and thus an increased use of English, is the reason some people have become worried over the influence of English on Finnish. Compared with many other European countries, "Finns are eager to learn languages" (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003:5). Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003:10) even claim that "[k]nowledge of English is considered a skill like the ability to read. This comparison contains extremely positive connotations in today's Finland, as the high quality of 100 percent literacy is a cause of pride." This positive attitude can, however, also turn against those who are willing to learn

Finnish. As Finns often view Finnish as a difficult-to-learn minority language and Finnish-speaking foreigners are still a surprise for many of us (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003:5-6), it might slow down the immigrants' learning of Finnish, since Finns eager to speak English do not let the foreigner practice their Finnish.

Latomaa's findings reflect this point. She was part of a Nordic research project "The Development of Immigrant Languages in the Nordic Region", and studied American and Vietnamese immigrant families in Helsinki. The project aimed at finding out the current status of immigrant languages in Nordic countries and predicting the future prospects of four immigrant groups. The groups were English-speaking North Americans, Vietnamese-speaking Vietnamese, Turkish-speaking Turks, and Finnish-speaking Finns. (Latomaa 1995:121.) Latomaa interviewed both American and Vietnamese families living in Helsinki area about their language learning and use. From the interview material one could also detect the language attitudes of the Finns.

The results showed that for the Vietnamese, language was more of an issue, as they needed to learn Finnish in order to function in the wider society, and had to make an effort to preserve their mother tongue, as it was often not used outside home. The Americans, conversely, had quite a pragmatic view about languages, in that they saw language more as a tool for communication, rather than inseparable part of their identity. However, they did not need to worry about their children not maintaining their mother tongue, as schools provide teaching of (or even in) English. (Latomaa 1995:123)

As for the Americans' need to learn Finnish, the study concluded that English speakers seem to have a choice between getting into the "real" Finnish society by learning the language and the culture, or living in a mainly English-speaking community. (Latomaa 1998:59). This seems to imply that although one can get along without knowing Finnish, as long as one knows English, there is a larger Finnish reality of which one can be part only by mastering the language.

The study also found that Finns often offer to speak English with English-speakers (and, indeed, actually force English speakers to use English), thus taking away opportunities for the English-speakers to rehearse Finnish (Latomaa 1998:68). Furthermore, some Americans in the study felt they were helping the Finns to learn English (Latomaa 1998:60).

The study also revealed Finns' attitudes towards their own language. It seems that Finns did not expect English-speakers to learn Finnish, although they expected other immigrants to do so. The reasons behind this might be that Finns have the misconception that all English-speakers are sojourners bound to return to their home countries, and thus need not learn the Finnish language (Latomaa 1998:57-58). Another reason for such reactions might be that Finns value English as a language they themselves would like to master and see conversations with English-speakers as good opportunities to rehearse their own English skills. However, the study suggests that Finns are quite proud of their relatively short history as a nation with its own unique majority language, and wanting to keep up the myth of Finnish as the hardest language of the world, do not expect foreigners to speak it fluently. (Latomaa 1998:68)

3.4 Significance of Lingua Franca and world English studies for the present study

This study is not a lingua franca study per se, since, as seen from the above review, those kinds of studies are usually focused on the actual language use in interaction between lingua franca users. Here the focus is a little different, as I am looking at how language influences one's adapting to a new culture, and, especially, how English as lingua franca in Finland is influential. Although my study is not about the nature of the language used in Finland, some interviewees also commented on the features of the "Finnish variety of English". My interviewees are non-native speakers of English, and for them English used in Finland is a lingua franca. One of the things that this study

touches upon is how the immigrants I interviewed view the English used in Finland.

Another valid point in the review above is the division of the speakers of English into native, second language, and foreign language speakers. Although the original starting point for the study was to focus on non-native speakers of English, it is worth noting that sometimes it is hard to decide which group one belongs to; moreover, non-native speakers can be as fluent in English as native speakers. Furthermore, some of the interviewees are clearly second language speakers and probably even functionally native speakers. House (2003:559-60) notes that lingua franca is a tool for its users and as such not a language of identification. However, for some of the interviewees the language seems to be more than a mere lingua franca depending on how much they use it and how they have acquired it.

4 MAPPING OUT THE CONTEXT: ACCULTURATING TO FINNISH SOCIETY

In the previous chapters, I looked at language and acculturation, as well as the role of the English language in Finland. Before discussing the present study in detail, there is still need for more description of the context. Although at first look appearing very homogenous, Finland has in fact always had more than one ethnic group. Finland can even be used as an example of peaceful co-existence of two cultural groups, i.e., the Finnish and the Swedish speakers. However, only recently have other cultural groups or their rights even been recognized. In this chapter I briefly map out the context of Finland as young immigration country in order to show what kind of a country this is to immigrate into.

4.1. Homogenous nation with various minorities

Until the late 1980s, Finland was regarded as a quite homogenous country with only one culture (Latomaa 1995:116). However, from then on Finnish people have started to pay attention to the increasing amount of immigrants moving into the country. While it is true that the first refugees arrived in the 1970s, and before that there had not been groups with distinctively different cultural background living in Finland. However, Dufva (2002:37-8) points out that to consider Finland as one culturally homogenous country is a myth. She (2002:22) explains that even the Finnish language is not a single entity, but an umbrella concept under which variants of Finnish - dialects, slangs, and jargons – happily mix. Thus, there are probably as many Finnish languages as there are subculture groups. Furthermore, Finland has a long history of more than one ethnic group living in the country. For example, Russians have been a minority in Finland from the 18th century on (Horn 2004), but their existence has really only been noticed when Ingrians began to move to Finland in the 1990s.

The Finnish population includes Swedish speakers (5.6 % of the population), Sámi (0.15 %), Roma (0.19 %) and a marginal amount of Old Russians, Tatars, and Jews. A noteworthy point is that although the Swedish minority has a long history of language rights, the other minorities have had to fight for their rights. The assimilationist treatment of the Roma population (Granqvist and Viljanen 2002:109) is a perfect example of minority policies in the past, and the actual rights, such as the Sámi Language Act of 1991 (mentioned by Horn (2004)) are a rather new development.

4.2 The newer minority groups: immigrants in Finland

At the end of 2007, 132708 people, i.e. 2.5 % of the population living in Finland were foreigners. As part of the foreign-born population has become Finnish citizens, more revealing of the population with a foreign background is the number of people with a foreign language (i.e. neither Finnish, Swedish, nor Sámi) as their mother tongue. This part of population consists of 172928 people, 3.3 percent of the total population. The biggest foreign language groups are Russian speakers (45224 people), Estonian speakers (19812 people) and English speakers (10589 people). Reflecting the refugee population, these groups are followed by Somali speakers (9810 people) and Arabic speakers (8119 people). (Statistics Finland 2008:2.)

These numbers are small compared, for example, to our neighbor Sweden, of whose population currently 5.7 percent are foreigners and 17.3 percent are of foreign background (foreign-born and Swedish-born with two foreign-born parents). (Statistics Sweden 2008.) Finland is obviously a latecomer in inward migration. While other European countries relied on guest workers in the rebuilding after the WWII, Finland managed without foreign labor, thanks to the baby-boom generation. As Finland was at that moment slowly going through infrastructural changes from being an agrarian society to an industrialized one, there was even a surplus in the workforce and many emigrated to Sweden and across the oceans. (Forsander 2002:87.)

Before 1990s a typical immigrant moving to Finland would be a return migrant, i.e. those who, or whose family, had left Finland at an earlier point of time. The turn of the 1980s was the first time when there were more people immigrating to than emigrating from Finland. (Forsander 2002:87.)

As the countries receiving guest workers operated by the assumptions that the migration was only temporary, and the guest workers would eventually return home, they did not take measures to integrate this first wave of immigration. Thus, Finland is starting integration measures at the same time with the rest of the European countries. The biggest difference is the size of the immigrant population; Finland does not have the older large immigrant communities the guest worker receiving countries have. (Forsander 2004:198-9.)

Finland's immigration policy has been, and continues to be, very selective. Previously labor policy had not been the driving force, but foreigners had been accepted if they had blood relations in Finland or there were some humanitarian reasons (Forsander 2004:199). Today labor policy is becoming more important, as one can read in the government's migration policy program released in the end of 2006. The program stresses promotion of work-related immigration, which is mentioned as the first issue in the list of policy guidelines and measures (Government Resolution 19.10.2006:3).

This selectivity has prevented chain-migration (family of the labor-motivated immigrant immigrates later), and thus, bigger immigrant communities are rare in Finland. This in turn makes cultural adapting harder for the current immigrants, as they do not have their ethnic group supporting them in the host country. (Forsander 2002:94.)

Forsander (2002:88) further points out that immigrants can usually be divided in two groups:

> 1 Labor-force immigrants, who immigrate because they or a family member have a job in Finland.
> 2 Non-labor force immigrants, who immigrate to Finland for reasons other than work. This group includes refugees, return migrants from the former Soviet Union, and immigrants who move to Finland because of marriage or other family reasons.

So far labor-force migration has not formed a large part of the immigrants coming to Finland, and “in spite of refugees and return migrants from the former Soviet Union, marriage remains the most common reason for immigration to Finland” (Forsander 2002:87).

4.3 Integrating the immigrants

4.3.1. Measures for integration

During the past decade the number of foreigners living permanently in Finland has increased considerably, and this has also been reflected in policymaking - as the creation of explicit immigration laws, and in the refining of language and education legislation (Latomaa 2002:61-62). The Finnish legislation is based on “the principle of reciprocity: the society guarantees well-being, and the immigrant is active in developing the skills and knowledge needed in Finland.” Such development is guided by an integration plan (in Finnish kotoutumissuunnitelma). (Latomaa 2002:64.)

However, although legislation guarantees several language rights on paper, these rights might not always be fulfilled in reality. In the early 1990s, due to lack of resources only refugees were automatically accepted into Finnish courses; full integration policy has been applied to other immigrant groups only recently. Thus, in practice, immigrants who were not refugees or return migrants, would only be entitled to integration training if there were enough “regional resources”. As late as 2001, there were estimates that in the Tampere area, half of the actual applicants received a place in the elementary course in Finnish language. (Latomaa 2002:66-67.)

4.3.2 Attitudes of the host population

Restricted resources are not the only problem in the way of integration; the general attitude of the host population plays an important role as well. Finland is still a quite young nation and the nationalist ideas, on which the culture and the country were built, may continue to influence people's views of foreigners. Jaakkola (2005:10-12) has studied the attitudes of Finns towards immigrants, and explains that negative attitudes arise from seeing the foreigners as either a *socio-economic or cultural threat* to oneself or one's reference group. As socioeconomic status is related to the general welfare of the nation, the attitudes also become harsher in the times of economic depression. Jaakkola's study shows that the attitudes in Finland were more negative during the depression (1993, and still in 1998) than before it (1987), or more recently (2003).

In addition to the threat hypothesis, attitudes have also been explained with the *contact hypothesis* (Allport 1954), which asserts that when people get to know foreigners they become less prejudiced against them. Jaakkola's (2005:32) study supports this theory; the interviewees who knew foreigners personally were more positive about accepting more foreign jobseekers to Finland.

As earlier discussed in the section about Kim's theories, these attitudes reflect host receptivity. The way the hosts react to the immigrants affects their integration. The discussion about multicultural Finland seems to indicate that multiculturality is something that the immigrants have introduced to Finland, and are thus responsible for (Forsander 2004:201). Although the focus and aim is now in the integration of immigrants, it seems to imply that, indeed, it is up to the immigrants to integrate to Finland, not the other way around; nor is it even as a joint effort to adapt to the new multicultural Finland. (Forsander 2004:204)

Forsander (2004) has questioned whether one is ever fully able to integrate when always taken as *the other*, and whether there even exists a society into which all Finns are integrated, and into which immigrants are supposed to

integrate. Part of the paradox is that when people are divided into categories such as *Finns* and *immigrants*, immigrants are effectively kept from ever becoming part of Finnish society. Forsander points out that as the discussion over the matter develops, the terminology is changing. We used to talk about foreigners, then immigrants, and now, increasingly about New Finns ("uussuomalainen"). However, Forsander claims that changing the terms does not change the division of people to us and them: "New Finns are nevertheless other than Finns, and one person cannot be both. New Finns are less whole than Finns, and no one will tell them how they can become whole." (Forsander 2004:201; Translation by TN)

Forsander's comments about integration being nearly impossible are quite discouraging. However, this study takes an optimistic view, and focuses on those immigrants who have managed to get employed and seem to be managing their daily lives quite well. In the next chapter I will discuss my interviewees and the methods I used to conduct this study.

5. THE PRESENT STUDY

5.1 Using the qualitative approach

My aim is to examine the phenomenon of English language use in Finland from the non-native English-speaking immigrants' point of view, and the possible link between English as lingua franca in Finland and integration. I have chosen a qualitative approach in the hopes of getting a deeper understanding of the phenomenon than mere statistical information could offer. Furthermore, a qualitative approach offers an *emic* perspective to research, which means viewing the matter from the study subjects' point of view (see e.g. Eskola and Suoranta 1998:16, Alasuutari 1994:100). This I find important when discussing people whom many Finns still seem to consider foreigners or even outsiders in Finland.

Yet another aspect that attracted me to these methods was the hypothesis-free nature of the qualitative approach. Eskola and Suoranta (1998:19-20) point out that whereas in quantitative approach the researcher forms a hypothesis and formulates methods to test the hypothesis, in qualitative research one is open to unexpected outcomes. Furthermore, in qualitative approach the research plan is open to change and modification throughout the whole research project (Eskola and Suoranta 1998:15-16). I found this to be a flexible working method, as it is possible to start a qualitative research project without knowing everything on the subject, or having a fixed hypothesis.

I have chosen interviews as a method of data collection, as this gives me an opportunity to have discussions with people who have experienced the phenomenon first hand. Furthermore, I find that interviews offer a way to give a voice to the study subjects. Eskola and Suoranta (1998:87) make a distinction between *semi-structured* and *theme interviews*, although some (see e.g. Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000:47) use the terms interchangeably. According to Eskola and Suoranta (1998:87), semi-structured interviews have open but fixed

questions, whereas in theme interviews some questions can be left out, as long as all theme areas are treated. With these definitions in mind, I call my method *semi-structured theme interviewing*.

Kvale (1996:296) describes interviews as *inter views*, production of knowledge in conversation between two partners. This further fits my hermeneutic worldview, for although a qualitative researcher also aims to be objective, it is impossible to completely rule out one's own influence on the data and analysis thereof.

5.2 Research Questions

When I set out to research my topic I wanted to find out how the immigrants who were non-native English speakers in Finland used English and Finnish, and how their use of English might influence, or maybe interfere, with their integration to Finnish society. With this aim in mind I formulated the interview questions included in Appendix 4.

The final focus of the research questions was formed through inductive analysis of the data. The questions that the study aims to answer are the following:

1) In what contexts do the interviewees use English, Finnish, and their mother tongues?
2) What kind of relationship do the interviewees have with English, Finnish, and mother tongue?
3) What makes a difference in learning Finnish?
4) What is felt important for integration in addition to learning the language?

5.3 On data collection

I started looking for interviewees in March 2006 with the help of Jaana Suokonautio at the Employment and Economic Development Center (TE-keskus). She had access to the database (URA-tietokanta) of immigrants who had received integration support of any sort from the city of Jyväskylä. Ms. Suokonautio used this database to look for people in Central Finland who fitted my description of the ideal candidates for the interview: people who were educated, currently employed, and had lived in Finland for a minimum of two years. However, as it proved difficult to find such interviewees, I have been flexible with the criteria. There are two interviewees (#001005M and #001010M) who had been in Finland a little less than the two years. Furthermore, one of the interviewees (#001004F) was not employed full-time at the time of the interview, but doing an internship as part of her integration course.

The group I was looking for consists of so-called desirable immigrants. During the past year, there has been a lot of discussion in public about immigration policies and the possible future need for immigrant workforce, as our population grows older. During 2006 the government and many employer and labor unions stressed the importance of work-based immigration for the Finnish economy (Government Migration Policy Programme 2006, Valtiovarainministeriö 2006).

My aim was to interview those immigrants who were educated and employed, and thus represented the desirable group of immigrants, in order to find some reasons for their success. I felt the minimum of two years living in Finland could be suitable, as Bennett (1993:55) regards two years to be the minimum time spent in a foreign culture to achieve what he calls pluralism, i.e. being so adapted as to be able to function normally in two or more cultural frames of reference.

Forsander explains (2001:29) that, from the labor policy point of view, immigrants are usually divided into two groups: those who come here because of work-related reasons and those who come for other reasons (such as family ties or refugee status). She then points out the obvious by saying that the latter group is the one that has problems with getting work. Indeed, integrating into working life is difficult for those immigrants who did not come to Finland because their professional skills were in demand here. Compared to the host population, the unemployment rates of the immigrant population are much higher - which is the case as all over Europe (Forsander 2002:88).

In my study I have not included or excluded any of the interviewees because of their immigration motivation, whether it was work, refuge, or family related. However, I have chosen to interview immigrants who are currently employed, as the policies today encourage immigration of skilled workers who will find work. Simply because one comes from a country where they have become politically oppressed, or because one has moved as a wife or a husband of a Finn, does not mean that they could not be also skilled professionals.

As my interest here lies in the mediatory use of English in Finland and its influence on the integration process of non-native English speaking immigrants of Finland, I have not focused on one particular group of immigrants. One can question whether it is possible to say anything of such a diverse group of people, but, at least in the Jyväskylä area, it was not easy locating interviewees and thus it felt better to have a diverse group than no group at all.

On April 19th 2006 Ms Suokonautio sent my letter (Appendix 1) and questionnaire (Appendix 2) with a return envelope to some twenty potential interviewees. The questionnaire included questions on background information, as well as basic questions on language skills and use. The answers to these questions were meant to help with adjusting the actual interview questions for each of the interviewees and also to save time for more elaborate questions in the interview situation. By early May 2006 this produced seven replies from potential interviewees; however, three of them did not want to be interviewed. Furthermore, one person did not fit the profile as she was of

Finnish descend. I made arrangements for interviews with the remaining three, and started looking for more interviewees through other means.

My second option was sampling by so-called snowball method. I contacted my student colleagues and asked if anyone knew people who would fit the profile and might be willing to be interviewed. I also enquired of all my interviewees if they knew others like them who might be interviewed. Through these contacts I was able to find seven more interviewees.

At the end of May 2006, I conducted a pilot interview with a member of staff at our department. She fit the profile, but I had no intention of using her in my actual data. She was perfect for the pilot interview, as I had no previous experience of interviewing, and while interviewing her I could get an idea of how my questions work, and what the situation was like in general. I could also get feedback and suggestions from her, as she was experienced in this kind of research. From this pilot interview I got an idea how interviewees were likely to respond to my questions and, also, how much time an interview might take.

The interviews for my data were conducted between June 8th and October 8th 2006. This long period was due to finding interviewees almost one by one over the whole summer and to the challenges of finding suitable times for the interviews.

5.4 The interviewees at the time of the interview

The interviews were recorded with an mp3 recorder and transcribed verbatim without marking the paraverbal features, except for laughter (marked with the symbol @), as the focus of the study is on the content, rather than on the form of the interviewees' utterances. Unclear words are marked with hyphens (---), the amount of hyphens correlating with the length of the unclear part of the utterance. The transcripts were done with the help of the transcribing program

F4 (available at http://www.audiotranskription.de/). The transcribed pages are formatted with Times New Roman font size 12, single line space.

I use quotes from the data where applicable. These excerpts are numbered, and edited so that individual words or phrases that could reveal the interviewee's identity have been replaced by a phrase within angle brackets, which explains what kind of word of phrase has been replaced, e.g., <home country>, <name of son>, <phrase in interviewee's mother tongue>. Sometimes, due to the length of the interviewee's utterances part of the answer has been omitted to highlight what is interesting in the quote. The omissions are marked by ellipsis (…). The interviewer's questions are bolded to separate them clearly from the interviewee's answers. Italics are used in the extracts for emphasis. The interviewee is identified with their code in parenthesis in the end of the extract, e.g., (#001007F). The same is used within text to indicate which interviewee's opinion and answer is being discussed.

The themes that were discussed in the interviews are derived mainly from Kim (2001). As host communication competence is in the center of her theory, the questions were mostly themed by the context where communication can take place. The interviewees were asked about language use at home, work or study place, in public, reading of written materials and media. They were further asked about learning Finnish and what kind of things they felt influenced their learning, as well as things to do with integrating into the Finnish society. As a rather inexperienced interviewer, I felt safer with ready-made questions, which were structured around themes, and also adjusted to the interviewees' background information. Naturally, I did not ask about the language use of the children from a childless interviewee.

The interviewees were represented with an agreement of confidentiality and use of interview data (Appendix 3). I saw it good conduct to let them know the purpose of the data and that I would do my best to conceal their identity. Following are the short descriptions of the individual interviewees.

#001001 was the pilot interview not used as data for this study.

#001002F was a South American woman in her forties. She had spent 13 years studying and working as a language teacher in North America, from where she had moved to Finland 9 years earlier. She was married to a Finnish man and they had a small child. She was working as a language teacher. The interview was conducted at her workplace on June 8th 2006. The interview lasted 1:16:55 and is 15 transcribed pages long.

#001003M was a man of approximately 50 years from Middle East. He had come to Finland 14 years earlier from Southeast Asia as an refugee. He was divorced and had three teenage children. He had a Bachelor of Science and M.B.A. degrees and was working in physical recreation at time of the interview. The interview took place in a café on June 14th 2006. The interview lasted 1:17:29 and is 14 transcribed pages long.

#001004F was a woman from Southeast Asia in her late thirties. She had come to Finland around 5 years ago, married to a Finnish man. They had later divorced, and she was a single parent with a small child. She had two bachelor degrees and an MBA degree. At the time of the interview she was taking part in a course to get qualifications for profession in Finland and had a traineeship in public sector. The interview took place at the lobby of her school on June 14th 2006. The interview lasted 1:17:45 and is 16 transcribed pages long.

#001005M was a nearly 30-year-old man from Southeastern Europe. He was married to a Finn and had two small children. He had been to Finland for about 2 years. He had a high school degree and was considering further studies. He was currently working in a restaurant. The interview took place at Café Libri on June 14th 2006. The interview lasted 0:38:50 and is 9 transcribed pages long.

#001006M was a man from South America in his late twenties. He had come to Finland 6 years earlier through to work for a Finnish company as an intern. He later met his Finnish girlfriend here and decided to stay. He is an entrepreneur

and is currently completing a master's degree. The interview took place in a corridor in Agora on June 15th 2006. The interview lasted 0:44:49 and consists of 9 transcribed pages.

#001007F was a woman of approximately 50 years from Southeast Asia. She had come to Finland with her ex-husband as a refugee. They had 3 teenage children. She had a bachelor's degree and was working as a project worker at the time of the interview. The interview took place at student association room of the department of communication on June 15th 2006. The interview lasted 1:06:50 and is 14 transcribed pages long.

#001008M was a man from Central Europe in his early fifties, who came to Finland first in 1980 as a student. He had married a Finnish woman and they had 2 teenage children. They had lived some years in between in North America, while he had been working on his PhD. At the time of the interview he was working as a researcher. The interview took place at his office at work place on July 3rd 2006. The interview lasted 0:47:06 and consists of 9 transcribed pages.

#001009M was a man from Southeastern Europe in his mid-thirties. He had come to Finland to help his brother, who was married to a Finn and had his own business. He had a business degree and was for the moment working at a restaurant. He had been to Finland for two and half years, but was not planning to stay here for good. He had also lived one year in Central Europe. The interview took place at student association room of the department of communication on July 20th 2006. The interview lasted 0:47:46 and is 11 transcribed pages long.

#001010M was a man from Central Europe in his late thirties. He moved to Finland about two years earlier with his Finnish wife, whom he met while they were both studying in his country of origin. He had a Master's degree and at time of the interview was employed in the field of his studies. He has spent one year living in an English-speaking country during his studies. The interview

took place at student association room of the department of communication on July 25th 2006. The interview lasted 1:18:27 and is 14 transcribed pages long.

#001011M was a man from Central Europe in his forties. He had moved to Finland 17 years earlier to work. At first he had a Finnish girlfriend, later he married a North American woman. They had 2 small children adopted from abroad. His parents were also living in Finland. At the time of the interview he was working on the manager level. The interview took place at the YWCA premises of Jyväskylä on 8th of October 2006. The interview lasted 0:48:34 and consists of 11 transcribed pages.

5.5 Tools for analysis from Hermeneutic Phenomenology

I base my study on the hermeneutic-phenomenological tradition. This approach developed by 20th-century philosophers Heidegger and Gadamer maintains that the researcher is always making interpretations of what s/he studies, based on one's stance in the historical context (Laverty 2003). As Eskola and Suoranta (1998:17) elaborate, in qualitative study it is not that important to strive for objectivity in the *etic* sense of the word, i.e. being an outside observer, but that objectivity comes from recognizing one's own subjectivity.

Further, the hermeneutic circle seems to me a viable working method. In the hermeneutic circle the researcher dives into the topic and through data collection and weighing different possibilities for interpretation ends up with enhanced understanding and theorizing (Tamminen 1993:89-90). The hermeneutics circle entails "moving back and forth between the part and the whole of the text" and using a reflective journal is one possible method for doing so. (Heidegger 1927/1962 cited in Laverty 2003:22). I used a journal to make notes on the ideas that rose from the analysis and also went back and forth between the individual interviews, collection of interviewees' quotes and written analysis drafts.

I started the analysis by listening to the interviews and reading through the transcripts I had made. Then I started to gather excerpts from the data, going through the interviews one by one, placing the excerpts under the four research questions. At times it was hard to decide whether something was related to language use or language learning, and in many cases same excerpts were copied under more than one heading. Once I had gone through all the data and gathered the excerpts, I summarized the content of each excerpt with a couple of words. Next, I arranged the summaries under several headings that described the content. The headings were, for example, the different contexts of language use, such as home, work, free time, in the case of question one. With these categories I had a list of ideas that that had risen from the interviews. These headings also presented the initial structure of the following report on the findings. In the following chapter 6, I present these ideas as the findings of this study.

6 FINDINGS

This chapter is divided so that there is a separate section dealing with each of the research questions. Here I will go through the findings of the question under consideration and give my impressions and interpretation on the answers of the interviewees. Final discussion takes place and conclusions are drawn in chapter seven.

6.1 Question 1: In what contexts do the interviewees use English, Finnish and their mother tongues?

At the beginning of the study I started looking for interviewees for whom English would be a lingua franca and a foreign, or a second, language. The interviewees did match this criteria, but as, for example, Yano (2001:122-5) points out, sometimes second language speakers are as fluent as native speakers and it is hard to draw a line between a first and a second language speaker. Of my interviewees, some had the fluency close to a native speaker's, although their mother tongue backgrounds categorized them as EFL speakers. For example, #001002F's native language was not English, nor is English used widely in her country of origin, but she felt a strong connection with English, being an English teacher and having lived in USA for thirteen years. Her English was very fluent and even a part of her identity. In the following extract (1), she explains how years living in USA has shaped her language identity.

(1)
would you say English is even sort of your second mother tongue
I would say so yes
It's strongly a part of your identity, of who you are

…so I had already left my home country and my family right after high school or lukio so so that was my most immediate culture and environment before I left here so y'know I just left Baltimore to <home country> to get married and then I came straight to Jyväskylä nine years ago so that's why I missed more a my American friends because I hardly had any you know I didn't go to school in <home country> so I didn't make friends there just my childhood friends so everything happened in the United States my schooling life and friends came out of the United States mostly than from my home strong identity with yeah (#001002F)

The English skills of the interviewees thus varied, but they all did use English as lingua franca, and in the following sections I will describe the interviewees' language use in various contexts that rose from the analysis.

6.1.1 Language use at home

At the time of the interview, all interviewees, except for #001009M, had a partner and/or children, and out of these nine interviewees all except for #001010M used English as lingua franca with their partners. #001010M used his native tongue, in which his Finnish wife was fluent. Altogether six interviewees had Finnish partners, and five of them used English as at least one of their home languages. Interviewee #001011M's wife was a native English speaker. Interviewees #001004F and #001007F come from an Asian country, where English is an official language, and they had chosen to speak English with their children, instead of their mother tongue. They both had ex-husbands, with whom they communicated in English. Interviewee #001003M's ex-wife was not from the same country as he was from, and they used to have English as their family lingua franca as well.

With their children, interviewees #001002F, #001005M and #001011M spoke their mother tongues. Interviewee #001010M did not have children, but noted that if and when he were to have them, the children would be raised bilingual, i.e., speaking his mother tongue in addition to Finnish. Two of the male interviewees (#001003M and #001008M) had not spoken their mother tongues with their children. The most significant reason for this is probably the lack of other speakers of their mother tongues. Furthermore, #001008M spoke English with his son and Finnish with his daughter. English had been the family's language when they were living in the USA during the time the son was born. As #001008M learned more Finnish, he started to use it with his wife and daughter. He further explained that he was very busy with his PhD when the children were small and his wife was mostly taking care of the children; another reason why the children had not learned his mother tongue.

As noted before, the two South-Asian interviewees (#001004F and #001007F) spoke English with their children, as it was an official language in their home country, and was perhaps the easiest way as well, as it was the lingua franca between the parents. As seen in the extracts (2) and (3), English is more than just a second language for them.

(2)
…but in <home country> we are we have the education in English from kindergarten to college to masters to doctorate
so is that also why you're more speaking English than your own language to your daughter
yeah because yeah our what is this work language or language in language at work how do you call that is in English our papers
like official language
Yeah official language papers documents and all the transactions are all conducted in English we have this advertisements the magazines these newspapers they are in English and they are in <mother tongue> also on and they are in dialects with dialects (#001004F)

(3)
and I read here that at home you speak English with your children why English and not your
mother language
first language
actually in <home country> we have two la- official language we have this <mother tongue> where in we use it it's only a part of our curriculum in in school but the medium of language or teaching language in <home country> in English and in every area for example the place where I live we have different dialects also <mother tongue> is just one of our common language but in every area or region we use different language so with and then because of my husband also he speaks <his mother tongue> but he speaks English so our common language is English and my children especially my eldest boy and a girl learn <mother tongue> in school and also me I learn <mother tongue> in school but we communicate with friends here especially here in <mother tongue> but I have my own dialect so at home since in <home country> they my children communicate with their grandparents our my older relatives in English so when we came here we used English but they did not learn also their father language this <his mother tongue> -- but now they are they can understand it but they cannot write (#001007F)

Some families (#001002F, 001005M) had more than two languages when English was the lingua franca of the parents and both parents spoke their mother tongues to the children. The situation could however change when the parents became more fluent in Finnish. For example, #001008M used to speak English with his family but later, when he became more fluent, he used Finnish as well. #001011M's family would most possibly always remain trilingual, as his wife was an English native speaker and he spoke his mother tongue to the children, while children had acquired Finnish in kindergarten, and the parents had as well learned Finnish over the years.

The interviewees' attitude toward children's bilingualism was positive, but for some families it had been more of a conscious decision to have a bilingual family than for others. Interviewees #001002F and #001011M had made a clear decision to have a bilingual family. They used the so-called "one person, one language" principle (Ronjat 1913, as cited by Baker 2001:88), in which each parent only uses his or her mother tongue when speaking to the child. In the following extract (4) interviewee #001002F explains what it is like to keep up the division of languages at home.

> **(4)**
> **So you really made a conscious decision when you started up your family how you are going to use the languages**
> very conscious very cause we we have families like that with we have friends that have done that and they have given us ah advice you have to be disciplined and you have to be strict and don't when she starts talking to you in Finnish don't answer or tell them <a phrase in mother tongue> in <Mother tongue> and then she will I mean forcing her a bit to so ah so yeah and it's working beautifully it's working I can see results now (#001002F)

Interviewee #001004F spoke English with her daughter. However, being a single parent to her child who was surrounded by Finnish in daycare and herself learning Finnish, speaking solely English with her daughter was at times challenging. Below, in example (5), she describes how her daughter is responding to language at home being English.

> **(5)**
> ...but I can I can see that she's learning much she's learning more English than they used to because before when she was like two years old she doesn't reply to me in English always reply to me in Finnish even though she understand what I said she understand what I meant and then now she's starting to to speak English to me and to reply English to me but I also noticed that if we are outside and I speak English to her she always reply to me in Finnish because she is she is shy to speak English to me if somebody's listening (#001004F)

Obviously, it is not easy to keep up the language use when there are no other speakers of the language in the family or in the circle of friends. Indeed, #001002F mentioned that using baby sitters who speak her mother tongue and traveling back to her home country once in a while were important for keeping up the bilingualism of her daughter. As noted before, the lack of other speakers

of the language was probably part of the reason why #001003M and #001008M did not manage to teach their mother tongues to their children.

For interviewee #001005M the situation was more complex, as he had been away from his wife and son for some years when the son had been learning to speak. Thus, he had not been able to speak his mother tongue with his son from the beginning, but was at the moment trying to do so, simply because they did not have any other language in common. Further, with their second child, he spoke his mother tongue from the beginning. When he first came to live in Finland, his wife had to act as an interpreter between him and their son. In the example (6) #001005M explains his situation.

> **(6)**
> **did you when you started your family did you decide that this is how we want to use the languages or did it just happen that you started**
> in that case you cannot decide anything before you see the situation but of course it was so hard when I came here <son> was almost four years old and one of guy who can speak excellent language which I don't understand at all so it takes time many times mother becames our translator what father is saying and what son is saying to father and the most hardest time when I became alone with him (#001005M)

Moreover, sometimes #001005M used some Finnish with his son, as that was still the son's strongest language. His wife, however, was not happy about this, as she feared that he might affect the son's Finnish skills with his incorrect usage. He joked about it saying that his son told everybody that he spoke "bad Finnish" with his father.

6.1.2 Language use at work place

All interviewees used English to some degree at work. For most interviewees, Finnish was not required in their work, and being able to communicate in English had therefore been the requirement for receiving employment. Three interviewees (#001002F, #001006M and #001010M) used almost solely English as their working language, whereas four interviewees (#001003M, #001007F, #001008M, #001011M) were able to handle matters with Finnish colleagues in Finnish.

Two of the interviewees (#001005M and #001009M) could use their mother tongues at workplace as some of their coworkers shared their mother tongue, but with other employees and customers they used mostly English.
#001004F was not working at the time of the interview, but had used mostly Finnish at school and during her practical training. She had to ask her colleagues to speak Finnish to her at her practical training work place, as the Finnish coworkers were eager to speak English with her.

Being able to handle matters in English can make a great difference. In the extract (7) below #001010M says that if he had not been able to speak English, they might not have moved to Finland at all. Furthermore, #001006M finds it extremely useful that people are able to study and work in Finland using English only.

> **(7)**
> maybe I would have learned Finnish faster I can't tell maybe I wouldn't have dared to come here well that's more probable I think if we do rational decisions on whether we go somewhere and we were discussing about going to Finland too and and the problem of the language just was not there because we both knew in the end it will work with English if that opportunity hadn't been there then we'd probably just said no we can't go to Finland because you can't talk there you can't communicate with anyone in other countries that also wouldn't be difficulty for example if we would go to France without being able to speak French my brother learned French somehow in three months and I was hoping to do that with Finnish too but no chance and there it is we couldn’t just spontaneously go France and maybe if we are bad half a year and then we can communicate with the people there but in Finland I wouldn't be able to have a job and that would just have said no we won't go to Finland (#001010M)

Indeed, #001010M worked mainly in English, but he mentioned being able to “write error messages” in Finnish, as his work involved programming. He had one colleague who had tried speaking Finnish with him, but he did not find his Finnish easy to understand.

#001006M used mostly English at work. He owned a small company that employed both Finns and immigrants and had English as the working language. Communication within the company had gone smoothly but sometimes there had been communication problems between them and their Finnish clients due to the technical language of the field.

In addition, #001011M remembered one incident when he had miscommunicated in Finnish with a colleague that had caused an actual mistake at work. This experience made him more determined to learn Finnish. Further, he had noticed that it might make a difference whether ideas are presented in English or Finnish. In the following extract (8) he notes that sometimes when his Finnish colleagues use English, there seems to be something missing in the communication, even though the message gets across.

> **(8)**
> …that I can communicate in this language, which is not really the words as well say that the tone of which is in between the lines in a way I can use it in Finnish but then I use English then I feel that several colleagues have a little challenge with that part they can of course communicate but it's not it's a little more cool feeling all of the sudden I don't know if it's uncertainty or if it's just missing routine but it's just more different (#001011M)

6.1.3 Free time activities and friends

The default language, for those who did not speak Finnish at work, remained the same for free time activities. "…[A]nd well speaking English anyway all day then why should we then speak Finnish suddenly in the free time", as interviewee #001010M pointed out. He did sport practice with a mostly Finnish group, but he found it better to communicate in English, as it was faster and easier. For the situation it was more important to get the message across fast than to practice Finnish skills.

Interviewees #001002F, #001004F, #001005M, #001006M, #001007F mentioned having an international group of friends. In this context, English was a common lingua franca. Furthermore, #001002F, #001003M, #001004F, #001005M, #001007F and #001009M had friends and acquaintances in Finland who were from their country of origin or shared their mother tongue.

Interviewees #001008M, #001009M, #001010M and #001011M did not have many acquaintances outside of the workplace. #001011M mentioned that because of work and family life, he had little time for friendships. Interviewee #001010M had noticed this as well, as he thought getting new friends was hard

when men his age were too busy with starting a family. Further, he had found it difficult to get to know Finns. He found that in larger groups Finns tended to chat with each other in Finnish and even ignored him.

Indeed, not many of the interviewees mentioned having Finnish friends. Mostly those whose partners were Finnish had Finnish friends or acquaintances. Moreover, it was common that the Finnish acquaintances were friends of the partner. For example, interviewee #001008M mentioned that most of his Finnish acquaintances were his wife's friends. Interviewee #001009M said he did not have any Finnish friends and only a few acquaintances from his own country of origin. Furthermore, he pointed out that, in his experience, Finns did not seem to be interested in making friends with foreigners and were not very friendly towards them.

6.1.4 Media use

I also asked the interviewees in which language they used different media. For #001008M and #001011M, who knew several languages more or less fluently, the language itself did not seem to influence the selection of the medium. Naturally, when one is fluent in a language, one can choose what one reads or watches according to the content, not the language. #001009M too was of the opinion that it is the content, not the language that decides what he read or viewed, even though his Finnish skills were not very fluent.

#001007F mentioned that although she could communicate well in Finnish, reading and writing the language were still difficult. Thus, she preferred reading newspapers and books in English. She sometimes watched news on TV in Finnish, but, in general, preferred programs in English.

Those who did not know Finnish fluently still used Finnish media sometimes. What might make following news and getting into the culture easier is that plenty of Finnish media is available in English as well as Finnish. #001002F

mentioned that she read Finnish literature in English, as she wanted to have the content even if she was not fluent enough to read it in Finnish.

#001006M mentioned that if he wanted to know what was happening in Finland, his first choice would have been checking the International edition of *Helsingin Sanomat* online. And only if that would have proved not to be informative enough, he might have checked the news in Finnish. Sometimes he leafed through a Finnish newspaper to get glimpses of what was going on in the country.

Furthermore, the interviewees made various choices regarding media use. For example, #001009M had made efforts to use Finnish actively as much as he could, but he still watched the daily news in his own language through satellite channels. #001005M, who said he did not use Finnish that much actively, was trying to expose himself to as much Finnish media as possible and made a conscious decision not to use his mother tongue at home apart from communicating with his children.

6.1.5 Running errands

Interviewees #001003M, #001007F, #001008M and #0010011M could handle all errands, even official business, such as renewing a passport or handling matters with employment officials, in Finnish. In addition, #001004F and #001006M tried to handle all errands in Finnish, although their Finnish was not as fluent yet. They had experienced that matters could still be managed with occasional word of English, or that there would always be someone willing to act as an interpreter.

Although #001009M had only had seven hours of Finnish language course and was not very fluent in Finnish, he was making the effort to use Finnish whenever possible. He said he would always try in Finnish first, and if it did not work out, then he could manage in English.

Interviewee #001005M was in quite the opposite position of those who handle daily meetings with Finns in Finnish, as he was taking care all of his errands in English. He could even take driving lessons and pass the driving test using only English. He was married to a Finn and his wife took care of all the paper work that needed to be done in Finnish, so he had not experienced any problems with the official matters.

Indeed, not having to deal with official matters completely alone made a significant difference. Interviewees #001002F, #001005M, #001010M had received help from their Finnish partners when dealing with official matters. Further, #001004F used to have her now ex-husband help her with official business, but later when they got divorced, she was forced to handle matters alone and had maybe been more active in using Finnish as well.

However, even the ones who used Finnish on a daily basis said that sometimes they felt the need to use English as an auxiliary language. These kinds of situations would rise particularly when the context of the language use was out of the daily sphere, such as in an emergency room. In the examples (9) and (10) below, #001004F and #001011M comment on situations were they might feel the need to resort to English.

> **(9)**
> …but I would I would say that if if I am if I would be sick and you know this ah the what do you call this these medical terms or yeah medical terms quite hard in English it's already hard because you don't know those terms and much more harder in Finnish so I would require tulkki if I would have a like but what's this serious sickness I would require somebody to explain to me in English
> **yeah**
> because usually I don't understand this some kind of --- papers that I receive from doctor if I had a check up
> **so different vocabulary that ways when you don't use it every day and**
> I don't know medical and this these technical terms also this about computers then I usually ask (#001004F)

> **(10)**
> … maybe I used some English I would actually now would still --- sometimes areas I had help my mother she was at a surgery in Jyväskylä hospital some weeks ago months ago and all of a sudden I was in environment that you talk about medical terms which actually would be difficult to understand in my native language so then you really have to start thinking then but still I mean I use Finnish but I think that still can be challenge after living here fifteen years (#001011M)

The interviewees seemed to be divided between two different views of being able to handle errands in English. #001002F, #001005M, #001008M were of the opinion that in Jyväskylä it is easy to take care of daily matters in English. In #001008M's words "the level of English in Finland is very impressive, I mean, everybody, even the bus driver, can at least understand". #001002F felt that it is even hard to practice Finnish skills when Finns did not let her speak Finnish.

On the other hand, #001004F felt she did not really know that many Finns who spoke English, but admitted that her experience was from living her first years in Finland in a small rural town, and that in Jyväskylä the situation was probably different. #001006M felt that sometimes Finns did not want to understand his Finnish, but did not really offer to speak English either.

Often the decision of which language to use came down to practicality and certain wish to maintain one's face. #001005M mentioned that he would feel embarrassed to use improper Finnish in public and rather uses English. In his quote in the example (11) below, #001010M sees two sides to using Finnish in public: wanting to practice the skill, and yet, not wanting to cause discomfort to the other person.

> **(11)**
> I like to have it so that people try it with Finnish but I know that it takes a lot of patience and that's also not nice for me to know that I'm stressing the other person's patience and then English is faster so I want both I want to have some Finnish but also English (#001010M)

The choice of language is naturally influenced by person(s) one is talking to. In extract (12) #001003M points out that in the interview situation, the fact that I started the conversation in English settled the question for that particular situation. He continues that he can manage in Finnish in most situations and using English word here or there as auxiliary is always an option. It seems that even when one learns more and more Finnish, English remains an auxiliary language.

(12)
and when you meet a person how do you decide which language you are going to start using
you can answer yourself this question because I just saw you awhile ago in the near this door of this cafeteria and you say in English hi I am and…
…so it just depends on the person and
depends on the situation... but I do not force my the people to speak English with because I can more or less manage with Finnish nowadays and if they are feeling more comfortable or the if the situation is not so much uh official things that really requires totally understand each other well we speak Finnish and sometimes we have some words in English we exchange ok it goes no problem (#001003M)

6.1.6 Summary of findings under question one

Though language use might seem quite straightforward in that people are likely to use the languages that they are fluent in, various factor influence the selection of the language.

Those who had Finnish spouses most commonly used English as lingua franca at home. Mother tongue was preferred with children and friends who were of the interviewee's home country. However, often there were not many speakers of one's mother tongue, and being the sole speaker of a language to a child seems to be challenging, sometimes even preventing the transfer of the mother tongue to the child.

Some of the interviewees had switched from using solely English to using constantly more Finnish as their skills in the language had developed. However, English was often still used as a back-up, an auxiliary language one can turn to when running out of words in Finnish.

The level of skills in Finnish as well as English varied a lot. Thus, it was natural that many of the interviewees said that they do use Finnish when they have enough skills for the situation at hand. Of course, whether the other person is able, or willing, to speak any other language than Finnish affects the choice of language.

Further, feelings of insecurity may influence which language one uses, as being afraid of making mistakes in Finnish might stop one speaking it. On the other hand, even #001005M used some Finnish with his son when he simply could not make himself understood in his mother tongue. Being forced to use a language seemed to be the key in learning the language; this aspect will be discussed in section 6.3.

6.2 Question two: What kind of relationship do the interviewees have with English/Finnish/mother tongue?

Language and culture interact and are a part of one's identity. I sought to find out what kind of views and relationships interviewees had with English, Finnish, and their own mother tongue. Focus was on English as the lingua franca and Finnish as the target language. Some issues about mother tongue came up as well, although it was not discussed as extensively as the two other languages. I asked the interviewees to describe Finnish and English, and asked questions about their feelings of using different languages.

6.2.1 English and Finnish as described by the interviewees

For most interviewees English was the first foreign language (or a second language) they had learned. Many mentioned that grammatically English is quite an easy language to learn. #001005M recalled the saying that English is the easiest language to learn, but the hardest language to perfect. The lack of systematic correspondence between spelling and pronunciation of English was mentioned as a challenge. Furthermore, sometimes different varieties of English caused problems in understanding.

For some of the interviewees the attitude towards English seemed to be more emotional than for others. For example, #001004F said English was like her "boyfriend"- i.e. something really important for her - and that she would most probably use the language for the rest of her life. #001002F said English was really a second mother tongue for her, and described it as her "walking cane". The feelings attached to language learning and skills, as well as language being felt as part of identity, are discussed in more detail in sections below.

English was described mostly as international, important, and global language. The interviewees had two points of view regarding this. For instance, #001003M felt that it was important for the sake of the Finnish economy that

Finns knew English and were able to work in the globalized world. However, in his view, for a foreigner who came to live in Finland it was not enough to know English; for integrating and getting a job, Finnish was needed. Indeed, interviewee #001004F thought it was important for Finland businesswise that people knew English, but felt that for foreigners it was more important to know Finnish than English.

On the other hand, some felt that English had a larger role for the Finland they live in. Interviewee #001006M said that knowing English was good for Finns as it enabled them to interact with the rest of the world, but what is more, English had made working and studying in Finland possible for him. Further, as shown earlier in the example (7), #0010010M doubts whether it would have even made sense for him to come to Finland, unless he had known English. Thus, some interviewees did find English essential for the foreigners who move to Finland. Further in the following extract (13), #001002F says that English has made her stay in Finland easy and she has not countered any problems, as people know English and are more than happy to use it.

> **(13)**
> what is it like well uhm for me English is well it's an international language it's like it's with me all the time what I use all the time to to get me through to to life whatever I am it's you know so important it's all powerful it's everywhere basically so yeah and I find it people find it very important that you know this is a should we switch to English you know you are always eager here you know you have a a a homogeneous groups it's English that you know we rely on for everything you know so yeah in Finland they have found that to be you know the case you know that the importance of English it's you know I haven't found here any type of racism or linguistic racism or you know language racism or people are happy to help you and they're happy to use English and they acknowledge the importance of English … (#001002F)

Moreover, even when the interviewees found English important, they did not think it should take over Finnish. Interviewees #001003M, #001004F, #001010M and #001007F all felt knowing English was important for Finns, but nevertheless thought that English should not become the only used language.

Finnish was described as a difficult and phonetic language. #001008M found the sounds of Finnish pleasant to listen to and associated the language with a mother’s words to a baby, as his wife spoke Finnish to their children, and this had been perhaps his most extensive contact with listening to spoken Finnish.

Most comments about Finnish dealt with difficulty in learning because of grammar, and these comments are discussed in more detail in the section 6.3.2 on Finnish acquisition and learning.

6.2.2 Criticism of language use

Although in general the interviewees seemed flexible about their language use and expressed only little experience of misunderstandings, some of the interviewees' views were quite critical of language change and seemed to almost demand language purity in both English and Finnish.

For example, #001008M felt that the level of English used today in general had deteriorated. This had maybe more to do with the content of the media than the language itself. He felt the media were focused on sports and entertainment, instead of critical and scientific topics, and, although many young people were practically bombarded with English from various media, the kind of English used was quite simple in vocabulary and the topics dealt were practically unimaginative. He had further noted that English was starting to influence the structures of other languages.

What is more, two interviewees (#001007F and #001010M) commented on the presence of Anglicisms in Finnish. They both had noticed the same phenomenon from slightly different perspectives. It is very common to form new loan words in Finnish by changing the pronunciation of an English word to a more Finnish sounding form. Examples of such are printteri (printer) and hitti (hit). Interviewee #001010M felt critical of this kind of loan words in Finnish and thought it would have been better to use Finnish words in stead of these Anglicisms. His view is displayed in the example (14).

(14)
…I found a lot of anglicism in the Finnish language too especially in IT in the IT area but different from <mother tongue> they are just pronounced in a Finnish way there are so many words and at the beginning I think should I laugh about them but then I think how can you abuse your language like that that what is it I'm very bad with examples the only example is always tiimi and uh serveri and well I'm really bad with

examples but there are so many oh yeah now we had leiska leiska do you know leiska what that is
not sure
there was an email or some task list that we need uudet leiskat
ok@@
that's the new layout (#001010M)

As Finns appear to have a tendency to form loans from English words, it seems quite common that when speaking Finnish Finns pronounce English words as Finnish. Interviewee #001007F was very critical of this kind of speech and thought that children should be taught in school to keep the two languages separate and always pronounce English words with English pronunciation. On the other hand, as seen from the excerpt (15), she is ready to welcome more English use in Finland; thus her concern seems to be not so much of English creeping into Finnish, but keeping English words recognizable for foreigners.

(15)
uh I think uhm now that the Finland would is already a member of EU and it is expanding and there are lots of more foreigners coming here I think it would be better that they have also to to concentrate more on English already this have to start on English already and one more thing that if the for example in medical terms I think it would be better that they would use English especially the doctors because it is not easy to be translating this medical terms to Finnish (#001007F)

6.2.3 Feelings related with language learning and skills

The interviewees did not speak a great deal about feelings associated with language learning and skills, but some thoughts were shared on the issue. For example, #001004F mentioned feeling proud that she was learning Finnish; knowing another language gives her more resources. #001002F, on the other hand, said she felt frustrated because she “used to be talented at languages” but had not been able to master Finnish. In addition, #001010M said that he came with high hopes of mastering Finnish within months, as his brother had done with French language, but was disappointed to find this was not the case with Finnish.

Feelings of regret and worry could also be detected. Interviewees #001003M, #001004F, #001007F, and #001009M felt their English had deteriorated after coming to Finland, simply because they had used English less, and in particular, since they had been using English with non-native English speakers. As can be detected from the extract (16), interviewee #001003M expresses open disappointment about his English skills deteriorating.

(16)
I'm very unhappy and disappointed that this thing happened to me because I was forced to speak with anyone who knew in the few words of English language and it was so slow to talking to them that affected my English (#001003M)

Interviewee #001010M was not concerned about losing his English skills, but nevertheless felt that dealing with Finns in English all the time had influenced his English. Some Finnish constructions might be creeping into his English as he comments in the extract (17).

(17)
yeah I also had the feeling that sometimes it becomes worse because the Finns especially the one thing if you ask someone something I have to ask <name of wife> for example then Finns always say I have to ask from <name of wife> because asking is always this direction thing in these six direction cases and if all the Finns always say this oh you have to ask from <name of wife> you have to ask from this one or from that one then it just somehow permeates into you and you just have to use it too and in these cases sometimes it becomes worse but well as I said when I'm when I read a book from library or if I buy a new book hardly do I get a <mother tongue> book here so I'm reading more English and this probably keeps my English little bit better (#001010M)

On the other hand, #001006M, #001008M and #001011M said they had become more fluent in English after coming to Finland, simply because for them it was the first environment, where they started actively to use English in daily life.

None of the interviewees expressed fear of deterioration in their mother tongue skills. #001006M had noticed that sometimes he mixed English structures or words with his mother tongue, but found this only amusing. As seen in example (18), he is not worried about this kind of mixing of languages, as he feels that the language would come eventually back if he were to go and stay in his home country.

(18)
when it comes to <mother tongue> and and English it's I don't know I think I think when you are living here for so long then you start thinking in English if that's your default language and when you try to speak the other one then the words won't come and there will be some kind of thinking time every now and then but the same would happen if I would go to to <country of origin> then the words would come in Finnish and then I would in English and then I would stay there for awhile and when I come back here I would be still thinking a bit in <mother tongue> maybe the switching is not immediate sometimes. (#001006M)

#001005M and #001009M felt strongly that it would not be possible to lose one's mother tongue, since one has used it so much thus far. #001009M felt that only those who move to another country in childhood had the risk of losing their mother tongue.

Furthermore, emotions may interfere with having the courage to speak Finnish. It is common to feel ashamed or be afraid of making mistakes. As mentioned in the previous chapter, #001005M felt ashamed of using "bad Finnish" in public. #001010M, on the other hand, felt he does not want to stress other people with his inadequate Finnish. In the extract (19) below #001004F describes how when she is unsure of the pronunciation, she rather uses English; mispronouncing a word can lead to embarrassing situations such as once with her Finnish teacher.

(19)
two dots yeah and then this naa nain and näin and then one time I was talking to my teacher and he's a male teacher@ @ I have seen him sitting on the bench
yeah
during weekend and then I said minä nain sinut@@ minä nain sinut penkillä and suddenly he bursts into laughter and then why are you laughing did you did you realise what di what you just said to me yeah I saw you sitting on the bench no <whispers, shows with hands> like this @ oh so it mea it means also another thing yeah but there is a difference in the way you the way you speak it you said this this negative word but negative because someb- if somebody would hear it then they would say ow what --- -- this because it only differs this dots with or without dots then it's a big difference so is hard also sometimes I'd rather say English say it in English word than in Finnish especially if I don't know if I am not sure if I'm saying it correctly especially with this two dots and this --- <draws with finger on table> y is [y] y (#001004F)

6.2.4 Language and personality

Some studies (for example Hong et al. 2000) suggest that bicultural people can switch between different cultural frames. Ramírez-Esparza et al. (2006) have further found that bilingual people's personalities change according to which language they are using. They attributed this phenomenon to the cultural frame switching effect, as bilingual people are usually bicultural.

Some of the interviewees had noticed that they, or someone they knew, acted differently depending on which language they used. Interviewee #001002F said her daughter had learned to behave in different ways in different language situations, for instance by adjusting the volume of her voice and changing her body language according to whether she used Finnish or her other mother tongue. Furthermore, she had noticed that her own behavior changed according to the language she spoke.

#001008M had not noticed this behavior in himself, but remembered a visiting Finnish-Canadian colleague to whom this applied. He felt the colleague had been much more open and direct when using Finnish than when he had been when using English. According to #001008M one can read Finns' emotions on their faces, whereas North Americans are much less revealing.

#001005M said he had not noticed he would have felt or acted any different when using, for example, English or his mother tongue. #001005M had not lived in any English-speaking country and he regarded English as a tool of communication. This could explain why he did not feel any change of cultural frame when using different languages, he had not learned English in its cultural context and thus was not "bicultural".

Furthermore, #001007F said she did not think language had that great part of one's culture or identity. In the excerpt (20) she explains her views of culture and identity. Here again, the attitude towards language might be somewhat instrumental. Perhaps, since for her English is a second language instilled from

above as an official language, the bond with the language is not as strong as it might be for someone who has grown up using only one language.

> **(20)**
> **What about your own identity does it is it affected by the all the different languages that you know do you feel like**
> no no it does not matter if I have learn if for example the language that I know now for example these English it did not affect it did not affect my my my culture because the our culture is not just language it is also the different kind of attitudes of how <people from her country of origin> cope up with their live or in different ways or how you you see the it is how you look at the manners different manners or different ways that people cope up with their life
> **yeah**
> and then the culture you can see it it is not only in the culture but you can see it in how they talk yeah one way is in how they talk and then how to in a different uhm what is this different uh like in music in dancing and in writing also but the language I think it's only a part of it but my identity I don't I don't identify it with just my language it is sometimes your appearance or your inner part inner surface just would help you identify yourself and this is very important for us our for example culture which includes our attitude our ways how to deal with a few how to cope up with a with stress for example and then hospitality but then the language I don't think so (#001007F)

Gardner and Lambert (1972) have identified two motivational attitudes towards second- language learning: *integrative motivation* and *instrumental motivation*. An integratively-motivated learner wants to learn the language in order to be able to interact and even integrate with the speakers of the target language. In contrast, an instrumentally-motivated learner is not interested in the speakers of the target language, but wants to learn the language for more practical reasons, such as getting employment. One can argue that for many of the interviewees the attitude towards English is an instrumental one, as the language is mostly used as lingua franca and not as a language of identification.

Furthermore, identity is constructed partly by how others perceive us and here again language skills might affect the outcome. For example, #001010M felt that the way others perceived him and what his role was in a group might have been different when using either English or Finnish. Often, when speaking English, he was one of the more fluent people in the group, and might have therefore seemed more talkative than usual. On the other hand, he thought that as he could not speak Finnish very well, he might have seemed quiet and even “stupid” in his Finnish neighbors’ eyes. Further, simply being a person who knows languages might affect how people perceive one. #001011M said that in

the United States people seem to think that if a person knows several languages, it is something very special, whereas in Europe being multilingual is more of an assumed characteristic.

However, speaking several languages and knowing different cultures can affect one's attitude towards cultural differences. As he explains in the extract (21), #001011M feels that having different languages and cultures in his family has made him more open and flexible towards cultural differences and new environments.

> **(21)**
> …but of course I think getting used to live in in multiple languages maybe as well let's say getting let's say having multiple nationalities in the family that helps to understand different cultures so if I'm going out to another country where maybe I haven't been before sometimes if I wouldn't have had this space let's say influence from different cultures then sometimes I think I would take things more serious or let's say not understand how there can be different opinions or I would go now maybe now to a country where I haven't been before it really would help to get used to new environment so it's more and more let's say flexible and more fast to adapt to new cultures… (#001011M)

When asked about the link between language and culture, interviewees gave quite differing answers. Some felt that one needs to know the language in order to understand the culture (#001004F, #001008M, #0010011M), while #001010M felt it is rather the other way around, and still others (#001006M, #001007F and #001009M) said that language was actually not that significant part of the culture. The latter thought that knowing the language would help one to adjust to the host environment, but it was not required for understanding the cultural mindset. Each of these opinions is displayed in examples (22), (23), and (24) respectively.

> **(22)**
> it's true because the language's part of the culture of one's one one country's culture so if you can speak then is more chance for you to relate to people to relate to whatever to the environment so it's very important (#001004F)

> **(23)**
> **you talked about understanding Finnish language and all this somebody has said that you can only understand the mindset of one culture if you learn the language so do you agree with this**
> [13s pause] no rather the other way around I mean just by living here even if I'm talking mainly English I learn to know people I learn to know what they like how they live and so their mindset I learn that faster than the language but the language itself

has some some rather unusual ways of expressing something I find that interesting but well I don't know if there's a connection and and I rather say that by learning how Finnish people see things I rather understand the Finnish language better than the other way around… (#001010M)

(24)
no I don't think so because of course the language does not speak for the culture and then in cult maybe the language is a part of the culture but then it's not only the whole of it you have also different in culture you have different aspect of this of this culture it's not just one which is the language I don't think
but uh let's say that while you've learned more Finnish do you think that has any way helped you to understand the culture as well
no, no no because I even if I don't learn the language I could understand already the feelings of the or the culture of Finnish Finnish culture in other ways it's not only the language because the language is not the identity I think of the culture the identity of culture because there are ways because you have to consider also the attitudes the mentality and then other things here and it's just a surface that language (#001007F)

6.2.5 Reflexive language use in close relationships

Many of the interviewees had experienced that although they would have wanted to practice speaking Finnish with their partners, it was very hard to keep up without lapsing into English. The interviewees felt that perhaps this kind of behavior was reflexive, as one had always used English with the other person, and communicating in a certain language was part of their relationship. In addition, using certain words or phrases as an inside joke might have been part of the relationship.

Furthermore, simply getting the message across and not wanting to burden the partner with slow speech and unclear messages might have been part of the reason why it is so difficult to practice Finnish with one’s partner.

#001005M mentioned that speaking English with his wife was clearly something that had started at the beginning of the relationship, and as feelings were involved, this habit was difficult to change. Moreover, he mentioned that when they lived some years apart, communication took place mainly via telephone. They had felt it best to use English, as it had been the fastest and the easiest way to ensure comprehension at both ends of the telephone line. As illustrated by the extract (25), speaking English and using some special words of their own are part of the relationship. This is a similar phenomenon Sapir

(1949a:17) mentions: speaking a certain language equals belonging to a certain group.

> **(25)**
> …for example this kind of things also making our language is funnier many words when I start to speak with with my wife many words I don't know direct in English and during that time we were using Finnish <mother tongue> dictionary I'm talking about the beginning so those words even we learn what is the Finnish what is in English and what is in <mother tongue> we know in three language what is the meaning but we are still using what we have been learning from dictionary …like there I'm locked and it's not going away and many things, many words like this so that I can say it's little bit hard *to if you are having a good contact with somebody else and to change the language totally with this person* (#001005M)

In the example (26), #001002F says she and her husband have tried speaking Finnish, but this usually backfires, as it simply feels artificial and even as if they were different people. Thus they always glide back to using English.

> **(26)**
> it feels strange because yeah we decided ok why don't we use at least five to ten minutes every day even if we're in the kitchen you know and speak to me in Finnish you know like if you're gonna say pass me the the spoon you know anna mulle lusikka or or suola say it in Finnish to me but then you know after three minutes or something we find we switch it back to English it doesn't work he feels artificial and it's feels like it's a lesson he said I met you in English you know and it's like because you know when you switch languages you kinda have a *different personality* it goes with the language you know I have the <mother tongue> personality the English personality and the Finnish personality when I speak a bit of Finnish so yeah so we both feel like yeah it's artificial we try to speak English it's like I'm talking to a different man and he's talking to a different woman and and we just don't have the patience for that so it hasn't really worked out for us (#001002F)

#001006M had tried practicing Finnish with his girlfriend as well, but they too tended to go back to using English, as it was so much easier to get the message across in that language. In the following extract (27) he explains how English has become their default language and it is hard to keep up conversation in Finnish.

> **(27)**
> we tried a couple of times like things like today we will speak more Finnish
> **with your girlfriend**
> yeah my girlfriend and or like this week we will do only Finnish it starts fine but then it it loses the track and then we get back to English so
> **Do you have an idea like why it's so hard like is it the do you think that when you first met you used English and somehow part of your relationship or**
> Could be and also like I associate it being in Finland with speaking English from the beginning but also just because it is it is so easy and many times you you just want to deliver the message and not think about how to deliver it so much so you just use

> English it's natural you were thinking in that language it's different if I would have to make an effort to speak English I think then I could like ok if I have to make an effort effort that I can choose which one it'll be… (#001006M)

He further points out in example (28) that it is equally hard for him to try and speak his mother tongue with his girlfriend to help her learn that language.

> **(28)**
> …maybe that's something even if currently <name of girlfriend>'s trying to speak a bit more of <interviewee's mother tongue> then I have to force myself to speak <mother tongue> like it's not really that that I have to think a lot what to say but I have to condition myself like I have to speak <mother tongue> now and anything I say has to come in <mother tongue> and it doesn't come out in <mother tongue> it comes in English so maybe a sign in front of my eyes saying ok <mother tongue> blinking there <mother tongue> <mother tongue> <mother tongue> then then it could work maybe the same would work with Finnish I don't know (#001006M)

6.2.6 Summary of findings under question two

In the interviewees' answers languages - English in particular - were examined from various affective perspectives. English was described as important and useful language, but some even considered it as a friend. Feelings associated with language skills ranged from feeling proud of knowing Finnish to feelings of frustration and worry over deteriorating English skills.

English for most was "only" a lingua franca, in that the orientation towards it seemed to be quite instrumental. On the other hand, for some, English was a language of identification. #001002F said that English is clearly a part of her identity. She felt her behavior changed according to which language she was using, and using English was part of her relationship with her husband.

For some others as well, a certain language seemed to be part of their relationship with certain people. On the one hand, #001005M seemed to have a strong connection with English, the language being the main communication tool of his relationship with his wife, but on the other hand, he had not noticed that his personality changes when using a different language. Naturally, it does not mean that one cannot have the first experience without the second. In my view it is not surprising that #001002F should feel stronger about English

being part of her identity than #001005M, as he was not as fluent in English, nor had he lived in an English-speaking culture. English-speaking culture was not part of #001005M identity, but speaking their own special variety of English was a major part of the relationship with his wife.

Interviewees seemed to have more of a language learner's relationship with Finnish; when talking about that language, they mostly considered grammatical features and other issues that help or hinder their learning of the language, whereas English was described using more affectionate terms. It might be that when a person speaks a language more or less fluently, they have a relationship with the language, whereas when they are still learning it, and not actively using it, the language is not yet part of who they are. However, probably my questions being focused on Finnish being the language that is being learned (while English was already actively used by the interviewees) that caused this distinction.

6.3 Question three: What makes a difference in learning Finnish?

Some of the interview questions dealt with the process of learning Finnish; how and where had the interviewees learned Finnish; what the interviewees felt had been helpful in learning Finnish; or what they thought prevented them mastering the language.

6.3.1 Language courses and previous experiences of language learning

Due to the varying lengths of stay in Finland, the interviewees were naturally all in different stages of language learning. They had participated in varying number of Finnish courses and some had simply taken more effort to learn the language.

Most interviewees had taken some Finnish courses, and had gathered both positive and negative experiences from them. Interviewees #001003M and #001007F had attended a course early in the 1990s, where the teacher had, instead of teaching Finnish, practiced her own - hardly fluent - English. Interviewee #001009M's impression was that his teacher had also used too much English, but he had only participated partly (for 7 hours) on one course when he first arrived in 2004; thus his impression was based on a very short experience. As illustrated by his comments in example (29), interviewee #001008M feels that the courses he took in the 1980s and 1990s were too focused on writing and grammar, whereas he wanted to learn how to speak Finnish.

(29)
in the first year I started but it was such a disaster I mean I come to the lesson and here they try to read a text and I'm supposed to write I have no clue of rules of writing and I see no point of it the other point when I was I wanted to learn how to buy some sausages in shop or how to ask the girl to dance and not study grammar and I didn't need the written language I needed this spoken language and the teaching was that you first have to write and I didn't care for that I still don't write anything I mean I read the newspaper but not really what I need I need to interact like now it still doesn't come with question on paper he wants to talk to me and my answer and not wait a

second I write it up would be ridiculous (#001008M)

Interviewee #001004F had taken several courses, and in general found the teachers and the pace of the courses good; however she had had one negative experience with a teacher who was very strict about being late and talking in class. The teacher had not allowed talking among students when in fact the students had been talking among themselves in order to clarify to others what the teacher had been saying. She felt the teachers should understand their point of view and learn to be more flexible.

Interviewee #001010M had participated in three courses at the Jyväskylä adult education centre. He felt that the courses themselves had been good and had helped a great deal in understanding the grammar of the language. Furthermore, he thought that most of the learning was up to the individual learner's motivation and effort. He would have participated on a fourth course, but there had not been enough people to continue to this level.

Similarly, interviewees #001002F and #001006M thought the courses themselves had been quite good, but it was the lack of effort on their own side that had been the main reason for not being fluent in Finnish despite having lived in the country for several years.

The availability of courses was sometimes problematic too. Immigrants are offered support in integration in the form of Finnish courses, but resources are limited, and one often has to wait for months to be able to enroll on a language course. In addition, work sometimes interferes. #001002F and #001010M, for example, found work before they could start the courses offered to them. Interviewee #001002F had taken some intensive courses later on, but felt that once one had settled into daily life in Finland, the threshold for going to a course full of newly arrived immigrants got constantly higher. Furthermore, she had to drop out from one of the courses, as it overlapped with her work schedule. #001005M had been offered practical training right after his arrival, and afterwards was employed full time; thus he never had the chance to start a course.

Indeed, all the interviewees who had reached a fluent level of Finnish opined that “learning by doing” is the best way to master a language. #001003M, #001007F and #001008M had all learned Finnish through actively using the language, although they all had had negative experiences from their Finnish courses. #001011M was quite happy with his courses (he had received private lessons and taken courses paid by his employer), but said that actively using the language had been the key to his learning.

Some of those who were not as fluent in Finnish found both ways of learning important. #001002F was a language teacher herself and regarded the knowledge of grammar essential in the mastering of a language. However, she sometimes found herself hoping she had been able to simply pick up the language by speaking as many of her friends had done. #001010M found the courses helpful as they concentrate on the structure of the language; yet, in his experience learning fluent English had only been accomplished by being brave enough to use the language in practice. He expected the same to be true for learning Finnish.

#001009M thought some people could pick up a language without taking lessons, but felt it was better if everybody were to study grammar from books, so that they would understand the structures of the language.

In addition to taking language courses, the interviewees had used different kinds of written materials to practice Finnish on their own. #001005M was trying to surround himself with Finnish words; he had, for example, acquired all his computer software in Finnish editions. #001002F and #001006M watched and read news in Finnish. Some of the interviewees (#001002F, #001005M, #001006M, #001009M and #001011M) had found watching programs with Finnish subtitles somewhat useful. Conversely, #001004F, #001007F and #001010M did not find it useful at all. This could be partly a cultural aspect, as #001010M mentioned that he came from a country where all foreign programs are dubbed, and he is not used to reading subtitles.

In general, knowing other languages, i.e. having experience in learning a language did not seem to make a great difference in mastering Finnish for this group of interviewees. #001002F said sometimes she felt frustrated about not being able to learn Finnish, as she "used to be talented at languages". As illustrated by the example (30), #001008M thinks some people might have talent for languages, but in general knowing one foreign language does not make a difference when learning another completely different language.

> **(30)**
> I don't think that it helps that you know other languages but it's a question of approach and of course I guess some some things that you have and you are not responsible, I mean a gift kind of that you have and desire to talk and things but I don't know I mean certainly I don't know how it would help if I'd known say German to do learn Finnish there's not connection what so ever (#001008M)

Knowing other languages is deemed useful when learning Finnish only in that they can be used as auxiliary languages. #001004F mentioned that when one does not know a certain word in Finnish, it is possible to look it up in a Finnish-English dictionary or use a word from another language to see if the conversation partner knows the word.

6.3.2 The difficult nature of the Finnish language

Difficulty in learning Finnish seemed to stem mainly from the language being so different from any other language the interviewees already knew. As Finnish is a synthetic (morphemes are added to the end of the word to form different grammatical structures) rather than an analytic language (in which grammatical structures are expressed by using separate particles and other grammatical words) made it more challenging. For example, interviewee #001004F said remembering 15 or more forms for one word made Finnish difficult to learn. Furthermore, #001007F mentioned that remembering grammatical forms was hard, particularly when they were not always used in spoken Finnish. She could handle all daily tasks in Finnish, but she still found writing Finnish hard, since although in Finnish there is usually just one sound associated with one letter, the English sound-letter combinations interfered when writing Finnish.

#001006M pointed out that he could easily learn other Latin languages, as the words in his mother tongue are so similar to words in these related languages. However he felt that there was much more to be internalized when learning Finnish: not only does one need to memorize the various grammatical rules, but as most of the vocabulary does not have any connection to those of other languages, one has to memorize all the individual words as well. #001010M criticized how Finnish grammar was said to be very rule based, whereas he felt most of those rules were just exceptions to other rules.

Interviewees #001004F, #001006M, #001008M and #001011M mentioned having problems with double letters; for foreigners it can be hard to make a distinction between such words as *tuli*, *tuuli* and *tulli*. Furthermore, #001007F and #001004F found the Finnish vowel sounds [y], [ä] and [ö] hard to pronounce, or even to distinguish from [u], [a] and [o] respectively. On the other hand, #001004F and #001006M found the phonetic nature of written Finnish helpful, as words are written approximately the same way they are pronounced.

In the example (31), #001008M says Finnish is not actually very hard, as the vocabulary needed for basic communication is not that large.

> **(31)**
> and many things also have this kind of prejudice that foreigners are not able to learn Finnish that Finnish is a difficult language which it's not I mean it's actually an easy language so maybe there is no not many international words but on the other hand the number of words is not very big and you can easily make new words by combining them putkimies you know type of things so it's actually quite easy I mean of course if you want to be perfect it's another thing but who is perfect when there are so many languages and there are so many languages that --- people --- so actually it's not so bad if you just want to cope with it if you want to be perfect it's another thing but with another language it's the same (#001008M)

6.3.3 Silent Finns always eager to speak English

The interviewees had had varying experiences with Finns. For some it seemed that Finns were very eager to speak English, whereas others felt that Finns only spoke Finnish. Some felt they were even expected to use English. Interviewee

#001002F felt that Finns often did not give her a chance to practice Finnish, as Finns seem eager to help and to practice their own English. However, as an English teacher she was always willing to help the Finns with their English.

Interviewee #001003M however, regarded this kind of eagerness to practice English as negative. ‘Selfish Finns’ were only interested in practicing their language skills, and not in getting to know the other person. In addition, he felt that because of this his own English skills had deteriorated.

#001011M had not personally encountered this phenomenon, but said that his mother had found that Finns turn to English too eagerly. In contrast, #001006M, #001008M, #001010M felt that at first they had been surrounded with people eager to speak English. Later it had changed. #001006M felt that in general Finns did not really offer to speak English: he himself had to ask for it. He said that once one started a conversation in Finnish, it was assumed one could speak Finnish. Nevertheless, he felt that English was more or less a third language in Finland which practically everybody of certain age group can at least understand.

#001007F said that she was more likely to suggest using English than the Finn. Indeed, she found that Finns were shy to use English and that particularly children were not very talkative. #001002F also commented on how Finns often belittled their skills and needed encouragement to use English.

On the other hand, #001007 had found that Finns were happy to see a foreigner try to speak Finnish and would always encourage it, even when they did not understand what the foreigner was trying to say. In addition, #001009M, #001010M and #001011M had received encouragement from Finns for using Finnish.

However, #001008M had opposite experiences; he felt that Finns were not flexible about language: they did not understand word play and did not want to understand what was being said, if it was not perfect. He gives an example of this in extract (32). Furthermore, #001006M commented on how Finns were

not very cooperative and did not always seem to want to understand his Finnish.

> **(32)**
> back in the winter of 83 and 84 I was skiing with colleague of mine was Italian and they all had the basic knowledge of Finnish we went to ladunmaja this place so we weren't very good at skiing so after ten kilometers were totally exhausted and very thirsty and we go to this little place were they sell sandwiches and other things and my Italian colleague said sanko vettä and he just wanted water but to the lady sanko means ämpäri so she gave him bucket of water because he didn't say saanko vettä
> **yeah**
> so it was amazing on the one hand his mistake and on the other hand a common mistake in Finland I mean *people take it too literally they don't want to interpret* they don't want to be flexible they don't want to guess what is that assuming that was said once and this was enough no you should try to say few times make questions like do you understand this do you want this something like this you want or just a glass (#001008M)

Furthermore, What seemed at first contradictory was that #001004F opined that she did not really know any Finns who speak English, while at the same time she was able to mention many occasions in which she had met Finns who used English (for instance, a sales clerk at a computer shop, and the colleagues at the practical training work place). It could very well be that these isolated incidents cannot change the general image she has of Finns, as the people who speak English did not play a major role in her life. Further, first impressions are lasting and when she first came to live in Finland, she was living in a small town where people did not speak English.

The interviewees seemed to have experienced differing amounts of pressure about conforming. Host conformity pressure and host receptivity are two of the various conditions in the structural model of cross-cultural adaptation, which affect the stranger's integration to host society. In other words, the way host society behaves towards the strangers affects the strangers' integration. The hosts can be more welcoming and accepting towards certain groups of foreigners than others. The more accepting the hosts are toward the foreigner, the less pressure they put on them to conform.

As mentioned earlier in the section 3.3.2, according to Latomaa, Finns often assume native English-speakers to be here temporarily and do not expect them to learn Finnish. The same could apply to some of my interviewees. In

addition, when one obviously can take care of oneself and is being an active member in society (for example is employed) one has less pressure to conform. This might partly explain how different interviewees felt the Finns' attitudes toward them either accepting or not, and how others felt Finns were eager to speak English, whereas others thought that Finns expected one to speak Finnish.

Being surrounded with Finns who are fluent in English and eager to use it may be a great obstacle for immigrants who want to learn Finnish, but on the other hand, the kind of exchanges the immigrants were referring to seemed to involve strangers, such as sales clerks, etc. Those kinds of exchanges may not last long and are probably less significant for language learning than language use in close long-term relationships.

6.3.4 Spouses speak English –Children help with Finnish

Although exchanges with people who one meets in shops and bureaus might help with learning small talk, it is more probable that people closest to one are be more helpful in learning Finnish.

Family members - spouses in particular - seemed eager to help with practical matters, such as handling the bureaucracy in Finnish; however, when it came to providing help for learning Finnish, somehow things did not go as smoothly. The reflexive language use in close relationships was discussed already under the section 6.2.5.

Reflexive language use was not however always fully blocking; some managed to use Finnish, even if it was difficult. #001010M's wife had habitually spoken Finnish to him at home and sometimes they could go for a whole day with her speaking Finnish and him answering in his mother tongue. #001005M mentioned their special language use of mixing his mother tongue and Finnish words into the English they used. Indeed, using Finnish between partners might become a special language of the relationship.

In fact, some interviewees used wordplay for learning purposes. #001010M often played around with Finnish words and sounds to make them easier to remember. After all, in learning the brain tends to go around the issue several times, and learning words can easily become wordplay. As seen in the example (33), in #001011M's family games are used to keep up the three languages used in the family.

> **(33)**
> we sometimes play this games that we that we on purpose on a lunch table agree now for fifteen minutes we all all speak <mother tongue> that's a bit challenging for my wife so basically that's quite a lot of fun --- it doesn't work always but then we have some games that we try to with especially [name] who is a little older and likes it even more that my wife uses a word in English he has to translate it or translates it into Finnish and I'm the next moving on to <mother tongue> translating it to Finnish just some games if he gets it's not that clear that we pushed it but the kids seem to have fun with it (#001011M)

Furthermore, interviewee #001008M mentioned that currently his wife and he used both English and Finnish, and although his wife had the upper hand in Finnish, he still felt using both languages came naturally to him. He did say that it had not been easy for his wife when he was learning how to speak Finnish, as communication became harder and misunderstandings more likely, but he had been determined to use Finnish and by forcing himself to speak only Finnish he had managed it in the end.

Out of the ten interviewees, seven had children. These children had been or were all growing up in Finland speaking Finnish as one of their first languages. Raising a child whose strongest language might not be one's own language was another topic that seemed to evoke thoughts in the interviewees. They acknowledged both positive and negative sides in child-parent communication for their own language skills.

Interviewee #001002F said that her daughter might have had positive effects on her own language learning. As her daughter was growing up, there was more Finnish in the home due to the daughter-father conversation, and she expected that this and her daughter's strongest language being Finnish would help her learn more Finnish as well. Interviewee #001007F said she had

received help with written Finnish from her daughter who was fluent in Finnish.

Finnish-speaking children could further be seen as simply boosting one's motivation to learn the language, as interviewee #001006M – currently childless – comments in the extract (34): if one day he would have children with his Finnish partner, he would need to improve his Finnish.

(34)
well, it looks like we are staying in Fin- like we my girlfriend and I and my company's here and seems that's catching up now so it might be that I will stay here for longer that like family might be growing here and then sooner or later I'm gonna have to start speaking more Finnish obviously to understand what my kids are saying for instance (#001006M)

On the other hand, two interviewees noted that when speaking to their children, they were not using so-called adult language, but very simple structures and words. Not having been present in the early childhood of his first son, interviewee #001005M had not been able to teach his mother tongue to him. Now he was speaking as much of his own mother tongue as possible, while the son answered mainly in Finnish. In extract (35) he explains how he can understand half of what the son says, but this is not to be confused with "really" understanding Finnish, as children's language is more simple and different from adults' Finnish.

(35)
but nowadays like I talk to you he can understand fifty percent <mother tongue> what I've speaking and fifty percent I can understand but I cannot say fifty percent Finnish I can understand because I have learned my son language
yeah
is totally different when chi-
yeah children's language
children's language is totally different but fifty percent I can understand him (#001005M)

As illustrated by the example (36) interviewee #001004F thinks having no one except her daughter with whom to speak English has lowered her fluency in the language.

(36)
I speak English this basic English you know what kids know at her age she only know this like I want to eat like that I play and this basic basic English like dog what is the English of I used to ask her what is the English of of koira kissa like that talo she can but it's not truly an intellectual way of speaking English because you can only you can only speak intellectual English if you are in a in a higher higher form of education like you are in a university or
---
yeah you said that your English has deteriorated since you came Finland
yeah I think so
why
because I have been speaking Finnish
yeah
much and then you know it's different when you are st when you are in school where you speak Finnish where you req- you are required to speak Finnish ah to speak English
yeah
then it's like intellectual English its' not it's not how you how you speak everyday it's not how use because right now I'm speaking with my daughter only and I was like it now @@@@ or sometimes I mix it with my dialects --- you will not eat you have to eat like that you know simple simple sentences (#001004F)

6.3.5 Motivation and the lack thereof

For many of the interviewees it had been possible to work and get by in daily life using English. #001002F, #001003M, #001005M, #001006M #001007F, #001010M all felt they would have probably learned Finnish faster had they not known English at all. Without English they would have been forced to learn Finnish. There is nothing surprising in this, as the more one uses a language, the more fluent one usually becomes. When one is not using the language, progress is improbable.

It became clear that for many taking the comfortable road with using only English had meant lowered motivation to learn Finnish. This in itself had been maybe the greatest obstacle for learning Finnish. When there is no absolute need for something, it is very easy not to do it. In example (37), #001006M speaks about his attitude towards learning Finnish.

(37)
when you want to learn something you you have to really put time on that and and practice it somehow and the the thing is that since I don't need Finnish I don't really try hard to learn it and well I cannot blame anybody for me not being able to talk because I never try to talk or like rarely I I find myself in a situation where I have to speak Finnish (#001006M)

However, interviewees were still motivated to learn Finnish, despite it not being absolutely necessary. Interviewee #001002F said that she had not experienced any pressure to learn Finnish, but with time she was feeling that something was missing; that she could not fully participate in the surrounding life when she could not communicate in Finnish. She had previously lived in USA, and as she could speak English, she felt that in time she had really "become American". She had not had a similar integration experience with Finnish culture. As seen in the example (38), at the time of the interview she wants to become more Finnish and is planning to take a language course that prepares one for the language level test that is required for those who apply for the Finnish citizenship. The possibility of getting the citizenship motivates her learning. In addition, having a Finnish daughter makes her want to be more Finnish as well.

(38)
…one of my plans for the future is to get Finnish citizenship and I would also like to have the European passport cause it's easier when you travel my daughter is Finnish and you know so I've uhm go going to enroll this fall this autumn in this eh työväenopisto kurssi that a for the to prepare you to prepare you for the interview and the test for towards the citizenship and how the national test
…and you know you have to there you know uhm you know know the language of the country no matter how much English there is here and I feel that you know I wanna feel more integrated, I wanna feel like how I felt back in the United States more part of it you know in that sense and that linguistic sense too (#001002F)

For #001008M and #001006M, the wish to communicate with those people who did not speak English - for instance their spouses' parents - had made them more motivated to learn Finnish. When moving back to Finland after some years in the USA, #001008M had found it important that he would be able to communicate with his in-laws. He had therefore made the effort to learn the language and had succeeded in it. For #001006M mastering the language was still in progress. The excerpt (39) illustrates that as he is not fluent in Finnish, he feels that he is missing out on something.

(39)
well it happens all the time that I am a bit alien on what is happening around of me because I cannot understand all the news all the all the articles in the medium and so on uhm sometimes communicating with persons it's not so easy so they so you limit yourself to talk just a few words or you don't do so much of a small talk not that Finnish do a lot of it but still it if you bump into somebody that doesn't speak then you will only speak when you are required maybe I miss that part a little bit too and

> sometimes at work I find something some regulations some websites that I have to know about that are also in Finnish and and then I have to do some guesswork on what is what do they try to say that yes there are situations that that would like benefit a lot if I could speak Finnish (#001006M)

6.3.6 Summary of findings under question three

Achieving host communication competence is in the heart of the model of cross-cultural adaptation; it is the most important skill a stranger has to learn in order to be able to communicate with his/her hosts. However, many of the interviewees had not needed to learn Finnish, as they had managed well enough in English.

The interviewees reported both positive and negative experiences with Finnish language courses; what made the greatest difference, however, was the learner's own efforts. Further, it was noted that Finnish - being so different from any other language the interviewees knew - made mastering language skills even more challenging. However, using any opportunities to practice and taking the initiative to try and speak Finnish were again regarded as most significant for language learning to take place.

Indeed, it became obvious that people do not learn a language in a vacuum. Communication with others is crucial for language learning. As Schuman (1986:387) points out, this is a sort of a "which came first?" question, as in a study made on the acculturation model of second language acquisition, the researchers have found some evidence that those immigrants in USA who have English speaking friends are more fluent in the language than those who do not. The interviewees emphasized two reasons for using English: not wanting to stress the other person, and that in close relationships English use had become habitual. Wanting to have easy and fast communication, English was often found to be the best option.

6.4 Question four: what is felt important for integration in addition to learning the language?

In addition to questions about language, I asked some questions - and the interviewees offered some glimpses - of other issues that affected their integration. “Feeling at home” is one way of describing what it is like to be integrated. I used this term myself when asking about the interviewees’ experiences of adjusting to Finland. Many did indeed feel quite at home in Finland, but some still felt something lacking. What made the difference, in addition to language skills, is discussed in the sections below.

However, in this study, as well as in previous studies of this kind, the interviewees found the learning of the host language to be of the greatest importance for integration. Of course, when the questions were geared towards issues of language learning this outcome is quite inevitable. However, when asked about what one found helpful for one’s adjustment in general, language was often still mentioned at this point.

Both #001002F and #001006M said that not being able to speak Finnish was the one issues that keeps them from being fully integrated to Finland. Further, #001004F stressed that being able to fill in forms in Finnish and to handle other such errands was very important for the feeling of independency. Furthermore, #001005M said that being able to speak Finnish would make him feel more at home, even though at the moment he felt that adjustment had been very easy as so many people in Finland were able to communicate in English. Indeed, #0010011M was of the opinion that it simply is not possible to integrate without knowing the language.

6.4.1 Cultural and environmental factors

The interviewees had all experienced cultural differences in the ways they themselves and Finns behave. Interviewee #001002F was the only one who mentions having read theoretical information about the issue before moving into another culture. She felt that this had helped her a great deal to adjust to a foreign culture and her intercultural marriage, and she had continued reading books about intercultural marriage.

Most of the interviewees had moved voluntarily; they had an idea of the culture they were moving into, and were probably able to prepare for the move. However, #001003M and #001007F, who came as refugees, had not really known what to expect from Finland. #001007F reported she knew next to nothing about Finland before coming, and this had presented some more challenges. Such a basic things as not having warm enough clothes had caused a substantial culture shock on arrival.

The kind of differences the interviewees had noticed included quietness and greater tolerance of silence (#001002F); body language and touching (#001004F); use of space (#001006M); and typical foods (#001004F). Further the interviewees had noticed differences in social behavior, such as how students behave in class (#001002F); how much student activity takes place on campus (#001008M); and how relationships with family and neighbors differ from one's own culture (#001009M). Indeed, #001009M found it strange how Finns seemed to not let other people into their lives, and for example, do not necessarily greet one's neighbors. Yet another cultural difference is displayed in extract (40), where #001004F explains how gestures are interpreted very differently in Finland as they would be in her country of origin.

(40)
this is so diffi- different atmosphere compared to <country of origin> in <country of origin> we have this close family ties culture and even we don't know people we can smile we can laugh we can tap and we can do anything to them without them being being a what you call this grr
insulted or
yeah insulted or they they will not be they will not get angry about it but here <shouting> and hey you did like that why are you hitting me no in <country of

> origin> we can make smile and flirt with boys without making oh you are taking advantage of me that when you touch a boy it means different thing, here it might mean different thing here (#001004F)

The interviewees had not only noticed these cultural differences, but had also adapted to them. #001006M mentioned that he had become more independent and now required more of his own time and space than before. #001004F said that initially she used to stick to her own cultural ways and be quite defensive of them, but was now more open to different practices. Furthermore, #001011M observed that having many cultures and languages in his family had made him more open-minded and flexible about cultural differences.

Cultural differences are linked to environmental differences. Some of the interviewees named some features in their surroundings that had either helped or hindered adjustment. What had helped adjustment were clean nature, peaceful environment, work, having a family and friends, and keeping busy.

Interviewees #001005M, #001006M and #001009M mentioned the clean nature and seasons as being something that had helped them to adjust to Finland, whereas #001004F and #001010M said that long winters and short summers made adjusting harder.

Furthermore, Finland was felt to be safe. For instance, #001004F said how one could trust the police here, whereas in many other countries the police was something that people were afraid of.

Jyväskylä is a relatively small city and this further makes a difference. #001010M mentioned that at first it had been hard to find free time activity groups and friends. In addition, #001009M said that a small city such as Jyväskylä had fewer opportunities than the larger cities, and that it would have been better if it were possible to offer more language courses for the immigrants.

Having familiar habits were felt to be helpful as well; #001002F mentioned she had continued watching the same television shows she had used to watch in the United States and #001009M said he could watch television programs from his own country via satellite.

6.4.2 State-governed integration measures

Many of the interviewees were not familiar with the kind of support measures the state provides, as they had never needed to use them. #001002F and #001010M were employed before they could take part in the integration language courses. #001005M was employed after first having gone through a practical training as part of his integration plan. However, as his wife took care of the bureaucracy for him and he had been employed after this one step, he was not familiar with the bigger picture of the integration measures.

Interviewees #001011M, #001006M, #001009M, and #001008M had come straight to work in Finland and had no need for integration measures. #001011M was aware that immigrants are offered financial support, and support in language learning and finding a job, but he had not needed any of these himself, as he was one of those employed right after arriving in Finland.

#001009M, on the other hand, had seen the Finnish governments' websites for immigrants and thought that the measures taken to integrate immigrants were no different from those in any other country.

Interviewees #001003M, #001007F and #001004F were perhaps best aware of the integration measures, as the first two had come as refugees and #001004F had gone through many language courses and trainings arranged for immigrants.

Indeed, #001007F said that today refugees who come to Finland get less financial support compared to her, but that more important than giving money would be to give the immigrants more responsibility for their own employment

and livelihood. As seen in the example (41), she thinks that currently it is easy, particularly for refugees, to become inactive and simply rely on the benefits society provides.

> **(41)**
> …I think that would be good because it would help this refugees or this people not to be dependent too much on the on the social system and that is not good if everything especially for us what we could see in our work that if you if the refugees would be dependent too much or the immigrants would be depending too much on the social services they would they would become I think lazy because if you the the reason is that I don't like to work because anyway if I work I have to pay this to pay this to pay this to pay this and I get only this much salary but they're not encouraged to to go move to move on if that would be the case but (#001007F)

In addition, #001004F said that she would have wished for more information about threats and risks of living as a foreigner in Finland, and about what her rights and duties are according to the Finnish law. She felt immigrants were only told about benefits, such as how much money they will get. She did find it extremely good that Finnish welfare society took care of its weakest members, but on the other hand, thought that for some it could lessen the motivation to work.

Interviewee #001003M was quite critical of the Finnish society, saying that there existed a great deal of discrimination against minorities and there must be something wrong with a society that, for example, could not integrate Roma people to the rest of the population after so many hundreds of years of living side by side with the majority.

Most of the interviewees (#001002F, #001005M, #001006M, #001008M, #001009M, #001010M and #001011M) had had very little or nothing to do with the authorities that handle integration measures, and were therefore not even very aware of the existing measures. As the discussion about immigration in Finland usually focuses on the problem cases, the term “immigrant” perhaps has negative connotations and thus might have been something my interviewees found hard to indentify with. #001008M noted that Finland had different classes of immigrants and some were more readily accepted by Finns than others. Indeed, #001002F’s comment in example (42) on how she does not

feel like an immigrant illustrates this point of distinguishing different groups of foreigners.

(42)
…so I wasn't part of any of the programs *I never felt like an immigrant* in a way I am an immigrant you know but in that sense that you know uhm (#001002F)

6.4.3 Being responsible for one's own integration

Many of the interviewees felt that people around them make a difference to their adjustment to Finland. #001002F said she had felt welcome and had not met any discrimination or prejudice at all. Interviewee #001003M was more critical, and while he had been active in many different groups and with various people, he felt it had been up to him to prove to the others what he was capable of doing.

In extract (43), #001004F says that having friends who come from her own country and have lived longer in Finland has been really helpful when first learning the culture. Furthermore, having Finnish friends and family members has eased the transition.

(43)
and friends are there to help you and because they are they came here earlier than me one is one is living here about fourteen fourteen years already so she knows quite well about Finland and she she helped me and tell me where to go or how how this thing to be handled like that it's a big help really and you know we are like family here our family here is our own countrymen because we don't have have our own family here (#001004F)

In addition, #001007F mentioned family and Finnish friends as well as friends from her own country as helpful. #001007F and #001003M both felt that sports were a good way of integrating and keeping immigrants active. In fact, #001003M had been and was still very active in a sports club for teenage immigrants.

#001006M observed that keeping busy was the most important contributor for feeling at home. Keeping active, and not just sitting at home and worrying, makes the greatest difference. The interviewees had accomplished this through various means. For many, work and family life was activity enough, but, for example, #001010M found that it would have been important to have friends with whom to spend time outside work. At times he felt alone, as most people his age were busy starting families. He had joined a sports club, but felt that, particularly at the beginning of his stay, it was hard to find free time activity groups one could join and make friends through.

Certainly, having personal contacts might be one of the most crucial factors for integration. #001008M said that the whole Finnish social welfare system was designed with the flaw of administering measures from above, whereas integration actually happened in daily life and through personal ties: family, friends, and neighbors.

Furthermore, it seems that the interviewees had had very different experiences with the Finns around them. Some felt more accepted, some less. Being integrated means being included in society. As #001008M pointed out, being integrated starts from the people closest to oneself.

Indeed, #001008M said that once one gets to know Finns they are friendly and helpful, but the problem was that society was increasingly becoming such that human contact was lessening. For example, everything was handled through machines today; one no longer needs to interact with people in daily life. Furthermore, as illustrated in example (44), to #001008M it seems that people and the whole society are getting increasingly egoistic.

(44)
you are certainly not dominated by a degree from above you can only do it by some kind of education from below but education just goes to contrary way and people are educated to be egoistic and things like that I found out a beautiful example of egoism it was one of these advertisements I think for this fish paste I don't know if you have seen it also there was apparently some three girls living in the same arrangement and one comes --- into the refrigerator take the thing and this --- paste is almost finished so she squeezes it and has a sandwich very satisfied another one comes oh almost nothing so she uses some kind of a door to squeeze out more and the third one still wants to go to some kind of press to squeeze some so everybody thinks only about

> oneself I mean you would think in that situation you know one squeeze out makes three sandwiches so everybody can have a share but not even through advertisement there is this horrible egoism (#001008M)

#001009M had found it difficult to get to know Finns. He said people did not show any interest towards him and that, for example, his neighbors did not greet him back even when he said “terve” to them daily. Indeed, as long as the immigrant does not have personal contacts with Finns, they have nothing to integrate into.

Although having friends and family to support one was felt important, one’s own initiative was in fact seen as the most significant. Many interviewees stressed the importance of one’s own responsibility for integration, and life in general. Interviewees #001008M, #001003M, and #001007F said that having a positive attitude and being active was what brought results. In the following example (45), #001008M says that the context does not change the personality of a person, but that if one is a happy person, one will be happy anywhere.

> **(45)**
> yes I mean there is a very good anecdote about it somewhere in the I think Texas you know they have these saloons bars and they have these bar tenders and they sit and drink and so on to this saloon comes apparently foreigner foreigner meaning from somewhere else others are drinking opposed to the bar tender just looking I'm coming from a town so and so and it was a horrible town people are horrible there you know they just --- they do bad things they never trust people and the bar tender says yeah yeah this town is exactly like that exactly the same ok finishes a drink another fellow comes also foreigner --- where are you from I'm from and so you know it's a wonderful place where I was there people are so friendly and they so helpful such a good atmosphere and spirit and the bar tender says yeah you know that's exactly the place here also so you will feel like at home because what you have here is all the same ok he left and then the one who was sitting and listening to both conversation asked to whom were you lying neither I'm sure that the one will be feeling --- and the other like that because this is inside it's the attitude I mean if you are happy you will be happy in your home country you will be happy in a foreign country and on the moon if needed if you are unhappy you will be unhappy everywhere (#001008M)

6.4.4 Summary of findings under question four

Interviewing immigrants showed how the Finnish society and culture appear from an outsider’s point of view. Indeed many of the interviewees still to some extent regarded themselves as outsiders and had experienced culture shocks of various kinds. One major issue was the smallness of Finnish families, and

people caring only about their own business. Finnish neighbors did not greet anybody; people were too busy running their family lives to have time for friendships. Immigrants need to be integrated by the people around them, but these people do not seem to be available.

Typically the immigrant groups discussed and studied are those who have experienced problems with getting employment and in integration in general. When most of the interviewees for this study were employed and had only had little experience with the integration measures, and the discussion about immigration is often focused on the problems, as seen with #001002F's comment, the interviewees themselves might even not identify as "immigrants". Thus, it seems that even if my interviewees would have problems with integration, state governed measures might not reach them, nor as #001008M points out are they what is needed, when integration actually happens at the grass root level.

In general, lack of contact with hosts might be what in the end stops one from being fully integrated. After all, if one does not have contacts with others, what is there to integrate into? Perhaps, since some felt they lacked support from the society around, they felt that it has been up to them to integrate themselves and that their own attitude has made the greatest difference.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Though it is not easy to draw conclusions from the qualitative interviews of a group of such variability – nor would it be valid to generalize the findings of this study to a larger group labeled simply “immigrants” - some summarizing and concluding words are in order at this point. During the hermeneutic pondering of the data in question, certain ideas arose from it and these ideas are perhaps best discussed by contrasting them with the structural model of cross-cultural adaptation.

7.1 Going back to the theory

7.1.1 Host communication competence in personal and social communication

Host communication competence is acquired and used in personal and social communication. Many of the interviewees still had difficulties with host communication competence. Many of them felt that the one matter lacking to make them feel at home in Finland was the fluency in Finnish.

Social communication with the hosts, however, was not prevented by the lack of host communication competence. Instead, the interviewees who did not speak fluent Finnish managed to get by in daily life using English. Furthermore, media were amply available in English. However, in some cases, not knowing Finnish was an obstacle when for example people close to the interviewees do not speak English. This kind of deficiency was felt to motivate one to learn Finnish.

English seems to remain as an auxiliary language even for those who have become fluent in Finnish. It is a useful aid when one runs out of words in Finnish, for example, in new situations. It can therefore be argued that although

English hinders the acquisition of host communication competence, it is nevertheless useful as a tool for communicating with the host environment.

In addition, the role of English as lingua franca – a language for managing one's life in foreign surroundings – appears significant. The language was felt to be very important and helpful, particularly at the beginning of one's stay in Finland. It became obvious that, although many of the interviewees felt that language issues did not affect the choice of relocating, for some it would not have been possible to find work or even to come here, unless they had known English.

Further, we can ask that if the part of the host society's repertoire is non-native English, is not immigrant's English use part of the host communication competence? This comes to mind particularly when the interviewees report that their English has been influenced by the way Finns speak English.

Yet, from what the interviewees pointed out about English not being enough, and the varying language skills of the Finns, it is safe to say that usefulness of English as language franca is still limited to certain areas of life and groups of people. Many Finns may know English better than Swedish, but perhaps it still is too early to dub English the third national language.

7.1.2 Environment: Host conformity pressure, Host receptivity and Ethnic group strength

It is possible to divide the interviewees into two groups, those who feel they have been accepted and those who feel they have not. Most clearly #001003M and #001009M spoke of Finns as not being accepting of foreigners and having problems in getting contacts with Finns. For #0001009M this was a personal challenge, whereas for #001003M the issue seemed something he had observed. Having stayed in Finland for 14 years, his observations were made over a long period and he spoke of society in general not being accepting of foreigners. #001008M pointed out that in general, acceptance really depends on

which group one belongs to. Furthermore, he noted that society at large is very egoistic and on the whole integration should happen on the grassroots level, and not administered from above as it is now.

#001003M and #001009M point out that Finns should be more accepting towards foreigners. On the other hand, #001002F said she has never felt any prejudice and had been well accepted. Moreover, most interviewees did not mention feelings or experiences of prejudice or discrimination.

The surrounding society does have a lot of power over the individual's integration. What #001003M and #001009M pointed out fits also with the McGuire and McDermott (1987) theory on host culture's neglectful communication leading to the alienation of immigrants.

The structural model of cross-cultural adaptation is very much focused on individual change, but the immigrants are not the only ones who should adjust, as Forsander (2004:204) points out. Naturally, the model simply represents the different factors that influence the integration of an individual; how the hosts regard and treat the individual is just one of these. However, particularly for those who are not accepted, this factor might be the crucial one.

On host conformity pressure, again we can divide the interviewees in two groups. Some felt that Finns do not let foreigners speak Finnish, while others thought one is almost always expected to know Finnish. Here again, the viewpoint of course depends with whom the interviewees come into contact, but as explained earlier in the theory on host conformity pressure, more pressure is often put on those who are more clearly here for long term. Thus those who one might assume to be sojourners are not even expected to adapt very extensively.

#001006M and #001008M originally came here as students and perhaps did not themselves expect to stay. Thus, Finns might have been more willing to use English with them instead of expecting them to learn Finnish. This could be due to a similar reason as pointed out by Latomaa's study (1998). She found

that Americans were often viewed as short-term sojourners and were not exerted with the same amount of pressure to learn Finnish as Vietnamese who were viewed as long-term immigrants.

None of the interviewees had very strong ethnic groups, #001004F and #001007F mentioned having friends from their country of origin, and #001004F in particular found them helpful. The amount of support from the ethnic group seemed to be more in favor of integration than keeping up the traditions of one's own culture.

7.1.3 Predisposition: Preparedness for change, Ethnic proximity and Adaptive personality

Most of the interviewees had moved to Finland voluntarily and had an idea of where they were coming to. The importance of being prepared for change came up with #001007F, who mentioned that she had not really known what to expect from Finland before arrival, as she and her family arrived as refugees. Furthermore, #001002F found that as she already had one experience of living in a different culture and had also read theories of intercultural encounters and marriage, she was more prepared for the move.

Ethnic proximity only came up in #001008M's comment about there being different classes of immigrants, and that some were more accepted than others. Still, none of the interviewees mentioned having any kind physical or mental similarity with Finns that would have been helpful for adaptation.

However, having an adaptive personality came up in many of the interviews. Interviewees emphasized having a "survival mentality", as #001007F put it. According to them, a major part of integration is up to oneself, and depends on being optimistic and keeping active.

7.1.4 Intercultural transformation: Functional fitness, Psychological health and Intercultural identity

The interviewees pointed out that having a balanced life, being active and optimistic, and having the right attitude are the keys to successful adaptation. Many said that being able to speak Finnish brings what Kim calls *functional fitness*, the ability to perform daily activities and feel at home in the host environment.

The structural model of cross-cultural adaptation does not directly address the question of language as part of one's identity. However, this issue came up in many of the interviews, and some interviewees were more inclined to say that language is a major part of their identity than others. Moreover, for example #0010011M felt that having a multilingual and multicultural family had made him more open to different cultural ways and this is probably very close to what Kim means with having intercultural identity.

7.2. Integration via language and communication

What I see as the most crucial points addressed by the interviewees about language and integration were that one needs Finnish language to become integrated into Finnish society and that in order to learn the language, two conditions are needed. One is the activity and determination that comes from oneself; the other is people. It is not possible interact with oneself. This is also the context for Kim's structural model. In it the stranger integrates only via *communication with host society*.

It seems thus that:

1) Those immigrants who have not become fluent in Finnish, but have Finnish family members and friends, are quite well merged into the society, and for

them, becoming fluent in the language would be the last step to being fully integrated.

2) Those who do not have Finnish family members emphasized the relationships between people; learning the language alone does not solve the "integration deficiency."

3) Those who have both are best adapted.

This study was partly motivated by the apparent lack of correspondence between the need for skilled immigrant workers and the small amount of resources put to integrating these immigrants.

The results showed that when asked for the most important factors for integration, the skilled immigrants themselves emphasize more their personal efforts and support from family and friends than state governed integration measures. Whether this emphasis is due to the immigrants not needing, or simply not having received state governed measures is still debatable.

7.3 On the validity of the data collection

"Culture is communication" (Hall 1959) and "one cannot not communicate" (Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson, 1967, cited in Kim 2001:36) are some of the basic principles that have influenced my theoretical thinking and are thus crucial for this study. It is therefore not surprising that these points also stood out in the data collection phase. One cannot help how others interpret one's words and, furthermore, while trying to be objective in doing research, there is no getting around that all researchers are products of their time and culture. How I interpret my data cannot be totally separate of my worldview and interpretation of the world around me.

When interviewing people of different cultural backgrounds, there is room for misunderstanding. We interpret each others' utterances through our cultural lenses. Our preconceptions affect our interpretations. I could not fully control the way my questions were interpreted - and the way I interpreted the answers was also out of the interviewee's total control. Of course, many of the interviewees might have already been familiar with Finnish cultural patterns, after having lived here so many years. Nevertheless, particularly the use of English – a lingua franca - could have mixed up the ways one was expected to interpret words (for example the correct pitch could be different according to whether using English, Finnish, or the one of the interviewees' native tongues).

Thus, in these situations we had at least three cultural norms in play: the Finnish (which is native to me and to which an immigrant is expected to have integrated in), that which is native to the interviewee (which could be already a mix of cultures, as in the case of #001004F who in her home country used a mixture of her dialect infused with English words) and that of English (which could be any number of Englishes: are we using international English, American English or perhaps Finnish English?)

On both sides we used additional questions to make clear the intended meaning of the other. I often needed to rearrange my questions and on many points tried to confirm what I had understood was what the interviewee had meant. However, looking back I remember moments when I asked a question and got an answer that was maybe not exactly about what I had meant to ask and, instead of trying again and digging deeper, I let it pass and moved on. Interestingly, this is the same phenomenon which I discussed under the English as lingua franca section. As House (2002:249) observes, in lingua franca discussions the interlocutors often do not get stuck on misunderstandings and, for the sake of the flow of the conversations, let it pass in the hopes of further conversation clearing it up. However, in this situation, it was a wrong decision from my part, as for the quality of the data it would have been more beneficial to stop and ask for clarification then and there.

Furthermore, the nonverbal features could have affected my interpretation of the situation or the meaning. One of my interviewees spoke in a very low voice. It could be a cultural or personal trait, but probably it did affect my view of the person in question.

Another example - in the case of the same interviewee - was how I almost lost control of the situation. The interviewee sidetracked from my questions and added issues he thought would be important for my study. I felt uncomfortable as he seemed to be making the point that he knew better, although he was not familiar with my study plan or the theories behind it. I started to feel awkward and felt as if I needed to hurry through my questions, or that some of the questions were simply stupid - and that maybe I should not waste his time on them. It could have been that he was taking the position that he felt he had the right to take as my senior, a man etc. These could also be my prejudiced interpretations of the situation.

In this very same interview clear misunderstandings took place, as when the interviewee asked if he had covered the question at hand thoroughly enough, I misunderstood that he was asking whether he had talked long enough for the entire interview. I felt then uncomfortable as I felt I needed to hurry on, although it later proved to be a misunderstanding:

> T.N.: so
> interviewee: did I say enough
> T.N.: I have a lot of questions still...

And later:

> interviewee: ---- yeah have I answered all, do you want more
> T.N.: well, do you mind if I ask more
> interviewee: no I meant about this question that you have

Furthermore, it is possible that simply my being Finnish, a member of the target culture may have influenced the way the subjects responded. It could be that interviewees are unwilling to discuss certain topics with the interviewer who is a member of the host culture, thus not only what is said gets interpreted

through the interviewers cultural lenses, but already what is said could be influenced by to whom it is said.

Marjeta (1998), for instance, addresses this problem in her report of immigrants' integration in Joensuu. She pointed out that first of all, it was hard to find interviewees and during the discussion her interviewees were not very eager to discuss the problems or negative aspects of integration process. However, I did not get this feeling from my interviews, as many of the interviewees were quite open about the negative aspects of the Finnish culture.

Further, having fixed questions might already guide the discussion into views that agree with the interviewer's preconceptions. Maybe if one wishes to be very open about the kind of issues that come up, another data gathering method would be even better than a theme interview with set questions. My pilot interviewee mentioned having conducted an interview so that the themes were laid on the table for the interviewee to see and the interviewee could discuss the topics that s/he found relevant for his or her own experience on the phenomenon studied. Yet another way of gathering meaningful data would be asking informants to write stories of their experience with languages and integration. Both methods would leave the question of what to stress to the informants and could be possible approaches of doing further study, implications for which are discussed in the following section.

7.3 Implications for further study

Today the public discussion on immigration is a happy mix of arguments addressing refugees, asylum seekers, "anchor children", work related immigration and so forth. However, it would be more beneficial to distinguish people who relocate because of humanitarian reasons and those who move because of work, in order to make sense of the two distinct phenomena.

My study is equally guilty of discussing immigrants with different motivation for relocation under the same category. I did it on the one hand, for the sake of having more interviewees for my study. On the other hand, I felt that for this particular study with English in the focus it was enough that the interviewees were currently employed and fluent in English as a second or a foreign language.

Furthermore, the largest group of foreigners in Finland are still those who come because of a Finnish partner. Many of my interviewees had indeed come to Finland because of family reasons and only gotten work after being some time in Finland. Certainly, how to categorize and where to draw the line might sometimes be difficult.

However, I think that had I narrowed down my group of interviewees somewhat more, the results might have been different and even more telling. I think for future studies, it is advisable for one to use a clearly defined group, as indeed, there exists no such unified group of “immigrants” in Finland, more than there is something universal one can say about Finns if one were to take a rather random sample of ten people.

If I were to start this study again, I would try and look for an existing group of immigrants with common contexts, and would do a case study. Further, having gone through a qualitative research, I found that my preconceptions about doing research were actually quite quantitative and maybe even the questions I had in mind when starting this process might have been better answered by a quantitative survey. Naturally, it might have been difficult to find enough participants for a quantitative study, but if I were to do another study on a related topic, I would probably redefine my target group suitable for a quantitative study. The quantitative survey might further answer whether the ideas that rose from this study get support from a larger group of immigrants.

Indeed, it might be interesting to see the views of English from a larger group of immigrants. Is it perhaps so that, when in Finland knowing English is considered nearly as important as knowing how to read, as Taavitsainen and

Pahta (2003:10) observed, the immigrants are not only expected to learn Finnish, but to have knowledge of English as well?

Another point that became obvious to me during the progress of this study is that it is quite difficult pinpoint the link between language and culture. On the one hand, interviewees felt that learning Finnish is very important in adjusting to Finland, but on the other hand, many observed that knowing the language is not required for understanding the culture. Maybe the difference comes from when "being able to understand" changes into "being able to make oneself understood". It would therefore be interesting to do further study on the significance of language for integration.

Indeed, if host communication competence is crucial for integration, and if there are immigrants who use English as lingua franca in Finland, then what does English language have to do with integration into Finnish society? It is often stated, and confirmed by the interviewees of this study as well, that the use of English slows down the learning of Finnish. This seems quite logical - the more one uses a language, the more fluent one becomes in it. Thus, if we take the view of Kim's model of cross-cultural adaptation, in which learning the local language is the key to successful integration, we can arrive at the conclusion that if one does not learn Finnish in Finland, one does not integrate to Finnish society. Further studies could focus more on this question and ponder whether language learning is always required for integration to take place.

REFERENCES

Literature

Ahvenainen, T. 2003. *Problem-solving mechanisms in information exchange dialogues with English as lingua franca.* Unpublished Licentiate Dissertation. Center of Applied Linguistics, University of Jyväskylä.

Alasuutari, P. 1994. *Laadullinen Tutkimus*. 2nd edition. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Allport, G. W. 1954. *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Ammon, U. 1994. The Present Dominance of English in Europe. With an Outlook on Possible Solutions to the European Language Problems. *Sociolinguistica*, 8, 1-14.

Baker, C. 2001. *Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 27: Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Battarbee K. 2002. Finnish. In M. Görlach (ed.), *English in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 261-276.

Bennett, M.J. 1998. Intercultural Communication: A Current Perspective. In M. J. Bennet (ed.), *Basic concepts of intercultural communication: selected readings*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1-34 .

Bennett, M. J. 1993. Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. In R. M. Paige (ed.), *Education for the intercultural experience*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 21–71.

Berry, J. W., M. H. Segall and C. Kagitcibasi 1997. *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology Volume 3: Social behavior and applications*. Needham Heights (Mass.): Allyn and Bacon.

Berry, J. W. 2001. Psychology of immigration. *Journal of Social Issues* 57 (3), 615-631.

Crystal, D. 2001 (1997). *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: University Press.

Dufva, H. 1992. “HAPPILY EVER ÄFTERKÖ?”: Suomen ja englannin yhteinen tulevaisuus. In H. Nyyssönen and L.Kuure (eds.), *Acquisition of Language – Acquisition of Culture. AFinLA Yearbook 1992*. Publications de l’association finlandaise de linguistique appliquée 50, 79-96.

Dufva, H. 2002. Dialogia suomalaisuudesta. In S. Laihiala-Kankainen, S. Pietikäinen and H. Dufva (eds.), *Moniääninen Suomi: kieli, kulttuuri ja*

identiteetti. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus, 21-38

Eskola, J. and J. Suoranta 1998. *Johdatus laadulliseen tutkimukseen*. 2nd edition. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Forsander, A. and A. Alitolppa-Niitamo 2000. *Maahanmuuttajien työllistyminen ja työhallinto - keitä, miten ja minne?* Työhallinnon julkaisu Nro 242. Helsinki: Työministeriö.

Forsander, A. 2002. Globalizing capital and labor – old structures, new challenges. In A. Forsander (ed.), *Immigration and Economy in the Globlization Process: The Case of Finland*. Sitra Report Series 20. Helsinki: Sitra, 81-118.

Forsander, A. 2004. Tekeekö työ oikeaksi suomalaiseksi? In T. Helne, S. Hänninen and J. Karjalainen (eds.), *Seis yhteiskunta – tahdon sisään!* SoPhi 80. Jyväskylä: Minerva Kustannus Oy.

Gardner, R. and W. Lambert. 1972. *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Graddol, D. 2000 (1997). *The Future of English? A Guide to Forecasting the Popularity of the English Language in the 21st Century*. London: British Council.

Granqvist, K. and A. M. Viljanen. 2002. Kielelliset tabut romani-identiteetin kuvaajana. In S. Laihiala-Kankainen, S. Pietikäinen and H. Dufva (eds.), *Moniääninen Suomi: kieli, kulttuuri ja identiteetti*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus, 109-125.

Gudykunst, W. B. 2003. *Cross-cultural and intercultural communication*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Hall, E. T. 1976. *Beyond Culture*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.

Hall, E. T. 1990 (1959). *The Silent Language*. Garden City, New York: Anchorbooks.

Hirsjärvi, S. and H. Hurme 2000. *Tutkimushaastattelu: teemahaastattelun teoria ja käytäntö*. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Hong, Y.-Y., Morris, M. W., Chiu, C.-Y., and Benet-Martínez, V. 2000. Multicultural minds: A dynamic constructivist approach to culture and cognition. *American Psychologist, 55*, 709–720.

House, J. 2002. Communicating in English as lingua franca. In S. Foster-Chone, T. Rutherberg and M. L. Poschen (eds.), *EUROSLA Yearbook 2* (2002). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 243-261.

House, J. 2003. English as a lingua franca: A threat to multilingualism? *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7/4, 556-578.

Hyrkstedt, I. 1997. *"Oma kieli mansikka, muu kieli mustikka": discourse-analytic study of attitudes towards English in Finland*. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of English, University of Jyväskylä.

Hyrkstedt, I. and P. Kalaja. 1998. Attitudes toward English and its functions in Finland: A discourse-analytic study. *World Englishes* 17, 345-357.

Ife, A. 2003. Intercultural Communication: The Linguistic Dimension. In P. Kistler and S. Konivuori (eds.), *From International Exchanges to Intercultural Communication: Combining Theory and Practice*. Jyväskylä: EMICC Network and University of Jyväskylä, 22-35

Iskanius, S. 2006. *Venäjänkielisten maahanmuuttajaopiskelijoiden kieli-identiteetti* [online]. Jyväskylä studies in humanities 51. University of Jyväskylä. (30 May 2006) http://dissertations.jyu.fi/studhum/9513925234.pdf

Jaakkola, M. 2005. *Suomalaisten suhtautuminen maahanmuuttajiin vuosina 1987-2003*. Työpoliittinen tutkimus 2005. Helsinki: Työministeriö.

Kalliokoski, J. 1996. Kielentutkijan näkökulma kulttuurienväliseen kommunikaatioon. In M. Vehkanen (ed.), *Suomi toisena/vieraana kielenä: ajatuksia kielestä, kulttuurista, metodeista*. Helsingin yliopiston Vantaan täydennyskoulutuslaitos. Helsinki: Edita, 73-92.

Kim, Y. Y. 1989. Intercultural Adaptation. In M. K. Asente and W. B. Gudykunst (eds.), *Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication*. London: Sage Publications, 275-295.

Kim, Y. Y. 2001. *Becoming Intercultural: An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Kim, Y.Y. 2005. Adapting to a New Culture. An Integrative Communication Theory. In W. B. Gudykunst (ed.), *Theorizing about Intercultural Communication*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 375-400.

Kvale, S. 1996. InterViews. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Latomaa, S. 1995. Finland as a multilingual society yesterday, today – and tomorrow? *Sociolinguistica* 9, 113-135.

Latomaa, S. 1998. English in contact with "the most difficult language in the world": the linguistic situation of Americans living in Finland. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 133, 51-71.

Latomaa, S. 2002. Maahanmuuttajien kielelliset oikeudet. In Mauronen, A and L. Tiittula (eds.), *Kieli yhteiskunnassa – yhteiskunta kielessä. AFinLAn vuosikirja 2002*. Suomen soveltavan kielitieteen yhdistyksen julkaisuja nro. 60. Jyväskylä, 61-81.

Laverty, S. M. 2003. Hermeneutic phenomenology and phenomenology: A comparison of historical and methodological considerations. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2(3). Article 3. [online] (Feb 20 2007) http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/2_3final/pdf/laverty.pdf

Louhiala-Salminen, L. 2007. Vieraskynä. Bisnesenglannista kehittymässä yritystoiminnan lingua franca. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 4 February 2007, C7.

Marjeta, M. 1998. *Kotimaassa tiedettiin kuka minä olen - Selvitys maahanmuuttajien kotoutumisesta*. Moniste 48/1998 Opetushallitus.

Martin, M. Suomen kielen oppijasta sen käyttäjäksi, 2002. In S. Laihiala-Kankainen, S. Pietikäinen and H. Dufva (eds.) *Moniääninen Suomi: kieli, kulttuuri ja identiteetti*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus, 39-53.

Mauranen, A. 2003. Lingua Franca englanti: tuntematonta kieltä? In M. Koskela and N. Pilke (eds.) *Kieli ja asiantuntijuus. AFinlAn vuosikirja 2003*. Suomen soveltavan kielitieteen yhdistyksen julkaisuja nro 61. Jyväskylä, 117-133.

McGuire, M and S. McDermott 1987 Communication in Assimilation, Deviance, and Alienation Stages. In Kim, Y. Y. and W. Gudykunst (eds.), *Cross-Cultural Adaptation Current Approaches*. International and intercultural communication annual vol xi, 1987. London: Sage Publications, 90-105

Meierkord, C. 2000. Interpreting successful lingua franca interaction. An analysis of non-native-/non-native small talk conversation in English. *Linguistik online5*, [online] 1/2000. (Sept 14 2004) http://www.linguistik-online.de/1_00/

Moore, K. and K. Varantola 2005. Anglo Finnish Contacts: Collisions and Collusions. (16 page draft of the article to be published.) Published in G. M. Anderman and M. Rogers (eds.), *In and Out of English: For Better, For Worse? (Translating Europe)*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 133-152.

Müller-Jacquier, B. 2003. Linguistic Awareness of Cultures: Principles of a Training Module, in P. Kistler and S. Konivuori (eds.), *From International Exchanges to Intercultural Communication: Combining Theory and Practice*. Jyväskylä: EMICC Network and University of Jyväskylä.

Pehkonen, A. 2006. *Maahanmuuttajan kotikunta*. Kunnallisalan kehittämisäätiön tutkimusjulkaisut, nro 52.

Quirk, R. 1985. The English language in the global context. In R. Quirk and H. G. Widdowson (eds.), *English in the World. Teaching and learning the language and literatures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-6.

Ramirez-Esparza, N., S.D. Gosling, V. Benet-Martinez, J.P. Potter and J.W. Pennebaker 2006. Do bilinguals have two personalities? A special case of cultural frame switching. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 40, 99-120.

Sajavaara, K. 1982. Anglo-American Influence on Finnish. In E. Kuparinen and K. Virtanen (eds.), *The Impact Of American Culture*. Turku: University of Turku, 36-49.

Samovar, L.A. and R. E. Porter 2001. *Communicating Between Cultures*. Fourth Edition. Belmot: Wadsworth.

Sapir, E. 1949a. Language. In D. G. Mandelbaum (ed.), *Edward Sapir. Culture, Language and Personality, Selected Essays*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sapir, E. 1949b. Linguistics as a science. In D. G. Mandelbaum (ed.), *Edward Sapir. Culture, Language and Personality, Selected Essays*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schuman, J. H. 1986. Research on the Acculturation Model for Second Language Acquisition. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 7 (5), 379-391.

Scollon, R. 1997. *Current Trends in Intercultural Communication Studies*. Lecture presented to the School of English Language Communication, Beijing Foreign Studies University, April 1997. Revised: 3 April 1997.

Seidlhofer, B. 2001. Closing a conceptual gap: the case for a description of English as a lingua franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11 (2), 133-158.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (ed.) 2000. *Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport Through Talk Across Cultures*. London: Continuum.

Taavitsainen, I. and P. Pahta 2003. English in Finland: globalisation, language awareness and questions of identity. *English Today* 76, 19 (4), 3-15.

Taft, R. 1977. Coping with Unfamiliar Cultures. In N. Warren (ed.) *Studies in Cross-Cultural Psychology (Vol. 1)*. London: Academic Press, 122-152.

Tamminen, R. 1993. *Tiedettä tekemään!* Jyväskylä: Atena.

Wardhaugh, R. 1992. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Second Edition. Oxford. Basil Blackwell Inc.

Wilson, D. 2002. *The Englishisation of Academe: A Finnish Perspective*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä Language Center.

Yano, Y. 2001. World Englishes in 2000 and beyond. *World Englishes* 20 (2), 119-131.

Internet sources

Asikainen J. 2004. Karkaako osaava työvoima ulkomaille? *Monitori 3/2004.* [online] (Nov 7 2007) http://www.mol.fi/mol/fi/06_tyoministerio/06_ julkaisut/05_monitori/05_vanhat/MONITORI2004_3/MON2004_3_6.jsp

Hallituksen maahanmuuttopoliittinen ohjelma. Government Migration Policy Programme - Government Resolution 19.10.2006. Työhallinnon Julkaisu 371. [online] (Aug 6 2007) http://www.mol.fi/mol/fi/99_pdf/fi/06_tyoministerio/06_julkaisut/07_julkaisu/thj371.pdf

Horn, F. 2004 (Update 2008 by H. Niemi) *National Minorities of Finland, The Old Russians* [online] (Aug 24 2008) http://virtual.finland.fi/netcomm/news/ showarticle.asp?intNWSAID=26475

Laki maahanmuuttajien kotouttamisesta ja turvapaikanhakijoiden vastaanotosta 9.4.1999/493 [online] (August 15 2007) http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1999/19990493

Statistics Sweden 2008. *Summary of Population Statistics 1960-2007*. [online] (Aug 23 2008) http://www.scb.se/templates/tableOrChart____26041.asp #Fotnoter

Statistics Finland 2008. *Suomen virallinen tilasto. Väestörakenne. Suomen väestö 2007*. [online] (Aug 23 2008) http://www.tilastokeskus.fi/til/vaerak/2007/ vaerak_2007_2008-03-28_tie_001_fi.html.

Valtiovarainministeriö 2006. Tiedote 25/2006. *Työmarkkinajärjestöt: työperäinen maahanmuutto täydentämään suomalaista työvoimaa*.[online] (Sept 27 2007) http://www.vm.fi/vm/fi/03_tiedotteet_ja_puheet/01_tiedotteet/20060316Tyoemar/name.jsp

YLE 2008. *Suomalaisten kielitaito rapistuu huolestuttavasti*, news item at yle.fi, 4.2.2008 http://yle.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/oikea/id81712.html

Appendix 1

Dear recipient,

April 19th 2006, Jyväskylä

I am a student of Intercultural Communication, and English language at the University of Jyväskylä. I am currently writing my master's thesis for these two subjects about the use and meaning of different languages, English in particular for immigrants in the Jyväskylä region.

I would be very grateful if you would be willing to participate in this study. I would like to interview you about your language use and adaptation process to Finland. Please fill the following short questionnaire and return it to me with the enclosed return envelope **by 5.5.2006**.

In case you are willing to be interviewed, please also fill in your contact information. If you do not wish to be interviewed, you can leave the space for the contact information blank. If you are willing to give additional information through e-mail conversations, please also indicate this in the contact information form.

The interview can take place in a location and time convenient and comfortable for you. It will be conducted in English, as I am looking for informants who feel at ease using English language. Any information revealed to me, either through the questionnaire or in the interview, will be confidential and I will make every effort to ensure that none of the informants can be identified from the final report of the study. Furthermore, if you feel uncomfortable answering any of the questions in the questionnaire or the actual interview, you are free not to answer them.

The purpose of my study is to explore the cultural adaptation of immigrants from the point of view of different languages they use. By participating in the interviews you can help people to understand better the role of languages when adapting to the culture of a new home country. The focus group of my study is fairly small and thus your help would be vital for this study. All responses are appreciated!

I have sent this letter to you through Jaana Suokonautio at the Employment and Economic Development Center (TE-keskus), as I am looking for informants to interview for my thesis. She has used the URA-database to find your contact information and I have not been given this information.

My thesis is supervised by Professor of Intercultural Communication, Liisa Salo-Lee (014 260 1514, liisa.salolee@jyu.fi) at the Department of Communication, and Professor of English, Arja Piirainen-Marsh (014 260 1215, arja.piirainen-marsh@campus.jyu.fi) at the Department of Languages.

Thank you for your help!

Feel free also to contact me directly for further details or suggestions of a time for an interview:

Tanja Nieminen
Pupuhuhdantie 12 B 10
40340 Jyväskylä

phone: 040 57 22 308

e-mail: tanja.nieminen@cc.jyu.fi

Appendix 2

QUESTIONNAIRE ON BACKGROUND AND LANGUAGE USE

Background information

Gender: male [ ] female [ ]

Age: _____ years

Country of origin: _____

Living arrangements:

Alone [ ]

With partner [ ]

With partner and children [ ]

With children [ ]

With parents [ ]

With mother [ ]

With father [ ]

Number of children: _____

Children's ages: _____

Possible other family members: _____

_____

Number of family and relatives living in Jyväskylä: _____

Other parts of Finland, where? _____

_____

Have you lived in other countries than your country of origin and Finland?

No [ ]

Yes [ ], where? _____ for how long?_____ years

How long have you been in Finland? _____ years

What is the main reason why you moved to Finland?

Finnish partner or family [ ]

Non-Finnish family in Finland [ ]

Work [ ]

Studies [ ]

Appendix 2

Refugee status [ ]

Other, please specify: [ ] _____

If the reason you have stayed in Finland is different than the reason why you moved, please explain here:

_____

Are you planning to stay in Finland for the foreseeable future?

Definitely [ ]

Probably [ ]

Probably not [ ]

Definitely not [ ], when are you leaving? _____

Don't know [ ]

What kind of education did you have when you arrived in Finland?

_____

Did you continue studying for a profession in Finland?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, what kind of studies:

_____

What kind of work did you do in your country of origin / what was your profession?

_____

_____

What kind of work do you do now?

_____

_____

Have you had other work places in Finland before the current one? What kinds?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix 2

Language skills and usage

What is your mother tongue?

_____

How would you describe your skills in the following languages?

Use these labels to describe your skills:

1 - manage without difficulty in all situations
2 - good / manage in most situations
3 - ok / manage in some situations
4 - poor / manage only in few situations
5 - "almost no skills" in language

1) Finnish: 1 2 3 4 5

2) English: 1 2 3 4 5

other languages, which?

3) _____ 1 2 3 4 5

4) _____ 1 2 3 4 5

5) _____ 1 2 3 4 5

Where did you learn English?

_____

How much and for which purposes have you used English before coming to Finland?

Please, check all that apply.

Daily [ ]

Weekly [ ]

Monthly [ ]

Rarely [ ]

For reading [ ] For speaking [ ] For writing [ ]

With English mother tongue speakers [ ]

With speakers for whom English was a second or a foreign language [ ]

If both, which more? _____

Appendix 2

I Which language do you use

a) at home (please specify with whom, for example with partner, children)

_____

_____

_____

b) at work place

_____

_____

c) with your friends

_____

_____

d) super markets and shops

_____

e) church, mosque, or other place of worship

_____

f) other free time activity, please specify:

_____

_____

_____

g) offices, e.g. police station, tax office, registration office

_____

_____

II In which language do you

a) read newspapers, magazines, books

_____

b) watch TV / listen to radio

_____

c) surf the Internet

_____

Appendix 2

Willingness to be interviewed

I am willing to be interviewed (If yes, please fill out the contact information)

Yes [ ] No [ ]

In person [ ]

Through e-mail conversations [ ]

Contact information

Name: _____

Phone: _____

E-mail: _____

Suggestions for time and place for the interview:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Feedback and/or comments:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix 3

University of Jyväskylä
001011
Department of Communication
October 8th 2006

AGREEMENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY AND USE OF INTERVIEW DATA

I, Tanja Nieminen will use the data gathered from this interview for my Master's thesis research. For any other possible future use, permission must be asked separately from the interviewee. I will handle all information confidentially. In my final report I will discuss and quote the interview data, but I will not use any real names when reporting and I will make my best effort that none of my interviewees can be recognized from the final research report.

_____

Tanja Nieminen

I, _____ agree that the data from this interview can be used in the manner described above.

_____
signature of the interviewee

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. Feel free to contact me if you after the interview come to think about something that you would like to add or if you have any questions.

Kind Regards,
Tanja Nieminen

0405722308
tanja.nieminen@cc.jyu.fi

Appendix 4

GENERAL

- You have marked that before coming to Finland, you used English daily with non-native speakers and for reading and speaking, has this changed since you came here and has there been changes to the amount of English you use during the years you have stayed in Finland?
    - What about other languages, has there been change in their use?
    - *Have you noticed changes in what you think or feel about the different languages?*
    - *Do you think it's possible the ways you use different languages will change in the future?*

- *You have marked that you can manage in all situations with English but that you manage only in few situations with Finnish, What is the main reason you think your language skills in language a) b) c)… is poor/fluent etc?*

- *Do you think Finns have good language skills? Why (not)?*

- What do you think is the role of English in Finland?

- Have you noticed change in your mother tongue use since you moved to Finland? What kind? *How do you feel about these changes?*

- *Which language would you prefer in communicating with Finns/other foreigners, why?*
    - Is it possible to always use the preferred language? (e.g. do Finns assume automatically that you don't speak Finnish based on your appearance??)
    - Does your language skills somehow affect who you feel you are? Do the different languages you use/hear around you affect who you are?

- **How would you describe the role of L1/L2 (other lgs) in the process of adaptation?**

- *It has been said that one can only understand the mindset of another culture by learning the language, do you agree with this? (Is it possible to understand Finns without knowing Finnish?)*
- If hasn't become fluent in Finnish despite many years of living in Finland: *If you would start over again, what kind of role would you give to learning Finnish?*

- Final: All in all, how well integrated do you feel? What has made the biggest difference to you?

Is there something about these questions or the questionnaire that you would like to comment on.

FAMILY

- You have marked that you use L1 and L2 at home, could you describe the situation a bit more?
    - *Have you made conscious decisions about the use of L1 + L2 at home? If so, what are or where these decisions based on?*
- Who decides on the language used?

- Are languages mixed? *How do you feel about this?*

- Which languages do your children use?

- (if your children were not born in Finland, have you noticed changes in their mother tongue use, *how do you feel about these changes?*)

- [based on a returned questionnaire: Why have you decided to speak English with your children when your mother tongue is Tagalog?]

WORKPLACE

How did you end up with this work?

- At work you use L1 and L2. Could you describe the situation a bit more: When, in what situations do you use each language? What affects the choice between languages?

- Do you feel it makes a difference, which language is used? How? In how people perceive you or understand what you are saying?

- Have you ever had communication problems or misunderstandings in either language at work place?

- Do you feel you are understood better when using Finnish than English?

- *How are the language skills of your colleagues?*

- Is knowledge of Finnish required for your work?
  - What about English and other languages?

- (you have had other work places in Finland before the current one, have your experiences from them been similar or different than form this one?

  How do you feel having these jobs has affected your adaptation/integration to Finland?)

FRIENDS AND ACQUINTANCES

- (You have marked that you speak L1 and L2 with your friends and L3 at free time activity 1) Who are your friends in Finland? (Do you have a large number of Finnish friends? Of your own ethnic background? Other immigrants)
  - where do you meet new people?

How do you spend your free time?/ what kind of hobbies do you have?

- When you are speaking to friend with a different mother tongue than your own, which language(s) do you use? How is the language used chosen?

- **Has having these friends has helped you to adapt to Finland? How?**

STUDIES

- You have marked you studied XX after coming to Finland… could you tell more about that experience? **Do you think it made a difference to your adaptation to Finland?**

- Have you taken courses to learn Finnish (where have you learned Finnish)? What are your experiences from those courses (positive/negative sides)?
  - Could you suggest any changes to them?

Appendix 4

- *What do you think of/ how do you feel about the Finnish language? How would you describe Finnish as a language. What bout English?*
- *Do you think it would be different for you living in Finland if you didn't know any English?*

- *Do you think knowing other languages has affected your learning of Finnish?*

AUTHORITIES/ INTEGRATION SOCIAL WORKERS

- **Are you familiar with the Finnish integration policy?**
  - **What do you think about it?**

- **What kind of support do you think the integration projects should provide?**

- **Did you receive help to your integration from your City/municipality? What kind?**
  - **Did it help you to settle? How?**

- **How was the beginning of your stay in Finland?**
  - **(Did it make a difference that you knew English?)**

- You have marked that in the offices you use English and Finnish, how is the language used chosen? Do you feel it makes a difference which language you use?

READING/ TV/ INTERNET

- You have marked you use both Finnish and English for reading, watching TV and surfing the Internet, can you tell me a bit more about that? Is there difference in what kind of texts you read or programmes you watch according to language?

SUPERMARKETS etc

- *You have marked that you use Finnish when you are shopping? Is it because it is practical or do you feel it also has some other meanings?*