

**THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL
ADJUSTMENT DURING CROSS-CULTURAL TRANSITION IN
4 - 7 -YEAR-OLD CHILDREN OF INTERNATIONALLY
EMPLOYED FINNISH FAMILIES**

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Master's thesis of psychology

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Summary

The purpose of this study is to further our knowledge of the psychological and sociocultural adjustment of expatriates' children in a foreign country. The main questions are how do the children of internationally employed Finnish families adjust psychologically and socioculturally to the American culture within half a year after the move and what kind of factors may have effected and most facilitated the adjustment.

The study is a qualitative study and according to qualitative analysis the heart of the work is to describe and to understand the situation in which the Finnish children are when they move to the United States. Nine Finnish mothers were interviewed and their 12 4 - 7 -year-old children were involved. All of the families live in Silicon Valley -area in California.

None of the 12 children didn't have any serious adjustment problems. Concerning the psychological adjustment there can be found two types of children within the sample: the easily adjusted children with minority worries concerning the move and the children with one or several behavior characteristics like grief, fears, frustration, tantrums, regression or difficulties with eating or sleeping.

The sociocultural adjustment was only in the beginning for most of the children. Many of the children had the encounters to the host country only at school within the half a year after the move. The psychological adjustment difficulties were usually connected to attending school. Furthermore, the longer the days in the American school, the easier it effected the child's psychological adjustment. The psychological and sociocultural adjustment is clearly interrelated but there is a need to consider the terms conceptually distinct.

The most important factors that seemed to be connected to the child's adjustment were the child's premove adjustment, the preparation for moving and social support. Social support was also the most important thing that had facilitated both the child's and mother's psychological adjustment.

Key words: psychological adjustment – sociocultural adjustment – children – cross-cultural transition – qualitative study

Introduction

The number of international relocations has increased greatly in recent years because of the rapid development of multinational businesses and institutions (Alston & Nieuwoudt, 1992). It is also so in Finland: hundreds of Finnish families move every year all over the world to work and they usually live abroad from one to three years. These families differ from refugees or immigrants because their motives for moving are usually positive like improving one's socioeconomic situation or enrich one's life with positive experiences. The unique characteristic for these sojourners is the foreknowledge of return.

A modern, integrated, holistic model for individual functioning sees that the individual functions and develops in a continuously ongoing, reciprocal process of interaction with his or her environment (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Magnusson, 1995). Change of a culture is a series of changes in interaction and individual undergoing cross-cultural transition will experience a number of life changes (Searle & Ward, 1990). According to Kopala (1994) moving to another country involves changes not only in the physical but also in the social and cultural settings. Physical changes include environmental factors such as differences in climate, geography and housing, social changes refer to changes in social network and cultural changes involve the need to learn values, customs, habits and norms of the new country.

All individuals in a changing or changed cultural environment have common adaptation experiences and everyone adapts but at a different rate (Kim, 1988). In the literature there can be found several models describing adapting process to another culture. According to Anderson (1994) the first and the most dominant is a recuperation model and its central term is "culture shock". The term culture shock can be briefly defined as that period of transition and adjustment during which a person experiences some degree of anxiety, confusion and disruption related to living in a new culture (Befus, 1988). Many researchers (e.g. Anderson, 1994; Furnham, 1988; Searle & Ward, 1990) criticize this term because it is largely inadequate to define the nature of the psychological and emotional difficulties faced by the sojourners.

The terms adaptation, adjustment, acculturation and assimilation have been used interchangeably in the recent literature of culture change (Kim, 1988; Searle & Ward, 1990). Anderson (1994) suggests that there should be a distinction between the concepts adaptation and adjustment. Both terms refer to the achievement of a fit between the person and the environment but the objectives and time frames differ. The term adaptation is used as a broader concept that accommodates other terms. According to Anderson (1994) cross-cultural adaptation holds that all adjustment is cyclical process in which individual overcomes obstacles and solves problems in present-environment transaction.

According to Berry, Kim & Boski (1988) there are different strategies of adaptation as a process that lead to different varieties of adaptation as a state. The most common form of these strategies is adjustment, which refers to behavioral changes that reduce the conflict between the environment and the behavior. In an attempt to bring conceptual integration to a fractionated area of research Ward and colleagues (e.g. Ward & Chang, 1997; Ward & Kennedy, 1993, 1994, 1999; Ward et al., 1998; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999; Ward & Searle, 1991) have proposed that the term “adjustment” implicitly incorporates both psychological (emotional/affective) and sociocultural (behavioral) dimensions. Psychological dimension refers to feelings of well-being and satisfaction, sociocultural dimension refers to ability to “fit in” and negotiate interactive aspects of the new culture. Ward and colleagues have assessed the psychological adjustment by a measurement of depression and global mood disturbance and the sociocultural adjustment by a measurement concerning the skills that are required to manage everyday social situations in a new cultural context. They have relied upon standard psychological assessment techniques.

The magnitude of correlation between psychological and sociocultural adjustment is in relationship to the sojourner's need, capacity and/or opportunity for integration into the host culture. For instance sojourners who reside primarily in an “expatriate bubble” have little association between psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Ward & Kennedy, 1993) and the magnitude of the correlation increases with proximity to or integration with the host culture (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Although psychological and sociocultural adjustments are interrelated, there is a need to regard these factors as conceptually distinct. According to Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) they tend to be predicted by different variables. For the most part

psychological adjustment is strongly influenced by personality, life changes and social support while the sociocultural adjustment is more dependent on variables such as length of residence in the new culture, language ability, cultural distance and the quantity of contact with host nationals.

There is much literature about stress, relocation, adjustment and adjustment problems, cross-cultural orientation and the significance of living abroad in adults (e.g. Adelman, 1988; Befus, 1988; Briody & Chrisman, 1991; Caligiuri et al., 1998; Furnham, 1988; Searle & Ward, 1990; Strier, 1996; Ward & Kennedy, 1993; 1994). However many researches (e.g. Alston & Nieuwoudt, 1992; Aronowitz, 1984) argue that research in international relocation has not dealt much with the adjustment problems experienced by children moving. The child has socialized to his or her own culture and now he or she has to socialize for the second time. It is obvious that the second-time socialization does not occur so smoothly as the early childhood socialization because of the distinct cultural identity and communication patterns internalized in childhood (Kim, 1988).

The way in which researchers have approached the study of relocated children has led them to chart the adjustment of children based on negative outcomes and has disposed them to overlook normative outcomes (Coll & Magnuson, 1997). It is inevitable that the experience of living abroad can have a major effect on the psychosocial development of children (Tamura & Furnham, 1993). However stressful experiences of cross-cultural adaptation need not to be regarded only as problems to avoided or minimized because adaptation is both challenging and rewarding (Kim, 1988). A sojourn abroad may enrich child's life with positive experiences, for example self-confidence can arise from coping with challenges in a foreign culture. Tamura and Furnham (1993) examined in their study the problems of returning of Japanese school-aged children who stayed outside Japan with their families for duration of no less than one year. The researches found in their study that the Japanese returnee children were less worried about their academic achievement and interpersonal relationships than the Japanese children who had not been abroad. They suggest that perhaps the early difficulties with a foreign culture insulate the children against further problems.

Haour-Knipe (1989) argue that most studies concerning geographical mobility and mental health among children of professional and executive level were found to be

conceptually and methodologically flawed, tending to find whatever they set out to look for. For example those studying psychiatric disorder find psychiatric disorder while those focusing on general populations find much more mixed results. Beiser, Dion, Gotowiec, Hyman and Vu (1995) argue that inconsistent results are not necessarily invalid results and they challenge conventional wisdom about relocation that “the stress of relocation creates distress which inevitably results in maladaptation”. On the contrary according to Coll and Magnuson (1997) many studies have shown that the majority of relocated children are not maladjusted, for example Haour-Knipe (1989) didn't find any reports in the literature of acute childhood disturbance precipitated by a move.

Most of the empirical findings show that relocated children do not uniformly demonstrate adjusting problems (e.g. Aronowitz, 1984; 1992; Munroe-Blum et al., 1989; Short & Johnston, 1997) but if there has been found some kind of adjustment problems what are they like? One of the immediate problems is connected to the moving itself because it implies a certain amount of separation and loss: the loss of the homeland, the loved objects and familiar surroundings (Haour-Knipe, 1989). A grief reaction has often been found to be accompaniment of the process of adapting to a strange culture (Anderson, 1994; Westermeyer, 1989). Sometimes children's fears are irrational or based on their limited understanding, for example children may seriously worry about the lack of furniture in the new home (Matter & Matter, 1988). Depending on their age, children's sense of time and distance may be relatively underdeveloped, so they may have difficulties in imagining what it would be like to live in a foreign country (Harvey, 1985).

Children may not often be able to verbalize their negative feelings and that is why some signs of the stress may be nonverbal (Matter & Matter, 1988). When children are under stress their activity levels might vary: some tend to come overactive, some passive. They may demonstrate externalizing behavior problems like tantrums or disobedience or internalizing behavior problems like being withdrawn or anxious (Aronowitz, 1984; Heller et al., 1996). There might also exist some psychosomatic ailments or developmental regression (Chandler, 1985; Kopala et al., 1994; Matter & Matter, 1988). In psychosomatic ailments pain complaints may focus in any anatomic distribution but are often manifest as headache or abdominal pain (Westermeyer,

1989). According to Haour-Knipe (1989) moving might also temporarily effect children's psychological performance at school.

Language is the "veil" over the reality of the culture in which it is used and language competence may be a major building block of cultural competence (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Kim (1988) suggests that successful adaptation is possible only when the individual is able to communicate successfully with the host environment. The greater the social communication participation, the greater the host communication competence and the better adapted the individual is likely to be in the host environment. Vuorenkoski, Kuure, Moilanen, Penninkilampi and Myhrman (2000) investigated how the use of more than one language effects mental well-being and social achievement among 320 school-aged Finnish-Swedish re-migrant children. They found that children who had attained a balanced bilingualism and bicultural identity scored lower on depression and had higher school marks in Finnish immediately after re-migration.

Second language learning is a lifetime process that changes due to the influence of external factors like the amount and kind of contact with the foreign language and the exposure to cultural experiences and the internal factors like attitudes, beliefs and motivation (Gonzalez & Schalert, 1999). Hamers and Blanc (1989) argue that the child who develops bilinguality must learn two sets of linguistic rules and if he has already developed a full functional representation of mother language, it may be relatively easy for him to transfer these skills to the new language. However learning a new language may be a source of stress and problems may come from fear of speaking foreign language and even when conversational aspects of language are learned, children need more time to learn aspects of language involving academic achievement (Kopala et al., 1994).

Kim (1988) argues that without experiencing stress, no adaptation is believed to occur. Children's adaptation to a foreign country is the result of a complex process involving several interacting risks and buffering factors (Almqvist & Broberg, 1999; Searle & Ward, 1990). It is very important to study the factors that may facilitate adjusting problems in children. On one hand parents need the knowledge so that they can enhance mental health among their children, on the other hand the employers and administrative personnel need the knowledge so that they can design effective programs of intervention (Haour-Knipe, 1989).

The time spent in a foreign country is a crucial factor in adjustment. For instance, Alston and Nieuwoudt (1992) investigated the adjustment problems of children aged 8 - 10 years when they relocated from their native countries to Vienna, Austria. The researches found in their study that children who had spent the least time in the host country showed more anxiety and stress than did children who had lived in the host country for at least one year. According to Ward, Okura, Kennedy and Kojima (1998) psychological distress and the sociocultural difficulties would be anticipated to be at its peak on entry to a new culture because this is the period in which the sojourner has the least familiarity with and knowledge about the host culture. Likewise there is limited experience of meaningful interactions with host nationals. They also argue that the adjustment problems would be anticipated to decrease markedly in the early period of the sojourn and continue to decrease slightly over time.

But why are some children more resilient to adjustment problems than others? There is not much knowledge about the factors that lead to success or failure in staying in a foreign country. It is obvious that number of factors, such as age is connected to adjustment. Concerning the age of the child the younger children tend to have some advantages in cross-cultural transition because they are more flexible and quick in learning skills like language (Tamura & Furnham, 1993). The change of culture and social environment is also less significant for younger children because they spend much of their time within the family. On the contrary the range of activity increases to a wider network as children grow. However Stroh (1990) found in her study of 45 children and adolescents aged 6 - 18 years that age was not a significant predictor of adjustment after moving. She investigated the children and adolescents in a longitudinal study and assessed the factors that differentiate more well-adjusted children from those who were less well-adjusted after moving and also found that the best predictor of postmove adjustment was premove level of adjustment. Findings from the study also suggest that mobile girls adjust better to school than boys. On the contrary Tamura and Furnham (1993) found in their study that females who returned from overseas sojourn had more difficulties with friends and scored higher on both psychological and physical symptoms than males.

The studies have found some personality factors which are connected to vulnerability to adjustment problems, for instance children with higher level of intelligence are more likely to be resilient (Aldwin, 1994). Some protective

personality factors are also locus of control, self-esteem, social orientation, achievement motivation, cognitive style and social comprehension which includes problem-solving ability and the capacity to comprehend, appreciate and produce humor (Canino & Spurlock, 1994). According to Kim (1988) the key personality factors that facilitate adaptation in adults are openness and resilience. Openness refers to open-mindedness, tolerance for ambiguity and extrovertedness. Resiliency, on the other hand, refers to internal locus of control, persistence, self-control and self-confidence. Personality factors also influence second language acquisition, for instance extroverted or quiet but reflective students learn much faster than do those who are either shy or aggressive (Kopala et al., 1994).

Parents' motives for moving and attitudes toward moving seem also be a mediating factor in children's adjustment. Children whose parents move for educational or economic reasons adjust easier than children whose parents move for political reasons (Haour-Knipe, 1989). Variables cited in the migration literature that are less relevant to expatriate adjustment include problems associated with legal status and unlike most migrants, expatriates belong to a privileged minority in the host society, which probably eases their adjustment process (Briody & Chrisman, 1991). But even if the parents have moved voluntarily their attitudes towards the host country or the social change can be negative. Aronowitz (1992) examined the relationship between the adjustment in school of immigrant 6 – 15 –year-old children and their parents' attitudes to social change and new experiences in San Fransisco and he found that parental attitudes were significant predictors of the adjustment. Kim (1988) also argues that even when transition is voluntary individuals differ in their motivation to adapt to the new environment: some resist change and fight for the old ways, some desperately try to "go native" and the majority is somewhere between these two extremes. LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) suggest that it is possible to maintain a positive relationship between the individual's culture of origin and the second culture in which he or she is living. According to Hamers and Blanc (1989) by the age of 6 children have developed some type of cultural identity and if the child's environment appreciates both cultures the child will be in a position to integrate elements of the two cultures into a harmonious bicultural identity.

There are many studies that show that if parents adjust well to the new culture, it is likely that the child adjust well to the new culture, too (e.g. Coll & Magnuson, 1997;

Stroh, 1990). Sharlin and Elshanskaza (1999) explored the Soviet immigrants' parental attitudes and perceptions of their children's problems in Israel. Their study sample consists of 210 Soviet Jewish families with at least one school-age child and a general questionnaire was designed to explore the variables related to adjustment. They found number of factors that were related to parental stress like low satisfaction with life in Israel and weak Jewish identity. Furthermore, the more thorough the family's preparation for immigration had been and the higher the satisfaction with life in Israel was, the lower the parental stress.

A very important mediating factor in child's adjustment includes social supportive network: parents, siblings, friends and teachers (Canino & Spurlock, 1994; Searle & Ward, 1990; Chandler, 1985). Social support provides a sense that individual is accepted, cared for, esteemed and valued. Alston and Nieuwoudt (1992) studied the adjustment problems of children aged 8 – 10 years when they relocated from their native countries to Vienna and found that there was a significant correlation between anxiety and changes in social support network. Parents are the primary source of social support for young children and they play a central role in mediating their children's experience of moving (Aronowitz, 1992; Gil et al., 1994). Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) studied immigrant adolescents in Finland and found that experiences of parental support seemed to be important. Almqvist and Broberg (1999) investigated Iranian refugee preschool children after they have arrived in Sweden and found that if peer relationships were positive it promoted the children's emotional well-being and adaptation. A lack of acceptance by peers and teachers may lead to the feelings of being different (Kopala et al., 1994). Friendships with hosts are also crucial for learning the skills of the new culture (Searle and Ward, 1990).

Support can be also derived from those undergoing a similar experience (Adelman, 1988). According to Haour-Knipe (1989) many expatriate families find themselves spending much of their social time and energies with the other expatriates. Expatriate community can contribute considerably to the adjustment process because members can share their experiences, frustrations and success (Westermeyer, 1989). The loss of support derived from the original culture will cause stress and anxiety. The sense of being grounded in social network in both the culture of origin and the new culture enhances an individual's ability to cope with the pressures of living in a bicultural environment (LaFromboise et al., 1993).

Parents perceived social support can also be connected with children's adjustment. Short and Johnston (1997) examined immigrant Chinese mothers from Hong Kong and their postmigration stress, perceived social support and their child's adjustment. They found that immigrant children whose mothers reported lower levels of stress and more social support were reported to have fewer adjustment problems than children living under more difficult circumstances.

It is also obvious that hosts' culture-specific perceptions of and responses to sojourners, ethnocentric attitudes, are likely to affect the psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). Societies vary in permissiveness, plasticity and tolerance in allowing strangers to deviate from its normative cultural patterns (Kim, 1988). Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) investigated the effects of acculturation on the psychological well-being of immigrant adolescents in Finland and found that most indices of psychological well-being were clearly and negatively related to perceived discrimination.

Quite little is known about the psychological and sociocultural adjustment of expatriates' children when they move to another country and as little is known about the mediating factors that may effect the adjustment. Much of the research of relocation of children has dealt with adjustment problems of refugee or immigrant children but the situation of expatriates' children is far more different. However cross-cultural transition is usually easier for the expatriates themselves because they benefit from the continuity of the profession but the whole family is uprooted for the sake of one parent's job (Caligiuri et al., 1998). Nevertheless the ease with which family members including children adapt overseas may be one of the most important variables effecting the success or failure of expatriate's assignment.

The purpose of this study was to further our knowledge of the psychological and sociocultural adjustment of expatriates' children in a foreign country. All of the studies in the framework of psychological and sociocultural adjustment have dealt with the adjustment of adults and therefore for instance Ward and Searle (1991) suggest that future research should be extended to include more diverse samples such as children. The specific questions in this study were as follows:

- How do Finnish children adjust psychologically and socioculturally to the American culture within a half of a year after the move?
- What kind of mediating factors seem to effect and mostly facilitate the psychological and sociocultural adjustment of the child?

Like in the studies of Ward and colleagues (e.g. Ward & Chang, 1997; Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Ward et al., 1998; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999; Ward & Searle, 1991) also in this study the psychological adjustment refers to feelings of wellbeing and sociocultural dimension refers to skills that an individual needs to manage in every day social situations in a new culture. Psychological adjustment was operationalized in this study according to the literature concerning adjustment problems in children during cross-cultural transition. Psychological adjustment difficulties refer to emotions like fears and grief, externalizing or internalizing behavior problems, regression or psychosomatic ailments. Sociocultural adjustment was operationalized as school adjustment, second language skills and involvement to the host culture in leisure time. Second language skills refer to skills to communicate in a foreign language.

According to research literature there are some mediating factors that might effect the psychological and sociocultural adjustment of the child. The mediating factors in this study were:

- the age and gender of the child
- the child`s premove adjustment to the day care or school in Finland
- the child`s personality
- the parents` motives for moving
- the family`s preparation for moving
- the mother`s psychological adjustment and attitudes toward the host country and the home country
- the child`s and the mother`s perceived social support

Method

Qualitative research. Because little is known about the psychological and sociocultural adjustment of expatriates' children I approached these research questions qualitatively. Historically there have been two distinguishable research traditions: the qualitative and the quantitative but at the most global level both have a common goal: to understand and improve the human condition (Reichardt & Rallis, 1994). According to Reichardt and Rallis (1994) qualitative researchers seek to explicate the meaning of reality from the participants' perspectives whereas quantitative researchers seek to understand relationships without particular emphasis on the participants' perspectives. An example of quantitative research is the study of Alston and Nieuwoudt (1992) where they investigated the adjustment problems of children aged 8 –10 when they move from their home environment to live in Vienna, Austria. In this study a questionnaire was developed and administered to the subjects and the questions were based on the anticipated areas of adjustment encountered during relocation. The researchers argue that this study demonstrated that it is possible to achieve a quantitative measurement of some of the adjustments necessitated by an international relocation. There are also many other studies that investigate the psychological adjustment quantitatively (e. g. Almqvist & Broberg, 1999; Short & Johnston, 1997; Tamura & Furnham, 1993; Vuorenkoski et al, 2000; Öry et al, 1991).

What is then the most important thing when you study the psychological and sociocultural adjustment of children qualitatively? Gubrium and Holstein (1997) define the qualitative method: "The goal is to capture, even reenact, the subjects experience and to describe that in full emotional colour." Qualitative study demands that the researcher avoid trying to prove something because the heart of the work is understanding the social setting and all that it entails (Janesick, 1998). The special attention is therefore to the "qualities" of experience, aspects of life (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997). If in the quantitative research the leading question is "what?" so in the qualitative research the leading question is "how?".

Research participants. The sample consisted of 9 Finnish mothers and 12 of their 4 - 7 -year-old children. The 12 children in the study included 6 girls at the time of moving aged 5, 6 (three 6 -year-olds) and 7 (two 7 -year-olds) and 6 boys at the time of moving aged 4, 5 (three 5 -year-olds) and 6 (two 6 -year-olds). In two of the nine interviews father was also participating some of the time. Four of the families have moved to Silicon Valley in the United States within 6 months and five of the families within 7 to 18 months. Silicon Valley is an area near San Fransisco and it is famous of the high technology companies. All of the families had moved abroad temporarily, for 1 to 3 years. Some of the mothers did not know yet the exact time when to return to Finland but none of the families has not come to the United States to stay. Two of the children had lived abroad before when they were about 1 - 2 years old. Three of the children have had big life changes during the past year before the move: one girl had started school and spent the afternoons alone in Finland and one girl had got a little sister. One boy`s parents had divorced and now he had moved with his father and stepmother to the United States while his mother lived in Finland.

The mothers of 4 - 7 -year-old children were chosen because mothers usually take care of children during daytime and see the adjustment of the children more closely. All of the mothers were taking care of their children at home. Stroh (1990) found in her study that mothers are pretty good predictors of their mobile children`s adjustment, disputing the myth that parents do not understand how their children feel about moving. She also interviewed the 6 - 11 -year-old children and found that the results were quite consistent with the mothers` results. In this study two of the fathers were also involved some of the time during the interview.

4 - 7 -year-old children were chosen because at that age the children probably attend the school system in the United States and have direct encounters with the foreign culture. In many studies concerning the adjustment problems of children during cross-cultural transition the researchers have only interviewed the parents or teachers of the child (e.g. Aronowitz, 1992; Öry et al., 1991). In this study four children were interviewed but because the children were quite young it was hard to get information from them and that is why only the mothers were interviewed. Also in many studies the interviewed children have been older than 5 - 7 -year-olds (e.g. Alston & Nieuwoudt, 1992; Liebkind et al., 2000; Nathanson & Marcenko, 1995).

To reach the participants I sent an e-mail through Suomipostia which is an e-mail-system among Finnish people in Silicon Valley -area. Two of the participants were reached by asking personally. Four of the volunteers were rejected because they were either at work or have been in the United States for too long and it might have effected the answers. All the participants came to the interview voluntarily. According to Seidman (1991) "enough" is an interactive reflection of every step of the interview process and different for each study but there can be find two criteria how the researcher knows when he or she has interviewed enough participants: sufficiency and saturation. Sufficiency refers that there are sufficient numbers of participants to reflect the range of participants and sites that make up the population. On the other hand, saturation refers to the point of the study at which the interviewer begins to hear the same information reported. Both of these criteria were used in this study.

Interview guide. Interview is usually defined simply as conversation with a purpose to gather information (Berg, 1995) and especially qualitative interviewing is a way of finding out what the interviewees feel and think about their worlds. At the heart of interviewing research is an interest in other individuals' stories because they are of worth (Seidman, 1991). According to Rubin and Rubin (1995) qualitative interviewing is warranted whenever depth of understanding is required. It is also a way to explore the broader implications of the problem and the main purpose is to obtain rich data to build theories that describe a setting or explain a phenomenon.

In the interviews there were themes and questions but their order could change in each interview. The broad themes in the interview guide included the questions related to child's psychological and sociocultural adjustment and the factors that might mediate the adjustment. Questions were designed to obtain specific information while remaining flexible to allow the interviewee's story to be told and they were based on a review of the cross-cultural transition and adjustment literature. All the questions were presented in Finnish because all the research participants were Finns. In addition to the basic questions probes and follow-up questions were used to enrich the discussion and the participants's own concepts and words were used in them. The following are examples of questions to mothers, grouped by the themes:

Questions related to the psychological adjustment of the child:

- How did your child feel about the moving?
- Cross-cultural transition is not always easy for adult and nor for the child. How do you feel your child has adjusted to the United States?
- If you compare the behavior of your child before moving to the behavior after the moving can you find any differences?
- Has your child have any grief reactions or fears concerning the move?
- Have you had any behavior problems with your child? Has there been any overactivity, disobedience, shyness or withdrawal?
- Has your child have any difficulties with sleeping or eating?
- Has your child have any headache or abdominal pain?

Questions related to the sociocultural adjustment of the child?

- Has your child attend any daycare or school in the United States? If yes, how has it gone?
- How has your child learnt English? Can he/she communicate in English?
- How does your child spend his/her leisure time?
- Does your child have any Finnish or American friends? How does he/she come along with them? How often does he/she see them?
- Does your child attend Finnish -school? If yes, how does he/she like it?

Questions related to mediating factors:

The child's premove adjustment:

- Has he/she attended any daycare in Finland? If yes, how has it gone?

Personality of the child:

- How would you describe your child?
- How does he/she react to new things and new people?

The parent's motives for moving:

- Why did you move to the United States?
- Was it easy to do the decision about moving?

The family's preparations for moving:

- How did you prepare for moving?
- How did you prepare the child for moving?

The mother's psychological adjustment:

- What kind of problems have you had during the cross-cultural transition? What has been the biggest problem?
- How do you feel that you have adjusted to the United States?

Mother's attitudes toward the United States and Finland:

- How do you feel about the American culture or the Americans?
- How do you feel about Finland and Finnish culture right now?

Child's social support network:

- Does your child have any siblings? If yes, what kind of relationship they have?
- How have you supported your child in his/her school? How have you supported your child in his/her English learning?
- How does your child's teacher accept him/her?
- Do the peers accept your child well?

Mother's social support network:

- From where have you got most of the support with the problems concerning the cross-cultural transition?
- Have you got any Finnish or American friends here? How often do you see them?
- How do you feel that your American neighborhood has accepted you?

Ethical considerations. Mothers were fully informed of the voluntary nature and the goals of the study. They were told that the goals of the study are to get information about the adjustment of children during the cross cultural –transition and to find out the possible mediating factors that might either facilitate or make more difficult the adjustment. All the participants were asked a permission to audiotape the interview. They were informed that all responses would be confidential and that the transcripts would have no identifying information. All the participants were free to withdraw at any time. The mothers were shown the children's interview guide before agreeing to take part in the study. When the qualitative analysis of the data was completed, a summary of the results was mailed to the participants. This methodological aspect of the study provides a source of testimonial validity (Stiles, 1993).

Qualitative analysis. The interviews were audiotaped and they were fully transcribed later. The interviews were listened regularly during the analysis process so that the impressions from them were in the memory all the time. The transcripts were read many times before the analysis started. Varto (1992) called this "oivaltava havainnointi" (perceived perception). This perceived perception continued after the systematic analysis of the interviews started.

After the process was completed for the entire set of transcripts the main issues were coded according to the interview questions. The summaries were written for every interview according to the coded transcripts. There is an example of the analysis process in the Table 1.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE ANALYSIS PROCESS IN ONE INTERVIEW
An example of coding in one transcribed interview
Interviewer: " <i>Entäs sitte (kun alkuinnostus muuttamisen suhteen oli laantunut)?</i> " (What then (after the initial excitement about the move had gone away)?) Mother: " <i>No sitte tota, sit kouluun...sit ku Emmi meni täällä kouluun, niin se oli yllättävän kova paikka, ett ku Emmi oli Suomessa ollu ekalla, niin yhtäkkiä se olikin yhdistetty eka-tokaluokkalainen ja, ja se oli niinku akateemisesti jäljessä niistä lapsista ja sit ku sillä ei ollu mitään kieltä, Emmi oli oikeestaan lähes kielitaidoton, ett ehkä se osas sanoo yes ja no ja hi ja niin, mut se ei ymmärtäny täst aksentin takiakaan yhtään mitään.</i> " (10) (And then, well then to the school...when Emmi started school here it was surprisingly hard because Emmi has been at 1 st grade in Finland and now all of a sudden she was at combined 1 st and 2 nd grade and, and she wasn't academically as good as the other children and she didn't have any language, actually she was nearly disabled in language, maybe she could say yes and no and hi and so, but she couldn't understand anything because of the accent.) (10) " <i>Ja ett tota siin oli mun mielest hirveen suuri merkitys, ett Emmillä oli hirveen hyvä se opettaja, semmonen nuori nainen, joka niinku osas halata sitä ja anto sen paljo piirtää ja sai niinku niitä tunteuksiaan piirtämällä ulos.</i> " (19) (And, well, I think it has a very big meaning in the beginning that Emmi had a very good teacher, a young woman, who could hug her and let her draw a lot and so she could express her feelings by drawing.) (19) " <i>Ja tota näin, ett, ett tota...ihan niistä ekoista koulupäivistä Emmi sano, ett hän tykkäs, mut sitte, sit ku kouluu oli ehkä käyty kuukaus, niin sitte ei enää maanantaisin halunnu mennä kouluun ja sit alko välillä pelottaan.</i> " (10) (And so that, that...Emmi liked to go to school in the first days but then after a month or so she didn't want to school on Mondays any more and sometimes she was scared.) (10).
The summary of the coded and transcribed interview
The beginning of the school was difficult. Emmi has started at a different grade in Finland and she wasn't as good as the other students and she didn't speak English. (10) The first month at school went fine but then Emmi didn't want to go to school and sometimes she was scared. (10) Fortunately Emmi had a good teacher who let Emmi draw a lot in the beginning. (19)
The analysis of the interview concerning the studied questions
The school adjustment can be seen as a part of the sociocultural adjustment. The sociocultural adjustment is hard if the child doesn't speak the language. (10) The psychological and sociocultural adjustment is interrelated. Emmi didn't feel well at school and she was scared. (10) The social support is an important thing concerning the psychological and sociocultural adjustment. The empathetic teacher facilitated Emmi's adjustment to the school. (19)

Table 1. An example of the analysis process in one interview

The parts of the interviews that had the same meaning were put together in the summaries. The summaries were only the means to describe the interview material, they were not intended to replace it. Another way to describe the interview material was to do a table about the major issues for each interviews (Appendix 1.). The tables made it easier to analyze the interviews.

According to Varto (1992) only after the material has been described it is possible to say what kind of generalization is possible. In a qualitative study like this it is not possible to generalize beyond the sample but the generalization has to do within the sample. The material was studied according to the themes that arose from the study questions.

Results

What kind of experiences did the interviews reveal concerning the psychological and sociocultural adjustment of Finnish children during cross-cultural transition to the American culture? The summary of the results is presented in Table 2.

THE SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS	
The psychological adjustment of the child	
The studied question	How do Finnish children adjust psychologically to the American culture within a half of year after the move?
The generalization	The studied question was analyzed by studying the behavior characteristics the children had after the move. The studied behavior characteristics arose from the literature.
The results	<p>There can be found two types of children concerning the psychological adjustment within the sample:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the easily adjusted children with minority worries concerning the move 2. the children with one or several of the following behavior characteristics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - grief - fears - frustration and anger - tantrums - regression - difficulties with eating or sleeping - stomachache

The sociocultural adjustment of the child	
The studied question	How do Finnish children adjust socioculturally to the American culture within half a year after the move?
The generalization	The studied question was analyzed by studying children's school adjustment, second language ability and involvement to the American culture at leisure time.
The results	<p>There can be found three types of children concerning the school adjustment:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the easily adjusted children without any problems 2. the children who cried a little during the first school days but adjusted well after that 3. the children who had adjustment problems like fears or frustration for some time <p>In general the children adjusted better to the school after they had learnt some English and got some friends. Most of the children started to speak sentences after six months at school. Many of the children had only Finnish friends at leisure time and most of them haven't started any hobbies in half a year after the move. So the sociocultural adjustment was only in the beginning for most of the children.</p>
The mediating factors in child's psychological and sociocultural adjustment	
The studied question	What are the mediating factors that seem to effect the child's adjustment?
The generalization	The studied question was analyzed by studying the possible mediating factors that aroused from the literature. The factors were the age and gender of the child, the child's premove adjustment to day care or school in Finland, the child's personality, the parents's motives for moving and the preparation for moving, the mother's psychological adjustment and attitudes toward the host country and home country and the child's and mother's perceived social support.
The results	<p>The age and gender, the parents' motives for moving, the mother's psychological adjustment and attitudes toward the host country and home country seemed not to have a meaning to the child's adjustment in this sample.</p> <p>Concerning the child's personality the socially active children might have some advantage in adjustment but at the same time they must have good self-esteem and they must be able to tolerate the feeling that they are not as good as the others and can't communicate with the language.</p> <p>The most important factors concerning the child's adjustment appeared to be the child's premove adjustment, the preparation for moving and social support. Many of the children who had some kind of adjustment difficulties had also had adjustment difficulties in Finland. The more the parents had prepared the child for moving, the more it had facilitated the child's adjustment. Social support is one of the crucial factor in child's adjustment and the important social support can come not only from the parents, but also from siblings, teachers and friends. For many children the Finnish friends were really important.</p>

The factors that have most facilitated both the child's and mother's adjustment	
The studied question	What are the factors that have most facilitated both the child's and mother's adjustment according to mothers?
The generalization	The question was studied by classifying the mothers's responses. The factors are not listed according to frequency.
The results	<p>The factors that have most facilitated the child's adjustment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - siblings - Finnish friends - Teacher - mother has more time to child - parents' attitudes towards moving and host country - attending English day care or taking private lessons before moving - age - child's own enthusiasm towards school - warm climate - trips to Finland - the life situation didn't change much <p>The factors that have most facilitated the mothers's own adjustment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - can be at home with children and has more time to them - meaningful things to do - Finnish friends - Internet - decision of moving was made together - support from the husband - previous experience living abroad - positive attitude and humor - bringing their own belongings - personal faith and a good parish - cross-cultural training and knowledge about adjustment - getting a driving licence and a car - quests from Finland

Table 2. The summary of the results

The psychological adjustment of the child. Most of the children were excited about the moving. Some of the mothers thought that their children didn't fully understand what it means to move abroad. Also according to Harvey (1985) children may have difficulties in imagining what it would be like to live in a foreign country. For some of the children the most exciting thing in moving was to get into a plane. However, two of the girls didn't want to move because they didn't want to leave their friends in Finland. One boy didn't want to move first but he was more positive at the time of the moving.

What were the characteristics of the children's behavior during the half of a year after the move? It is interesting to notice that there were four children in this study

that seem not to have any kind of adjustment difficulties after the move even though they had some sorrow or worries concerning it:

Sami's mother¹: "*Varmaan ihan hyvin (sopeutunut). Välillä muistelee niitä kavereita, mitä Suomessa oli, ett tavallaan semmosta pientä ikävää.....mut ei mitään semmosta ihmeellistä oo ollu, ett ois kauhee kiukku tullu.*" (Obviously (he has adjusted) very well. Sometimes he recalls back to mind those friends in Finland, in a way a kind of little sorrow... .. but nothing special, no severe tantrums.)

Jussi's mother: "*Kyllä, on sopeutunu kyllä loistavasti.....tietenkin aina välillä tulee mieleen mummut ja papat...*" (Yes, he has adjusted extremely well..... of course sometimes he recalls back to mind grandma and grandpa...)

Some of the children were worried about things like what will happen to their toys or how they will manage at school without language skills:

Heikki's stepmother: "*Siitä keskusteltiin paljon, ett häntä (Heikkiä) huoletti, ett miten hän pärjää, kun hän ei osaa englantia ollenkaan ja hän osaa vain suomea...*" (We talked a lot about that he (Heikki) was so worried about how he can manage because he can't speak English at all and he can speak only Finnish...)

According to Matter and Matter (1988) children's fears are sometimes irrational and based on their limited understanding. In this study one boy was worried about if there were any bathrooms in California and two sibling boys misunderstood that their parents were going to give away their toys as they were putting them into a store. One of the children had some fears in a new house and one was scared about kidnapping in the beginning. A grief reaction has often been found to be accompaniment of the process of adapting to a strange culture (Anderson, 1994; Westermeyer, 1989) and also in this study most of the children miss their friends or relatives in Finland:

Emmi's mother: "*Hirvittävästi oli surua ja ikävää, ett ei oikeestaan ikävä isovanhempia tai serkkuja, mut että Emmi puhuu vieläkin niistä ystävistä, ett kuka sano mitä ja missä oltiin ja mitä namia ostettiin kioskilta ja kuinka nyt kaippaa sitä ja tätä.*" (There was terribly lots of sorrow and longing, Emmi didn't really miss her grandparents or cousins but Emmi still talks about those friends that who said what and where they were and which candies they bought from the candy store and how she now miss this and that.)

Nina's mother: "*Sitä hän vieläkin (ikäväi), ett paras ystävä on Suomessa...*" (She still (misses) that her best friend is in Finland.)

¹ Quotations has been shortened by leaving out some conjunctions or repetitions in order to clarify the message.

When children are under stress they may demonstrate externalizing or internalizing behavior problems (Aronowitz, 1984; Heller et al., 1996). Three of the children has got angry easier than before the move:

Emmi's mother: "*Ennen muuttoa Emmi oli ehkä vähän tasasempi luonne.....ett nykysin mun mielest muuton jälkeen Emmi on ollu lyhytpinnasempi, itkuherkempi ja ei ehkä enää niin sopeutuvainen kuin ennen.*" (Before moving Emmi was perhaps a little more steady... .. nowadays I think that after the move Emmi has got angry easier and cries easier and she perhaps doesn't adjust as easy as before.)

Miikka's mother: "*Miikka on aika paljon pahapäisempi nyt kotonakin, ett on vaikeempi sillä tavalla, ett sanaharkkaan joudutaan useammin.....ja sitte saattaa räiskähtää ehkä enempi, voimallisemmin kuin kotona (Suomessa).*" (Miikka is also much more naughtier now at home, he is more difficult so that we argue more often... ..and then he gets angrier more, more powerful than at home (in Finland).)

Three of the children were frustrated because of the language and two of them had severe tantrums during the first two months after the move:

Tiina's mother: "*...tuolla toukokuun loppupuolella alko tulla semmosta takapakkia, että se (Tiina) alko saada, koulun jälkeen alko tulla semmosia kiukkukohtauksia.....se oli ihan hirveitä, sitä sitte kesti jonkun aikaa ja joka päivä tuntu, että se meni aina pahemmaks.....mä kysyin siltä, että mikä sua vaivaa, mitä tää tarkoittaa, miks sä oot tämmönen näin, kun se ei ollenkaan kuulu Tiinan tapoihin semmonen. Se sano, ett ku häntä harmittaa, kun hän ei ymmärrä, mitä ne muut puhuu ja mitä opettaja puhuu.*" (...the situation got worse in the end of May, she (Tiina) began to got tantrums after school... ..it was really terrible, it then lasted for some time and I felt that it got worse all the time... ..I asked her what's wrong with you, what's the matter, why are you like this, because this is not typical for Tiina. She said that she is annoyed that she doesn't understand what the others are saying and what teacher is saying.)

Kirsi's mother: "*Sitte tosiaan sen ensimmäisen kuukauden jälkeen Kirsillä tuli kotona ihan hirveitä raivareita, hän saatto saada aivan mielettömiä huutokohtauksia, kun tultiin koulusta kotiin, että ei mun mielestä ollu mitään syytä, mut se oli vaan jotenkin, ett sill ihan liikaa tuli sitä englantia joka suunnasta.....ett sill ei ollu keinoo purkaa sitä.*" (Then really after a month Kirsi began to got severe tantrums at home, really severe tantrums at home after school, I thought she didn't have any particular reason for that but it was just that she heard too much English from everywhere...so that she couldn't handle it.)

Some of the children were frustrated because of losing their freedom that they had in Finland:

Minna's mother: "*Hankalaa oli semmonen oma vapauden menetys, et sä et voi mennä tonne etupihalle ajeleen pyörällä, sä et voi mennä käymään kioskilla tai lähikaupassa tai sä et voi mennä tosta vaan leikkimään ja hakemaan naapuria pihalle, kun ei oo semmosia naapureita tässä lähellä.*" (It was difficult to lose your freedom so that you can't ride a bike in the front of the house or you can't go to the grocery store by yourself or you can't go and ask your neighbor to play outside because you don't have such neighbors.)

During the adjustment process there might also exist some regression or psychosomatic ailments (Chandler, 1985; Kopala et al., 1994; Matter & Matter, 1988). One of the boys got stuck in his stepmother during the first months after the move:

Heikki's stepmother: "*Heikki oli aina ollu semmonen hyvin mussa kiinni, ett hän tykkää istuu sylissä ja tykkää, että häntä silitetään ja halataan ja suukotetaan ja sillä tavalla, mutt et sillon ihan ensimmäisinä viikkoina, ehkä ensimmäisen kuukauden, puolentoista ajan niin hän oli kyllä hyvin paljon minuss kiinni.*" (Heikki has always been very stuck with me, he likes to sit in a lap and he likes to be smoothed and hugged and kissed and so, but during the first weeks, maybe during the first month or month and a half he was really stuck with me.)

Partly because of the circumstances one of the girls had started to play with dolls again:

Emmi's mother: "*Suomessa Emmi ei leikkiny enää mitään perinteisiä kotileikkejä ja muuta.....täällä se itki ja raivos, ett ku täällä ei voi tehdä mitään ja hän on kun vankilassa, kunnes Emmi rupes uudestaan leikkimään. Siis barbileikkejä, kotileikkejä, erilaisia mielikuvitusleikkejä.*" (Emmi didn't play any traditional plays in Finland... ..here she cried and was angry because she couldn't do anything and she felt like in prison, until Emmi started to play again. I mean to play with barbies and to play home and different kind of imaginary plays.)

Five of the children have had some difficulties with eating and three of the children haven't slept so well after the move. One girl had some stomachache with the severe tantrums but none of the children have had any headache.

The sociocultural adjustment of the child. Going to school is a very challenging time for the child and if at the same time the language and the whole culture are foreign it is far more challenging. Two of the children of this study started at the preschool in the United States, four of the children started at the American school and

four of the children started in the ESL-class (ESL=English as a Second Language). Two siblings haven't started any school yet. Preschool means education for 2 - 4 - year-old children in the American school system. Kindergarten means education for 4 - 6 -year-old children and it can be provided in public school classes or in a private school. Kindergarten is not mandatory but most of the children attend it. The child goes to the 1st grade when he or she is 6 years old. ESL is a specialized method of teaching English to non-native English speakers and it is provided in varying degrees by the school district.

In this study three of the children had adjusted to school very well. Some children cried a little during the first school days but after that it has went fine. Two of the girls were excited to go to school first and it went fine in the beginning but after a few days they were scary and didn't want to go to school:

Emmi's mother: *"Ihan niistä ekoista koulupäivistä Emmi sano, ett hän tykkäs, mut sitte, sit ku kouluu oli käyty ehkä kuukaus, niin sitte ei enää maanantaisin halunnu mennä kouluun ja sit alko välillä pelottaan."* (Emmi liked the first school days but after about a month she didn't want to go to school on Mondays and she was scary sometimes.)

One of the boys hasn't adjusted well to school, either. The first week went fine but after that he cried and didn't want to go there. He couldn't sit still during the lessons:

Miikka's mother: *"Parina ensimmäisenä viikkona Miikka ei ymmärtäny mitään, niin ei sitte voi kuvitella et yks istuu 45 minuuttia paikallaan siellä... ...ja sit se turhautu ihan tyystin, sit hän oli lähteny käveleen siellä luokassa, kierrelly ja katellu piirustuksia seinille ja ihmetelly, oli lukenu niitä ja tavaillu niitä värejä ja tällasia."* (During the first weeks Miikka didn't understand anything and you can't imagine that he sits still 45 minutes... ...then he fully frustrated and began to walk around the classroom and watched the pictures on the wall and wondered and read and tried to spell the colors and like.)

Because American school is more demanding in the beginning than Finnish school, some of the children have felt that they were not as good as the others. Some of the children have also felt lonely at school.

According to Kim (1988) successful adjustment is possible only when the child is able to communicate successfully with the host environment. Most of the children had learnt some English after a month at school. Many of them were shy at school during the first half of the year but most of them started to speak sentences after that. Many of the children had some friends at school but many of them had also Finnish friends.

For many of the children the Finnish friends were the most important:

 Tiina's mother: "*Kyllä ne ystävät on suomalaisia aika pitkälle, että kyllä se Tiina siellä koulussa pitää hyvänä kaverinaan yhtä intialaista tyttöä, mut ei se oo vielä rohjennu kutsua sitä meille.*" (Most of the friends are Finnish so that Tiina says that she has a good Indian friend at school but she hasn't had the courage to ask her to our house.)

Most of the children didn't have any hobbies during the first half of the year. Many mothers thought that their children had enough stress with the school so they didn't want them to start any hobbies in the beginning.

The mediating factors. What kind of mediating factors can there be concerning psychological and sociocultural adjustment of the children?

The age and gender of the child. According to Tamura and Furnham (1993) the younger children tend to have some advantages in cross cultural transition because they are more flexible and quick in learning skills like language and the younger children spend much of their time within the family. In this study two of the children haven't started school at all and two of the children has started at preschool for couple of hours per day. These children's age ranged 4 – 5 years. None of them had any serious adjustment problems. Those who had some kind of adjustment problems their age ranged 5 - 7 years. The longer the school days the more the children got exposure to the foreign culture. But on the other hand there were also some 5 - 7 -year-olds who had adjusted really well. There were also both boys and girls who had some kind of adjustment difficulties and on the other hand there were both boys and girls who had adjusted very well. However, girls seemed to miss more their friends in Finland than boys.

The child's premove adjustment to the day care or school in Finland. According to Stroh (1990) the best predictor of postmove adjustment is the premove level of adjustment. In this study there were three children who had had some kind of adjustment problems to day care in Finland and these same children had also some difficulties in adjusting to school in the United States.

The child's personality. Those children who had some kind of adjustment difficulties were described as "active and interested in new things", "'lively and extroverted" and on the other hand "reacts to new things very carefully". Those children who had adjusted very easily were described as "socially active and co-

operates easily”, “has lots of imagination”, “very careful with new things”, “socially active, able to concentrate, very interested in new things”, “sensitive, stubborn, large-minded, gets friends easily, takes new things into consideration”, “cheerful and positive, gets friends easily”. In this study it seems that for example socially active children had both adjusted easily and had some adjustment problems. Two of the well-adjusted children were described as imaginative or large-minded.

The parents` motives for moving. Parents` motives for moving are usually a crucial factor in child`s adjustment. All of the interviewed families had come to the United States because of very positive reasons: five of the mothers said that they had moved because time was very suitable for moving or that they saw it as a chance to see different places and as a good experience. Some of the mothers said also that they had moved because it was good for husband`s career or because it would be good for children to learn other language. However, many of the mothers said that first it was not easy to do the decision to move. They were mostly worried about their children. But once the decision was made it felt much easier.

The family`s preparation for moving. According to Sharlin and Elshanskaza (1999) the more thorough the family`s preparation for moving the lower the parental stress. How have the families prepared for moving in this study? It seems to be a problem in expatriate families that they often have too little time to prepare. The employers delay the decision often so late that many of the families in this study had only a couple of weeks time to prepare:

 Tiina`s mother: “*Eipä oikeestaan (henkisesti valmistauduttu), et ensinnäkin se tuli sillä tavalla kireellä aikataululla se lähtö, ei siinä hirveesti ehtiny.*” (We didn`t really prepare psychologically because we left such in a hurry that we didn`t really have time to prepare.)

When you don`t know if you are moving or not it is also hard to prepare the child for moving:

 Jussi`s mother: “*Täytyy sanoa, että se (lapsen valmistaminen muuttoon) oli kyllä vaikeeta. Just ihan tämän tilanteen takia, kun meni todella pitkään, varmaan ainakin puol vuotta oli tämmöstä edestakasin menoa, että mennäänkö vai eikö mennä.....siinä oli hirveen tämmöstä hermopeliä kyllä ja sitä oli hirveen vaikee sit oikeestaan lapsillekaan (selittää).*” (I must say that it was hard (to prepare the child for moving). Just because of the situation, it took really long, nearly half a year that we didn`t know if we were moving or not... .. it really got on our nerves and it was also difficult (to explain) to children.)

Two of the mothers had an opinion that they got prepared as soon as they got all the practical things done. Many of the parents had got some material from the husband's company or they had interviewed those people that had already experience of living abroad. Two of the mothers had been in a cross cultural –training and they felt that they had got some good information from there:

Heikki's stepmother: *“Se mikä mua autto oli tietysti myös siinä, että mä olin ollut siellä ekspatriaattikoulutuksessa ja siellä oli puhuttu kulttuurishokista ja et koko ajan ties, että vaikk tuntu miten kammottavalta, niin et kyl tää tästä menee ohi.”* (What also helped me was that I had been there in expatriate-training and they had talked about culture shock there, so I knew all the time that even if it feels horrible it will go away.)

A very common way to prepare for moving was to do a previsit to the place they were going to move. All of the mothers had an opinion that it was a good way to prepare because it facilitated the fears when they saw the place where they were moving. But only in one family the child had been with at the previsit:

Nina's mother: *“Sillon kun selvis, että me muutetaan tänne, onneksi Nina tiesi, minkälaista täällä oli, kun me oltiin just muutama kuukausi sitten oltu täällä.”* (When we found out that we are going to move here, it was lucky that Nina knew what was it like here, because we had been here just a couple of months ago.)

The most common way to prepare the child for moving was to discuss with them and to point out positive things about moving. Three of the children had taken either private classes in English or had been in an English day care before moving:

Emmi's mother: *“Me otettiin lapsille englanninkielen yksityistunteja ihan sen takia vaan, että me kyl tajuttiin, että ne ei ehdi oppimaan yhtään mitään, mut et ne vähän tottu sellaseen tilanteeseen, että niille puhutaan jotain vierasta kieltä.”* (Our children attended private English lessons just because even though we realize that they will not learn anything but just because they got used to situation that somebody is talking a foreign language to them.)

The mother's psychological adjustment. Many studies have shown that if parents adjust well to the new culture it is likely that the child adjust well, too (e.g. Coll & Magnusson, 1997; Stroh, 1990). In this study eight of the nine mothers told that the hardest time was in the beginning when there were so many things to do. Even if all the mothers had moved voluntarily, two of the mothers told that it has been a little bit difficult to be without work. Two of the mothers told that they had hard times because their children had hard times:

Kirsi's and Minna's mother: "*(Kun Kirsi sai raivokohtauksia) sit mä olin ite ihan, ett nyt mä lähen täält kyl Suomeen, ett mä en kestä, ett mä en tienny mitä mä teen sen kanssa, ett se oli hirvee vaihe.*" ((While Kirsi got tantrums) I thought that now I want to return to Finland, that I can't stand this, I didn't knew what to do with her, it was terrible phase.)

Emmi's mother: "*(Eniten hankaluuksia tuotti) ehkä se suru siitä, kuinka meidän lapsilla oli alkuun, kuinka ne itki ja oli murheissaan. Mä muistan, kuinka mä mietin, ett tätäks me haluttiin... ..eihän me oltas tämmöstä surua ja ikävää niille haluttu niin pitkäks aikaa.*" ((The most difficult thing was) maybe the sorrow about that how difficult it was for our children in the beginning, how they cried and were sad. I remember how I thought that if this was what we wanted... ..we didn't want such sadness and sorrow for them for such a long time.)

There were two mothers who had adjusted very well and their children had some kind of adjustment problems, on the other hand there is a mother who hasn't adjusted very well but her child has adjusted well.

The mother's attitudes toward the host country and home country. According to Aronowitz (1992) parental attitudes towards social change are significant predictors of child's adjustment. In this study most of the mothers had quite positive attitude towards Americans or American culture. If they found some negative aspects they could also found some positive:

Sami's mother: "*Kulttuuri on aika kertakäyttönen... ..ett on materiaalista. Sit, minkä mä oon huomannu, mikä on positiivista... ..niin lapset huomioidaan täällä paremmin.*" (The culture is quite disposable... ..it is materialistic. Then I have noticed, which is quite positive... ..that they pay more attention to children here.)

Heikki's mother: "*Täältä löytyy hyvin yksinkertaisia ihmisiä, hyvin pinnallisia ja erittäin kaksinaismoralistisia... ..positiivista on se, että lapsia kannustetaan.*" (You can find here very simple people, very superficial and very two-faced moralistic... ..positive is that they encourage children...)

Two of the mothers had somewhat negative attitudes towards the host culture, but their children had adjusted well. All of the mothers felt proud to be a Finn and they wanted that their children maintain the Finnish language skills. Also LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) suggest that it is possible to maintain a positive relationship between the individual's culture of origin and the second culture in which he or she is living.

The child's and the mother's perceived social support. Social support is an important thing concerning the psychological adjustment. It provides a sense that

individual is accepted, cared for, esteemed and valued. Support can be derived from parents, siblings, friends, teachers and from those undergoing a similar experience (Adelman, 1988). All of the children in this study have got some kind of support from their parents. In American schools, parents are expected to work closely with teachers and administrators to improve their children's education and they are expected to help their children with their lessons at home and to assure that their children cooperate with their teachers. In this study all of the mothers have supported their children with homework or by reading them English books. Four of the mothers have been as a volunteer at school:

Kirsi's and Minna's mother: "*Se oli heille hirveen tärkeätä, että mä olin siellä (koulussa) sen tiistapäivän ja must se oli itellekin hirveen hauska, että näin tavallaan, miten heillä menee siellä ja mimmosta se on se opetus.*" (It was really important to them that I was there (at school) on Tuesdays and it was really nice for me also that I saw in a way how they were doing there and what was the teaching like.)

The siblings seem also have a great meaning concerning the child's adjustment and the relationship between the siblings seems to come even more important after the move:

Emmi's mother: "*Sitten on hirvittävän suurena tekijänä yllättäen, mitä mä en ollenkaan ajatellu, on että Emmi on löytäny pikkusiskostaan kaverin.....myös suhde tähän veljeen..... täällä ne on hirvittävän paljon läheisemmät kuin Suomessa.*" (A very big thing, surprisingly, and I had never thought about it at all, has been that Emmi has found her little sister as a friend.....also the relationship to her brother... ..they are much more closer here than in Finland.)

Almqvist and Broberg (1999) found in their study that if peer relationships were positive it promoted the children's emotional well-being and adjustment. In this study the longer the child had stayed in the United States and the more he or she has learned English the more he or she had friends at school. Most of the children had peers that had a positive attitude towards the child. Only one child had peers who had a negative attitude towards him and he has felt frustrated because he feels that the other children reject him:

Miikka's mother: "*Joka ikinen oppilas siinä niitten luokalla, niinku Miikka teki jotakin, se lähti juoksentelemaan tai hyppimään, niin kaikki huusi yhteen ääneen, että "ei, Miikka".....sitten Miikka käyttäyty niinku se käyttäyty, koska se turhautu ja aina sitä mollattiin ja tuli hyljeksimisen fiilis.*" (Whenever Miikka did something, he went running or jumping, every student in their class shouted "no, Miikka".....then Miikka behaved like he behaved, because he felt frustrated and he was always blamed about something and he felt rejected.)

Many of the mothers in this study said that one of the most important thing in their child`s adjustment has been a good teacher. A good teacher is empathetic and warm and speaks clearly English:

Heikki`s stepmother: *“Heikin opettaja on aivan ihana, ett joka todella ottaa huomioon sen, ett lapset ei osaa englantia.....hirveen paljon hän näyttää käsillään, mitä sanoo ja selvästi puhuu sillä tavalla, ett siitä on erittäin helppo saada selvää.”* (Heikki`s teacher is really wonderful, she really puts attention to that the children can`t speak English.....she shows a lot with her hands what she is saying and speaks clearly so that it is very easy to understand.)

Two of the children had a strict and demanding teacher in the beginning and both of them had some kind of adjustment problems:

Kirsi`s mother: *“Kirsillä oli hyvin määrätietoinen.....ja kunnianhimoinen opettaja, ett siellä todella tehtiin töitä, mut se oli varmaan se alku.....vähän liiankin raju.”* (Kirsi had a very goal-oriented.....and ambitious teacher, they really worked hard there, but obviously the beginning... ..was a little too hard.)

Miikka`s mother: *“Opettaja on hyvin ankara.....ensimmäiset viikot oli.....sielt ei tullu minkäänlaista positiivista palautetta.”* (The teacher is very strict.....the first weeks were.....she didn`t give any positive feedback.)

Finnish friends and the Finnish –school were important for most of the children:

Heikki`s stepmother: *“Just se sitte tosiaan, ett kun on vaikee saada kavereita, ett jos ei olis täällä suomalaisia lapsia, niin kyll hänell (Heikillä) ois täällä aika ikävää.”* (This one thing that it is hard to get friends, if there weren`t any Finnish children here, he (Heikki) would have really boring.)

Tiina`s mother: *“Tiinan sopeutumista on auttanut se, ett näitä suomalaisii kavereita on tässä mukavasti ollu, että se vähän on niinku vastakohtana sille koululle, saa puhua suomea ja leikkiä omia leikkejä.”* (It has facilitated Tiina`s adjustment that there are Finnish friends here nicely, it is like an opposite to the school, she can talk Finnish and play her own games.)

Päivi`s and Pekka`s mother: *“Päiville ja Pekalle on ollu tärkeää huomata se, ett tosiaan täällä on muitakin suomalaisia aika paljon. Se on varmaan ollu semmonen tärke seikka... .. se on tuonu semmosta varmuutta ja itseluottamusta, että ei olla täällä yksin.”* (It has been important for Päivi and Pekka to notice that there are also quite many other Finns here. It surely has been an important thing... .. it has brought a kind of safeness and self-confidence that we are not alone here.)

Also according to LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) the sense of being grounded in social network in both the culture of origin and the new culture enhances the ability to cope with the pressures of living in a bicultural environment.

Short and Johnston (1997) suggest that the parents perceived social support can also be connected to child's adjustment. In this study all of the mothers felt that they have got social support. They felt that they had got support from their husband, from other Finnish people, from neighbors, from husband's work or from parish. Two of the mother's felt that internet and e-mail has helped their adjustment because you can be so easily connected to relatives and friends in Finland and get support from them. All of the mothers felt that the Americans have accepted them well and that Finland has a good reputation in that area where they live.

The most important things that have facilitated the adjustment in mother's opinion. The mothers were also asked their opinion what are the most important things that have facilitated either their child's or their own adjustment. Many of them pointed out that siblings and Finnish friends have had a really big influence. Some pointed out the meaning of a good teacher. Two of the mothers said that it has an important meaning that they have more time to the child than in Finland:

Sami's mother: "*Sit mulla on täällä aika paljon enemmän aikaa lapsille, kun oli Suomessa.....varmaan sekin vaikuttaa aika paljon lapsiin positiivisesti.*" (Then I have much more time for children here than in Finland.....certainly it effects the children positively very much.)

Emmi's mother: "*Ehkä eniten (Emmin sopeutumiseen on vaikuttanut) se, ett mull on enemmän aikaa lapsille. Ett Emmi ei oo mitenkään hunningolla, vaan ett siit on koko ajan pidetty huolta ja aina joku aikuinen kotona.*" (Maybe the thing that I have more time for my children has mostly facilitated (Emmi's adjustment). Emmi isn't on her own but somebody takes care of her all the time, there is always some adult at home.)

Three of the mothers pointed out that parent's attitudes toward the host country has a crucial meaning in child's adjustment, too. It is also important that it feels like your own home:

Päivi's and Pekka's mother: "*Meillä oli yks rajoitus, miks me ei haluttu tuoda omia tavaroita, ett on niinku kiva elää amerikkalaiseen tapaan, et me ei itse olla, mun mieheni ja minä, semmosia kotikaipusia.....mut tota lasten kannalta ehkä sitte ois ollu (hyvä tuoda omat tavarat).*" (There was one restriction why we didn't want to bring our own belongings because we thought it would be nice to live in American way. We, my husband and I, we aren't kind of

homelonging.....but maybe it could have been good (to bring our belongings) because of children.)

When the mothers thought about their own adjustment they also pointed out several things that have helped. They mentioned things like: she can be at home with children and has more time to them, she has meaningful things to do, internet and e-mail makes it easier to be in touch to Finland, she has made the decision to move together with his husband and she got support from her husband. Many of the mothers pointed out the meaning of Finnish friends. Many of the parents also had previous experience in living abroad and they felt that it has helped their adjustment. Two of the mothers said that a positive attitude and humor have helped through the hard times. In this study three of the mothers pointed out the meaning of bringing their own belongings from Finland. It helps to settle down in the beginning because you don't have to buy everything and it helps to feel at home:

Sami's mother: *"Me kun saatiin kontti tänne, saatiin omat tavarat ja kaikki huonekalut.....sen jälkeen rupes tuntuun kodilta."* (When we got the container here, all our belongings and furniture... ..then it began to feel like home.)

It is obvious the different people have their own personal ways to facilitate the adjustment: for one mother her personal faith and finding a good parish have helped to deal with the different feelings that are connected to the adjustment:

Nina's mother: *"Mulle henkilökohtasesti on kaikkein tärkein se, ett.....Jumala on meidän kanssa.....ett me ei lähdetä mihinkään omin päin. Ennenku seurakunta löyty, se oli tosi raskas vaihe. Sit ku se löyty, niin se on ollu kyllä tosi iso asia...se on vähän niinku, ett vaikka tunnemaailmassa onkin ollu varsinainen vuoristorata, mutt on ollu semmonen varmuus, ett on oikeassa paikassa."* (The most important thing for me personally has been that.....God is with us...we aren't going anywhere on our own. It was hard time before we found parish. After we found it, it was a really big thing...it is like, even though your feelings go up and down but you are sure that you are at the right place.)

Discussion

More and more Finnish families are planning to move abroad for a period of time. It is obvious that both the parents and children can have advantages in living abroad: they learn a lot from the different culture, not only the language but the customs and

values and different way of thinking. But it is not always easy for expatriates nor for their spouses to adjust to a new culture and one of the most important variables effecting success or failure of expatriate's assignment is the children's adjustment. The main questions in this study were how do the children of internationally employed Finnish families adjust psychologically and socioculturally to the American culture within half a year after the move and what kind of mediating factors may have effected and facilitated the adjustment. Ward and colleagues (e.g. Ward & Chang, 1997; Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Ward et al., 1998; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999; Ward & Searle, 1991) have proposed that the term "adjustment" implicitly incorporates both psychological and sociocultural dimensions. Psychological dimension refers to feelings of well-being and sociocultural dimension refers to ability to fit in to a new culture. These terms made the framework for the study.

This study was a qualitative study and the heart of the work was to understand the situation in which the Finnish children are when they move to the United States. The main purpose was to describe the possible adjustment difficulties the Finnish children have during the transition to a foreign country and to reveal those factors that might effect the adjustment in these children. Quite little is known about the adjustment of expatriates' children and that is why a qualitative method was very suitable to this study. In a qualitative study the generalization is not possible beyond the sample but the results might give some valuable information for future studies and for parents who are planning to move abroad with their children.

The study was conducted in Silicon Valley, California. Nine Finnish mothers were interviewed and their 12 4 - 7 -year-old children were involved. Only the mothers were interviewed because they take care of their children during daytime and see the adjustment more closely. The interviewer's own experience as an expatriate mother and living in a same situation certainly added the participants' trust and their willingness to answer the questions. For many of the mothers it was obviously very important to be able to speak about the adjustment experiences. Two of the fathers were involved some of the time but their answers were ignored in analyzing process so that the results would be consistent. However it is possible that their presence might have effected their wives' answers. In future studies it could be valuable to interview both of the parents because the fathers could give a different perspective to the children's and the whole family's adjustment.

At first the participants were selected by criteria that they had 5 to 7 –year-old child and had moved to the area within a half of year. However it was hard to reach families who had moved in such a short time and the criteria were expanded so that some of the interviewed families had moved over a year ago. Because there was such a long time since they had moved it might effect their responses so that they don't remember every aspect of the child's behavior. It can be also so that the mother hasn't notice everything especially if she has other children and right after the move there is so many things to do:

Jussi's mother: *“Täytyy sanoa, että voi olla niin, että me vanhemmat ollaan itse eletty tässä niin sumussa tässä alussa, kun on ollu juoksevia asioita ja muita, että sitä vaan ei välttämättä oo huomattukaan (mitkä asiat ovat tuottaneet Jussille hankaluuksia).”* (I must say that it can be so, that we parents have lived like in a fog in the beginning, there have been practical things and other things to do, so that we perhaps haven't notice anything (which has been difficult to Jussi).)

The cross-cultural transition is full of emotions, though. In one interview the mother got very emotional when she called back to mind her child's adjustment difficulties in the beginning. The important things will stay in mind even if time goes by.

What were then the main results? None of the 12 children didn't have any serious adjusting problems. Also according to Coll and Magnuson (1997) many studies have shown that the majority of relocated children are not maladjusted and for example Haour-Knipe (1989) didn't find any reports in the literature of acute childhood disturbance precipitated by a move. It has to keep in mind that some behavior characteristics may also be a part of the normal development process. In this study there were 4 children who had some worries or grief concerning the move and they had adjusted really well. The children's typical worries concerning the move itself were about the toys. Three children were worried about their language skills. It is important to notice that children's worries may sometimes seem funny or irrational for adults but for children themselves they are serious. A grief reaction is normal because the move itself implies feelings of separation and loss (Haour-Knipe, 1989). Many of the children missed their relatives and friends in Finland.

Sometimes children may not be able to verbalize their negative feelings and that is why some signs of stress may be nonverbal (Matter & Matter, 1988). Some of the children had psychosomatic reactions like difficulties in sleeping or eating. The difficulties of eating were usually connected to the different food. Six of the children

had shown some kind of stress reactions, like frustration or tantrums. These reactions were usually connected to attending school.

Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) suggest that the magnitude of correlation between psychological and sociocultural adjustment increases with the proximity to or integration with the host culture. It was clearly seen in this study that if the child had the longer days in the Kindergarten or in the American school it easier effected the psychological adjustment. They were frustrated because of the language or difficult exercises, they were scared to go to school, they felt they weren't as good as the others and they felt lonely. There were three children in this study who haven't either started school at all or were at preschool only a couple of hours per week and stay at home with their mother. Obviously for these children it was easier to adjust psychologically because they were minimally involved in the American culture.

According to Kim (1988) successful adjustment is possible only when the individual is able to communicate successfully with the host environment. It was so also in this study: learning the language clearly facilitated the children's psychological adjustment.

Emmi's mother: *"Sitte ku Emmi rupes tuottamaan tekstiä, lauseita.....sen jälkeen mun mielest sill avautu kaikki, sillon se sai kavereita.....ett ku oppi vähän puhumaan, niin se kyllä helpotti (sopeutumista)."* (After Emmi started to produce language, sentences.....after that I think everything opened to her, then she got friends... .. after she learnt to speak a little, it really facilitated (adjustment).)

It is natural that all of the children were shy and quiet at school in the beginning because they didn't have the language to communicate. Most of the children had learnt some English after a month at school and those who had stayed over a half year could already speak sentences and could communicate somewhat with the classmates.

Most of the children had the encounters to the host country only at school within half a year after the move. They might have some friends at school but the friends outside the school were usually Finnish. Haour-Knipe (1989) also argues that many expatriate families find themselves spending much of their social time and energies with the other expatriates and this was found also in this study. Many of the children started their hobbies after the half of year because many parents thought that it would have been too hard for the children to begin the school and the hobby at the same time. However, it could be easier for the child to get involved to the new culture

through a hobby which is not so academic as the school, for example playing soccer is quite universal and easy to do after the model. Furthermore Matter and Matter (1988) argue that parents can assist the children to join to similar clubs, sports and other activities than they did at home because it is important to maintain the link between the old and the new.

Like Ward and colleagues (e.g. Ward & Chang, 1997; Ward & Kennedy, 1993, 1994, 1999; Ward et al., 1998; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999; Ward & Searle, 1991) have suggested also in this study the term adjustment incorporated the terms “psychological” and “sociocultural” adjustment and it seems to be useful also when studying children’s adjustment. Although the terms are interrelated, there is certainly a need to regard them conceptually distinct. The child may psychologically adjust very easily but still the sociocultural adjustment is just beginning. According to Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) these terms also tend to be predicted by different variables. For the most part psychological adjustment is strongly influenced by personality, life changes and social support while the sociocultural adjustment is more dependent on variables such as length of residence in the new culture, language ability, cultural distance and the quantity of contact with host nationals. This was found also in this study. However it must keep in mind that the child’s psychological and sociocultural adjustment is a very complicated process with many interacting and buffering factors.

In this sample there were four children who had psychologically adjusted very easily and their age ranged from 4 to 6 years old. It could be so that it is not directly the age but the other factors like the amount of exposure to the foreign culture, the child’s personality or the social support that effects the adjustment. Some of the interviewed mothers told that the older siblings had much harder times in the beginning. The broader the child’s social environment the larger the changes that the move precipitates. Gender seemed not to have any meaning in the child’s adjustment, even though girls seemed to miss more their friends in Finland. According to Stroh (1990) the literature investigating the effects of sex on children’s adjustment to new environments shows alternative results. However it could be so, like Tamura and Furnham (1993) suggest, that relationships with friends are more crucial for girls’ well-being than boys.

The well-adjusted children’s personality were described as “has lots of imagination and is independent”, “is socially active and open, co-operates easily”, “is socially

active but also likes to play alone, is able to concentrate”, “is social and large-minded, gets friends easily”. Within this sample it seemed that it is an advantage for child if he or she is socially active, but some children had problems even if they were described as social. For some socially active children it was hard to deal with the fact that they are not able to communicate with the language:

Kirsi's mother: *“Kun Kirsi on tottunu siihen, ett hän on hirveen puhelias ja hänell on heti kavereita ja sit kun ei saa kavereita, ett kun ei pystyny puhumaan mitään.....sitte tosiaan sen ensimmäisen kuukauden jälkeen Kirsillä tuli kotona ihan hirveitä raivareita.”* (Kirsi has used to that she is very talkative and she gets friends straight away and now she couldn't get friends because she couldn't speak anything... .. then after the first month Kirsi got so severe tantrums at home.)

According to Kim (1988) one of the personality factors that facilitate adjustment in adults is resiliency. It refers to internal locus of control, persistence, self-control and self-confidence. It is obvious that attending a school in a foreign country with a foreign language is very demanding for the child and he or she must be able to concentrate and tolerate the situation that he or she is not as good as the others. Therefore he or she must have a good self-confidence. Searle and Ward (1990) have suggested a very interesting point to the discussion about personality and adjustment: the more closely the individual's personality traits resemble host culture norms, the more adjustive those traits may be. This means that the perspective that certain personality traits are universally adaptive during cross-cultural transitions is too simple. The socially active children are appreciated in the American culture and it certainly facilitates the adjustment if the child is socially active. But for example learning a language is easier for extroverted or shy but reflective children (Kopala et al., 1994) and according to Kim (1988) a successful adaptation is possible only when the child is able to communicate with the host culture. In this perspective Searle's and Ward's (1990) suggest is too simple.

In this study a very clear factor in child's adjustment was the premove adjustment: all of those children who had adjusted easily have also adjusted easily to the day care or school in Finland. On the other hand all of those children who had had some kind of adjustment problems in Finland had also difficulties in adjustment in the United States. This certainly would be an important factor to recognize when deciding whether to move abroad with children or not. If the child doesn't adjust easy to the

day care or school in Finland the situation in a foreign country may be far more difficult.

According to Searle and Ward (1990) psychological adjustment is connected to life changes. In this study there was one child who has a big life change at the same time as the move. The child's parents had divorced a couple of years ago and the boy was worried about his relationship to his mother who remains in Finland. According to one mother his son adjusted well because the life situation has remained the same as in Finland: the family is together and his son didn't have any friends in Finland that he would have missed. It is obvious that if the primary social setting remains the same it facilitates the adjustment.

Social support might be a crucial factor concerning child's adjustment. In this study all of the children had got support from their parents. Expatriate parents are quite often well-educated people who are conscious and concern of their children's well-being and that certainly facilitates the children's adjustment. Within this sample the major way to support was to discuss about different things. Also according to Harvey the parents should discuss the move including fears, anxieties, and losses associated to the move and provide as much information and support as possible to the children. The meaning of siblings can't be underestimated concerning the social support. For most of the children the siblings were important playmates and friends. In a totally new environment the siblings are those who are familiar and with whom the children can play with their own language.

Concerning the adjustment to school the teacher has an important role. All the four children who had adjusted really well have nice and warm teacher and two of the children, who had difficulties in school adjustment, had a demanding and strict teacher. In this study one boy didn't get the acceptance from both the teacher and the classmates and he felt rejected. Almqvist and Broberg (1999) studied Iranian refugee preschool children after they have arrived in Sweden and also found that if peer relationships were positive it promoted the children's emotional well-being.

Even if living in an "expatriate bubble" might diminish the sociocultural adjustment, it can provide a social support network in an environment where relatives are not near. Expatriate community can contribute considerably to the adjustment process because members can share their experiences, frustrations and success (Westermeyer, 1989). According to Briody and Chrisman (1991) a high priority

should be assigned to help newly arrived families make contact with other expatriates and host country nationals. For both the mothers and their children contacts with other Finnish people were important in this study. The Finnish-school was also important for many children:

Kirsi's mother: "*(Suomi-koulussa) lapset keskustelee tavallaan siitä kielestä... ..muutenkin ne tuntee kuuluvansa siellä tämmöseen suomenkieliseen ryhmään ja koulussa heillä on oma ryhmä.*" ((In Finnish-school) the children in a way talk about the language... ..and in a way they feel they belong to the Finnish group there and then they have another group at school.)

It is important for children to maintain their cultural identity at the level of language use and at the same time to integrate into the surrounding society by achieving a good ability in its language (Vuorenkoski et al., 2000). According to Saunders (1988) it is psychologically important for children to be aware that their parents' language is also, like the majority language, a fully-fledged medium of communication and learning to read also in the language of origin enhances this awareness.

In many studies it has found that the time spent in a foreign country is a crucial factor in adjustment: the adjustment problems are the greatest at the entry point and decrease over time (e.g. Alston & Nieuwoudt, 1992; Ward et al., 1998). The children of this study also showed most of the adjustment difficulties in a couple of months after the move and adjusted better when they got more experience about the host country and learned some language skills.

It is also a great meaning from where you are moving to where. Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) argue that for the most part sociocultural adjustment is strongly influenced by for example cultural distance. Ward and Kennedy (1999) argue that the sociocultural adaptation may be easier in more modern or developed countries. This study was conducted in California which is a state in the U.S. that have the most diverse population in the whole country. The Californians are used to different kind of people and when at the same time the Finns have a good reputation in Silicon Valley, all the interviewed mothers said that the Americans have accepted them well:

Jussi's mother: "*Kyllä varmaan se on yks, mikä vaikuttaa (opettajan suhtautumiseen Jussiin), että täällä on muualta tulleita niin paljon.*" (Obviously one thing that has effected (to the teacher's attitude to Jussi) that there are so many people here, who has come from somewhere else.)

Tiina's mother. "*Ilmeisesti täällä lapset.....täällähän on niin mielettömästi ulkomaalaisia.....ett ne on tottunu siihen, että kaikki on erilaisia.*" (Obviously here the children... ..there are so many foreign people here.....they are used to that everybody is different.)

Päivi's and Pekka's mother: "*Täällä kyllä arvostetaan suomalaisia... ..ja hyvässä maineessa. Että ei tarvii sitä arkailla (että on suomalainen).*" (The Finns are appreciated here... .. and they have a good reputation. You don't have to be shy about that (you are a Finn).)

In this study the families presumably also had advantage that Finns are quite familiar with American culture. But even if there are many similarities in the Finnish and American culture, there are also dissimilarities, for example some of the children in this study had difficulties in eating mostly because the food tasted different.

There are many studies that show that if parents adjust well to the new culture, it is likely that the child adjusts easier, too (e.g. Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Stroh, 1990). In this study 4 of the 9 mothers had some difficulties in the adjustment in the beginning. They had totally 6 children (two siblings) and one of them had some kind of adjustment problems. It might be so that the parents's poor adjustment is a risk for child's adjustment but there are other factors like child's personality and other social support that might effect also. The whole family must be seen also as an interactive unit: the parents's poor adjustment can effect the child's adjustment or vice versa. In this study some of the mothers told that they had adjusted better after their children had adjusted. Even if some of the mothers thought that the move has had some negative effects on family life like arguing, most of the mothers thought that the family life has tightened after the move and that they have more time to their children and to the marital relationship than before:

Jussi's mother: "*Onhan se (perhe-elämä) vaikeampaa ollu.....että on tiukempaa, että pinna kiristyy helpommin.....mutta toisaalta sitte taas sillä tavalla yhdistänykkin.*" (Certainly it (the family life) has been more difficult.....it has been harder, so that you get angry easier.....but on the other hand it has tighten (the family life).)

Some feel that life is more relaxing in the United States than in Finland. So even if the parents have difficulties in the beginning the move can effect positively to the family life.

Parent's attitudes toward moving may also be a mediating factor in child's adjustment and even if they have moved voluntarily their attitudes towards the host

country can be negative. Some of the mothers in this study have a somewhat negative attitude towards the Americans but they could also find some positive attitudes, so none of the interviewed mothers had totally negative attitude towards the host country. In addition to this it was no doubt that all of the interviewed mothers were proud to be a Finn. According to Hamers and Blanc (1989) if the child's environment appreciates both cultures the child will be in a position to integrate elements of the two cultures into a harmonious bicultural identity. Some of the mothers also pointed out themselves that the parents's attitudes towards moving and the host country are important factor concerning the child's adjustment.

According to Short and Johnston (1997) parents perceived social support can also be connected with children's adjustment. In this study all of the mothers felt that they have got support either from their husband or from other Finnish people or from neighbors or from other foreigners. All of the mothers felt that the Americans have accepted them well. It is usually so that the expatriate families belong to the wealthy, privileged minority and it is a factor that surely makes it easier for them to adjust.

Stroh (1990) argue that the amount of preparation for moving seems also be an important mediating factor to adjustment problems. Nathanson and Marcenko (1995) studied 174 8th grade students attending English-speaking international schools in Tokyo about their adjustment overseas and found that many children felt unprepared and apprehensive before arriving in Tokyo. In this study many of the mothers complained that they didn't have much time to prepare: the employees delayed the decision making so late. Obviously it increases the amount of stress during the transition if you don't have much time to prepare for moving. In this study two of the well-adjusted children had attended in an English day care in Finland. If the child is used to a different language already in Finland it might facilitate the transition to a foreign culture. If the employees offer the language courses to the parents why don't they offer them to the children? Some of the parents have been in some kind of cross cultural-training and they find it useful. Many of the parents prepare for moving by asking about different things from those people who had been abroad before. This could be a useful idea. For instance the TKO foundation in Holland organizes each year a special "Children's Day" for families who leave Holland for couple of years to work abroad (Öry et al., 1991). In that day families who have lived abroad for some years exchange their experiences with families who will soon leave the country. Many

of the mothers said that doing a previsit to the host country was a good way to prepare but only in one family the child has been with them. It is a long trip from Finland to California and that could be the reason why the children weren't at the previsit. However, it could be good to take the child along whenever it is possible. The previsit can facilitate the fears and it can give a realistic perspective about the move:

What the parents can then do at the time of moving? It is normal to have negative feelings about the move and it helps children if parents tell that those feelings are normal and temporary (Adelman, 1988). It is also important to provide as much stability in children's lives as possible because children enjoy a certain amount of predictability and constancy in their lives (Matter & Matter, 1988). Favorite books and toys and certain daily routines offer that constancy. It is good for the child if he or she can continue his or her hobbies in the foreign country, too. Some of the mothers had tried to make the same food as in Finland. Some of the interviewed mothers felt that they adjusted better after they got their own belongings from Finland and one mother complained that it was a mistake that they didn't bring them. Obviously the children may feel the same.

In this study most of the adjustment difficulties in children were connected to school. When the child attends the school for the first days parents can explain the rules and procedures of the school to the child because knowing what is expected helps a child to feel secure (Matter & Matter, 1988). In this study all of the mothers have supported their children with homework or by reading them English books. Four of the mothers have been as a volunteer at school and all of them felt that it is a good way to support the child because through volunteering you can see what the child is doing at school. Learning a language is a very huge challenge for the child in a foreign country and the parents can support the child with it by reading books or discussing about words. Some of the mothers had used a kind of "English days", they are days when they are speaking mostly English. Many of the mothers said that their children learnt a lot of the language by watching children's programs on TV. In addition to that nobody learns a language in a month or in a year: it may help the child if you told that he or she can make mistakes and everybody does them, even parents or teacher.

According to Haour-Knipe (1989) behavior disorders among relocated children could also reflect that the schools are poorly adapted to children's needs. In the ESL-

classes the child's language disabilities are notified and it could be easier for the child to learn language with other foreign children. On the other hand the child can be confused with the languages he or she may hear in the ESL-class:

Kirsi's and Minna's mother: "*Tytötkin puhu sitten, ett kun ne kaikki muut osaa englantia niin hyvin ja me ei ymmärretä mistään mitään.....ne ei ymmärtäny sitä, ett eihän ne puhu englantia, kun ne puhuu japania ja kiinaa.*" (Then the girls talked that why everybody else is speaking English so well and we don't understand anything.....they didn't realize that the others didn't speak English but Japanese and Chinese.)

In a normal American school the child get directly involved in the surrounding culture. There has also been designed some intervention programs for children who are adjusting to a new culture, for example Liu & Baker (1993) have presented a program, which goal is to achieve cultural adaptation through friendship training. The key person in the child's adjustment to the school is naturally the teacher. If the teacher isn't emphatic and is too demanding it may effect the child's adjustment.

The social support network has a great meaning in the child's adjustment. It is good for the child if he or she has sibling with whom to play before they get involved to the new culture. The contacts to other co-nationalities are important. The parents can also help the child to get friends from the host nationalities by arranging play dates. The parents's own adjustment and attitudes towards the host country could have an effect to the child's adjustment, too. It is good to check up own attitudes for example towards the host country's school system: it doesn't help the child if the parents complain about the teacher's teaching methods or daily routines. In this study many of the mothers had tried to point out positive things about the move to the child. Many of the mothers told that it has helped their own adjustment when they had meaningful things to do and when they got friends.

As the world becomes more international it is important to pay attention the adjustment difficulties that the families may encounter when they move to a foreign country. All individuals in a changing or changed cultural environment have common adaptation experiences and everyone adapts but a different rate (Kim, 1988). Some of the children may adjust easy and have positive feelings in a new environment:

Jussi's mother: "*Tää kouluasiakin.....se on lähteny niin hyvin menemään, ett ku se tykkää olla, se tulee suorastaan ihan intoa riemuen aina sieltä koulusta.....ett oikeastaan semmonen muutos on, ett parempaan suuntaan, ett on sitä iloisuutta ja innostusta asioista.*" (This school thing.....it has started so well, he likes to be there, he is always so cheerful when he comes from

school.....so there has been such a change for the better, he is so cheerful and enthusiastic about everything.)

Certainly the rewards from living abroad are huge: they got a wider perspective to the world and learn a new language. However, most of the children may feel different kind of negative feelings from grief to fear and anger and because of the language they may feel inferiority feelings for a long time. It is a fact that children have to get along also with negative feelings in their lives. Nevertheless it is important to find out the buffering factors that facilitate the adjustment process and find out the ways to help the children to cope with the negative feelings. We need also more knowledge about the children's adjustment at different age, because certainly the adjustment of teenagers is different from 4 - 7-year-olds. Hopefully this study gives some hints about that and can be as a start for more thorough investigation. For me personally, this study gave an explorer trip to our own experiences as an expatriate family with two 4 - 6 -year-old children. It gave me many things to think about and I hope it does so for all the readers.

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Appendixes

APPENDIX 1. The descriptions from each interviews.

There are the major descriptions from each interview in this table. It was one stage of the whole process.

Part 1a	HEIKKI, 6 years, boy	TIINA, 5 years, girl	JUSSI, 6 years, boy
How felt about moving?	He didn't want to move first but was more positive later.	She was excited.	He was excited.
Characteristics of the behavior	He was worried about his mother and school. He had some fears in the new house. He was frustrated about the language. He got stuck in his stepmother.	She got tantrums after 1½ months because she was frustrated about the language. She had a little stomachache and at first she had difficulties with eating, because the food was so different.	Before moving he was worried if there were any bathrooms in California.
School adjustment	He started in ESL-class. He cried a little during the first days, after that he has adjusted well. He is shy but participates actively. He has had difficulties with writing and reading	She started in the American Kindergarten. She has adjusted well. She is shy but participates actively.	He started in the American Kindergarten. He cried a little during the first days, after that he has adjusted well. He is shy, though.
Language skills	He has understood well and began to speak after 5 months.	She began to speak sentences after 6 months.	It took many weeks before he said any words. After 6 months he speaks simple sentences.
Friends, leisure time	He has one friend at school and some Finnish friends. He doesn't have any hobbies yet.	She has one friend at school, but best friends are Finnish. She goes to the ballet class.	He has one friend at the neighborhood. He doesn't have any hobbies yet.
How long have stayed?	5 months	8 months	6 months
Personality	He is perfectionist and sensitive. He gets frustrated easily if can't do something.	She is active and interested in new things.	He has always been an easy child. He has lots of imagination and is independent. He is very careful with new things.
Previous adjustment	He adjusted well to the Kindergarten in Finland.	She adjusted well to the day care in Finland. none	He adjusted well to the day care in Finland.

Part 1b	HEIKKI, 6 years, boy	TIINA, 5 years, girl	JUSSI, 5 years, boy
Motives for moving	Father wanted to move. Stepmother wanted change to her job and felt that time was right.	A good job was offered to father. Mother wanted change to her job.	Parents have always wanted to live abroad.
Preparing for moving: Parents	Stepmother was in a Cross-cultural training and got some material from there. They interviewed people who had lived abroad before.	The parents were in a previsit, but they didn't have much time to prepare.	Mother interviewed people who had lived abroad before and read articles. She thought different things by herself.
Child	They discussed, looked maps and touristbooks. Parents tried to point out positive things.	They didn't have much time to prepare.	They discussed and had "English Days". Jussi was in an English playschool in Finland.
Adjustment of mother	Stepmother had difficulties in the beginning because it was hard to be without work.	Mother has adjusted well.	Mother hasn't adjusted as well as she expected.
Mother's attitude towards host country	Stepmother feels quite negative about Americans but finds also some positive things.	She used to think quite positively about Americans but experiences have been the opposite.	She thinks she has a positive attitude towards Americans even though she finds some negative things also.
Mother's attitude towards home country	She feels strongly as a Finn.	Finland is a safe place where she wants to return.	She feels proud to be Finnish and wants to show it.
Social network: Child	Parents have told about rules at school and tried to teach English. Finnish friends are important.	Mother is as a volunteer at school and reads books with Tiina. Brother is a friend and a model. Teacher pays attention to Tiina and supports her.	Parents have supported with his homework and English skills. Jussi has three siblings.
Mother	Teacher talks clearly English and pays attention to Heikki. Finnish friends are important and she feels that neighborhood has accepted them well.	Teacher pays attention to Tiina and supports her. Finnish friends are important.	Teacher pays attention to Jussi. Canadian neighbor has helped a lot.
Things that have facilitated the adjustment Child	Finnish friends are important.	Tiina's enthusiasm towards school and Finnish friends have facilitated. Brother is important.	Jussi's age was good to move and it helped that the family situation hasn't changed much comparing to Finland.
Mother	Finnish friends are important. It helped when she got a driving licence and a car. The knowledge about psychological adjustment and quests from Finland have also helped.	It has been important that mother has meaningful things to do. Finnish friends are important and e-mail and internet has made it easier to be in touch in Finland.	It has helped that they made the decision to move together and everybody is working hard through the hard times.

Part 2a	EMMI, 7 years, girl	MIIKKA, 5 years, boy	TUUKKA, 6 years, boy
How felt about moving?	Emmi didn't want to move first	Miikka was excited about the flights	Tuukka was excited about the flights
Characteristics of the behavior	She has been frustrated because of losing her independency and she has got angry easier. She has cried more. She has missed her friends in Finland a lot. She has started play again with dolls. She didn't sleep so well after the move.	He was worried about his language skills and misunderstood that their parents are going to give his toys away. He has got angry easier than before. He has missed their old house, his old room and friends in Finland. He has eaten better before.	He was worried about his language skills and Misunderstood that their parents are going to give his toys away. He has eaten better before.
School adjustment	Emmi started in the ESL-class. The first school days went fine but then she didn't want to go to school and was scary. After she has learned English she has adjusted better.	Miikka started in the American Kindergarten-class. He has not adjusted well to the school. The first week went fine but after that he cried. He couldn't sit still during the lessons but began to walk around. He has been frustrated because he feels that the other children reject him.	Tuukka started in the American Kindergarten-class. He has adjusted well to school.
Language skills	She was shy in the beginning but began to speak sentences after 2½ months.	After four weeks at school he has raised his hand and said some letters.	He has learnt some numbers and letters during the first four weeks.
Friends, leisure time	She has friends at school but Finnish friends are important. She started her hobbies after 6 months.	He plays usually alone at school. He has some Finnish friends and has played with some classmates after school. He doesn't have any hobbies yet.	He has some friends at school. He has some Finnish friends and has played with some classmates after school. He doesn't have any hobbies yet.
How long have stayed?	14 months	1 month	1 month
Personality	Emmi adjusts easily, she is very cheerful and positive and gets friends easily.	He is very self-willed and takes things into consideration. He does things only after he is sure he can do it.	Tuukka adjusts easily. He is very co-operative and interested in new things.
Previous adjustment	She adjusted to school very well in Finland.	Miikka adjusted to day care in Finland with reservations.	He adjusted very well to day care in Finland.
Motives for moving	Father has always wanted to move. The time was right and moving would be good to father's career and children's language skills.	Moving would be good to father's career and mother wanted to be with children.	Moving would be good to father's career and mother wanted to be with children.

Part 2b	EMMI, 7 years, girl	MIIKKA, 5 years, boy	TUUKKA, 6 years, boy
Preparing for moving: Parents	They were at a previsit and got some material. They feel they got prepared as soon as they got things done.	They discussed about different things. They feel they got prepared as soon as they got things done.	They discussed about different things. They feel they got prepared as soon as they got things done.
Child	She got private English lessons and discussed about moving with her parents.	Parents tried to point out positive things about moving and teachers at day care talked about moving.	Parents tried to point out positive things about moving and teachers at day care talked about moving.
Mother's adjustment	Mother has adjusted better than she expected. The hardest time was at the beginning, especially the oldest child had hard times.	Mother has adjusted very well. She expected more difficulties than she actually has had. The hardest thing has been being out of work life.	Mother has adjusted very well. She expected more difficulties than she actually has had. The hardest thing has been being out of work life.
Mother's attitude towards host country	She has a positive attitude toward American culture. She likes the friendliness.	She has a somewhat negative attitude towards Americans but believes that "in Rome you have to do as the Romans do" and this would be a good experience.	She has a somewhat negative attitude towards Americans but believes that "in Rome you have to do as the Romans do" and this would be a good experience
Mother's attitude towards home country	She has become more patriotic after the move.	She feels proud to be Finnish.	She feels proud to be Finnish.
Social network: Child	Parents have given a lot support by holding her in a lap and by listening. She has two siblings. After the move they have become closer. Finnish friends are important. She has a nice teacher who let her draw a lot.	Mother has been at school and the parents have discussed with him and read books. He is very close with his brother. A Finnish boy at school is important. Teacher has a very negative attitude towards Miikka. Other mothers in the class have been a great help and the personal tutor.	Mother has been at school and the parents have discussed with him and read books. He is very close with his brother. A Finnish boy at school is important. Teacher thinks that it is important that Tuukka feels well at school.
Mother	Finnish friends are important. Neighborhood has accepted them well.	They have got support from some Finnish families but the most support they have got from each other.	They have got support from some Finnish families but the most support they have got from each other.

Part 2c	EMMI, 7 years, girl	MIIKKA, 5 years, boy	TUUKKA, 6 years, boy
<p data-bbox="240 286 486 405">Things that have facilitated the adjustment Child</p> <p data-bbox="240 499 325 528">Mother</p>	<p data-bbox="505 376 794 468">Mother has more time to Emmi. They have tried to make home a nice place.</p> <p data-bbox="505 499 794 712">She can be at home with children. The family do more things together than in Finland. After children adjusted it facilitated their own adjustment, too.</p>	<p data-bbox="813 376 1077 468">The teacher's negative attitude may have affect the adjustment.</p> <p data-bbox="813 499 1077 833">Father's previous staying in that area has helped their own adjustment. They had a furnished apartment ready when they came. They got their own things. E -mail and internet make it easier to be in touch in Finland.</p>	<p data-bbox="1096 376 1391 468">The teacher's positive attitude have facilitated the adjustment.</p> <p data-bbox="1096 499 1391 775">Father's previous staying in that area has helped their own adjustment. They had a furnished apartment ready when they came. They got their own things. E -mail and internet make it easier to be in touch in Finland.</p>

Part 3a	PÄIVI, 5 years, girl	PEKKA, 5 years, boy	SAMI, 4 years, boy
How felt about moving?	She was excited to move.	He was excited to move.	He liked to move.
Characteristics of the behavior	She has been worried about her toys and has missed her friends in Finland. She has cried and got angry easier and she hasn't slept so well after the move. She has had some difficulties with eating because of the different food.	He has been worried about his toys and has missed his friends in Finland. He has been a little more disobedient. He has had some difficulties with sleeping and he has eaten better before.	He has adjusted really well but was worried about his toys.
School adjustment	She hasn't started any school yet.	He hasn't started any school yet.	He has adjusted to the preschool well. He goes there twice a week for 2½ hours. He is excited to go there in the morning but in the afternoon he is tired and angry.
Language skills	She has learned a few words of English so far.	He has learned a few words of English so far.	Teacher has told that Sami has begun to understand.
Friends, leisure time	She has some Finnish friends. She doesn't have any hobbies yet.	He has some Finnish friends. He doesn't have any hobbies yet.	The best friends are Finnish. He doesn't have any hobbies yet.
How long have stayed?	6 months	6 months	10 months
Personality	She is very impulsive and socially active. She is usually very interested in new things.	He is a very quiet and shy boy. He is very careful with new things.	He is socially active but also likes to play alone. He is able to concentrate for tasks for long time. He is very interested in new things.
Previous adjustment	She adjusted well to day care in Finland.	He adjusted well to day care in Finland but in the beginning he didn't want to go there.	He adjusted well to day care club in Finland.
Motives for moving	Parents had always wanted to move and see more than Finland.	Parents had always wanted to move and see more than Finland.	Father was offered a good job and moving would be a good experience.

Part 3b	PÄIVI, 5 years, girl	PEKKA, 5 years, boy	SAMI, 4 years, boy
Preparing for moving: Parents	They hadn't much time to prepare. Parents were in a cross cultural –training and got lots of material. They were at a previsit.	They hadn't much time to prepare. Parents were a cross cultural –training and got lots of material. They were at a previsit.	They hadn't much time to prepare. They got some information from the father's co-worker.
Child	Parents tried to point out positive things about moving.	Parents tried to point out positive things about moving.	Parents gave Sami a realistic picture about moving.
Adjustment of mother	Mother was stressed at first because there were so many things to do. Now she has adjusted better.	Mother was stressed at first because there were so many things to do. Now she has adjusted better.	Mother has adjusted very well.
Mother's attitude towards host country	She has a positive attitude toward American culture. She likes the friendliness.	She has a positive attitude toward American culture. She likes the friendliness.	Mother has a quite positive attitude towards Americans even though feels that it is quite a materialistic culture.
Mother's attitude towards home country	She feels proud to be Finnish.	She feels proud to be Finnish.	It is an important thing to be a Finn.
Social support network: Child	Mother has tried to teach English and tried to make familiar dishes. She has a twin brother and plays a lot with him. Finnish friends are important, but the lack of friends is a problem.	Mother has tried to teach English and tried to make familiar dishes. He has a twin sister and plays a lot with her. Finnish friends are important, but the lack of friends is a problem.	Mother has been at the preschool as a volunteer, discusses with Sami and reads books. He has a little sister and plays a lot with her. Sami's teacher is nice and pays attention to him. The other children in the class have a positive attitude towards Sami. Finnish friends are important.
Mother	Mother feels that Americans have accepted them well. Most of the support they have got from other Finnish families and husband's co-workers.	Mother feels that Americans have accepted them well. Most of the support they have got from other Finnish families and husband's co-workers.	Mother feels that the neighborhood have accepted them well. Most of the support they have got from a Finnish family. She wishes to have more friends, though.

Part 3c	PÄIVI, 5 years, girl	PEKKA, 5 years, boy	SAMI, 4 years, boy
<p>Things that have facilitated the adjustment Child</p> <p>Mother</p>	<p>The parents's positive attitude towards host country has a great meaning. Other Finnish children have given self-confidence to Päivi.</p> <p>It was a mistake that they didn't bring their own things and they have had so many things to do.</p>	<p>The parents's positive attitude towards host country has a great meaning. Other Finnish children have given self-confidence to Pekka.</p> <p>It was a mistake that they didn't bring their own things and they have had so many things to do.</p>	<p>Mother is at home and has time to Sami. Parents's attitude is important. The Finnish children in the neighborhood has helped the adjustment.</p> <p>They brought their own things, the Finnish family in the neighborhood and the positive attitude have helped their own adjustment.</p>

Part 4a	KIRSI, 6 years, girl	MINNA, 7 years, girl	NINA, 5 years, girl
How felt about moving?	She was excited to move.	She was excited to move.	She was sad about the moving.
Characteristics of the behavior	The worst thing has been losing her freedom. She has been frustrated because of the language. She had really bad temper tantrums during the first month she was attending school.	In the beginning she was scared about kidnapping and she felt lonely at school. She has missed grandparents and snow in Finland.	She has adjusted really well even though she was a little bit shy in the beginning. She has missed her friend and teacher in Finland.
School adjustment	She started in the ESL-class. She was excited to go to school in the beginning but after a few days she cried and didn't want her mother let go. After she got some friends she adjusted better.	She started in the ESL-class. She was shy of her Asian origin teacher and she had difficulties with the exercises and felt that she wasn't as good as the others.	She adjusted to the preschool well.
Language skills	She could communicate with her classmates after a half year.		Nina already understood English before they moved because she has been in an English day care for 2 years. She started to talk English after a couple of weeks.
Friends, leisure time	She has some foreign friends and goes to the gymnastics and Finnish -school.	She has some foreign friends and goes to the gymnastics and Finnish -school.	She has friends both at school and in the neighborhood. She plays piano and goes to Finnish -school.
How long have stayed?	18 months	18 months	18 months
Personality	She is very lively and extraverted. She gets excited easily.	She is very calm and sensitive girl. She is very shy and quiet.	She is talented in arts and sensitive, she is very stubborn and large-minded. She gets friends easily. She takes new things into consideration.
Previous adjustment	She had some difficulties with her adjustment to her new day care class in Finland.	She adjusted well to day care in Finland.	She attended an English playschool twice a week in Finland and adjusted there well.

Part 4b	KIRSI, 6 years, girl	MINNA, 7 years, girl	NINA, 5 years, girl
Motives for moving	Father wanted some change to his job and mother considers moving as an adventure and benefit for her studies.	Father wanted some change to his job and mother considers moving as an adventure and benefit for her studies.	Father was offered a good job and it would be a benefit for his career. Moving would be a good experience.
Preparing for moving: Parents	They were at a previsit because mother wanted to see the place. They got some material from husband's company.	They were at a previsit because mother wanted to see the place. They got some material from husband's company.	The whole family was at the previsit. It was hard to prepare for moving because they didn't know whether they were able to move or not.
child	They discussed realistic about the possible difficulties with the language in the beginning.	They discussed realistic about the possible difficulties with the language in the beginning.	Nina was at the previsit.
Adjustment of mother	Mother has difficult time when Kirsi had difficulties. Father has been absent a lot and she has felt tired with all the responsibilities. She was afraid of earthquakes, kidnappings and shootings. Now she has adjusted better.	Mother has difficult time when her children had difficulties. Father has been absent a lot and she has felt tired with all the responsibilities. She was afraid of earthquakes, kidnappings and shootings. Now she has adjusted better.	Mother has adjusted very well even though she has felt many different feelings. She has felt at home.
Mother's attitude towards host country	She has a positive attitude toward American culture. She likes the friendliness.	She has a positive attitude toward American culture. She likes the friendliness.	She has a positive attitude towards Americans. She likes the friendliness.
Mother's attitude towards home country	She feels proud to be Finnish.	She feels proud to be Finnish.	It is an important thing to be a Finn.

Part 4c	KIRSI, 6 years, girl	MINNA, 7 years, girl	NINA, 5 years, girl
<p>Social support network: Child</p> <p>Mother</p>	<p>Mother has been as a volunteer in the class. Kirsi has always been very close to her sister. Her first teacher was very demanding and talkative. Finnish – school has been important.</p> <p>Most of the support they have got from other Finnish families. Mother has got some American friends.</p>	<p>Mother has been as a volunteer in the class. Minna has always been very close to her sister. Her first teacher was nice and calm. Finnish –school has been important.</p> <p>Most of the support they have got from other Finnish families. Mother has got some American friends.</p>	<p>Parents have tried to point out positive things. She has a little sister and plays a lot with her and she has got friends at school. Her first teacher was strict but paid attention to Nina positively.</p> <p>Mother has got some friends. She feels they get support from the parish whenever they need it.</p>
<p>Things that have facilitated adjustment Child</p> <p>Mother</p>	<p>The parents's positive attitudes and a good teacher and friends are important.</p> <p>It has helped that she has had meaningful things to do. When the children feel fine, she feels fine also.</p>	<p>The parents's positive attitudes and a good teacher and friends are important.</p> <p>It has helped that she has had meaningful things to do. When the children feel fine, she feels fine also.</p>	<p>English playschool in Finland and a good teacher and nice atmosphere at school have helped. The warm climate and trips to Finland have facilitated adjustment also.</p> <p>Their previous experience abroad has helped. Her personal faith has given her power and it helped after they found a good parish.</p>

