

A linguistic limbo:
Migrants' perspectives and attitudes to the roles of English and Finnish in
Finnish academic working life
Essi Nokelainen

University of Jyväskylä
Department of Languages
English
November 2013

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO
HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA
KIELTEN LAITOS

Tiedekunta - Faculty Humanistinen	Laitos - Department Kielten Laitos
Tekijä - Author Essi Nokelainen	
Työn nimi - Title A linguistic limbo: Migrants' perspectives and attitudes to the roles of English and Finnish in Finnish academic working life	
Oppiaine – Subject Englannin kieli	Työn laji - Level Pro gradu - tutkielma
Aika - Month and year Marraskuu 2013	Sivumäärä - Number of pages 77 + 3 liitettä
Tiivistelmä - Abstract <p>Tämän tutkielman tavoitteena on lisätä ymmärrystä siitä, millaisena suomalaisessa yliopistossa työskentelevät maahanmuuttajat kokevat suomen ja englannin kielen roolit suomalaisessa akateemisessa työelämässä. Tutkielma pyrkii selvittämään näiden kielten käyttöön liittyviä asenteita ja kuvaamaan missä konteksteissa niitä käytetään. Tutkielma nostaa myös esiin tilanteeseen liittyviä positiivisia ilmiöitä sekä mahdollisia haasteita.</p> <p>Tutkimus on laadullinen. Tutkimusaineisto kerättiin teemahaastattelujen avulla. Haastateltavia oli kuusi, ja heistä kaksi puhui äidinkielenään englantia. Haastattelut analysoitiin sisällönanalyysia käyttäen.</p> <p>Tutkimustulokset paljastivat, että haasteltavien näkemyksen mukaan suurin osa kommunikaatiosta tapahtui työpaikalla englanniksi, lukuun ottamatta kahvitaukokeskusteluja, joissa käytettävä kieli oli suomi. Osa haastateltavista puhui sujuvaa suomea, osa taas ei puhunut suomea lainkaan. Kaikki haastateltavat olivat yhtä mieltä siitä, että heidän elämäntilanteessaan olisi täysin mahdollista asua Suomessa ilman suomen kielen taitoa, mutta syvempi kulttuurin tuntemus vaatisi heidän mielestään myös suomen kielen osaamista. Suurimmat erot haastateltavien välillä tulivat esille siinä, millaisena he kokivat työelämän kielivaatimukset ja miten he tarkastelivat suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan integroitumista.</p>	
Asiasanat Englannin kieli Suomessa, yliopisto, työelämä, maahanmuutto Suomessa, sisällönanalyysi, teemahaastattelu	
Keywords English in Finland, university, working life, immigration in Finland, multiculturalism, content analysis, thematic interview	
Säilytyspaikka – Depository Kielten Laitos	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION.....	3
2 ENGLISH AS THE GLOBAL LINGUA FRANCA.....	6
2.1 A global language.....	6
2.3 English as the Lingua Franca in Finland.....	8
2.4 English in Finnish working life.....	10
3 ACCULTURATION AND CULTURE	14
3.1 Language, communication and acculturation	14
3.2 Language and identity	17
3.3 Kim's integrative theory of acculturation and adaptation	20
4 ACCULTURATING INTO THE FINNISH SOCIETY	22
4.1 Immigration and integration in Finland	22
4.2 Integration and work	27
4.2.1 Features influencing communication in culturally diverse workplaces.....	29
4.3 Integration and language.....	31
5 THE PRESENT STUDY	34
5.1 Participants.....	34
5.2 The method for data collection	36
5.3 Data analysis	37
6 ANALYSIS.....	39
6.1 Language choices in the workplace	39
6.1.1 English at work	39
6.1.2 Finnish at work.....	42
6.2 Native and non-native English speakers in the workplace.....	46
6.3 Languages and identity	51
6.4 Languages and integration	54
6.4.1 English and integration	56
6.4.2 Finnish and integration.....	57
6.5 The roles of English and Finnish in work and personal life in the future	64
7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.....	67
7.1 How do the immigrant employees see the role of English in Finnish academic working life?	67
7.2 How do the immigrant employees see the role of Finnish in Finnish academic working life	69
BIBLIOGRAPHY	75
APPENDIX 1: Consent form.....	78
APPENDIX 2: Interview outline	80
APPENDIX 3: A preliminary questionnaire (to be filled in the beginning of the interview)	81

1 INTRODUCTION

As the border between public and private sectors has shifted and the general mobility, such as business trips, student exchange, and immigration, between countries has become frequent, also the multicultural encounters have increased (Virkkula 2008: 416-417). Therefore, the communication context is more and more often multilingual and cross-cultural (Johansson et al. 2010: 13) as can be seen also in different workplaces, particularly in the academia. This means that the communication processes are not as straight-forward linguistically as they, perhaps, were before. The research on the role of English can provide interesting information for further research on what role English plays in different aspects of the current Finnish society and what are the linguistic demands when considering future employment in the academic working life in internationalizing Finland. The nature of work has altered in almost every aspect of Finnish working life, not only in academic working life, into work that is in contact with information: produces it, deals with it and conveys it (Johansson et al. 2010: 10-11). Therefore, the current working life is not as much fused into a certain time and place as it used to be. Several diverse skills are expected from an employee in this world, such as good interaction skills, team work skills, customer service skills, language competence, data acquisition skills, digital literacy and penmanship skills, problem solving skills and creative thinking (Johansson et al. 2010: 10-11). The most essential aspects of managing one's job during this era involve interaction and communication management (Johansson et al. 2010: 10-11). Language has a central role in each of these processes.

The global language status of English can be recognized also in Finland (Virkkula 2008: 416-417). According to Virkkula (2008), English has established a permanent role in the Finnish working life, which is not likely to decrease but rather to increase and expand into new areas. However, one cannot extensively discuss the meaning and purposes of the use of English because they differ so much depending on the context and the work assignment, she states. Language competence has become a part of one's professional competence, also in those areas of labor where employees were once able to manage their work merely in their mother tongue. English is no longer needed merely in the customer service posts or in international business but is currently a skill that anyone will most likely need at some point of his or her career in the internationalizing labor market (Johansson et al. 2010: 16).

The academic context is interesting considering internationalization, and special, as multiculturalism is indeed growing rapidly in the Finnish academia. Examining the role of English in the academic working life in particular is important because the Finnish academic working life has clearly taken the direction towards internationalization (Jauhiainen and Hautala 2001). On the road towards internationalization universities have become more intercultural and usually English is the common choice for the common language at work (Virkkula 2008: 282-283). As such, English is an important tool in intercultural communication when individuals do not share a common language. However, the mere language change and hiring people with multicultural backgrounds does not make the internationalization of universities take action on its own. (Jauhiainen and Hautala 2010: 155-156). Developing a place that creates new information and innovation requires taking into account the deeper structures of how communication takes place and what the social and material contexts for communication are (Jauhiainen and Hautala 2010: 155-156), as well as the worker's own perceptions and opinions about the role of different languages in workplace communication.

The aim of the present study is to provide information about how the immigrants working in a Finnish university perceive the roles of English and Finnish in Finnish academic working life. The role of English has been studied in Finland in general, and also in the Finnish universities in particular. However, even though the issue has been already researched to some extent, further research on the immigrants' point of view is needed, which is the main focus of the present study. Hoffman (2007) has studied the career potential of migrants in Finland and Nieminen (2009) has researched non-native English-speakers' views on integrating into Finnish society.

The research question of the present study is *how do the immigrant employees consider the roles of English and Finnish in Finnish academic working life?* I am particularly interested in the perceptions of immigrant employees for a particular reason. The linguistic reality of immigrant employees is rather different from the Finns' working in the university. Even though the significance of English is crucial in the academic work life, previous research has already implied that in the Finnish job market competence in English is not adequate without knowledge of the Finnish language which was a crucial finding in both Nieminen's (2009) and Jalava's (2011) studies. All of the immigrant

employees do not have competence in Finnish and have not yet necessarily acquired adequate information of the surrounding Finnish culture in order to be able to accomplish their work as well as possible. The present study presents information on *what are the roles of English and Finnish in the Finnish academic working life*. The aim of the present study is to examine *the roles of English and Finnish in the Finnish academic working life from the point of view of the immigrant employees*. Research on the status of English can be applied in, for example, making decisions on language politics and language education. The issue of *what attitudes the immigrant employees have towards English* can also offer information on *how they define their identity in relation to language* (Dufva 2002) and *how they see internalization from the language perspective*. It can also provide information on the *possible effects that English in the Finnish academic working life has on the integration of the employees in the university with intercultural backgrounds into the Finnish society*. The situation can create a possible contradiction if one can manage with the mere knowledge of English at work, but a more profound integration into the society and interaction with Finns, not to mention some aspects of business, would require Finnish (Virkkula 2008: 416-417).

This is a qualitative study that consists of thematic interviews. The thesis is divided into seven sections. Chapter 2 discusses the status of English as the global Lingua Franca. Chapter 3 will focus on the theories of acculturation, followed by chapter 4, which discusses more specifically the process of acculturating into the Finnish society. The present study is introduced in chapter 5, after which the data is analyzed in chapter 6. Finally, the discussion, conclusions and recommendations for future work are presented in chapter 7.

2 ENGLISH AS THE GLOBAL LINGUA FRANCA

This chapter discusses English as the global Lingua Franca. Section 2.1 discusses a global language. Section 2.2 observes more closely English as a Lingua Franca in Finland and section 2.3 looks into the role of English as a Lingua Franca in Finnish working life.

English is used as a Lingua Franca in many Finnish universities and in other working environments in Finland, as well. In order to discuss the roles of Finnish and English in Finnish academic working life, the role of English has to be acknowledged as a global Lingua Franca first. Using a Lingua Franca allows everyone to participate but it also unavoidably places the participants in the discussion in different power positions if some of the participants are native speakers and naturally have a different capacity to communicate in the language in question, in this case English.

2.1 A global language

English is often referred to as the global Lingua Franca. In order to discuss English as the Lingua Franca it is important to define what a Lingua Franca means. According to Crystal (2001: 3-11), it should be acknowledged that the mere number of speakers does not make a language rise into the status of a global language, but what is essential for a global language is that its status has to be recognized in every country. However, Crystal (2001) continues, it does not mean that the language in question is spoken all around the world and, as we know, this is certainly not the case with English either. According to him, a global language is spoken by a number of speakers for many of whom it is a second language. Besides the number of speakers, a global language is defined by its geographical distribution and use in political and international organizations, he states.

English as an international language, (EIL), means the use of English in international communication purposes between native and non-native speakers of English (Crystal 1995: 108). It should be stressed that the concept is especially relevant when discussing the needs of professional people working, for example, in business, political, scientific and academic communities who do not have English as their mother tongue (Crystal

1995: 108). A similar term is English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) that refers to an increased group of non-native English speakers who use English rather as a contact language among themselves than to communicate with native English speakers (Jenkins 2003: 4).

2.2 English as the Lingua Franca in international settings

English is in an official role in most of the major international conventions in every part of the world (Crystal 2003: 86-87). As Crystal (2003) states, making the choice of Lingua Franca is inevitable, unless the organization has a very restricted membership. According to him, when the choice has to be made, many choose English. This is significant especially in Asia and Pacific, where approximately 90 per cent of international bodies function completely in English, he continues. Crystal (2003) states, perhaps not surprisingly, that functioning in English is typical for scientific organizations as well. According to him, there are only few international bodies that do not officially use English at all.

Since English has taken its new dominant position in international conventions, there has been a concern whether the dominance of English could lead into the one's speaking the global language as their mother tongue, being in a power position in comparison with those who learn it as an official or foreign language. From Crystal's (2003) perspective this concern is substantial. He mentions the scientific community as an example; the researchers who do not have English as their mother tongue take more time to assimilate reports in English than their colleagues who do, and will possibly have less time for creative work. Crystal (2003: 16-17) states that it is also possible that the scientific community will, unfortunately, ignore academic research made in any other languages than English. This could be interpreted as a power issue: if the research made in other languages than English is not acknowledged, it conveys an attitude towards whose perspective is important and vice versa.

It should be emphasized that the present study is not a study about Lingua Franca per se, as the present study is not exactly focused on the actual language use. The present study is interested in how a lingua franca shapes the communication processes of immigrants working in a Finnish university and how English as the Lingua Franca influences their

integration in the Finnish society. Therefore, even though a Lingua Franca is not in the centre of attention in this the present study, it is a meaningful contributor.

2.3 English as the Lingua Franca in Finland

The previous section discussed the Lingua Franca in international settings. However, the use of English as the Lingua Franca should also be observed in the Finnish context in particular to be able to understand the specific features of the use of English in Finland.

The role of English in Finland has undergone a radical change during the last decades (Leppänen et al. 2009). According to Leppänen et al. (2009), in the 1960-80s Finns experienced English as a foreign language that was studied in order to communicate with foreigners. However, during this millennium English has become an essential skill one needs in order to function in the sections of a society that require international skills. In addition to communication between speakers with different linguistic backgrounds, English is currently used in situations where the participants of communication could also communicate in their mother tongue (Leppänen et al. 2009). This change in the role of English is, according to Leppänen et al. (2009), a sign of a whole movement of the Finnish society towards multilingualism that can be explained by a combination of several factors. These are modernization of the society, capitalization, the internationalization of current work life, efficient language training, global economical change processes, internalization, and the new channels and forums for providing information (Leppänen et al. 2009). Leppänen et al. (2008) also suggest that the impact of television and movies have played their own role because it is not common in Finland to dub broadcasts unlike in many other European countries, and therefore Finns have heard English from the television already from the 1960s.

Leppänen et al. (2009) conducted a survey concerning the role of English in the 2000s in Finland. They found out that English has a significant role in the Finns' lives even though they may feel themselves monolingual (Leppänen et al. 2009:48). English is used when traveling abroad, at work and also in other encounters. According to Leppänen et al. (2009:48), the status of English is the strongest when comparing to other foreign languages. This is perhaps no surprise, as English is studied the most in comparison to other languages and Finns are exposed to English more than they are to other languages. A distinctive factor that determined the answers was the background of

the interviewees: age, education and location. They found out that young people are in touch with English the most because of the wide use of media and technology (Leppänen et al. 2008).

Education naturally plays a role as it improves one's language skills (Leppänen et al. 2009:48) and the international environment has its effect when discussing higher education. The third factor, location, also has an impact but it is hard to say if these differences actually derive from differences between cities and countryside or if it is, moreover, connected to education and age. Leppänen et al. (2009: 48) also reported occupation having an influence but stated that it is connected to gender and location so it is, still, hard to distinguish where these differences in answers derived from. It seems that Finland is divided in two different sides in the use of English: one group is well-managing, highly educated young people who possibly have leading positions or professional occupations, and the other less educated older citizens who live in the countryside and have had less contact with foreigners (Leppänen et al. 2009: 74-75). Not surprisingly, from these two groups the young people seem to have a more positive attitude towards English whereas the other group sees it in more negative light. They had also studied English more, were more brave in using it and did not feel as inadequate by their English skills (Leppänen et al. 2009: 91) Even though the more educated people presented more positive attitudes towards education, they also had a critical attitude towards the imperialistic role of English in the world (Leppänen et al. 2009: 76-77).

According to the research conducted by Leppänen et al. (2009: 111), the clearest division in Finns' attitudes towards the role of English in Finland is between the higher educated and the less educated. There seems to be a clear distinction in the society in many levels between those who use English and who do not use English. In Leppänen et al's. (2009: 145) research two thirds of the participants express their concern that while not having competence in English they may in the future end up being excluded from something. Especially younger people who live in cities and work in higher positions seem to feel this way. People also seem to feel that in the future English skills will have a significant role in getting employed. Leppänen et al. (2009: 145) conclude that overall Finns seem to believe that the role of English is only going to increase and become more meaningful in the future. Many Finns even feel that it is a prerequisite for being able to be fully involved in the society.

It is clear that English plays an essential role in business communication but research shows that the internationalized business life in Finland still needs Finnish as it has its own meaning and purpose in the communication between Finns (Virkkula 2008: 416-417). As this chapter presented that competence in English is important in Finland, especially in order to getting employed in the future, the next section will look into the actual use of English in Finnish working life as this is the context of the present study.

2.4 English in Finnish working life

As the present study researches the roles of Finnish and English in a Finnish university, besides discussing English in Finland in general, we also have to discuss English in Finnish working life in particular. One of the most significant changes in Finnish working life has been how language is more than ever in the core of discussion (Heller 2007: 540 as cited by Johansson, Nuolijärvi and Pyykkö 2010: 11-12). According to Johansson et al. (2010: 11-12), this is explained by the fact that the current nature of work text and producing text is an essential part in being able to complete one's work assignments successfully. Unfortunately, language is often not considered an essential part even though producing different texts and negotiating is very important in the current information society (Johansson et al. 2010: 11-12). According to Johansson et al. (2010), language is either taken for granted or people do not have a clear vision of the function of language and its role in interaction.

The use of English has become more common in the lives of non-native speakers of Finnish working life in different contexts of contemporary business (Virkkula 2008: 414-415). According to Virkkula (2008), many people in high positions use English every day despite what their job is. As an everyday example she uses e-mailing that is fairly common to every group of staff. This is why, according to Virkkula (2008), the competence of English is valued in the business world as it is an important aspect of communication. However, the particular aspect of language which is important to each member of a workplace is dependent on the work description, she states. Therefore, for a person who spends most of his or her work time in conferences or in meetings, oral and communication skills are the high priority. In contrast, for a person whose job mostly consists of handling technology the most important aspect is mastering the terminology, Virkkula (2008) states. Therefore, she concludes, for some employees

competence in English is a vital aspect of their whole professional competence (as, for instance, is the case for many business managers who use the language frequently) but for some it is merely a good addition. Based on the previous notion, good language skills are not vital to every worker. Virkkula (2008) states that in many cases the most important factor to the employees is to be able to accomplish their job-related task in a satisfying manner and in many of these cases adequate language skills are enough.

Virkkula's (2008: 416-417) research results show, perhaps unsurprisingly, that Finns use more English in their work than they used to at school. According to these results, English has become one of the common resources for them and without the knowledge of English one is unfortunately in danger of becoming marginalized if one works, for example, in management or as an official. She justifies this by stating that if language skills can serve as an indicator of power then they can also exclude people. According to Virkkula (2008), this can lead into a situation where individuals with good English skills can overpower individuals without this knowledge in the labor market. She also points out that this should be taken into account in language training because current individuals in working life would especially like to be more fluent speakers. She suggests that language education should direct different courses for different employees in order to give them the skills they need at work. It should be stressed that different people need different skills but they all have a practical motive for language learning (Virkkula 2008).

Not only has the role of English experienced a change during the last decade (Leppänen et al. 2009) but also the same has happened to the Finnish working life (Virkkula 2008: 282-383). It should be emphasized that Finnish working life has undergone changes in order to become international and therefore many Finns work more and more often in multinational and multilingual working environments, especially in business and corporate communication (Virkkula 2008: 282-383). Virkkula (2008) states that we already have several business corporates in Finland which have English as an official working language, as for example KONE, Metso and Tietoenator.

For not more than twenty years ago it was only certain professionals in a company who needed different languages in their work, such as translators, correspondents abroad and interpreters (Virkkula 2008: 282-383). However, she states, currently several Finnish workers have to be able to work independently in a foreign language and whereas there

was a time when being competent in English was a requirement for moving ahead professionally, it is clear that now it has become a prerequisite for being able to manage one's work. Therefore, it could be said that competence in English has become a part of professional competence (Virkkula 2008: 282-283).

In the 21st century, the academic world has increasingly begun to discuss home internationalization. Johansson et al. (2010) discuss how studying and working in current Finnish higher education has become fairly multicultural: especially master's degree programs are more often in English, teachers and researchers are required to use at least English along side Finnish and they meet representatives of different cultures daily.

Even though Johansson et al. (2010) do not deny the status of English as the Lingua Franca in the academic context they state that there is still a need for producing academic publications in Finnish as well. According to Jauhiainen and Hautala (2010: 155-156), the goal of the universities is to be innovative and produce information for the international market and increase Finland's value in the global market. Therefore, they state, no university is in the situation where they could merely produce information for science or information that would only benefit their immediate environment (Jauhiainen and Hautala 2010: 155-156).

According to Jauhiainen and Hautala (2010: 155-156), internationalization brings unique challenges for communication. It is quite common nowadays, in Finland as well, that the members of the same research group have different cultural backgrounds (Jauhiainen and Hautala 2010: 155-156). They state that often the common language of the research group is English. According to them, the important issue is not only the language choice but what is being said, how it is said, what kind of body language is used and how the colleagues perceive personal space. Each member of a research group have his or her unique background (Jauhiainen and Hautala 2001: 155-156) and they are not all of them are likely to share an unified opinion of what they consider as good communication and what they consider to be bad communication. It is clear that in case the universities are aiming towards internationalization they have to consider in collaboration with their research groups the matter of language and communication (Jauhiainen and Hautala 2001: 155-156). What used to be work that was restricted in one researcher's own area, is now work that is done together because the arrangements in administration

are heading towards increasing collaboration between different branches of science (Jauhiainen and Hautala 2001: 155-156). Not surprisingly, the real collaboration and internalization, Jauhiainen and Hautala (2001) point out, demands more than just placing different branches of science together and throwing in English language. More emphasis should, again, be placed on the context.

One solution to answer these challenges in higher education is language politics that means the macro level actions that are put into practice in the society (Johansson 2005: 16-17). According to Johansson (2005), global industrial and commercial activities and other communication require a common language in order for different nations to collaborate but still linguistic and cultural diversity is considered as one of the European principles. These are language political questions and they have brought a need for discussing language principles in several levels of working life. Language politics in working life, therefore, could be described as managing linguistic practicalities. For this to take action, according to Johansson et al. 2010: 17), conscious choices have to be made that affect the whole organization and its employees, for example, establishing language policies and implementing them. Unfortunately, they state that these actions are still relatively rare, even though the issue has been on display also in international organizations as large as the European Union.

This chapter began by discussing the role of English as a Lingua Franca in general (2.1). After this it reviewed the role that English has in Finland in particular (2.2). As was stated in this section, English is widely taught in the schooling system and Finns, overall, are rather competent in English and have positive attitudes towards it. Section 2.3 reviewed the role of English in Finnish working life. It is clear that language competence has become a part of one's professional competence, also in those areas of labor where employees were once able to manage their work merely in their mother tongue. However, the language skills that one needs depend on one's job description. The next chapter will discuss the process of acculturation in relation to culture.

3 ACCULTURATION AND CULTURE

This chapter discusses the process of integration, identity and language as factors in the process of immigration. These three entities are closely attached which will be looked into in this chapter. Language is considered to be an important aspect of integrating into the surrounding culture and society. We all are formed by our culture and our language is reflected by our culture. Language does not only consist of words but also of metalanguage and gestures. Language is, therefore, strongly connected with identity, as well. It is clear that our language makes us members of a certain social group, and then again, distinguishes us from a certain social group (Crystal 2003: 22). It could be said that acculturation is a complex process that involves many factors which work together or side by side. In addition, this chapter discusses the concept of culture and presents theories on cultural adaptation.

3.1 Language, communication and acculturation

According to Crystal (2003: 22), strong linguistic movements that support linguistic minorities reveal something important about language in general. Discussing merely the need of lingua franca to communicate with each other would be biased. In order to be more precise, we have to consider language in relation to one's identity, especially as language can be seen as one of the major means of expressing belonging into a certain social group or distinguishing oneself from it, he states. Crystal (2003) states that we can see more evidence from linguistic divergence than convergence world-wide. According to him, the argumentation in favor of the need for natural/cultural identity can commonly be interpreted in contradiction with the need for mutual intelligibility (having one language to communicate with each other). However, according to Crystal (2003), both of these goals can be achieved simultaneously and mutual intelligibility and identity can co-exist peacefully.

It is clear that language is in the core of everyday communication between people (Lehtonen 1996: 35). Lehtonen (1996) states that language can be seen as an essential part of humanity because the world we live in and the language we speak about the world with, cannot be distinguished from each other. According to him, it is not merely a tool but rather a part of every human society's existence and communication

(Lehtonen 1996: 35) People convey their power relations every day via their language by making their own status and role stronger and conveying values and information (Lehtonen 1996: 50). Language is always in relation to its context. According to Lehtonen (1996: 53), language is one aspect of functioning and it contains the ability to use language in a correct manner that would be impossible without having information about context (also: Lacoste 2005: 21-22 as cited by Johansson et al. 2010: 12) Also Johansson et al. (2010) state that language is always related to power, for example, when writing reports and negotiating.

It should be emphasized that the whole process of change is formed of both the adaptation process of the minorities into the surrounding society, and of the mainstream populations' attitudes towards the minorities. Together these issues form the process we can call acculturation (Liebkind 2000: 13). However, research on acculturation often disregards the meaning of the other counterpart: the mainstream population (Liebkind 2000: 19). Hautaniemi (2001: 13) discusses the diversity of the concept of globalization and the mobility of people. According to him, how culture is defined is situation dependent and it is also relevant who is talking about culture, as a person's definition might be different from another's. Hautaniemi (2001) makes a distinction between culture and ethnicity even though, he states, they are today used as synonyms. He defines ethnicity as the feeling of belonging into a certain group, whereas culture is more about a collective consciousness (Hautaniemi 2001: 13). For Liebkind (2000: 19) it is clear that the process of acculturating is directly correlated with how the mainstream population relates to the cultural minorities as, for example, immigrants. According to her, the political and social atmospheres that are prevalent in the new country in question is important as well.

Liebkind (2000: 26-27) lists three different dimensions of the acculturation process that have to be differentiated from each other. These dimensions are the social and cultural/ethnic dimension, identity/attitudes/values, and how the mainstream population and minority population concern the process of acculturation. The social/ethnic dimension means the immigrants' will to participate (and express the will) in the society as an individual or as a part of the collective but at the same time does not necessarily wish to change his or her own cultural identity or culture (Liebkind 1984;1989;1992 as cited by Liebkind 2000). The second dimension is identity, attitudes and values. This dimension contains relating to one's own cultural group and what is the

extent of it. According to many research of acculturation, it merely means to which extent an individual has preserved his or her own culture (Liebkind 2000). However, an individual may still have very positive connotations and attitudes towards his or her own cultural group even though one would already have abandoned it him or herself (Liebkind 1993; 1994a; 1996a; Phinney 1990 as cited by Liebkind 2000: 26-27). The third dimension is how the mainstream population concerns the acculturation process of the minorities and also how the minorities themselves see the process (Liebkind 2000: 26-27). According to Liebkind (2000), prejudices and negative stereotypes both prevent creating relationships with the mainstream population and also unfortunately have a negative effect on the wellbeing of the minority. However, she states, a wide social network among the individual's own cultural group may reduce these negative effects. It is clear that the whole process of acculturation should be observed with taking into account both of the two sides: the mainstream population's attitudes towards multiculturalism and also the adaptation of the immigrants into the new society and the mainstream culture (Liebkind 2000: 26-27).

Hautaniemi (2001: 15) considers disparity as a very essential feature of multiculturalism. He states it is present, for example, in multicultural nursing, marketing of supranational products and the mere possibility of an individual to participate in working life. On the other hand, the individual shares his or her way of living with one or several groups but simultaneously that way of living is the exact factor that divides him or her from other groups or individuals – therefore, ethnicity is also differentiative by its nature (Hautaniemi 2001: 15). Multicultural societies take attempts to overcome the challenges of ethnic diversity on the ideal level, but it is not straightforward for the social institutions how ethnicity and culture are looked at from the perspective of different groups of people (Hautaniemi 2001: 29). According to Hautaniemi, the practicalities that are subject to these decisions are always subject to change, as well, and have very visible consequences on an individual level, group level and the level of a whole society. Therefore, he states, the consequences are currently not only limited in a particular society, but also cross over the borders of the society in question. The issues presented above, who we are in relation to others and where do we belong, are important in forming our sense of identity. As the present study looks into the roles of English and Finnish in academic context, the next section (3.2) will discuss language in relation to identity.

3.2 Language and identity

Discussing identity is a way to observe the interconnections between different groups, changes in a society and the placement of an individual during these changes. Dufva (2002: 9) suggests that it might be more beneficial to talk about identities in plural, rather than in singular, as we all have many identities for different situations. Sebba and Wootton (1998: 284) emphasize as well that identities are not stable entities; rather, they are subject to change and are negotiated and constructed in interaction. In other words, identities may alter when the context and counterparts of interaction change. Hence, as stated above, it may be more comfortable to talk about multiple identities. Considering the present study, in the process of immigration this change in interaction is very visible as the language of interaction is likely to change as well. According to Dufva (2002), identity is all the same about being similar with the others and about being different from the others at the same time. From this perspective, she states, identity at the same time helps us to understand who we are but unfortunately also unavoidably separates us from other people (Dufva 2002: 9).

Dufva (2002) acknowledges that there is a great variety of interpretations of identity in the field. The issue of identity has been observed from several different angles and some of the research is overlapping whereas some of it is even in contradiction with each other. However, according to Dufva (2002), one can see two different manners to observe identity which are the essentialistic view and the non-essentialistic view (Grossberg 1996 and Hall 1999 as cited by Dufva 2002). Both of these views aim to explain the nature of identity: why it from the other hand changes and from another stays the same (Dufva 2002: 11). The essentialistic approach sees identity as a rather clear and stable entity. It sees identity as an entity with clear signals that are common to all the members of a group: language, nationality, common history, habits and physical habitus. The main feature for essentialistic approach is the idea that there is only one identity that the individual should protect and aim to strengthen. Seeing change as a danger for one's identity is also seen as a weak spot of the essentialistic approach (Dufva 2002). The other approach is the non-essentialistic one. It concentrates on observing the changes in identities among one certain group and why their identities have changed and what effect it will have on them in the future. The core idea of this approach is the idea of an identity being flexible and an issue of change. Dufva sees the

challenge of this approach in maintaining the feeling of belonging somewhere among a larger group (Dufva 2002: 12-13).

Dufva (2002) presents the most important terms in discussing identity: fragmentation, hybridity, boarder and diaspora. These are the ways that one can try to identify and construct the idea of multiple identities. Fragmentation plays emphasis on the variety of identities. It sees identity forming of different pieces that can be in contradiction with each other. These pieces are potentially from different sources: The individuals' personal history, social situations or even changes in a society. Hybridity, according to Dufva, also contains the idea of identity being a diverse entity but it differs from fragmentation by paying more emphasis on different aspects as change. The term diaspora describes how identity is constructed in historically and culturally new circumstances (Dufva 2002: 12-13). The concept of a boarder is recognized in every existing definition of identities. It contains the idea of a boarder that leaves something in and shuts something out. Dufva presents an interesting question: Does the language and therefore also identity change when we across the boarder between states: Who are actually "they" and who are "us"? Sebba and Wootton (1998: 284) offer one explanation by stating that these changeable social identities are occasionally made salient during conversation. Therefore, it could be said that pointing out "them and us" is dependent on the participants in conversation.

It is clear that the concept of language is connected to the concept of identity. One's mother tongue provides him or her with the first basis of how to build one's worldview and also how to give meanings via language. Therefore language is a part of one's identity (Dufva 2002: 10). Thornborrow (1999: 136) considers language as one of the most fundamental ways of establishing one's identity and how others perceive an individual. Similar ideas are presented by Pietikäinen et al. (2002: 10) as well. According to Thornborrow (1999: 136), in order to one to consider him or herself belonging into a certain group or community, one has to adopt the linguistic conventions of the group in question. As he states, those conventions are usually defined by the group than by the individual in question.

Language cannot be considered similar to national identity or ethnic identity because, for example: all the Finns do not speak Finnish (Dufva 2002: 16). Sharing a common language does not necessarily mean sharing a national identity and, for example, in the

case of immigrants language can divide them into the ones who speak language well and the ones who do not speak it at all (Dufva 2002: 16) Dufva (2002: 16-17) emphasizes that the dividing feature of identity is essential for understanding how identities are constructed because that difference is the only way to recognize identities. According to her, making these divisions has very concrete effects on the society and concrete effects on the immigrants' lives as well. It may define their rights, status and role in the society. As an example of these, Dufva (2002) refers to immigration policy and states that a country's employment situation affects the country's immigration policy, which has further influences how the rights of immigrants are formed.

The diversity in identities also refers to how individuals consider themselves, which is situation, time and context-dependent, according to Pietikäinen et al. (2002: 10). How one considers his or her own identity, and how he or she sees others in a conversation, is dependent on what manners of speech are currently taking place and how they are looked at (Pietikäinen et al. 2002: 10). Pietikäinen et al. (2002: 10) state that language is very context-dependent and it reveals the power situations and values related to it. Individuals can, therefore, wish to convey their sense of belonging into different groups in different situations as, for example, Bourhis (1989: 248) states. Bourhis (1989: 248) discusses the wish to converge linguistically towards speakers of different language groups (convergence) or the wish to distinguish oneself linguistically from other interlocutors (divergence). According to him, possible reasons for one's wish to diverge from other interlocutors are, for example, dislike towards them as individuals or perhaps a wish to maintain group identity with others as out-group interlocutors.

Understanding identity in relation to language is important for multiple reasons considering the present study. If language at the same time diverges us from one group and makes us part of another group (Dufva 2002: 9), the university can be considered to be a rather clear example of this. On the one hand the employees, and the interviewees of the present study, are in most of the cases distinguished from each other by their mother tongue and country of origin. On the other hand, they are connected as a group by using English as a common language inside a culture that speaks Finnish. However, even inside this group they are possibly distinguished from each other as native and non-native English speakers. Language is, after all, only one important aspect of both identity and acculturation process, even though it is a meaningful one. The next section

will present Kim's integrative theory of acculturation and adaptation, which poses other significant factors for acculturation.

3.3 Kim's integrative theory of acculturation and adaptation

It is clear that even though the willingness to adapt into the surrounding culture is one aspect in the acculturation process, no immigrant can avoid adaptation no matter what she or he wishes to do as long as he or she is in some aspect dependent on the mainstream culture (Kim 2001: 25). However, it could also be said that no immigrant can fully assimilate no matter how intensively he or she attempts to do so, as Kim (2001) argues in his theory of acculturation and adaptation.

Kim's (2001) theory consists of three stages: enculturation, deculturation and acculturation. These stages do not overlap but the process can go back-and-forth. However, the goal of the process is total assimilation into the target society. Enculturation means the phase when a person learns the requirements of the surrounding culture, including the values needed. Deculturation is the next stage when a person abandons some features of their own culture in order to adapt into the other one. In the acculturation stage the individual has gone through the previous stages and is now acquainted with the host countries ways and has adopted some of them. Assimilation, the goal, is the stage where the individual has fully adapted into the culture of the host country.

In the integration process both the immigrants and the society make compromises to find a common ground (Kim 2001). According to Kim (2001: 72-73), the adaptation is successful only when the strangers can organize themselves in such ways mentally, emotionally and motivationally that it corresponds appropriately with their environment and the communication system of the new culture. For the natives, Kim (2001) states, this is a fairly automatic procedure but the sojourners must learn and internalize these manners.

According to Kim (2001: 17), some experiences of cross-cultural adaptation are shared by everyone involved in an unfamiliar environment, as for example, being challenged to cultural learning and altering one's own familiar cultural habits. Nevertheless, there are some rather crucial differences as well between short-term and long-term settlers. Immigrants who settle in a new environment for an undecided period are likely to be

more committed to adapt into the surrounding culture than the short-term sojourners (Kim 2001: 17). Some differences occur also in the attitudes of the hosts depending on whether the immigrant is in a country with the intention to stay for a longer time or for a shorter period of time. Generally, more cultural knowledge and language competence is expected from the long-term sojourners whereas more mistakes are forgiven for the short-term immigrants, as long as they appear respectful towards the host culture (Kim 2001: 17). The present study will comment on this as some of the participants can be defined as long-term sojourners whereas some as short-term immigrants.

This chapter discussed the process of acculturation in relation to culture. Section 3.1 discussed acculturation in general and pointed out different aspects of it. It should be emphasized that the process of acculturation always involves both the individual who attempts to acculturate and the surrounding culture and their attitudes towards this process. As shown in section 3.2, language and identity are closely attached, as the language we speak both attaches us to one group but always unavoidably separates us from another, as well (Dufva 2002: 9). Section 3.3 presented Kim's integrative theory of acculturation and adaptation. The next chapter will look in to acculturating into the Finnish society in particular.

4 ACCULTURATING INTO THE FINNISH SOCIETY

This chapter discusses immigration in Finland and begins by discussing migration as a phenomenon in general. When talking about international immigration what is meant is the movement from one country to another (Lahay et al. 2006: 9). Someone who emigrates, exits a country. Instead, if an individual immigrates she or he enters a country. Therefore, contemporary immigration refers to short-term movements excluding holiday-trips or student exchange. Emigration suggests that a more permanent process is taking place as, for example, when an individual leaves his or her country of origin to permanently settle in a new country (Lahay et al. 2006). Either simultaneous or multiple migrant flows take place in every country constantly, Lahay et al. (2006) state. According to them, this crowd contains both voluntary and involuntary migrants. Voluntary migrants consist of laborers (both legal and illegal) and their family members. The participants of the present study consist of voluntary migrants. Involuntary migrants are considered to be, for example, asylum seekers and refugees. From these two, voluntary migrants are usually the larger group when referring to advanced industrialized countries (Lahay et al. 2006.) Both asylum seekers and refugees typically leave their country of origin due to a fear of persecution as, for example, reasons of religion or political opinion, but the difference between them is that an asylum seeker usually submits a request of asylum before or soon after entering the country (Lahay et al. 2006: 11).

4.1 Immigration and integration in Finland

When entering the EU, Finland has along side the other countries agreed into international collaboration and intercourse (Liebkind 2001: 181). Liebkind (2001) states that this intercourse brings issues that work in two ways: it allows the immigrants and refugees to legally move into Finland but Finland as well needs immigrants in order to be a part of the international world. Economics is one important field when discussing this issue: Finland competes in the same market area with considerably larger countries and to be able to do this successfully Finland needs immigrants (Liebkind 2001: 181). According to Liebkind (2001), Finland could still progress in this area: one can see when following media discourse that the issue of immigration is constantly on the paper and not necessarily in a very positive light. Unfortunately, negative stories about

immigrants are told often but not questioned often enough, therefore false rumors about certain negative features of certain different groups of immigrants are wide spread (Liebkind 2000: 181).

Finland is commonly considered as one of the most homogenous countries in Europe in relation to its ethnical and cultural structure, therefore it is also considered as not having a wide experience of different ethnical groups communicating with each other and living together (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 84). This is perhaps not surprising because immigration itself is a relatively new phenomenon in Finland, in comparison with many other countries in Europe. One distinctive feature of the immigrant population in Finland is that it is a relatively distinctive group of people in comparison with most of the Western developed countries (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 107-108). According to Forsander and Ekholm (2001), it is characteristic for immigrant communities elsewhere in Europe that the man of the family moves first, followed by his family and perhaps by more relatives and acquaintances. This is significant because as a consequence this phenomenon produces whole new communities in the target country of immigration, as the immigrants have already known each other in their previous country of residence (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 107-108). In other words, they already have a whole network of their own. Forsander and Ekholm explain Finland's distinct situation by the selective nature of Finnish immigration policy, which is why, according to them, the immigrant communities are relatively small apart from Russians. They also state that there has been no large scale work force immigration to Finland, which they consider to be a significant issue (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 107-108).

During the years 1987-1993 the amount of foreign citizens tripled in Finland, and the amount of refugees had grown over ten times larger (Jaakkola 2000: 28). The amount of immigrants in Finland was still relatively small for a long time after the wars because the main reason for immigration was usually merely employees who had come to Finland through marriage (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 107-108). According to Forsander and Ekholm (2001: 107-108), what changed the situation was refugees, the increase of international marriages and the remigration of the Ingrian-Finns. They state that the atmosphere of the whole society is from their point of view more open to immigration and international collaboration. Forsander and Ekholm (2001: 107-108) list the most common reasons for immigration into Finland: family reasons, refugees, work,

studies and remigration. The three main categories are refugees, remigrants and individuals who have formed a marriage with a Finn.

According to Jaakkola (2000: 29), the increase of immigrants and asylum seekers in Finland in the 1990's was a rather bad timing, considering the depression and the massive unemployment period. At the same time when during the years 1987-1993 the amount of foreign citizens tripled in Finland, and the amount of refugees had grown over ten times larger, the unemployment had increased from five percent to 19 percent during the same period (Jaakkola 2000: 28-29). Jaakkola (2000) discovered that the immigrants who came to Finland for humanitarian reasons (political or religious reasons, fleeing war or environmental catastrophes or famine in the development countries) were seen overall in more negative light than the one's who were considered useful to Finland (tourists, scientists, students, entrepreneurs and adopted children) (Jaakkola 2000: 31).

The actions provided to support the integration process of all the immigrants are defined in the social integration law (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 111-112). Every council that receives immigrants has to have its own program for social integration, as Forsander and Ekholm (2001) state. The program for social integration is created by the collaboration of council workers, labor official, other official and the Social Insurance Institution. It is usually addressed and promulgated in the council. The program for social integration consists of goals for the integration progress, actions and resources and also addresses what kind of collaboration is needed to ensure that these goals are achieved, according to, for example, Forsander and Ekholm (2001). Forsander and Ekholm (2001) define that at first the officials consult immigrants, non-governmental institutions, employee- and employment organizations and also other local organizations when possible. The ultimate goal is on one hand to acknowledge the needs of the immigrants but on the other hand to recognize the resources that the council has. It also aims at multi-professional collaboration. The social integration plans are created for every immigrant individually, and they define in collaboration with the immigrant, council and employment agency the actions that are undertaken to guide the immigrant and his or her family to access all the necessary skills in the Finnish society, Forsander and Ekholm (2001) state.

4.1.1 Finns' attitudes towards immigrants

As suggested in chapter 3.1 the whole process of change is formed of both the adaptation process of the minorities into the surrounding society, and of the mainstream populations' attitudes towards the minorities (Liebkind 2000: 13). It must be stressed that together these issues form the process which we can call acculturation (Liebkind 2000: 13). As, according to Liebkind (2000: 19), the meaning of the mainstream population in the acculturation process is often overlooked, it is important to discuss the Finns' attitudes towards immigrants in order to understand integrating into the Finnish society.

There have been two different theories presented about the effect of the amount of immigrants in peoples' attitudes and these two theories are quite the opposite (Jaakkola 2000: 29). These two theories are the conflict theory and the contact theory. The core idea of the conflict theory is that the discrimination of immigrants is likely to increase when the different groups get in contact with each other because the minority's relative amount increases and the minority and the majority population are competing of social security benefits and workplaces (Lange & Westin 1981: 59-62). However, according to the contact theory, when the amount of immigrants increases and the different groups are in contact together it is likely that the prejudices decrease. According to Jaakkola (2000:29), the communication between the immigrants is likely to be more diverse and personal and both get more information about the other group and understand their behavior better. It could perhaps be said that the attitudes towards foreigners' immigration is both dependent on whether individuals have had any contact with immigrants and whether they see immigrants as their competitors concerning jobs and social benefits (Trankell 1974; Westin 1987; Hernes and Knudsen 1994; Lange 1995; Gaasholt and Togeby 1995 as cited by Jaakkola 2000: 29).

According to several researches in the Nordic countries and in Europe, it has been acknowledged that the best indicator for positive attitudes towards immigration and foreigners seems to be high education (Jaakkola 2000: 39). This has also been the case in Finland. Jaakkola (2000: 39) states that the highly educated have always been the ones who have the most positive attitudes towards immigrants from different countries. He states that the highly educated pointed out more rarely in discussion the issue of economic rivalry with the immigrants, were less likely to support racist attitudes and

were more likely to disapprove of the skinhead activities than the less educated. The connection between higher education and positive attitudes towards immigrants has been reasoned, for example, by stating that schools aim more and more to teach their students to be tolerant and also endeavor to provide more information about different cultures (Jaakkola 2000: 39) alongside with the fact that higher education increases individuals' intellectual skills. In addition, Jaakkola (2000: 39) states, higher education provides an individual with possibilities of success and life management skills whereas less educated may accuse immigrants for their own frustration. He also states that higher educated people know that they are expected to have positive attitudes towards immigrants and, therefore, they are also likely to conceal their negative attitudes if they have any (Jenssen and Engesbak as cited by Jaakkola 2000: 39). In Jaakkola's (2000: 39) research he concluded that students, officials and entrepreneurs had more often positive attitudes towards immigrants than others. The most negative attitudes towards refugees and foreign work force were among the unemployed, pensioners, farmers and individuals belonging into the working population. Fortunately, his research shows that after the depression and the increase in the amount of immigrants the negative attitudes towards immigrants have decreased. Jaakkola (1999: 110-116 as cited by Jaakkola 2000: 45) states that the attitudes can get more positive if the employment situation remains the same or gets better and if the anticipated labor shortage comes true. He also suggests two factors that might also have positive effects: firstly, the urbanization and the increase of education and secondly, the integrated Europe. He states that as Europe has integrated more and more Finns also identify themselves as Europeans and that comes with more positive attitudes towards foreigners (Jaakkola 1999: 110-116 as cited by Jaakkola 2000: 45).

This section observed the attitudes that Finns have towards immigrants. Overall, fortunately Finns have more positive attitudes towards all nationalities than during the depression, even though Finland has a quite firm ethnic hierarchy (Jaakkola 2000: 45). According to Jaakkola (2000), negative attitudes towards immigrants who differ from the mainstream population by their appearance are still unfortunately common, this applies to, for example, the Somali and our largest immigrant group, the Russians.

4.2 Integration and work

It is clear that employment is considered as a central part of being integrated into the Finnish society (Forsander 2001: 42). According to Forsander (2001: 42), in the Finnish society work is not merely a tool for having money, and as such maintaining a certain standard of living, but, moreover, it is also considered as a symbol of being able to fulfill the requirements of a society. She states that when an individual lacks employment, she or he is usually forced to fulfill the time left over with some other activity that is approved by the surrounding society, for example studying. The lack of education and employment is usually considered as one of the central characteristics of social exclusion (Forsander 2001: 42).

Employment is a central factor that connects individuals into the society for all people, not only for the ones who have employment but also for those who are indirectly in connection with it (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 59). This is the reason why, according to Forsander and Ekholm (2001: 59), getting employment is a meaningful issue in the sense of integration for the immigrants. They discuss whether the challenges of the immigrants finding employment is a sign of the first stage difficulties in the acculturation of immigrants, the transferal stage of Finnish labor market or if it is a sign of immigrants being left outside of labor market more permanently. The integration of immigrants has been discussed in official statements in Finland alongside with questions of identity and culture (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 59). Forsander and Ekholm (2001: 59) state that discussing the status of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the labor market is important because it also reflects the status of these groups in the society all together. They point out that the situation in Finland is not unique, getting employment has been more challenging for immigrants than it has been for the mainstream population in other developed countries as well. This is not a problem only on an individual level, but if a certain group of people in a society is clearly unrepresented in the labor market it is bound to tell more about the society as a whole than merely the phenomenon in question (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 59). They justify this statement, for example, by stating that in an immigrant family the unemployment of one adult is bound to affect the acculturating process of the whole family.

Unfortunately, education and previous working life history does not necessarily transfer as such to the next country of residence (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 64). As Forsander

and Ekholm (2001) state, in careers that are built around communication – as, for example, a teacher or a lawyer – the language and knowledge of the society is very central for one's professional competence. According to them, especially in academic careers, professionalism is culture-dependent. Forsander and Ekholm (2001: 64) state that one solution to avoid unemployment is further education which many immigrants have to rely on in the new country of residence. They discuss that both getting employment and furthering on one's career demand knowledge of culture and mastering the social code: also those assumptions that are considered as common knowledge but never said aloud. According to them, culture survives via those rules and assumptions, and if one wishes to belong one needs to be able to look proper and sound proper. Forsander and Ekholm (2001: 64) also point out that, in many areas of labor market group work and collaboration is a key term.

Research on the employment of immigrants has shown that crucial for landing a job is "factor x". This Factor x consist of a suitable combination of personality, professional knowledge and attitude (Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 64). Also Hautaniemi (2001: 15) discusses the issue of getting employed being dependent for other issues than the ones that are related to performing well in the job. He, as well, emphasizes the meaning of social competence. As possible hindrances for getting employed he sees lack of language skills and possibly also ethnical background. Hautaniemi (2001: 15) points out that in the labor market discrimination usually takes place in a relatively subtle manner. As an example, he presents a rather common phenomenon from previous years in Finland: job applications for cleaners where good Finnish skills were presented as one requirement for recruitment. However, according to Hautaniemi (2001), this tendency vanished when the need for workforce increased enough. This differentiation of individuals has been especially visible in rapidly developed countries where the inequality is increasing in the sense of social, economical and educational backgrounds, concludes Hautaniemi (2001: 15). The same issue of discrimination is also pointed out by Forsander and Ekholm (2001: 72-73), who state that there are many resources that aid in making it in the labor market that present themselves as discriminating factors for those who do not have the possibilities to reach these resources. By these groups of people they mean, for example, immigrants and other minorities who live in a marginal status in the society. As discriminating factors they define: providing open workplaces social network and language and professionalism demands used on purpose to discriminate a person with a foreign background. According to Forsander and Ekholm

(2001: 72-73), these factors together form such a combination, where the employer can plead on the applicant's insufficient cultural knowledge, even though the real reason can be the work community's reluctance to work with a person with an immigrant background. Therefore, they suggest, it should be considered if these demands actually reflect what skills are needed in the job, or whether these demands are placed in order to leave out or discriminate a whole group of applicants, as for instance: immigrants.

4.2.1 Features influencing communication in culturally diverse workplaces

It is clear that besides by their language, cultures differ from each other, for example, by manners of movement, verbal behavior, ways of sitting, standing, gesturing, and ways of handling time and space (Kim 2001: 47). Culture defines how members of a certain society interpret messages and how they reflect what they see and hear, therefore, culture also conditions an individual into a certain way of perceiving issues (Kim 2001: 47). One possible way to observe relationships between cultures could be to consider them as mutually exclusive sections, however, it does not seem legit (Baldwin et al. 2004: 15). According to Baldwin et al. (2004: 15), dividing the world into such cultural sections would not only be impossible, it would also be misleading as culture is also a matter of gender, age, status and class, which indicates that every idea of a culture contains many definitions of cultures.

Ethnicity is not considered as a negative nor a positive issue in the labour market, according to current research (Wallman 1996 as cited by Forsander and Ekholm 2001: 64). According to Wallman (1996 as cited by Forsander and Ekholm), the value of ethnicity is always context-dependent. Therefore, he states, one cannot make straightforward conclusions about the value of ethnicity in multiethnic work communities.

Language can be both used as a mean to include people and to exclude people. In some cases language is related to a power structure. For example, in workplaces where English is used as the Lingua Franca, native speakers may have a language advantage in relation to those individuals who do not speak English as their native language (Crystal 2003).

Individuals usually have some expectations of different cultures which may be quite stereotypical. Unfortunately, the communication can end up in confusion if the other

person does not fit into the picture that the other has had of his or her culture. Hedge et al. (1998) discuss the problems of the social-scientific approach. One problem is, for example, treating members of a group as instances of a certain profile. It is said that to some extent every immigrant realizes that he or she is a representative of his or her culture, whether he or she wants it or not. Hedge et al. (1998) also state that the role of interaction, other group memberships and personal identities are often ignored, as are the political and historical context as well.

The question of language, power and status also surfaces when discussing the way in which speakers adjust in each others language use (Thornborrow 1999: 146-147). Therefore, according to Thornborrow (1999), it is not meaningless if one chooses to converge or diverge linguistically speaking. It is especially important in a situation where the speakers have different social statuses. Also Bourhis (1989: 249) discusses the power issue in bilingual organizations. According to him, in those bilingual organizations where one language is given more status than the others, language choices can reflect the differences in power between speakers of diverse linguistic communities, in addition to the power differentials between superiors, subordinates and colleagues (Bourhis 1989: 249). Therefore, he states, these strategies of language choice can in addition be used to renegotiate not only the differences in superior/subordinate positioning within the workplace setting but also those that exist between the individuals who represent different ethnolinguistic groups within the social structure (Bourhis 1989: 249). Bourhis (1989: 246-247) lists five important elements in order to help identify the language choice strategies that take place among speakers within bilingual organizations. These strategies are:

- 1. the communicator's linguistic skills in the relevant working languages of the region or country*
- 2. motivational or cognitive factors related to speech accommodation*
- 3. relative power and status of interlocutors in terms of their organizational position as supervisors, colleagues, and subordinates within the work setting.*
- 4. The relative group vitality of the linguistic communities present in the immediate vicinity of the work location or region*
- 5. The linguistic work environment of interlocutors in terms of the ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of the individuals interacting in the organizational setting." (Bourhis 1989: 246-247)*

These strategies are relevant to the present study considering the academic context. University can be considered to be a bilingual organization, where one language is given more status above the others, which means in the present study either Finnish or English. However, it must be stressed that the definition is not straight-forward as there are differences in the language choices between departments even inside the same

university, and sometimes different languages have different functions at work. As the employees have different cultural, and therefore linguistic backgrounds, for example, the first element of the *communicator's linguistic skills in the relevant working languages in the region or country* (Bourhis 1989) will assumedly also appear useful. Some of these strategies are returned to in chapter 7, and compared to the results of the present study.

4.3 Integration and language

The role of English has been studied in Finland in general, and also in universities in particular. However, even though the issue has been already researched to some extent further research on the immigrant's point of view is needed. Nieminen (2009) has researched the role of English in the immigration process in a study that focused on immigrants who were currently all working in Finland and Jalava (2011) has studied the integration process of refugees in Finland, also looking into the language aspect of it. I will now introduce both of these studies and their relevance to the current study. Before, the requirement for immigration has been either blood relations or humanitarian reasons, but now the emphasis will turn to work related moving which makes the present study very contemporary.

Nieminen (2009) points out how university faculties and companies are constantly hiring people who do not need to know Finnish in their work. Yet, the emphasis on the integration process has been learning the Finnish language, even though we already have successfully integrated immigrants who have not learned the Finnish language but are functioning, some more and some less, successfully in English (Nieminen 2009: 9-10). Nieminen (2009) examined the different contexts in which the immigrants used English, Finnish and their mother tongues as well as the kind of relationship they had with these languages. She also asked the participants how they felt about learning Finnish and was it in their opinion important in order to integrate into Finnish society. Her participants consisted of the so-called desired immigrants, immigrants who were educated and employed (Nieminen 2009: 55).

Nieminen's (2009) results revealed that competence in Finnish is still relevant and in order to learn it two things are needed: one's own will and motivation and the support of other people. People who had Finnish family members but did not know Finnish were

rather well integrated into the society, and the others emphasized the value of having friends who they could share the language with. The ones who had both seemed to be, according to Nieminen (2009), integrated best. The state measures were not mentioned (Nieminen 2009: 115-116).

Jalava (2011) had similar results about the language matter. Finnish is still needed as English is not adequate on its own (Jalava 2011: 88). Jalava's (2011) study examines the role of the English language in the integration process of refugees into Finnish society. Her research examines "the role that the command of English has in the integration of refugees into Finnish society." More specifically, she examines this from two different perspectives: taking into account both challenges of labor market and education. In addition, she presents the refugees' own thoughts about immigration (Jalava 2011: 44). According to Jalava's (2011) results, the participants did not consider the command of English meaningful anymore after the adequate command of Finnish was accomplished. However, it was very important in the beginning of the integration phase. During that time it was a tool to function independently in various situations and allowed them to be active participants of the society.

Hoffman's study (2007) discusses the career potential of migrant scholars in higher education. The study is a multiple case study of long-term academic mobility in Finnish society. It includes 42 migrant scholars from 27 countries in Finnish universities. Hoffman states that in the Finnish context the issue of highly skilled migrant labor is about to arise when the baby boom generation retires. Hoffman (2007) researched the perceptions of migrant academic personnel who were involved in long term academic mobility and studied the nature of mobility in particular academic fields.

This chapter focused on acculturating into the Finnish society in particular. First, section 4.1 discussed the immigration and integration in Finland. Immigration itself is a relatively new phenomenon in Finland, in comparison with many other countries in Europe, therefore, perhaps not surprisingly, Finland is considered to be a rather homogenous country which brings distinctive features into the acculturation process (Forsander and Ekholm 2001). Section 4.2 looked into integration in relation to work in Finland. This could, as well be considered as a specific feature in integration, as employment is considered as a central part of integrating in the Finnish society (Forsander 2001: 42). In the last section (4.3) the integration process was considered

from the language perspective. Several research (Jalava 2011, Nieminen 2009) have suggested that competence in Finnish is still needed as English is not sufficient on its own. The emphasis on the integration process has been learning the Finnish language (Nieminen 2009: 9-10). The present study aims to produce more information on the roles of Finnish and English in the integration process. The next chapter will introduce the present study.

5 THE PRESENT STUDY

The aim of the present study is to examine *the roles of English and Finnish in the Finnish academic working life from the point of view of the immigrant employees*. The research question is how do the immigrants working in a Finnish university perceive the roles of English and Finnish in Finnish academic working life? I have chosen a qualitative approach in order to gain a deeper insight into the phenomenon than a mere quantitative research could perhaps offer. Another issue that I consider as a benefit to this research is the hypothesis-free nature of this type of qualitative research (Eskola and Suoranta 1998: 19-20). In this chapter I will at first introduce the participants of the present study and discuss the ethical questions of this research in section 5.1. After introducing the participants I will discuss the method for data collection in section 5.2, and finally, discuss the process of data analysis on section 5.3.

5.1 Participants

In the beginning of February 2013, I contacted two immigrants who I knew to work in a Finnish university and arranged meetings with them. The first one of them suggested participating in this research for some of her colleagues who contacted me themselves. I found four more interviewees in this manner. I consider it notable that the interviewees, indeed, contacted me themselves which could be interpreted as them being particularly interested in this issue.

The data consists of six thematic interviews that were analyzed using the help of qualitative content analysis. The interviews were performed in February and March 2013. The participants were six employees of a Finnish university who had immigrant backgrounds, two men and four women (see Table 1). Four of the interviewees were non-native English speakers and two were native English speakers which allowed me to also compare if they perceived the role of English differently. The interviewees worked in different occupations, and therefore had different work descriptions, even though they all work in the academia. Roughly these occupations divide into researchers and professors based on title. However, it should be acknowledged that often these assignments can overlap with each other, in other words, researchers may teach courses

and teachers do research alongside their jobs as professors. The average age of the participants was 49. All of the interviewees had lived in Finland for more than 5 years. The average time spent in Finland in years was 18 years.

The interviews were performed in English even though some of the participants would presumably have been able to also discuss in Finnish. Despite this fact the decision to perform the interviews in English was due to several facts. First, even if some participants would have been able to discuss in Finnish, others had no competence in Finnish. Therefore, conducting all the interviews in English brought unity into the process. Second, performing the interviews in English simplified the transcribing process as there was no need for translation. Lastly, translating the interviews would have allowed more room for misrepresentations of the intended meaning. The places where the interviews took place were decided by the participants. Two of the interviews were performed in a cafeteria, three in the interviewees' offices, and one in a classroom.

Table 1. The occupation, native or non native status and the gender of the participants

Pseudonym	Occupation	Native or non-native English speaker	Gender
Iw01	researcher	non-native	female
Iw02	researcher	non-native	female
Iw03	researcher	non-native	female
Iw04	professor	non-native	female
Im01	researcher	native	male
Im02	professor	native	male

After I had transcribed the recordings, it was important to consider the anonymity of the participants (Ruusuvaori et al. 2005: 17). In order to assure the interviewees' anonymity and to protect their identity, the names of the participants and other information that enable their identification were altered (Ruusuvaori et al. 2005: 17). In discussing the results the participants are referred to by pseudonyms (See Table 1). During this process it also became clear to me that stating the native languages or the country of origin of

the participants would be a threat to confidentiality. In addition, I was asked by one of the participants not to discuss her country of origin. Consequently, I decided to only state if the participants were native or non-native speakers of English, as it is my belief that this is more relevant to the present study than the nationality of the participants.

5.2 The method for data collection

The chosen method for the present study was thematic interviews. This method allowed me to speak directly to the persons who are in the centre of this phenomenon, the immigrant employees themselves. The interview types can be divided into so-called structured and unstructured interviews. Thematic interview is one of the most typical semi-structured interviews which means that some aspects of the interview have been decided in advance but not all of them (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000: 47). This interview type acknowledges that the interviewees' interpretations are meaningful and the meanings they give to situations are valuable (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000: 48). In all of these interview types it can be stated that both the interviewee and interviewer are active participants of the process and form the outcome together (Ruusuvuori et al. 2005: 12).

It is considered useful to record the interviews for multiple reasons: recording enables the interviewer to return to the interview situation. In this manner the interviewer can make sure that he/she has not misunderstood or misheard issues. Moreover, it enables the interviewer to describe the interview situation and the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee more thoroughly (Ruusuvuori et al. 2005: 13). The interviews for the present study were recorded with two recorders when possible. The purpose of having a second recorder was mainly to replace the other in case it would have malfunctioned. All the participants signed an agreement of the right to use the data for research purposes (See Appendix 1).

After, the interviews were transcribed into written form. This was useful as it helped me to identify the important details from the data. The accuracy and details of the transcription are dependent on the research questions (Ruusuvuori et al. 2005: 16). Therefore, as this research concentrates on the content, or what is said, I have only transcribed the participants' language as it seemed to serve the purpose best. Choosing this method for research was not only a practical choice but it helped the whole

analyzing process. According to Nikander (2005: 432), the transcription is always dependent on the researcher and his/her choices and as such is inevitably imperfect. However, the data has been transcribed with adequate accuracy in relation to the research questions of the present study.

The interviews covered three theme areas: identity and background, language at work and language and future prospects (see Appendices 2 and 3). In addition to the themes, I also had some specific questions that were asked in a random order. As a typical feature of a thematic interview, in case the interviewee brought up something interesting and relevant to the study we continued to discuss that matter even though it was unplanned. All of the themes were discussed with each participant, but to different extent. However, all the questions were not necessarily asked from each participant. This can also be seen from the duration of the interviews: 58 minutes, 17 minutes, 45 minutes, 55 minutes, 39 minutes and 36 minutes. In two cases the participants asked me to turn the recorder back on after finishing the interview because they had remembered something they wanted to add. In these cases the duration of these additional recordings has already been added into the times given above. Altogether I have approximately 4 hours and 17 minutes of recorded data.

5.3 Data analysis

In the present study a qualitative approach was chosen and therefore the data was analyzed qualitative means. The purpose of qualitative analysis is to explain the content of the data and by doing so to produce new information about the issue being researched (Eskola and Suoranta 1998: 137). For the present study, I chose to analyze the data with the help of content analysis. Patton (2002: 453) states that content analysis usually means analyzing the text by finding certain patterns or themes, rather than on mere observations during the interviews. He states that “content analysis is used to refer to any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (Patton 2002: 453). According to Patton, content analysis as qualitative analysis in general, is usually mostly inductive in the beginning.

In the present study I first inductively searched for themes and patterns from the data that helped me to answer the research questions. I started analyzing the data by reading

through the material multiple times. I made small notes and marked in case something occurred in more than one interview, or occurred more than once in the same interview. I followed a manner that is defined as open-coding by Strauss and Corbin. Strauss and Corbin (1990: 62) define open-coding as dividing the data into discrete parts and examining them carefully in order to find differences or similarities. They also consider this as a crucial state in order to proceed in the analyzing process. After I had finished dividing the data into discrete parts and found themes that occurred frequently, I divided the excerpts from the data under separate sections that were named and formed the basis for the findings. These sections and the findings are presented in the next chapter.

6 ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the results of the present study. The first section discusses the different *language choices*, as the participants stated that there are different functions for *English and Finnish* in the workplace and that sometimes the communication happens in a mixture of the two languages (6.1). The second section discusses *the issue of native and non-native English-speakers* in the workplace (6.2). For some participants, mostly working in research, it seemed to be self-evident that the native-English speakers have a great advantage in the workplace linguistic-wise. The third section discusses languages in relation to the participants' *identity* (6.3). The participants brought up frequently that language was a great part of their identity. Some of them wanted to reveal their nationality by their English variant and some of them thought that it is almost as if they are different persons depending on which language they are speaking. The relationship between *languages and integration* (6.4) is studied in section four. Even though all the participants considered that it is possible to live in Finland with the mere knowledge of English, and had made different choices in learning Finnish, many of the participants still considered that the deeper understanding of the Finnish culture needed mastering Finnish for several reasons which are more closely examined in this section. The final section discusses the role that the *language demands in Finland have in the future* plans of the participants.

6.1 Language choices in the workplace

6.1.1 English at work

For the participants English is a vital tool in the workplace that they use almost all the time. All the participants stated that nearly everything work-related happens in English from e-mail correspondence to communicating with colleagues or teaching, in those cases where the participants' duties involved teaching.

Most of the participants stated that they speak more than two languages, but all of them also stated that their work in the Finnish academic working life has never required them to use other languages than English and Finnish. Only one participant stated having problems with English as a working language and none considered that anything was left unsaid in the workplace because of the language. As it has been pointed out before, the academic working life has become highly intercultural and it is fairly regular for

people who do not share the same cultural background or the same native language to work together (Jauhiainen and Hautala 2010:155-156).

One aim was to find out if the participants feel that this brings any problems in the interaction, for example, if they feel that something is left unsaid because of the language. The answers to this question varied. Some stated that people may be more relaxed in communicating in English because it may in a way help one create another identity for oneself. In which case, they stated, it is perhaps easier for them to communicate in English than in their native language. However, some of the participants also acknowledged that employees with inadequate skills in English might have problems with the issue, even though none of them categorized themselves as such. This can be seen from example 1.

Example 1

I would even say the opposite and I even think that the Finns also that it might be a bit easier for them but maybe also me to say something in English rather than in your native language because I think it's somehow a more poetic language. So you can say something that isn't exaggeration without feeling a fool because of the so blunt language. So well you could say well I really like to be here thank you I really appreciate it and then people just think oh how lovely English but if I would say in a same way in my native language and maybe also in Finnish people would go oh come on don't exaggerate so much. So I think it's easier to me and I'm I sometimes flatter my way around with people but it's also because I really do appreciate those people and it works well. So I think English is in a way sometimes easier to talk about emotions in English and so. I don't think it is prohibiting anything. Of course I know that for some people that I meet here that have very bad English it might not always be so easy for them. So I really have to be very flexible there but for me it really makes it easier I would say. -Iw04

In the previous example Iw04 describes her native language as blunt and uses strong expressions such as English allows her to exaggerate without feeling a fool. She also states that it is easier to talk about emotions in English than in her mother tongue. Therefore, she considers speaking in English to be liberating in a sense, which presents English in a very positive light. It could be said that the interviewee feels in control of the language which even allows her to play with it, as can be seen, for example, in her expression *I sometimes flatter my way around people and it works well*.

Although the interviewees agreed that they mostly use English at work, several participants stated that they also use a combination of English and Finnish at work. If they cannot, for example, recall a word in another language they can switch into the other, as example 2 demonstrates. Some participants also stated that the language they use depends on who they are talking to. This is mentioned, for example, by Iw03 as shown in example 3. In some aspects of work it was clear which language was going to

be used to reach mutual understanding in a specific situation but some of the participants also stated that in some situations the language choice was always under discussion and either language can be used. However, in situations where the language choice is obvious it is not likely for that rule to be broken, as can also be seen from example 2.

Example 2

Sometimes we have those kind of sometimes when I really when I'm in a hurry and I really don't know how to say something like efficiently in Finnish then I will say it in English just like in the middle of a sentence you know. I will switch into English and then they may reply in Finnish or in English depends on the person. Some of them are somehow more comfortable in switching than others. But then we kind of do this weird thing. And also with sometimes with my supervisor when we're having our meetings I can even start the whole conversation in Finnish but then she will switch into English because somehow it feels that I suppose that English is the language that we work in you know scientifically. -Iw03

In the previous example Iw03 states that she could go through an entire work-related conversation in Finnish but if she attempts to do so her colleague will switch back into English. She explains this phenomenon by stating that even though they could go through the discussion in either of the languages, it is an unspoken rule that English is the language they work with scientifically. However, in some cases both languages can be used inside the same situation as Iw03 continues in example 3.

Example 3

This is kind of complicated. I think in informal interaction like with my colleagues when we go to lunch or just chatting with my roommates it's Finnish. But in meetings with my supervisor we do them in English those meetings and when it comes to seminars like these P.h.D seminars it's in my subject we have this arrangement which is that the seminars are held in Finnish but then I give my presentations in English and then people can ask me in both languages and I can reply well I mostly reply in English but I also sometimes reply in Finnish. So the teaching then is done in English. Conferences so far have been in English because they have been those international ones. Courses that I do for doctoral students: most of them have been in Finnish. But when I go to like into a lecture and it's in Finnish I take notes in English because I find it easier to do it and then I also usually do my yeah I've never done my assignments in Finnish so I usually tell the lecturer that I'm gonna write my stuff in English. So it's really kind of complicated. -Iw03

Iw03 states that she has made a suggestion in certain work situations that others can talk to her in Finnish but she can answer in English. This is an indication that among the participants in this type of communication the norm of communicating in only one language is invalid. This phenomenon is presented, for example, by Iw03 in the following example.

Example 4

Yeah I think they do they usually ask in Finnish. Then of course sometimes it's so weird some people they have different ideas of what is polite like when we have some people they like ask me in English because they think it's polite and then sometimes I even reply to them in Finnish because somehow I have this mechanical idea that we have these two languages that we work with. So when someone asks in English I answer in Finnish. I don't know it sounds like a stupid thing but I also noticed that when we're like let's say arranging something with our colleagues and sending those chains of email messages like to several persons and different persons respond. They usually start in Finnish and then I find it easier to write in English not in Finnish so I send my reply in English and then all the other persons switch into English and I feel so silly because I think they do it just because of me because they may have experienced some kind of embarrassment like oh gosh we didn't take her into consideration. And it's like of course I don't mind I really don't care if they want to do it in Finnish so then it feels I feel a bit like somehow troubled when they switch the language into English just because of me. So this kind of thing I've noticed. -Iw03

In example 4 the participant also raises the issue of politeness and states that there are situations in which the other participant or participants of communication switches completely into English in these two-language communication situations, as for instance, the e-mail discussion she mentions. She considers that people do this in order to be polite and show consideration towards her, but actually she feels embarrassed by this and feels as if she is making them to go through too much trouble because she would have been completely able to follow the discussion in Finnish as well. Therefore, it could be said that changing the conversation into one common language is quite normal but it is not necessarily only considered as a positive issue.

This section presented the different communicative situations in which English is used at work. These situations involved for example communicating via e-mail and teaching. According to the participants, nearly everything at work happens in English. As it can be seen from the examples, sometimes the communication takes place, in addition, via a mixture of English and Finnish but sometimes also solely in Finnish. The use of Finnish at work is discussed in the next section.

6.1.2 Finnish at work

Some of the participants stated to be fairly fluent in Finnish whereas some stated that they had made a conscious decision of not making an effort to learn Finnish. As the participants said, even though Finnish is not needed at work it is often the language of coffee break discussions and more informal interaction. However, this depends greatly on the department and the colleagues as well. These situations did not necessarily take

place in Finnish, but in contrast to the work-related interaction which was always in English, in the coffee break discussions it is always an issue of negotiation which language is used, as Im01 states in example 5.

Example 5

Oftentimes like in this like in the purely social situations that's when it's most likely for the language to switch because umm the work I do it's very much and very fast and lot and mainly occurring only in English. But as soon as you walk out the door or into a social situation then it's umm an open question what language are we gonna speak or are we gonna speak and what communication is gonna work here. Like if I want to go to the pub or umm or if like to go to some even connected to the kids' school where I know right from the beginning this is gonna occur all in Finnish and that's (laughter) like of course we're in Finland! -Im01

One can interpret from example 5 that the use of Finnish during coffee break discussions is natural for Im01 and the interviewee does not seem to have negative feelings towards it. However, this is not the situation with all the participants. Even though all the participants agreed that the coffee break discussions mostly take place in Finnish, their attitudes towards this language choice differed. How the participants perceived this use of Finnish in a social context seemed to convey their attitudes and emotions as well. For some participants encountering Finnish at work was obvious whereas some participants felt anxious about it and the situations were uneasy for them. The use of Finnish as the language of interaction created limitations for those who did not have adequate Finnish skills to participate in this social interaction. Some of those participants felt left out from informal social interaction at work because from their point of view the use of Finnish excludes them. In the next example Iw01 explains how she feels that she cannot contribute in these types of situations.

Example 6

Especially in I don't know to what extent in those really like work-related conversations maybe not that much but when it comes to informal interactions I think yeah at least from my part I could say so much more in English. Or explain things better and be more interactive in those interactions. So when there's it also depends on the number of people if we're having lunch with let's say four persons it's kind of easy to have this conversation in Finnish but sometimes were in a bigger group and sometimes people are somehow I really feel that they are showing off their skills conversational skills in Finnish you know how to be Funny and how to say just the right thing at the right point and this is something that I obviously can't do. So I feel like I was kind of losing these situations that I'm more of a person who listens and laughs than who contributes. (...) at the beginning it felt kind of horrible. Now it feels better in the sense that I do have more control and I can contribute more. Well it is kind of some level it's really well not sad but somehow you do feel somehow disempowered and sometimes you do wonder that hopefully they don't perceive me as such a boring person or maybe such a quiet passive person. But then you kind of also learn to live with it and yeah then these persons notice that when we're in a smaller group I can be more active. But it's not invisible, I think it's always there this language thing. It's always there. And somehow you need to manage. -Iw01

Iw01 feels disempowered by the situation and comments on how the language situation has an effect on feelings and personality, in other words, how others perceive her in the workplace. This indicates that the issue of the language choice affects the interpersonal relationships that take place. Iw01 also feels that people show off with their conversational skills, which could be interpreted as she feels she is left out on purpose by the Finnish speakers. In contrast, for example Iw03 shares similar experiences and, though expressing sadness for not being able to participate, presents it more as a necessary evil that is not intended to offend her in any way and also states that if she truly wanted to participate it was always possible. It could be said that by stating this she presents herself more as an active participant in the interaction in comparison with Iw01. Both Iw01 and Iw03 state that they are worried that others might perceive them as different kind of people than how they consider themselves, hence, as less social and contributive than they perhaps feel. Iw01 states that the language issue is always present and that one just has to learn how to adapt into it. The participants state that the dynamics of these situations has changed for the better since they learned more Finnish. Even though the conversation is still sometimes moving on too fast for them to participate, some participants state that they do not find it as a problem because they could usually follow the conversation and quickly comment in English if they truly wanted to participate. Some participants had made more conscious language choices in attempting to be able to participate than others. In example 7 Iw01 discusses her choice.

Example 7

Like in the everyday conversations and also when it comes to organizing stuff what you asked earlier so I made this decision I will only use Finnish anymore and only in emergency situations like use English. So in coffee breaks we do speak Finnish -Iw01

The example shows that Iw01 does not consider not being able to participate as such a substantial disadvantage. She decided to adapt to the situation and her personal choice was to start using Finnish during the coffee breaks as much as possible. It should be noted that even though some of the participants state that the fact that the coffee room discussions take place in Finnish is challenging and in some cases causes uneasy situations, none of them questions the status of Finnish as the language of communication in these situations although English is generally considered to be the mutual language. In these cases it seems to be natural for the participants that they are the ones to adapt to the situation and find solutions if they want to participate, and therefore learn Finnish. This is notable, as choosing English as the language of communication during the coffee breaks would have allowed everyone to participate.

Another issue that surfaced was how academic Finnish can be rather different from the Finnish that is used outside the academic circle, which may also present its own challenge. Some participants stated that it is sometimes hard to interpret what is being said in conferences when people give their presentations in Finnish. However, they also acknowledged that some colleagues may face the same problems when the interviewee gives his or her presentation in English. This issue is presented, for instance, in example 8.

Example 8

I was so aware of my imperfect Finnish and I remember it was actually very very difficult for me to overcome this feeling and being so somehow self judgemental like thinking all the time about how stupid I may seem because of the way I speak. That was one challenge but I think this has improved for one thing I have got to know them and I know they would never judge me basing on my language skills and another one has also been of course that I know Finnish that I speak better Finnish than I did three years ago so it's kind of easier to also be funny sometimes in Finnish, joke, be self intelligent, what else. I'm thinking of yeah other complications of course sometimes it's well I suppose during seminars not all people are fluent in English so then again it is a challenge for them as it is a challenge for me to listen to them presenting Finnish. You know I think this academic Finnish has been a totally different thing still on top of informal spoken Finnish that processing of academic Finnish. I remember just in the beginning it just drew all the energy out of me. And I suppose it may be very similar for some people who work in Finnish when they listen to me. So I've very often noticed that other people give their presentations in Finnish and then there's also discussions going on after those but then when I have my thing in English there's usually very few questions and it's always from certain persons who I know are more comfortable in working in English so it does create some kind of problem there. -Iw03

In the previous example Iw03 states that at first listening to presentations in Finnish was very tiring because academic Finnish is so different in comparison with informal spoken Finnish. Even though, here again, she raises the issue of functioning in both English and Finnish. This can be looked at as a positive solution for the language issue. She also brings up that the language barrier may be a hindrance to the discussion after her presentations. The colleagues who are less comfortable with working in English may not present their questions because they hesitate to ask in English, even though it would be a possibility to present their questions in Finnish as well.

This chapter discussed the role of English and Finnish in the workplace, and this section the role of Finnish in particular. According to the participants, Finnish was mostly used during the coffee break discussions and for social purposes. The role of English was very strong as it was the language of work-related communication. As Iw01, Iw02, Iw03 and Iw04 are non-native English speakers and Im01 and Im02 native English

speakers, the next chapter will discuss if this has any effect on communicating in English.

6.2 Native and non-native English speakers in the workplace

All the participants agree that in the academic working life the native English speakers are in a different position in comparison with the non-native English speakers. However, some have stronger feelings towards this issue than others. Especially those participants who worked mainly in research felt that the native English speakers were clearly in a better position than the non-native speakers when it comes to academic writing and giving oral presentations in conferences. The issue of being a native or a non-native speaker of English raised quite a great deal of strong emotions. Some participants felt frustrated about having to have their academic papers proofread by a native-speaker before publishing, as for example Iw01 states in example 9.

Example 9

You need someone who speaks English as a mother tongue to go through it and to kind of fix the mistakes and it feels degrading. Because you can't do it by yourself. It's like you are a grown up person but you can't really express yourself well enough -iw01

For Iw01 not being a native English speaker reflects into her possibilities to function independently in the academic working life. Some of the participants also questioned the dominant status that English has in the academic world especially considering academic publishing, and discussed if this issue is going to harm smaller languages. The participants who brought up this issue were non-native English speakers themselves. Some participants also felt that writing in their non-native language, in this case in English, was time-consuming and even waste of energy to some extent. This issue is presented in example 10 by Iw01, for instance.

Example 10

Yeah I was thinking about this English issue a lot in academia last year because I was struggling really much with this one article in particular that I had to write about in English of course it was only efficient because I would like to have it out there for wider audience and it was quite a struggle to write the text and I felt many times that it would be so much easier to do this in my mother tongue. I would get the idea across much easier and I was starting to feel quite angry that English is so as somehow turned into such a strong academic language you know if you want to work in academia you have to use English you can't do it in your mother tongue and this kind of irritating and I was actually thinking about the Finns who who might actually have even a harder time because Finnish is not really such a world language -Iw01

In example 10 Iw01 discusses how she has had negative feelings towards English. She describes feeling angry that English has turned into a strong academic language and also

feeling irritated towards not being able to write in her mother tongue. However, she also acknowledges that in order to obtain a wider audience, which seems important to her, she must write in English.

While the non-native speakers of English felt that their position was different in comparison with the native English speakers, the native English speakers also acknowledged having a status with benefits in this sense. Im02 even considered that it was the main reason for receiving his job, as he states in example 11.

Example 11

No it's a great advantage having English as a native language of course yeah. But of course if for the French people I mean I wouldn't have got a job I think if I had a lets say if I had grew up in France or something I probably hadn't got the job. They would have said yeah he speaks good English but he's not a native speaker and we need a native speaker. -Im02

When examining example 11 it should be acknowledged how Im02 discusses the issue of being a non-native or a native speaker of English especially in the last sentence. It is not a matter of speaking good English, but being a native-speaker. Im02 also pondered his native status by saying that perhaps some native speakers who have adopted a very distinctive regional accent would also have problems getting employment abroad. In this case, he thought, the strong accent as a negative factor would over-power the positive aspect of being a native English-speaker.

Even though both of the native English speakers acknowledged having a superior status in comparison with the non-native English speakers in the academic working life, it could be said they also had different points of view. For Im01 it is not the language only that matters but the main emphasis is on the content, and this being so in this situation he considers the issue of being a native or a non-native speaker rather irrelevant, as he states in example 12.

Example 12

Yeah I feel bad for people in that situation and then again the other part of me I rationalize it with I mean we're all working with the same basic method of research if your stuff is great that's what translators are for that's what interpreters are for. And so if your stuff is really good there's no problem in getting it published -Im01

As can be seen from the example, Im01 does not see being a native speaker as such a substantial advantage in academic working life, whereas Im01 just stated in example 11 it was the main reason he thinks he got hired in the first place.

One issue that might have an effect in the different perspectives of Im02 and Im01 is their position in the academic working community. Im01 has worked in research whereas Im02 has mainly worked in education and lecturing. Based on my data the question of native and non-native English speakers was more acknowledged among the researchers whereas the lecturers did not seem to give it so much emphasis. This is perhaps explained by the nature of their work: a researcher needs to obtain publications in which English may serve as a gatekeeper, whereas the participants with teacher backgrounds do not necessarily have to compete with their English skills. With that said, Im02 stated several times during the interview that he does not think he would have got his occupation in the university if he had not been a native English speaker. Im01 states that he considers the superior status of the native English speakers a myth. However, later on he states that he sees English as an advantage and feels bad for his researcher friends who do not have that advantage, as it in his opinion clearly places them in a different position. This issue is presented in example 13.

Example 13

Yeah somehow it gives like a I think, umm, rightly or wrongly, I mean it's another one of those things it's not necessarily good or bad unless you're talking normatively, but it's a huge advantage. Meaning that umm that I'm like when I know a lot of my colleagues whose native language isn't English for example and they want to publish in a high level journal where the language is English that's a big disadvantage. I mean the real disadvantage and umm I in one way I don't have to contend with that except the thing is to get published in a very good journal and no matter what you have to have good stuff and so in that way umm I'm the same as everybody else. But the thing is I would hate to do that I mean since I don't have the aptitude in other languages it's almost unimaginable for me to even think about what would be like to try that in a different language. It's just it's not something I can really even imagine doing. -Im01

It could be said, based on example 13, that Im01 does not think being a non-native English speaker in the academic working life is a hindrance for one's academic career as it is the mere content that matters in the end. However, he also expresses admiration for people writing in their non-native language and states that it is something he could not imagine doing himself. It seems that after saying this he becomes less sure of the advantage, as he continues to discuss in example 14 how lucky he is to be a native English speaker.

Example 14

I only I mean thank God that I'm, I mean I'm not religious but I just mean I'm very lucky I'm research is luck you know. I mean lucky enough to be at the right place at the right time and happen to be born speaking the language and I think the people the colleagues I noticed in being from different language areas like Germans where they do a lot of publishing only in German, Japanese colleagues the same thing, Spanish colleagues the same thing. They do a lot of publishing that is aimed audience purely using that language I think they all deal with that but I think when you the English being some kind of Lingua Franca which brings bridges to all of those worlds I mean it's a tremendous advantage for sure. -Im01

Several participants mentioned feeling admiration towards native English speakers and stated that they believed other people around them have similar feelings as well. The idea of being able to speak English fluently seems to reflect professionalism and intelligence. Although this is not always the case, it is not an uncommon idea among the participants. Iw01 considered that good English sometimes falsely seems to correlate with good ideas, as she states in example 15.

Example 15

I've noticed that and I think I do that as well it's not only Finnish people I do it as well it comes automatically. I think we're in such an awe when someone speaks English as a mother tongue. This sounds like really so perfect he or she must be so wise and everything they say is like perfect. This kind of feeling that you umm start to kind of like IHAILLA. And maybe automatically like think that that person is very bright and only says like very wise stuff and this is perhaps something that I have noticed with Finns but myself as well that it matters. -Iw01

As Iw01 raises the issue of feeling admiration towards native English speakers in example 15, some participants even stated feeling proud of themselves if they were mistaken for native English speakers. However, they also stated that they do not consider making mistakes to be such a serious issue. From their point of view, it can encourage people around them to use English more freely as well and not to fear making mistakes so much, as can be seen from example 16.

Example 16

Well one is I think one idea would be that different areas like aspects of work one would be writing that it is it is so much harder to produce text you know report on your study if you somehow need to discover how you should report and what kind of expressions and phrases you should be using so I'm sure it's much much easier for native speakers. I think it's good enough sometimes it fools people and they think I'm from the UK so that I see as a big compliment but on the other hand I make lots of mistakes. But I think that's ok too because international English is not the same as British English anyhow and it's also encouraging other people to make mistakes and don't worry about them. Because very often Finns feel they have to be perfect in anything so use just the language they feel they should be perfect too and then it's good if I make some mistakes because they see that hey it doesn't matter it's just as long as you get across what you really wanna say. -Iw03

As Iw03 states, international English seemed to be considered as a separate issue from an English standard. Even though Iw03 states feeling proud when she was mistaken for a native English speaker she also considered that making mistakes can be very important for a conversation socially speaking. Some of the participants considered that English belongs to everyone and therefore did not seek to appear as a native English speaker. Iw03 questions the idea of some supremacy of English in example 17.

Example 17

I'm well kind of because of your I don't know like one thing that I find somehow exciting and I've been kind of playing with this idea of supremacy of English. You know this kind of whole ideology that comes with it and I feel like my own use of English has always been very I mean somehow I understand it's like political you know English and the ways it's used and how and why. I've always somehow wanted to emphasize that I have the right to use the kind of English that I want to and that it's affected by all the other languages I speak so that's been one thing and I somehow feel annoyed when persons who are native speakers of English bring up those ideas that you should only pronounce this or that or only right like this or that. Cause I feel like it's not their property the English that were using together So this has been quite important to me. Maybe it's also been somehow rebelling against this you know this that it hasn't you know come to me naturally, English. And it demands a lot of effort. And I feel that I'm often you know on the weaker position because I'm not a native speaker. -Iw03

This chapter considered the role of English in academic working life from the native versus non-native English speaker perspective. As perhaps examples 16 and 17 together show, the issue of the benefits and disadvantages of being a native or a non-native English speaker in a workplace where English is the common language, was a complex one. On the one hand, being a native English speaker was seen as a benefit. Some reasons for this were being able to use one's mother tongue which was considered to save time in comparison with using one's second language which was considered to be time-consuming. Not having to use translation services into English when writing for English publications and also general appreciation towards native English speakers, were considered as benefits as well. On the other hand, in some situations it was considered beneficial to be a non-native English speaker. For example, some of the interviewees stated that making mistakes when speaking English can encourage others to use English in a more open-minded manner. It was also seen as a unifying matter as some participants stated that many of their colleagues are non-native English speakers as well. Some participants even stated that they like to emphasize with their accent that they are not native English speakers. The connection between English and identity will be more closely looked into in the next chapter.

6.3 Languages and identity

Language has a great role in the identities of the participants. This presented itself especially in situations when asked about the use of English at work and when asked if it depends on the person which language they use, or if it is context-dependent. Many of the participants stated that the language choice was not context-dependent. It appeared that they used the language which they had used when they had met people in the first place and got to know each other. Some participants stated that they had continued talking English with their Finnish friends even though they had mastered Finnish for several years. This is presented, for instance, in example 18 by Iw01.

Example 18

You feel so different it feels like different or I feel different when I speak [NAME OF NATIVE LANGUAGE] or when I speak Finnish. It is like the language has some kind of influence on the way you perceive stuff or how you express yourself. So it is difficult to switch it, to become a different person in a way. So I guess that is the same with the friends that I have been speaking for years in English even though I could speak Finnish already. - Iw01

In example 18 Iw01 states that she feels as if she was a different person depending on which language she speaks. Therefore, language can be considered to be a part of her persona, as she states that the language she speaks has an influence on how she perceives things.

As the participants stated that with their friends they speak the same language they have spoken with them when they have met each other, this was also the case in situations where the participant and the friend had lived in Finland for several years and had adequate skills to discuss in Finnish, and neither Finnish or English was the native language of either of the participants of interaction. The participants stated that they had tried to switch the discussion into Finnish but it felt artificial. In several cases the participant was married to a Finn but stated that they still speak in English with each other even though they speak in Finnish to everyone else, excluding interaction at work. This was the case, for instance, with Iw01 who presents this issue in example 19.

Example 19

I had the same with my husband for example: we got to know each other in English and we had tried like a hundred times to switch into Finnish or into [NAME OF NATIVE LANGUAGE] and it doesn't work and it and I think that with friends it's kind of a similar thing with them. -Iw01

As Iw01 states, speaking another language than English feels uncomfortable. This is because she feels as if she was a different person. It could be added that in these cases the other participant of interaction does not necessarily appear to be him or herself either because he or she is speaking a less familiar language as well. The participants stated that the attempts to change the usual language of those encounters have always ended up in returning into the language that had the main role in the beginning. There might be several possible reasons for this phenomenon.

One of these reasons is the participants' language competence in the language in question. One could assume that communicating in a language that one has a good competence in, can be very rewarding and one can play with the language. Especially for a sociable person it could be assumed to be especially important, to be able to express oneself as thoroughly as possible. Also, certain aspects of communication demand especially good language competence, as does for example joking. Joking demands mastering fairly elaborate aspects of language, this is, for example, because many jokes are based on puns. Therefore, a person who appears to be a very sociable and humorous person when talking in his or her native language can appear quiet or even withdrawn and antisocial when speaking in his or her second language because their language competence in this language in question is not very good or perhaps they are not confident in using it. Presenting this issue as a controversy between native language and second language speakers is of course oversimplifying the matter, as other aspects of communication also play their own role in the process. Another perspective could be the one brought up by Iw03 in example 1 in the first chapter: in some cases speaking in another language than one's native language can even liberate the speaker. If the native language is affected by very strict cultural conversational rules and behavior, speaking in another language can allow more exaggeration and joking.

The participants did not only identify themselves as native language speakers or as English speakers but also as Europeans. In example 20 Iw04 states how she likes to convey the idea of being an European in her English.

Example 20

Of course there is a difference. For example when I'm speaking with Americans they love that I'm not completely English person but I really like to be European so I like to show with my English that I'm doing this from Europe and it's ok and I like them to talk American or Australian or whatever. I really like to show this. -Iw04

In the same example Iw04 also brings up that not only does she like to present her own European identity via her English accent, she also likes the other participants in the interaction to do the same. It could be interpreted that she sees the diversity of English as a positive matter.

Several non-native English speaker participants mentioned that speaking English at work and writing in English has affected negatively their skills to write in their native language. They mentioned that the use of English has made them less competent in writing and performing in their native languages. Iw01 mentions that her native language skills have degenerated but she still feels that it is the stronger language for her in comparison to English. This issue is presented, for instance, in example 21 by Iw01.

Example 21

Yeah I think so. I mean it's not as bad as for example my husband says but he can't he says that he says that he can't even write scientific texts in that [NAME OF NATIVE LANGUAGE] anymore. Or he can but it is very hard and it's not that bad for me. I still think that [NAME OF NATIVE LANGUAGE] is easier for me and goes much more fluent to write this but of course English has influenced my language a lot not for the better. It's kind of degenerating in a sense. - Iw01

As Iw01 states, for some the degeneration of the native language is worse than for others. Some of the participants felt discontent about their native language degenerating, some even sad. One participant stated feeling as if she does not master any language properly anymore. In her opinion, as her mother tongue is deteriorating, her Finnish is not perfect yet and she considers she uses bad English in her writing every day, what she has left is three languages which are all broken. This also conveys the idea of a perfect language competence, hence, that language could or should be learned and mastered perfectly. However, the participant's occupation has to be taken into account when discussing this issue. There is a difference between learning a language for social purposes and for professional purposes. In academic work, language could be even considered as one of the most important tools that a researcher or teacher uses. Failure in using the language professionally may distract attention away from the content or lead into misinterpretations. Therefore, the participant's concern and statement of having three languages that are all broken can be considered both as a question of identity but perhaps, as well, a professional dilemma.

This chapter discussed the role that languages have when considering the participants' identity. It appeared that language was in some cases used to reflect one's national identity. It could also be said based on the answers that language has an effect on how the speaker perceives the world and vice versa. The meaning of the native language seemed in some cases also to appear as a relatively emotional issue. The answers varied in some cases but they had common features as well. The distinctive features were that whereas some participants felt that their native language was degenerating and expressed sadness towards this, some did not consider this meaningful. A meaningful distributor in when considering the distinctions might be whether the participant speaks English at home and on his or her free time or if the language choice is their native language or something else. This is, for instance, one particular factor in which the participants differed from each other. The next chapter will discuss what roles English and Finnish have in the integration process.

6.4 Languages and integration

While all the participants master English, they have made different choices when deciding whether to learn Finnish or not. All of the participants had taken at least one course of Finnish language. All the participants agreed that it would be possible to live in Finland without knowing any Finnish at all, but it differed how much value they gave to learning Finnish. The reasons, for why living in Finland without the competence in Finnish was considered possible, were that the participants considered Finns as so competent in English that it seemed to them as if everyone speaks at least a little bit of English. Even so, one participant raised the issue of how one might expect even more people would speak English in Finland considering the role it has in Finland. By this statement he refers to, for example, the wide amount of English studies at school and the effect of media. He particularly mentions the lack of dubbing in television and English subtitles. This issue is presented, for instance, in example 22 by Im02.

Example 22

So you could if your English is good or Swedish maybe, no that wouldn't help you much in Finland. But compared to many other countries Finland is very good I mean another factor here is that text the subtitles are in English are written. In Germany Winston Churchill speaks German oh well it's dubbed. Therefore they don't hear English as much whereas in Finland you're hearing English all the time so it's very good for English. But even still it's very amazing how many people do not speak English. And I'm not, don't get the wrong idea I'm not saying they should. I'm just saying for practical purposes you would think more people spoke English. -Im02

Im02 also notes in example 22 that in comparison with many other countries in Finland one could survive with English relatively well. However, Im02 notes that mere knowledge in Swedish would not be as helpful as the knowledge in English, which can be considered as an interesting observation as Swedish is the second official language of Finland.

When asked about the role of languages in the participants' integration processes the answers varied considerably. Some participants stated very strongly that language was the most substantial issue in their integration process and growing up in another culture played no significant role, as can be seen from example 23.

Example 23

yeah. Definitely. I like I actually think that when I think of myself as a person or I know my sense of self that it's a this has been the major thing, the language, not my cultural experience having grown up somewhere else in another place I don't think it matters at all. Or you know the adapting into some ways of Finnish communicating I don't somehow I don't see that either. I mean I think that it's mostly been the language.-Iw03

As Iw03 states, for her adapting into the ways of Finnish communicating has not been hard at all, therefore, she considers learning Finnish as much more significant for the integration process. Then again, for some participants language was not nearly as meaningful an issue as the cultural differences in social interaction, as for example, the issue of greeting strangers is presented by Im02 in example 24.

Example 24

It is kind of funny though. If you go out for a walk or a run and you're on a forest path or something and you see a human being 300 meters ahead and he or she approaches and on that point you're the only two persons in the face of the Earth and you won't say a word to each other. Even hello. That's very strange. Isn't it? -Im02

For Im02 the cultural differences in rules of communication, for example how the Finns do not usually greet strangers, were peculiar. However, he still stated that encountering any troubles that were caused by neither of these reasons were fairly rare. Some features of culture are rather obvious as the previous example that could be agreed to reflect our certain cultural behavior in particular context. Nevertheless, it is also important to keep these features separate from cultural stereotypes which are not to be confused with each other. Participant Im03 raises an interesting issue concerning stereotypes about Finns, which is presented in example 25.

Example 25

There's these myths about Finland like people don't do small talk and umm don't like strangers and things like that but I don't like small talk and I don't care if I speak to anybody at all day, so these things, basically those are all myths, the only people who take those things seriously are I

think are Finnish people (laughter) and I mean some Finnish families are much too noisy for my own taste, including my own sometimes. -Im01

As the participants have different views on the part the culture and the language play in the integration process, the next chapters will discuss if there are differences between the role of Finnish and the role of English in the integration process.

6.4.1 English and integration

Besides a vital tool at work, competence in English was seen vital especially in the beginning of the integration process when the participants did not have any Finnish skills. Almost all of the participants, as Iw03 in example 26, report using Finnish when doing everyday affairs outside work such as shopping for groceries.

Example 26

So when I moved it was English for all those service encounter interactions and yeah then I kind of tried to switch into Finnish as soon as I knew something and I even remember in my first years when I had something special to do like there was a plumber coming in our apartment to fix something or I was going to the hairdressers I would look up the vocabulary that I needed like you know OTSATUKKA and all those kind of things so that I was prepared. I remembered doing that yeah I don't do anymore. So these days it's definitely Finnish. -Iw03

Both of these issues, the need for English in the beginning of the integration process and handling everyday affairs in Finnish were presented in example 26. It could be said that because of the work encounters English is the language that most interaction takes place in during the day, for all the participants. However, English was also seen as an obstacle in the learning process of Finnish. As the participants generally considered Finns to have good English skills they also mentioned that it made it easy for them not to practice their Finnish skills when they could always survive with English. Moreover, when they did try their Finnish skills many people tended to switch into English perhaps to make the interaction to go on smoother or to practice their own English skills. This issue is discussed by Iw01 in example 27.

Example 27

It has taken many years actually to learn Finnish because everyone you know as soon as someone notices that, you know, that you don't speak Finnish very well which mostly happened in the first years they would switch immediately to English and kind of help out that way. In the beginning it was of course very nice very good and kind of felt safe that there was always this possibility to speak in English with people and also kind of polite from their point of view from that other point of view basically -Iw01

Many of the participants, as Iw01, had had similar experiences of English in their integration process. At first it was considered as nice to be able to manage affairs in English because it was easy for the participants as far as the other participants in the conversation had adequate skills in English, as according to them they often did. However, later on it was considered as a hindrance for learning Finnish, even though this was not seen as a massive problem either.

This section discussed the role that English has in the integration process. The general idea seems to be, as one of the participants states, that English is a good tool and can get one far. English was especially seen important when first entering Finland when the participants did not have Finnish skills, excluding perhaps Iw03 who had studied some Finnish in advance even though she did not still master the language. Even though the participants agreed that it would be possible to live in Finland with the mere knowledge of English and were pleased with the competence of English simplifying their integration process in the beginning of integration, the most of them still considered that Finnish was needed in order to be a fully competent and integrated member of the Finnish society especially on cultural level. From this perspective the participants generally considered that Finns' good competence and their will to use English had been a hindrance for the participants' Finnish skills to develop. The role of Finnish in the integration process is discussed in the next section.

6.4.2 Finnish and integration

For many of the participants, language courses had been their first contact with the Finnish language. All of the participants stated that they had attended a language course provided by the university but not all considered it as the main reason for learning Finnish. Some of the participants had a Finnish partner which seemed to have affected their motivation to learn Finnish and perhaps also had an effect on how important the participants perceived mastering Finnish. Some participants, as Im02 in example 28, stated television being one of the main reasons for learning Finnish because of the subtitles.

Example 28

I think oh here's the subtitles tekstitys I think that's one way I've learned most Finnish I suspect but you hear the English and you go wait a minute they're using the wrong term there and you're picking up the language. I should of if every you go to another country I think it makes good sense to go to class and learn the language well. I should have done that. Pyydän anteeksi. -Im02

As Im02 stated, for him the Finnish subtitles and picking up the Finnish language from speech had been the main reasons for learning the language, rather than language courses even though he had attended some courses as well. He still appreciates and values learning the Finnish language as he states in example 28.

Some of the participants had made a conscious choice to learn Finnish from the very beginning and for them it seemed to be a very obvious choice. For other participants learning Finnish had become an important part of integration when having children, as for example Iw01 states in example 29.

Example 29

yeah I think it is mostly because of the kids. Actually. They all have kids as well. And I think it is the thing that it does take some time to switch the languages or something and so you kind of switch to one language oh I don't know how to describe this but it is somehow you know the kids of our friends they only speak Finnish and then our kids are playing together and Finnish is all around in the air and if I speak with those other kids I can't do it with any other language than Finnish and it kind of feels like too much work or trouble to switch to my own kids or to English with my friends it is like umm you know like the whole situation is like kind of a bubble and you don't want to make it more complicated because you might want to say something quickly to someone and you know and I think it might be something like that that umm the kids kind of forced this on us. That I can't like in this kind of situations I can't speak [NAME OF NATIVE LANGUAGE] with the kids or English with our friends because it is just do you understand?
It's such a yeah the kids kind of forced it on us -Iw01

Iw01 explains that most of her friends in Finland have children. As she stated previously in the interview, she used to speak English with her friends before they had children. However, she states, that it is not possible anymore when their children are present because they do not speak any other language than Finnish. She also states that it would be too confusing to speak several languages and in different languages to different people during these conversations. Therefore, Finnish has been the natural language for those encounters. She does not actually talk about choosing Finnish as a conscious decision but uses twice the expression that their children *forced* Finnish on them. In conclusion, before the children it was always a matter of negotiation between the adults which language was used together. But now, the children have grown up in the Finnish society and as a consequence, taking into account the surrounding culture, Finnish is the natural choice of language for them.

Family is, overall, stated to be one of the most important reasons in the whole integration process as well as when considering the need to learn Finnish. Even though some of the participants had a Finnish partner it is hard to say based on the data if this

served as a positive or a negative factor when considering their learning process of the Finnish language. On the other hand, they could have talked Finnish at home to each other but, at least among the participants of the present study, this was not the case. The participants reported sometimes asking for help from their partners regarding Finnish words, but otherwise they spoke English with each other at home. Some participants even stated that they felt annoyed when speaking Finnish with their Finnish partners because their partners were naturally much more competent in speaking it, and the participants themselves were not able to express themselves as well as they would have wanted. The main reason why English had remained as the language of communication seemed to be in most cases that it had been the first common language when the participants had met their spouses or their friends. Therefore, it felt more natural to have a conversation in English than in any other language. I have already discussed this phenomenon more thoroughly in section 6.4, where the results indicated that language choice was attached to one's personality and identity. Some of the participants reported that they felt like they were a different person depending on which language they spoke. This can be due to several facts, for example, language competence of both of the participants in interaction and feelings they attach to the language in question.

Outside work surroundings and interaction between family members, there were also other interaction situations where Finnish was needed, for example, interaction with neighbours. Im01 states in example 30 that it brings him satisfaction to go through a conversation merely in Finnish without resorting to English so he attempts to do so.

Example 30

So it's it's seems very natural that would happen these kind of things would happen but in the same thing like when neighbors talk with the neighbors I've had some neighbors who like to speak English. But mainly my neighbors they like to like to speak Finnish and of course again I understand why. And so these kind of opportunities. How I kind of look at this myself is how I come or even how I engage my progress in Finnish language is how I come into a situation where Finnish language is indicated. I try to see how far I can get. Umm and in many case as a successful thing is when I can get all the way through without switching or resorting to any other kind of a routine that but I regard it as a success when I do it in Finnish and I really notice it when I'm in countries where I can't speak a language like Germany or something like that then I suddenly realize like in Finland this would be no problem but in German I don't know German so it's a problem -Im01

Im01 states that most of his neighbors like to have a conversation in Finnish in which cases he attempts to do so as well. He also brings up that some neighbors choose to speak in English and both languages suit him fine, even though it should be perhaps

noted that Im01 was one of the participants who had chosen not to make a decision to learn Finnish or at least not to engage in the process of learning Finnish thoroughly.

Several participants reported that in those cases in which they try to use Finnish, people very quickly switch into English. At first it was considered a nice gesture but later on it was considered a hindrance to the learning process of Finnish, as stated, for instance, in example 31 by Iw01.

Example 31

It has taken many years actually to learn Finnish because everyone you know as soon as someone notices that you know that you don't speak Finnish very well which mostly happened in the first years they would switch immediately to English and kind of help out that way. In the beginning it was of course very nice very good and kind of felt safe that there were always this possibility to speak in English with people and also kind of polite from their point of view from that other point of view basically. That Finnish people would be polite to use the language that I speak better but later on when I started to feel that ok I would actually really want to speak Finnish and I would really like to learn it and I can only learn it by speaking and by doing it started to feel a bit like what would the word be like too protective or something. Like people would be too protective of me and taking too much care or something. I should go the hard way you know -Iw01

As example 31 discussed how the language of the interaction was switched from Finnish to English as a polite gesture, a different point of view is presented in example 32. More than one participant, as for example Iw04 in example 32, mentioned having been in a situation where he or she felt excluded on purpose because of the choice of Finnish as the language of interaction.

Example 32

So I'm very functional there about language and of course the other part may know the same so they may wanna negotiate with me and they may want to get this full point of view and they are strictly Finnish and they might want to teach me a little lesson there. But I will survive it and be pleasant about it and thank for being able to be there and still try to get stuff out of it for my team. So but normally there's not so many people who do that. -Iw04

Iw04 states that the situations where Finnish is chosen as the language of conversation are particularly uncomfortable in the working environment where her main purpose for interaction is to negotiate business related issues where a very good language competence is needed. She feels that if she would engage in such an interaction in a language that she was not fully competent in working in, it would place her in a weaker position in relation to the negotiation.

All the participants stated that it would be possible to live in Finland with the mere competence of English but all of them also agreed that a deeper understanding of the culture and in order to integrate into the society Finnish would be needed as well.

Several participants, as Iw01 in example 33 and Iw02 in example 34, considered that not knowing any Finnish could result in the feeling of being an outsider in the Finnish society.

Example 33

Yes yes even though you might I mean you can you are to survive also without Finnish with English only I think it does have a big influence. I think that I would recommend anyone who moves to Finland to really start and learn the language and speak the language to get into the society or to be a part of it I do think it has. With English you might remain as an outsider in a sense or all the way down. -Iw01

Example 34

You can't really be part of the Finnish society if you don't know the Finnish language or if you can manage with English pretty well but then you always stay on this superficial level and you don't really get into a deeper level and you don't get into the soul of Finnish people I guess. If you don't know Finnish -Iw02

Both Iw01 and Iw02 point out the importance of Finnish in the sense of belonging. Iw01 brings in the aspect of belonging into the society, and Iw02 adds a more individual aspect by saying that without Finnish one cannot enter the soul of the Finns. For both of them, the competence in Finnish can therefore be said to be crucial. However, some participants, as Im01, did not consider mastering Finnish to have a role above other factors in their integration process.

Example 35

I think for a short time sure. But the longer well it depends on what you wanna do. I think it's very easy to run around and find people who have been here much longer than me and their Finnish is really crap I mean it is really bad but they get along just fine. I think language is like one way to look at how integrated is a with there's other ways to me that are equally compelling like is a person good living are they contributing to the economy are we better having them here or not having them here. -Im01

Im01 continues by explaining that for fulfilling his job he only requires a very narrow social space. He does not interact with a whole lot of company but he states that he is content with the situation as it is at the moment. However, according to him, he acknowledges that for someone who would like to have a lot of social contact this could be a problem.

As some of the participants did not place great emphasis on learning Finnish they had not made a great effort in learning it. The participants who stated that they had no will to learn more Finnish had in common that they were content with the skills they had, because they had no need for Finnish at work and work takes most of their time. In example 36 Im01 states why he has no desire to learn more Finnish.

Example 36

No the most effective course by far is this they have intensive summer courses the summer university here puts on in these intensive courses and that was the first course I ever did and also the best one. I have taken some additional courses like Finnish number one or two or three or four or whatever but when I got busy with work I was paid to work and it didn't Finnish language didn't enter into work and so what I got paid to do back when I was teaching and administrating occurred in English and especially now all my stuff occurs in all my studies articles funding applications, teaching everything occurs primarily in English and so Finnish is like it's a hobby and I do it where it works or where it's needed. But if I write something exceptional that's worth publishing in Finnish so it's just translated. I don't bother umm it's just too slow and inefficient linguistic-wise umm. I'm not linguistically talented or all I've noticed is when you learn another language as an adult and especially if I don't have any aptitude for that umm I didn't umm I just see the path of these resistances was just to use my native language speaking Finnish is like having a tuba player playing violin in an orchestra. -Im01

As Im01 states, learning a new language is time-consuming and as it is not needed at work he does not have time or need to learn Finnish. The only case where his work could demand learning Finnish would be if something would have to be published in Finnish and even in this case he would resort to translation services.

For some participants, as for example Iw01, learning Finnish has been in major role when considering integrating into the Finnish society.

Example 37

I would say that I have adapted really well and I feel like home which is probably the most important point. Umm I feel home and safe. It doesn't feel so strange to me anymore to use Finnish which I also think is like a very big part of adaptation. You know. I have Finnish friends, Finnish family, Finnish kids who go to a Finnish kindergarten Finnish school so I think I'm I think I'm pretty much a part of Finnish society. -Iw01

Iw01 states that she feels integrated into the Finnish society as her family, friends and kids are Finnish and considers that for herself the feeling of being integrated into the Finnish society came via learning the Finnish language. This is easy to understand, as she has mentioned before that in the kindergarten and schools most of the interaction among parents, children and the personnel happens in Finnish.

This section discussed the role that Finnish has in the process of integrating into the Finnish society. Even though English was considered to aid the integration process, most participants thought that Finnish was needed in order to fully integrate into the Finnish society. Some participants considered it as a practical issue of being able to communicate with the Finns in Finnish, but others also considered it to be the tool to understand the whole culture on a deeper level. Whereas most of the participants considered mastering Finnish important for the integration process, for others it was less meaningful. For the latter participants, work is the most time-consuming aspect of their

lives in Finland which does not require any Finnish. They also raised the issue that it depends on the level one wants to be integrated in, whether they need Finnish or not. They acknowledged that for others Finnish was needed and agreed on it being vital for being integrated in a deeper level, but at the same time they were content with their own situation.

This chapter discussed the roles that English and Finnish have in the participants' integration process into the Finnish society. It could generally be said that English was considered as a good tool in the beginning of the integration process and perhaps on a more superficial level even as a long-term plan. However, most of the participants considered that Finnish was needed in order to fully integrate into the Finnish society and to understand the culture more thoroughly. The issue that was often raised in the answers was the level of integration, and how what language is needed depends on what the individual needs to, or wants to, do in the society. In other words, how integrated the individual even desires to be into the Finnish society. The next, and the last, chapter will discuss how the roles of Finnish and English affect the work and personal lives of the participants in the future.

6.5 The roles of English and Finnish in work and personal life in the future

The issue of languages in the workplace came up both in relation to work and in relation to participants' personal life. Several participants who were non-native English speakers, were worried about the dominant position that English has in the academic working life on a general level. They especially pondered what this tendency might mean in relation to their native languages. Another issue that surfaced was how the internationalization of the universities would be accepted and put into practice on a more general level, as can be seen, for instance, in example 38 by Iw03.

Example 38

It must have been somehow you know a shock to some people in this workplace when this idea dawned that now we're moving into English that English is becoming more and more important and we all need to be able to use it. I've actually also seen situations where you know some Finnish speakers and you know native speakers of English got very very upset about this. People arguing about what language should be used at personal meetings somehow these things and somehow I feel that because there's either persons who defend that we are a Finnish university things should be done in Finnish and then there's persons who think that were internationalizing that it should all be in English but somehow it feels to me that why can't it be done in both. But it's somehow why can't we meet one another half way and that somehow I personally don't understand why people who you know come here and have lived here for so long haven't learned themselves Finnish I think it's somehow not right. -Iw03

Iw03 discusses how the shift into English produces conversation, even heated conversation, in the universities. This is, perhaps, what often happens when people encounter changes. Iw03 also discusses if there even should be such a distinctive division between whether to use Finnish or English.

Some participants were concerned about the dominance of English in the academic world and what it means for smaller languages in the growingly internationalized workplaces. Some participants also discussed if internationalizing should be prepared to at primary school when making decisions concerning which languages children should study. These participants wondered if studying English should be started as early as possible in order to prepare the children to be able to work or study in English from the beginning, as for instance Iw01 ponders in example 39.

Example 39

Yeah about this I have been thinking a lot and I have been feeling pissed off a little and from the Finnish perspective I have been thinking that what does it mean for the language like as a whole because well I look at my children for example and of course I would like them to have a good education I'd love them to go the university at one point but as I see it now it might be that in a couple of years maybe in ten years most of the lectures will be in English only anymore because you have to be able to use English the students should be able to think scientifically in English so probably the lectures will be only in English and you have to write your essays in English it's like my future scenario. But what does that mean? That means that of course you want to prepare your children in school already for that so you start to have the lessons in schools in English and so on and so on you know and already now we have such a [NAME OF CHILD] has to decide her language choices already she's on second grade and next year she will start the first language and there's this note we got that remember we recommend strongly to choose English like in the fourth grade latest because of the career you know. Without English you won't get anywhere. Basically it said that on the note.-Iw01

From example 39 it can be seen, how Iw01 considers that the dominance of English globally is only likely to grow, and she is involved with this on the grass-root level when making language choices with her primary school aged child. She expresses her concern on how much English competence may affect an individual's future plans.

Even though the major issue the participants raised when considering their future plans was work offers and the job market situation, family and friends were considered important as well. For some participants language played no role in this, but for instance Iw04 named not mastering Finnish as the major reason why she could not see herself living in Finland after her current contract ends. The participant stated that the idea of living in a Finnish home for elderly people without knowing Finnish does not appeal to her. Another factor she saw as an important issue was that she considered that it was hard to make friends when entering as the only person in an already existing circle in an older age, as she states in example 40.

Example 40

I think people build friends when you are in a new environment and especially when more people are in a new environment. So if only you are entering as an immigrant in a new environment and everybody else has been there all their life almost then they have already friends from earlier times. So I figure the same would happen anywhere else. It's not something that happens specifically in Finland but I think somebody who would migrate to [NAME OF NATIVE COUNTRY] might also might at later age might also find it difficult. -Iw04.

Iw04 sees the role of not having the competence in Finnish, as the major issue of not having integrated into the Finnish society.

This chapter discussed the role that English and Finnish may have when considering the future plans of the participants. This area of research was added to observe if the demands of an English speaking workplace and a Finnish speaking society would create any contradictions. In general, the main issues when making future plans were job offers and the general job market situation. The issue of the mobility of academic work surfaced multiply. Other issues that were considered important were family and friends. One participant named not having the competence in Finnish as the main reason for not seeing herself living in Finland in the future, even though she did as well mention the needs of her whole family as another factor.

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the present study was to examine the roles that English and Finnish have in the Finnish academic working life from the point of view of the immigrant employees. Special attention was paid to the relationship between the two languages. This chapter discusses the thoughts that the participants have about the role of English and Finnish in the Finnish academic working life. The findings are based on ideas and attitudes of six immigrant employees' and therefore the results cannot be generalized. However, they can be used as a guideline to describe different linguistic phenomena that take place in this specific working environment. This chapter will first discuss the role of English in the Finnish academic working life and then move on to discussing the issue of native and non-native English speakers. This is followed by a discussion of the role of Finnish in the Finnish academic working life from the point of view of the participants.

7.1 How do the immigrant employees see the role of English in Finnish academic working life?

For all the participants English was the language they needed at work all the time, coffee break discussions as an exception. Everything work-related from e-mail correspondence to academic writing and teaching happened in English. It could be said that using English was considered to be a natural part of the job. Some participants who were non-native English speakers themselves stated that working in English among speakers for whom it is a second language can make the communication more relaxed than speaking in one's native language.

Most of the participants considered that it would be possible to live in Finland with the mere knowledge of English because they perceived Finns as rather competent in English. Television was offered as one possible reason for their high language skills. Leppänen et al. (2008) also suggest that television has played a crucial role as it is not usual to dub broadcasts in Finland, as it is in many other European countries.

None of the participants felt that matters were left unsaid because of using English as the lingua Franca. This can, again, be an indication how English is a natural part of their

work and therefore it is nothing unusual for them. It may also be that the problems I assumed that they would encounter, such as misread messages, were not considered as problems at all from their point of view. If we can assume that for the interviewees the use of English and working in a culturally diverse workplace is a natural part of their everyday life, so is balancing between many languages. Furthermore, the question itself may have been too superficial, because we negotiate the intended meanings of messages all the time in our mother tongues as well.

The participants have different attitudes towards the issue of native English speakers versus non-native English speakers in the academic working life. Some of the interviewees considered it beneficial to be able to write and speak in one's mother tongue to save time, not having to use translation services and general appreciation towards native English speakers. Some participants even seemed to be offended by the idea that it would matter whether one is a native or a non-native English speaker and did not consider this neither a positive nor a negative matter. Some participants were worried about the dominance of English in the current Finnish academic working life. They were also worried about the phenomenon more globally: what will happen to smaller languages if all the academic publishing takes place in English. Some of the participants considered whether publishing in native languages should be encouraged more. If everything is published in English, it may also pre-control who the audience is and it will leave out all those individuals who do not have the competence in English. Some participants were also worried about the native English speakers having an overpower in publishing academic articles because they can write in their native language, which is considered to be less time-consuming and does not require using any translation services. Crystal (2003: 16-17) discusses this concern stating that one of the possible problems of English as the lingua franca in the academic world is that the native English speakers may have more time to assimilate reports and also have more time for creative work. According to him, it is also possible that the scientific community dismisses academic research that is made in any other language than in English. As such this is a power issue that may determine whose voice is heard (Crystal 2003: 16-17).

Even though being a native English speaker was generally considered as a great advantage, on the other hand, it was also seen as irrelevant. Even though writing in one's own native language is an advantage, the nature of academic language is different

than informal language and in the end it is the content of the piece of writing that matters. Several participants brought up their attitudes towards native English speakers. They considered that native English speakers get appreciation more easily and the content of their writing might be overlooked because their use of English is proficient.

Some of the non-native English speakers also mentioned feeling proud for being mistaken for native English speakers. Nevertheless, some participants expressed their need to express their non-nativeness by their English variant. This could be explained by the idea of convergence and divergence (Bourhis 1989: 248). Bourhis (1989: 248) defines convergence as the wish to converge linguistically towards other speakers and divergence as the wish to distinguish oneself linguistically from other speakers. According to him, the possible reasons for divergence can be a dislike towards other speakers as individuals or the wish to maintain group identity as out-group interlocutors. The latter seems to be the plausible explanation when concerning the participants of the present study.

7.2 How do the immigrant employees see the role of Finnish in Finnish academic working life

Whereas everything work-related was seen to take place in English, the most probable situations that were stated to happen in Finnish were the more informal interaction in the workplace such as coffee break discussions. For instance, Virkkula (2008: 416-417) has acknowledged this phenomenon and stated that research shows that the internationalized business life in Finland still needs Finnish as it has its own meaning and purpose in the communication between Finns. Also Jalava (2009) had similar results and states there is still a need for Finnish skills as well because English is not sufficient enough on its own.

Several participants mentioned that during the coffee break discussions language switches usually from Finnish into English if there are several people from different backgrounds, but not necessarily only for one non-native Finnish speaker. This can be seen as a notable issue, as choosing English as the common language of the conversation would have allowed everyone to participate. According to Thornborrow (1999: 136), in order for one to consider him or herself belonging into a certain

community or group, he or she has to adopt the linguistic conventions of the group in question. He states that these conventions are usually rather defined by the group than by the individual in question. This phenomenon can, therefore, be seen in this example as well. The language of choice is Finnish when most of the group consists of Finns, but when there are more non-native Finnish speakers present, it alters the group dynamics. Therefore, when there are more non-native Finnish speakers present they shift into speaking English as the common language, which is consistent with Thornborrow's (1999) statement.

In these coffee break situations, where Finnish was the language the interaction took place in, many participants stated a feeling of being an outsider because their Finnish skills are not adequate to participate. According to Lehtonen (1996: 59), people convey their power relations every day via language by making their own status and role stronger and conveying values. Our language makes us members of a certain social group, or then again, distinguishes us from a certain social group. (Crystal 2003: 22). The previous studies have also concluded that if language can be used to show power relations and to show similarity, it can also be used to separate individuals from a certain group (Crystal 2003). Some participants of the present study reported having been in situations where they felt Finnish was either purposely or unintentionally used to separate them from the conversation.

Some participants were worried that they were not able to give the correct image of themselves in these situations. The diversity in identities also refers to how individuals consider themselves is situation, time and context-dependent, according to Pietikäinen et al. (2002: 10). They state that identities are also situated in language and culture and language is one of the most essential features of an identity. How one considers his or her own identity, and how they see each other language is dependent on what manners of speech are currently taking place and how they are looked at (Pietikäinen et al. 2002: 10).

Some participants did not see the use of Finnish as a problem. For them it was a natural part of living in Finland, and they said they could always find ways to participate if they wanted, for example, intervening the conversation by commenting in English if the conversation was too fast to form their ideas in Finnish in time.

Even though competence in Finnish was generally seen irrelevant at work it was also seen as an important part of integrating into the Finnish society. These findings are consistent with the thesis by Jalava (2009). Some participants stated that the competence in Finnish was important in order to make local friends. The importance was highlighted even though the participants agreed that it would be completely possible to live in Finland without having any competence in Finnish because generally speaking the Finns are very competent in English. However, many of the participants felt that Finnish was important in order to take part into the society. Some mentioned that they had had absolutely no need for Finnish before their children had gone to school and this phenomenon brought a whole new social circle upon them where they felt that Finnish was absolutely vital. For many of the participants, language did not so seem to be only a tool to communicate, but also a vital aspect of understanding the culture. It was also brought up that it depends on what the individual wants to do in the society how much he or she needs Finnish and also it is dependent on one's personal point of view how integrated is integrated enough and how integrated one can even be as a matter of fact. Similar ideas are presented by Young (2001). According to her: "this divergence, of course, reflects the fact that the adaptive experiences of long-term and short-term settlers are different in many significant ways. Immigrants who reside in a new culture for a long, indefinite period are likely to be more committed to adapting than are temporary sojourners" (Young 2001: 17).

Many participants mentioned encountering situations where they are trying to speak in Finnish but the other person in the conversation switches into English. They perceived and recognized this gesture as an attempt to be polite but, at the same time, they felt it was discouraging and made them feel as if they had made too many mistakes in Finnish. It could be stated that there is a contradiction: the other side of wanting to make the other person feel good by changing into English, but at the same time that good idea always makes the individual feel alienated and makes it clear that her or she still is not part of "us". Language is a part of one's identity (Dufva 2002: 10). For most of the participants language seemed to reflect their identity greatly. One of the participants stated that she almost feels as if she was a different person depending on the language she uses. Most of the participants used several languages at home. When asked which language they use at home, they mentioned that with their spouses they spoke in the language they had used when first meeting him or her even though they said that currently it perhaps would feel more logical to speak in another languages.

I asked all my interviewees if they speak other languages besides English and their mother tongue, because I see this as an important factor when discussing the role of English at the workplace. As some departments are already very international and many of the employees have rather different linguistic backgrounds, it is remarkable if English and one's native language actually are the only languages one can rely on or whether the individual can switch the language of conversation between several different languages. Even the smallest competence in several languages can serve as an aid especially in situations where the communication hits a wall. One participant stated that she feels as if she is in between three languages; her native language, Finnish and English and having three languages which are all broken. This is an important statement considering the connection between language and identity.

As stated in Chapter 3.2, the connection of language and identity involves the idea of belonging. The language we speak both attaches us into a certain group of people but at the same time divides us from others (Crystal 2003: 22). Therefore the statement that all the languages the participant masters are broken could be interpreted as all of those interconnections to the groups being broken. In this sense having multiple languages but not mastering any of them well enough from one's own perspective can create a feeling of not belonging into any group or culture completely and partly being a part of them all. Therefore, it can be interpreted as a feeling of being an outsider. It should be considered that these feelings are subjective and dependent on every individual's own worldview. Another participant in the same situation could interpret the situation differently. Perhaps this is related to whether the participant him or herself considers that his or her skills are adequate. The feeling of whether they see them adequate or not can be about how they use the languages and what are the contexts where they need them. Different professions require different standard languages, where one could say academic work is in the very high end because the language, and especially proper language, is a central part of performing well in one's work.

7.3 Evaluation of the study and recommendations for future work

The purpose of the present study was to examine how immigrant employees working in a Finnish university see the roles of English and Finnish at their workplace. The study is based on the immigrants' own perceptions, which is a point of view that is in many cases forgotten. As previous studies have also shown, even though the participants agreed it was possible to live in Finland with the mere knowledge of English, they also considered competence in Finnish vital in order to be fully integrated into the Finnish society. However, it also appeared that they had different interests in relation to how integrated they wanted to be and some of the participants stated that the language competence one needs is in relation to what amount of integration is enough for the individual in question. As the circumstances and goals of the participants differ and this is a small-scale study, generalizations cannot be made based on these results. Nevertheless, the study provides information on the roles of English and Finnish in the current internationalizing academic working environment in Finland. It is, perhaps, as one of the participants states: a linguistic limbo. When presenting the results of the present study, the division into two categories seemed in some cases perhaps even arbitrary. During this project it surfaced that when talking about the role of English at work the discussion turned into the role of Finnish and vice versa. Therefore, it could be said that based on these results those roles cannot be extensively discussed as separate issues. In this respect, the present study has hopefully provided information on the possible challenges and positive aspects of a multilingual working place and the internationalization of universities.

Even though the present study has provided useful insights, it also has limitations. Only six immigrants were interviewed for the present study. Therefore, the results cannot be generalized. Also, the group of participants has a wide age range, different educational and language backgrounds and different country of origin, which makes them a heterogeneous group. In addition, they work in different occupations within university. During the research it appeared that the researchers and the teachers perhaps face different challenges from each other, in this research it appeared especially in relation to the issue of non-native versus native English speakers. It also appeared that the faculties and the departments have differences in the languages used in comparison with each other. Some faculties and departments are fairly international, whereas some have less international mobility. Therefore, it is perhaps natural it has an effect on the roles of the

languages if the majority of the personnel are Finns. English is a natural choice of a common language between a wide range of immigrants who do not share a common language. On a more individual level, also the future prospects of the participants have an effect on how they perceived the roles of English and Finnish, or more precisely, how important they considered learning Finnish.

The need for future work could be considered to be obvious due to the lack of research on the subject. The roles of English and Finnish in the academic working life have to be studied more in order to gain a more thorough insight of the phenomenon. In addition, it would be interesting to study more the attitudes towards non-native and native speakers of English in the academic working life, as it seemed to be a matter which raised a substantial number of questions and the participants seemed to have strong emotions towards it. Furthermore, it would be interesting to concentrate on the language differences between departments and faculties because there are differences between the faculties on how internationalized they are which presumably has an effect on the language choices in the workplace. It could also be interesting to examine how the positive language related factors can be reinforced and the negative ones reduced.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin E., Longhurst B., Mccracken S., Ogborn M., Smith G. (2004) *Introducing cultural studies*. London: Pearson Education Ltd.

Bourhis, R.Y. (1989) *Bilingual communication in organizational settings: Aspects of the Canadian Case*. In S. Ting-Tommey and F. Korzenny (eds.) *In International and Intercultural Communication Annual*, 13, pp. 244-64. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Crystal, D. (1995) *English as a global language* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Dufva, H. (2002). *Dialogia suomalaisuudesta*. In S. Laihiala-Kankainen, S. Pietikäinen and H. Dufva (eds.), *Moniääninen Suomi: kieli, kulttuuri ja identiteetti*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus, 21-38.

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

Forsander, A. and Ekholm, E. (2001a) *Maahanmuuttajat ja työ*. Teoksessa Forsander, A., Ekholm, E., Hautaniemi, P., Ali, A., Alitolppa-Niitamo, A., Kyntäjä E., Quoc Cuong, N. (toim.) *Monietnisyyt, yhteiskunta ja työ*. Helsinki: Palmenia, 57–83.

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

Hautaniemi, P. (2001). *Etnisyys ja kulttuuri*. In A. Forsander, E. Ekholm, P. Hautaniemi, et al. (eds.) *Monietnisyyt, yhteiskunta ja työ*. Helsinki: Palmenia. pp. 11-30.

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

Hoffman, D. (2007) *The career potential of migrants in Finnish higher education*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Jaakkola, T. (2000) *Maahanmuuttajat ja etniset vähemmistöt työhönotossa ja työelämässä*. Työpoliittinen tutkimus 218. Helsinki: Työministeriö.

Jalava, I. (2011). *The role of the English language in the integration of refugees into Finnish society*. Unpublished Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Jyväskylä, Department of Languages & Department of Social Sciences and Communication.

Jauhiainen J. S. and Hautala J. (2010) *Puhetta ja tekoja. Tiedon jalostuminen innovaatioksi kansainvälistyvissä yliopistoissa*. In Johansson, M. Nuolijärvi, P. Pyykkö, R. (ed.) *Kieli työssä. Asiantuntijatyön kielelliset käytännöt*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1311, Tiede.

Jenkins, J. (2003). *World Englishes*. London: Routledge.

Johansson, M. (2005) ”Suomi kansalliskielenä”. Teoksessa *Monikielinen Eurooppa – kielipolitiikkaa ja käytäntöä*. Toim. Marjut Johansson ja Riitta Pyykkö. Gaudeamus. Helsinki

Johansson, M. Nuolijärvi, P. Pyykkö, R. (2010) *Työelämän kielimaisema asiantuntijatyössä*. In. Johansson, M. Nuolijärvi, P. Pyykkö, R. (ed.) *Kieli työssä. Asiantuntijatyön kielelliset käytännöt*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1311, Tiede.

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

Kääntä, L., Virkkula, T., Laitinen, M., Pahta, P., Koskela, H., Lähdesmäki, S. and Jousmäki, H. (2009) *Kansallinen kyselytutkimus englannin kielestä Suomessa: Käyttö, merkitys, ja asenteet*. Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 132. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä

Lahay, G. and Messina A.M. (ed.) (2006) *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. London: Sage Publications.

Laihiala-Kankainen, S. (2002). *Venäjänkieliset Suomessa -piiloon jäänyt kulttuurivähemmistö*. In. S. Laihiala-Kankainen, S. Pietikäinen and H. Dufva (eds.), *Moniääninen Suomi: kieli, kulttuuri ja identiteetti*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus.

Lange, A. Westin, C. (1981) *Etnisk diskriminering och social identitet: forskningsöversikt och teoretisk analys*. Stockholm: Liber, 1981.

Leppänen, S. and Nikula, T. (2007) *Diverse Uses of English in Finnish Society: Discourse-pragmatic Insight into Media, Educational and Business Context*. *Multilingua*26(4), 333–380.

Leppänen, S. and Nikula, T. (2008a) Johdanto. In Leppänen, S., Nikula, T. and Kääntä, L. (eds.) *Kolmas kotimainen: lähikuvia englannin käytöstä Suomessa*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 9–42.

Leppänen, S. and Nikula, T. (2008b) *Tutkimuksen tuloksia ja haasteita*. In Leppänen, S., Nikula, T. and Kääntä, L. (eds.) *Kolmas kotimainen: lähikuvia englannin käytöstä Suomessa*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 422–429.

Lehtonen, M. (1996) *Merkitysten maailma: Kulttuurisen tekstintutkimuksen lähtökohtia*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Liebkind, K. (2000) *Monikulttuurinen Suomi -etniset suhteet tutkimuksen valossa*. Tampere: Tammer-Paino Oy.

Liebkind, K. (2009) Ethnic identity and acculturation. In Jasinkala-Lahti, I. and Mähönen T.A. (eds.) *Identities, intergroup relations and acculturation: the cornerstones of intercultural encounters*. Gaudeamus: Helsinki, 13–41.

Nieminen, T (2009). *Becoming a New Finn Through Language: Non-native English-speaking immigrants' views on integrating into Finnish society*. Unpublished Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Jyväskylä, Department of Communication.

Pietikäinen, S. Dufva, H. Laihiala-kankainen, S. (2002) *Kieli kulttuuri ja identiteetti – ääniä Suomenniemeltä* In. S. Laihiala-Kankainen, S. Pietikäinen and H. Dufva (eds.), *Moniääninen Suomi: kieli, kulttuuri ja identiteetti*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus.

Ruusuvuori, J. and Tiittula L. (Eds.) (2005) *Tutkimus, tilanteet ja vuorovaikutus*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Saarinen, T. and Nikula T. (2012): *Implicit policy, invisible language: policies and practices of international degree programmes in Finnish higher education*. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster, J. M. Sierra (eds.) *English-medium Instruction at Universities: Global Challenges*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Saarinen, T. (2012). *Internationalization of Finnish higher education — is language an issue?*. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2012 (216), 157-173.

Sebba, M. and Wootton, A.J. (1998). *We, They and Identity: Sequential vs. Identity-related Explanation in Code-switching*. In P.Auer (ed.), *Code-switching in conversation*, pp.262-289. London, Routledge.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research. Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. The United States of America: Sage Publications, Inc.

Thornborrow, J. (1999) *Language and Social Identity*. In L. Thomas et al, *Language, Society and Power*, 135-149. London: Routledge.

Virkkula, T. (2008) *Työntekijöiden kokemuksia englannista yritysmaailman yhteisenä kielenä*. In Leppänen, S., Nikula, T. and Kääntä, L.(eds.) *Kolmas kotimainen: lähikuvia englannin käytöstä Suomessa*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 382–422

Young, R. (1996) *Intercultural communication: Pragmatics, Genealogy, Deconstruction*.

APPENDIX 1: Consent form



AN AGREEMENT OF THE RIGHT TO USE THE RESEARCH DATA

Research project: Pro gradu – a study of the role of English in the lives of immigrants working in the university surroundings.

In this agreement both the participant of the research and the researcher agree on the rights to use the research data. By signing this agreement, the participant agrees on taking part into the research and allocates the researcher the rights to use the research data that are listed below.

The participant has read, understood and approved the following items

- The data gathered in the research will be used for the pro gradu presented
- Participating in the research is based on volunteering
- The anonymity of the participants will be protected in the literal reporting in both presenting the research data and discussing the results.
- The participant of the present study has the right to opt out of the research in the middle of data gathering and also has the right to cancel the right to use the research data afterwards.

The researcher agrees into

- Processing the research data and results in confidence.
 - Restoring the gathered research data in the manner that no outsiders can reach it.
 - Guaranteeing the anonymity of the participants in both literal reports and discussing the results.
 - Not using the research data in case the participant wants to discontinue his/her involvement in the research or if he/she cancels the right to use the research data that concerns he/her afterwards.
-

There are 2 copies of this agreement, one for the participant and one for the researcher.

Signature (participant)

Clarification

Researcher

Essi Nokelainen

essi.t.nokelainen@student.jyu.fi

APPENDIX 2: Interview outline

Theme: Identity/background

1. Tell me something about yourself (the decision of moving into Finland in the first place, family, hobbies, free-time etc.
2. Do you have a family in Finland? What is their native language? What is the language you talk at home?

Theme: Language at work

1. What are the languages used at work? Can you specify when you use these different languages?
2. How would you describe your English skills?
3. Do you have any problems with having English as a working language? (INCLUDE IN CASE NOT NATIVE). (→ do you think that anything is left unsaid because of using English at work?)
4. Do you spend time with your colleagues in your freetime? What is the language you speak with them outside of work?
5. Do you know any Finnish? Have you wanted to learn it/why/ why not? Do you need any Finnish at work?
6. Do you think it matters if you are a native or a non-native speaker of English at work?

Theme: Language and future prospects

1. How well would you yourself say you have adapted into the Finnish society? Has language played any role in it?
2. What are your future prospects, do you plan to stay in Finland? Why, why not?

APPENDIX 3: A preliminary questionnaire (to be filled in the beginning of the interview)

A PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE

Name:

Gender:

Age:

Nationality:

Native language:

Time spent in Finland (in years):

Occupation:

Time spent in this occupation (in years):