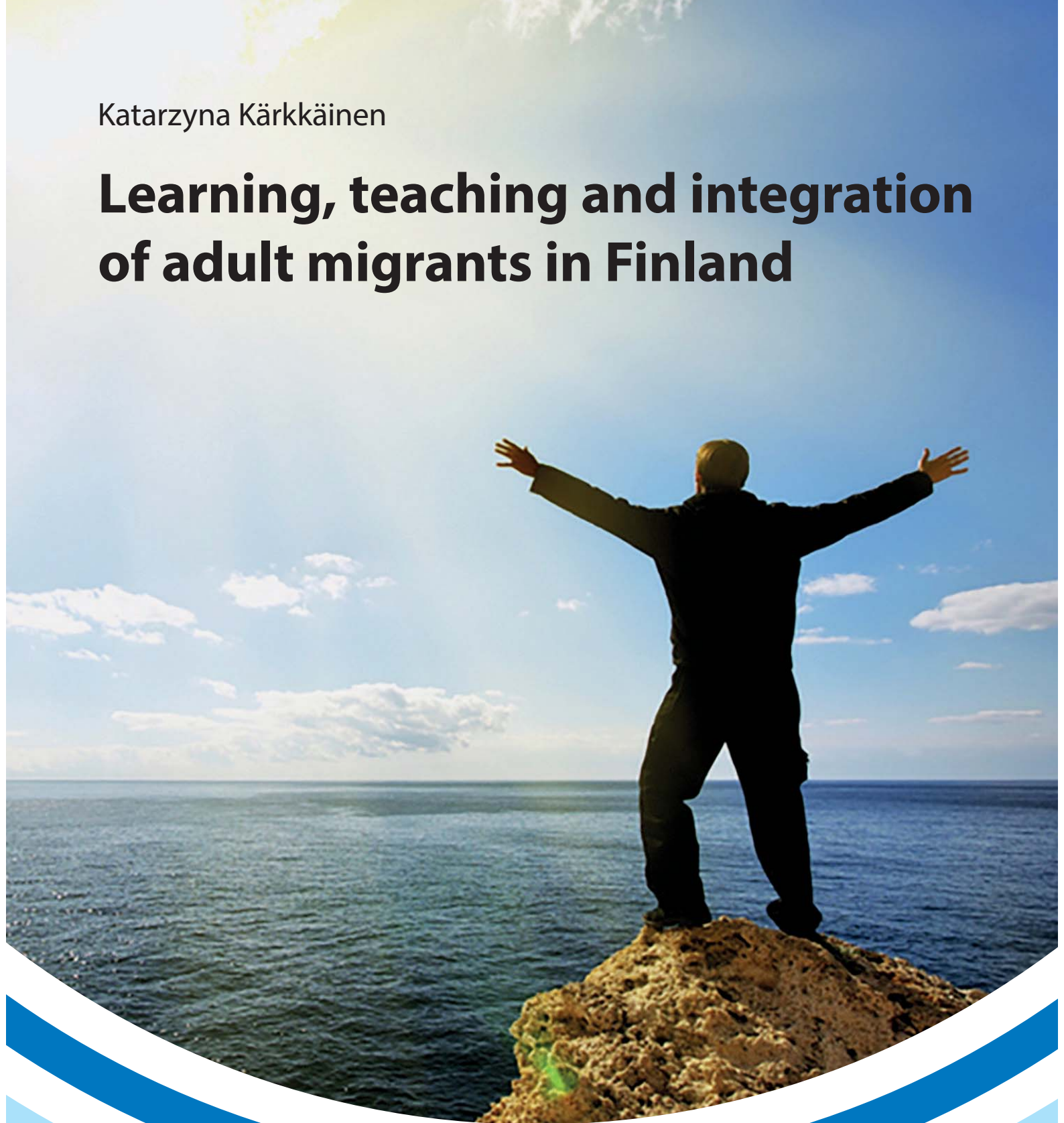


Katarzyna Kärkkäinen

Learning, teaching and integration of adult migrants in Finland



JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES
IN EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY
AND SOCIAL RESEARCH 594



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

Katarzyna Kärkkäinen

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of Adult Migrants in Finland

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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

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ABSTRACT

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Learning a new vocation or re-learning one that was previously mastered is considered one of the essential pathways for migrant integration into the Finnish labour market. Thus, vocational educators should have competencies that support teaching adults with diverse educational, vocational, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, and enhance their participation in the learning community. This research examines learning, teaching, and integration of adult migrants in Finland. The study analyses what educators and adult migrant students focus on when talking about learning and teaching. First, the aim was to gain an understanding of the core aspects that trainers and migrant students refer to when talking about learning and teaching, and second, the research examined how these core aspects were related to learning in a new context and teaching adult migrant students. In addition, the study aimed to deepen the understanding of relationships between learning, teaching, and integration. The data was gathered at one of the adult institutes in Finland (*aikuisopisto*) providing vocational education to adults, located outside of the capital region of Finland. The study is based on individual, semi-structured interviews with 11 adult migrant students, 12 trainers, and the institute Rector. In addition, the data set includes a focus group interview with 6 migrant students participating in the same vocational training. Theory-guided qualitative content analysis was used as the method of analysis. A deepened understanding of the data-driven study results was gained through the lenses of existing theoretical perspectives on language and culture, teaching in diverse settings as well as on integration and learning. The main result of the study is that both trainers and migrant students themselves associate difficulties in learning, teaching, and integration with the existence of cultural differences and poor Finnish language skills. However, study informants also reflect on personal differences and life situations as an important aspect in learning, teaching, and integration of adult migrants. Learning in a new context and teaching migrant students stirs contradictory feelings and are recognised as difficult activities accompanied by feelings of uncertainty and unpredictability, but also the joy of learning something new too. The interviewed trainers and migrants point out the existence of negative beliefs and misconceptions about migrants, their backgrounds, and competencies as the main barriers to making the most out of some modes of working (like group work or workplace learning) and the possibility of supporting migrants integration through participation in formal education. The results of the study indicate a need for all parties to work towards collective participation in the learning process and a need to look at differences as offering a positive contribution. Successfully approaching migrant students requires taking into account the particularities of adult migrant as learners while being able to concentrate on existing similarities. The study proposes seeing integration as a collaborative lifelong learning process, which requires involvement and effort by both migrants and Finns.

Key words: migration, integration, multicultural education, migrant adult education, vocational education, culture aspects, language aspects, ethnic relations, recognition, prior learning, competence, experience, migrant workers, adults, immigrants, Finland.

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Katarzyna Kärkkäinen

ACRONYMS

AMKE - The Finnish Association for the Development of Vocational Education and Training

CBQ - Competence Based Qualification

ELY - Centres

FNBE - Finnish National Board of Education

MIPEX - Migrant Integration Policy Index

OECD - The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OPTIMA - Electronic learning platform

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

VET - Vocational Education and Training

WILMA - Electronic platform for communication with a trainer

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Since the dawn of time, people have been moving from one place to another. However, what is exceptional for the present times is the fact that more and more people are on the move and that moving between places, even for longer distances, is easier than ever before. According to the United Nations (UN), there were 244 million international migrants in the world in the year 2015, which is 41% more than in 2000 (United Nations 2016). Constant and intense increases in foreign-born populations are one of the main societal changes in most Western countries and it is foreseen that this trend will continue into the future.

Similar trends are also visible in Finland. There is a constant increase in migrants to Finland. Traditionally, migration to Finland had a humanitarian character, but that has changed and labour migration is slowly gaining attention (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015). Currently, the topic of migration is hotly debated not only because of an aging Finnish society and the workforce shortage connected to it, but also because of the unexpected arrival of thousands of refugees in the autumn 2015.

As in many other countries, migrants to Finland have diverse reasons for migration, have diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and share different personal experiences and histories of migration (see Vertovec 2007). However, they also have something in common: the decision to migrate is usually accompanied with the hope for a good (if not better) life. Participation in working life is one of the conditions for fulfilling this wish (Forsander 2008). The quick integration of migrants into the Finnish labour market is also an important aim of many integration measures and policies (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015).

However, integration into Finnish working life is not progressing as the native population or the migrants themselves would wish. Unemployment rates across European countries among migrants are much higher than among

native populations, which is also the case in Finland (Uhlendorff & Zimmermann 2014). In 2013, 25% of migrants in Finland were without a job compared to 12% among native-born Finns (Finnish Business and Policy Forum EVA 2015). High unemployment of migrants in Finland makes migrants' lives difficult and it leads to many social tensions within the host society. Many individuals with a migrant background bring their previous knowledge, skills, and competencies to a new setting, which the host society should use well and as quickly as possible. However, many skills and competencies are not necessarily recognised or may not be possible to recognise in a new setting (Blomqvist et al. 2017). Differences in language and culture are seen as the main barriers to the recognition of these competencies and knowledge, impeding the migrant from gainful employment and consequently to a good life in a new country of residence (Forsander 2013).

In both Finland and elsewhere, there is much emphasis placed on the role of lifelong learning and developing suitable skills (Ministry of Education and Culture 2010, UNESCO 2005), which are important policy goals. Lifelong learning and lifelong learning skills are believed to matter to personal growth and in terms of gaining a better position on the job market (Ministry of Education and Culture 2010, Välimaa and Hoffman 2008) and are seen as guarantors of global competitiveness (Manuti et al. 2015, Säljö 2004, Simons and Masschelein 2008, Tynjälä 2008). Constantly updating one's own skills, being prepared for changing workplaces and vocation are quite common in this type of setting. Ideas about migrant integration fall under the scope of the same thinking. Integration itself is seen as part of a lifelong learning process (e.g., Lasonen et al. 2009, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). Many migrants try to fulfil the expectations of the host society and at the same time improve their chances in the labour market and therefore start their long learning path (Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). After reaching an expected level of Finnish language proficiency, many migrants continue their learning journey in vocational education for adults, which is the setting of this study.

Gaining a new vocation or updating an old one is a way for many adult migrants to find their place in a new society, which is also visible in the statistics. The proportion of foreign born students in different types of vocational education in Finland is constantly growing (Education Statistics Finland 2016). In 2013, there were 9464 foreign citizens participating in vocational education. Almost half of them, 4387 persons, started their education in 2013. In 2015, the number of students with foreign nationality was 13831. Almost half of those individuals, 7060, started their education in 2015. However, there is in fact an even bigger number of students for whom Finnish is a second language. In 2013, 14678 students in vocational education had a mother tongue that was not Finnish. In 2015, the number of students using other language than Finnish as a mother tongue was 21208. As it is expected that the number of individuals with a migration background will continue to grow, the Finnish Association for the Development of Vocational Education and Training (AMKE)

announced that starting from the year 2017, 2000 places in vocational education (nationwide) will be reserved for migrant applicants (AMKE 2016).

However, the possibilities for facilitating adult migrants' learning and integration in vocational education are limited. Earlier research shows that the teaching staff in vocational education lack competencies to facilitate migrants' learning and integration, such as intercultural competencies, theories and pedagogical practices, and calls for development of these competencies (e.g., Keurulainen, Miettinen & Weissmann 2014, Paaso 2010, Teräs 2007). Keurulainen, Miettinen and Weissmann (2014) point to the importance of taking care of vocational teachers' competencies and being aware of what kinds of skills, knowledge, and competencies they need for training future workers. Paaso (2010) stresses the urgent need for improving teachers' knowledge on aspects related to multiculturalism, internationalization, and linguistic and cultural competencies. Paaso further states that future teachers need to possess a much broader spectrum of competencies than are currently required and that a vocational teacher has to be able to act and take care of many different roles in these diverse situations, such as a language or cultural mediator. The evolving challenges and the needs for teaching staff's new competencies are the motivations for undertaking the current study on learning, teaching, and integration of adult migrants in a vocational education setting in Finland.

While vocational education for adults is a good choice for many adults moving to Finland, there is too little research on learning and teaching as concerns this specific group (adult migrants) and in this specific setting (vocational education for adults), in Finland as well as internationally. There has been previous research in the Finnish context concerning integration training and its efficiency (e.g., Pöyhönen et al. 2010, Tarnanen et al. 2011) and on intercultural learning/migrants in Vocational Colleges that offer education mainly for youngsters (e.g., Ekholm 2011, Kilpinen 2009, Lasonen & Nuottokari 2014, Teräs 2007, Teräs,). Internationally, and especially in terms of adult education in the context of globalisation, concerns have been raised that adult education has not been responding adequately to the needs of adult migrants and that little emphasis has been placed on the resources that migrants bring (Guo 2009, Guo 2010, Guo 2015, Morrice 2013, Slade 2012). Thus far, there is little literature on adult migrants participating in vocational education organised by institutes of adult learning (*aikuisopisto*) and their learning, teaching, and integration.

1.2 Research questions, aims, and relevance of the study

The current study gives an in-depth analysis of aspects related to learning and teaching in the integration of adult migrants in Finland. The study was a part of a larger (Integration of Working Age Migrants) project funded by the Finnish Academy in the years 2011-2014. The project examined working age migrants' integration in three settings: achievement, aspiration, and abonnement. The

second setting is the most relevant to this research. The target group of the study was namely adult, working-age migrants (20 to 64 years old) who aspire to integrate into the Finnish labour market through participation in vocational education for adults.

The study informants were working age migrants who moved to Finland as adults or young adults as well as trainers from one of the adult institutes in Finland outside of the capital area. Including migrant students and teaching staff in one study makes it possible to gain a broader understanding of the investigated phenomena and to analyse perspectives on learning, teaching, and integration of different parties involved in these processes.

The aim of the study is to analyse the following research themes:

- 1) What do trainers and adult migrant students focus on when talking about learning and teaching?
- 2) How are learning, teaching, and integration related?

The first research theme analyses core aspects (such as culture, language, different sets of personal differences, and life situations) that trainers and migrant students refer to when talking about learning and teaching, as well as the relation of these core aspects to the particularities of learning in new surroundings and for teaching this group of students. The first research theme is operationalised into the following practical research questions:

- 1) What are the core aspects that trainers and migrant students refer to when talking about learning and teaching, and how are they related to learning in a new environment and teaching adult migrant students being a specific one?
- 2) What are the particularities of adult migrants as learners in a new surrounding?
- 3) What are the particularities for teaching adult migrant students?

The second research theme analyses how learning, teaching, and integration are related to each other. Here, the analysis focuses on participants' views and experiences on possibilities and limitations connected to supporting integration in vocational education. I analyse the suitable modes for working, learning, and teaching in diverse learning settings and their limitations. Further on, this theme can also be used to analyse ways of seeing integration through the lenses of learning and teaching.

The aims of the study are carried out utilising a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach is a good choice when little research has been done previously on a certain topic, the topic has not been studied in a particular setting, or the existing theories are difficult to apply concerning the group being studied (Creswell 2003, p. 22). These arguments are relevant for the topic under investigation in this research. There is little research on migrant integration in

the context of vocational education for adults in Finland. Furthermore, the topics of migrant integration, their presence in the host society, and in its educational institutions are quite emotionally laden and close to people, which also speaks for the choice of this methodological approach (Creswell 2003, p. 23).

Creswell (2007) defines qualitative research as “an approach to inquiry that begins with assumptions, worldviews, possibly a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems exploring the meaning individuals and groups ascribe to a social or human problem. Researchers collect data in natural settings with sensitivity to the people under study and they analyse their data inductively to establish patterns or themes” (p. 50-51). A key issue in qualitative research is an understanding of the phenomenon being studied and its complexity (Creswell 2007), which is also an aim of this study. Qualitative data gathered for the purpose of this study makes it possible to picture participants’ views as well as to analyse matters related to adult migrant students’ learning, teaching, and the integration of this group of students. At the same time, the qualitative approach makes it possible to take into account the contexts of participants of the study (Creswell 2007), which also contributes to a more in-depth understanding of the studied phenomenon.

The study consists of a pilot and main study. The pilot study was conducted in two different types of institutions that offer vocational studies for adult migrants: a vocational college (*ammattiopisto*) and an institute for adult education (*aikuisopisto*). The participants of the main study are students and trainers at one institute for adult education in Finland. The aspects related to procedures of data collection and analysis of data are described in more detail in the methodological chapter of the dissertation.

Through doing this study I participate in current national and international discussion on migrant learning, teaching and integration. The type of information generated in this research is invaluable for the improvement of migrant integration (especially for working age migrants), in designing integration programmes and policies on migrant integration, and in designing measures aimed at teacher professional development. The results of this research can be utilised in the work of school counsellors, teachers/trainers/educators, teachers’ educators, career counsellors, social workers, in addition to policy makers. The dissertation can be also used as teaching and training material.

1.3 Formal, non-formal, and informal learning

Jackson (2010) understands informal learning as “the unstructured learning which most of us do on a daily basis” (p. 237). Such type of learning is an effect of our daily interactions with other people as well as encounters “with the cultural artefacts of our daily lives” (ibid., p. 238). Formal and non-formal learning are both structured and intentional in their form. In the case of both of them, it is externally specified what should be an outcome of learning. Formal

and non-formal learning usually happen in institutions providing education for adults or at workplaces. However, in contrast to non-formal learning, formal learning is an accredited form of education (Jackson 2010).

Formal learning is often equated with lifelong learning. However, formal learning is only one type of learning that happens across one's life span (e.g., Billett 2001). Next to learning in a formal setting, learning in adulthood also happens in non-formal and informal form, and in fact, it is difficult to notice a clear line between different forms of learning in adulthood (Jackson 2010), as for example, informal learning also takes place in formal settings, and vice versa (Billett 1999, Billett 2002, Colley, Hodkinson & Malcolm 2002, Manuti et al. 2015). A good example here, and relevant for this study, can be the workplace as a learning site. Although a huge amount of informal learning that takes place in this setting, workplaces are very structured learning environments in terms of setting activities, learning goals, and learning outcomes and therefore also learning at the workplace contains some characteristics of formal learning (Billett 2002, 2004).

In this research, learning at the workplace is seen as part of the formal system, and the migrant students in this study participated in accredited vocational programmes. However, there is also a lot of informal and non-formal learning that happens during formal education. All human activities and practices involve learning; learning is not only a product of teaching, we also learn a lot of things outside of educational institutions (Säljö 2004). Hence, formal learning is only the tip of the iceberg with regard to learning that happens in adulthood (Coffield 2000, Jackson 2010) as well as with regard to learning related to living in a new setting (Alenius 2015). While recognising the importance of informal learning in adulthood and adult migrants' lives, this study concentrates on the formal aspects of learning (adult migrants as learners and teachers' work) from the perspective of trainers' as well as migrant students' perceptions of and experiences on adult migrants' learning, teaching and integration of this group of migrants within Finland.

1.4 Immigrant, migrant, and newcomer

Different words and concepts are widely used to depict the person who has moved permanently or temporarily to another country, with migrant, immigrant, and newcomer the most popular. The word 'immigrant' often has negative connotations and is easily associated in a stereotypical way with a person moving from developing countries to Western countries (Duchêne, Moyer & Roberts 2013). The term 'immigrant' officially means a person who has moved to another country with the intention of taking up permanent residence (Meriam Webster Dictionary 2016). However, I take into account that people are coming to Finland for a variety of reasons as well as the fact that a decision for a permanent stay cannot be seen as a final one. Therefore, I use the term migrant in this work.

Following UNESCO's (2016) definition of a migrant I see a migrant as 'any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country'. In some cases, the word 'migrant' is used only for voluntary migrants and for example, refugees and other persons forced into migration are not referred to as migrants. In this research I recognise the fact that voluntary and involuntary migration exist; however I refer to migrant as any person who was not born in Finland and who moved to Finland as an adult or young adult in whatever circumstances and for whatever reason, being it voluntary or involuntary. Contrary to immigrant, migrant and migration is also used to depict the movement of people within the same country. In this study, I use the words 'migrant' and 'migration' to refer to the phenomenon of persons who have moved and to international migration respectively.

1.5 Overview of the dissertation

The dissertation is organised as follows: in Chapter Two I reflect on issues of migration and migrants in Finland relevant to this study. This includes trends in migration to Finland, migrants' positions in the Finnish labour market, attitudes towards migrants, as well as current trends in integration policies in Finland. In Chapter Three I reflect on integration from the perspective of learning. Different views on integration are presented and integration as a theoretical and political concept further examined. The focus of the study is formal education, and therefore, I also explore the relation between formal learning and integration and discuss adult vocational education in Finland as well as the specifics of learning in adulthood. Chapter Four is devoted to culture and language aspects in society and education and gives an overview of views on culture and language relevant to the discussion on adult migrants' learning and integration. Culturally responsive pedagogies are seen as a good initiative in approaching migrants in education. Therefore, the main ideas of these initiatives as well as some alternative ways of seeing differences in education are also presented in this chapter.

In Chapter Five I reflect on methodological choices in the study. Here, I take a stand on philosophical assumptions that guided me in the process of doing this research, and describe in detail the research process, pilot study phase as well as the main study phase. Finally, I discuss trustworthiness and ethical issues in this study.

The results of the study are presented in Chapter Six, Seven and Eight. In Chapter Six I analyse the core aspects present in interviewees' talks on learning and teaching, such as culture and language matters, as well as aspects related to personal differences and life situations. In Chapter Seven I present the particularities of learning in new surroundings and specifics of migrants as learners as well as issues related to teaching migrant students. In Chapter Eight

I present modes of working and ways of supporting believed to be suitable for adult migrant students as well as limitations connected to them.

Chapter Nine is a discussion chapter containing the main results of the study in the light of existing literature. The chapter also expounds on the main contributions and implications of the study. The final remarks on the whole research process are also included in this chapter.

2 CONTEXT OF ADULT MIGRANT LEARNING AND LIVING IN FINLAND

Learning and participation in education are believed to be an important mechanism of integration. However, learning does not take place in a vacuum. The broader social and cultural context (Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, Tynjälä 2008) has an influence on learning. Edwards (2005) states that understanding of cultural as well as linguistic issues in society, in this case in contemporary Finland, is useful in recognising the specifics of the context in which learning happens. Additionally, learning happens in a wide variety of contexts such as international and national trends in international migration, education and migration policies at the national and international level, attitudes towards migrants, the migrants' position in society as well as in the workplace and educational institutions, ideas on what integration is, etc. I concentrate next on reflecting on the aforementioned aspects relevant to better understanding about adult migrants learning in Finland.

2.1 Migration and migrants in Finland

Migration to Finland is not a new phenomenon. "There were migrants in Finland as long as there were Finns in Finland" (Leitzinger 2010, p. 9, see also Leitzinger 2008). However, for a very long time, the number of migrants to Finland was quite small as Finland was a sending rather than receiving country. These trends first started to change in the 1990s (see Figure

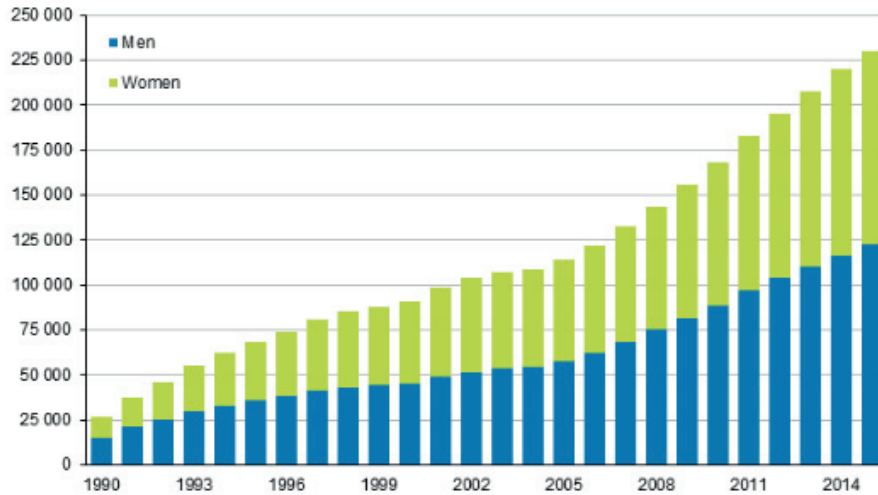


FIGURE 1 Foreign nationals by sex 1990-2015 (Statistics Finland 2016b)

Nowadays, in comparison to other European countries, Finland has a small, but constantly and rapidly growing number of migrants. In the year 2015 there were 229765 individuals living with foreign citizenship in Finland and that was 10,000 more than in the year 2014, and about twice as many as in the year 2005. In 2015 foreign citizens made up 4.2% of the Finnish population. However, there are even more individuals living in Finland with a migrant background and who speak a language other than Finnish. In 2015, about 6% (329562) of people living in Finland have a mother tongue other than Finnish. Hence, the Finnish migrant population is more diverse than ever before (Vertovec 2007), with migrants coming from almost 200 different countries and all together speaking over 150 different languages. The majority of migrants in Finland in the year 2015 were holders of Estonian, Russian, Swedish, Chinese, and Somalian citizenship (Statistics Finland 2016b). With regard to linguistic diversity, speakers of Russian, Estonian, Somali, English, and Arabic made up the biggest groups in the year 2015 (Statistics Finland 2016b).

The population of Finnish migrants is also diverse in terms of educational background. In 2014, 24% of persons born of migrant parents and aged between 15 to 64 years old had basic education, 42% had secondary education and 34% of that population had higher education (Sutela & Larja 2015a). In addition, individuals with migration background in Finland have different religious backgrounds, different life situations, different histories and experiences of migration. They come to Finland for a variety of reasons and therefore reside in the country under different statuses and with numerous motivations for living in Finland. In 2014, over half of persons with migration background moved to Finland because of family reasons, every fifth person because of work and every tenth person moved to Finland with student or refugee status (Sutela &

Larja 2015b). Although the ages of migrants vary significantly, 76% (175415) of foreign citizens in Finland are of working age, between 20 to 64 years old (Statistics Finland 2016a, Statistics Finland 2016b).

2.2 Migrants' position and discrimination in the Finnish labour market

As in other European countries, migrants in Finland are more likely to be unemployed than natives (Uhlendorff & Zimmermann 2014). Finnish migrants, similar to members of other disadvantage groups in society (like for example youngsters), are the last to be employed and the first to lose a job, such as in times of economic crises (Forsander 2008). Migrants in Finland, as well as in other European countries, are usually overrepresented in secondary sectors of the labour market, which means that migrants most often hold the worst paid and most difficult physical jobs (Forsander 2013, Näre 2013). For example, in 2013 Finnish migrants worked most often as cleaners, restaurant workers, and workers in the building and construction fields (Statistics Finland 2015a). In addition, individuals with a migration background are often found in so called entrance vocations (*sisääntuloammatti*) (Forsander 2013), which are less demanding, poorly paid, uncertain jobs, easy to obtain for persons coming from outside and marginalised persons, like migrants or youngsters. In some cases, these types of jobs can be helpful in getting a foot in the door in a new country as individuals can gain some language and other skills and later find a study or work placement. However, the risk is that individuals stay in those professions for years, for example African migrants in cleaning jobs (Strömmer 2015).

Some entrance jobs require belonging to a certain ethnic group and in this sense they are a type of ethnic job, such as, for example, a translator or mother tongue language teacher (Forsander 2013). Different ethnic groups participate in the labour market in an unbalanced way because some specific fields are often reserved to a certain ethnic groups. Such ethnic enclaves create some opportunities for employment; however, they do not give that much opportunity to participate in the society at large (Forsander 2013, Hirvi 2013). Moreover, not all migrant groups are treated the same and some are in more disadvantaged positions than others (Chang 2014, Heikkilä 2005, Manhica, Östh & Rostila 2015). Persons with a refugee background, Africans, as well as, in general, whose cultural background is considered as being too far removed, as well as women from these specific groups face the most challenges in entering a job market (Manhica, Östh & Rostila 2015). Furthermore, these types of situations are widely met throughout Europe.

However, next to those characteristics, the Finnish labour market has also its own specifics, mainly because of the small number of migrants in Finland (4.2% in 2015) in general and the small percentage of the migrant workforce more specifically (6% in 2014) (Statistics Finland 2015b). One barrier to entry

that is specific to the Finnish labour market and the labour markets in other Nordic countries are strict regulations regarding the possibility of being employed in so-called entrance jobs (Forsander 2013). In comparison to other European countries, the unemployment rates among migrants to Finland are especially high soon after their arrival in Finland (OECD 2016, p. 67).

Lack of trust and discrimination in the labour market are common barriers to finding employment in a new setting. Education, work experience, vocational competence, and personal suitability for a specific task are the points that should matter when doing a certain job. If some other characteristics are taken into account when employing someone, such as age, gender or ethnicity, religion, mother tongue, nationality, beliefs, opinions, family relationships, sexual orientation, activity for vocational association, or personal characteristics then we are talking about discrimination (Non-discrimination Act 1325/2014). Youngsters and migrants are often mentioned as the most disadvantaged groups in the labour market. For many migrants it is even difficult to be invited to interview. Often such decisions are made by employers based on an applicant's name or a foreign accent in the case of contact by phone (Ahmad 2005). Discrimination based on knowledge of language is often found on the Finnish labour market (Ahmad 2005, Forsander 2013) and language skills are used as a means of discrimination in many different ways, such as requiring language skills that are unnecessarily high for doing certain jobs, expecting that language skills won't be good enough. Requiring unnecessarily high language skills is also a cover for negative attitudes towards migrants, their qualifications, and competencies (Ahmad 2005, Kalonaityte 2010, Näre 2013, Ogbonna & Harris 2006, Olakivi 2013, Roberts 2012).

Many employers in Ahmad's (2005) research stated quite openly that they preferred to employ a Finn. Some did not want to employ some nationals because of the fact that other workers did not like people from a certain country. Employer attitudes vary depending on the field. The most negative responses were met when applying for jobs in which an individual with migration background has to be in visual or direct contact with the customer, such as in the retail trade and in restaurants and catering; however, they were less reluctant in the cleaning sector (Ahmad 2005.)

Employers' attitudes towards migrants are visible during job interviews (Ahmad 2010, Ahmad 2005). For example, Roberts (2012) points out the distrust of employers towards migrants' skills during job interviews. On the other hand, some migrants also show some hesitation concerning their work experiences gained in other contexts. Instead of presenting them as a resource, individuals with migration backgrounds picture them as somewhat different and questionable (Roberts 2012) or do not see them as valuable and do not mention them at all (Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). That, however, can also be an effect of experiences gathered in previous job interviews and other sites, where migrants' foreign qualifications and work experiences remain just unnoticed or even dismissed with laugh (Roberts 2012). In spite of those negative trends, the role of migrants' own attitudes towards employment

should not be undermined. For example, the overrepresentation of migrant women in unemployment statistics is the effect of negative attitudes towards them, but in many cases that is also connected to their will to take care of domestic responsibilities full time (Manhica, Östh & Rostila 2015).

The discrimination continues in actual workplaces where migrants are often seen as second class workers and citizens, and viewed as difficult colleagues because of their lack of knowledge the host country's language and their different cultural backgrounds (Kalonaityte 2010, Ogbonna & Harris 2006), and therefore are classified as fundamentally different, as 'Others' (Näre 2013). This othering is of importance from this study's perspective because most vocational learning for adults happens in the actual workplace.

2.3 Attitudes towards migrants in Finland

Adult migrants' position in the labour market as well as in society are closely related to natives' attitudes to migration and migrants in general terms, and to the migrant workforce in particular (Dustmann & Preston 2001, Odmalm 2005, Remennick 2003, Säävelä 2009). Negative attitudes are one of the main barriers for recognition, participation, and for having a good life in Finland (Lasonen et al. 2009). These attitudes also then create a certain context in which learning happens.

Finns' attitudes to migration and ethnic diversity in general terms are quite positive, such as, for example, attitudes towards benefits connected to international migration. According to Eurobarometer in 2009, Finns were convinced that people from other ethnic groups enrich the cultural life of their country (72% of Finns in comparison to 54% of citizens from EU27) and that international migration can play an important role in developing tolerance (77% of Finns in comparison to 50% of citizens from EU27) (European Commission 2010). In the same year, many fewer Finns (31%) than EU citizens all together (49% EU27) worried about possible negative outcomes of migration, for example, increase in unemployment. However, 5% more Finns admitted to such worries than in the year 2006.

Attitudes towards migrants do not look so appealing in comparison to other EU countries if focused on everyday life and practice. These attitudes are still quite positive, but they are less favourable than in other European Union countries. According to Special Eurobarometer devoted to discrimination in Europe, in 2015 77% of Finns stated that they would feel comfortable if one of their colleagues was a black person, a similar amount of Finns (76%) would feel comfortable working with a person of an Asian background and 64% with a person of Roma background (European Commission 2015). In this case, the attitudes were less favourable than among all citizens residing in the 28 European states. According to Jaakkola's (2009) research conducted in Finland, Finns feel more uncomfortable with having a migrant neighbour than a colleague at work. Mähönen (2013) underlines that attitudes of migrants

towards Finns also matter; however, migrants are usually more positive than their Finnish counterparts.

Attitudes towards migration and different ethnic groups are determined by many different factors (Jaakkola 2009, Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013). They are influenced to a large extent by age, education, size of the place of living, vocation or profession of the person, and political affiliation/orientation. The most positive attitudes are found among youngsters, those with more education, and people in managerial positions, as well as people living in big cities, and supporters of the Green Party. Migrants are treated as a threat especially in the countryside among low-skilled workers and that is mainly because of the fear that they compete for the same jobs (Hainmueller & Hiscox 2007). Usually attitudes towards migrants are more negative in uncertain times and times of economic crises (Jaakkola 2009, Valtonen 2009). However, they also tend to vary depending on the ethnic group. Usually they are more favourable towards ethnic groups believed to be of similar cultural background and towards migrants coming from wealthier countries (Jaakkola 2009, Pitkänen 2006, Pitkänen 2007). According to Jaakkola (2009) this is connected to a natural tendency to think that one's own group is better and people tend to have a natural preference for their own group over other groups. We are just more likely to engage in contact with those whom we perceive as similar (Montoya, Horton & Kirchner 2008).

Russians in Finland are in a sense an exception to this rule. According to Jaakkola's (2009) comparison of Finns' attitudes towards five migrant groups including Estonians, Polish, Chinese, Russians, and Somalis, Finns have the most positive attitudes towards Estonians and the most negative towards Russians and Somalis. Such tendencies are also visible in the case of Finnish authorities' attitudes towards migration and migrants (Pitkänen 2006, Pitkänen 2007). Finnish authorities, such as police, social workers, and teachers in both general and vocational education have quite positive attitudes towards integration policies. However, they are not any more supportive as regards active labour politics. Many officials assume that increases in labour migration will have a negative influence on unemployment rates among Finns. Finnish authorities are more eager to accept an inflow of highly educated migrants, from Western and Nordic countries than migrants from Africa, the Middle-East and Russia. In general, authorities accept the idea of positive discrimination; however, that is no longer the case as concerns concrete measures and practices aimed at positive discrimination and promotion of diversity at work and in educational institutions (Pitkänen 2006, Pitkänen 2007).

Attitudes towards migrants are visible in how natives perceive them. In addition, the presence of migrants can arouse strong emotions or lead to discriminatory actions, which are also integral components of attitudes/other ways of expressing attitudes (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013). Often migrants are seen as one group and there are many preconceptions about migrants and certain migrant groups. The presence of migrants in society and educational institutions rouses many contradictory emotions. On the one hand,

differences brought by migrants are seen as a resource and enrichment, and on the other hand as a threat, and something difficult to deal with (Pitkänen 2006, Teräs 2007).

Negative perceptions of migrants and negative emotions are visible in concrete action. Discrimination, calling names or prejudices in more symbolic form, like underlining existing differences between groups or thinking that people of other cultural backgrounds are inferior in many respects are only some example of concrete expression of attitudes (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013).

2.4 Integration policies at the international and national level

Next to attitudes, larger policies at the international and national level also create a certain context in which learning and living in Finland happens. Finnish integration policies are influenced by European policies. At the European level, integration is defined as a two-way process that demands engagement of both host society members and migrants (European Commission 2016). However, migrants are seen as those who should adapt. On the one hand, migrants have some rights and responsibilities in relation to their new countries of residence. On the other hand, the receiving society is seen as the one that creates opportunities for migrants. Such an approach at the policy level indicates that integration is to be fulfilled by individuals with a migration background and the receiving society is to be a facilitator of the process by providing facilities for learning connected to integration, such as, for example, learning of language, history, and culture of the host society (Miera 2012).

Miera (2012) points out drawbacks and the harmful character of these policies. At the policy level, migrants are presented as those who are expected to accept the values of the receiving society and in this way, maybe migrants are unintentionally pictured as those who are not in agreement with the receiving society's values and as those whose values are different than the receiving society. Additionally, many of those policies indirectly see the culture of migrants and also of natives as something static and they do not recognise the idea of cultural hybridity. Migrants are supposed to learn about the host country culture and host society members should learn about migrants' cultures, as though there were only one specific host society culture and one specific culture of migrants sharing the same background. The importance of cultural identity to migrants and the willingness to preserve it is unnecessarily emphasised at many levels and in many different ways (Ahmadi 2005) and it is forgotten that identities are constantly evolving and living in a new setting always leads to some changes with regard to our identities and practices (Hirvi 2013, Veikou 2013). At first sight, many of these statements sound like good intentions; however, there is a lot of hidden information behind them (Miera 2012).

Similar statements are also present in Finnish laws. Official integration policy in Finland is tolerant in its nature, promotes integration rather than assimilation, and concentrates on labour-related migration (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015). The MIPEX (Migrant Integration Policy Index) score for Finland in 2014 was 69, which placed Finland in fourth place among 38 countries participating in the research. At the moment, migrant integration in Finland is regulated by the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010) that came into force in 2011. In comparison to previous acts, this one presents a more holistic view on integration of migrants and pays attention to diversity of migrant groups. In this Act, integration for the first time is defined explicitly as a two-way process. More precisely, integration is understood as “interactive development involving immigrants and society at large, the aim of which is to provide immigrants with the knowledge and skills required in society and working life and to provide them with support, so that they can maintain their culture and language” (Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration 1386/2010, Section 3).

Though the definition mentions the interactive character of integration, it swiftly specifies duties of the host society as a sole provider of opportunities, knowledge, and skills. Again the phrase on providing migrants with the knowledge and skills needed for working and living in Finland contains a suspicion, conscious or otherwise, that persons with a migration background would not have such knowledge and skills. Also, Finnish legislation lacks clarification on what is meant by ‘culture’. The use of word ‘culture’ in this form easily gives an impression that culture is static.

The Constitution of Finland (731/1999) and the Non-Discrimination Act (1325/2014) promote and guarantee equal treatment (with regard to work and education) independent of a person’s background and characteristics. Along with mentioning the responsibilities of employers as regards implementation of equality, the Non-Discrimination Act (1325/2014) also emphasises the role of educational institutions concerning this matter. In the eyes of the law, workplaces and educational institutions are seen as promoters of equality. This is realised in the form of a non-discrimination plan and measures aiming at its implementation.

3 LEARNING AND ADULT MIGRANT INTEGRATION

3.1 Integration as a theoretical and political concept

The constant inflow of migrants to Finland creates new challenges and simultaneously awakens a lot of discussion and emotions. Most often discussions and emotions are connected to a lack of clarity of concepts and strong political connotations to them (Miera 2012). That also relates to the term 'integration', which is used in order to depict phenomenon and processes related to the presence of individuals with a migration background in host societies.

The term 'integration' originally functioned as a theoretical concept. However, with time the concept became politicised. Nowadays most countries have some kind of integration policy and the term 'integration' functions as a theoretical as well as a political concept. Therefore, there is no one way of understanding integration. The concept of integration is rather vague and means whatever people want it to (Grillo 2007, Kärkkäinen 2011, Miera 2012, Veikou 2013). People in everyday conversation as well as researchers in different disciplines refer to many different things and use different terms when talking about integration (Kärkkäinen 2011). Absorption, adaption, adjustment, assimilation, acculturation, belonging, inclusion, incorporation, and social cohesion are only some of the words used in order to depict the phenomenon in question. In Finland, the word '*kotoutuminen*' ('to make somebody feel at home') is used when talking about migrants' integration. However, this concept also has many negative connotations and is heavily politicised. All of these previously mentioned concepts easily give the impression that migrants are the main actors in the integration process. However, in this chapter I undertake an attempt to deepen an understanding of what integration may mean for the different parties involved in it and when we can first talk about integration as a two-way process, without political connotations associated to this concept.

When talking about integration from the perspective of a migrant population, for example adult migrant students, the term integration is most often used in reference to migrants' finding their place in a new society, be it in the form of participation in working life (Forsander 2001, Forsander 2013), education (Valtonen 1997), societal life (Lasonen et al. 2009) and/or in social groups and institutions (Wahlbeck 1999) of the new country of residence. Similarly, Martiniello (2006) sees integration as a fair participation of migrants in different spheres of life, such as social, cultural, political, and economic areas. In this case, we can talk about integration when participation patterns of natives and non-natives look the same. On the other hand, Ahmadi (2005) emphasises a subjective feeling of taking part "in a game that is going on at the moment" (p. 113).

Finding gainful employment in a new setting is often equalled with being truly bonded to the site. Work plays and has always played an important role in all adult individuals' lives. Participation in working life is a way for adults to engage in the social world, contribute to identity formation, gain status (Billett 2001), and it is one of the indicators of being a part of certain community (Forsander 2013). In this way it is also a facilitator of integration and well-being in a new country of residence (Manhica, Östh & Rostila 2015, Teräs & Lasonen 2015). Participation in working life is therefore also about gaining recognition, which in turn is a basic need of any human being (Laitinen 2009, Taylor 1994). This is especially true for employment relevant to migrant skills, education, and competencies which serve the purpose of integration (Remennick 2003, Wahlbeck 1999) and garner the same recognition. Along with being a sign of integration, participation in working life is an additional mechanism of integration, for example in terms of political participation (Aleksynska 2007), participation in social life (Hagendoorn, Veenman & Vollebergh 2003), and linguistic and cultural integration (Sandwall 2013). However, different workplaces may offer different opportunities for participation and learning related to integration (Sandwall 2013, Strömmer 2015). In fact, typical migrants' jobs, such as working in cleaning services, create limited possibilities for personal interactions and for this type of learning (Strömmer 2015).

Other times integration is treated as one of the dimensions of acculturation (Berry & Sam 1997, Piontkowski et al. 2000, Remennick 2003). In this case, integration is used to depict the migrants' strategy for living in a new setting, which is characterised by the willingness and possibility to keep one's own cultural and linguistic resources and at the same be interested in having contact with and eager to learn about the host country's language and culture. Integration is then a process whose end result is something other than assimilation and quite the opposite of marginalisation and segregation (Saukkonen 2016).

The words assimilation and integration are often used interchangeably in everyday talk or even function as a given definition of integration (Kalonaityte 2010). However, we need to be aware that differences exist between them. In addition to being an acculturation strategy, the word 'assimilation' is a highly

politicised concept. Though some claim that the word assimilation can be used in the sense of successful integration as it indeed refers to the reduction of existing differences, not only in values, but also in income and patterns of participation between groups (Bosswick & Heckmann 2006), assimilation usually has many negative connotations. Most often assimilation is interpreted as a one-sided process in which newcomers are expected to give up their cultural resources and fully adapt to the host society (Miera 2012). However, earlier studies show that individuals with a migration background often live in transnational spaces and are emotionally attached to more than one society or national state. Sustaining these bonds to different society/societies and country/countries is not a barrier to integrating into a new country of settlement (Alenius 2015).

When talking about integration from the perspective of a migrant population, we mainly think about migrants' integration within a majority group. However, there are two other potential directions of integration, namely integration within other ethnic groups as well as integration within one's own ethnic group (Wahlbeck 1999, see also Kärkkäinen 2011). Relations of the individual migrant to co-migrant communities are an important aspect of the experience of living in a new context (Cohen 2011). Though they may not have many contacts with native population members, some migrant groups are well integrated within their own and other ethnic groups (Wahlbeck 1999). All of these social networks are important from the point of view of managing everyday life in Finland. One's own ethnic group is an important support group and arena of exchange of information and experiences essential from the point of view of living in a new setting (Aarnitaival 2012). Many point out the role of this network in the first stages of migration (Bosswick & Heckmann 2006); however, these networks are also of importance for migrants living for the long term in a new setting (Aarnitaival 2012). Nonetheless, the contact with locals is an important source of social and cultural capital and often a necessary condition for full participation in host country institutions (Aarnitaival 2012, Ahmad 2005, Forsander 2013).

There are many views on how integration is perceived, which highlight the fact that integration is a complex process connected to many spheres of life. In this sense, we can talk about cultural, linguistic, social, and structural integration as well as about changes in the identification processes (Bosswick & Heckmann 2006, Heckmann 2005). Integration takes place at different speeds in different areas of life and therefore, an individual may take a different position towards integration in different situations. Although, integration in one sphere does not necessarily indicate integration in another sphere (Eriksen 2010a), different dimensions of integration are usually interrelated in many different ways and in many different directions (Couton & Gaudet 2008, Hagendoorn, Veenman & Vollebergh 2003, Remennick 2003).

Furthermore, integration takes place at many different levels. For example, Veikou (2013) makes a distinction between integration at the personal, institutional, and state level. Integration at the personal level touches upon

one's personal experiences of living in a new setting, everyday choices, actions, and practices. In contrast, integration at the institutional and state level is seen in the more technical terms like learning language and acting according to public rules. Integration as it is understood at the institutional, state, and international levels is not necessarily a norm or aim for migrants themselves (Veikou 2013.)

Multidimensional conditions and processes as well as a huge set of factors at many levels (international, national and local, personal) have an impact on adult migrants' everyday lives in host societies (Hagendoorn, Veenman & Vollebergh 2003, Remennick 2003, Vertovec 2007). Age, gender, presence of school-age children, language skills, educational background, socio-economic background, learning skills and other formal skills, and motivation for living in a new country of residence are only some of conditions that may impact daily life (Bosswick & Heckmann 2006, Hagendoorn, Veenman & Vollebergh 2003, Remennick 2003, see also Kärkkäinen 2011). The adult migrant population itself is more diverse than ever before on many different dimensions. Vertovec (2007) uses the term 'super-diversity' in order to catch the complexity of contemporary diversity. There is a huge differentiation in the migrant population as concerns their country of origin, their statuses of residence and reason for coming to Finland, different histories and experiences of migration of different migrant groups, transnational practices, religious, linguistic, regional, and political affiliation. As pointed out in Chapter 2, the Finnish migrant population is also diverse in terms of educational background and socio-economic status. As a consequence, migrants' experiences, trajectories, and constraints related to living in a new setting are complex interplays of many factors and each individual has a different starting point for living, working, and learning in a new setting (Vertovec 2007). A different set of those variables also determines different set of rights, benefits and constraints. Therefore, being aware of and understanding relationships among those multiple variables and phenomena is crucial for explaining the phenomenon of migrant integration and how they learn in a new country of residence. Tarnanen, Rynkänen and Pöyhönen (2015) add that each individual has a different integration path, which is an effect of arising opportunities as well as an effect of one's own choices.

3.2 Towards collaboration and a mutual change

In the previous sub-section, I pointed to integration as understood from the perspective of the migrant population, which is also the most common understanding of integration. However, it is not only migrants, but also native Finns who are, or at least should be, active participants of integration. Similar to migrants, members of the native population also take different stands towards international migration, cultural maintenance, intercultural contact, and migrants' participation in different spheres of host society life. In other words, host societies also choose an acculturation strategy. The alternatives available

here are: the 'melting pot' approach, segregation, exclusion, and multiculturalism (Berry 2001, Komisarof 2009). The multiculturalism strategy corresponds to an integration position undertaken by individuals with a migration background and enables integration to happen. The multicultural strategy means accepting and supporting non-dominant members in the maintenance of their cultural backgrounds and promoting intergroup relations. Migrants are often presented as having a free choice in choosing an acculturation orientation, but in fact, receiving societies' (e.g., Finnish educators') attitudes towards cultural diversity and mutual accommodation matter a lot (Berry 2001). Although the original definition of acculturation underlines its mutual, two-way character, more changes are expected from the non-dominant population and research more often focuses on this aspect of acculturation (Berry 2001, Piontkowski et al. 2000).

As was previously mentioned, access to the host country's institutions and participation in different areas of life are also important aspects of integration. However, migrants cannot access these institutions and cannot fully participate without the help of the host society, engagement of its members, and larger changes in the host society. Furthermore, this transformation and engagement cannot be seen only in the form of creating opportunities (Martiniello 2006), because this indicates that the receiving society is not really expected to change (Miera 2012). One of the conditions of integration as a two-way process is therefore the recognition of the role of the migrant communities as well as the acceptance of possible changes on behalf of the host society members in social patterns and cultural values in response to international migration (Miera 2012).

The approach to integration as a two-way process is challenged in many different ways. Integration as a two-way process is easily associated with multiculturalism. Next to multiculturalism as a theoretical concept, the concept also functions to depict policy aiming to manage intergroup relations in culturally plural societies and to promote benefits connected to diversity for the society at large and for its individual members more specifically. The multiculturalism in respect to policy is heavily criticised as being an inadequate approach to integration as it leads to and accepts the existence of parallel societies (Miera 2012). Moreover, a two-way approach to integration is often dualistic in its character and the receiving society and migrants are easily presented as two groups existing in opposition to each other (Miera 2012, Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015). Members of the receiving society are presented as those who are integrated with the host society being a static entity disturbed by the inflow of migrants. And so things also function at the institutional level, in workplaces (Näre 2013), and educational institutions (Kalonaityte 2010). We can first discuss integration as a two-way process when this dualism is overcome. That can be reached when integration is seen as a goal to which everyone has to contribute every day (Miera 2012). This contribution needs to be visible in different aspects of life at private, institutional and societal levels (Pitkänen 2007).

In this sense, integration is a lifelong learning process that everyone is engaged in, from migrant to Finnish educators, along with migrants' families and friends left behind (see also Kärkkäinen 2011). In fact, moving to a new setting is always connected to a much more intense learning process than ever before (Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). The presence of migrants is also a source and driving factor for new learning for the host population. According to Pitkänen (2007), from the perspective of both adult migrant students and Finnish educators, next to learning something new, living in a linguistically and culturally new and/or more diverse context also requires moving away from old practices and ways of doing things.

With regard to living in a new society (as in the case of migrants) or in the context of undergoing transformation (as in the case of trainers working in vocational education for adults) learning is about searching for meaning and change (see Cronbach 1963, Daloz 1986, Jarvis 2012b, Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, Mezirow 2000). That change is visible in the form of gaining new knowledge, changing attitudes, and in the creation of more hybrid cultural identities and practices (Pitkänen 2007, Veikou 2013). Living and learning in the previously mentioned settings leads more concretely to the development of new linguistic practices (Creese et al. 2006, Harris 2006), to the acquisition of new skills (Creese et al. 2006), to changes in people's private relationships and group membership (Bosswick & Heckmann 2006, Heckmann 2005), and eventually also to changes as concerns who we are, how we see ourselves and how others see us (Hirvi 2013, see also Lave & Wenger 1991). Encounters with people of different backgrounds are a source of learning while also serving as a source of transformation for all parties involved in those interactions (Lasonen et al. 2009).

In sum, integration is a very dynamic and never-ending learning process, with the arrival of new migrants. The situation looks different and every day we are engaged and in contact with a different set of people and different communities. Consequently, our identity is changing, nothing is absolute and definitive, and processes related to living and learning in a new setting is undergoing transformation. All parties are influenced by the decision to migrate, including the migrants, their co-migrants, the locals, as well as migrants' families and friends left behind in their own countries who remain in constant interaction (Cohen 2011). The effect of this interaction is a change in identities, linguistic and cultural practices of all parties just mentioned before (Hirvi 2013). However, the transformation goes beyond changes at the personal level and often also involves changes and development of new pedagogical practices and activities at the institutional level (Teräs 2007).

3.3 Formal learning and integration

As mentioned above, integration is a dynamic learning process and is about acquiring new skills through learning. When looking at integration from the

perspective of the adult migrant population in Finland, the learning path leading to employment and to integration in a broader sense can be a very long and difficult path, mainly because of the learning (formal and informal) that it involves (Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). Though many things related to integration are learned informally (Alenius 2015; Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, p. 125), the role of formal education is usually stressed (Ahmad 2010).

Merriam, Baumgartner and Caffarella (2007) recognise that learning in adulthood is a personal process; nonetheless, that process is also influenced – to a large extent – by the social and historical context in which learning is happening. Merriam, Baumgartner and Caffarella (2007) argue that “what one wants to learn, what is offered, and the ways in which one learns are determined to a large extent by the nature of the society at any particular time” (p.5). The most common motive for adult participation in learning are job-related motives, like preparing for a new occupation or updating skills for the purpose of the current job (Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, p. 62). Other reasons for enrolling in education in adulthood are connected in one or another way to changes happening in life. Other adults undertake education simply for the joy of learning and seeking new knowledge.

There are some specific reasons why migrants have to learn, but more generally, learning belongs to the adult person’s life. We need to constantly update skills, competencies, and knowledge in order to be able to function in a changing and competitive world (Manuti et al. 2015, Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, Simons & Masschelein 2008, Tynjälä 2008). Participation in education allows people, both migrants and non-migrants, to enhance learning skills and gives a basis for lifelong learning. Such skills are also valuable from the perspective of living in linguistically and culturally diverse settings and being engaged in lifelong learning related to integration.

This is also true in the case of adult migrants. However, participation in formal education for individuals with a migration background is often seen as a necessary condition for moving forward in a new setting. The need to constantly learn and undertake formal studies is also connected to a strong belief that the migrants’ position in the labour market and in a new country of residence will improve by increasing migrants’ human capital, such as vocational skills, work experience, language and culture specific knowledge, as well as their social networks. Different measures, such as integration training or vocational education, are offered to migrants in order to develop these anticipated lack of resources and in order to make it easier to recognise prior learning, skills and competencies (Ahmad 2010, Lange & Baillie Abidi 2015.)

Indeed, participation in education is a supporter and mechanism of integration (Calvo & Sarkisian 2015, Couton & Gaudet 2008, Forsander 2013, Kemuma 2000, Remennick 2003, Vedder et al. 2006, Sprung 2013). Participation in education itself is a sign of structural integration, but also facilitates structural integration in other spheres, such as integration into Finnish working life (Forsander 2013). Through participation in formal education, individuals

with a migration background have a chance to take part in 'the game' that is happening at the moment. It is a way to get out of the house, to have contact with the majority population, and to develop a feeling of belonging to a certain community as well as offering the possibility of gaining knowledge of the host country language and a better understanding of the context in which one is living at this particular moment. In addition, participation in formal education creates many possibilities for mutual learning and is applicable to both natives and non-natives. Formal education is an important arena for adult migrants and non-migrants (e.g., Finnish educators and Finnish students) to meet people of different backgrounds, which is believed to be a way to overcome many negative prejudices and negative attitudes towards members of different groups (Jaakkola 2009, Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013).

On the other hand, participation in education also has some limitations for migrants. Scholars such as Chang (2014), and Tarnanen, Rynkänen and Pöyhönen (2015), show that education from other settings or extra education gained in the Finnish context is not always a guarantor of access to the labour market and does not always lead to integration in different areas of life. That suggests that there is a certain mismatch between the education system and working life (Slade 2012, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). Furthermore, for some migrants, learning in Finnish educational institutions is a rather lonely journey and many of these individuals are not necessary happy with the amount and quality of interaction with native students (Chang 2014). In other cases, participation in education means dealing with the notion of superiority of the host country culture over migrant cultures perceived as traditional and inferior (Kalonaityte 2010). At the same time, that contact sometimes leads to reinforcing many negative stereotypes and power relationships (Kalonaityte 2010), which further contribute to losing belief in one's own skills in addition to humiliation connected to one's previous learning, qualifications, and competencies not being recognised (Morrice 2005).

In sum, participation in education offers ample opportunities in terms of supporting adult migrant integration, but also has some limitations. However, it needs to be taken into account, that some adults receive more opportunities for participating in and being successful in learning than others (Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, 93-96). This is an effect of factors related to life situations and more specifically to the life load (demands made on a person by oneself and society) and available resources (power) (McClusky 1970, 83-84). Adult learners differ with regard to their family, work situation, and obligations towards communities. Different people also have different aspirations, desires, and future expectations, but some also have more power than others as learners simply owing to the fact that they have more or less family support, social and economic abilities, resilience, coping skills, and different personalities. In addition, adult learners' socioeconomic status and gender seem to be related their engagement in learning (Chang, Wu & Lin 2012). Furthermore, adult migrants' educational backgrounds and earlier learning experiences impact on the migrant's success in learning, for example in case of

learning the Finnish language (Tammelin-Laine 2014). Nonetheless, other scholars point to a decrease in social status and lack of social networks after migration, which has a specific effect on the migrant's life situation and their ability as learners (Ahmad 2005, Guo 2010).

3.4 Adult vocational education as a part of the formal education system

The migrant participants in this study are enrolled in different vocational education programmes for adults in Finland. Institutes and centres of adult education provide different types of vocational education, namely vocational upper secondary qualification, further vocational qualification, specialist vocational qualification as well as different types of further and continuing education, usually in the form of shorter courses. Vocational programmes for adults differ in length depending on the field and type of studies. Further vocational qualifications and specialist vocational qualifications require an applicant to have some work experience in the specific vocational field. Applicants to vocational programmes (at least at the institute in question) are admitted based on a suitability test, usually in the form of an oral exam. In the case of migrant students, Finnish language proficiency is also tested. Before entering vocational education there is also the possibility of participating in some kind of preparatory instruction and guidance programme, the aim of which is to become familiar with the work in specific vocational studies and to prepare a person for undertaking a vocational education, for example through improving study skills (FNBE 2010).

Commonly, vocational education for adults is organised in the form of Competence Based Qualification (CBQ). The CBQ system was established in the 1990s. In the year 2013, there were 52 upper-secondary vocational qualifications, 190 further vocational qualifications and 132 specialist vocational competencies that could be gained in the form of CBQ (FNBE 2014). The system offers a flexible way of gaining vocational competence and allows for the recognition of vocational skills independently of whether they were gained through work experience, studies, or other activities (FNBE 2014). Adult individuals usually participate in some kind of preparatory training before displaying their own skills, generally in the form of school-based training or apprenticeship. Nonetheless, theoretically, an individual can also undertake qualification tests without any formal teaching or on-the-job training. However, there are also exceptions to this rule: some fields, such as practical nursing, contain some obligatory theory component. Independent of this, whether or not a person has participated in preparatory training, an individual has to send a portfolio to evaluators one week before the actual competency test. The portfolio contains information on what an individual plans to do during exam days (commonly five days), what kind of vocational skills he/she has and how he/she will

demonstrate these skills during the testing period. Candidates gain information on preparing the portfolio during a preparatory training, which also means that it may be beneficial to adult migrants to participate in some kind of preparatory training before demonstrating their vocational skills. The kind of skills and competencies a person should have and should be able to show are set by regulations concerning vocational qualifications (Qualification Requirements) in a specific field standardised by the Finnish National Board of Education (FNBE 2011).

Usually an individual has to undertake several competency tests, always preceded by preparing a portfolio. This is mainly because the CBQ is made up of few competency areas (specialisations) divided further into qualification modules. Some of these modules are obligatory and the students can choose what they want. However, the exact structure and the required amount of obligatory and voluntarily modules differs depending on the field.

There are few other signs that the CBQ system is a flexible one, namely personalisation and eligibility to continue on with further studies. Personalisation is one of the specifics of the system (FNBE 2014, p. 11), as each person progresses in their studies according to their own individualisation plan (FNBE 2010). A student's life situation and prior learning, as well as other needs, competencies, and opportunities for learning are taken into account in preparing the plan. There are special recommendations on the implementation of the personalised approach in the case of adult students with a migration background. The main message of these recommendations is that the educational institution is responsible for recognising the needs of this group of students and for providing them with the necessary support (FNBE 2014). Through a CBQ system, an individual gains knowledge, competency, and skills for working life, and the system equips adult learners with knowledge, skills, and competencies that make them eligible for further studies, also in Higher Education Institutions (FNBE 2014).

The CBQ system is very close to a real-life working situation (FNBE 2011). Most of the learning during this vocational training, especially when done in the form of apprenticeship training, happens in actual workplaces. However, the apprenticeship training also includes some periods of contact teaching. In the case of school-based preparatory training, students spend at least half of their time in actual workplaces. In this case, periods of workplace learning are preceded with some contact teaching at the institute for adult education. The period of workplace learning related to a certain module of studies ends in writing a portfolio. The candidate's vocational skills are evaluated in the actual workplace and by people working in a certain vocational field. Evaluators are representative of employers (entrepreneur or supervisor), representative of employees (e.g., co-worker) and one representative from the institute for adult education (but not the student's trainer). The self-evaluation is an integral part of the assessment process. The evaluation of the student's vocational competencies in the case of school-based training looks exactly the same as it

would in the case of vocational competencies being gained in the form of apprenticeship training.

The CBQ system is closely connected to working life in one more way – this is visible in the experience requirements for becoming a trainer in one of the vocational subjects. Vocational trainers have to have vocation-specific knowledge and work experience as well as be competent pedagogically. Pedagogical competencies for the purpose of teaching in vocational institutions can be first gained after having three years of work experience in a certain field. The pedagogical qualification for vocational teachers comprises 60 credit points and the programmes are offered by the universities of applied sciences.

The CBQ can be completed in Finnish or Swedish only and the institute of adult education does not offer subject/vocational courses in languages other than those two. However some guidance during the studies can be given in other languages. Commonly, migrant students participate in the same vocational courses as Finnish students, but there is also the possibility for a special vocational programme in a certain field or separate courses only for students with a migration background to be organised.

During the time I was conducting interviews for the purpose of this study, individuals with a migration background were competing for the same study places as Finns. However, since the period when the data was gathered, a few changes have been made with regard to the admission of migrants to vocational education for adults and support of their learning at the institute. On the 1st of August 2015, changes in the Law on Vocational Education for Adults (274/2015) (*laki ammatillisesta aikuiskoulutuksesta* in Finnish) came into force. As stated in Section 8 of that law, adult institutes may organise courses aimed at improving and supporting students' learning skills. Such extra support can first be offered when the student is accepted to the vocational programme. In the case of adult migrant students this is often realised in practice in the form of organising language courses. Then, in 2016 an official message was released concerning admission of migrants to vocational education according to which some admissions will be reserved for persons with a migration background (AMKE 2016). There are also more and more voices supporting the idea of reducing the requirements concerning the level of Finnish language needed to apply for a vocational education study place for adults.¹ Furthermore,

Further changes in vocational education in Finland are planned in 2018. Starting from 2018, it will only be possible to gain vocational competences in the form of CBQ; the borders between vocational education for youngsters and adults will vanish. In practice it means that student welfare services will also be available to adult learners.

¹ Finnish National Agency for Education 2017, also Head of the study services unit of the institute, personal communication, May 11, 2016.

3.5 Learning in adulthood

In order to be able to make the most of the opportunities that participation in education offers adult migrants, it is important to be aware of some of the specifics of learning in adulthood. The migration experience has some effect on an individual's learning; however, all of the migrants participating in the study are also adults and concepts applicable to any adult learner are also applicable to them.

Some scholars point out that adults are specific learners (Knowles 1980, Knowles 1990, Knowles, Holton & Swanson 2011). Adults, for example, are more independent, self-directed, problem centred learners than youngsters. They pay more attention to the developmental tasks of learning and usually have more desire to know why they need to learn and their motivation to learn is mostly internal (Knowles 1990, 54-65). However, it is also good to keep in mind a huge diversification among adult learners as concerns the aforementioned aspects of learning (Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007). Still, one important specification of learning in adulthood is the amount and variety of knowledge and experiences that the individuals (also adult migrants) bring to different learning settings (Jarvis 2012a, Knowles 1990, Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007).

Prior knowledge and experience, independent of where this knowledge was gained, is an important base for learning in adulthood (Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, p. 26). Learning begins with experience and though learning and experience do not mean the same thing, there are many overlaps between them (Jarvis 2012a, p. 16). Learning in adulthood is about interpretation and reinterpretation of previous experiences (Mezirow 2000). However, the number of experiences and being used to handling things in a certain way may also create some difficulties in learning something new, or more specifically in learning out of 'old' (Knowles 1990, 59-60). Learning is connected to the search for meaning (Daloz 1986) and always leads to change (Cronbach 1963, p. 47, Jarvis 2012b, p. 17, Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, p. 130, Mezirow 2000). In the process of learning, new or revised interpretations of the meaning of our experiences are created (Mezirow 2000). It is, therefore, a process of transformation of "our taken for granted frames of references (meaning perspectives, habits of mind, mind-sets)" (Mezirow 2000, p. 7). This change has many faces (Jarvis 2012b, p. 17). An individual is changing him or herself mentally, emotionally, but also with regard to identity, self-confidence, and esteem. That change may also be visible in the transformation of meanings of the world and events. Finally, learning leads to becoming more experienced and being able to cope better way with similar situations. A changed person is a more experienced one (Jarvis 2012b, p. 13), and oftentimes such change is made through participation in education (Daloz 1986, Daloz & Daloz 1999).

Because of previously mentioned specifics of learning in adulthood, some learning and teaching practices are seen as more suitable than others for adult learners (Knowles 1990). For example, group discussions and learning at the workplace are recognised as practices and learning environments that are beneficial from the perspective of utilising experiences brought up by adults at different learning sites (Knowles 1990). Cohen (1994) points out that people of different ages learn best when they can talk about their ideas, explain things to each other, and just work together. She also underlines that group work is an especially powerful tool in a heterogeneous classroom, for example in terms of level of language. According to Cohen (1994) group work means “students working together in a group small enough so that everyone can participate on a task that has been clearly assigned” without direct supervision and help from a teacher (Cohen 1994, p. 28). Cohen (1994) further continues that thanks to group work even students who are usually not so active become active and work together on completing a task. Additionally, group work is helpful in creative problem solving, in learning new concepts, in developing thinking skills, and the ability to consider the perspective of another person. What is also important from the perspective of this research is the contribution to improving language proficiency and interpersonal relationships in the classroom. Being engaged in cooperative learning contributes to the development of more friendly and trustful ties. Seeing a problem in a different way creates a lot of potential for students’ learning as it leads to an even deeper understanding of an explored issue. However, Cohen (1994) also points out that working in small groups can be a challenging task mainly due to a lack of skills for working in groups. In her research, Nikkula (2011) also brings up the possibilities and limitations connected to group work and calls for good supervision of students during group work in order to get the most out of this mode of working.

Next to learning in groups, much learning in adulthood happens in the actual workplace. This is taken into account in the case of vocational education designed for adults and the Competence Based Qualification system. Workplaces are recognised by many researchers as an important arena for learning and an important learning environment (Collin 2002) as well as learning itself being an outcome of participation at work (Billett 2001). Many different things are learned at work and through work. At work, people have the possibility to learn about personal and power relationships, to discover their own potential and the possibility of their aspirations being fulfilled within the workplace, and to strengthen their vocational identity and belief in their capabilities (Tynjälä 2013). However, learning at the workplace does not always lead to positive results in terms of gaining vocational competencies, fulfilling one’s own aspirations, capitalising on future perspectives and relationships between people (Tynjälä, Virtanen & Valkonen 2005).

Learning at the workplace is a lot about participation and the work itself is a social practice (Billett 2004). Tynjälä (2008) points to the fact that many activities at work are socially shared and have a collaborative character. Fuller and Unwin (2004) state that “learning equates to the extent and richness of the

available opportunities to participate” (p. 133). Successful learning in the workplace means gradually moving from completing less important, peripheral tasks to much more complicated, expert tasks (Lave & Wenger 1991). At the same time, individuals gradually become members of a ‘community of practice’ (Wenger 1999). That, however, requires interacting with other workers, experts, and mutual engagement in a certain activity with novices and other workers (Billett 2004, Tynjälä 2008). In addition, the anticipation of the atmosphere at work has an impact on the experience of becoming a member of a community of practice (Pemberton, Mavin & Stalker 2007).

Adequate guidance during workplace learning is of crucial importance in making the most of all the potential that learning in the workplaces creates (Virtanen & Tynjälä 2008). Billett (2004) distinguishes two types of guidance at work: a closer one in the form of doing tasks together, and an indirect one, understood as the possibility to observe and listen. Both forms of guidance are of significance in gaining knowledge at the workplace. However, Billett (2004) adds that some vocational practices cannot be understood without interaction with more experienced workers. Workplaces are responsible for being engaged in different activities and for creating opportunities for learning, but on the other hand, a lot also depends on the individual and the individual’s will to use all of these opportunities (Billett 2004). Billett (2004) notices that some individuals simply do not want to engage in given learning opportunities. They can think, for example, that they know better than their supervisors, that they do not agree with practices in a new workplace and therefore they are not interested in engaging in these new types of vocational practices. It needs to be taken into account that there are differences between workplaces in terms of their culture, policy, and application of specific procedures (Kyndt, Dochy & Nijjs 2009), as well as in terms of staff composition (Tynjälä 2008). As a consequence, some workplaces create more opportunities for learning than others (Fuller & Unwin 2003, Kyndt, Dochy & Nijjs 2009, Tynjälä 2008). Because of the benefits of learning at the workplace in adulthood, many researchers call for a good balance between theoretical and practical aspects in learning (e.g., Eraut 2004, Heikkinen, Tynjälä & Kiviniemi 2011, Tynjälä 2008, Tynjälä & Gijbels 2012).

4 CULTURE AND LANGUAGE ASPECTS IN EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

In the previous chapter, I concentrated on the nature of migrants' integration, the role of learning in this process, and the specifics of learning in adulthood, especially in the vocational education context. Language and culture matters are the topics most often present in the debate on migrant integration and migrants' presence in educational institutions. As previously mentioned, knowledge of language and knowledge about the environment in which one lives and studies are seen as important resources for getting ahead in a new place of living. They are also seen as significant with regard to successful learning and teaching. Therefore, in this section I reflect on culture and language as aspects of consideration in learning and teaching, as well as in the integration of adult migrants. I also present possible ways of approaching migrant students and the differences brought by them in different learning sites.

4.1 Culture, ethnicity and their characteristics

Culture, similar to the concept of integration, is a concept that is quite vague and fragile (Dervin 2011, Hannerz 1999, Piller 2012). There is really no agreement as to what it means and there are a number of misconceptions, myths, and oversimplifications created around it (Dervin 2011, Piller 2012, Teräs 2007). In spite of these contradictions in defining culture, there is an agreement that culture is a multi-layered, complex, and dynamic phenomenon (e.g., Erikson 2010, Samovar & Porter 2004), and therefore it is difficult to grasp. Culture is never static - practices, beliefs systems, and our identities undergo constant negotiation and change (Ahmadi 2005, Hirvi 2013, Lee 2003). Negotiation and change are an effect of the passage of time and new (social) conditions. Cultures are changing simultaneously while times, generations, materials, tools, and social conditions are also changing. Culture is therefore both historically and socially constructed (Lahti 2015, Piller 2012, Teräs 2007).

Similar to culture, individuals and communities are also changing over time (Lee 2003). We are constantly learning something new and, as pointed out in the previous chapter, the outcome of this learning is change. Cultural change does not then mean culture loss, but cultural change is rather one of important characteristics of culture (Barth 1969).

Next to change, hybridity is a constituent part or even the core of a culture (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda 1999, Teräs 2007). This idea is present in Ramsey's (2000) approach to culture. He applies a broader and more universal definition of culture that means all forms of social or group identity or shared circumstances like race, ethnicity, gender, sexual and affectional orientation, geography, class, age, and religion are part of a culture. He continues further that "all individuals possess multiple cultural identifications, and these identifications vary in their salience depending on situational factors such as time, current affiliations, socio-political events, and cumulative life experiences" (Ramsey 2000, p. 172, see also Salili & Hoosain 2007b). All of these identifications are equally important and it cannot be said that, for example, identification based on ethnicity is more visible than identification based on age or any other type of identification. All individuals and groups are multicultural because "every person and every human group poses both culture and cultural diversity" (Erikson 2010, p. 36). Educators and students share different cultures, not only as concerns ethnicity and nationality, but also in terms of religion, socio-economic status, values, attitudes, life styles, abilities and disabilities (Pétursdóttir 2009). Adult learners in adult institutes or workplaces present different cultures, even if there are no students of migrant backgrounds. Without exception, educators and students are cultural beings and culture is not something exotic and attributed/reserved only to minorities (Erikson 2010, Ladson-Billings 2006), migrant students (Pétursdóttir 2009) or marginalised groups (Howard 2006, Lee 2003). However, Erikson (2010) recognises that not necessarily all cultural practices are equal in power and prestige, which in turn leads to the creation of both dominant and minority cultures.

The tendency of reserving the idea of culture to some exotic minorities is connected to seeing culture in terms of ethnicity. Similarly to the concept of culture, ethnicity is a multi-layered, complex issue and very challenging to define. Teräs (2007) underlines that it is hard to define one of these concepts when isolating it from the other; however, they are not equivalent. Culture is often seen as a concept, which is broader in its meaning than ethnicity. Ethnicity has a constructed character and it is usually understood as a social category of people who identify with each other. People who belong to the same ethnic group share strong subjective beliefs that they belong to the same community on the basis of common ancestry, cultural heritage, homeland, language, or sometimes ideology. They manifest this belonging through religion, rituals, dressing, food, and physical appearance. In everyday life the word 'ethnic group' means the group that distinguishes itself from the majority in a visible way (Eriksen 2010b). Therefore, ethnic groups are often perceived as other, foreign, and exotic.

Ethnicity deals then with the relationship between groups that are considered culturally distinctive (Eriksen 2010b, Teräs 2007). For a long time there was a belief that ethnicity becomes the issue when cultural differences are greater. However, there is evidence that ethnicity is the most important in the case when groups are culturally close. One explanation is that ethnicity always occurs in the situation where cultural differences are made relevant through interaction. In order to have some basis for interaction, these groups also have to have something in common (Eriksen 2010b.) According to Barth (1969) culture sharing is not the biggest determinant of belonging to a certain ethnic or racial group, because there is a huge cultural diversity within all ethnic groups. Thus, ethnicity is relative and situational (Eriksen 2010b). A person can behave differently depending on the situation. Likewise, as in the case of culture, other social categories (such as class or gender) can be more crucial for identification than ethnicity. Additionally, every person belongs to groups, and only belongs to some of them based on ethnicity. Furthermore, there is a visible shift from ethnicity as fixed to ethnicity that is something dynamic with fluid boundaries (Hall 1995, Massey 1995, Sullivan 2005).

The arguments on the dynamic character of culture and ethnicity, cultural hybridity, and diversity existing in us as individuals and groups indicates that there is no such thing as one homogenous culture (Erikson 2010). This notion applies to Finnish culture as well as to migrant cultures (Teräs 2007). Finland has always been and always will be multicultural (Leitzinger 2008, Leitzinger 2010, Teräs 2007). The Swedish Finns, the Jews, the Tatars, the Roma, the Russians, and the Sami people lived in Finland long before new groups of migrants settled in Finland. Teräs (2007) also points out that some Finns identify themselves more with a region of Finland than with Finland as a whole in terms of their culture. The situation looks the same in the case of individuals with a migrant background. They are not a homogenous group (Vertovec 2007); there are different degrees of diversity within their home countries and they also do not necessarily identify themselves with the home country as such (Teräs 2007).

This understanding of culture is in opposition to seeing culture as something static, unchangeable, and shared by all members of a group (Hall 1989, Hofstede & Hofstede 2005). In spite of criticism of these approaches (Dervin 2011, Lahti 2015, Piller 2012), usually when talking about culture, we either think about it as something being in us - a set of knowledge and beliefs, or as something that also comprises external artefacts - the products of prior human activity (Lantolf & Thorne 2006). According to traditional ways of understanding culture, culture is a kind of "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor 2009, p. 1). Based on such an understanding of culture, some scholars endeavoured to classify cultures and to find some kind of cultural patterns (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005, Hall 1989). Many scholars point out to the danger, hopelessness, and violent character of such approaches (Dervin 2011, Lahti 2015, Piller 2012, Teräs 2007,

see also Massey & Jess 1995). These approaches lead to seeing individuals in a stereotypical way, especially in an educational institution context (Dervin 2011, Piller 2012, Teräs 2007). In such cases, international students and more generally migrants, are seen through the lenses of 'home' and 'local' cultures, and the population of even an enormous country like China is easily reduced to one culture (Dervin 2011). Cultural stereotypes are then oversimplified, over-exaggerated, and over-generalised giving way to a "description of cultural traits in other groups which are conventionally believed to exist" (Eriksen 2010b, p. 278).

Very traditional approaches to culture easily give the impression that cultural differences can be limited to national borders and ethnic groups (Cools 2011, Eriksen 2010b, Teräs 2007). In other words, they lead to simplistic thinking about culture and ethnicity as homogenous and as connected to certain places and nations.

4.2 'Culturespeak' and misuse of culture

The word 'culture' is very trendy (Dervin 2011, Hannerz 1999, Piller 2012, Teräs 2007) and serves as a catchall phrase (Ladson-Billings 2006). We use the term in reference to many things as well as quite often interchangeably with other concepts like nation, ethnicity, race, nationality, cultural background, home country, and cultural practices (Ladson-Billings 2006, Piller 2012, Teräs 2007), which may lead to many misconceptions. Therefore, Hannrez (1999) suggests that rather than concentrating on talking about culture, we should pay attention to 'culturespeak'. Hannrez (1999) argues that 'culturespeak' is to be met in all spheres of life. Teräs (2007) and Välimaa (2008) found a similar notion in their researches conducted in two different educational settings. Teräs (2007) found that 'culturespeak' was often present in discussions in preparatory training for vocational education in Finland, even though culture was actually not meant to be a topic of discussion. Teräs (2007) treated any participants' talk related to diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds, their countries, and their learning practices as the desire of a student or teacher to share their thoughts related to cultural issues. While talking about cultural matters both students and teachers made observations, comparisons, as well as created new ideas and reflected on new practices (Teräs 2007).

Välimaa's (2008) analysis of studies published in the higher education field shows that reflecting on culture or using culture as a tool for analysing results is also quite popular in the higher education field. For example, one third of articles published in *Higher Education* from 2000 to 2005 touched upon cultural matters. Authors referred to many different things when writing about culture in the higher education context, such as the campus, disciplinary, institutional and national culture, cultural background of students, culture as tradition, culture as facilitator, and block of change (mainly in comparative studies). In many of these studies, culture is also used as an intellectual device

for describing and explaining the social phenomena or for categorising universities. This indicates that in educational research, many different matters are bringing about some kind of cultural connotations: Educational institutions themselves are seen as cultural institutions similar to institutions such as museums, libraries, and so on. In addition, differences related to the functioning of educational institutions, and differences between different disciplines are seen in terms of culture (Välismaa 2008.)

These two examples show how the word 'culture' is easily ("randomly and regularly") used in order to explain everything that is otherwise difficult to comprehend (Ladson-Billings 2006, p. 104, see also Teräs 2007, Välismaa 2008). In a simplistic way, culture is presented as an answer to all challenges. For example, teachers (especially novice teachers) commonly use culture as an explanation for behaviours, struggles with learning, and the failure of schools with students from diverse backgrounds. In a way, culture is used as an excuse to avoid paying attention to the complexity of migrant students' participation in education (Ladson-Billings 2006.)

Such frequent use of the word 'culture' implies a few things. This is evident for researchers, educators, and students who try to understand this complex phenomenon, the world, and themselves as well as the multi-layered and complex concept itself (Erikson 2010). For example, through observation, comparison, and the creation of new ideas, educators and migrant students are making invisible cultural practices more visible to other parties involved in the learning process (Teräs 2007); furthermore, culture is an important academic concept and intellectual device that helps researchers to understand the studied phenomena (Välismaa 2008).

All of this also indicates that we not only want to get an understanding of other cultures, but we are also very eager to make interpretations of it (Geertz 1973, Teräs 2007). However, these interpretations carry many risks, mainly because we as human beings live in "webs of significance" that we created on our own (Geertz 1973, p. 5). While analysing culture we are in a constant search for meaning, for understanding of the "webs of significance" or "texts" as Geertz (1973, p. 452) calls it later. However, it is very easy to make a mistake while analysing other cultures as we make sense of things, try to find some meaning on the basis of our limited knowledge and on the basis of just what we see (Geertz 1973). Many of our interpretations of culture are just misinterpretations, not "scientifically tested and approved" hypotheses (Geertz 1973, p. 23).

Even though being in contact with a specific culture gives us a certain familiarity with it, what we understand about another culture remains mostly in our imagination, in other words "our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they are and what their compatriots are up to" (Geertz 1973, p. 9). Culture, therefore, is socially constructed, a kind of imagined community that others, including ourselves believe we belong to (Baumann 1996, see also Dervin 2011, Piller 2012).

4.3 Language and its required level

Next to culture, questions related to language are also at the centre of the debate on adult migrant integration, learning and teaching. Unconsciously, languages are treated as static, closed entities (Garcia & Sylvan 2011, 385) while in fact, language has an historic and dynamic character (Lantolf & Thorne 2006). Language is not something that is mechanically passed from one generation to another, but similarly to culture it is continuously in the process of becoming something new as it is constantly developing and changing. In addition, languages are mobile and complex entities without clear boundaries (Blackledge, Creese & Takhi 2014, Blommaert & Rampton 2011, García & Beardsmore 2009, Jørgensen et al. 2011).

These ideas are difficult to accept, especially in the European context where language was at the centre of nation building processes (Blommaert & Rampton 2011, Campani 2008, Piller 2012). In the past, homogenising different languages and cultures was essential from the perspective of internal cohesion of the nation-state, especially in the case of nations struggling for their independence (Campani 2008). The idea of 'one nation, one language' is strongly rooted in our minds and this has an influence on educators' practices and how languages are treated in educational settings. However, there is no such thing as one Finnish language (or any other language) (e.g., Gay 2010, Teräs 2007). Not only do individuals with migration backgrounds speak Finnish in a different way, there is also a huge variation concerning this issue among the Finnish population as there are many dialects within the Finnish language.

There is a common belief that language and culture are interconnected (Gay 2010, Samovar & Porter 2004). Language is a central issue in the discussion on culture and belonging (Edwards 2005, Toivanen 2013) and at the same it is considered to be one of the important markers of ethnicity and identity (Creese et al. 2006, Gay 2010, Paris 2009). This notion is in accordance with the sociocultural perspective on language learning (Lantolf & Thorne 2006). According to this view the host country's language skills are important for gaining a deeper understanding of the setting in which one lives. What's more, knowledge of language is a sign for others that someone belongs to a certain community and that person is able to participate in the game that is taking place at this concrete moment. Technical learning of new words and their meanings is not enough to successfully function in a new context and effectively communicate in a certain language. The aim is rather to learn a "languaculture" which implies gaining new conceptual knowledge and modifying an already existing one (Lantolf & Thorne 2006, p, 5). At first, such a remediation of interaction with the world makes us more successful in verbal as well as non-verbal communication in a certain language. The understanding of this less visible aspect of language is a crucial issue for smooth communication. Lantolf and Thorne (2006) claim that with the help of language, we not only understand words and sentences, we also need it for understanding actions.

Because of these factors, a lack of language knowledge is associated with a lack of appropriate cultural and behavioural attributes as well as an appropriate attitude (Allan 2013, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). Often these anticipated deficits are then attempted to be cured with measures aiming at improving the migrants' knowledge of the host country's language (Allan 2013).

Learning the host country language is seen as the main aim of integration measures (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015, Simpson & Whiteside 2015). Knowledge of language is an important indicator of integration that contributes to the feeling of belonging to a community, and is a gatekeeper granting access to the host country's institutions. For example, knowledge of the host country language is required for obtaining Finnish citizenship, participation in vocational education and working life (e.g., working in different vocational fields), and for enjoying a successful social life in the host society (Delander et al. 2005, Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). It is also the key to social mobility (Duchêne, Moyer & Roberts 2013). There are educational institutions (like universities) and workplaces that offer an opportunity to study and work in English at varying levels. However, in most cases, the knowledge of the host country language is necessary for being admitted to an educational institution (like vocational programmes in Finland) and for finding employment.

Communicating with representatives of other cultures in a language that is not shared by all parties creates some risks. Those risks remain high even if someone uses another language as a second language, meaning a language that is used and learned in a setting in which it is a tool of everyday communication by a majority of the population (Latomaa et al. 2013). That is exactly the situation in my study. Finnish is a second language for my participants as they learned it and used it in a context where Finnish is widely spoken. Parties involved in interaction can strongly believe that words, phrases, and concepts have a universal meaning, but in fact, they can be interpreted differently by people with different cultural backgrounds (Berry 2009). This goes along with the idea that the same sign can represent different meanings to different people and at different times or may not even mean anything at all (Lantolf & Thorne 2006).

All people speaking the same language belong to the same visible language community, but they can also be members of different invisible speech communities (Erikson 2010). Therefore, Lantolf and Thorne (2006) state that second language speakers use language differently and their communication in a second language is influenced by communication in the first language. Second language speakers usually know grammatical constructions, for example in Finnish, and are able to communicate quite well, but they do not necessarily have a conceptual grasp of it and their thinking, speech, and gestures may still have communication features from their own mother tongue. Therefore, second language users' speech may appear to be more fragmented and inappropriate.

Being a non-native user of Finnish creates many limitations and challenges to learning and studying in Finland. It can also turn out to be a barrier, for example, to finding a job (Ahmad 2010) and to doing it successfully (Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). Communicating with fewer linguistic resources than natives often puts migrants in a disadvantaged position. Living, working, and studying in a more or less new setting requires adult migrants to have more complex communication skills than natives in the same situation. A good example here can be a 'key gate keeping site' for entering a job market - job interview situations during which migrants need to give an explanation, contextualise their previous learning, qualifications, and work experiences, while doing this with far fewer linguistic resources (Roberts 2012.) As a consequence of that, adult migrants' explanations about their qualifications and work experiences may feel strange and fragmented. Lack of knowledge of the host country language and sounding different can function as a barrier to recognition of one's skills, competencies, and experiences (Allan 2013). Based on the first impression after pronouncing a few sentences, decisions are often made about a person and a person's abilities, skills, and intellectual resources (Kalonaityte 2010).

Knowledge of the host country language works as a proof of one's skills, competencies, and experience because it is a medium that can be used to facilitate understanding and show one's own knowledge and competencies (Roberts 2012, Roberts 2013). Furthermore, language is an important medium for becoming a part of a work community (Virtanen 2011); a process for moving from peripheries and taking care of less demanding tasks towards moving to the centre and to job tasks with more responsibility (Lave & Wenger 1991). However, in many cases, such as in workplaces, speaking Finnish is not enough; a person has to sound Finnish too (Kalonaityte 2010, Näre 2013, Ogbonna & Harris 2006, Piller 2016, Roberts 2013). Having a different accent or just the fact of being not inherently native gives a basis for constructing somebody as the 'Other' and for defining somebody as belonging or not belonging to a group (Näre 2013, Ogbonna & Harris 2006). This is often the case not only because of an actual lack of language skills, but also from perceived differences and beliefs that language skills are something hindering communication (Piller 2012). This also indicates that knowledge of language alone is not that much help if it is not accompanied by changes in attitudes in society at large (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015, Sandwall 2013).

The fact of language being a key to living and learning in the host society further stokes the discussion on what the actual required level of language should be for successful participation in education, employment, and social life (Latomaa et al. 2013, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). The aim of integration training is that an individual with a migration background reaches an intermediate level of language (level B1 on the European scale of languages). That is also the language level required for applying for Finnish citizenship and for further studies in Finland, in addition to working in some fields, such as the medical field (Latomaa et al. 2013). However, some stakeholders, like language

educators, point out that level of language is not enough for doing well in education and for completing more complex work tasks (Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011) and work tasks that require interacting with other workers and customers (Härmälä 2008). On the other hand, a B1 level of language also functions as a gatekeeper even if there is no reason for that (Latomaa et al. 2013).

The discussion on the required level of language is challenged by lack of agreement on what actual is knowledge of language. For some, this means being familiar with grammar; for others this is more about language being a communication tool that helps everyday life, extend social networks and propel one forward in a new country (Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). Some point out to the existence of everyday language and vocational language as well as the existence of verbal and non-verbal language and all of those areas of language being an important and integral part of language knowledge (Härmälä 2008, Virtanen 2011). That idea is especially valuable from the perspective of vocational knowledge of language. Vocational knowledge of some language is an important part of vocational competency (Härmälä 2008, Virtanen 2011). Nonetheless, knowledge of everyday language (Kela & Komppa 2011), being effective in non-verbal communication (Härmälä 2008, Virtanen 2011) and knowledge of other languages (Virtanen 2011) are also crucial aspects from the perspective of being successful in working life.

Different stakeholders evaluate migrants' knowledge of language differently. Adult migrants themselves are more positive about evaluating their ability to manage in a host country language than authorities (Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). Migrants are also more likely than authorities to notice differences in knowledge of language in different areas of language (Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). As Tarnanen and Pöyhönen (2011) show, adult migrants give the highest evaluation to their ability to understand and to speak, and writing skills are something that they struggle with the most. This self-evaluation is commensurate with results from the official Finnish language knowledge evaluation. In this case, writing is also the most difficult area (Latomaa et al. 2013).

All of this shows that language is complex in its nature. Speaking, understanding, writing and reading skills are all important aspects of the knowledge of language. Yet, learning language is a long process in which knowledge develops at different speeds in various areas of language, and different people have different starting points for learning the host country language (Latomaa et al. 2013, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). This is affected by one's age when moving to a new setting, the reason for migration, educational background and earlier learning experiences, personal predispositions, preferences and motivation for learning a language, as well as an effect of the possibilities for participation in a social life (Latomaa et al. 2013). In-depth learning of language requires immersion in the language culture and involves an understanding of the impact of language on people who are using it (Alhassan & Kuyini 2013). That can be reached if the second language learner

not only intends to live in a certain context, but is also committed to being a part of this community (Lantolf & Thorne 2006).

Often, gaining a proper level of knowledge of language is seen as something that integration training takes care of. However, knowledge of language results from migrants' work as well as their interactions with people (Latomaa et al. 2013, Virtanen 2011). Real social situations, and observing and participating in different activities have a potential to support second language learning (Partanen 2013, Suni 2010, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). Therefore, one would logically conclude that being in an education and working environment and being in contact with native members of a society creates many opportunities to learn the host country's language. However, a lot depends on if these opportunities are used (Latomaa et al. 2013, Partanen 2013), and on support received from the working community (Partanen 2013). Additionally, various workplaces may offer different opportunities for learning language (Sandwall 2013, Strömmer 2015). However, even in workplaces with less opportunity for interactions with other employees and customers, migrants may still have an opportunity to learn the language, although we are not necessarily aware of these cases (Strömmer 2015).

4.4 Culture and language in learning and teaching

Learning is a sociocultural process (Gay 2010) with a constant dynamic between learning and culture (Säljö 2004, Teräs 2007). In different historical times, we needed to learn different things. Additionally, learning varies in different schools, places, and across cultures (Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005, p. 39). In different settings and different times, different things may count as knowledge and different ways of gaining this knowledge are more valuable than others (Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, Merriam & Kim 2008, Säljö 2004). However, societies and cultures are changing, and therefore educational systems as well as educational practices are changing (Teräs 2007).

There is no such thing as static regularities concerning learning styles (Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003). Learning, as well as other cognitive processes, is very complex and learning styles themselves "are constructs that have many different components, are dynamic and fluid, not fixed and static" (Gay 2010, p. 175). Therefore, Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003) propose going away from attributing certain learning styles as a trait of an individual or group of individuals. Instead, they suggest looking at learning as a cultural-historical activity. Different learning styles are just a tendency of people who have similar histories of being engaged in a specific cultural activity. However, people are naturally engaged in various common practices in cultural communities. Representatives of the same cultural community have a different set of experiences, in addition to different experiences connected to learning (Lee 2003). Preferable learning styles depend on the task and context - and they are changing over time. In addition, there is huge diversity among groups with

regard to preferable practices (Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003). Even students of the same cultural background can have quite different approaches to learning because of their personal differences (Entwistle 1984, see also other chapters in Marton, Hounsell & Entwistle 1984). However, students bring a different set of strengths to the educational institution, independent of their background (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). Although Chavez and Longerbeam (2016) call them cultural strengths, they do not necessarily have to be cultural in origin (Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003). Next to culture, other aspects of identity related to belonging to different cultures, gender, socioeconomic status, religion, sexual orientation, geographic origin, age, or citizenship can play an important role in learning and teaching (Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005, Gay 2010).

Language matters are also of significance in learning and teaching, because we define our experiences, thinking, and knowing through language (Gay 2010, Lantolf & Thorne 2006). Language is a tool of communication and communication is a crucial issue in empowering students, while teaching in itself is a linguistic activity. Educators teach, explain things and give instructions and feedback by using language. However, teachers are not necessarily aware of these aspects or the empowering role of communication and the importance of language in the classroom (Gay 2010, p. 78.) Certainly, understanding what the teacher says and what is written is also central to students' learning (Dooley 2009).

Gaining knowledge in a second language sets major challenges for migrant students studying difficult subject matters in a new language. Dooley's (2009) research shows that teachers as well as migrant students themselves may wonder how much of the subject matter was understood in the end. Many teachers' and migrant students' actions may influence the migrant students' understanding. Too much written text and not enough time devoted to explanation of it as well as too many new words at once and speaking too fast may cause comprehension difficulties. However, Dooley (2009) notes that migrant students do not necessarily ask for help if they do not understand, and the author comes to the conclusion that for a migrant student, learning in a new linguistic environment means a constant balancing act between reaching an understanding of the subject matter and keeping up and trying to fit into the mainstream classroom. Learning and teaching in multilingual and multicultural settings is also about finding a balance between migrant students and teacher responsibility for resolving student confusion related to not understanding (Dooley 2009).

4.5 Culturally responsive pedagogies and their critique

It is rather challenging to study in a new linguistic, social, and cultural environment (Banks 2010b, Gay 2010). Learning in such a completely new setting means not only learning a new subject matter, but also often means negotiating new learning methods (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). Students with

a migration background were previously exposed to different historically and locally formed learning practices and therefore can be less familiar with the context in which learning and studying is happening in the new setting (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016, Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005, Teräs 2007). Ramsey (2000) underlines that migrant students can find themselves in conflicting situations – they feel at home in the new country, but at the same the surroundings in the classroom environment is different from what they expected.

These observations are also a starting point for many initiatives aimed at improving learning and teaching of linguistically and culturally diverse students. Some of these initiatives are defined as culturally responsive teaching (Gay 2010, Howard 2006), culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings 1995, Ladson-Billings 2014), culturally inclusive teaching and teaching across cultural strengths (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016), *sentipensante* (sensing/thinking) pedagogy (Rendon 2009), radical-local learning (Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005), cultural modelling (Lee 2001, Lee 2003), and a multicultural approach to learning and teaching (Ramsey 2000, Samovar & Porter 2004).

In spite of different conceptualisations, all of these initiatives have some similar characteristics. They underline a certain discontinuity between migrant students' home/own culture and the predominant culture in the educational institution and criticise a 'one-size-fits-all' approach. Therefore, in one way or another they all encourage educators to be aware and gain knowledge about the backgrounds of linguistically and culturally diverse students, to revise their own attitudes and prejudices, and to adjust their teaching practices by taking into account migrant students' perspectives, learning styles, and their world of experiences. In other words, the initiatives aim to improve learning and teaching of linguistically and culturally diverse students and call for a transformation at the personal, institutional, and policy level.

This transformation should be visible in the educators' caring attitude towards migrant students' learning as well as in concrete actions, for instance in the form of previously mentioned rethinking and adjusting of teachers' own teaching practices (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016, Gay 2010). This is usually done through taking into account the prior knowledge, experiences, frames of reference, learning styles, personal abilities and communication styles of all students, in particular with regard to students coming from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016, Gay 2010, Ramsey 2000, see also Banks & Banks 2010). Such an action contributes to creating a connection between students' everyday knowledge, their experiences, their lives and the demands of the subject matter while creating a more familiar and effective learning environment (Lee 2001, Lee 2003). For example, finding something familiar in a learning environment and in the taught subject matter awakens students' curiosity and supports engagement in the learning process (Gay 2010, Lee 2001). By taking into account migrant students' prior knowledge and experiences, they have a chance to build their new knowledge on top of the old; in other words, they also have a chance to learn and be successful (Gay

2010). A familiar and safe environment engenders positive emotions, which are crucial in the cognition process and are a necessary condition for effective learning (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016, Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005). Gay (2010) adds that experiencing success in learning is important to further learning.

Similar ideas are to be recognised in another approach known under the term *multicultural education*. The main idea behind this initiative, or as Banks & Banks (2010) calls it concept, educational reform movement and a process, is to enhance and support changes related to creating equal opportunities to learn for all students regardless of their gender, class, ethnic, racial or cultural, linguistic, or religious backgrounds as well as exceptional characteristics (Banks & Banks 2010, p. 3). While concentrating on the most disadvantage groups of students (e.g., migrants, disabled and students from low socioeconomic background), the initiative aims at improving education of all students and positive development of the whole school community. At the same time, the multicultural initiative encourages educators to familiarise themselves with the cultural backgrounds of different groups of migrant students and to modify teaching and teaching materials accordingly (e. g. Banks 2010b).

However, taking into account students' frameworks of reference and learning has its own risks, namely, a danger of putting too much emphasis on cultural matters and approaching students in stereotypical ways (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016, Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005, Ladson-Billings 2014, Paris 2012). These also create the basis for critiques of some earlier-mentioned initiatives, for example cultural responsive/sensitive pedagogies. Although cultural responsive pedagogies are good in their intention they may give an impression of culture being something static and problematic (Ladson-Billings 2014, Paris 2012).

Therefore, some researchers call for recognising the role of the cultural and historical backgrounds of migrant students in educational practices, and at the same time encourage educators to look at culture as something to be lived, instead of using it to categorise students in educational institutions (Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005, p. 197). It is therefore more appropriate to talk about students' local knowledge and conditions, whereby new knowledge and developing an understanding of academic concepts should be built on top of and in relation to this local knowledge and local life situations. Learning close to students' own local communities and everyday lives has positive effects on students' motivation to learn and on learning outcomes (Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005, see also Moll, Amanti, Neff & Gonzalez 1992, Moll & Gonzalez 2004).

Chavéz and Longerbeam (2016) go further and encourage cooperation between students and teachers in figuring out what works as a way of stepping behind already existing categories. That cooperation is closely connected to flexibility and constant negotiation concerning grading systems, teaching materials, and assignments. In this sense, both educators and students are responsible for the learning process and actively contribute to it. Chavez and Longerbeam (2016) admit that such an approach requires both educators and learners to have much more courage as they just have to give themselves a

chance to try out new things. While that it is not an easy task, it is worth taking into account diverse students' frames of reference, being flexible and open for trying out new things because this is a first step towards creating multi-culturally empowering learning communities (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). Next to a proactive and flexible attitude with regard to searching for new ways of coping and of supporting learning, this type of community is characterised by a climate of safety, which encourages students to take risks, to ask questions and to challenge ideas.

Other recent approaches, like intercultural education, education for diversity, education for all, and pedagogy of recognition, call for understanding culture in a broader sense and recognising all kinds of diversities to be met in learning settings (Gogolin & Krüger-Potrtz 2006). The perspective here is that of educating for diversity in a broad, intersectional sense. The approaches encourage educators to take advantage of possibilities that such diverse learning settings produce, in terms of educators' as well as local and migrant students' different socio-economic backgrounds, religions, households and family forms, values, attitudes, life styles, abilities and disabilities, ethnicities and nationalities offer (Gogolin & Krüger-Potrtz 2006, Pétursdóttir 2009). Similarly, Paris (2012) claims that it is not enough that migrant students are approached in a linguistically and culturally responsive/relevant way. He sees the aim of participation in learning in terms of supporting and sustaining linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism. In this case, all kinds of differences brought up by students are seen as resources, which I reflect on next.

4.6 Towards seeing differences as a resource

While differences of all kinds are seen as problematic, they do not necessarily need to lead to difficulties, whether it be in society or more narrowly in educational settings, such as in vocational education (Erikson 2010). However, a lot depends on if the differences are perceived as boundaries or borders (Barth 1969, Erikson 2010). There is nothing wrong in seeing differences in terms of boundaries. A cultural boundary is just the objective presence of a cultural difference of any type. These types of differences are present in all societies. Any differences can function as a boundary. However, the problems arise when the differences are constructed as borders. Cultural borders are socially constructed and political in origin (Erikson 2010), are in nature similar to political borders between nations, and become determinants of power, rank, and prestige in society (as well as in educational institutions). The tricky issue is that any difference can easily be changed from being a boundary to being a firm border. In this type of situation, the presence or absence of a certain type of knowledge, which Erikson (2010) calls cultural knowledge including language or religious beliefs, is used to issue rights and create obligations. Based on that, any real or anticipated linguistic or cultural difference is easily used to construct someone as different, as the 'Other' (Erikson 2010, Said 1995). That

further leads to mutual hostility and the creation of many negative stereotypes on both sides (Said 1995). The 'Other' is then seen as intellectually and culturally inferior, that also gives a basis for taking for granted exclusion of the individuals constructed as the 'Other' (Kalonaityte 2010).

Paris (2012, see also Paris & Ball 2009) distinguishes three ways of approaching differences in the educational institution setting: seeing differences in terms of deficits, as equal but different, and/or as a resource (Paris 2012, Paris & Ball 2009). The deficit approach is characterised by not recognising and eradicating linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism and practices in the context of an educational institution. Everything that is different, such as the way of learning, teaching, or behaving is seen to require correction. The difference-based approach recognises that all students' languages and cultures are equal, but are also different from ways (of learning and teaching) legitimised in an educational institution and there are really no actions aimed to encourage students to maintain their cultures and languages. Additionally, in this case these traits seen as different are pinned to an individual and are associated with a certain cultural group. The deficit and difference approach to linguistic and cultural diversity see losing students' heritage, cultural, and linguistic practices as a necessary condition for being successful in the host country's educational setting. The third approach, based on the principles of resource pedagogy, is a sign of treating linguistic and cultural diversity as a real resource. Diversity is recognised, students are supported in being successful at learning as well as in sustaining and being proud of their linguistic and cultural competencies (Paris 2012, Paris & Ball 2009.)

While at the moment the last view is the most popular one, teaching practices are characterised by all of these views combined. Migrant students are often presented as those who are having problems with meeting schooling needs. The failure of educational institutions to meet the needs of non-dominant ethnic and language groups is easily overlooked (Paris & Ball 2009.) However, Gay (2010) thinks that educators and educational institutions should concentrate more on what migrant students have and not to view their challenges in participation in learning in terms of what they do not have and in terms of correcting and curing attributed deficits. Rather, the aim is to be aware of students' linguistic and cultural heritage and competencies, to take advantage of their strengths in teaching, and to use them as sources for strengthening their position and empowering them (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). Educators should be well advised to widen their perspectives and use a range of diverse teaching methods. Such action creates greater possibility that at least some practices would be relevant to students' preferred way of learning and teaching (Rendon 2009). This is also an act of recognition that students bring different strengths to learning environments without categorising them (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). Devaluing migrant students' linguistic and cultural resources is not only something that teachers do, but often migrants themselves do not consider these attributes as a resource, but as hindrances to

learning of the host country's language and to learning the subject matter, for example in relation to gaining a vocation (Windle 2009).

Cultural and linguistic diversity as well as all other kinds of diversity create a lot of new possibilities for mutual learning and is beneficial to all learners participating in vocational education for adults, however, only if all of those opportunities are well used (Banks 2010a, Teräs 2007). For example, multicultural educator Banks (2010a) noticed that being in contact with other cultures and having other cultures as points of reference helps to understand one's own culture, its specificities and relations to other cultures. In addition, multicultural cooperation and encounters with people of different backgrounds, be it in an adult institute or in the workplace, is an engine for developing new ideas, activities and practices (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda 1999, Teräs 2007). In other words, they are a source of new (intercultural) learning (Räsänen et al. 2005, Teräs 2007). In the settings where students are from diverse cultures, students and teachers can create new types of learning cultures, which is not the same as a separate Finnish learning culture and a migrant student learning culture, but which can be beneficial for both (Gutiérrez 2008, Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda 1999). Chavez and Longerbeam (2016) add that teaching practices based on resource pedagogy (bringing a variety of perspectives, worldviews, learning and teaching practices as well as seeing all linguistic and cultural competencies as resources), facilitate more in-depth learning for any student.

Furthermore, linguistic diversity in educational settings creates a lot of possibilities. Many multicultural scholars recognise that not using students' knowledge of different languages is a waste of valuable resources for facilitating migrant students' learning (Cummins 2005, Gay 2010, Hélot & Laoire 2011). Gay (2010, 87) states that taking away "self-selected or cultural communicative means of speaking their thoughts, their ideas, themselves" makes users of the languages invisible and powerless. In fact, many researchers show that using heritage languages and multilingual practices in teaching migrant students has a positive effect on their learning (Ahlholm 2015, Creese & Blackledge 2010b, Creese & Blackledge 2015, Gay 2010). Flexible use and incorporating various linguistic resources for multilingual individuals into the pedagogy is beneficial for communication, supports a process of negotiating meaning, and leads to a deeper understanding of a specific subject matter and to the development of critical thinking (Creese & Blackledge 2010a, Creese & Blackledge 2015, García & Beardsmore 2009). Therefore, many call for moving away from monolingual approaches in educational institutions in a multilingual classroom context (García & Sylvan 2011) and see the flexible use of signs for creating meaning as a potential pedagogy in diverse learning settings (Canagarajah 2011, Creese & Blackledge 2010b, Creese & Blackledge 2011, Creese & Blackledge 2015, García & Beardsmore 2009, Hornberger & Link 2012). Jørgensen and colleagues (2011) claim that making strong divisions between languages is far removed from real life. That is especially visible in a multilingual, super-diverse context, where usually all available linguistic

resources are used in a flexible and simultaneous way in order to negotiate meanings and to communicate in a more effective way (Creese & Blackledge 2010a, Creese & Blackledge 2015, García & Beardsmore 2009, Harris 2006).

However, there are few barriers for making the most out of available linguistic resources in an educational setting. There are many harmful beliefs, prejudices, and preconceptions about language at educational institutions (Campani 2008, Gay 2010, Hélot & Laoire 2011, Jørgensen et al. 2011, Piller 2012). For example, there is more acceptance and place for expression of some languages than for others in society and in educational institutions (Hélot & Laoire 2011, Piller 2012), such that there is a hidden hint that you can be more proud of some languages than of others. It then becomes quite self-evident that some languages have more power than others in educational institutions (Hélot & Laoire 2011). In addition, linguistic diversity, instead of being treated as a resource, is seen as a threat to internal cohesion of the nation-state (Campani 2008). Ideas about the existence of one standard language and the need to be perfect in speaking a certain language are deeply rooted in our minds (Gay 2010). There is also a common belief in a single-language policy in educational institutions. However, Gay (2010) warns against such approaches. English only, or in this case Finnish only, as the language of instruction approach in educational settings easily leads to treating this one "Only" language as a determining factor for success in learning, instead of facilitating learning.

The discussion about language and culture in education further implies that there is a direct connection between aspects of language and culture, learning and integration. Creating opportunities to use heritage languages in an educational setting is closely related to giving space for expressing and practicing students' cultural identities. This is also a sort of hidden information for students that these resources are accepted and appreciated (Cummins 2005). It is also an open action towards sustaining migrant students' ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Actively applying linguistic and cultural resources available in various learning settings supports students' engagement in learning and at the same time leads to better educational outcomes of students from diverse backgrounds (Gay 2010). However, what is even more important is that it leads to the development of competencies crucial from the point of view of integration. These include respect for self and others, civic participation, and multicultural competence. Using other languages in an educational institution setting contributes to integration in one more way. In some cases, the language of minority students works as a unifier, as a common ground for students experiencing the same situation (Paris 2009.)

In order to be able to treat differences as resources, changes are needed in attitudes, in educational institutions, and in society at large (Hélot & Laoire 2011, Lasonen et al. 2009), as well as greater reforms at the educational institution and society levels (Banks & Banks 2010, Chavez & Longerbeam 2016, Gay 2010). In a way, educators serve as motors for these changes to happen (Hélot & Laoire 2011, Howard 2006). Howard (2006) points out that often, the problems related to educating diverse students are seen as being 'out there' and

the role of the educator is defined in the form of 'helping minority students' (p.5). It is considered normal that some groups are more privileged and some resources are more valued, and no one tends to question that. Our strong preconception on what is normal is also more concretely visible in educators' teaching practices (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). Usually teachers use teaching practices they are familiar and comfortable with and unconsciously expect students also bring similar skills and competencies to the classroom (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). Therefore, some see that it is important to raise educators' awareness of migrant students' backgrounds, their histories and experiences as it is rather impossible to take all of this into account without understanding it (Gay 2010, Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005).

One further step towards effecting change is to understand oneself (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016, Gay 2010, Howard 2006). According to these authors, knowing the self means being aware of one's own attitudes, prejudices, values, ways of seeing, awareness of one's own classroom behaviours, and reaction to others behaviours. Chavez and Longerbeam (2016) add that being aware of these factors and how they have an impact on the educator's teaching practices and their method for approaching linguistically and culturally diverse students. However, knowing this is not enough. In addition, critical revision of one's own attitudes, hidden preconceptions, actions, and readiness to undertake personal transformation is needed (Gay 2010, Howard 2006).

5 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter discusses methodological and ethical aspects in the current research. Along with taking a stand concerning philosophical assumptions and philosophical approaches that accompanied me in conducting this research, I describe strategies of inquiry (general procedures of research) and methods (detailed procedures of data collection, analysis, and writing up results) applied in this study. Finally, I also reflect on the trustworthiness of the results of the study, limitations of the study connected to its cross-cultural character, as well as ethical matters relevant to this dissertation.

5.1 Philosophical assumptions and researcher's position

Creswell (2003) claims that assumptions about how and what we learn about certain phenomenon during an inquiry process are called different names by different thinkers such as paradigms, philosophical assumptions, epistemologies, ontologies, or even research methodologies. However, whatever name is used, the idea is that in the course of the research process, a researcher is obliged to explain a position about ontological, epistemological, axiological and methodological choices.

Ontology consists in explaining the nature of the world around us. Therefore, there is an ongoing debate on the existence of universal truth and objectivity (Spencer, Pryce & Walsh 2014). Some philosophers are convinced about the existence of such universal truths and the possibility of knowing them. Others claim that reality is subjective and any type of experience can be only understood in a specific context. This is also an assumption followed in this study.

Furthermore, a researcher has thoughts on how we gain knowledge and what is the relationship between the researcher, the world, and the study participants (Spencer, Pryce & Walsh 2014). Some researchers start the research process with assumptions that researcher and participants are not dependent of

one another and they call for a rigorous pursuit of systematic approaches in order to increase objectivity and reduce the researcher's biases. However, this research is qualitative in nature and follows the assumption that a researcher and participants of the study are dependent of each another and both the researcher as well as the participants take an active part in knowledge construction. In fact, the interaction between a researcher and participants is seen as beneficial for understanding interviewees' experiences in a certain context.

Lastly, a researcher has to consider the role of his/her own values, emotions, expectations, and assumptions in the process of knowledge creation during the research process. In this case, there are multiple ways to cope with these matters during a research process. I did not follow any rigorous, standardised procedures in conducting this study. Therefore, I recognise my own position as a researcher in this study, my own personal interests in undertaking this study as well as possible influences that all of these factors can have on the whole research process. The topic of migration, diversity, and living in a new setting started to interest me as an effect of my own experiences of learning, working, and living in diverse settings. In the early 2000s after a few months stay in the United States, I spent one year in Germany working as an au-pair. At that point my au-pair mother was herself working on her dissertation in which she was analysing an aspect of stigmatisation of migrant youth criminals in the local press in the region of Tübingen (Saleth 2012). I found the topic fascinating and I deepened my knowledge on intercultural and ethnic relations during my studies in Poland and in Germany. After moving to Finland and developing an intercultural competence training for persons advising individuals with migration backgrounds, my interest awakened even more and I was motivated to undertake further studies on this topic.

I approach this topic from a certain position - from the perspective of being a migrant myself. I have had the experience of being a migrant in Germany, USA and for the last ten years I have also been a migrant here in Finland. In a way, the experiences of my migrant interviewees echo my own experiences of being a migrant in all those countries. However, this research also gives voice to representatives of the native population, which I believe allows me to balance the effect of echoing migrant interviewees and my own experience with migration. On the other hand, my position and own interest in this research allows me to gain an even more in-depth understanding of the researched phenomena. Having had an experience of living, studying, and working as a migrant in countries other than in Finland may enable me to notice things which may remain overlooked by someone who is deeply immersed in living in a certain setting. Dervin (2011) calls for being aware of one's own biases towards others, including in the research process. My ideas on culture and on many issues have changed in the course of doing this research. Yet I am aware of the fact that especially in the beginning phases of doing this research, I had quite an essentialist view on culture, for example I thought about culture in terms of national borders and that people of certain cultural

backgrounds think and behave in a similar way. The essentialist ideas were obviously quite strong, as I could not really understand critical comments that I was getting on that.

The ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions give basis for the philosophical approaches that guide and structure qualitative research (Spencer, Pryce & Walsh 2014). The notions of social constructionism are the most relevant for this research. The central thesis of this philosophical approach is that understanding and knowledge are socially constructed. Knowing is then an active process; knowledge is not found or discovered, but it is constructed (Schwandt 2007). Following this idea, the aim of the research is to 'explain how human beings interpret or construct some phenomenon in specific linguistic, social and historical context' (Schwandt 2007, p. 39).

There is nothing in the world that can be taken for granted (Silverman 2011a). For the practice of doing research, it means that a researcher can start research without a clearly stated problem. During interviews, the interviewer as well as the interviewee work together towards constructing meaning. The interviewer is not interested as such in meeting people and discussing a few topics with them, but is rather interested in how participants of the study actively create meaning during the interview. Study participants not only share facts and experiences during the interview, they constantly transform these thoughts (taking away and adding something new to them) and reflect on who they are in relation to the interviewer (Silverman 2011a.) Identity is not fixed as such and therefore interviewees may present different aspects of themselves depending on the context and the person talking to them (Silverman 2010). Following social constructionism, this research does not offer a reconstruction of objective reality, but rather seeks to show meaning that participants of this study assign to their experiences and social worlds (Silverman 2011b).

In this research, truth is treated as a shared meaning among a group of people. Therefore, there is no one universal truth, reality is neither true nor false; reality is socially constructed. This research then aims to understand the multiple realities of people's ways of seeing the world and their experiences and to show the complexity of those multiple realities. The researcher as well as each study participant provides a different perspective to the studied topic. This is recognised during the process of writing up of results through a presentation of different quotes exemplifying participants' perspectives and experiences (Patton 2002).

5.2 Research process

The main study was preceded by the pilot study phase. As follows, I depict both stages of the research process. The chapter focuses on describing the implications of the pilot study with regard to the main study phase as well as portraying the sites and informants of the study (also called the study

participants), and gives a detailed description of the procedures for data collection and analysis during the main study phase.

5.2.1 Pilot study

The pilot study was conducted in spring 2012. The pilot study data results from qualitative interviews with two migrant students and two trainers/trainers in two different institutions providing vocational education: adult institute (*aikuisopisto*) and vocational college (*ammattiopisto*). Adult institutes organise vocational education for adults, while vocational colleges offer mainly vocational education for youngsters (starting from about 16 years). Adults can also apply for vocational studies. Adult migrants participate in vocational programmes in both types of institutions. Therefore, for the purpose of the pilot study, I interviewed one trainer/teacher and one student with a migration background from both types of institutions.

The decision to conduct a pilot study turned out to be a very valuable one from the perspective of further developing the research design and for narrowing the focus of the study. The pilot had the following implications for the main study phase: Firstly, after the pilot study I decided that I would later only interview people from adult institutes. While talking to staff members in vocational colleges, I was often somewhat confused by who they were referring to when talking about migrants whether they were talking about adult migrants or youth with a migration background. Therefore, choosing interviewees from one type of institution allowed me to avoid such misunderstandings and I was sure that we were all referring to the target group of my study, which is adult migrant students. In addition, by choosing interviewees from one type of institution, the interviewee group became more coherent and the study gained more focus.

Secondly, the pilot study phase was of help in making a final decision on using Finnish as the language for gathering and analysing the data. After a few interviews, I noticed that interviewing in Finnish works well and I continued to gather the rest of the pilot study data and subsequently the main study data in Finnish. I noticed a difference between interviews with teacher interviewees and migrant student interviewees. Migrant students usually gave shorter answers, some of the migrant interviewees needed more time for gathering their thoughts and I needed to ask them questions more often. Because of this, I considered whether I should conduct interviews with migrant students in two parts. However, I decided to progress with interviewing the same way as in the pilot study. By the end of interview session (in the pilot study as well as in some main study interviews), interviewees (migrant as well as trainers) were asked to reflect on the interview situation, also on the length of the interview. None of the migrant interviewees made any comments on the interview being too long or too tiring, and this was the case in both the pilot study phase and in the main study phase. Furthermore, from my own experience, I am aware it is much easier and less tiring to talk to other non-native speakers than to native speakers of a certain language. Also, dividing interviews into two parts could

have resulted in difficulty in arranging an interview with the same person twice, and maybe even in arousing a feeling among study participants that the whole thing would take too much time.

Therefore, I chose the option that I believed to be the most comfortable for the study participants. That was also the option that I personally felt comfortable with and which I believed to be beneficial for this research. I informed interviewees in the beginning of our interview session about the languages that could be used during an interview situation. The pilot study interviews as well as the main study phase interviews were conducted without the assistance of interpreters and the interview was completed in one session. I recognise the limitation connected to this choice, which I describe in more detail later in this chapter.

Thirdly, after the pilot study I decided to stop using specific concepts, like integration or learning processes in the interview questions. Quite soon, I noticed that informants understood those terms in a variety of ways. Often I had an impression that interviewees were not sure what I was asking about. Instead of integration, I decided to ask trainers and students in the main study phase about migrant students' *everyday life* in Finland. The word integration (*kotoutuminen*) stayed only in two questions in the trainers' interview guideline: 'What kind of experience do you have with integration of adult migrant students participating in vocational education organised by the adult institute?' and 'What is your role in integration of adult migrant students?' Instead of using the expression 'learning process', in the main study phase I started asking about *experiences in learning and studying*. In this stage the study gained more focus on the Finnish context and on formal education. In addition, after the pilot study phase I realised that I was mostly interested in how people were learning, teaching, and managing in everyday life in Finland. Therefore, in subsequent stages of the research process, I asked about these issues more specifically in the Finnish context and mostly in relation to formal education.

Fourthly, I used the pilot study phase to improve the interview guidelines. I removed a few questions from migrant students' interview guidelines as I noticed that some questions did not work out or maybe participants understood them differently than how I was expecting. For example, questions like 'Tell me about your regular day' and 'Tell me about your regular day in the institute' were among questions that were removed. I thought that I would get information on migrant students' integration in the society and in the institute. In fact all interviewees were purely concentrating on their daily schedule and I did not get much more information other than just what time they were waking up, what time they left and came back home and their regular bedtime. In the pilot study I also asked more specifically about the importance of language, knowledge about Finnish society and culture, integration training, work, and updating of vocational competencies in the process of integration. Quite soon, I noticed that such types of questions were rather suggestive and that I could not ask about all of these issues in one study. Later on, using general terms, I asked about things that were important from the perspective of the adult migrant's

everyday life in Finland. In addition, I also organised migrant students' and trainers' interview guidelines more clearly. I grouped all questions from both interview guidelines, into four bigger themes connected to 1) learning and teaching, 2) integration, 3) the role of formal education in integration and 4) learning and integration (see Appendix 3).

5.2.2 Main study

The pilot study phase gave a basis for conducting the main study, and contributed to the decisions and choices made at this stage of the research process. This subsection is devoted to describing the site and informants of the study, reflection on data, and their analysis in the main study.

5.2.2.1 Study site and informants

The main study was conducted in an institute for adult education in Finland, located outside of the capital region. The institute is one of the biggest providers of migrant and vocational education in Finland, and has close to ten thousand students per year and over two hundred personnel. The institute offers vocational programmes in many different fields and at many different levels for adults mainly, and free of charge. It offers a possibility to gain upper-secondary, further and specialist vocational competencies as well as the possibility of further develop competencies through participating in continuing training and gaining various permits. Yearly, around 1700 adults graduate from different training programmes offered by the institute. Students, including those from a migration background are allowed to receive student financial aid during their studies (Infopankki 2015).

The institute also organises vocational programmes meant only for individuals with a migration background. However, there are fewer of these types of courses offered. Adult migrants are encouraged to participate in the programmes together with Finnish students as that is seen as beneficial from the point of view of their integration (Rector of the institute, personal communication, January 7, 2016). According to the management, the institute has its own plan concerning integration of adult migrants, which is mainly implemented during integration training. Trainers of vocational matters are aware of the existence of this plan. Nonetheless, matters of migrant integration are not necessarily highlighted during vocational education. Officially, the institute wants to support adult migrants' integration into society through integration training and to Finnish working life through vocational training.

There are over 600 migrant students per year enrolled at the institute, of which 200-300 participate in vocational education and the other 200 in integration training. The rest of the students with migration backgrounds, roughly 200, participate in other types of continuing education. In 2015, the most popular vocational programmes (at the upper-secondary level) among migrants were business and commerce, logistics, hospitality, restaurant and catering services, construction and cleaning services. In 2015, migrant students enrolled at the institute represented 79 nationalities and spoke 71 different

languages (Head of the study services unit of the institute, personal communication, May 11, 2016). At the time of the interview, most migrant students obtaining vocational skills also went through some kind of integration training². In many cases this was integration training offered by the institution in question.

The study participants (students and trainer interviewees), were quite a heterogeneous group of people. To maintain anonymity, both groups of participants are pictured in rather general terms. For some of the informants it was an important issue that they not be recognised. For that reason, as well as to avoid approaching interviewees in a stereotypical way, some information, such as informant nationality, is not provided to the reader. Some background information on the participants can be found in Appendix 4.

The student participants (17 persons) in the study ranged in age from 22 to 45. Three of the migrant students were in their twenties, nine of them in their thirties, and five of them in their forties. Most of the student participants were women (13 persons) and only four of them were men. They represented 14 different nationalities. Two of them were also holders of Finnish citizenship in addition to their original citizenships. They represented almost all of the continents: three were of African background, five of East European background; two of South American background and one was from an English speaking country. In all they spoke 17 different languages, including Finnish.

The migrant students in this study shared different histories before their actual migration to Finland. For example, one of the students reported visiting Finland and knowing a lot about Finland before actually moving to Finland. Another student had an opportunity to prepare for migration by participating in a Finnish language course in her previous country of residence. Migrant interviewees also shared different educational and work histories before migration to Finland. Two people were studying for a similar vocation in their home countries (without completing their studies), another two did not have an education in the same field from their own country, but they gathered some work experiences in that field in their previous country of residence (their own home country or some other country).

The most common reason for coming to Finland was marriage, whether to a Finn (8 persons), to Ingrian Finns (2 persons), or to a person of the same ethnic background living in Finland (1 person). The other three participants were following their husbands (Finnish or of their own ethnic background), who got a job in Finland. Some also came to Finland as asylum seekers or under refugee statuses (2 persons) or simply had Finnish ancestry (1 person). Some moved to Finland from their own country of birth while others (6 students) had lived in a different country or even several different countries. Student participants were also a very heterogeneous group in terms of length of stay in Finland, ranging

² Integration training in Finland usually comprises of Finnish (or Swedish) language studies and introduction to Finnish society, culture and working life. The training is organised by municipalities, Employment and Economic Development Offices as well as educational institutes, for example Adult Education Centers (Infopankki 2015)

from three years to almost twenty. All of them were participating in some kind of Finnish language courses. However, there was diversity with regard to what type of course and for how long as well as at which point after migration to Finland the undertook their studies. Some were participating in these types of courses for only a few months while others had been studying for almost three years. Only three students were undertaking education in the field that corresponded to their previous vocational background or previous work experience. All other students were studying for a new vocation. Two students had been previously studying a different vocation in the same institution.

Most of the students undertook their vocational studies straight away after participation in language courses. Five of the students had an opportunity to work in Finland. The amount of work experience in Finland ranged from a few months to 11 years. One of the students had just gotten his first job in Finland. Four students had Finnish work experiences in the vocational field in which they were studying. All migrant student participants were gaining their vocational qualification in the form of Competence Based Qualification and were all enrolled in upper secondary (initial) vocational programmes. At the time of the interview, all student interviewees had participated in some kind of preparatory training for vocational competency tests. However, some of them were doing that in the form of school-based training while others were in apprenticeship training. One of the students was completing further training independently on the side of his regular job and was receiving financial support from the employment office (*omaehtoinen opiskelu*). In spite of this huge heterogeneity among migrant student interviewees, there was also something they all had in common. They all came to Finland as adults or young adults (one interviewee), and they all spoke Finnish, although their levels of Finnish language proficiency differed significantly.

Staff member interviewees (12 trainers and a rector) were also quite a heterogeneous group of people. Ages ranged from 33 to 64, with eight female staff members and five men. All of them were holders of Finnish citizenship. Two of the trainers used to live abroad for long periods (a few years); the other four briefly lived abroad, mainly as tourists. Six trainers had not previously lived abroad. One of the trainers was married to a non-Finn. Three of the staff members felt comfortable speaking English. Most of staff member interviewees (seven persons) described their knowledge of English as being able to manage if needed. Two staff members only know some English, and some of the trainer informants also had Swedish language skills. Two persons reported good proficiency in the Swedish language while two more could converse in Swedish and another two knew only some Swedish. Some staff members (five persons) also had knowledge of some German and some mentioned also knowing some French and Russian. Staff members had different amounts of teaching experiences in general and in teaching of adult migrant students more specifically. At the time of the interview, some had taught for only a few years while others had been working as adult educators for up to twenty years. Some

trainers had taught only a few migrant students in their lives while others were involved in teaching adult migrants on a regular basis since the late 1990s.

Participants of the study were students or trainers in the following vocational programmes: Social and Health Care (practical nurse), Cleaning Services, Hotel and Catering Services, Food Production (bakery/confectionary), Wood Processing, Audio-visual Communication, Business and Commerce, Safety and Security, and Construction. Additionally, some of the trainers were also involved in teaching to migrant students participating in integration training programmes.

5.2.2.2 The interview

In this study, qualitative semi-structured thematic interviews were utilised for data collection. Brinkman (2014, p.278) points out that 'inter-view' can be defined as 'an interchange of views between two persons (or more) conversing about a theme of mutual interest'. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) see the purpose of any interview in terms of obtaining a description of the life in the world of interviewees. Knowledge gained this way is further used for interpreting the meaning of described phenomena (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015, p. 3).

As concerns the number of participants in each interview session, two forms of interviews were used: individual and group interview (Brinkmann 2014, Pietilä 2010a). The set of data for the main study consists of 13 individual interviews with staff members (12 trainers and Rector of the institute) as well as 11 individual interviews with migrant students in addition to one group interview with six female migrant students studying in the same vocational programme (cleaning services). Some make a distinction between group interviews and focus group interviews. However, it is also recognised that there is no right way of doing focus groups interview (Morgen, Follows & Guevara 2008). The group interview with elements of the focus group best expresses the use of this procedure for collecting data in this study.

There are certain differences between the two types of interviews applied in this research and both of them have some advantages and disadvantages. My role as interviewer differed in both types of interviews applied in this study. In the individual interview, I discussed with the interviewee his or her opinions and thoughts. During the group interview, the main point was to guide a discussion. Participants in the group interview were encouraged to debate and share their views on the research topic, in other words, to participate in the process of constructing knowledge (Pietilä 2010a). In the course of the discussion, interviewees were comparing and negotiating their different ways of thinking, they were agreeing, disagreeing, as well as sometimes defending their views on certain issues in the group setting; and in this way gaining a collective understanding of individual experiences, perceptions, and beliefs (Hennink 2008, Pietilä 2010a).

Discussion paths during group interviews are usually more complicated and more surprising than during an individual interview (Pietilä 2010a). As a moderator, this required me to facilitate the discussion and interaction among participants, keeping in mind coping with group dynamics. During a group

interview, I made sure that the discussion focused on the relevant topics named in the prepared interview guide. However, at the same time, I was open to newly arising topics. I aimed to gather in-depth and diverse knowledge of the subject matter. According to Hennink (2008), usually, during group discussions, a co-researcher accompanies the moderator. The co-researcher is responsible for taking notes related to the interaction between participants and non-verbal communication. The group interview in this study was conducted without a co-researcher or assistant. However, while moderating a discussion, I made notes as concerns non-verbal language during the interview situation as well as on the interaction among participants. The notes were checked and filled in straight away after the interview session (see Morgan 1997).

The semi-structured interviews are probably the most common type of interview used in the qualitative research (Brinkmann 2014). Many researchers equate this with any type of interviewing. The purpose of interviews in this study was to gain opinions and descriptions of experiences of migrant students learning in Finland as well as the experiences of those teaching this group of students. Beforehand, I designed an interview guideline (see Appendix 3). The same semi-structured interview guide was used in all types of interviews, individual and group. The aim was to touch upon similar topics when talking to study participants. However, I used the interview guides in a rather flexible way. The questions in the interview guide were open-ended and the interviews took the form of discussions. I did not place any importance on the order of the discussed topics. If the interviewee raised an interesting and valuable issue from the point of view of my research interest, I did not hesitate to delve further into this issue. The interviews were semi-structured, but many times, they also had features of in-depth interviewing. I asked additional questions and for further explanations as long as the interviewee wanted to talk about a certain issue and as long as we found a common understanding of that matter. I was often paraphrasing and asking interviewees if I had correctly understood their thoughts, what they exactly meant by expressing such an opinion and if a concrete example could be given.

All interviews were conducted in the form of face-to-face interviews, which is also the most common way of doing a qualitative interview (Brinkmann 2014). Brinkmann (2014) claims face-to-face interview method enables researchers to generate a very rich source of knowledge. We not only hear the words from the people that we are interviewing, but we also see their gestures, body language, mimics and can get a feeling from the place. The interviews used for the purpose of the main study were mainly conducted in spring 2014. Six of interviews were done in spring 2012 (three with migrant students and three with trainers). Two of the interviews conducted at the institute for adult education in 2012 and analysed for the purpose of the pilot study were also included in the main study data set. Likewise, during the first phase of data collection, and also later in 2014, study participants were found through the contact person at the adult institute (appointed by the Head of the Counselling and Guidance Services). I contacted all interviewees personally in

order to explain the purpose of the interview and agree on a time and place of interview.

The interviews were conducted at many different sites. The study participants could choose the place of the interview. Most of the interviews were done in areas at the institute. Beforehand, I arranged a room through a contact person at the institute. In most cases, trainers interviewed suggested that they would take care of this matter. Other than this site, one individual interview as well as the group interview were conducted at the interviewees' workplace learning sites, one at a migrant student's home, two in the cafeteria and one interview with a trainer was organised in a nearby university's premises. The range of interview sites was very valuable from the research perspective and gave an important feeling of places significant to my migrant interviewees from the perspective of their learning and living in Finland.

Each interview session started with obtaining informed consent (see Appendix 2) and a short introduction to the interview. I briefly introduced myself and reminded the interviewee about the purpose of our meeting. In the case of the group interview, the introduction was extended. In the beginning of our (group) interview session, I explained to everyone how we would be progressing, the ground rules, and the aim of this interview session; I shared thoughts and discussed topics related to learning, teaching, and living in Finland, and me learning from interviewees (see Morgan 1997). All participants were asked to introduce themselves at the beginning of the session. In order to make the introduction phase smoother I distributed to students a piece of paper with key words that they could concentrate on in their introductory talk. The introduction stage took some time; however, this stage was necessary from the point of view of deepening an understanding of the studied matter as this was the only way I could gain awareness of the informants' backgrounds. I also had an opportunity to ask further explanations, in the case when something concerning the interviewee's background was unclear to me.

I gathered all data myself. All interviews with trainers as well as most interviews with migrant students were conducted in Finnish. In some interviews with migrant students, other available linguistic resources were used in order to gain a common and a better understanding. I underlined that the correctness of language was not the most important issue during the conversation. In the beginning of the interview session, I also mentioned to all persons that I knew English and we could have a conversation in that language as well. Despite some migrant interviewees knowing English, these individuals wanted to talk in Finnish. However, in some cases more and more English was present by the end of the interview session. I followed interviewees' use of language. If the interviewee switched to English, I did too; and if the person switched back to Finnish, I started to talk in Finnish as well.

All interviews, both individual and the focus group, were audio recorded and then transcribed. The individual interviews lasted from half an hour to a little over two hours. The group interview session lasted almost two hours. In

total, the research material comprises of over 30 hours of recording, and the interview transcripts amount to about 520 pages.

5.2.2.3 Transcription of data

Face-to-face interviews give the possibility of gathering unique knowledge. However, it is up to the researcher how and if she/he uses this knowledge (Brinkmann 2014). Brinkman (2014) continues that, over time, we tend to forget feelings and body language involved in the interview situation. Therefore, the process of transcription of data is of crucial importance. I recognised these issues during the process of transcription and analysis of the collected data. I transcribed recorded interviews as soon as possible after conducting the interviews. While transcribing data I added comments concerning the body language of the interviewee. Whispering or raising one's voice is also marked in transcriptions by using arrows (↗). Thinking pauses are marked with ellipses. The amount of dots varies depending on the length of pause (. - short pause, ... - longer pause, - very long pause). As an interviewer, I used a lot of nodding and words such as 'aha' and 'yes, yes' to confirm my listening. However, I omitted these words/sounds in the transcripts. The reason for these omissions was my intention to make transcripts easier to read which also helped in data analysis. The omitted nodding is marked in the transcripts with six dots (... ...).

The process of transcription of data was time-consuming, mainly because of gathering data through a second language. Although I understood what was said, on many occasions I needed to check in the dictionary to see how a certain word is spelt. After transcribing the data, I was once again listened to interviews and checking for correctness of the completed transcripts. However, this was not the end of the process. In the next stage, I asked a native Finn (a project assistant working on the same project and the research secretary working at the same institute as I) to listen to and check the transcripts of interviews with trainers. After I got the corrected transcripts back, I listened to them one more time while paying attention to changes made in the transcripts. Only the last two interviews with staff members reminded unchecked by a native Finn. With time, I became more fluent and confident in transcribing Finnish language interviews. I have noticed that the corrections made by the native Finnish speakers were mainly related to the incorrect spelling of the words and not to the incorrect understanding of the interviewee's thoughts and ideas. In addition, I have also realised that native speakers of Finnish can make mistakes in transcriptions. Because of that, I have not seen any further need for proofreading of the remaining transcripts. However, in this case I asked one of my Finnish colleagues to listen to passages that were somewhat unclear to me, usually because of the recording quality. The interviews with migrants were not proofread by a native Finn. The interviews were much easier to transcribe, mainly because the interviewees and I shared a similar language level. In addition, I have not spotted in the text interview fragments that would make me unsure about if I have understood things correctly.

5.2.2.4 Analysis and writing up results

Qualitative content analysis was utilised as a method of data analysis in this study. Though qualitative content analysis is used in many different disciplines, there are no exact and strict recommendations as to how it should be done (Hsieh & Shannon 2005, Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999) and it is considered to be a rather flexible method of analysis for qualitative data (Schreier 2012, Schreier 2014). Nevertheless, it is believed with the help of this scientific method, a researcher is able to picture and organize data and present a studied phenomenon in a more summarised and understandable way (Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999, Schreier 2012, Schreier 2014).

In the beginning stage of undertaking content analysis, a researcher has to make a decision on what is defined as an object of analysis (Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999). The object of content analysis in this study is manifested in addition to latent content (Graneheim & Lundman 2004, Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999, Schreier 2014). I was not only interested in what was clearly articulated, but analysis done in this study also involves interpretation of what was said and what was meant by it. The unit of analysis in qualitative content analysis can be one word, one sentence, a few sentences or the whole thought about a certain issue (Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999, Schreier 2014). In this study, the unit of analysis is the whole thought on a certain issue, which also means that I was prepared for the same text (the thought) to contain more than one meaning (Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999). In this sense, content analysis done in this study also has some features of open coding (Gibbs 2007).

Most often researchers point to two different ways of doing qualitative content analysis: inductive (conventional) and deductive (directed) (Hsieh & Shannon 2005, Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999, Tuomi & Sarajarvi 2009). Inductive analysis is data-driven, while deductive analysis is based on a concept system prepared beforehand. These approaches also have some implications as concerns the role of theory in the analysis process. Qualitative content analysis is further divided into theory-based, data-driven and theory-guided content analysis (Tuomi & Sarajarvi 2009). The analysis conducted in this study has features of the theory-guided analysis. The first stages of analysis were mainly data-driven. However, the overall approach applied in this research is an abductive one, rather than purely inductive or deductive (Tuomi & Sarajarvi 2009). Both of these approaches, inductive and deductive, are incorporated in this study.

In later stages, different theoretical perspectives were added, which equipped me with the tools to better understand and interpret the data. In Schreier's (2012) opinion, purely data-driven analysis is basically not possible as we are always guided to some extent by themes that evolve from our research questions and interview guidelines. That also applies to analysis done in this study. The whole research process and the data analysis was accompanied by the constant need to go back to existing literature and theoretical concepts on the studied topic. Before conducting interviews, I was familiar with the discussion on integration and the migrant position on the labour market. This

knowledge partially influenced the themes of the interview guide and later, on the categories that emerged. Additionally, the main study phase followed the pilot study. The categories built during the pilot study phase also had an influence on the creation of categories and subcategories in the main study phase (or at least on what kinds of categories were considered to be relevant to my material). Some themes of the interview guide, such as learning and studying, teaching, living in Finland, and the role of formal education, also became the main categories of my coding frame. However, I was very open to new aspects arising from the data and based on that, a few other categories (topics) were added to my coding frame, such as migrants in institutes and working life. The main categories in this study are primarily concept driven (based on previous knowledge, such as everyday knowledge, logic, interview guidelines). The main categories are then aspects of material that I was interested in getting more information on (learning, teaching and modes of working). In contrast, subcategories consist of what was said in the research material on matters named as main categories (Schreier 2014).

After I wrote an initial version of the results of the study I went back to the existing literature and became familiar with different theoretical concepts related to the viewpoints brought up by interviewees in their talks on learning and teaching. These are also presented in the theoretical part of the dissertation. This procedure allowed me to see my data in light of existing literature, to see similarities and differences between my research and already existing knowledge. However, what was of importance enabled me to create new insights into the studied topic, helped me gain a more in-depth understanding of the aspects related to learning, teaching, and integration, in explaining and problematizing the results of my study and notice some deficiencies in existing theorising. Figure 2 shows the steps of the research process, steps of analysis undertaken in this study and the role of previously existing literature in the research process.

1. **FAMILIARIZATION WITH TOPICS** related to migration and integration, especially in the Finnish context
2. **PILOT STUDY:** data-based analysis, emergence of initial categories and subcategories, rethinking of the focus of the study and formulation of the initial research questions
3. **MAIN STUDY:** gathering more data at one of the pilot study sites (adult institute)
4. **IMMERSION INTO THE WHOLE SET OF DATA:** repetitive listening to interview recordings and reading of transcripts, creating concept maps, identifying significant themes
5. **DEDUCTIVE EMERGENCE OF MAIN CATEGORIES** based on previous knowledge, themes of interview guidelines and in-depth familiarization with the set of data, selecting quotations relevant to each main category with assistance of Atlas.ti
6. **DATA-DRIVEN ANALYSIS** within each theme (main category): repetitive reading of quotations gathered within a certain category, appointing codes to the unit of analysis (whole thought on certain matter), grouping of codes into subcategories (by hand), subsuming quotations gathered on certain aspects within main category to just created subcategories (with assistance of Atlas.ti), creating further subcategories and dividing already existing ones if needed (with assistance of Atlas.ti), combining subcategories in order to get synthesis
7. **REFORMULATION OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS**
8. **WRITING UP INITIAL VERSION OF RESULTS** (inductively); creating a model and tables summarising the main results of the study and showing existing relationships between subcategories
9. **EXPLORATION OF EXISTING LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL CONCEPTS** on matters raised by study informants, choosing theoretical concepts relevant to this study and valuable for better understanding the study results, writing up of theoretical part of dissertation
10. **WRITING UP FINAL VERSION OF RESULTS** while comparing results to already existing theoretical perspectives
11. **DISCUSSION OF RESULTS** in the light of existing literature, existing theoretical concepts, and earlier research
12. **IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY** in the light of existing literature

FIGURE 2 Steps of the research process and the role of existing theoretical perspectives in it (inspired by Alenius 2015)

The process of data analysis started with immersion into the data (Hsieh & Shannon 2005). After transcribing the whole data set, I listened to it and read it a few more times. The task was accompanied by the process of taking notes and creating concept maps (see Appendix 7). The concept maps were also used in later data analysis and when writing up the results. This way I got an in-depth understanding of the data as a whole. Furthermore, the data was structured according to main categories, which were later divided into subcategories. The analysis in this stage was more text-driven than problem-driven (Krippendorff 2013). That means I did not have a strong idea, research question, or research problem that would guide me in the analysis process. The research questions were formulated after the first stages of data analysis, and were revised a few times in the process of analysis. Slowly, analysis took on features of problem-driven analysis (Krippendorff 2013). The analysis also became more focused, with a concentration on aspects related to learning and teaching from the perspective of integration.

Content analysis is usually used when dealing with a lot of material. This means that it is a challenging task to build a coding frame all at once. Schreier (2012) nicely compares the process of creating a coding system to building a mansion because it can turn out to be an overwhelming project if you want to do it all at once. The coding frame in this study was built step by step. During the pilot study phase, I had an opportunity to create an initial coding frame (initial categories and subcategories) based in part on the research material. Then, the data was coded topic by topic (with assistance of Atlas.ti), which is also one of the recommended strategies when doing qualitative content analysis (Schreier 2012). In practice, it meant finding passages of text and units of meaning connected to a certain topic. The next step was repetitive reading of all quotations gathered within certain main category. The same codes were assigned to a unit of analysis (whole thought on certain matter). The text passages were further grouped into subcategories based on existing similarities and differences between them, as well as based on the impression that they are about the same topic (Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999). In this stage, I worked with a printed version of the relevant material. Initial subcategories were at first created by hand and then transferred to Atlas.ti.

Schreier (2014) distinguishes three ways of working with data in a data-driven way: subsumption (examining one passage after another and subsuming them to an existing subcategory or to a newly created subcategory), progressive summarising (paraphrasing relevant passages and summarising similar paraphrases into categories and subcategories) and comparing and contrasting passages of text. Subsumption was chosen as a strategy for creating subcategories in this study as it was seen as the most 'useful strategy for generating subcategories in a data-driven way once main categories have been decided upon' (Schreier 2014, p. 176). At this stage, the analysis involved reading one quotation after another related to a certain matter and grouped within a certain main category and subsuming them to newly created subcategories (Schreier 2012, Schreier 2014). If needed, the existing

subcategories were divided or new categories were created that covered a certain concept. The process of creating new subcategories based on subsumption continued until no new additional concepts were found (Schreier 2014). In the final stage, the coding frame was further revised and some of the subcategories were combined in order to gain synthesis. The aspects brought up by trainers and migrant student interviewees concerning learning and teaching are presented in the form of a model (Figures 3 and 4) and tables (Table 1 and Table 2). The model and tables display categories, their hierarchy, and existing relationships between them (Kynğäs & Vanhanen 1999).

5.2.2.5 Atlas.ti assisted qualitative content analysis

The analysis made in this research was assisted by Atlas.ti (Friese 2014). The software was utilised for thematic coding of data and during the subsuming process of units of analysis to an initial set of sub-categories (prepared manually beforehand). The software turned out to be helpful throughout the process of building a coding frame. The software allowed me to easily rename categories and subcategories, to change their order, and to gather passages of texts relevant to certain topics. The software's memo function was useful in organising and grasping a large data set as well as my thoughts that emerged during the analytical process.

Using software can be helpful in doing qualitative content analysis, but there are a few things that one needs to be aware of. Firstly, it is important to understand that software can support a researcher in doing analysis, but it does not carry out the analysis for the researcher (Friese 2014). Some of this software was developed to support different types of analysis. For example, Atlas.ti was originally meant for researchers doing grounded theory studies and therefore, it can force some specific types of analysis. Software for analysing qualitative data is especially useful for doing interpretive data coding, which in the opinion of some researchers, is not necessarily the main point of qualitative content analysis (Schreier 2012). However, in the analysis done in this study, I was also interested in latent meanings, which in a way served my purposes well. In spite of some of those limitations, there is one important advantage of using Atlas.ti. The software gives the possibility to read coded passages of the text in a larger context, which also, in a way, adds to the trustworthiness of the study, which I reflect on next.

5.2.3 Trustworthiness and credibility of the study

Instead of reliability (replicability of research with the use of the same instrument) and validity (ensuring precise measurement of what is intended to be measured), credibility, transferability, or trustworthiness of the research are more appropriate to be used in the context of qualitative research (Golafshani 2003). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) trustworthiness of qualitative research is all about establishing credibility of the findings, or gaining confidence in the 'truth' of the findings. That may be reached through prolonged engagement and persistent observation, deep immersion into

participants' experiences and picturing different perspectives that emerge from data, as well as through triangulation of data sources (Creswell 2007, Golafshani 2003, Spencer, Pryce & Walsh 2014,).

The whole process of gathering data in this study occurred over an extended period of time. First, interviews were gathered in 2012 in the pilot study. That stage was followed by an analysis of data, improvement of the interview guides, and reflection on the interviewing process. I went back to the field in 2014 to gather data in the main study phase, which lasted for 10 months. The analytical process was accompanied by repetitive reading of the interview transcripts and, in this way, trying to gain an in-depth insight of the data set. Such a procedure was of help in building categories that would describe the studied phenomenon in the best way. At the same time, a clear connection between the data and the results of the analysis (model, tables and formed categories) was made (e.g., Appendix 6) (see Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999).

Likewise, in any qualitative analysis, it may be difficult to reach a proper level of abstraction while utilising qualitative content analysis (Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999). There is a danger of not going far enough into the abstraction process or combining too many and very different things into one category. However, the process of forming subcategories in this study was accompanied by deep immersion into the data and repetitive reading of quotations gathered on a certain matter within main categories. The codes were grouped into multileveled subcategories by hand and later with help of Atlas.ti. This way I thoroughly rethought and examined the process of subsuming the citations to created subcategories. The results of the qualitative content analysis done in this study (categories and subcategories depicting phenomenon) are presented in the form of a models (Figure 3, Figure 4) and tables (Table 1 and 2).

Patton (1999) distinguishes four types of data triangulation that maybe be applied in qualitative research in order to enhance the trustworthiness of the study, namely triangulation of methods and sources, analyst triangulation as well as theory/perspectives triangulation. This study applies triangulation of sources and theory/perspectives triangulation. The data for the study were gathered by using different types of interviews: individual interviews as well as a group interview. Moreover, the views of different stakeholders, migrant students, trainers, as well as management at the institute, on learning and teaching were taken into account. Golafshani (2003) believes that such use of different sources of information in building categories and subcategories is also beneficial from the point of view of minimising the researcher's own biases and perspectives in the process of conducting research. Triangulation of different sources of data and showing different perspectives on a certain phenomenon contributes to gaining different and more valid realities (Golafshani 2003). In addition, the research process in this study was accompanied by constantly returning to existing literature on the studied phenomenon. Multiple theoretical perspectives were used in order to examine, interpret, and gain a better understanding of the data. The arguments presented in this study are

developed based on empirical evidence and theoretical understandings, which also add trustworthiness to the analysis and results of the study.

Trustworthiness of the study also relates to systematic and coherent data analysis (Silverman 2010). Therefore, all steps of the research process and data analysis are pictured in detail. In this study, examples are given of the emergence of assigning and grouping codes, which helps to follow how an end result of analysis and a set of categories and subcategories related to learning and teaching from the perspective of integration, was reached (see Appendix 6). During the analyses and writing up of the results, attention was also paid to reflecting on the interviewees' perceptions and experiences, and the meanings assigned to them. The aim was to enhance trustworthiness of completed interpretations by providing multiple excerpts from the interviews.

Dependability, which is showing that findings are consistent and could be repeated, is also seen as one of the criterion of trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba 1985). The data for this study were gathered with the help of a semi-structured interview guide, which contributed to consistency in the process of data collection. However, participants were encouraged to freely express their views and experiences and further clarifications were requested whenever needed. Informants' own individual interests at that time might have been overrepresented in some of the interviews. However, similar results may have been obtained when repeating the same study with the same (and most probably with different) groups of interviewees. The aspect of applicability of findings is further elaborated in the sub-chapter 9.6 of the dissertation.

In order to increase the credibility of content analysis (as in any other qualitative study) it is recommended that another researcher who is familiar with the specific phenomenon carry out coding on part of the data or at least evaluate if the results of the content analysis corresponds to reality (Kyngäs & Vanhanen 1999, Silverman 2010). In this study, only one researcher coded data. However, the pilot study's data coding was conducted partially on the material that was also used in the main study phase. Such a study design allowed me to compare the coding frame across different points in time, which is one of the ways to ensure the credibility of qualitative data (Schreier 2012). Furthermore, the results of the study were discussed in different forums with experts, academics, and practitioners. The tentative results were also presented to study counsellors working at the institute in question, which lead me to a more in-depth understanding of the results and to refining some of the analysis and implications of the study (Silverman 2010).

Clarification of research biases is one other procedure aiming to ensure trustworthiness of the research findings (Creswell 2007). That consideration is connected to the fact that different researchers may approach the study situation and data from different positions and perspectives. I explained my motivation, starting points, and position in this research in the beginning of the methodological chapter. My position in the study is also further elaborated in the following subsection.

5.2.4 Opportunities, challenges and limitations related to the cross-cultural nature of the research

The study has a cross-cultural character, which also means that there are nuances related to the language and cultural background of my interviewees (students and trainers) and my own biases that I needed to recognise. The cross-cultural setting of the study made the study interesting and innovative as well as created some opportunities. At the same time the cross-cultural setting added challenges and some limitations to the study.

The problems related to the use of a non-mother tongue language as well as to meeting people with diverse backgrounds during the interview are challenges faced by many researchers (Cools 2011, Court & Abbas 2013, Pietilä 2010b, Ratsas 2005, Ryen 2002). Creating a good rapport between interviewer and interviewee is of crucial importance in a qualitative study (Ryen 2002). A researcher needs to be aware that during an interview 'knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between the interviewer and the interviewee' (Kvale 2007). In order to conduct successful cross-cultural interviews it is not enough to know vocabulary and grammar of a certain language; one should also pay an attention to verbal communication and to the non-verbal language (Ryen 2002.) Although I was aware of those challenges, I decided to conduct the interviews in Finnish, a language that was not a native language for me nor for the migrant participants of the study. The trainer interviewees had, however, an opportunity to express their views and experiences in their own language. That created a different starting point in the analysis of the interviews conducted with these two groups of informants. The choice of interviewing language was preceded by the consideration of possibly engaging interpreters in the case of interviews with migrant students. However, similar to Pietilä (2010b), I think that gathering data by oneself has some important advantages. For example, the researcher can always ask additional questions and make sure that he/she has correctly understood the ideas and thoughts expressed by the interviewee, which in a way eliminates the possibility of translation errors and minimises opportunities for misunderstandings.

Using the Finnish language in interviews with migrant students was of importance for one more reason – migrant interviewees also preferred being interviewed in this language. Although talking about one's own experiences in a second language may have some limitations, it was of importance (also from an ethical point of view) to take into account the interviewees' preferences as concerns this matter. However, I also accepted any opportunities for misunderstandings that could occur during an interview in which Finnish, for at least one party, was a foreign language and found tactics for going around this. For example, in many cases, humour turned out to be a good way to overcome miscommunication during interviews (see also Ryen 2002).

Having a migrant background myself, I was in a special position while conducting the interviews. I had an opportunity to experience being an 'insider' and/or 'outsider' depending on whom I was talking to. My migrant interviewees quite often identified me as one of them and made a reference to

that, as they thought that I understood what they were talking about. I was also often asked if I had had similar experiences. Conversely, during the interviews with the trainers, I was in the role of a researcher with a migrant background, speaking Finnish as a non-mother tongue. Some Finnish interviewees assured me that I understood what they were talking about. In this sense, I was in an outsider's role. At times, I had a feeling that my Finnish surname and affiliation with a Finnish institution helped me to deal with trainers in the interview situation because although I was not from their institution, I was also in some way an insider. I was seen as a person who also understands the Finnish language, culture, and society and I was expected to understand the nuances of the native Finns. My own experiences confirm what Ryen (2002) wrote about cross-cultural interviewing: that the 'insider-outsider' problem 'clearly reverberates in many directions' (p. 336).

Being an insider or outsider carries with it some advantages as well as disadvantages. On the one hand, the interviewee may be willing to share experience with a person of the same background and similar situation, but on the other hand, an individual may feel embarrassed talking about some things (Ahmad 2005). As with the reflection made by Pietilä (2010b), in this study there are also examples of interviewees adjusting their speech to the audience in the interview situation, depending on similarities and differences in backgrounds. For instance, interviewees in this study explained things to me that they would otherwise not mention at all to other people of a similar cultural background (i.e., history of war in some regions of Africa, some cultural practices). But at other times, interviewees pointed out that a certain thing would be definitively difficult to explain to me and to understand because of my different background and the interviewee's lacks of linguistic resources (Pietilä 2010b).

Ratsas (2005) recommends good preparation in order to conduct the interview under the auspices of the cross-cultural encounter, for example by becoming familiar with participants' cultural backgrounds. She sees such a procedure as a way to avoid being surprised by some cultural practices of the interviewees. I did not get familiar with informants' histories and backgrounds beforehand, as I did not want to enter a field and meet interviewees with certain preconceptions about them and their backgrounds. However, I recognised the specific setting of interviewing in this study. Therefore, I got familiar with the larger discussion on migrant integration in Finland as well as the discussion on language and culture aspects in the interview situation (Ratsas 2005). If needed, I asked participants for further explanations on their backgrounds, histories of their countries, and cultural practices mentioned by them.

Group interviews are a common way of collecting data in linguistically and culturally diverse settings, yet there is not that much research devoted to how the diverse composition of a group may have an influence on the interaction and process of knowledge construction within this type of interview (Hennink 2007, Hennink 2008). However, a cross-cultural context may create some additional limitations in the group interview with people of different

cultural backgrounds, as one can predict that the interviewer is less familiar with participants' backgrounds, their languages, traditions and histories. Added to this, the group dynamic in a group interview is much more complex. The influence of this particular context was minimised by being sensitive to (reflecting on) culture and language issues throughout the research process (Hennink 2008).

Following Nikander's (2008) recommendations, data in this study was analysed in the language that it was gathered. Normally in the beginning of the process of data analysis, a researcher becomes familiar with a whole data set and starts to recognise some first categories. The situation looks slightly differently in the case of analysis of foreign language data. The analysis was accompanied by finding fragments of the text in which I had difficulty understanding the form of speech, content or the presented thoughts and ideas (Pietilä 2010b). Many of these uncertainties were cleared up with the help of a dictionary. However, there are also issues that may be far more complicated to comprehend, like the use of proverbs and humour, or making a reference to historical persons or fairy tales (Pietilä 2010b). I recognised, therefore, that data gathered in the language other than a mother tongue include meanings that do not necessarily become clear when analysing the text. In order to understand data and to produce valid analysis and interpretations, the broader knowledge of social and historical context as well as knowledge on interviewees' histories and backgrounds is required (Nikander 2008, Pietilä 2010b). As mentioned earlier, I did not become familiar with backgrounds of interviewees and places where they used to live before the interview. However, whenever something was unclear to me, I would, right after the interview, during data analysis, or even later when writing up the results, search for more information on that particular question (e.g., on the history of some regions or the educational system in a previous country of residence of a student interviewee). Furthermore, in the data analysis stage I kept in mind to what extent an interview was a result of interaction between representatives of different cultures (Nikander 2008.) Pietilä (2010b) underlines that all interpretations and analysis should be done in avoidance of interpreting and observing things from the perspective of one's own culture. By doing that, I also recognised that this is not completely possible. As Gubrium and Holstein (1997) point out, our preconceptions and theoretical prejudices always have some influence on how we present realities.

The next stage of reporting analysed data is also challenging in the case of a cross-cultural study. The researcher is responsible for the study results to correspond with the data. This is obtained in this study through presenting examples from the original data (Kynäs & Vanhanen 1999). However, data gathered in a non-mother tongue created some limitations for fulfilling this requirement. These limitations are connected to the translation of extracts of text and to the choice of presenting the translations in the text (Pietilä 2010b, Nikander 2008, Nikander 2010). In order to minimise those limitations, Finnish excerpts from interviews used in the reporting phase for the results are also

available to the reader in the original language (see Appendix 5). In addition, a reader is provided with information (e.g., on participants' backgrounds or Vocational Education and Training (VET) in Finland) in order to be able to verify the credibility of the interpretations (Nikander 2008.) For ethical reasons, mainly because of the willingness to keep study participants anonymous, excerpts of text available in a language other than Finnish are presented only in English. Non-Finnish words are also removed from Finnish passages of the text presented in the results part. In some cases, I have omitted some phrases or words in the translations; these can be found in the translation by the following sign [...]. In most cases, I omitted the name of the country of origin of the informant or the name of another student or trainer or some other type of information that would make it possible to recognise an interviewee. In this case, I marked what type of word or phrase is missing (i.e., [name of country]). Some words and parts of the quotes were also omitted for the sake of clarity of the excerpt or to exclude information irrelevant to the point of data analysis. Nevertheless, I made translation as authentic as possible. Furthermore, the native speaker of English checked the translations. In spite of those measures, I am aware of the fact that it is impossible to do an exact translation and some nuances will be left untranslated (Nikander 2008). Therefore, I aimed to capture 'the meaning and the essence of what is said' (Hennink 2008, p. 216). However, that also means that these translations are to some extent my own interpretation of interviewees' words (Nikander 2008).

Hennink (2008) points out that the cross-cultural study results and implications can be understood when there is an awareness of the cultural context in which the research was conducted. Therefore, in order to facilitate better understanding of the results, I devote a large amount of space in the dissertation to picturing the context of the study: aspects related to migrants and migration in Finland as well as, for example, picturing vocational education for adults in Finland. If necessary, contextual knowledge is also to be found in the results part of the dissertation.

5.2.5 Ethical considerations

According to Gall, Gall and Borg (2003, p. 62-89), research participants should be protected from possible harm throughout the process of conducting research. Different procedures were applied in this research in order to realise this aim. Participants of the study got as much information about the study as possible. The participants were informed about the type, topic, and procedures of the study by the contact person within the institution as well as by me when getting personally in touch with participants. Informed consent contained further information on the research.

Each interview session started with a brief introduction to the study and its topic, with an explanation of the informed consent and obtaining a written agreement from the study informants (see Appendix 2). Study participants were given enough time to become familiar with and to read the informed consent on their own as well. Study participants were informed of the

possibility to withdraw from the study at any stage of the research process; however, there was no such case. I explained to the participants how the data would be handled and what happens with data after the study has ended. Any unclear matters were explained further. Interviewees' preferences were taken into account. Interviews were conducted at times and places most convenient to respondents, so that data collecting was least disturbing to the interviewees' private, occupational, and student lives. As I mentioned in the previous subchapter, participants' preferences with regard to the choice of language were also respected.

The research has stirred a lot of interest at the institution in question. Many times, I was asked to introduce the study results to the institution personnel, which I did during a monthly meeting of the study advisors in different vocational fields in May 2016.

Special attention was paid to anonymity of the study informants. Informants are described in rather general terms and some information (nationality or language) is not available to the reader. Availability of that information would be interesting for the reader, and in many cases would lead to an even more in-depth understanding of presented matters. However, I was aware that all participants were from the same institutions and providing all information on participants would increase the possibility of recognition of the informants. I intentionally did not mention to interviewed students and trainers the names of the other persons I had interviewed, even if asked. The number of people who know the identity of the informants was therefore reduced to a minimum.

During the whole research process, I paid careful attention to not approach participants in a stereotypical way; for example, through the lenses of belonging to a certain nation or a language group. I also avoided entering an interview with preconceived ideas about participants' backgrounds and recipes on how to approach a person of a certain cultural background. The participants were given an opportunity to present their backgrounds and practices in the way they wanted.

The privacy and confidentiality of respondents was also considered during the data analysis and when writing up the results. Any matters that could be sensitive were omitted; this was the same for matters which would make it possible to recognise study informants.

6 CORE ASPECTS IN LEARNING, TEACHING AND INTEGRATION OF ADULT MIGRANT STUDENTS

This chapter is devoted to the presentation of core matters brought up by interviewees (adult migrant students as well as trainers) when talking about adult migrant students' learning and teaching of this group of students in Finland. As such, three groups of core aspects were recognised and are presented in this chapter, namely, 1) culture, 2) language and 3) personal differences and migrants' life situations. These aspects are also referred to when talking about the particularities of adult migrants as learners, the specifics of teaching migrant students as well as when reflecting on modes of working suitable for adult migrant learners. The main aspects (categories and sub-categories) brought up in interviews and existing relationships between them are presented in Figure 3.

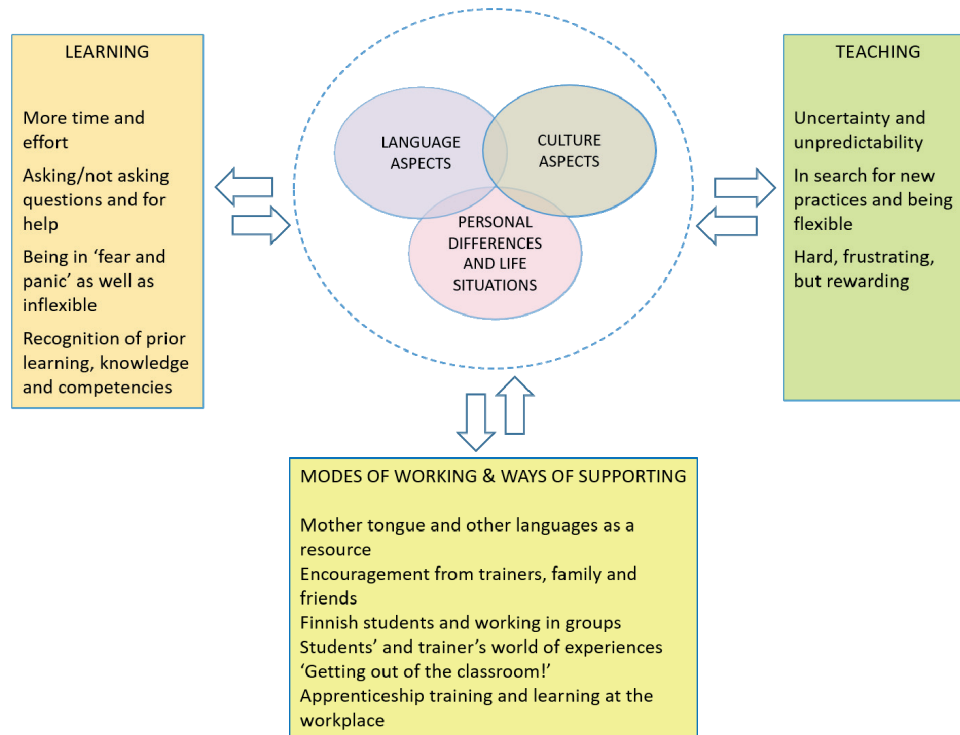


FIGURE 3 Learning in a new environment and teaching adult migrant students

The chapter that follows, Chapter 7, presents the analyses of the specifics of adult migrants as learners, the specifics of teaching migrant students, and ways of referring to core aspects when talking about these matters. Lastly, in Chapter 8, I present results of the study related to modes of working and ways of supporting migrant students' learning. There I also analyse the opportunities and limitations connected to them.

6.1 Cultural aspects in learning and teaching

Culture, cultural differences and generally a lot of talk about cultural matters are at the centre of the interviewed trainers' as well as migrant students' reflections on learning and teaching (see also Dervin 2011, Hannerz 1999, Ladson-Billings 2006, Teräs 2007). In this subsection, I present results of the study related to 1) the existence of differences noticed by study participants (trainers as well as migrant students) as cultural, 2) expectations and the possibility of misunderstandings connected to cultural matters as well as 3) aspects of change in ways of doing and thinking.

6.1.1 Cultural differences

Many trainers as well as migrant students mentioned smaller or larger nuances in learning and teaching compared to what migrant students were used to in their countries of origin (Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005). As emphasised by some of the interviewed persons there are many different teaching and learning theories and some theories are more popular than others in some settings. This, combined with other cultural differences, as stated by a few of the educators, make teaching people from different parts of the world a different experience. The nuances in approaching learning and teaching are believed to have a subsequent influence on learning in Finnish educational institutions and on how someone acts as a learner in a new context (see Gay 2010). That aspect was at the centre of the reflections of one of the students:

Excerpt 1

S1: Well, on the other hand it's very difficult to study if I've never known before... I've never studied here in Finland and we basically have different ways to study in [country's name] and in Finland

KK: Could you give an example?

S1: Basically... well...(breathing deeply)... we have a different kind of culture and we have a completely different way of looking at things. (Student 1, practical nurse training, woman, Eastern European background)

The given example (as well as discussions with other migrant students and trainers) suggests that migrant students bring their previous conceptions about education, studying, teaching, and the relationship between teacher and student to the new learning setting (see also Banks 2010b, Gay 2010, Howard 2006). As a consequence, some of the migrant students can have different ways of approaching learning and study tasks, such as in the case of the previously cited student:

Excerpt 2

S1: I always write how I think it should be, that I always write like this how the teacher taught us in [country's name] and just like I think myself, that's what I should write now, I don't know... basically I always... talk with the teachers 'Sorry if I've written something wrong, I don't know, it's our [...] This is how we've...had... it in school'. (Student 1, practical nurse training, woman, Eastern European background)

The same student also said that the task completed by adult migrant students may not differ just in the form, but also in content. This student, along with a few others, explained it by the fact that they see the world differently: completely different things are more important to them than to Finnish students, and as consequences of these, they choose to write or talk from their own perspective. Additionally, the same word or concept can have a slightly different meaning in different parts of the world, which in turn has an impact on the completion of school assignments. Two of the interviewed students had

an opportunity to experience that in practice when writing a poem. To everybody's surprise, their poem turned out to be very different from the poems written by students with a Finnish background.

Also, migrant students in the group interview raised the issue of the existence of differences in learning and teaching in different parts of the world. This time, differences related to studying and teaching a certain subject were at the centre of the interviewees' reflections:

Excerpt 3

#KK: And what makes learning and studying in Finland difficult?

#S17: The Finnish language is difficult.

#S13: That's true.

#S17: Math.

#KK: Why?.

#S17: Because we have different materials and ways of learning of math in our home country, it's not the same as in Finland.

#KK: In which way is it different?

#S17: Almost everything.

#KK: You mean, the book looks different or are there different tasks or is it taught differently, in which way is it different?

#S16: It's taught differently... if you want to learn math you have to learn from many books, for example [...] in [country's name]... but they give you one paper [in Finland], a Finn understands 100% better than a foreigner, because I was learning differently. (Group interview, cleaning services)

The idea that adult migrant students act differently as learners compared to Finnish students is often present in the interviewed trainers' and migrant students' reflections on learning and teaching. For example, some trainers noticed that adult migrant students were rather modest in accepting feedback and in showing their success. Also, a few migrant students admitted that such a straight and positive feedback was a big surprise to them; they were suspicious about it and wondered if they were good at it or if it was just a complement. One of the trainers added that even though they may receive positive feedback, some migrant students are still unsure if they have done what they were supposed to do. Some of the trainers saw this as a very different reaction compared to Finnish students, who were rather proud of getting positive feedback and being successful in completing their tasks.

Aspects related to differences in communication across cultures and its impact on learning and teaching were also raised in interviews with both groups of informants; however, staff members raised different aspects of

communication than migrant students. Many of the interviewed trainers pointed out that some adult migrant students do not always admit that they have not understood something. Trainers connect this with the students' cultural background (especially to students of Asian origin) and gave the explanation of some students' fear of losing face. Also, some migrant students see differences in communication in terms of existence of cultural differences as something that makes learning and teaching in diverse settings difficult. In connection to it, a few students raised the concern of the need to wait too long for a response from a trainer and not getting straightforward and frank feedback. These aspects were at the centre of reflection during the group interview:

Excerpt 4

#KK: And how does it look here in the workplace? Do people have patience?

#S17: I can't really say but how I see it, they don't speak directly, 'Everything's fine' and they smile but then you don't know what happens... what they say... they aren't the same as immigrants, we speak directly, 'We need this and that'... so at the workplace they're always 'Everything's fine' and they smile and don't show what kind of people they are inside [...] it's good if they say directly that 'This isn't good, this is right' [...] it's good if they could also explain if something is correct. You wouldn't need to ask 'Is everything fine, what are you thinking?', 'Everything's ok, everything's fine', when it isn't. (Group interview, cleaning services)

Later on, the same student reflected on how the lack of straightforward feedback may be problematic for learning, especially in workplace learning. The period of workplace learning ends in a practical exam. During the exam, any gaps in the students' knowledge are seen as a student's fault:

Excerpt 5

#S17: [...] Yeah, so for example in my previous work practice place [...] before our practice exam, I asked 'Is this done correctly, are these the correct chemicals and is all this ok because I'll have a practice exam'; 'It's all ok, you're very hard-working... and you're like the sun' but then in the practice exam it's my fault that I didn't learn... so that it's my fault that I learned it in the wrong way and then 'Why did you do that' and then I say : 'I asked many times and you said that it's right and all is ok and I'll succeed', of course you can succeed... so you should just be honest. (Group interview, cleaning services)

A few other migrant students brought up the aspect of Finns not talking that much and being reserved and how such aspects of communication can challenge a relationship between a migrant student and a Finnish trainer:

Excerpt 6

S10: [...] and [teacher's name] is doing the same... it's a bit difficult... I want, well it's [the student's language]... it's not the same if you speak with a man or a woman... usually they speak straight back or they want to speak at the same time... but in Finnish it's not the same... a half is said right away and then there's an end and then half of the time is spent thinking and I... I don't like it... it's, I don't know... It's his way but it's too difficult for me, that's why I think 'Did I say something wrong or

doesn't he understand what I'm saying?... then nothing and then I leave (laughter)... maybe he wants to say but of course I don't want to wait for long and if I wait, my brain tells me 'Ok, go to sleep' (laughter). (Student 10, wood processing, man, English speaker background)

The student pointed out waiting too long for the trainers' reaction and him being uncertain if things were understood. But what is also important to notice is that this may lead to many misunderstandings, anxiety, and to a worsening of the migrant student-trainer relationship. Similarly, Finnish trainer interviewees in this study also saw themselves as being reserved in their nature and needing some time before they start to trust a stranger.

The migrant student-trainer relationship is further challenged by notions of the role of men and women in society as well as ideas about who can be a teacher. That matter was especially at the centre of reflection for the institute's Rector who is in charge of resolving conflict situations based on these assumptions:

Excerpt 7

R: [...] in some cultures it's seen that if the teacher is a woman and the student is a man, there's a little bit of... that when the teacher is slightly higher in hierarchy, it's challenging, and once I had to have a discussion with these gentlemen who were studying here... that in Finland... it was when Tarja Halonen was the president... so I said 'We even have a president who's a woman... you just have to accept that... we have women as teachers too'... so things like this, so those are cultural issues that might come up. (Rector of the institute)

Not accepting a woman as a trainer makes the trainer's job difficult, but it also has consequences for a migrant student's learning. Some students maintain ideas that they do not necessarily take a woman teacher and her teaching seriously enough. Similar consequences can also be seen in ideas concerning education in general, and adults' participation in learning in particular. This matter was brought up by a few trainers. In some migrant students' interviews, this was visible in the form of being annoyed with sitting at a school desk and being convinced that that is not something that belongs to adulthood. Some of them are used to that, and found that a few years of school is enough to find low paying jobs. For these individuals it came as a surprise that they could not do any job without having vocational qualifications.

Not understanding the idea behind Qualification Based Competence was also raised as a concern among migrant learners. Often this is something new for many adult migrants and as one of the trainers claimed, sometimes that can be a reason a person did not exactly understand what is expected from him/her, and what his/her obligations as an adult student are. In addition, adult migrant students were often seen by the interviewed educators as people who treat participation in learning in a very relaxed way. That was often explained by the existence of cultural differences, which became visible in the following the trainer's reflections on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 8

KK: Is there something else that is difficult for migrants during vocational studies?

T7: One thing I've noticed... in those fire safety courses, when I've had them, that it's very difficult for them to arrive early and they have a lot of business of their own throughout the day, and this can be thought that in western countries it works but when we think about people from other countries and other cultures, their time perception is different from the Finnish one... we've noticed it in things such as they come late and they leave when they have other stuff to do and they don't necessarily focus on studying... you only sit there because you have to... they don't sort of commit to it, which is the basis of adult education, that you should do something yourself. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

In a way, the presented passage summarizes what was said so far. Adult migrant students' previous learning experiences and conceptions of education are believed to matter in learning and studying in Finland; and in the opinion of many trainers, these experiences can be challenging, especially to non-Westerners' learning and teaching of this group of students. As pointed out by some trainer informants, those students with different conceptions concerning adult education did not necessarily feel responsible for their own learning – they did not follow given timetables and came and went whenever they wished. With this type of approach to adult education, few trainers connect to students' different concepts of time (see Chavez & Longerbeam 2016) and different value systems (see Samovar & Porter 2004). For example, some trainers raised the issue of adult migrant students choosing family values (taking care of adult members of the family, handling some things on behalf of other family members) over participation in education as this is believed to be valued in the social environments that they come from (see also Samovar & Porter 2004). Also in this case, trainers associated a different concept of time and being more family-oriented with students of a non-Western background.

While there is mostly talk about 'culture' or better said, cultural matters (see Dervin 2011, Hannerz 1999, Piller 2012, Teräs 2007), as challenges for learning in a Finnish educational institution, some educators pointed out that cultural differences brought to an educational institution can also be beneficial for migrant student's learning and for teaching this group of students. Adult migrant students do not know everything about Finnish culture, but they do possess knowledge about other cultures. They are therefore seen as being successful in completing all kinds of tasks where such knowledge is of value. Some trainers gave examples of migrant students being successful in designing international material, in using their own traditions and elements from own culture in preparing events or teaching materials. Many educators also valued adult migrant students' interpersonal skills and the ability to manage well in intercultural encounters. Quite a few trainers considered adult migrant students easy going and as getting along with others, for example with customers and patients, and were usually glad and happy students and workers. A few other trainers noticed that their students are usually more courageous than Finnish students. Many of them are eager to perform, to play up their personalities, and

use new methods and techniques during the lessons as well as at their workplaces. All of these qualities were associated with the students' cultural backgrounds and with the fact of them being non-Finns.

Migrant students also mentioned positive aspects related to the existence of cultural differences. In this case, this was especially visible in valuing Finnish learning and teaching culture and appreciating the possibility to study in Finland. Even though it is not easy to study in such a new environment and in a foreign language, the Finnish education system and Finnish approach to studying, learning, and teaching makes this possible for many adult migrants. Many migrant informants compared how things work in their own countries and were happy that they were adult migrant students in Finland and not in their home countries.

In comparison to learning and studying in their own country, migrant informants noticed that far fewer things had to be memorised. Learning and studying in Finland gave hands-on experience for real-life situations, many different modes of working were used, the same things were repeated many times and discussed in small groups, and all materials were provided to the student. Instead of exams, other methods for assessment were used such as written tasks. Learning and studying in Finland required less work and studying on your own at home. Furthermore, in the case of a problem with studying and learning, students could access support free of charge. Thanks to all of that, many migrant students interviewed felt that they learned and remembered what they have been taught in a much more effective way, which was made quite clear by the following student:

Excerpt 9

S5: Here, teaching is really easier than in our home country [...] because.. here is a lot of group work, that supports a lot... but in [country's name] there is no group work... there you have to do everything on your own.. here there is something like group work and often also independent studying.. and then also there is a lot of practice... that was also really good and it was easy to study here. (Student 5, practical nurse training, woman, African background)

A few migrant students also expressed their gratitude for being able to study for free in Finland and being able to gain an education without debt. The Finnish trainers' professionalism was also one of the aspects raised by migrant students. Finnish trainers were believed to know how to teach so that students could learn in the best way. For the students interviewed, learning and studying in Finland was not only about creating pressure and passing exams, but students also had time to reflect on their studies, which was also appreciated in some of the migrant students' reflections. In addition, for many adult migrant students, learning and studying in Finland meant a peaceful time. Nobody shouts at students or throws them out of the lessons. This aspect was raised in an individual interview:

Excerpt 10

KK: Aha... but how are they teaching? What is bad in their teaching in [student's home country]?

S2: The teacher is shouting a lot... ..a lot... a lot... really a lot... ..I don't see what that is about, if the student doesn't know something in school... ..and then the teacher says 'Go away'... so it is... but in [student's home country] that's normal.. if the student doesn't know what the teacher is saying... 'Go away'... .. is calling your mother or father... it's always like... here is.. I was thinking, that this is an honest place... sometimes I go to school and I'm really honest, just to learn and...

KK: Honest or peaceful?

S2: Peaceful. (Student 2, audio-visual communication, man, South American background)

In sum, both groups of trainer and student interviewees raised the question of the existence of differences in learning and teaching cultures. However, educators and migrants had different ways of presenting the matter of the existence of cultural differences. According to many trainer interviewees, different conceptions on education, learning, and teaching slows down learning and makes teaching challenging. Adult migrant students also recognised these differences. However, they did not see it as something negative or a barrier to learning, but rather, in terms of the existence of any other differences and even as something positive.

6.1.2 Comparisons and divisions

The ideas that 'our culture is a different culture' and making distinctions between 'our culture' and 'their culture' was often met in all types of interviews. Western and non-Western cultures were believed to be significantly different, and this notion was visible in the discussions with the following two students (see also Piller 2012):

Excerpt 11

S9: '[...] culture is little bit difficult for foreigners.. yes for example.. maybe I will not say all foreigners, but for example these Black Africans.. we have different culture with them... yes.. even how to talk with your parents... is different... is different'. (Student 9, practical nurse training, woman, African background)

Excerpt 12

S4: '[...] because there are extreme... extremely [big differences]... especially between us South Americans and Europeans, there is a huge difference... really... I mean in the culture'. (Student 4, practical nurse training, woman, South American background)

The division (based on the anticipation of an existence of cultural differences) into those coming from nearby and those coming from far away, or in other words between Westerners and non-Westerners is present in quite a few trainers' reflections on learning and teaching. Often both of these groups are

presented in this study in opposition to each other (Kalonaityte 2010, Said 1995). Westerners were usually seen as more educated, as having good learning skills, and better abilities for learning and knowing the Finnish language. They were also seen as being more adjustable, sharing similar cultural values to Finnish values and therefore being able to handle things in a Finnish way. In contrast, non-Westerners were perceived as less educated, having less experience with learning, less adjusted, having difficulties in learning language, and as having worse prospects for successful completion of their studies.

Being successful in learning in a new setting requires understanding of why some things are taught and why they are taught in a certain way. Non-westerners were believed to struggle more in grasping those things because of bigger cultural disparities. A few trainers also associated the lack of manual skills and learning difficulties with non-Western students. Their cultural background and upbringing were believed to be too different and therefore seen as hindrances in their schooling and integration in Finnish working life and society (see Paris 2012, Paris & Ball 2009), which was also visible in the following trainer's discussion on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 13

- T7: If you think about it, that they all have come here as refugees, they know that they've not come here the normal way, and... and well, when we talk about someone with a refugee background, they are used to living in a different way than we here in Finland and then if we think about [student's name] who you interviewed, [student's name] has moved to Finland and his/her cultural background is almost the same... there's not a problem in training him/her... you can sort of relate to those norms... [student's name (of East European background)]'s biggest problem is the language but otherwise there are no practical problems. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

The passage also shows that those who come from far away were associated with refugees and at the same time (as the same trainer and a few others reflect on) as people with Muslim and Arab backgrounds. This aspect was also raised in the discussions of two students with South American backgrounds. They gave the example of being assumed to be a refugee or Muslim (and treated accordingly), because of coming from far away, having similar appearances to a persons from typical refugee countries, and being categorised as significantly different (Kalonaityte 2010). In addition, people from different parts of the world were easily associated at the institute and at workplace learning sites with certain qualities (see Dervin 2011, Piller 2012). That aspect is present in different ways in the discussions with trainers as well as migrant students. One of the trainers commented on that point in the following way:

Excerpt 14

- KK: And what kind of attitudes are there here in the institute and in the society towards immigrants... in your opinion?
- T5: Maybe it depends on the workplace, from where the immigrant is coming from... but I can't maybe... you might see such thoughts that people from the former Soviet Union area are a certain type of people, Asians are of a certain type, Africans are of a

certain type, but I can't say then, what is connected to that, but maybe we're thinking according to the origin.

KK: Does that have an influence on learning?

T5: Not really... maybe I've previously said that maybe Asians are such that they easily say that they understand... although they haven't understood... so that, you have to say to them if they can repeat it one more time.. that what.. where we go tomorrow.. what time you come to school... and maybe such general conceptions... for example Asians are very hard-working or clever with their hands. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

The previous citation is an example of a tendency to approach people of a certain background in a stereotypical way, through categorising them and equating the existence of differences to national borders (e.g., Hall 1989, Hofstede & Hofstede 2005). Similar beliefs were also common in migrant students' interviews. Depending on the situations, migrants sometimes saw themselves as part of one group. In other situations, adult migrant students made distinctions between more educated Westerners and other uneducated refugees. Also, all Finns were categorised to act the same or think the same way; for example that all Finns think that migrants are coming to Finland for money and for taking jobs away from Finns (see Dervin 2011, Piller 2012).

Many such conclusions about somebody's background and qualities connected to it are done based on making comparisons (see Dervin 2016, Teräs 2007). One of the migrant students admitted that perhaps this is not the best thing 'to compare', but that is what everybody did. These comparisons are later used to draw borders between 'us and them', for constructing a representation of another culture as different and strange, as the 'Other', and at the same time, as inferior (Erikson 2010, Kalonaityte 2010, Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013, Said 1995). This aspect was present in the discussion with the following trainer:

Excerpt 15

KK: And what can they learn in school or from a teacher?

T5: I mean in school... of course theoretical knowledge... and then the teacher is guiding them in those... in a way... how could I say.. if you could say strange ways of behaving or fears or.. when it maybe comes to those things in a trustful way, that

KK: And what is this strange.. strange ways of behaving? (laughter)

T5: Well... it's probably not strange everywhere but then we here might see someone in a winter jacket in our cafeteria or restaurant... when we also have young people here so the adults provide an example whether or not to wear a hat or then there are the working clothes that what if there's something about one's religious background or such, how to sort of... to practice one's own religion but so that you can work, for example to have the right clothes and appropriate hygiene... and to use the right protective gears. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

At this point, the trainer raised the question of migrant hygiene, which is also a common source of many misconceptions or even a reason for treating someone as barbaric (see also Ogbonna & Harris 2006). The approach of representing

people of different backgrounds as inferior, as being different was also visible in data in comparing each other to children. Some adult migrant students (especially those from a non-Western background) were seen as being on the same level as Finnish children with respect to their learning and other skills, amount of vocational experiences, and ways of behaving. For example, one of the trainers, in his reflection on some students not being on time, saw this issue in terms of mixing kindergarten with working life. Such comparisons are also present in migrant students' reflections on learning and teaching in Finland. A couple of the migrant students compared the adult institute to kindergarten and describe the behaviour of Finnish students as childish, with reference to the Finnish students' bad comments and not wanting to talk to an individual with a migration background.

Sharing experiences in the form of comparing things to ways of doing and handling or ways in which people are familiar leads (in the experience of some trainers and migrant students) to many tensions and are a source of many negative emotions at different learning sites. This was visible in the discussion with the following student:

Excerpt 16

S8: [...] or generally they are not interested if I say something, I do not know, I mean my own way, that I for example would say how we are having in [student's country of origin], or like others are doing something.. then they have always been saying 'Forget about [student's country], now you are in Finland and you have to do like we are doing... they did not want at all

KK: Who was saying it: students or teachers?

S8: Students [...] but teachers... teachers... maybe they are wiser in connection to it, that they will not say straight, but probably... they are also thinking the same way... I think so. (Student 8, bakery-confectionary, woman, Eastern European background)

Such comparisons were seen as something negative, as they carry in them at the same time a hidden message that our way of doing is better than yours. It also depends a lot on who is doing the comparison. Comparisons made by students with certain backgrounds were perceived as more negative than comparisons done by others (Jaakkola 2009, Pitkänen 2006, Pitkänen 2007), as reflected by Trainer 5:

Excerpt 17

T5: Or then there are such people... this might be related to individuals, who always say that in their home country something was taken better care of than... they are asked about something if they have experiences on that, so perhaps that... they sort of miss their home countries and remember that there, certain things worked really well... and perhaps it's still in a way that

KK: You mean that they think that things do not work here how they would expect them to?

- T5: Yes.. and that is visible maybe in a way that if the student comes from the area of the former Soviet Union.. that maybe annoys Finns.. that is maybe because of the history. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

Indeed, some of the migrant students admitted being aware of negative beliefs targeted at their own ethnic group. Some of them anticipated that expressing a different opinion on something by the member of their ethnic group can be met with a stronger reaction from the Finnish students than if the opinion would be expressed by any other migrant. Therefore, some of them were rather careful about what they said during the lessons or at their workplaces. Negative beliefs focused on some group of migrants and existing divisions mirror the migrant student's action in the classroom setting. However, as one of the trainers mentioned, they are also visible in migrant students' prospects for integration:

Excerpt 18

- KK: And how do you think.. what kind of attitudes are there towards migrants in the institute and also in society... in your opinion?
- T7: Let's say it like that if we talk about... now we again have to distinguish whether we talk about Westerners or someone else. People who come from Western countries are usually accepted by the society much more easily because they have pretty much the same cultural background: the Russians, Germans, Swedes, Americans, Brits, France... they can get here [to the Finnish society] more easily... but then if we talk about some... some... somewhere from Burma, India, Arab countries, Africa... they are very much outside the society and they aren't accepted easily. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

As it can be noticed from examples given so far, there are many beliefs connected to migrant students' backgrounds. However, there is one more aspect brought up in connection to that, especially in migrant students' interviews, namely a matter of the existence of differences, personal, institutional, and regional ones as concerns seeing differences brought up by migrant students. Some regions in Finland were perceived as more tolerant towards migrants than others. In all types of interviews examples can be found on variations in the ways of seeing individuals with a migration background depending on the field of study. Some fields were seen as more tolerant towards migrants (e.g., crafts and design, audio-visual communication) as other fields were considered as more old-fashioned and intolerant (e.g., the construction field). Some educators had ideas about which vocations and trainings were good for migrants, and the types of vocations for which migrants have some capabilities. A few trainers mentioned the existence of similar beliefs at workplace learning sites. Moreover, some fields were seen as more suitable for migrants (e.g., cleaning services, practical nursing, general customer service), while others were believed to be reserved for students of certain backgrounds (e.g., Westerners, especially Russians, in construction fields) and there were also fields where migrants were not considered as suitable at all (safety and security field) because of earlier-mentioned beliefs and divisions (see also Chang 2014, Heikkilä 2005, Lauren & Wrede 2008, Manhica, Östh & Rostila 2015).

The idea of the existence of such differences between trainers was at the centre of reflection for students participating in the group interview:

Excerpt 19

KK: What does the situation look like at the institute? What kind of attitudes are there in the institute?

#S14: [...] Quite ok... everybody is doing his/her job, you should be friendly and...

#KK: Ok.. yes... and what kind of thoughts do you have about that #S13?

#S13: I mean in the institute the situation is quite good.

#S15: Everything is fine, nonetheless.

#S13: It depends on the teacher.

Others: (laughter). (Group interview, cleaning services)

The given example provokes careful consideration of the indication that 'everything is fine, but not always'. As one other student in the individual interview pointed out, some educators see migrant students as individuals while others approach adult migrant students through the lenses of being Westerners and non-Westerners.

Both trainers and migrant students mentioned the existence of differences in beliefs about different groups of migrants, about existing divisions into Westerners and non-Westerners. Trainer interviewees easily associated such situations with places outside the institute. On the other hand, a few students mentioned the existence of such beliefs and experiencing bad treatment within the institute.

In sum, approaching migrant students through lenses of being Western or non-Western and expectations based on student's prospects for successful learning and integration in Finland was quite common. However, as one of the trainers concluded, being accepted is a necessary condition for succeeding in studying and living in Finland:

Excerpt 20

KK: And, which things are important in the integration of adult migrants... in your opinion?

T9: Definitely that, that they feel being accepted here... and

KK: And why is that important?

T9: Aaa... well... it's because of their motivation to learn, because of all that motivation that if they have left for a new place, new country... well... no matter what the reason... that they feel themselves accepted here... that they are similar, equal... they get similar teaching, same in a way that they can experience and do the same things as everyone else here... so those are important things. (Trainer 9, wood processing, man)

6.1.3 Misconceptions and misinterpretations

So far, many issues have been raised in this chapter related to migrant students' learning and teaching as related to culture and/or explained by the existence of cultural differences. However, there is also a danger that all kinds of differences are associated with adult migrant students' cultural backgrounds (Dervin 2011, Ladson-Billings 2006), as can be seen in the discussion with one of the trainers:

Excerpt 21

T9: [...] maybe there are regional differences, from where the student is coming from

KK: And in what way are they visible.. what kind of differences have you noticed?

T9: I mean... the differences are probably in the practices that have already been learned... so the cultural differences... for example we have a lot of Russians... or have we've had Russians, so they have a completely different way of starting to learn whereas someone coming from New Zealand [...]

KK: Can you give a concrete example, that they have.. what kind of way... of starting to learn for example the Russians have?

T9: Russians are very precise... yes.. they're extremely precise...[...] they're extremely precise when doing something... because we mostly do... they are always very precise in that... and they have more courage to ask.. and then others... can't say that others.. but for example in this case this one person coming from New Zealand... he/she has a broader idea about accuracy... it doesn't matter, as long as something gets done. (Teacher 9, wood processing, man)

In the passage above, the trainer points out the differences in approaching learning and doing things in different parts of the world. In this case, accuracy in handling some practical task is explained as a reason for the existence of cultural differences. The trainer came to this conclusion after teaching a few Russian students and one student from New Zealand. The same trainer further reflected on the aspect of influence of culture on learning and studying in Finland. As can be noticed from the excerpt below, many conclusions on the existence of cultural differences and their impact on someone is based on expectation and not on real first-hand experiences:

Excerpt 22

T9: [...] for example the Russian and New Zealand learning cultures are different... and... and... and...and then of course the Russian and Finnish learning cultures are different... and then... but anyway there aren't such big differences between them... so that there would be difficulties, but then if somebody is coming from East Africa, the learning culture can be quite different... that here the student can wonder for a while, that.. why here in Finland those things are taught this way.

KK: Do you have experiences [concerning that]?

T9: No, I don't have any experiences.

KK: But you can imagine... this way?

T9: Yes... I can imagine, but no, I don't have any experiences. (Teacher 9, wood processing, man)

Similar expectations and beliefs can be found in migrant students' interviews. For example, some of the students noticed that they learn or complete a task differently. For example, they plan less, concentrate more on doing than on planning, or they are less accurate in comparison to Finnish students or students of other backgrounds. They do themselves associate that with their own cultural background (Teräs 2007). Indeed, cultural background can have an influence on the aspects mentioned by migrant students (as well as trainers), but there can also be a question of personal differences and a set of previous experiences (Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003, Lee 2003). Therefore, a border cannot always be defined right away between the impact of culture and personal differences and a previous set of experiences. Some people are generally slower or more precise than others are; some are good at something and others are not. Also, in some cases, a specific field requires more planning or accuracy, such as in the case of a carpenter job. However, these matters easily remain unnoticed. As the reflection of one of the migrant students on her and her husband's approach to learning and studying shows, even two people from the same part of the world can take quite a different approach to their problems in understanding something, which indicates that each individual is different and cultural background does not always determine our behaviour and way of thinking.

Typically, migrant students' competence in math was associated with students of certain backgrounds. For example, trainers saw Russian students (and interviewed Russian students saw themselves) as very competent in math. Students coming from far away (developing and poorer regions) were believed to struggle with this area of knowledge. However, the following excerpt shows that this can also be a matter of being skilful in a certain area or not:

Excerpt 23

S4: [...] but that you have to admit yourself that we aren't perfect in everything and I've accepted that, for example I'm not good in maths... it's kind of... it's my weakness and I know that... when you know your own weaknesses and strengths then you know your potential and what you should study more, for example I... maths... it's my weakness and I really have to work on that, I mean work... a lot, it doesn't come by itself... but I feel it, it's not a surprise. (Student 4, practical nurse training, woman, South African background)

This excerpt illustrates that sometimes these skills are just connected to a specific student who is not especially skilful in this area or not especially interested in a certain subject matter and it does not necessarily have something to do with students' migration background.

In some cases students' previous experiences (and not cultural differences) can hinder their learning here in Finland. This can be seen in the case of a student who was in a leadership position in his home country for many years before entering vocational training. The same student (of Western background)

had difficulty accepting the fact that his teacher was about the same age. The student explained that he had moved quite early to working life and so far his teachers were always older than he was. The student admitted that it is rather difficult for him to find himself in a student role and to be somebody who now listens to others and is not the one who is listened to. As some are rethinking their positions and experiences connected to being in a new setting, others try to act according to their previous status and want to be bosses in the educational institution or in the work placements. That matter was at the centre of the discussion with the following trainer:

Excerpt 24

T10: [...] but the culture is often a little bit problematic... if we think for example about finding a place in working life, ... such an example comes to my mind, that we had an Afghan guy and he was some kind of village chief in his country of origin.. anyway something.. that he had some higher position there.. and well.. he was in a way a village chief also here, he couldn't go to such working class level job, he.. couldn't wear work overalls.. and then, when there were other Afghans... then he was always some kind of boss in this group, I mean it was following.. his role from his country of origin, though it didn't matter here at all.. but that is really difficult in a way, because nobody hires here any kind of a village chief to be the boss... ..(laughter). (Trainer 10, construction, man)

The way of behaving (for instance way of interacting with other students and educators) in a new setting is not only a reason for the existence of cultural differences, but it is also often connected to a set of previous personal experiences (Lee 2003). However, as the excerpt above shows, migrants' previous experiences, positions, and statuses are easily associated with a migrant's cultural background (see also Dervin 2011, Ladson-Billings 2006, Piller 2012), though that is not necessarily the case.

The existence of cultural differences (real or expected) was easily associated with the possibility of misunderstanding, especially in a situation where both adult migrant students as well as trainers were not familiar with one another's cultural backgrounds. The institute management reflected on this aspect in the following way:

Excerpt 25

R: [...] and such things can come up, that in a way one or the other feels offended, for example a teacher or a student... because you don't know this culture... you greet with the wrong hand or something like this... and...but then the more similar the culture is to the Finnish one.. then... such problems don't emerge. (Rector of the institute)

As it can be noticed, many such conclusions on the possibility of some misunderstandings appearing are made based on being unfamiliar with a certain cultural background. Also in this case, problems, challenges, and misunderstandings connected to migrant students' participation in education are believed to be cultural in origin, though as the following excerpt indicates, misunderstandings are often related to many issues at the same time:

Excerpt 26

T3: [...] for example in 1994 there was a student.

KK: Aha... a migrant student or?

T3: I had a migrant student.. a Russian.. of engineering background, a man... and then when I was talking, teaching and afterwards when there was some task, I went to him and I said to him what is that... what is that about... ...And then later, that was in '94 and in '97 when I ran into him coincidentally.. we were in a coffee queue and so I ran into him and I greeted him... and then we were talking about something and then he said that he is not so stupid as I considered him to be at that time and I then said 'What?..' because I came to him afterwards when I gave a task... ... he had interpreted that, that I think that he is stupid and I, on the other hand, approached him from my own point of view, that I wanted to make sure that when a person from Savo [region in Finland with a heavy regional dialect] is speaking, the responsibility [of understanding] belongs to the listener. So to make sure that this person coming from Russia could also make sense of it. And he made it really clear that this was unnecessary. (Trainer 3, audio-visual communication, woman)

Although the trainer explained the misunderstanding as cultural differences (she is from the Savo region of Finland), this may be a matter of interplay of many factors. It starts from a lack of language proficiency and the natural prediction that there is a possibility that something has not been understood. Furthermore, the trainer had previously experienced an adult migrant student dropping out of education because of a lack of language proficiency and because that nobody was making sure the student had understood. Moreover, this is an issue of personal differences. As some students complained about insufficient interests of educators about the students' level of understanding, others took the opposite view and were annoyed by that.

6.1.4 Aspects of change in ways of thinking and doing

Excerpt 27

S10: [...] the communication between one person and another person... it's.. for me.. it's very easy to break the ice with people, but when it comes to doing something, it's very hard for me to break the ice... to change something, how I do... it's really difficult. (Student 10, wood processing, man, English speaker background)

Generally, people build up their new knowledge based on already existing conceptions (Jarvis 2012a, Knowles 1990, Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, Mezirow 2000). However, as pointed out in the previous sub-chapter, migrant students' prior conceptions on handling certain things, on learning, studying, teaching, on relations to teachers, or on doing a certain vocation can be, in some cases, in conflict with the Finnish ways of doing. This requires the migrant student to make some kind of change, or at least, they were expected by some of the interviewed trainers to change their ways of thinking and handling things. This aspect was raised in the following trainers' reflection on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 28

T5: [...] and then when entering education they should listen carefully and be able to get rid of the prejudices and their previous conceptions... [...] for example to listen carefully... what kind of instructions are given and for example such thing that some immigrants are having... kind of towards the teacher... that the teacher is a very big authority... and we try to get rid of it.. that 'Ask, have a different opinion than the teacher, if you disagree with the teacher'... and such things... and for example, such things connected to hygiene... that in a way while building up new knowledge, when new knowledge emerges... then they need to be able to change their way of thinking... but that is also [difficult] for Finns. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

Indeed, some adult migrant students do notice that learning in a new setting pushes them to reflect and change their conceptions, for example towards different modes of working and ways of thinking:

Excerpt 29

KK: And how about learning and studying in Finland? Has learning and studying in Finland changed you?

S11: Yes... yeah it has.

KK: In which way?

S11: I have... for example there in my home country I only got books... for example I used to study in [country's name], yes I could read... I could only read... and when I am now studying here in Finland... how that is.. I can think..

KK: Think?

S11: Yes, and then that I can think... what my future will be... what I should do... how I will manage in my life... and so on.

KK: Ok.. ok.. hmm.. so in this way...

S11: I can think... and there I could only read.. I could not think about anything.. for example if you say something to me.. you say me one thing.. and I can make a difference what is good and what is bad and so on.. I can think a little bit more.. that is this way. (Student 11, catering services, woman, Asian background)

A few other students admitted the same as above, though they took for granted certain ways of learning and teaching. After contact with other ways of studying and teaching they started to wonder about that, and in many cases they changed their way of thinking. Some adult migrant students noticed that students are required to memorise much less than they were used to and pondered on why this is so. Although they felt strange about it in the beginning, after a while many of these individuals had thought about that and questioned if memorisation was necessary, or if it was enough to know where to find information needed (Säljö 2004, p. 12-13). The previously cited student (as well as the trainer) also raised a matter of change in beliefs about the student-teacher relationship. Also in this case, many individuals with a migration background noticed quite quickly that the student-teacher relation is quite

different from the one in their own country. Some of the migrant participants in this study mentioned being shocked that special forms of address are not used in conversation with the teacher, that students are not listening to the teacher and they are talking during the lessons or even call the teachers names. On the other hand, the same persons admitted that after the first shock, they started to see the student-teacher relation as a matter of equality and they started to appreciate the teachers' interest in their opinions and that they, as students, can influence on their own learning. There are many other examples of adult migrant students reflecting on their previous beliefs and conceptions, such as in the case of a student who changed her opinion on positive feedback and started to believe that such encouragement is not just empty words.

As previously mentioned, a trainer also reflects the Finnish students' needs to change their way of thinking and doing in the course of learning something new. The same relates to educators. Despite being mentioned much less frequently, also interviewed educators were in constant search for meaning (Daloz 1986, Daloz & Daloz 1999) and were constantly learning something new. The search for meaning was visible in reflecting on their own teaching and ways of approaching migrant students and on diversity in the educational institution setting. That aspect is described in more detail in the section devoted to teaching adult migrant students and the flexibility connected to it. What this indicates is that encountering people of different backgrounds leads to new learning (Lasonen et al. 2009), or in other words, to change (Creese et al. 2006). The process of change is a matter of mutual collaboration (Miera 2012). Migrant students' drive to change their familiar ways of thinking and doing is important. Yet, as pointed by one of the trainers, giving a student an explanation on why things are done in a certain way is helpful in this process of change because the migrant student starts to understand the basis for doing, thinking, or teaching in a certain way.

The process of adaption of integration itself was seen by some interviewees as a process of change. However, there was no agreement on who should change and on what terms. As for some trainers and students, it was obvious that migrants were the main actors in the process of change and they took the main responsibility for that. Others thought change was something both migrants and non-migrants have to contribute to (see also Miera 2012), such as in the example of the following trainer:

Excerpt 30

KK: Ok.. and in which way can we support that, that integration happens in different directions and that there are not something like enclaves that you were talking about?

T10: I mean... I would say that there is our and migrants' shared responsibility.. we should just somehow be able to work together.. and maybe... maybe.. both have to give up something.

KK: Ok and what kind of responsibility do migrants and Finns have?

T10: That... for example that there would be a slightly more tolerant attitude in working life, so when a migrant goes to a Finnish work place... so... at first they are probably looked at and judged but then when they notice that they are doing well... so then I'm sure that they are taken into the group, so a migrant sort of has to be a little bit different for a while, without their own will... yes, I admit that it's especially in more traditional jobs, like construction... so for a while they are looked at differently... but then they are accepted as part of the group like others... so the Finnish should accept the immigrants more quickly... be more in touch with them so that's how it happens, the more you are in touch with them the more you realise that we are all same kind of people.

KK: And what kind of responsibilities do migrants have?

T10: No maybe to understand us Finns a little bit.. and to understand the Finnish working culture... maybe such type of things. (Trainer 10, construction, man)

Here the trainer reflects on the process of change in the workplace learning sites and concludes that gaining trust in the workplace, especially in some fields, is difficult, but possible. It is understood that any change takes time. Nonetheless, the process of change connected to living and learning in a new surrounding is an asymmetric one. Commonly, more changes are expected on the side of migrants (Berry 2001, Piontkowski et al. 2000). In addition, as it is present in interviews with educators, the process of change in the case of individuals with a migration background does not end up only with reflection and learning about new things, but is often accompanied by the expectation of 'getting rid of' old ways of thinking and doing, and ceasing strange behaviours (Pitkänen 2007). For example, a few trainers pointed out that if a migrant student does not demonstrate during the exam that he/she can perform a certain vocation according to Finnish norms, that he/she can take care of patient in a Finnish way, that he/she uses as much force as is allowed in Finland, that he/she acts according to Finnish law, than he/she may have a difficult time passing an exam and successfully functioning in Finnish working life.

In this study both trainers and adult migrant students recognised the difficulty of the process of change. They saw that it takes time and that especially in the beginning, it can be difficult to comprehend why things are done or taught exactly this way and not the other way. However, trainers and migrant students underlined different aspects of the process of change. 'Getting rid of' earlier ways of thinking and doing was seen by some of the interviewed trainers as a way of overcoming cultural differences and gaining better prospects in adjusting to Finnish working life and life in Finnish society (Pitkänen 2007). On the other hand, adult migrant students reflected on change that is occurring after migration to a new country and during the process of learning in terms of accepting new situations and personal development. The issue of 'getting rid of' old things and getting rid of old ways of behaving (as a way of overcoming cultural differences) is not present in their reflection on learning and teaching. Both groups approach differences in a slightly different way (Paris 2012, Paris & Ball 2009). That would suggest that trainers see ways of doing and behaving brought from other settings as something hindering integration and learning. On the other hand, migrant students see it as a

resource, as something that they can reflect on and build up in their lives in a new setting. Moving to a new country and the possibility of participating in formal learning gives them the possibility for such reflection, to learn something new, in other words, for personal growth (Mezirow 1990, Newman 2012).

The changes in ways of thinking and doing and being adjusted to life in a new setting were seen as important for being successful in learning and studying in new surroundings. One of the signs of adjustment and change is a possession of knowledge about the setting in which learning and studying takes place. Different aspects of being familiar with new surroundings were present in my interviews. Being familiar with Finnish society, its structures and laws, knowledge of how to handle everyday matters in a new country (e.g., where to get help if needed), and how to interact with officials are examples of this type of knowledge mentioned by interviewees. As one of the trainers said, such familiarity with the setting in which learning is happening gives peace of mind to students. A student can concentrate on learning and less of his/her attention is focused on how he/she should behave or not behave, why others are behaving and doing things this way and not another way. On the contrary, the lack of such knowledge leads to students being physically present during the lessons, but their thoughts may not be focused on learning. These matters were also at the centre of reflection for the following trainer:

Excerpt 31

T2: [...] and of course the amount of time spent in Finland matters too... So you kind of need time to integrate... that you've been here for some time and you start to understand the Finnish society and structures and activities. It probably affects the learning process and pace [...] Well of course learning simple things that what you can learn by reading, those are easier. But then the longer the time spent in Finland is, the better the conceptions about the Finnish society are, and you can see larger entities... So it might be difficult, to see those entities... But it's probably so that some details you can learn faster... but yeah... learning is probably related to the time spent in Finland... it requires a certain integration time and after that you begin to learn things little by little. (Trainer 2, social sciences, man)

The trainer not only underlined the importance of being familiar with the new, but also made a point that familiarity is often connected to the length of time spent living in Finland. This is also an aspect raised by a few other trainers and some of the migrant students. According to these informants, the longer migrant students have lived in Finland, the better they know the setting in which they live and learn, the language of this setting, the specifics of learning, studying, working, and living in this setting, and the expectations from them as students. Some of the trainers also predicted that with time, students would start to accept the rules of Finnish society, and because of it, be better adjusted to living and learning in Finland. As presented in the citation above, all of that contributed to the migrant students being able to comprehend much more complex matters and having better prospects for being successful in learning, studying, as well as living in Finland. In addition, with time, adult migrant

students have their lives under control in Finland, as seen by some of interviewed trainers. Although some of their migrant students still wonder about the structure of the educational system, or how things work here in Finland, they already have some background knowledge and are aware of the study possibilities and ways of financing their studies. This was also confirmed in the discussions with a few migrant students who pointed to the difficulties of their first years of living in new surroundings.

As mentioned in the previous section, differences easily recognised as cultural are seen as barriers to learning (see also Dervin 2011, Ladson-Billings 2006). Therefore, some knowledge of Finnish culture and being adjusted to so-called of Finnish culture (Dervin 2011, Teräs 2007) is seen as a way of overcoming this barrier. This type of knowledge was believed to be important, especially in some fields. One of the trainers reflected on this in connection to wood processing and underlined the importance of awareness of the impact of the climate on how houses are built or furniture is made in a certain climate and from materials available in this type of climate. As the trainer stated later on, understanding those aspects also helps students understand why certain things are taught in Finland and in a specific way. However, while some migrant students live for quite a long time in Finland and seem to be familiar with the surroundings in which they study, there can still be some aspects that are unknown for them, as in the case of a student mentioned by one of the trainers:

Excerpt 32

T3: [...] and then when he/she was finishing his/her work place learning... so he/she was happy that his/her Finnish had improved tremendously... But he/she focused on that. Then he/she completed a degree there... But the challenge was he/she came from a different culture... And here when we have this law on intellectual property. So there's copyright concerning different issues and we see legislation from a national point of view... so these types of juridical issues were problematic for him/her when completing the degree when he/she focused on these audio-visual products and used his/her existing knowledge on copyrights, I think he/she was from Iran or Afghan was his/her background ... And it's incorrect... not Finnish... so it's wrong... so how he/she acted in Finland would be punishable by law in Finland [...] but it's challenging like this... so the differences between cultures... So if you normally do well in society, you learn the Finnish system but you also need to learn these intellectual property laws... which can be very different [...] So that is challenging. So what you have for example recorded in a production company in Iran... so you can't directly use that in Finland, utilise the material you have... So here we have certain... twists and you can't understand those [...] because you're coming from a different culture. (Trainer 3, audio-visual communication, woman)

For the trainer it was quite obvious that if a student knows and manages well in Finnish society then for sure he/she understands the idea behind property laws. However, that was not so obvious to the student. The passage shows that migrant students may know a lot about Finnish society and culture in general, and may be proficient in Finnish language, but there can be some 'cultural twist', a risk of making some misinterpretation (Geertz 1973) that can lead to difficulty in getting a certificate.

The other aspect that can lead to misunderstanding is the belief that if a student participated in integration training, then he/she knows enough about Finnish culture and society and has undergone the expected process of change. However, not only does length of time of living in Finland matter in the process of changes connected to living in the new surroundings, but also motivation to live in Finland. Finding such motivation and a will to build up your own life in a new country is seen in the willingness to put effort into completing studies and moving forward in a new setting, such as in the case of the following student:

Excerpt 33

S3: [...] at first I wanted to move back... I didn't want to learn Finnish or anything... but I was just 15 years old when I came here, I mean I turned 16 one month after... that's a difficult age, because all the friends stay there... but then my mind has changed when I got my first job and I was appreciated there, and then I was offered a few other jobs, but then I was not able to be in several different places at the same time and then the will to become a practical nurse and studying grew on me. (Student 3, practical nurse training, woman, European background)

As pointed out by one of the trainers, the lack of motivation for learning is many times connected to an intense feeling of missing one's own country and what was left behind. That is especially the case at the beginning of the stay in a new setting. However, the trainer stated that some migrants also long for and miss their countries of origin, and have the feeling that everything was working well and they have a strong desire to go back. They kind of live and learn here in Finland, but 'somehow mind and soul are still there in the homeland', as Trainer 5 expressed. Others may be better adjusted to living in Finland; they have often found their own place in the new country or at least they know what they are aiming for. They do not have problems with finding the motivation to learn; however, they also have nostalgic thoughts concerning their own homeland. As one of the trainers mentioned, adult migrant students' learning is accompanied by a glorification of their own country. Similarly, like one of the migrant students said that no matter what, 'despite being poor or at war, homeland always remains homeland'.

6.2 Language aspects in learning and teaching

Next to the cultural aspects are language matters that were often present in the interviewees' reflections on learning and teaching. In relation to it, trainers as well as migrant student interviewees focused on the lack of Finnish language proficiency, the required level of language in different settings and for different purposes, as well as the specifics of Finnish as a language and how subject matter is taught in it. Interviewees' views on these matters are also at the centre of the following sub-section.

6.2.1 Lack of language proficiency

In all type of interviews, study informants discussed the lack of language proficiency and related difficulties. Insufficient knowledge of Finnish is seen as something that makes trainers' work, as well as adult migrant students' learning difficult. If there are any problems with migrants students' learning or teaching this group of students, then it is usually related to adult migrant students' lack of language proficiency: that is the message often heard in many of the trainers' and the migrant students' interviews. However, the concern about the lack of Finnish language was presented more strongly in the trainers' interviews. Many trainers mentioned this aspect first in their discussions on teaching, for example, in this case of following trainer:

Excerpt 34

KK: Yes, ok... and how does it feel to teach migrant students?

T2: Of course I'm in an advantageous position because I had a lot to do with migrants, so it's not so new for me, but you notice that language is for sure the biggest problem... I mean.. the lack of knowledge of Finnish. (Trainer 2, social sciences, man)

Another trainer added:

Excerpt 35

T12: [...] that... in a way.. I don't think that migrants.. that they are migrants... but that they're my students and maybe they speak Finnish a little worse.. that is that.. language is in a way the thing that disturbs the most. (Trainer 12, business and commerce, woman)

Even though trainers were able to treat an adult migrant student like any other student, this wasn't always possible because of the language issue. Being a non-native speaker of Finnish was seen as most challenging when it came to learning vocation specific things (see Kela & Komppa 2011):

Excerpt 36

KK: And how did this language and cultural background influence that [outcome], that they did not graduate?

T7: Language in a way, that we deal with law quite a lot in our field and they're not able to understand that... they don't understand that.. they aren't able to produce anything in written form, or in oral form, on such level that you would be able to comprehend what somebody tries to say here. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

The lack of language matters independently of the adult migrants' background, mother tongue, or the length of stay in Finland. In spite of the fact that the migrant students have been living in Finland for a long time and have good learning skills, knowledge of language challenges their learning and studying in Finland. Some trainers pointed out the fact that, although adult migrant students may speak Finnish well, they do not necessary understand everything.

However, understanding, especially of vocational concepts, is important to the learning process and in a way is a starting point for further learning as it relates to a certain vocation (see Gay 2010). As pointed out by one of the trainers, if one does not understand basic concepts, most probably one has difficulty understanding the subject matter later on.

Many of the trainers recognised that vocational concepts are also difficult for Finnish students. However, as noticed by some of the trainers, Finnish is their mother tongue and they can recognise the source of the problem much faster than migrant students. In contrast, migrant students can have difficulty in assessing if a certain word has been understood or not, and as one of the trainers mentioned, they most likely do not recognise straight away that understanding of the concept is not necessarily connected to a lack of Finnish language proficiency, but it can be also be the result of a generally difficult term.

Most of the adult migrant students recognised their lack of Finnish language proficiency and were able to point out things that were challenging to them when using Finnish. For example pronunciation, inflection, understanding of vocational concepts, and understanding subject matter in general. In many students' opinions, it was easy to study in Finland (in comparison to their previous learning experiences) and it was just the language aspect that makes it more difficult. Commonly, adult migrant students struggle with the more theoretical parts of their studies and that is mainly due to a lack of language proficiency. This idea was present in the trainer as well as migrant student discussions. One of the students admitted that it was difficult to concentrate on longer theoretical lectures:

Excerpt 37

S10: [...] Sometimes they are speaking fast and sometimes slowly... if they are speaking slowly I understand almost everything.. but sometimes my brain is sleeping... here it comes there it goes (showing that goes to one ear and out the other)... but I think that I understand about 70%... but sometimes I do not understand. (Student 10, wood processing, man, English speaker background)

As the example shows, struggling with theoretical concepts is often connected to a lack of understanding. One of the trainers added that migrant students may have difficulties in understanding even if students speak Finnish well:

Excerpt 38

T9: [...] and then the problems that are appearing during teaching.. or the fact that it's more difficult... maybe actually teaching of some theoretical matter.. and to make a migrant concentrate on that, because he/she does not understand everything.. though he/she speaks Finnish... that is maybe that [...]

KK: That it is more difficult for him/her to concentrate?

T9: Yes

KK: How have you noticed that? [...] Why are you thinking that it's more difficult for them to concentrate?

- T9: Well if you ask a student, then yes.. he/she hasn't been listening at all [...] that he/she has just closed.. has turned off his/her brain and has done something completely different.. that might be because of the student him/herself.. not necessarily all migrant students have the same thing... but it easily turns out to be like that... and then they do not want to ask anything anymore either... or what the idea of the whole thing was. (Trainer 9, wood processing, man)

As noticed by some of the trainers and some of the migrant students, students sometimes understand separate words, but that does not mean they have understood the content. In other situations, students may understand one thing, but not the other, or understand almost everything except for one key word. In another part of the interview, the same trainer mentioned that as a consequence, students have a completely different understanding of what the whole issue is about. The aspect of understanding was raised in interviewees' discussions independently of vocational field. As discussed out in the previous sub-section, in more manual fields, students can manage with less linguistic resources, but still have some theory to pass and have to understand what is explained to them.

The problems related to understanding speech were also brought up in other migrant students' interviews. Some students pointed out that they understood the speech of some trainers better than the speech of others. A few migrant students expressed an opinion that they started to better understand when they got used to someone's speech. Because of this, some of them saw it as problematic that trainers change often, as they have to get used to a new trainers' speech and to the new way of teaching. Some of them noticed that such changes had an effect on their speed of learning; the percentage of understood matter decreased.

Adult migrant students interviewed had similar challenges with understanding written text. This was often connected to the students' lack of awareness of how much he/she actually understands. The experience of one of the students shows that understanding written text can be lower than first anticipated. The student disclosed that after reading about the same thing in his own mother tongue, he usually realised that he understood much less than he originally thought. Migrant students may not only have problems with understanding written text, but as reflected in many interviews with trainers and migrant students, individuals with a migration background struggle the most with producing written text (Latomaa et al. 2013, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). Difficulty in producing written texts was also seen as an extra challenge in the trainers' work. During vocational studies, students have many written tasks. However, it is rather difficult to express one's thoughts and show one's knowledge if somebody has problems with writing.

Lack of Finnish language skills challenges adult migrant students' learning and trainers' work in one more way. Trainers as well as migrant students in this study gave examples of students not being able to express everything in a way they would wish. Some migrant students also identified the fact that Finns did not necessarily understand what they said. This leads to problems related to passing exams and has an influence on interaction with

others parties involved in the learning process. For example, in line with Roberts (2012 and 2013), some trainers point out migrant students' difficulties in interacting with employers, presenting themselves, explaining the aims of the practice periods, and what kind of guidance they need. For trainers, such a state of affairs means many difficulties in assessing the adult migrant students' knowledge and skills (Forsander 2013).

It is easy to say that migrant students' problems with learning, as well as challenges related to schooling them are expected to be related to migrants' insufficient knowledge of the Finnish language. As pointed out by a few trainers, sometimes they are an effect of learning or behavioural difficulties. However, diagnoses of these difficulties may be challenging in the case of students with poor knowledge of language. It can take some time before noticing that a student actually has some reading or concentration disorder, as in the case of one student mentioned by the following trainer:

Excerpt 39

T4: So quite often the first conclusion is that it's only because he/she doesn't understand the language but then if it just keeps going and going... and well... usually in the work place learning, for example it becomes clearer and clearer that (breathing heavily)... for example last summer there was a student who couldn't manage his/her home care practice period... he/she couldn't find the customers' homes, he/she somehow mixed the keys... so he/she didn't comprehend the work order that when to go where, to which customer and the general work flow... which is very important in home care so that you can manage it at all... so there I had this conclusion that it's not just a language issue. (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman)

The migrant students' lack of language proficiency challenged communication with trainers (see Berry 2009, Lantolf & Thorne 2006). Not everything that is written in e-mail, on an electronic platform for communication between student and teacher, text messages or things said by phone were understood by the student. In addition, some educators noted that a student may struggle with writing a response. Indeed, one of the students gave the example of a negative experience with communicating through text messages. As the student reflected, understanding the text messages was even more difficult than other written texts, because of the fact that some of the messages were written in slang or some words were shortened.

On a different note, a lack of language proficiency may lead to some tension among all parties participating in learning: trainers, Finnish students, and migrant students. For example, students as well as trainers experienced frustration with the need to explain the same things again and again, and of migrant students giving an answer to a completely different question, which leads to such negative feelings that were present in all types of interviews. In addition, migrant students use language different than natives (Lantolf & Thorne 2006) which can turn out to be a further source of tensions and negative emotions. Similarly to any other differences brought up by migrant students in learning settings are also differences based on different use of language, which

are easily used to creating a borderline between 'us and them' (Erikson 2010). For example, this was visible in a few migrant students getting negative comments related to their different use of the Finnish language (see Näre 2013, Ogbonna & Harris 2006), such as in the case of the following student:

Excerpt 40

S4: [...] I was laughed at... only little bit... because I speak 'bad Finnish' [huono suome]... they have made a joke out of it 'I speak bad Finnish' [huono suome] and I say, that 'So what?', do you know they have made a joke out of it... I was sometimes kind of angry. (Student 4, practical nurse training, woman, South American background)

Adult migrant students speak Finnish with a foreign accent, and sometimes they have a problem choosing the right words, which in the opinion of some of the interviewed migrant students, sounds strange and maybe funny for Finnish students. In addition, because of the lack of Finnish language proficiency, migrant students may act differently than Finnish students are used to. For example, a few students mentioned going to sit in the first row, listening carefully and interrupting the teaching if they needed an explanation. In the view of some individuals with a migration background, that is perceived by Finnish students as something different and strange (Erikson 2010, Kalonaityte 2010, Said 1995):

Excerpt 41

S4: But always for example when I'm studying I always go sit in front... because all other disturbance stays behind and then others, all other Finns they look and ask 'Why are you going to sit in the front?... and then I have to give an explanation... because all other Finns they go sit in the back.. and I go sit in front... and then they look at me.. because of that they said to me that I'm a strong personality... and then I have said it's not connected to that, but because I really want to listen to and I'm such that when I come I like to go to the front, especially now when I'm studying, because I want to...

KK: Concentrate better?

S4: Because there are other Finns there, of course they understand their own spoken language and they can talk or something, but they still listen, but I want to listen very carefully.. that what it means, because of that I go to front... if I want to learn something I go to sit in the first row... .. and then if I don't understand something, I raise my hand, and I say 'Sorry, I haven't understood that?' 'Sorry, I haven't understood, I'm not able to continue, I'm not able to understand like all other things... .. and I always stop 'Sorry, I don't understand, what does this mean?' (Student 4, practical nurse training, woman, South American background)

Furthermore, in this study, migrant students' lack of Finnish language proficiency was a base for questioning migrants' participation in education, which was raised by one of the students in the group interview:

Excerpt 42

KK: And you've said that some aren't friendly? [...] What do you mean by that? In which way?

#S12: They don't want, that for us it's a foreign language and everybody should be patient with us immigrants, when we study together with Finns. But, if we are in a Finnish language course, we immigrants we're all helping each other. Sometimes somebody needs help, but with Finns not all of them they want 'Why is this one coming here, if you don't even know language' or something like this.. it goes. I hear that quite a lot and it makes me sad. (Group interview, cleaning services)

As experienced by the students, it was difficult to understand for some Finnish students why somebody with poor language skills came to study at a Finnish institution. The migrant students' poor language skills often require adjustment of teaching to meet student's needs, which may not be necessarily fully accepted by Finnish students. In this case, the knowledge of the Finnish language functions as a divider between 'us and them'. However, as one of the trainers reflected that knowledge of the Finnish language (regardless of the level), should also be seen as something that everybody has in common (Paris 2009):

Excerpt 43

T11: [...] there are many nationalities, but Finnish is our language of teaching... or our common language, that we are speaking and which we hopefully also understand. (Trainer 11, catering services, woman)

As it can be noticed from the trainer's reflection, though knowledge of the Finnish language is kind of a starting point for reaching a common ground, it is also something that rouses a lot of uncertainty. That aspect of uncertainty, however, is elaborated later by presenting the results of the study related to the specifics of teaching migrant students.

In sum, the lack of Finnish language proficiency was recognised by the study participants as something that impacts migrant students' learning. Successful completion of education requires understanding of what is said (see Dooley 2009, Gay 2010) and being able to express one's own knowledge (see Lantolf & Thorne 2006). Additionally, trainers saw migrant students' poor language skills as something that they have to reflect on and take into consideration in their teaching. Insufficient proficiency in language makes learning and teaching more difficult, leads to confusion for both native and non-natives concerning what was understood and not understood, as well as having an influence on the quality of the relationships at the institute and at workplace learning sites.

6.2.2 Generally difficult language, subject matter and task

Many challenges related to learning in a new setting and to teaching adult migrant students are associated with the migrant students' lack of Finnish

language proficiency, which was touched upon in the previous section. However, as it can be noticed in all type of interviews, some of these difficulties, such as difficulties in understanding, are rather connected to the fact that some subject matter or ideas behind the completion of certain types of studies are just difficult to comprehend, some tasks are difficult to complete, added to the fact that Finnish is a complicated language. As pointed out by a few educators, some vocational terms or some official papers related to Competence Based Qualification are difficult for Finnish students as well.

Many adult migrant students struggle with learning the same things as Finnish students, which also indicates that not everything can be explained by a lack of language proficiency or the existence of cultural differences (see also Dervin 2011, Ladson-Billings 2006, Piller 2012):

Excerpt 44

KK: Ok.. and what makes learning and studying difficult?

S11: Difficult is... you mean?

KK: What makes it difficult... I mean is there something that makes learning and studying difficult?

S11: Ok.. it means.. ok.. ok.. sometimes.. for example a teacher.. gives a task.. that needs to be done.. ok.. that I need to do.. but he/she does not explain well enough... I'm not able to start doing that.

KK: Starting with a new task is difficult?

S11: To start with a task that is so difficult.. for example.. yes that is that.. he/she says you can do something with banquet catering services.. and then.. I'm not able to start doing that.. and then when I come.. my supervisor maybe tells me how that can be started.. and afterwards I'm able to carry out a certain task.. yes, to begin a task is really difficult for me.

KK: Why is starting a certain task so difficult to you?

S11: Yes.. that is... my knowledge of language isn't really fully perfect.. and because of that it is so difficult to start.

KK: Ok.. and that time when you were studying in [country's name] was that time easier for you to start carrying out a task?

S11: No, not always, but yes sometimes it's also such a thing.. it depends on the subject... how I could say that.. mathematics feels easy to me.. for example English I can write something about family stuff or then.. beginning.. I don't know how to start.. also in my own mother tongue.. that is such a thing.

KK: To start writing?

S11: Yes.. beginning.. to start writing.. it's really difficult... why, I'm not able to say where it comes from. (Student 11, catering services, woman, Asian background)

In the above presented example, problems with writing are independent of the context. That is just something that is generally difficult to the cited student and usually to any other student, independently of the student's background and proficiency in a certain language. Some of the trainers also connected migrants students' struggles with the subject matter to the fact that Finnish is a specific and complex language with a lot of cases in which the basic word can change a lot in the inflection process (see Dahl 2008, Karlsson 2008). Moreover, the new word can be formulated by combining words, which results in rather long names for some concepts. Quite often, official papers, for example, the Competence Based Qualification guides are full of this type of difficult concepts and grammatical structures. The complicated guides and forms challenge not only adult migrant students' learning, but also native speakers of Finnish. In connection to this, one of the trainers wondered why such difficult language was used in these types of guidelines. The trainer questioned why the guidelines could not be written clearly the first time so that people, both natives and non-natives, could understand them.

While some students have education in certain fields from their own country and know the vocational terms in a few other Indo-European languages, they still reported facing challenges in understanding vocational terms in Finnish. One reason for this is again the specificity of the Finnish language. As one of the migrant students commented; the Finnish vocational terms and even basic words seldom look similar to the same terms in other languages.

The other specificity of the Finnish language is the strong division between spoken and written forms of Finnish, which can also turn out to be a challenging issue when learning a vocation in Finland, as visible in the data gathered for this study. Some students pointed out that they are more familiar with formal, usually written Finnish, because that is the form of the language taught during language and integration courses. Consequently, some of the interviewed migrant students struggled with understanding the spoken version of the Finnish language, for example in workplace learning sites. This aspect was visible in the discussion with the following student on learning and teaching in Finland:

Excerpt 45

KK: What helps you to understand things? .. to understand and to learn?

S11: To understand... sometimes by speaking or doing... maybe... but sometimes if... writing can help...if for example a teacher says something I don't really understand.. the spoken language and written language are so different ... and then 'Could you write that for me?'... and then by writing it goes much better. (Student 11, catering services, woman, Asian background)

On the contrary, some other students pointed out that they learned Finnish in more informal settings and therefore they are more familiar with spoken

Finnish. However, seldom do adult migrant students know both versions of Finnish to the same extent.

6.2.3 Required level of language

Knowledge of the host country language was recognised by most participants of the study as a central aspect in learning and studying in Finland, as well as in the teaching of adult migrant students. However, in some cases, that was basically everything that educators were interested in and wanted to know in relation to adult migrant students:

Excerpt 46

T12: [...] I don't know how integrated they are... it's really difficult for me to say... because in a way... I don't need to know that much about it... what I need to know is Finnish language skills... how they are managing it. (Trainer 12, business and commerce, woman)

Many of the trainers stated that language skills are the best sign of integration into Finnish society and the best predictor of success in completing vocational studies (see also Delander et al. 2005, Duchêne et al. 2013, Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). Proficiency in the host country language was seen by these informants as a decisive aspect in a learning process - an entrance ticket to educational institutions and an important starting point for the learning process. As the institute Rector noted, many adult migrant applicants, in spite of their good motivation, good pre-qualifications for studying and working in a certain field, are not chosen for vocational studies because of a lack of Finnish language proficiency.

In connection to this, there is an ongoing discussion on the required level of language proficiency in order to undertake vocational studies at the institute (Latomaa et al. 2013, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). The institution in question considers raising the requirements related to knowledge of language for migrants applying for vocational education to ensure that they know Finnish well enough in the beginning of their career at the institute. An argument behind this is that students with insufficient knowledge of language need a lot of support. Unfortunately, in spite of this extra help, their learning process may not necessarily go forward. A good level of language upon entering an educational institution was believed to make educators' work easier, but it was seen also of importance for the student as it gave a basis for being successful in education and minimised the possibility of potential disappointments.

As mentioned in the previous section, the lack of language is a source of many tensions and confusions. Setting higher requirements concerning language is then seen as a way of solving of this problem. A good level of language at the beginning of the educational career in the institute was seen as a guarantee of good relations between Finnish and migrant student as well as

beneficial for a good relationship between the trainer and migrant student. This aspect was for example reflected by the following trainer:

Excerpt 47

KK: And how does it work in the classroom, when they are together with Finnish students... is everything going fine?

T5: Most of the time it's going fine... Finnish students say, that it's nice, that there are immigrants... and nowadays we're also trying to make sure that when a migrant comes to study for a vocation that he/she has enough abilities so that he/she is able to graduate..

KK: What kind of abilities?

T5: Adequate language skills... and some work experience from this field.. but of course then you notice that if the language competence is not good enough and for example if you're asking something.. then the immigrant starts to give an answer to completely something else, he/she doesn't understand the question and then others can get a little bit bored. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

Commonly, the knowledge of language was assessed (as reported by trainers and rector) during the entry conversation or through an entry exam. In the past there were no requirements set for the level of Finnish language proficiency in order to undertake vocational education. Hence, students with very low Finnish language proficiency (and sometimes in their own mother tongue) were being admitted to vocational programmes. After these experiences, more attention is being paid to adult migrant students' proficiency in Finnish language.

However, assessing and setting requirements for language knowledge is quite a difficult task. Language proficiency differs depending on the topic and the area of language knowledge and there are different ideas on what knowledge of language is (see Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). For example, as noticed by some of the trainers, adult migrant students have very good proficiency in everyday language, but they may be less familiar with the specific language of certain vocations. Similarly, an applicant can be good at speaking Finnish, but can have difficulty in understanding spoken and written language. This, of course, can easily lead to misunderstanding during the entry exam and later on when adult migrant students are admitted to vocational education for adults, as was the case of the following trainer:

Excerpt 48

T3: [...] I haven't thought about the importance of language before.. in this way, but now we've chosen a student, that speaks Finnish really well... but he/she doesn't understand what he/she is saying, he/she picked up some words, but he/she doesn't know what is behind them.. probably that has misled somebody who was conducting the interviews, that they couldn't suspect anything... and now I have this student, that in the reality he/she doesn't understand Finnish... and then the integration of such a person and all of those things. (Trainer 3, audio-visual communication, woman)

As can be concluded from the extract above, it is rather difficult to say what should be the required level of Finnish language for completing vocational education and gaining employment in a certain vocation (Härmälä 2008, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). Some interviewed educators noticed, for example that the level of language could turn out to be good enough for learning subject matters that were closely related to an adult migrant student's world of experience, but not necessarily good enough for tackling more in-depth topics. Furthermore, the level of language is sufficient for learning by doing and in the workplace, it may turn out that it isn't good enough for passing the theoretical part of the studies. In addition, it goes without saying that some fields require better language proficiency than others. In some fields, it is enough if one is just understood and can communicate orally (craft and design, cleaning services). Other fields, however, require good writing skills (such as in practical nursing). Generally, the interviewees pointed out that in the fields where somebody's life, money, or safety is at play (nursing, accounting), educators (as well as employers) were more concerned about adult migrant student's language proficiency (see Virtanen 2011).

The knowledge of vocational terms and field-specific vocabulary was seen as important by trainers (see Härmälä 2008, Virtanen 2011) and it was believed that students usually extend their vocational vocabulary during their studies at the institute. However, as pointed out by one of the trainers, not everyone was able to do this. This of course has some implications for setting requirements for the level of language needed for completion of vocational studies and leads to paying more attention to students' knowledge of language during the admission process.

The issue of required level of Finnish language for gaining vocational competencies and participation in working life leads to many tensions and contradictions. There are, for example, some disagreements connected to what should be a required level of language for those purposes between different groups of educators and employers. Those dilemmas were well presented by the following trainer:

Excerpt 49

KK: Ok.. yes, yes... you said something about that: where do adult migrants learn the best? You said a little bit that by doing and at the workplace...

T3: By doing and at the workplace, but only if there's a sufficient knowledge of language... that needs to be sufficient [...] This way, our teachers here, they have found out that they learn best in the workplace.

KK: In the workplace... ok.

T3: Teachers [...] other teachers but workplaces have informed us that first you need to, for example if you do graphic design tasks... Yeah so you first need to learn how to conjugate verbs and you can interpret this in a way that the Finnish language [...] there are challenges, so you need to go from work life back to school... Verb conjugation... This means traditional teaching of Finnish language [...] so there are sort of two worlds here.

- KK: Ok, in this way they learn the best at the workplace, but in the workplace they are told 'Go to school'.
- T3: Working life says 'Go to school', I mean to school to learn Finnish, and here [in the institute] then 'When you go to the workplace then you'll learn'. (Trainer 3, audio-visual communication, woman)

As the trainer pointed out, on the one hand, workplace learning sites offer a lot of opportunities for learning, also in terms of extending knowledge of the Finnish language. On the other hand, employers may have different ideas about the required level of language and see a good level of language as a necessary condition for being able to learn in the workplace.

Similar disagreements on required level of language for doing vocational studies exist between vocational and language teachers (even within the same institution). As one of the trainers mentioned, language teachers recommend that students apply for vocational studies as soon as possible, as they believe that in this way, migrant students have a possibility to further develop their Finnish language skills and learn vocational matters at the same time. However, some of interviewed vocational trainers were disappointed with adult migrant students' level of the Finnish language after integration training and expected migrants to gain a proper level of Finnish language and have vocation-specific vocabulary before applying for further education (see also Latomaa et al. 2013). In my study, integration training was criticised by some interviewed staff members as being insufficient and touching only upon general issues related to living in Finland (see also Härmälä 2008, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). The notion is that the level of language gained after Finnish language courses enables student to speak conversationally, but it is not necessarily good enough for completing vocational studies. As reflected in interviews with educators, in order to be successful in vocational studies, adult migrant students have to be able to understand written forms of language, to produce written text and to know basic vocational terms. However, from a few examples given by educators, just raising language requirements is not enough; there also has to be a will to communicate.

In sum, the required level of language for learning at different learning sites creates a lot of concern among educators. This issue leads to many tensions and disagreements between various stakeholders.

6.3 Personal differences and life situations

The study participants, both trainers and migrant students, also focused on different sets of personal differences, backgrounds, experiences, life histories and life situations brought to various learning settings by migrant students as well as trainers. However, at the same time it was pointed out that there are unique life experiences in migrants' situations after migration, and, related to it,

the strong will to study. In this section, I present results of the study in connection to these matters.

6.3.1 Heterogeneity

Though, many differences were believed to be cultural in origin in this study, in fact, people (migrant students as well as trainers) are a very heterogenous group. Above all, they enter educational institutions as individuals and bring a huge spectrum of life situations, personal differences, and different sets of previous experiences to the various learning settings (Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003). This is also often a reference point for learning and teaching in diverse settings.

As shown in the methodological part of the dissertation, there is enormous diversity among migrant participants of this study concerning why someone came to Finland, at what age, from where, what languages a person knows and to what extent, what kind of personal histories they have, educational background and work, the circumstances under which someone came to Finland (alone or not, voluntarily or not) and the person's current life situation (Teräs 2007, Vertovec 2007). Because of this, from the beginning, different migrant interviewees have different starting points for living and learning in Finland (Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). As one of the migrant students interviewed believed, the circumstances under which a person came to Finland have an influence on the life situation of the person after migration:

Excerpt 50

S4: [...] Then that for example we who come here voluntarily, like me, I came here voluntarily because I wanted to... I don't have to, I go, whenever here... There's no war in my country or such... so I was thinking about that, you know, you can't go... they [those who came involuntarily] are a bit bitter here, how they treat others... so like that... it feels bad... it's quite emotional what I, I think about them all the time, those people, what I've seen for example my friend is a refugee... and I was watching them... he/she missed his/her relatives and children a lot and. (Student 4, practical nurse training, woman, South American background)

Some other migrant students as well as trainers connected their prospects for being successful with their studies to their ability to manage everyday life in Finland, for their family situation, and the size of their social networks in Finland. For example, it makes a difference if somebody has a Finnish partner and contact to partners' family or not. Trainers as well as many adult migrant students recognised the importance of this type of social network and support with respect to dealing with everyday matters in Finland and with studying in Finland. Those with Finnish families were seen as being in a slightly better position, as someone from their Finnish family or a family friend knew what to do or where to go when a specific situation arose. Those without such networks have to count on their own abilities and on educators. This is especially true for migrants with a refugee background, who are in the worst situation. As noticed by one of the trainers, they often had poor social networks and were alone:

Excerpt 51

KK: And what kind of experiences do you have regarding the integration of adult migrants participating in vocational education?

T7: It's the same thing, in my opinion, that they are left quite on their own, if they don't have.. or they don't have family ties, I mean, that they come to Finland through marriage, then... .. then they're quite alone... and then they... end up grouping more or less intentionally, being with people from their own country or from other countries, but nobody is helping that much, nobody is guiding them in their everyday life... .. they don't have, in my opinion such... how that could be said... let's say a support person, which would be with them on their journey... they come here at eight o'clock and leave at three o'clock and evenings and weekends they are left on their own. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

The fact of having a Finnish family and a good social network creates a natural way to find more opportunities for using the Finnish language and becoming familiar with Finnish culture and society as well as for being successful in learning and studying in Finland, which was also visible in the discussion with the following trainer on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 52

T6: [...] I mean, at least from what I've noticed is that migrants, whose life outside school time concentrates on taking care of family matters and then in their own family everything is managed in their own mother tongue... .. their knowledge of language, in my opinion, is a little bit behind in comparison to persons that are for example married to a Finn... .. and that they don't necessarily have a close contact with a group speaking their mother tongue... .. they have a different level of knowledge of Finnish... and they have a much broader vocabulary and they understand the Finnish society much more broadly. (Trainer 6, practical nurse training, woman)

The knowledge of language itself is closely related to students' prospects for obtaining vocational competencies. Both trainers and students were aware of that. However, trainers as well as students pointed to the fact that adult migrants have different levels of Finnish language proficiency when they enter vocational education. On the one hand, this is because of motivation; but on the other hand, this depends on the length of stay in Finland. Some student participants of the study ended up in vocational education just after a few years of living in Finland, while others had lived in Finland for 20 years. As pointed out by trainers, and as can be noticed from discussions with migrant students, students living for longer in Finland know the Finnish language better. In many respects those who knew more about the context in which they study have better social networks and better organised lives in Finland, which is of importance from the perspective of managing their studies in Finland. The same relates to age at the time of migration. For example, younger people are believed to have better preconditions for learning new languages and for learning in general.

The immense student heterogeneity was also recognised in the following trainer's discussion on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 53

KK: What kinds of experiences do you have in learning and teaching adult migrant students?

T7: It has to be specified what kind of background is meant here [...] so, if we are talking about Westerners versus others for example from the south.. I mean south.. or let's say Africans.. Asians and such

KK: Yes, you can talk about all of those groups..

T7: So I was teaching physics, chemistry... to [...] immigrants in their first year and they didn't really understand anything but if we talk about western countries: Russia, Germany, France, Sweden, USA... with them you can communicate and they learn but if we talk about people with Arabic or Muslim background, India, Indonesia, it's pretty difficult to teach them...

KK: Ok.. an why is it so?

T7: One reason is the learning culture that they have... or better to say that they don't have it at all... they were not taught at all there and they are not used to studying

KK: Ok, so there were students that hadn't had any education previously?

T7: Yes, basically they don't have any previous education... ..and then you can notice that that they cannot do... cannot study... they are on the same level like our children in elementary school.

KK: The same level in math and physics?

T7: Yes, and pretty much in all kinds of doing... there is a clear difference, if we are talking about Westerners... then they have a certain educational background, that they can.. they can study [...] and you can find background knowledge. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

As previously mentioned in the section on cultural aspects (sub-chapter 6.1), the trainer makes a harmful distinction between Westerners and non-Westerners and underlines non-Westerners' inabilities to learn, as well as challenges connected to teaching this group of students. However, his intention was also to stress the huge diversity existing among migrant students. The trainer made the point that adult migrant students' different sets of educational backgrounds, previous experiences in learning and their previous set of knowledge and skills matter in being successful in learning in Finland (see also Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003). The trainer's reflection makes it clear that adult migrant students not only have different life situations, but also different educational histories and different amounts of learning experiences. As also pointed out by a few other educators, it can be noticed in the educational backgrounds of students participating in this study that some are highly educated; others have had only a few years of participation in formal education or have not even had an opportunity to go to school in their childhood. Additionally, some of them were students just a few years ago, while others were students a few decades ago. Previous participation in learning and the skills gained thanks to that

participation are of importance for students learning here in Finland (see also Tammelin-Laine 2014). Those students who have had many previous learning experiences, who were in school not so long ago, who still remember how to be a student have the advantage of knowing how to learn, the best way to learn, and what is expected from them as learners. As one of the trainers pointed out, it is different to teach a student who, when entering vocational education, has a university degree and a student who has only spent a couple of years in school so far. One of the trainers stated that obviously highly educated individuals with a migration background understand better the structure of the education system in Finland and the idea behind Qualification Based Competence. Even though this is still something completely new for them, they comprehend it much faster than a person who has had very little or no experience at all of being a student. Previous learning experiences gained in exactly the same field of study are of value for learning in the Finnish context - that is an aspect present in some trainers' as well as some of the migrant students' discussions on learning and teaching. As one of the trainers drew attention to, in such a case students often already know the taught subject matter and they are updating their knowledge in another language and learning about the nuances of performing a certain vocation here in Finland.

The lack of previous learning experiences and often long elapsed periods since being in formal education is also noticeable in students' literacy skills as well as in their knowledge of math and IT. As some of the educators revealed, because of their short time participating in education, some of their adult migrant students did not write and read that well (or not at all) even in their own mother tongue. Students with a lower educational background were also seen as struggling more with math and other subjects in which math skills are of importance.

Other areas where there was a lack of knowledge mentioned by trainers and migrant students were IT and general skills connected to using new technologies as well as the ability to efficiently search for needed information. In many cases, these deficits are connected to not using a computer and other technologies on an everyday basis. Hence, using technology in learning is something rather new and challenging for some migrants (e.g., use of electronic platforms Wilma or Optima), as believed by some of educators. Also in this case, a lack of knowledge in this area was easily associated with students coming from far away.

Individuals with a migration background bring a different set of skills to educational institutions. However, in the interviewed trainers' as well as migrant students' reflections on learning and teaching in reference to existing heterogeneity among students and staff members, there was one more aspect raised, namely the fact that learning skills are not only connected to previous learning experiences, but to the fact that some students enjoy studying more than others. For example, this was visible in the discussions with a few of the students who perceived themselves as being good at learning. The students claimed that they did not have problems studying in their own country, but

that they also managed well in their studies in Finland. They learned with ease and enjoyed learning independently of the context (see Marton, Hounsell & Entwistle 1984). The same relates to gaining knowledge of a language. Some are just faster learners than others and have more talent for learning languages. Trainers gave many examples of students that learned Finnish in a very short time. In contrast, there were also students who struggled with the Finnish language during their vocational studies and their Finnish language did not develop that much during the time spent in the institute. Some migrant informants are multilingual or even fluent in a few languages; others have poor writing and reading skills in their own mother tongue or do not have their own mother tongue at all, as mentioned by one of the trainer interviewees. Some students also admitted that they like or are good at some subjects while others see themselves as always struggling with math or writing tasks. Finally, some others have learning difficulties.

Even though some of the modes of working were believed to be more beneficial for migrant student learning than others, personal preferences also come into play (Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003). There were many differences in how participants of this study learned subject matters, vocational matters, language, and so on. People learn differently and by engaging different senses (Marton, Hounsell & Entwistle 1984). Some of the migrant students reported learning more at school or on their own at home, while others learned better in their workplace. Some of them liked studying, others perceived themselves as more work-oriented and wanted to go to work to learn by doing something new. As seen from learning experiences among student informants of the same background, the same mode of working can be fine for one student, but not necessarily for the other one (see Entwistle 1984, Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003). The preferable way of learning is also often connected to the specifics of a certain field. One of educators indicated that for many students in their field, learning by doing and learning in the workplace is the most common one and people with specific skills and interests apply for studies in this field.

It is not just migrant students who are a heterogeneous group; educators also bring different knowledge and their own preferable modes of working to the learning setting. As one of the trainers reflected:

Excerpt 54

T3: [...] and we have different conceptions on learning, also us teachers... ..I mean in this way and the conceptions of ourselves and so on... ..it starts from this... .. that we're also a diverse group, people who organise lessons and think about those things. (Trainer 3, audio-visual communication, woman)

The aspect of heterogeneity among teachers was also recognised by the following student:

Excerpt 55

S10: '...I've learned that Finland as a whole country is very different.. people in every town are so different.. they are the same people, but they are just.. I think, that you

have to think of the winter as being a big factor into that.. and because in different parts of Finland the winter is different, [...] I found that people are.. that by travelling and seeing the culture that people are very.. they are the same people, but they are different.. in a way.. and have different priorities'. (Student 10, wood processing, man, English speaker background)

The student raises an issue of heterogeneity within one culture, in this case Finnish culture (see also Erikson 2010). Though, most of the educators in the institute are of Finnish background, they are not the same and each educator therefore has a different starting point for teaching and approaching diversity in the educational institution context. The student's observation on heterogeneity applies to any culture, also to migrant students' backgrounds. As the student puts it, we are kind of the same, but different.

6.3.2 Life situation after migration and the will to study

In spite of this huge diversity existing among migrant populations there are also some specifics in migrant students' life situations, which was present in many trainers' and migrant students' reflections on learning and teaching. Similar to adult migrant students, Finnish students have different life situations and so on. They also have their families, small children, or teenagers that they have to take care of and all kinds of other issues in their lives. However, there are some matters in adult migrant students' life situations that distinguish them from native learners. As it can be seen in all of the interviews, this specific issue is connected to life load and available resources (McClusky 1970, p. 83-84).

Moving to a new setting is linked to leaving your own country and relatives behind. Then, a person begins a new life in unfamiliar surroundings and with limited knowledge of the language. Living in a new cultural and a linguistic setting challenges adult migrants' everyday life. Many trainers interviewed pointed out that migrant students' attention and energy is often concentrated on handling or figuring out how to handle everyday matters. Also, adult migrant students gave examples of things connected to living in a new setting that they do not understand or do not know how to deal with and which in turn (as many educators stated) absorb their thoughts and decrease their motivation to learn. Bureaucracy does not make things easier. As identified by a few trainers, adult migrant students, usually more often than Finnish students, are asked to visit officials, like KELA, police, social services, or the employment office in order to clear up all kinds of issues related to their stays in Finland, which in turn is visible in the amount of absences.

Worrying about everyday matters is often accompanied with a lack of social network in the new country. That aspect was raised in discussions with both trainers and migrants. This means that many adult migrant students have to count on themselves when dealing with everyday life challenges (for instance when children get sick), while having much less country-specific knowledge than Finnish students. Learning in Finland seems to be the most challenging for single migrant parents. As one of the trainers pointed out, those students suffer

the most from the lack of social networks, have the most absences and very little spare time for studying:

Excerpt 56

T5: And then there are such immigrants that came here... I mean a mother came with kids and the husband was left there... and then... those immigrants they have to visit officials so many times and all other things that need to be handled or maybe there are problems with the kids in school... and then the kids, there are four.. five.. seven of them.. then the everyday life of a single migrant parent can be very difficult... and some of them are saying, that they don't have anybody here... that that they don't have any social network [...] it's really difficult to be a single migrant parent and an adult student at the same... and especially if there are many kids. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

A couple of the trainers also discussed that often after migration, the social position and status of individuals with a migration background is reduced. That is also something that many of these individuals have to overcome and learn to accept. However, reduction of social position is not only connected to the negative emotions that it awakens, but also echoes in the financial situation of the individual. As some of educators noticed, a challenging financial situation also has very real consequences for a students' learning. In these cases, the student's attention is focused on matters other than studying. Additionally, such a situation creates many limitations for a student's learning. For example, one of the trainers reflected that adult migrant students seldom have cars, and because of this, the main criteria for choosing a practice place is the closeness to a student's home or possibility to reach the workplace by using public transit. As the result of that, less attention is paid to the learning site's contribution to the student's learning and development of vocational knowledge. Another trainer stated that nowadays, it is difficult to imagine studying without having access to modern technology, like a computer. However, as the trainer noticed, it can also be challenging to afford such equipment while having difficulty making ends meet. Any student can have a difficult financial situation and worry about that. However, a few trainers pointed out that it is a much more common situation for migrant students.

Adult migrant students' worries are not only connected to handling everyday life matters and managing in Finland, but in many cases, they do worry about their very close relatives left behind in their homelands, such as older sick parents, siblings or even a child, as in the case of one of the interviewed students. Some adult migrant students as well as trainers had examples of migrant students going back in their memories to their relatives, searching for contact with them, and trying to help them. While many of these individuals are motivated to live and learn in Finland, their painful memories and worries about those left behind are in a way a part of their lives; some trainers believed that this can slow down learning. Most of the student interviewees' relatives were safe; however, also they gave examples of their learning often accompanied by missing important people left behind and being aware of the lack of possibility to see them. Others don't just follow from afar

how their relatives are doing, but they also go and visit their homelands in order to help or to take care of them. All of these painful memories, missing of relatives, longer, sadder stays in one's own homeland may slow down their learning in Finland.

The other specificity of adult migrants as learners underlined in interviews with trainers, and also visible in interviews with migrant students, was migrant students' strong will to gain a Finnish education. In the view of a few staff members, migrant students are eager to learn new things and take good care of their student duties in Finland. Trainer 11 shared that in her experience, migrant students really want to obtain 'the best and even more'. Many of the aspects mentioned so far were also visible in the following discussion with Trainer 12:

Excerpt 57

KK: And are there such things that are easy when you're teaching adult migrant students.. you have mentioned that there is no big difference?

T12: The easy thing with migrants is, that they are very happy when you are guiding them... they approach things with joy... they aren't so unhappy like Finns often... just complaining... and they're really, when they get a study place at our institute... they really do a lot of work and it makes it [teaching] in a way easier because they're taking care of their tasks really well... if a migrant student is admitted to study... he/she usually never interrupts his/her studies.. he/she really studies and is doing what he/she is supposed to do... I mean.. in a way it's also easy [to work] with them.. I mean maybe such kind of mentality to work hard and that they are usually appreciating that that they got a study place at our institute in a very different way than Finns do... they [Finns] think that it is obvious that 'Yes, of course I will get a study place and then I can do whatever I feel like and then just a little bit, and I will interrupt it' ... no.... they don't appreciate that they are offered a study place for free and that they can study but immigrants do appreciate that.

KK: Ok... so that makes learning and teaching easier...

T12: Yes, that makes on the other hand learning and guiding easier.. because... they really want to study... they are really motivated. (Trainer 12, business and commerce, woman)

Similar to the cited trainer, a few other educators were also convinced that thanks to the strong will to study (or as participants of the study name it – motivation), adult migrant students seldom interrupt their studies. The trainer also brought up of the fact that migrant students enjoy and appreciate studying in Finland. Indeed, many individuals with a migration background raised the good things connected to living and learning in Finland, saying openly that they enjoy living in Finland, see Finland as a good and a safe place to live, as a country with many possibilities, for example, the fact that they can study whatever they want. For many of the interviewed students, the path to getting a vocational education was long. After many language courses they still wanted to continue their studies, and they also appreciated and were happy that they were finally studying for a vocation.

However, adult migrant students' will to study goes beyond this appreciation and the pure joy of studying. The enthusiasm to study was often associated with the students' migrant background; however, as often mentioned by trainers, and confirmed in migrant students' interviews, this is also a matter of life situation of those persons in this particular moment. As one of the trainers pointed out, they study because they want to integrate. Participation in learning itself is seen by both trainers and migrant students as the first step towards that. Many educators as well as migrant students underlined that, in this way, adult migrant students have a possibility to get out of their homes and be among Finns and as one of the migrant students added to feel that Finns and non-Finns are on the same boat. Many of the trainers and migrant interviewees emphasised that their will to study the Finnish language and to study for a vocation in Finland is further reinforced by the determination to find work in Finland. Soon after moving to Finland, many of the interviewed students noticed that this was the way to go. Some of them admitted feeling too old for this and that this is not something that an adult person is supposed to do. However, they did it because they wanted to find work, find their own place in Finland, and as the trainer teaching in construction field added, 'everything else', meaning improving prospects for a better life in Finland, gaining independence, being able to support themselves and their families financially.

Surely, migrant students interviewed for the purpose of this study worked hard and put a lot of effort into making the most out of the opportunities that completing a vocational education offers. Many of them spent hours reading and translating things, not only for the sake of learning vocational matters, but also because they wanted to develop their language. Some of the students also did their vocational studies in the adult institute; they also took other evening courses. A few of them stated that it was obvious that if they really want to stay here, they need to do something in order to have a good life here:

Excerpt 58

S5: I wanted to study here, because... because... how could I say it in Finnish...life, how could I say that... I want to improve chances for my life here in this new country... because of that I'm a student, that I can get a certificate... ..and then afterwards some kind of a job and then that I can have control over my life.. to make it better. (Student 5, practical nurse training, woman, African background)

Statements similar to this one are also an example of the positive attitudes towards future living in Finland. As it was remarked in the previous subsection on heterogeneity, there can be differences in this, such as acceptance of the situation and one's own activity and courage. As reflected by one of the students, these positive attitudes are important starting points for successful learning and living in new surroundings (Koert, Borgen & Amundson 2011):

Excerpt 59

KK: In which way is courage [helping]... what do you mean by that?

- S5: You need to read... what is said.. you need to read regularly... to read even ten times... so long as you understand, what it actually means... the courage... I mean you need to talk in this language... this way you can also develop your own language and to understand, additionally to it... ...more and then to discuss in your work group or school group about this topic... that is also courage. (Student 5, practical nurse training, woman, African background)

The same student continues further:

Excerpt 60

- S5: What could I say?.. ah.. ah.. I could say, that to be courageous... ... and read a lot... and ask if you don't understand something, and then what else... ...discuss things related to your field of study a lot... and nothing is impossible, if you only try... try.. and try and then something good comes out of it. (Student 5, practical nurse training, woman, African background)

The strong will to study was seen by my interviewees as something supporting learning and in addition to integration; however, a few students expressed that this can also be a source of tension between migrant and Finnish students. Being active, investing in education in some case is seen as something strange by Finnish students. However, the strong drive to learn and have a better life in Finland helps adult migrant students overcome their bad experiences, which is also visible in the following student's discussion on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 61

- S1: I came here to study and it's important for me to have a vocation [...] At the moment I have such a situation, that I want to study... ... and I want to get a vocation. If any of the Finns doesn't like me or something like this... ... that's his/her problem, not mine. (Student 1, practical nurse training, woman, Eastern European background)

To sum up, migrant students as well as trainers are heterogeneous groups of people, which creates a certain starting point for learning and teaching. There are also some specifics in migrant students' life situations after migration, such as lack of resources and social networks. Nevertheless, most migrant students interviewed (and as perceived by interviewed trainers) had a strong will to go forward in their new country of residence.

7 LEARNING AND TEACHING OF ADULT MIGRANT STUDENTS

So far I have described core matters that focus in on the trainers' as well as migrant students' discussions on learning and teaching, such as matters related to culture, language, and the existence of personal differences as well as some specifics in migrants' life situations. In this section, I move to analysing how these core aspects are visible and are referred to in participants' reflections on learning and teaching.

7.1 Adult migrants as learners in a new surrounding

The aim of this subsection is to introduce matters related to the specificities of adult migrants as learners in new surroundings. In their discussions on learning and teaching, interviewees concentrated not only on the previously mentioned core aspects, but they also reflected on:

- migrants students needing more time and needing to put in more effort in order to complete their studies
- migrants students not asking questions or asking for help
- migrants students being and feeling fearful, panicked, and inflexible
- as well as aspects related to recognising prior learning, knowledge, and experiences of individuals with a migration background.

The relationships of the previously mentioned core aspects, such as culture, language, personal differences, and life situations to subcategories on the particularities of adult migrants as learners in a new setting are presented in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1 Particularities of adult migrants as learners related to culture aspects, language aspects as well as personal differences and migrants' life situations

Adult migrants as learners in a new surrounding	Cultural aspects	Language aspects	Personal differences and life situations
More time and effort	'Getting rid of' of old ways and instead learning something very different, belief that migrants are not ready for working life because of conflicting ways of doing a certain vocation and arranging more education at institute Expecting that migrant adults need to change completely	Not understanding everything, slower processing of new knowledge, a lot of concentration required, belief that migrants are not ready for working life because of a lack of language	Some learn faster than others, specifics and differences in life situation, differences in the will to study
(Not) asking questions and for help	Not admitting that something has not been understood, previous bad experiences with asking questions and asking for help ('othering' practices)	Have I understood? Do I know how to ask what I want to ask? Making fun of different use of language Not answering question and therefore should I try to ask at all; pretending that something was not understood – do I still know how to speak Finnish?	Some are shy, some not, some share similarities or have differences in life situations, differences in the will to study
Being 'in panic and fear' and inflexible	Being afraid of the teacher: teacher is a big authority, what happens when the deadline is over? Can I do at workplace differently than it was said at the institute? (being inflexible) Is that a proper way of behaving and handling this thing? How should I actually handle it now here in Finland, in this specific workplace?(lack of cultural knowledge and about society) Being afraid to express different opinion because of previous bad experiences with that	Have I understood correctly? What am I actually supposed to do? Where should I go? What time? Uncertainty if he/she can express their own ideas	Matter of personal differences (some are more flexible than others), different sets of previous experiences, specifics of life situation and so on

Adult migrants as learners in a new surrounding	Cultural aspects	Language aspects	Personal differences and life situations
Recognition of previous learning, knowledge and experiences	<p>What is behind certain education, certain certificate, differences in education and in doing a certain vocation around the globe</p> <p>Are the knowledge, skills, competencies and experiences gained in other cultural setting seen as part of the culture and as hindrance to integration or as a resource; distrust of previous foreign education, skills, competencies, experiences</p>	<p>Being not able to say and write what he/she knows and can do, knowledge, skills and therefore some competencies remain unexpressed</p> <p>If does not know the Finnish language, cannot talk about one's own skills, competencies and experiences, then does not have any skills, competencies and experiences</p>	Presentation skills, migrants' own beliefs on deskilling

As follows, I reflect on relations presented in the above table and the specifics of migrants as learners.

7.1.1 More time and effort needed for gaining vocational knowledge

This study found that adult migrant students need more time and need to put in more effort compared to Finnish students to understand and learn a subject matter. That was a matter often reflected by trainers and adult migrant students. When talking about the particularities of learning in new surroundings (linguistically and culturally), the study informants referred to the lack of language proficiency, cultural issues, as well as personal differences.

One of the trainers explained that quite often migrant students needed to apply for extra time to complete their vocational studies. Discussions with migrant students who were near the end of their studies confirm that. Many trainers and the students themselves agreed that migrants at the institute needed more time than native learners to process certain materials and to think about the lessons and about the new concepts that they are unfamiliar with. This is especially true at the start of vocational studies. One of the trainers stated that usually, after processing a new concept for a while, adult migrant students learn just as well as Finnish students. However, again, when there is a new subject matter to be learned, the speed of learning slows down for a while, as students make the effort to listen, and need more time to process new knowledge. As many interviewees noted, this is mainly because of language issues:

Excerpt 62

- S1: Basically understanding the Finnish language [is difficult]... yes... not really everything comes through... you still need to think, though you understand all the words; then you are translating and then you are thinking 'Help'... and then you still need to ask what is that all about. (Student 1, practical nurse training, woman, Eastern European background)

Migrant students devoted more time and effort to their studies because of other aspects connected to language; during their studies in the institute, not only do they gain vocational knowledge, but as one of the trainers noticed, they also spent a lot of time and effort to extend their vocational vocabulary:

Excerpt 63

- T6: [...] especially in relation to care works, there are different illnesses and things related to care... so here you really have to... it requires that one applies himself/herself and swots up those words [...] and needs to extend the vocabulary in different ways [...] and then to actively use it.. and also that one practices writing [...] both of those need to be actively practised ... but of course what is challenging in our field, is that there is a relatively small amount of hours in the institute, which means that the migrant students have to cope with those challenges outside the formal hours and during the days meant for independent learning, so that is possibly doing a lot of work that also extends one's vocabulary and use it as well. (Trainer 6, practical nurse training, woman)

Indeed, examples of investing time and effort in improving vocation-specific knowledge of language are also to be found in migrant students' interviews. The difficulty of gaining knowledge in a non-native language is for example illustrated in the following student's reflection on learning and teaching in Finland:

Excerpt 64

- S1: [...] if I don't understand something, I go and ask directly, sorry, I mean I ask the teacher directly... ..that I don't understand or something like this... ..Could you explain it one more time... or... or I sit at home and I read at the computer... .. I can borrow books from the library and then translate everything and that might take many hours.. many hours you have to sit at home and read and translate all the words... .. if you want to figure it out. (Student 1, practical nurse training, woman, Eastern European background)

Both the trainers and migrant students also observed the amount of time and effort needed in order to prepare for practical exams. Like with many other written tasks, preparing the portfolio for Competence Based Qualification can turn out to be quite challenging and time and energy-consuming for adult migrant students and their families, as in the case of the following student:

Excerpt 65

- S10: [...] that is really difficult and very stressful.. to do thirty pages of portfolio and a lot of text and that stresses me and my wife as well and then at home one week is bad.. my wife wants to kill me.. and 'You will not continue this school.. in three weeks it will be over.. you will finish and you will go to work and you will not do any

portfolios anymore'... that is too difficult... it would be easier if I do [in English on my own]. (Student 10, wood processing, man, English speaker background)

One of the trainers remarked that the requirements for writing a portfolio have changed in the last few years, as plan for the practical exam became shorter and easier. However, preparation still requires good knowledge of vocational vocabulary and competency in written language. Producing written text is a challenging task for many individuals, independently of someone's background. However, being a non-native language user makes this task even harder; the written tasks are difficult and as stated by many of the interviewees, seldom they can be completed without using a dictionary or support received from Finnish relatives or the institute.

However, writing a portfolio is not only difficult because of complicated language in official papers and demands for writing tens of pages in a foreign language, but difficulty also stems from not being familiar with gaining vocational competency through the Qualification Competence Based system and generally because of studying in a less familiar environment. Some trainers recognised that this is often the reason some migrant students need to invest more time and effort in order to be successful in learning and studying.

Learning and the related change process require time (Jarvis 2012b) and even more time and effort in the case of migrant students. One of the trainers perceived the process for learning as a new thing, with the process of change in the case of migrant students as starting from reflecting on how something was handled in their own countries and why something is done exactly this way and not another way here in Finland. It just takes some time and effort to understand why things are done in a certain (and often different) way. Grasping of all of that also requires having some background information and cultural knowledge and these are usually naturally obtained with time, as stated by some of trainers. As discussed in the section on aspects of change (sub-chapter 6.1.4), learning is also connected to 'getting rid of' some previous ways of handling things or performing a certain vocation and because of the new context in which migrants live and learn, there are many more things that they need to or are expected to get rid of.

All of this often results in more time needed to complete one's studies. However, the extended time of studies is also connected to the belief that adult migrant students become more competent in the Finnish language and have enough vocational knowledge and skills if they spend more time learning at the institute. Quite often adult migrant students obtained more preparation at the institute (especially in some fields, such as construction) before they started applying for work placement. Many workplaces require extra certificates from students, for example connected to safety or hygiene matters, which as pointed out by some trainers, can be rather difficult and time consuming to obtain with a lack of Finnish language proficiency and in a new context. Some trainers interviewed were also aware that not all adult migrant students necessarily get enough guidance in workplace learning sites and the employer may not necessarily have the resources for and the will to offer this kind of extra

guidance. In their discussions, a couple of the trainers also reflected on learning and teaching and the distrust that can be met at workplace learning sites towards migrants and their skills. Hence, more attention is paid and more time devoted to the preparation of adult migrant students for the workplace learning period at the institute:

Excerpt 66

T10: [...] it is difficult to find a workplace learning place and then the manual skills are not so good, that they can be sent to the workplaces... you need to have certain qualifications, for example in the construction field you need to have an occupational safety card... and then we have training related to it and they have to pass an exam... and if somebody's language is very bad.. if somebody doesn't know the Finnish way of working... then he/she will not get this card... and cannot go to the workplace... big companies they require a security certificate... to some smaller construction sites you can get to without such card.. but then there the guidance is usually worse... I mean you have to deal with such things... we're just offering them more teaching... we're trying to prepare them better, before they enter actual workplace learning sites. (Trainer 10, construction, man)

However, one of the trainers was of the opinion that this is not enough and that the length of study for adult migrant students should be prolonged even more, which also indicates the existence of similar beliefs within the educational institution:

Excerpt 67

KK: And what do you think, what kind of education do adult migrants need? What kind of education can be offered for them?

T7: Firstly, they need more teaching, education on the side of vocational education... my opinion is that the time spent on education here in Finland is too short, if we talk, that they stay, for example two years in our institute.. they don't learn in this time, we easily talk here about four five years, then they would start to get something...even in terms of language, vocation.. then it would be much easier for them to find a place in society

KK: Aha, so this way, if they have longer education, they know things better and then they will find a place here more easily?

T7: Yes.. work here.. they are more ready for working life...now they are quite, let's say unready in my opinion when they are pushed to the working life and here again comes the market economy an employer doesn't take somebody in order to educate the person... yes a person needs to be able to do work... ... and if they cannot, aren't able to.. the employer doesn't like that for long.. and doesn't take somebody who is just going to be a nuisance. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

The two presented excerpts also show that a demand to spend more time in the institute before entering a work placement is sometimes connected to trying to heal migrant students' lack of knowledge of language and cultural differences (Simons & Masschelein 2008, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015) and anticipated lack of skills and competencies (Ahmad 2010, Näre 2013).

Based on many trainers' and migrant students' interviews it can also be said that there are many personal differences with regard to the amount of time

and effort that a migrant student needs to devote to learning a vocation and to completing their studies. For example, some students recognised themselves as fast learners and strongly believed that they would manage in their studies, while others reflect on not always being so good at something (e.g., in math). Some trainers also mentioned diversity in students' life situation, which is then also visible in the time and effort needed to be successful in their studies. As some students mentioned, they had good networks and got a lot of help in their studies from their families, while others reflected on struggling on their own and may have had a rather complicated life situation at the time of their vocational studies.

In sum, it is tiring to study in a foreign language and in quite a new environment (Dooley 2009, Gay 2010, Teräs 2007). Studying in Finnish is the most difficult in the beginning, as during this time as students need more time and effort to really understand what is said or what he or she is reading. However, with time, the student understands Finnish better, they become familiar with vocation-specific vocabulary and at the same time find studying in Finnish more manageable. Studying in a foreign language usually means concentrating intensely for many hours per day, reading the same thing over and over, translating subject matter and tasks into one's own mother tongue and looking for additional information in one's own mother tongue or English. In spite of these challenges, adult migrant students are doing fine in their studies and are able to complete their education in Finnish. Studying in Finnish, and especially writing tasks are really difficult, but as one of the students commented, if one tries hard enough, he or she manages to complete their tasks and studies:

Excerpt 68

S5: [...] Studying in a foreign language has been difficult; it's not impossible however... you just need to be courageous. (Student 5, practical nurse training, woman, African background)

7.1.2 Asking questions and asking for help

In their reflections on learning and teaching, both trainers and migrant students brought up aspects related to asking questions and asking for help. Trainers raised this matter mainly in relation to migrant students' lack of knowledge of the Finnish language and their cultural backgrounds. Migrant students also reflected on negative experiences with asking questions and asking for help at different learning sites. Sometimes personal differences were also referred to as being related to whether or not someone asks questions or asks for help.

Many trainers drew attention to adult migrant students not asking questions if they did not understand something during the lesson, even if they were encouraged to do so (see Dooley 2009). This certainly has implications on learning and teaching, as a trainer or supervisor at work may not necessarily notice right away that somebody has not understood and just go forward with their teaching. Consequently, some ideas or materials remain misunderstood.

As some of the trainers pointed out, progress in learning demands a good understanding of what the subject matter is about (Gay 2010). That aspect, in addition to other possible explanations, was also at the centre of reflection for the following trainer:

Excerpt 69

KK: Do they (adult migrant students) talk about what is difficult for them?

T12: Yes, some are asking for help and guidance, but some aren't asking, if they haven't understood something... they don't necessary ask and I've noticed that it's because or somebody (adult migrant student) has said it like that they think that they need to know everything on their own, that they cannot get help and support... they aren't used to that, that at school they can get guidance and help, but that they have to understand on their own, that it's your own fault [if you don't understand]... in my opinion sometimes they have something like that... that it maybe comes from there... from studying in their own country

KK: And are you able to notice, that a person hasn't understood?

T12: Yes, I notice it.. I notice it really fast, when I'm explaining something.. then often I notice their..

KK: Eyes.. (laughter)

T12: From mimics and gestures.. often I'm also asking 'I guess you didn't understand?'.. and then 'No I didn't', but often they don't say that.. there is some kind of a cultural difference or personal difference.. I don't know, if that is cultural difference or what kind of difference that is.. but very easily.. they don't so easily reveal, the migrant students that they haven't understood.. maybe often they're thinking that it is because of knowledge of language that they don't understand when actually that can be a different reason.. it's not always because of the language.. I would like to hear from them.. I always say 'Ask.. ask for help.. do it like that'.. but seldom they're asking.. they just try to manage on their own and it's really difficult for them to understand that we really want to help and you aren't stupid when you're asking... that's such a thing that is disturbing, on the other hand.. it can happen that a migrant student can go for a longer period of time before the teacher notices, that a person doesn't understand, because he/she doesn't say it directly. (Trainer 12, business and commerce, woman)

The trainer here claims that migrant students easily associate comprehension problems with their knowledge of language and do not see further explanations because of it, though (as it was illustrated in the section on language aspects in learning and teaching) there can be other reasons behind this. This explanation was also found in discussions with a few other trainers. In addition, some trainers were aware that migrant students may not necessarily notice straight away that they have not understood just because of the fact that they need more time to process the information. While some students with migration backgrounds ask questions straight away, others concentrate on listening even more carefully and thinking that they will soon find clarification and they be able to figure out what the whole issue is about.

At other times the reasons for not asking questions were explained through the existence of cultural differences, more precisely, differences in

conceptions on education, on the student-teacher relationship, as well as on the way of communicating with the teacher. And so, for example Finnish students usually used an electronic platform (named Wilma) for communication with their trainer, or would call a teacher or write an e-mail in order to clear up things and ask for further instructions. As per the results here, adult migrant students seldom used this form of communication with teachers. One reason for this is the difficulty in formulating a question and asking exactly what they want to ask in a foreign language, especially when it has to be done in written form (see Latomaa et al. 2013, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011). The issue of not understanding a written text is elaborated in more detail in the subsection devoted to lack of language proficiency (sub-chapter 6.2.1). However, as recognised by some trainers and also present in the reflections of some of the migrant interviewees, many adult migrant students were also unfamiliar with this more impersonal type of communication with the teacher and were not used to being able to ask the teacher questions and ask for help.

As was reflected in the section on cultural differences (sub-chapter 6.1.1), some of the interviewed students have had negative experiences asking questions and for help from a teacher in their home country. In some of those settings, the students explained that they were expected to listen to the teacher and the teacher became angry if the student asks for more information and explanation concerning the subject matter. In addition, one of the trainers voiced that trainers also did not necessary remember to ask if a student understood, if he or she needs help or clarity on concepts that are more difficult. Many of the interviewed educators would rather wait for students to ask, but they did not ask (see also Dooley 2009). At first after the repetitive tasks came the realisation that the student had not understood everything and that there were gaps in the knowledge. On the one hand, trainers often expressed their feeling of being surprised that adult migrant students did not ask questions if they did not understand. On the other hand, adult migrant students were disappointed that trainers did not ask them if they have understood and they were maybe even surprised that they were expected to ask. This matter was also at the centre of the discussion during the group interview:

Excerpt 70

#S14: Some are doing it like that, that the lesson is over and goodbye... they don't ask 'Is that clear?... do you need help? (somebody else is nodding and accepting).

#KK: Aha, that way, that teacher comes and asks 'Is that clear?', 'Have you understood?' that it's of help to you?

#S13: Yes, if somebody is explaining, what does this mean [...] that we wouldn't need to google what it means, if they would explain what there is on paper... yes, it would be easier.

#KK: And how does it work usually.. teacher gives you a paper and tells you to read from there?

#S14: But in the beginning we didn't even have a paper. We were asking, can we get it on paper, can we get it on paper? Why do we always need to ask? Why doesn't the teacher understand that he/she should give a paper for the student, because we migrants we learn from the paper and we understand better if we get it on a paper [...]

#??: [many students talking at the same time about it]

#S13: They don't say, you always have to ask, if we can get those papers and then they're saying that it can be found in Optima.

#KK: Aha, and do you know how to find it in Optima?

#S13: It's difficult to find, there are so many different things there. (Group interview, cleaning services)

However, some of the trainers observed that students from some parts of the world are more courageous in asking questions than others. Not asking questions and saying 'yes' even if something is not clear is something many interviewed trainers associated with students of Asian backgrounds. A few trainers also saw not asking questions as a matter of being polite or maybe a difficulty in admitting that something had not been understood or that the student did not possess some skill (e.g., reading skills). The previously cited trainer (Trainer 12) as well as a few others saw it as a question of pride and ambition to complete the task on their own and in one go.

A few other trainers also raised the issue of adult migrant students not asking for help and not talking so openly about their problems in their private life. In this case, trainers also searched for an explanation through the existence of cultural differences, like the fact that not all sicknesses or family problems are accepted the same way elsewhere in the world. A couple of the trainers mentioned continuous challenges that such situations create from the point of view of offering support to the student. The migration background is usually not enough for getting help; the student has to first admit and accept the sickness (or problem). Although adult migrant students may talk about these issues with their friends and social workers, these are not necessarily topics to be raised in an educational institution setting, as perceived by some educators. However, a few trainers noted that there are personal differences connected to it. As with Finnish students, some adult migrant students may talk more openly about these issues than others. The aspect of the existence of personal differences in relation to asking questions and asking for help was visible in the following trainer's reflection on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 71

KK: Ok.. and.. I'm thinking about the learning process and other aspects as well... with whom are they [migrant students] talking about those matters?

T1: Well we usually guide... we go and have this kind of 'adult as a learner' theme where we for example talk about if there's a problem related to studies... so you should always ask the teacher... the teacher of the subject that 'Hey I didn't understand this' or then go and ask the class teacher... or talk if there's something in your life situation that makes studying harder and we also advertise this session at

the beginning of studies so they can contact us, because we're divided into different fields... I'm a special education teacher on certain fields and we've also divided the study counsellors like that and the migrant students have taken this well, they've come and asked 'Hey I don't understand these things and I need support for this and that'... ... But of course that also depends on the student... not everyone does this so easily. (Trainer 1, practical nurse training, woman)

Another trainer also gave examples of adult migrant students being active in the search for additional information and demanding additional explanations in situations when the students want to understand why they are supposed to do something a certain way. It cannot be said, therefore, that all adult migrants in all situations are not asking questions and asking for help. The proof for that can also be found in discussions on learning and teaching with a few of the students:

Excerpt 72

S11: [...] for example my husband [of the same nationality] if he does not understand.. doesn't understand anything during the lesson and what the teacher is saying.. what the teacher is advising... [...] but he's not asking at all... he is just on his own

KK: Does he try to clear it up?

S11: Yes, he doesn't ask for a clarification from the teacher... and you should always ask the teacher for clarification, how you're supposed to do that... yes... for example.. even if you don't understand what the teacher is saying and you can ask the teacher 'Could you write it?'... just in the written form to get a clarification. (Student 11, catering services, woman, Asian background)

The cited student not only mentioned personal differences existing between students as concerns asking questions, but also draws attention to the importance of asking questions. Another migrant interviewee also warmly recommended to all other migrant students who are just starting their studies at the institute to always ask for further clarification if something is unclear. A few other students also gave concrete examples of acting in exactly that way and reflected on different ways of clarifying things. Lastly, the cited student shared her experience of underlining the issue that was not understood, making a note concerning this issue, and asking a trainer about these matters after the lesson had finished. The student believed that this gave her not only the possibility to talk about what was not understood, also to ask for a written version of what was said. Others just ask for further explanations and clarifications from a friend sitting next to them or a co-worker at a workplace learning site.

Migrant students raised bad experiences as another reason for not asking questions or asking for help. In fact, one interviewed adult migrant student's way of overcoming comprehension problems was to sit in front of the classroom during lesson and ask the teacher to repeat and explain anything that was unclear. However, asking too many questions during the lesson was seen as strange by Finnish students and created irritation (Erikson 2010, Kalonaityte 2010, Said 1995). That was reflected upon for by another student:

Excerpt 73

'[...] one of them has said, that she thinks that I came here... that they think that a I am such [students' nationality], which came here, to offend us Finns... and that I am thinking, that I have some special rights here, because of it that I am [student's nationality]... that I should have to... because I was asking I do not know.. I do not know more questions during lessons, because you know I have to... I have it [lessons] in Finnish and so on, that sometimes for example 'What does mean?' or 'What is that?'.. I mean they did not also like that, because they think, that I have different rights and so on'. (Student 8, bakery-confectionary, woman, Eastern European background)

In relation to this, the student raised the question of equality in education (see also the subsection on lack of language skills) (Pitkänen 2007, Pöyhönen et al. 2011). In the student's view the fact of her interrupting lesson and asking a lot of questions was interpreted by the Finnish students as a matter of issuing of special rights to her and at the same time a source of tension between her and the Finnish students. The same student also gave examples of Finnish students not wanting to give an answer to questions related to the vocation. Instead of an answer, a student once got a very rude respond. Another migrant student reflected on Finnish students being suspicious and wondering about her sitting in the front and asking questions of the teacher. Like the other students mentioned, this interviewee also brought up a matter of previous bad experiences with asking Finnish peers for additional explanations and for repeating things:

Excerpt 74

S4: [...] for example some, some are explaining, they speak fast...[...] and then I was 'Sorry, sorry' ... I cannot follow, I haven't got it... but they didn't want to explain it one more time, yes I understood that and I said 'aha'.. and then I was out from the whole thing... I felt bad about it [...]. (Student 4, practical nurse training, woman, South American background)

Some adult migrant students also had negative experiences with asking for help. As the just previously cited student mentioned in another part of the interview, talking about problems in one's private life is not the easiest thing. In spite of it, some students gathered their courage and went to talk to teachers. However, asking for help does not always result in getting help, as in the case of the previously cited Student 4:

Excerpt 75

S4: [...] I didn't want to tell about my own problems and so on... because it's not their business and that you open yourself up and start talking to somebody about your problems... it's really painful to listen to your own sorrow... that it's just happening to me.. I'm not ashamed, I don't have shame, because we're all human beings.. but it's not nice to repeat it again and again... it's such a topic... negative topics.. that it's not nice, because you have been living it... you're living it on your own... exactly that time when it was happening to me... it wasn't nice to open up and to talk about this thing... and then he/she said it's better if you say... he/she actually asked me.. and then I said 'Yes, I was tired in the beginning, and this and that.. I've said that I was tired... but then somebody said that I really need to say [...] and then I've talked

about it... but then I was thinking why I haven't spoken about that , because I thought if I will get an answer as I got one from another teacher, I've told him/her.. and it was 'That's just life'.. she said it like that and gave me a one [lowest grade]... [...] I asked if she could give me one more chance and then nothing... there were really some chemistry issues.. he/she did not want... just because of it I didn't want to talk about it [...] because I knew that I would get [such response]... [...] I haven't asked if he/she feels pity for me.. somebody just said to me 'Tell about it'.. then I said and I get such a response.. but then there was another subject and they told me.. I didn't want to, because I didn't want for somebody to respond in the same way, but then I said and he/she said 'I can give you more time and then I can do an oral exam'.. we've agreed about the time and I was 'What?' [said in English].. I was so surprised'. (Student 4, practical nurse training, woman, South American background)

There are differences in how students act as learners and if they ask questions and ask for help. However, the above presented excerpt illustrates that there are also huge differences in how educators respond to students attempting to look for help and support.

In sum, the matters of asking questions and asking for help or not were a source of many tensions and awoke a lot of discussions. Different explanations were given to the assumption of migrants not asking questions. Interviewed trainers seemed, though, to be unaware of migrants' bad experiences with asking questions and for help. All in all, it remained unclear for both parties whether trainers or migrant students should be responsible for migrant students not understanding and not asking questions (Dooley 2009).

7.1.3 'Being in fear and panic' as well as being inflexible

Next to the previously analysed aspects linked to migrant students' learning, such as the need to spend more time and put more effort into completing studies as well as hesitation to ask questions and for help, interviewees discussed issues of uncertainty and (in)flexibility linked to learning in new surroundings.

Educators often explained such a state of affairs because of the migrant students' lack of Finnish language proficiency as well as by the existence of cultural differences. One of the trainers shared her experience of teaching some migrant students and migrant students being uncertain if they have understood correctly, followed by 'being in a panic' that the deadline was over. Also, migrant students gave examples of experiencing anxiety because of being uncertain if they understood something the correct way. For example, some of them were aware that understanding the Finnish language is challenging for them and they often wondered if they would be able to understand or if they had understood correctly (see Dooley 2009). The state of stress further weakens understanding of speech or written text in a foreign language.

Furthermore, it was often thought that uncertainty and inflexibility was due to adult migrant students bringing some of their earlier conceptions on education and on teacher-student relationships with them to Finnish educational institutions. As some of the trainers expressed, for many adult migrant students a teacher is somebody that you do not discuss with, you cannot have an opposing opinion to or even somebody to whom you are not

supposed to ask additional questions, or ask for help, guidance, or repetition. Some of the migrant students reflected that with time they realised that things work quite differently in Finland and that there are not many reasons to be afraid of the teacher. Despite this, some of them still tended to act like they were used to previously. In some cases respect for the teacher remains quite strong, like in the case of the following student:

Excerpt 76

#S12: [...] and I've said to the teacher, if my child is here in school, it's your responsibility, you are his/her father and mother and everything. (Group interview, cleaning services)

The student expressed her opinion on the role of the teacher in basic education. However, the passage says a lot about authority and trust in the teacher, and the same attitude is transferred to adult education. In this context a trainer is also a big authority and 'everything' for many migrant students. Therefore, some of the trainer interviewees associated migrant students' following the trainer's instructions exactly and being afraid of the trainer's reaction (e.g. in the case of not being able to complete the task on time), with the migrant students' strong respect for the educator.

Moreover, some of the trainers were convinced that because migrant students studied in a new setting, some of them had difficulty understanding the idea behind completing vocational studies in the form of Qualification Based Competence, and struggled to figure out how to handle some every day matters in their new country of residence. All of these could have resulted in uncertainty.

Nevertheless, some of the migrant students also reflected on negative experiences with their use of the Finnish language and on having different opinions on something and, consequently, they had the feeling of being constructed as different (Erikson 2010, Kalonaityte 2010, Said 1995). With this type of experience one of the migrant students became an uncertain user of Finnish and even started to wonder if she could still speak Finnish at all. However, in the interview situation as well as from her reflection on her knowledge of the Finnish language it looked as though she was proficient in Finnish. A couple of the students also raised previous bad experiences with completing tasks and acting differently from Finnish students. They reported being rather careful with what they said and how they acted the next time in the classroom forum. That uncertainty was then also seen in students' actions, which was, for example, visible in one of a trainer's discussions on migrant students following strictly guidelines:

Excerpt 77

T5: And maybe... generally they behave really well and they can read different situations, but maybe then there's a little bit.. some kind of stubbornness or maybe this if you're able to change your ways of doing a little bit , if in school something

was learned in a certain way and.. then they can be really precise that at workplace things are done in the same way...I mean some kind of assessment of the situation...

KK: You mean that it's more difficult than for Finns?

T5: Maybe it's a little bit more difficult.

KK: Why is it so?

T5: I'm not able to say, maybe because of less skills and less knowledge of the language.. I don't know why they're so attached to that what is said in school... I'm not able to say what causes this. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

On the one hand, these opinions can indicate that migrant students are conscientious learners. However, this is also may be connected to being uncertain if things were understood, of not being sure how to act in a new cultural setting, and as the previously mentioned trainer pointed out, this can later lead to the belief that what the teacher said or what was learned in the institute, is the only truth. The aspect of flexibility also emerged in the group interview with migrant students:

Excerpt 78

#KK: How does it feel to study here in Finland? [giving and explaining about a written consent to one of the students].. Ok, what kind of experiences do you have from learning and studying in Finland? How does it feel to study in Finland?

#S14: It depends on the place and it depends on the course.

#KK: Aha, what do you mean by that?

#S14: I mean, it depends on what kind of a course, what kind of a workplace it is.

#KK: Ok, and why does that depend on the place and..?

#S14: Different places, different rules and different people; everybody has their own temperament and you have to adjust to it, everybody has to be flexible.

#KK: You mean then, that when you are flexible then studying is progressing well?

#S14: Yes. (Group interview, cleaning services)

As evident in the excerpt, some adult migrant students recognise that in every place - during the course or at the workplace - things are taught differently and that the only way to cope with this is to be flexible. However, some of the students expressed their annoyance that they are taught differently in the institute with regard to what they are supposed to do later in actual the workplaces, which may indicate that being flexible is not the easiest thing.

However, the issue of migrant students being uncertain and inflexible cannot be generalised to all migrant students. There are also personal differences as concerns this matter. While some of the migrant students were 'in panic and fear' and were afraid of the teacher, others were not and were

sometimes even annoyed that they had to listen to a trainer or supervisor. This was at least the case with one of the students who was used to being a boss telling others what to do. According to Gutiérrez & Rogoff (2003), every student brings a different set of previous experiences to the learning environment and every student has a different life situation. The students' challenging life situations may be linked to being more or less uncertain in the classroom/work site. Some of the students constantly had the support of their Finnish families available to them and at the same time fewer reasons for being uncertain. Others did not have such support, and as one of the trainers reflected, these students may worry a lot about how they will manage, for example, in the case of organising care for sick children.

In sum, the aspect of migrant students being uncertain and the related (in)flexibility was brought up in quite a few interviews with trainers and migrant students. However, only trainers used words such as being in panic, in fear, and being inflexible to depict adult migrant students. None of the adult migrant students used such expressions about themselves or their experiences with vocational training. However, in their reflections on their previous learning experiences, they gave a few examples that could explain such a state of affairs including, for instance, a teacher easily getting angry with students in some students' countries of origin. The matter of flexibility was also present in discussions with both of these groups. However, as trainers stressed migrant students' inflexibility, the migrant students tended to discuss the matter of the importance of being flexible.

7.1.4 Recognition of migrant learners' prior learning, knowledge, and competencies

The recognition of previous learning, knowledge, skills and experiences was a source of many reflections related to adult migrants' learning and teaching in this group of students. Commonly the recognition of these competencies was seen as much more challenging in the case of adult migrant students than in the case of Finnish students. This study found that the difficulties in recognising prior learning and competencies are related to the interplay of a few core aspects brought up in interviews when talking about learning and teaching adult migrant students, such as lack of language proficiency, existence of cultural differences as well as beliefs on linguistic and cultural differences in educational institutions and workplace learning sites. Though, seldom and less explicitly, the existing personal differences, for example in migrants' own attitudes to living and learning in Finland, were also mentioned in reference to recognition of previous learning, knowledge, and experiences (Koert, Borgen & Amundson 2011). In this section, I describe how these core aspects refer to recognition of previous learning, knowledge skills and experiences.

The lack of Finnish language proficiency was raised often in reference to recognition of adult migrant students' competencies in this study. A few trainers noted that a lack of language proficiency makes it difficult for a migrant to show what he or she knows and is able to do (see Roberts 2012). Sometimes

that may be a source of tension, like in the following situation described by a trainer:

Excerpt 79

T11: [...] they have quite a strong belief that they will manage.. I mean to finalise their degree.. of course in time planned for finishing a certain degree.. they always try to do their best.. but then it can be that somebody is happy with an average level or in some cases it can be below average level... that you have skills only for this level.. we're sometimes discussing those things that, are you glad with this evaluation.. they usually want the best and even more, but then there's the question of the language problem.. because you have to, some things for example during the competency based exam.. there at work, to be able to express and say.. but if you don't have words.. you can't always do everything only by showing, observing.. and because of that some problems can occur. (Trainer 11, catering services, woman)

The above cited trainer's reflection on evaluating migrant students indicates that sometimes individuals with a migration background may feel that they have more knowledge and competencies than what is recognised by a trainer and that they are able to show during the competency based exam.

The matter of recognising migrants' previous learning, knowledge, and experiences was also often brought up in the interviews, as with one of the trainers with a special education background:

Excerpt 80

T1: ...I don't know, it can be that our methods are insufficient, but yes, it was just two weeks ago in one training organised by the Board of Education... 'Migrants in vocational education', that was the name of the training, yes... there the representatives from many educational institutions were talking about that how difficult it is to get proof of somebody's skills.. I mean to find out that... ... and then if the knowledge of the language is not so good... then.. also because of it... that doesn't help to showcase somebody's skills, even if somebody has done those things in their own home country. (Trainer 1, practical nurse training, woman)

Migrant students have difficulty expressing their knowledge and describing and explaining their skills, but as the above excerpt suggests, educators also had difficulty noticing the skills and competencies that migrant students already had, and that was mainly because of in the lack of Finnish language proficiency (Roberts 2012).

The same trainer also added that a lot depends on the vocational field; In some fields, there are more possibilities to demonstrate one's competencies and skills without using words, for example in the field of crafts and design. In some other fields, knowledge of a language other than Finnish can be helpful in recognising previous knowledge. For instance, one of the students gave the example of using medical terms in Latin during some exams in order to express his knowledge. However, a few trainers pointed out that it is usually important to be able to say and write about one's own skills in Finnish, for example, in a job interview situation (Roberts 2012).

The adult migrant students' reflections on their previous educational path and work path shows that many of them have a lot of education and

competencies, but they themselves realise that they cannot really prove it because of their language skills in Finnish. Many of them were aware of the possibility to officially recognise their education from other countries, but all of that had to be done in Finnish. One of the students concluded then that it is just easier to complete vocational training in Finland and, in this way, to give proof of one's own knowledge, skills, and competencies. The same student further reflected on this issue and pointed out that proving knowledge and experiences can also be difficult because of the fact that many vocational terms in Finnish language have their own specific Finnish words, which do not mirror international versions of such terms.

In addition, interviewees raised cultural aspects as relevant in recognising previous learning, knowledge, skills, and experiences. To begin with, in different parts of the world, there are and there is a need for different vocations. Each adult migrant coming to Finland brings with them skills and work experience. However, some students held jobs in their home countries that just do not exist at all in Finland, such as dressmaker, tractor driver, goat shepherd, or mountain engineer. Some of these vocations also do not exist anymore in other parts of the world, like in the case of one of the student who worked as a telegraphist in her previous country of residence. The world is changing and the need for certain vocations is changing together with it. The development of technology has had huge influences on potential vocations as well as on how certain jobs are handled. Still, as one of the trainers reflected on, technological progress varies in different parts of the world. In some parts of the world the same task or job is handled with less developed technology than in other parts of the world. Therefore, the same work experiences are of different value in different places. For example, an adult migrant student can apply for training in audio-visual communication being convinced that he has a lot of experience in photography as he was the only one in the whole village who knew about it and who possessed camera. However, as expressed by one of the trainers, those experiences may mean nothing here in Finland:

Excerpt 81

KK: Do they have any experiences from this field when applying for studies?

T3: Yes.. they do.. or some kind of experiences... .. But the experiences can be very diverse ones... .. somebody is saying that I have experience, if he/she was the only person in a village to have experience in photography... only he/she had a camera and then he/she has taken five photos with it... it can be that he/she is coming from such culture... I have exaggerated the whole thing a little bit... For sure he/she has made more than five photos, but he/she is from such an environment where there was a shortage of things... he/she in a way was using some Western techniques.. and usually such things are to be met when coming from such region... that he/she was the only person who knew this stuff in the whole village... .. however, according to the Finnish standards, our kids might have been doing the things that there adults have been doing

KK: Ok...you mean... that there that can be a lot of experience, and here...

T3: Yes... yes... and here that it's an everyday experience to everybody. (Trainer 3, audio-visual communication, woman)

All of this would suggest that some of the migrant skills, competencies, and previous experience cannot be recognised. However, there are also students who have a lot of valuable education, knowledge, and experience from the perspective of the Finnish labour market, but they still remain unrecognised because of real or anticipated cultural differences, lack of knowledge about foreign education, knowledge and experiences as well as negative beliefs towards different types of education, knowledge, and skills. To begin with, there are differences around the globe in the structure of the educational system. Educators and employers are aware that such differences exist, but they do not know that much about it (Ahmad 2005, Forsander 2013, Manhica, Östh & Rostila 2015). Therefore, as one of the trainers noted, all of these stakeholders wonder what is behind the education that the adult migrant student has and what the person with this type of education knows and can do:

Excerpt 82

KK: And why do adult migrants study.. I mean the persons who are in vocational education?

T12: Often when they are applying, at least for studies in Business and Commerce.. we have a lot of programmes leading to vocational qualifications... I cannot talk on behalf of all, but those students that are coming to my programme or to different groups in Business and Commerce, they usually have some kind of education from their own country, but they are not able to get employment with it... it can be an education, that...that is not in a way.. for example if you're a mountain engineer, you cannot get employed with such education..

KK: Mountain engineer?

T12: For example, Russians are often engineers.. many of them have some kind of engineering background.. a mountain engineer is such and there can be such fields that there are no jobs in such fields here, at least here in [region of Finland], and on the other hand, though they have a higher education degree, they still cannot find a job, because the Finnish working life does not recognise.. they know nothing about those degrees.. they don't know, can... what somebody can.. if you have a certain degree. (Trainer 12, business and commerce, woman)

In many cases adult migrant students already have an education in a certain field from somewhere other than Finland. But this can also be problematic, because there are different requirements concerning gaining particular qualifications, what certain qualifications consist of, as well as concerning gaining knowledge (do you need to memorise everything or is it enough if you can just research things). This issue was raised by the following student:

Excerpt 83

KK: Ok... and.... do you know, that time when you were working in the home for disabled, was your education from [country's name] recognised or have they said..?

S6: When I found a job.. that was ok... that was enough.. but then there were some changes in the laws in Finland... I mean there had to be a Finnish degree or it has to be recognised [...], but it's about the same thing if you start studying from the beginning... ... because you have to do that in Finnishand that is difficult, especially.... when there is a difference in education in [country's name] and in Finland anyway... .. there is quite a big difference... you can say this way.

KK: You mean.. there is a difference in education?

S6: Yes.

KK: What kind of differences?

S6: For example, in the way the [practical nurse] education in Finland is a broader one, but on the other hand in [country's name] there is a lot... a lot of things have to learn by heart.. for example things concerning medicine, prescriptions and all this type of stuff you need to know by heart.. and what amount of medicine you can give and so on.. it can be because ... there are no computers everywhere.. you need to remember everything... and here in Finland that isn't so important. (Student 6, safety and security, man, Eastern European background)

As with the above mentioned student, a few educators also raised the issue of education from another country not being commensurate with Finnish education because of the existence of cultural differences. The existence of differences in values, differences in techniques, machines, or even climate are the most often cited reasons. One of the trainers brought up the issue of values and doing a practical nurse vocation in Finland:

Excerpt 84

KK: Ok... well... ok... and concerning concepts and learning by doing... do migrants' previous experiences play any role in it?

T1: ... definitely it has some influence and that depends on what kind of culture somebody comes from, for example... ... some cultural ways of doing are guiding how things are learned.. how somebody has learned to take care of some things... If we're thinking that I'm talking a lot about practical nurse training, then... ... if a student comes from kind of a collective culture then... then... he/she is glad to help and to do things on behalf of somebody.. and then when we're thinking about practical nurse training, then we're emphasising, that a customer's or patient's ability to function should be kept on the same level or even improved... and if somebody has got used to it in their own culture, to do things on behalf of somebody's else... for example on behalf of an older person, to do things for an older person and for example to put socks on him/her, though a person is able to do that on his/her own... then there appears to be some kind of a conflicting situation in what we call as a rehabilitative way of handling the work tasks... I mean that you should support the person's independent imitative... ... and here you can face some contradictions... that they are glad to help, because they are respecting the elderly ... for example they've been used to that in their own culture... and we're reducing the customers' and patients' ability to function... when we're doing things on behalf of somebody... ... so that can be a really practical example of that... that somebody comes from a different culture. (Trainer 1, practical nurse training, woman)

Some of the students have some learning and work experience in certain vocations from their previous country of residence, but as the trainer said, sometimes previous knowledge and experience may be seen as a hindrance for

performing this vocation in the Finnish context (see also Kemuma 2000). In this case of helping a patient too much, the trainer associated this with migrants coming from so called collectivistic cultures and their respect for elderly people (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005). Helping a customer too much with everyday activities was interpreted by interviewee as reducing a patient's ability to function, which is contrary to Finnish rehabilitation guidelines. In a similar way a few other trainers also raised the issue of migrant students acting differently. For example, one trainer mentioned that in guard training adult migrant students tended to use more force than is allowed in Finland. The trainer also saw this in terms of the existence of cultural differences and as something problematic in working in this vocation in Finland (see Paris 2012, Paris & Ball 2009). As a few trainers pointed out, competencies and experiences gained outside Finland are believed to be very different from the Finnish context and therefore difficult to recognise (Roberts 2012).

Adult migrant students also mentioned the issue of differences in doing a certain vocation in Finland and in the places where they used to live and work. However, they see these different experiences and cultural differences as something positive, as something that gives them self-confidence in doing this type of vocation in Finland. For example, one of the students was convinced that she was really good at taking care of elderly people as for her it was the same as she would take care of her own mum or dad. Two other students identified their theoretical and practical knowledge in the nursing field in their own country as something that is supporting their learning here in Finland.

Though lack of language proficiency and the existence of cultural differences were mentioned most often in relation to the recognition of prior learning and competencies, in fact this is often a matter of beliefs about linguistic and cultural differences (Paris 2012, Paris & Ball 2009). It would be logical to think that previous learning and experiences should support adult migrant students' learning and integration; student interviewees said it is so in many cases. However, issues connected to language and cultural matters commonly evoke distrust in adult migrant students' previous skills, competencies, and experiences (Ahmad 2005, Forsander 2013, Manhica, Östh & Rostila 2015). Many adult migrant students' previous learning, competencies, and experiences also remain unrecognised because of these issues. The knowledge of language is not only required for being able to talk about one's own skills and competencies, but it is also a guarantee that somebody can do a certain vocation in the Finnish way (Allan 2013, Lantolf & Thorne 2006):

Excerpt 85

T6: [...] quite often migrants... so as I've said already earlier... they have a lot of skills in interacting and in approaching customers... but we also need language skills to be able to do a job in the right way... I mean to handle things according to the Finnish principles... ... and to write down those things... knowledge of Finnish language is needed for that. (Trainer 6, practical nurse training, woman)

In a similar way, a Finnish certificate also works as a guarantee for being able to do a certain job in a Finnish way. It can be seen in the interview with the institute principal; in a way, having a Finnish certificate equates to having knowledge, skills, and competencies (Allan 2013):

Excerpt 86

KK: And what about if somebody who already has vocational education from their own country?

R: Yes... of course that's another thing, for them it's easier, especially if somebody has a higher education degree... it's easier for them to move to working life straight after the integration training.

KK: Ok... straight after language training...?

R: Yes... but of course, vocational education quite often helps in that somebody gets [a job].

KK: In which way does it help?

R: Of course Finnish companies they appreciate the Finnish education and ... and therefore... often, though a higher education degree was completed in some other country... they still participate in our vocational education and they find their place in a company, maybe it goes this way.. and previous skills and competencies are always of advantage and of profit. (Rector of the institute)

In order to gain trust in the Finnish labour market, adult migrants are recommended to update their vocation so that their knowledge and experiences are more relevant to Finnish working life (Forsander 2013). This issue is raised in quite a few trainers' reflections on learning and teaching, for example:

Excerpt 87

KK: And, how important is it to participate in education?

T2: Yes, that's a central thing, exactly how I said, they need to participate in education and to get a certificate, so that their own skills can be showcased with the help of such a certificate... ... Because, yes, the Finnish society is probably a kind of certificate society, that you need to have papers and you need to show what you can do.

KK: Aha.. and what about the integration training?

T2: The integration training, it creates some basis, that most probably afterwards one can apply for vocational education and possibly for further education... or then one can acquire a recognition of earlier qualifications... ...and then there are all kind of trainings, so that getting employed is not possible at one go... ... with the help of those resources that a person possesses. (Trainer 2, social sciences, man)

Similar ideas connected to the difficulty of recognising migrants' previous learning, skills, and competencies and the importance of having a Finnish certificate were present in the following trainer's talk on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 88

KK: And why in your opinion are adult migrants studying?

T9: They study because, in my opinion, because they study for the Finnish working life.. ...because sometimes it happens... at the moment there is one student that is really skilful... and was doing such type of work in his/her own home country, that is studied here.. but.. we have a different culture when it comes to... different approaches.

KK: Can you give an example?

T9: For example.. using some machines and some techniques.. there can be some differences... and then because of it.

KK: You mean different machines are used and different techniques?

T9: Yes, this way.. it's kind of a cultural difference here.. and study... let's take one example, that a skilful student comes to study craft and design here, though from the perspective of his/her skills he/she could be employed here in Finland, but probably it's easier to study here for two years... and to get a Finnish certificate and to look for a job with a Finnish certificate... ...because here there's a kind of technical field in question, that it's no.... I mean, that you then go for example to a carpenter's workshop to work.. and so. (Trainer 9, wood processing, man)

As the same trainer later discussed that not only were things done differently in Finland than in other parts of the world, that there are very different materials available in different climate zones. Redoing an education is therefore seen as a way for migrants to get familiar with the Finnish way of doing things and to ensure migrants are able to use the materials, machines, equipment, and techniques available in this specific environment.

Some migrant students also reflected on the need to gain a Finnish certificate. For example, a couple of the students pointed out that they had knowledge they could never gain through formal education or that they are otherwise able to do and are good at doing a certain job. However, they were seldom allowed to do even the simplest jobs in Finland. This was the case for a few of the migrant interviewees. Other students were advised to go and learn the language first (even if the job did not require much language skills) and gain new or updated skills for their vocation in Finland (even if they are quite good at it) (see Allan 2013). Such an approach to migrants' knowledge, competencies, and experiences can sometimes lead to paradoxes:

Excerpt 89

S6: ...the same thing concerns the practical nurse training... I mean, let's say... for example... that it's nothing horribly bad, but we had... what is that... nursing.. or something like this.. lessons and we were practicing how to give an injection... there was a practice doll and again the teacher is teaching really well... ... and for sure he/she has a lot of knowledge, but for sure he/she had very little experience... he/she is only a teacher... and if there is a need to make an injection... she/he is doing it correctly, but you can notice straight away that she/he has very little practice and then when I was showing how to do that right way... then she/he says 'Ok, you can show it to everybody else, so it will be better and easier'... nothing bad...he/she was good enough as a teacher, but of course it's a little bit funny that

he/she is teaching, but he/she doesn't have that much experience in this area.
(Student 6, safety and security, man, Eastern European background)

The fact that a student knows more than others is important for gaining self-confidence, but it is questionable if that truly speeds up adult migrant students' integration in the Finnish labour market. A few other migrant participants in this study applied for vocational studies in an educational path below their previous competencies and skills. Trainers provided the explanation that after arrival in Finland some migrant students noticed that they could not get a job in their field; however, in one way or another they found out about other possibilities. Many of them really wanted a job and they were satisfied even with an educational path and a job that was below their qualifications. Such a statement was present in both migrant students' and trainers' interviews. Indeed, next to linguistic and cultural matters and beliefs about them, the migrant students' ways of approaching the whole situation and their previous knowledge, skills, and competencies were seen as being important for recognising those competences. This was the case of the above-cited student. As it was shown in Excerpt 83 presented earlier, the student was luckily quite positive and saw the point of redoing his education in Finland. By being positive about fulfilling the expectations of the host society related to learning imposed upon him, he was able to go forward in the host society and find a job in a vocation that he trained for in his own country and continued on with retraining in Finland (Forsander 2013, Simons & Masschelein 2008).

One of the trainers narrated that it matters a lot how migrant students themselves talk about their competencies and how they present them; if they do notice them at all (Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015), and if they present them as a deficit or as a resource (Windle 2009). Examples of some skills important from the perspective of integration into the labour market and society being unnoticed and unrecognised can also be found in the migrant students' interviews (see Forsander 2013, Roberts 2012, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). For instance, one of the students interviewed was not eager to mention her competencies and education related to other fields than her current field of study. In some other cases, some previous learning as well as competencies are impossible to recognise because of the specific conditions under which a migrant left their previous country of residence. According to a trainer, the recognition of previous learning may be difficult in the case of students who came to Finland without any certificates and any official papers. This official documentation is the basis for recognising previously completed study modules.

In sum, issues related to linguistic and cultural difference, real or anticipated, make it difficult to recognise previous knowledge, skills, competencies, and experiences. These differences easily spark a lot of distrust and suspicion about adult migrants' educational backgrounds and skills (Allan 2013). In a way, migrant students act accordingly and introduce their own knowledge, skills, and competencies as somewhat different and unrecognisable (Roberts 2012). Gaining language skills and completing their Finnish education

is perceived as a way of gaining trust. Often at first then, an adult migrant can benefit from previous knowledge, competencies, and experiences (Forsander 2013, Simons & Masschelein 2008).

7.2 Particularities for teaching migrant students

In the previous sub-sections of this chapter, I concentrated on the specifics of learning in new surroundings. The specifics of migrant students as learners also mirror the teachers' actions, their teaching practices, and their reflections on teaching. In this section, I discuss the challenges and opportunities that having adult students with a migration background in vocational education creates for the trainers' work.

The interviewees also mainly referred to language and cultural aspects when reflecting on the specifics of teaching migrant students. In addition, aspects related to personal differences concerning preferable teaching practices as well as trainers' personalities were also occasionally raised. While analysing challenges and opportunities related to teaching migrant students, I also present which of those aspects trainers (but also some of the migrant students) reflected on when discussing learning and teaching in diverse learning sites.

7.2.1 Uncertainty and unpredictability in teaching migrant students

The aspect of uncertainty and unpredictability in teaching migrant students was often present when reflecting on learning and teaching. The aspect of uncertainty was often mentioned in relation to adult migrant students' lack of language proficiency and the cultural differences that they bring to various learning settings. However, the issue of heterogeneity among students and educators should also not be undermined.

As previously discussed in relation to language aspects in learning and teaching, trainers easily connected problems with learning to the adult migrant students' lack of language proficiency. However, with time, they noticed that there are other things at play, such as learning difficulties or behavioural disorders, a lack of knowledge and skills in some areas like mathematics or IT, and deficiencies in reading and writing skills in their own mother tongue. And so, they began to wonder. Soon after becoming aware of all of these other matters, many educators were no longer sure if learning problems were connected to adult migrant students' lack of language proficiency or if they were related to something else. As reflected by a couple of the educators, even if a diagnosis is made for an existing disorder, it is still unknown if the difficulties stem from poor language skills or learning difficulties.

The same relates to the migrant students' deficiencies in some areas of knowledge or in some skills. In this case, these deficiencies were easily connected to the student's proficiency in the Finnish language, though as a few more experienced educators realised, this can be a matter of a lack of

knowledge in mathematics or, for example, a lack of skills in searching for information. They seldom stopped wondering at that point. Many of the interviewed trainers further reflected on why a migrant student did not know something; did the person not study it earlier in school, was it not required, or had the person simply not learned it.

Furthermore, because of a lack of language proficiency, adult migrant students commonly have problems expressing themselves, with finding the right words. Trainers realised this, but then it remained unclear for them what a person really knows. Some of them admitted that this makes them unsure about the migrant student's knowledge, skills, and even migrant students' level of integration:

Excerpt 90

T3: Let's say it this way, that... ..But, now I have to familiarise myself with this, because I get to wrestle with this thing.. I mean, what is this person's real level of competency ... I mean regarding things in general... ..Because so many... many persons are able to do such, that no... that speaks Finnish, but doesn't understand what he/she says... ..And then if you don't know, what is the real [level of knowledge] you start to be sceptical, what a person really, how he/she is integrated, and what a person knows generally about Finland and about living here and managing here, and about what is expected from him/her. (Trainer 3, audio-visual communication, woman)

Another trainer also raised uncertainty about how to be sure that an adult migrant student knows what he or she is supposed to know and how much can be done to help a student prove his or her knowledge:

Excerpt 91

T7: I mean.. if somebody can't talk or write, then how we can prove, that he/she has understood the thing... ..the terms are.. the words are lost and then if I start to lead, then it's really easy, but the thing is that you should get the result without helping.

KK: Ok... you mean you are in a way...

T7: Yes.. you try to milk the information from there, but [...] It's really difficult, because you can't start giving hints, did you mean this or that... but you need to get that [an answer] straight from the student's mouth. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

Uncertainty in teaching adult migrant students in this study was often related to adult migrant students' understanding of taught matters (see also Dooley 2009). As already pointed out, in discussing language matters and migrant students not asking questions or asking for help, adult migrant students seldom ask for further clarification. At first during some repetitive tasks or when everybody starts to complete a certain task, it comes to light that the student has not understood something or has understood it in a different way. After these types of incidents, trainers are then just constantly suspicious about the understanding that the adult migrant student has gained and generally about their knowledge of the Finnish language. In connection to this issue, one of the

trainers reflected on one of the students mixing up some important medical terms:

Excerpt 92

KK: And... when there are some written answers.. and so on.. does it often happen that things haven't been understood?

T6: I mean, yes sometimes it happens like this... yes... and in a way the concepts can get mixed, that... it was just... I have a good example, on Monday I was on a guidance visit, I was doing sort of a.. I teach practical nursing and this time it was nursing and so... and I was doing a guidance session at a workplace, and there was... he/she had long... or I don't actually know for how long he/she had been living in Finland, but then when it came to their language skills... there is no... let's say it like this, that in everyday Finnish he/she manages well for sure... ..but then when it comes to nursing... not any more... because then when we were discussing it turned out that he/she constantly mixes words like blood pressure (*verenpaine*) and blood sugar (*verensokeri*)... .. and they are completely two different things.. do you measure blood pressure or blood sugar... ..and that is really important for a nurse... to distinguish them... which one is being done... that is such a good example, in my opinion... that things can get mixed up... both are starting with the same Finnish word, but then is that blood pressure or blood sugar... it's really, do you need now to give an injection or do you need to measure pressure? (Trainer 6, practical nurse training, woman)

This example shows how much uncertainty the lack of language proficiency adds to the trainer's job. It makes trainers wonder why the terms have been mixed up; has the student done it by coincidence or is the student really mixing them up and does not see a difference between them? This wondering led the trainer to further reflections and raised further uncertainty:

Excerpt 93

KK: Have you noticed that the language skills really develop during the training?

T6: Yes, ... yes.. yes.. they develop and in a way, sometimes as a trainer you think that... I mean.. how much you dare to count on that, that language skills develop... .. because sometimes it's like this, that one enters... or with a relatively poor knowledge of language.. one might start their training.

KK: Dare to count on that... do you mean taking a risk or something like this?

T6: Yes, this way, do language skills develop enough somehow, so that one manages in a practical nursing vocation, because a practical nursing vocation is quite a demanding one... and you need to take care of Finnish patients... their life is in a way... I mean it's in your hands...you take care of the medicines... you need to understand things behind giving medication... and the use of them and you need to understand a lot about illnesses and things connected to their everyday life. (Trainer 6, practical nurse training, woman)

The student mixing up some important medical terms made the trainer stop and think about what would have happened if a student's Finnish language would not develop during studies, or if the student mixed up or misunderstood something in real working life. The lack of Finnish language skills led the trainer to question if adult migrant students were well prepared for working in

certain vocations and if they would be able to do this vocation according to Finnish working rules. Because of the disparities in knowledge of language in different areas (everyday language, vocational language), trainers also wondered how well an individual with a migration background really knows the Finnish language and how much they actually understand. Do they understand what is being taught? Do they understand the text they have just read? Finally, do they understand e-mails, text messages or messages left in Wilma? These were the questions asked by quite a few trainers during my interviews. Some educators openly admitted that from time to time they just stop and reflect on the language issue and uncertainty connected to it and just hope that everybody understood Finnish and the taught subject matter.

The uncertainty connected to wondering if a student has understood the subject matter and what was said made some educators associate this with the existence of cultural differences. As pointed out in previous sections on cultural differences in learning and teaching as well as the section on migrant students not asking questions or asking for help, there is a common belief about migrant students of certain backgrounds not admitting that they have not understood. Therefore, it remains unclear how much a student has understood, and whether or not the student has understood at all. Generally, educators reflected a lot on all the possible cultural differences they had come into contact with when teaching adult migrant students. However, many times their reflections were not based on real experience, but their anticipation that they may have to deal with such issues at some point of their career as trainers, which added to the feeling of unpredictability and anxiety. Some of them wondered, for example, how they should react if a student, because of religious reasons, sits in the dining room with their head covered, if a student does not want to use their work outfit or if a student cannot take care of a customer of the opposite gender. In addition, some educators thought about how to teach matters related to food and nutrition when there are students who are not supposed to eat or even prepare certain kind of foods, how physically close a trainer can approach a student, or how a student of a certain background can be greeted. The existence of cultural differences also pushed trainers to further reflections on the extent to which an adult migrant student can live according to their own cultural norms and to what extent and in what situation he or she should adjust to Finnish ways of doing things. Educators also expressed uncertainty related to their own ways of behaving and how their ways of reacting and acting impacted the adult migrant students' learning. In connection to this, some trainers wondered how they should teach adult migrant students; how they should give feedback, what modes of working and ways of supporting they should choose so that they are effective, but at the same that they do not feel too strange to an adult migrant student. All of these worries are examples of uncertainty connected to teaching migrant students. However, they are also a sign of showing a caring attitude towards teaching migrant students (Gay 2010).

Teaching adult migrant students creates the most anxiety for novice teachers:

Excerpt 94

T11: [...] in general it's a positive experience [teaching migrants]... It's not like that anymore that if I notice that a person with a migrant background is coming to study, then I don't have any more kind of, like maybe when I used to have with the first migrants, then I was bit sceptical...about how I'd manage with them.. Now I just assume that I manage, we see what the starting situation is and then we deal with the challenges that appear along the way. (Trainer 11, catering services, woman)

The quotation above describes the views of one of the trainers in teaching adult migrant students. The trainer pointed out teaching adult migrant students can be especially challenging for novice teachers as they seldom have actual knowledge and experience in teaching individuals with a migration background. Likewise, trainers at later stages of their careers expressed concern about many things when teaching migrant students, but their reflections were deeper and less loaded with these kinds of fears (e.g., being in panic when realising that there will be a migrant student in their classroom). Novice trainers' concerns were mainly focused on what they knew, how they would manage, and what if they didn't succeed. On the contrary, more experienced teaching staff (with many years of teaching migrant students and/or with experience living abroad) discussed the reasons for not understanding and reflected on their responsibilities in teaching adult migrant students in terms of their abilities to influence students' learning. The more experienced educators also admitted that their first thought was that migrants' difficulties in learning were connected to language and culture. However, they were also able to reflect beyond culture and language and recognised other matters that may be related to migrant students' struggles with learning in Finland.

In sum, teaching adult migrant students can rouse a lot of uncertainty in educators. This uncertainty is mainly related to adult migrant students' lack of language proficiency and the existence of cultural differences. However, that is also a matter of previous personal differences and experiences brought by educators to the institutional setting. In this study, I found that novice educators were the most anxious about adult migrant students' lack of language proficiency and their different cultural backgrounds. It cannot be said, though, that the more experienced trainers stop thinking about these issues. They called for recognising language issues and cultural differences and they were aware of the possible influence of language and cultural aspects on teaching and migrant students' learning. At the same time trainers were able to concentrate on commonalities and approach and treat adult migrant students as any other student.

7.2.2 Teaching migrant students as a hard and frustrating, but rewarding job

According to many staff members interviewed, teaching adult migrant students is often a surprisingly hard and frustrating job. The trainers did not often expect to teach students who do not speak Finnish well, and who had poor writing and reading skills, with no previous learning experiences. Therefore, trainers

were often surprised by the amount of work, time and energy they had to put in teaching and guiding adult migrant students.

Educators reflected on the many reasons for being frustrated. To begin with, it was often pointed out that the presence of migrant students slowed down teaching. That aspect was usually raised in relation to the migrant students' lack of language proficiency and the existence of cultural differences. For instance, some of the trainers said they needed to spend more time explaining new words, concepts, and how things work here in Finland, and why. This is of course valuable from the perspective of the adult migrant students with regard to learning and integration; however, it also takes a lot of time and hinders working on a subject matter within a given period of time. Related to this, many trainers reflected on being forced to make a radical choice; do they spend time explaining things or do they just go forward with the material while being aware that some migrant students do not necessarily understand everything. This leads to a certain conflict and as one of trainers said, a feeling of hopelessness:

Excerpt 95

T4: [...] and then in autumn it came up when I met a nutrition teacher.. we had lessons with the same group on the same day.. and he/she was really desperate, about how she should teach those things...that how teaching... during the contact teaching period.. about going forward with the content.. that it is extremely slow sometimes... ... that you really need to go through the same thing many, many times. (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman)

Oftentimes, trainers equated teaching migrant students to spending time and energy on figuring out how to present a subject matter so that everybody could understand. Additionally, as one of the educators discussed, they have to take into consideration the students' cultural backgrounds and how the new subject matter refers to migrant student's worlds of experiences, which (as some trainers explained) is not an easy job if they don't know much about the students' backgrounds and experiences (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016, Gay 2010, Howard 2006). I later come back to the idea of migrant students' worlds of experiences when describing working modes.

The other reason for trainers feeling hopeless and frustrated was the presence of adult migrant students with very different Finnish language proficiency levels in the same group. In this case, trainers said they taught in line with the students with the poorest level of Finnish language. That in turn was a source of frustration not only to the trainer, but also to Finnish students and to those of a migration background with a good level of Finnish (as corroborated by these individuals themselves). Heterogeneity among migrant students creates different starting points for learning for individuals with a migration background, but it is also something that mirrors the trainers' work. Furthermore, I found many differences with regard to the group composition. Firstly, there can be differences in the number of migrants in one group. In some groups and vocational programmes there are occasionally one or two

persons with a migration background while other groups may have mostly migrant students. Secondly, in the same group, there are often migrant students with very different motivational, educational, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds and every year trainers face this diversity in their daily work. Teaching very heterogeneous groups of students requires skilled trainers to deal with students of certain backgrounds, and even more importantly, coping skills to handle all of those differences at once, in the same group. In this sense, trainers needed to adjust their teaching not just to a single student; they also had to take into account all the other differences existing in the classroom, which felt like quite a hard job for many trainers.

Many trainers' frustrations were also connected to adult migrant participation in Finnish working life in the form of workplace learning. As a couple of the trainers pointed out, adult migrant students struggle a lot in finding a practice job. For the trainers', this in turn means making a lot of effort in figuring out what workplace would be a good fit for migrant students and how to find such a workplace. In addition, trainers reported that a frustration awoke by the awareness that on the one hand learning in the workplace supports migrant students' learning, but on the other hand migrants are not welcome in some workplaces. In addition, one of the trainers talked about having a hard time explaining to some migrant students what should be solid criteria for choosing the right workplace learning site mainly because of migrant students' preferences related to their life or financial situation and not being familiar with the idea of Qualification Based Competence.

One other issue that was also mentioned as a source of frustration was the difficulty in implementing measures related to supporting adult migrant students. Trainers gave examples of students refusing to participate in language courses even if recommended, or of not recognising the existence of mental health problems, which, in turn, as already mentioned in one of previous sub-chapters, is a necessary condition for getting any support in the educational institution context. Though trainers want the best and offer to support adult migrant students in their studies in Finland, this is not always possible and not everything is dependent on them. Even the simplest things can be very difficult to realise in the case of adult migrant students, such as, implementation of the individual approach to recognition of previous learning, skills, competencies, and experiences. Normally, it is routine that students' previous learning and experiences are recognised (FNBE 2014); however, this is not so obvious any more in the case of adult migrant students (as already discussed in subsection 7.1.4 on recognition of prior learning and competencies). Therefore, trainers have to make a lot of effort and think about how to highlight adult migrant students' knowledge, skills, and competencies in spite of their poor language skills, differences in education systems around the world, and, at times, the lack of official documentation.

Gay (2010) argues that real challenges and frustrations begin if a trainer starts to care. Similar, Trainer 7 pointed out that a lot depends on the trainer's attitude towards teaching adult migrant students:

Excerpt 96

KK: [...]... you've said what is difficult, when you're teaching adult migrants in vocational education, so are there such things that are easy... that are easy to you when you are teaching... when you're thinking about teaching now?

T7: I mean, you cannot really say, that it's easy.

KK: It's not easy, you say.. (laughter)

T7: No, it's that you have to think... it of course depends on that...that do you care, whether a student learns or not... if you don't care if he/she learns then it's easy.. you just have the freedom to go forward, but then.. if you try to make sure if the student has understood, what I mean by something... then the problem is how I can make sure... ... it's not easy because you can't find that out either in written form, or in oral form. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

The difficulty in teaching adult migrant students is also linked to the fact that adult migrant students require the teachers to give a lot of guidance and support. Again, such a state of affairs was seen as a matter of adult migrant students' lack of language proficiency and the existence of cultural differences. Because of the lack of language proficiency, it was believed that adult migrant students needed a lot of assistance in completing some study tasks, especially written assignments. In addition, extra help was needed in tasks that involved good mathematical and IT skills. Such assistance was given in the form of advising and giving support in groups as well as individually. Individual guidance was seen as especially important for the students' learning. However, that in turn also meant a bigger work load for trainers, who lack extra resources for this.

The interviewees also expressed that adult migrant students require a lot of guidance related to understanding the specifics of learning and working mainly because of a lack of country specific knowledge (i.e., being unfamiliar with Finnish education system). Therefore, many of the trainer interviewees admitted spending time explaining issues related to the structure of the Finnish education system, issues related to the choice of workplace learning site, to the Finnish learning and working culture, and generally how things work in Finland, such as how a student should present his or her skills during a job interview. A few trainers were of the opinion that some individuals with a migration background have a relaxed and flexible approach to studies, which requires the trainers make more of an effort to ensure the students do what is required of them, and in a given time frame.

Guiding adult migrant students seldom focuses only on issues connected to studying at the institute and learning in the workplace. A trainer is often a first contact person in the case of problems related to students' everyday lives in Finland. As reflected by some of the teachers, trainers cannot necessarily help solve these difficulties, but they look for the necessary information and guide a student. However, a couple of the trainers pointed out that guiding an adult migrant student on everyday matters as well as on issues related to learning is a hard and frustrating job because of a lack of proper guidelines. Firstly, some of

the interviewed trainers were unsure of what their duties were and how they could help a student. Secondly, there were no guidelines concerning teaching and guiding linguistically and culturally diverse students. Not having skills for explaining new terms, dealing with cultural differences, approaching diverse students, lack of information on adult migrant students' educational backgrounds, or more specifically on the migrant students' previous educational systems before coming to Finland were matters recognised by trainers as a source of additional frustration in working with migrant individuals. In fact, as one of the trainers noted that many useful things from the perspective of their work were learned by coincidence:

Excerpt 97

T8: [...] Well I've attended this guidance group that [the name of the project] has and well... so in 2007 I went to present our training for this project... the cleaning services training and many of those students came and studied with us and so on... so at least what [the project] has revealed to us, I find it absolutely great because you sort of map out their language skills, written and oral, and preparedness to study and such... and like I've said about the project, 'I wish we...' or like if they knew about the results in the employment office... in the ELY centre and then for the S2 trainers when they attend the Finnish language education but they never reach us vocational trainers right away but now that I know they send them forward I know to ask them. (Trainer 8, cleaning services, woman)

The lack of guidelines also led to many misunderstandings between the different stakeholders. For instance, there was confusion concerning the required level of Finnish for successful completion of vocational studies or on the importance of migrants' participation in a working life from the perspective of learning and integration.

Offering guidance and support for adult migrant students was not always enough; there was a need for even more support. However, there were no such resources for that, neither at the institute nor in the workplaces. Thus, even if trainers had ideas about how they could support adult migrant students' learning and integration, it was just not possible because of the lack of money and time. The difficulty of teaching migrant students connected to the lack of resources was also recognised at the managerial level at the institute:

Excerpt 98

KK: How does your institute see and support integration... especially when you think about vocational education... how?

R: I mean... of course.. we aim to take into account special features, that people have... and of course... with those resources that are possible for us... of course we're giving more guidance and we take into account that there can be such.. such problems, that Finnish speaking people don't necessarily have at all...

KK: And what kind of guidance.. what type of guidance and..?

R: We give more guidance.. but of course there is always the difficult side, that if we have one... if we have a migrant group... then it's financed better from the side of the funder... I mean the ELY Centre pays.. in a way compensates the

guidance... ..but then if we have groups where they are integrated individually.. then we don't have that many resources, so that... that is a problem. (Rector of the institute)

Similar to the aspect of uncertainty, teaching migrant students was the most difficult and frustrating job for novice teachers. However, with time, some of the interviewed trainers learned to deal with linguistically and culturally different learners and even enjoyed it:

Excerpt 99

KK: And.. and what kind of experiences do you have teaching adult migrant students, how does it feel to teach adult migrants?

T10: It's very interesting to teach them, because here there's always discussion about cultural differences and then it's also about teaching the language.. that is also about [Finnish language] teaching.. whatever is studied, that always involves teaching the language. (Trainer 10, construction, man)

Teaching adult migrant students did not only stop at teaching vocational matters, but also involved acting as a language teacher (explaining terms) and cultural mediator (explaining how something should be dealt with in Finland) at the same time (see Paaso 2010), which was challenging for the trainers interviews. However, as the trainer stated, it is also interesting to have these roles. Therefore, it can be concluded that though teaching adult migrant students is hard, frustrating, and sometimes a hopeless job, it also brings a lot of satisfaction. As one other trainer observed, adult migrant students eventually learned what they were supposed to learn and successfully completed their studies. In this sense, trainers saw the effects of their work and derived satisfaction from the fact that they were able to prepare migrants for working life in Finland. Some trainers reported cases of migrant students finding jobs during their studies, which they interpreted as the best award for their hard work.

Educators used many positive adjectives to describe their migrant students, like active, well-behaved, kind, conscientious, enterprising, etc. All in all, adult migrants were seen as good, well-motivated, well-behaved, not demanding, interested in the taught subject matter, and as being appreciative of the trainers' hard work. In this sense, teaching adult migrant students was also very rewarding work that gave way to a positive experience, which was made quite clear in the following trainer's talk on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 100

T4: [...] and such a thing also, that they give the trainer the whole time during their studies...yes, they give the trainer a lot of positive feedback... that is really a significant thing, nevertheless, though it's sometimes quite hard and frustrating for a teacher to work with migrant groups or, if there's a few of them in some other group... then thanks to it you get... that strength also for yourself to be able to carry on, though sometimes it feels, like 'I can't do this anymore'. (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman)

Another trainer adds:

Excerpt 101

KK: Is that still something that can be said to be easy?

T11: Polite... ...and then let's say it this way, that interactivity, I mean with a trainer, I mean with the supervisor of this subject.. I think.. it's really easy.. it's easy to approach them and they are comfortable in approaching you. (Trainer 11, catering services, woman)

Both cited trainers raised the matter of having good and rewarding relationships with their adult migrant students. In other interviews with trainers there were also examples of migrant students openly acknowledging the trainer's work, giving a lot of positive feedback, and being happy that they learned something new and that somebody wants to help them along their learning path. On the one hand, some staff members saw the perception of a trainer's strong authority as something strange and problematic for successful learning in Finland and in teaching migrants. On the other hand, it also means that migrant students had a lot of respect for their trainers and trusted the trainers' words, which in a sense made it easier to teach and guide adult migrant students.

In addition, the presence of adult migrant students gives many opportunities for learning about other cultures and exchanging experiences related to that (see also Banks 2010a, Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejada 1999, Räsänen et al. 2005, Teräs 2007). Over the course of time, the increasingly positive aspects of migrants' presence in Finnish educational institutions have been noticed. As their resources (their differences, skills, and knowledge) are slowly brought to light, they are no longer perceived as generating problems, but as adding richness to the learning environment (Paris 2012, Paris & Ball 2009):

Excerpt 102

KK: And how does it feel to teach adult migrant students?

T5: It's really interesting.. It's certainly more challenging from the point of view of teaching, to use clear language.. teaching material that is appropriate for them... and be able to find practical examples.. but the migrants are really nice.. nice change for the group, the more diversity there is the nicer it is, though it is also more challenging. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

The same trainer continued her reflection by giving concrete examples of sharing knowledge and exchanging experiences, which she perceived as a positive experience for all parties participating in learning. Other trainers also recognised the positive sides of the presence of adult migrant students at the institute and provided examples of adult migrant students making the learning atmosphere lighter and more stimulating. This, according to other scholars too, can be understood as the first step in the development of a new learning culture

(Gutiérrez 2008, Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejada 1999, Räsänen et al. 2005):

Excerpt 103

T4: [...] and then when we had that task to do, not anymore but when we had it at the final stage of our studies, sort of a final task that was called 'Putting vocational competence into practice'... these migrant groups carried it out in a way that they utilised these different kinds of creative methods in their workplace learning, some kind of sessions for the customers, and then when we also presented this work to the rest of the group, shortly, before the end of the studies... there they still wanted to perform... dancing and singing... I remember for example this dance with scarfs, that this group with a student from Africa... so they're really funny. (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman)

In sum, teaching migrant students led the trainers interviewed in this study to many frustrations that were usually connected to the speed and difficulty of teaching migrant students, but also to the trainers' own lack of knowledge on some issues and the absence of guidelines and resources. However, teaching migrant students was also deemed a positive, interesting, and rewarding experience, and one that could create many opportunities for the trainers' professional development. Trainers offered many examples of growing within the teaching profession, of developing their intercultural competencies, and in being better in approaching people from different parts of the world. Some trainers also observed that thanks to teaching adult migrant students they also became better at approaching Finnish students. This is mainly because teaching adult migrant students pushes trainers to reflect more on their own practices and to constantly develop their own teaching (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016, Teräs 2007), which is also a matter analysed in the next sub-section.

7.2.3 In search of new practices and being flexible

The aim of this subsection is to explore ways of coping with uncertainty and the difficulties connected to teaching migrant students mainly through constantly searching for solutions and being flexible. The process of searching for new ways of dealing with language, culture and issues of heterogeneity, and oftentimes migrants' complicated lives was accompanied in this study by being flexible and creative (see Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). All of these matters were present in the trainers' and the migrants' reflections on teaching and learning.

As pointed out in previous sub-sections, the difficulty of teaching adult migrant students and the lack of resources for that was a source of frustration. However, this was also an engine for further development:

Excerpt 104

KK: Ok... there was this type of training, that there was a specialisation.. that they could have only studied elderly care?

T4: Yes, that was agreed beforehand...

- KK: It was agreed beforehand?
- T4: They were denied the right to choose their own specialisation, as normally a student can choose that themselves
- KK: Ok, who has agreed on that?
- T4: That was apparently agreed with the regional Educational Consortium that time, before they started the training.. so I've understood.. but actually... such a decision was done just because us teachers, we didn't have these resources in our working time that we would have permission to guide the students so much as would be required from us in practice... but when the group was already inside and was already studying... then we just had to think in the way that 'How will we now manage with such a problem'... and certainly we've done such a thing that there were a few students.. that we've done a kind of guidance in small groups and so on, not everything one to one, but anyway the amount of guidance was, I don't.. that no one for sure has at any point added up how many resources were needed in reality for guidance. (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman)

As indicated in the discussion with Trainer 4 above, after the first phase of being shocked, trainers accepted the situation and tried to manage with the resources available at that point. They worked hard, tried new ways of coping and new practices, and in some cases also rethought requirements for admitting students into vocational education and work placements. In a way, searching for new practices is a natural response to changes being observed in society and in educational institutions (see Teräs 2007).

Interviewed trainers reported some teaching practices working better for adult migrant students than for other students. However, many of the trainers, as it was already brought up in the previous sub-sections on teaching, just did not possess this type of knowledge and experience at the beginning of their teaching careers. They just developed ways of approaching adult migrant students and learned to adjust their teaching accordingly by simply gathering experience in teaching migrants. And so, with time, some of the interviewed teaching staff noticed that they had to make sure if a student understood the lessons, by repeating the same issues, explaining more difficult and unusual words and terms, and thinking about what kind of language they were using, as well as how they were talking about something, and how they were presenting the taught matter (see Dooley 2009). These matters were also observed by the following trainer when reflecting on teaching adult migrants:

Excerpt 105

- T11: [...] and then also... I'm also sometimes quite fast when I speak and... so it has sort of become automatic that if a migrant student... especially before I've gotten to know them better and you know their language skills, so I've learned how to speak more slowly and look them in the eyes and leave out all unnecessary words and phrases... of course it doesn't have to be boring, not formal... you also have to... have this enthusiasm there but... but I've learned to look directly and talk many times in a classroom setting, to speak more in turns, to look at them... and they've said that it's a good way, that the trainer wouldn't look elsewhere... that their attention... I have so many migrant students so I've sort of learned that... I don't know if I will always succeed because I don't have any special pedagogical skills ... or I haven't studied

these things but you confront these issues all the time. (Trainer 11, catering services, woman)

The trainer highlighted her strategies for coping in diverse learning settings, like speaking slowly, simplifying the language used in the classroom, as well as keeping eye contact. In other interviews, trainers also gave concrete examples for presenting subject matter in an understandable manner for migrant students, including telling stories or giving a lot of distinct examples. As with Banks (2010b) and Gay (2010), one of the trainers underlined that teaching adult migrant students is not that different from teaching Finnish students; however, it requires much more reflection from the trainers concerning own actions and their impact on adult migrant students' learning:

Excerpt 106

KK: Aha.. ok.. and how does it feel to teach adult migrant students?

T6: Not really, just the same as Finnish students... only that, that with some of them you maybe need to think more about language that is used.. because in a way the nursing vocabulary is also strange for Finns.. in a way, you need to find words and descriptions for students of a foreign background, for whom the meaning of the word doesn't necessarily open up right away.. I mean how it should be described

KK: In a way a word has to be explained.. some words and some terms?

T6: Yes.. yes.. so it's.. and in a way you think as well.. when explaining those terms, that what kind of words you're using, that you don't use such vocabulary, that he/she doesn't necessarily understand. (Trainer 6, practical nurse training, woman)

Some of the trainers noticed that many times Finnish students do help in coping with adult migrant students who don't understand speech and written text or some specifics related to doing a certain vocation or handling some things in Finland. In response to that, a few trainers stated that they paid attention to the group composition when working in small groups or pairs and encouraged students to create mixed groups. A reflection on teaching material used in the classroom setting was also present in many interviews with trainers. A few trainers also gave examples of developing their skills in adjusting teaching material to adult migrant students. In the opinion of these trainers (as well as adult migrant students themselves), good teaching material for migrant students should be written in clear language and contain a good balance between text and pictures. Nevertheless, trainers interviewed developed different strategies for dealing with this aspect. Some prepared special materials for adult migrant students, while others noticed that clear teaching materials with pictures worked very well for Finnish students too, hence they used one simplified version of material with all students. One other trainer who used the same material for all students noted that in this case it was important to pay attention to it how the teaching material was used:

Excerpt 107

KK: And when you're using teaching material... do you use exactly the same material for Finnish and migrant students.. the same?

T5: Yes.. that is really difficult when it comes to the teaching material.. usually I'm doing it this way.. such material that I can use for both, but then of course, if I use the same.. then for example I happen to stay nearby a migrant, if they are sitting next to each other, and then I always show where we are and which word we are talking about.. that also helps a lot.. then you have to think a little bit, how that is used.. that you look for the core words and we look at what they mean. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

Although using clear language and clear material is helpful, there may still be uncertainty about whether the student understands everything and correctly (see Dooley 2009). In response to that, in their careers as migrant student educators, vocational trainers had to develop different ways of making sure things were understood. For example, trainers reported just asking the student directly whether he or she understood. What was considered as even more efficient was to ask a student to repeat in his or her own words what was just said and how the student understood a certain thing. Another trainer mentioned the practice of giving students a task and extra questions on the material that was covered. From the answers to the questions and from the way a task was completed, a trainer was then able to make a conclusion on the level of understanding that the adult migrant student had reached. Other interviewed trainers did not wait that long to figure out whether a student understood or not – right after giving a task to an adult migrant student, they gave extra clarification for the task.

So far I have mostly presented trainers' views and actions connected to dealing with language and cultural aspects in teaching, while only occasionally pointing out migrant interviewees' opinions on this aspect. However, migrant student interviewees also reflected on the teaching methods that they believed were beneficial for learning. There was an agreement among both the migrant students and trainers interviewed on ways of speaking and ways of presenting lessons as being decisive for migrant students' understanding of the subject matter. Some of the migrant students underlined that they understand better when the trainer speaks slowly and clearly, gives a lot of concrete examples, speaks and uses teaching material containing pictures, and when they get a simplified version of the teaching material. Adult migrant students also gave many concrete examples of trainers using these exact practices.

Educators showed a lot of creativity and flexibility in searching for new ways of assessing migrant students' knowledge. Analysing the interviews, it becomes clear that trainers at the institute put in a lot of effort to determine what a migrant student really knows and to clarify a migrant student's knowledge and skills. In this way, some trainers offered adult migrant students the possibility to pass certain exams in smaller parts. If that did not help, individuals with a migration background were also allowed to supplement their written answers in oral form. Some other students had the chance to

repeat a course with another group or to study more on their own and try one more time to pass an exam after some time. In the case of the students with poor writing and reading skills, some trainers reported writing down migrant student's oral responses.

There were also signs of flexibility in assessing the students' written tasks. A common practice mentioned by some trainers and migrant interviewees, was to ignore mistakes in the text and rather concentrate on the content. Adult migrant students themselves saw such an approach to language matters as beneficial for their learning and as a fair practice. Even though, using other languages in completing written tasks was not a common practice, one of the migrant students recounted a trainer being open to him using Latin words during an anatomy exam. Noticing what migrant students can do is the same challenge as assessing a student's theoretical knowledge. In this case, the trainers also searched and tried new ways of proving an adult migrant students' knowledge and competencies. It was for example possible for a student to show off his or her previous skills by demonstrating them. There was also a visible readiness to make some adjustments to the written portfolio that was prepared just before a practical exam (*näyttötutkinto*) and then also when the student was actually sitting the practical exam:

Excerpt 108

KK: And how have you noticed that they have some difficulties with writing?

T11: When we have some tasks.. individual tasks.. group tasks.. or definitely exams.. the course exams are the most difficult... and then when there are practical exams.. I mean demonstrations [*näytöt*], which should not be named this way, but practical exams.. then after each part of the degree there needs to be a written plan... .. and there they need.. special guidance... more of it.. or then it's changed into a more functional one that.. that plan and then more time is used for taking a look at it. (Trainer, catering services, woman)

A flexible approach to organising the theoretical and practical exams finds confirmation in some of the migrant students' discussions on learning and teaching. For instance, one of the students mentioned a possibility of preparing and sitting a practical exam in oral form.

Essentially, a flexible approach to assessing a migrant student's knowledge and skills is, in a way, a form of implementing the idea of individualisation in adult education (FNBE 2014). The whole idea behind individualisation is approaching students in a flexible way so that they can get the most out of time spent in vocational education for adults. Students' knowledge and competencies should therefore be recognised as much as possible so that a student does not waste time learning the same things over and over again. Thus, next to the previously mentioned ways of assessing a students' knowledge and skills, migrant students (as any other student) should have the possibility to influence their own personal study plans by agreeing on courses to take and making adjustments to the amount of time spent learning at the institute and in the workplace (FNBE 2014). The idea of personalisation in

this study was realised by giving migrant students the option of extending on—the-job learning while shortening and skipping theoretical studies. Such a practice was seen as a way to improve migrant students' chances for gaining a certificate in the form of a Qualification Based Competence.

The presented examples complement the notion that trainers are in constant search for a good balance between theoretical learning and learning at the workplace (see Eraut 2004, Heikkinen, Tynjälä & Kiviniemi 2011, Tynjälä 2008, Tynjälä & Gijbels 2012). The flexibility connected to it works in two different directions. On the one hand, trainers interviewed agreed (in cooperation with supervisors at work) on the possibility complete and learn certain skills at the workplace. On the other hand, some other trainers called for offering more theoretical education to adult migrant students at the institute so that they become at ease on their own in their future workplace learning sites. Trainers adjusted their practices according to the existing atmosphere in a certain field: They used the advantages of learning at the workplace and by practical experience, especially in fields where migrants had already been present for a while and people were used to the presence of individuals with a migration background. On the contrary, in fields known as rather old-fashioned or intolerant, students were offered more theoretical studies, as this was believed to be helpful in finding a practice job and developing trust of the adult migrant students' knowledge and skills. Other ways of coping with negative beliefs on language and culture in the workplace developed by interviewed teaching staff was, for instance, in recommending that students choose workplaces that already have experience in teaching migrant students, giving an official paper from school with all the necessary information, or having a trainer visit a potential workplace in person.

Over time, the trainers noticed that adult migrant students have difficulties completing their studies on time as they needed more time and needed to put more effort into learning some vocational matters (Gay 2010, Teräs 2007). This was also pointed out when analysing the specifics of adult migrants as learners. In response to that, adult migrant students were given the possibility to apply for extra time for finalising their studies. In addition, students were offered all kinds of support along the learning path, such as extra support for preparing their portfolio and completing other school tasks that required good writing skills in Finnish or advanced mathematical skills. As it is visible in a few interviews with staff members, migrant students were taught how to organise their learning so that they were able to complete their studies regardless of many absences or difficult life situations.

Trainers also actively searched for help from other experts and stakeholders in order to better cope with adult migrants' lack of language proficiency. This indicates a lot of creativity and openness in developing new practices. Nevertheless, it can be concluded from the discussion with the following trainer, that this is also connected to the trainers' lack of competencies and knowledge in approaching adult migrant students:

Excerpt 109

T4: Well, they need to understand, what it means, especially for example ethical principles of practical nursing work, I mean equity, equality, respecting human values, autonomy.. that those always need to be.. explained, those words.. .. and during those lessons it has been beneficial... if it was possible, that a Finnish language teacher was co-teaching... that we were doing some kind of pair work.. then it's going easier

KK: Ok.. and what is the Finnish language teacher doing, is he/she explaining what a certain word means?

T4: Yes, for example autonomy.. I mean.. he/she has skills for it, that he/she can in a way open up the word, that they understand it.. through understanding of it, though there is not necessarily a matching word in their own mother tongue.. ...but they understand its meaning. (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman)

As it can be noticed from the passage above, one way to cope with students' lack of language proficiency is to hire teachers of 'Finnish as a second language'. A couple of the trainers believed that such persons are experts with skills to open up even very difficult terms and concepts for adult migrant students as well as to deal with cultural differences. However, that also indicates that the trainer does not see herself as competent in it. Cooperation with Finnish language teachers goes further. Vocational trainers reported also visiting courses in which adult migrants are first learning the language and then talking about the specifics of the vocational field in which they teach, about applying for vocational studies and generally about studying for a vocation at the institution in question. Adult migrant students from integration training had an opportunity to follow teaching in the chosen vocational programme for a while or even complete their short practice period under the supervision of a vocational trainer. Some of the interviewed educators noticed positive results of such cooperation and there were plans to further develop this practice at the institute. Additionally, cooperation with experts and stakeholders outside of the institute was seen as helpful for teaching adult migrant students. A few interviewed trainers reported being in touch with adult migrants' supervisors at their workplace learning sites and trying to solve together problems related to adult migrant students' learning at work or in their everyday lives in Finland. One of the trainers reflected on advertising the vocational training in which she was teaching to other institutions that were organising integration training in the same town. In this way, the trainer believed that organisations had an opportunity to share their experiences and good practices as well as exchange information on students' learning skills in the transition phase to vocational education.

As it can be concluded trainers in this study were in constant search for new ways of approaching migrant students at the educational institution in question. There were also signs of creativity and flexibility in adjusting their practices. However, trainers recognised, of the main challenges as remembering to put it all into practice:

Excerpt 110

T4: [...] somehow the challenge in teaching is that those things need to be connected to their own experiences.. like for example in the case of the service system, to ask in such a way that 'Have you used health services in Finland?... if yes, what kind of services?... where is the closest health centre where you go to'... that, yes.. in this way the health services will open up little by little, if they can connect it to their own experiences, but certainly you need to remember it the whole time when teaching. (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman)

The exchange of views and experiences among migrant students during a group interview indicates that trainers do not always remember to (or are not aware that they should) talk slowly, give further explanation about unknown words, make sure that a student has understood, and use clear materials with pictures:

Excerpt 111

#S14: Many teachers don't have experience on working with migrants.

#KK: Aha, how have you noticed that?

#S14: From the material, speech and then of course they are Finns and teaching in Finnish, but there is not something like they couldn't [work] with migrants.

#KK: But this material, speech.. what kind of material or speech is good or bad?

#S14: Not clear, unclear.. For example a picture is unclear, if I don't know the Finnish language well, how should we know, what that is, for example.

#KK: An unclear picture that is badly copied?

#S14: Yes, badly copied, no colours, black and white. Nowadays everything needs to be clear, technology is good, text needs to be good, pictures need to be good. And if a teacher works with migrants they should know how to communicate with us, so I would say.

#SG1: I can add something, they need to take us into account as migrants, the same that [student's #S14 name] has said, if he/she has a lesson, only he/she is speaking, he/she doesn't ask, 'Has everything been understood, how are you doing - do you understand what I'm saying - is that clear' or something like this, instead they just continue. Throws.. how do you say that.. gives us a paper, again you have to do [something] and then we're sitting, what is that about now, what should we.

#KK: Aha, so they give a paper, but they do not explain anything

#S12: No, but Finns they just take a pen and straight away they write and we sit and look what others are doing, what we should do now [others are laughing]... we're asking each other. (Group interview, cleaning services)

Gutiérrez & Rogoff (2003) state that the effectiveness of some practices is very individual and different students have different preferences, which needs to be taken into consideration while talking about modes of working and ways of supporting adult learners. Some practices perceived by trainer interviewees as

being beneficial to adult migrant students were not seen as beneficial in the same way by the interviewed students. While one of the trainers may think that it is not good to use and give that much paper material, some adult migrant students point out that they understand better if they have something on paper. Therefore, a question may arise not about the amount of paper material, but rather the content of what is on that paper. Similarly, as it was already briefly mentioned in the part on language aspects in learning and teaching, repeating the same thing many times may turn out to be a source of annoyance, especially for migrant students with good language skills.

Adult migrant students interviewed often acknowledged the effort that goes into supporting their learning and all of the adjustments made by the trainers and they really appreciated it. However, some adult migrant students also noticed some deficits in practices and gave concrete suggestions on how certain practices could be developed further. For example, in the opinion of some of the student participants, there was still room for improvement concerning the courses that migrant students were required to participate in. According to them, although some programmes were more flexible and took some steps forward in this regard by offering optional courses for migrants in some cases, others were behind. The lack of such adjustments sometimes led to absurd situations, as it was for example in the case of one of the students, who was expected to do her best and learn advanced Swedish in just a few months, even though she had never studied Swedish language before. Finally, a few of the interviewed migrants made a point that a lot depends on the trainer: some are willing to support and adjust their practices to a much greater extent than others, and some are generally better educators than others. Both examples and reflections on good and bad teaching are found in all types of interviews conducted in this study.

In sum, the presence of adult migrant students at the institute leads to changes in the interviewed trainers' work (Keurulainen, Miettinen & Weissmann 2014). Most of the trainers in this study gave their thoughts on how to cope with in the lack of language proficiency, cultural differences, and heterogeneity at the institute, how to support migrant students' learning and development of their Finnish language. In the course of these reflections and while adjusting to teaching migrant students, interviewed educators often realised that teaching and teaching materials that support adult migrant students' learning were also beneficial for Finnish students (see also Chavez & Longerbeam 2016).

8 MODES OF WORKING AND SUITABLE WAYS OF SUPPORTING ADULT MIGRANT LEARNERS - OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITATIONS

This section is devoted to different modes of working and suitable ways of supporting adult migrant students. As discussed in the last two chapters devoted to presenting the results of the research material, the lack of language proficiency, and the existence of (different sets of) cultural differences are often seen as something that challenges migrant students' learning and teaching this group of students. However, other study participants (especially trainers) saw it as something that can be overcome through adjusting practices and using the right modes of working. When reflecting on learning and teaching, both migrant students and trainers referred to modes of working and ways of supporting learners with a migration background, which can be considered as a potential pedagogy in times of growing diversity. And so, one's own mother tongue or knowledge of English was occasionally seen as an extra resource while studying in a foreign language. Quite often the encouragement and support received at the institute, from trainers and Finnish students, as well as outside of the institution from family and friends, were considered to be helpful in the successful completion of vocational studies. Furthermore, learning at the workplace, group work, model learning, learning and teaching close to adult migrant students' worlds of experiences are valuable for adult migrant students' learning. Table 2 summarises the main results of the study connected to the various modes of working and supporting migrant students believed as beneficial for migrant students' learning.

TABLE 2 Working modes and ways of supporting migrant learners - opportunities and limitations

Mode of working	Opportunities	Limitations
Mother tongue and other languages in learning and teaching	<p>Extra tool for finding information on vocational matters</p> <p>Extra tool for communication and reaching a common ground</p> <p>An important resource for meaning-making in diverse settings</p>	<p>Not concentrating on what is taught if hanging out with persons from the same language group</p> <p>Threat of not learning Finnish if using other languages</p> <p>No place for other languages because by law, studies have to be completed in Finnish or in Swedish</p> <p>Not integrating into Finnish vocational communities</p> <p>Seeing other language as a barrier to learning and to integration</p>
Encouragement from trainers, family, and friends	<p>A sign of trainers' caring attitude</p> <p>Creating a safe learning environment by trainers</p> <p>Trainer's encouragement as a supporter of learning language</p> <p>Family and friends give extra support in doing school tasks</p> <p>Family and friendship as an arena for understanding and encouraging</p>	<p>Some trainers are more empathetic and willing to understand than others</p> <p>Migrant students being suspicious about positive feedback</p> <p>Students' different life situations - some get more support from family and friends than others</p>
Finnish students and working in groups	<p>Getting quick explanations</p> <p>More time to process information when working in groups</p> <p>Working in groups makes learning easier</p>	<p>Feeling unequal to other group members</p> <p>Othering and excluding practices</p> <p>Unequal contribution of members of the group to completing a certain task</p>
Students' and trainers' worlds of experiences	<p>Own and other students' and trainers' experiences are important bases for learning</p> <p>Rich world of experiences of students participating in vocational education</p> <p>Learning through sharing experiences</p> <p>Students more willing to learn if they can refer new knowledge to previous experiences</p>	<p>Many things that migrant students do not have knowledge about or relevant experience</p> <p>Trainers forgetting to refer to students' experiences</p> <p>Educators' low awareness of the importance of previous experiences for students' learning</p> <p>Trainers being unfamiliar with migrant students' 'worlds of experiences'</p> <p>Students' desire to share experiences</p>

Mode of working	Opportunities	Limitations
'Getting out of the classroom'	Doing things on your own is important for learning Showing and doing the same thing many times Learning practical things when doing together with a supervisor Learning through all senses Overcoming a language barrier Supports learning matters related to everyday life in Finland	Not remembering to put 'out of the classroom' ideas into practice
Apprenticeship training and learning at the workplace	Getting a regular job at a current workplace learning site Getting guidance and tips connected to living in Finland Learning language at the same time	Difficult to find workplace learning site Beliefs about migrants' language skills, migrants' backgrounds and their skills; and differences between vocational fields and workplaces Connecting negative experiences to one's own migrant background Difficult to gain trust and easy to lose it Migrants' negative experiences in workplace learning sites and not believing that a migrant can succeed in the Finnish labour market Not enough guidance Not creating opportunities for moving on to more demanding tasks Differences between various fields of studies and workplaces in creating opportunities for learning vocational matters, for learning language, and getting important information from the point of view of everyday life in Finland Disparities in ideas about required level of language

8.1 Mother tongue and other languages as a resource

The interviews revealed that migrant participants of the study did not only rely on knowledge of the Finnish language during their vocational studies. Many times adult migrant students studying for vocation benefit from the knowledge of languages other than Finnish in the process meaning making (Creese & Blackledge 2010a, Creese & Blackledge 2015, García & Beardsmore 2009, Harris

2006, Hornberger & Link 2012). Many of the interviewed migrants were, for example, searching for information in their own mother tongues or/and other languages they know. Proficiency in one's own mother tongue and in any other language is used, therefore, as an additional resource for extending vocational knowledge and for managing during studies at the adult institute (Ahlholm 2015, Creese & Blackledge 2010b, Creese & Blackledge 2015, García & Beardsmore 2009, Gay 2010):

Excerpt 112

S6: At least when I was studying in the practical nursing programme, my [country's name] school has helped quite a lot, because for example, at that time my knowledge of Finnish was even weaker than now and because of that for example in anatomy it helped me a lot.. for example when I was doing an exam and I didn't remember how a certain muscle or bone is named in Finnish, but then I remembered how it's in Latin... and that was even like a bonus, because the teacher said .. 'Aha ok, so you know it even in Latin, though it's not required here in Finland'. (Student 6, safety and security, man, Eastern European background)

Knowledge of English is especially beneficial for migrant students learning. For example, many issues related to certain vocations can be found easily in English. Trainers and Finnish students usually know English well, which means that the parties participating in the learning process have an additional communication tool at their disposal and a resource for reaching common ground (Paris 2009). The study found that migrant students sometimes asked and received additional clarifications in English from teachers and other students. However, while some of the trainers used English for giving additional information and clarification, others saw English use as doing a big favour to a migrant student and as choosing an easier way.

There was also no agreement on if English could be used during the final exam for Qualification Based Competence. A few adult migrant students expressed the opinion that it would be much better if they could write a portfolio (*näyttötutkintosuunnitelma*) in English and therefore without help from others, but the opinions of educators and examiners concerning this matter are divided. While some were proponents of using English for writing a portfolio and also during the Qualification Based Competence and may even wonder why a student writes it in Finnish, others were strongly against it and were of the opinion that this is Finnish school and if somebody wants to do it, they should do it all in the Finnish language.

Nevertheless, there is more acceptance and space for using some languages rather than others (Cummins 2005, Hélot & Laoire 2011). The consideration of using English during a time of vocational studies is a sign of seeing knowledge of language as important. The same relates to students' knowledge of medical terms in Latin, which is a highly recognised language in this field. However, in the vocational school visited, knowledge of any other language is seldom seen as a resource or a source of pride. Knowledge of 'unrecognisable' languages, as one of the trainers put it, is seen as problematic

as that resource is considered more of a barrier to moving ahead in Finland and is used as a source of constructing the student as significantly different.

In sum, there are many tensions related to the use of other languages during vocational studies in the adult institute. According to my interviewees (and migrant students in particular), proficiency in other languages was regarded as an additional resource for learning. Yet at other times the use of other languages during vocational studies was perceived as a barrier to learning vocational matters and extending knowledge of the Finnish language (see also Cummins 2005):

Excerpt 113

T11: [...] of course I always say to them that it would be nice to take a Finnish student if we're working in pairs, so that their language can develop.. and then if there are let's say two people of the same nationality, let's say... two Russians or two Thais, then quite easily they are sticking together and they're in their closed circle and they speak their own language... that is of course good, but then they're out of the Finnish language teaching and from listening to others in the group and don't know what is happening around them... but of course we have positive attitudes towards that. (Trainer 11, catering services, woman)

The concerns about the use of other languages were also related to the fact that Competence Based Qualification must be completed in Finnish or Swedish. Like Finnish students, migrant students also have to use Finnish during the practical exam. Using only Finnish for explaining the subject matter often means spending a lot of time clarifying something in all possible ways, which can give way to frustration on behalf of all parties involved in a learning process. However, there was a common belief that in this way, adult migrant students have the best chance to improve their Finnish language skills and to integrate into Finnish vocational communities.

8.2 Encouragement from trainers, family, and friends

Educators as well as adult migrant students stressed the importance of giving encouragement to migrant learners along their learning path. As can be concluded from the reflections of some of the trainers interviewed on learning and teaching, indeed, teaching migrant students was often connected to offering all kinds of support and encouragement. The practice is closely related to adult migrant students acting as learners. Many of the trainers expressed awareness of migrant students being afraid of a teacher and uncertain about many things. In response to that, some trainers tried to make adult migrant students' learning environments as safe as possible (see Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). Some trainers gave examples of calming down students and ensuring them that nothing bad had happened even when the student was not fully successful and on time in completing his or her task; they emphasised to the students that failure is an acceptable part of the learning process. Adult migrant

students were also encouraged by trainers to ask questions and ask for help as well as to express their opinions even if different from the trainer.

Migrant students were also supported with regard to using Finnish more freely without concentrating too much on mistakes. In addition, there were also examples of offering migrants additional support in the form of going over the task one more time with the trainer. The migrant students (as any other students) were also encouraged by trainers to give positive feedback. However, as was previously mentioned in the section on cultural aspects in learning and teaching, the adult migrant learners were rather suspicious about positive feedback. Thus their trainers had to ensure them that these were not empty words and encourage them to continue their work in the same way.

Adult migrant students also reflected on different forms of support received from the trainers along their learning paths. However, migrant students often went beyond encouragement and raised the issue of understanding the student's situation, which goes along with Gay's (2010) observation on the significance of the teacher's caring attitude in diverse learning settings. This was mainly visible in a few of the individuals with a migration background who drew attention to the fact that they failed due to a lack of will from the teacher to understand the student. As one of the students in the individual interview underlined, there were trainers who were empathetic and wanted to understand a migrant student, and unfortunately there were also some who really did not care:

Excerpt 114

KK: And when you're thinking about school, how should things be taught so that you would learn more easily?

S4: Really... how could I say...yes, I understand that there is chemistry and chemistry... ..but see people as people (a person as a person)... ..not only what's on the surface.. not only this.. not only what you see on the surface, you know, to see people and their culture together with it, I mean the will to understand... really, but that can't be demanded.. that is only their vocation, they only teach, I mean humanity... but in this you cannot be trained, somebody is just born with it or not...

KK: Somebody is born to be a teacher and others not... that's what you mean?

S4: Yeah... I mean a teacher can learn, but especially... how could I say that, when you're a teacher... ... if you're also teaching people with a foreign background.. that a person is nice, sympathetic.

KK: You mean, that teacher is sympathetic?

S4: Yes.. do you understand?

KK: But in which way sympathetic?

S4: The person... I mean their own persona is sympathetic... I mean empathetic... ... do you understand... empathy... naturally...

KK: That it comes from the heart..?

- S4: It comes straight from the heart... it comes naturally... ...because I feel... ...because not everybody has that... somebody is only studying some topic... is only a teacher...because doesn't want to be a teacher... but it's not only that... and especially when you're a foreigner, I think like this. (Student 4, practical nurse training, woman, South American background)

Some teachers are just teachers, while others are able to go beyond their role as a teacher and really want to help and understand. This kind of teacher, full of empathy, is very valuable for an adult migrant student. The same student said it's like meeting 'an angel' that gives you the strength to manage with all the obstacles that appear in your way. In this sense, acting as a teacher can support adult migrant student's learning and integration or in the opposite way - hinder it.

In addition, many of the interviewed educators as well as adult migrant students recognised the benefits (from the perspective of the migrant student's learning) of encouragement and support received from a student's family and friends along their learning path in Finland. Both groups of interviewees gave concrete examples of migrant students' getting such assistance from these significant people. In this case, that kind of support also gives the energy to go forward. Moreover, having a Finnish family and a Finnish partner was seen as very valuable in dealing with study tasks. For some of the students, it was even difficult to imagine studying without having a Finnish partner:

Excerpt 115

- S10: [...] but I have many friends who are studying in Finland.. and they are saying the same 'If I didn't have a Finnish wife, what would I do'... that is really difficult. (Student 10, wood processing, man, English speaker background)

This aspect also sparked a lot of discussion in the group interview. The students who participated in the group interview expressed a lot of empathy with other students who did not have Finnish family. This also indicates that some students have the possibility of getting more support than others.

8.3 Finnish students and working in groups

In their discussions, both trainers and migrant students interviewed for the study focused on the benefits of learning and teaching together with Finnish students. For example, instead of asking a teacher many times, adult migrant students may get quick clarification from the Finnish student sitting nearby. There were many other examples of help that adult migrant students received from Finnish students, such as proofreading and correcting written tasks and translating messages from a trainer. The role of the Finnish students was even more heavily emphasised during group work.

Indeed, there is great potential for supporting adult migrant students' learning during group work (Cohen 1994). Such views can be found in the

interviews with both groups of study participants. As one interviewee explained working in groups and all kinds of project work gives adult migrant students the possibility to think about and process learned matters for a longer time, which in turn enhances understanding of the new subject matter. Similarly to the educator cited below, a few other trainers and occasionally some of the student interviewees also mentioned the benefits of learning in groups; these include having a chance to discuss taught matters, asking Finnish students for extra clarification, and making sure topics were correctly understood:

Excerpt 116

KK: Well... you've said that they [migrant students] learn the best by doing.. how and where do migrants learn well otherwise?

T5: Yes by doing.. and maybe in groups then.

KK: In which way working in groups..

T5: Maybe this way that they can discuss, clarify and ask... whether things are how they've understood...

KK: That helps to understand, this way?

T5: Yes, like that... And maybe they check and then discuss if that's how I understood that... maybe in this way there is more confirmation whether something was understood and others say 'Hey, now you've understood wrong'. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

Indeed, many migrant students also appreciated the opportunity to reflect on a new subject during the group work, and believed this mode of working made learning easier. Adult migrant students also gave many concrete examples of what they had learned about a particular matter through working in small groups:

Excerpt 117

KK: And what has been the most important thing that you've learned lately? Something that you've learned lately and you thought, that.. that was important?

S3: For example when we had vocational ethics.. those laws.. there are a lot of those laws... difficult ones, and we've done it in groups... small groups.. and we presented then, that a patient has such rights... ..and then it was easy to study, because there was a big bunch of laws and yes, I've understood everything what was there, when everybody was presenting that. (Student 3, practical nurse training, woman, Eastern European background)

Other student participants appreciated discussing things in groups and what was very important (at least for some of the migrant interviewees) was having an opportunity to be released from writing down discussed topics. Both trainers and adult migrant students saw the potential of learning in groups. However, there were differences between these two groups of interviewees concerning

how group work proceeds. Commonly, the trainers that reflected on this mode of working noticed only the positive aspects of working in small groups and were convinced of its efficiency:

Excerpt 118

KK: And how such work.. group work progress when there are Finns and migrants?

T11: Quite well... yes.. I think Finns are extremely interested in the migrant students and their experiences and so on... I have such a feeling... that those group tasks that I was assessing then.. then Finns are including the migrant students quite well ... there is no difference there. (Trainer 11, catering services, woman)

The same trainer continues further:

Excerpt 119

KK: And one more thing, when there is an adult migrant... with whom are adult migrants spending most of their time in the adult institute?

T11: Yes, they're quite well, as far as I know, among the Finns... and then the Finnish students are nice in a way that they are including.. I mean if we think about the theory parts they are including them in the group work or sitting next to them. (Trainer 11, catering services, woman)

The trainer above strongly believed that group work also supports migrant students' integration. From her experience, migrant students were taken in to these groups by Finnish students, they had contact with Finns and they had a chance to develop Finnish language skills. However, adult migrant students' opinions on this were divided and they noticed both positive and negative aspects of group work (Nikkola 2011):

Excerpt 120

#KK: And do you have any examples that language is difficult? Could you give an example?

#S12: For example, when there are migrants, only migrants, then it's a little bit easier for us and so on, but sometimes we're with Finns. If you can't do everything.. not all are friendly, they don't want.. he/she says you need to do it like this. You're in a group, they only do, they discuss such a thing. I mean sometimes they help us, it needs to be done and so and so, they tell.. and that makes things easier for us. (Group interview, cleaning services)

While some of the adult migrant students recognised positive things, like really being in contact with Finnish students and getting help from them, others noted exclusion and othering practices that happened during group work. This was the case for the following student:

Excerpt 121

KK: What makes learning and teaching difficult?

- S4: [...] that... what should I say, that is.. I had it... I had one example in a way... maybe in a way... how could I say... in reality all teachers.. most teachers they're quite interested, I mean they want to understand foreigners and others [...] and of course in a way that makes it more difficult, for example because you're a foreigner... they are prejudiced
- KK: Who had prejudices?
- S4: I mean the Finnish classmates... Finns
- KK: Could you give an example?
- S4: For example when we were doing a group task... then everybody was saying 'Yes... yes...' and then when we went to do the task, the group task... then only they are doing it, they discuss and such things and I'm like I didn't exist... do you understand... 'We are ready', nobody asked me about anything (laughter)... that wasn't nice... not nice... it's like they just decided and they... they didn't include me at all. (Student 4, practical nurse training, woman, South American background)

Similarly, another migrant student interpreted this type of situation as being an unwanted and unequal member of the group (Nikkola 2011). As Student 4 reflected in other parts of the interview, this stirred up feelings that decisions were made behind her back, that nobody was interested in her opinions or nobody informed her about changes in the scheduled meetings. Migrant students with poor language skills were usually happy that somebody does the work for them and especially writes for them. However, this was perceived as problematic by adult migrant students with good language proficiency. Proficiency in the Finnish language worked in this case as an indication that they wanted to contribute to group work like everybody else and they really wanted to be part of the group. Trainers did not mention this aspect at all, which suggests they were not aware of this, or maybe in some cases did not want to see it. This could have been the case for at least one migrant student who talked to one of the teachers about her being unhappy with how the group work was progressing. According to the student, the trainer interpreted the whole situation of her being treated badly (extremely impolite responses, being excluded from the group by no talking to her and refusing to do a group work with her) as a matter of liking or disliking somebody and did not see a reason to do anything about it.

In addition, adult migrant students mentioned other negative aspects connected to working in small groups, such as being annoyed that not all students contributed the same way to completing a task during group work, especially in the case of written tasks (see Nikkola 2011):

Excerpt 122

- KK: And is there something.. something, that you don't like about learning... what do you like about learning and what don't you like about learning?
- S3: I don't like those group tasks at all... they don't suit me... I mean during the lessons they are fine, that we sometimes discuss in a group and then as I said to you, that

you can talk about a certain topic... that suits me, yes... but, if there is, for example, a big written group task.. it's much better for me to do it on my own

KK: And why does such group work not suit you or.. what don't you like about that?

S3: Well, because in a group there's such a person that he/she is doing a lot and then the others aren't...that depends on the person of course.. you can't always choose with whom you are doing a group task. (Student 3, practical nurse training, woman, Eastern European background)

In sum, group work appears to have potential to support adult migrants' learning. However, there are also limitations connected to it. While trainers I talked with perceived only the good sides of learning in small mixed groups, adult migrant students raised the issue of unequal contribution of group members and the negative beliefs about them and their way of using Finnish, which was also visible in concrete actions.

8.4 Students' and trainers' worlds of experience

Both educators and adult migrant students stressed that a lot of things can be learned from the experiences of others (see also Jarvis 2012a, Knowles 1990, Mezirow 2000). There are people with different backgrounds in vocational training for adults and they bring rich experiences to the educational institution. Some people participating in adult education (including those with a migration background) had worked in a certain field for a while and knew a lot of specific information about this type of work. Therefore, both migrant and Finnish students can learn a lot from shared experiences. For example, concerning matters related to how the same duties and tasks are taken care of in different workplaces, and how certain working processes are implemented, students may gain a better understanding of some vocational concepts. The benefits of learning from the experiences of others were neatly summarised in the following student's discussion on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 123

S6: But then always, if you are.. if you're working or studying with others, then it's wise to take something new from them ... but

KK: But can you say... to give an example that you've learned something... from those persons?

S6: Then again, if we're talking about this vocational programme, security guard vocational training... .. many such people are studying there with me who already work as security guards... and again when we're talking between each other and about some kind of an instance or a kind of example about what has happened to them or they can give a piece of advice or again... the same thing on my side, and it's something like this, that we can give each other some pieces of advice or examples or help. (Student 6, safety and security, man, Eastern European background)

Some of the educators referred to further benefits of learning from experiences, namely the fact that adult migrants usually have an easier time understanding topics in which they already had some experience:

Excerpt 124

T4: [...] the first semester... which is basically supporting the development and guidance.. not always, but quite often, they manage this quite easily.. because the issues taught there are quite easy... and many of them already have children in their families... that they utilise their own experiences here.. in child growth... development.. caring, they can connect it to their own experiences. (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman)

That means, in turn, that it is more difficult to learn something new to migrant students because they cannot refer the new knowledge and experiences to their pre-existing world of experiences. As the same trainer reflected later on, the situation was the same in the case of Finnish students. However, because of learning in a completely new environment, this can be much more difficult when migrant students do not have previous knowledge and experiences related to learning in this setting. The ability to refer recently acquired knowledge to one's own world of experiences also increases students' motivation to learn simply because things sound familiar and a student can most likely benefit from it in their private lives as well, for example, with regard to lessons learned about child care or cleaning. This was mentioned by one of the trainers.

Not only do the students' previous experiences matter in learning, but the trainers also bring richness of world of experiences to the classroom setting. One of the students with a migration background brought up this issue and reflected that when the trainer shares his or her own experiences from real working life, learning becomes more interesting. In addition, the student found such teaching easy to follow because the trainer was able to give many concrete examples and illustrate even more complicated terms. However, a lot depends on the trainer. As one other migrant interviewee noted, having a lot of experience and a long career in a certain field does not always mean being a good educator.

This indicates that the rich world of a trainer's experiences is not enough to make the trainer good; a trainer also needs to be aware of the possibilities connected to learning from other persons' experiences and the importance of the students' own worlds of experience for their learning. One of the trainers admitted that even though trainers were aware of these opportunities, it may have been difficult to always remember to refer to students' own worlds of experience (see Excerpt 110).

Benefiting from adult migrant students' wide world of experiences is a complex issue. Language matters, aspects connected to culture, beliefs about different type of experiences, and the students' will to share those experiences with others all add up to limitations of making the most out of the experiences brought by migrants to a new learning setting. Adult migrant students' worlds

of experience did not often come to light because of a lack of language proficiency (see also Roberts 2012). Further, some of the migrant students reported not being used to this form of gaining knowledge and teaching or they just did not like it for one reason or another (see also Nikkola 2011). In addition, others did not necessarily want to share very different types of experiences, because of being afraid of the reaction from Finnish classmates to quite a different way of seeing or handling something (this was the case of at least one student in my study). On the other hand, interviewed educators were not necessarily familiar with the worlds of experience a migrant student might have and therefore had difficulty taking this into account in their teaching (Banks 2010a, Banks 2010b, Gay 2010, Howard 2006). Hence, as one of the educators stated, she was unsure what the point of reference was; what kind of base a migrant students had for building their knowledge (as referred to in Jarvis 2012a, Knowles 1990, Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007, Mezirow 2000). This type of observations led some educators to think that there was nothing that new knowledge could be built on. However, in spite of these existing differences and unfamiliarity with other types of experiences, some other trainers that I talked to were also able to recognise those different, often unspoken experiences, and treated them as a resource (see Paris 2012, Paris & Ball 2009), like in the case of the following trainer:

Excerpt 125

KK: And.. and when you're in sort of a mixed group and so on.. what is discussed, is it about learning.. the study matters or?

T5: About whatever... ..well, for example when there was now ergonomics and we were talking about how important it is to have a good working position and in that group there were African women.. and they talk about that, how in Africa you can manage to carry 20 litres of water.. I mean 20 litres of water on top of your head... .. and then they sort of showed, what this position is and how you sort of make a turban out of this scarf.. I mean this kind of a ring on top of your head... .. I mean that was somehow very good in teaching, that they have such skills in ergonomics, I mean we talk about.. and then they often say, how a certain thing is [done] in their home country... .. I mean that creates some kind of multicultural knowledge for the whole group.. and then we're talking about everyday matters.

KK: Aha, so in a way they [the migrant students] can also learn about everyday life in Finland and so on?

T5: Yes, but then also we can learn about the everyday life in their countries.

KK: Ok... in both directions?

T5: Yes.. and that is really nice. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

8.5 'Getting out of the classroom!'

Excerpt 126

S1: Tell me what I should do, and I will go and do that. (Student 1, practical nurse, woman, Eastern European background)

Many trainers and adult migrant students raised the issue that lecturing and too much theory, learning and teaching only through words was one of the worst possible working modes in teaching adult migrant students. It was often pointed out that migrants learn well when they have an opportunity to try out and do things on their own. Similarly to the trainer cited below, a few other educators also called for getting out of the classroom and being near the student along the learning path:

Excerpt 127

T8: Well... that time, when I had those [students] which knew Finnish quite badly.. it could have been that I showed a photo and then I took some machine, for example and.. and then I showed how that is put together and how it works.. 'Ok now we go and we use this machine.. we clean with this machine', I mean we aren't sitting and reading from books, but rather I show and... ..we're guiding like at workplace.. then we go and do... .. I mean out of the classroom.. not in the classroom. (Trainer 8, cleaning services, woman)

The trainer also gave concrete examples of putting this idea into practice in the classroom setting, and these ideas were shared by another trainer in the same vocational programme (cleaning services). However, this way of learning works independently of the field of study. One of the advantages of modelling learning and learning by doing recognised by interviewees was that the same thing is shown and done many times. Many repetitions of the same action were believed to help students learn things even without a good command of the Finnish language. Additionally, trying out new learned vocational matters on their own, and at their own pace, brought good results.

However, just modelling learning and learning by doing is not enough. Additionally, as pointed out by some educators, adult migrant students need good supervision and the best situation would be if somebody could be near them the whole time and do a few tasks together, for example in the form of working in pairs. Thanks to teaching by doing and by being nearby, adult migrant students learn practical things and in addition they familiarise themselves with more theoretical matters. Another trainer explained that while doing together, an educator had a chance to turn theory into real life and elaborate on why certain things are done, what theoretical aspects are behind certain actions, and what certain terms mean. Such modes of working give the possibility of being actively engaged in learning with all the senses:

Excerpt 128

KK: And you said something about the teaching material.. that there should be teaching material..

T5: Yes, and it needs to be visualised.

KK: Ok.. this you mean, that it's visualised.. do you mean that, that there are a lot of photos or what do you mean?

T5: Pictures.. and then for example, if we look at or study the tools used in cleaning, then you need to pick up the tool, that is really.. and it has to be seen, but that you can also touch it and try it out. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

As one of the trainers points out, these modes of working are of even greater importance for students who use Finnish as non-native speakers. One other educator noticed that although adult migrant students do not speak Finnish that well and do not understand everything, they are good at putting theory into practice and are able to concentrate and remember what is shown to them. The trainer saw this as a matter of compensating for the lack of Finnish language proficiency:

Excerpt 129

KK: Is there something else, how and where, how they are studying the best?

T11: Yes, it's kind of here... we have some theoretical teaching and then we also have teaching in the kitchen.. practical teaching.. yes, you can see it here... that yes, they kind of always follow the instructions and so on, but of course they definitely have a very, a kind of extraordinarily good memory.. that many times I was wondering how well they are able to reach the goal, although their Finnish language communication is not necessarily the best one... ..they surely can understand, that they understand what you mean anyway ... and then they are following what is shown very carefully, if I show them as an example... they are very precise in this, that... if I do it in a different way they go 'Hey why are you doing it like this when you just did it like that'.. they are very precise.. yes through this kind of model learning. (Trainer 11, catering services, woman)

Getting out of the classroom to learn by observing and doing was therefore seen by some of the educators as a great possibility for overcoming an existing language barrier between a migrant student and a trainer, which was also made quite clear by the following staff member:

Excerpt 130

T9: Well, that's the easiest way for the student and the teacher, because then there is no language barrier there in between... well.. though you don't understand spoken Finnish at all, if it's told how a certain machine works and then a few students are doing the same work phase and the migrant students are seeing that.. he/she learns it at the same time and then they can make the same phase... well.. well.. then the language... there is no language problem at that point. (Trainer 9, wood processing, man)

Learning by observing and by doing and by engaging all of the senses works not only for learning vocational matters, but also for improving Finnish language knowledge and for becoming familiar with Finnish culture. Also in this case educators and adult migrant students stressed that not that much can be learned by reading books, for example. Most of these practical things are learned by observing, imitating, and actively engaging in different kinds of activities (Lave & Wenger 1991, Suni 2010).

However, ideas about learning by doing and teaching away from the school desks were not always put into practice. Some adult migrant students (e.g., in the group interview) raised the issue that learning vocational subjects often ended up providing students with theoretical perspectives without giving them hands-on experience:

Excerpt 131

#S14: Yes, we're learning better, for example I was in the upkeep cleaning course 'What is this upkeep cleaning?, what is upkeep cleaning?' I know what cleaning is, but what is upkeep cleaning and then when I look 'Ah, ok it's that'. But then basic cleaning, it's almost the same, it sounds the same but it's a bit different... and of course, when you're reading theory, then you need to see, what this is immediately, that we listen to and we do... ... in my opinion.

#KK: Would it be better, that it would be taught in the workplaces? Those things?

#S14: Something like this could also be good... ... because in the workplace the workers are different. For example, if I ask for example: 'How is this done?' He speaks and goodbye, but if he/she would say it and show it at the same time... I could do it at the same and according to the instructions. (Group interview, cleaning services)

In a similar way, educators also raised the issue that often teaching and guiding a migrant student at the workplace were limited to using only words. This suggests that even though aware of all of the potential of learning by doing, modelling learning and learning through engaging all the senses (in other words, the importance of 'getting out of the classroom') these things are not necessarily put into practice at different learning sites, classrooms and actual workplace learning sites.

8.6 Apprenticeship training and learning at the workplace

The matter of learning at the workplace and apprenticeship training was often raised in the discussions with trainers and migrant students on learning and teaching. Workplace learning sites and apprenticeship training were perceived as the best way to support adult migrant students' learning (see also Collin 2002). The benefits of learning at the workplace and apprenticeship training as well as challenges connected to learning at the workplace are also the focus of analysis in this section.

8.6.1 Opportunities related to learning at the workplace and apprenticeship training

Even if some fields require completion of some theoretical studies, adult migrants learn these things first in the workplace. This is a statement often present in all types of interviews. Some of the adult migrant students explained that through the practical nature of the vocations that they were just starting to learn they simply understand subject matter better at the workplace. Therefore, some trainers and migrant student interviewees (as already briefly mentioned in the part on the trainers' search for new practices) raised the issue of the need for adequate balance between the theoretical components and learning at the workplace and its importance for adult migrant students' learning (see also Eraut 2004, Heikkinen, Tynjälä & Kiviniemi 2011, Tynjälä 2008, Tynjälä & Gijbels 2012). In the group interview, adult migrant students added that there should not be too much theory at once and that they should go to the workplace fairly quickly to try out things that they have just heard, which would help avoid unnecessary confusion:

Excerpt 132

#S14: And if I study in this field, if there is upkeep cleaning, in my opinion theory at first, then practise at work, that we learn theory at first, then we can see what upkeep cleaning is; then the basic cleaning, also theory and then basic cleaning. But then during this course it's different, at first a lot of theory and I don't know what upkeep cleaning is, what we're supposed to do in basic cleaning, then assisting, so everybody passes.

#?: A little bit mixed.

#KK: Ok.. you mean that at first the theory is given and then..

#S14: Yes. (Group interview, cleaning services)

Usually (in school-based vocational training), the theoretical part is offered before going to the workplace. The idea behind this is that a student can try out and practise things they have just learned. However, some of the adult migrant interviewees argued that they would have better understanding of the more theoretical curriculum if they had a chance to practise these things or see how they were done beforehand at the workplace, which apprenticeship training offers in a natural way:

Excerpt 133

KK: And what kind of other experiences do you have on learning and studying here in Finland?

S9: Yes, I've learned a lot... yes, I've learned a lot... because my vocation.. my vocation from my home country and this vocation is a different vocation... then I've learned a lot here... yes, I've learned a lot.. and in the workplace, also there I've learned a lot...

KK: And where have you learned the most?

- S9: At the workplace.. yes... because if you have at school... because I think that migrants.. apprenticeship training is the best for migrants... because at the workplace.. you can learn a lot.. more than at...
- KK: And why is it so, that you learn more at workplace?
- S9: Because at school you learn theory... but at the workplace you learn the 'practical' [said in English].. you learn everything that can be done... for example, when I was here at school...when I wouldn't get into the apprenticeship training.. I would just have a practical nursing education.. I've just been in school... then, when I go to the workplace it could've been difficult for me... but when I was at work.. I can learn a lot there... and sometimes when I came to school I could say to a teacher... I can say, I've learned more than what the teacher just tells me.. and then it was a little bit easier for me.. yes it was. (Student 9, practical nurse training, woman, African background)

A couple of the students who completed their studies in the form of apprenticeship training expressed their appreciation for getting advice at the workplace and help doing some of the tasks for the theoretical part of their studies. Such examples are missing in interviews with the students completing their studies in the form of school-based vocational training, and this indicates that apprenticeship training also creates a better basis for guidance. Similarly, educators recognise the benefits of apprenticeship training and learning at the workplace:

Excerpt 134

- T4: [...] then I had an experience that lasted longer.. a few years ago.. it was sometime in 2010, when the last one graduated.. we had a kind of an apprenticeship training group... .. in which there were maybe four Finnish students... and otherwise all others were migrants... and well... they were certainly apprenticeship training students and I was involved in teaching this group of students from the beginning to the end and well.. well.. well.. that really felt hopeless at the beginning... really.. really.. a large number of them had horrible language skills.. and then the thought was, that no... that they will never become practical nurses.
- KK: Aha.. ok and have they become practical nurses?
- T4: Yes, each one of them.. each one of them... but with them a tremendously amount of work was done and afterwards.
- KK: What kind of work?
- T4: This kind of individual guidance, that but also... of course that they also learned a lot through work... that.. that certainly was an important factor in their group, that they've seen, also by making observations and they've learned there at work and they learned language at the same time. (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman)

During apprenticeship training, adult migrant students receive some theoretical knowledge, but mostly they learn at the workplace by doing and through model learning. Apprenticeship training offers education that is closer and more relevant to real working life. One of the students individually interviewed as well as students in the group interview mentioned that not everything at the workplace is done the way the theory says, and it is impossible to learn

everything by listening. Furthermore, not every aspect of the job was discussed at the institute. Many things related to doing a certain vocation were first learned in the workplace, which also indicates that there is a certain disconnect between the theoretical parts of the studies and real working life in school-based vocational training. Too much time spent on theoretical studies usually led to a person having to start learning again after entering the labour market. Adult migrant students not only learned at the workplace more than at the institute, but it was also pointed out that this was a way to gain self-confidence in doing a certain job. Some interviewed students stated becoming sure that they knew the work well and that they would manage in the job. Apprenticeship training makes adult migrant students' learning easier and faster, but as one of the trainers noticed, it also fosters migrant students' integration into the Finnish labour market:

Excerpt 135

KK: What is your opinion on how education helps them [migrants]?

T11: If we say... the migrant students that I've had here... so both in a normal daytime group and in apprenticeship training... you could say that 80% of them have been employed... either in their workplace learning or apprenticeship places where they've been... less... actually... they're mainly employed.. so for example I had a list of names when I say that they have done the apprenticeship and they are still working there... the employers see them as a resource because they've been training them for a few years or during the long workplace learning periods... so they have a ready and able worker right there. (Trainer 11, catering services, woman)

During longer practice periods, both the employer and the migrant had a chance to get to know each other and get used to each other. Additionally, the employer had a chance to become convinced about the migrant students' skills. Some other trainers as well as few adult migrant students provided examples of getting permanent positions in the workplace where the apprenticeship training was completed.

Because of these advantages of workplace learning, the apprenticeship was seen by educators as well as by adult migrant students as the most beneficial form of gaining vocational competencies. The benefits of this form of education are well summarised in the following trainer's discussion on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 136

T2: Yes, I would say that such learning through work... ..done through for example apprenticeship training, that can be really... really excellent... ..thing, I mean... and such a suitable class for teaching theory, the variation in teaching.. and then learning at work, maybe that's the most efficient... .. particularly, if we talk about older migrant men, yes then sitting in a classroom can be painful for them.

KK: For adults, you mean?

- T2: I mean... .. well and in many countries... it's thought that going to school and studying, that belongs to adolescents and children, but not for adults... ..understanding such studying in adulthood, it can be difficult.
- KK: Ok... ok and where do they learn the best? Ok, you've said that at work..
- T2: Well, in my opinion they learn well.. especially a lot at workplaces.
- KK: At workplaces?
- T2: Yes, kind of an appropriate proportion of variation... .. that we're in school and then kind of learning at workplace. (Trainer 2, social sciences, man)

As the trainer said, thanks to apprenticeship training, adult migrant students do not have to spend many years sitting at a school desk and being frustrated because of it. That observation also finds confirmation in one of the interviewed students' reflection on her experiences completing practical nursing training in the form of school-based training:

Excerpt 137

- KK: Well.. yes... and is there something that you don't like about learning and studying?
- S1: Sometimes it's boring.
- KK: Boring?
- S1: It shouldn't be said like this, that sometimes, if you're sitting the whole day, that... only... six hours I am sitting here, really (laughter)... ..Just like a small child...oh dear like adolescents, if at the age of 45 I come... I could learn much faster just at the workplace. (Student 1, practical nurse training, woman, Eastern European background)

Sitting at a school desk can be hard for any adult and especially for adult migrant students who do not really understand the idea behind adult learning or think that learning is reserved for children. Other students with long work histories and who were used to working found it difficult to sit at a desk. Even if some of the students generally did not like learning, they were excited about learning at the workplace. Adult migrant students were doing their training as apprenticeship training, as well as those who learned a vocation in a more traditional way, were convinced about the potential of apprenticeship training. Thanks to apprenticeship training and stressing learning at the workplace, they felt that they were treated as adults and as one other trainer said, as valued members of Finnish society:

Excerpt 138

- T5: Well.. and then at the workplace [they learn] about Finnish working life, how working life in Finland is.. how all kinds of people are needed here... and just about those kinds of working life rules.. that was that.. about this kind of Finnish collective agreement (*työehtosopimus*), what kinds of things there are.. that there are working

hours and all occupational health care services and other things, that is really important. (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman)

The cited trainer brought up one more aspect related to learning at the workplace. In a natural way, workplaces offer an opportunity to learn about Finnish working life, ways of working and handling job tasks in a certain field. However, in addition to this, workplaces offer migrants the possibility to learn more about Finland, Finland's history and life here as well as to gain a lot of useful information on everyday life in Finland. Trainer 6 gave a concrete example of what kind of opportunities for learning related to integration could be found in an elderly house:

Excerpt 139

T6: [...] that they can go.. can go somewhere together with one's own resident, or customer, or patient.. they can go for example to art exhibitions or similar, what they're doing or then... for sure when they are in contact with different customers, patients... they're also telling about their own experiences and about their own lives [...] and then certainly in this way the migrants gain a picture of how it is to be a Finn (laughter).. there they are mostly with elderly people, if we think that they talk about their own war experiences and how it was in the old times here in Finland, well through this the migrants get an idea of Finnish history.. in a way, through this they become aware of the history. (Trainer 6, practical nurse training, woman)

However, working in some fields gives more opportunity for becoming familiar with Finnish culture and society than in others. As can be seen in the example above, this is especially true in fields where adult migrant students are in contact with customers on a daily basis during their practice period (like in the case of working in homes for the elderly). Such workplaces offer a possibility to encounter Finns and non-Finns and develop friendships outside of working hours. It can thus be expected that the workplace learning site is also a great arena for Finnish language learning and for expanding networks. That aspect was repeatedly raised in most of the interviews (in all types of interviews) (e.g., Excerpt 134, Trainer 4, in this subsection). Adult migrant students expanded their vocational vocabulary there and this is also important from the perspective of everyday life in Finland as they potentially learn more spoken, informal Finnish. Many of these individuals were in some kind of Finnish language courses. However, as one of the students mentioned, there they mostly learned the written form of the language. Sitting in a classroom during vocational studies helps to develop Finnish language skills but as one trainer reflected, students mostly sat and listened, and were rather passive learners of language in such settings. Therefore, the workplace provides many migrant students the chance to actively use Finnish (see Sandwall 2013).

8.6.2 Limitations related to learning at the workplace and in apprenticeship training

As shown in the previous section, trainers as well as migrant students interviewed recognised the importance of learning at the workplace and in

apprenticeship training from the perspective of gaining vocational knowledge and living in Finland. However, negative beliefs about culture and language and migrants' backgrounds, adult migrants' skills and competencies, as well as a lack of experience with training migrants and working with migrants are the main barriers to making the most out of the benefits of learning in the workplace. To begin with, as a trainer remarked, these matters are barriers to finding a work placement (Ahmad 2005, Allan 2013, Forsander 2013, Näre 2013):

Excerpt 140

T10: [...] it's difficult... maybe because with us the training is very much based on the workplace learning, so to get trust from there, the workplaces, so that they can actually do that work... I work in construction and in Finland there has long been, for example Russians working quite a lot – from Estonia, Russia and other nearby areas... they are received rather well at construction sites... you know they are hard-working and good at doing things... but the for example for a person from Africa it's almost impossible to work on a construction site... maybe their cultural background and the background of doing anything with their hands is very different... so... their success... and I'm talking about vocational training in the construction field, so it's very difficult to get them to work in this field [...].

KK: And... why is it so difficult to build trust at workplaces?

T10: They aren't probably used to that in the workplaces that people are coming there from different cultures... people from nearby areas, with them they've worked for longer already... ten, fifteen years... but, but... then probably the work culture is also very different in their country of origin... I believe that in Finland and in Russia for example, it's rather similar, I think... it's easy there. (Trainer 10, construction, man)

It becomes clear from this trainers comments, and as previously mentioned, that migrants (especially from certain backgrounds) are perceived as not having enough skills, language proficiency, and as acting different to the extent that they are not competent enough to enter a workplace even for the purpose of gaining these competencies (see Ahmad 2005, Chang 2014, Heikkilä 2005, Manhica, Östh & Rostila 2015). Instead, individuals with a migration background are seen as 'nuisances' in the workplace (as expressed by one of the trainers), when mentioning migrants who are challenging to communicate with, are difficult colleagues, and those who cause problems and do not follow the rules of the Finnish working culture (e.g., because of a different concept of time); therefore they are seen as difficult to be trained (Kalonaityte 2010, Näre 2013, Ogbonna & Harris 2006).

Many of these issues were justified. One of the trainers mentioned, for example, that some migrant students behaved in ways that can shock a Finnish employer, such as having difficulty in following timetables and being on time or not showing up for work yet without giving an explanation. The same trainer further added that it was difficult to gain trust in some fields and workplaces and very easy to lose trust once given the opportunity:

Excerpt 141

T7: Well.. that's a good question, why do they do differently than what is said to them... .. why do they do it in a different way than they are instructed, for example in workplaces... .. well I would say that it's because of their earlier culture.

KK: Have you asked sometimes?

T7: Yes, I have asked

KK: What is then said?

T7: Well they can't really give a clear answer to that... they have to go now... well Finns also have some things going on but then we try to agree how to handle them in advance, if possible, and they let you know beforehand and you discuss with your supervisor and let them know 'I have this kind of situation here now'... and not like you just leave work... it's a little bit... there's quite a lot of that in this notifying culture... figuring out how it works... and I understand... I wouldn't tolerate such behaviour for long, if you need to find someone one time, two times, wondering where someone is... so... so... you don't need to hang around for long... you rather take someone who obeys the rules... there's kindergarten and then there's the work life... and it becomes risky because if something happens, it's the employer's responsibility to take care of the work safety. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

Trainers (and also employers; as present in some trainers' reflections) associated this way of acting in the workplace with students of non-Western backgrounds, as Manhica, Östh & Rostila (2015) also note. This group of students struggles the most with gaining trust at the workplace, as their culture as well as their knowledge and experiences could be seen as being too distant from Finnish culture and therefore as one of the trainer assumed, they also need more guidance during the practice period:

Excerpt 142

T10: [...] and of course with each person it's different so if you've done construction work before, of course you need much less training here... for example many of those coming from Russia have worked in construction there... so then it's much easier for us to organise the work practice placement for them and we trust them more... we need to guide them less, of course it's different with everyone but it's... it's if they've done something like that before... how can I say... western construction because in Africa it's probably very very different. (Trainer 10, construction, man)

The atmosphere during workplace learning is important from the perspective of integration into Finnish working life and Finnish society in general. As previously mentioned, during the practice job period, adult migrant students get a preview of what their real working life in Finland looks like. In order to get a practice job, adult migrant students go through the same application process as though they were looking for a real job. On the one hand, many of these individuals gain skills in applying for a job in Finland: they get good preparation for working life. On the other hand, they sometimes also learn that they have less of a chance to get a job in Finland, like in the case of the following migrant interviewee:

Excerpt 143

KK: Ok... and have you been in a traineeship in one place or have you been?

S4: In other places.

KK: And how did it go in other places?

S4: A couple were... one wasn't a success and the second wasn't a success either, but then my supervisor has changed and then it went well... but it has been... has been, let's say a lot of misuse of authority... ... and that, when you're a foreigner that's what the boss from there said to me..

KK: There at this workplace?

S4: He/She said... I said 'Is there... is it possible to get a job here?' .. 'A foreigner will not manage here'... and this is how he/she said that, that was like UFFFF [gesturing with the hand - like stabbing the heart with a knife]

KK: That boss at this workplace said that a foreigner will not manage there?

S4: They will not manage here... and that was said really harshly... ... just like [again gesturing with the hand, like cutting away the head]... it really struck like... the tone of the voice, that was really domineering... ...I looked really... ...you know, I experience that like this, that... ... I experience that like this [...] that it's believed, because you are a foreigner you came here because of subsistence... ... well I feel like that, you know I experience it like this [...].

KK: That others think like this?

S4: I mean people who said something like this to me [...] that is wrong... they look at you as you would've been just someone that puts lipstick on their lips and that it... you understand, that you have nothing there in your brain... ... that is wrong, when I looked at it more carefully, they think that you are little bit like a nutcase... or something like this. (Student 4, practical nurse training, woman, South American background)

Some trainers interviewed were convinced that during their workplace learning period migrants learn 'how everybody there [in the workplace] is needed' it can come to light that adult migrant students learn that there are workers and citizens that are more valuable than others. Instead of enhancing their prospects for the future, they also learn negative things in the workplaces (see Tynjälä, Virtanen & Valkonen 2005), like they do not have any chance at the Finnish labour market. Already in this stage, during the practice period, they notice that they are the only ones from the group that cannot find a practice place as all migrants are put in the same box, are perceived as lacking in intelligence, competencies, and education (Kalonaityte 2010, Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013). These aspects were raised in the following trainer's discussion on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 144

KK: And what kind of attitudes are there at the institute and also in society towards migrants.. in your opinion?

- T4: I would say, that yes I mean in general in our own institute they are viewed positively.. I mean very positively, and that refers to both teachers as well as to Finnish.. Finnish students, at least I haven't seen something like this myself.
- KK: Or heard?
- T4: ... very bad misbehaviour... there can be more, if one has heard about it, then I came across it through that, that a student got such bad treatment there at the workplace learning site.
- KK: Ok ... and which way?
- T4: This way, that he/she in a way was treated for example as in a way as if he/she didn't exist... ... or sometimes somebody said this way, that sometimes you get this feeling as if he/she was perceived as stupid... whatever smart and competent person he/she would be, but because he/she does not know the language then he/she is treated like a child. (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman)

Interviewees, educators as well as migrants, also broached another issue of not fully using the possibility of learning a vocation at the workplace; namely insufficient guidance offered to adult migrants at the workplace (Sandwall 2013, Virtanen & Tynjälä 2008). That was visible in the following trainer discussion on learning and teaching:

Excerpt 145

- KK: You have already said something about that, that... but if you could say, how and where do adult migrants learn the best.. I mean some kind of things connected to vocation?
- T7: I would say that I'm sure you can learn a lot in the working life but there you should also have this... let's say it should be protected... organised somehow, that they have a support person there with them... it would probably be the easiest way to start...there you learn vocational terminology... you learn the practices and you learn how to connect it to the language, for example.
- KK: Ok.. and this support person, I mean...
- T7: That has to be somebody from the workplace, who guides them properly, and not in this way that 'Do that and I will come in the afternoon to have a look', but instead would be around the whole time.
- KK: Ok, that they are together the whole time and do together?
- T7: Yes, basically if that would be done as a work pair then it can function the best.
- KK: Is there something else... where and how you can learned the best?
- T7: I can't say anything else about that, only that it would've been the easiest way to start doing, now we're doing it in this way and we're teaching theory here, then they go to learn at work and then each one is disconnected from the other... I mean the theory as well as the practice... and it's almost sure that if there's a person with a migrant background in a workplace then he/she isn't guided the whole time, something is shown and they do that then. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

Adult migrant students learn vocational matters as well as extend their vocational vocabulary the fastest at the workplace. Workplaces offer a lot of opportunity to learn by doing, to observe and to imitate (Billett 2004), which, as discussed in the previous sub-chapter on learning by doing, is a natural way to support migrants' learning. However, drawing on the above trainer's reflections, in order to make the most out of these possibilities, students need to get enough guidance (Billett 2004, Virtanen & Tynjälä 2008). Some of the trainer interviewees noted that usually migrant students need more guidance than Finnish students and nobody is really happy to spend so much time on training a student at the workplace. As the trainer who taught in the construction field mentioned, these types of resources are not available at the institute or at the workplace:

Excerpt 146

KK: Well.. you mean... there is less guiding by hand at the workplace... that is done usually this way.. that migrants are taught in this way?

T10: Yes that's how it is, there aren't many resources at workplaces to teach anyone... you should be able to manage on your own quite well... at least work together with someone, that we... we don't have the time... to teach there in the workplace... we go and see how things are going and if everything's ok and talk with the supervisors but we don't... we don't have time to go and instruct how to hammer or lay bricks, you need to know that already. (Trainer 10, construction, man)

For the reasons mentioned by the trainer, migrant students need to be 'really' ready to handle a certain vocation or at least be able to manage working in pairs when entering the labour market in the form of a practice job. This is because in some fields and workplaces, it can seem irrational to start training a migrant for a certain job, which is made quite clear by the following trainer:

Excerpt 147

T7: Well one thing can be that the employers don't have the energy to train them... so they feel it's a lot of work... it's the language, there's all of the other activity... it can be cultural differences and... today they don't have the time for it... it would need sort of a humane attitude towards it that we keep them around, so it's partly charity... that we have a person who's not completely able to do something productive but they are hanging around and there aren't many people that are willing to pay for that... when nowadays some people don't even want to pay for someone who is productive. (Trainer 7, safety and security, man)

The experience of one of the students would confirm that there is not that much drive in some workplaces to train a migrant student, even if the student is coming from a 'nearby culture' and knows Finnish pretty well :

Excerpt 148

KK: If... you have something to learn... something concrete connected to this vocation then what are you doing?

- S8: To vocation... I visit YouTube and from there I am learning different techniques... now I have a practice period... and then they are saying 'I do not know... I do not know'... I am asking, so what I could do from marzipan, I have for example one exam from marzipan... I have to do some figures 'What have other students been doing who want to gain basic vocational competencies ... what you did?' [...] what you have done.. and then she says 'I do not remember'... simply they do not want to help you... they do not want for you to succeed... and I am also thinking... I will say to you, that I am thinking... and also other immigrants that I was talking about it... and not only here in the institute, but generally, that Finns are simply as if they would be jealous... they just do not want... they are not so happy about it... that here we are learning in their schools and later on we are taking their jobs away, and because of it I am thinking, because I do not have any other explanation for it, that they do not want to teach... to teach me... at least I can say for myself, one hundred percent sure that they do not want to teach me. (Student 8, bakery-confectionary, woman, Eastern European background)

The lack of a proper guidance and interaction with other workers pushed the student to figure out on her own (e.g., by watching videos on YouTube) how certain things connected to the baker vocation should be done. However, as can be concluded from Trainer 7 (excerpt 146 above) it can often be impossible to understand some vocational practices without interaction with more experienced workers (Billett 2004) and involvement in different activities (Fuller & Unwin 2004). Also, a few other students reflected on the issue of not getting enough guidance in the workplace and not being allowed to do more responsible and demanding tasks (Lave & Wenger 1991). The same student that reflected on people refusing to teach her shared further experiences connected to that:

Excerpt 149

KK: What happened then during the practice?

- S8: This that they do not want to teach me, for example... I have demonstrations (*näyttö*)... I have three demonstrations (*näyttö*) and one of these demonstrations (*näyttö*).. such kind of practical exam... this is how it's called.. you know [...] that you have to show... because of it is called demonstration (*näyttö*) and not.. exam (*tentti*)... so one of them is in customer services... what, in general it is such a broad term, but one of these things is using the cash register, there at their place... serving the table.. you know everything.. you know when you are taking an order or something like that.. all of this is customer service and also this cash register is customer service and they do not want to teach it to me...

KK: But have you been talking about that to them.. have you asked?

- S8: Everybody.. and they really do not have any more reasons, excuses/explanations on why they cannot.. they just do not want for me to learn for this exam.. in my opinion.. and then on Thursday, this is the last day, because Friday is a free day

KK: But have you asked directly why they do not want to teach you?

- S8: Yes, I said, I think that you just do not want to teach me.. last Thursday I said like that... and then they just look smiling at each other... so as they would look knowingly at each other and they laugh at me with a 'heehee'.. with something like this.. I think something is happening there, something is there, but I do not know why... because how would you understand that... they are always saying 'I do not have time.. I do not have time'... because there is a lunch break, there are too much

people and so on. (Student 8, bakery-confectionary, woman, Eastern European background)

Both educators and migrant students talked about insufficient guidance at workplaces. However, it is important to mention that they gave different reasons for this, at least explicitly. As it was previously mentioned, trainers pointed to a lack of resources as the main challenge, and the other reasons as stemming from Finns being culturally reserved, the fact that Finns just need some time to get to know a newcomer and are not used to working and communicating with people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Adult migrant students, however, often interpreted this type of situation as an obvious unwillingness to teach them a vocation and saw them as a threat or as a potential concurrence to Finns in the Finnish job market (Hainmueller & Hiscox 2007).

Nonetheless, the observation of insufficient guidance and lack of opportunities for learning in the workplace cannot be generalised. From my interviewees' reflections on learning and teaching, it can be concluded that there are many variations with regard to opportunities for learning vocational matters in workplaces (see Fuller & Unwin 2003, Kyndt, Dochy & Nijs 2009, Tynjälä 2008), including language, and matters useful from the point of view of everyday life in Finland (see Sandwall 2013, Strömmer 2015), and depending on the vocational field or workplace. As one of the trainers reflected, it matters a lot if an adult migrant just sits the whole day in front of the computer or if they spend their whole time in contact with customers and other co-workers. This observation was also visible in interviews with migrants. While some of the migrant students had extremely positive learning experiences from their work placements and claimed to have significantly improved their language skills, others were disappointed and stated spending whole days in silence.

In summary, next to creating many opportunities, learning in the workplace also has many limitations. These limitations are mainly connected to the existence of negative beliefs about migrants and their skills, and insufficient guidance. However, workplaces differ in their culture and therefore offer different opportunities for learning related to vocational matters and issues important from the point of view of everyday life in Finland.

9 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was twofold. The study investigated trainers' and migrant students' views and experiences on learning and teaching, and analysed and aimed to deepen the understanding of the relationships between learning, teaching, and integration. The first research theme was further operationalised into three practical research questions:

- 1) What are the core aspects that trainers and migrant students refer to when talking about learning and teaching, and how are they related to learning in a new environment and teaching adult migrant students being a specific one?
- 2) What are the particularities of adult migrants as learners in a new surrounding?
- 3) What are the particularities for teaching adult migrant students?

This study found that *issues related to culture, language, and adult migrants' integration*, especially from the perspective of integration in Finnish vocational work communities, are at the centre of the interviewed trainers' and migrant students' reflections on teaching and learning. These three aspects are also central to the debate on integration (Martikainen, Saukkonen & Säävälä 2013) and integration policies at the international and Finnish level. In this final chapter, I deliberate over the main results of the study in light of already existing literature, and reflect on the opportunities and challenges connected to culture, language, and migrants' learning in the actual workplaces. Furthermore, I discuss the relationships between learning, teaching, and integration. Finally, I summarise the main theoretical, methodological and practical implications of the study (also in relation to the existing literature), give suggestions for further research, and reflect on the research process.

9.1 Culture as a 'catchall phrase'

Issues related to culture were often raised by trainers as well as migrant interviewees, especially when talking about learning and teaching. The participants of the study used the word 'culture' to label various aspects such as culture of a certain vocational field, laws, ways of dressing, ways of learning, teaching and handling things, family values, climate, or taste of food. The results of the study demonstrate the existence of a large number of cultural comparisons, cultural expectations, and generally 'culturespeak' in the same way that Hannerz (1999) and Teräs (2007) state. Similar to Dervin (2011) and (Piller 2012), this study shows that the word 'culture' is used even in situations when something could have simply been called knowledge, boundary, a way of learning and teaching, and so on. In addition, interviewed teaching staff and migrant students easily explained things related to migrant students learning and teaching with the help of cultural differences, though there may be other reasons for it. This study shows that migrant students' learning and the teaching of these students are related to many issues, including language, personal differences and differences in life situations, or even the larger context in which learning happens. However, these issues often remain unnoticed and instead 'everything' is seen in terms of culture and cultural differences.

For example, the ways of learning and ways of acting as a student and at the workplace are seen as the result of the existence of cultural differences. In fact they are often a matter of personal differences, previous learning, work experiences and positions, personal histories before migration, as well as the current life situation or simply as a matter of the existence of negative beliefs about migrants at different learning sites and in society at large. For example, a few study participants claimed that they were good students or that they struggled with some task (like writing assignments) independently of the context. Additionally, some students' self-presentation skills during job interviews were attributed to the fact that they are from a migrant background, although this can be a matter of personal difference and the fact that self-presentation is generally difficult for many individuals from different walks of life (Piller 2012).

The research confirms previous researchers' observations on the eagerness to use the word 'culture' (Hannerz 1999, Teräs 2007). This study indicates that the word 'culture' is used randomly and regularly in the vocational education setting for adults and is a kind of 'catchall phrase' (Ladson-Billings 2006, p. 105-106). In line with earlier research (Ladson-Billings 2006, Teräs 2007, Välimaa 2008) this one suggests that discussion about culture is quite popular in the educational institution setting and that there is an overemphasis on differences and culture in education (Dervin 2011, Dervin 2016, Piller 2012).

There are a few possible reasons for such frequent use of the word 'culture' and explaining things with the existence of cultural differences. As indicated in the theoretical part of the dissertation (sub-chapter 4.3), 'culture' is

a complex concept the use of which may indicate interviewees' attempts to understand what is behind this concept (Erikson 2010). As Välimaa (2008) states, we just need to use some concepts in order to explain the world around us and to understand ourselves. In addition, the word 'culture' not only functions as a theoretical concept and an intellectual tool in academia; it also functions widely as an everyday concept (Hannerz 1999, see also Teräs 2007, Välimaa 2008). The frequent use of the word 'culture' also indicates the interviewees' will to explain things that may otherwise be difficult to comprehend (Ladson-Billings 2006). In a way, this is connected to their constant search for meaning and need to understand the world around them (Geertz 1973, Teräs 2007), and is a natural effect of living in a new (like in the case of migrants) or in a setting that undergoes transformation (like in the case of trainers). These circumstances pushed the study participants to reflect on (Teräs 2007) and give interpretations (Geertz 1973) related to culture.

In addition, the amount of talk on cultural aspects in reference to migrant students' learning and teaching is related to a strong belief that we cannot talk about education without talking about culture (Chen & Starosta 1998), and everything in education is connected to culture (Erikson 2010). Educational institutions are seen as very important places for transmitting culture (Chen & Starosta 1998) and it is that culture shapes and is shaped by the learning and teaching that happens in educational settings (Erikson 2010, p. 32). However, the presence of such a view on education and culture is problematic as it indicates the existence of many expectations and indeed many misconceptions on culture in the educational institution setting, for instance, the expectation on the existence of one homogenous, static national culture and the idea that certain qualities can be attributed to certain national groups (e.g., Hofstede & Hofstede 2005, Hall 1989). This also leads to perceiving migrants' cultural backgrounds and differences brought by them to the educational institution setting as inferior traits. I reflect on these matters in the following section.

A few trainer participants in this study pointed out that there is no such thing as one homogenous Finnish culture; however, at the same time, a same person may state that migrants should adjust to Finnish ways, as if there was something like one Finnish culture (see Dervin 2011, Teräs 2007). The same observation refers to migrant students: The essentialist view on Finnish culture as well as opposing to so-called 'Finnish culture' is also present in the discussions with many individuals with a migration background interviewed for the purpose of this study. This indicates that it is difficult to reflect on one's own culture as a hybrid and dynamic one, but it is even more difficult to recognise these aspects in connection to migrants' cultures (Gay 2010, Teräs 2007). That would also confirm Teräs's (2007) observations that Finnish culture is often presented as one package that migrants should adjust to. This also shows that discussions on culture are accompanied by a strong belief in 'one nation, one culture' (Piller 2012, p. 4). This way of seeing culture is in accordance with traditional views on culture (e.g., Tylor 2009, Hofstede & Hofstede 2005). However, this approach to culture is harmful as it leads to a

stereotypical way of viewing people as well as making generalisations about Finnish culture and the cultures of migrant students in such a way that even a large and diverse group of people from China may be reduced to one culture (Dervin 2011, p. 41). In addition, culture is introduced in such approaches as something that we are unconscious of, as something that consists mainly of invisible elements and as something that has an influence on every aspect of our lives (e.g., Triandis 1994). Culture is thus seen as something that we do not have any influence on and there is no hope for change to happen.

Educators in this study often referred to the cultures of different migrant groups. Similarly, migrant students referred to some kind of Finnish culture. However, the question remains as to what culture they are actually referring to. Some of the students in this study had histories of living and working in different parts of the world and generally in quite different settings; they also had different migration histories and back stories, and learning and work experiences (see Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003, Hedegaard & Chaiklin 2005). As shown in the methodological part of the dissertation, the teaching staff interviewed for this study is also a quite heterogeneous group of people in many ways. However, it remains easily unnoticed that migrant students and trainers as a group are made up of different types of people who have complex identities. Culture is seen in terms of national culture and one easily forgets other individual qualities and cultures such as based on sexual orientation, gender, and faith, or just a culture of a certain educational institution or workplace as also being of significance in educational settings (Piller 2012).

Regardless of what culture we are referring to, we are in fact talking about some kind of imagined communities and our belonging to them is based on our beliefs and others' beliefs of someone belonging to those socially constructed communities (Piller 2012). Culture is socially constructed; we interpret or oftentimes misinterpret the reality around us, or as Geertz (1973, p.15) says, culture is related to interpretations of our construction on what others are up to or think they are up to. Therefore, it is rather dangerous to connect everything to culture as it is challenging to make accurate interpretations of culture. Additionally, belonging to those imagined communities is not evenly attributed to all parties participating in learning, but it is easily seen as a quality of students; especially those from a migrant background (Gay 2010, Ladson-Billings 2006).

As indicated in sub-chapter 6.1.2 of the empirical analysis, migrant students are easily divided into Westerners and non-Westerners, with certain characteristics associated with certain groups of migrants and with migrants coming from certain countries. In this study, non-Westerners are seen as a problematic group not only because of the likelihood of misunderstanding, but also because of an anticipation that they are more difficult to educate due to different family values, concepts of time, and because they have fewer qualifications and difficulties recognising previous learning and work experiences. The results of the study point toward a further tendency to approach people of other cultural backgrounds as inferior. This is visible when

comparing each other to children. Many staff members called some of the migrants' ways of thinking and behaving childish. Such comparisons are also present in migrant student interviews as they reflected on Finnish culture and other migrant cultures, which may mean that the inferiority approach to differences and members of other cultures can also be seen among individuals with a migration background. The presence of such views in this study connects to the assumption that people have different cultures and some of these cultures are similar or different to one's own culture (Piller 2012). It is commonly believed that the more distant a culture is in terms of geography and linguistics, the more different the culture is with more possibilities for misunderstandings to occur (Dervin 2011, Piller 2012). As previous research shows, based on these assumptions, individuals coming from far away are seen as inferior (Kalonaityte 2010, Said 1995). That is also a basis for putting migrants' and natives' cultures in opposition and in hierarchical relations to each other (Kalonaityte 2010).

Howard (2006) and Gay (2010) explain this state of affairs in an educational institution setting as having hegemonic views on culture, meaning that the surrounding society is commonly seen as the norm. In these settings, it is difficult to see value in the differences brought by migrant students. They are prescribed to migrant students' backgrounds and are seen as a deprivation rather than a resource (Paris 2012, Paris & Ball 2009). In this study, both ways of seeing differences were present at the institute. However, the results of the study indicate that trainers often see these differences as problematic, as issues that need to be discarded, as hindrances to learning, and at the same time as obstacles to integration of adult migrant students. Migrant students, on the other hand, see their previous experiences as something that they can reflect on and as something that serves as a basis for further learning. The second view is in accordance with basic ideas about learning (Jarvis 2012a, Mezirow 2000).

9.2 Finnish language proficiency as a strongly believed key to integration

The results of this study indicate that Finnish language proficiency is strongly believed to be a key to integration. This is visible in the interviewees' perceptions of and stances on learning and teaching in the context of vocational education for adults. In one of their studies, Tarnanen, Rynkänen and Pöyhönen (2015) wonder if trainers know where migrants use language, with whom, and why they do. The current study shows that some trainer interviewees are more aware of that and asked their students this type of question more often than others. However, this study also finds that sometimes the level of proficiency in Finnish language is the only thing that trainers in vocational education for adults want to know about their migrant students. It

can be easily said that migrant students' success in education and their integration are limited to their knowledge of the Finnish language.

The current research shows that migrant students also see their integration in terms of knowledge of language. Like trainers, individuals with a migration background also reflected on language when talking about learning and teaching. Even though they were proud of their own linguistic resources, one of the students believed that everything would be much easier if Finnish was his mother tongue. This implies that while it is great to have a large linguistic repertoire and someone may benefit from it in certain situations, (like using Latin in an anatomy course) being able to speak Finnish is an obvious necessity.

Although many of the adult migrant participants in this study were able to communicate better in a language other than Finnish, they chose Finnish as the interview language. The choice of language and amount of reflection on language aspects may appear as a surprise at first. However, this is no longer the case, if you realise that language is a key aspect in the discussion on integration and integration measures are often seen in terms of providing language courses (Latomaa et al. 2013). Knowledge of the host country language is treated as an important indicator of integration and it is an important key for participating in education, working life, and for managing in everyday life in a new context (Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). Frequent reflections on language aspects suggest the presence (even if unconsciously) of ideas on knowledge of language being viewed as a key to integration at the adult institute. This was voiced by the interviewed trainers and migrant students. Choosing to use Finnish in the interview situation may therefore be connected to the migrant students being aware of the existence of those views on Finnish language proficiency in the larger discussion on migrant integration.

All parties were convinced of the importance of knowledge of the Finnish language for managing in vocational studies and everyday life in Finland. However, a question is raised about the appropriate level of language knowledge. The required B1 level of language for adults studying in Finnish vocational programmes and for working in certain vocational fields was at the centre of reflection for the study informants, especially the educators. Like previous research (Härmälä 2008, Latomaa et al. 2013, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011), the study participants also pointed out different levels of language required in various settings.

The matter of the required level of knowledge of the host country's language in different situations has already drawn researchers' attention in previous studies. After analysis done in the study on adult migrants' use of language, Tarnanen and Pöyhönen (2015) ask themselves if trainers are aware of migrant students' knowledge of language and what level of language they need for working in and managing everyday life in Finland. The current study does not answer this question but directs us to the existence of tensions and disagreements on the required level of language and educators' confusion with migrants' actual knowledge of language. As the study shows, trainers are often

disappointed with migrants' knowledge of the jargon associated with the vocation and see knowledge of the Finnish language in terms of being familiar with vocational concepts, which are mandatory for completing vocational studies. Knowledge of vocation-specific language for certain vocations is also seen as an important part of *vocational competence* (see Härmälä 2008, Virtanen 2011). However, as previous research shows, knowledge of vocational vocabulary is only a small part of so called vocational language; knowledge of everyday language, non-verbal communication, and with knowledge of other languages are seen as integral parts of vocational language and vocational competence (Härmälä 2008, Kela & Komppa 2011, Virtanen 2011). Nonetheless, this aspect is easily overlooked by the trainer participants of this study.

The strong belief that knowledge of the Finnish language is key to integration is also visible in ways of treating the issue of language in the educational institution setting. Vocational education for adults has to be completed in one of two languages (Finnish or Swedish) out of Finland's four official languages. In a way, vocational learning is also accompanied by extending one's language knowledge. However, another question arises: should one also be allowed to use other languages while learning a vocation?

The current research shows that use of other languages is easily accompanied by the threat of not learning Finnish and of not preparing migrant students for Finnish working life (Cummins 2005). Though trainers see some potential in using other linguistic resources, a fear of migrant students not learning what they are supposed to learn (Finnish language and vocational subjects) is much greater. Migrant students themselves also see their time in vocational education as a great opportunity for developing their Finnish language skills. However, an effect of trying to make the most out of this opportunity, the potential to support their learning by using other linguistic resources goes easily unnoticed (Windle 2009). This again underlines the central position of issues connected to language in the debate on integration, of language being an entry ticket to Finnish working life and Finnish society (Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). However, this also indicates the existence of many strong beliefs and myths on language in the educational institution setting (Campani 2008, Gay 2010, Hélot & Laoire 2011, Jørgensen et al. 2011, Piller 2012), which I discuss next.

Linguistic diversity is becoming an everyday factor in educational institutions, workplaces, and society at large (Piller 2016). All of these settings are characterised by use of more complex linguistic practices (e.g., Garcia & Wei 2014, Gunnarsson 2014, Harris 2006). The study itself is a good example of using different linguistic resources for conducting research. Even though migrant interviewees chose to use Finnish during the interview, they also occasionally used different linguistic resources, such as by giving further examples of using other linguistic resources for the purpose of learning and dealing with everyday matters. This is an example of a natural way to create meaning in multilingual settings. In such settings, different languages or words from different languages are used simultaneously in order to communicate in a

more effective way and to gain a more in-depth understanding (Creese & Blackledge 2010a, Creese & Blackledge 2010b, Creese & Blackledge 2015, Garcia-Ramirez et al. 2011, Harris 2006).

However, as this research shows, this is not necessary self-evident in every context. At least in the vocational education for adults setting, the one language ideology is very strong (see also Piller 2012). The current research shows the existence of a misconception within the institute that each language stands alone, along with the idea that each language should be kept separate (Cummins 2005, Garcia & Sylvan 2011, Jørgensen et al. 2011). According to the interviewed trainers' and migrant students' reflections, the same can be said about linguistic practices in the workplace (and society). This confirms that students' multilingual identities and practices are much more complex than educational institutions are able to accept (Blackledge et al. 2008). As a consequence, educational institutions do not create the possibility to utilise these complex multilingual skills and identities (Blackledge et al. 2008). Cummins's (2005) sees it as a matter of educational institutions being afraid of using various languages as a means of instruction and a resource for student learning. The linguistic competences available in educational institutions are unrecognised or quite low, hence educational institutions impose one mainstream language ideology (Cummins 2005). This situation is ongoing, even though there is some scientific evidence that supports taking advantage of students' diverse linguistic resources (Ahlholm 2015, Canagarajah 2011, Creese & Blackledge 2010b, Creese & Blackledge 2011, Creese & Blackledge 2015, García & Beardsmore 2009, Gay 2010, Hornberger & Link 2012).

Nevertheless, the results of this study indicate that knowledge of the Finnish language is more of an imaginary, rather than real, key to integration. In addition, the difficulties in educating migrant students are easily explained not only by cultural matters, but also by pointing to language aspects. However, that can be related to many other things such as personal differences, the will to study, a previous set of experiences, or one's life situation. As this research shows, family ties, various social networks, previous sets of experiences, circumstances under which somebody comes to Finland are all meaningful from the perspective of managing one's studies and everyday life in a new country and each person has a different starting point for learning and living in Finland (Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015, Vertovec 2007).

Some consider it to be problematic though, when everything is explained because of culture (Lahti 2015, Piller 2012). This study shows that it is also problematic to see things in terms of an expected lack of language. Excuses and arguments about language are easily overused in education. For example, some migrant students in this study easily came to the conclusion that it is better for some tasks to be handled by natives with a good knowledge of language. This can be expressed in the example of a few migrant students taking joy in the Finnish students taking on the writing tasks during the group work. Further, migrant students' difficulties in finding a practice placement, being a part of a vocational work community and group work is also easily connected to the

migrants' lack of knowledge of the Finnish language. However, as the previous study shows (and as some migrant participants in this study feel), the lack of language skills are a cover for discrimination in the workplace and educational institutions and are not the real cause of the mentioned problems (e.g., Ahmad 2005, Kalonaityte 2010, Ogbonna & Harris 2006, Näre 2013, Olakivi 2013, Roberts 2012).

One of the students was convinced that nothing makes up for speaking Finnish as a non-native language. In every type of interview interviewees gave examples of how speaking Finnish as a non-native hinders learning, challenges teaching, and makes migrants' everyday lives (also working life) in Finland more difficult (see Allan 2013, Berry 2009, Dooley 2009, Erikson 2010, Lantolf & Thorne 2006, Roberts 2013). In the current study, migrant interviewees with a very good knowledge of Finnish gave examples of experiencing discrimination and being constructed as the 'Other' based on differences in language use. This demonstrates that speaking Finnish is not enough and that one also has to *sound Finnish* (Kalonaityte 2010). This is connected to a strong belief that language and culture are interconnected (Alhassan & Kuyini 2013, Gay 2010, Lantolf & Thorne 2006, Samovar & Porter 2004). Some warn against the harmful effects of not being able to look at these two factors separately (Piller 2012, Piller 2016). Similarly, as in the case of culture, this can also lead to essentialism and attaching some traits to speakers of certain languages (Piller 2012). This logic is similar to the arguments for approaching cultural differences: The further a language is linguistically, the bigger the difference gap in seeing the world (Piller 2012), which would also explain viewing the knowledge of so-called 'unrecognisable' languages as somewhat problematic in the eyes of some of the interviewed staff members. Approaching language through a cultural lens easily leads to associating a lack of knowledge of language with a lack of Finnishness, which Tarnanen and Pöyhönen (2011) pointed out in their research on adult migrants' language proficiency and their employment opportunities (see also Allan 2013, Lantolf & Thorne 2006).

Furthermore, even though it seemed to me that most of the interviewed migrants had a good or even very good command of the Finnish language, some of them reported not having opportunities to speak Finnish in educational institutions and workplaces, even when trying to initiate conversation. That again suggests that knowledge of Finnish alone is not helpful. Therefore, the research confirms Veikou's (2013) point that language matters are believed to create a barrier that reduces contact between migrants and natives; but in fact, there are also other reasons behind this lack of contact, including self-created barriers. This goes in hand with the conclusions made by one of the trainer interviewees, that at the end of the day, the will to communicate with other people matters a lot. Trainers' and migrant students' explanations on the lack of conversation because of 'Finns being reserved' suggests a tendency of creating cultural barriers between natives and non-natives, which can't be overcome simply with the help of knowledge of the Finnish language.

In sum, the study shows certain tensions between language being a key to integration and at the same time language being a barrier to participation. This is also in line with previous research where language was examined from the perspective of being an entry ticket to a host country's institutions (Delander et al. 2005, Duchêne et al. 2013, Tarnanen & Pöyhönen 2011, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015), or from the perspective of pointing out challenges connected to a lack of the host country language with regard to finding one's place in the host society (Ahmad 2005, Ahmad 2010).

9.3 Participation in working life as a significant supporter of learning and integration

Next to culture and language, matters related to a migrants' participation in working life are at the focus of the trainer and migrant discussions on learning and teaching. Finding gainful employment is often equated in this study with finding one's own place, and, as one of the trainers added, at the same time finding 'everything else', meaning a good life, well-being (Manhica, Östh & Rostila 2015), recognition and status (Billett 2001), and being a part of a larger community (Forsander 2013) in a new country of residence.

Bringing up this aspect is also not a surprise in the context of adult migrant integration. Adults are the target group in this study. Participation in working life and everything else that comes with it is a basic need of any adult person (Billett 2001). Therefore, integration of this group of migrants is usually seen in terms of migrant integration to working life. Participation in working life is an aim, a result, and a mechanism of integration as well as an important sign of structural integration (Forsander 2013).

In addition, the study was conducted in a setting of vocational education for adults. Most learning during vocational education for adults takes place in the actual workplaces, which would also explain the amount of reflection on aspects related to working life. Participation in this form of education and the time spent in actual workplaces gives individuals with a migration background a preview of Finnish working life. As this is something that migrant study participants aim for, and at the moment this is a part of their everyday life, they reflect on it and try to imagine what real life in Finland looks like. In turn, trainers make them think about how they can best prepare their migrant students for entering Finnish working life.

In this study, the workplace learning sites are seen as an important arena for learning about vocational matters and integration. During their practice periods (which are part of formal vocational training), adult migrants learn ways of doing a certain vocation in a new setting as well as have an opportunity to learn language, extend their social networks, and get information that is useful for everyday life. Commonly, the interviewed trainers and adult migrant students recognised the workplace, and more specifically, all interpersonal

interactions that take place there, as important support of integration. Some migrant students also managed to gain what they were really aiming for, namely, permanent employment in their current workplace learning sites.

These findings are in line with earlier research in which workplaces are recognised as significant learning environments (Billett 2004, Fuller & Unwin 2004, Tynjälä 2013). The importance of workplace learning sites in relation to migrants' learning and integration is also clarified in previous research, mainly with regard to learning the host country's language (e.g., Sandwall 2013, Strömmer 2015). Similarly to earlier studies, the current research also underlines the issue of opportunities and problems related to migrants' learning in the actual workplaces (Sandwall 2013, Strömmer 2015). Participants in this study reflected on aspects that contribute to or hinder learning in workplace learning sites when talking about learning and teaching. The results of the study indicate that work placements can be considered as a time and a place for effectively learning vocational skills as well as skills important for managing everyday life in Finland. However, negative beliefs toward migrants' backgrounds and skills, along with insufficient guidance, capability, and will to use these opportunities should be taken into account.

This study draws attention to negative beliefs about migrants' participation in Finnish working life. Signs of division can be found in labour market and there are existing assumptions about which fields as well as which jobs are suitable for migrants. Furthermore, there are preconceived ideas about which of these fields and which of these jobs are suitable for specific groups of migrants as well as migrant students' previous learning and competencies and their value in the Finnish labour market (see Forsander 2013, Lauren & Wrede 2008, Näre 2013). Many trainers also discussed issues related to migrant interviewees in this study who see their previous work experiences as a kind of resource upon which they can build new knowledge (as in Jarvis 2012a, Mezirow 2000), at their new workplaces. Actually, at the workplaces as well as the institute, some view these experiences as part of migrants' culture and as something hindering learning and integration into Finnish working life (see Ahmad 2005, Kemuma 2000). This research found parallels to other research on the position of migrants in the labour market in the host society. I identified examples of fluctuations between perceiving migrants as flexible, hard-working, and ideal workers, while also being suspected of not having enough skills, and difficult to be trusted – mainly because of a lack of Finnish language and Finnish cultural background (Näre 2013, Kalonaityte 2010, Ogbonna & Harris 2006). According to observations by trainers and migrant students it can be concluded that individuals with a migrant background are commonly seen as difficult colleagues and trainees. Some of the perceptions on migrants and their participation in working life are based on real facts, such as migrant students needing more guidance. However, as this study shows that many of these views are based on assumptions about migrants as workers and their backgrounds.

The existence of such views on migrants in actual workplaces is quite problematic from the perspective of adult migrants learning at the actual workplace and their integration into vocational work communities. This study raised the issue of the importance of being near the migrant student along the learning path. At the same time, many educators as well as migrant interviewees noted that there is insufficient guidance in the actual workplaces. Some of the migrant students stressed not being engaged in some activities, not being allowed to perform some tasks of higher responsibility and not having opportunities to communicate and interact with other co-workers. However, as previous studies show, being engaged in activities (Billett 2004), as well as having opportunities to participate (Fuller & Unwin 2004), are important for learning in the workplace settings. Similarly, interacting with other workers and experts (Virtanen & Tynjälä 2008), getting guidance in the form of the possibility to observe, but also in the form of doing tasks together (Billett 2004), are important from the learning perspective. The idea is to move over time from the peripheries towards more demanding tasks (Lave & Wenger 1991) and become part of the practice community, in this case, of the Finnish working community. However, it may be difficult to reach this without proper guidance. This is also made difficult when it is assumed that migrants or certain groups of migrants don't have enough skills to move on to more demanding tasks or are unsuitable for certain vocational fields.

Interviewed trainers gave concrete examples of dealing with negative beliefs in some workplaces. Some examples of dealing with distrust of migrant students included: detailing the purpose of the practice period, giving further written explanations on the vocational programme as well as concepts and vocational matters that migrant students already know, visiting the student in the actual workplace, offering further guidance and education before starting to work at the workplace, avoiding workplaces known to have shoddy practices towards training migrant students. These measures seem to work; however, the question still remains: can the practices developed by educators be seen as a long term solutions for enhancing learning opportunities for migrant students and for enhancing the prospects of migrant integration into Finnish vocational work communities?

Negative beliefs and insufficient guidance are not the only barriers in not being able to make the most out of the benefits of learning in the actual workplaces. This study shows that some of the migrant students bring their previous positions and status from their previous countries of residence to the new setting, which in turn may lead to difficulty in finding themselves in the role of student/trainee. As Billett (2004) states, capability and will to use arising opportunities are also important aspects of successful learning in the workplace. Furthermore, the study emphasises the possibility to gain different opportunities within a workplace or vocational setting for learning vocational skills, language, and other competencies required to successfully live in Finland.

That is in line with previous research on different workplaces offering different opportunities for learning (Kyndt, Dochy & Nijs 2009, Fuller & Unwin

2003, Tynjälä 2008), and also in terms of learning related to integration (Sandwall 2013, Strömmer 2015). Those different opportunities, for example, in terms to learning the host country's language may be related to the nature of the vocation (e.g., because of limited contact with customers and other workers) (Strömmer 2015). In other cases, this state of affairs may also be connected to differences in culture and atmosphere in different workplaces (Kyndt, Dochy & Nijs 2009, Tynjälä 2008).

In sum, participation in working life in the form of learning in workplaces' learning sites is a significant supporter of learning and integration, but only if well used.

9.4 Relationships between learning, teaching, and integration

The relationship between learning, teaching and integration is the central focus in this study. This aspect is present across the empirical part of the dissertation as well. The main relationship between aspects are presented in Figure 4 below.

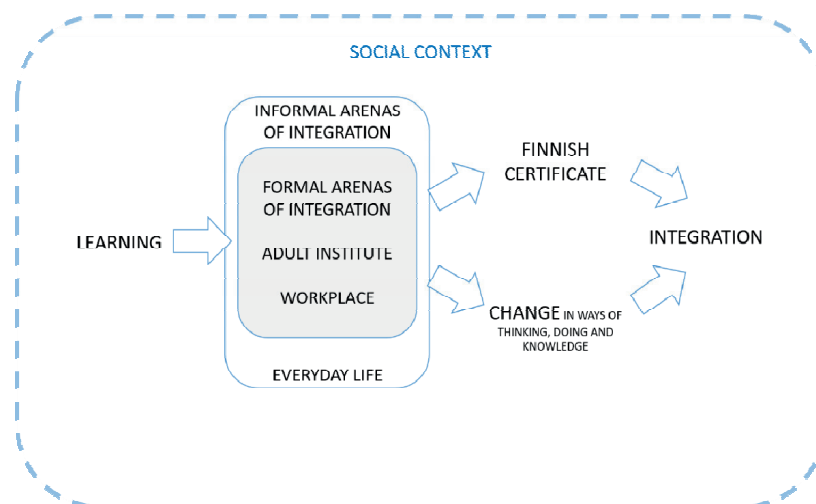


FIGURE 4 Relationships between learning, teaching, and integration

As mentioned in the presentation of the research site (the adult institute), the aim of vocational education is seen in terms of preparation of individuals for working life in Finland. An official certificate is proof of this preparation. Many individuals with a migration background start their long learning path in Finland with learning the language, and in the case of the target group of this study, move on to vocational education in order to improve their life chances in the new country of residence while gaining a feeling of being useful members of the new society. In other words, they learn because they want to integrate.

Here it is seen the most obvious relation between migrants participation in formal learning and integration.

Earlier research pointed to the importance of learning in adult migrants' lives. For example, Tarnanen, Rynkänen and Pöyhönen (2015) found that the path to employment is a very long one because of all the learning that it involves. Some of this learning is a matter of one's own choice, but often it is also about fulfilling the expectations of the host society and being a part of a learning machine, which imposes learning on its own citizens (Allan 2013, Ahmad 2005, Simons & Masschelein 2008). This is also a way to solve all kinds of social problems, in addition to problems related to migrant integration (Simons & Masschelein 2008), to recognise migrants' skills, competences, and previous experiences (Ahmad 2010) and a way for migrants to contribute to global competitiveness (Tynjälä 2008). The importance of providing migrants with the knowledge and skills required for living and working in Finland is also underlined in official integration policies in Finland (Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration 1386/2010). The presence of these types of statements in policy papers also explain the strong emphasis put on learning and the role of Finnish certificates in the integration of adult migrants in Finland. Investment in formal education is seen as a way to improve migrants' chances of entering the Finnish labour market (Forsander 2013), for example through gaining the trust of local employers.

While the certificate does not mention preparation for living in Finland, participation in formal education for adults also provides many opportunities for learning about managing in everyday life in the new country of residence. These issues are not mentioned (at least on the certificate), because most of this learning happens informally, in an imperceptible way. Many things important for everyday life in Finland are learned from educators, classmates, or co-workers. This finding then implies the importance of recognising informal learning in the integration of adult migrants in Finland (see Alenius 2015). As shown in Figure 4, formal learning is only a small part of all learning that happens in adulthood (Jackson 2010, see also Coffield 2000) and at the same time, learning related to living in a new setting (Alenius 2015). This aspect may be easily overlooked when looking at integration from the perspective of migrants' integration in vocational work communities because of a strong belief that formal education contributes to integration in vocational communities.

Similar to earlier research, this also shows that participation in formal education and learning has the potential to contribute to migrant integration (Couton & Gaudet 2008, Forsander 2013, Kemuma 2000, Vedder et al. 2006). The adult institute and workplace learning sites are seen in this study as important arenas for learning the Finnish language and for becoming concretely in touch with Finnish society and its activities. For example, participation in real life activities is valuable from the point of view of language learning (Partanen 2013, Sandwall 2013, Suni 2010). Vocational education for adults offers even more possibilities as most of the learning happens in real working life sites. Educational institutions and other learning sites are natural places for

encountering people of different backgrounds. These encounters are a source of reflection and new learning (Räsänen et al. 2005, Teräs 2007) and what Gay (2010) calls an engine for knowing one's self better, which is also a necessary condition for being able to approach diversity.

In addition, different learning sites, institutes, and workplaces are important arena for finding meaning and experiencing change (Daloz 1986, Daloz & Daloz 1999). This observation is not only relevant from the point of view of learning and teaching, but also from the point of view of integration. However, this is not only connected to participation in formal education, but also to the notion that human beings are in a constant search for meaning (Daloz 1986, Geertz 1973) and constantly reinterpret previous meanings and experiences (Mezirow 2000). This study shows that living in a new setting (like migrants do) or in a setting that undergoes transformation (as natives do) reinforces these processes even more, which also indicates that living in a new setting or a setting that undergoes transformation is about learning. Here, the next connection between learning, teaching, and integration is visible.

This research found different aspects of learning and related to it, ideas on change. Migrant students reflected on their learning and lives in a new setting and on changes in their ways of thinking and doing. Trainers, on the other hand, reflected on teaching, working, and living in diverse settings, reinterpreted their previous experiences in teaching (Mezirow 2000), and sought new ways of approaching migrant students. Both groups of interviewees stated that they are constantly learning something new in terms of language, in encountering different ways of thinking and doing, and in a deeper understanding of the setting in which somebody lives (being it a new setting or a setting that undergoes transformation). These results are also in line with previous research. For example, Latomaa (2013) points to learning a language as a lifelong process. Additionally, encountering people of different backgrounds has been previously recognised as a lifelong learning process for all involved parties (Lasonen et al. 2009).

Therefore, the results of this study indicate that learning, and learning from the perspective of living in a new setting or a setting that undergoes transformation, is about change. In addition to this aspect of change mentioned in the previous section, interviewees wonder who should integrate, or in other words, who should change, how much, and on what terms (Miera 2012). The analysis done in this study suggests that adjustment and change are seen as the migrants' obligation and the receiving society is responsible for creating opportunities (Miera 2012). Creating opportunities for updating vocational skills and learning Finnish is seen as a responsibility of the host society (Ahmad 2010, Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). Change is often not the choice of migrant participants in this study, but a necessary condition for going forward in a new country of residence. Not getting rid of old things can be a barrier to passing vocational exams and to becoming a member of vocational work communities. There are also voices from the interviews that called for collaboration between Finns and migrants as a necessary condition for

integration to happen (Miera 2012). However, mutual change and collaboration is present in interviewees' discussions in a somewhat pessimistic way, and it is seen in terms of giving up something on both sides (see Miera 2012). However, failing to see integration as mutual learning, collaboration, and change is problematic. Indeed, creating opportunities to participate is important for learning and integration, especially in the workplace (Fuller & Unwin 2004, Strömmer 2015). Yet the study shows that this is not enough. Even though migrant students spend a lot of time in the workplace, some said that they are not really in contact with Finnish workers and did not get enough guidance. This suggests that next to creating opportunities, there must also be the will and concrete actions for mutual engagement in different activities on behalf of all parties participating in collaboration and learning (Billett 2004, Miera 2012, see also Strömmer 2015). Billet (2004) talks about novice capability and the will to be engaged in activities and seizing opportunities. In the case of integration, the capability and the will of host society members to be involved in activities is also important. When this is in place, we can talk about collaboration and the possibility of mutual learning.

Furthermore, there are also signs of a lack of collaboration between trainers and migrant students at the institute. The study shows many trainers being in an active and constant search for new ways and modes of working and supporting migrant students. However, there is no mention of migrant students being engaged in this process. The study indicates that a lack of cooperation between trainers and migrant students is especially problematic in the case of confusion connected to migrant students' understanding or migrant students not asking questions or asking for help. The lack of cooperation and collaboration leads to all parties being unaware of the struggles of the other. Furthermore, a lack of collaboration and lack of awareness leads to presenting both groups of interviewees in opposition to each other and creates unnecessary tensions between migrant students and trainers. Chavez and Longerbeam (2016) see a solution for this situation in cooperation between natives and non-natives in figuring out what works. In the short term, this gives the possibility to actively participate in a learning process and leads to the creation of a truly empowering learning environment (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016), followed by integration. However, the question arises on who is responsible for initiating this collaboration and taking the first steps towards mutual understanding?

This study does not answer that question; however, the results of the study suggest that there are good bases for this type of collaboration (and integration) because there are many similarities in trainers' as well as migrant students' situations. For example, the experience of uncertainty or learning and teaching in a diverse setting being a hard job. Though language is often presented as something that divides, in this case, having a common communication tool makes collaboration possible. The desire to initiate collaboration and to collaborate may depend a lot on the atmosphere in a certain learning site as well as the will of all parties sharing the same space. Nevertheless, this study indicates that effective learning is a matter of

collaboration between less experienced and more experienced workers (migrant trainees and Finnish workers) (see Billett 2004) or between migrant students and trainers (see Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). At the same time, integration is about collaboration, mutual engagement, and change (Miera 2012).

Lack of collaboration or seeing collaboration in rather negative terms leads to not seizing the full potential created by participation in learning at the institute and in the workplace. Some of these limitations were already mentioned in previous research, which pointed out some of the contradictions as an effect of lack of collaboration, like a mismatch between education and working life, illogical learning and integration paths (Tarnanen, Rynkänen & Pöyhönen 2015). These aspects are also present in this research, especially in connection to matters on recognising migrant students' previous learning and work experiences. Combined with this are opportunities and limitations connected to different modes of working and ways of giving support believed to be beneficial to migrants, such as opportunities connected to learning in the workplace (see also Sandwall 2013). While previous research shows that participation in formal education helps to support integration (Calvo & Sarkisian 2015, Couton & Gaudet 2008, Forsander 2013, Kemuma 2000, Remennick 2003, Vedder et al. 2006, Sprung 2013), this study shows that there are limitations to this (see also Sandwall 2013). Some of the trainer and student interviewees considered education as giving migrants hope and contributing to personal growth. However, they also brought up learning and teaching aspects connected to not fully using language learning potential, developing a feeling of belonging, a feeling of having enough skills, and being valuable workers. This is mainly because of many beliefs and assumptions on culture and language at different learning sites and migrant integration to Finnish work communities and society at large. As one of the trainers pointed out, there is a kind of unsaid message that students catch on to. Experiences gained when participating in vocational education matter for integration and earlier research shows similar ideas. The negative beliefs at the institute, workplaces, and in society at large create a context in which learning, teaching, and integration happen (Gay 2010, Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007). Therefore, some of academics call for supporting migrant students' linguistic and cultural resources in educational institutions. Recognition of these resources in the educational institution context and in society is seen as beneficial from the point of view of developing a healthy identity and just being proud of one's own skills and resources (Cummins 2005, Paris 2009).

That idea, however, goes against a common belief on the role of educational institutions in society. As seen in the discussion on culture and language, there is not that much space for celebrating linguistic and cultural differences in educational institutions. Instead, educational institutions are seen as places for transmitting the 'right language' and 'right culture' (Cummins 2005, Hélot & Laoire 2011). From the perspective of national cohesion, the purpose of educational institutions is to prepare migrants to function in the surrounding society and to enhance their adjustment to the norms of the society.

This way of thinking leads to the perception of differences in the educational institution setting as being problematic (Cummins 2005, Hélot & Laoire 2011). Kalonaityte (2010) sees this way of approaching culture and language as a sign of silencing other viewpoints and of understanding integration in a rather simplistic way.

The empirical data here also shows that there is more room for recognition of some cultural backgrounds and languages than others (see also Cummins 2005, Hélot & Laoire 2011). This is mainly visible in dividing students into Westerners and Non-Westerners and into those being more or less flexible or speaking some more or less recognisable languages. Based on these divisions, some vocations and fields of studies are seen as more suitable for some groups of migrant than others. Furthermore, some fields of study are not seen as good options for migrants at all. All of this creates a certain learning context, but it also means that different groups of migrants have different starting points for learning and living in Finland. From the start, there are ideas on who manages in their studies and who integrates and who does not. However, as the results of this study suggest, there are variations in trainers' views on migration, migrants, and their backgrounds. As this study highlights, the group of trainers is also quite heterogeneous in terms of their beliefs and their ideas about teaching. Some are more tolerant, flexible, and able to understand a student's situation. Therefore, different educators have different starting points for approaching migrants and for facilitating their learning and integration. As this research shows trainers' encouragement, understanding, and flexibility or as Gay (2010) calls it, 'caring attitude' towards approaching migrant students, is important from the perspective of adult migrant students' learning and integration.

In sum, as educators make progress in diversifying their teaching methods and in seeing differences as a resource, they increase their influence on how well migrant students integrate. Some of the student interviewees believed that what they met in the educational institution and workplace learning sites and how they were approached mirrors society at large. Participation in formal learning gives the possibility to figure out what this, as one of the trainers calls it, 'unsaid message' is that accompanies them on their learning path and everyday life in Finland. In other words, through participation in formal education and through learning and teaching experiences gathered in educational institutions, adult migrant students make conclusions on their prospects for living in Finland.

9.5 Implications and suggestions for further research

This study has many theoretical, methodological, and practical implications as well as shows a need for further research. The study contributes to further development of the definition of integration. As noted in the discussion, integration is approached at the institute in a rather simplistic way. Educational

institutions follow understandings on integration imposed on them by the state and other political institutions like the European Union. Integration is seen as a two-way process; however, in practice, the role of the host society is reduced to creating opportunities and the role of non-natives is to take advantage of those opportunities and use them to adjust to the host country's norms. Access to the host country's institutions is seen as one such opportunity offered by host societies in order to adjust. However, as this study shows, integration is a multifaceted phenomenon. Integration is related to many issues and is a complex phenomenon. This complexity is even more visible when we talk about integration from the perspective of learning simply because this process, like any other cognitive process, is very complex in its nature.

This dissertation underlines the importance of collaboration and learning in understanding integration as a two-way process. Seeing integration as a collaborative, lifelong, natural learning process that requires the involvement of both migrants and Finns helps to overcome the previously mentioned issue of dualism. It also underlines the fact that integration happens every day and that everyone, both migrants and Finns, need to contribute to integration on a daily basis. This view on integration also involves acceptance of all possible changes that may happen, as this is what learning is about. Gaining new skills (language or vocational competences) is about learning and the changes related to it (Creese et al. 2006, Cronbach 1963, Jarvis 2012b, Merriam & Bierema 2014, Mezirow 2000). This way of seeing integration also emphasises intangible moments when integration happens to stem from sharing the same living space and interacting with others on an everyday basis (Veikou 2013).

With regard to methodological implications, this dissertation contributes to the field of cross-cultural research. The interviews in this study were a meeting point for people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The study not only avoids stereotypical approaches to students with a migration background at the theoretical level, but also avoids these stereotypes during the research process. Whenever possible, the existing personal differences within different groups of people were underlined. The use of a second language to conduct the research and interview the participants added to the limitations of the study. However, thanks to this decision, the study also contributes to the notion of using different languages in the same study to make meaning, and of using Finnish as a second language for the purpose of doing research. Different linguistic resources are used in multilingual settings for meaning making (Creese & Blackledge 2010a, Creese & Blackledge 2015, Garcí'a & Beardsmore 2009, Harris 2006, Hornberger & Link 2012). Not only was this idea stressed in this research, but it was also applied in practice in doing this research.

The study also has many practical implications and shows a need for further research, especially with regard to understanding the benefits and limitations of migrant participation in formal education, to handling differences in educational institutions (and society) and to designing pedagogical training and undertaking measures leading to trainers' professional development. As the study results show, participation in formal learning has the potential to

support integration but only if individuals are aware of the limitations related and if these ideas are properly used. For example, the study showed that many things that are important from the integration perspective can be learned outside of the educational institution, for example, from co-workers or neighbours. Similar to previous research on this topic, this study also concludes there is a need for more research in this area (see Alenius 2015). However, other ways of collecting data (ethnography, photography) would be of greater value in gaining an in-depth understanding of the issues of informal learning and integration.

Culture and language were in the centre of discussion on learning and teaching at different learning sites, at the institute, and in the workplaces. However, my findings suggest that the interviewees did not reflect on language and culture as such. In fact, this is often a case of differences in education and society. Culture and language matters are the easiest to see, the main topics in the discussion on national cohesion, the reasons for constructing someone as the 'Other', the rationale for issuing rights or not and as this study shows, and the rationale for using exclusionary practices. This leads to certain tensions and contradictions. It is especially visible in the case of migrant integration that the idea behind participation in education is inclusion. For many of these individuals it is a form of getting out of their homes, being in contact with Finns, and feeling like part of a bigger community. At the same time, these opportunities are not used well. Instead some individuals feel out of the game and feel like they will never have a chance for gainful employment and for a good life in Finland; they feel excluded. The research findings suggest that migrants' participation in education and gaining Finnish education is not very helpful if it is not paired with greater changes in attitudes (among Finns and migrants themselves). There is also a need for a healthy discussion on cultural matters (see also Dervin 2011, Piller 2012). As this study shows, the border between linguistics, cultural backgrounds, and personal differences and their effects on learning and teaching is very vague. However, all kinds of differences are associated with language or cultural matters, while they are viewed, to a lesser extent, in terms of personal differences. What happens in educational institutions and how the educational institutions respond to diversity matters a lot (Nieto 2006). The way differences are treated in different learning settings can lead to students feeling proud of their differences while other students are made to view these differences as deficits and feel ashamed (Cummins 2005, Paris 2009).

However, taking into account differences or responding to diversity and differences cannot be done in an obsessive way (see also Dervin 2011, Lahti 2015, Piller 2012). The study points out many similarities between Finnish and migrant students as concerns their learning and living in Finland. Adult migrants' learning is often characterised by the same aspects as Finnish students' learning. The same relates to teaching this group of students. As the study results show, there is often no difference in teaching migrant students and Finnish students. The same modes of working and ways of supporting that

are beneficial for migrant student also work well and are beneficial to Finnish learners. For example, learning by doing, group work, learning from the experiences of others, learning based on one's own previous experiences, benefiting from support from family members and friends, and the influence of one's life situation on learning are not only specific to migrant learners, but also specific to adult learners (Jarvis 2012a, Knowles 1990, McClusky 1970, Merriam, Baumgartner & Caffarella 2007).

Similar situations mean offering support, individualisation, and approaching students in a flexible way. Furthermore, this study indicates that taking into account students' backgrounds, previous frames of reference, communication styles, learning styles, knowledge, and experiences is efficient for any classroom and supports the learning of any student, not just migrant students (see Chavez & Longerbeam 2016, cf. Gay 2010). Therefore, it is important to find a healthy balance between taking into account the particularities of migrants as learners, recognising the specifics of teaching this group of students and being able to approach a migrant student as any other student who brings different sets of individual differences to educational settings. In any case, one should avoid approaching migrants or other diverse groups in a stereotypical way, concentrating too much on differences, and perceiving the failures of some migrant students' to learn prescribed curriculums as results of their cultural backgrounds (see also Paris & Ball 2009). Differences are easy to spot, however, the existing similarities should be the entry point in approaching any student labelled as different (see also Dervin 2016). Consequently, further research on similarities rather than on present or anticipated differences would be of value in the field of intercultural/multicultural education as well (see also Lahti 2015).

The observations presented here also have many implications for pre-service and in-service teacher training and educators' professional development as well. As Hélot and Laoire (2011) claim, teachers, trainers, and their educators are the main actors in the process of change. Therefore, educators and future educators' attitudes to differences and feeling good about differences are of crucial importance (Lasonen et al. 2009, Pitkänen 2007). This research not only brought up aspects related to the existence of negative conceptions about differences, but also pointed out differences that cause contradictory feelings ranging from excitement and enjoyment to uncertainty, anxiety and anger. Negative ideas and negative emotions are followed by concrete actions, mainly in the form of othering, excluding and discriminatory practices (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013). Seeing differences as a resource and feeling good about differences have the potential to contribute to the appearance of more positive actions and inclusive practices towards differences. That also suggests that pre-service teacher education and courses aimed at educators' professional development cannot be limited to exposing trainers and future educators to knowledge about different cultures, as such practices may contribute to reinforcing essentialist views towards students of different backgrounds and are not of real help in approaching diverse students. In fact, as this study shows,

knowledge about migrants' cultural backgrounds is not enough to successfully approach migrant students, as even students who use the same language may have quite different personal histories and experiences both before and after migration to Finland (Vertovec 2007, Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003).

Furthermore, educators need to deal with a very heterogeneous group of students in the same classroom, which changes from year to year. Therefore, it is important for trainers and their institutions to work towards educators feeling good about differences in general terms, educating for diversity in a broad, intersectional sense and being able to pay more attention to similarities than to differences (see also Gogolin & Krüger-Potrtz 2006, Dervin 2016). This is an important attribute for educators in the era of growing diversity. It is not just educators' attitudes towards differences that need revision. I found in the empirical data, that the relationship between migrant students, Finnish students and Finnish co-workers leaves a lot to be desired. In corroboration with previous research, I also show that knowledge of Finnish, living longer in Finland, and being familiar with the Finnish system and Finnish society is not so helpful if these factors are not paired with a change in attitudes in various learning settings and in society at large (Näre 2013, Ogbonna & Harris 2006). This implication is then closely related to a need for more research in this area. For example, more ethnographic research is needed in educational institutions as well as in workplace learning to better comprehend the existing dynamics in the relationships of all parties involved in the learning process.

This study illustrates the difficulties of learning in new surroundings and teaching of this group of students. However, one implication of this study puts emphasis on the positive aspects related to learning and teaching in diverse settings. Migrant interviewees acknowledged the good sides of learning in Finland and expressed appreciation for trainers' professionalism. Staff members viewed teaching migrant students as rewarding work and as positive experiences that lead to new learning and to growing in their teaching vocation. These positive aspects should also be seen as a starting point for learning and teaching adult migrant students and inspiration for further research.

As can be concluded from analysis done in this study teaching migrant students creates a lot of potential for teachers' professional development. All of the frustrations, hard work, and efforts in teaching migrant students, as well the uncertainty and unpredictability connected to it, pushes trainers to reflect on their own practices. Educators put a lot of effort into adjusting their practices and constantly search for new ways to support migrants in their learning. As some of the trainers observed, all of these reflections and adjustments contribute to them becoming better educators, to developing practices that serve all kinds of learners and also being able to approach Finnish students in a better way. In addition, working with diverse groups of students contributes to trainers feeling good about diversity in educational institutions. However, there are many questions related to migrant students' presence in different learning settings such as: Is this the only way to prepare educators for approaching

migrant students? How are teacher education programs able to contribute to growing diversity in society?

Much can be learned from fields where there are a lot of migrant students from all over the world with very different language skill (e.g., cleaning services field). Working in this field does not require as much language knowledge as in some other fields and adult migrants with very different backgrounds apply for studies in this field. Trainers in this field were pushed to cope with teaching migrant students and they developed many useful and valuable practices that can be applied and tried out in other vocational fields. However, the question here is: Do educators have the opportunity and time to reflect on their work and to share their expertise? Nevertheless, this aspect also requires further investigation in the future. This finding also suggests that there are variations in approaching migrant students as well as in responding to diversity in different fields of study and in different workplace learning sites, which would be a case for more comparative research from this point of view. Furthermore, the findings also call for creating more opportunities to exchange ideas and experiences between educators working in different vocational fields and educational institutions.

This study also highlights the many limitations connected to some modes of learning, a lack of guidance in workplace learning, and not using opportunities afforded by some modes of working and supporting migrants' learning. One of the implications of this finding is that future research should not only look at challenges to be met at different learning sites, but also concentrate on good practices, such as developing ways of guiding migrant students in their actual workplaces. As one of the trainers reflected, migrant students also learn what they need to learn and it is more about finding a way to teach and approach them. However, is finding ways that work the responsibility of the trainer? How can migrant students be engaged in figuring out what works? These are also questions that came up while conducting this research. This study points out the importance of these matters, however, more research is needed (e.g., action research) to try and find ways of creating a truly empowering multicultural learning environment (Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). Dooley (2009) also observed that finding what works is a matter of shared responsibility. Therefore, further research could be helpful in finding out what migrant students' responsibilities are and what trainers' responsibilities are.

Finally, the lack of guidelines on approaching migrant students and diversity, as well as the lack of guidelines concerning responsibilities of the educator in the integration process are mentioned as causes of uncertainty and frustration among staff members. The study and this research report can be seen as one of the steps towards creating such guidelines. Nevertheless, further research is also needed on educators' perceptions of their own roles in the integration process, especially in vocational education for adults where integration is easily seen as the responsibility of integration training institutes and teachers of Finnish as a Second Language.

9.6 Reflections on the research process

Finally, I devote some space to assessing the process of undertaking this doctoral research. Here I mainly reflect on if this study leads to building any useful theories, if the findings of this research are credible, as well as the appropriateness of the chosen methodological approach and research methods, and practical contributions of this study (Silverman 2010).

Undertaking this dissertation was a long process. The process involved many stages (pilot and main study phase) and was accompanied by numerous choices and decisions. During a few stages of this process, I also concentrated on other tasks, like working in other projects, intensive Finnish language training, and attending to family matters. The pauses and activities that I focused on slowed down the process of completing the dissertation. However, this helped me look at the research process and gather data from a slightly different perspective. Specifically, building my knowledge of the Finnish language was of great value in doing of this research, and I dare say it made it possible.

Before starting the dissertation I was familiar with the thematic area of adult migrant integration in Finland and internationally. I started the process of this dissertation by writing a book chapter on the concept of integration (Kärkkäinen 2011). Already at this stage, I noticed that the discussion on migrant integration provoked a number of questions concerning who should integrate, on what terms, to what extent, and if integration is even possible. Slowly I became convinced that seeing integration as a learning process creates a great potential for normalising the discussion on migrant integration. There is nothing to be angry or anxious about – integration is about learning and requires involvement from both Finns and migrants.

The qualitative approach was chosen for investigating the phenomenon. Even though at this stage I was more familiar with quantitative methodologies, I was eager to gain an in-depth understanding of the studied phenomena and I considered qualitative design as more useful to realise this objective. There were still many open questions, for example, concerning using the Finnish language for collecting data. I treated Finnish as any other foreign language that I knew and I did not see a reason for talking to people in English, for example, which is also not my mother tongue and which was not the strongest foreign language that I knew at that point. However, the idea of using Finnish as an interview language created uncertainty among some of my colleagues. The pilot study phase helped to resolve those doubts.

The pilot study added to the quality of this study and although time consuming, contributed to the intense preparation of data collection and analyses of the main study data. The pilot study allowed me to improve the interview guidelines and to specify the focus of the study. During the pilot study phase, the study gained more focus on formal, and more specifically on

vocational education for adults. This type of study design contributed to more in-depth data analysis and in-depth understanding of the studied phenomena.

The data used in this study were gathered at two different points in time, in spring 2012 and mainly in spring 2014. I gathered the pilot study data in 2012. Already at that time I had more migrant students and trainers interested in participating than I needed. In 2012 I interviewed three adult migrant students and three trainers at the institute chosen to be the site of the main study phase. All of these interviews are included in a data set analysed for the purpose of this study. This type of solution allowed me to code data at two different points in time, which, as mentioned in the methodology chapter, adds to the trustworthiness of the analysis (Schreier 2012, Silverman 2010).

The data collection process for this research was characterised by flexibility. Originally, I planned to conduct interviews in different institutions offering vocational education for adults in Finland. After the pilot study phase, I made the decision to gather data only in institutes for adults. However, I was still interested in including a few of this type of institutions in my study. Therefore, in the main study phase I contacted a few adult institutes or adult education centres in different parts of Finland but outside the capital region. I quickly found a number of people interested in participating in my study at the adult institute that eventually was the one to participate in the pilot study. In contrast, I struggled to find informants at the other institutions I had contacted. The study sparked a lot of interest during the first stage of study and I managed to establish good contact with the institution in question, which could explain the ease of finding further study informants. Quite soon, I realised that there were already quite a few people interested in taking part in my research and there was no need to look for more informants in other institutions. I concentrated on interviewing migrant students and teaching personnel in just one institution.

There were a few other surprises during the data collection process. I planned on only having individual interviews. However, in the course of looking for participants, six students from the same vocational program (cleaning services) were willing to participate in the study. Instead of interviewing them separately, I decided to meet with all of them at the same time. Though it was unplanned, this form of interviewing really suited the purpose of my study. Hennink (2008) underlines that focus group discussions are best suited to topics on which not much is known, which is also in the case of this study. Including a group interview in the data set allowed me to see if participants would raise new issues that were not raised in individual interviews (Hennink 2008). Furthermore, the number of students (6) was of the perfect number for the group discussion (*ibid.*).

However, it needs to be recognised that both individual and group interviews produce different types of knowledge because of the differences in the interactions. In the individual interviews participants' opinions and thoughts are at the forefront and there is less emphasis on interaction. On the other hand, interaction can have a special meaning during a focus group

interview. Participants of the focus group form their opinions about the discussed topic as an effect of the existing group dynamic. Individuals not only talk about their experiences and perceptions with the moderator/researcher, but also with other participants, which may elicit contradictory opinions, and additional questions from other participants (Pietilä 2010a.) This research takes account of the interaction in knowledge construction during the group interview. However, I do not analyse the group interview as a separate entity. Instead, I treated it as any other interview in the data coding process. This method may be questioned by some who might call for analysing a group interview as a group activity, for example by analysing how a group reaches a consensus or comes to the a division of opinions on a specific certain issue (Pietilä 2010a).

The group interview participants knew each other, which also requires some reflection. While some researchers think that participants in group discussions should be strangers (Morgan & Krueger 1993), others call for being aware of the influence of familiarity on group dynamics and knowledge generation (Hennink 2008). I recognise that on the one hand anonymity may have increased honesty of responses, but on the other hand, find that some people may be more comfortable taking part in a discussion with familiar faces. Therefore, it remains somewhat unclear to what extent participants of the focus group (who knew each other) felt confident in talking about their personal matters. As a facilitator of the group interview, I felt as though they were quite comfortable sharing their opinions and experiences. In this case, familiarity of participants could have even been an advantage as interviewees already knew something about their histories, shared experience of being a migrant in Finland, and were interested in learning even more about each other's backgrounds and reflections of their own as well as other participants' experiences.

After interviewing migrant students and trainers, I also contacted a head of the institute. The interview with the rector was also not originally planned. However, many of the trainers were wondering what the actual guidelines were with regard to migrant integration at their institution. These questions sparked my interest in the institute policy as well. The interview with the institute head was helpful to better understand the setting in which the research was conducted, and gaining contextual information on the institute's official policy.

The process of data collection progressed smoothly, though there were a few situations during which I learned a lesson. For example, one teacher suggested first having coffee together with his other colleagues before the actual interview. It turned out that the interviewee shared many valuable experiences and views during the coffee time and was somewhat surprised that I asked about those aspects again during the actual interview. In two other interviews, I had the impression that trainers started to share the best stories before I managed to turn on and after I turned off the recorder. In these cases, I made notes right after the interview on what interviewees had reflected on. After each interview I also wrote a short field note on the interview situation,

atmosphere during the interview, what went well and what could have been done better. I treated these field notes as a kind of a learning diary.

The conceptual choices in this research were mainly made after the data analysis process when writing up the initial version of the results part. In this stage, I had a strong need to gain a better understanding of the study results. The process of searching for existing literature and relevant concepts was driven more by curiosity and intuition than by a systematic process. After writing the theoretical part, I realised that I came up with a number of concepts that I found useful. The next step was to choose only the most significant concepts for this research.

Like any researcher, I wonder if I would get the same results if I would gather the data in a different way, ask questions differently, use different analytical methods, and if I would have different starting points for approaching of this topic (for instance if I did not have my own migration experience). The informants of the study were found through the key person in the institute. This contact person was appointed by the Head of Counselling and Guidance services that I was asked to contact after I got permission from the Rector of the institute to conduct the research. Initially I was concerned that a contact person might tend to recruit migrant students and trainers with certain types of experiences and views (e.g., positive experiences). However, quite soon I noticed that interviewees shared different experiences and views on the studied phenomenon. The key person listened carefully to my wishes on whom I would like to interview and discussed that with me before contacting a potential informant. The key person underlined her own interest in the topic and need for more knowledge on that topic. I had the impression that instead of concentrating on creating a good image of the institute, the key person was more interested in generating knowledge on migrant students' learning, teaching and integration. Nevertheless, I am aware that I could have found a different group of interviewees and ended up having different set of data if I would have taken care of recruiting informants on my own.

I was interested in aspects related to learning, teaching, and integration in Finland. Therefore, I asked study participants about these aspects in this specific context. However, it remains unclear how specific formulation of the questions influences informants' responses and if I would get a different set of data if I had asked about learning, teaching, and integration in general terms. Would participants have referred to learning and studying in Finland or to everyday life in Finland at all if I had not asked about those issues? Do the same things make a person's everyday life easier independently of the context? These are some of the questions that arose in reference to this methodological choice.

This research process was also accompanied by the search for a useful approach for data analysis. In the process of doing this research, I became familiar with phenomenographic and phenomenological analysis. However, during the pilot study phase in the earlier stages of the research process, qualitative content analysis was chosen as a data analysis approach for this study. I found it important and inspiring to find out what trainers and migrant

students actually focused on when talking about learning and teaching. Content analysis was a good tool for the purpose of this research, for showing the richness of the data and finding out aspects on a topic that is rather under-researched in this setting. The chosen approach allowed me to deepen my understanding of matters related to learning, teaching, and integration as well as relationships between these phenomena. Although one may consider the data analysis approach applied in this study as somewhat superficial, old-fashioned, or unambitious, the approach was useful in carrying out the aims of this study. I do however, recognise that the findings could have been different if another data collection and analytical approach had been used.

Some may also criticise the way qualitative content analysis was done in this study. Instead of following one specific way of doing qualitative analysis, I made my own adjustments so that it served the objectives of this study in the best way. For example, Schreier (2012) recommends paying attention to exclusiveness of subcategories built within the main category. In this study, the starting point was that the same unit of analysis (a whole thought on a certain topic) can have different meanings and therefore in some case the same unit of analysis (or part of it) was appointed to a few categories. Selecting longer fragments of texts as units of analysis also provided some contextual information and allowed me a more in-depth understanding of interviewees' views.

Initially, I planned to do data-driven analysis and tried to stick to the original plan as much as possible. However, I realised during the analytical process that purely data-driven analysis was not possible. Before starting this research, I had been occupied by migration issues for the last few years. I was aware of the ongoing discussion on integration of migrants in Finland and internationally. During my time working on the INT.Comp project 'Intercultural Training for Trainers and Advisors in Professional Orientations' I became aware of the challenges that people working with migrants face. Outlooks related to culture, language, and diversity were an integral part of the training developed within this project. The knowledge and experiences I brought from my previous research accompanied me along the whole research process for this study.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) believe that the degree of neutrality or the extent to which study findings are shaped by the respondents and the researcher's bias, motivation, or interest may have an influence on the research process and therefore require evaluation. I approached this study from the standpoint of being a migrant. As a migrant, I had a certain influence on the research process. Most likely, I would not have ended up doing research on migration issues, on aspects related to learning, teaching, and integration of adult migrants in Finnish vocational communities without having experienced studying and working in different countries and being a migrant myself. This motivation and starting point could also have an impact on analysis done in this study. One is left to wonder if the results of the study could have been different if I would have had different starting points for approaching this topic. The knowledge

and experiences that I brought to this research made me pay attention to certain matters that could have been overlooked by a native Finn.

The results of the study might also have been different in other adult institutes or if the views of trainers and migrant students from other institutions had been included in this study. For example, the pilot study showed that findings might have been slightly different in a vocational college. People interviewed at the vocational college concentrated on similar aspects. However, they also reflected on differences between younger learners and adult learners. In addition, findings of this research cannot necessarily be applied to different country settings. Experiences and views of trainers and migrant students from other parts of Finland, for example, from the capital area may differ from the experiences and views of participants of this study. As I underlined earlier in this research report, learning has a socio-historical character and differs in different places and at different historical times. Therefore, it cannot be expected that matters analysed in this study are universally valid and static. However, the study provides a good basis for other studies on learning, teaching, and integration in other educational settings in Finland and elsewhere.

This study has contributed to the development of already existing theories and has many practical contributions. Previous theories and concepts accompanied me throughout this study. They were crucial in deepening understanding of the study results as well as in producing my own theoretical contributions on further development of the concept of integration and approaching diverse students in educational institutions. The results of the study cannot be generalised to a larger group. However, they are generalizable to existing theory (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007, Yin 1989). The analysis done in this study was accompanied by discussing the results in relation to already existing theoretical perspectives and the drive to obtain a possible in-depth understanding of the results.

I originally planned to concentrate quite broadly on issues related to learning and integration. However, the research slowly gained more focus on formal education. The other aspects asked from interviewees are not included in this dissertation, although I also coded the results. I concentrated this work on issues relevant to integration from the perspective of learning and teachers' work only. The empirical part focuses on core aspects relevant to the discussion on learning, teaching, and integration of adult migrant students, to the specifics of adult migrants as learners in a new environment and to the particularities of teaching migrant students. The empirical part also analyses modes of working and ways of supporting adult migrant students. This study gives an in-depth analysis of these aspects as well as contributes to deepening the understanding of relationships between learning, teaching, and integration. I see this as a valuable piece of research for any practitioner working in the field of migration, especially in the education sector.

YHTEENVETO (SUMMARY IN FINNISH)

Uuden ammatin opiskelua tai Suomen ulkopuolella hankitun tutkinnon täydentämistä pidetään keinona edistää aikuisten maahanmuuttajien kotoutumista Suomeen.” Aiemmat tutkimukset kuitenkin osoittavat, että ammatillisen koulutuksen opettajilla ei välttämättä ole riittävästi pätevyyttä ja tietoa opettaa maahanmuuttajia ja tukea heidän oppimistaan (esim. Keurulainen, Miettinen & Weissmann 2014, Paaso 2010, Teräs 2007). Tämä tutkimus käsittelee ammatilliseen koulutukseen osallistuvien aikuisten maahanmuuttajien oppimista, opettamista ja kotoutumista. Tutkimuksessa analysoidaan, mihin kouluttajat ja aikuiset maahanmuuttajat keskittyvät, kun he puhuvat aikuisten maahanmuuttajien oppimisesta ja opettamisesta erityisesti suomalaisiin työyhteisöihin integroitumisen näkökulmasta. Tutkimuksen kohteena on, mihin asioihin viitataan puhuttaessa oppimisesta ja opettamisesta, ja miten nämä asiat liittyvät uudessa ympäristössä oppimiseen sekä aikuisten maahanmuuttajien opettamiseen. Tutkimuksen keskiössä on oppiminen uudessa ympäristössä ja aikuisten maahanmuuttajien opettamisen erityispiirteet. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on myös syventää ymmärrystä oppimisen, opettamisen ja kotoutumisen välisistä suhteista.

Tutkimus toteutettiin eräässä pääkaupungin ulkopuolella sijaitsevassa aikuisopistossa Suomessa. Kyseinen aikuisopisto tarjoaa ammatillista koulutusta ja kotoutumiskoulutusta. Aikuisopiston virallisten linjausten mukaan kotoutumiskoulutuksen tavoitteena on edistää aikuisten maahanmuuttajien kotoutumista ja ammatillisen koulutuksen tavoitteena taas tukea heidän integroitumistaan suomalaiseen työelämään. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu yksilöhaastattelusta 12 kouluttajan, 11 maahanmuuttajaopiskelijan sekä oppilaitoksen rehtorin kanssa. Tämän lisäksi tehtiin ryhmähaastattelu kuuden samassa koulutusohjelmassa (puhdistuspalvelut) opiskelevan maahanmuuttajan kanssa. Tutkimuksen osallistajat ovat opiskelijoita tai opettajia seuraavissa ammatillisissa koulutusohjelmissa: sosiaali- ja terveysala (lähihoitaja), puuala (puuseppä), rakennusala, turvallisuusala, puhdistuspalveluala, ravintola-ala, liiketalousala (merkonomi), elintarvikeala (leipuri-kondiittori) ja audiovisuaalinen viestintä. Aineisto analysoitiin laadullisella sisällönanalyysillä (Schreier 2012, Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009). Analyysi alkoi aineistolähtöisestä analyysistä. Analyysissä oli kuitenkin myös teoriaohjaavan sisällönanalyysin piirteitä, sillä tuloksia tulkittiin palaamalla tutkimuksen eri vaiheissa jo olemassa oleviin teoreettisiin näkökulmiin kulttuurista ja kielestä sekä oppimisesta ja kotoutumisesta.

Tutkimuksen päätuloksena on, että puhuttaessa aikuisten maahanmuuttajien oppimisesta ja opettamisesta viitataan varsin paljon kulttuuri- ja kielikysymyksiin. Maahanmuuttajien oppimiseen ja opettamiseen ja samalla kotoutumiseen liittyvien ongelmien taustalla nähdäänkin olevan pääasiassa kulttuuriin ja kieleen liittyviä tekijöitä. Suomen kielen osaaminen on välttämätöntä ammatillisen koulutuksen suorittamisessa ja usein myös arkielämässä Suomessa. Tämän tutkimuksen perusteella suomen kielen taidon merkitystä kotoutumisessa kuitenkin korostetaan liikaa. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että pienetkin kieli-

taidon puutteet ja kulttuuriset eroavaisuudet voivat aiheuttaa jännitteitä maahanmuuttajataustaisten ja suomalaisten opiskelijoiden ja työntekijöiden välillä. Lisäksi nämä erot saattavat herättää epäluottamusta maahanmuuttajaopiskelijoiden osaamista kohtaan, mikä aiheuttaa haasteita tutkinnon suorittamisessa esimerkiksi näyttötilanteissa. Tutkimuksen tulosten mukaan yksilöiden ja heidän elämäntilanteidensa väliset erot vaikuttavat kuitenkin aikuisten maahanmuuttajien oppimiseen, opettamiseen ja kotoutumiseen. Sekä maahanmuuttajaopiskelijat että heidän kouluttajansa ovat heterogeeninen joukko: kaikilla heistä on omat lähtökohtansa, jotka vaikuttavat oppimiseen ja opettamiseen.

Oppiminen uudessa kulttuurisessa ja kielellisessä ympäristössä herättää paljon ristiriitaisia tunteita. Oppiminen ja opettaminen tällaisissa olosuhteissa on vaikeaa, aikaa vievää ja välillä jopa turhauttavaa työtä. Siihen liittyy epävarmuutta ja arvaamattomuutta, mutta toisaalta myös mahdollisuuksia uuden oppimiselle ja kasvulle esimerkiksi opettajan ammatissa. Usein aikuisten maahanmuuttajien opettamisessa on aivan samoja piirteitä kuin suomalaistenkin opiskelijoiden opettamisessa. Vaikka joidenkin työtapojen ja tukikeinojen uskotaan olevan riippumattomia opiskelijoiden taustoista, on kuitenkin tiettyjä asioita, jotka ovat erityisen tärkeitä aikuisten maahanmuuttajien oppimisen ja kotoutumisen näkökulmasta, kuten työssäoppiminen, ryhmässä opiskelu sekä opettajien että opiskelijoiden aiempien kokemusten hyödyntäminen. Tutkimus osoitti, että opilaitoksessa ja työssäoppimispaikoissa on paljon vääriä uskomuksia kulttuuri- ja kielikysymyksistä mutta myös maahanmuuttajista sekä heidän taustoistaan ja osaamisestaan. Nämä uskomukset aiheuttavat haasteita aikuisten maahanmuuttajien oppimisen ja kotoutumisen tukemiselle.

Tutkimuksen yhtenä johtopäätöksenä on, että on tärkeää ottaa huomioon uudessa ympäristössä oppimiseen ja maahanmuuttajien opettamiseen liittyvät erityispiirteet mutta keskittyä kuitenkin olemassa oleviin yhtäläisyyksiin. Oppiminen ja opettaminen moninaisessa ympäristössä vaativat jatkuvaa tasapainon etsimistä ja epäselvyyksien ratkaisemista esimerkiksi opettavien asioiden ymmärtämisen varmistamisessa ja kaikkien opiskelijoiden muiden tarpeiden huomioimisessa. Tämän tasapainon ja uusien toimintatapojen löytäminen moninaisessa ympäristössä vaatii yhteistyötä opettajien ja opiskelijoiden välillä. Vasta yhteistyössä toimittaessa voidaan puhua voimauttavasta monikulttuurisesta oppimisympäristöstä (ks. Chavez & Longerbeam 2016). Tutkimuksessa ehdotetaan, että kotoutuminen tulisi nähdä elämänmittaisena, yhteisöllisenä prosessina, johon sekä maahanmuuttajat että kantaväestön jäsenet osallistuvat. Parhaassa tapauksessa aikuisten ammatillinen koulutus tukee kotoutumista, mutta siihen liittyy myös rajoitteita.

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APPENDIX 1: PERMISSION LETTER

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TUTKIMUSLUPA-ANOMUS

Haen tutkimuslupaa väitöskirjatutkimukseeni 'Aikuismaahanmuuttajien kotoutuminen ja oppimisprosessit'.

Väitöskirjatutkimuksessani käsittelen maahanmuuttajien integroitumista suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan koulutusinstituution kontekstissa. Lisäksi tarkastelen maahanmuuttajien integroitumisen ja oppimisprosessien välisiä yhteyksiä. Tutkimuksen avulla vastataan mm. kysymyksiin siitä, miten ja mitä maahanmuuttajat oppivat erityisesti suomalaiseen kulttuuriin, yhteiskuntaan ja kieleen liittyen sekä millainen on koulutuksen merkitys maahanmuuttajien kotoutumisessa. Tutkimuksen laadullisen aineiston kerään aikuismaahanmuuttajaopiskelijoilta ja opettajilta/kouluttajilta.

Maahanmuuttajien oppimisprosesseja on tutkittu vähän. On kuitenkin tärkeää ymmärtää etenkin aikuismaahanmuuttajien integroitumista yhteiskuntaan ja sitä, mikä merkitys oppimisella ja koulutuksella on tässä prosessissa. Integroitusprosessin aikana maahanmuuttajat oppivat uuden kotimaansa kulttuuria, identiteettiä, kieltä ja käyttäytymisen normeja. Integroitumisen onnistuessa maahanmuuttajat voivat osallistua täysipainoisesti yhteiskunnalliseen toimintaan ja toimia aktiivisina kansalaisina. Koulutukseen osallistumalla maahanmuuttajat saavat oppimisen taitoja, millä on suuri merkitys nyky maailmassa, sillä näin maahanmuuttajat saavat kompetenssin päivittää tietoja, taitoja ja pätevyyyksiä.

Väitöskirjatutkimuksessa tutkin aikuismaahanmuuttajien integroitumista koululaitoksen kontekstissa sekä oppimista formaaleissa ja epäformaaleissa tilanteissa. Olen kiinnostunut erityisesti kotoutumisesta ja oppimisesta ammattitaitojen kehittämisen ja päivittämisen kontekstissa. Sen tähden

tutkimuksen toteuttamisen kannalta on tärkeää, että haastattelisin maahanmuuttajaopiskelijoita ja kouluttajia myös [oppilaitoksen nimi].

Tutkimuksessa on kaksi vaihetta. Esitutkimukseni (kevät 2012) tarkoituksena oli testata haastattelukysymysten relevanssia. Olen silloin haastattelut vain muutamia henkilöä. Nyt kevään 2014 aikana aion lisäksi haastatella päätutkimusta varten noin 15 henkilöä eri oppilaitoksista, mahdollisesti myös muutamaa maahanmuuttajaa ja kouluttajaa [oppilaitoksen nimi]. Kaikki haastattelut ovat luottamuksellisia. Haastattelujen kieli on suomi. Aiheesta on myös mahdollista keskustella englannin tai puolan kielellä. Haastattelut kestävät noin 1,5-2 tuntia.

Teen väitöskirjaani Koulutuksen tutkimuslaitoksella ja ohjaajina toimivat: professori Jussi Välimaa (Koulutuksen tutkimuslaitos, JY), professori Pentti Moilanen (Kasvatustieteiden tiedekunta, JY), sekä erikoistutkija Matti Taajamo (Koulutuksen tutkimuslaitos, JY). Tutkimukseni rahoittaa kasvatustieteen valtakunnallinen KASVA-tohtorikoulutusohjelma ja sen osaohjelma 'Oppiminen, oppimis- ja opetusympäristöt ja opettajankoulutus'. Väitöskirjatutkimus on osa Suomen Akatemian *Integroituminen ammattiyhteisöihin Suomessa* -hankkeesta, jossa tutkitaan maahanmuuttajien integroitumista työelämään muun muassa kielitaidon, monikielisten ja monikulttuuristen käytänteiden sekä identiteettien näkökulmasta. *Integroituminen ammattiyhteisöihin Suomessa* -hanke toteutetaan vuosina 2011–2014 Jyväskylän yliopiston Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskuksessa.

Annan mielelläni lisätietoa tutkimuksestani.

Ystävällisin terveisin,

Katarzyna Kärkkäinen

Lisätietoja *Integroituminen ammattiyhteisöihin Suomessa* -tutkimushankkeesta:
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Jyväskylä 18.2.2014

[Laitoksen nimi] rehtori
[Rehtorin nimi]
[Osoite]

RESEARCH PERMISSION – APPLICATION LETTER

I am applying for permission to conduct doctoral research on ‘Adult migrants’ integration and learning processes’.

The doctoral study deals with integration of adult migrants in Finnish society in the context of educational institutions. In addition, I examine connections between migrants’ integration and learning processes. The research helps answer questions like, how and what migrants are learning especially with regard to Finnish culture, society, and language and the role of education in migrant integration. I will collect qualitative data for this study from adult migrant students as well as from teachers/trainers.

There is little research done concerning migrant learning processes. However, it is especially important to understand the adult migrants’ integration in society and the meaning of learning and education in this process. During the integration process migrants learn about culture, identity, language and new behavioural ways of their new country of residence. When integration is successful, immigrants can fully participate in society and act as active citizens. By participating in education, migrants gain learning skills, which are of great importance in today’s world; hence, migrants gain the ability to update their knowledge, skills, and competencies.

In the dissertation study, I research integration of adult migrants in the context of educational institutions and learning in formal and informal situations. I am most interested in integration and learning in the context of developing and updating vocational skills. It is therefore important for the project that I interview migrant students as well as trainers from [institution’s name]

The research consists of two stages. The aim of the pilot study (spring 2012) was to test the relevance of the interview questions. I only interviewed a few people at that time. Now, during the spring of 2014, I intend to interview 15 people from different educational institutions, and possibly a few migrants and

trainers from [institution name] for the main study. All interviews are confidential. The interviews will be conducted in Finnish. It will also be possible to discuss the topic in English or Polish. The interviews will last about 1.5-2 hours.

I am doing my dissertation at the Finnish Institute for Educational Research and my supervisors are professor Jussi Välimaa (Finnish Institute for Educational Research, UJ), professor Pentti Moilanen (Faculty of Education, UJ), and senior researcher Matti Taajamo (Finnish Institute for Educational Research, UJ). The research is funded by KASVA-doctoral school and its subprogram 'Learning, learning and teaching environments and teacher education'. The doctoral study is part of the Academy of Finland project *Transforming Professional Integration*. The project concentrates on the integration of migrants in working life from the perspective of knowledge of language, multilingual and multicultural practices, and identities. The *Transforming Professional Integration* project will be carried out from 2011 – 2014 at the Centre of Applied Languages at the University of Jyväskylä.

I will be pleased to provide more information on my study.

Yours sincerely,

Katarzyna Kärkkäinen

More information on *Transforming Professional Integration* research project :
<http://integration.jyu.fi/>
Professor Sari Pöyhönen
Phone: 0400-248 057, Email: sari.h.poyhonen@jyu.fi

INFORMED CONSENT

I am voluntarily participating in the doctoral study on the topic of 'Migrants' integration and learning processes'. I understand that the doctoral study is carried out in collaboration with the project, Transforming Professional Integration by the Academy of Finland, in which the integration of migrants to working life is studied from the perspective of language skills, multilingual and multicultural practices, and identities. The Transforming Professional Integration project will be carried out from 2011 – 2014 at the Centre of Applied Languages at the University of Jyväskylä. The doctoral study will be carried out at the Finnish Institute for Educational Research at the University of Jyväskylä.

I agree that my interview will be audio recorded and that the interview can be used in research and teaching. The results of the study will be processed confidentially and reported in research publications and theses/dissertations in such a way, that my or any person's identity mentioned in the interview will not be revealed. With regard to teaching, permission is granted to use only short quotations from the interview so that my or other persons' identity will not be revealed.

The interview will be used only by the researchers working for the Transforming Professional Integration project and students doing their theses/dissertation for the project. Confidentiality of the interview is secured with researchers and students signing a confidentiality commitment. The audio recording will be stored by the Finnish Institute for Educational Research at the University of Jyväskylä in such a way, that any outsider has no access to it. After the project has finished, the audio-recorded interview will be safely stored for the purpose of further research use, and the transcripts of the interviews, from which the identity will not be revealed, will be permanently archived in the Finnish Social Science Data Archive, that is located at the University of Tampere, for the purpose of further scientific research and teaching related to the topic.

I am aware that I can refuse my further participation at any stage of this study.

Place data

Signature, printed name, contact information

More information on the doctoral research:
 Doctoral student Katarzyna Kärkkäinen
 Phone: 040-805 4258, Email: katarzyna.karkkainen@jyu.fi

More information on Transforming Professional Integration research project:
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APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

HAASTATELURUNKO KOULUTTAJAT

TAUSTATIEDOT:

Ikä:

Sukupuoli:

Kansalaisuus:

Siviilisääty (onko puoliso suomalainen?):

Kokemuksia asumisesta ulkomailla:

Kielitaidot: Kuinka kuvailisit kielitaitoasi?

Mitä sinä opetat?:

AIKUISMAAHANMUUTTAJIEN OPPIMISPROSESSIT

- 1) Minkälaisia kokemuksia sinulla on aikuismaahanmuuttajaopiskelijoiden opettamisesta? Mikä on helppoa ja mikä on vaikeaa?
- 2) Minkälaisia kokemuksia sinulla on aikuismaahanmuuttajien oppimisesta (ja opiskelemisesta)? Mikä on heille helppoa ja mikä vaikeaa?
- 3) Kuinka ja missä aikuismaahanmuuttajat oppivat parhaiten?

KOTOUTUMINEN: MAHDOLLISUUKSIA JA HAASTEITA

- 4) Minkälaisia kokemuksia sinulla on ammatilliseen koulutukseen osallistuvien aikuismaahanmuuttajien kotoutumisesta?
- 5) Mitkä asiat ovat tärkeitä, että aikuismaahanmuuttaja pärjäisi hyvin ja aikuismaahanmuuttajan arkielämä sujuisi hyvin Suomessa? Ja mikä tekee aikuismaahanmuuttajien arkielämän Suomessa vaikeaksi?

KOULUTUKSEN MERKITYS

- 6) Miksi aikuismaahanmuuttajat opiskelevat?
- 7) Miten koulutus auttaa aikuismaahanmuuttajaa arkielämässä Suomessa? Millaista koulutusta aikuismaahanmuuttajat tarvitsevat?
- 8) Mikä on sinun roolisi (kouluttajan rooli) aikuismaahanmuuttajien kotoutumisessa?

KOTOUTUMINEN JA OPPIMISPROSESSIT

- 9) Mitä kaikkea aikuismaahanmuuttajien tarvitsee oppia ja tietää, että he pärjäisivät hyvin ja heidän arkielämä sujuisi hyvin täällä Suomessa?
- 10) Missä, miten, ja keneltä aikuismaahanmuuttajat oppivat eniten suomalaisesta kulttuurista ja yhteiskunnasta? Missä, miten, ja keneltä aikuismaahanmuuttajat oppivat eniten suomen kieltä?
- 11) Kenen kanssa aikuismaahanmuuttajat puhuvat, kun heillä on ongelmia oppimisen, opiskelemisen ja asumisen kanssa Suomessa? Missä ja kenen kanssa aikuismaahanmuuttajat viettävät eniten aikaa aikuisopistossa ja miksi?

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE - TRAINERS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Age:

Gender:

Citizenship:

Marital status (Is your partner Finnish?):

Experience living abroad:

Language skills: How would you describe your language skills:

What subject are you teaching?:

ADULT MIGRANT STUDENTS' LEARNING PROCESSES

- 1) What kind of experience do you have teaching adult migrant students? What is easy and what is difficult?
- 2) What kind of experience do you have with adult migrant students learning (and studying)? What is easy and what is difficult?
- 3) How and where do adult migrant students learn best?

INTEGRATION: POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES

- 4) What kind of experience do you have with the integration of adult migrant students participating in vocational education?
- 5) What kinds of things are important, that adult migrant students manage well and that adult migrant students' everyday life in Finland makes good progress? And what makes everyday life of the adult migrant students difficult?

ROLE OF EDUCATION

- 6) What are adult migrants studying?
- 7) How does education help adult migrant students in everyday life in Finland?
What kind of education do adult migrant students need?
- 8) What is your role (trainer's role) in adult migrant students' integration?

INTEGRATION AND LEARNING PROCESSES

- 9) What kinds of things do adult migrants need to learn and know in order to manage well and ensure that their everyday life progresses well here in Finland?
- 10) Where, how, and from whom do adult migrants learn the most about Finnish culture and society? Where, how, and from whom do adult migrant students learn the Finnish language?
- 11) Who do adult migrant students talk to when they have problems with learning, studying, and living in Finland? Where and with whom do adult migrants spend the most time at the adult institute, and why?

HAASTATTELURUNKO AIKUISMAAHANMUUTTAJAOPISKELIJAT**TAUSTATIEDOT:**

Ikä:

Sukupuoli:

Kansalaisuus:

Siviilisääty:

Lapsia:

Kokemuksia asumisesta muissa maissa kuin Suomi:

Vieraiden kielten taidot (ja missä opit):

Milloin ja miksi tulit Suomeen?:

Mitä teit kotimaassasi?:

Kerro koulutuksestasi (kotimaastasi ja Suomesta: tutkintoja ja koulutuksia)

Oletko osallistunut kotoutumiskoulutukseen ja/tai suomen kielen kursseille?

Oletko joskus työskennellyt Suomessa?

OPPIMINEN JA OPISKELEMINEN SUOMESSA: HAASTEITA JA MAHDOLLISUUKSIA

- 1) Kerro, minkälaisia kokemuksia sinulla on oppimisesta ja opiskelusta Suomessa.
Miten oppiminen ja opiskeleminen Suomessa sujuu? Oletko huomannut, että sinulla on eri tapa oppia ja opiskella kuin suomalaisilla opiskelijoilla? Tarvitsetko sinä enemmän aikaa oppia asioita, kuin suomalaiset opiskelijat?
- 2) Mikä tekee oppimisen ja opiskelemisen Suomessa helpommaksi ja mitä vaikeaksi? Mikä auttaa sinua oppimaan ja opiskelemaan Suomessa?
Minkälainen opettaminen helpottaa sinun oppimistasi?
- 3) Mitä neuvoja antaisit aikuismaahanmuuttajalle, joka aloittaa opiskelun Suomessa?
- 4) Millä tavalla ja missä opit parhaiten (ammattitutkintoon liittyviä asioita)? Jos sinun täytyy oppia jokin ammattitutkintoon liittyvä asia – mitä sinä teet?

KOTOUTUMINEN: MAHDOLLISUUKSIA JA HAASTEITA

- 5) Kerro, miten elämäsi Suomessa sujuu? Mitä ajattelet asumisesta Suomessa tulevaisuudessa?
- 6) Mitkä asiat ovat tärkeitä, jotta pärjää hyvin Suomessa ja sinun arkielämäsi sujuu hyvin täällä? Ja mitä tekee sinun elämäsi Suomessa vaikeaksi? Mitä sinä voit suositella aikuismaahanmuuttajalle, joka on juuri tullut Suomeen?

KOULUTUKSEN MERKITYS KOTOUTUMISESSA

- 7) Miksi sä opiskelet? Mitä haluaisit opiskella ja oppia tulevaisuudessa? Miksi?
- 8) Millaista koulutusta sinä tarvitset ja miten sellainen koulutus auttaa sinua elämässäsi Suomessa?
- 9) Onko opiskeleminen ja oppiminen Suomessa muuttanut sinua? Jos, kyllä - millä tavalla/miten?

KOTOUTUMINEN JA OPPIMINEN

- 10) Mitä kaikkia aikuismaahanmuuttajan tarvitsee osata, että pärjää hyvin ja hänen arkielämä sujuu hyvin täällä?

- 11) Miten, missä ja keneltä opit eniten suomalaisesta kulttuurista ja suomalaisesta yhteiskunnasta sekä suomen kieltä? Vaikuttaako tämä tieto suomalaisesta kulttuurista ja yhteiskunnasta sinun oppimiseen ja opiskelemiseen? Jos kyllä, niin miten?
- 12) Ja voisitko nimetä muutaman asian, jotka sinä olet oppinut ja jotka auttavat sinua pärjäämään (arkielämässä) Suomessa? Missä opit ne? Millä tavalla opit ne? Keneltä?
- 13) Kenen kanssa sinä puhut, jos sinulla on joku ongelma asumisen tai opiskelemisen kanssa Suomessa? Missä ja kenen kanssa vietät eniten aikaa aikuisopistossa? Mistä te puhutte? Millä kielellä? Puhutteko suomalaisesta kulttuurista ja yhteiskunnasta? Missä ja kenen kanssa vietät vapaa-aikaa (suomalaisten tai muiden maahanmuuttajien kanssa)? Puhutko sinä heidän kanssa suomalaisesta kulttuurista ja yhteiskunnasta? Millä kielellä?

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE – ADULT MIGRANT STUDENTS**BACKGROUND INFORMATION:**

Age:

Gender:

Citizenship:

Marital status:

Children:

Experiences living in countries other than Finland:

Foreign language skills (and where have you learned them?):

When and why did you moved to Finland?:

What did you do in your home country?:

Talk about your education (from your own country and from Finland: degree studies and trainings):

Have you been participating in integration training and/or in Finnish language courses?:

Have you worked in Finland at some point?:

LEARNING AND STUDYING IN FINLAND: CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES

- 1) Tell about what kind of experience you have from learning and studying in Finland. How are learning and studying in Finland progressing? Have you noticed that you have a different way of learning and studying than Finnish students? Do you need more time to learn things than Finnish students do?
- 2) What makes learning and studying in Finland easier and what makes it difficult? What helps you to learn and study in Finland? What kind of teaching makes your learning easier?
- 3) What kind of advice would you give to an adult migrant, who is starting to study in Finland?
- 4) How and where do you learn the best (things related to vocation)? If you need to learn something related to vocation – what do you do?

INTEGRATION: POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES

- 5) Tell about how your life in Finland is going? What do you think about living in Finland?
- 6) What is important in order for you to do well in Finland and so that your everyday life runs smoothly? And what makes your life difficult in Finland? What could you recommend for an adult immigrant student, who has just arrived to Finland?

ROLE OF EDUCATION IN INTEGRATION

- 7) Why do you study? What do you want to study and learn in the future? Why?
- 8) What kind of education do you need and how does this kind of education help you in life in Finland?
- 9) Has studying and learning in Finland changed you? If, yes – in which way? How?

INTEGRATION AND LEARNING

- 10) What does an adult migrant need to know so that he/she manages well and that his/her everyday life progresses smoothly here?
- 11) Where, how, and from whom do you learn the most about Finnish culture and society as well as the Finnish language? Does this knowledge about Finnish culture and society affect your learning and studying? If yes, then how?
- 12) Can you name a few things that you have learned, which have helped you to manage (everyday life) in Finland? Where have you learned them? How did you learn them? From whom?
- 13) Who do you talk to, if you have a problem with living or studying in Finland? Where and with whom do you spend the most time at the adult institute? What do you talk about? In what language? Do you talk about Finnish culture and society? Where and with whom do you spend your free time (with Finns or other migrants)? Do you talk with them about Finnish culture and society? In what language?

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEWEES' BACKGROUNDS

Trainer interviewees:

INTERVIEWEE	GENDER/ AGE	FIELD OF TEACHING	LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY	LIVING ABROAD	WORK EXPERIENCE with migrants
Teacher 1	f/~45	Social and health field	Manages in English	No	A lot in vocational subjects as well as individual guidance
Teacher 2	m/~60	Social sciences	Good in Swedish, manages English, some German, French, Russian	Shortly, few months in Sweden	20 years, also involved in organising language, integration courses for migrants, teaching only for migrants and for groups where there are only a few migrants
Teacher 3	f/~55	Audiovisual communication	Manages in English and Swedish, some German	For short periods	A lot from many nationalities
Teacher 4	f/~60	Social and health, but teaches social sciences	Manages in English, some Swedish and German	Tourist visits	A lot in different subjects but also in preparatory courses for migrants, Finnish language courses, integration training
Teacher 5	f/~50	Cleaning services, also works as special teacher	Manages in English, some Swedish and German	No	20 years in teaching and guiding migrants
Teacher 6	f/~50	Social and health	Very good English language skills	4 years USA, 3 months in Germany	7 years of teaching migrant students integrated into Finnish language groups
Teacher 7	m/~40	Safety and security, teaches also physics, chemistry, building and construction	Some English and Swedish		5 migrants, four with Muslim background and one with European background
Teacher 8	f/~50	Cleaning services	Manages in English, some German	No	10 years of teaching migrant students, was also studying multicultural guidance, thesis about guiding of migrant students
Teacher 9	m/~30	Furniture design	Good English language skills, some Estonian	Tourist visits	Five migrants during the last five years, migrants in the same group with Finns
Teacher 10	m/~45	Building and construction	Some Swedish and English	No	A lot (course only for migrants as well as teaching migrants integrated into regular programs in Finnish)
Teacher 11	f/~50	Catering services	Manages in Swedish and English, some Russian	No	A lot and for many years, in every group there are migrants/ about 3 migrants per one group, teaching and guiding migrants in apprenticeship training
Teacher 12	f/~55	IT (also for immigrant's groups), students' guidance, educational planner, teacher in business and commerce	Good Swedish and English language skills	2 years in Sweden	A lot and for many years (in every group there are migrants), also guidance of individuals with a migration background

Migrant student interviewees (individual interviews):

STUDENT	GENDER/AGE	CITIZEN-SHIP	FIELD OF STUDY IN FINLAND	EDUCATION FROM HOME COUNTRY	LIVING ABROAD	WORK EXPERIENCE	WHY FINLAND?
Student 1	f/~45	Eastern European	Practical nurse training	Vocational education	Finland (12 years)	Trainee (12 months), elderly house (10 months), secretary tasks in home country	Marriage with a Finn
Student 2	m/~20	South American	Audio-visual communication	Upper secondary school	Finland (2 years)	Web designer in home country	Marriage with a Finn
Student 3	f/~30	Eastern European	Practical nurse training	Upper secondary school	Finland	Practical nurse job (FI)	Grandma Ingrain Finn
Student 4	f/~40	South American Finnish	Practical nurse training, also previously hair dresser training	Upper secondary school	Finland (19 years)	Practical nurse job (FI) administrative tasks in own country	Marriage with a Finn
Student 5	f/~35	African	Practical nurse training	Three out of four years of nursing training	Refugees camp in neighbouring country (5 years), Finland (5 years)	Traineeships in practical nursing	Asylum seeker
Student 6	m/~35	Eastern European Finnish	Safety guard, previously also practical nurse training	Three out of four years of nursing training	Finland (15 years)	Practical nurse job (11 years), entrepreneur - (1 year), safety guard job	Marriage with an Ingrain Finn
Student 7	m/~30	Eastern European	Construction field, previously also construction and building for immigrants	Art academy (4 years)	Russia (11 years), Finland (3 years)	Trainee in construction company (6 months, FI), just got a job in construction field, 11 years of working in building and construction in country different then home country	Marriage with an Ingrain Finn
Student 8	f/~30	Eastern European	Bakery – confectionary training, previously also Bachelor in English	Upper secondary school, 1-year of pedagogical studies	Finland (10 years)	Translator (FI), trainee in school and kindergarten (FI), trainee in bakeries and café (FI)	Marriage with a Finn

Student 9	f/~45	African	Practical nurse training	Vocational education	Finland (7 years)	Practical nurse job (FI – 5.5 year, on training and now on temporary contract, waitress and manager of restaurant in home country (17 years)	Husband of the same nationality living in Finland
Student 10	m/~30	English speaking country	Wood processing	Upper secondary school	Finland (7.5 years), other English speaking country (11 years), Mexico (8 months)	Working in Finland in construction field and in gardening centre, working in shop and as gardener in country different than students' home country	Marriage with a Finn
Student 11	f/~25	Asian	Catering services	Higher education degree in accounting	Finland (5 years)	Working in restaurant (apprenticeship 2 years, FI)	Marriage with a person of own background

Migrant student interviewees (group interview):

STUDENT	GENDER/A GE	CITIZEN- SHIP	FIELD OF STUDY IN FINLAND	EDUCATION FROM HOME COUNTRY	LIVING ABROAD	WORK EXPERIENCE	WHY FINLAND?
Student 12 (group interview)	f/no info	African	Cleaning services	Basic school,	Syria, Lebanon, Finland (10 years)	No work experience	Asylum seeker
Student 13 (group interview)	f/~40	Asian	Cleaning services	Basic school	Finland (?)	Voluntary traineeship in second hand shop (2 years, FI), child care at school in own home country (6 years)	Marriage with a Finn
Student 14 (group interview)	f/~40	East European	Cleaning services	Higher education degree in psychology and pedagogy	Germany, Finland	Internships in Finland (e.g., in shop), assistant manager in kindergarten in home country (10 years)	Marriage with a Finn
Student 15 (group interview)	f/~30	East European	Cleaning services	Cooking training	Finland (3 years)	No work experience from Finland, working in electronic field in home country	Husband of the same nationality having a job in Finland
Student 16 (group interview)	f/~40	Asian	Cleaning services	Basic school	Finland (4 years)	Internships (FI), working in factory in home country (5 years)	Marriage with a Finn
Student 17 (group interview)	f/~35	Asian	Cleaning services	Basic school	Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Hong Kong, Finland (7/8 years)	Internships (FI), working in factory and as shop assistant in home country	Finnish husband getting a job in Finland

APPENDIX 5: ORIGINAL FINNISH INTERVIEW QUOTES

Aineistoesimerkki 1

S1: No... toisaalta se on tosi vaikea opiskella, jos mä en tiä koskaan... en mä ole koskaan opiskellut täällä Suomessa ja meillä on periaatteessa erilaisia tapoja opiskella [maan nimi] ja Suomessa

KK: Joo.. Voisitko sä antaa esimerkkiä?

S1: Periaatteessa.. no... (breathing deeply)... meillä on erilainen kulttuuri ja meillä on ihan erilainen katse. (Opiskelija 1, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 2

S1: Aina kirjoitan, mitä mä... mun mielestä, että mä aina kirjoitan näin, kun meille periaatteessa opettaja opetti [maan nimi] ja periaatteessa ihan kuin minä ite ajattelen, että nyt sitä minun pitäis kirjoittaa, mä en tiä .. mä aina periaatteessa.. aina ...puhun opettajien kanssa "Anteeksi, jos mä oon kirjoittanut jotain väärin, mä en tiä se on meidän [...] Meillä on näin... ... oli... ... koulussa. (Opiskelija 1, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 3

#KK: No ja, mikä tekee tämä oppiminen ja opiskeleminen Suomessa vaikeaksi? (pause)
Mitä hankaloita sitä oppimista, opiskelemista Suomessa?

#S17: Suomen kieli on hankalaa

#S13: On se on totta

#S17: Matematiikka

#KK: Miksi?

#S17: Koska meillä on erilaisia materiaalia ja matematiikka oppiminen meidän kotimaa, ei sama kuin Suomessa

#KK: Millä tavalla se on eri?

#S17: Melkein kaikki

#KK: Mutta tämä kirja näyttää eri tavalla tai on eri tehtävät tai eri tavalla opetetaan sitä, millä tavalla se on eri?

#S16: Eri tavalla opetetaan... jos haluat oppia matematiikka pitää oppia paljon kirja esimerkiksi [...] [maan nimi]... mutta anna vain yksi paperi, mutta kyllä sä ... jos suomalainen 100% ymmärtää parempi kuin ulkomaalainen, koska minun opitaan erilainen.. niin. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 4

#KK: No miten se näyttää täällä työpaikalla, onko ihmisillä kärsivällisyyttä

#S17: En minä oikeasti osaa sanoa, mutta kun mä näin, he eivät puhu suoraan "Kaikki on hyvin ja hymyilee, mutta ei tiedä sitten mitä tapahtuu.. mitä sanoo... ..he eivät sama kuin maahanmuuttaja ??, me puhuu suoraan niitä, me tarvitsemme tämä ja tämä... ..eli työpaikka on aina "kaikki hyvin" ja hymyili ja eivät näyttää, minkälainen ihmisiä he olivat sisällä [...] se on hyvä, että he osaa selittää myöskin, että tämä on oikein, ei semmonen. Ei tarvitsi kysy, että "Onko kaikki hyvin, mitä sinä ajattelet?", "Kaikki on ok, kaikki on hyvin", mutta ei ole. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 5

#S17: Joo, esimerkiksi meidän, minun entinen työharjoittelupaikka[...] ennen meidän näyttö, minä kysyin. "Onko tämä oikea tavalla, onko tämä oikeat aineet ja tämä mitä minä teen kaikki on ok, koska minulla on näyttö"; "kaikki on hyvin, olet ahkera... .. ja olet hyvin, olet ihan aurinko", mutta sitten näyttö sitten se on minun syytä, että minä ei opieli se on mun syytä, että minä sitten opetan sun erilaisia tavalla ja sitten "Miksi sinä teit semmonen" ja sitten minä sanon: "Minä kysyin sulle monta kertaa sitten , ja sanot ainakin, että "Se on oikea ja se on kaikki hyvin ja on onnistuu", totta kai siinä onnistuu... .. eli pitäis olla vain rehellisesti. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 6

S10: [...]se on [opettajan nimi] tekee vähän sama... se on vähän vaikea.. minä haluan, no se on [opiskelijan kieli].. ei oo sama.. jos puhuu mies tai nainen kanssa... normaali heti he puhuu takaisin siinä tai he haluaa puhua sama aika kuin sinä... mutta suomi kieli ei oo sama... puolet puhuu sama heti siinä loppu ja puolet ajattelee ja minä... en tykkää... se on... minä tiedä.. se on tyyppi.. se on hänen oma tyyppi, mutta se liian vaikea minä, siksi, minä ajattelee "Onko minä sanon väärin tai onko hän ei ymmärrä, mitä minä sanon?" .. ei mitä ja lähtee pois (nauru)... ehkä hän halua sanoa, mutta toki minä en halua odottaa pitkä aika, jos minä odotan, sitten minun aivo sanoo... "No niin nukkumaan"... (nauru). (Opiskelija 10, puuuala, mies, englanninkielinen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 7

R: [...] jossakin kulttuureissa koetaan se että, jos opettaja on nainen ja se opiskelija on mies.. niin siinä on vähän semmonen.. että kuin se opettaja on vähän ylempänä siinä tulee sellainen haaste ja me kerran jouduin pienen keskustelun siitä käymään näitten herrojen kanssa, jotka meillä opiskeli.. kun Suomessa... se oli siihen aika, kun Tarja Halonen oli meillä presidenttinä... niin.. sanon, että "Meillä presidenttinäkin on nainen... kyllä teidän nyt vain pitää hyväksyä se.. meillä on naisopettajakin... .. tällöisiä asioita... että ne on niitä kulttuuriongelmia, mitä voi tulla sitten. (Rehtori)

Aineistoesimerkki 8

KK: Joo.. ok.. no ja onko vielä jotain muuta, jota voi olla.. sellaisia vaikeita maahanmuuttajaopiskelijoille ammatillisessa koulutuksessa tarkoitan?

T7: Se oon huomannu.. noissa tulitöissä, kun oon vetänyt että on hirveen hankala niitten tulla... tulla tuota ajoissa ja hirveesti niillä on kaikennäköisiä omia asioita aina sitten päivän mittaan... ja tääkin nyt sitten voijaan ajatella silleen, että länsimaisessa niin se toimii vielä, mutta sitten kun mennään tonne muihin maalaisiin, niin muihin kulttuureihin, niin niillä ei ole ihan se aikakäsitys samanlainen kuin suomalaisilla... .. se on huomattu niin kuin, että tullaan myöhässä ja lähetään kun on kauheesti kaikennäköistä muuta ja siihen opiskeluun ei välttämättä niin kuin, no panosteta... siellä istutaan vaan koska on pakko.. ite ei sitouduta tavallaan siihen, mikä nyt on lähtökohta aikuisopiskelussa, että ite pitäisi tehdä jotain. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

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Aineistoesimerkki 9

Vain englannin kielellä.

Aineistoesimerkki 10

KK: Aha... mutta, miten he opettavat? Mitä on huonoa hänen opetuksessa [opiskelijan kotimaassa]?

S2: Opettaja huutaa paljon asiaa... .. paljon.. paljon... tosi paljon... .. ja mä en näe mitä tää niinku, jos opiskelija ei tiedä mitä niinku koulussa ja opettaja sanoo mene pois.... näin... mutta [opiskelijan kotimaa] on normaali.. niinku opiskelija ei tietää, mitä opettaja sanoo... "Mene pois"... .. soittaa sun äiti tai isä... on aina niinku tää... tää on.. mä ajattelin, että tää on rehellinen paikka... joskus mä menen kouluun ja oon tosi rehellinen.. vain oppia ja ..

KK: Rehellinen tai rauhallinen

KK: Rauhallinen. (Opiskelija 2, audiovisuaalinen viestintä, mies, eteläamerikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 11

Vain englannin kielellä.

Aineistoesimerkki 12

S4: [...] koska meillä on tosi ääre.. äärettömän.. varsinkin meillä eteläamerikkalaisilla ja eurooppalaiset, meillä aika iso ero... oikeasti niinku siis kulttuuri (Opiskelija 4, lähihoitaja, nainen, eteläamerikkalainen tausta).

Aineistoesimerkki 13

T7: Jos ajatellaan, että kaikki on tänne pakolaisena tullu, nehän tietää, että ne ei ole niin kuin normireittiä Suomeen tullu sitten nämä kaikki... ja ... ja.. silloin tuota, kun puhutaan pakolaistaustaisesta niin, kyllähän ne on tottunut siihen elämään vähän eri tavalla, kuin mitä meillä Suomessa ja sitten jos ajatellaan esimerkiksi niin kuin [opiskelijan nimi], jota haastattelit, [opiskelijan nimi] on muuttanut muuten Suomeen ja sen kulttuuritausta on lähes sama.. ei ole mitään semmosta ongelmaa [opiskelijan nimi] kouluttaessa... pystyy niin kuin samaistumaan siihen normeihin.. [opiskelijan nimi] suuri ongelma on kieli, mutta muuten sillä ei ole oikeestaan niin kuin ongelmia siinä käytännön toteutuksessa. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 14

KK: No ja millaisia asenteita on tässä oppilaitoksessa ja yhteiskunnassa maahanmuuttajia kohtaan... sun mielestä?

T5: Ehkä sitten jonkun verran työpaikolla on riippuen, mistä maahanmuuttaja tulee... mutta en mä osaa ehkä.. siellä ehkä tietyllä tavalla ajatellaan, että esimerkiks entisen neuvostoliiton alueelta on tietynlaisia, aasialaiset on tietynlaisia, afrikkalaiset on tietynlaisia, mutta en mä osaa sanoo sitten, mitä heihin liittyy, mutta ehkä ajatellaan vähän sen alkuperän mukaan... .. ja...ja

KK: Ja vaikuttavatko ne jollain tavalla siihen oppimiseen?

T5: Ei oikeastaan.. ehkä mä sanoin tuosta aikaisemmin, että ehkä aasialaiset on semmosia, että he helposti sanoo, että he ymmärtää.. vaikka eivät sitten ymmärräkään... eli että, et heille pitää sit sanoa, että toistatko sen vielä.. että mitä, mihin huomenna mennään.. monelta tulet kouluun... .. ja sit ehkä tämmösiä yleisiä käsityksiä.. esimerkiksi aasialaiset on erittäin tämmösiä ahkeria, tai käsistään käteviä. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 15

KK: No ja mitä he voivat oppia koulussa tai opettajalta?

T5: No koulussa.. tietenkä sitä teoriatietoa... no sitten opettaja sitten ehkä eniten ohjaa heitä niinku näissä tavallaan tämmösissä.. miten mä sanoisin... jos on vois sanoo hassuja käyttäytymistapoja tai pelkoja tai.. niin ehkä niissä sitten eniten sillai luottamuksella, että

KK: Mitä se on tämä hassu.. hassut käyttäytymistavat? (nauru)

T5: No tuota.. no se ei varmaan oo hassuja joka paikassa, mutta sitten meilläkin on täällä semmonen, että nää talvitakki päällä ruokalaan.. tai mejän ravintolaan... kun meillä on nuoriakin täällä niin aikuiset on esimerkkinä tai pidetäänkö päähineitä tai no sitten on semmonen työvaatetus, että mitä jos on jotakin siihen omaan uskonnolliseen taustaan tai muuhun liittyvää, miten niinku.. saa kuitenkin toteuttaa sitä omaa uskontoa, mutta niin että voi toimia, esimerkiks että on oikeat työvaatteet ja oikea hygienia.. ja käyttää oikeita suojaimia. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 16

Vain englannin kielellä.

Aineistoesimerkki 17

T5: Tai sitten on semmosia henkilöitä.. ..tää on ehkä persoonakohtaisia, jotka aina niinku sanoo, että siellä omassa kotimaassa tää oli hoidettu, ehkä paremmin kuin.. kysytään jotain asiaa.. onko teillä kokemuksia, niin sitten ehkä se, että.. sitä omaa kotimaata tavallaan ikävöidään ja ehkä muistetaan, että siellä asiat toimi tosi hyvin, joissakin asioissa.. ja ehkä tää on vielä sillä tavalla, että

KK: Että ovat vähän sellaisia, että täällä ei toimi niin kuin he miettivät tai?

T5: Niin.. jo... ehkä se vielä korostuu sillä tavalla, että jos opiskelija on tullut entisen Neuvostoliiton alueelta.. se ehkä ärsyttää suomalaisia... siinä ehkä on se mejän historiakin takana. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 18

KK: No ja mitä mieltä olet.. millaisia asenteita on maahanmuuttajia kohtaan tässä oppilaitoksessa ja sitten ihan yhteiskunnassa... sun mielestä?

T7: Sanotaan näin, että jos puhutaan... nyt taas pitää erotella se, että puhutaanko länsimaalaisista vai sitten joistain muista. Länsimaalaisethan otetaan yhteiskuntaan paljon helpommin, koska niillä on hyvin pitkälle sama kulttuuritausta: venäläiset, saksalaiset, ruotsalaiset, jenkit, Iso-Britannia, Ranska.. niin paljon helpommin pääsee tänne... mutta sitten, jos ruvetaan puhumaan jostain... jostain... .. jostain tuota Burmasta, Intiasta.. arabimaista, Afrikasta.. kyllä ne on hyvin pitkälle ulkona siitä yhteiskunnasta ja ei niitä kovin herkästi oteta mukaan. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 19

#KK: Ok.. joo... ja miten tilanne näyttää aikuisopistossa? Millaisia asenteita on aikuisopistossa?

#S14: [...] No ihan ok... jokainen tekee oma työ, että pitäis olla ystävällinen ja...

#KK: Ok.. joo.. ja mitä ajatuksia on teillä #S13?

#S13: No aikuisopistossa tilanne on aika hyvä

#S15: Kaikki on ihan hyvin se kuitenkin

#S13: Riippuu minkälainen opettaja

Muut - (nauru) (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala).

Aineistoesimerkki 20

KK: Joo.. joo.. ja mitkä asiat ovat tärkeitä aikuismaahanmuuttajien kotoutumisessa.. sun mielestä?

T9: Varmaan se, että ne tuntee olonsa täällä hyväksytyks... ja

KK: Miksi se on tärkeä?

T9: Aaano tuota... no se on sen opiskelumotivaation takia, siis ihan kaiken niin kuin sen motivaation takia, että jos ne.. jos ne on lähtenyt uuteen paikkaan, uuteen maahan .. tuota niin... niin.. on se syy ollut mikä tahansa... niin se, että ne tuntee olonsa täällä sillä tavalla niin kuin hyväksytyksi... että ne on samanlaisia.. samanarvoisia.. ne saa samanlaista opetusta... samanlaisia niin kuin.. ne voi kokee ja voi tehdä samoja asioita kuin kaikki muutkin täällä.. niin kyllä ne on niitä tärkeitä juttuja. (Kouluttaja 9, puuala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 21

T9: [...] ehkä se että niin kuin alueellisesti ne erot on, että mistä se opiskelija tulee

KK: Ok.. ja millä tavalla ne ovat ne erot.. minkälaisia eroja sä olet huomannut?

T9: No siis.. varmaan siinä niin kuin niissä jo opituissa käytänteissä on ne erot.. .. eli siis ne kulttuurierot.. .. esimerkiksi meille tulee paljon venäläisiä.. tai on ollut venäläisiä ja tuota niin.. niin heillä on niin kuin aivan erilainen tapa niin kuin alkaa opiskella ja alkaa oppimaan uutta, kun taas sitten vaikka joku Uudesta-Seelannista tuleva [...]

KK: Voisitko sä antaa ihan konkreettisen esimerkin, että heillä on... millainen tapa heillä.. on aloittaa oppia.. venäläisillä ja.. vaikka tämä?

T9: Venäläiset.. venäläiset on tosi tarkkoja.. joo.. ne on hirveen tarkkoja... ja sitten [...] Ne on hyvin tarkkoja tekemään.. kun meillä enimmäkseen tehdään... niin ne on hyvin tarkkoja aina siinä ja sit.. ne on ehkä kuitenkin rohkeampia kysymään... .. ja sitten taas niinku muut.. ei voi sanoa, että muut... mutta esimerkiksi tässäkin tapauksessa tämä joka tulee Uudesta-Seelannista.. niin se on semmonen laajempi se ajatus siitä tarkkuudesta.. et ei sen oo niin väliä, että kunhan vaan tehdään jotain. (Kouluttaja 9, puuala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 22

T9: [...]... esimerkiksi venäläinen ja uusiseelantilainen oppimiskulttuuri on erilaisia... niin.. ja sitten tietysti venäläinen ja suomalainenkin on erilainen... ja tuota niin.. niin.. siinä, mutta ei niissä ehkä kuitenkaan ei ne niin suuria eroja oo... että niistä tulee hankaluuksia, mutta sitten jostain ihan niin kuin.. tuolta jostain Itä-Afrikasta, jos tulisi joku, niin sen oppimiskulttuuri voi olla niin toisenlainen, että.. että tuota niin.. se... siinä voi hetken aikaa mennä ihmetellessä, että.. että miksi täällä Suomessa opetetaan tällä tavalla näitä asioita

KK: Onko sulla kokemuksia?

T9: Ei oo kokemuksia

KK: Mutta voit kuvitella.. joo?

T9: Niin.. voin kuvitella, mutta ei kokemusta ei oo. (Kouluttaja 9, puuala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 23

S4: [...] mutta se, että myöntää iteelle, en me olla täydellisiä joka asioista ja minä olen hyväksynyt, esimerkiksi matematiikka mä en oo hyvä.. se oo semmonen.. se oo mun heikko ja mä tiedän sen.. silloin kun ihminen tunne oma heikot puolet ja omat plussa puolet, silloin asia ?? tietää, mihin sulla on potentiaali ja mihin sun pitää opiskella enemmän, esimerkiksi minä... matematiikka.. se on mun miinus puoli ja siihen oikeasti mun pitää tehdä töitä, siis töitä.. tosi paljon, ei se tulee noin vaan... .. mutta mä tunnen sen, ei se yllätys. (Opiskelija 4, lähihoitaja, nainen, eteläamerikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 24

T10: [...] mutta taas se kulttuuri on monesti vähän vaikea... jos ajatellaan sitä työelämään sijoittumista esimerkiksi... tämmönen esimerkki tulee, että meillä oli afgaanikaveri ja hän on ollut siellä omassa lähtömaassaan joku kyläpäällikkö.. joku kuitenkin.. et sillä ollu joku korkeampi virka siellä.. niin.. se tavallaan oli täälläkin se kyläpäällikkö, elikkä se ei voinut lähteä siihen suorittavan tason työhön, se.. ei voinut laittaa haalareita päälle.. sit, jos ollut muita afgaaneja... niin hän oli aina niinku se semmonen pomo siinä porukassa, elikkä se tavallaan seurasi se.. se rooli sieltä lähtömaasta tänne, vaikka sillä ei täällä ollut mitään merkitystä... mutta tämmönen on niin kuin todella hankala niin kuin, koska ei sinne työpaikalle otetaan mitään kyläpäällikköä pomoksi kuitenkaan (nauru). (Kouluttaja 10, rakennusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 25

R: [...] ja siinä voi tulla sitten sellaisia asioita, missä tavallaan niinku jompikumpi kokee tulleen loukatuksi esimerkiksi ja opettaja tai se oppilas... kun ei tunneta sitä kulttuuria... tervehditään väärällä kädellä tai jotakin vastaavaa.. niinku tiedät niin... ja... mutta se mitä niinku samanlaisempi kulttuuri kuin Suomessa.. niin.. ei tule niitä ongelmia. (Rehtori)

Aineistoesimerkki 26

T3: [...] esimerkiksi tuota 94 vuonna oli totta opiskelija

KK: Aha.. maahanmuuttajaopiskelija vai..?

T3: minulla maahanmuuttaja.. venäläinen.. insinööriopiskelija, miespuolinen... ja tuota sitten kun mä puhuin, opetin ja sen jälkeen kun tuli tätä tehtävää mä menin sitten sen

luokse niin kuin kertomaan siitä niin kuin tavallaan siinä että mikä tämä oli... mistä on kyse... ..Ja tuota sitten oliko se oli 94 ja 97 mä sattumoisin törmäsin.. olimme kahvijonossa peräkkäin niin törmäsin siihen ja tervehin häntä ja hän vain... sitten juteltiin joitakin niin sitten se sano, että ei hän niin tyhmä oo, kun mä pidän häntä tyhmänä, pidin siellä, että mä sitten että "Ai kuinka".. sano, että kun mä tulin aina niin kuin hänen luokseen sen jälkeen kun olin antanut tehtävänniin, niin hänen luokseen... ..Niin hän oli tulkinut sen, että tuota minä pidän häntä tyhmänä ja minä taas lähdin omista lähtökohdista, et halusin varmistaa, että kun savolainen puhuu, niin vastuu on kuulijalla. Että tämä, myös tämä Venäjältä kotoisin oleva henkilö sai niin kuin siitä toimeksiannosta selvän. Ja hän sai erittäin hyvin aina selvän, että se oli varmaan tarpeeton se mun varmistaminen. (Kouluttaja 3, audiovisuaalinen viestintä, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 27

Vain englannin kielellä.

Aineistoesimerkki 28

T5[...] ja sitten tavallaan se, että kun tullaan koulutukseen niin pitää tarkkaan niin kuin kuunnella ja päästää varmaan irti niistä ennakkoluuloista ja aikaisemmista käsityksistä [...] No esimerkiksi semmonen, että tarkkaan niin kuin kuuntelee ja .. ja tuota, että minkälaisia ohjeita annetaan ja esimerkiksi semmonen, että jotkut maahanmuuttajilla on tosi semmonen.. niin kuin opettajaa kohtaan..että tämmönen opettaja on tosi iso auktoriteetti.. et sitä me yritetään täällä vähän.. päästä eroon... että "Kysy, ole eri mieltä, jos sinusta tuntuu opettajan kanssa.. kyseenalaista"... .. Ja täntyypp-.. esimerkiksi tämäntyyppisiä ... tai sitten jotain tämmösiä... esimerkiksi, että hygieniaan liittyviä asioita.. että tavallaan niin kuin se tiedon rakentaminen niin sitä opiskella, kun tulee uutta tietoo.. niin sitten pitäis yrittää pystyä muuttaa sitä ajatteluaan... mutta tää on varmaan ihan suomalaisillekin. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 29

KK: No ja onko tämä opiskeleminen, oppiminen Suomessa muuttanut sinua... has learning and studying in Finland changed you?

S11: Joo.. kyllä.. joo..

KK: Millä tavalla?

S11: Joo mulla on... jos esimerkiksi siellä kotimaasta mä sain pelkkä kirje... esimerkiksi mä opiskelin siellä [maan nimi], kyllä osaa lukee.. ihan vain osaa lukee... jos tässä mä opiskelin Suomessa, sitten sä... mikä se on.. osa miettiä

KK: Miettiä?

S11: Joo... sitten tulee mä osaan miettiä... oo mitä mun tulevaisuus... mitä mun piti tehdä.. mitä mun pärjää elämässä... joo tämmönen...

KK: Joo.. joo.. hmm.. eli tällä tavalla...

S11: Osa miettiä... ja siellä on vain osaa lukee... en osaa miettiä joku asiaa.. joo vaikea, jos esimerkiksi, jos sinä sanot mulle yksi juttu.. sinä kertoo mulle yksi juttu... joo.. mä.. osaan erottaa.. mikä on oikein, mikä on väärin.. joo tämmönen... joo... vähän osaa miettiä.. tää on niin. (Opiskelija 11, ravintola-ala, nainen, aasialainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 30

KK: Niin.. no ja millä tavalla voidaan edistää sitä, että integroituu eri suuntaan ja ei oo sellaisia enklaveja niin kuin sä puhuit?

T10: No.. jotenkin minä ajattelisin, että siinä on yhtä.. yhtäläinen vastuu niin kuin meillä ja maahanmuuttajilla... jotenkin vain meidän pitää osata toimia yhdessä.. ehkä.. ehkä.. molempien pitää vähän antaa jotain pois...

KK: No minkälainen vastuu on maahanmuuttajilla ja suomalaisilla?

T10: Se, että.. esimerkiksi, että siellä työelämässä olisi vähän sallivampi asenne, eli maahanmuuttaja kuin menee suomalaiseen työpaikkaan.. niin.. varmasti sitä ensin vähän aika katsotaan ja vähän aika arvostellaan, mutta sitten kun huomataan, että se pärjää.. niin sitten olen varma, että se siinä vaiheessa otetaan myös mukaan siihen porukkaan, tavallaan maahanmuuttaja joutuu ehkä vähän niin kuin sille hammasta purren tavallaan sen pienen hetkeen siellä työpaikalla olemaan.. tavallaan erilaisena.. kyllä, sitä myönnän sen, että sitä varmasti perinteisillä työpaikoilla, mitä rakentaminenkin on... niin varmasti vähän aika katsotaan erilaisena... mutta sitten se hyväksytään mukaan ja sitten se niin kuin muut... elikkä... elikkä ehkä suomalaisten pitäisi nopeammin hyväksyä näitä maahanmuuttajia... olla heidän kanssa enemmän tekemisessä, elikkä se tulee sitä kautta, mitä enemmän olet tekemisessä heidän kanssa niin sitä paremmin huomaa, että... että ihan samanlaisia ihmisiä tässä ollaan

KK: No, minkälainen vastuu on maahanmuuttajilla?

T10: No ehkä vähän ymmärtää meitä suomalaisia... ja ymmärtää, että tätä suomalaisen työteon kulttuuria... ehkä sellaisia asioita. (Kouluttaja 10, rakennusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 31

T2: [...]Ja tietysti se, että kuinka pitkän aikaa on Suomessa oltu, se vaikuttaa myöskin... ..Et siinä niin kuin vähän vaaditaan semmosta kotoutumisaikaa... että on tietyn aikaa ollut ja rupee ymmärtää tätä suomalaista yhteiskuntaa ja rakenteita ja toimintoja niin. Kyllä se varmaan vaikuttaa siihen oppimisprosessiin ja oppimisen nopeuteen [...] No tietysti semmoinen yksinkertaisten asioiden oppiminen ja asiat, että mitä voidaan niinku ihan lukemalla oppia, niin ne on helpompia. Mutta, sitten tää oleskeluaika Suomessa pitenee, silloin kokemukset suomalaisesta yhteiskunnasta paranee, silloin voidaan niitä kokonaisuuksia hahmottaa... ..Että semmonen kokonaisuuksien hahmottaminen, se voi olla vähän vaikeeta... ..Mutta, että varmasti niin, jotain yksityiskohtia niin niitä pystytään totta niin oppimaan nopeammin... mut tuota niin.. kyllä se oppiminen varmaan liittyy ihan tähän Suomessa oloaikaan, että tuota niin... se vaatii semmosen tietyn kotoutumisajan ja sen jälkeen sitten pikku hiljaa ruvetaan asioita oppimaan. (Kouluttaja 2, yhteiskunnalliset aineet, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 32

T3: [...] ja tuota sitten se työharjoittelu kun oli päättymässä ... niin XXX oli iloinen siitä, että suomen kieli on kehittynyt ihan valtavasti... ..Mut hän paneutu. Sitten hän suoritti tutkinnon siellä... ..Mutta haasteena oli se, että kun tulee eri kulttuurista... ..Ja täällä kun meillä on tää immateriaalioikeus on olemassa. Eli tekijänoikeudet sitten näihin asioihin ja se ajatellaan niin kuin kansallisesti on tää lainsäädäntö... ..niin, siellä meinas jäähä tällaisista juridisista osaamisesta meinas jäähä se tutkintosuoritus suorittamatta, kun hän lähti siihen, tähän audiovisuaalisen viestinnän tuotteita, teki sillä immateriaalioikeustiedolla, minkä hän oli muistaakseni Irani tai Afganistan oli hänen taustansa... ..Ja se on virheellinen se... ei suomalainen... se on niin kuin väärin... eli Suomessa rangaistava teko on olemassa miten hän toimi täällä[...] mutta se on sillä tavalla, että tota haasteellista... sitten näitten kulttuurien erot... ..Eli jos pärjää normaalisti yhteiskunnassa, oppii tän suomalaisen järjestelmän niin sitten

pitää opetella tällä alalla myös tämä immateriaoikeusjoka joka voi täysin [...] ...Eli tästä tulee sellaisia haasteita... ..Että, se että mitä sä oot esimerkiksi tuotantoyhtiössä kuvannut Iranissa ... niin, niin sä et sitä suoraan voi Suomeen ottaa, hyödyntää täällä sitten sitä, että kuvaamaasi materiaalia... ..Että täällä on sellaisia tiettyjä... ..koukeroita.. ja se, jos ajatellaan, eihän sitä ymmärrä [...] koska tulee eri kulttuurista. (Kouluttaja 3, audiovisuaalinen viestintä, nainen)

Aineistoiesimerkki 33

S3: [...] ensin mä halusin muuttaa takaisin... ..ensimmäiset pari vuotta... en halua opiskella suomen kieli eikä mitään... ..mutta kun mulla oli se... mä olin 15-vuotias, kun muutin tänne, täytin 16 sit kuukauden päästä... se on vaikea ikä, kun kaikki kaverit jäi sinne ja... mut sitten jotenkin se.. siis kaikki mieli on muuttuu sitten, kun mä sain ensimmäisen työpaikan ja kun siellä on arvostettu, sitten on paljon muitakin paikoille tarjottu.. mut mä en pystynyt monissa paikossa olla saman aikaan ja sit se niinku kasvoi se halu olla lähihoitaja ja sit opiskella ja asua tässä. (Opiskelija 3, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoiesimerkki 34

KK: Joo, okei... Ja miltä se tuntuu opettaa maahanmuuttajaopiskelijoita?

T2: No, tietysti minulla on se etu, että kun mä oon maahanmuuttajien kanssa aika paljon ollut, niin ei se niin vierasta ole minulle ole, mutta tuota niin huomaa sen, että kielitaito, se on se isoin ongelma varmasti, että... ..että, puutteita suomen kielen taidossa. (Kouluttaja 2, yhteiskunnalliset aineet, mies)

Aineistoiesimerkki 35

T12: [...] että... en mä sille.. mä en hirvesti ajattelen maahanmuuttajaa.. he on maahanmuuttajia.. vaan he on mun opiskelijoita ja he ehkä puhuu vähän huonommin suomee.. se on niinku se.. se kieli on kuitenkin se, mikä siinä eniten häiritsee. (Kouluttaja 12, merkonomikoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoiesimerkki 36

KK: No miten tämä kieli ja tämä kulttuuritausta.. tai vaikutti se, että he eivät päässeet läpi?

T7: No kielihän on se, että kun meilläkin on tuo laki aika vahvasti tuolla meidän puolella ja ne ei pysty sitä niin kuin omaksumaan... ei ne ymmärrä sitä... .. ei ne pysty tuottamaan ei kirjallista, eikä oikeestaan puhuttakaan, sillä tasolla, että pystyttäs samaan niinku järkevää selvyyttä, että mitä sieltä niin kuin yritetään sanoa. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoiesimerkki 37

Vain englannin kielellä.

Aineistoiesimerkki 38

T9: [...] mutta sitten niin kuin opetuksessa tulevat ongelmat niin... tai mitkä on niin kuin vaikeimpia... ehkä kuitenkin jollain tavalla semmosen teoreettisen asian opettaminen.. siinä saada se maahanmuuttajaopiskelija keskittymään siihen, kun ei se kuitenkaan ihan kaikkea sataprosenttisesti ymmärrä.. .. vaikka se puhuis suomea... se on ehkä se...

KK: Että sitten on vaikeampi hänen keskittyä?.. Miten sä olet huomionnut sitä?

T9: Kyllä

KK: Miten sä olet huomioinut sitä, että on [...] Miksi mietit, että se on vaikea.. keskittyä?

T9: No sitten, jos kysyy opiskelijalta jotain, niin se ei oo kyllä.. no silleen kuunnellut oikeestaan lainkaan [...] että se on sitten sulkenut... pistänyt aivot kiinni ja tehnyt jotain aivan muuta... mutta sehän voi johtua siis opiskelijasta itsestään.. se ei välttämättä oo kaikilla maahanmuuttajaopiskelijoilla sama... .. mutta niin kuin hyvin herkästi... hyvin herkästi käy sillä tavalla.. ne ei vain niin kuin ymmärrä.. ja sitten ne ei halua enää edes kysyäkään... että mistä asia niin kuin.. tai mikä oli sitten niin kuin asian tarkoitus. (Kouluttaja 9, puuala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 39

T4: Niin useimmiten se ensimmäinen johtopäätös se on se, että se johtuu siitä että hän ei ymmärrä kielen takia niitä asioita, mutta sittenhän se, jos se vain niinku jatkuu ja jatkuu.. ja tuota.. yleensä ehkä viimeistään, jossakin sitten työssäoppimisen jaksolla.. vaikka siellä hoidon ja huolenpidon jaksolla se tulee jotenkin siellä selkeämminkin esille vielä, että (breathing deeply)... esimerkiksi.. esimerkkinä ihan tämmönen, että viime loppukesästä oli yks opiskelija, joka ei selviytynyt kotihoidon asiakastyössä... että hän ei löytänyt asiakkaiden koteihin ja hänellä meni asiakkaiden avaimet jotenkin.. että hän ei niinku hahmottanut sitä työjärjestystä, että milloin hän menee minnekin, kenenkin asiakkaan luokse ja sitä työprosessin kulkua.. mikä kotihoidossa on aika ratkaiseva sitten, että siellä ylipäätään voi selviytyä... niin siinä entisestään varmistu semmonen ajatus, että ei johdu kieliongelmasta. (Kouluttaja 4, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 40

S4: [...] Mikä sua naurattaa... mua on naurettu.. ihan vähän... no koska mä puhu "huono suome"... ne oo tehnyt vitsi "Mä puhu huono suome" ja mä sanoo, että "Mitä sitten?", tiedätkö ne on tehnyt vitsi.. mua välillä niinku ärsytti. (Opiskelija 4, lähihoitaja, nainen, eteläamerikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 41

S4: mut aina esimerkis, kun mä opiskelen aina mä menen edessä... ..mä menen edessä, koska ne muut häiriötekijät niinku jää takana ja sit muut oikeasti ja sit muut suomalaiset katsoo... "Miksi sä menet edessä?" ja sitten aina mun pitää perustella... kun kaikki muut suomalaiset ne menee niinku takana.. ja mä menin edessä... sit.. ne vähän katto, että... sen takia ne on sanonut mulle, että mä oon vahva persoona ja mä oon, niin se on... mä sanoo ei se liittyy siihen, koska oikeasti niinku halua kuuntelee ja mä oon semmonen, kun mä menen, mä tykkään mennä edessä varsinkin nyt, kun mä opiskelen, koska mä haluan pysyy

Kk: Keskittyä paremmin?

S4: Koska siellä ne muut suomalaiset, totta kai ne ymmärrä oma puhekieliä ja voi jutella tai jotain tehdä, mut ne kuuntelee, mut mä haluan oikeasti kuunnella oikeasti tarkasti... mitä se tarkoittaa, sen takia mä menen edessä aina... mä menen jossain, tiedätkö, jos mä haluan oppii, minä menen ensimmäiseen riviin... .. sit kun mä en ymmärtää jotain, mä noston käden, mä sanoo "Sorry, mä en oo ymmärtänyt tätä asiaa"... .. "Anteeksi, mä en ymmärrä, mä en pysty jatkamaan, mä en pysty ymmärtämään niinku ne muut jutut... ..ja aina mä pysähtyy "Sorry, mä en ymmärrä, mitä tää tarkoittaa?" (Opiskelija 4, lähihoitaja, nainen, eteläamerikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 42

#KK: Joo.. niin.. ja sä kerroit, että jotkut eivät ole ystävällisiä? [...] Mitä sä tarkoitat? Millä tavalla?

#S12: No ei haluavat, ehkä se on meille vieras kieli ja joku pitää kärsivällinen meidän maahanmuuttajien kanssa, kun me opiskelee suomalaisien kanssa. Mutta, jos me ollaan suomen kielen kurssilla, me kaikki maahanmuuttajat autamme toisia. Joskus jotkut tarvitsee apua, mutta suomalaisen kanssa ei ne kaikki haluavat "miksi tämä tulee näin, jos sinä et osaa aina kieli" tai jotakin.. se menee. Mä kuulen se menee aika paljon joskus ja mulle vähän ikävä tuli, mitä tämä on.. tuntuu ihan. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 43

T11: [...] kansalaisuuksia on monta, mutta suomi on meidän opetuksen kieli.. tai yhteinen kieli, mitä me puhutaan ja millä opetetaan ja mitä me niin kuin toivottavasti ymmärretäänkin. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 44

KK: Joo.. no ja mikä tekee sitten tämän oppimisen ja opiskelemisen vaikeaksi?

S11: Vaikeaksi on.... sä tarkoitat?

KK: Mikä tekee vaikeaksi... että mitä vaikeuttaa oppimista, opiskelemista? What makes learning and studying difficult?

S11: Joo.. se tarkoittaa.. joo.. joo.. joskus.. esimerkiksi opettaja.. se antaa jotain tehtävä.. pitäisi tehdä jo.. minun pitäisi tehdä.. mutta ei oikeasti perusta.. en osaa aloittaa sitä

KK: Tämä aloittaminen on niin vaikea

S11: Aloittaminen on niin vaikea.. jos esimerkiksi.. joo se.. se sanoo, voisit sä tehdä jotain juhlapalveluista esimerkiksi.. joo silloin.. en mä osaa aloittaa jotain juttu.. jos, mä tulen.. mun esimies ja sitten se voi kerto mulle mitä aloitus.. miten se aloittaa.. sen jälkeen mä osaan tehdä... mikä.. eteenpäin... ja se, se aloitus on niin vaikeata mulle.

KK: No miksi sulla tämä aloittaminen.. tehtävän aloitus vaikeaa?

S11: Joo.. se on.. mun mielestä kielitaito ei oo ihan oikeasti täysin... joo täysin, siksi vaikea aloitus.. joo..

KK: No oliko sulle.. silloin kun sä olet opiskellut [maan nimi].. oliko sulle helpompi aloittaa tekemään ne tehtävät..

S11: Ei oo ihan kaikki, mutta kyllä joskus sekin juttu... se riippuu mistä aineesta... joo... mulla, jos... mitä mä voin sanoo.. matematiikka on se.. minusta tuntuu helppo.. esimerkiksi englantia.. voin kirjoittaa jotain.. jotain teema.. tai jotain ehkä perheasiasta tai sitten.. aloitus.. en osaa kirjoittaa sitä aloitus.. vaikka äidinkielenkin.. se on tämmönen

KK: Aloittaa kirjoittamaan?

S11: Joo.. aloitus... aloittaa kirjoittamaan.. ihan vaikea... miksi en osaa selvittää siitä, mistä se johtuu. (Opiskelija 11, ravintola-ala, nainen, aasialainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 45

KK: Joo.. no mikä muu auttaa ymmärtämään asioita?.. ymmärtämään ja oppimaan?

S11: Ymmärtämään.. joskus puhumalla ja joskus tekemällä... ehkä.. mutta joskus, jos... se voi kirjoittamalla se auttaa mua.. jos vaikka, esimerkiksi opettaja se puhuu mä en oikeasti ymmärtää.. se puhekieli ja kirjakieli on ihan eri ja silloin "Voisitko kirjoittaa mulle ja sitten?" ihan.. ja se kirjoittamalla on se sujuu hyvin meille.. se auttaa. (Opiskelija 11, ravintola-ala, nainen, aasialainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 46

T12: [...] mut, et.. en mä semmone, miten he on kotoutuneet.. niin mulle on hirvein vaikea sanoo... koska tavallaan mä en.. mä en niin paljon tarvi sitä tietoo.. se tieto, mikä mä tarviin on se suomen kielen taito.. miten sillä pärjäävät. (Kouluttaja 12, merkonomikoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 47

KK: No ja miten luokassa toimii, kun he ovat suomalaisten opiskelijoiden kanssa.. sujuuko kaikki hyvin?

T5: Pääosin sujuu.. suomalaiset opiskelijat sanoo, että on tosi mukavaa, että on maahanmuuttajia mukana.. ja meillähän nyt pyritään sillä tavalla kun maahanmuuttaja tulee suorittamaan tutkintoa, että.. et hänellä olis ne valmiudet, että hän pystyy sen tutkinnon suorittamaan.. riittävät..

KK: Millaiset valmiudet?

T5: Riittävä kielitaito.. ja jotakin työkokemusta siltä alalta.. mutta tietysti sitten sen huomaa, että jos se kielitaito ei oo riittävän hyvä ja esimerkiksi kun kysytään jotakin.. niin maahanmuuttaja rupeekin vastaamaan ihan väärään asiaan, että hän ei ymmärrä kysymystä ja sillon muut saattaa tavallaan tuota vähän niinku pitkästyä. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 48

T3: [...] Mä oo tätä tähän saakka en oo ajatellut ollenkaan tätä... ..Nyt on tullut... sellaista kohtaantoa... ..että, tätä täytyy ajatella... ..Ja mä en oo aikaisemmin ajatellut esimerkiksi sen kielitaidon tärkeyttä... ..sillä tavalla, mutta nyt olen todennut että... ..kun tuli valittua sellainen opiskelija, joka puhuu suomea erittäin hyvin... ..Mutta, hän ei ymmärrä, mitä hän puhuu... ..Eli sillä on niin kuin... ..sanontoja on tarttunut, mutta hän ei tiedä yhtään, mitä siellä on ja tämä oli harha... ..todennäköisesti tää oli harhauttanut tämä, joka tekee näitä haastattelijoita sillä tavalla, että se ei ollu epäilly sitä kielitaitoo ja nyt minulla on tällainen opiskelija, joka todellisuudessa ei ymmärrä suomea... ..Ja sitten, se kotoutuminen tällaiseenniin kaikki nämä asiat. (Kouluttaja 3, audiovisuaalinen viestintä, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 49

KK: Joo... kyllä, kyllä ... no sanoit vähän: että missä aikuismaahanmuuttajat oppivat parhaiten? Eli, sä puhuit vähän, että tekemällä ja työpaikalla...

T3: Tekemällä ja työpaikalla, mut kun se on se suomen kieli riittävä... ..Sen täytyy olla riittävä [...]Tässä sillä tavalla, että meillä opettajat on täällä, joittenkin kohdalla todenneet, että parhaiten oppii työssä oppimassa ...

KK: Työssä... aha..

T3: Opettajat [...] toiset opettajat, mutta työpaikolta on tullut viestiä, että pitää ensistään jos on esimerkiksi graafisen alan tehtäviä tekee... ..Niin, pitää verbin taivutukset opetella ensin ja täähän on tulkittava tämä asia sillai, että suomen kieli [...]Niin siinä tulee niitä haasteita, et työelämästä halutaan niin kuin tavallaan koulun penkille... ..Verbien taivutusta... Tarkoittaa sitten tällaista ihan perinteistä meidän suomen kielen opetusta [...] Niin... tässä on niin kuin kaks maailmaa

KK: Joo, joo, niin, niin, että he oppivat parhaiten tuolla, mutta työpaikasta sanovat että "Mene kouluun"..

T3: ... työelämä sanoo "Koulun penkille" Niin "Koulun penkille suomea opettelemaan".. niin.. ja täältä sitten, että "Menet työpaikalle niin opit". (Kouluttaja 3, audiovisuaalinen viestintä, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 50

S4: [...] että sit niinku esimerkiks me, joka tulee oma vapaaehtoinen... vapaaehtoisesti... niinku mä, mä tulin vapaaehtoinen tässä, tulin koska mä halusin... ei mun oo pakko.. mä menen, milloin vain tahansa tässä.. mun maassa ei oo mitään sotaa, eikä niinku semmosta.. sitä mä niinku mietin, tiedätkö ei voi niinku mennä... se tehdä ne on katkeroitunut tässä, siis vielä toisen niinku kohtelee, miten ne kohtelee... niin tällain... se tuntuu tosi ikävä... se on moni niinku, siinä on niinku tunteellisia siinä, mitä mä koko ajan niinku mä mietin niitä, niitä ihmisiä, mitä mä on nähnyt ja esimerkiks mun kaveri on pakolainen... ja mä kattelin niin kun niitä... hän kaipasi paljon hänen sukulaisia, hänen lapsia ja. (Opiskelija 4, lähihoitaja, nainen, eteläamerikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 51

KK: No ja minkälaisia kokemuksia sinulla on ammatilliseen koulutukseen osallistuvien aikuismaahanmuuttajien kotoutumisesta?

T7: No vähän sama juttu mun mielestä, että.. ne jätetään aika oman onnensa nojaan, jos niissä ei ole.. tai niillä ei ole perhesuhteita eli, että he ovat esimerkiks avioliiton kautta suomeen tulleita, niin... ..niin kyllähän ne aika yksin on... ja sitten ne.. ajautuvat hakeutuvat jonkinnäköseen ryhmittymään porukkaan, onko ne omanmaalaisia, muunmaalaisia, mutta tuota ei niitä kukaan hirveesti auta, eikä jeesaa kun ne siviilissä on... ..ei niillä ole mun mielestä semmosta no... mitekä sen vois sanoa.. sanoo totta tukihenkilö, joka sillä kulkis matkassa vaan.. ne tulee tänne kahdeksaan ja lähtee sitten kolmen aikaan pois ja ilta, viikonloppu niin ne on oman onnensa nojassa. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 52

T6: [...] niin tuota, ainakin mitä ite oon niinku huomannu, että kyllä ne maahanmuuttajat, joitten niinku elämänsisältö tämän opiskelun ulkopuolella on sen oman perheen hoitaminen ja siellä omassa perheessä toimitaan sillä omalla äidinkielellä... ..niin heidän kielitaito mun mielestä on niinku... tulee tavallaan niin kuin jäljessä verrattuna siihen.. niihin henkilöihin, jotka ovat vaikka naimisissa suomalaisen kanssa... ..ja jotka.. joilla ei ole sillä tavalla välttämättä kovin läheistä kontaktia siihen oman äidinkielen ryhmänsä kanssa... ..niin kyllä heillä tavallaan sitä... se kielitaito on niin kuin eri tyyppisesti ja siellä on niin kuin sitä... niin kuin laajempaa se sanavarasto ja ymmärtävät sitä suomalaista yhteiskuntaakin laajemmasti. (Kouluttaja 6, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 53

KK: Joo.. joo... no minkälaisia kokemuksia sinulla on aikuismaahanmuuttajien oppimisesta ja... tai opettamisesta?

T7: Nyt.. pitä.. vähän tarkentaa, että minkälaisella taustalla omaavia ihmisiä me nyt tarkoitetaan [...] Eli, jos me puhutaan länsimaisista vastaan sitten.. sitten tuota muunmaalaisten, esimerkiksi... etelä... tuota etelä... tai sanotaan afrikkalaiset kautta.. aasialaiset tämmöset... niin, niin

KK: Kyllä, voit kertoa kaikista näistä ryhmistä..

T7: Eli, mähän koulutin fysiikkaa, kemiaa... niin sanotusti noille maanrakennus.. kun maahanmuuttajille eka vuonna ja nehan ei suomeksi sanottuna ymmärtänyt yhtään mitään... mutta jos puhutaan länsimaisista: Venäjä, Saksa, Ranska, Ruotsi, Jenkit.. tämmösiä näin... niin niiden kanssa pystytään kommunikoimaan.. ja ne jopa oppii... mutta jos puhutaan esimerkiksi arabitaustaisista, muslimitaustaisista, Intia, Indonesia.. sieltä.. niin... heille on suomeksi sanottuna aika hankalaa opettaa..

KK: Ok.. ja miksi on niin?

T7: Yksi on se opiskelukulttuuri, mikä niillä on.. tai sanotaan että niillä ei ole siellä sitä.. eli siellä ei ole sitä opetusta juurikaan ollut ja ne ei ole tottunut opiskelemaan

KK: Eli olivat sellaiset opiskelijat, joilla ei ole koulutaustaa aikaisemmin?

T7: Kyllä, käytännössä niillä ei ole koulutaustaa aikaisemmin... .. Ja se näkyy siinä sitten, että ne ei osaa tehdä... ei osaa opiskella... .. eli vastaa mejän... mejän niin kuin lapsia suurin piirtein tuolla ala-asteella.. sama melkein

KK: Sama taso... matematiikassa tai fysiikassa?

T7: Kyllä, ja kaikessa muissakin tekemisessä hyvin pitkälle... .. että siinä niin kuin on ihan selvä ero, että jos puhutaan niin sanotusti länsimaisista.. niin täällä kuitenkin on sen verran pohjakoulua kaikilla, että ne osaa.. osaa opiskella jo [...] Ja pohjatietoo löytyy sieltä. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 54

T3: [...] ja meillä on erilaiset oppimiskäsitykset myös opettajilla.. ..et sillä lailla ja minäkäsitykset ja niin pois päin... ..Niin sehän lähtee... että me olemme jo kirjava joukko, jotka järjestämme tätä oppitunteja ja pohdimme näitä, että... niin. (Kouluttaja 3, audiovisuaalinen viestintä, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 55

Vain englannin kielellä.

Aineistoesimerkki 56

T5: Niin että on semmosia maahanmuuttajia, jotka on tullut tänne siis.. äiti on tullut lasten kanssa ja mies on jäänyt sinne.. ja tuota sitten sie.. on niin paljon niitä maahanmuuttajalla erilaisia virastokäyntejä ja muita käyntejä ja ehkä lasten kanssa ongelmia koulussa.. ja kun lapsia on neljä.. viisi.. seitsemän.. niin se yksinhuoltajan arki maahanmuuttajana voi olla aika raskasta.. Joku sano sitä, että kun ei ole muuta, kun.. tai että ei oo minkäänlaista verkostoo.. [...] on tosi raskasta olla yksinhuoltaja-maahanmuuttaja-aikuisopiskelija... ja vielä kuin lapsia on monta. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 57

KK: Ja onko sellaisia asioita, että ovat helppoja, kun sä mietit sitä opettamista tai sä sanoit että sä et erota oikeasti, mutta... jos?

T12: Helppoa mun mielestä maahanmuuttajien kanssa on se, että he on kauhean tyytyväisiä kun heitä ohjaa.. he ottaa ilolla vastaan asiat,, et he ei oo semmosia tyytymättömiä niin kuin suomalaiset usein.. semmosia narisijoita vain.. ja he on niin kuin kauheen, kun he pääsee meille opiskelemaan.. he tekee paljon työtä sen eteen ja se tekee tietty tavalta sitä helppoa.. koska he hoitavat hommansa sitten todella hyvin... jos maahanmuuttaja opiskelija otetaan opiskelee niin.. hän ei yleensä koskaan keskeytä.. hän todella opiskelee ja tekee sen mitä pitää.. eli.. tavallaan se on myös helppoa heidän kanssa.. eli semmonen ehkä semmonen ahkeruus ja se että arvostaa usein sitä, että meiltä saa koulutuspaikan toisiin kun suomalaiset pitää usein itsestään selvänä "Jo, mä pääsee opiskelemaan ja sitten mä voin tehdä mitä huvittaa ja mä vähänkin, mä keskeytän ja"... ei.. ei kunnioitetaan sitä tavalla, että tarjotaan tavallaan ilmainen opiskelupaikka ja voi opiskella... .. mutta maaahanmuuttaja tulee arvosta sitä. (Kouluttaja 12, merkonomikoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 58

KK: Miksi sä halusit opiskella?

S5: Haluaisin opiskella, koska... koska.. miten sanotaan suomeksi... elämä, mikä mä voi sano tä... mä haluaisin parantaa oma elämä tässä uusissa maassa... sen takia mä oli opiskelija, että saattaa joku todistusta... .. ja sitten saada joku töitä ja sitten että, hallinta oma elämä... parantaa sitä. (Opiskelija 5, lähihoitaja, nainen, afrikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 59

KK: Millä tavalla tämä rohkeus on... mitä sä tarkoitat oikeasti?

S5: Pitää lukea... mitä sanoo... pitää lukea säännöllisesti... lukea vaikka kymmenen kertaa... niinku ymmärtää, mitä se oikeasti tarkoittaa... .. se rohkeus... pitää puhua se kieli... sitä kautta on helppo kehittää myös se kielitaito ja ymmärtää vieläkin... .. enemmän ja keskustella työryhmässä tai kouluryhmässä se aiheesta.. sekin se on rohkeus. (Opiskelija 5, lähihoitaja, nainen, afrikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 60

S5: Mitä mä voisin sanoa?... ah... ah... no.. mä voisin sanoa, että olla rohkea... ..ja lue paljon... ja kysy, jos ei ymmärtää jotakin, ja... .. mitä vielä... ..niin keskustele paljon sitten omasta alasta jutusta, vaikka näin... ja ei mikä ei olla mahdotonta, jos...?? aina kokeilla... kokeilla.. yrittää, että.. tai sitten, tuli jotakin hyvää tai... niin. (Opiskelija 5, lähihoitaja, nainen, afrikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 61

S1: Mä tulen tänne opiskelemaan ja mulle tärkeä asia saada ammatti... ..Ei mitä... semmosia... .. mulla on tällä... tällä hetkellä se vähän semmonen tilanne, että mä haluan opiskella... ..ja mä haluan saada ammatti. Jos joku suomalaista ei tykkää musta tai jotain... ..Se on hänen ongelma.. ei minun. (Opiskelija 1, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 62

S1: Suomen kielen ymmärtäminen.. periaatteessa se on ... kyllä.. ihan... ..Ei kaikki tule ihan heti periksi... ..Se pitäs miettiä vielä ja.. vaikkapa sä ymmärrät sanoja, sitten sä käännät ja sitten ajattelee "Apua"... ..(nauru)... ..Se sitten vielä pitäs kysyä [...] mistä se on... mistä se on kysymys. (Opiskelija 1, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 63

T6: [...] mutta kyllä hoitotyössä varsinkin niin ja erilaisista sairauksista ja tähän niin kuin hoitamiseen liittyvästä.. niin kyllä siinä pitää niin kuin myös.. se vaatii sitä, että pitää paneutua ja vähän niin kuin pöntätäkin niitä sanoja sitten [...] No, että hankkii sanastoa eri tavoilla [...] ja sitten lähtee aktiivisesti käyttämään niitä[...] niin niitä molempia asioita pitää myös sitten aktiivisesti harjoitella.. ja tuota sitten se... mikä meillä tietysti haaste on tässä, että tavallaan tuntimäärät on suhteellisen pieniä, elikkä tavallaan sinne maahanmuuttajaopiskelijalle jää myös sitten itselle nyt sitten sitä haastetta sinne tuntien ulkopuolelle.. tai sinne itsenäisen työskentelyn päville, että sitten tekee mahdollisimman paljon töitä sitten siihen, että hankkii sanastoa ja sitten käyttää sitä. (Kouluttaja 6, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 64

S1: [...] jos mä jotain .. en ... en ymmärrä, mä menen kysymään ihan suoraan, anteeksi, ihan opettajalta mä kysyn... ..että, mä en ymmärrä, että tai jotain... ..Voitko selittää vielä.. tai... tai istuu kotona ja luen tietokoneelle... ..Kirjastosta voi ottaa kirjoja ja kaikki ja kantaa ja monta tuntiessa voi semmonen... periaatteessa aika.. monta tuntia.. voi... pitäs istua kotona ja lukee ja kääntää kaikkii sanoja... ..Jos sä haluat saada selväksi (Opiskelija 1, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta). (Opiskelija 1, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 65

S10: [...] se on vaikeaa... se on iso stressiä.. se tekee kolmekymmentä sivua ja tosi paljon teksti ja se on.. se on stressissä minä ja vaimo ja kotona on huono yks viikko... vaimo haluaa tappaa minä... ja "Sinä ei jatkuu koulu.. kolmen viikon päästä... sinä lopetat ja menee työssä, et tekee mitä enää portfolio".. se on liian vaikea.. se on helpompi, jos minä teken. (Opiskelija 10, puuala, mies, englanninkielinen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 66

T10: [...] mutta monesti harjoittelu paikan löytyminen voi olla vähän vaikeampaa ja sen takkia heille järjestetään vähän enemmän täällä koulussa ohjattua

KK: Ok.. se on syy, että on vaikeaa heille löytää harjoittelupaikka...?

T10: ..vaikeampi löytää harjoittelu paikka ja sitten ei ole ne kädentaidon valmiudet niin hyvät, että voi vielä laittaa harjoitteluun... pitää olla tiettyjä pätevyyskysymyksiä, esimerkiksi rakennusalalla pitää olla työturvallisuus kortti.. käydään ihan tämmönen korttikoulutus ja suorittaa hyväksytystii se tentti... ja jos kielitaito on hirveen huono.. ei tunneta tätä suomalaista tapaa tehdä työtä... niin ei saa sitä korttia.. ei pääsee sinne työpaikalle... isot yritykset vaati sen työturvallisuus korttiin johonkin pienelle työmaalle.. omakoti työmaalle.. sä mennä ilman sitä korttia... mutta siellä on sitten taas usein huonompi se työn ohjaus ja opastus.. eri tällaisia asioita tulee vastaan, että... me joudutaan opettaa enemmän... joudutaan paremmin valmistelemaan heitä, ennen kuin he pääsevät sinne harjoittelu paikkoihin. (Kouluttaja 10, rakennusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 67

KK: No ja mitä mieltä olet millaista koulutusta aikuismaahanmuuttajat tarvitsevat? Millaista koulutusta voi tarjota heille?

T7: Ensinnäkin niille pitäis paljon enemmän olla sitä opetusta, koulutusta sille ammatilliselle puolelle... ..mun mielipide on, että nuo koulutusajat, mitä niillä Suomessa pidetään on ihan liian lyhkäisiä, jos puhutaan, että kaksi vuotta esimerkiksi on meidän talossa.. ei ne opi siinä ajassa, eli puhutaan nyt helposti neljästä viidestä vuodesta, sitten ne rupeis jo saamaan jotain.. jopa kielellisesti, ammatillisesti.. silloin niitten olisi paljon helpompi niin kuin löytää paikkansa tuolta yhteiskunnasta...

KK: Eli tällä tavalla, kun heillä on pidempi koulutus, he osaavat parempi asiat ja sitten löytävät parempi paikka täällä..?

T7: Kyllä.. töitä sitten täällä.. ne on niin kuin valmiimpia sinne työelämään... nyt ne on hyvin.. hyvin sanotaanko raakileita mun mielestä kun ne tungetaan tonne työelämään ja taas tulee se, että ei markkinataloudessa ei se työnantaja ota sinne kauheasti koulutettavakseen... eli kyllä sen pitäis pystyä siihen työntekoon... ..ja jos ei se osaa, kykene.. niin ei työnantaja sitä kovin pitkään pidä, eikä ota sinne kyllä.. riippakiveksi kulkemaan. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 68

S5: [...] niin mutta on ollut vaikea vieras kielellä opiskella; mutta ei ole mahdotonta... siinä pitää olla vaikka rohkea. (Opiskelija 5, lähihoitaja, nainen, afrikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 69

KK: Joo... joo.. no puhuvatko ne jotkut.. jotain siitä, mikä heille on vaikeaa, kun he opiskelevat täällä?

T12: Kyllä, siis osa kysyy apua ja neuvoa, mutta osa ei kysy, jos he ei ymmärrä jotain.. he ei välttämättä kysy ollenkaan ja mä oon huomannut, se johtuu siitä tai joku on ite sanonutkin näin, että he on kuvittelu, että pitää itse osata kaikki, että ei voi saada apua ja tukea.. he ei oo tottunut siihen, että.. että koulussa ohjataan ja autetaan vain jos, et sä itse ymmärrä, se on sun oma syy... mun mielestä se on välillä heillä niinku.. se ehkä tulee sieltä omasta.. omasta maasta... siitä opiskelusta, että

KK: No pystytkö sä huomata sitä, että no nyt henkilö ei oo ymmärtänyt?

T12: Kyllä, mä huomaan sen... mä huomaan sen hyvin nopeasti, että jos mä selitän jotakin asiaa.. niin mä usein heti huomaan hänen niinku

KK: Silmät.. joo (nauru)

T12: Ilmeistä ja eleistä.. voi usein kysyä "Sä et tainnu ymmärtää? ja sitten "Joo.. en".. mutta he usein ei sano sitä.. et, siinä on joku semmonen, että ei voi sanoa ettei ymmärrä... siinä on se joku kulttuuriero, että.. tai persoonaero.. en mä tiedä onko se kulttuuriero tai mikä ero, mutta hyvin.. ne ei helposti paljasta sitä maahanmuuttajaopiskelijat, että he ei oo ymmärtänyt.. koska he ehkä usein ajattelee, se johtuu siitä, että se oo kielitaito, minkä takia he ei ymmärrä... kun vois olla joku muukin syy.. ei se aina oo kieli... niin mä toivoisin heiltä aina mä yritän sanokin, että "Kysy.. pyydä apua.. että tee näin".. mutta harvoin ne pyytää.. ne yrittää kauheasti itse pärjätä ja sitä vaikea niinku heille saada, että meillä ihan oikeasti halutaan auttaa ja ei ole tyhmä jos kysyy.. se on niinku.. se on muu semmonen asia joka sit haittaa toisaalta, että.. voi olla, että maahanmuuttajaopiskelija.. voi mennä pidempi aika, että joku opettaja ei huomaa,

että hän ehkei osaa tai ymmärrä, koska hän ei itse sitä sano. (Kouluttaja 12, merkonomikoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 70

#S14: Niin jotkut tekevät, tunti mennyt ja näkemiin.. ei kysyvät, "onko selvä", "tarvitsetteko apua"... tämä (somebody else is accepting the view)

#KK: Aha sellainen, että opettaja tulee ja kysy "onko selvä", "oletko ymmärtänyt", että se auttaa teitä

#S13: Kyllä, jos joku selittää, että mitä tämä tarkoittaa, kieliasia on ihan ymmärtävä, ei me tarvitse googlettaa täällä mitä siellä tarkoittaa, jos ovat selitä, mitä siellä paperilla.. kyllä helpompi

#KK: Ja miten se yleisesti toimii, että opettaja antaa paperin ja sanoo, että lukea sitä..?

#S14: Mutta alussa meillä ei ole ollut paperiakaan. Me kysyttiin, saanko paperin, saanko paperilla? Miksi meidän pitää aina kysyä? Miksi opettaja ei ymmärrä, pitää antaa paperi opiskelija, koska me maahanmuuttajat me opiskelemme enemmän ja ymmärrämme paperista enemmän

#KK: Aa, ok.. onko kaikille niin?.. että paperista.. että jos on sellainen ihan mitä vaan paperista tai tarvii olla kuitenkin sellainen

#??: (many students talking at the same time) miten me opiskelemme

#S13: He eivät sano, että aina, jos sua aina pyytää, että saanko näitä papereita ja sitten sanovat, että löytyy Optimassa

#KK: Aha, ja osaatteko te löytää sitä Optimasta?

#S13: Se vaikea löytää, siellä niin paljon erilaisia asioita. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 71

KK: Niin... joo. siis mietin sitä oppimisprosessia eli muista asioista ja niin... kenen kanssa he keskustelevat tai ?

T1: No, me ohjataan yleensä... me käydään aina niin kuin siellä kaikille opiskelijaryhmille me käydään pitämässä semmönen aikuinen oppijana teema, jossa me puhutaan muun muassa sit siitä, että jos tulee joku siihen opiskeluun liittyvä pulma ... niin aina kannattaa kysyä siltä opettajalta ... ihan siltä oppiaineen opettajaltakin kysyä, että "hei, et nyt mä en ymmärtänyt tätä asiaa tai sitten sille ryhmän vastuupettajalle mennä kysy... tai puhumaan, jos on joku elämäntilanteessa esimerkiks semmoinen asia, joka hankaloittaa sitä tuota niin opiskelua ja me sitten myös markkinoidaan siinä opintojen alussa, että voi ottaa meihin yhteyttä, kuin me ollaan jaettu eri aloilla on... mä toimin tietyillä aloilla erityisopettajana ja meillä on opinto-ohjaajat sitten jaettu myös eri aloille silleen ja annetaan ne yhteystiedot, että voi ottaa yhteyttä ja kyllä, mun mielestä on ihan kivasti ne maahanmuuttajataustaiset opiskelijat ottanut, niinku tullu kysymään "Et hei nyt mä en ymmärrä asioita tai mä tarviisin tukea tähän asiaan... ..Mutta, sekin tietenkin on vähän opiskelijasta itsestään sitten kiinni, että ... kaikki ei tuu niin helposti sitä kysymään. (Kouluttaja 1, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 72

S11: [...] esimerkiksi minun mies, jos se ei ymmärrä.. se ei ymmärtänyt mitään tunnilla ja mitä opettaja puhuu.. mitä se neuvoo... mutta vaikea se sanoo.. se ei kysy ollenkaan.. se vain itsestään

KK: Yrittää selvittää siitä?

S11: Joo.. se ei ottaa selvitys opettajalta.. joo.. aina kannattaa ottaa opettajalta selvityksen, miten tehdään.. joo.. vaikka.. esimerkiksi.. vaikka kuinka.. vaikka se et ymmärtää, mitä opettaja puhuu ja voi sanoo opettajalle "Voisitko kirjoittaa?"... ihan kirjoittamalla silloin, jos se selvitys. (Opiskelija 11, ravintola-ala, nainen, aasialainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 73

Vain englannin kielellä.

Aineistoesimerkki 74

S4: Koska niitä... mitä se on.. esimerkiksi jotkut niinku, joku selitti, niinku ne puhu nopeasti... semmonen niinku konttikieli, vähän niinku vrr, sit mä oli "Anteeksi, anteeksi.. mä tipun kärryssä, mä en oo tajunnut... sit he ei halunnut selitä uudestaan, kyllä mä ymmärsin sen ja mä olen "Ah"... sit mä olin "out" koko jutusta... .. sit mä olin, mua harmitti. (Opiskelija 4, lähihoitaja, nainen, eteläamerikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 75

S4: [...] en mä halunnut kertoa oikeasti mun oma ongelma, eikä mitä... koska ei kuuluu heille ja se että aukea puhu joillekin sun omat ongelmat.. se sattuu kun sä kuuntelet omasta surusta... että, tä on tapahtumassa mulle... ei se oo kiva puhu tommasta asiaa... .. ei mua hävettää, koska mulla ei sitä häpeämistä, koska me ollaan ihmisiä... mutta ei se oo kiva toista aina, tiedätkö niinku sitä... se on semmonen aihe.. negatyvisiä aiheita... se ei oo kiva, koska itse sä oot elänyt, tiedätkö sä elät sitä, just silloin mä elin sitä aika, sitä hetki... ei se ollut kiva, mut se aukeaminen ja puhuminen siitä asiaa, mut ken ei ollut muuta vaihtoehto... että sit se sanoo, että se on parempi se kyseli oikeasti mulle.. ja mä olin jo "Kyllä, mä on väsynyt alussa oli tuo ja tuo ja mä kerron ??? väsynyt, mutta sitten joku sano mulle sun pitää kertoa oikeasti, että en minä ajattelee sä oot vain jotain, siinä on syy... .. sit mä joudun kertomaan siitä... mutta mä ajattelin, että miksi mä en oo kertonut, koska yks ajattelee, jos mulle tulee semmonen... mitä... oli yks opettaja, mä kerro se sille... ..se oli vähän niinku "Se oo vain elämä"... se vain sanoo noin ja se antoo mulle ykkönen (nauru) [...] Mä pysyin, jos se tee uudestaan ja sitten ei mitä... kyllä sillä oli jotain kemia... ..ei se halunnut niinku... just sen takia, tiedätkö [...]mä en halunnut kertoa [...] mä tiesin sen, että sulle tuli semmonen, että se sanotaan näin...[...]. koska mä en oo pyytännyt säälin, mä en pyytännyt niinku mitä muuta, enkä... mulle vain sanottiin "Kerrokaa siitä"... sit mä kerroin ja tommonen vastaus.. sit totta taas oli toinen aine ja mulle sanottiin "En mä halunnut, koska mä en halunnut taas, että mulle sanotaan juust samalla tavalla, tiedätkö... .. mut sit mä sit mä kerro sitä... se sanoo mä voin antaa aika ja sit se sanoo, että hän voi tehdä suullinen tentti, sovittiin aika... mä olin "What?"... yllätyn tosi paljon. (Opiskelija 4, lähihoitaja, nainen, eteläamerikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 76

#S12: [...]ja mä sano opettajalle, jos minun lapsi on täällä koulussa, se on sinun vastaus, sä oot hänen isä ja äiti ja kaikki. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 77

T5: Ja ehkä.. yleensä he käyttäytyy tosi hyvin ja siis niinku osaavat lukea niitä tilanteita, mut ehkä sitten vähän on.. esimerkiksi semmosta itsepäisyyttä tai sitä että osataanko muuttaa vähän toimintatapoja, jos koulussa on opetettu tietyllä tapaa.. he saattavat olla tosi tarkkoja, että siellä työpaikallakin tehdään samalla tavalla... ..et vähän tämmöstä tilanteen lukemista ja ...

KK: Eli se tulee vaikeammin kuin suomalaisille?

T5: Ehkä on vähän vaikeampi

KK: Miksi on niin?

T5: En osaa sanoa, ehkä kun sitä tavallaan.. tavallaan sitä taitoo ja kielitaitoa on vähemmän niin en tiedä miksi on niinku enemmän kiinni siitä, mitä koulussa on sanottu... ..en osaa sanoa, mistä se johtuu. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 78

#KK: Miltä se tuntuu opiskella täällä Suomessa? .. (giving and explaining about written consent to one of students) Ok, no minkälaisia kokemuksia teillä on oppimisesta ja opiskelemisesta Suomessa? Miltä se tuntuu opiskella Suomessa?

#S14: Riippuu paikasta ja riippuu kursseista

#KK: Aha, mitä sä tarkoitat?

#S14: Tarkoitan, että minkälainen kurssi on, minkälainen työpaikka on

#KK: Ok, ja miksi se riippuu paikasta ja

#S14: Eri paikkoja, eri säännöt ja eri ihmisiä; jokaisella on oma luonne ja pitää sopeutua siihen, jokaisen, pitää olla joustava.

#KK: Eli kun olet joustava, sitten opiskeleminen sujuu

#S14: Kyllä. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 79

T11: [...] heillä on tosi niin kuin semmonen sitkeä pyrkimys siihen, että he pystyvät sen.. sen tota tutkinnon suorittamaan... tietenkin siinä tutkinnon suorittamisen aikana, he pyrkivät aina mahdollisimman hyvään.. mutta sitten voi olla, että ok tyydy keskitasoon tai jossakin voi mennä jopa vähän alempaan arvioon... että sulla nyt osaaminen riittää tähän.. siitä joskus keskustellaan, että oletko sinä tyytyväinen tähän.. tähän arviointiin.. he aina yleensä haluavat parasta ja enempi, mutta siinä tulee se kieliongelma.. kun sun pitäs joitakin asioita, esimerkiksi tutkintotilaisuudessa, siellä työssä ilmaista, kertoa.. niin kuin ei ole näitä sanoja.. pelkällä näyttämällä, havainnoilla ei aina voi tehdä kaikkea ja siinä se ongelma voi tulla sitten. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 80

T1: ...en tiedä, voi olla että se on puutteellisia menetelmiä on meillä, mutta et kyllä se oli just tossa toissa viikolla tuolla opetushallituksessa yhdessä koulutuksessa... "Maahanmuuttajat ammatillisessa koulutuksessa", oli sen

koulutuksen nimi, niin ... siellä useemmasta oppilaitoksesta just edustajat puhu sitä, et miten vaikea se on niin kuin saada sitä tuota niin ... todistusta sen osaamisen ... niin kuin selville... ..ja sit jos se kielitaito vielä on heikko siinä ... niin ... sekin on osaltaan sitten... se ei tuo välttämättä esille sitä... sun osaamista, vaikka sä olisit omassa kotimassa niin kuin tehnyt sitä asiaa. (Kouluttaja 1, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 81

KK: Onko heillä yleisesti jotain kokemusta siitä alasta, kun he hakeutuvat?

T3: Joo.. on.. tai sillai et joillakin lailla... ..Mutta se kokemus se on niin kuin sillä tavalla, et se on hyvin niin kuin kirjavaa... ..Joku sanoo, että mulla on kokemusta, jos hänellä on kylän ainoa valokuvauksesta kokemusta niin... ..Kylän ainoa kamera ollut ja se on viis kuvaa ottanut sillä sitten, että se saattaa tulla sellaisesta kulttuurista... mä vähän liioittelin tätä asiaa. Että on se varmaan enemmän kuin sen viis ottanut, mutta että kun se on kuitenkin on se sellaiselta ympäristöstä, jossa on ollut... joka on niukkuutta ollu jo valmiiksi, niin sieltä kun tulee niin sehän on siellä kylällä, eli vähän ollut tavallaan mitä länsimaista tällaista tekniikkaa käytössä ja yleensä näitä asioita, että siellä tulee niin kuin sen tyyppiseltä seudulta niin... se ei niin kuin siinä on kyllä kylässä ollut sitten ainoa, joka osaa joitakin asioita... ..niin siellä, mutta että se suomalaisen mitta, eli meillä lapset saattaa olla tehneet niitä asioita, mitä siellä se on ollut aikuiselle

KK: Niin... okei joo eli se on ... siellä voi olla mahtava kokemus ja täällä...

T3: Niin... niin... että täällä se on ihan arkipäivää kaikille. (Kouluttaja 3, audiovisuaalinen viestintä, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 82

KK: No ja miksi aikuismaahanmuuttajat opiskelevat.. mä mietin niitä henkilöitä, jotka ovat ammatillisessa koulutuksessa?

T12: No usein miten he hakee meille opiskelee, ainakin tähän merkonomin tutkintoon.. meillähän on paljon tutkintoja.. et mä en voi kaikista sanoa, mutta ne opiskelijat jotka tulee mulle tai meiän näihin merkonomiryhmiin, niin heillä on usein joku koulutus omasta maasta, mut he ei työllisty sillä.. se voi olla, että se on semmonen koulutus, jotta sitä ei niinku.. jos sä oot vaikka vuori-insinööri niin, et sä sillä työllisty..

KK: Vuori-insinööri?

T12: Esimerkiksi Venäläiset on usein insinööri.. se on niinku hyvin paljon edellä joku insinööri tausta.. niin siellä on esimerkiksi vuori-insinööri on yks semmonen ja ne voi olla semmosia aloja, että ne ei vain niinku ole töitä semmoiselle aloille täällä, ainakin Keski-Suomessa ja toiselta vaikka niillä olis korkeakoulutus, ne ei silti pääse niinku sillä töihin, koska suomalainen työelämä ei varmaan enää tunnista.. ei ne tiedä niistä tutkinnoista mitään... ei ne tiedä, voinko.. mitäs ehkä osaa silloin.. kun sulla on tietty tutkinto. (Kouluttaja 12, merkonomikoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 83

KK: Ok... jo... ja tiedätkö, silloin kun sä olit hoitajana tuolla invalidin talossa, että oliko sun koulutus Venäjältä tunnistettu tavallaan tai sanoivat he

S6: Kun mä pääsen töihin.. se oli ihan ok... se riittää... mutta sitten Suomessa vähän muuttuu se lainsäädäntö tai se pitäis olla tai ihan suomen tutkinto koulutus tai pitäis todistaa sen, mutta no se venäläinen koulutus tai ulkomaalainen koulutus... ..pitäs

todistaa, mutta se on suurin piirtein sama kun opiskella ihan alusta... .. kun se pitäis tehdä suomen kielellä... ..ja se on vaikea ainakin, kuin... ..kun on ero joka tapauksessa Venäjällä ja Suomessa koulussa... ..no on aika iso ero.. voi sanoo niin

KK: Eli.. mutta ero koulutuksessa?

S6: Joo

KK: Aha... ja minkälaiset erot?

S6: Vaikea sanoo, se varmaan yks puolelta Suomessa vähän laajempi se koulutus, mutta toiselta puolelta Venäjällä se on paljon.. semmosia pitäis oppii ihan muistiin... esimerkkinä semmonen lääkkeiden semmoinen reseptit ja kaikki semmoset pitäis esimerkkinä muistaa ihan ulkoo... ..ja ihan kuinka paljon se lääkettä pitäis tehdä ja semmosiakin... voi olla se riippuu, kun he ei niin paljon... tuo esimerkki tietokoneet et ja kaikki semmoset... pitäis muistaa kaikki... ja koulutuksessa se oli vähän... no tää... suomessa ei niin tärkeä... sä ?? katot kirjaan tai. (Opiskelija 6, turvallisuusala, mies, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 84

KK: Joo... niin... joo. .. ja niistä käsitteistä ja myös oppimisesta tekemällä ... maahanmuuttajien aikaisemmat kokemukset tai jotain ... vaikuttavatko ne?

T1: ... vaikuttaa varmasti ja tietenkin varmaan riippuu siitä minkälaisesta kulttuurista esimerkiksi tulee... ..Niin jotkut tietyt kulttuuriset tavathan ohjaa sitten sitä et miten nuo on oppinut ... oppinut niinku joitakin asioita hoitamaan, et jos me mietitään, et mä puhun aika paljon siitä lähihoitajakoulutuksesta, että... ..että jos semmosesta yhteisökulttuurista tulee se opiskelija niin... ..niin ... hän varmaan mielellään niinku esimerkiksi auttaa ja tekee vähän toisen puolesta niitä asioita... ja sitten jos me ajatellaan lähihoitajakoulutusta niin siellähän korostetaan sitä, että sitä toimintakykyä sillä asiakkaalla tai potilaalla niin sitä pystyttäis aina tuota pitää vähän yllä tai ehkä parantavaa... ja sit jos jo tottunut niin kuin omassa kulttuurissa, että tehdään toisen puolesta asioita... vaikka vanhuksen puolesta , että tehdään vanhuksille asiat valmiiksi tai tuota laitetaan sukat jalkaan hänelle valmiiksi, vaikka hän itse pystys tekemään sen ... niin se on varmaan semmoinen niinku siinä.. siinä ristiriita tulee sitten, että omaksuu sen että, mitä me puhutaan kuntouttavasta työotteesta... eli tarkoittaa just sitä, että mahdollisimman paljon tuetaan sitä omatoimisuutta... ..Ja sit siinä saattaa tulla ristiriita, että he mielellään auttaa, kun hyö kunnioittaa vanhoja ihmisiä... esimerkiksi on tottunut siellä omassa kulttuurissa, ja sit he tekeekin puolesta ... ja sitten me alennetaankin sitä tavallaan sen asiakkaan ja potilaan sitä toimintakykyä ... kun tehdään puolesta... ..Et se voi olla semmoinen ihan niin kuin käytännön esimerkki, joka liittyy siihen ... että tulee erilaisesta kulttuurista. (Kouluttaja 1, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 85

T6: [...] että monestihan maahanmuuttajilla on... ..niin kuin mä sanoin tuossa aikaisemmin.. että tavallaan vuorovaikutukseen ja siihen asiakas kohtaamiseen niin siihen liittyviä taitoja on jo vahvasti... ..mutta sitten tarvitaan kielitaito siihen, että osataan.. sitten ihan oikeasti.. niin kuin suomalaisten periaatteitten mukaisesti hoitaa... .. ja tuota kirjata ylös niitä ja... ..näitä asioita niin siihen tarvitaan sitten se kielitaito. (Kouluttaja 6, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 86

KK: No miten sitten, jos joku.. jollakulla on jo ammatillista koulutusta omasta maasta?

R: Joo.. kyllä.. se on toinen juttu, että sitten heidän on helpompi varsinkin, jos puhutaan korkeakoulututkinnosta.. helpompi sitten.. sitten työelämään kotouttamiskoulutuksen.. kielikoulutuksen jälkeen

KK: Ok.. suoraan kielikoulutuksen jälkeen...?

R: Joo.. kyllä... mutta, tuota niin tietysti se ammatillinen koulutus monesti sitten auttaa.. auttaa vielä pääsemään

KK: Millä tavalla se auttaa?

R: No tietysti suomalaiset yritykset arvostaa suomalaista koulutusta ja.. ja tota niin.. monesti, vaikka se korkeakoulututkinto on suoritettu siellä.. siellä, jossakin muussa maassa.. niin.. he kuitenkin käy meillä tämän ammatillisen koulutuksen ja sijoittuu sitä kautta siihen yritykseen, ehkä sitten etenee siellä.. ja aina se aikaisempi osaaminen on eduksi ja hyödyksi. (Rehtori)

Aineistoesimerkki 87

KK: Joo, ja kuinka tärkeää on osallistuminen koulutukseen?

T2: No kyllähän se on ihan keskeinen asia, just niin kuin mä sanoin, että osallistutaan koulutukseen ja saadaan todistus ja voidaan näyttää se oma osaaminen sitten tämmösen todistuksen avulla... ..Koska, kyllä, suomalainen yhteiskunta varmaan on semmonen todistusyhteiskunta, että täytyy olla paperit ja täytyy osata näyttää että mitä osaa

KK: Aha... ja kotoutumiskoulutus?

T2: No se, kotoutumiskoulutus, se niin kuin luo perustan, että todennäköisesti sen jälkeen niin sitten hakeudutaan ammatilliseen koulutukseen ja mahdollisesti jatko-opintoihin... ..Tai sitten hankitaan rinnastuspäätös tästä omasta koulutuksesta... ..ja sitten on, jotain semmosia tutkintoja, et kerta kaikkiaan se työllistyminen ei oo mahdollista... ..Näillä eväillä mitä henkilöllä on. (Kouluttaja 2, yhteiskunnalliset aineet, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 88

KK: No ja miksi sun mielestä aikuismaahanmuuttajat opiskelevat?

T9: Ne opiskelee siksi minun mielestä, että ne opiskelee suomalaiseen työhön... ..koska välillä meillä on... ..niin on tälläkin hetkellä yks opiskelija mikä on todella taitava... ja ollut omassa kotimaassaan tuota tehnyt niin kuin.. no sen tyylistä työtä, mitä täällä opiskellaan.. tosin.. meillä on erilainen kulttuuri siinä niin kuin... erilaisia työtapoja...

KK: No voisitko sä antaa esimerkin?

T9: No esimerkki.. tiettyjen koneiden ja tällaisten tekniikoiden käytössä niin kuin.. voi olla niinku eroavaisuuksia... Niin siksi..

KK: Että ihan eri koneita käytetään tai... eri tekniikkoja..

T9: Joo, sillä tavalla niin kuin.. elikkä se on tämmönen kulttuurillinen ero siinä ja.. ja opis.. niin kuin.. otetaan nyt yks esimerkki siitä, että taitava opiskelija tulee opiskelemaan meille tänne kalustealan artesaaniksi vaikka se vois niitten taitojensa puolesta aivan hyvin työllistyä täällä Suomessa, mutta sen on luultavasti helpompi opiskella kaksi vuotta täällä.. saada suomalainen koulutodistus ja etsiä töitä suomalaisella

koulutodistuksella... ..kun on kyseessä kuitenkin tämmönen niin kuin tekninen ala siinä mielessä, että ei oo niin kuin... että mennä sitten vaikka johonkin puusepän verstaaseen töihin... niin tuota. (Kouluttaja 9, puuala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 89

S6: ...sama juttu se lähihoitajalla oli semmonen, että ja ... no.. sanotaan niin.. esimerkki... se ei oo mitään paha mutta meille oli semmonen... semmonen sairaan... mikä se on.. sairaanpito.. tai joku semmonen... tunnit ja siellä oli harjoittelu, missä me laitetaan sellainen ruisku pisteet... se oli maalinukke ja taas opettaja hän opettaa aika hyvä... .. ja hän varmasti aika tietoinen, mutta hänellä on ihan varmasti aika vähän kokemusta.. hän on ihan opettaja... ja kun se pitäs tehdä semmonen piste... se.. hän tehdä oikein, mutta se ihan heti sä näet, että se on... hänellä on aika vähän harjoitusta ja sitten, kun mä näytän, mitä se oikeasti... hän sanoo "No niin, sä voit näyttää kaikille muille.. se on parempi ja helpompi"... ei oo mitään.. kun hän ainakin.. hän... kun opettaja hän oli tarpeeks hyvä, mutta taas vähän semmonen hauska kun hän opettaa, mutta ite ei paljon kokemusta tästä aiheesta. (Opiskelija 6, turvallisuusala, mies, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 90

T3: Sanotaan näin, että... ..Mutta, nyt mun täytyy tämän, että vähän perehtyä siitä, koska mä pääsen itse painiskelemaan tämän asian kanssa.. että tällainen, että mikä on todellinen osaaminen henkilöllä.. niin kuin yleensä asioiden suhteen... ..Kuin niin hyvin hän moni... ..monta niin kuin henkilölä pystyi just sellaiseen, niin kuin ei... puhu suomea, mutta ei ymmärrä, mitä puhuu... ..Eli sitten kuin ei tiää, että mitä se oikeesti, rupees niinku epäilemään, et mitä hän oikeasti niin kuin tavallaan, miten hän on kotoutunut, ja mitä hän yleensä tietää tästä niin kuin Suomesta ja täällä asumisesta ja täällä pärjäämisestä, ja odotuksista. (Kouluttaja 3, audiovisuaalinen viestintä, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 91

T7: Niin.. ja kun ei pysty puhumaan ja se ei pysty kirjoittamaan, niin millä me todennetaan, että hän on ymmärtänyt asian... ..termit on.. sanat on hukassa ja jos mä lähden johdattelemaan, niin silloinhan se on hirveen helpoo, mutta kun pitäs niinku ilman johdattelua saada se tulos sieltä ulos

KK: Ok.. eli sä vähän tavallaan...

T7: Kyllä.. yrittää lypsää sieltä, mutta [...] Se on niin kuin hirveen hankala, koska ei voida lähteä johdattelemaan, tarkoittiko tätä tai oliko tämä.. vaan pitää saada sieltä suoraan kerrottuna opiskelijan suusta. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 92

KK: No ja.. kun ovat ne kirjalliset vastaukset.. ja niin.. tapahtuuko se usein, että asioita ei oo ymmärretty?

T6: No, kyllä joskus käy niinkin... joo, kyllä... ja tavallaan niin kuin voi termit mennä sekaisin, että.. just oli... musta oli hyvä esimerkki, mä kävin maanantaina tämmösellä ohjauskäynnillä, eli olin tekemässä tämmöstä.. mähän siis opetan lähihoitajia ja tuota, heidän nyt sitten tätä hoitotyötä niin.. olin työpaikkaohjauskäynnillä, jossa tällainen.. hän on pitkä... tai en tiedä edes, kuinka kauan hän on Suomessa asunut, mutta tuota kielitaito... ei... sanotaan näin, että semmonen niin kuin arkielämän suomi on hänellä varmasti hallussa hyvin... ..mutta tavallaan sitten tähän hoitamiseen liittyvää.. ei sillä tavalla ole... koska tavallaan siinä, kun keskusteltiin niin kävi ilmi, että hänellä niinku sekoittuu jatkuvasti termit verenpaine ja verensokeri... ..ja nehän on täysin eri asioita.. mitataanko verenpainetta tai

mitataanko verensokeria... .. ja se on aika tärkeä hoitajalle... erottaa ne... että kumpaa ollaan tekemässä... se on niin kuin semmonen hyvä esimerkki mun mielestä siitä, että tavallaan voi mennä niin kuin sekaisin... molemmat alkaa niin kuin samoilla suomenkielisillä sanoilla, mutta sitten se onko verenpaine vai verensokeri.. se on ihan, että pistetäänkö vai mitataanko painetta? (Kouluttaja 6, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 93

KK: Oletko sä huomannut, että ihan oikeasti tämä kielitaito kehittyy koulutuksen aikana?

T6: Kyllä, joo.. kyllä.. kyllä.. se kehittyy ja tavallaan, joskus sitä kouluttajana miettii sitäkin, että... tuota.. kuinka paljon niinku uskaltaa laskea sen varaan, että se kielitaito kehittyy... ..koska joskus on sillai, että tulee hyvin... tai suhteellisen niinku heikolla kielitaidolla.. saattaa aloittaa koulutuksen

KK: Laskea varaan.. eli ottaa riski tai joku semmonen?

T6: Niin tavallaan se, että kehittykö se kielitaito kuitenkin tarpeeksi, että selviää lähihoitajana, koska lähihoitajan ammatti on aika vaativa ammatti.. ja sä hoidat siinä suomenkielisiä potilaita... heidän elämä on tavallaan... niin kuin siinä niin kuin sinun käsissä... sä huolehdit lääkkeitä... sun pitää ymmärtää lääkkeiden antamiseen ja.. ja niitten käyttötarkoitukseen ja sun pitää ymmärtää sairauksista tosi paljon ja tavallaan siinä päivittäisessä elämässä toimimiseen liittyvistä asioista ja elikkä niin kuin sieltä sitä tietoperustaa tarvitaan. (Kouluttaja 6, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 94

T11: [...] mutta pääsääntöisesti niin, tuo on sellainen positiivinen kokemus... mä en enää tee silleen niinku, jos mä näen, että maahanmuuttajataustainen henkilö tulossa opiskeluun niin mulla ei oo enää semmosia, niin kuin ehkä aiemmin ensikertalaisia kun oli, niin mulla oli vähän ennakoasenne... miten mä niinku pärjään heidän kanssa.. mä oletan, että mä pärjään, katsotaan alkutilanne ja sitten puututaan niihin haasteisiin, mitä tulee siellä matkan varrella. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 95

T4: [...] ja että syksyllä tuli esille, kun tapaisin ravitsemuksen opettajan.. meillä oli samana päivänä tunteja tälle samalle ryhmälle.. niin hän oli aika epätoivoinen, että miten hän nämä asiat opettaa... se et miten hän niinku opetus.. lähiopetuskerran aikana.. se eteenpäin meneminen siinä sisällöllisessä puolessa.. se on niin äärettömän hidasta joskus... .. että joutuu sen saman asian tosiaan käymään monta, monta kertaa. (Kouluttaja 4, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 96

KK: [...]. sä puhuit, mikä on vaikeaa, kun sä opetat aikuismaahanmuuttajat ammatillisessa koulutuksessa ja no.. onko sellaiset asiat, että ovat helpot.. helppoja sulle, kun opetat.. kun mietit sitä opettamista nyt?

T7: No, eipä siinä oikein voi sanoo, että niin kuin helppoo olis

KK: Helppoo ei oo.. (nauru)

T7: Ei, kyllä sitä niin kuin joutuu miettii... että riippuu tietysti, että.. että välittääkö että oppiiko opiskelija vai eikö opi.. jos ei välitä, että oppiiko niin sehän on helppoa.. vapautat menemään vaan, mutta jos sitten.. vähänkin yrität saada.. selvyyttä, että ymmärsikö opiskelija, mitä tarkoitan niin.. niin sittenpä onkin se ongelma kuinka

minä sitä varmennan... se ei ole helppoa, kun ei voida kirjallisella, eikä oikein tuota suullisellakaan täysin saada selville. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 97

T8: [...] no mä oon ollut siinä ohjausryhmässä, mikä XXX-projektissa on ja tuota.. sitten niin 2007 oli sillai, että mä menin esittelemään XXX-projektiin tätä mejän koulutusta.. puhdistuspalvelualan koulutusta ja sieltä tuli hyvin moni opiskelija meille opiskelemaan sitten ja tämmöstä, että.. ainakin mitä XXX kertoo, niin mun mielestä se on aivan ihanaa, koska siellähän kartoitetaan tavallaan kielitaito.. kirjallinen ja suullinen ja opiskeluvalmiudet ja tällaista... .. ja niin kuin oon sanonutkin XXX "Voi kun me niin kuin.. ja vaikka niin kuin hän sanoo, että se niinku ne tulokset olis tiedossa siellä työvoimatoimistossa.. ELY-toimistossa ja sitten S2-kouluttajille kun he tulee sitten suomen kielen koulutukseen, mutta se ei koskaan tuu meille ammatillisille opettajille se sama heti, mutta nyt kun mä tiedän, että ne lähettää ne eteenpäin niin.. mä osaan nyt pyytää. (Kouluttaja 8, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 98

KK: Joo.. joo.. niin.. no ja miten oppilaitoksenne näkee ja tukee kotoutumista... tai jos sä mietit erityisesti sitä ammatillista koulutusta... miten? .. joo

R: Joo.. eli tota niin.. se tietysti.. mehän pyritään huomiomaan erityispiirteet, mitä niillä ihmisillä on.. ja tietysti... niillä resursseilla, kun meillä se on mahdollista... että tietysti anetaan enempi ohjaamista ja huomioidaan se, että voivat olla sellaisia.. sellaisia ongelmia, mitä ei ehkä välttämättä ihan suomenkielisillä olekaan sitten...

KK: Ja minkälaista ohjaamista.. millaista ohjaamista ja...?

R: Annetaan niin kuin lisäohjaamista... mutta tietysti siinä on aina se hankala puoli, että jos meillä on sellainen... jos meillä oli se semmonen maahanmuuttajaryhmä... niin silloin se on yleensä sitten rahoittajien puolesta resursoitu vähän paremmin... eli ELY-keskus maksaa sitten sen.. tavallaan sen ohjaamispalkkion... ..mutta sitten, jos meillä on tällaisia ryhmiä mihinkä ne yksittäisintegroituu.. niin silloin meillä ei kauheesti oo resursseja, että.. sehän se on ongelma. (Rehtori)

Aineistoesimerkki 99

KK: Joo.. ja minkälaisia kokemuksia sinulla on aikuismaahanmuuttajaopiskelijoiden opettamisesta, miltä se tuntuu opettaa aikuismaahanmuuttajaa?

T10: No ihan mielenkiintoista opettaa heitä, koska siinä aina tulee myös keskustelua niistä kulttuuri eroista ja sitten se on aina myöskin kielen opetusta... se on aina äidinkielen opetusta.. ihan mitä tahansa opiskellaan, aina on se kielen opetus siinä mukana. (Kouluttaja 10, rakennusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 100

T4: [...] semmonen vielä myös kyllä, että hehän antavat kouluttajille myös koko ajan pitkin opintojen kulkua.. niin he antaa kouluttajille todella paljon myönteistä palautetta... että se on todella merkityksellinen asia kuitenkin, että kun välillä se on opettajallekin aika raskasta ja turhauttavaa sitten työskennellä maahanmuuttajaryhmien tai, jos niitä on siinä ryhmässä sitten useampi... niin sen avulla saa sitä.. niitä voimia sitten aina jotenkin jaksaa eteenkin päin sitten itsekin, vaikka välillä tuntuu, että "En jaksais". (Kouluttaja 4, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 101

KK: Onko vielä jotain muuta, että voi sanoa, on helppo?

T11: Kohteliaita... ..ja sitten tuota niin sanotaan näin, että vuorovaikutteisuus, niin kuin kouluttajan välillä niinku tämän aiheen ohjaajan.. se on minusta.. semmosta hirveän.. helppoa.. helppo heitä on lähestyä ja he hirvein helposti niin tulevat lähelle. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 102

KK: No ja miltä se tuntuu opettaa aikuismaahanmuuttajia?

T5: Se on tosi mielenkiintoista... tietenkin opetuksen kannalta haastavampaa, että käyttää selkeää kieltä.. opetusmateriaali on heille oikeaa.. ja osaa hakea niitä esimerkkejä käytännöstä.. mutta sitten maahanmuuttajat on tosi mukava.. piristys siihen ryhmään, mitä enemmän erilaisuutta sen mukavampaa, vaikka onkin haastavampaa. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 103

T4: [...] ja tuota sitten kun meillä silloin oli sitä tehtävää ei oo enää, mutta silloin oli siinä opintojen päätösvaiheessa semmonen tavallaan lopputyö joka oli nimeltään ihan ammatillinen osaaminen toiminnaksi.. niin nämä maahanmuuttajaryhmät toteuttivat sen sillä tavalla, että he tekivät näissä työssäoppimispaikoissaan hyödyntää näitä erilaisia luovia menetelmiä asiakkaille jotakin tuokioita ja sitten kun meillä oli silloin vielä, että ne sitten esitettiin myös sille omalle ryhmälle ne työt.. lyhyesti, ennen kun opiskelu päättyi.. niin he siellä vielä halusivat esiintyä ja esittää.. ..tanssia ja lauluja... on jäänyt mieleen joku huivitanssi esimerkiksi, mitä joku ryhmä jossa oli Afrikasta lähtöisin oleva opiskelijakin... eli tosi hauskoja. (Kouluttaja 4, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 104

KK: Ok... se oli sellainen koulutus, että se oli vain tämä osaamis.. että he voisivat vain opiskella tätä vanhus...[vanhustenhoitoalaa]?

T4: Kyllä, se oli sovittu etukäteen...

KK: Etukäteen oli sovittu?

T4: Joo... heiltä evättiin se oikeus valita, se oma osaamisala, kun pääsääntöisesti opiskelija itse saa sen valita

KK: Ja he eivät voineet valita

T4: He eivät voineet valita.. et se oli sovittu, että se on vanhustyö

KK: Aha.. mutta kuka sopi sen, että..?

T4: Se oli ilmeisesti oppisopimuskeskuksen kanssa sovittu silloin, ennen kuin he aloitti opinnot.. näin mä oon ymmärtänyt.. mutta tosiaankin.. semmonen päätös tehtiin yksistään siitä syystä, että.. meillä opettajilla oikeasti ei ollut sellaisia työajassa niinku resursseja olemassa, että meillä olis niin hirveän paljon lupa ohjata opiskelijoita kuin mitä se käytäntö sitten oikeasti meiltä vaati.. mutta kun se ryhmä oli sisässä ja opiskelemissa.. niin mejän vain oli sitten koko ajan matkan varrella mietittävä, että "No, miten me taas tämmöisestä ongelmasta selvitään".. ja toki paljonhan me

sitten tietysti tehtiin myös semmosta, että oli useampi opiskelija.. että semmosta pienryhmäohjausta ja näin, että ei ihan kaikkee kahden kesken, mutta kuitenkin että sen ohjauksen määrä oli en tiedä.. sitä ei varmaan kukaan ees oo missä vaiheessa ymmärräny yhteen, että kuinka paljon siihen ohjaukseen niinku oikeasti resursseja tarvittiin. (Kouluttaja 4, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 105

T11: [...] ja sitten myös sitten niin... minäkin olen niin nopea puhumaan ja... näin niin tota... sellainen jännä automaatti on tullut, että jos joku maahanmuuttajaopiskelija.. varsinkin ennen kuin on heihin on tutustunut kunnolla ja tietää sen kielellisen tason, niin on oppinut puhumaan niin rauhallisemmin ja katsomaan suora silmiin ja sitten tuota jättämään kaikki turhat niin kuin sanat ja fraasit pois... ei tietysti puhe ei tarvii olla tylsä.. liian kirjakieltä.. pitäähän olla.. olla sitä väritystä ja innostustakin siellä mukana, mutta... mutta niin kuin oppinut ihan suoraan katsomaan ja puhumaankin monta kertaa kun luokantilanteissa niin puhuu enempi sitten vuorotellen, kattoo heitä kohti, niin... he ovat sitä kyllä sanoneetkin, että se on hyvä tapa, että kouluttaja ei katos muualle... että huomio... mulla kun on niin jatkuvasti maahanmuuttajia, mä ehkä sitten oppinut sen taidon... en tiedä aina onnistunko, koska mulla ei oo mitä erityispedagogiikkataitoja, mutta tuota.. tai en opiskellu näitä, mutta näitä tulee koko ajan sitten niin.. näin.. ja totta. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 106

KK: Aha.. joo... no ja miltä se tuntuu opettaa aikuismaahanmuuttajia?

T6: Ei oikeastaan, ihan samalta kuin suomalaisiakin.. ainoastaan on se, että tuota joutuu ehkä osan kanssa enemmän miettimään sitä kieltä, mitä käyttää.. koska tavallaan hoitotyön sanasto on suomenkielisillekin semmonen outo sanasto... niin tavallaan se, että vielä sitten yrittää löytää semmosia sanoja ja kuvailuja sitten ulkomaalaistaiselle, joka ei.. jolla ei välttämättä niin kuin heti avaudu se sana.. niin mitenkä sitä sitten kuvailee

KK: Tavallaan tarvii selittää tämä sana.. jotkut sanat tai jotkut termit?

T6: Kyllä.. kyllä.. näin on... ja tavallaan vielä sitten miettiä siinä.. kun selittää niitä termejä, että minkälaisia sanoja siinäkin käyttää, että ei sitten käytä sellaista sanastoa, jota hän ei sitten välttämättä ymmärrä. (Kouluttaja 6, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 107

KK: Ja kun sä käytät sitä opetusmateriaalia... käytätkö sä ihan samaa materiaalia suomalaisille opiskelijoille ja maahanmuuttajille.. samaa?

T5: Joo.. se on tosi hankalaa just tää opetusmateriaali.. että yleensä pyrin tekemään niin.. semmosen materiaalin, että mä voin käyttää kummallekin sitä, mutta sitten tietenkin semmonen, jos mä käytän samaa.. niin esimerkiksi saatan mennä seisomaan lähelle maahanmuuttajia, jos he istuu vierekkäin, mä sitten aina näytän, että missä kohtaa me ollaan menossa ja mistä sanasta puhutaan.. sekin auttaa paljon.. et sitten täytyy vähän miettiä, miten sitä käyttää.. että hakee sieltä niitä ydinsanoja ja niitä katotaan, että mitä ne tarkoittaa. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 108

KK: Jo ja miten sä olet huomionut, että heillä on jotain vaikeuksia kirjoittamisen kanssa?

T11: Kun meillä on tehtäviä.. on yksilötehtäviä.. ryhmätehtäviä.. tentit on se varma.. kurssitentit se vaikein... ja sitten kun on tutkintotilaisuudet... ..eli näytöt, jota ei saisi

sanoa, mutta tutkintotilaisuudet.. niin joka tutkinnon osaan pitää tehdä tämmönen kirjallinen suunnitelma... ..ja siinä he tarviivat.. erityisohjausta... enempi... tai sitten muutetaan sitten enempi toiminnalliseksi sitä.. sitä suunnitelmaa ja käytetään siihen enempi aikaa sen kuulemiseen. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 109

T4: Niin, heidän pitäis ymmärtää ne, mitä ne tarkoittaa erityisesti ne esim lähihoitajan ammattieettiset periaatteet, eli joku.. joku oikeudenmukaisuus, tasa-arvo.. ihmisarvon kunnioittaminen.. itsemääräämisoikeus, .. eli että ne pitää tavallaan aina niinku... ..avata ne sanat.. ..ja näillä tunneilla isona hyötynä on usein ollu... jos se on ollu mahdollista, että on sitten se suomen kielen opettaja mukana niillä tunneilla... että tehdään sitä niinku parityönä... että silloin se sujuu helpommin

KK: Ok.. miten sitten tämä suomenkielen opettaja tekee, että hän selittää, mitä sana tarkoittaa?

T4: Kyllä, joo et esimerkiksi se itsemääräämisoikeus.. niin... hänellä on niinku taito sitten siinä, että hän osaa niinku tavallaan avata sen sanan, että he ymmärtää.. sen ymmärtämisen kautta, vaikka heidän äidinkielessään ei suoraa vastinetta tämmöselle sanalle ole.. .. he ymmärtää sen merkityksen. (Kouluttaja 4, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 110

T4: [...] jotenkin se haaste siinä opettamisessa on, että se täytyy hyvin osata sitoa ne asiat siihen heidän kokemusmaailmaansa.. että ehkäpä vaikka sen palvelujärjestelmänkin kohalla kysyä näin, että oletko käyttänyt Suomessa terveydenhuollon palveluita?... jos niin, mitä palveluita?... missä on se lähin terveysasema, missä sinä asioit... että, kyllä he ne.. sillä tavalla terveydenhuollon palvelutkin sitten pikkuhiljaa aukea, kun ne liittyy siihen heidän omaan kokemusmaailmaansa, mutta se täytyy tosiaan muistaa siellä opetuksessa koko ajan. (Kouluttaja 4, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 111

#S14: Monella opettajilla ei ole kokemusta tehdä työtä maahanmuuttajien kanssa

#KK: Aha, miten sä huomaat sen?

#S14: Materiaalista, puheesta ja sitten se tietysti ne ovat suomalaisia ja opetus suomen kielellä, mutta ei ole semmosta, että eivät osaa maahanmuuttajan kanssa

#KK: Mutta tämä materiaali, puhe.. eli minkälainen on tämä hyvä tai huono materiaali tai puhe

#S14: Ei selvä, epäselvästi.. Esimerkiksi kuva on epäselvä, jos en mä osaa suomen kieltä kunnolla, mistä me tiedämme, mitä se on, esimerkiksi

#KK: Epäselvä kuva, että on huonosti kopioitu?

#S14: Kyllä, huonosti kopioitu, ei väriä, mustavalkoinen. Nykyaikana kaikki pitää olla kaikki selvää, tekniikka on hyvää, teksti pitäis olla hyvä, kuva pitäis olla hyvä. Ja jos opettaja työskentele maahanmuuttajien kanssa, heidän pitää osata meidän kanssa kommunikoida, näin sanon

#S12: Mä voin lisätä vähän, ne pitää huomioida meille maahanmuuttajille, sama kun V. sanoo, jos hänellä on jotakin tunti, vain hän puhuu, ei kysy onko kaikki ymmärtää, mitä teille on... ymmärrätkö mitä minä puhun - "onko sinulle selvä" tai jotakin, vain

jatka sitten. Heittää... mikä se on.. antaa meille paperia, taas pitää tehdä ja sitten me mietitään, mitä nyt on, mitä meille pitää tehdä.

#KK: Aha, eli he antavat paperin, mutta eivät selvitä mitään

#S12: Ei, mutta ne suomalaisia vain rupee vain kynä ja sama kuin, he kirjoittaa ja me istuu ja katso, mitä muut tekee, mitä meidän pitää tehdä.. (muut nauraskelevat)... me kysymme toisia other. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 112

S6: Ainakin, kun mä opiskelen tuo lähihoitajaksi aika paljon auttaa mun [maan nimi] koulu... ..kun esimerkkinä, siellä minun kielen taito oli vielä vähän heikompi kuin nyt ja sen takia esimerkiksi anatomiassa ja aika paljon auttaa esimerkki mä en, jos mä kirjoittaa koe ja mä en muista esimerkkinä, mitä suomeksi kaikki lihakset ja luut.... .. se nimitän, mutta sitten se tuli muistiin se latinaksi, mitä ihan se on... ..ja se oli vähän plussa, kun opettaja sitten sanoo "Aha.. no niin... sä osat ihan, mitä se on latinaksi"... ..vaikka se on ei niin paljon opiskele tässä Suomessa". (Opiskelija 6, turvallisuusala, mies, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 113

T11: [...]totta kai minä aina kerron heille, että on kiva ottaa nyt suomalainen opiskelija työpariksi siihen, että totta se suomenkieli kehittyisi sitten.. et sit jos on kaks vielä sama maan kansalaista vaikka... kaks venäläistä tai kaks thaimaalaista niin he rypevät herkästi sitten keskenään... lukkiutuvat sinne ja puhuvat oma kieltään.. hyvä näin, mut sitten totta nii... he jäävät siitä suomen kielen opetuksesta ja se muu ryhmän kuuntelemisesta, mitä siellä tapahtuu ulkopuolelle... jo... kyllä siihen suhtaudutaan ihan positiivisesti. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 114

KK: Jo... ja kun sä mietit tuolla koulussa, että miten täytyy opettaa, että se helpottaa sun oppimista?

S4: Oikeasti niinku... miten mä voin sanoo... kyllä, mä ymmärrän sen, että on kemia ja kemia... .. mutta nähdä ihmisiä ihmisenä... .. ei vain se, mitä se kuori on... ei vaan niitä... ei vain, mitä sä näet päälle, tiedätkö, siis nähdä ihmisiä ne ja kulttuuri siinä kanssa, siis halua ymmärtää... oikeasti, mutta ei voi vaatii.. se on vain heidän ammatti, ne vain opettaa, siis inhimillisyydessä... mutta sitä ei kouluteta, sitä on vain, jotku syntyy tai jotku ei syntyy...

KK: Jotkut syntyy, jotkut ei synny olla opettaja.. sitäkö tarkoitat?

S4: Joo... Siis opettaja voi oppii, mutta se esimerkiks varsinkin... miten mä voin sanoo, kun sä oot opettaja... .. jos sä oot ulkomaalaiselle opettaja plus.. siis se oikeasti siinä... siinä, kun sä oot opettaja ulkomaalaiselle.. ihminen olis kiva, että on sympaattinen

KK: Eli tämä opettaja on sympaattinen?

S4: Joo... ymmärrätkö?

KK: No millä tavalla sympaattinen?

S4: Se ihminen.. siis se oma persoona on sympaattinen... tai siis empaattinen

KK: Joo... joo

S4: Ymmärrätkö?... empathy... että hän on empaattinen... oma siis natural... ..oma niin kuin naturales

KK: että se tulee ihan sydäimestä?

S4: Ihan sydäimestä... se tulee niinku luonnosta... ..koska minusta tuntuu... ..koska ei kaikilla oo tätä... joku vain opiskelee joku aine... on opettaja vain, koska .. koska ei halua olla vain opettaja... mutta ei se oo vain tätä... ja varsinkin, jos sä oot ulkomaalainen, minä ajattelen niinku näin. (Opiskelija 4, lähihoitaja, nainen, eteläamerikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 115

S10: [...] mutta minulla on paljon kavereita kuka tekee koulu Suomessa.. ja he sanoo ihan sama.. "Jos ei oo vaimo ja jos vaimo ei oo suomalainen, mitä minä tein".. se on tosi vaikea. (Opiskelija 10, puuala, mies, englanninkielinen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 116

KK: Niin.. no sä kerroit, että opitaan ehkä parhaiten tekemällä.. kuinka ja missä muutenkin maahanmuuttajat oppivat hyvin?

T5: No tosiaan se tekemällä... no ehkä ryhmitöissä sitten.

KK: No ja millä tavalla tämä ryhmätyö...

T5: Ehkä siinä, kun he saa keskustella ja selvittää ja kysyä... että, onko näin asiat kuin he on ymmärtäneet....

KK: Ok.. auttaa ymmärtämään tällä tavalla?

T5: Kyllä, niin... Ja ehkä he siinä sitten tarkistaa ja sit keskustelee, että olisiko se näin, kun tämän asian ymmärsin.. niin ehkä siinä tulee sitä ymmärtämisen varmistamista vähän enemmän.. ja toiset sanoo, että "Hei, nyt sä ymmärsit väärin". (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 117

KK: Ja mikä oli tärkein asia, mitä opit viimeksi? Jotain sellaista, että sä opit viimeksi ja sä mietit, että se on... se oli tärkeä?

S3: No se ammattietiikka, kun me oli se... .. niitä lakeja .. se on paljon hirvee kasa niitä lakkeja... täällä vaikea sitten, kun me tehtiin sitä ryhmässä... pienryhmässä.. ja sit esitettiin, että potilas niitä oikeuksia... ..ja sit se oli helppo opiskella, koska oli iso nippu lakia ja kyllä mä ymmärsin kaikki, mitä ne siellä oli, kun kaikki esittävät, että. (Opiskelija 3, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 118

KK: Ja miten sujuu sellainen työ.. ryhmätyö kun on suomalaisia ja maahanmuuttaja?

T11: Ihan hyvin... kyllä.. joo.. musta nä suomalaiset ne on hirvein kiinnostuneita just näistä maahanmuuttajaopiskelijoista ja heidän kokemuksestaan ja näin... että mulla on semmonen tuntuma... että ryhmätöitä, mitä on sitten arvioinut niin.. niin hyvin ottavat suomalaiset maahanmuuttajaopiskelijat niihin mukaansa.. ei siinä oo tänä päivänä mitään eroa. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 119

KK: No ja vielä sellaista, että kun aikuismaahanmuuttaja.... kenen kanssa aikuismaahanmuuttajat viettivät eniten aikaa tässä aikuisopistossa?

T11: Kyllä, he tuota aika tavalla, kun seuraa niin ovat niin kuin ihan supisuomalaisen joukossa... sitten suomalaisessa opiskelijoissa on hyvä piirre, että ne ottaa mukaansa... eli tota niin... jos ajatellaan näitä teoriaopiskelussakin ottaa niin ryhmittöihin ja vieruskaveriksi. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 120

#KK: Ja onko teillä esimerkkejä, että tämä kieli oli hankalaa? Voisitko sä antaa jonkun esimerkin?

#S12: No esimerkki, kun me ollaan maahanmuuttajia, vain pelkkiä maahanmuuttajia meille vähän helppo tai jotakin, mutta joskus me ollaan suomalaisten kanssa. Jos sinä et osaa kaikki, ei niin ystävällisiä, ei he haluavat.. hän kertoo sinulle näin ja näin pitää tehdä. Sä olet ryhmässä, he tekee vain, ne keskustele ja semmonen juttu. No joskus he auttaa meille, pitää tehdä noin ja noin, he kertoo... meille se on helpottaa. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 121

KK: Mikä tekee oppimisen ja opiskelun vaikeaksi?

S4: Se on tämä... mitä mä voin sanoa, se on... mulle oli se... mulle oli se esimerkiksi niinku... ehkä niinku... miten mä voin sanoa... kaikki opettaja oikeasti.. suurin osa opettaja tosi kiinnostavia, siis sillä he haluaa ymmärtää ulkomaalaiset ja mut. [...] ja sit totta kuitenkin niinku se teki vaikeaksi esimerkiks niinku se, koska sä oot ulkomaalainen... on vähän niin ennakkoluuloisia

KK: Kenellä oli ne ennakkoluulot?

S4: Siis ne on luokkakavereita.. suomalaisia

KK: Voisitko sä antaa jonkun esimerkin

S4: Esimerkiksi kun me tehtiin niin ku ryhmätyö... .. että kaikki sano "Joo.. joo.. joo" ja sit totta, kun me mentiin tekemään joissain niin kuin tehtäviä, ryhmätyö, siis ne vain tekee, ne keskustele, niinku tällaiset, mä olin niinku en ollut olemassa... ..ymmärrätkö... sit "Me ollaan valmis, ei oo kysytty multa, niinku mitään (nauru)... .. se ei ole ollu kiva... ..ei ollu kiva, niinku ne vain päätti ja eikä edes niinku ei mitä niinku... ei mitään, ne ei ottanut mua mukana. (Opiskelija 4, lähihoitaja, nainen, eteläamerikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 122

KK: Ja onko sellaista.. jotain, että sä pidät oppimisessa... mistä pidät oppimisessa ja mistä et pidä oppimisessa?

S3: Mä en tykkää näistä ryhmätyöstä olenkaan... se ei sopi mulle... siis tunnilla voi olla, että joskus keskustellaan ryhmässä ja sitten se kun mä kerroin sulle, että sä voit kertoa niinku aiheesta... se sopii, kyllä... mutta, jos joku esimerkiksi iso kirjallinen ryhmätyö... mulla on paljon parempaa tehdä yksin

KK: Ja miksi sellainen ryhmätyö ei sovi sinulle tai ei.. mistä et pidä tuolla?

S3: No koska ryhmissä on sellainen ihminen, että hän niin kuin teki paljon ja sit toinen ei.. ei tee oikeastaan mitään, jos joku ei kuuntele.. se riippuu ihmisestä tietysti.. ei voi aina valita kenen kanssa sä teet ryhmätyöt. (Opiskelija 3, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 123

S6: Mutta se aina, jos sä.. jos sä työskentelet tai opiskelee toisen kanssa, sitten se on aika viisaasti ottaa heistä jotain uutta ja se on... mutta

KK: Mutta ja osaatko sä sanoa... anna joku esimerkki, että sä olet oppinut jotain... näiltä henkilöiltä?

S6: No taas, jos puhuu tuo ammattitutkinnosta, vartijan ammattitutkinnosta... ..mun kanssa opiskelee paljon semmoisia, kuka työskentelee jo vartijaksi... taas kun me puhumme keskenään ja erilainen tapahtuma tai semmoinen jotain esimerkki, mitäs heille tapahtuu tai he voivat antaa vaikka neuvot tai taas... no sama juttu mun puolesta ja se on vähän semmoinen, kun me voimme antaa yks toiselle semmonen jotain neuvoja tai esimerkkiä tai auttaa. (Opiskelija 6, turvallisuusala, mies, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 124

T4: [...] se ensimmäinen jakso.. mikä pääsääntöisesti on se kasvun tukeminen ja ohjaus.. ei aina, mutta useimmiten, niin siitä he yleensä selviytyvät aika helposti.. koska siellä ne opetettavat sisällöt on aika helppoja... ja monilla on jo omassa perheessä lapsia.. että heille on sielläkin hyötynä se oma kokemustausta.. lapsen kasvusta... kehityksestä.. huolenpidosta, he voi liittää niitä siihen omaan kokemusmaailmaansa. (Kouluttaja 4, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 125

KK: No.. ja kun ollaan sellaisessa sekaryhmässä ja niin.. no mistä keskustellaan, eli onko se tämä oppimis-.. opiskeluasioista tai?

T5: Ihan mistä tahansa... .. eli esimerkiksi kun nyt oli ergonomiaa ja puhuttiin siitä kuinka hyvä työasento on tärkeä ja siinä ryhmässä oli afrikkalaisia naisia.. niin he kerto siitä, että miten Afrikassa pystytään kantamaan kannetaan se kaksikymmentä litraa.. eli 20 kiloa vettä pään päällä... .. ja sitten he ikään kuin näytti, että mikä se on se asento ja minkälainen tavallaan tehdään tämmönen turbiinista tai siis semmosesta huivista tehdään tuota turbaani... niin totta semmonen rengas pään päälle... ..niin se oli jotenkin siinä opetuksessakin tosi hyvä, että heillä on tämmösiä taitoja siitä ergonomiasta, eli puhutaan ihan.. ja sitten he useesti kertoo, miten heidän kotimaassaan joku asia... .. eli mun mielestä luo semmosta monikulttuurista tietämystä koko ryhmälle.. sit puhutaan ihan arkiasioista

KK: Aha.. eli tavallaan he voivat oppia myös jotain siitä arkielämästä Suomessa ja niin?

T5: Kyllä, mutta me voidaan oppii myös arkielämästä heidän kotimaassaan

KK: Joo... molempiin suuntiin?

T5: Joo.. se on niinku tosi mukava... (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen).

Aineistoesimerkki 126

S1: Sano mulle miten minun pitää tehdä ja mä menen tekemään. (Opiskelija 1, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 127

T8: Eli... silloin, kun mulla on ollut semmosia tosi huonosti suomea osaavia.. mä oon saattanut näyttää jonkun kuvan ja sitten mä oon niin kuin ottanut jonkun koneen esimerkiksi ja.. ja tuota niin mä oon näyttänyt kuinka se kasataan ja sitten kuinka se toimii.. 'No niin nyt mennään ja käytetään sitä.. siivotaan sillä koneella', elikkä ei istuta ja kirjasta lueta, vaan että mieluummin niin kuin mä näytän ja... .. vähän niin kuin työpaikalla opastetaan.. sitten mennään ja tehdään... ..elikkä pois pulpettioppimisesta.. ei pulpetissa. (Kouluttaja 8, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 128

KK: Ja kerroit vähän siitä opetusmateriaalista.. että tarvii olla sopiva opetusmateriaali..

T5: Kyllä, ja täytyy havainnollistaa.

KK: Ok.. sitä sä tarkoittit, että havainnollistaa.. että tarkoitat sitä, että on paljon kuvia vai mitä sä tarkoitat?

T5: Kuvia.. ja sitten esimerkiksi, jos katsotaan tai opiskellaan siivousvälineitä niin sitten pitää hakea se väline, että se on aivan.. että sen lisäksi että se nähdään, mutta myös sitä voi koskettaa ja kokeilla. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 129

KK: Onko vielä muuta, kuinka ja missä, miten he opiskelevat parhaiten?

T11: Kyllä, se niin kuin täällä.. meillähän on teoriaopetusta ja sitten meillähän myös opetuskeittiö.. käytännön opetusta.. niin kyllä, se niin kuin näkyy siinä... että kyllä he niinku seuraavat aina ohjeita ja näin, mutta tota heillä on varmasti semmoinen ilmiömäinen hyvä muistikin.. että monta kertaa mä ihmettelin, että mitenkä ne hyvin he siihen lopputulokseen pääsevät, vaikka se suomen kielen kommunikointi ei välttämättä aina ole sitä parasta mahdollista... ..ymmärtäminen varmaan heillä on se, että kumminkin he ymmärtävät mitä tarkoitat... ja sitten he hyvin tarkasti seuraavat sitä mallintamista, jos mä niinku mallina näytän... he ovat hyvin tarkkoja siinä, että... jos mä teenkin sitten toisella tavalla "Hei, että miksi äsken teit noin ja nyt teet näin".. he ovat hyvin tarkkoja.. jo semmosta mallioppimisen kautta niin kuin. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 130

T9: Niin se on opiskelijalle ja myös opettajalle niin kuin se helpoin tapa, koska silloin ei oo sitä kielellistä muuria siinä välissä... niin.. vaikei ymmärtäs suomen kielestä mitään kun puhutaan, jos kerrotaan, että mitenkä joku kone toimii ja sitten useampi opiskelija tekee sen saman työvaiheen ja maahanmuuttajaopiskelija näkee sen.. niin sehän oppii niin siinä samalla sen ja sitten se voi tehdä sen työvaiheen... niin.. niin.. silloin se kieli... niin kuin kielellistä ongelmaa ei tuu siinä kohtaa. (Kouluttaja 9, puuala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 131

#S14: Joo, me opimme paremmin, että esimerkiksi minä tulin kurssille, ylläpitosiivous, mitä se on ylläpitosiivous: mitä se on ylläpitosiivous? Mä tiedän, että mitä on siivous, mutta mitä on ylläpitosiivous ja sitten kun katson "Aa no se on joo". Mutta perussiivous, melkein sama, siis se kuulosta sama siivous, mutta se on vähän erilaista... ja pitää tietysti, jos luet teoria, sitten pitää nähdä, mitä se on heti, että me kuuntelemme, katsomme ja teemme... .. minun mielestäni

#KK: Olisiko se sitten parempi, että opetetaan sitä ihan työpaikalla? Näitä asioita?

#S14: Voi olla semmosta myöskin hyvä... .. koska työpaikka on myöskin työntekijät erilaisia. Esimerkiksi, jos mä kysyn esimerkiksi: "Miten tämä tehdään?" Hän puhuu ja näkemiin, mutta jos hän sanoo ja näyttää samalla... mä voisin tehdä samalla ja ohjeiden mukaan. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 132

#S14: Jos esimerkiksi minä opiskelen tällä alalla, jos ylläpitosiivous, minun mielestäni teoria ensiksi, sitten työharjoittelu, että me opimme ensiksi teoria, sitten mä voin nähdä, mikä on ylläpitosiivous; sitten perussiivous, myös teoria ja sitten perussiivous. Mutta, tässä kurssilla on vähän erilaista, ensiksi paljon teoriaa, teoria - en mä tiedä, mikä on ylläpitosiivous, mitä me tehdään perussiivouksessa, sitten avustaminen - kaikki näin pääsee

?: vähän sekaisin

#KK: Ok.. eli kaikki annetaan ensiksi teoriassa ja sitten sen jälkeen

#S14: Joo. (Ryhmähaastattelu, puhdistusala)

Aineistoesimerkki 133

KK: No ja minkälaisia muita kokemuksia sinulla on siitä oppimisesta ja opiskelemisesta täällä Suomessa?

S9: Kyllä, mä opin paljon... joo kyllä, mä opin paljon... koska minun ammatti.. minun kotimaassa ja tämä ammatti on erilainen ammatti... sitten mä opin siellä paljon... kyllä, mä opin paljon.. ja työpaikka, myös mä opin siellä paljon...

KK: Ja missä sä opit eniten?

S9: Työpaikassa..joo... koska kun sinulla on koulussa ja... koska mä mietin maahanmuuttaja, oppisopimus on paras maahanmuuttajalle... koska työpaikka.. siellä oppii paljon.. enemmän kuin koulussa...

KK: Ja miksi on niin, että opit enemmän työpaikalla?

S9: Joo koska koulussa sinä oppi teoria... mutta työpaikassa sinä opit siellä practical.. oppi kaikki mitä voi tehdä... esimerkki, mä mietin, kun mä olin tässä koulussa... kun mä en saa ihan oppisopimus.. mä vain sain ihan lähihoitajakoulutus.. mä olin koulussa... sitten, kun mä menen työpaikkaan, voi olla vaikea minulla... mutta kun mä olin työssä.. mä voin oppia paljon siellä... jos joskus mä tulin koulussa opettaja... mä voin sanoa, mä olen oppinut enemmän, kun opettaja kertoo minua.. sitten oli vähän helpompi minua... joo on. (Opiskelija 9, lähihoitaja, nainen, afrikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 134

T4: [...] niin sitten mulla on semmonen pidempikestoinen kokemus.. muutaman vuoden takaa.. olisiko se ollu joskus 2010, kun valmistu viimeinenkin.. meillä oli semmonen oppisopimusryhmä... .. jossa oli alkujaan, ehkä neljä suomalaista opiskelijaa... ja muuten kaikki oli maahanmuuttajia... ja tuota niin.. he oli tosiaan oppisopimusopiskelijoita ja mä olin ihan sieltä alusta loppuun saakka sen ryhmän opetuksessa mukana ja tuota.. tuota tuota.. se oli silloin alkuun ihan epätoivoisen tuntuista... todella.. todella.. kielitaito suurimmalla osalla oli äärettömän huono ... silloin ajatus oli, että ei... näistä ei koskaan tule lähihoitajia

KK: Aha.. no tuliko näistä lähihoitajia?

T4: Ihan jokaisesta.. ihan jokaisesta... mutta heidän kanssaan tehtiin aivan valtavasti työtä ja sen jälkeen..

KK: Millaista työtä?

T4: Sitä henkilökohtaista ohjausta, että mutta tuota.. tietysti se, että he oppivat työn kautta myös paljon... että se.. se varmaan oli tärkeä tekijä siinä heidän ryhmässään, että he näkivät.. havaintoja tekemällä myös ja oppivat siellä työpaikalla ja oppivat samalla kieltä. (Kouluttaja 4, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 135

KK: Ja mikä on sun mielipide siitä, miten koulutus auttaa heille...?

T11: Jos sanotaan... mitä mulla on maahanmuuttajataustaisia opiskelijoita ollu... niin päiväopiskelijaryhmässä kuin oppisopimuksessa.. niin totta... voi sanoa, että 80 prosenttisesti he ovat työllistyneet... niihin työssäoppimispaikoihin tai oppisopimuspaikkoihin missä he ovat olleet.. vähemmän... oikeistaan... pääsääntöisesti työllistyvät.. elikkä mullakin oli äsken tuossa nimilista, kun sanon, että on oppisopimuksella ollu ja he löytyvät edelleen sieltä työpaikasta... työpaikat näkee heissä voimavaran kun he ovat niin kuin perehdyttäneet jo muutaman vuoden ajan sen opiskelijan tai pitkällä työssä oppimisjaksoilla... niin on valmis työntekijä sitten se työpaikalla. (Kouluttaja 11, ravintola-ala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 136

T2: Kyllä mä sanosin, että joku tämmönen työn kautta oppiminen... .. tehnyy esimerkiksi oppisopimuskoulutus, niin se saattaa olla ihan ... ihan erinomainen... ..asia, tota niin... ja semmonen sopiva niin teoriaopetuksen luokka, opetuksen vaihtelu.. ja sitten työssä oppiminen, niin ehkä se on kaikista semmonen tuloksekkain... ..Ja nimenomaan,et jos on vähän tommosista varttuneemmista miespuolisista maahanmuuttajista kyse, niin kyllähän se luokassa istuminen saattaa vähän semmosta tuskaa olla heille

KK: Aikuisille? Joo?

T2: Niin... ..Niin tuota niin, ja aika monissa maissa ... ajatellaan, että se koulunkäynti ja opiskelu, se kuuluu niin kuin nuorille ja lapsille, mutta ei aikuisille... ..Että tämmönen aikuisopiskelun ymmärtäminen, se voi olla vähän hankalaa

KK: Joo... joo no missä he oppivat parhaiten? No sä sanoit työssä

T2: No, minun mielestä kyllä he oppii tuota niin ... varsin hyvin myöskin työpaikoilla

KK: Työpaikalla?

T2: Ja se semmonen sopivassa suhteessa tapahtuva vaihtelu että... ..ollaan koulussa ja sitten tuota niin tämmönen työssäoppiminen. (Kouluttaja 2, yhteiskunnalliset aineet, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 137

KK: Joo.. joo.. hm... ja onko jotain, mistä sä et pidä oppimisessa tai opiskelemisessä?

S1: Se vähän välillä tylsää

KK: Tylsää?

S1: Ei voi sano näin, että välillä, jos sä istut koko päivä, että... vain.. kuus tuntia mä istun täällä ihan (nauru)... .. Ihan kuin pieni lapsi... voi miten nuoria, jos 45-vuotiana mä tulen tänne opiskelemaan... paljon nopeammin mä vois opiskella ihan työpaikalla. (Opiskelija 1, lähihoitaja, nainen, itäeurooppalainen tausta)

Aineistoesimerkki 138

T5: Joo.. no sitten työpaikoilta sitä suomalaista työelämää, sitä minkälainen se suomalainen työelämä on.. kuinka siellä tarvitaan ihan kaikenlaisia ihmisiä... ja sitä just näitä työelämän sääntöjä.. siellä se oli se.. tää tämmönen suomalainen työehtosopimus, että minkälaisia asioita siellä niinku on.. on työajat ja on kaikki työterveysuollot ja muut, että se on tosi tärkeitä. (Kouluttaja 5, puhdistusala, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 139

T6: [...] voi mennä vaikka sen oman asukkaan, tai asiakkaan, potilaan kanssa vaikka käymään jossakin.. he voi vaikka käydä jossakin taidenäyttelyissä tai jotakin muuta vastaavasti, mitä tekevtkään tai sitten... varmasti sitten, kun he ovat tekemisissä näitten erilaisten asiakkaiden, potilaiden kanssa niin.. hehän myös kertovat nyt sitten niistä omista kokemuksistaan ja siitä omasta elämästään [...] ja sitä kautta varmasti myös sitten niin kuin rakentuu maahanmuuttajille kuva siitä, että mitä se on olla suomalainen (nauraa).. siellä on varsinkin ikäihmisten parissa, jos ajatellaan, että he kertoo niistä omista sotakokemuksistaan ja siitä, että mitä se on ollut silloin ennen vanhaan täällä Suomessa, niin siitäkinhän rakentuu sitten maahanmuuttajille se kuva, että mitä se on se suomen historia.. tavallaan sitä historiaa tulee sieltä myös esille. (Kouluttaja 6, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoesimerkki 140

T10: [...] vaikea on.. vaikea on ehkä meillä koulutus perustuu hyviin paljon siihen työssä oppimiseen.. niin saada sitä luottamusta sieltä, työpaikolta, että he pääsevät tekemään sitä työtä.. itse tosiaan toimin rakennusalalla ja.. ja rakennusalalla on Suomessa jo pitkään ollut.. esimerkiksi venäläisiä töissä aika paljon - Virosta, Venäjältä ja tästä lähialueelta.. heidät otetaan rakennustyömaalla aika hyviin vastaan.. heidän tiedetään, että he oo ahkeria ja.. ja hyviä tekemään... mutta sitten esimerkiksi afrikkalaisen, lähes mahdotonta päästää rakennustyömaalle mitenkään töihin... ehkä heidän niinku se kulttuurillinen tausta ja yleensä se käsillä tekemisen tausta on hyviin erilainen ollut.. elikkä.. elikkä heidän.. heidän menestymisestä... nyt puhun nimenomaan rakennusalankoulutuksesta, niin.. heitä on hyvin vaikea saada alalle kuitenkaan töihin [...]

KK: No.. miksi on niin vaikea saada sitä luottamusta työpaikalla?

T10: Työpaikoilla ei oo varmaan vielä totuttu, että sinne tulee muolta kulttuureista.... tästä lähialueelta tulleita... heidän kanssa on toiminut jo pitkään.. kymmenen, viisitoista vuotta... mutta.. mutta... ja sitten varma se työkuulttuuri on myöskin hyviin erilainen sillä heidän lähtömaassaan.. uskoisin, että Suomessa ja Venäjällä vaikka.. se työkuulttuuri on kuitenkin aika samanlainen... luulisin... .. se on tuolla helppo (Kouluttaja 10, rakennusala, mies).

Aineistoesimerkki 141

T7: Niin.. siinä on hyvä kysymys, miksi ne tekee eri tavalla kuin mitä heille on kerrottu... ..miksi he tekevät eri tavalla, kuin miten heitä ohjeistetaan esimerkiks työpaikalla... ..eli sanoisin näin, että se aikaisempi kulttuuri

KK: Ootko sä kysynyt joskus?

T7: Oon kysynyt sitäkin

KK: No, mitäs sanotaan?

T7: No ei siihen oikeen mitään järkevää silleen yhtä vastausta tule... heijän täytyy mennä nyt... no joo on suomalaisillakin asioita, mutta asioiden hoito pyritään sopimaan, jos mahdollista ennalta ja niistä ilmoitetaan ja keskustellaan esimerkiksi esimiehen kanssa ja ilmoitetaan "Nyt minulla olisi tällainen tilanne".. eikä silleen, että lähetään esimerkiksi vain pois töistä.. tää on niin kuin vähän siinä.. siinä ehkä ilmoittamiskulttuurissakin on aika paljon tätä... sitä hakemista... ja kyllä mä ymmärrän... en määkään esimiehenä kovin pitkään kattoo semmosta, jos sitä yhden kerran, kaks kertaa ehtitään, missähän mahtaa kaveri olla.. niin.. niin.. ei kovin pitkään tarvii olla töissä.. otetaan semmonen, joka noudattaa sääntöjä.. lastentarha erikseen ja työelämä on sitten työelämä... sieltä tulee niin kuin semmonen riskitekijä ynnä muuta, koska kuitenkin, jos jotain sattuu niin työnantajan velvollisuus on huolehtia työturvallisuusseikoista. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 142

T10: [...] ja tietysti jokaisen kanssa tilanne on vähän erilainen, eli.. eli jos on tehnyt niitä rakennusalan töitä, niin paljon vähemmän tarvii silloin tietenkään sitä opetusta enää täällä.. esimerkiksi monesti ne Venäjältä tulet ovat tehneet rakennustöitä Venäjälle... niin silloin on paljon helpompi meidän jo saada niin kuin sitä harjoittelupaikkaa täältä ja luotetaan työpaikolla enemmän... vähemmän tarvitsee sitä niin kuin kädessä pitäen opastusta siihen työn tekoon, tietysti jokaiseen kanssa se on vähän erilainen, mut niin kuin.. niin kuin kokemus on tä, että.. että onko tehnyt tällaista... miksi tätä ei nyt voi sanoa - länsimaista rakennustyötä... koska Afrikassa se on varmasti, se on hyvin erilaista.. se on hyvin erilaista. (Kouluttaja 10, rakennusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 143

KK: Aha... ja olitko sä harjoittelussa yhdessä paikassa vai olitko sä?

S4: Muissa paikoissa

KK: Ja miten se on mennyt muissa paikoissa?

S4: Pari oli... yks meni pieleen ja toinen oli myös pieleen, mutta sit se vaihtu se mun ohjaaja ja sit se meni ihan... mutta on... on ollut puhutaan vallankäytös on tosi paljon... ..ja se, kun sä oot ulkomaalainen niinku mulle se sano se pomo sieltä

KK: Siitä työpaikasta?

S4: Se sano... mä sano "Onko täällä... onko täällä mahdollista päästä niinku töihin?".. "Ulkomaalainen ei pärjää tähän"... miten se sanoo, se oli niinku UFFFF (showing with the hand like hitting with the knife in the heart)

KK: Tää työpaikan pomo sano, että ulkomaalainen ei pärjää tässä?

S4: Ei pärjää tässä... ja se oli tosi tylästi sanottu... .. ihan niinku... (showing again with the hand, like cutting away a head)... se pisti niin... se oli se sävy ääni, se oli semmonen tosi alistava... ..mä katon oikeasti... ..tiedätkö, niinku minä koen sillain, että... ..minä koen sillain, [...] se että niinku, luullaan, koska on ulkomaalainen sä oot vain tullut, tiedätkö niin.. sä oot tullut niinku, että sä oot niin.. sä oot tullut niinku jotain toimentulon niinku tässä... ..siis musta tuntuu, tiedätkö.. minä koen sillain [...]

KK: Että muut ajattelevat tällä tavalla?

S4: Siis ihmiset, joka on sanonut mulle [...] se on väärin... ne kättelee niin kuin sä oot vain semmonen, joka vain laittaa huulipunaa ja nitsch... ymmärrätkö, että sinulla ei oo mitä tässä in your brain... .. se on väärin, kun mä kattelisin sitä oikeasti, ne luulee sä oot vähän niinku pingpong... tai jotain. (Opiskelija 4, lähihoitaja, nainen, eteläamerikkalainen tausta)

Aineistoiesimerkki 144

KK: No ja millaisia asenteita oppilaitoksella ja myös yhteiskunnassa on maahanmuuttajista.. sun mielestä?

T4: Mä kyllä sanoisin, että kyllä tuota pääsääntöisesti omassa oppilaitoksessa suhtaudutaan myönteisesti.. eli hyvin myönteisesti, että sekä koskee opettajia ja koskee suomenkielisiä.. suomalaisia opiskelijoita, että en ainakaan itse ole kohdannut

KK: Tai kuullut?

T4: ...kovin huonoa käyttäytymistä... että enemmän saattaa, jos sitä on kuullut niin sitä on tullut sitä kautta, että joku opiskelija on saanut semmosta huonoa kohtelua siellä työssäoppimisen paikassa.

KK: Ok.. joo... millä tavalla?

T4: Jotenkin, että häntä ei oo niinku... jotenkin.. häntä on kohdeltu esimerkiksi niinku jotenkin ikään kuin hän ei olisi olemassakaan.. .. tai sitten joskus on joku sanonu sillä tavalla, että tulee ikään kuin semmonen olo, että häntä pidetään tyhmänä... vaikka hän olisi kuinka fiksu ja osaava ihminen, mutta sen takia, että hän ei osaa kieltä häntä kohdellaan kuin jotakin lasta. (Kouluttaja 4, lähihoitajakoulutus, nainen)

Aineistoiesimerkki 145

KK: No ja kerroit siitä, että... mutta jos voit vielä kertoa, kuinka ja missä aikuiset maahanmuuttajat oppivat parhaiten.. sellaisia ammattiin liittyviä asioita.. tarkoitan?

T7: Sanoisin näin, että.. että varmaan työelämä on osittain hyvä kouluttaja... ..mutta sielläkin pitäis olla semmonen.. sanotaanko suojattu kautta.. ohjattu se toiminta.. että niillä on se tukihenkilö siinä mukana... se on varmaan helpoin tapa olis niinku lähtee.. siellä oppii sitä ammattitermiä.. siellä oppii sitä käytännön tekemistä ja oppii yhdistämään sen tuota, esimerkiksi kielellisen siihen tekemiseen...

KK: Aha .. ja tämä tukihenkilö, eli...

T7: Se pitäis olla työnpaikalta joku, joka häntä opastaa kunnolla, eikä silleen niin, että 'Tee tuota ja mä tuun iltapäivällä kahtomaan', vaan että kulkis matkassa

KK: Ok, että ollaan tavallaan koko ajan yhdessä ja tehdään yhdessä?

T7: Kyllä, periaatteessa parityönä kun tehtäis niin silloin se vois olla niin kuin toimivin

KK: Onko vielä jotain muuta... missä ja miten opitaan parhaiten?

T7: En mä nyt osaa tuohon muuta oikein sanoo, se niin kuin se, se ehkä ois kaikkein helpoin tapa lähtee tekemään, nythän me tehdään silleen, että me opetetaan täällä teoriaa, sitten ne menee töihin työssä oppimaan ja monesti ne on irrallaan toisistaan.. niin se teoria, kuin se käytäntökin... ja oon melko varma, että kun meillä on

tämmönen maahanmuuttajataustainen henkilö työpaikoilla niin ei häntä opasteta niin kuin koko ajan, näytetään joku asia ja tee tätä sitten. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 146

T10: Jo, kyllä hän se niin on, että kuitenkin työpaikoilla ennä hyvin vähän on sitä resurssia kenenkään opettaa... siellä pitäisi pystyä jo kohtuudella pärjäämään siinä.. ainakin toiseen paarina tekemään työtä, et ei siellä.. meillä kouluttajilla ei oo aika.. siellä työpaikalla olla opettamassa... kyllä, me käydään katsomassa, miten asiat menee ja onko kaikki hyvin ja keskustelaan työjohton kanssa asiasta, mutta ei me ennä... meillä ei riittää aika mennä siellä työpaikalle neuvomaan, että miten sinun pitää hakata vasaralla tai miten sinä muuraat, et se taito tavallaan pitää olla jo sitten valmiina. (Kouluttaja 10, rakennusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 147

T7: No.. yksi siinä voi olla se, että työnantajat ne ei jaksaa lähteä kouluttamaan niitä siinä niinku.. eli ne kokee sen niin työlääks... siellä on kieli.. siinä on kaikki se muu toiminta.. siellä voi olla kulttuuriset eroavaisuudet ja.. ja... ne ei tänä päivänä kerkee jaksaa niin kuin sitä.. se vaatis semmosta vähän.. vähän tuota humaania asennetta siinä, että me jaksetaan viedä mukana, eli sehän on osittain hyväntekeväisyyteen menee... että meillä on henkilö, joka ei kykene täysin tuottavaan työhön, mutta pyörii työpaikalla mukana ja harva siitä haluaa maksaa... ..kun ei ne halua maksaa välttämättä niin kuin tekevästäkään työntekijästä tänä päivänä. (Kouluttaja 7, turvallisuusala, mies)

Aineistoesimerkki 148

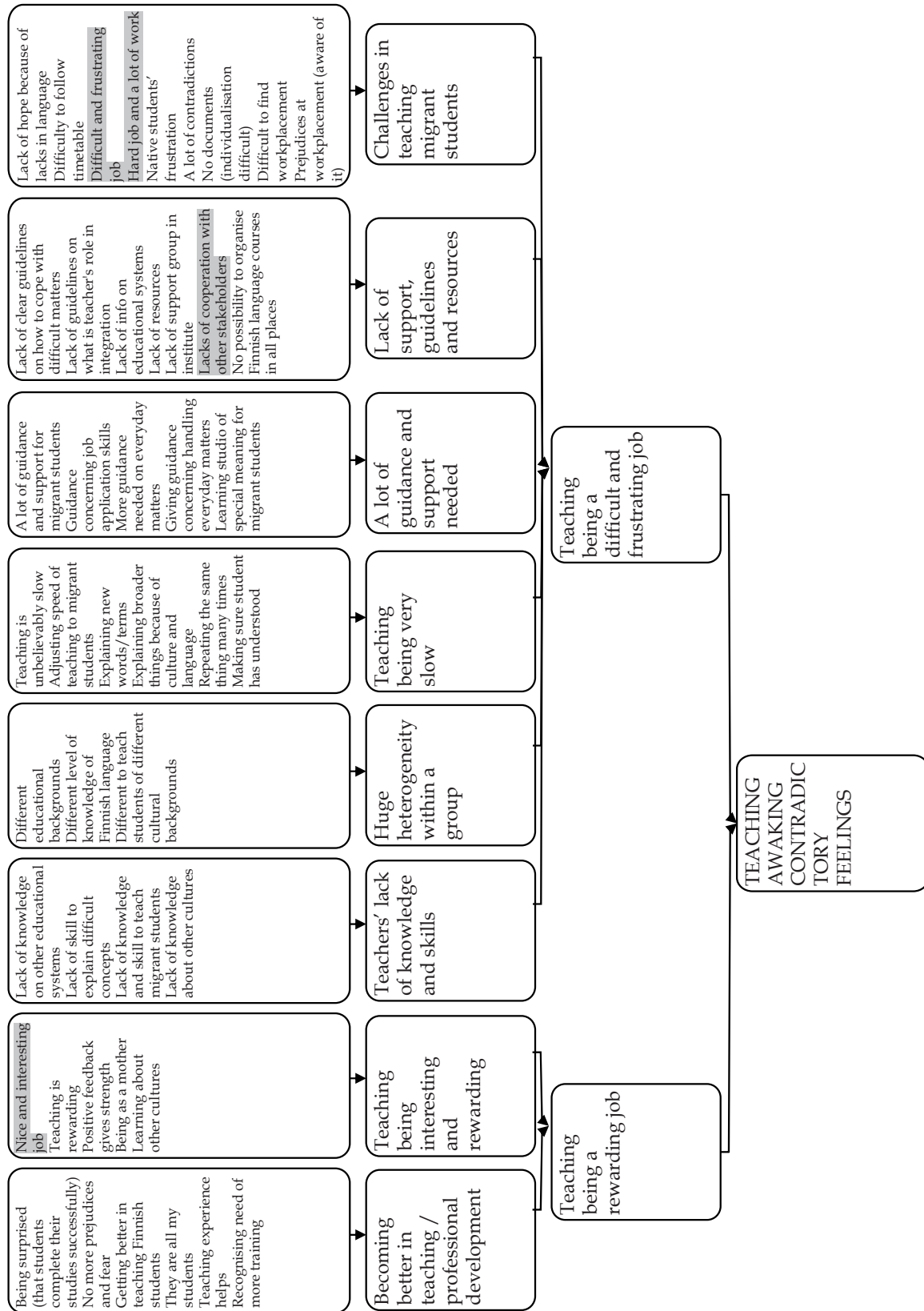
Vain englannin kielellä.

Aineistoesimerkki 149

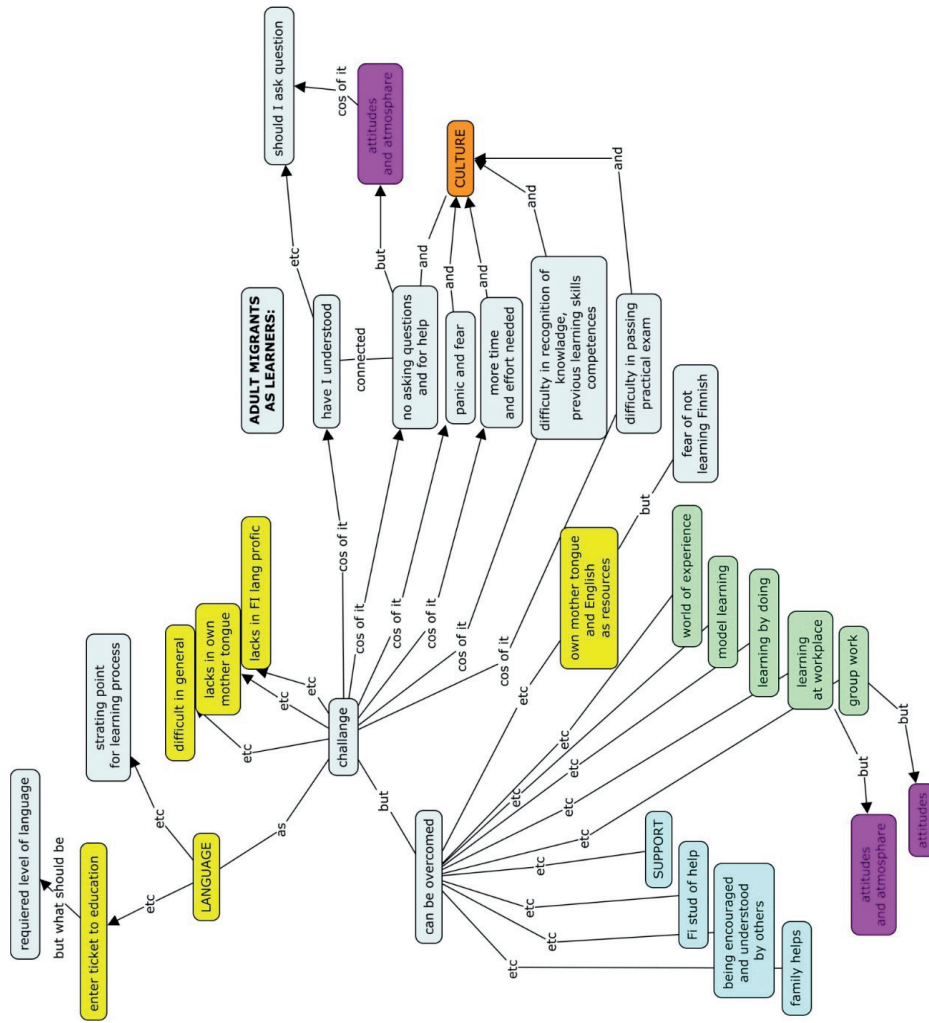
Vain englannin kielellä.

APPENDIX 6: EXAMPLES OF ASSIGNING CODES TO UNIT OF ANALYSIS AND FURTHER GROUPING OF CODES

Unit of analysis (whole thought on certain matter)	Codes
<p>KK: [...]... you've said what is difficult, when you're teaching adult migrants in vocational education, so are there such things that are easy... that are easy to you when you are teaching... when you're thinking about teaching now?</p> <p>T7: I mean, you cannot really say, that it's easy.</p> <p>KK: It's not easy, you say.. (laughter)</p> <p>T7: No, it's that you have to think... it of course depends on that...that do you care, whether a student learns or not... if you don't care if he/she learns then it's easy.. you just have the freedom to go forward, but then.. if you try to make sure if the student has understood, what I mean by something... then the problem is how I can make sure... .. it's not easy because you can't find that out either in written form, or in oral form (Trainer 7, safety and security, man).</p>	<p>Hard job and a lot of work</p> <p>Difficult and frustrating job</p>
<p>T8: [...] Well I've attended this guidance group that [the name of the project] has and well... so in 2007 I went to present our training for this project... the cleaning services training and many of those students came and studied with us and so on... so at least what [the project] has revealed to us, I find it absolutely great because you sort of map out their language skills, written and oral, and preparedness to study and such... and like I've said about the project, 'I wish we...' or like if they knew about the results in the employment office... in the ELY centre and then for the S2 trainers when they attend the Finnish language education but they never reach us vocational trainers right away but now that I know they send them forward I know to ask them... (Trainer 8, cleaning services, woman).</p>	<p>Lack of cooperation with other stakeholders</p> <p>Lack of guidelines on how to cope with difficult matters</p>
<p>T4: [...] and such a thing also, that they give the trainer the whole time during their studies...yes, they give the trainer a lot of positive feedback... that is really a significant thing, nevertheless, though it's sometimes quite hard and frustrating for a teacher to work with migrant groups or, if there's a few of them in some other group... then thanks to it you get... that strength also for yourself to be able to carry on, though sometimes it feels, like 'I can't do this anymore' (Trainer 4, practical nurse training, woman).</p>	<p>Hard job and a lot of work</p> <p>Difficult and frustrating job</p>
<p>KK: And how does it feel to teach adult migrant students?</p> <p>T5: It's really interesting.. It's certainly more challenging from the point of view of teaching, to use clear language.. teaching material that is appropriate for them... and be able to find practical examples.. but the migrants are really nice.. nice change for the group, the more diversity there is the nicer it is, though it is also more challenging (Trainer 5, cleaning services, woman).</p>	<p>Hard job and a lot of work</p> <p>Nice and interesting job</p>



APPENDIX 7: EXAMPLES OF CONCEPT MAPS



APPENDIX 8: PRINTSCREEN FROM ATLAS.TI

Analysis (0.0 Commentarj) - Super

11.47 taitia hetkää (5.9)

119: Opiskelija_4_w_41_bolivia_2014_lähihoitaja_koulutus.rtf

177 S4: Kyllä, mä muistan... on semosia opettaja, joka on oikeasti on kannustanu mua... ja on semmosia opettaja, joka oikeasti ei oo kannustanut mua, on tehnyt vähän vastapain, mutta näin se elämää on

178 KK: No miten ne opettajat kannustavat sua ja miten he tekevät vastapain eli..?

179 S4: On ollut semmoset opettaja, joka oikeasti ...

180 KK: Ehkä voit antaa jotkut esimerkit molemmista tilanneista?

181 S4: Esimerkiksi, eli tämä opettaja... kun mä on kertonut niitä, se... siellä oli semmonen, että perusteli, minkä takia sä et tee jotain... mä olin niin väsynyt... tuli niin paljon tehtävä... tosi paljon tehtäviä... mulla oli pakko niinku tehdä niitä... mä tein kuitenkin mä olin tosi, mulla ei ollut aika, koska me oltiin joka paikassa... sit totta mä kerron yks meidän tutor esimerkiksi ihana sit kun mä kerron sitä... en mä halunnut kertoa oikeasti mun oma ongelma, eikä mitään... koska ei kuuluu heille ja se että aukea puhu jolllekin sun omat ongelmat... se settuu kun sä kuuntelet omasta surusta... että, tä on tapahtumassa mulle... ei se oo kiva puhu tommasta asiaa... ei mua hävettää, koska mulla ei sitä häpeämistä, koska me ollaan ihmisiä... mutta ei se oo kiva toista aina, tiedätkö niinku sitä... se on semmonen aihe... negatiivisia aiheita... se ei oo kiva, koska itse sä oot elänyt, tiedätkö sä elät sitä, just silloin mä elin sitä aika, sitä hetki... ei se ollut kiva, mut se aukeaminen ja puhuminen siitä asiaa, mut ken ei ollut muuta vaihtoehto... että sit se sanoo, että se on parempi se kyseli oikeasti mulle... ja mä olin jo "kyllä, mä on väsynyt alussa oli tuo ja tuo ja mä kerron ??? väsynyt, mutta sitten joku sano mulle sun pitää kertoa oikeasti, että en minä ajattelee sä oot vain jotain, siinä on syy... sit mä joudun kertomaan siitä... mutta mä ajattelin, että miksi mä en oo kertonut, koska yks ajattelee, jos mulle tulee semmonen... mitä... oli yks opettaja, mä kerro se sille... se oli vähän niinku "Se oo vain elämä" ... se vain sanoo noin ja se antoo mulle ykköhen (nauru)

182 KK: Oho...

183 S4: Mä pysyin, jos se tee uudestaan ja sitten ei mitään... kyllä sillä oli jotain kemia... ei se halunnut niinku... just sen takia, tiedätkö

184 KK: Jotkut ymmärtävät toiset ei....

185 S4: Vaikka olin kertonut, tiedätkö... Mä sanoin: "Voisitko antaa mulle uusi tentti tai jotain" ... "Ei se oli tässä" ... ei mitään... sils nyt ne kaks... sit mä kero toiselle ja sit se sanoo "Ei mitä XXX (opiskelijan nimi), ottaa aika ja sitten mä voin antaa vaikka suullinen tentti sulle" ... no jaha... mä odotin, tiedätkö, että "So what?" ... kuuluu mulle just samalla... mitä sitten... se on vain näin... sun on pakko tehdä niinku näin... sen takia mä en halunnut kertoa, tiedätkö, koska mitä sitten... mä tein sen, että sulle tuli semmonen, että se sanotaan näin... se toinen opettaja sanoo: "Joo... se on vain elämä, mutta sulla on pakko tehdä" ... koska mä en oo pyytänyt siä, mä en pyytänyt niinku mitä muuta, enkä... mulle vain sanottiin "kerrokaa siitä" ... sit mä kerron ja tommonen vastaus... sit totta taas oli toinen aine ja mulle sanottiin "En mä halunnut, koska mä en halunnut taas, että mulle sanotaan just samalla tavalla, tiedätkö... mut sit mä sit mä kerro sitä... se sanoo mä voin antaa aika ja sit se sanoo, että hän voi tehdä suullinen tentti, sovittiin aika... mä olin "What?" ... yllätyn tosi paljon, mitä... kyllä, mä sen tiedä ei heillä on pakko ymmärtää, eikä sillä miten se toinen opettaja, sillä sä et pääsee koe läpi... ...enkö mä oo sanomassa... mä sano, että niinku silläin sinun pitää antaa mulle numero, vain että oikeasti, miksi mä mä haluan vain, että voisitko mulle tehdä uusi tentti esimerkiksi... niin jotkut ei oo ymmärtänyt, joko ei... ei halua ymmärtää

186 KK: No olivat vielä jotkut muut asiat, jotka tekevät sitä oppimista ja opiskelemista vaikeaksi ja helpommaksi?

187 S4: Kyllä, on vaikeemmaksi, esimerkiks...

188 KK: Mitä oli vaikea oppimisesta ja opiskelemisessä aikuisopistossa?

189 S4: Vaikea oli esimerkiks....

190 KK: Mitä tekee oppiminen ja opiskeleminen vaikeaksi?

191 S4: Se on tämä... mitä mä voin sanoa, se on... mulle oli se... mulle oli se esimerkiksi niinku... ehkä niinku... miten mä voin sanoa... kaikki opettaa oikeasti... suurin osa opettaja tosi kiinnostavia, siis sillä he haluu ymmärtää ulkomaalaiset ja mut... me oltiin kaks ulkomaalaisia sillä... me oltiin kolme alun perin... burmalainen, afrikkalainen, joka puhu ranska ja sit mä... burmalainen lopetti ja minä ja se toinen afrikkalainen olimme ulkomaalaisia ja ehkä 3 tai 4 suomalaista ne lopetti jo alussa... ja sit totta

L: mig as learner: asking que bhelp...
L: ways: understand and encour...
L: pract: flexibility~

L: like the situation...
L: like it~

L: ways: understand and encour~

L: ways: group work