

JYU DISSERTATIONS 289

Päivi Iikkanen

The Role of Language in Integration

**A Longitudinal Study of
Migrant Parents' Trajectories**



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Editors

Anne Pitkänen-Huhta

Department of Language and Communication Studies, University of Jyväskylä

Ville Korkiakangas

Open Science Centre, University of Jyväskylä

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ABSTRACT

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This study is an ethnographically oriented longitudinal exploration of the language learning and integration trajectories of eight migrant parents. The study offers a unique perspective on how migrant parents' varied language resources are received and evaluated in Finland. The study focuses specifically on how proficiency in English attained pre-migration affected participants' processes of language learning and integration. The study seeks to understand the fluid and situational nature of language learning and use in various contexts. This study adopts a translingual practice approach to language informed by research on English as a (multi)lingua franca (ELF) and investment in language learning. The study comprises three sub-studies and an overview. The participants were eight migrant parents, two senior and five junior nurses working at Finnish family clinics. The data was collected between 2015 and 2019, and consists of interviews with the migrant parents and family clinic representatives. Sub-study 1 focuses on the parents' experiences of inclusion and exclusion shaped by language use during their initial period of settlement in Finland. In Sub-study 2, the concept of investment is employed to explore how two migrant parents narrativize their language learning and integration trajectories, and how their investment in language learning has contributed to more satisfactory working-life integration. Sub-study 3 sheds light on how family clinic nurses categorize their migrant clients based on the clients' perceived proficiency in English and whether this conforms to the native speaker norm. This study shows that being able to use English is helpful at the beginning of a person's stay in Finland. However, the findings highlight the fact that in order to feel that they are integrated and, above all, to achieve professional satisfaction, migrants need to develop proficiency in the local language. In addition, the study shows how strongly native speaker ideology is reflected in the evaluation of foreigners' language proficiency. The study therefore has important practical implications for both general education and for the training of various professionals, such as teachers and family clinic nurses.

Keywords: ethnography, English as a lingua franca, family clinic, immigrant, investment, language learning, migrant, native speaker ideology, stay-at-home parent

TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Iikkanen, Päivi

Kielen rooli kotoutumisessa: pitkittäistutkimus siirtolaisvanhempien poluista

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Tämä on etnografisesti suuntautunut pitkittäistutkimus kahdeksan siirtolaisvanhemman kielen oppimisen ja kotoutumisen poluista. Tutkimus tarjoaa ainutlaatuisen näkökulman siihen, miten siirtolaistaustaisten vanhempien olemassa olevat kielelliset resurssit otetaan vastaan ja miten niitä arvioidaan Suomessa. Tutkimus keskittyy erityisesti siihen, miten ennen muuttoa saavutettu englannin kielen taito vaikutti osallistujien kielenoppimiseen ja kotoutumiseen. Tutkimuksessa pyritään ymmärtämään kielen oppimisen ja sen käytön muuttuvaa ja tilanteista luonnetta vaihtelevissa ympäristöissä. Tutkimuksessa käytetään kielirajat ylittävää lähestymistapaa, ja siinä hyödynnetään sekä englannin käyttöön *lingua francana* että kielenoppimiseen investoimiseen liittyvää tutkimusta. Tutkimus koostuu kolmesta osatutkimuksesta ja yhteenveto-osasta. Osallistujina oli kahdeksan siirtolaistaustaista vanhempaa sekä kaksi osastonhoitajaa ja viisi terveydenhoitajaa, jotka työskentelivät suomalaisissa neuvoloissa. Haastatteluaineisto kerättiin vuosien 2015 ja 2019 välisenä aikana. Osatutkimus 1 keskittyy kuvaamaan millaisia kielen käyttöön liittyviä mukaan pääsemisen tai ulkopuoliseksi jäämisen kokemuksia siirtolaisvanhemmilla oli Suomeen asettautumisen alkuvaiheessa. Osatutkimuksessa 2 käytetään kielenoppimiseen investoimisen käsitettä kuvaamaan sitä, kuinka kaksi siirtolaisvanhempaa kerronnallistavat kielenoppimisen ja kotoutumisen polkujaan, sekä työelämään integroitumistaan. Osatutkimus 3 käsittelee sitä, miten neuvolan terveydenhoitajat luokittelevat asiakkaitaan englannin osaamisen tason mukaan sekä sen perusteella, kuinka hyvin tämä taso vastaa syntyperäisen kielenpuhujan mallia. Tämä tutkimus osoittaa, että englannin kielen osaamisesta on hyötyä kotoutumisen alkuvaiheessa. Tuloksissa korostuu kuitenkin, että onnistuneen kotoutumisen ja ennen kaikkea ammatillisen tyytyväisyyden saavuttaminen edellyttää paikallisen kielen osaamista. Lisäksi tutkimus osoittaa, että syntyperäisen kielenpuhujan malli vaikuttaa hyvin voimakkaasti ulkomaalaisten kielitaidon arviointiin julkisissa palveluissa. Tutkimuksella on täten käytännön sovellusarvoa esimerkiksi opettajien ja terveydenhoitajien koulutuksessa.

Avainsanat: etnografia, Englanti *lingua francana*, neuvola, maahanmuuttaja, investoiminen, kielen oppiminen, siirtolainen, syntyperäisen kielenpuhujan malli, kotivanhempi

Author's address Päivi Iikkanen
Department of Language and Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä
paivi.i.ikkannen@jyu.fi

Supervisors Anne Pitkänen-Huhta
Department of Language and Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä

Paula Kalaja
Department of Language and Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä

Reviewers Dong Jie
Tsinghua University, China

Räisänen Tiina
University of Oulu, Finland

Opponent Räisänen Tiina
University of Oulu, Finland

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1 INTRODUCTION

This study is located in the intersection of migrant parents' language learning and integration with a specific focus on the role that English plays in the context of Finland. As a prestigious language of the global elite (Graddol 2000; Heller & McElhinny 2017), English has become the language of internationalization, media, education and popular culture, and has thus gained a firm foothold. In Finland, English has been considered such an integral part of society that it has been labeled "the third national language" ('kolmas kotimainen kieli') in addition to the two official ones, Finnish and Swedish (Leppänen, Nikula & Kääntä 2008). Reportedly, Finns have a very positive attitude toward English (Leppänen et al. 2009), and it is the most popular additional language studied in Finnish schools (Finnish National Board of Education 2019). So, on the one hand, being able to use English in Finland may initially open many doors for migrants. On the other hand, relying on the use of English may decrease migrants' opportunities for incorporating local languages into their everyday language practices, as for example Dervin (2013) found to be the case in a study-abroad context. In Dervin's study, exchange students in Finland reported that it was easy to interact with Finns in English. In contrast, as the same study reports, the students' attempts to use the "survival Finnish" they had learned at their respective educational institutions were usually discouraged by Finns, as Finns often initiated a switch to English when hearing non-standard Finnish.

Migrant language learning and integration, in turn, has become increasingly politicized and contested. Stay-at-home parents in particular have been considered a vulnerable and problematic group of migrants, as their integration may be delayed due to childcare responsibilities. Previous studies have, however, largely concentrated on the language learning and integration trajectories of parents with a refugee background, often combined with low literacy skills and little previous education (see e.g. Martikainen, Valtonen & Wahlbeck 2012; Pokorn & Čibej 2018; Skilton-Sylvester 2002); voluntary migrants with higher educational qualifications have been overlooked. There have also been few longitudinal case studies on the language learning and integration trajectories of migrants in general (but for exceptions see e.g. Anthias, Kontos &

Morokvasic-Müller 2012; Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2016), and migrant women in particular (e.g. Kofman 2012). What many earlier studies have not addressed either, is how perceived English proficiency may affect the way migrants are categorized by people working in Finnish public services. By employing a case study method that combines these two perspectives, and a longitudinal research design, this study will provide valuable insights into the intertwined nature of migrant parents' language learning and integration trajectories, and how migrants are categorized in Finnish public services on the basis of their perceived language proficiency.

This study is based on a sociolinguistic approach that “examines language in an attempt to understand society”, as Blommaert (2010: 3) has characterized ethnographically oriented research. In other words, this is not a study of language *and* society but an attempt to investigate how language works *in* society and, more specifically, the role of language in the process of migrants' integration into Finnish society. By taking an individual perspective on integration, this study aims to shed light on the diverse backgrounds of migrant parents and how their varied aspirations relating to quality of life and professional development shape their language learning and integration trajectories. The lens through which this process is being studied is the English language. What role (if any) does English proficiency play in integration into Finnish society? The answer is not that simple, as Canagarajah (2017a: 20) also points out: because languages are not monolithic or homogeneous, they cannot be essentialized. For example, varieties spoken by native speakers on the one hand, and non-native (such as post-colonial) speakers on the other, are often evaluated quite differently. There are strong biases against speakers of the less valued varieties, as Canagarajah (2017a) demonstrates. Moreover, through an ethnographically oriented language-in-society view, it is possible to study both the situatedness of encounters and their implications in light of larger “social and historical patterns” (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 8) reflected, for example, in institutional decision-making processes.

In this first chapter I will begin (Section 1.1) by discussing the terms mobility and migration. In Section 1.2 I will provide some background information on migrants, integration and language learning in Finland. In Section 1.3 I will introduce the aim of the study and the research questions. Finally, in Section 1.4, I will outline the structure of the rest of this introductory overview of my research.

1.1 Mobility and migration

Mobility and migration are two sides of the same coin, although they essentially refer to two quite different phenomena. Canagarajah (2017a) defines *mobility* as the privilege of the global elite. He explains that the term usually refers to educated professionals, who have the resources and the opportunities to travel and are welcome everywhere. The term *migration*, in turn, is used to refer to

people who are seeking opportunities and refuge in other countries, as Canagarajah explains. Faist (2013: 1640) has described this dichotomy as follows:

In the welfare-competition state, the movement of persons is dichotomized in public debate into mobility and migration, with mobility connoting euphemistic expectations of gain for individuals and states, and migration calling for social integration, control and the maintenance of national identity.

So, paradoxically, while dealing with very similar patterns in the spatial relocation of people in both cases, the requirements for and evaluation of “successful” resettlement seem to be very different for these two groups. Moreover, Canagarajah (2017a: 5) claims that “geographical mobility (including labor, climate-induced or conflict-driven displacement, and political exile)” does not usually lead to social mobility. In fact, people often end up in worse economic and social conditions than they were in prior to migration (Canagarajah 2017a).

To add a further twist, the term *immigrant* (‘maahanmuuttaja’) is often used in Finnish media discourse to describe the ethnic other, who is usually understood as “a person from the developing world settling in a more developed area” (Duchêne, Moyer & Roberts 2013: 6). In fact, the word immigrant is misleading, because it assumes permanent settlement in another country (Wrede 2010: 14). Therefore, when one wants to emphasize the fact that migrants may not want to settle or “go home” at all but might, perhaps, either stay or move on to some other country, it is better to talk about *migrants* (‘siirtolainen’). Duchêne, Moyer and Roberts (2013: 7) also find that

The reasons and circumstances that have led those people to be migrants does not fit under the traditional immigrant label, which is imbued with such negative and stereotypical associations. Our emphasis is on understanding migration as a social process of mobility that stems from a wider and more global political and socio-economic order.

As all this is highly relevant in this study, I have decided to follow Duchêne (2013), and chosen to use the term migrant in this study, except when referring to explicit policies such as the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland 2010) discussed in the following section. In this study, the term migrant is used when referring to people who have moved from one country to another voluntarily, because of family, work or studies. Some of them intend to stay, others may be planning to leave at some point in the future.

1.2 Migrants, integration and language learning in Finland

The approximate number of migrants in Finland is slightly more than 400,000 (Statistics Finland 2020a; 2020b). In a country of 5.5 million people, this figure accounts for slightly more than seven per cent of the total population (Statistics

Finland 2020a; 2020b). The number does not seem very high, but the key to understanding it lies in looking at the rather recent increase in the number of migrants to Finland: over the past 10 years, the number of migrants has doubled. Today, the most common languages spoken by migrants are Russian, Estonian, Arabic, English and Somali (Statistics Finland 2020b), which also reflects their countries of origin. In contrast to popular belief largely fueled by disproportionate media coverage, people relocating for humanitarian reasons are not the largest group of migrants arriving in Finland. In fact, an extensive interview study (Sutela & Larja 2015) revealed that humanitarian reasons only accounted for about ten percent of the total migration flow in 2014. More than half (54%) of the migrants studied had come for family reasons so this is the most prominent group of migrants in Finland. Work was the second most important motivation for migrating, amounting to about twenty percent of the total. Another ten percent of the migrants interviewed by Sutela and Larja (2015) had come to Finland to study. To contextualize the present study, I will now discuss some recent developments in Finnish migration history, migration politics, migrant integration policies and migrant language learning.

Traditionally viewed as a country of emigration, larger scale immigration only started to gain momentum in Finland in the 1990s, when Ingian Finns from the former Soviet Union were invited to return to Finland (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015). After Finland joined the EU in 1995, freedom of movement became easier. This resulted in an increase in work-related migration both inside and outside of the EU. It was typical in this period to view migration as a resource (Saarinen 2011). All this changed, however, with the economic recession in the late 2000s, when migration started to become an increasingly contested topic (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015). One of the turning points in Finnish migration discourse was the parliamentary elections in 2011, in which the nationalist Finns Party ('Perussuomalaiset') was able to gain a record number of seats, 39 out of 200, as opposed to the previously held 5. Since its foundation, the main political agenda of the Finns Party has been criticism of migration policies, and some of their members have openly expressed rabidly racist views.

The sudden rise in the popularity of the Finns Party was partly explained by the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland 2010), which came fully into force right after the 2011 elections. According to the Act, the aim of integration is to provide migrants with the knowledge and skills required in Finnish society and working life. Measures designed to help migrants reach this end include, for example, providing them with basic information about Finnish society, access to guidance and the provision of advice, initial assessment, an integration plan, and integration training, including instruction in one or other of the national languages, Finnish or Swedish (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland 2010). In contrast to the initial legislation promoting integration activities, passed in 1999 and directed mainly at refugees and unemployed immigrants, the scope of the new Act was extended to all migrants; they would all benefit from these new integration measures (Saukkonen 2016: 5). The

wording of the Act seems positive enough but it nevertheless provoked criticism from many different quarters, including trade unions, various authorities, educational institutions and the media, in addition to the aforementioned political actors (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015).

After the elections, the Finns Party did not find enough common ground to become part of a coalition government and, as a result, the government was formed by the National Coalition Party, the Social Democrats and four other parties. The ensuing Policy program (2011) foregrounded pluralism and welcomed migrants to Finland. In practice, the new government program adopted a neoliberal, skills-based stance toward migration (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015). In the 2019 parliamentary elections the Finns Party managed to hold on to their 39 seats, as their anti-immigration discourse was re-fueled by a series of criminal offences committed by a number of men who had originally come to Finland as refugees or asylum seekers. Their offences were related to sexual acts with minors, which made it even easier for the Finns Party to use the extensive media coverage to drum up popularity (Yle uutiset 2019).

On the one hand, when looking at Finnish migrant integration policies internationally and perhaps superficially, everything seems to be working rather well. As Saukkonen (2016: 9) notes, ethnic segregation in Finland is modest in nature, there are few signs of social and cultural isolation or religious radicalization, and neo-nationalist and xenophobic movements have been quite moderate. In fact, the Migrant Integration Policy Index¹ (2015) rates Finland fourth among the 38 countries it covers. On the other hand, problems have also been found. For example, a large-scale Europe-wide survey (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2018) found that although Finland had fewer people of African descent than any of the other countries included in the survey, the number of racist acts they had encountered during the last five years was higher than anywhere else. Moreover, Finnish integration policies have been criticized for their assimilationist view on integration, which reflects the 'deficit' discourse (Anthias et al. 2012: 3), and for offering a one-size-fits-all model to integration (Ala-Kauhaluoma et al. 2018). Officially, integration is referred to as a two-way street, where both the migrant and the host society reciprocate in the process of integration (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland 2010). In practice, the role of the host society is often 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" (Kärkkäinen 2017: 223).

¹ The Migrant Integration Policy Index (2015) comprises 167 indicators for measuring migrant integration policies. The indicators relate to labor market mobility, family reunion, education, health, political participation, permanent residence, access to nationality and anti-discrimination. All EU member states, Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the USA are covered in the index. The MIPEX has been recognized as a common quick reference guide across Europe. Policymakers, NGOs, researchers, and European and international institutions use the data generated by the index both to understand and compare national integration policies, and to improve standards for equal treatment.

The strong labor market orientation in Finnish migration policies seems to suggest that there is a direct link between language and literacy development and migrant “employability” (Simpson & Whiteside 2015), which largely ignores other areas of life. With reference to the UK, Ager and Strang (2004) identified several benefits resulting from better proficiency in the dominant language, such as improved professional and educational opportunities, and increased social interaction with the local population. Morrice (2016) has gone as far as to term the benefits resulting from learning the dominant language a “virtuous spiral”. Without denying the benefits of learning the dominant language, such “overly simplistic” (Ennsner-Kananen & Pettitt 2017: 5) accounts have also been problematized, as racist, sexist and discriminatory practices that may undermine the effects of increased language proficiency (e.g. Hondagneau-Sotelu 2007; Krumm & Plutzar 2008; Piller 2016; Piller & Pavlenko 2007).

A further problem in discussions around integration and language learning is that certain groups of migrants, such as stay-at-home parents, are often singled out as particularly problematic because their opportunities to attend formal language instruction may be limited, due to child care responsibilities (e.g. Intke-Hernández 2015; Martikainen & Tiilikainen 2007). In addition, professionals working in Finnish public services often see migrant parents in highly stereotypical terms that have clear connotations with ethnicity or religion (Vuori 2012). Perhaps contrary to common assumptions, most stay-at-home parents are highly committed to learning the local language and entering the workforce once their children have grown older (Lainiala & Säävälä 2010; Martikainen & Gola 2007). Pursuing a meaningful career may be difficult, however, due to inadequate proficiency in the local language and not having one’s professional qualifications recognized in full (Duchêne et al. 2013). In the same vein, the heavy emphasis on skills in government programs and integration policies can work against people who are temporarily outside the workforce, such as stay-at-home parents who, therefore, may be considered unimportant from a neoliberal perspective (see e.g. Canagarajah 2017b on skilled African migrants in Anglophone work places). In fact, if stay-at-home parents are primarily viewed only as parents, and not as future employees or entrepreneurs, a lot of potential may be lost to menial jobs or return migration, as became apparent during this research process.

The policy-level development needs outlined above have been recognized on the national level. A large-scale nation-wide project aimed at promoting migrant integration (Pöyhönen et al. 2010: abstract, emphasis original) came up with a comprehensive development plan with four cornerstones: “continuous and goal-oriented *guidance*, cross-administrative and multiprofessional *cooperation*, the *continuity and flexibility* of education, and the *professional skills* of experts involved in the integration activities”. The proposal included tailored models for various groups of migrants that would correspond to the needs of the groups in question.² Such an early separation between the different strands may,

² The proposed models included three separate strands: 1. adults who were seeking employment, 2. adults who needed special support (such as stay-at-home mothers and the illiterate), and 3. children and adolescents.

however, put migrant women in a disadvantaged position, as a recent report concludes (OECD 2018). If migrant women follow the integration pathway intended for people who are (temporarily) outside the workforce, such as stay-at-home parents, they may have difficulties in accessing language instruction and finding their way to suitable employment. This is mainly due to the fact that the responsibility for the integration measures aimed at the “inactive” group of migrants lies with the municipalities instead of the labor administration. It has been recognized, for example, that more attention should be paid to providing more advanced language learning opportunities for highly educated mothers after the basics have been covered (Lainiala & Säävälä 2010).

Despite all the criticism directed at the effectiveness of integration services, a recent survey (Owalgroupp 2020) shows that respondents (n=618) have been quite satisfied with the services (e.g. guidance and counseling, integration plan, integration training) provided by the Employment and Economic Development Office. There were some differences, however, that seemed to be connected to the educational level of the participants. In general, migrants with a higher level of education were slightly less satisfied with the integration services. One way to explain this, as the report states, may be that the higher the newcomers’ level of education, the more knowledgeable they are about education and training in general. More highly educated migrants are also better able to search for information and ask for services they are entitled to, thus perhaps making this group of migrants more critical of the services provided. The report calls, among other things, for a more individual perspective to migrants’ processes of integration and trying to match their expectations with the available educational and working opportunities. Thus, long-term goals for entering working life should also be set for people who may still need a fair amount of time to achieve such goals.

As already noted in the discussion around the terms migration and mobility in Section 1.1, different groups of migrants are often faced with rather differing expectations as regards integration. Leinonen (2012a), for example, found that Americans living in Finland were granted the status of “elite migrants” due to their position as native English speakers which, to a degree, freed them from the responsibility of learning Finnish. However, in spite of the status achieved by the native English speaker position, even Americans reported having run into problems in the labor market unless they had well developed Finnish skills (Leinonen 2012 a; 2012b). Li (2019) found in her study on international students in Finland and Germany that proficiency in both English *and* local languages is crucial in gaining full access to the social and professional opportunities and facilities available in the host society. Another group of migrants with potentially different needs and outlooks are *transmigrants*, (Castles & Miller 2003). They typically reside in a given country for only a few years before moving on, and their decision to migrate is mostly governed by emerging career possibilities. In Finland, this term was applied by Martikainen and Gola (2007) in their discussion of women from the Indian subcontinent, who may well not fit well into the mold presented above.

All this tells a discouraging story of how the socio-political climate both in Finland and worldwide is becoming increasingly polarized with regard to migration and ethnicity. In addition, although well intentioned, in Finland the measures outlined in integration policies, including language instruction, have not always been implemented as successfully on the municipal level as the legislation might have suggested, as Ala-Kauhaluoma et al. (2018) found. There is often a mismatch between national government responses to the language learning needs of adult migrants and “what actually happens on the ground” (Simpson & Whiteside 2015: 1). With the growing hostility toward migration that is being expressed in some political forums, unemployment, and potential delays in gaining access to language classes, it is not surprising that a lot of people have difficulties integrating into Finnish society (e.g. OECD 2018). The high rate of unemployment among migrant women, in particular, has been considered problematic. This is partly explained by the financial incentives offered to parents to stay home with young children rather than enter potentially low-income jobs, which may result in prolonged inactivity (OECD 2018). Furthermore, highly educated migrants are often faced with problems matching their educational qualifications and work experience with the Finnish job market. While acknowledging the importance and institutional power of political actors and government policies, this study is an attempt to shed more light on *individual*, skilled migrants’ trajectories of language learning and integration, thus adopting an ‘integration from below’ perspective (Veikou 2013).

1.3 Aim and research questions

Relying on poststructuralist (e.g. Hall 1997) and social constructionist (e.g. Burr 2003) approaches, this study examines the role of language in migrant parents’ integration trajectories in Finland. The focus of this study is not actual, observed language use, but rather the participants’ own *understanding* of their language learning and use, how that influences their integration trajectories, and how they are perceived by Finnish service providers. The theoretical background is based on the translingual practice approach (Canagrajah 2013), which views language as a polycentric and situationally negotiated resource. In the same vein, the concepts of indexicality and sociolinguistic scales (Blommaert 2010) will be discussed, to shed further light on the stratified nature of language use, and how the value of migrants’ language resources may shift as it travels through time and space. To address the social nature of language learning and how that relates to migrants’ individual circumstances, the concepts of investment (Norton 2013), learner agency (Ibrahim 1999; Darwin & Norton 2015; De Costa 2010) and capital (Bourdieu 1986; 1991; Park & Wee 2012) will be introduced. In addition, the concept of trajectory (Räsänen 2013; Wortham 2005) will be used to highlight the longitudinal aspect of the study. Finally, to shed more light on the role that migrants’ perceived English proficiency (Dewey 2012; Guido 2012) plays in how

they are viewed and treated in Finnish public services, native speaker ideologies (Jenkins 2007; Milroy 2001; Seidlhofer 2011) will be discussed.

As ethnographically oriented knowledge production processes work “from empirical evidence towards theory, not the other way around” (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 12), they should be embarked on with a very general research question in mind. In the case of the present study, I started with the question:

What is the role of language in the lives of newly arrived migrant parents in Finland?

This initial interest was refined into the research questions for each of the three sub-studies outlined in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Research questions for the sub-studies.

Sub-study	Research question
Sub-study 1	How does migrant stay-at-home parents’ use of language contribute to their process of integration and their experiences of social inclusion or exclusion?
Sub-study 2	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How have the participants’ everyday language practices changed during a three-year period and how does investment in language learning show in their talk? And, 2. How do the participants narrativize the role of language learning in their professional development?
Sub-study 3	How do nurses in family clinics categorize their migrant clients in their talk and what role does the clients’ (perceived) English language proficiency play in these categorizations?

In Sub-study 1, I wanted to find out what kind of a role knowing English played at the beginning of the participants’ integration trajectories, that is, before they had had the opportunity to learn Finnish. Sub-study 1 employed interview data from eight migrant stay-at-home parents. As I was following the participants longitudinally, I was interested in how their language learning and integration were proceeding. Therefore, in Sub-study 2, I adopted a trajectory perspective, which enabled me to address the dynamics of the participants’ language learning and professional development over time. In addition, in employing a narrative orientation my aim was to draw attention to the participants’ individual experiences and reasons for engaging in long-term language learning. Thus, Sub-study 2 examined the experience of two participants over a three-year period. Through the short story approach, I studied their language learning and integration trajectories on three different scales ranging from personal to societal, and in relation to people, places and time. In Sub-study 3, I focused on interviews with both senior and junior nurses in family clinics with the aim of finding out how migrant clients’ perceived English proficiency was reflected in institutional decision-making. With the help of

membership categorization analysis, Sub-study 3 showed the influence of clients' perceived English proficiency and native speaker ideology on the way family clinic nurses categorized their migrant clients.

1.4 Organization of the study

This study is comprised of three original published research articles and this introductory and evaluating overview. This overview consists of a total of five chapters. Following this opening chapter, Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 3 discusses methodological considerations, that is, it gives a description of the research set-up including the data, participants and methods of analysis, and it also includes ethical considerations. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study. Finally, Chapter 5 includes the discussion, evaluation and implications of the study, as well as consideration of emerging future directions in research related to migrant language learning and integration. References and the original articles can be found after this introduction.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the present study. As mentioned in Section 1.3, the research questions for the study were more precisely formulated as the research process unfolded, as is often the case in ethnographically oriented studies. Consequently, the construction of the theoretical framework followed the same procedure. In this section I will first briefly outline the process of theory construction based on the three sub-studies and this overview. Then I will discuss the various theoretical points of departure employed in this study in more detail.

From the start, the guiding principle of this study has been the question of how migrant integration is shaped by the various language resources migrants have at their disposal, and how these resources are legitimized in their new environment. In Sub-study 1, I look at this from the point of view of inclusion and exclusion, and consider the role language plays in migrant parents' everyday encounters with members of Finnish society. As these encounters clearly reflected the participants' situationally negotiated multilingual and multicultural reality, the *translingual practice approach* (Canagarajah 2013) seemed well suited for exploring this. Moreover, the translingual practice approach views language as a fluid form of communicative practice rather than a stabilized, standard variety (Canagarajah 2013: 69-70), so it provides an excellent overall framework for this study. Expanding the discussion to the related concepts of *indexicality* and *sociolinguistic scales* (Blommaert 2010) in Section 2.1 will shed more light on how the language resources migrants bring with them are re-evaluated as they enter a new society. According to Blommaert, these differing value attributions essentially stem from the socioeconomic statuses of the languages in question, making the concepts of indexicality and sociolinguistic scales particularly relevant in an examination of the nexus of migrant language learning and integration.

Sub-study 2 takes a longitudinal perspective, and views the participants' language learning trajectories through the concepts of *capital* (Bourdieu 1986) and *investment* (Norton 2013), shifting the focus toward a more individual perspective, and discusses how migrants' personal and social aspirations are reflected in their

trajectories of language learning and integration. In addition, to further highlight the social aspects of language learning and to address different timescales involved in the language learning process, I have included a brief discussion of *learner agency* and *trajectories* in Section 2.2.

Finally, in Sub-study 3 a new vantage point is added to the discussion, as I examine the way migrant clients' perceived English skills are evaluated by the people with whom they interact when they use Finnish public services. Section 2.3 introduces the notions of *standard language ideology* (Jenkins 2007; Milroy 2001; Seidlhofer 2011) and *perceived language proficiency* (Dewey 2012; Guido 2012), which originated in English as a lingua franca research and are of particular relevance in the context of the present study. As a synthesis involving elements from all these approaches and constructed as the research process unfolded, this chapter aims to outline a framework for the translingually informed practice of migrant parents' language learning and integration in Finland (Section 2.4) that emerges from the case studies. The different elements involved in constructing the theoretical approach are illustrated in Figure 1.

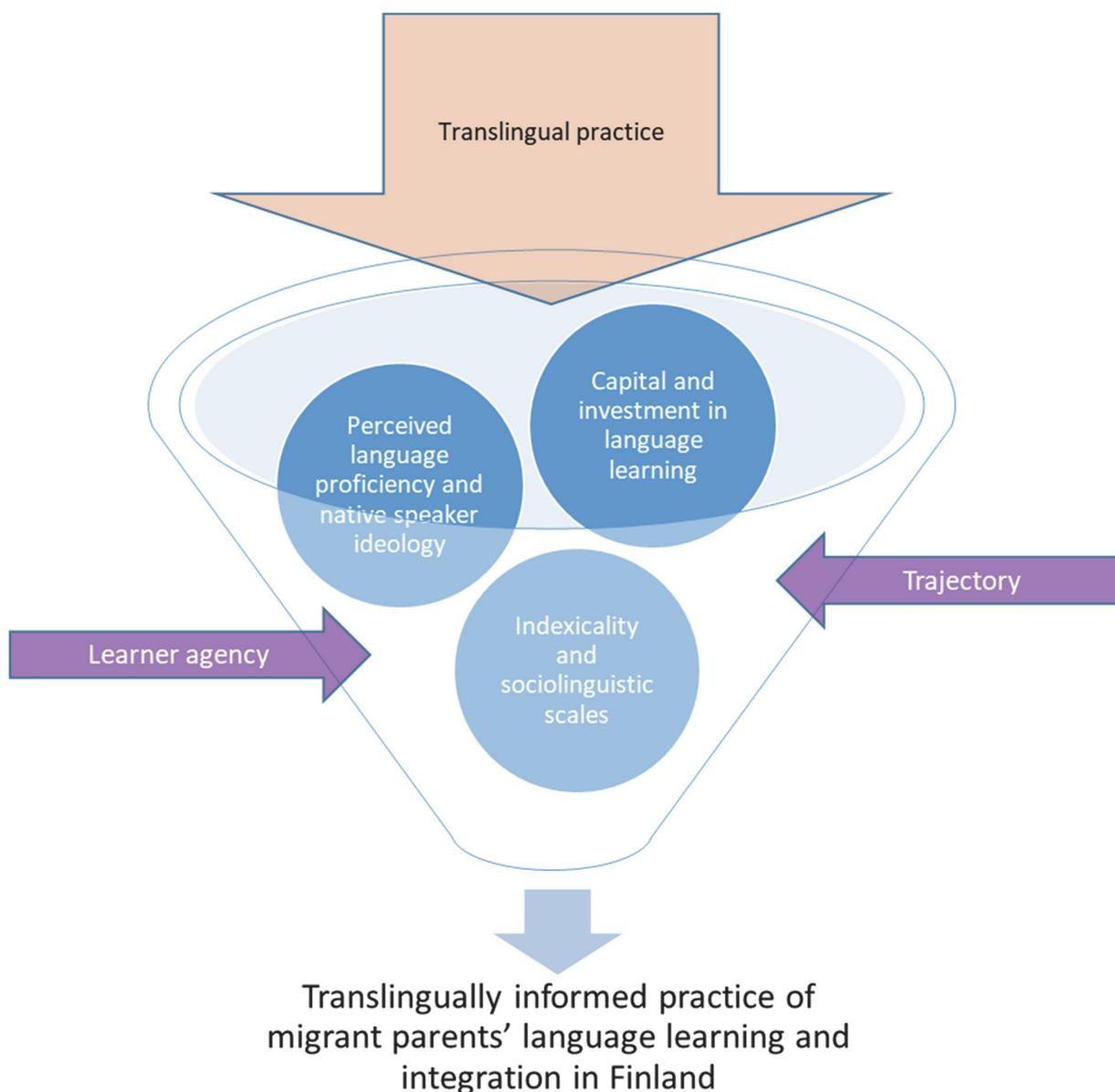


Figure 1: The elements of theory construction in the present study.

2.1 Translingual practice and sociolinguistic scales

When talking about migration today, we need to consider the fluid nature of modern communicative practices and the increasing awareness of the importance of the social aspects of language use. Hence, traditional approaches to language, originating in structuralism and, above all, in the so-called “Herderian triad” (Bauman & Briggs 2000), which essentially connects language, community and place, are no longer adequate to explain modern language use.

The strong ideological connotations that connected nation states and languages had their origin at the end of the eighteenth century, the time of nation-building, as Heller (2006: 7) points out. She explains that a common language permitted the shared construction of values and practices which, in turn, meant that a group of people legitimately constituted a nation if they shared a language. In light of such a nationalist approach to language, it is easy to see why research on multilingualism and language learning has long suffered from a monolingual bias (see e.g. the Douglas Fir Group 2016; Kachru 1992; May 2014; Meier 2017). In other words, the premise has been that the first (L1) and subsequent additional (L2, L3, L4 etc.) languages are stored separately in the mind “with clean compartments and clear boundaries” (Block 2003: 39), and that they work in parallel. Multilingualism was first understood in *subtractive* rather than *additive* terms (May 2014).

Today, as May (2014) notes, such approaches are gradually being replaced by more flexible notions such as *dynamic bilingualism* and *translanguaging*, which see an individual’s language proficiency as an integrated whole. In the translanguaging approach, language is viewed as a fluid and hybrid mobile resource (Blommaert 2010) appropriated by users in various contexts and adding a functional aspect to language use, as Canagarajah (2017a) points out. Researchers have coined various terms referring to this phenomenon. For example, Creese and Blackledge (2008) call it flexible bilingualism, Jørgensen (2011) refers to the practice as poly-lingual languaging, Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) use the term metrolingualism, and García (2009), Creese and Blackledge (2010) as well as Wei (2018) use the term translanguaging. Canagarajah (2013) finds *translingual practice* the most appropriate descriptor. Whatever the term used, the key argument lies in the view of language as a fluid form of communicative practice, not an identifiable code or a stabilized, standard variety (Canagarajah 2013: 69-70). As a result, language norms and labels are seen as highly situational, and they therefore need to be renegotiated separately in each individual encounter.

However, as Canagarajah (2013) points out, not all languages or language variants have the same potential for the negotiation of norms and labels. In fact, language variants seem to come with very differing value attachments. For example, Heller’s (1999) ethnographic research in the context of a Canadian school suggested that certain kinds of bilingualism can be valued more highly than others. Furthermore, in a setting where bilingualism (or multilingualism) is seen as a set of parallel monolingualisms, and where each of these varieties needs to fulfill a certain set of prescriptive norms, a system of social stratification is formed (Heller 1999: 218). Thus, the specific way of speaking French that was promoted at the school Heller studied placed some of the students at an advantage by increasing their linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1986). Those students, however, who did not conform to the school’s norms were left marginalized. Heller’s research offers a way to examine how people appropriate the language resources they have at their disposal, and how they deal with what these resources allow them to do.

To examine how such a stratified and normative process of negotiation takes place in the migration context, I will extend the discussion by introducing two terms: *orders of indexicality* and *sociolinguistic scales* (Blommaert 2010; see also how Dong 2011 has extended the concept of scales to examine migrant identity construction). According to an existing and more established paradigm that Blommaert (2010: 5) refers to as the *sociolinguistics of distribution*, space is understood in the traditional way – as horizontal and stable space – where stratification can take place based, e.g. on class, gender or age. The emerging paradigm that Blommaert terms the *sociolinguistics of mobility* refers to “various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another” on various levels of a scale organized vertically in a more layered and hierarchical fashion. In practice, Blommaert posits that language statuses are predefined according to the socio-economic status of the communities in which they are spoken. Following this logic, the prestigious languages of the West, such as English, are higher on the scale, while the languages of less developed communities are lower. Native speaker varieties are also higher on the scale than non-native ones. This type of value attribution is particularly relevant when looking at migrants’ experiences:

Movement of people across space is therefore never a move across empty spaces. The spaces are always someone’s space, and they are filled with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal (indexical) language use and what does not count as such. Mobility, sociolinguistically speaking, is therefore a trajectory through different stratified, controlled and monitored spaces in which language ‘gives you away’. Big and small differences in language use locate the speaker in particular indexical and ascriptive categories (related to identity and role). (Blommaert 2010: 6)

It is precisely these trajectories mentioned by Blommaert that this study will examine. Furthermore, Blommaert suggests that more prestigious language varieties, such as English, become assets in the migration context, whereas other less valued variants may not be as easily transferable. According to Blommaert (2001; 2005) and Maryns (2005), the problem lies in mobility. When ‘localized’ varieties of English are produced by African asylum seekers in interviews with Belgian officials, these may appear inferior only because they are being used translocally. In other words, the problem is not in the features of the linguistic codes themselves but in the fact that they are being used in a different location.

However, the universality of the scales model proposed by Blommaert has not gone without criticism. The predefined nature of the statuses afforded to various language resources and the lack of agency allowed for individual language users made Canagarajah (2013: 156) question its applicability, particularly with regard to skilled migrants. In fact, Canagarajah’s research has shown that especially skilled migrants often have pluralistic language ideologies and a functional view of language that favors intelligibility over correctness, which seems to contradict the idea of such a rigid value system attached to specific language resources. Thus, adopting dispositions that “motivate them to adopt appropriate negotiation strategies for voice and favorable footing in their interactions” (Canagarajah 2013: 171) enables migrants to renegotiate these norms.

In practice, this means that when interacting with others (including native speakers), migrants may retain their own variety instead of adopting the norms of the potentially more prestigious variety used in the new environment. What Canagarajah (2013: 163) proposes is that this kind of flexibility is, in fact, of a higher level on the scale, whereas insisting on imposing one's own local norms on others may be seen as an undesirable exercise of power. In such a system, "the indexical order of the translocal space is not predetermined" (Canagarajah 2013: 170), but has to be renegotiated in each encounter. Migrants can "exercise their agency to redefine the translocal space to their advantage" (Canagarajah 2013: 170). Blommaert's more recent work (Blommaert, Westinen & Leppänen 2015) also recognizes that the theorization on scales might have been underdeveloped and the phenomenon might not be quite as simple as was first proposed. The authors refer to scales as shifting and open to negotiation, and operating on multiple levels rather than being predetermined, as Blommaert argued in his earlier work (2010). As an alternative way of understanding how processes of scaling take place, Canagarajah and De Costa (2016) propose approaching scales as a category of practice, an action rather than a unit of analysis. Approaching scaling practices in this way would also make it possible to address the complex relationship between the local and the global features of context (Wortham & Reyes 2015).

Considering the context of the present study, there is indeed a difference between which norms or language variants can be negotiated in a given context, and which cannot. Migrants possess various resources when they arrive, but these existing resources will need to be re-established in the new environment. Their resources are subject to various institutional norms and practices. Canagarajah (2013) also recognizes that institutional contexts can be problematic. Moreover, institutions are often not only in the position to "regulate which resources are considered legitimate dictate who can mobilize certain resources and under what circumstances" (Codó & Pérez-Milans 2014: 383). Institutional status grants the speaker a position of authority and, therefore, the power to determine which languages or language variants can be taken up in the interaction. "The key is, in other words, the indexical value that particular linguistic resources have in certain spaces and situations" (Blommaert 2010: 12). The perceived institutional legitimacy of newcomers' language resources is addressed specifically in Sub-study 3, which discusses the institutional power of family clinic nurses when they make decisions on, for example, migrant parents' need for interpreters and the language that will be used during the parents' visits to the clinic (Ikkänen 2019a).

However, the question still remains: how do migrants negotiate their position in this space? What can they do to improve the statuses afforded to their language resources? Because of its importance in constructing identities, communities, and social practices (Canagarajah 2017a: 19), language has already become an important aspect of study in various mobile contexts Canagarajah goes on to point out that demographic and quantitative studies on skilled migration conducted in the fields of geography, sociology and anthropology, for

example, already address language-related issues. Williams and Balaz (2008: 29) concluded that according to the classic human-capital perspective

immigrants tend to adapt to their host countries via accumulating human capital. A critical element of human capital is fluency in the host country's language, which mediates their integration into that country's labor market.

Next, I will examine the human capital perspective in more detail and discuss how it can be applied in connection with Norton's (2013) notion of investment in language learning to shed more light on the integration trajectories of migrant parents in Finland.

2.2 Investment in language learning: capital, learner agency and trajectories

In the present study, the notion of *investment* in language learning proved extremely useful in establishing a link between the participants' opportunities and willingness to engage in learning Finnish and, ultimately, how they succeeded in their efforts. This approach was developed by Norton (2013) in an attempt to shed more light on the language learning processes adult migrants are engaged in. In her research with migrant women in Canada, Norton realized that the psychological concept of learner motivation (Dörnyei 1994; 1997) lacked a sociological counterpart. Norton's notion of investment was created mainly on the basis of Bourdieu's (1986; 1991) theories of capital, language and symbolic power, and Weedon's (1987) theory of subjectivity. The need to develop alternative models is perhaps best understood against the backdrop of the so-called "social turn" in second language acquisition research, when the field in general was moving in a more socially and anthropologically oriented direction (Block 2007; Douglas Fir Group 2016). Rather than taking a cognitive, skills-based perspective, the construct of investment essentially allows us to view language learning as a "complex social practice" (Norton 2013: 166), so it aligns strongly with Canagarajah's (2013) translingual practice approach discussed earlier (Section 2.1). By paying more attention to the interplay between learners' personal circumstances, the reasons behind their engaging in language learning, and their opportunities to do so, this approach enables a more thorough incorporation of learners' social identities into the research (De Costa 2012). Furthermore, rather than viewing learner identities as fixed and ahistorical, the theory of investment emphasizes the complexity, fluidity and social nature of language learning (Norton 2013), which adds an important aspect to this study.

Darvin and Norton (2015) have subsequently expanded the model to situate investment at the intersection of ideology, identity and capital. In the updated model, they incorporate a more extensive discussion of Bourdieu's (1986) three forms of capital, that is, economic, social and cultural capital, and of how these are manifested in the context of language learning. The three forms of capital (or

power, as they are also referred to) can be briefly characterized as follows: 1) *economic capital* refers to different kinds of material resources such as property and income, 2) *cultural capital* is understood as knowledge or educational credentials, and 3) *social capital* is formed by the social networks and connections an individual has developed (Darvin & Norton 2015: 44). The migration context is problematic, however, as the value of one's capital may change when it is transferred to another location and timeframe and comes into contact with a new sociocultural context (Darvin & Norton 2015: 44–45). This means that, as Darvin and Norton (2015) note, language proficiency or educational degrees that were deemed valuable in the country of origin may lose a lot of their potential in the process of migration. As a result, the existing capital migrants bring with them may not be considered legitimate, so it fails to be recognized as symbolic capital. The fluctuating value of their capital puts migrants in a difficult position in the labor market, and often results in a mismatch between former qualifications and available employment opportunities.

Darvin and Norton (2015) call for more attention to the way learners are positioned not only in their immediate classroom or workplace contexts, but within the community and wider national or global networks. Bourdieu's formulation of the different forms of capital has been criticized e.g. for focusing on continuity rather than change (Block 2012), and for largely ignoring the question of speakers' agency in the market (Park & Wee 2012). However, I think it still sheds light on the way migrants' former skills and qualifications may fail to meet the standards of the new environment. In particular, the notion of capital when it is combined with the notion of sociolinguistic scales, discussed in Section 2.1, works well in the context of the present study, as it sheds more light on how the Bourdieusian linguistic market works (Bourdieu 1986; 1991; Park & Wee 2012).

Although language learners are subject to certain structural constraints, such as how they can participate in formal language learning programs while caring for small children, and despite the general media discourse emphasizing migrants' responsibility in learning the national language (see e.g. Kinginger 2013), they are still able to make choices based on the available options (Foucault 1991). Thus, there is a delicate balance between learner agency on the one hand, and the underlying social conditions (or structure) on the other (Ibrahim 1999; De Costa 2010). In fact, Heller's study (1999) (discussed earlier, in Section 2.1) reflects the same dichotomy, as only some of the students enrolled in the French-language minority high school in the study were able to increase their linguistic capital. Darvin and Norton (2015) use Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus* to characterize the relationship between learner agency and social structure:

While one's social location shapes habitus, which in turn structures the way one thinks and behaves, there is also desire that may align with or contradict this predisposition. Learners exercise agency by choosing what they perceive as beneficial to their existing or imagined identities, by consenting to or resisting hegemonic practices and by investing in or divesting from the language and literacy practices of particular classrooms and communities. (Darvin & Norton 2015: 7)

As Darwin and Norton point out, language learners' position in the social hierarchy influences how worthwhile they will find it to invest in the particular language and literacy practices of a given community.

Menard-Warwick (2009: 179) notes that "investments that drive language learning arise from learners' personal histories, often in response to investments of parents or other relatives". Leinonen (2012a: 244) points out that elite migrants have traditionally been understood as unattached, international male professionals shuttling "from one work assignment or country to another". Having found that her participants prioritized family reasons over professional aspirations on a number of occasions when making decisions to migrate, Leinonen challenges this idea. By foregrounding the family-related aspects of migration, Leinonen's study adds an important, contrasting perspective to the Foucauldian (2008) notion of the self as an entrepreneur, where individual gain is emphasized, or even naturalized, at the cost of more collective aspirations, as Darwin and Norton (2015) point out.

In addition to the social aspects of language learning, time is another important factor in learning processes. The notion of *trajectory* has been utilized for example in language socialization studies to describe the process by which newcomers are socialized into certain language practices and acquire sociocultural knowledge, which has important consequences for how group memberships are constructed, for example (see e. g. Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin 2012). The trajectory perspective was employed for example in Räsänen's (2013) longitudinal account of Finnish engineers' professional communicative repertoires and their trajectories of socialization into global working life. Wortham (2005: 95) defines trajectory as "a connected series of events across which individuals come to participate in forms of life". He differentiates between four levels of timescales: *sociohistorical*, *ontogenetic*, *local* and *microgenetic* (Wortham 2005: 99). Put briefly, the sociohistorical timescale refers to societal phenomena that typically develop over several decades or even centuries; the ontogenetic timescale refers to individual characteristics that are developed across an individual's lifespan; the local timescale makes it possible to take into account local patterns; and the microgenetic timescale refers to the level of actual speech events. As the notion of trajectory comprises all these different levels, viewing language learning and integration from this perspective makes it possible to take into account both wider societal discourses as well as the historical nature of individual experiences, and combine those with what takes place locally. The key to understanding certain phenomena is determining which timescales are relevant in each case (Wortham 2005).

2.3 English as a (multi)lingua franca: native speaker ideology

When examining the language learning and integration trajectories of migrant parents in Finland, the individual represents only one piece of the puzzle. While Sections 2.1 and 2.2 have mainly focused on the role of the individual, this section

concentrates on the social: the role of Finnish public services in migrant integration. One of the core questions the present study aims to address is how *standard language ideology* and *perceived English proficiency* affect a person's integration pathway into Finnish society. In general, proficiency in English is considered a prestigious and valuable resource in Finland, and research shows that it can be taken to suggest a certain level of education (Leppänen et al. 2009; Seidlhofer 2017). However, as the teaching of English, both in Finland and worldwide, still relies rather heavily on native speaker norms (Canagarajah 2017a; Dewey 2012; Holliday 2009; Seidlhofer 2011), it is not surprising that native speaker language varieties seem to be the most highly valued (Holliday 2009; Leppänen et al. 2008; Leppänen et al. 2009). From an ideological perspective, people have learned to associate native speaker English varieties such as British and American English with normative value attachments such as 'good' 'normal', 'acceptable', or 'appropriate', whereas non-native varieties are often seen as 'marked', 'deviant' or 'deficient' (Blommaert 2010; Guido 2012). Park and Wee (2012: 43) conclude that

the work on ELF is a significant intervention into one of the most pressing inequalities involving English, giving greater recognition to the English of nonnative speakers and extending the work of legitimation to include speakers who have been so far still seen as deficient users of English due to their nonnativeness.

Essentially, *standard language ideology* refers to the higher prestige given to native speaker varieties than to non-native ones (May 2010; Milroy 2001; Seidlhofer 2011; 2017). It therefore helps in explaining some of the dynamics involved in the way non-standard varieties and less prestigious languages both reflect and create social inequality (Baker 2015: 111), echoing the notion of sociolinguistic scales discussed above (Section 2.1). The management and imposition of the privileged standards are enacted at different levels of society, ranging from explicit macro-level policies enforced, for example, in education, to the implicit micro-level encounters that take place in informal everyday interaction (De Costa 2010). Traditionally, there has been a tendency for these two strands to be dealt with separately in research. That is precisely why there is a call for more holistic approaches that situate individual learners in wider national or global frames of reference (De Costa 2010). Moreover, with the current emphasis on neoliberal values, and given the power of nations where English is spoken as a native language, it is perhaps more challenging than ever for non-native (ELF) speakers to be acknowledged as legitimate and communicatively effective language users (Seidlhofer 2011).

In Hynninen and Solin's (2017) view, language norms can be approached in three different ways. Firstly, norms can be analyzed by looking at common usage of a language among members of a particular community. Secondly, norms can be studied with respect to what kind of language use is expected or accepted in a given community. Thirdly, norms can refer to specific codes such as grammatical rules, handbooks on usage, language policies and language authorities. In Hynninen and Solin's view, interview data lends itself well to the

study of normative beliefs, although it should be kept in mind that how speakers talk about language norms might differ from their actual practices. Hynninen and Solin find that by drawing on more than one type of language norm, researchers will be better able to tap into the relationship between established and emergent norms in ELF communication.

Referring to standard language ideology, the degree of formal proficiency in a language that migrants have acquired before migration may not be enough to secure their place in the new society, as how a person speaks the language in question also seems to be very relevant (e.g. Guido 2012; Maryns 2012). An ELF perspective illuminates the way differing “linguacultural conventions” originating in ELF speakers’ individual first languages may result in a lack of authentication of their ELF variants (Guido 2012). This somewhat contradicts Canagarajah’s (2013) findings reported earlier (in Section 2.1.), which reflected a more fluid orientation toward standard language norms. Interestingly, while Canagarajah’s informants clearly recognized the power of dominant language norms, and called their own variants “broken English” (2016: 33), some of his subjects were able in some circumstances to employ more diverse language practices strategically in order to better promote their own interests and values.

There is one crucial difference between the data Guido and Canagarajah draw on in their studies. Guido’s data was collected from cross-cultural immigration domains, immigration hearings to be exact. In contrast, Canagarajah’s study is based on material gathered among professional, skilled migrants, i.e. it refers to people with a much higher social status. Coming back to Bourdieu’s (1986) theory on forms of capital, the fact that the latter group of people is highly educated and engaged in high-status employment has increased both their social and cultural capital to such a degree that they have been able to convert their existing resources into symbolic capital. Thus, they have earned the status of legitimate speakers and the right to speak using their own variants. Hence, according to Canagarajah (2013), the perceived legitimacy of an ELF speaker’s language variant is largely dependent on their social status, such as employment status or level of education. In Canagarajah’s study this even seemed to override the effects of ethnicity and gender, which are usually considered very influential markers of speaker identity (e.g. Block 2007; Norton 2013). Some of Canagarajah’s (2017) informants were able to utilize their varied language repertoires strategically, as evidenced by the example of a physician who had such high confidence in his technical skills that he believed they would override a potential lack of English language skills. Another example given is a university professor who was able to adjust her language repertoire to the varied audiences she was addressing. As both of these cases testify, resistance to the dominant norms should be understood in context, and individuals with more autonomy regarding their working conditions also enjoy more freedom in their language use.

On a slightly different note, Dalmau, Garrido and Codo’s (2017) study of migrants of African origin, conducted in the Spanish context, shows that there may not be much of a connection between the high educational qualifications and

standard English language skills achieved in one's country of origin, and a successful employment history in the new host society. In the case of the African migrants they studied, not even local language skills were enough to grant the participants anything but occasional unskilled manual labor or temporary project work. Garrido and Codo (2017) concluded that migration resulting in this kind of declassing and downward socio-economic and professional mobility was particularly characteristic of skilled migration, which in this particular case was also affected by an economic recession. Consequently, there can never be a straightforward correlation between (standard) language skills and integration, as each migrant case is a unique combination of individual characteristics and contextual factors.

Early studies in ELF focused on describing a set of phonological, lexical or grammatical features of distinct "ELF varieties" (Jenkins 2000; Kirkpatrick 2007; Seidlhofer 2004). In contrast, more recent developments in ELF research have begun to see language in more fluid terms, in other words as a "dynamic social practice rather than a fixed system with clear boundaries between languages" (Baker 2015: 10). The focus of ELF research has therefore also shifted toward a more socially informed approach to language use (see e.g. Jenkins 2015; Kalocsai 2014; Räisänen 2013). Jenkins (2015: 64) calls for a more multilingual approach in ELF research: instead of focusing only on the role of English, she argues, more emphasis should be placed on studying the multilingualism of ELF users and the emergent nature of their shared multilingual repertoires³. Such a re-orientation of ELF is very similar to the translingual approach described in Section 2.1. Jenkins (2015: 77) argues that although unequal power relations are a factor in many ELF encounters, the extreme forms of asymmetrical power relations, such as the consequences of colonialism or slavery, have not been regarded as central in ELF research. In fact, there have been some studies focusing on these, for example in cross-cultural immigration domains (Guido 2008), and academic (e.g. Cogo 2015) as well as working life contexts (e.g. Park & Wee 2012). However, to date, power relations have not been adequately addressed in ELF research, as Canagarajah (2013) points out. Regardless of such potential shortcomings, native speaker ideology and the highly influential nature of perceived language proficiency in the migration context are central arguments in the context of the present study.

2.4 Summary: A translingually informed trajectory perspective on migrant integration and language learning

To examine the role of English in migrant parents' language learning and integration trajectories, I have combined elements from three different research areas. I started this chapter with an outline of the translingual practice approach,

³ For more information on ELF and multilingualism see e.g. Baker 2015, Cogo 2012, Dewey 2009, Hülbauer 2013, Kalocsai 2014 or Zhu 2015.

including indexicality and sociolinguistic scales, and extended the discussion to investment in language learning, focusing more specifically on different forms of capital, learner agency and trajectories. Finally, I discussed research on English as a (multi)lingua franca, with a specific focus on perceived English proficiency and native speaker ideology. These different elements (which were outlined in Figure 1) that is, first, indexicality and sociolinguistic scales, second, investment in language learning, and third, standard language ideology and perceived language proficiency, with the translingual practice approach as an overarching concept, allowed me to show how the statuses afforded to the various language resources that migrants bring with them interact and shape the migrants' integration trajectories in the new environment.

This particular combination of approaches also enabled me to integrate the so-called micro and macro perspectives (Blommaert 2010: 32) for studying migrant language learning, i.e. the complex interplay between individual, local and societal perspectives. In the present study, the individual perspective is addressed by examining migrant parents' experiences of inclusion and exclusion (Sub-study 1). In Sub-study 2, the trajectory perspective becomes particularly relevant, as migrant parents' language learning and integration are examined longitudinally through the concepts of capital and investment. By focusing on the effects of increased symbolic capital in migrants' professional development, Sub-study 2 sheds more light on all three perspectives. Finally, the societal perspective is further discussed in Sub-study 3, which examines the institutional constraints migrants face in response to their perceived language proficiency.

3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces the methodological framework of this study. To examine the role of language in the integration trajectories of migrant stay-at-home parents, I combined an ethnographically informed approach with sociolinguistics and language learning research in order to arrive at the overall research design. In Section 3.1 I will explain how an ethnographically oriented approach was used to identify suitable participants. Then, in Section 3.2, I will describe the process of data collection. In Section 3.2 I will also introduce the participants and summarize the interviews that were conducted with them. In Section 3.3, the methods of data analysis used in this study will be outlined. Finally, in Section 3.4, I will discuss the ethical questions related to the present study.

3.1 An ethnographically oriented longitudinal multiple case study

Through an ethnographic approach, it is possible to access people's experiences, thoughts and feelings on a very different level from what is possible with most other methods of inquiry. Ethnographically informed research has its roots in anthropology. In ethnography, language is approached as a resource, and studied in relation to the situated, social context of its use (Blommaert & Dong 2010). Such a social orientation to language must, they say, account for the stratified nature of language use. This also means that, on the one hand, ethnographically oriented research should account for situated, *micro level* language use. On the other hand, according to Blommaert and Dong (2010: 32), researchers should also pay attention to how the use of language is influenced by political, social and historical *macro level* phenomena. This study does not include interactional data, but focuses on the participants' own accounts of their use of language and on how their language use affects their trajectories of integration into Finnish society. In the present study, participant observation, usually

considered one of the cornerstones of ethnographic inquiry, was principally used to gain access to the field and identify suitable participants rather than to collect analyzable data. Therefore this study is not “an ethnography” in the traditional sense, but could be defined as an ethnographically oriented one, as sustained involvement with the participants was, nevertheless, one of its key aspects (see e.g. McCambridge 2019). In fact, when the object of study is development or change, as in the present study, a longitudinal research design is essential (see e.g. Duff 2014; Smit 2010; Räisänen 2013; 2018; 2019).

Duff (2014) argues that the case study method is essential to provide an in-depth understanding of an individual’s experiences in a particular sociocultural context. In addition, including multiple cases makes it possible to cross-check the data across cases, making comparisons and detecting potential divergences in participants’ trajectories. Thus, to shed more light on the diversity of migrant parents’ trajectories, a multi-sited multiple case study method was chosen, as also advocated by Duff (2014). Another methodological choice was concerned with showing the other side of the coin, so to speak, with looking at the phenomenon under study from more than one perspective. Since integration in general is referred to as a two-way street, it is important to take both individual and societal perspectives into account. Therefore, in addition to individual experiences, and to gain a more comprehensive, societal view of how language learning and integration experiences unfold, I also wanted to include an institutional perspective in the study. The family clinic is the place where parents of small children have their most prominent contact with Finnish public service providers. Hence, with the parents’ permission, I decided to include in the study interviews with their family clinic nurses. All this led me to formulate the research design which is summarized here in Table 2:

Table 2. The research design.

Details/ Data set	Recruitment of participants	Data type	Interviews	Criteria for participants
Stay-at-home parents of migrant origin (n=8)	By participating (with my own son) in a multicultural family group arranged by an NGO	(field notes, observations) ethnographic interviews	Two sets of interviews during a three-year period (2015- 2018)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voluntary migrants • Ability to use English • Moved to Finland 0-5 years ago
Family clinic nurses (n=5) and head nurses (n=2)	Parents agreed that their nurses could be interviewed	Ethnographic interviews	One interview/ participant	Permission from the parents

The table outlines the different data sets, the recruitment of participants, the types of data included in the study, the number of interviews conducted with each group of participants, and the criteria for the selection of participants.

3.2 Data collection

As Heller (2008) points out, the first and one of the most important decisions a researcher has to make is where to look for evidence of the phenomenon they are interested in. Since I wanted to study migrant parents' trajectories of language learning and integration, I decided to go where they go: a multicultural parent-child group organized by a multicultural center. The group is run by a non-governmental non-profit organization, and it is open once a week to all parents and children, both native Finns and people who have moved to Finland from elsewhere. The group aims to help newly arrived parents to network and share experiences with other parents, regardless of origin, and thereby to provide a safe space in which to get acquainted with the region. The groups' activities range from physical activities such as dancing to e.g. singing in different languages, crafts, reading, playing games, baking, and arranging and participating in different kinds of cultural celebrations. As the group convenes in the morning, it is mostly attended by parents who are staying home with children who are under three years of age. Traditionally, it has mostly been mothers who stay home with small children, and this could be seen in the gender composition of the parent-child group in question. However, the group welcomes whole families, and fathers (including, in fact, my husband) increasingly embrace the opportunity to be more involved in their children's lives. Moreover, as migrant men may face difficulties in finding work and integrating into the new environment, some fathers, like Thomas in this study, also visited the group to have some sort of social contact.

By starting the inquiry with such an ethnographic orientation, I was able to observe the language practices migrant parents were engaged in as part of their everyday life. Using this group to find participants for the study turned out to be a very good decision, as I quickly learned that having a child of one's own made a big difference when approaching potential participants. As a member of the group, my role as a researcher became secondary, which made it easy for me to observe the group's activities and adopt an ethnographic approach. Intke-Hernández (2015), for example, used a similar approach and discovered that being in the same position as the participants in her study, sharing the same role of being a parent, made it easy for the parents to relate to her. Through informal discussions with individual group members, I was able to look for suitable candidates for the study. In addition, being a member of the group made it easier for me to become acquainted with the participants before the interviews, which later helps the researcher in interpreting the data (Heller 2008). In other words, I was able to enter the field with a relatively open, although theoretically informed mind.

To begin with, there were a number of criteria that would need to be taken into account when selecting participants. First of all, I wanted to concentrate on voluntary migrants, as their integration experiences have not been explored in very much detail. Secondly, as I wanted to tap into the participants' early experiences of integration, I needed to find people who had not resided in Finland for more than 5 years. Thirdly, I did not want to use interpreters when talking to the participants, which meant that we would need to have a shared language resource. In this case, as the participants might not yet know a lot of Finnish, this resource would have to be English. This was, indeed, essential, since perceived English proficiency was an integral part of the argument being developed in the study. Fourthly, being able to apply the trajectory perspective on how language learning and integration pathways evolve requires that the participants are followed for an extended period of time. In practice, this meant having a longitudinal research design, which would require greater commitment from the participants than a short-term interaction. In hope of finding participants with as diverse backgrounds as possible in terms of first language, educational background and motivations for migrating, I finally had to turn to other connections to widen my perspective. In the end, I managed to recruit eight migrant parents to participate in the study. The parents then gave me permission to approach their family clinic nurses in pursuit of interviews. The nurses advised me to talk to their senior nurses as well. In the end, I talked to five family clinic nurses and two senior nurses, who were the superiors of the nurses interviewed.

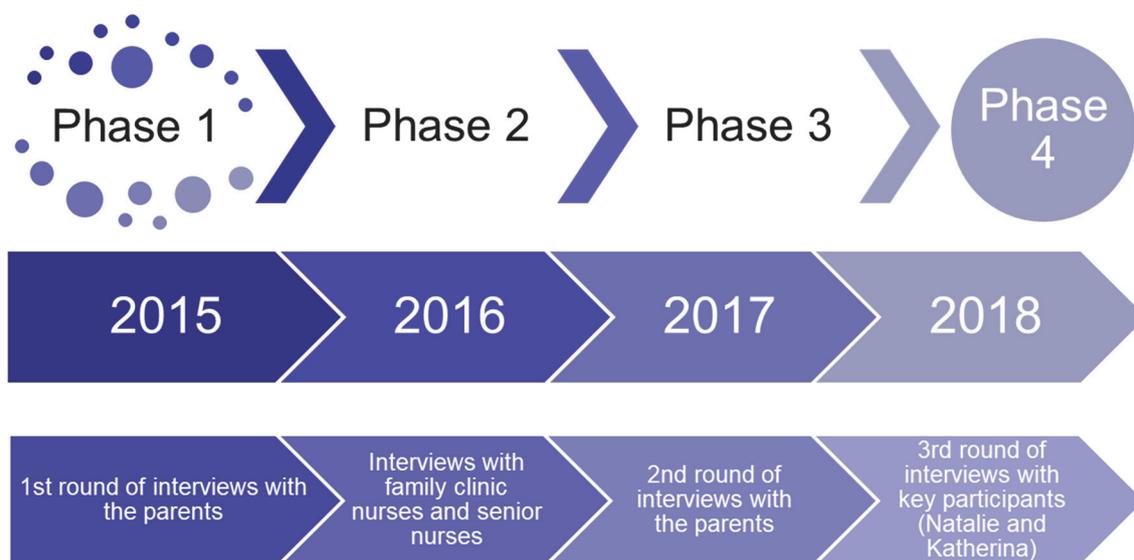


Figure 2. The process of data collection.

The data collection took place in four phases. I started by observing the multicultural family group, which helped me to recruit suitable candidates for the study. To learn more specifically about the participants' trajectories of language learning and integration, I decided to conduct a series of interviews instead of an extended period of observation in the group, which mainly served

a social purpose for the participants. The first interviews with the parents in phase 1 were conducted during the fall and winter of 2015-2016. After that, I asked the parents' permission to talk to the family clinic nurses. The nurses' and senior nurses' interviews constituted the second phase of data collection, in 2016 (nurses) and 2017 (senior nurses). In the third phase, in the fall and winter of 2017-2018, I conducted the second round of interviews with the parents. Finally, I had a third round of interviews with two key participants, Natalie and Katherina, in the fall of 2018.

The first two interviews with the parents were facilitated by a *clock task* (Iikkanen 2017; Mäntylä, Pietikäinen & Dufva 2009; Satchwell 2005), a printed picture of a clock on which the participants indicated which languages they used and with whom they used them during the day (Appendix 2). One of the clocks was for the hours between 7 am and 6 pm and the other for those from 6 pm to 7 am. The purpose of this task was to illustrate the use of language resources in the participants' everyday communication. This task generated a lot of useful information, because seeing their daily language use written down also made the participants reflect on their own language use more systematically and comprehensively than would have happened only by making a list of the particular language resources they used to draw on. I believe that doing this task also helped the participants to become more aware of the varied language resources they had in their repertoire, i.e. it helped the participants to approach their language use more holistically and translingually. In the third interviews with two focal participants, Katherina and Natalie, a *timeline* (Tasker 2018) was employed to help the participants reflect on how their language learning and integration trajectories had developed over time (Appendix 3). I constructed the timelines of the participants' life histories in Finland on the basis of the first two interviews, and sent them to Katherina and Natalie for comment before the third interviews. The timelines offered a more holistic way of examining the participants' individual trajectories of language learning and integration. I was also hoping that a graphic representation would help them see and better reflect on how their constantly changing identities and feelings about language learning and integration manifested themselves in their everyday language practices.

The process of data collection is summarized in Figure 1, above. In the following, I will discuss the selection of participants, introduce them, and discuss the interviews conducted with them in more detail.

3.3 Participants

3.3.1 Migrant parents

The parent participants were recruited with specific criteria in mind: they should be able to speak English, be fairly recent, voluntary migrants to Finland, have small children they were taking care of at home, and be willing to commit to a three-year research process. In addition, my aim was to find as diverse a group

of people as possible. In the end, the participants originated in Asia (3), Europe (2), Australia (1), North America (1) and the Middle East (1). Seven of them were female and only one was male, as it was far easier to find female stay-at-home parents than male ones. Two of the participants spoke English as their first language and all of the others had a different first language. In addition, each of them spoke 1-4 other languages. The participants' ages ranged from 23 to 41 at the beginning of the study. All of them had migrated on a voluntary basis, because of work, marriage or study. At the time of the interviews, some of them had lived in Finland for only 1.5 years and others as long as 5.5 years. All the families had one or two children. The participants' educational backgrounds were extremely varied, as they ranged from comprehensive school to a PhD.

Table 3. Stay-at-home parents' ages, languages spoken, education, time spent in Finland, and motivations for migrating (Iikkanen 2017).

Stay-at-home parent + country of birth	SAHP's age	SAHP's first language	Other parent's first language	Level of education	Other languages spoken by the SAHP	Language(s) used with children	Language(s) parents use with each other	Year of migrating to Finland	Motivation for migrating to Finland
Emily, Korea	37	Korean	English	MA	English French Japanese	Korean English (Finnish)	English	2014	husband's studies at university
Paulina, Poland	44	Polish	English	MA	Russian English Finnish	Polish English (Finnish)	English	2010	former husband's job
Thomas, Australia	42	English	Finnish	vocational school	Finnish	English Finnish	English	2012	wife's studies and job
Helen, United States	44	English	Finnish	PhD	Russian Swedish Finnish	English Finnish	English	2013	husband's job
Natalie, Vietnam	29	Vietnamese	Finnish	vocational school	English Finnish	Vietnamese Finnish	Finnish English	2013	studies -> marriage
Annisa, Indonesia	26	(Java), Indonesian	Finnish	vocational school	English Finnish	Finnish English	Finnish English	2014	marriage
Katherina, Hungary	44	Hungarian	Hungarian	MA	German English Spanish Finnish	Hungarian (Finnish)	Hungarian	2013	husband's job
Camila, Afghanistan	26	Persian	Persian	comprehensive school + English classes	English Finnish	Persian (Finnish)	Persian	2010	marriage

Table 3 summarizes the participants' countries of birth, their present age and the language profiles of both the participants and their spouses, the participants' educational background, the year they migrated to Finland, and their motivations for migrating. All of the names used in this study are pseudonyms. In Table 2, the colors indicate differences in the language backgrounds of the two parents in each family: in those marked with blue, the parents have different first languages; in the ones marked with purple, the parents also have different first languages but one of the parents is Finnish; and in the ones marked with yellow, the parents have the same first language. Although Finnish was not the first language of any of the participants, it was still present to some extent in the families' everyday communication. Katherina and Emily, for example, reported that their children "brought Finnish home" from daycare and, in four families, the other parent was Finnish. Two of the parents, Paulina and Camila, were already fluent Finnish speakers, and I have therefore added Finnish to their language repertoires. Next, I will describe each of the participants in more detail.

Annisa

Annisa's first language is Javanese and she learned Indonesian when she started school at the age of four. She started learning English at school when she was six. Before moving to Finland, she studied in high school and worked in a restaurant. Annisa first became acquainted with her Finnish husband online and they met in Indonesia before she moved to Finland to marry him in 2014. They now have a four-year-old daughter. Annisa had already learned some Finnish before having the baby, and she picked it up again after her daughter was 18 months old. Annisa says she did not feel at home in Finland at first because people were not as friendly as in Indonesia, but this got better after they moved to a new apartment. Annisa has started to study at a vocational institute in Finnish. In the future she hopes to work with old people.

Camila

Camila is originally from Afghanistan, but her family of nine had to move to Iran when she was five years old to get away from the war. Her first language is Persian. In Iran, Afghans were not allowed to go to school with Iranian children, but they had their own school with Afghan teachers, which took them up to high school age. After the Afghan school, Camila wanted to study further but it was impossible. Fortunately, there were some English classes available and after attending them she was eventually able to do a teacher training course. Unfortunately, being a young Afghan girl she was not allowed to teach in Iranian schools. Finally, although she was only seventeen, she was able to become a teacher at an English Institute. Then, after she had turned eighteen, in 2010, Camila traveled alone to Finland and married her Afghan cousin, who was already living in Finland. She started to study Finnish right away and speaks it fluently. Camila and her husband have two children. The older child has learned Finnish in daycare. Camila likes living in Finland because it is safe here and everything works so well. In the future, she would like to continue studying and find a job.

Emily

Emily is originally Korean, but she lived for six years with her American husband in the US before moving to Finland in 2014. They have two school-age children. In Korea, Emily studied geography and worked as an English teacher – she had learned English at an international school in Korea. Emily also speaks Japanese and French. The family lived here for only two years: they moved back to the US in June 2016, after Emily's husband finished his two-year Master's program at the university. While they lived in Finland, Emily used to read Finnish books and sing Finnish songs with her children, to teach both herself and the children some Finnish. Her older daughter went to day care one day a week, so she was able to learn some Finnish. If they had stayed in Finland longer, Emily would have liked to study art. After moving back, Emily has mostly stayed at home. Occasionally she has worked as a substitute teacher at her daughter's school.

Helen

Helen is an American, and she met her Finnish husband while still living in the USA. They moved to Finland in 2013 because of her husband's work. They have two school-age children. Starting a life in Finland was fairly difficult for Helen, because, at first, she could not really find people to talk to. After discovering a group for multicultural families, she was finally able to find some friends. Helen has found it very hard to learn Finnish and it seems to really bother her, because she already speaks other languages, namely Russian and Swedish, and learned them quite easily. Helen got a job in another town in Finland in 2016. She was able to work from home as well, but commuting was difficult. Helen's family moved back to the United States before our second interview. It seemed very important to Helen to be closer to her family and friends.

Katherina

Katherina, of Hungarian origin, has three MA degrees and, in addition to her native language Hungarian, she speaks German, English and Spanish fluently. She went to school, studied and worked in Austria and Hungary. Katherina is married to a fellow Hungarian, who works in Finland. They have two children. Katherina and her husband have established a company of their own and Katherina is now in charge of most of the operations. She works from home and uses Hungarian and English and, recently, more and more Finnish as well. Katherina has learned Finnish on language courses, likes it very much and does not find it too difficult. Earlier she was keen on finding a job where she could meet other people and use her newly acquired Finnish skills, but as her responsibilities in their own company have increased, she has been more satisfied with her work. At first, Katherina did not like living in Finland at all, but with increasing language skills and job satisfaction, she is starting to feel more at home.

Natalie

Natalie, from Vietnam, had learned English at a branch of an American university. She was working in Vietnam, but decided to come to Finland to study nursing in 2013. She met her Finnish husband very soon after that and quit her

studies when they got married and their daughter was born. The family live together with Natalie's parents-in-law. Ever since the first interview in 2015 Natalie has dreamt of setting up her own business and she has worked hard to make this dream come true. She knew she needed to study Finnish first and then go to vocational school to learn a new trade. Natalie's husband quit his former job and studied in vocational school to be able to run the company together with her. Their dream finally came true in the fall of 2018, when the company started.

Paulina

Paulina, who is Polish, moved to Finland with her former husband in 2010. She now has a Canadian partner, and they have two children. In Poland, Paulina studied Polish philology and learned English through her work at an international company. Before coming to Finland, she lived in Belorussia for five years. She speaks fluent Russian, and good Finnish and Swedish. Although they would have liked to stay in Finland, they had no choice but to go where work was available for Paulina's partner, who is an academic, so the family now lives in Sweden. In Finland, Paulina worked in a number of projects and as a volunteer at the local community center, e.g. with immigrants and knows a lot about integration. Her studies at a University of Applied Sciences have been on hold since the children were born.

Thomas

Thomas met his Finnish wife in his native Australia and, as a result, he moved to Finland in 2012. They have two children. He has been trying to learn Finnish but has not been satisfied with the courses that have been available. He is able to manage some every day affairs without having to use English, and tries to use as much Finnish as possible. He has not really worked in Finland because he feels that it would be very difficult to get a job; he dislikes the working hours he would have to put in if he took up his former profession as a chef. He has done some work through a business of his own. Thomas has found it very difficult to integrate into Finnish society. He sees Finns as introverts and often feels excluded because people seem to be reluctant to speak English with him. Thomas and his wife, who is a doctor, have talked about moving to Australia. Thomas only took part in the first interview.

3.3.2 Family clinic nurses and senior nurses

The nurses and senior nurses who participated in the study were all employed by a Finnish municipality. Their ages ranged between 37 and 61 years and, on average, they had been working in municipal family clinics for more than 13 years. All of the nurses spoke Finnish as their first language and reported various levels of English proficiency in the interviews. Some felt they were reasonably proficient in English, while others were not very confident of their own language skills.

Table 4. Background information on the nurses and the number of non-Finnish-speaking clients they were seeing (Iikkanen 2019a).

Nurse/Details	Age	Number of years working as a nurse in a family clinic	Number of non-Finnish-speaking clients
Nurse Kaija	42	12	about 30% of all clients
Nurse Sari	48	11	about 10 families
Nurse Marja	52	14	could not say exactly
Nurse Anne	37	6	occasionally some families
Nurse Leena	57	15	none at the moment, but used to have a lot when working in a different area
Senior nurse Kati	42	7 years as a nurse and 7 years as a senior nurse	senior nurses did not deal directly with clients
Senior nurse Eeva	61	10 years as a nurse and 10 years as a senior nurse	senior nurses did not deal directly with clients

Table 4 summarizes the nurses' ages, the number of years they had worked at family clinics, and the number of non-Finnish clients they had.

3.3.3 Interviews with migrant parents

I had the first individual interviews with the parents between October 2015 and February 2016. The interviews were conducted in English because that is what the participants preferred. The format of the interviews was semi-structured and the interview guide (see Appendix 1) was thematically constructed. There were questions relating to the participants' background, such as education, family and language skills. Some of the questions dealt with their migration history: how long they had lived in Finland, what had been their motivation for coming to Finland, how they understood integration and what were their views on using language in relation to social life and when using Finnish services (family clinics and daycare in particular). Towards the end, we talked about their future plans and their use of social media. The interview guide was rather detailed but I rarely needed it, as most of the conversations flowed quite naturally. Regardless of the informal nature of the interviews, I paid specific attention to covering each topic with all of the participants to make the data as representative and reliable as possible. The interviews were facilitated by the clock task mentioned above (Appendix 2).

Annisa was the only participant who asked me to share the questions before the interview and I did not see any problem in doing so, as she had some difficulties with her English. I thought that being able to familiarize herself with the questions beforehand would help her prepare for the interview. Initially, I would have preferred to have the interviews in the participants' homes. However,

two of the participants, Helen and Katherina, suggested we meet at a café in the city center, and Emily wanted to come to the university. These suggestions were made, they said, to allow us time to talk without being interrupted by eager children every two minutes. Unfortunately, there was a lot of background noise in the cafés, which made transcription more demanding. The length of the interviews ranged from 32 to 86 minutes, and they amounted to a total of 420 minutes of data. The average length of an interview was 53 minutes.

To prepare for the second set of interviews at the end of 2017 and in early 2018, I had a look at the transcripts from the first round of interviews to identify what I particularly wanted to follow up on. As the parents and I were already familiar with one another, and I wanted to make the interviews as relaxed as possible, I did not prepare a structured list of questions. My main interest was to find out what the participants would say about their current situation: whether they were studying or working, how their language practices had changed between the interviews, and how they felt about their lives in Finland at that point. As in the first interview, the clock task (Iikkanen 2017; Mäntylä, Pietikäinen & Dufva 2009; Satchwell 2005) was introduced to elicit information about the participants' daily use of language, and to note any changes that might have occurred in their everyday language practices since the first interview. The locations of the interviews varied: two of the participants, Annisa and Camila, invited me to their homes for the second interview. Some interviews were conducted at the university (Paulina and Natalie), one at a café (Helen) and one at a restaurant (Katherina). One interview was conducted through Skype (Emily). The total length of the interviews was 460 minutes, which makes the average length of the interviews 65 minutes. Thomas was the only participant who did not want to participate in a second interview.

After the first two sets of interviews, I first looked at the clock tasks from each of them and compared these with passages in which the participants described their language use. To accommodate the complexity and the depth of data obtained through the longitudinal aspect of the study, and to reach a better understanding of the participants' language learning trajectories (Räisänen 2013; Wortham 2005), a timeline approach (Tasker 2018) was applied to organize and interpret the data. In line with Tasker's approach, I shared the first versions of the timelines with the participants in case they wanted to comment on them (Appendix 3). I was also hoping to generate more data by showing the participants a graphic representation of their life histories with regard to their language learning and integration in Finland. In the third interviews, I also asked Natalie and Katherina to have a look at the clock tasks they had completed in the first and second interviews, to help them reflect on how they had earlier talked about their language learning and use.

3.3.4 Interviews with family clinic nurses and senior nurses

The data collected with the family clinic nurses and senior nurses consists of two sets of semi-structured thematic interviews. I interviewed the nurses during the summer and fall of 2016 and the senior nurses were interviewed a year later, in

the fall of 2017. I asked the nurses about the number of non-Finnish-speaking clients they had, which language they used with them (whether they spoke English, some other language, or used interpreters), and if the municipality had given them any general guidelines on when to use interpreters. I asked if materials in other languages besides Finnish were available for their clients, how the nurses felt about working in a foreign language, whether it complicated their work in any way, and if they had had any language-related misunderstandings with their clients. In the senior nurses' interviews, I concentrated on finding out if the nurses had talked about potential language-related challenges, and what kind of instructions they had received regarding the use of interpreters. Appendix 4 includes a more detailed interview guide. The interviews lasted from 36 minutes to an hour, the total amount of data being 260 minutes. The interviews were conducted in Finnish and transcribed verbatim. I have translated the excerpts that I used for the sub-studies into English.

All the different data sets described above, the number of participants in each interview and the total amount of data in each data set have been summarized in Table 5.

Table 5. Data sets, the number of participants interviewed and the total amount of data (min).

Data set/number of interviews	1st round (8)	2nd round (7)	3rd round (2)	Total (min)
Interviews with the parents (n=8)	420 min	460 min	49 min	1189 min
Interviews with the family clinic nurses (n=5) and senior nurses (n=2)				260 min

3.3.5 Transcription conventions

The interview data was transcribed verbatim. The transcription conventions used are outlined below in Table 6 (adapted from Alanen 2006).

Table 6. Transcription conventions.

Special character	Explanation
[...]	simultaneous talk, inserted clarification, anonymized personal or place name
(xxx)	unidentifiable word/utterance
@@	laughter
(...)	omitted speech
,	separation of thought units
?	direct question

3.4 Data analysis

According to an ethnographic approach (Blommaert & Dong 2010), the guiding principle in data analysis is to find data-driven ways to shed light on the phenomenon under study – in this case, migrant parents’ trajectories of language learning and integration. When selecting the analytical methods for this study, my objective was to focus on the research participants’ point of view instead of following a given, ready-made framework. This first led me to use content analysis (Sub-study 1), then narrative analysis in the form of the short story approach (Sub-study 2) and, finally, membership categorization analysis (Sub-study 3). I will here discuss each of these methods of analysis in more detail, and will explain my reasons for selecting these specific methods.

3.4.1 Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis is used to interpret the “content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon 2005: 1278). Qualitative content analysis can be applied to different types of data, ranging from textual or electronic data to observations, interviews and surveys. In Hsieh and Shannon’s article, content analysis is divided into three subtypes: conventional, directed and summative content analysis. These can also be referred to as inductive, deductive and abductive content analysis (Graneheim 2017: 30). *Conventional content analysis* is used to study and describe phenomena of which there is limited previous knowledge. In contrast, *directed content analysis* is used to test or extend an existing theory, as Hsieh and Shannon (2005) point out. Finally, *summative content analysis* is used to understand the contextual use of a specific word or content. Conventional content analysis was chosen for the present study because it offered a way of approaching the data without having to use existing categories (Kondracki & Wellman 2002), and therefore enabled inductive category development (Mayring 2000) to emerge from the data. Furthermore, it was the most appropriate method for studying a relatively under-studied phenomenon: the role of language in the process of migrant stay-at-home parents’ integration, and their experiences of social inclusion and exclusion.

When conducting conventional content analysis, researchers first immerse themselves in the data in order to obtain a sense of the whole (Tesch 1990). Next, according to Hsieh and Shannon (2005: 1279), the exact words that seem to capture the key thoughts or concepts are highlighted and then specific codes representing more than one key thought are developed. These codes are then organized into categories based on the connections between them. Then, the emergent categories are used to sort and group codes into appropriate clusters (Coffey & Atkinson 1996; Patton 2002). Categories can be organized hierarchically, for example in the form of a tree diagram (Morse & Field 1995). Then, the researcher needs to develop definitions for each category, subcategory, and code, each of which is illustrated through examples derived from the data

when reporting the findings, and the discussion is extended to relevant theoretical approaches (Hsieh and Shannon 2005: 1279).

In Sub-study 1, data-driven content analysis was used to gain an overall understanding of the participants' language-based experiences of inclusion and exclusion. The advantage of using such a data-driven approach is the fact that all of the findings are directly based on the data. It also made it possible to interpret the data from the participants' own point of view instead of using ready-made categories or following pre-existing frameworks. However, conventional content analysis can have some limitations, as Hsieh and Shannon (2005: 1280) have pointed out. For example, if researchers fail to reach a thorough understanding of the context, they may not be able to recognize all the key categories. Furthermore, conventional content analysis is limited both in terms of theory development and in describing actual lived experience, because the nature of the sampling and analysis procedures means that theoretical relationships between concepts may be difficult to infer from the findings. Due to these limitations, other methods of analysis were chosen for the subsequent sub-studies.

3.4.2 Short story approach

The short story approach (Barkhuizen 2016) is a form of systematic narrative inquiry that can be applied to different types of empirical data extracts such as conversations, interviews, written narratives or multimodal stories. Stories narrate experiences and often include reflective or evaluative (Labov 1997) commentary on those experiences, as Barkhuizen points out. In the analysis, as Barkhuizen (2016: 661) explains, specific attention is paid to the content and context of the stories featured in the data. For content, three different dimensions are addressed, *who*, *where*, and *when*: *who* refers to the characters in the stories, and to their relationships and positions in relation to one another, *where* is concerned with the spatial dimension, i.e. where the action takes place, *when* addresses the temporality of the events, including references to the past, present and future. In the analysis, the goal is to systematically identify all references to each of these dimensions. The three contextual levels included in the short story approach include "story", "Story" and "STORY" (Barkhuizen 2016: 663). Next, the different levels will be explained in more detail.

The personal level, the *story* (all small letters), Barkhuizen (2016: 663) explains, includes people's thoughts, ideas and emotions as well as interactions in the participant's immediate. The *Story* (with capital S) level extends beyond the immediate psychological and interpersonal context and includes wider-scale interactions with e.g. workers or officials with whom one interacts in everyday life and the consequences of decisions made by others (Barkhuizen 2016: 663). The final level, *STORY* (all capital letters), Barkhuizen continues, refers to the broader sociopolitical contexts (such as national policies, or general discourses of race, gender or immigration) in which the action takes place. In the present study, these three levels of context were considered to correspond to the family (*story*), workplaces, schools and other institutions (*Story*), and government bodies, society, and general discourses on migration (*STORY*). Barkhuizen (2016: 664)

points out that quite often, the narrator of the story is unable to identify the wider structures, and it is left to the researcher to make the often implicit connections. By paying attention to the different dimensions of content - who, where and when - featured in the stories it is possible for a researcher to convey a more nuanced picture of participants' circumstances and everyday realities. The short story approach also gives the researcher an opportunity to address multiple levels of context, ranging from the personal (story) to the institutional (Story), and the wider societal (STORY) levels.

In Sub-study 2, the short story approach enabled me to analyze how investment in language learning showed in migrant parents' talk, and how they narrativized the role of language learning in their professional development. Through the short story approach, it was possible to shed more light on the *individual* trajectories of language learning and integration, and pinpoint potential similarities and differences between them.

3.4.3 Membership categorization analysis

Categorization is an everyday practice that people engage in when trying to make sense of the "messy" (Douglas, Blom & Hazard 2000: 46 -52) nature of everyday reality. Membership categorization analysis (Schegloff 2007) was developed in an attempt to explain how people organize this everyday reality. It is based on the *membership categorization device*, which consists of two parts: the actual collection(s) of categories, and their rules of application (Schegloff 2007). These categories are simple, everyday ones such as woman, worker, employee, child or Christian. These categories are, then, organized into collections of categories that "belong together" such as male/female or Christian/Muslim (Schegloff 2007: 467). Schegloff (2007: 467-469) considers it is important to note that such collections of categories consist of the everyday knowledge that ordinary people have, and they are only valid in specific sociocultural contexts, meaning that categories that go together may not be universal. The rules for how the categories are applied show that even if a member of a certain category seems to contradict what members of that category are supposed to be like, people do not "revise their knowledge" (Schegloff 2007: 469). What they do instead, he explains, is view that person as an 'exception', 'different' or even as a 'defective' member of that category. By using category-bound activities, it is also possible to "allude" to membership of a specific category by characterizing the person doing the action as being engaged in a category-bound action, such as "a baby cried" (Schegloff 2007: 470). In the present study, membership categorization analysis was used in Sub-study 3 to explore the language-based institutional decision-making processes of the family clinic nurses and senior nurses. With membership categorization analysis, I was able to address how family clinic nurses categorized their migrant clients in their talk on the basis of the clients' perceived language proficiency, focusing specifically on the clients' use of English.

3.5 Ethical considerations

This study adheres to the general principles of research integrity set by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2012). These general principles are endorsed by the research community and deal, for example, with accuracy in conducting research, and in recording, presenting, and evaluating the findings (University of Jyväskylä 2013). Sarangi (2015) divides workplace communication research ethics into the following categories: ethics of access, ethics of participation, ethics of interpretation and ethics of dissemination. Although this study is not specifically focused on workplace communication, I feel these issues are especially relevant for the present study. Each of the points mentioned above will therefore be discussed in more detail in the following.

Ethics of access deals with methodological issues such as selection of the research site, negotiating access to it, and deciding on the research topic (Sarangi 2015). In the present study, observation was used as a way of gaining access to the research site and connecting with potential participants. The initial research interest was formulated into a more precise research topic during the observation, according to the principles of ethnographically oriented research (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 29-31).

Ethics of participation relates to gaining informed consent, and the use of particular instruments, such as interviews, for data collection (Sarangi 2015). In the present research, all of the research participants filled in consent forms prior to the interviews. As the nurses and senior nurses participated in the interviews in their professional roles, I also had to apply for a research permit from their employer, that is, the municipality they were working for. The research interview is always a co-constructed process, where both the participant and the researcher are engaged in a dialogue, as Blommaert and Dong (2010) point out. The overall effects of positioning oneself as a research participant are impossible to pinpoint, but the potential existence of such a stance is something that needs to be recognized. According to Blommaert and Dong (2010), participants may position researchers as figures of authority, and formulate their answers accordingly, giving answers that they think they are expected to give rather than answers that reveal their actual thoughts on the matter. In the case of this study, I believe this is where my role as a fellow parent and a member of the parent-child group made a crucial difference: the shared world of parenthood differentiated me from just any researcher, so to speak, entering the field. I am sure that this contributed positively to my relationship with the migrant parents who participated in the study. The family clinic nurses are a different story. Because they participated in the research in their professional roles, they had to be more cautious with their answers. To overcome this effect, I frequently reassured them that their responses would not be reported to their superiors, and assured them that I would anonymize the data to the best of my ability.

Ethics of interpretation is most concerned with transcription and anonymization, which are interpretive acts and, as such, subject to bias (Sarangi

2015). As regards transcription, Sarangi observes that decisions that affect accuracy on the one hand and readability on the other hand need to be considered from an ethical point of view. In the present study, I transcribed the interviews verbatim, using informal, non-standard and colloquial terms when these were used by the participants. The participants were also free to choose whether they wanted to answer the questions in English or in Finnish. Consequently, I had to translate some of the extracts that were used in the published sub-studies. In such cases, the original transcripts have also been included in the publication. Regarding anonymization, although I have used pseudonyms for all of the participants, the fact is that they live in a relatively small community and it is not very difficult to guess who they are. I have therefore withheld some information on the parents' background, such as the field in which the company owned by Natalie and her husband operates. I have also not disclosed the town, or the names or location of the family clinics where the interviews were conducted. I could have done more to conceal the participants' identity, such as change their ages, nationalities or language profiles, but decided against it in the end. I made this decision, firstly, because the diversity of the cases was one of the prerequisites for the selection of participants, and I did not want to obscure the distinctiveness of the cases by changing the participants' background details. With anonymization, care should be taken that interpretation of the data is still possible, as Sarangi (2015) also points out. Secondly, this study does not include inherently sensitive material, and even if someone would know who they were, the participants would not be harmed in any way. Thirdly, some of the participants have talked quite openly about being part of this study, which indicates that they did not seem to find the possibility of being identified problematic. Others were more wary, as they often shared highly personal experiences or, in the nurses' case, because they were taking part in the research in their professional roles.

Ethics of dissemination or intervention refers to the way research findings are reported (Sarangi 2015). Blommaert and Dong (2010) claim that since people often find it difficult to 'analyze' or give reasons for doing things the way they do, responsibility for interpreting the data rests on the researcher. Thus, the participants' openness led me to an ethical dilemma: I wondered whether my interpretations had done justice to their stories. The simplest way to find an answer to this is to share one's ideas with the participants and see what they think, and this is exactly what I did in the third interview with Natalie and Katherina, by constructing the timelines and asking them to have a look at them before the interview. With the others, the possibility of using this kind of participatory methodology (e.g. Aldridge 2015) was not as readily available, as some of them had already left Finland, and those that remained were otherwise leading very busy lives.

In ethnographically oriented qualitative inquiry, the role of the researcher becomes much more central than in many other types of study. Heller (2011) points out that in ethnographic inquiry, the researcher's main tasks are two-fold. The first thing is to try and understand what is going on around one. For that it

is essential to work toward building a relationship of trust with the research participants. Second, the researcher should aim to find out why things happen the way they do, which will allow them to make predictions for the future or consider potential ways or needs of intervention (Heller 2011: 42). Blommaert and Dong (2010) call ethnographic inquiry a learning process through which researchers learn how to use the subjectivity they have gained to interpret the findings.

In the present study, being a mother greatly facilitated my relationship with the participants. It also seemed to help the migrant parents view me as their peer, more than anything else. In the interviews, we talked about how our children were doing and they always wanted to know about my research and how it was going. The process became like a mutual journey toward a common goal. I enjoyed hearing about their progress with learning Finnish, and how they were beginning to find their place in society and working life. In some cases, this transformation took place quite easily, in others more struggle was involved. As I continued to take part in the parent-child group throughout the research process, I had more contact with some of the parents. I also met one of them a number of times more socially, although I did not consider this to be problematic because these encounters were not considered part of the research. Garton and Copland (2010: 548) point out that in what they term as 'acquaintance interviews' it is particularly important to consider the potential effects of the relationship between the researcher and the researched. They further suggest that the general reflexivity required of ethnographically oriented research should be extended to the way interview data "is generated as a result of previous relationships" (Garton & Copland 2010: 548).

In my view, I was able to establish an open, respectful and mutually rewarding relationship with all the participants, and I look forward to following their trajectories in the future as well. Park (2009) made similar observations regarding his own position when conducting research on ideologies of English in his native country of Korea. I strongly agree with Park's conclusion that sociolinguistic research is never entirely free of bias. However, while recognizing one's own position and striving toward reflexivity, a degree of personal involvement on the part of the researcher can be highly constructive in terms of theorization and analysis, as Park (2009.) notes. Park (2009) and Sarangi (2015) agree that this does not mean that such studies would lack rigor.

4 FINDINGS

This chapter gives an overview of the findings of the three sub-studies. It summarizes what the sub-studies suggest about migrant parents and the role of language in their integration process into Finnish society. The aim of this chapter is limited to providing a concise overview of the findings; the wider implications of the whole study will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.1 Sub-study 1. The use of language in migrant stay-at-home parents' process of integration: Experiences of inclusion and exclusion

The objective of Sub-study 1 was to explore the participants' language-related experiences of inclusion and exclusion, and it was based on the first round of interviews, which involved eight migrant parents. The interviewees were recruited through a multicultural parent-child group and they all came from different countries, namely Afghanistan, Australia, Hungary, Indonesia, Poland, South Korea, the United States and Vietnam. The participants were mostly at the beginning of their integration processes, which was indicated by the fact that, at this stage in their integration process, they generally used English when engaging in any interaction outside of their homes. Inside the home, they mostly used their first languages (Hungarian, English, Korean, Persian, Polish or Vietnamese) with their children. However, only two of the participants shared the same first language with their spouses (Hungarian and Persian). The remaining six spouses were either Finnish or from an English-speaking country, so the participants mostly used English and (some) Finnish with them. The findings therefore also clearly demonstrated the fluid nature of the participants' multilingual everyday reality: most of them used at least two or three languages on a daily basis.

The study employed the translingual approach to language (Canagarajah 2013), which sees language use as mobile, hybrid and fluid. The findings indicate

that although the participants when looking at the clock task (Mäntylä, Pietikäinen & Dufva 2009; Satchwell 2005) mostly talked about their daily language use by referring to separate labeled languages, their actual language use, or at least the way they described it, reflected a translingual orientation. The findings are two-fold: on the one hand, the participants found that they managed with English rather well, and that all official matters, such as visiting various municipal or government offices, were easily taken care of in English. On the other hand, it was obvious that entry into Finnish society on an unofficial level, in everyday encounters with Finns, was not really possible without knowing Finnish. On these occasions the participants frequently experienced discrimination, exclusion or being completely ignored. Only one of the participants, Emily, felt that speaking only English in Finland worked well in all contexts. Interestingly, the native speakers of English, Helen and Thomas, seemed to have the most difficult time coping with the reality of not knowing (enough) Finnish to be able to use it socially or manage everyday things as well as they would have liked to. The participants' long-term plans seemed to play a crucial part in how they positioned themselves in terms of learning Finnish: those who were planning to stay in Finland, like Natalie, Annisa, Paulina and Camila, were willing to invest in language learning, while others like Emily, who had only come to Finland for a limited time, were only learning some basic vocabulary together with their children, but did not engage in more goal-oriented long-term language learning. What was somewhat disturbing was the fact that the participants seemed to equate integration with learning the local language, an argument strongly advocated in official integration policy documents (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland 2010). Such highly assimilationist ideologies have, in fact, already been challenged (e.g. Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015; Veikou 2013).

In a nutshell, this sub-study showed that having a command of a communicative resource such as English can work as a gateway to Finnish society in the beginning, because many Finns speak English fluently and willingly, but speaking only English can become an obstacle to integration if one wants to have social contacts outside of the English-speaking community.

4.2 Sub-study 2. Migrant women, work, and investment in language learning: Two success stories

Sub-study 2 explored how the parents' language practices changed over time, how investment in language learning (Norton 2013) showed in their talk, and how they narrativized the role of language learning in their professional development. Compared to the other two articles, this sub-study had a more longitudinal perspective, as the data had its origins in three separate interviews over a three-year period with two of the participants, Natalie and Katherina. These two participants were chosen as focal participants because of clear

contrasts in age, educational background and language learning environments. Natalie is now 29 years old. She is from Vietnam, where she had completed vocational education and had worked before coming to Finland. She arrived in 2013 to study nursing, but met her Finnish husband shortly after that, got married and had a child. From very early on, she had aspired to establish her own business, which seemed to be the driving force behind her language learning efforts and, finally, completing her vocational studies in Finnish. In the end, she started the business together with her husband. Katherina, 44, in contrast, is fluent in four languages and she had completed three MA degrees and pursued successful professional careers both in Austria and in her native Hungary before meeting her Hungarian husband, who was working in Finland. Katherina moved to Finland in 2013, shortly before having their first child. She did not like living in Finland and her professional opportunities did not seem too promising. Nevertheless, she was willing to put up with it, as she thought Finland would provide the best future for her two children, and her children's future was also her most important reason for investing in learning Finnish.

In the first (2015-2016) and second (2017-2018) interviews I used the clock task (adapted from Mäntylä, Pietikäinen & Dufva 2009; Satchwell 2005) to facilitate the interviews. The clock task provided information on changes in the participants' language practices over time, and on how investment in language learning showed in their talk, thus shedding light on the first research question. For the third interviews (2018) I constructed timelines (adapted from Tasker 2018) of the participants' life events and important language learning experiences as collected in the two earlier interviews, and combined with interview excerpts. I sent the timelines to the participants in advance of the interview to be commented on, thus giving them the opportunity to be better informed and more prepared to self-reflect on their emerging language learning trajectories. The timelines helped to provide information for the second research question: how the participants narrativized the role of language learning in their professional development. For the analysis, I employed the short story approach (Barkhuizen 2016) which, essentially, is a form of narrative inquiry paying specific attention to the content and context of short stories (introduced in more detail in Section 3.4.2). In short, in terms of content, the method looks at *who* the participants in the stories are, *where* the events take place and *when* the action unfolds. The other dimension analyzed includes the different levels of context that are present in the stories, ranging from personal (story) and professional/institutional (Story) to the wider socio-cultural perspective (STORY).

This sub-study showed that at the beginning of their stay in Finland, knowing English was vital for both Natalie and Katherina, in quite different ways. Gradually, however, the use of English was replaced by an emerging Finnish proficiency. For Natalie, however, by the time of the third interview, her new "international workplace", meaning the company she had established, had led to further diversification in her everyday language use, as she now mostly used English and Vietnamese at work. Natalie's dream of establishing a company of her own was one of her most important reasons for investing in language

learning (Story), the other being the possibility of dedicating more time to her family (story). Through first learning a new language, and then a completely new trade, she managed to fulfil this dream, together with her husband. For Katherina, her children's best interests, particularly in terms of education, came first, thus making personal reasons her most important incentive to invest in learning Finnish (story). Even though she found it very difficult to enter working life in Finland, she eventually managed to do that as well – as a result of having invested in learning Finnish (Story).

Overall, the opportunity to make a contribution to society on a professional level was one of the most important rewards that the participants gained from their investment in language learning (STORY). By becoming an entrepreneur, Natalie was able to escape from the traditional discourse of the uneducated and unemployed migrant mother and become someone who provides work and language learning opportunities for others (STORY). Katherina, too, has been able to share her knowledge and experience on a professional level (Story). Investment in language learning was one of the key factors that increased the value of Natalie and Katherina's symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986) and therefore gained them access to satisfactory employment, helped them to achieve a more prestigious social position, and increased their satisfaction in life more generally.

This sub-study highlighted the importance of looking at language learning through a longitudinal lens in order to reach a better understanding of the situational and fluid nature of the language learning process. The longitudinal approach used in this study made it possible to demonstrate how important English proficiency is during the initial integration period in Finland, as it allows newcomers to be more self-reliant and helps them to take the initiative and be better informed about, e.g., educational opportunities. Gradually, however, with the development of increased proficiency in Finnish, the use of English declines. The findings of this sub-study have important implications for policy makers, as they demonstrate how determined professional migrant mothers can be in their investment in language learning and their aspirations for meaningful professional lives, clearly pointing to the need for the creation of suitable learning and employment opportunities. Community work is essential in assisting newcomers to build personal and professional networks.

4.3 Sub-study 3. ELF and the categorization of migrant parents at family clinics in Finland

In Sub-study 3, I set out to investigate how migrants are perceived in Finnish society. More specifically, I was interested in exploring how the native speaker ideology related to English plays out in the context of Finnish family clinics, since family clinics are one of the first and most important contacts that parents of young children, both Finns and foreigners alike, have with Finnish public services. The main objective of the sub-study was to examine the ways family

clinic nurses categorize their migrant clients in their talk based on the clients' perceived language proficiency, with a specific focus on the clients' use of English. In the sub-study, I discuss the position of English in Finland and draw on ELF research related to standard language ideology (Jenkins 2007, Milroy 2001; Seidlhofer 2011), intercultural communication (Baker 2015) and cross-cultural immigration domains (Guido 2012) in discussing how and why these categorizations may come about.

Although non-native speakers of English already far outnumber native ones, the teaching of English, both in Finland and worldwide, still relies rather heavily on native speaker variants, specifically, British and American English. These variants constitute what many people consider to be real English, and they are considered the most prestigious (Blommaert 2010; Leppänen et al. 2009). Non-native variants, in contrast, are often downgraded and found to be "deviant" or "strange" (Blommaert 2010; Guido 2012). What holds for the language variant holds also for its speakers: speaking a non-native variant has been found to be associated with ethnicity and lower socio-economic status, and this in turn affects interlocutors' perceptions of how intelligible the speaker is (e.g. Seidlhofer 2011). In other words, ELF speakers' potential non-adherence to the correctness requirements of Standard English may easily position them as communicatively incompetent (Seidlhofer 2011). In practice, as evidenced by numerous ELF studies (see e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2012; Seidlhofer 2011; 2017), the exact opposite may actually be the case, and deviation from the norm may, in fact, be communicatively more effective. Unfortunately, strict adherence to standard language norms may result in denying legitimacy to ELF variations of English. The data for this sub-study was collected in interviews with five family clinic nurses, whose contact details the parents involved in the study had shared with me, and two senior nurses, who were the superiors of the nurses interviewed.

Through membership categorization analysis, as described in more detail in Section 3.3.3, I was able to show that when coming into contact with a new type of migrant, namely people who had chosen to migrate and who were proficient in English, the nurses had been forced to devise a new category of migrants whom they referred to as "university people". In practice, this new category relied heavily on the clients' migration status and their perceived English proficiency which, in turn, seemed to be profoundly influenced by the so-called native speaker or standard language ideology. The data showed that standard language ideology was quite prominent in the nurses' institutional decision-making processes and, consequently, in how they categorized their migrant clients. The whole decision-making process based on the nurses' judgements of the clients' perceived English proficiency is summarized in Figure 2.

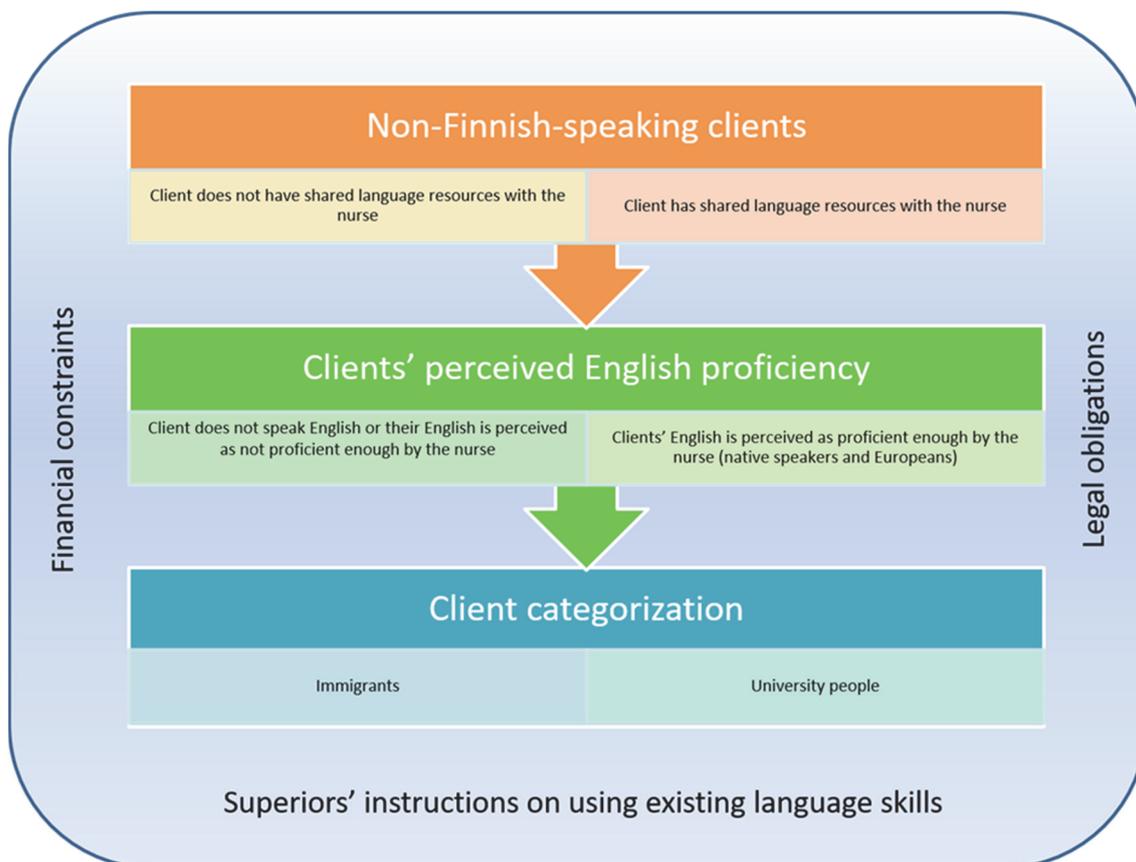


Figure 3. The nurses' decision-making process in categorizing non-Finnish-speaking clients (Iikkanen 2019a).

As Figure 2 illustrates, the most prominent factor in how the nurses categorized their migrant clients seemed to be whether the nurses and the clients had a shared language resource (ELF) that they could rely on. Essentially, it was up to the nurses to decide whether they deemed the clients' English proficient enough. If the client spoke no English at all, or their proficiency was considered inadequate, the client was categorized as an immigrant. However, if the clients' English was considered by the nurses to be proficient enough, the new category of university people was employed and English was used during the visit to the clinic. There were several underlying factors influencing the process, such as financial constraints imposed by the health service, superiors' instructions on using existing language skills, and legal obligations for arranging interpretation when it was needed.

In the context of migration, perceived English proficiency clearly played a key role in how migrants were categorized at Finnish family clinics. The nurses seemed to equate Western origin and near-native proficiency in English with the status of an "elite migrant" (Leinonen 2012: 249). This closely resembles the top-down interpretative strategies that Guido (2012) also found to be prominent in cross-cultural immigration domains where English as a lingua franca is used. In the end, assumptions about people's language proficiency were closely related to ethnicity and race rather than actual, observed language use (Guido 2012).

As standard language ideology is most effectively transmitted through educational practices (Seidlhofer 2011), this sub-study has important implications for the teaching of languages in general and, given its global status and position, the English language in particular. On the one hand, it is up to researchers to emphasize the fact that although non-native variants might not conform to the rules of English as a native language, as means of communication they may be just as effective as native-speaker varieties. This kind of support would give ELF speakers a fairer chance. On the other hand, the sub-study calls into question the content of national nursing programs and perhaps gives some ideas about how they could be developed to give students a more informed ELF-based understanding of what is meant by English proficiency.

4.4 Summary of the main findings

The present study explored the role of English in the language learning and integration trajectories of migrant parents in Finland. The study employed a longitudinal research design, and consists of three sub-studies. In Sub-study 1, the objective was to find out how migrant stay-at-home parents' use of language contributes to their process of integration and their experiences of social inclusion or exclusion. The data in this sub-study was gathered in interviews with eight migrant stay-at-home parents. Sub-study 2, in turn, concentrated on how the parents' everyday language practices changed during a three-year period, how their investment in language learning showed in their talk, and how they narrativized the role of language learning in their professional development. The data in this sub-study was a series of three interviews with two focal participants over a span of three years. In Sub-study 3, the focus shifted to the Finnish institutional context. The sub-study explored the way family clinic nurses categorized their migrant clients in their talk and what role clients' (perceived) English language proficiency played in these categorizations. The broader theoretical approaches used to interpret the phenomena under study included the translingual practice approach, investment in language learning, and native speaker ideology. Methodologically, data-driven content analysis, short story analysis and membership categorization analysis were employed.

Put briefly, the findings showed that knowing English gave migrant parents a head start for their lives in Finland. Had they not been able to utilize such a valued resource as English, the beginning of their journey would have been much more difficult. This also showed in the way family clinic nurses related to their migrant clients: they had to devise a whole new category for this group of clients, because these new "university people" no longer fitted in to their existing understanding of migrant clients' knowledge and skills. In the nurses' opinion, English speakers constituted an "effortless" group of migrants. It seems that having had access to this valued language resource was an indication of a relatively privileged social position and a high standard of education (Iikkanen, 2019a). Sharing a common language resource, English, also seemed to mean

some sort of shared understanding of the world and allowed them some degree of mobility between different social levels, complementing the findings of Dong (2012) in the Chinese context. Knowing English allowed the parents access to information and services such as health care and educational opportunities, and made it easier for them to establish social contacts with some local people, although this did not go completely smoothly. Despite the obvious advantages the participants enjoyed because of their English skills, it also became very clear that in order to integrate into Finnish society, particularly into the job market, one needs to learn Finnish.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, I will first discuss the main findings of the study, then extend this discussion and relate it to existing work on migrant language learning and integration. In Section 5.2 I will evaluate the research process as a whole. Next, in Section 5.3, I will consider the theoretical, methodological and practical implications of the present study. Finally, in Section 5.4, I will explore directions for further research in this area.

5.1 Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore the language learning and integration trajectories of migrant parents in Finland, focusing specifically on the role of English. The study employed a longitudinal perspective and the data was collected in interviews with migrant parents and junior and senior nurses in Finnish family clinics. The present study is located at the intersection of migrant language learning, integration, and sociolinguistics. As this particular nexus of research is relatively unexplored, a number of theoretical approaches were needed in order to shed more light on the complex interplay of migrants' individual circumstances and their investment in language learning combined with the societal constraints they faced when interacting with Finnish public service providers. The translingual practice approach outlined in Section 2.1, including the notions of indexicality and sociolinguistic scales, served as the broad theoretical framework of the study. The theoretical approach was further strengthened by examining the language learning and integration trajectories of migrant parents through the concept of investment in language learning, including the notions of capital, learner agency and trajectories. The final piece of the puzzle was formed by taking a different perspective, and examining how a native speaker ideology and perceived English proficiency influence the way migrants are categorized in Finnish public services.

Sub-study 1 explored migrant stay-at-home parents' use of language and how it contributed to their process of integration and their experiences of social inclusion or exclusion. The findings indicated that, in general, the eight parents interviewed had managed rather well with English in Finland. On the one hand, transmigrants (Castles & Miller 2003) like Emily, who were living in Finland only temporarily, were quite content living in English-speaking circles in Finland. On the other hand, it also became clear that English speakers were sometimes excluded or ignored in their attempts to communicate with Finns.

Sub-study 2 employed a longitudinal perspective and examined the changes that took place in the language practices of two migrant parents, Katerina and Natalie, and how their investment in language learning showed in their talk. This sub-study had a narrative orientation and explored how the two women narrativized the role of investment in language learning in their professional development. This study showed, first of all, that in addition to professional aspirations, the parents' reasons for staying in Finland were closely tied to the future prospects of their families, particularly with regard to their children's education. Thus, investing in learning the local language was a top priority for them. Second, investment in language learning seemed to pay off in terms of gaining access to the job market, as became apparent through the success stories discussed in this study.

Sub-study 3 examined how migrant clients' (perceived) English language proficiency influenced the way family clinic nurses categorized them. The stratified nature of clients' perceived English proficiency was clearly evidenced by the findings of this sub-study. Although clients may possess a valued language resource, institutional representatives, such as family clinic nurses, have the power to decide whose resources are legitimized on the institutional level. Most migrants are not in a position to negotiate the translocal space to their advantage in the institutional context.

Taken together, the three sub-studies in this doctoral dissertation show the fluid nature of the migrant parents' language and educational resources, and how the value of those resources shifted in the process of migration. The notions of indexicality and sociolinguistic scales combined with the human capital perspective created a comprehensive, explanatory framework that sheds light on migrant language learning and integration trajectories. As the value of a migrant's cultural and social capital is under constant re-evaluation, migrants who intend to stay in a given place do their best to accumulate the sort of capital that will increase their value in the linguistic market (Bourdieu 1986). The notion of investment in language learning offered an excellent way to investigate how migrant parents' personal circumstances were reflected in the way they approached learning Finnish. With Helena and Thomas, a lack of (perceived) agency in learning Finnish, as well as the fact that they ended up moving out of Finland, seem to indicate that neither of them was very highly invested in learning Finnish. Thomas placed some of the blame for his unsuccessful attempts to learn Finnish on the mismatch between his preferred language learning style and the courses that were available for migrants, thus emphasizing structural

constraints (Block 2012, DeCosta 2010). In contrast, the four parents who stayed in Finland, Annisa, Camila, Katherina and Natalie, took up learning the language enthusiastically, and even pursued further vocational studies to facilitate their future careers and the overall wellbeing of their entire families in Finland.

This study examined a limited number of diverse cases in-depth and longitudinally. This kind of approach has been largely avoided in previous studies (e.g. Antias et al. 2012; Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2016), which have looked only at certain ethnic groups or cross-sections of larger populations at specific points in time. Like Räsänen (2013), who studied the construction of professional communicative repertoires and Finnish engineers' trajectories of socialization into global working life, I took up the notion of trajectory in this study to emphasize the developmental nature of the participants' language learning and integration. Exploring these processes on different timescales (Wortham 2005) added an often neglected perspective to studying migrants' experiences. Moreover, this study focused on the effects of (perceived) English proficiency in Finland, whereas most earlier studies combining migrant integration and language learning have concentrated on migrants' learning of the Finnish language (e.g. Intke-Hernández 2015; Lainiala & Säävälä 2010; Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015).

Skilled migration, especially combined with voluntary family migration, have previously been given little attention in the Finnish context. There are, however, three notable exceptions that relate to the present study. Two of them were carried out in Finland, namely the study by Martikainen and Gola (2007) on marriage migrants from the Indian subcontinent, and the study by Leinonen (2012a) on Americans in Finland. The third one, Norton's (2013) study on migrant women, was carried out in Canada. The findings of all three studies are very similar to those of the present study. First, they all note the importance of studying the integration trajectories of female adult migrants to diversify the one-sided and victimized way that is often used to portray female migrants in research. These studies also echo the findings of the present study in showing the high degree of successful integration and overall life satisfaction among the research participants, although it has not been achieved without sacrifice. Second, the migrant parents in the present study emphasized the role of family in their decisions to migrate, much in the same way as the research participants in the other three studies. In fact, in most cases migration took place at the cost of the participants' careers. What is particularly important is that in all of the studies cited above, the most significant obstacle to integration, or to having a "normal" life, as Katarina in Norton's study (2013: 128) put it, was a lack of proficiency in the local language.

Language proficiency lies at the heart of whether newcomers achieve or are denied access to a new society. Knowing English in Finland may grant migrants a more privileged position in terms of access to information and services, but it can also present certain limitations or lead to misjudgments, as a native speaker ideology seems to be rather deep-rooted in Finnish institutions. The way migrants are categorized at family clinics sheds light on what powerful factors

migration status and clients' perceived English proficiency are in institutional decision-making, thus accentuating the call for a more ELF-informed approach to the learning and use of English in both educational and institutional settings. From the social perspective, knowing English may grant access to certain circles, but Finnish-speaking society as a whole, and Finnish working life in particular, are beyond migrants' reach unless they develop a command of the local language. The findings of this study are, however, encouraging, since investment in language learning, along with patience, hard work, and previous qualifications, has clearly paid off for the participants, and increased their opportunities for social interaction, career advancement and overall satisfaction in their lives. In other words, they managed to increase their symbolic and material resources through investment in language learning, and, thus, can be considered examples of what is seen as successful integration. This study shows the significance of approaching migrant language learning and integration from a longitudinal perspective and holistically. By paying specific attention to the interplay between personal aspirations, family related issues and larger societal processes in the migration context, this study makes an important contribution to research in this area.

5.2 Evaluation

As in all ethnographically oriented research, the research process itself can be considered the most important outcome of the endeavor, and must be treated as such (Blommaert & Dong 2010). My initial decision to recruit the participants through the multicultural family group by becoming part of the group myself proved to be an excellent way of gaining access to the world of these migrant parents. I was able to connect with them on the level of parenthood which, I believe, made a considerable difference to how they related to me (see also Intke-Hernández 2015). Being a member of the same group made it possible for me to understand at least some of their everyday reality, although I did not share the experience of being a *migrant* parent in Finland. In a way, this might have been a blessing in disguise as, being both an insider and an outsider, I was hoping to capture the benefits of both worlds. By being an insider in the group, I was able to gain the trust of the group members. In fact, I was surprised by how easily they agreed to take part in the research and how personal the accounts of their experiences were. Naturally, as Higgins (2009: 16) pointed out, it can be more challenging for an insider to achieve the necessary distance from the context to identify and interpret the data. Moreover, a position as an insider does not guarantee a "correct" understanding of the phenomena studied (Canagarajah 1999: 54). However, being at the same time a curious outsider made it possible for me to inquire into and reflect on the experiences that had to do with migration-related challenges of being a parent in Finland (see also Park 2009). I also believe that the experience of being listened to can be very significant for research participants (see e.g. Dennis 2014 for a discussion).

Selecting all of the participants from the same group of course has its disadvantages. Many of the members of the multicultural parent-child group, for example, had a higher educational background than I had expected, and were in one way or another affiliated to the university. There are at least two ways of looking at this. On the one hand, people with more education may be more interested and willing to participate in such a group (and, indeed, in this kind of research) or, on the other hand, they have been better informed about the availability of such a group. The latter assumption was actually confirmed by Katherina, who said that the organization in charge of the group was more or less the only thing she was able to find when looking for activities in English aimed at stay-at-home parents in her residential area. As for the representativeness of the group of people that was chosen for the interviews, I tried to include people from as diverse backgrounds as possible - as long as they met the criteria of being recent voluntary migrants and being able to communicate in English. Consequently, all of the parents came from different countries, and, between them, they had a range of language skills, educational backgrounds and motivations for coming to Finland. In spite of the potential bias in the participant selection process, I believe my participant-observer status contributed to one of the most significant outcomes of this study: the richness of the data collected during the three-year research period focusing on a specific, previously relatively unexplored target group. The data is also unique in another way: the study features a combination of two perspectives that complement one another as it explores at the same time both migrants' own understanding of their language learning and integration and how these are understood in the host society, Finland. Nevertheless, I also recognize the fact that in a qualitative inquiry there is always a risk of misinterpretation or over interpretation. Although I tried to take my reasoning back to the participants, particularly with Sub-study 2 in the form of the timelines, I could have done this much more systematically. In line with Menard-Warwick (2009), it also needs to be established that the participants' accounts of their experiences are just that, experiences, and their understanding of them is constrained by their own and the researchers' subjectivities; they are not actual representations of real events.

Consequently, it is pertinent with the present study to weigh the value of case studies against their representativeness. A lot of existing research on migration (see e.g. Anthias et al. 2012 on Germany; Perhoniemi and Jasinskaja-Lahti 2016 on Finland) either deals only with a specific group of migrants (with similar ethnic origins) or targets a number of individuals only at a certain point in time. Most research is also more concerned with outcomes than with examining integration as a process, as Anthias et al. (2012) point out. This is at least partly due to the fact that conducting longitudinal studies with migrants is challenging because of their extremely mobile way of life. It may be difficult to get hold of the same participants over a span of many years, since they may have changed their country of residence several times during that period, as is the case also in the present study. It is also important to include people of different origins in the same study to be able to find out whether there are any differences in how

different groups of migrants experience language learning and integration (Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2016).

Longitudinal research processes can be full of surprises and, at one point, it seemed like most of the participants in this study were leaving the country. In the end, I was able to reach all but one of the original eight participants for a second interview some two years after the first one. Three of the original eight families had left Finland by this point, but I was able to reach two of the parents either during a visit to Finland or on online platform. One participant (Thomas) refused to take part in a second interview for reasons he did not share with me. In total then, it means that half of the original participants no longer live in Finland. This highlights one of the challenges in conducting longitudinal studies with migrants: they might not stay in one place for very long. Committing to an extended period of time can cause problems for both the participants and the researcher. I was very lucky in that all my participants except one seemed to be very interested in talking to me and I did not have any trouble reaching them even after they had left the country.

5.3 Implications

In this section, I will discuss the implications of the present study from the theoretical, methodological and practical perspectives. From a theoretical perspective, a framework that combined elements from both sociolinguistics and language learning research has produced some interesting findings. Without this particular selection of approaches, it would have been impossible to reach such an informed understanding of migrant parents' language learning and integration trajectories as they concerned two languages: English and Finnish. In particular, the role native speaker ideology and perceived English proficiency played in the categorization of the migrants at Finnish family clinics is extremely interesting. In fact, the category of university people devised by the family clinic nurses closely resembles that of Leinonen's (2012a) "elite migrants". This seems to indicate that perceived English proficiency does indeed make a difference to the way migrants are categorized in Finnish society. These categorizations can also be very significant in the way migrants' trajectories of language learning and integration unfold, especially if considered in combination with migration status, which also seemed to have a significant influence on the way family clinic nurses categorized their migrant clients.

This leads to an important practical implication related to the persistence of native speaker ideologies. As such ideologies are most efficiently propagated through education, changes are not likely to take place unless a post-normative approach to language teaching is specifically taken up in teacher education, as Dewey (2012) suggests. Such an approach would increase the acceptability of varied and locally negotiated models of language in the classroom. According to Dewey, the problem with such approaches lies, however, in the fact that teachers often operate under specific institutional constraints connected, for example, to

language testing. Moreover, as Dewey suggests, in order for changes to be taken up by practitioners, researchers need to collaborate closely with teachers to develop methodologies that would be feasible in practice in the classroom. What is certain is that a less norm-driven understanding of language would be of great benefit to all parties involved (Dewey 2012; Seidlhofer 2017).

Methodologically, this study shows that combining various methods can lead to interesting findings. In ethnographically oriented research projects, a rigid pre-determined research design is not even considered appropriate (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 12), but prior engagement with theoretical frameworks guides researchers in the choices they make along the way, defined by their research goals (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 85). By using a number of different methodological tools in the present study, such as the clock task and the timeline, it was possible to reach a better understanding of the situated and longitudinal aspects of migrant language learning and integration. These tools also made it possible to increase participant involvement in the study, as they provided the participants with points of reference to reflect on their own trajectories of language learning and integration. Such participatory approaches have already been successfully applied in various fields of research, often involving potentially vulnerable populations (see e.g. Aldridge 2015 on participatory research with vulnerable groups; Brennan, Kumanyika & Zambrana 2014 for obesity prevention; Bryant 2015 for social work; Schenker, Castañeda & Rodriguez-Lainz 2014 for migrant health). The use of different methods of analysis, such as content analysis, short story analysis and membership categorization analysis, allowed me to examine the research problem from multiple perspectives and resulted in a more nuanced picture of migrant parents' language learning and integration trajectories. Involving participants representing both migrant parents and the Finnish public service sector in the same study also proved to be a good methodological choice that contributed to a more informed understanding of migrant parents' trajectories of language learning and integration.

From the practical, policy-level perspective, this study adds to the previous body of research (see e.g. Intke-Hernández 2015; Kilbride et al. 2008; Lainiala & Säävälä 2010) demonstrating that a one-size-fits-all approach does not accommodate very well the needs of female stay-at-home migrants with young children (see e.g. Kilbride et al. 2008). In fact, several steps have already been taken to use more accessible locations for language instruction, such as open day care centers or community centers, where parents can learn together with their children and, at the same time, network with other parents (Intke-Hernández & Holm 2015; Lainiala & Säävälä 2010). This type of language learning environment makes it easier for migrants to establish social contact not only with other migrant parents but also with locals. The consequences of this interaction extend far beyond language learning. Lainiala and Säävälä (2010) conclude that when migrant mothers learn the local language, the wellbeing of the whole family improves dramatically, as knowing the language strengthens the mother's role as a parent and empowers the entire family. Interviews conducted by Lainiala

and Säävälä (2010) show clearly that using municipal funds to this end also serves as preventive social work: when migrant mothers learn the local language, the need for more extensive social and health care services in the future will be greatly reduced. Thus, improving the language learning opportunities open to migrant mothers is not only vital in terms of their future employment or education, but also for the wellbeing of the whole family and their children's future. As this kind of educational initiative is often provided through community work, practitioners and indeed the general public are in a key role in providing opportunities for both language learning and networking.

5.4 Future directions

As I have already followed the migrant parents' language learning and integration trajectories for over three years, it would be very informative if I could continue to keep track of them. There is a pressing need for longitudinal research on migrant language learning and integration, because that enables the study of integration from a processual perspective. As research on particularly skilled female migration and language learning is so scarce, the continuation of this study would offer an excellent opportunity to look more closely into the role that language skills and cultural knowledge play in stay-at-home parents' transition from home to working life. It would be very useful to see, for example, how the specific language skills that migrants bring with them into the country are made use of in work contexts, in contrast to the more obvious and generic language skills, such as Finnish and English. This would also make it possible to examine the re-skilling strategies migrant women use to gain access to the labor market (Kofman 2012; Vouyioukas & Liapi 2013). In such a project, it would be important to include the employers' perspectives, both in their implicit and explicit forms.

Norton and De Costa (2018) on the other hand, have identified several emerging areas of interest that could be explored within the framework of identity in language learning and teaching. They mention, for example, that social categories such as ethnicity, gender, and class, could be studied in more detail for instance by applying an intersectional approach. Furthermore, they mention narrative inquiry as one of the methodologies that would be well suited for the study of identity work, allowing e.g. a more rigorous analysis of the interlocutors' positionings. Ennser-Kananen and Pettitt (2017: 5) also point out that there is a "striking absence" of available literature on the nexus of gender, migration and language learning.

Another extremely interesting track to follow would be to examine more closely what happened in the cases of the migrant parents who moved away from Finland. Interesting questions to pursue would be for example, to what extent the departure of Helen and Thomas, both native speakers of English, was influenced by the difficulties they had with learning Finnish and adjusting to life in Finland, as well as a lack of local contacts. To relate this to the theoretical

framework of the present study, was it perhaps more difficult for them than for the others to lose their native speaker status and become language learners in Finland? Or did their lack of success in learning Finnish relate in any way to their inability to negotiate the translocal space, as they did not seem to like the idea of imposing their position as native English speakers on others, i.e. insisting on using English with their Finnish interlocutors?

A third strand of potential future research deals with the role of Finnish public services and institutions in migrant language learning and integration. To complement the present research, interactional and observational data on family clinic visits could be collected (see e.g. Räisänen 2013; 2018; 2019). This would enable the study in more detail of for example, language choice and joint meaning negotiation during the visits. This type of research would contribute to examining how influential perceived language proficiency and native speaker ideologies are in actual practice in family clinics. Some studies (e.g. Duff et al. 2013; Kinginger 2008) have already been carried out that combine the linguistic and sociocultural aspects of language learning and use, but, so far, they are relatively few. One way to complement the methodologies used in this study in further projects would be to include recordings of interactional data and/or written accounts, such as journals, from the participants. Smart phones could be used to produce participant-generated audio and video material, which could then be analyzed together with the participants either individually or in focus groups. This way both the sociocultural factors affecting language learning and actual, observed language use could be studied. The need for such studies is also mentioned by Duff (2014).

To conclude, this longitudinal, multi-case study has thrown some useful light on migrant parents' experiences with language learning in Finland, and the effect of their proficient use of English in institutional contexts. It has extended the discussion to the effects of language on integration. It has implications for practice and theory in a range of fields, and provokes interesting questions for further research.

SUMMARY IN FINNISH

Kielen rooli kotoutumisessa: pitkittäistutkimus siirtolaisvanhempien poluista

Tämä laadullinen pitkittäistutkimus tarkastelee siirtolaisvanhempien kielen oppimisen ja kotoutumisen polkuja. Tutkimus sijoittuu kielen oppimisen ja kotoutumisen tutkimuksen risteyskohtaan, ja se keskittyy erityisesti englannin kielen osaamisen rooliin kotoutumisessa Suomeen. Tutkimus on tehty etnografisella otteella. Tutkimuksen taustana toimii kielirajat ylittävä lähestymistapa (engl. *translingual approach*) (Canagarajah 2013), jossa kieltä tarkastellaan tilanteisesti rakentuvina viestinnän käytänteinä. Tutkimus keskittyy kuvaamaan sitä, miten siirtolaisten kielellisten resurssien arvo muuttuu, kun he muuttavat paikasta toiseen.

Englannin kieli on saavuttanut Suomessa erittäin keskeisen aseman (Lepänen, Nikula & Kääntä 2008). Englanti on myös yleisimmin opiskeltu vieras kieli Suomessa (Opetushallitus 2019). Englannin osaamisesta voi siis yhtäältä olla siirtolaisille hyötyä Suomeen asettautumisen alkuvaiheessa mutta toisaalta se voi myös hankaloittaa paikallisten kielten oppimista. Suurin osa aiemmasta maahanmuuttoon liittyvästä tutkimuksesta Suomessa on kohdistunut pakolaistaustaisten ihmisten kotoutumiseen liittyviin kysymyksiin. Erityisesti kotivanhempia on pidetty haastavana ryhmänä, sillä heidän kotoutumisensa saattaa viivästyä lastenhoitovelvoitteiden vuoksi. Vapaaehtoisten muuttajien, joista käytän termiä 'siirtolainen' (engl. *migrant*) maahanmuuttajan sijaan, kotoutumista Suomeen on toistaiseksi tutkittu melko vähän. Ihmisten liikkuvuuteen liittyviä pitkittäistutkimuksia on ylipäättään tehty varsin niukasti, ja erityisesti siirtolaisnaiset ovat aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa jääneet hyvin vähälle huomiolle. Englannin kielen osaamisen vaikutuksia kotoutumiseen ei myöskään ole juurikaan tutkittu aiemmin.

Tilastokeskuksen (2020a; 2020b) mukaan Suomessa on noin 400 000 siirtolaista. Kyseinen luku vastaa noin 7% Suomen väkiluvusta. Nämä luvut eivät itsessään vaikuta kovin suurilta, mutta viimeisten kymmenen vuoden aikana siirtolaisten määrä on kaksinkertaistunut. Suurin osa siirtolaisista muuttaa Suomeen perhesyistä (Sutela & Larja 2015). Tärkeä käännekohta suomalaisessa maahanmuuttokeskustelussa oli maahanmuuttokriittisten Perussuomalaisten eduskuntavaalivoitto vuonna 2011. Yhtenä selittävänä taustatekijänä Perussuomalaisten kannatuksen nousulle on pidetty Lakia kotoutumisen edistämisestä (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2011), jonka voimaantumisen myötä kotoutumistoimenpiteiden piiriin pääsi entistä suurempi joukko siirtolaisia.

Suomalaista kotoutumispolitiikkaa on moitittu mm. vahvasta työmarkkinaorientoituneisuudesta sekä siitä, että siirtolaisia pyritään sulauttamaan valtaväestöön (Simpson j& Whiteside 2015; Anthias ym. 2012). Erityisen kriittisesti on suhtauduttu siihen, että kielen oppimisen ainoana päämääränä nähdään työllistyminen (esim. Ennsner-Kananen & Pettitt 2017). Tämä johtaa helposti siihen, että työmarkkinoiden ulkopuolella olevan väestön, kuten kotivanhempien, kielitaidon kehittyminen jää vajavaiseksi (esim. Intke-Hernández 2015; Martikainen &

Tiilikainen 2007). Erityisen hankalassa asemassa ovat korkeasti koulutetut siirtolaiset, joilla on usein vaikeuksia hyödyntää aikaisempaa koulutus- ja työhistoriaansa täysimääräisesti (Duchêne ym. 2013).

Luvussa 2 avataan tutkimuksen teoreettista taustaa. Etnografisesti suuntautuneelle tutkimukselle tyypilliseen tapaan tutkimuskysymykset ja sen myötä myös teorianmuodostus tarkentuivat tutkimuksen tekemisen aikana. Keskiössä ovat siirtolaisten olemassa olevat kielelliset resurssit, ja miten he pystyvät hyödyntämään näitä resursseja uudessa ympäristössään. Osatutkimuksessa 1 (Iikkanen 2017) tätä ilmiötä tarkastellaan Suomeen asettautumisen alkuvaiheeseen sijoittuvien jokapäiväiseen kielenkäyttöön liittyvien mukaan ottamisen (engl. *inclusion*) ja ulossulkemisen (engl. *exclusion*) kokemusten kautta. Nämä kokemukset heijastelevat siirtolaisten tilanteisesti rakentuvaa monikielistä ja monikulttuurista todellisuutta, joten kielirajat ylittävä lähestymistapa (Canagarajah 2013) soveltui hyvin tämän ilmiön tutkimiseen. Kielirajat ylittävä lähestymistapa näkee kielen tilanteisesti rakentuvina ja muuttuvina vuorovaikutuskäytänteinä. Tässä yhteenvedossa teoriataustaan otetaan mukaan myös kielen indeksikaalisuus (engl. *indexicality*) ja sosiolingvistiset tasot (engl. *sociolinguistic scales*) (Blommaert 2010). Nämä käsitteet auttavat valottamaan sitä, miten siirtolaisten olemassa olevien kieliresurssien arvo muuttuu ympäristön vaihtuessa. Osatutkimus 2 (Iikkanen 2019b) on tehty pitkittäisnäkökulmasta, ja se tarkastelee osallistujien kielen oppimispolkuja pääoman ja kielen oppimiseen investoimisen (engl. *investment*) sekä toimijuuden (engl. *agency*) ja polun (engl. *trajectory*) käsitteiden kautta. Osatutkimus 3 (Iikkanen 2019a) puolestaan tuo kokonaisuuteen julkisten palveluiden näkökulman, ja pohdiskellee syntyperäisen kielenpuhujan mallin (engl. *standard language ideology*) vaikutusta siihen, miten asiakkaiden kielitaitoa arvioidaan. Nämä elementit yhdistämällä tämä tutkimus pyrkii hahmottelemaan kielirajat ylittäviä siirtolaisvanhempien kielen oppimisen ja kotoutumisen käytänteitä.

Kielirajat ylittävä lähestymistapa näkee kielenkäytön vahvasti tilanteisena, jolloin esimerkiksi normeista ja merkityksistä neuvotellaan aina erikseen (Canagarajah 2013). Kaikilla kielimuodoilla ei kuitenkaan ole samaa neuvottelupotentiaalia. Kielen indeksikaalisuus ja sosiolingvistiset tasot viittaavat siihen, että eri kielimuotojen arvo on määritelty etukäteen sen kieliyhteisön sosioekonomisen statuksen mukaan, missä kyseistä kielimuotoa käytetään (Blommaert 2010). Tällä tarkoitetaan esimerkiksi sitä, että arvostetut länsimaiset kielet, kuten englanti, ovat korkeammalla tasolla arvoasteikossa kuin vähemmän kehittyneiden yhteisöjen käyttämät kielimuodot. Syntyperäisten kielenpuhujien käyttämät kielimuodot ovat myös arvostetumpia kuin ei-syntyperäisten. Tällaisella kielimuotojen arvottamisella on huomattava merkitys siirtolaisuuden yhteydessä, sillä arvostettujen kielimuotojen kuten englannin hallinnasta voidaan osoittaa olevan selkeää hyötyä siirtolaisille (Blommaert 2010). Myös vähemmän arvostettujen kielivarianttien käyttäjät ovat tosin onnistuneet hyödyntämään omia kieliresurssejaan menestyksekkäästi, erityisesti siinä tapauksessa, että ovat olleet korkeasti koulutettuja (Canagarajah 2013).

Kielen oppimiseen investoimisen käsitettä (Norton 2013) käytettiin tässä tutkimuksessa kuvaamaan kielen oppimisen sosiaalista luonnetta. Se auttoi kuvaamaan tutkimuksen osallistujien mahdollisuuksia ja halukkuutta osallistua kielikoulutukseen, ja miten he loppujen lopuksi onnistuivat kielen oppimisessa. Teorian uudemmassa versiossa (Darvin & Norton 2015) kielen oppimiseen investoiminen sijoittuu ideologian, identiteetin ja pääoman risteyskohtaan. Mallissa käsitellään aikaisempaa laajemmin Bourdieun (1986) pääomatyyppettä, taloudellista, sosiaalista ja kulttuurista pääomaa. Esimerkiksi kielitaito tai koulutuksessa tai työelämässä hankitut ansiot eivät siirry samanarvoisina paikasta toiseen eikä niitä täten välttämättä tunnusteta symbolisena pääomana uudessa ympäristössä (Darvin & Norton 2015). Yksilöt eivät kuitenkaan ole pelkästään olosuhteiden uhreja, vaan he kykenevät tekemään itselleen mahdollisimman edullisia päätöksiä. Tähän prosessiin viitataan toimijuuden käsitteellä (Darvin & Norton 2015; De Costa 2010; Ibrahim 1999). Oppimisprosesseista puhuttaessa myös aika on tärkeä tekijä. Polun käsite viittaa tässä tutkimuksessa neljään eri aikatasoon: sosiohistorialliseen, ontogeneettiseen, paikalliseen ja mikrogeneettiseen (Wortham 2005). Tämän käsitteen avulla kielen oppimista ja kotoutumista voidaan tarkastella sekä laajempien yhteiskunnallisten diskurssien että henkilökohtaisten kokemusten kautta. Lisäksi on mahdollista ottaa huomioon paikallinen taso.

Osatutkimus 3 tarkastelee kotoutumista yhteiskunnalliselta kannalta. Ideologisesta näkökulmasta katsottuna syntyperäisten kielenpuhujien mallit, kuten brittienglanti tai amerikanenglanti, on opittu yhdistämään 'hyvään' ja 'normaaliin' kielenkäyttöön (Blommaert 2010). Ei-syntyperäisten käyttämät kielimuodot puolestaan nähdään usein 'poikkeavina' tai 'puutteellisina' (Blommaert 2010; Guido 2012). Syntyperäisten kielenpuhujien käyttämiä kielen muotoja pidetään siis arvostetumpina kuin ei-syntyperäisten käyttämiä (May 2010; Milroy 2001; Seidlhofer 2011; 2017). Tämä auttaa selittämään sitä, miten vähemmän arvostetut kielen muodot sekä heijastavat että synnyttävät yhteiskunnallista eriarvoisuutta (Baker 2015: 111), samaan tapaan kuin sosiolingvivistisistä tasoista puhuttaessa. Syntyperäisen kielenpuhujan malliin nojaaviin luokitteluihin liittyvässä tutkimuksessa on saatu kaksijakoisia tuloksia. Yhtäältä ei-syntyperäisten englannin puhujien käyttämät kielimuodot nähdään alempiarvoisina (esim. Guido 2012; Maryns 2012). Toisaalta myös ei-syntyperäiset kielenpuhujat saattavat tietyn ehdoin pystyä neuvottelemaan monipuolisemmista kielikäytännöistä (Canagarajah 2013; 2016). Kielenkäyttäjien yhteiskunnallinen asema kuten koulutustausta ja työmarkkinastatus näyttävät olevan tässä suhteessa jopa merkittävämpiä tekijöitä kuin etnisyys ja sukupuoli, joita on yleensä pidetty identiteetin vahvimpina tunnusmerkkeinä (Canagarajah 2017). Yleistyksiä ei kuitenkaan voi tehdä, sillä jokaisessa tapauksessa on omat erityispiirteensä.

Tämä tutkimus perustuu haastatteluaineistoon. Tutkimuksessa haastateltiin kahdeksaa siirtolaistaustaista pienten lasten vanhempaa sekä kahta neuvolan osastonhoitajaa ja viittä terveydenhoitajaa, jotka työskentelivät suomalaisissa äitiys- ja lastenneuvoloissa. Siirtolaisvanhemmat löytyivät pääasiassa monikulttuurisen perhekahvilan kautta, jonka toiminnassa tutkija itsekkin oli mukana oman lapsensa kanssa. Kaikki osallistujat tulivat eri maista, puhuivat useita eri

kieliä, ja olivat muuttaneet Suomeen opiskelun, avioliiton tai työn takia. Heidän ikänsä vaihtelivat 26 ja 44 vuoden välillä. Hoitajien iät vaihtelivat 37 ja 61 vuoden välillä, ja he olivat työskennelleet kunnallisissa neuvoloissa keskimäärin yli 13 vuoden ajan. Aineisto kerättiin vuosien 2015 ja 2019 välisenä aikana. Haastattelukielenä käytettiin englantia ja suomea. Aineistoa analysoitiin laadullisen sisällysanalyysin (esim. Hsieh & Shannon 2005), lyhyiden tarinoiden analyysin (engl. *short story analysis*) (Barkhuizen 2016) ja jäsenkategoria-analyysin avulla. Tutkimus noudattaa Tutkimuseettisen neuvottelukunnan (2012) laatimia tutkimuseettisiä periaatteita. Eettisiä näkökohtia on pohdittu myös tutkimusaiheen valinnan, osallistujien rekrytoinnin, tulosten tulkinnan sekä niiden julkaisemisen yhteydessä. Olen pohtinut myös omaa rooliani ja vastuutani tutkijana, sillä tapasin osallistujia useita kertoja tutkimuksen aikana ja tutustuin heihin todella hyvin.

Osatutkimus 1 osoitti, että englannin kielen osaamisesta on hyötyä Suomeen asettautumisen alkuvaiheessa (Iikkanen 2017). Pelkästään englantia käyttämällä osallistujien oli kuitenkin vaikea päästä laajemmin mukaan suomalaisen yhteiskunnan toimintaan, mikä näkyi jokapäiväisissä kielenkäyttötilanteissa ulossulkemisena. Osatutkimus 2 vahvisti englannin osaamisen tärkeyttä Suomessa oleskelun alkuvaiheessa (Iikkanen 2019b). Tätä tutkimusta varten haastatellut osallistujat, Natalie ja Katherina, oppivat kuitenkin vähitellen suomea, millä oli kauaskantoisia vaikutuksia työelämään integroitumisen kannalta. Investoimalla kielen oppimiseen ja ammatilliseen koulutukseen sekä Natalie että Katherina onnistuivat kartuttamaan symbolista pääomaansa siinä määrin, että he pystyivät luomaan itselleen uran täysin uudessa ammatissa. Osatutkimus 3 keskittyi selvittämään hoitajien haastattelujen avulla millainen rooli syntyperäisen kielenpuhujan mallilla on neuvolan asiakastyössä (Iikkanen 2019a). Tuloksista käy ilmi, että hoitajien tulkinnat asiakkaiden kielitaidosta linkittyivät enemmän ennakkokäsityksiin asiakkaiden etnisyydestä ja rodusta (vrt. Guido 2012) kuin varsinaiseen asiakastilanteeseen tapahtuvaan kielenkäyttöön. Hoitajat olivat kehittäneet aivan uuden ”yliopistoihmisten” nimikkeen kuvaamaan uudentyyppistä, heidän tulkintansa mukaan hyvin englantia puhuvaa asiakaskuntaa, jonka kanssa asiat hoituivat helposti ja vaivattomasti (Iikkanen 2019a).

Osatutkimusten tulokset osoittavat siirtolaistaustaisten vanhempien kielellisten ja koulutuksellisten resurssien tilannesidonnaisuuden sekä sen, kuinka näiden resurssien arvo muuttuu siirtolaisuuden myötä. Siirtolaiset pyrkivät parhaansa mukaan kartuttamaan sellaista kulttuurista ja sosiaalista pääomaansa, joka lisää heidän mahdollisuuksiaan kotoutua (Bourdieu 1986). Kielen oppimiseen investoimisen käsitteen kautta oli mahdollista tutkia, miten osallistujien elämäntilanteet vaikuttivat heidän kielen oppimisen mahdollisuuksiinsa. Pitkittäisnäkökulma, keskittyminen muutamiin yksilöihin, joilla oli mahdollisimman erilaiset taustat sekä polku -käsitteen käyttö mahdollistivat uudenlaisen tutkimustiedon hankkimisen, jossa perheen merkitys siirtolaisuudessa korostuu. Korkeasti koulutettujen siirtolaisten perhemuuttoon kohdistuvaa tutkimusta, jossa kiinnitetään huomiota englannin kielen osaamisen merkitykseen kotoutumisen alkuvaiheessa, ei juurikaan ole Suomessa tehty. Toinen tutkimusasetelman eri-

tyisistä vahvuuksista oli tutkijan rooli ryhmän jäsenenä, josta tutkimukseen osallistuneet siirtolaisvanhemmat löytyivät. Jaettu vanhemmuuden kokemus sai heidät luottamaan tutkijaan. Hoitajien haastattelut puolestaan toivat tutkimukseen laajempaa yhteiskunnallista näkökulmaa.

Tutkimuksen teoreettisena johtopäätöksenä voidaan todeta, että yhdistämällä sosiolingvistiikkaa ja kielen oppimisen tutkimusta on saatu kiinnostavia tuloksia. Erityisesti syntyperäisen kielenpuhujan mallin vaikutus siihen, miten neuvolan terveydenhoitajat luokittelevat asiakkaitaan, on erityisen mielenkiintoinen. Tällaiset käsitykset siirtyvät seuraaville sukupolville tehokkaimmin koulutuksen kautta, joten opettajankoulutuksen myötä olisi mahdollista lisätä paikallisesti neuvoteltujen kielimuotojen hyväksyttävyyttä (Dewey 2012). Metodologiselta kannalta voidaan sanoa, että useampaa tutkimusmenetelmää yhdistämällä on saatu hyviä tuloksia. Osallistavien tutkimusmenetelmien käyttö mahdollisti syvällisemmän tulosten tulkinnan yhdessä tutkimuksen osallistujien kanssa. Useamman aineiston analyysimenetelmän käyttö puolestaan mahdollisti tulosten tulkinnan erilaisista näkökulmista. Käytännöllisestä näkökulmasta tämä tutkimus osoittaa kiistatta, että sama kotoutumismalli ei sovi kaikille. Kotivanhemmille onkin jo tarjolla erilaisia kielen oppimisen mahdollisuuksia, joissa kielen oppiminen ja verkostoituminen muiden vanhempien kanssa hoituu samanaikaisesti. Siirtolaisäitien paikallisen kielen oppimisesta on todettu olevan huomattavaa hyötyä koko perheen hyvinvoinnille (Lainiala & Säävälä 2010).

Jatkossa olisi mielenkiintoista jatkaa tähän tutkimukseen osallistuneiden siirtolaisvanhempien kielen oppimisen ja kotoutumisen polkujen seuraamista. Erityisesti pitkittäistutkimusta hyvin koulutettujen siirtolaisnaisten siirtymistä kotivanhemmuudesta työelämään on toistaiseksi olemassa hyvin vähän. Olisi myös kiinnostavaa tutkia tarkemmin Suomesta pois muuttaneiden siirtolaisvanhempien kielen oppimisen haasteiden mahdollista vaikutusta muuttopäätökseen. Kolmas kiinnostava jatkotutkimusaihe liittyy julkisten palveluiden rooliin kielen oppimisessa ja kotoutumisessa. Tämä pitkittäistutkimus on tuonut uutta tietoa siirtolaisten kielen oppimisen ja kotoutumisen poluista sekä englannin kielen käytöstä julkisissa palveluissa. Tutkimustuloksia voidaan hyödyntää useilla eri aloilla, ja se antaa paljon aineksia jatkotutkimukseen.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Interview guide for migrant parents (Iikkanen 2017).

1. Warm up: How and where did you hear about [the multicultural family group]? Do you go there often?
2. Personal information: tell me about yourself.
 - a. Who are you (name, age)?
 - b. How long have you lived in Finland?
 - c. Why did you come to Finland?
 - d. Where have you lived before coming here?
 - e. What kind of a family do you have? What is your educational background?
3. Personal language repertoire (self-assessment).
 - a. What languages language can you speak (e.g. English, Vietnamese, Swahili)?
 - b. How have you learned the languages: out-of-school (acquisition) or in school (learning)? How old were you when you learned/acquired these languages: a child, teenager or adult?
 - c. What can you do with the languages (functions): read, write, speak, understand (speech)? What do you do with these languages; are they for your own "thinking" (internal functions, e.g. counting, dreaming) or for dealing with other people (external functions, e.g. reading a newspaper, chatting with a friend)?
 - d. Where do you use the languages (domains; e.g. home, school, daycare); in what roles (e.g. mother, spouse, friend), and in addressing what topic(s) (e.g. daily chores, weather, homework)?
4. Personal language encounters: tell me about a typical day in your life and describe your language encounters during the day.
 - a. You can use the clock, for example: what time do you use different languages and with whom?
 - b. Have there been any changes in your (and your family's) language use since you moved to Finland or during your stay here?
5. Integration: social inclusion/exclusion
 - a. How do you understand the term integration? What does it mean to you; do you feel integrated into Finnish society? Why (not)?

- b. What things have helped you to integrate into Finnish society? (Do you have friends here, for example? Which languages do you use with them?)
- c. What things can make integration more difficult?
- d. In your opinion, what is the role of language in integration?

6. Integration: dealing with Finnish service providers (family clinics, daycare, comprehensive school, social work, Finnish language teaching, NGOs).

- a. How often do you use one or more of these services?
- b. Which languages are used during the encounters? Is the use of a certain language required in some of these encounters?
- c. Do you feel that you are getting all the information you need and want in these encounters? Why (not)?
- d. Have you had any difficulties using these services?
- e. How should services for migrant families be arranged; where, in which language etc.?
- f. Would you give me permission to talk to some of the people you deal with on a regular basis about possible language-related issues relevant to these encounters? Do you have specific people in mind that I could talk to?

7. Future plans

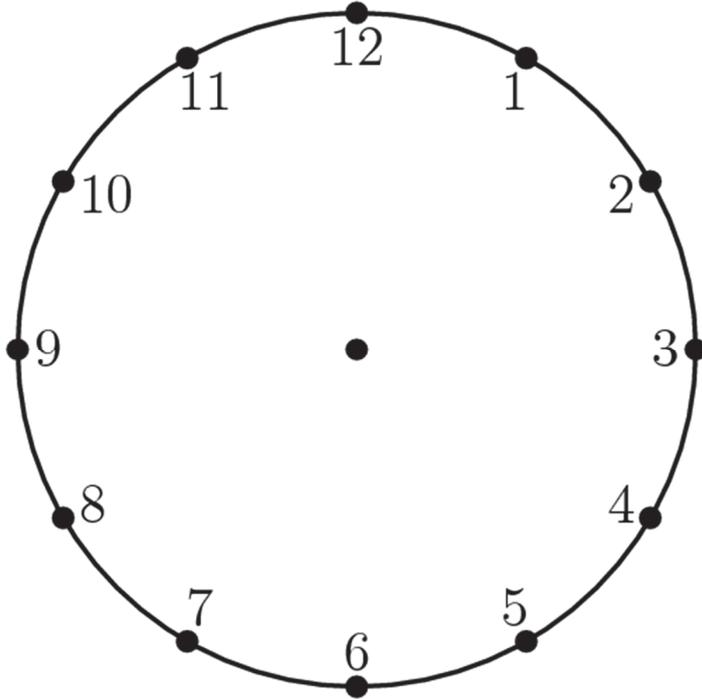
- a. Where do you see yourself in five years (related to family, studies, work, residence)?
- b. What about your (and your family's) language encounters; do you think there will be any changes in them?

8. Use of social media

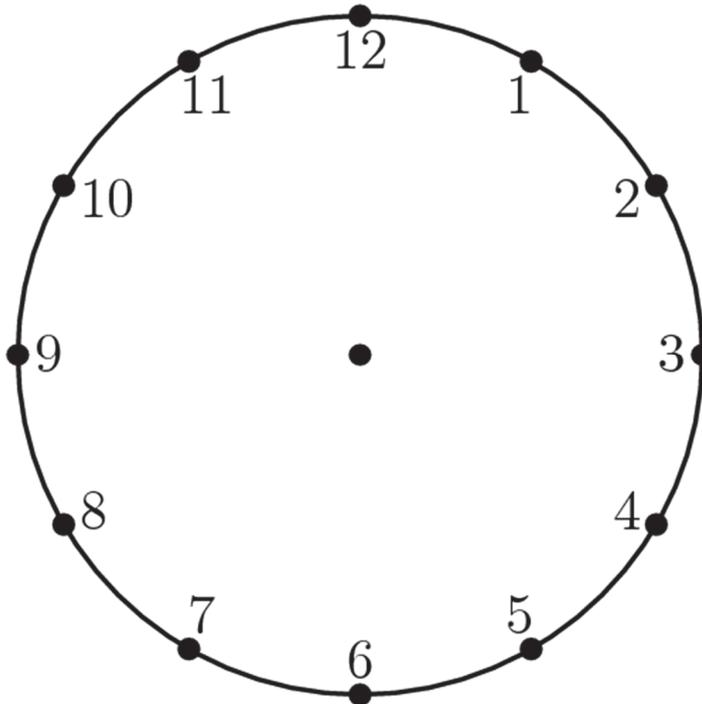
- c. Do you follow or use any social media applications (such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, blogs)? For what purposes do you use them?
- d. Are you willing to share your experiences on everyday language encounters and being a stay-at-home parent of migrant origin in Finland with other parents in the same situation on social media (photos, text)?

9. Anything else you would like to say before we finish?

APPENDIX 2: The clock task (Iikkanen 2017; Mäntylä, Pietikäinen & Dufva 2009; Satchwell 2005).



Which languages do you use at what time and with whom? Mark your daily language encounters/language use on the clock. This clock is for the hours between 07–19.



Use this clock for the hours between 19–07.

APPENDIX 3: Katherina's timeline for the third interview (2018)
(Iikkanen 2019b).

Katherina (44, Hungary)		2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Life event		moves to Finland with her Hungarian husband	first child born / their own company established	second child born / considers setting up her own business	takes on administrative duties of their company		instructor on a Finnish course for beginners, more independent work
Language use		Hungarian at home, English with friends	Hungarian at home, English with friends	Finnish course (grammar-based) / Hungarian at home, English and Finnish with friends	Finnish (integration) course / Hungarian at home, English and Finnish with friends & daycare staff	Finnish course / English and Hungarian at work	more Finnish at work
		<p>"It was a difficult decision because I didn't want to move to Finland. I have never had any affection for Finland. I was never concerned with Finland, so, but he was, he had very good reasons for wanting to stay here."</p> <p>"I just moved [here] when I was six months pregnant, so I didn't know Finnish, I didn't know anyone, I only knew my husband"</p> <p>"I have also established myself here as a mom, thanks to [NGO's] and all kinds of acquaintances and I found out that, mm, I will, anyway, I will have to look for some other type of work than what I did earlier, and it doesn't, the place doesn't really matter"</p>	<p>"of course I'm thinking about [my son] what is beneficial for him and what is not and Finland, and Finland is absolutely beneficial for"</p> <p>"It's nice to have work and it's nice to go back and find also new ways, also for myself in this really new situation in Finland, because otherwise it would be, I think it would be extremely difficult to find a job"</p>	<p>"It's very comfortable to be able to survive in Finland in Finnish"</p> <p>"So, I don't feel that I am, or in the beginning I felt I was doing just forget things, at the end I'm working so much to do, and I'm working so much to do, doing my own things, but it's good, yeah, I wasn't so optimistic about it, but right now I'm really, I'm satisfied"</p>			

APPENDIX 4: Interview guide for the family clinic senior and junior nurses (Iikkanen 2019a).

1. How many of your clients at the family clinic do not have Finnish as their first language? What languages do you usually use with these clients? Do you use English, book an interpreter or how does it work?
2. Do you have any general guidelines for this at the clinic or do all the nurses decide for themselves how they will handle these situations?
3. Do you have materials available in different languages (e.g. forms or instructions)?
4. How do you as a nurse deal with the fact that the client does not speak Finnish? What kind of effects does it have on the visit; are there some things that are more difficult to handle or talk about in another language?
5. Can you give any examples of situations where language-related issues have caused e.g. misunderstandings? How well do current family clinic services address the needs of families who have migrated to Finland from abroad? Do you think any extra services are needed? How should these services be arranged?
6. Have you done any client surveys with different groups of clients on how well family clinic services suit their needs or how the services should be developed in order to better meet their needs?
7. What kind of co-operation do you have with third sector organizations (e.g. multicultural centers, social and health care organizations)?

Additional questions for the senior nurses:

1. Tell me about your work: what does it entail? How does the growing number of clients with different first languages show in your work?
2. How does the growing number of clients with different first languages show in the nurses' work? Have they faced any challenges related to that?
3. Have the nurses expressed any needs for further education regarding clients who use different languages?



ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

THE USE OF LANGUAGE IN MIGRANT STAY-AT-HOME PARENTS' PROCESS OF INTEGRATION: EXPERIENCES OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

by

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The use of language in migrant stay-at-home parents' process of integration: Experiences of inclusion and exclusion

Päivi Iikkanen, University of Jyväskylä

This paper examines the use of language and how it contributes to the experiences of inclusion and exclusion of recent migrant stay-at-home parents in Finland. The study shows how the use of language facilitates the integration process of newly arrived stay-at-home parents of migrant background and affects their experiences of social inclusion and/or exclusion. The study uses the translanguaging approach (Canagarajah, 2013) to shed light on the multilingual reality migrants are faced with in their new surroundings. The approach is ethnographic and the data is interpreted using data-driven conventional content analysis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, pp. 108–113). The results suggest that English works quite well as a lingua franca, although to become “fully” integrated, migrants feel that they need to develop a command of the local language.

Keywords: migrant, stay-at-home parent, integration, inclusion, exclusion, language, English, Finnish

1 Introduction

Migrants and integration are highly politicized phenomena. Official state policies often define integration in highly technical terms, such as “language learning and abiding by public rules and abstract principles” (Veikou, 2013, p. 52). Therefore, they provide a very abstract view of integration and its “ideal products”: working, well-adjusted people who are able to engage in meaningful interaction with their surroundings. Recently, so-called *integration from below* approaches to integration (e.g. Veikou, 2013) that concentrate on following the everyday life experiences of migrants have attempted to throw more light on the actual individual processes of integration that people go through. By adopting an ethnographic approach to studying migrants, this paper is the result of such an attempt.

One specific group of migrants that often surfaces in public debates on migration is stay-at-home parents (or usually stay-at-home mothers). It is common to assume that stay-at-home parents' integration processes are delayed due to their inability to attend school-like language instruction. Moreover, previous research on migrant stay-at-home parents has largely concentrated on

Corresponding author's email: paivi.iikkanen@jyu.fi

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people with a refugee background, and on people with a low educational background and/or low literacy skills. Hence, they have been considered a particularly vulnerable group of migrants and, as they are not seen as contributing much to society, this group has largely been neglected in research (e.g. Nordberg & Wrede, 2015; Wrede, 2010). Here, I want to gear the focus to people who have migrated for other reasons, such as marriage, work or studies, and are therefore largely invisible and hard to reach through official channels. I am interested in finding out how well-educated, highly mobile migrants use their varied language resources to navigate in a new, and often strange, environment, in a country with a strong monocultural tradition, and how they handle the challenge of learning the local language while caring for small children and being unable to attend formal language instruction. I also want to see whether being able to use English as a lingua franca (ELF), a common medium of communication (Seidlhofer, 2011), has an effect on their process of integration.

In this article I ask: How does migrant stay-at-home parents' use of language contribute to their process of integration and their experiences of social inclusion or exclusion? I draw on previous research on integration and how it relates to language learning (Anthias, Kontos & Morokvasic-Müller, 2013; Kärkkäinen, 2011; Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015; Simpson & Whiteside, 2015; Veikou 2013), the changing understanding of language (Canagarajah, 2013; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Pennycook, 2010), studies of ELF (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011) and the connection between language practices and experiences of inclusion (Delanty, Jones & Wodak, 2008; Latomaa, 1998; Leinonen, 2012; Leppänen, Nikula & Käätä, 2008). The data consists of interviews with eight stay-at-home parents of migrant background. Methodologically, I will apply conventional data-driven content analysis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, pp. 108–113). I conclude by considering the broader implications of this study.

2 On Language and Integration

2.1 *Integration and Language Learning*

The official integration policy in Finland regards integration as a two-way process in which both the migrant and the receiving society have their own roles to play (Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration, n.d.). As outlined in the policy, society undergoes changes as the population becomes more diverse and migrants obtain the skills and knowledge they need to function in society: in daycare centers, schools, free time activities and work places. State policies have, however, been criticized for being idealistic and assume, to a large extent, an *assimilationist* approach to integration (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015), which suggests that migrants are expected to adopt the dominant culture and values to become accepted members of society. They also seem to be reflecting the 'deficit' discourse (e.g. Anthias et al., 2013, p. 3) often connected to migration.

From an individual's point of view, from below, integration is a (never ending) process that takes place on many different levels and relates to different areas of life (Veikou, 2013). There are several approaches to defining integration, depending on disciplines and individual scholars. According to Kärkkäinen (2011), some aspects that are central to most approaches to the study of integration are structural, political, cultural and social integration. She explains that, typically,

integration may proceed unevenly in different areas of life and there are often considerable individual differences in the subjective rate and experiences of integration.

Integration and inclusion relate closely to the concepts of belonging and settlement. According to Jones and Kryzanowski (2008, p. 44) “belonging can be considered a process whereby an individual [...] feels some sense of association with a group, and as such represents a way to explain the relationship between a personalized identity and a collective one”. They say that these attachments may be weak and even conflicting, and they may be, but do not have to be, based on ‘objective’ characteristics. In their view, belonging can be elective; i.e. sometimes individuals are able to make a ‘choice’ to include themselves in the collective without the endorsement of the ‘in-group’. For Ilcan (2002, pp. 2–3), “settlement is a practice without firm boundaries” and Levin (2015) explains settlement as a never-ending process that is intertwined with both the past and the present. Thus, all these concepts: inclusion, belonging and settlement are very closely related and they are all linked to identity formation.

One of the key elements of integration is language. In Finland, Finnish or Swedish language education is provided to all immigrants who possess a valid residence permit (Finnish Ministry of Labour and the Economy, 2014), but, in practice, stay-at-home parents often find it difficult, or even impossible, to participate in school-like language education because of their childcare responsibilities. In a similar vein, Simpson and Whiteside (2015, pp. 4–5) criticize the language learning point-of-view in state integration programs quite heavily by arguing that “language learning as being for integration discursively positions newcomers as outsiders who are by definition not yet ‘integrated’” and, too often, only migrant “employability” is emphasized. Pöyhönen and Tarnanen (2015, p. 115) have found the same line of reasoning in their interviews with Finnish stakeholders. They say that policy-makers and integration educators tend to believe that proficiency in the dominant language and literacy skills “have the power to change the material circumstances of migrants who are marginalized until they reach the targets defined for integration training and fulfill the aims of integration policy”.

2.2 From Monolingual Orientation towards Translingual Practice

Today, however, as Canagarajah (2013) puts it, language has become only a part of the multilingual and multicultural competence that migrants need to develop, which challenges the traditional approach to the study of language, the so-called monolingual orientation. In the monolingual orientation languages are understood as fixed systems with predefined meanings (Canagarajah, 2013, pp. 20–23). In Canagarajah’s view, the monolingual orientation has its ideological roots in several eighteenth century developments such as Romanticism, the Enlightenment and Modernity, the birth of nation states, industrialization, structuralism and imperialism. He finds that in the monolingual orientation, languages are considered to be fixed to a specific geographical location and an individual’s native language identity was defined through the particular speech community they were born into. Further, he states that structuralism turned languages into manageable, “objectively analyzable products”, isolated from social processes, culture and individuals. In a similar vein, ‘multilingualism’ also infers that there is a separate “set” of languages that are “added on top of each

other in a person's head" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 7). With increasing diversity of communication and resources these earlier models are, however, no longer able to explain how languages relate to each other in more fluid ways.

Therefore, in a sharp contrast to the monolingual orientation, there are a number of scholars who have developed alternative models. Canagarajah, as one of them, uses the term 'translingual practice'. It means "language resources that are mobile, fluid and hybrid" (2013, p. 15). Although the translingual practice approach understands language quite differently compared to the earlier monolingual orientation, it still recognizes the fact that "while language resources are mobile, they acquire labels and identities through situated uses in particular contexts and get reified through language ideologies" and, therefore, labeled languages and language varieties have a reality for social groups (Canagarajah, 2013, pp. 15–16). Moreover, he finds that they are an important form of identity for these groups. A similar line of thinking has also been developed by Pennycook (2010) as he describes a 'practice-based perspective' of language and Garcia and Wei (2014) with 'translanguaging'. In this paper, I follow Canagarajah's thinking as far as the overall understanding of language and its varied uses are concerned, but also occasionally refer to different "labeled" languages, because they seemed to be an essential part of how the interviewees described and understood their everyday reality. The terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' are also used in this paper to distinguish between people who have acquired English from birth on and those who have learned English as an additional language to their repertoires, although their use may be considered problematic as far as "birthright" to a specific language can, in fact, be claimed (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 16).

2.3 Language Practices as a Basis for Migrant Inclusion and Exclusion

Generally, inclusion is treated primarily as entailing the adaptation of migrants to the 'host' society (e.g. Anthias et al., 2013). In contrast, following Essed's (1991) argumentation, Delanty et al. (2008, p. 3), "define everyday exclusion/racism/xenophobia/anti-Semitism in terms of symbolic violence frequently expressed indirectly in the coded expressions in everyday-life situations". Delanty et al. go on to argue that this 'othering' and racialization of migrants through language, shows for example as "absence of recognition as opposed to overt discrimination". This results in

"language competence [being] ... perceived as one of the most relevant gate-keeping devices, in as much as "even if ... [migrants] have a command of the language and hold the citizenship of the host-country, some migrants report that they are still not accepted or viewed as equal." (Delanty et al., 2008, p. 3)

Although English has no official status in Finland, it is the most widely studied and commonly used foreign language and it is considered an essential resource in the increasingly multicultural and globalizing world (Leppänen et al., 2008). According to Leinonen (2012), this is indeed (at least part of) the problem: discourses related to immigrant integration on the one hand and the internationalization of the Finnish society on the other hand are separate, and seem to lead in quite different directions. Leinonen's study focused on Americans living in Finland and she found that in some contexts, Americans were perceived as 'elite' migrants because of being native speakers of English, but for example

when entering the job market, their lack of local language skills was a potential drawback signaling immigrant status. Furthermore, Latomaa (1998) found that it was quite possible either to try and learn Finnish and live as Finns do, or to choose to live only in the English-speaking community in Finland.

The studies carried out by Leinonen (2012) and Latomaa (1998) and research on English as a lingua Franca (ELF) (e.g. Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011) can offer an interesting view into migrants' experience. What makes ELF particularly interesting and relevant in this study is that, today, English is used more frequently between non-native speakers than native speakers (Seidlhofer, 2011). Her often quoted definition for ELF is "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 7). Recently, ELF research has also been moving towards a similar practice-based view of language as described above but most researchers in the field still talk e.g. about *existing* shared repertoires or communities of practice, not of those being co-constructed in the interaction (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 65). Therefore, ELF research might have some potential in explaining the role language plays in migrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion, but it fails to address the underlying power structures related to the use of language.

In fact, English might indeed be enough for some people and in some contexts, but in the long run, it might not be enough. If parents want to be involved in society and conduct their families' affairs with local authorities and service providers by themselves (without using interpreters), they need to have a command of the local language resources (Intke-Hernández, 2012; Intke-Hernández & Holm, 2015; Lainiala & Säävälä, 2010). In the following, I will first describe the data collection process of this study and then discuss whether it is possible to integrate into the Finnish society by using English as a medium of interaction with the host society and to what extent it facilitates (or hinders) social inclusion.

3 Data Collection and Data Analysis

3.1 Ethnography

Ethnography is an inductive science and, in itself, a social activity which allows researchers to see how language practices are connected to the conditions of people's lives (Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Heller, 2008). Linguistic ethnography is a study of "*language use as a form of social action*" and it focuses on "speakers as social actors who use language as a resource to interact and establish social relations with others" (Moyer 2008, pp. 21–22, original italics). Further, through ethnography, researchers are able to tell a story which throws light on social processes and "generates explanations for why people do and think the things they do". Ethnography can help in understanding the process of the construction of social reality and it can also provide insights into social differences and inequalities (Heller, 2008, pp. 250–251). In this study, my perspective is not on analyzing actual, observed language use but rather on interpreting the participants' *understanding* of their use of language. It can, of course, be questioned, how reliable people's own accounts of their language use are and whether this window into their lives is nothing but a mere reflection of their actual

language practices. This question will be addressed in more detail in the following sections. This is how Eva Codó writes about immigrant exclusion and how it can be studied:

To expose the inequalities affecting immigrants and the multiple mechanisms of exclusion to which they are subject (including the fundamental role of language and linguistic practices in this exclusion), it is essential to examine the circumstances in which their daily lives unfold, the kinds of experiences they go through and the ways in which they are (or are not) being incorporated into the host societies. At stake are the values we live by, namely, democracy, equality, freedom and the goodness of the welfare state. (Codó, 2008, p. 4)

In this paper, I have deliberately chosen the term ‘migrant’ instead of ‘immigrant’, first of all, because of negative political and social connotations connected to the word ‘immigrant’ and, second, because I feel that the word ‘migrant’ better describes the voluntary (and possibly recurring) character of the migration processes of the people that are the focus of this study.

3.2 Participants

When starting an ethnographic inquiry, one first needs to identify the phenomena one is interested in, as this defines where one needs to look for evidence (Heller, 2008). In this case, after having formulated the research question: how does migrant stay-at-home parents’ use of language contribute to their process of integration and their experiences of social inclusion or exclusion?, and outlined the group of people I wanted to reach, I knew exactly where to find suitable participants for the study: a multicultural family café organized by a local nongovernmental organization. The café is open once a week and welcomes all parents and children regardless of their background. I was already familiar with the organization, and, this time, I also had a bonus: my own son was then 18 months old, so we were ideal participants for the group. I quickly discovered that having a child of one’s own made me one of the group, not just some strange researcher coming from “the outside”. It was easy to adopt an ethnographic approach and start the research by observing the group’s activities. By engaging individual group members, I was able to determine who would be suitable candidates for the study: I wanted to find parents of migrant background, who were staying at home with their children, knew some English, had not lived in Finland for longer than five years and had moved to Finland on a voluntary basis. Intke-Hernández (2015) reports doing similar research and also finding that the common ground of parenthood facilitated the research process. Participating in the group also made it possible for me to establish a relationship with the participants before the interviews, which helps the researcher when it comes to the interpretation of the data (Heller, 2008).

Seven of the participants were found through the above mentioned family café. One more person was recruited through other contacts, because I wanted to include people with as varied backgrounds as possible in the study. In the end, the participants originated from Asia (3), Europe (2), Australia (1), North-America (1) and the Middle-East (1). There were seven female participants and one male. Two of them were native speakers of English, i.e. having acquired English from

birth on. The participants spoke 1–4 other languages in addition to their first language. Their ages varied between 23 and 41 years, the average age being 33.5 years. They had all migrated to Finland voluntarily: because of work, marriage or studying. At the time of the interviews, they had lived in Finland for between 1.5 and 5.5 years and had one or two children in their family. Their educational backgrounds ranged from comprehensive school to a PhD. Some of their spouses also worked or studied in the university or had a university degree. There was also an obvious gender imbalance, because only one of the participants was male. This, of course, is connected to the fact that, for various reasons, women still form the vast majority of stay-at-home parents, even in modern Western societies.

Table 1 summarizes the countries of birth, the age and language profiles of the participants (with pseudonyms) and their spouses, their educational background, the year they migrated to Finland and their motivation for coming. As shown in Table 1, although Finnish was not the first language of any of the participants, it was still somewhat present in the families' everyday communication. Katherina and Emily, for example, reported that their children "brought Finnish home" from daycare and in four families the other parent was Finnish. Two of the parents, Paulina and Camila, were already fluent Finnish speakers and, therefore, I have added Finnish to their language repertoires. The colors indicate differences in the parents' language backgrounds; in those marked with blue, the parents have a different first language. In the ones those marked with purple, the parents also have a different first language but one of the parents is Finnish. In the ones marked with yellow, the parents have the same first language.

Table 1. Stay-at-home parents' ages, languages spoken, education, years and motivations for migrating and previous experiences of migration.

Stay-at-home parent (SAHP) + country of birth	SAHP's age	SAHP's level of education	SAHP's first language	Other languages spoken by the SAHP	Other parent's first language	Language(s) parents use with each other	Language(s) parents use with children	SAHP's year of migrating to Finland	SAHP's motivation for migrating to Finland
Emily, Korea	34	MA	Korean	English French Japanese	English	English	Korean English (Finnish)	2014	husband's studies at university
Paulina, Poland	41	MA	Polish	Russian English Finnish	English	English	Polish English (Finnish)	2010	former husband's job
Thomas, Australia	39	vocational school	English	Finnish	Finnish	English	English Finnish	2012	wife's studies and job
Helen, United States	41	PhD	English	Russian Swedish Finnish	Finnish	English	English Finnish	2013	husband's job
Natalie, Vietnam	26	vocational school	Vietnamese	English Finnish	Finnish	Finnish English	Vietnamese Finnish	2013	studies -> marriage
Annisia, Indonesia	23	vocational school	(Java), Indonesian	English Finnish	Finnish	Finnish English	Finnish English	2014	marriage
Katherina, Hungary	41	MA	Hungarian	German English Spanish Finnish	Hungarian	Hungarian	Hungarian (Finnish)	2013	husband's job
Camila, Afghanistan	23	comprehensive school + English classes	Persian	English Finnish	Persian	Persian	Persian (Finnish)	2010	marriage

3.3 The Data

The data collected consisted of ethnographic participant observations, field notes and interviews with eight stay-at-home parents of migrant origin. I participated in a multicultural family café with my own son during the autumn of 2015 and the spring of 2016 to observe and recruit the participants. I had individual interviews (October 2015 – February 2016) with all of them. The data analyzed in this study is based mostly on the interviews, as the observations and field notes that I made at the family café, mainly related to the recruitment of participants and my reflections on their suitability for the study.

The interviews were conducted in English, because it was the medium of communication that the parents and I shared and had been using since we first met each other. With Paulina and Camila, it would have been possible to use Finnish (the interviews were made in a highly Finnish-dominant area, so Swedish was not an option), too, but they chose English. Some Finnish words were used occasionally, both by the interviewer and the interviewees, mainly when referring to Finnish institutions or concepts such as *'neuvola'* (family clinic), *'päiväkoti'* (daycare center), *'perhekerho'* (an activity group for parents and children), *'kotoutuminen'* (integration), *'ammattikoulu'* (vocational school) or *'puhelin'* (telephone). The interviews were semi-structured thematic interviews. The participants were asked to talk about their education and family background, language knowledge, how long they had lived in Finland, what had motivated them to come here, what they thought about integration and using language in relation to social life and the use of Finnish services (family clinics and daycare in

particular), what their future plans were and their use of social media. The interview outline (see Appendix 1) was rather detailed, but the more explicit questions were used only, if there was a need to elicit more information on a certain topic.

My initial preference was to conduct the interviews in the interviewees' homes, but two of the participants, Helen and Katharina, suggested we meet at a café in the city center and Emily wanted to come to the university because they did not think we would be able to talk at their homes with their children present. Afterwards, when listening to the tapes, I realized that there was a lot of background noise in the cafés, so some pieces of information may have got lost due to that. The length of the interviews ranged from 32 to 86 minutes, and they made a total of 420 minutes and 54 seconds of data. The average length of an interview was 53 minutes.

One of the methods of data collection was the so-called clock task (Mäntylä, Pietikäinen & Dufva, 2009) in which the participants marked their daily language use on two clocks, one for the hours between 7 am and 6 pm and the other from 6 pm to 7 am. The purpose of using this task was to illustrate the use of language resources in the participants' everyday communication. This task generated a lot of useful information, because seeing their daily language use written down obviously also made the participants think about their own language use in a more systematic and comprehensive way than only by listing the particular language resources they used to draw on. I believe that the implementation of this task also helped the participants to become more aware of the varied language resources they had in their repertoire, i.e. it helped the participants to approach their language use in a more holistic and translingual manner. Below in Figure 1 is an example of Natalie's clocks and in Excerpt 1 is her explanation of them.

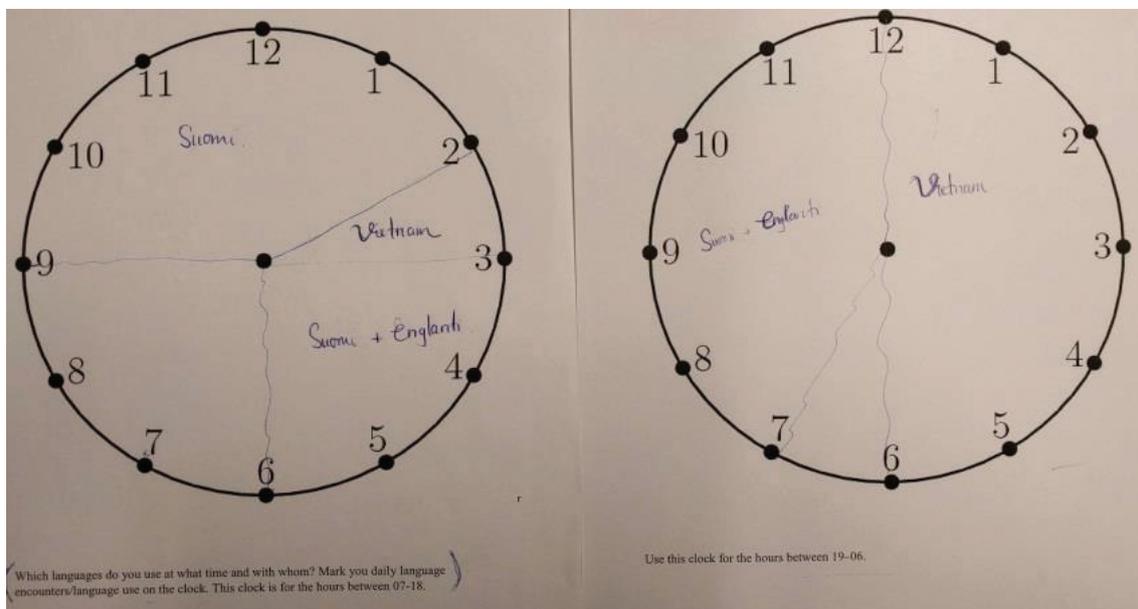


Figure 1. The "clock task".

Excerpt 1

- Päivi so you use quite a lot of Finnish as well?
 Natalie well, I don't think so, *joo*, ('yeah') but, for, because, ok, my husband go to work and my mother-in-law not speak too much, have something else to do, most of the time I stay with [her child's name]
 Päivi mm, and you speak Vietnamese to her?
 Natalie yeah, but of course, **if she ask me something or want to talk with me, I need to talk in Finnish, yeah, my mother-in-law, but for one hour or two hour I speak Vietnamese with my mother**

Natalie's daily language use consists of speaking Vietnamese to her daughter and her mother (usually via Skype since her mother lives in Vietnam), English ('*englanti*' in the picture) and some Finnish ('*suomi*') to her husband and Finnish to her mother-in-law (and father-in-law). At the time of the interview, Natalie's family was temporarily living with her Finnish parents-in-law, so she had even more contact with them and the Finnish language than she normally did. This example will also be referred to in Section 4.

3.4 Content Analysis

After transcribing the interviews¹, the data was interpreted using data-driven conventional content analysis. In data-driven content analysis, the data is first *reduced* (Hsiuh-Fang & Shannon, 2005, p. 1279; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009, pp. 108–113), i.e. divided into units that are more manageable. This means searching for expressions in the data that provide answers to the research question. The analysis can start with a single word and it can then be expanded to a sentence or even a number of sentences that express a certain unit of thought. In the second phase of content analysis, the data is clustered or grouped according to concepts that describe similarities and /or differences that occur in the data. Then, concepts that mean the same are grouped together and categorized according to the contents of the group. Building on these categorizations, the researcher can then theorize further about the findings. The reason for selecting this method for this study lies in the fact that in data-driven content analysis all the conclusions are based directly on the data. This means that throughout the process of analysis, the researcher's aim is to try to understand the significance of the phenomena under study from the research participants' own perspective instead of following a given, ready-made framework.

4 Use of Language and Its Relation to Migrant Stay-at-home Parents' Experiences of Inclusion and Exclusion

My research question for this study was: How does migrant stay-at-home parents' use of language contribute to their process of integration and their experiences of social inclusion or exclusion? I started the analysis by looking at references to the use of language and their relevance to the participants' integration process. When talking about language use, the parents mentioned *English* most often. In addition, references to *the use* and *learning of Finnish* were also quite numerous, especially when the participants were talking about integration. Therefore, these two expressions were selected as the basis of the first

phase of the analysis. To continue, I looked at the contexts where these expressions were used and found numerous references to using English “everywhere” or when being “out and about”, running errands, shopping, meeting friends or communicating with their family members.

Other languages than Finnish or English were most often used when communicating with family members or friends, who had the same first language or spoke some other language in the participants’ repertoire. Excerpt 1, about the clock task with Natalie, illustrates this point quite well. In the following, I will give more detailed examples of how language use has contributed to the participants’ experiences of exclusion and inclusion and how language use has affected their integration process.

4.1 Exclusion through Language

For most participants, the use of English seemed to present some problems. They reported having experienced rudeness in shops and being excluded from conversations or groups. Next, I will present experiences of exclusion reported by Natalie, Thomas and Helen when they were trying to talk to people or participate in different groups.

In Excerpt 2, is Natalie’s account of how some people just “goes away” when she tried to approach them with her daughter at Hop Lop, an indoor activity center for children.

Excerpt 2

Couple of days ago I went to HopLop with her [...] and there’s a lots of mother and children and there’s a Finn mother, I and [her daughter’s name] come close to their children and **I just think to say hi to them, but then they, I don’t know, I don’t know what they’re think, what they think, but they run, they goes away**

It is not quite clear why the other mother refused to talk to Natalie and her daughter. There can be a number of factors at play, such as the fact that they were ignored because they spoke a different language (or Finnish with an accent) or because they looked different. It is quite apparent, however, that for some reason Natalie and her daughter were viewed as different and were deemed undesirable company. This resonates with the “absence of recognition” mentioned by Delanty et al. (2008) in the previous section. It may be connected with language but they also mention “symbolic violence” which may manifest itself indirectly in everyday-life situations, e.g. avoiding the company of the racialized “other”.

Excerpt 3 illustrates how Thomas described a thing that he called “the language barrier”. He believed that Finns are afraid of speaking English, especially with a native speaker and he saw that as a major obstacle of communication which made him feel excluded.

Excerpt 3

so it’s just Finns being shy and, and **thinking you are their schoolteacher and you’re gonna mock them on everything, like you know that’s pronounced wrong**, so, ‘cause that’s, that’s one of the things, that’s, the language barrier takes a long, it’s taken some people two years to open up to me, to actually have the confidence to speak English to me

As Thomas is a native speaker of English, this wariness may reflect the native vs. non-native speaker relationship that non-native speakers of English may have trouble dealing with. People may be shy of engaging in conversations with native speakers, because they are afraid of “saying something wrong”. Thomas reported having also experienced “racial discrimination”, *although he is Caucasian*. I found this quite interesting, because “race” is usually connected with differences in appearance that single one out from the majority. In Excerpt 4, Thomas uses the term to refer to language:

Excerpt 4

- Thomas I mean **I still get racial discrimination as well, because I don't have that Finnish**, I don't speak Finnish even though I'm Caucasian and stuff like that
- Päivi how does it show?
- Thomas mm, I've been into some shops and I've asked for the, oh, do you have this, and then it's like, **no, we don't have that, ok, see you later, good bye**
- Päivi so they refuse service?
- Thomas yeah, just being rude, so, and I've had
- Päivi what type of shops are they?
- Thomas mm, this was an electrical store, so, but yeah, which I found, but I think it was just a one-off, like it's, the other thing I found is that services not so much, **just, say, if I put something in to get it repaired or I need to get something, I find that the price goes up**

Helen, the other native English-speaking parent, also reported a number of similar incidents, when she had felt “invisible”. In the following, she describes visiting a club for parents and children:

Excerpt 5

that was a really hard place for me to be, and I, I went because, you know I, it was kinda like something to do, but it was, kind of classic Finnish, you know, **people didn't really talk to you**, [...] and **so I felt a little bit invisible being there** and [...] I spoke, I, one woman was really friendly at first and then, she kind of like, I could just kind of tell that she kind of stepped back a little bit and didn't really wanna talk so much, so we'd say a few words at the end and beginning, [...] they've all these clubs for kids but **I think they're not very accessible to foreigners and I think even, like, if you speak the language, even if you're maybe like a Finn from another place**

It does not seem easy to connect with people or enter unofficial groups, when one does not speak Finnish. The fact that Helen had the impression that it would be difficult to socialize in this group, *even though one spoke Finnish*, certainly indicates that there was no encouragement for interaction. Thomas, too, talked at length about how isolated he felt in Finland; he said he did not have many friends and that the multicultural family café where we had met was “his only social interaction”.

Surprisingly, feeling like they did not know enough Finnish for everyday communication seemed to be more problematic for the native speakers of English, Helen and Thomas, than for those who spoke it as a foreign language. Helen described herself as being “a language person” and said that when she had lived in Russia and Sweden, she had learned both the languages without a great deal of effort. Therefore, it was unexpected for her to encounter so much difficulty when

trying to learn Finnish and she seemed to be quite disturbed by this. She also seemed to find it extremely difficult that she could not manage the family's affairs as she was used to doing; because of her lack of Finnish skills, she was forced to rely on her Finnish husband in many matters:

Excerpt 6

yeah, and like, I've, I have this, really this idea, **if you live in another country, you need to learn that language and**, you know, and so, I, that I'm like, I'm not really living up to that right now and I'm a bit afraid of, like [...] but, yeah, certainly for like dentist's appointments, or something like, you know, [her husband's name] will go, we'll all go, so I feel a little bit, you know like, like **I don't like feeling like that dependent**, you know, especially in [her country of origin] **I was able to do that without thinking about it**

Martin (2002) also describes how not knowing the local language and being forced to rely on other people's help when managing everyday affairs, may be disruptive for one's identity and create an obstacle for integration. Martin states that specifically for native speakers, it may be difficult to find the motivation to learn a 'small' language like Finnish. This did not seem relevant in Helen's case, however, as she expressed a very strong desire to learn and use Finnish, and failing to do so, was very difficult for her to handle.

In Thomas' case, one of the reasons for finding it hard to set up a satisfying social life with peers might have been the fact that he is middle-aged and staying at home with his son; the vast majority of men of his age are working during the day, which is when it would be easiest for him to socialize. He had not really worked in Finland so he did not have any colleagues. Even today, some people might still be inclined to think that it is not normal for a man to stay home and take care of the children while the wife takes the breadwinner's role in the family. This kind of attitude is probably not voiced but may be among the underlying factors that would explain why Thomas was having a hard time integrating.

4.2 Achieving Inclusion through Language Use

Although the participants had occasionally experienced exclusion and were not quite happy with their social lives, all of them said that, in general, Finns spoke English quite well and that they had had mostly positive experiences when using English in e.g. the employment office, family clinics, health care centers and hospitals. So, for most of them, English did seem to work well as a lingua franca. Next, I will discuss how Emily, Camila, Natalie, Helen and Thomas described language-related experiences of inclusion.

Of all the participants, Emily was the strongest advocate for the usefulness of English as a means of communication in Finland. She even used words like *fortunate* and *thankful* to convey how happy she was about this. As Excerpt 7 shows, Emily knew that because she was "a stay-at home mom" she did not have "that much of access to meet a lot of people", so this made English an even more important medium of communication for her. Moreover, she felt that if she would only have known Korean, and not English, she would just have been "stuck at home" not knowing what to do.

Excerpt 7

- Emily but it's amazing here, actually, **I feel very fortunate, 'cause I can communicate in English with Finnish people here**
- Päivi right
- Emily 'cause they are very, very good at speaking English
- Päivi a lot of people are
- Emily right, right, so it's definitely easier adjustments
- Päivi mhm
- Emily so even go to grocery store, at least a few words
- Päivi mhm
- Emily they understand and try to
- Päivi mhm
- Emily help me out,
- Päivi mm
- Emily so, yeah, I use English everyday
- Päivi ok
- Emily everywhere in Finland, yeah [...] that's really one thing I wanted to say, mm, **knowing English in Finland**
- Päivi mhm
- Emily **it gives you a lot of opportunities make friendswise, especially for me,**
- Päivi yeah
- Emily **'cause I'm staying home mom, so, mm, I don't have that much of access to meet a lot of people**
[...]
- Emily **I'm so thankful, like what if I don't speak English, only know Korean, and come here and don't know Finnish and I just stuck at home** and don't know what to do, you know, but, yeah, **knowing English is very, very helpful**

For Emily, English provided a way out of the home, a way of communicating with the locals and helped her to feel included and integrated. In fact, Latomaa's study (1998) also confirmed that it is quite possible to get by using only English in Finland. The study was, however, conducted in the Helsinki area, so it is perhaps not quite comparable with the situation in the small town where this study was conducted. Nevertheless, I suspect that this was the case with Emily, and that was why she had found the entry to Finland so easy and effortless: all of her friends were English-speaking and, apparently, she had not experienced any difficulties when dealing with Finnish service providers either. In fact, she specifically mentioned even having had an interpreter at the family clinic, which had been initiated by the nurse.

In Camila's life, learning English seemed to have had an even more profound effect. Camila was only 17 years old when she moved to Finland to get married to her cousin. Because of living in exile in Iran (she was originally from Afghanistan), she had not been able to study further after comprehensive school. Nevertheless, she had learned English at an international institute. For a young Muslim woman, knowing English was a very powerful indicator of independence and "being smart". In fact, it was so powerful that she was able to convince her parents that she was capable of handling the trip to Finland all by herself and, therefore, they let her travel unaccompanied. This is how Camila explained the difference that knowing English had made in her life:

Excerpt 8

usually it is in our culture and, I mean in our family, girls cannot be so independent and they, I mean, when I came to Finland, we got married because my husband was living here, I had to, come alone to Finland, and it was my first time to travel to another country alone, **but because my parents knew that I can speak English and I am so, I mean independent and smart to do that, that they let me**

Excerpt 9 shows how Camila had also impressed her husbands' relatives with her language skills, as she was able to visit the employment office all by herself as soon as she had arrived in Finland.

Excerpt 9

Coming to Finland, the first year, **I used to speak English a lot, I mean whenever I, wherever I went, I used the English** and it was so surprising for the people around here, I mean for my husband's family, because they, even though they were living so long time in Finland, some of them are still having, mm, interpreters and when they go to doctors and they have a problem, but the first, **the first day after coming to Finland, I went to the, unemployment service office and I went there alone**, it was so surprising for them, how can you just, mm, go there alone without any interpreter

Camila's case illustrates very well how knowing English seemed to allow some participants a lot more freedom and independence, or even put them in a privileged position, compared to many other migrants who do not speak English (or Finnish/Swedish), despite having already lived in Finland for a considerable period of time. This, no doubt, relates to the status of the English language worldwide, but even more than that, to the empowering effect of education in general and the education of women in particular.

Natalie's account from HopLop that was introduced in Excerpt 2, fortunately continued in a more positive manner as there was another mother who was more willing to talk to her:

Excerpt 10

I went to some other place in that HopLop, and there's one mother, she's a Finn and her husband is American, they carry two kids in HopLop, and they play there and [her daughter's name] can join, and she start to talk with me, I say yeah, now I have someone to talk [...] an' **because her husband is an American, so they speak English with me**, and she, we have little communication, little talk, and they, we exchange phone number, and she say, hey, come visit us some time, I say yeah, yeah, let's make it happen

This second excerpt shows that there is some hope left: there was another mother who was willing to engage in conversation with Natalie. She attributed this difference in the other mother's attitude to the fact that this woman was married to an American, and was, therefore, used to speaking English at home.

Despite the obvious benefits that English seemed to offer, all the research participants expressed it very clearly that in order to be fully integrated, they needed to learn Finnish. It seemed that, for them, learning the language would be the indicator of being integrated, which suggested that they had indeed reached "the targets defined for integration training and fulfilled the aims of integration

policy” (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015, p. 115). At least for Camila, the use of English seemed to be a temporary solution:

Excerpt 11

but after the first year, when I started a bit Finnish, I just tried to speak Finnish and, whenever I felt that I cannot continue in Finnish, I just turned the language and started speaking English, **but now, I don't need English language anymore, because I can, I try to communicate in Finnish**

Language seemed to play a big part in integration for Natalie as well:

Excerpt 12

Päivi Mhm, ok, do you feel you are integrated into Finland?
 Natalie Mm, ok, **maybe 50-50, because I know my Finnish is not so good**, but in here is, is how to say, how to explain that, **is not so difficult that you can use English, ok, some old people they cannot, they cannot speak English, but then they try to speak something easy for me to understand**

For Natalie, integration and language learning seemed to go very much hand-in-hand. She felt that she would manage to integrate only halfway with English, and in order to achieve 100% integration, if such a thing can even be considered possible, one must know Finnish. Interestingly, Natalie mentions that (old) people who do not speak English, “try to speak something easy for me to understand” which shows how considerate people could be and how they modified their own language use when they realized that Natalie was not a fluent Finnish user. Despite all her worries about not being able to use Finnish “properly”, as mentioned above in Excerpt 13, Helen also described an incident which, in fact, shows that she was hardly incompetent in using Finnish:

Excerpt 13

we went to this music class at, is that [name of local school], it's at Pitkäkatu, I got the wrong building, and I wasn't paying attention, so we got there really late, like I walk in and **everyone's looking at me, and you know, like, I'm trying to say that I was in the other building and I couldn't find it**, and you know, the teacher finally understood, afterwards, like, **some of the women were surprisingly friendly**, and I was talking to one woman and she was like, oh, you speak really well, and so, **Finns are so encouraging, like if you can say a few sentences, like they give so much encouragement and I know I don't speak well, but like hearing it**, like, oh, ok, I mean, it's just like, even subconsciously, like, well, **someone said I speak well**

This excerpt demonstrates that, despite her feelings of inadequacy, Helen was capable of explaining to the others why she was late for the class, and even received praise for it. Although Helen felt like she was not able to use Finnish the way she wanted to, the amount that she knew enabled her to become an acceptable member of the group. The other native speaker of English, Thomas, did not know very much Finnish either, but nevertheless, he was keen to try and use it whenever he could. He was also quite clever in using contextual cues to be able to tell what was being said, as illustrated below:

Excerpt 14

I went to the shop the other day and I bought something, and the lady asked me if I would like it to be gift-wrapped, **I didn't know that she said that exactly, but I could say, I knew that she, that's what she was implying**, so, I couldn't tell you the word she said but I've, so **I've learned to pick up and be more vigilant with my hearing**

Just like Helen, Thomas did not want to assume that everyone would just speak English with him; instead he wanted to convey his sincere desire to make the effort and learn to use Finnish, to live as Finns do. So although a lack of language knowledge may seem to limit one's possibilities for successful communication, using whatever language resources are at one's disposal, i.e. using the translingual approach instead of the monolingual one, can work in one's benefit.

5 Language and Integration

The research question for this study was: How does migrant stay-at-home parents' use of language contribute to their process of integration and their experiences of social inclusion or exclusion? The study showed that English was a very useful resource for the participants, specifically right after arriving in Finland and before they had had the opportunity to learn Finnish. Although the participants were able to use English as a lingua franca virtually everywhere in Finland, they also faced a lot of challenges. English did help them to manage their affairs and even establish social contacts, which suggests that their knowledge of English helped them to become better acquainted with Finnish society. However, this is not the whole story; most participants had had a hard time establishing and maintaining social contacts with the locals; and they had even experienced discrimination or been ignored completely. Only one person, Emily, felt that speaking only English in Finland worked well in all spheres of life.

One major variable in learning the local language seemed to be whether migration was a temporary solution or a permanent life choice for the participants. This distinction had a profound effect on the participants' interest and willingness to invest in language learning. This showed particularly well in Emily's case: although Emily said that they would have liked to stay in Finland after her husband had finished his studies, they did in fact move back to the US in June 2016. It might be, then, they had only intended to come here for a limited period of time, i.e. simply for the duration of Emily's husband's studies. Such a preconception can affect the way people approach integration and language learning; if not intending to stay, why make the effort to learn the language (Latomaa, 1998, p. 60).

Thomas was also hoping to return to Australia at some point, so, in a sense, his residence in Finland could also be considered temporary. The major difference between them was that Emily felt she was not having any trouble managing her life in English, but Thomas saw his lack of Finnish skills as a major obstacle for having a fulfilling social life. In Helen's case, the situation was yet somewhat different, as she seemed to find it most disturbing that she was unable to manage everyday affairs, such as going to the dentist, in Finnish. She was not happy with herself, because her own expectations for mastering the language had not been fulfilled. In contrast, the two participants who had lived in Finland the longest, Paulina and Camila, were already fluent speakers of Finnish. This is partly

because both of them said they had come to stay and had not found learning Finnish particularly challenging. They had also learned the language before having their children and been able to participate on courses more easily. Natalie's reports on using English in Finland were twofold: on the one hand she had experienced exclusion but, on the other hand, she also felt that it was not difficult to manage with English in Finland.

I found that the participants, almost without exception, referred to the use of specific, "bounded" languages when they talked about for example their typical day (see Excerpt 1, the clock task). This may partly be blamed on the research design, as 'the use of different languages' was mentioned in the interview questions. Nevertheless, I believe that this is how most 'lay people', like the research participants, understand and talk about language. In fact, although Canagarajah (2013, pp. 15–16) talks about "language resources that are mobile, fluid and hybrid", he also states that labeled languages and language varieties have a reality for social groups and that they are an important form of identity for these groups. Nevertheless, despite *talking* about the use of "labeled" languages, some of the participants' *accounts of their language use* did, in fact, reflect a translingual orientation to language use: e.g. the clock task with Natalie (Excerpt 1) and Helen and Thomas's "survival Finnish stories" in Excerpts 13 and 14.

6 Conclusion

The people I chose to focus on were highly educated and, therefore, they also had a varied repertoire of language knowledge. They did not know the official national languages, Finnish or Swedish, before coming to Finland. Therefore, I wanted to find out how they used their existing language resources to overcome this obstacle. As they had limited access to learning the local language, I was interested in whether knowing English could make entry into the new society easier. This study showed that the participants' expectations and understanding of the role language played in their integration process resulted from a number of different factors, such as how long they were planning to stay in the country and their sociocultural contexts of language use.

It became evident that knowing English can work *both as a gateway and an obstacle* to integration: as Emily's account shows, it is possible to integrate with the "English only" approach whereas Helen and Thomas, the native speakers, seemed to be particularly disturbed by the fact that they did not know enough Finnish. For some of the participants, like Camila, English seemed to work best at the beginning of the period of residence and, once they had learned Finnish, they did not "need" English for everyday interaction anymore. The fact that most of the participants seemed to equate integration with using the dominant language shows how strongly assimilationist ideologies are advocated through government integration policies and how these policies are being communicated to people of migrant background. This does not, however, diminish the importance of the participants' experiences of inclusion achieved through the use of language – be it English or Finnish.

Endnote

¹ Excerpts and transcription conventions: The interview excerpts have been given verbatim, only some repetition and sounds that indicate recognition and listening on the interviewer's part, such as *mhm, aha, yeah* or *ok* have been left out to shorten the texts and make them easier to read. Commas are used to indicate slight pauses or thought units.

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Appendix 1. Interview outline for migrant stay-at-home parents

1. Warm up: How and where did you hear about [name of the multicultural family café]? Do you go there often?
2. Personal information: tell me about yourself.
 - a. Who are you (name, age)?
 - b. How long have you lived in Finland?
 - c. Why did you come to Finland?
 - d. Where have you lived before coming here?
 - e. What kind of a family do you have?
 - f. What is your educational background?
3. Personal language repertoire (self-assessment).
 - a. What *languages* language can you speak (e.g. English, Vietnamese, Swahili)?
 - b. How have you learned the languages: out-of-school (*acquisition*) or in school (*learning*)? How old were you when you learned/acquired these languages: a child, teenager or adult?
 - c. What can you do with the languages (*functions*): read, write, speak, understand (speech)? What do you do with these languages; are they for your own “thinking” (*internal* functions, e.g. counting, dreaming) or for dealing with other people (*external* functions, e.g. reading a newspaper, chatting with a friend)?
 - d. Where do you use the languages (*domains*; e.g. home, school, daycare); in what *roles* (e.g. mother, spouse, friend), and in addressing what *topic(s)* (e.g. daily chores, weather, homework)?
4. Personal language encounters: tell me about a typical day in your life and describe your language encounters during the day.
 - a. You can use the clock, for example: what time do you use different languages and with whom?
 - b. Have there been any changes in your (and your family’s) language use since you moved to Finland or during your stay here?
5. Integration: social inclusion/exclusion
 - a. How do you understand the term integration? What does it mean to you; do you feel integrated into Finnish society? Why (not)?
 - b. What things have helped you to integrate into Finnish society? (Do you have friends here, for example? Which languages do you use with them?)
 - c. What things can make integration more difficult?
 - d. In your opinion, what is the role of language in integration?
6. Integration: dealing with Finnish service providers (family clinics, daycare, comprehensive school, social work, Finnish language teaching, third sector).
 - a. How often do you use one or more of these services?
 - b. Which languages are used during the encounters? Is the use of a certain language required in some of these encounters?

- c. Do you feel that you are getting all the information you need and want in these encounters? Why (not)?
 - d. Have you had any difficulties using these services?
 - e. How should services for migrant families be arranged; where, in which language etc.?
 - f. Would you give me permission to talk to some of the people you deal with on a regular basis about possible language-related issues relevant to these encounters? Do you have specific people in mind that I could talk to?
7. Future plans
- a. Where do you see yourself in five years (related to family, studies, work, residence)?
 - b. What about your (and your family's) language encounters; do you think there will be any changes in them?
8. Use of social media
- a. Do you follow or use any social media applications (such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, blogs)? For what purposes do you use them?
 - b. Are you willing to share your experiences on everyday language encounters and being a stay-at-home parent of migrant origin in Finland with other parents in the same situation on social media (photos, text)?
9. Anything else you would like to say before we finish

Thank you very much for your participation!

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II

MIGRANT WOMEN, WORK, AND INVESTMENT IN LANGUAGE LEARNING: TWO SUCCESS STORIES

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Päivi Iikkanen*

Migrant women, work, and investment in language learning: Two success stories

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Abstract: In the media, migrant mothers are often portrayed as uneducated, having trouble learning a new language, and preferring to stay at home rather than entering paid employment. This article offers a contrasting point of view as a result of examining how two migrant women narrativize their experiences of language learning and working-life-related integration during a three-year period. Specific attention is paid to how the women make sense of their language use over time, and how this may have contributed to their integration into working life and the wellbeing of their families. Interview data was analyzed using the short story analytical approach, focusing on both the content and the various scales of context portrayed in the stories. The analysis is informed theoretically by the concept of investment. The findings indicate that, first, English was used when interacting with members and institutions of the Finnish society, but gradually the use of English was replaced by an emerging Finnish proficiency. At first with the help of English and later, by deciding to invest in learning Finnish, both key participants managed to build new careers and meaningful lives for themselves and their families in a new environment.

Keywords: integration, investment, language learning, migrant, short story analysis

1 Introduction

Professional migrant women often have trouble entering the workforce in their new home country. Sometimes these difficulties can be attributed to their having only an emerging proficiency in the dominant language, but there are also

*Corresponding author: Päivi Iikkanen, Department of Language and Communication Studies, University of Jyväskylä, PO Box 35, FI-40014, Jyväskylä, Central Finland, Finland,
E-mail: paivi.i.ikkanen@jyu.fi
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3769-3387>

several underlying factors affecting newcomers' opportunities to find suitable employment. Participation in society may be seriously affected by the social organization of the community in which the migrants live, or they may experience class dislocation, for example in terms of housing or social networks (Piller 2016). For highly educated migrant mothers this is especially problematic, as these so-called mothering networks often consist of fellow migrants (Piller 2016: 157) who might not share their interests in general or their aspirations related to working life in particular. Learning the local language is, undoubtedly, one of the keys to working life integration (Integration Act 2010). However, many integration programs concentrate heavily on basic language instruction and vocational education, simply with the aim of making "migrants economically more productive" (Pöyhönen et al. 2018: 493). As learning the language is not usually enough to ensure that migrant women find suitable employment, they often need to engage in various re-skilling strategies, the specifics of which are affected by their respective migratory circumstances (Vouyioukas and Liapi 2013). Often, previously acquired professional competence or occupational qualifications are not properly recognized either (Duchêne et al. 2013). These are all reasons why even highly educated professional migrant women often end up becoming homemakers instead of entering paid employment (Forsander 2002; Martikainen et al. 2012; Ministry of the Interior 2009; Piller 2016), although diverging trajectories, or success stories, also exist, as will be shown in the present study.

In this paper, I intend to show how the two focal participants narrativize their investment in language learning in terms of facilitating their future careers and the wellbeing of their families. The central concept of *investment* used in the analysis was originally developed by Bonny Norton (Norton Peirce 1995; Norton 2000, Norton 2013), and it refers to the effort learners put into language learning in the hope of increasing the value of their cultural capital and, thus, providing themselves with access to new resources (Norton 2013: 50). Since I have followed the participants longitudinally, a narrative approach was a useful tool for tracing their individual language learning experiences and professional development. This also resonates well with examining the participants' *trajectories*, since looking at individuals who diverge from typical trajectories of socialization enables us to "learn both about the individual's particularity and about the collective resources used to accomplish that particularity" (Wortham 2005: 97). In this paper, the following questions will be addressed: How have the participants' everyday language practices changed during a three-year period and how does investment in language learning show in their talk? And, How do the participants narrativize the role of language learning in their professional development? Methodologically, I have applied the clock task (Mäntylä et al. 2009;

Satchwell 2005) that consisted of a picture of a clock on which the participants marked their daily language use, and the timeline approach (Tasker 2018), a visual representation of the participants' life events and language learning trajectories. These tools were used to facilitate the interviews and help the participants reflect on the changes that had taken place in their language use and on how their integration has proceeded over time. The short story approach (Barkhuizen 2016), in turn, is used as an analytical tool to shed light on the participants' complex relationship to language learning, and its role in shaping their future in a new home country.

2 Migrant women and language learning: Investment and trajectories

This study focuses on the individual learning experiences of migrants who have migrated voluntarily, e. g. because of marriage, work or studies. This focus arises, first of all, from the fact that most research on the integration and the language learning challenges of migrants has concentrated rather heavily on people with a refugee background (see e. g. Martikainen et al. 2012; Pokorn and Čibej 2018; Skilton-Sylvester 2002), often combined with low literacy skills. Secondly, little is known about skilled (female) migrants, specifically those with young children, as they often arrive through the family route instead of as labor migrants (Kofman 2012), thus making it more difficult to find out how they “develop strategies for their own careers and professional integration in the receiving country” (Kofman 2012: 65). Female migrants with small children may also have difficulty participating in highly structured and time-consuming language learning programs (e. g. Intke-Hernández 2015; Pöyhönen and Tarnanen 2015). As most women, nevertheless, assume principal responsibility for the successful settling in of other family members, which calls for extensive interaction with e. g. schools and health care personnel (Kilbride et al. 2009), problems may well arise. It is therefore very important that the voices of these individual learners should be heard.

In line with the social turn in language learning research (see e. g. Block 2003) and, in order to shed more light on how social context affects the learning process, Bonny Norton (2013) developed the so-called identity approach to second language acquisition. In her study, Norton (2013) introduces five women who moved to Canada for various reasons, such as hope for a better future or escape from communist rule. These women's differing circumstances greatly influence their opportunities to invest in language learning, which initially lead Norton to

examine the role of identity and power relations in the process of learning a new language. Essentially, this approach relies on poststructuralist theories of language (Bakhtin 1981; Bourdieu 1977; Hall 1997; Weedon 1997) and sociocultural theories of learning (Wenger 1998; Lantolf 2000; Lantolf and Thorne 2006; Lantolf et al. 2018). The most important aim of Norton's approach is to study the individual language learner in the context of the wider social world. In other words, the identity approach examines language learning as a "complex social practice rather than [as] an abstract, internalized skill" (Norton 2013: 166). The core of Norton's (2013) argument lies in the fact that learners *invest* in learning a second language in order to acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources. This increases the value of their cultural capital and provides them with new resources such as access to the target language community (Norton 2013: 50). A number of other studies have also made use of the concept of investment, mainly to shed light on individual learning experiences (Menard-Warwick 2009; Skilton-Sylvester 2002), highlight the role of the language learning environment in the learning process (Strömmer 2017) or examine how identities are constructed in the process of language learning (Barkhuizen 2016).

The theory of investment has been further developed by Darvin and Norton (2015), where they situate investment at the intersection of identity, ideology and capital to account for modern technological advances such as increased transculturality and the development of mobile communication. In their paper, the concept of *capital* (Bourdieu 1986) is elaborated by introducing the three types of capital (or power): economic/material, cultural and social. In short, *economic capital* refers to material resources such as property and income, *cultural capital* to knowledge or educational credentials, and *social capital* to social networks and connections (Darvin and Norton 2015: 44). The challenge in the migration context is, however, that the value of one's capital may shift, as it travels through space and time, reflecting the larger sociocultural context (Darvin and Norton 2015: 44–45). This means that for example language proficiency or an educational degree that were attained and valued in one's country of origin, may be radically devalued in the new country of residence (Darvin and Norton 2015: 44–45), and, thus, may not be recognized as *symbolic capital*. Due to the fluctuating value of their capital, migrants are placed in a difficult position when entering the labor market, as they will rarely be able to find employment that matches their expertise and qualifications achieved in pre-migration settings.

In addition to paying more attention to the individual learner and the language learning context, time is another dimension that deserves more attention in the study of language learning. Studies in language socialization (see e.g. Duranti et al. 2012), for example, have used the concept of *trajectory*,

“a connected series of events across which individuals come to participate in forms of life” (Wortham 2005: 95), to shed light on long-term language learning processes. Understanding ‘trajectories of socialization’ (Räsänen 2013; Wortham 2005) usually requires taking into account multiple timescales, including local and wider social-historical perspectives (Lemke 2000). In fact, it is sometimes relevant to analyze a unique configuration of timescales in order to reach an understanding of an individual’s unexpected trajectory (Wortham 2005: 101). All this makes the concept well suited for analyzing a longitudinal research process such as the present study.

In the present study, the concept of investment, together with those of capital and trajectories, will be used to examine how the two focal participants, Natalie and Katherina, narrate their language learning experiences during their journey towards achieving both personal and professional goals.

3 Research design and the data

3.1 Research design and selection of participants

This paper is based on a larger, longitudinal study in which I have followed eight research participants’ integration trajectories over a three-year period. I first met these migrant parents in 2015 when, together with our children, we participated in a multicultural family café in a mid-sized Finnish town with a mainly Finnish-speaking population. After I had made preliminary observations during the group’s activities, eight people from diverse backgrounds agreed to participate in the research. The prerequisites for participation were proficiency in English and being a rather recent (max. five years of residence) voluntary migrant to Finland. English language skills were considered necessary so that we would be able to communicate without an interpreter. Being relatively recent migrants to Finland meant that it would be possible to examine the participants’ experiences in the initial stages of their integration into Finnish society. Voluntary migrants who are parents of small children are a very much under-researched group, as most research involving stay-at-home parents (or usually only mothers) tends to be about people with a refugee background (e. g. Skilton-Sylvester 2002). For this paper, I chose to concentrate on two focal participants, Natalie and Katherina, because of considerable differences in their backgrounds, language learning environments and the reasons they gave for staying in Finland and learning Finnish. The participants will be introduced in more detail in Section 4.

3.2 Data collection, the clock task and the timeline approach

The first interviews with the participants were conducted in 2015–2016. I had a semi-structured interview guide, which mainly dealt with personal background information, daily language encounters, and the participants' understanding of the concept of integration (see Iikkanen 2017 for more details). To help the participants report on their daily language use, they were given a clock task (adapted from Satchwell 2005; Mäntylä et al. 2009), a picture of a clock, on which they were asked to mark their daily language use (see Appendices A–D for more details). The clock tasks were then used as a basis for discussion where the participants talked about their language use in more detail, for example with whom and in which contexts they used each of the languages in their repertoire. For the second (2017- early 2018) and third (10/2018) set of interviews, I reviewed the transcripts of the previous interviews and made notes about things I wanted to follow up. As I already knew the participants better and wanted to make the interviews as casual as possible, I did not prepare a structured interview guide. My main interest was to find out how their integration trajectories had unfolded: whether they were studying or working and how their language skills had developed. The clock task was administered in both the first and the second interviews to elicit information about the participants' daily language use and to record both the potential changes in their language practices and how investment in language learning showed in their talk, all of which contributes to answering the first research question.

For the third interview, I had constructed timelines (adapted from Tasker 2018), which are visual representations consisting of the participants' life events and important language learning experiences collected in the two earlier interviews and combined with actual interview excerpts (see Appendix E for details). I had sent the timeline drafts to the participants in advance before the third interviews and had invited them to comment, but received only a few minor corrections. Using the timelines meant, however, that in the interviews, the participants had a heightened awareness and a more informed opportunity to reflect on their emerging language learning trajectories. The timelines helped to generate information on the second research question: how the participants narrativized the role of language learning in their professional development.

In total, the three interviews with Natalie lasted for 118 minutes and with Katherina for 211 minutes. They took place at the university or at local restaurants. All of the interviews were transcribed verbatim and anonymized to make the participants less recognizable. Natalie preferred to have the third interview in Finnish, but I have translated Excerpt 2, presented in the following, into English. Some repetition, affirmations and contemplation such as yeah, mhm,

aha and ok have been left out to make the text more reader friendly. The 4 excerpts chosen for analysis in this paper were selected on the basis of attempting to answer the two research questions: (1) How have the participants' everyday language practices changed during a three-year period and how does investment in language learning show in their talk? And, (2) How do the participants narrativize the role of language learning in their professional development? In the excerpts presented below, brackets () are used for anonymized text, English translations of Finnish words are given in square brackets [] and ... indicates an omission during which the participants talked at length about something that was not directly linked to the focus of this paper.

3.3 The short story approach

To interpret the interview data, I first compared the clock tasks and looked for passages where the participants talked about using different languages, how they had invested in language learning, and what kind of career aspirations they had. Then, I applied the short story approach (Barkhuizen 2016) to analyze extracts that best illustrated the changes in the participants' language practices that had taken place between the interviews and provided insights into how they had invested in language learning to achieve their personal and professional goals.

Methodologically, the short story approach is a form of narrative inquiry that pays specific attention to the content and context of stories, which in this case are excerpts from interviews. In terms of content, attention is paid to three different dimensions featured in the stories: *who*, *where*, and *when*. In the analysis, *who* refers to the characters in the story and to their relationships and positions relative to one another, *where* to the spatial dimension (where the action takes place), and *when* to the temporal dimension (past, present and future) (Barkhuizen 2016: 661). In practice, “the aim in the analysis is to work systematically through the short story text, line by line, and to identify all references, explicit and implicit, to each of the dimensions, focusing on one dimension at a time” (Barkhuizen 2016: 661).

In terms of context, there are three interconnected levels of story (or contextual spaces) which guide the researcher to consider more macro-level social structures, discourses and ideologies instead of focusing solely on the experiences of individuals (Barkhuizen 2016: 662–663). The first level, *story* (all small letters), deals with personal and intimate experiences, whereas the second level, *Story* (with a capital S), refers to a wider context, where individuals have less agency and power in decision-making. The third level, *STORY* (all capital letters), comprises societal structures or more general discourses. In the following, these three

levels are thought to correspond to the family (story), the workplace and institutions, such as schools (Story), and to government bodies, society and general discourses on migration on a larger scale (STORY). Usually, the narrator of the story does not explicitly recognize these wider structures, which means that it is up to the researcher to make the connections (Barkhuizen 2016: 664). These terms (story, Story and STORY) will also be used in the next Section, as excerpts from the interviews are analyzed.

4 Changes in everyday language practices and investment in learning Finnish

As already mentioned in Section 3, I first got acquainted with Natalie and Katherina at a multicultural family café which I also frequented with my then 18-month-old son. Next, I will use the short story approach (Barkhuizen 2016) described above to shed light on how Natalie's daily language practices changed over three years and how she narrativizes her integration trajectory and reasons for investing (Norton 2013) in language learning. Katherina's case will be discussed in the following subsection, 4.2.

4.1 Natalie: Her (extended) family and becoming an entrepreneur as pathways to goal-oriented language learning

Natalie is now 29 years old. She comes originally from Vietnam, where she studied and worked before coming to Finland. She learned English at a branch of an American university and was initially planning to move to the United States. However, she had a friend already living in Finland, and this was one of the reasons why she chose Finland instead. She came to study nursing in 2013, and met her Finnish husband very soon thereafter. They got married and had a baby in 2014, after which she gave up her nursing studies. The family lives with Natalie's parents-in-law. I interviewed Natalie three times over the three-year period and, during that time she transformed herself from a stay-at-home parent into an entrepreneur. To trace this trajectory and how it connects to investment in language learning, two interview extracts (one from the first and one from the third interview) will be analyzed using the short story approach (Barkhuizen 2016). The analysis is also supported by the clock task featuring Natalie's everyday language use at different points in time. The third interview was also facilitated by a timeline (Tasker 2018) constructed in advance.

Our first interview took place at the home of Natalie's parents-in-law in November 2015, our second one at the university in September 2017, and the third at a restaurant in October 2018. When Natalie first talked about her language use, she felt she had easy access to information through English. She still used a lot of English with her husband, and referred to herself as being *lazy* for doing that. When Natalie's husband was working, she mostly talked to her daughter in Vietnamese and to her in-laws in Finnish. The clock task Natalie completed in the first interview (Appendix A) illustrates this reality. Already in the first interview, Natalie mentioned that her future plan was to quit nursing studies and start a company of her own. In Excerpt 1, she talks about her plans. In the excerpt, N stands for Natalie and P for the present author.

Excerpt 1, first interview with Natalie (N) (11/2015).

- 1 N: yeah, well, this is little secretly but
2 we planning that after I go to school, I want to go to Finnish course,
3 I already asked, I already talked with my t-officer¹
4 that we planning that they find a school, a (vocational school) for me
5 I want to
6 P: so you won't go back to nursing school?
7 N: no, no (vocational school)
8 no I will not go back to nursing but I want something new
9 I want to go to (vocational) school to be, to learn to be,
10 not (job title) but some kind of, what is that, yeah
11 but I planning to have a little business in here
... (N talks about the type of business she has been planning to start)
12 N: yeah, and, you know, let's see if I can make it with my husband
13 or somewhere, someone else, but I cannot do it alone
14 of course I need one partner
15 but let's see, because I need to go to Finnish course first
16 and after that go to (vocational) school
17 it take me around two year and two year, two year to three year
18 and after that (my daughter) is already three, four years old
19 this thing easier
20 P: yes, a lot easier
21 N: and I can start to do my planning
... (N talks about the type of business she has been planning to start and reflects on potential competition)
22 N: but something small, I have no too much money or something

1 An official at the employment agency.

- 23 P: no big investments
 24 N: no, no, no, not for that big investment
 25 no, something small, I like it
 26 and then because I planning that if I have something small
 27 I have more time with (my daughter)
 28 ok, money is important but my daughter is more important
 29 so I don't want to spend time all day for work
 30 I want to use, spend my time with her
 31 P: very nice, I'm so happy to hear this
 32 N: yeah, I know that is
 33 for this moment is quite hard to get a job in Finland, is
 34 P: in many areas it is, yes
 35 N: I can say that, but of course I know is change for me in 'sairaanhoitaja'
 [nursing]
 36 but I want just to do something new, I just, I dunno
 37 I just feeling I'm not fit so much for work in nursing field

Who. Natalie, her daughter and her potential business partner are the main characters in the story. Natalie feels that she wants something new (lines 8 and 36) instead of continuing her nursing studies and she has decided that establishing a small business of her own would be an ideal solution (story; personal level). She has also understood that she needs a partner (Story; institutional and workplace level), but it is still unclear who this imaginary partner could be (lines 12–14).

When. At the time of the first interview, Natalie's daughter was one year old, and Natalie was still staying at home with her (story). Nevertheless, Natalie was very future-oriented and had already made a detailed long-term plan (story): first, she needed to complete the Finnish language studies included in the integration program (line 15). After that, she would be able to go to vocational school and start learning a new profession (line 16), which would, then, enable her to establish a company of her own.

Where. The interview took place at Natalie's parents-in-law's house with Natalie's daughter and husband present, and her mother-in-law serving us coffee. In other words, the situation was very intimate, and showed Natalie's strong commitment to her family (story). However, most of our talk was highly future-oriented. Natalie talked about what she was planning to do so that she could both enter the Finnish job market (Story) and dedicate more time to her daughter (story) (lines 26–30). Educational institutions are also prominent in the interview, as courses and schools are mentioned many times throughout the excerpt (Story). When considering the bigger picture (STORY, wider societal

level), Natalie connected her plan to start a company to the current employment situation in Finland (line 33).

This interview shows that learning Finnish represents a double incentive for Natalie: in order to run her own business in the future, Natalie needs to learn Finnish (Story), and by investing in language learning, she is also investing in the opportunity to spend more time with her daughter (story). By becoming self-employed, Natalie would also rid herself of the undesirable label of an unemployed immigrant seeking economic benefits, a label that featured so prominently in current immigration discourses in Finland (STORY).

By the second interview in 2017, Natalie was in the middle of the process described above. She had completed the language courses included in the integration program (Integration Act 2010) and was now taking part in vocational training, studying in Finnish. Because of attending vocational school in Finnish and her predominantly Finnish-speaking home environment, Natalie said that she now spoke Finnish *all day long* ('suomea koko päivän') (see the clock task in Appendix B). In fact, Natalie even wanted to have the interview in Finnish instead of English. The second interview also revealed that Natalie was now planning to start the business together with her husband, who had resigned from his former job and started to study in vocational school for a new profession, just like Natalie was doing. One month before the third interview, in the fall of 2018, the couple's dream came true: Natalie and her husband had just started working for their own company. Interestingly, at this stage, Natalie's language use again seemed quite different from what it had been before: the predominance of Finnish had been replaced by the multilingualism of an *international workplace*, as the following excerpt shows. In the excerpt, N refers to Natalie and P to the present author.

Excerpt 2, third interview (10/2018) with Natalie (N) (my translation from Finnish into English).²

1 P: so now you must, or you can, speak Vietnamese also during the day here

2 or do you speak Finnish?

3 N: yeah, well, because (employee) the person from China is here

4 we speak here Finnish, like English and Finnish

5 and with (my husband) everybody needs to speak English with him

6 and then Finnish too

7 P: so three languages

8 N: mixed up

9 P: in turns and mixed up

2 The original Finnish transcript can be found in Appendix F.

- 10 N: we advertise we have an international (workplace) here and
 11 but it's ok, kind of funny
 12 (my husband) learns a few words of Vietnamese
 13 P: yeah, actually he just said that he kind of understands it already
 14 N: yeah, and then
 15 yeah and then (the employee) now learns a little Finnish
 16 and things like more and
 17 it's more like, kind of funny, and although English is, kind of
 18 P: everyone can speak it?
 19 N: everyone can
 20 P: yeah, it's like a common language
 21 but it's very good, if they can learn Finnish here then at the same time
 22 N: yes
 23 P: yeah, I just remember that when I had the clock picture
 24 last time you wrote on it 'Finnish all day long'
 25 N: yeah, it was true at school, and now also at home

Who. The story features the staff members of the newly established company: Natalie, her husband and their three employees (Story). Natalie seems to be very proud of their international workplace, where three different languages (English, Vietnamese and Finnish) are spoken interchangeably (lines 1–10). Although two of the company's employees are Vietnamese, English is, nevertheless, the lingua franca, because everybody (including Natalie's husband and one of the employees, who comes from China) can speak it (lines 17–20). For Natalie, it seems to be very important that she has been able to hire people from her native Vietnam and a person whom she had befriended earlier during a Finnish course (Story), thus making a personal contribution to society by enhancing migrants' job opportunities (STORY).

When. Natalie and her husband had just opened their business a month before the third interview (story). At that time, their lives were extremely busy and the length of their working days barely allowed them time to sleep. Despite her fatigue, later in the interview Natalie still managed to look into the future and predicted that in the future they would surely have more time for planning, development work, and for having family time (story).

Where. Natalie and her husband spend their days at their newly established company (Story). Looking back to the second interview through the clock task takes Natalie back to vocational school, where she mostly needed to speak Finnish (lines 23–25). Interestingly, Finnish has now become the language that she tends to use at home instead of at work (line 25) (story).

Through the short story approach, I have attempted to illustrate the changes in Natalie's language practices and her investment in language learning as she reconstructed her language proficiency and professional competence to fit the Finnish job market and becoming an entrepreneur. Comparing the different aspects of content, the dimensions of who, when and where in the two interview excerpts, shows how Natalie's focus has shifted from the home to the work place and (Story), furthermore, to making a personal contribution to the surrounding society (STORY). The changes in Natalie's language use, this time the shift in focus from Finnish to English and Vietnamese brought about by the international and multilingual workplace, are quite remarkable. Interestingly, the expanding context from home to the work sphere has had a reverse effect on Natalie's language use: at work, she now has more use for English and Vietnamese than for Finnish, which was so predominant during her vocational studies, whereas Finnish is now the language she uses for the most part only at home. Through her own example, Natalie is making a strong personal contribution to the immigration discourse, as instead of being a looked-down-upon, unemployed migrant (see Norton 2013: 153), she is now providing work and language learning opportunities for others. Thus, investing in language learning has really paid off for Natalie: in addition to increased language proficiency, she has also gained a more prestigious social position and an opportunity to promote migrant entrepreneurship.

4.2 Katherina: Motherhood and better work opportunities as reasons for investing in language learning

The other focal participant, Katherina, is now 44 years old and comes from Hungary. She has three MA degrees and, in addition to her first language, she speaks fluent German, English and Spanish. She attended school and university in Austria and was working there when she met her Hungarian husband. Her husband was working in Finland, which eventually resulted in Katherina following him in 2013. They now have two children, aged five and two. Initially, Katherina was very reluctant to move to Finland and did not like living here at all, as she felt isolated and missed her family and friends. Her work opportunities also seemed very limited. However, the desire to be with her husband and, after becoming a mother, the wellbeing and future prospects of their family won out when she and her husband weighed up their options about where to live. In the following, two excerpts are analyzed through the short story approach and in the light of information on her use of language provided by two clock tasks (first and second interviews) and a timeline (third interview) we can see how

Katherina talks about the relationship between the wellbeing of her family, language learning, and work. The interviews took place at a local cafeteria and over lunch at two different informal restaurant settings.

Before meeting her husband and having children, Katherina had been very independent and had worked a lot. Everything changed, however, when she moved to Finland and discovered that in order to have any kind of a career, she would have to start all over again. At first, she had a very hard time adjusting to life in a strange place where she did not know anyone other than her husband. She missed her family, friends and life in a big city. Having a small baby and not knowing the local language also limited her options considerably. She had mostly English-speaking friends, spoke Hungarian with her husband, and used some Finnish when visiting different offices (see clock task in Appendix C). Despite all the hardships, Katherina had a very clear idea of why she wanted to stay in Finland, as Excerpt 3 shows.

Excerpt 3, first interview with Katherina (K) (1/2016).

1 K: yeah, and that's a huge difference if you have a child
 2 so earlier I was only caring for myself
 3 so I, my choices were my choices
 4 but now, the choices are our choices
 5 and I'm also, of course I'm thinking about (my son)
 6 what is beneficial for him and what is not
 7 and Finland, and Finland is absolutely beneficial for him,
 8 while the Austrian education system wouldn't have been that beneficial for him
 9 nor the Hungarian, it would have been absolutely worst, or the worst thing
 10 so it is very good that he probably will be educated here and
 11 I come in second
 12 so my preferences come behind (my son)

Who Katherina and her son are the main characters in the story. Here, Katherina explains how her priorities changed after she became a mother: now her son comes first (their second child had not yet been born) (story). As a consequence, even though she is not particularly happy to be living in Finland, she is willing to live there in order to invest in her son's education (lines 7–10) (Story).

When The story takes place in the present, as Katherina explains her reasons for choosing to live in Finland. She also refers to earlier periods in her life, when she was on her own, and how everything is different now that she has a child (1–6) (story). Now her main priority is to ensure the wellbeing of her son, which brings a very strong future orientation to the story (Story).

Where The excerpt refers to Finland as a desirable place to live if one is looking for quality education for one's children (lines 5–7) (Story). Other countries, where Katherina has previously lived, gone to school and studied, are also mentioned (lines 8–9). While she would personally be glad to move to either Austria or Hungary (story), she feels that they are not suitable options for them right now due to their unsatisfactory education systems (STORY).

There is ample evidence in other studies (e. g. Norton 2013; Skilton-Sylvester 2002) that motherhood is a very powerful factor in parents' decision-making processes, and that parents often base their decisions on what is best for their children, even renouncing their own potential needs in the process (story). This excerpt shows that Katherina is willing to endure a less than satisfactory life in Finland because, in the long run, it seems to be the best investment for the future of her children. It is indeed widely acknowledged internationally that the Finnish education system is exceptionally good (see e. g. Ministry of Education and Culture n.d.), and education is one of the key factors in making Finland a desirable place to live (Story).

By the second interview, Katherina's emerging Finnish proficiency had helped her a great deal to overcome some of her initial reluctance about living in Finland. She no longer had so much use for English in her everyday life, as evidenced by the clock task from the second interview (Appendix D), and she used Finnish when interacting with daycare staff in the morning and afternoon. Just before the second interview, in January 2018, Katherina had started working for their own company, although she was unhappy with the actual work. Unfortunately, her professional options in Finland were limited, as she could not really utilize her former work experience due to the high level of Finnish language proficiency required. In time, however, Katherina's work responsibilities in the company increased, and when we had the third interview eight months later she seemed very happy with the current state of affairs. In fact the change, as illustrated in Excerpt 4, had been quite profound. In the excerpt, K refers to Katherina and P to the present author.

Excerpt 4, third interview with Katherina (K) (10/2018).

- 1 K: and during the day I have
- 2 a lot of English, a lot of Hungarian, a lot of English
- 3 some Finnish, but, because I don't attend a Finnish course at the moment
- 4 but there's one thing which has started last month
- 5 yeah October, so this October, so this month
- 6 it's that I became 'ohjaaja' [instructor] in a group of Finnish beginners
- 7 because our company won a grant from (a funding body)
- 8 so we do, they had a grant for

9 it's kind of an integration program for newcomers to Finland, and
 10 so this is already something in my, in work life which is
 11 P: yeah, that's wonderful
 12 K: in Finnish
 13 yeah, actually is new, new projects in our
 14 or in my work are really great
 15 so I don't feel that I am, or in the beginning I felt I was doing just leftover
 things
 16 at the moment I have so much to do and I'm working on my own
 17 so, doing my own things
 18 but, it's good
 19 yeah, I wasn't so optimistic about it
 20 but right now I'm really
 21 I'm satisfied

Who Katherina is the main character in this story. After having spent time at home with her children, she finally has a job in which she can use her newly acquired Finnish skills in Finnish working life (Story) (lines 10–12).

When The excerpt orients to the past, the present and the future as Katherina compares her work situation with what it had been like eight months before, when we had the previous interview, and sees how much has changed since then (lines 13–21) (story). The contents of the work have also changed, allowing her more independence and more challenging tasks (Story). Finally, she is able to use her own language learning experiences to help other people striving towards the same goals (Story).

Where As the story deals with Katherina's work, it is located in Katherina's home office (story). The wider context of the story features the Finnish course she is teaching and the new projects in her work (lines 4–12) (Story), through which she has gained the access to Finnish working life she has so desperately sought (STORY).

Katherina's interview, and the changes in the who/when/where dimensions of the stories, demonstrates how her focus has shifted from the home towards working life. Comparing the two interview excerpts underlines the fact that after initially deciding to invest in language learning and a life in Finland for the sake of her family, Katherina has now finally been able to find something to do that is meaningful for herself as well (story). Expanding horizons in working life have made it possible for her to feel she is making a contribution to society (STORY). The key to this has been her investment in language learning, which she could add to all her earlier qualifications.

5 Analyzing integration trajectories and investment in language learning through the short story approach

It is a widely held assumption that once migrants learn the language of their new home country, they will automatically find adequate employment (see e. g. Piller 2016). Unfortunately, this does not always happen, as migration may confine even highly educated professional women to the home sphere because of difficulties entering the workforce at the desired level (Piller 2016). This study has shown that even people with limited institutional language learning opportunities, such as parents of young children, may achieve a great deal on a professional level by investing in language learning. Kramersch (2013: 195) comments that investment “accentuates the role of human agency and identity in engaging with the task at hand, in accumulating economic and symbolic capital, in having stakes in the endeavour and in persevering in that endeavour.” One of the advantages of this study is its longitudinal nature, which enabled analysis of “the unique configuration of timescales relevant to understanding an individual’s unexpected trajectory” (Wortham 2005: 101). In this context, the unexpected can be understood, first, to mean that the two women in this study were not “typical” uneducated immigrant mothers often portrayed in the media, and they certainly did not conform to the role of a traditional stay-at-home mother as far as their career achievements during the study were concerned. Second, the trajectory perspective also makes it possible to take into account the resources (or capital) that adult learners bring with them and how they use these resources to make sense of new experiences (Menard-Warwick 2009: 179; Wortham 2005: 97).

Through the short story approach, I have attempted to show how investment in language learning has been one of the key factors in facilitating integration into Finnish working life for both Natalie and Katherina. Using this approach has enabled me to study how investment in language learning connects to people (who), places (where) and time (when), reflecting the highly contextual and social nature of the language learning process. This is evidenced, first of all, by the changes in the participants’ everyday language practices visualized by the clock tasks (Appendices A–D). Completing the task allowed the participants to reflect on their everyday language practices, and showed how their learning trajectories had evolved between the interviews. Through the discussions stimulated by the task, it became evident that knowing English had been crucial for the parents at the beginning of their stay in

Finland – it had provided them with a window, albeit a somewhat limited one, to the new society. This highlights the importance of examining language learning processes in a longitudinal manner, making it easier to account for the existing resources, such as English proficiency, that migrants bring with them. Had Natalie and Katherina not known English at all, it would have been much more difficult and taken them a lot more time to proceed with their language learning and professional goals. The data generated by the clock tasks also shows clearly that the daily use of English declined at the same time with a developing Finnish proficiency. In Natalie’s case, the process was, however, reversed when the new company was established and the international background of their staff made it necessary for her to go back to using English (and her native Vietnamese). Fortunately, she still has the opportunity to use Finnish at home. The visual nature of the timelines (Appendix E) used in the third interview made them a useful tool in helping the participants realize how far they had actually come in a relatively short time. When Natalie was looking at hers, she concluded “when I came here to study nursing, I would not have believed that, in five years, I will have my own business in Finland – and a family”.

When investing in language learning, both women were also investing in the future and the wellbeing of their families in the long run (cf. Norton 2013), which ties the who/when/where dimensions of the short story approach well together. Natalie’s investment to provide a better life for her family may not be immediately evident: to get where she is now, she has had to be flexible about some of her initial principles. Her involvement in work is somewhat at odds with the fact that her main reason to become an entrepreneur was to be able to spend more time with her daughter. As for Katherina, in spite of her willingness to sacrifice her own professional aspirations for the wellbeing of her family, and her reservations about ever being able to have a satisfactory professional life in Finland, she has also managed to find work that inspires her and where she is able to share her knowledge and experience.

Also, both Natalie and Katherina are mothers, which, for many reasons, can be one of the driving forces behind women’s efforts to learn a new language (see e.g. Menard-Warwick 2009; Skilton-Sylvester 2002). For Katherina, this aspect of the personal (story) level is more prominent, as she has had to put a lot of thought on the matter. For her, it would also have been possible to live in Austria or Hungary, both of them countries that would have had a lot more to offer on the professional (Story) level, but for the sake of her family, she chose Finland (story). For Natalie, the case is perhaps more simple,

as she originally came to Finland to learn a new profession. Also, she is married to a Finn, which gives her more opportunities to use Finnish in her everyday life. Nevertheless, it seems that her primary reason for investing in language learning and vocational education is more strongly connected to increased professional opportunities, whereas for Katherina it has taken much longer to figure out how to fulfill her professional interests. Due to differing circumstances and personal histories affecting their opportunities to invest in language learning (see e. g. Menard-Warwick 2009: 179), it seems that the trajectories of these two women differ the most on the personal (story) and professional (Story) level.

When looking at the bigger picture, however, one of the most important aspects of investing so heavily in learning Finnish for both Natalie and Katherina has been the opportunity to make a difference in society on a wider scale through their contributions to working life (STORY). This means that, finally, their increased cultural and social capital achieved through education has been recognized as legitimate (Bourdieu 1986; Norton 2013), and, has thus, been transformed into symbolic capital showcased by their newly acquired more prestigious social positions as migrants who have found work and become entrepreneurs, which, in the end, means they are also gaining more economic capital. This makes their STORY scales coincide and demonstrates the difference increased cultural and social capital can make in individuals' lives, when they are recognized as symbolic capital. Furthermore, employment has had a significant effect on the women's self-esteem and, hence, on the wellbeing of the whole family in each case (Pöllänen and Davydova-Minguet. 2017).

6 Conclusion

The concept of investment has been criticized, for example for its application of financial terms to learning (Kramsch, afterword in Norton's 2013 edition), for Norton's failure to include recorded examples of actual interactions by her participants in the data (Block 2007), and for her not accounting for the changes in her participants' identities during the research (Price 1995). Despite the criticism, I still feel that through the concept of investment, combined with the longitudinal aspect and the short story approach, I have been able to shed light on Natalie and Katherina's language learning experiences and to show what profound effects investment in language learning, with its consequent better

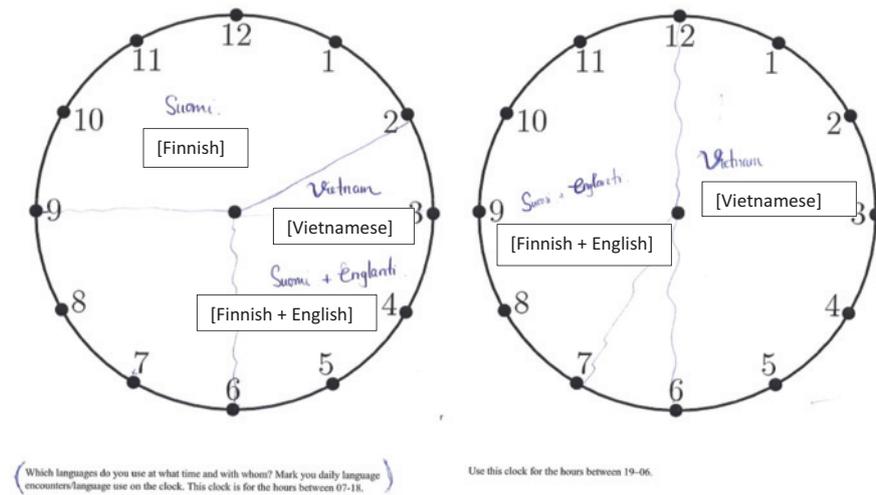
professional integration, has had on their lives overall. By investing in language learning, both women have clearly acquired new symbolic and material resources, such as emotional wellbeing, increased language proficiency, work, and a more prestigious social position, all of which lies at the heart of Norton's (2013) argument inspired by Bourdieu's (1986) theory on the recognition of symbolic capital. These stories also bear a close resemblance to some of those introduced in Norton's original study, particularly those of Katarina, Martina and Eva, who were also mothers.

The short story approach has allowed the examination of the participants' integration trajectories on different levels, including wider socio-historical structures and general discourses, and at different points in time. It has enabled me to illustrate how the participants' involvement with Finnish society evolved as their language proficiency developed and they acquired new professional skills. A study that failed to examine their integration trajectories on this broader timescale and did not use the narrative lens would not have been able to do justice to their stories. Encouraged by the findings, I intend to keep following the participants and look forward to learning how their personal and professional integration trajectories keep intertwining with investment in language learning in the future.

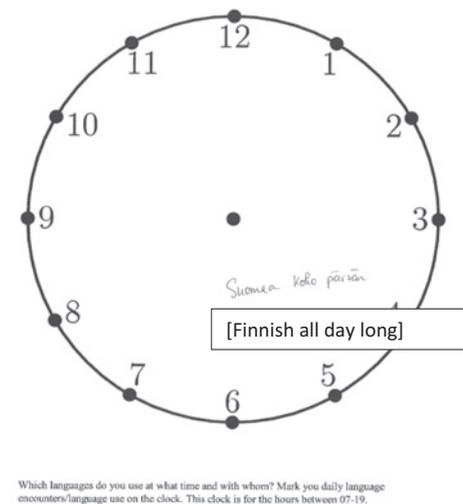
As for the wider implications of this study, it highlights the importance of paying more attention to the longitudinal aspects of language learning, if one wishes to dig deeper into the social aspects and the situational nature of individual language learning experiences, thus making a contribution to a call articulated e. g. by Norton (2013: 15). This study also shows how important English proficiency can be to get a "head start" with personal and professional networking in Finland, because it allows people to be a lot more proactive and independent in their search for information on different kinds of activities and educational opportunities. Natalie' and Katherina's stories send a clear message to policy makers and government officials: professional migrant mothers are highly invested in language learning and in pursuing meaningful professional lives. Thus, it is certainly worthwhile to provide them with suitable learning and employment opportunities (cf. Adamuti-Trache et al. 2018). Community work lies in a key position in assisting migrant mothers to build new personal and professional networks in their attempt to "make life normal again" (Norton 2013: 128).

Appendix

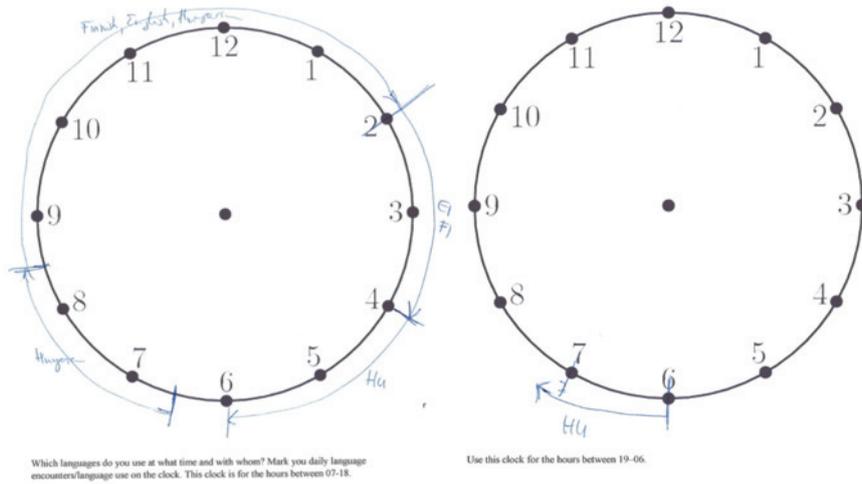
A The clock task Natalie completed in the first interview (11/2015)



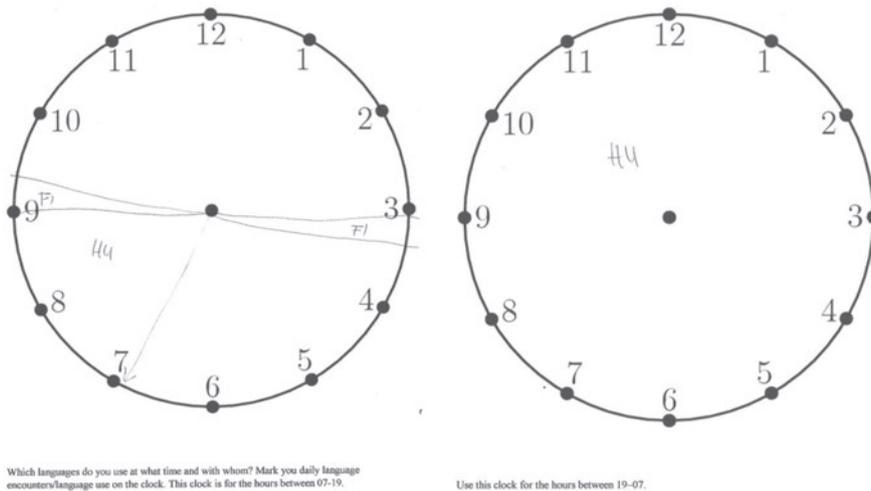
B The clock task Natalie completed in the second interview (9/2017)



C The clock task Katherina completed in the first interview (1/2016)



D The clock task Katherina completed in the second interview (2/2018)



E Katherina's timeline for the third interview (2018)

Katherina (44, Hungary)		2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Life event		moves to Finland with her Hungarian husband	first child born her own company established	second child born considers setting up her own business	first interview		third interview
Language use		Hungarian at home, English with friends	Hungarian at home, English with friends	English course (grammar-based) Hungarian at home, English and Finnish with friends	English course (grammar-based) Hungarian at home, English and Finnish with friends & daycare staff	English course (grammar-based) Hungarian at home, English and Finnish with friends & daycare staff	English course (grammar-based) Hungarian at home, English and Finnish with friends & daycare staff
		<p>"It was a difficult decision because I didn't want to move so far from home. I was never concerned with Finland, so, but he was, he had very strong ideas for wanting to start here."</p> <p>"I just moved [there] and I was pregnant so I didn't know anyone, I only knew my husband"</p>	<p>"I have also established myself here as a mom, thanks to [NGOs] and all kinds of acquaintances and I found out that, mm, I will, anyway, I will be pregnant so I didn't know anyone, I only knew my husband"</p> <p>"Of course I'm thinking about what is beneficial for him and what is not and what is absolutely beneficial for me."</p>	<p>"It's nice to have work and it's nice to go back and find also new ways, also for myself in this really new situation with my own company. I think it would be extremely difficult to find a job"</p>	<p>"It's very comfortable to be able to survive in Finland in Finnish"</p> <p>"So I don't feel that I am, on in the beginning I felt I was doing it myself, but now I have people to help me and I'm working on my own so, doing my own things, but, it's not that difficult, it's not that difficult about it, but right now I'm really, I'm satisfied"</p>	<p>"It's very comfortable to be able to survive in Finland in Finnish"</p>	<p>instructor on a Finnish course for beginners, more independent work, more Finnish at work</p>

F Excerpt 2: original interview with Natalie

- 1 P: elikkä nyt sä joudut, joudut, tai voit, puhua vietnamia sitte päivälläkin täällä
- 2 vai puhutteko te suomea?
- 3 N: joo, no, koska, [työntekijä], se kiinalaine on tässä
- 4 me puhutaankin täällä Finglish, niin kuin English ja suomi
- 5 ja se [aviomies] kanssa kaikki pitää puhua englantia
- 6 ja sitten suomea
- 7 P: mm, eli kolmea kieltä
- 8 N: sekaisin
- 9 P: vuorotellen ja sekaisin
- 10 N: me mainostetaan international [workplace] tässä ja
- 11 mutta ei se haittaa, aika hauska
- 12 [aviomies] oppii muutama vietnamia sanoja
- 13 P: nii, itse asiassa se sano äsken, että hän niinku ymmärtää sitä jo
- 14 N: nii, ja sitten
- 15 nii, nii ja sitten se [työntekijä] nyt vähän niinkun oppia suomen kieli
- 16 ja jotain niinko lisää ja
- 17 se enemmän ja semmosta se aika hauska, ja vaikka englanti on niinkun, sitä
- 18 P: kaikki osaa sitä?
- 19 N: kaikki osaa
- 20 P: joo, se on niinku yhteinen kieli
- 21 P: mut se on kyllä hyvä juttu, jos pystyy oppimaan suomee tässä sitte heki samalla
- 22 N: kyllä
- 23 P: joo, muistan vaan, ku mulla oli niitä kellotaulukuvia
- 24 P: niin sä kirjoitit siihev viimeksi, että suomea koko päivän
- 25 N: nii, joo, totta se on koulussa ja nytkin kotona

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III

ELF AND MIGRANT CATEGORIZATION AT FAMILY CLINICS IN FINLAND

by

likkanen, P. (2019)

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Päivi Iikkanen*

ELF and migrant categorization at family clinics in Finland

Englannin käyttö yleiskielenä (English as a lingua franca) ja maahanmuuttajien kategorisointi neuvoloissa Suomessa

<https://doi.org/10.1515/jelf-2019-2006>

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to examine how nurses in family clinics use language, and clients' perceived English proficiency in particular, when categorizing their non-Finnish-speaking clients in their talk. Through membership categorization analysis (Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. A tutorial on membership categorization. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39(3). 462–482), this study shows that perceived proficiency in English, along with migration status and reliance on the native English speaker norm, seemed to be the most decisive elements in how the nurses categorized their migrant clients. The findings demonstrate the power of categorization as an instrument in institutional decision-making and highlight the role language plays in these categorizations. In particular, the study shows how influential perceived English language proficiency and the native speaker norm are in how nurses categorize their migrant clients. The findings suggest that being able to interact with clients in English is becoming a more and more important skill in working life in Finland, also in the health care sector. It would be important to understand how influential perceived language proficiency is in the way nurses conceptualize their clients, and to what extent this relates to the standard language ideology (Milroy, James. 2001. Language ideologies and the consequences of standardization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5. 530–555).

Keywords: migrant, immigrant, English, family clinic, standard language ideology

Abstrakti: Artikkelin tavoite on selvittää, miten neuvolan terveydenhoitajat käyttävät puheessaan kieltä, erityisesti englannin kieltä, ei-suomea-puhuvien asiakkaidensa kategorisointiin. Tutkimuksessa hyödynnetään jäsenkategoria-analyysiä (Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. A tutorial on membership categorization.

*Corresponding author: Päivi Iikkanen, Department of Language and Communication Studies, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland, E-mail: paivi.iikkanen@jyu.fi

Journal of Pragmatics 39(3). 462–482) osoittamaan, miten englannin kielen osaaminen maahanmuuttostatuksen ja syntyperäisen englannin puhujan normin ohella näytti olevan määräävin tekijä siinä, miten terveydenhoitajat kategorisoivat siirtolaistaustaisia asiakkaitaan. Tutkimustulokset osoittavat kuinka vahvasti jäsenkategoriapohjainen luokittelu näkyy institutionaalisessa päätöksenteossa, ja ne korostavat kielen roolia tässä luokittelussa. Tutkimustulokset antavat viitteitä siitä, miten merkityksellisiä asioita koettu englannin kielen osaamisen taso ja syntyperäisen kielenpuhujan normi ovat siirtolaistaustaisten asiakkaiden kategorisoinnissa. Tulosten perusteella voidaan olettaa, että englannin kielen osaamisesta on tulossa yhä tärkeämpi osa ammattitaitoa suomalaisessa työelämässä, myös terveydenhuoltoalalla. Olisikin tärkeää ymmärtää asiakkaiden kielitaidon vaikutus heistä terveydenhoitajille muodostuvan mielikuvan muotoutumisessa ja missä määrin tämän mielikuvan muodostuminen liittyy syntyperäisten kielenpuhujien mallin eli standardikieli-ideologian ihannointiin (Milroy, James. 2001. Language ideologies and the consequences of standardization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5. 530–555).

Avainsanat: siirtolainen, maahanmuuttaja, englannin kieli, neuvola, standardikieli-ideologia

1 Introduction

In the rapidly globalizing world, English is considered the language of the global economy, allowing access to quality education and upward social mobility (Park and Wee 2012; Dong 2016). The expanding use of English means that it is used much more frequently between non-native speakers than native speakers, i. e. as a lingua franca (Seidlhofer 2011). Despite the growing numbers of non-native speakers, the teaching of English still relies quite heavily on native speaker norms (Canagarajah 1999; Holliday 2009; Seidlhofer 2011), often referred to as the standard language ideology (Milroy 2001; Seidlhofer 2011). Furthermore, native speaker varieties seem to be the ones that are valued the most (Holliday 2009; Leppänen et al. 2008; Pihko 1997). It is interesting to see how migrants are placed in this space. What kind of a role does English play in how migrants are perceived in municipal services by Finns, who are, by definition, non-native speakers of English? Is the native speaker the norm against which migrants' use of English is compared or are other variants also considered acceptable? And if so, how does this play out in practice when they are dealing with municipal service providers, for example?

Until recently, migrants' use of English remains a largely neglected area of study in Finland, as most current research concentrates on migrants' learning how to cope with the Finnish language (see e. g. Kärkkäinen 2011; Pöyhönen and

Tarnanen 2015). Nevertheless, there are some indications as to how knowing English provides migrants with significant advantages during the initial period of integration before they learn Finnish (Iikkanen 2017). However, there is also evidence to the contrary: different ways of speaking English can be considered “deviant” or “marked” and studies have shown that it is not only a question of which language a person speaks but *how* they speak it, which may, in some contexts, have rather serious consequences (Guido 2012; Maryns 2012).

The aim of this paper is to examine how family clinic nurses, who are the most prominent municipal contacts for migrant families with small children, navigate in the jungle of language use with migrant parents. Through membership categorization analysis (MCA) (Schegloff 2007), I aim to show how nurses categorize their clients on the basis of the clients’ perceived language proficiency in their talk, with a specific focus on the clients’ use of English. In the following, I will first discuss the position of English in Finland and, then, focus specifically on how research conducted in the sphere of English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) related to the standard language ideology (Jenkins 2007; Milroy 2001; Seidlhofer 2011), intercultural communication (Baker 2015) and cross-cultural immigration domains (Guido 2012) could be of use in explaining why and how these categorizations may take place. This is followed by a description of methodology, participants and data. Findings will be discussed in Section 5, after which I will consider the broader implications of this study.

2 Standard language ideology and the categorization of migrants

Although lacking in official status, English is by far the most widely studied and commonly used additional language in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2008). A study on the uses of English in educational, media and business contexts found that “the increasing use of English [...] obviously reveals a lot about its status as an almost self-evident common language and lingua franca in many situations” (Leppänen and Nikula 2007: 366). However, the teaching of English in Finland, as it does in many other parts of the world, still relies heavily on the standard varieties, i. e. British and American English. Therefore, it is hardly a surprise that Finns seem to find British (40 % of respondents) and American English (36 % of respondents) the most “pleasant” varieties of English (Leppänen et al. 2009). Furthermore, a study on the intelligibility of native and non-native English pronunciation to Finnish learners of English (Pihko 1997: 235) found that all native-speaker varieties were evaluated more positively than non-native

varieties. Moreover, the English spoken by native speakers was considered “real English,” whereas non-native variants (particularly Gambian and Ethiopian English) were downgraded and viewed as “strange” (Pihko 1997). In a similar vein, Seidlhofer (2011) also argues that ethnicity and socioeconomic status affect speakers’ perceived intelligibility, i. e. the higher their social status, the more easily they will be understood. Hence, in light of the current socioeconomic power of nations where English is spoken as a native language (Seidlhofer 2011: 36), it is particularly challenging for ELF speakers to be accepted as legitimate and communicatively effective speakers of English.

2.1 Standard language ideology

This kind of a standard language ideology (Milroy 2001), or standard English ideology as it was referred to by Seidlhofer (2011), is problematic because “beliefs and attitudes are usually transmitted and reproduced through education without either teachers or learners being aware of them” (Seidlhofer 2011: 43). Furthermore, this “privileged variety representing a prestige linguistic norm recognized in particular communities and set up as gatekeeping for the achievement of education and therefore social status” (Seidlhofer 2017: 87). This historically “deep-rooted” (Jenkins 2007: 33) standard language ideology has been widely critiqued by many scholars (see e. g. Pennycook 2000), most profoundly so by those in the field of ELF (e. g. Dewey 2012; Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011). The critique is based on how profoundly such an ideology affects ELF speakers, as for example failing to meet the correctness requirements of Standard English (Milroy 2001) would, thus, deem ELF speakers automatically as communicatively incompetent (Seidlhofer 2017). In fact, ELF scholars find the exact opposite often to be the case: a willingness to adapt, in other words to “deviate” from the standard language forms, can be communicatively *more* effective rather than less so (Cogo and Dewey 2012; Seidlhofer 2011, 2017).

However, the notion of standard language ideology does shed light on understanding the politics of language related e. g. to immigration (Garrett et al. 2003) or the use of ELF in “inter-communal” domains (Widdowson 2017). Guido (2012), for example, has found in her study of African immigrants being interviewed by Italian immigration officials that as interlocutors often transfer features from their first languages to their use of ELF, their talk may, then, be perceived as “deviant” and pragmatically “marked” by others (Guido 2012: 236; quotation marks original). These different “linguacultural conventions” and the idealization of the standard language may, then, lead to a lack of authentication of different ELF variations (Guido 2012). Therefore, there is a call for increasing

awareness of the fact that, although possibly lacking in its conformity to the rules of English as a native language, English spoken by non-natives may be just as effective means of communication as the native speaker variants, given the right contexts, purposes and shared understandings for using the language (Baker 2015; Cogo and Dewey 2012; Seidlhofer 2011, 2017). As the standard language ideology is essentially transmitted through educational practices (Seidlhofer 2011), teachers and researchers, linguists and non-linguists alike, are the primary target groups to be addressed when attempting to shed light on why “our conceptualizations of the nature of language and communication in general” are in an urgent need of re-thinking (Seidlhofer 2017: 97).

2.2 ELF and the categorization of migrants

By definition, ELF refers to English being used as a common medium of interaction in situations where interlocutors do not share a first language (Seidlhofer 2011). However, given the strong preference towards the native speaker norm and the intercultural nature of communication in the case of my participants, I wanted to see how clients’ backgrounds and their perceived proficiency in English affected the way family clinic nurses (as representatives of Finnish society) categorized their non-Finnish-speaking clients. In fact, cultures are based on the premise that people try to organize their experiences, which are naturally “messy” (Douglas et al. 2000: 46 – 52), and, as they try to overcome this messiness, they give meanings and divide things into different categories using various classification systems. According to Sacks, Jefferson and Schegloff, “a great deal of the knowledge that members of a society have about the society is stored in terms of these categories” (Sacks et al. 1992: 40).

Essentially, categorization takes place through language use, because “linguistic practice is a powerful means of exercising power in and through occasions of social categorization” (Codó and Garrido 2010: 300). In fact, the ways people use language are always “related to issues of identity and power [...] creating social stratification and inequality” (Baker 2015: 111). Here, Baker refers to poststructuralist theories (Bourdieu 1991), and how they have been used in attempts to shed light on how non-standard varieties and less prestigious languages both reflect and create social inequality (Baker 2015: 111).

The social category of immigrant, for example, as Huttunen (2004: 138 – 139) describes it, consists of people of extremely varied backgrounds, but all their individual characteristics disappear as a consequence of being ascribed to this category. However, there seems to be a more fine-tuned system of differences, which makes people who are different in physical appearance, gender or country

of origin either acceptable or suspicious in relation to being accepted as members of Finnish society (Huttunen 2004). People of different origins, then, need to negotiate their position in society individually in relation to these assumed characteristics (Huttunen 2004). Although language use as such was not addressed in Juhila's (2004) or Huttunen's (2004) studies mentioned above, the importance of language and the role of the standard language ideology in how people are categorized on the basis of their language use, cannot be ignored. In the following, I will first describe how membership categorization analysis is used in interpreting the findings. Then I will introduce participants and data.

3 Methodology, participants and data

3.1 Membership categorization analysis

Membership categorization analysis (MCA) was originally developed by Harvey Sacks, the founding father of conversation analysis (CA). In practice, the membership categorization device (MCD) is a set of resources and practices used in MCA and consists of two parts: one or more collection(s) of categories and some rules of application (Schegloff 2007). The categories referred to are everyday ones, such as women, students, infants, Catholics or patients, which then, in turn, are organized into collections of categories that “go together” such as male/female or Catholic/Protestant/Muslim (Schegloff 2007: 467). Furthermore, these collections of categories are always empirical and culture-specific, meaning that the categories which “belong together” may be appropriate in one culture but not in another one (Schegloff 2007: 467). Categories are “the store house and the filing system for the common-sense knowledge that ordinary people [...] have about what people are like, how they behave etc.” (Schegloff 2007: 469). As to the rules of how categories are applied, it is quite striking that if a member of a category appears to contradict “what is ‘known’ about members of the category, people do not revise that knowledge”. Instead, they see the person as ‘an exception,’ ‘different,’ or even a ‘defective’ member of the category (Schegloff 2007: 469). So-called category-bound activities, which refer to the “activities or actions or forms of conduct that are characteristics to the members of a certain category” (Schegloff 2007: 470), are also an important part of MCA. This means that it is possible to “allude” to a certain category membership of a person by referring to them being engaged in a “category-bound” action, such as in “a baby *cried*” (Schegloff 2007: 470; emphasis added).

After introducing the participants and the data, membership categorization analysis will be used in the following to try and explain how Finnish family clinic nurses categorize their migrant clients. I will look into how migration status and the native English speaker norm are reflected in the nurses' categorizations. Finally, I will discuss the potential consequences these categorizations have for the individuals placed in specific categories.

3.2 The wider context of the study

This paper is part of a larger study, the goal of which is to investigate how language affects migrant parents' individual integration pathways into Finnish society and what role language use (in particular, their perceived English proficiency) plays in that process. I initially interviewed eight migrant parents in a medium-sized Finnish town (Iikkanen 2017). The parents had migrated to Finland recently on a voluntary basis and they were interviewed twice during the period of three years (two of them were interviewed three times). The rationale behind the longitudinal research process was an interest to find out how integration and language use relate to one another and how language practices evolve during the research period. The findings indicate that in the beginning, specifically in official domains, the parents managed quite well with English. Unofficial encounters with Finns in pursuit of achieving genuine social integration, however, seemed to be more challenging. Moreover, some of the parents' attempts at socializing with Finns had resulted in having been ignored or rejected (Iikkanen 2017). Although the Integration Act (2010) places some responsibility on the host society as well, and talks about "two-way integration," the major responsibility for integration still seems to rest on the newcomers' shoulders. Furthermore, it seemed that the participants equated integration very strongly with learning Finnish, which is most likely a by-product of taking part in highly language-oriented migrant integration programs (Pöyhönen and Tarnanen 2015).

Perhaps not that surprisingly, there seemed to be a strong link between the assumed length of stay in Finland and how intensively the study of Finnish was taken on by the participants (Iikkanen 2017). Those who had come to stay were very eager to learn the language, whereas those who had only come for a limited period of time or were still not quite decided on whether they intended to stay in the country permanently, did not invest nearly as much time or effort in language study. The participants also had different reasons for learning the language. Being able to find work was obviously an important goal, but some of them had also made a conscious

choice that Finland offered the best possibilities for their offspring and, hence, were prepared to compromise as far as their own professional aspirations were concerned.

A three-year research period was essential in showing how, as time passed and the parents' Finnish proficiency increased, they had less and less use for English. Nevertheless, they still sometimes needed English when carrying out very important tasks, such as making a business plan for a company they were establishing, or when only wanting to relax and speak more freely (as speaking Finnish still required a lot more effort from them). The findings indicate that it is of extreme importance to let the integration process proceed on its own pace. Clearly, it had not been easy for the participants to find their place in a new society, since earlier qualifications could not really be utilized, and extensive re-thinking in terms of both personal goals and available opportunities had to be done. Given a few twists and turns, however, most of the participants who stayed in Finland in the end, had managed to make their life meaningful and felt like they had found a new home.

As part of the research process, I also conducted interviews with five family clinic nurses whom the parents visited regularly with their children, and two senior nurses, who were the superiors of the nurses interviewed. This was done to get an outsider's perspective on how using English works in Finland, to see how non-Finnish-speaking clients are categorized at family clinics and what kind of consequences this categorization might have. This paper focuses on the interviews with the nurses and the senior nurses.

3.3 Family clinics in Finland

The family clinic plays an essential part in preventive and health promoting work in primary health care (National Institute for Health and Welfare 2015). Family clinics, along with pre-natal (*äitiysneuvola*) and child health clinics (*lastenneuvola*), are the responsibility of the municipality. Using the family clinic services is voluntary and free of charge. At the clinic, parents learn how their child is developing compared with other children of the same age, and they are given advice e. g. on daily routines, hygiene, nutrition, play, sleep and learning. The aim of family clinics is to discover needs for special support as early as possible and provide help in appropriate ways. Migrants are entitled to health care services if they have a residence permit and a registered place of domicile in Finland (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2017).

3.4 The participants and the data

As Table 1 indicates, the nurses' ages varied between 37 and 61 years and, on average, they had been working in municipal family clinics for more than 13 years. I have used pseudonyms to protect their privacy. The individual nurses' ages, the number of years they had been working as nurses in family clinics, and the number of their non-Finnish-speaking clients at the time of the interviews are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Background information on the nurses and the number of non-Finnish-speaking clients they were seeing.

Nurse/Details	Age	Number of years working as a nurse in a family clinic	Number of non-Finnish-speaking clients
Nurse Kaija	42	12	about 30% of all clients
Nurse Sari	48	11	about 10 families
Nurse Marja	52	14	could not say exactly
Nurse Anne	37	6	occasionally some families
Nurse Leena	57	15	none at the moment, but used to have a lot when working in a different area
Senior nurse Kati	42	7 years as a nurse and 7 years as a senior nurse	senior nurses did not deal directly with clients
Senior nurse Eeva	61	10 years as a nurse and 10 years as a senior nurse	senior nurses did not deal directly with clients

The data consist of two sets of semi-structured thematic interviews. I interviewed the nurses during the summer and fall of 2016, and the senior nurses were interviewed a year later, in the fall of 2017. I asked the nurses about the number of non-Finnish-speaking clients they had and how they usually worked with them, whether they spoke English (or some other language) or used interpreters, and if the city had any general guidelines on when to use an interpreter. I asked if materials in other languages besides Finnish were available for their clients, and how the nurses felt about working in a foreign language; whether it affected their work in any way, and if they had had any language-related misunderstandings with their clients. In the senior nurses' interviews, in addition to the questions mentioned above, I concentrated on finding out if the nurses had

talked to their superiors about potential language-related challenges and what kind of instructions the nurses had been given regarding the use of interpreters. Appendix 1 includes more detailed interview questions. The interviews lasted from 36 minutes to an hour, the total amount of data being 260 minutes. The interviews were originally conducted in Finnish and transcribed verbatim. I have translated the excerpts presented here into English. A note on transcription conventions can be found in Appendix 2.

4 Non-Finnish-speaking clients at family clinics

I set out to find out through membership categorization analysis (MCA; as described in more detail in Section 3) how nurses in family clinics categorize their migrant clients in their talk and what role the clients' (perceived) English language proficiency played in these categorizations. The first part of the analysis will deal with the role that the clients' migration status played in the nurses' categorizations and how this role was tied to perceived use of language. In the second part of the analysis, in Section 4.2, I will focus on the native English speaker norm in how the nurses perceived (and evaluated) the clients' English proficiency. In the last section, I will discuss the potential consequences these categorizations may have on the nurses' everyday working practices and the services (such as interpretation) that were provided for the clients.

4.1 Migrant categorization on the basis of migration status

I started the analysis by looking at how the nurses categorized their non-Finnish-speaking clients in their talk. What categories did they use when referring to people who did not speak Finnish as their first language? Excerpt (1), below, demonstrates how nurse Leena talked about her non-Finnish-speaking clients.

Excerpt 1: Interview with nurse Leena.

Finnish (original)	English (my translation)
L: ja tota, sitte mä siirryin [kaupunginosa] ja sielläki mulla oli maahamtuuttaja-asiakkaita , mut täällä mul oli yks	L: and then, well, I moved to [a part of town] and there I also had some immigrant clients , but here I had one

(continued)

Excerpt 1: (continued)

maahammuuttaja-asiakas, joka muutti pois @@	immigrant client, who moved away @@
P: okei @@	P: ok @@
L: nyt ei oo yhtää	L: now I don't have any
P: onks tää [neuvola] nimeomaa tähän [kaupunginosa] alueen asukkaille tarkotettu sitten?	P: is this [clinic] meant particularly for the people from this [part of town] then?
L: joo, kyl tää on niinku semmosta aluetta, että, ni tääl ei nyt niin välttämättä tai sitte ne on, toki on tämmösiä yliopistoihmisiä	L: yeah, this is the sort of area where not necessarily, well, there are those sort of university people
P: joo	P: yeah
L: jotka sit puhuu englantia	L: who speak English then
P: aivan	P: right
L: mut et ihan tälle, et joutus niinku tulkin kanssa pelaamaan paljo, ni	L: but not like you would have to work a lot with an interpreter

At the beginning of Excerpt (1), nurse Leena first mentions that, earlier, she had *had some immigrant clients*,¹ but, at the moment, she did not have any. She goes on to say that some of her current clients were, however, *those sort of university people, who speak English then*. In her talk, these two, immigrants on the one hand and university people on the other hand, are completely separate categories. Notably, it is the clients in the university people category, but not those in the immigrant category, who speak English. Nurse Marja, in Excerpt (2), seemed to categorize migrants in a similar way.

Excerpt 2: Interview with nurse Marja.

Finnish (original)	English (my translation)
P: kuinka paljo sulla käy semmosia asiakkaita, jotka ei puhu äidinkielenä suomea? Noin suurin piirtei?	P: how many clients do you have that don't speak Finnish as their first language? About?
M: Emmä nyt osaa prosenttiosuutta sanoo, mut kyllähä niitä o aika paljo tässä	M: well, I can't say how many per cent, but there are quite a few of them
P: joo	P: yeah
M: (xxx) mulla o tää keskusta-alue tässä, nin	M: (xxx) I have this town center area here, so
P: mm	P: mm

(continued)

1 The examples mentioned in the text are marked **in bold** in the interview excerpts.

Excerpt 2: (*continued*)

M: aika paljo yliopistolla	M: quite a lot of university
P: joo	P: yeah
M: porukkaa, sit on tietty maahamuuuttajia	M: people, and then of course immigrants
P: opiskelijoita	P: students
M: opiskelijoita	M: students
P: ja työntekijöitä	P: and staff
M: työntekijöitä, ja sit om maahamuuuttajia	M: staff, and then there are immigrants
P: joo, joo	P: yeah, yeah
M: et kyllä niitä nyt aika	M: there are quite a few of them

Excerpt (2) reveals how strongly nurse Marja's thoughts, too, were fixed on the separation of people at the *university*, which included *students* and *staff*, on the one hand, and *immigrants* on the other hand. She first mentions the university, in addition to which there are immigrants. After acknowledging my prompts for *students* and *staff*, she still maintains: *and then there are immigrants*, so by further pointing out the distinction, she emphasizes the fact that, for her, immigrants are placed in a totally different category than university people.

As Excerpts (1) and (2) show, English-speaking clients were not called migrants (or immigrants) at all. Instead, the category of *university people* was used. The history of categorizations, and especially of classifications and systems based on legislation, is often connected to the history of social institutions (Juhila 2004: 21). Earlier research also suggests that Finnish professionals who work with immigrants often categorize their clients on the basis of their reason for migrating, and refugees may be seen as reflecting a “stronger” immigrant status than people who have come to Finland because of marriage, work or study (Ekqvist and Pylkkä 2016: 56). Furthermore, financial considerations related to the migration status of the client (namely, the fact that the state covers interpretation costs for refugees but not for other migrants) seemed to play an important part in client categorization as well, especially from the senior nurses' point of view, as Excerpt (3) shows.

Excerpt 3: Interview with senior nurse Kati.

Finnish (original)	English (my translation)
P: kyllä, mites tota, mm, ohjeistetaanko ylipäänsä t erveydehhoitajat jotenki tähän	P: yeah, well, do the nurses have some kind of guidelines

(continued)

Excerpt 3: (continued)

tulkkipalveluitten käyttöön,
onko kaupungilla olemassa joku
[ohjeistus siihe]?
K: [joo, joo]
**kyl siitä on olemassa ihan
kirjalline ohje, ohje ja,**
ja samoin se, että miten tarkistetaan
niinku esimes se, että **millä statuksella
kukaki maahammuuttaja on,**
on täällä Suomessa, ja tota,
et miten nää kustannukset
sitte niinku kohdistuu ja
**miten se tulkkitalukseen
niinku vaikuttaa sitte se**
P: [joo]
K: [se] **henkilön status,**
et ne on ohjeet,
ja saman-
P: **eli onks siihe joku
erottelu sitte, että kenelle
sen saa tilata ja kenelle ei? @@**
K: **no, no tota,** ei oikeestaan
sillä tavalla, että, et kaikkihan
siis ketkä tulkkii tarvitsee,
tai, ja se voi olla joskus niin,
että, et tää asiakas ei itse ehkä
välttämättä koe tarvitsevansa,
mutta terveydenhoitajan
(...)
K: kyllä, joo, joo, että,
**et kyl se tota, se terveydehoitaja
sen tulkin tarpeen niinku
määrittelee,** ja, ja tota,
et se kuka sen tilaa,
ni sehän sen maksaa sitten,
jos ei ole tällaista niinku
statusta, että menee
P: mm
K: esimerkiksi valtion piikkiin
tai, tai sitte, et jos on näitä
kiintiöpakolaisia, ni siinäki
on sitte se aikaraja

for using interpreters,
does the city provide them with
some sort of [instructions]?
K: [yeah, yeah]
**yes there are
written instructions,**
instructions and also how to check
for example **what status
the immigrant has**
here in Finland, and well,
what it then means in terms of
the allocation of the costs then
and **how that kind of affects
booking the interpreter**
P: [yeah]
K: [the] **status of the person,**
so those are the instructions,
and the same
P: **so is there some sort of
stratification then, for who
can have one and who can't? @@**
K: **well, well,** it is not really
like that, everyone who
needs an interpreter,
or, and it can also be that the clients
themselves do not necessarily
feel that they need an interpreter
but the nurse
(...)
K: yes, yeah, yeah, well,
**it is the nurse who kind of
defines the need for
the interpreter** and, and,
the institution that orders
the interpretation is who pays for it,
unless someone's got that
kind of status, that it goes
P: mm
K: for example that the state
covers the costs, or then,
if they are refugees
there's the time limit

(continued)

Excerpt 3: (*continued*)

P: joo	P: yeah
K: minkä puitteissa sitten	K: that then sets the limits,
niinku se menee sitten tota,	well, yeah, but yes, yes,
`mut joo, että kyl niistä on,	there are, are guidelines about it,
on ohjeet ja, joo	and, yeah

In Excerpt (3), the senior nurse first acknowledges that there are *written instructions* for using interpreters. However, she does not explain further what these guidelines are. After that she redirects the interview towards migrant *status* and the allocation of costs based on that, which is yet another type of categorization (see Ekqvist and Pylkkä 2016: 56). Then, Kati dodges my inquiry about *stratification* as a basis for booking an interpreter. She also uses a hedging expression *well, well*, as if she were trying to avoid answering the question directly and trying to buy more time.

I am assuming that senior nurse Kati was referring to the same set of instructions that I received, upon request, from the other senior nurse, Eeva. The instructions included the order form that was used for booking an interpreter and technical details for contacting the interpretation service. Apparently, there were no instructions regarding the *circumstances* when it would be advisable to book an interpreter, or they were not disclosed with me. After further inquiry about whether a person's migration status had an effect on the use of interpreters, Eeva maintained that, to her knowledge, they had never refused the use of an interpreter if one had been required by a nurse. Obviously, this was somewhat of a sensitive issue that the nurses did not quite know how to address – being caught in the middle of financial constraints and their superiors' instructions for using their existing language skills – so I did not pursue it any further. Nurse Eeva added, however, that many of the nurses had such good English skills that they were able to work in English. This relates the decisions made about the need for services directly to language and shows the strength of institutional control exercised through categorization. Although the nurses were led to believe that they could make the decision about booking an interpreter themselves, something that was also emphasized by the senior nurses, in reality it may only be an illusion, as it was finances that really seemed to matter.

In a nutshell, as both Excerpts (1) and (2) show, the nurses interviewed in this study had noticed that university people, who spoke English, did not fit the “historical” category of immigrants that they had constructed for themselves during their extensive work history with migrant clients. The clients' ability to speak English,

often combined with a higher educational background than the nurses were accustomed to with the immigrant clients, did not fit the immigrant category. In other words, to use MCA terminology, speaking English constituted a category bound activity, which was *not* characteristic of the category of immigrant and, therefore, was considered exceptional. Since, as explained in Section 3.1 above, people do not revise their understanding of a category, but, rather, treat contradictory information as an exception (Schegloff 2007: 469), a new category of university people had to be devised. In fact, this new category closely resembles that of an *elite migrant* (Leinonen 2012), alluding to the fact that, in addition to ethnicity, the category of immigrant also entails connotations attached to class and social status (Huttunen 2002). Excerpt (3) reveals the conflicting interests related to the nurses' potential needs for using interpreters on the one hand, and the city's strict financial situation, on the other hand. The following section will look at what role the native speaker norm played in the nurses' categorizations of their migrant clients.

4.2 Native-speaker norm as a basis for categorization

The native speaker norm, as discussed in Section 2, also seemed to play a role in how the nurses had experienced the interactions with the clients and, hence, categorized them accordingly. The nurses seemed to feel quite strongly that it was easier and more effortless to communicate with clients who had English as their first language, as Excerpt (4) shows.

Excerpt 4: Interview with nurse Sari.

Finnish (original)	English (my translation)
S: no kyllä mä koe, että, että englanninkielellä ihan pärjään, pärjään totanin, mulla on useempi näistä asiakkaista on semmosia, jotka puhuu itse äidinkielenään englantia, ni, jotenki, koska ainaki mä ymmärrän englantia aika hyvin, (...) mut useimmiten semmosten asiakkaitten kanssa, jotka ite käyttää äidinkielenä englantia, ni he niinku auttaaki,	S: well, I do feel that I manage quite well with English, manage yeah, I have several of these clients who speak English as their first language themselves, so somehow, at least I understand English quite well (...) but mostly with those clients who use English as their first language, they kind of help you,

(continued)

Excerpt 4: (continued)

koska sit löydetää kuitenkin se ikäänkui	because we kind of find it together
P: se o helpompaa	P: it's easier
S: se o helpompaa, mut sit jos molemmat ollaa niinku samassa tilanteessa, ni sitten se tietysti ois järkevämpää, et se tulkki ois apuna (...)	S: it's easier, but then if both of us are kind of in the same situation, then it might be more advisable to have the interpreter there to help (...)
S: se ääntämys on niin erilainen Intian englannissa, kun sitte vaikka kanadalaisella tai australialaine, australialainenki voi olla vähä haasteellisempi	S: the pronunciation is so different in Indian English, like compared to Canadian, for example or Australian, Australian can be a bit more challenging
P: @	P: @
S: mutta vaikka Kanada	S: but take Canadian for example
P: joo	P: yeah
S: tai amerikkalainen	S: or American
P: ne perinteiset	P: the traditional ones
S: nii, et kyllä niinku omalle korvalle selkeesti Kanadaj ja USA:n englanti ja Englanni englanti on helpompaa, ku sitte	S: yeah, so that Canadian and American English and British English are kind of easier on your ears, like compared to
P: niin, niitä kuulee enemmän	P: yeah, you hear them more often
S: nii, kun se	S: yeah, because it
P: Euroopassa	P: in Europe
S: intialaisella, on niin selkee, tai vaikkeempi se aksentti jotenki	S: Indians have such a clear, or somehow more difficult accent

First, nurse Sari explains that she feels like she *manages quite well with English*, because many of her clients *speak English as their first language*. In her experience, dealing with native speakers is easier, as they are often able to *help* the nurses along in the interaction. But if *they are in the same situation* [with the client], obviously referring to an encounter where both the client and the nurse are non-native (ELF) speakers, *it might be more advisable to have an interpreter there to help*.

Another interesting point in what nurse Sari says, is how she comments on the way English is spoken by her clients. She says that *Canadian and American*

and British English are kind of easier on your ears. In contrast, in Indian English the pronunciation is so different and the accent is somehow more difficult compared to the native-speaker variants mentioned above, making it much more difficult to understand. Interestingly, *Australians can also be a bit more challenging*, although they are native speakers of English. Apparently, Australian English is not as familiar to nurse Sari as Canadian, American or British English, mostly due to exposure to the latter at Finnish schools and in the mass media. Below, nurse Anne talks about her experience with clients of differing origins.

Excerpt 5: Interview with nurse Anne.

Finnish (original)	English (my translation)
A: pääsääntöisesti pyritään käyttämään tulkkia, mm, käynneillä, vallankin kun, kun riippuu tietysti mistä maasta, mistä maasta tullaan, Afrikka, Iran, Irak, Thaimaa – tyypiset, niin, aina mietitään se, että mikä on se perheen englanninkielen taito, voi olla Euroopan maista tulijoita, joilla on hyvä englanti ja he toivovat sillä englannilla sitä asiointia, ja totanin, välttämättä englannin kielen tulkkia, yritin kysellä myös kollegoilta, niin aika vähän tuntuu että käytetään (...)	A: in general, we use interpreters during client visits, mm, especially, well, well of course it depends on which country, which country they come from, Africa, Iran, Irak, Thailand – like that, so, we always have to think what the family's level of English proficiency is, there may be people from European countries who have good English and would like to use English when they visit the clinic, and, well, not necessarily English interpreters, I tried to ask my colleagues, too, it seems that they are not used very often (...)
A: ja on joitai vanhempia, on joku äiti joskus sanonu, että hän ei halua tulkkia, että hän kyllä pärjää, vaikka se englanti on ollu aika huonoa, ja sit on	A: and there are some parents, some mother has said some time that she does not want an interpreter, that she'll manage, although the English was quite bad, and then one

(continued)

Excerpt 5: (continued)

pitäny miettiä,
 että onko mun vaadittava
 hänen oman kielen
 tulkki,
 vaikka hän kieltää sen,
 vai hyväksynkö mä sen,
 että, että me pärjätään
 sitten välttävästi, asioita
 P: miten sä oot toiminu?
 A: se, hänen kohallaan ei tilattu
 tulkkia, hänellä oli isompi lapsi
 P: joo
 A: ja totanin, ja sit
 mä hänelle kerroin sen,
 että tota, et hän niinku
 ymmärtää sen,
 että jos on, asioita,
 joita hän ei ymmärtänyt,
 tai mä yritin selventää,
 mitä hän tarkoittaa,
 että hän niinku
 ymmärtää sen,
 et jos ei ole tulkkia,
 että mitä se tarkoittaa (...)
 A: ja [materiaalia] varsinki
 sellaselle, joka niinkun sanoo
 tai näyttää siltä, että
 ei ehkä niin mene sinne nettiin,
 se on hyvin vaihtelevaa,
 että ehkä mä mietin,
 että jos tulee
 Englannista tai Euroopasta,
 heillä on jotenki
 eri lähtökohat,
 kun sitten joistain muista
 maista tulleilla
 [että se englantti itsessä on
 P: [on ja se hyvinvointiyhteiskunta
 on siellä olemassa samalla tavalla
 ku täällä
 A: on, et jos puhutaa
 englanninkielisistä asiakkaista,

has to consider
 whether I need to insist on
 having an interpreter
 in her own language,
 although she doesn't want one,
 or do I just accept it
 that, that we'll manage
 then somehow, things
 P: how did you handle it?
 A: that, with her we didn't book
 an interpreter, she had a bigger child
 P: yeah
 A: and well and then
 I told her that,
 well, so that she
 kind of understands,
 if there are things
 she didn't understand,
 or I tried to make it clear
 what she means,
 so that she kind
 of understands it,
 if there's no interpreter,
 what it means (...)
 A: and especially [materials]
 for someone who like says
 or looks like they will
 probably not go online,
 it varies a lot,
 that maybe I think that
 if they come from
 England or Europe
 their starting point is
 somehow different,
 than with those who come from
 some other countries
 [that the English in itself is
 P: [they have the welfare society
 in the same way
 as we do
 A: yes, so if we are talking about
 English-speaking clients,

(continued)

Excerpt 5: (continued)

<p>heillä on yleensä kyllä perusasiat olleet minun kohdallani aika hyvin, että totanin P: ehkä meidän kaikki käsitykset asioista on aika samallaisia A: kyllä, se on, se on hyvin, on kulttuuri, niinku näistä kulttuuriasioistaki, että he ei oo ollekaa olleet semmonne kuormittava asiakaskunta, niinkun vaikka se kieli ei olisi oma, mutta sillä englannilla on hyvin pärjätty</p>	<p>they usually have the basic things, at least from my point of view pretty well in order, so that well P: maybe we have a similar understanding about many things A: yeah, it is, it is very, there's culture, like these cultural things, they have not been a burdening group of clients, like even though it is not your own language, we have managed well with that English</p>
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Nurse Anne seemed to have a very clear idea about those clients' origin whose English proficiency should be called into question: people coming from *Africa, Iran, Irak and Thailand*. In contrast, *there may be people from European countries who have good English and would like to use English when they visit the clinic*, which does not seem to present any problems. This reference resonates well with the earlier discussion (see Section 4.1) on how the nurses seemed to ascribe the immigrant category mainly to people of non-Western origin and, as a rule, clients belonging to the immigrant category did not speak English well, if at all.

Sometimes, however, there were conflicting opinions between the clients and the nurses about whether or not an interpreter was needed. Nurse Anne reports an incident where a mother refused to have an interpreter, *although the English was quite bad*, which led nurse Anne to contemplate whether she was able to accept the fact that they would just *manage then somehow*, i. e. use ELF. In this case, nurse Anne did not insist on having an interpreter, as the client *had a bigger child*, which apparently was a mitigating fact from nurse Anne's point of view, compared to the child in question having been an infant. As a rule, the nurses were rather rigorous about the fact that their obligation was to deliver information in such a manner that the client was able to receive it. Here, nurse Anne also tried to do her duty and explain to the client very carefully what it means if the client waives her right for interpretation. Nevertheless, this seemed to be an example of successful ELF interaction. There were also other instances where a mixture of English and Finnish was used, for example nurse Leena told me that she did speak little English but understood it much better. So, often, if clients were able to understand some Finnish, they

used a mixture of these languages: the client would speak in English and nurse Leena in Finnish, and the interaction was considered quite adequate by both parties.

In Excerpt (5), nurse Anne complained about a lack of materials in English (or in other languages) that they could give to *someone who like says or looks like they will probably not go online*, which reveals a highly stereotypical way of thinking and is, indeed, a very strong categorization, pointing towards the power of ethnicity in how interlocutors position one another (Hinnenkamp 1991). What is also quite interesting in the way nurse Anne categorizes her clients is the plain fact that, if clients speak English and come *from England or Europe their starting point is somehow different, than with those who come from some other countries*. These other countries are not named here but, most likely, nurse Anne means places like Africa, Iran, Irak and Thailand mentioned by her at the beginning of Excerpt (5). The fact that England and Europe are seen as a single unit is a telling example of how the nurses conceptualized the clients' origins: clients coming from locations that were more familiar to them, were seen as "better off" compared to those who came from places that are more unfamiliar and distant, both in cultural and geographical terms. In fact, as nurse Anne continues: clients who, in her view, are proficient enough in English, *usually have the basic things, at least from my point of view, pretty well in order*, and regardless of having to use a foreign language, nurse Anne feels that these clients *have not been a burdening group of clients*, and that they have *managed well with that English together*.

In sum, communication in English with clients in the native speaker category (potentially including Europeans) was considered easy and effortless, whereas other clients' presumed lack of English proficiency might require using an interpreter, although negotiation was also possible under certain circumstances. Sometimes a mixture of English and Finnish was also used. An adequate proficiency in English, as concluded by the nurses, seemed to indicate that clients placed in this category came from certain geographical areas, had a different starting point and were not a burdening group of clients, unlike those clients whose English proficiency failed to meet the nurses' standards and who, most likely, originated from "non-Western" areas. Consequently, being a "burdening" client and not possessing adequate English proficiency seemed to be category-bound activities associated with the immigrant category.

4.3 Discussion: migrant categorization at family clinics

As categorizations often rely on a historically accumulated fund of knowledge and the history of social institutions, and are often based on legislation (Juhila

2004), it is easy to see why the migration status played such a strong role in the nurses' categorization process. Initially, the nurses were accustomed to dealing with clients with a refugee background. Often these people had had limited access to education and had not had the opportunity to learn English. Now, with increasing globalization and voluntary migration, the situation has become quite different. The newly configured category of university people obviously entailed a set of attributes that were not shared with the category of immigrant, and speaking English certainly was not one of them. It seemed that having a high social status (e.g. Western origin), being able to speak a high-status language such as English and having migrated voluntarily, all mark a person as a non-immigrant, an *elite migrant* (Leinonen 2012: 249).

As Figure 1 shows, the primary deciding factor in the nurses' categorization of their migrant clients seemed to be whether the nurses and clients had a shared language resource (ELF) at their disposal. The next step in the process was for the nurse to decide whether they perceived the clients' English as proficient enough. If the client did not speak English at all, or their English was considered poor, the client was categorized as an immigrant. If, however, the clients' English was perceived as proficient enough by the nurses, they were categorized as university people, and English was used during the visit to the clinic. Financial constraints, the senior nurses' instructions on making use of existing language skills, and legal obligations all played a part in the decision-making process, which took place on many different levels at the same time. The decision-making process based on the nurses' judgements on the perceived English proficiency of their clients mentioned above and the underlying factors influencing the process are summarized in Figure 1.

In sum, then, in a very similar manner as Guido's (2012) findings suggest, the nurses in this study tended to activate quite strong "top-down" interpretative processes and resorted to their own previous experience with migrant clients when making assumptions about their clients' language proficiency, which Guido sees as "the very source of cross-cultural ELF miscommunication" (Guido 2012: 222). Moreover, the nurses tended to base their judgements on the standard language ideology and the native speaker ideal, which, in practice, were usually based on assumptions made about the clients' ethnicity and socio-economic status. Hence, clients who were, in the nurses' view, proficient enough in English, i.e. were *assumed* to speak English in a manner that adhered to native speaker norms to a sufficient degree in that context (Dewey 2012; Seidlhofer 2011), were given the opportunity to conduct the visits to the clinic in English. In contrast, then, if it was assumed that the clients' English would be "deviant" enough, these "displaced variations" (Guido 2012: 223) would fail to be authenticated, and the nurses would have to resort to using interpreters. In

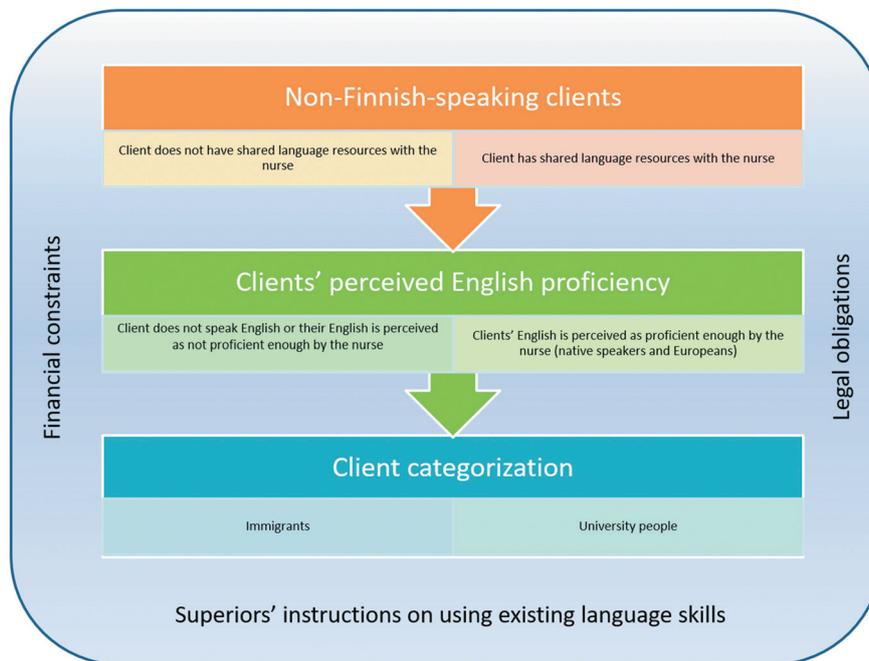


Figure 1: The nurses' decision-making process in categorizing non-Finnish-speaking clients.

other words, the manner in which the nurses categorized their clients, showed their “failure to acknowledge this adaptive appropriation by ELF speakers” (Guido 2012: 221) and take it into account that in certain contexts, an ELF variant could be just as effective means of communication as a native speaker variant would (Cogo and Dewey 2012; Seidlhofer 2011, 2017). Thus, given the unequal nature of communication between the nurses and the clients, there is an obvious need to “develop accommodation strategies of ELF reformulation and hybridization to make culture-bound discourses conceptually accessible and socially acceptable to all the participants,” as Guido (2012: 236) also suggests.

5 Conclusion

In this paper I set out to discover how nurses in Finnish family clinics categorized their migrant clients in their talk. Interestingly, along with migration status, the clients' perceived proficiency in English and whether it conformed to the native

speaker norm seemed to provide a basis for the nurses' categorizations. Since speaking English was clearly not a category-bound activity entailed by the immigrant category, a new category of university people needed to be established. Partly based on historical reasons, migration status and the origins of the clients seemed to be quite pertinent in the way the nurses categorized their migrant clients. The native English speaker norm also played an important part in the process.

This paper shows how the categorization of migrants, into English-speaking university people, who usually were either native English speakers or Europeans, on the one hand, and to non-English-speaking immigrants who originated from places like "Africa, Iran, Irak or Thailand," on the other hand, is a powerful instrument in institutional decision-making and highlights the role language plays in client categorization. As the findings are limited to only a few individuals, the results are of course not generalizable. The findings indicate, however, that being able to interact with clients in English is becoming a more and more important skill in working life in Finland, also in the health care sector. There is also evidence that the status of a voluntary migrant, as opposed to that of a refugee, and reliance on the native speaker norm in evaluating clients' perceived English proficiency, play an influential role in how migrant clients are categorized at family clinics.

Consequently, as a possible future line of research, it would be interesting to have a look into the contents of national nursing programs in this era of globalization and possibly contribute in adding a new, ELF-based understanding of "English proficiency" in them. By observing teaching practices and materials as well as by interviewing teachers and students, it would be possible to raise awareness on migrant categorization and how strongly it seems to be related to language in general and to the standard language ideology in particular. Another interesting area of research would be to observe the actual interactions taking place between the nurses and the clients. Data on the speech-event level would be valuable to see how the decisions on the adequacy of the clients' English proficiency were actually made. In such an analysis, for example the microsocial perspective (Mauranen 2012) could be utilized. Although Mauranen's (2012) work focused on academic contexts, the microsocial approach would add an interactional perspective to the study of linguistic practice in real-life situations between the nurses and their clients.

Appendix 1: interview outline for the nurses

1. How many of your clients at the family clinic do not have Finnish as their first language? What languages do you usually use with these clients? Do you use English, book an interpreter or how does it work? Do you have any

general guidelines for this at the clinic or do all the nurses decide for themselves how they will handle these situations?

2. Do you have materials available in different languages (e.g. forms or instructions)?
3. How do you as a nurse deal with the fact that the client does not speak Finnish? What kind of effects does it have on the visit; are there some things that are more difficult to handle or talk about in another language?
4. Can you give any examples of situations where language-related issues have caused e.g. misunderstandings?
5. How well do current family clinic services address the needs of families who have migrated to Finland from abroad? Do you think any extra services are needed? How should these services be arranged?
6. Have you done any client surveys with different groups of clients on how well family clinic services suit their needs or how the services should be developed in order to better meet their needs?
7. What kind of co-operation do you have with third sector organizations (e.g. multicultural centers, social and health care organizations)?

Additional questions for the senior nurses:

1. Tell me about your work: what does it entail? How does the growing number of clients with different first languages show in your work?
2. How does the growing number of clients with different first languages show in the nurses' work? Have they faced any challenges related to that?
3. Have the nurses expressed any needs for further education regarding clients who use different languages?

Appendix 2: transcription conventions

[...]	simultaneous talk, inserted clarification, omitted place name
(xxx)	unidentifiable word/utterance
@@	laughter
(...)	omitted speech
,	separation of thought units
?	a direct question

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Bionote

Päivi Ilikkanen

Päivi Ilikkanen is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Language and Communication Studies, University of Jyväskylä in Finland. Her research is focused on the role that language (English in particular) plays in migrants' integration into a new home country. Her data consists of interviews with eight migrant parents, their family clinic nurses and senior nurses. She has previously published one article (Ilikkanen 2017), "The use of language in migrant stay-at-home parents' process of integration: Experiences of inclusion and exclusion."