

JYU DISSERTATIONS 592

Sonya Sahradyan

Personal and Institutional Trajectories of Language, Employment and Integration

An Ethnography with Migrant NGO Practitioners



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ABSTRACT

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This doctoral study focuses on the personal and institutional trajectories of migrants working in a non-governmental organisation [NGO] in Central Finland. The study aims to critically investigate migrant NGO practitioners' trajectories of language, employment and integration by cross-analysing the interplay within their diverse social categories and the intersection of these categories with the social structures of the wider society and with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace. The study is based on ethnography, and it draws on observational, interview, textual, questionnaire and self-assessment data. The ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in the NGO's work sites, such as a multicultural centre and four integration-related projects, as well as in several of its management sites. The data were collected and generated jointly or in close collaboration with the participants, including twenty-two migrant NGO practitioners and six Finnish NGO supervisors. Guided by the concepts of superdiversity and intersectionality, the data were analysed using the methods of analysis of narratives and narrative analysis. The findings show that the participants with a migrant background encountered different opportunities and challenges in relation to the policies and practices of language, employment and integration in the broader societal and workplace contexts of Finland. These opportunities and challenges were associated with the participants' diverse social categories (e.g., migration status, legal status, workforce status, language, education, race, ethnicity, gender and age) and their intersection with, on the one hand, the social structures of the wider society (e.g., laws, systems, services, authorities and institutions) and, on the other, with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace (e.g., rules, regulations, procedures, requirements and routines). The study also reveals that the participants generally experienced inclusive integration as a two-way process involving both participation and acceptance. The participants' social categories might affect participation while acceptance might be affected by the social structures of the wider society or by the organisational practices of the workplace. Furthermore, the findings indicate that the two-way process of participation and acceptance formed part of the different dimensions of comprehensive integration experienced by the participants. That is, in the broader societal context, the integration of participants concerned not only language and employment but also other dimensions, such as cultural, social, educational, political and civic. Similarly, in the workplace context, the participants' integration concerned the dimensions of workplace recruitment, workplace language, workplace culture, workplace communication and workplace socialisation. The study therefore suggests that the intersection of migrants' diverse social categories with the social structures of the wider society and with the organisational practices of the workplace should be considered when making changes in policies and practices aimed at promoting their inclusive and comprehensive integration in the broader societal and workplace contexts of the receiving country. Overall, by juxtaposing superdiversity and intersectionality, the study provides new insights into research on migration and integration in general and on language and employment in particular. The study findings can be widely used among migrants themselves, employers, policymakers, public officials, educational institutions, third sector actors and other stakeholders.

Keywords: language, employment, integration, personal and institutional trajectories, policies and practices, ethnography, narrative, migrant NGO practitioners

TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Sahradyan, Sonya

Kielen, työllisyyden ja kotoutumisen henkilökohtaiset ja institutionaaliset polut:

Etnografia maahanmuuttaneiden kansalaisjärjestöjen toimijoiden kanssa

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Tämä väitöstutkimus keskittyy keski-suomalaisessa kansalaisjärjestössä työskentelevien maahanmuuttaneiden henkilökohtaisiin ja institutionaalsiin polkuihin. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tutkia kriittisesti maahanmuuttaneiden kansalaisjärjestöjen toimijoiden kielen, työllisyyden ja kotoutumisen polkuja analysoimalla ristiin vuorovaikutusta erilaisissa sosiaalisissa kategorioissa ja näiden kategorioiden risteytymistä laajemman yhteiskunnan sosiaalsiin rakenteisiin ja kansalaisjärjestön organisaatiokäytäntöihin työpaikkana. Tutkimus perustuu etnografiaan, ja siinä hyödynnetään havainnointi-, haastattelu-, teksti-, kysely- ja itsearviointiaineistoa. Etnografinen kenttätyö tehtiin kansalaisjärjestön työkohteissa, joita olivat monikulttuurikeskus ja neljä kotoutumiseen liittyvää hanketta, sekä useassa sen hallinnollisessa toimipaikassa. Aineisto kerättiin ja tuotettiin yhdessä tai tiiviissä yhteistyössä osallistujien kanssa. Osallistujiin kuului kaksikymmentäkaksi maahanmuuttanutta kansalaisjärjestöjen toimijaa ja kuusi suomalaista kansalaisjärjestön johtohenkilöä. Aineisto analysoitiin superdiversiteetti- ja intersektionaalisuuskäsitteiden ohjaamana käyttäen narratiivien analyysin ja narratiivisen analyysin menetelmiä. Tulokset osoittavat, että maahanmuuttaneet osallistujat kohtasivat erilaisia kieli-, työllisyys- ja kotoutumispolitiikkoihin ja -käytäntöihin liittyviä mahdollisuuksia ja haasteita laajemmissa yhteiskunnallisissa ja työpaikan konteksteissa Suomessa. Nämä mahdollisuudet ja haasteet liittyivät osallistujien erilaisiin sosiaalsiin kategorioihin (esim. maahanmuuttoasemaan, oikeudelliseen asemaan, työvoima-asemaan, kieleen, koulutukseen, rotuun, etnisyyteen, sukupuoleen ja ikään) ja niiden risteytymiseen sekä laajemman yhteiskunnan sosiaalisten rakenteiden (esim. lakien, järjestelmien, palveluiden, viranomaisten ja instituutioiden) että kansalaisjärjestössä työpaikkana käytössä olevien organisaatiokäytäntöjen (esim. sääntöjen, määräysten, menettelytapojen, vaatimusten ja rutiinien) kanssa. Tutkimus paljastaa myös, että osallistujat yleensä kokivat inklusiivisen kotoutumisen kaksisuuntaisena prosessina, joka sisältää sekä osallistumisen että hyväksynnän. Osallistujien sosiaaliset kategoriat saattoivat vaikuttaa osallistumiseen, kun taas hyväksyntään saattoivat vaikuttaa laajemman yhteiskunnan sosiaaliset rakenteet tai työpaikan organisaatiokäytännöt. Lisäksi havainnot osoittavat, että osallistumisen ja hyväksynnän kaksisuuntainen prosessi oli osa osallistujien kokeman kattavan kotoutumisen eri ulottuvuuksia. Toisin sanoen laajemmassa yhteiskunnallisessa kontekstissa osallistujien kotoutuminen ei koskenut vain kieltä ja työllisyyttä, vaan myös muita ulottuvuuksia, kuten kulttuurinen, sosiaalinen, koulutuksellinen, poliittinen ja kansalais-ulottuvuus. Samoin työpaikan kontekstissa osallistujien kotoutuminen koski työpaikan rekrytoinnin, työpaikkakielen, työpaikkakulttuurin, työpaikkaviestinnän ja työpaikan sosiaalistumisen ulottuvuuksia. Näin ollen tutkimus ehdottaa, että maahanmuuttaneiden henkilöiden erilaisten sosiaalisten kategorioiden risteytymistä laajemman yhteiskunnan sosiaalisten rakenteiden ja työpaikan organisaatiokäytäntöjen kanssa tulisi harkita tehtäessä muutoksia politiikkoihin ja käytäntöihin edistämään heidän inklusiivista ja kattavaa kotoutumistaan vastaanottavan maan laajemmissa yhteiskunnallisissa ja työpaikan konteksteissa. Kaiken kaikkiaan superdiversiteetin ja intersektionaalisuuden rinnakkain asettelulla tutkimus tarjoaa uusia näkökulmia sekä maahanmuuton ja kotoutumisen tutkimukseen että kielen ja työllisyyden tutkimukseen. Tutkimustuloksia voidaan käyttää laajasti maahanmuuttaneiden itsensä, työnantajien, poliittisten päättäjien, viranomaisten, oppilaitosten, kolmannen sektorin toimijoiden ja muiden sidosryhmien keskuudessa.

Avainsanat: kieli, työllisyys, kotoutuminen, henkilökohtaiset ja institutionaaliset polut, politiikat ja käytännöt, etnografia, narratiivi, maahanmuuttaneet kansalaisjärjestöjen toimijat

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*This dissertation is dedicated to the research participants
and to all who have experienced migration*

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Sonya Sahradyan

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BNIM	Biographic Narrative Interpretive Method
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
EEA	European Economic Area
ELY Centres	Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment
EU	European Union
FNAE	Finnish National Agency for Education
FNBE	Finnish National Board of Education
KEHA Centre	Development and Administration Centre for ELY Centres and TE Offices
KELA	Social Insurance Institution
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
STEA	Funding Centre for Social Welfare and Health Organisations
SU	Soviet Union
TE Offices	Employment and Economic Development Offices
TE Services	Employment and Economic Development Services
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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1 INTRODUCTION

Migration is a widespread phenomenon across a changing world, and I am one of the migrants who has experienced both internal and international migration at different periods during my life. My migration journey started at the age of 10, when a massive earthquake occurred in my home country, Armenia, affecting in particular my hometown, Gyumri (formerly Leninakan), which is the second biggest city in Armenia. Because of that devastating disaster, I had to move together with my family from one place to another and to live in a tent, village shed, wooden cabin, rental home and officials' summer cottage owned by the Armenian Government. After several years of living in a number of places in Armenia, my family was able to build a house back in Gyumri, where I completed secondary education in public school and university education at the Faculty of Foreign Languages at the State Pedagogical Institute. Afterwards, I moved with my family to Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, and lived there for nearly 10 years. At that time, I participated in different educational projects and programmes implemented by national and international organisations and institutions and did paid and voluntary work in the public, private and third sectors in Armenia. For short or long periods, I also lived for the purposes of studying and/or working outside Armenia, including in Central and Eastern European Countries and the United States. About a decade ago, my latest journey of migration brought me to Finland in Northern Europe. I first came to the city of Turku in Southwest Finland to study in the international master's degree programme at the Department of Education, University of Turku. Later, I moved to the city of Jyväskylä in Central Finland to further my education by enrolling in the doctoral degree programme at the Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä, where I also took part in wider research projects as a junior team member. Meanwhile, in Turku, I started doing voluntary work in NGOs working with local residents, including Finns and migrants with diverse backgrounds, work that I have since continued in Jyväskylä up to the present. Thus, my own experience of migration played one of the key roles in studying a migration-related topic, first for my master's thesis and then for my

doctoral dissertation. Below I present a vignette from my doctoral research diary, reflecting on how and why I chose to study a migration-related topic in the context of Finland.

Researcher vignette 1

Once again I became a student, but this time my studies brought me to Finland, a country in northern Europe. I was provided with a unique opportunity to study in a country with one of the best education systems in the world. I was excited to acquire new knowledge and skills as well as to learn a new language, Finnish, known as one of the most difficult languages in the world. However, from the beginning of learning the Finnish language, I perceived it as a different rather than difficult language.

I began to learn Finnish through **պարտադիր դասընթաց** {a compulsory course} taught to international students, starting from the first semester of my master's studies at the University of Turku. Afterwards, I continued learning Finnish through **կամընտրական դասընթացներ** {optional courses}. I took these Finnish language courses along with international students studying in different departments and at different stages of their university studies. Some of the international students were newcomers like me, whereas others had lived in Finland for from two to four years. I don't remember when I first heard about some of my fellow students' experiences of studying Finnish after several years of living in Finland, but I do remember the day when I had a long conversation with them about their motives for studying the Finnish language. One of the motives they mentioned concerned everyday life; specifically, they wanted to speak and understand Finnish in different public places, for example, in libraries, shops and post offices. Another motive was related to family life; a couple of students were married to Finns and needed to develop their Finnish language skills for use at home. A third motive was associated with working life; that is, getting a job in Finland. After this conversation, I understood that while these international students had different reasons for learning Finnish, one of the most important was to learn Finnish in order to obtain employment during their studies or after graduation.

On the importance of the Finnish language for getting a job, I also talked with migrants who had come to Finland based on migration grounds other than study. In particular, they had come on the grounds of international protection, family ties and remigration. I met them in the multicultural NGOs based in Turku, where I was involved as a volunteer, visitor, client and/or executive committee member. They did different types of work in these NGOs and had different experiences and views of the importance of a knowledge of Finnish in obtaining employment. In the opinion of most of them, advanced proficiency in Finnish was a prerequisite for obtaining employment appropriate to their education acquired before or after migration to Finland. A few also believed that a knowledge of English was more important than a knowledge of Finnish for getting a job in certain sectors, such as higher education or the IT sector. Meanwhile, some reported that languages other than Finnish and English were also required to obtain employment, and they mainly emphasised the knowledge of the first language as a key factor in getting a job as a translator/interpreter, mother tongue teacher or NGO worker.

After my conversations with different migrant groups, I had discussions on migration issues with several researchers and officials working at the University of Turku, **Siirtolaisuusinstituutti** [Migration Institute], **TE-toimisto** [TE Office], **ELY-keskus** [ELY Centre] and NGOs located in Turku, Southwest Finland. Thus, apart from reading scientific papers on migration studies, I gained a more nuanced

understanding of the research topic through discussions with researchers and officials working with migrants, as well as through conversations with migrants studying or working in Finland. Meanwhile, I realised that migrants' employment opportunities and challenges associated with their language skills would be an important and timely research topic in the fields of migration and integration. In short, these conversations, discussions and readings led me to take a scientific and professional interest in investigating migrants' experiences in Finnish language learning and Finnish working life integration. As a migrant myself, I also had a personal interest in studying this topic. Besides this, I decided to explore the experiences of migrant NGO workers because of the diversity in their educational attainments, employment trajectories, migration and workforce statuses, as well as the diversity in their language backgrounds. This is how and why I chose to study the language, employment and integration experiences of migrants working in NGOs, which combined my personal, professional and scientific interests in conducting my master's thesis research that served as **трамплин** (a stepping stone) for my doctoral research based in Finland.

To summarise, beginning in childhood and continuing into adulthood, I have migrated at different times, for different reasons, and in different contexts. This long history of migration has both motivated and facilitated the study of a migration-related topic for my master's thesis at the University of Turku, later to be deepened and broadened for my present doctoral dissertation conducted at the University of Jyväskylä.

1.1 Background and significance of the research

It was on a Sunday morning when I met Kalle to interview him about his experiences of language, employment and integration in Finland. The place of the interview was chosen by Kalle, and it was in a tiny park bordered by colourful flowers on one side and a beautiful lake on the other. This peaceful open place under a blue sky was mostly sunny till early afternoon when the weather changed. It became rainy and windy and, at that time, we went to a nearby café for a break before continuing the interview. The café was crowded; a number of people were talking and drinking coffee and tea in pairs or in a group. We sat at a round table in the centre of the café and ordered green tea with a piece of cake. While waiting for our order, Kalle was quiet for several minutes, and then he asked me, "**tiedätkö miksi olin hiljainen** [do you know why I was quiet?]" . I replied, "**ei, en tiedä** [no, I don't know]", but if you want, you can tell me **miksi** [why?]. Smiling, he nodded his head and said, "I was **vain** [just] listening to these multilingual conversations around us and was thinking of the time when I moved to Finland, **se oli melkein kolme vuosikymmentä sitten** [it was almost three decades ago], it was a long time ago ((smiles)). In those times, conversations were mostly in Finnish or Swedish; other languages were rarely heard in cafés or other public places because there were a small number of migrants who usually came from certain countries and for certain reasons. But nowadays, you know, migrants come from various parts of the world and for various reasons, and the number of migrants has increased and continues to increase. What I want to say is that Finland is not the same as it was about thirty years ago; the society in Finland has changed and is still changing like many societies in the world..."

This fieldnote foregrounds the reflection of Kalle, one of the participants, on societal changes in the world in general and in Finland in particular. Kalle had migrated to Finland from a European country in the late 1980s as a family member of a Finnish citizen. As Kalle points out above, “...*Finland is not the same as it was about thirty years ago; the society in Finland has changed and is still changing like many societies in the world...*”. Indeed, many societies have witnessed constant change due to globalisation and migration over the past few decades. Changes in societies are reflected in their migrant populations, which have been noticeably increasing and diversifying in numerous countries, including Finland (see, e.g., Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Pöyhönen et al., 2018; Vertovec, 2007). For instance, earlier, in the 19th and 20th centuries, the migrants who moved to Finland were mainly soldiers, civil servants, merchants, entrepreneurs, temporary employees, students and the spouses of Finns, in addition to returnees, who were mostly from Sweden (Korkiasaari & Söderling, 2003; Tanner, 2011). However, starting from the late 20th century, the majority of migrants have arrived in the country as refugees, returnees, employees, students and family members with diverse demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds (see, e.g., Björklund, 2015; Elo, 2017; Forsander, 2003; Heikkilä & Pikkarainen, 2008; Kyhä, 2011; Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015; Turtiainen, 2012). Since then, more people have migrated to Finland than have left the country (Statistics Finland, 2020a). In the year 2019, the number of ‘foreign language’ speakers amounted to 412 644 (7.47% of the country’s population) and was about 17-fold more than in the year 1990, when the number of ‘foreign language’ speakers was 24 783 (0.50%) (Statistics Finland, 2020b). Thus, it appears that the scope, scale and unpredictability of migration have considerably increased and broadened in the Finnish context over time.

As the migrant population started to grow and diversify in Finland from the late 20th century onwards, the Finnish authorities began to draw up legislation and formulate official policy on integration at the national level. Specifically, the Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers (henceforth Integration Act, 493/1999) was adopted in May 1999 and replaced in September 2011 by the new Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (henceforth Integration Act, 1386/2010). According to these Integration Acts, NGOs are not only entitled to be involved in migration- and integration-related work but are also provided with opportunities to cooperate and collaborate in this regard with public authorities and other parties. The importance of NGOs in the integration process of migrants in the receiving country is particularly emphasised in the Finnish Government Integration Programmes (see, e.g., Ministry of Employment and the Economy of Finland, 2012; Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2016). Accordingly, NGOs are considered one of the main actors in multi-sectoral cooperation in the fields of migration and integration in Finland (see Lautiola, 2013).

Given the vital role of NGOs in migration- and integration-related matters, I conducted my doctoral research in a civic NGO based in Central Finland. This NGO was chosen as a research context because it not only hired both migrants and Finns but also organised a wide range of services, events and activities for

them. Typically, the practitioners and supervisors working in this NGO were in direct interaction with local residents representing a diverse range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds as well as employment experiences and histories of migration. The migrant NGO practitioners¹ and their Finnish NGO supervisors², who were involved as research participants in my doctoral study, also had heterogeneous demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds. They worked in a multicultural centre and integration-related projects administered by the NGO. More precisely, the Finnish NGO supervisors were salaried employees, and the migrant NGO practitioners had different workforce statuses, such as salaried employee, subsidised employee, trainee, intern and volunteer. Because the migrant NGO practitioners had moved to Finland based on different migration grounds, they also had different migration statuses, including refugee, worker, student and family member, especially in the early years after migration to Finland. That is, owing to their different workforce and migration statuses, they had different starting points for working in the NGO and for living in the receiving country. Therefore, the research participants' workforce and migration statuses were used as the starting point for grouping them, although neither migration status nor workforce status was considered central in this doctoral study.

In many countries, including Finland, previous empirical studies have focused on migration-related NGOs, such as mono-ethnic, multi-ethnic, diasporic or transnational associations working with children, adolescents and/or adults with a migrant background (e.g., Chaloyan, 2015; Kerfoot, 2016; Pirkkalainen, 2013; Sahradyan & Elo, 2019; Saksela-Bergholm, 2009). Much has been written about the NGOs that organise and implement language, cultural, social, political and/or religious programmes or events for a variety of migrant groups (e.g., Kerfoot, 2016; Martikainen, 2009; Solovova, 2014; Wahlbeck, 1999). Sports, arts and other leisure activities have also been explored among migrants with diverse backgrounds (e.g., da Silva, 2011; Pyykkönen, 2007). Furthermore, some studies have concentrated on education- and/or employment-related services provided to working-age migrants (e.g., Sahradyan, 2012; Sama, 2017). In brief, these empirical studies conducted in various fields (e.g., social sciences, educational sciences and applied linguistics) show that NGOs play an important role in supporting and facilitating migrants' integration both in different spheres of life and at different periods of life in the receiving country.

Generally, migration-related topics have been extensively investigated in Finland in a wide variety of disciplines, including applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, education, sociology and economics (see Leinonen, 2019). Over the past few decades, the most frequently researched topics include

¹ *NGO practitioners with a migrant background* and *migrant NGO practitioners* are used interchangeably to refer to persons of foreign origin who were born in a country other than Finland (see also Section 1.3 for the meaning and usage of the term *migrant*).

² *NGO supervisors with a Finnish background* and *Finnish NGO supervisors* are used interchangeably to refer to persons of Finnish origin who were born in Finland (for more information on foreign and Finnish origin and background, see http://www.stat.fi/til/vaerak/kas_en.html).

language (e.g., Huhta & Ahola, 2019; Iikkanen, 2020; Ruuska, 2020; Sahradyan, 2012; Strömmer, 2017; Suni, 2010; Tarnanen & Pöyhönen, 2011; Virtanen, 2016), employment (e.g., Ahmad, 2020; Elo, 2017; Forsander, 2013; Heikkilä, 2017; Näre, 2013) and integration (e.g., Kurki, 2019; Kärkkäinen, 2017; Masoud et al., 2021; Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015; Saukkonen, 2016). There has also been a considerable amount of research on these migration-related topics in a number of other countries, for example, in Australia (e.g., Piller, 2016), Canada (Creese & Wiebe, 2012), Estonia (Aavik, 2013), Germany (e.g., Aldashev et al., 2012), Israel (e.g., Remennick, 2004), Russia (e.g., Vakulenko & Leukhin, 2017), South Africa (e.g., Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017), Spain (e.g., Sabaté i Dalmau, 2014), Sweden (e.g., Sandwall, 2010), the United Kingdom (e.g., Cooke & Simpson, 2008) and the United States (e.g., Chiswick & Miller, 2008). Some of these studies have explored migrants' experiences of learning the host country's language, and others have examined the integration of migrants into the host country's labour market.

In addition to scientific studies, migration-related topics, including language, employment and integration, have been discussed in official reports, political discourses and public debates. They have also become a policy priority in many countries. For example, in Finland, language learning (Finnish or Swedish) and obtaining employment have, in accordance with the national integration policy, been prioritised as a way of promoting the integration of migrants into the receiving society (Integration Acts, 493/1999; 1386/2010). Similarly, Finland's language and employment policies have prioritised the development of migrants' Finnish or Swedish language skills, emphasising in particular that knowledge of the receiving country's language increases migrants' chances of obtaining employment and improving their employment prospects (see Finnish National Board of Education [FNBE], 2012; Ministry of Employment and the Economy of Finland, 2012). In this regard, a review of the literature also points to the importance of knowledge of the host country's language for the integration of migrants into the Finnish labour market. Moreover, previous studies indicate that no single social category alone (e.g., first language, additional language, migration status, education, occupation, ethnicity, gender or country of origin) promotes migrants' integration into society in general and working life in particular (see, e.g., Forsander, 2013; Pöyhönen et al., 2013). It is thus important to consider "the composite effects of social categories" (Vertovec, 2019, p. 134), which has often been overlooked in migration-related studies.

Overall, despite the considerable amount of research on migration-related topics that has been carried out in Finland and other countries, relatively little attention has been given to migrant NGO practitioners and their personal and institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in different fields of research, including applied linguistics. With regard to these trajectories, less attention has also been paid not only to exploring the interplay within the diverse social categories of migrants but also to examining the intersection of these social categories with the organisational practices of the workplace and with the social structures of the wider society. Likewise, the diversity in the social categories of migrants (e.g., migration status, legal status, language

background, workforce status and educational qualification) has often been overlooked; as some scholars point out (e.g., De Bock, 2015; Simpson, 2016; Vertovec, 2007), most of the previous studies have investigated migration-related topics through the lens of ethnic and/or national origins.

In a similar vein, earlier empirical studies have concentrated on either employed or unemployed migrants, while the diverse workforce statuses of migrants and the dynamic processes of the Finnish labour market have largely been neglected (Pöyhönen et al., 2013). Moreover, language choice and use in multilingual workplaces such as NGOs (i.e., non-profit organisations) merit closer attention, as recent scientific studies have mostly focused on companies or corporations (i.e., business organisations) (e.g., Sanden, 2015; Strömmer, 2017). There is also limited research on the effectiveness and outcomes of integration training offered as part of the state integration programme; therefore, more studies are needed on what happens to migrants after completing Finnish or Swedish language courses provided as integration training (Masoud et al., 2021). Meanwhile, learning the language of the host country (Finnish or Swedish) in a variety of ways and contexts requires more attention, as the primary focus has often been on formal education and training in classroom settings (Sahradyan, 2012). It is also important to note that while integration in the Finnish context has generally been recognised as multidimensional in nature (Kazi et al., 2019; Saukkonen, 2017; 2020), relatively little research has been conducted on the lived experiences of an individual migrant in more than one or two dimensions of integration.

Finally, despite the fact that migrants are granted different legal and migration statuses based on their grounds for migration to Finland (see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020a; 2020b; 2020c), only limited research has focused on migrants with different legal and migration statuses, which play a vital role in their settlement in the host country (see Könönen, 2018; Schuster, 2005). Limited research has also been conducted not only on how Finnish policies (e.g., migration and integration policies) and changes in these policies regarding migrants are put into practice but also on how effective they are in practice (see Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2018; Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015; Saukkonen, 2017); therefore, ethnographic research adopting a bottom-up approach is needed to understand the differences between local practices and national policies by investigating individuals' experiences in their natural environments (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Simpson & Whiteside, 2015). Moreover, little research has been done *with* rather than *on* people whose involvement in the research process makes it possible to take their needs, questions and concerns into account as well as to collaboratively conduct research through the co-production of materials on the one hand and the co-construction of knowledge on the other (Kerfoot, 2016; Khan, 2013; Mishler, 1991). In summary, I have, in this section, outlined some of the major research gaps addressed in this doctoral study, which focuses on the migrant NGO practitioners' personal and institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal and workplace contexts of Finland.

Thus, my doctoral study is grounded in applied linguistics, a field that is widely described as “the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue” (Brumfit, 1995, p. 27). Although this description emphasises the centrality of language in applied linguistics, it is important to bear in mind that “the motivation for applied linguistics lies not with an interest in autonomous or idealized language ... [but with] its interest in how language is implicated in real-world decision-making” (Simpson, 2011a, p. 2). It is also important to stress that applied linguistics incorporates different subfields as well as draws on other fields and lies “at the crossroads of a multitude of disciplines in the social sciences and the humanities”, among others (Block, 2014, p. ix). In short, applied linguistics is characterised in my doctoral ethnographic research not only as an interdisciplinary and problem-oriented but also as an applied field that “mediates between theory and practice” (for a detailed discussion, see Simpson, 2011a, p. 1-2).

Within the qualitative research design, my doctoral study is based on ethnography, which “has its origin in anthropology” (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 6). Ethnography is used here as a “theoretical outlook” and not merely as a methodology and method (for a similar approach, see Blommaert, 2007, p. 684; 2018). Through ethnography, I was able to observe the participants’ lived experiences and to understand the meaning of these experiences from their emic point of view (see also Madden, 2010). Ethnography also enabled me to employ different core terms and concepts, as well as methods of data collection/production and analysis, in research (see also Fetterman, 2010; Gobo, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). My doctoral study thus brings together the guiding concepts of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) and intersectionality (McCall, 2005), in addition to combining biographic-narrative (Wengraf, 2001) and ethnographic (Blommaert & Dong, 2010) orientations on the one hand and analysis of narratives and narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995) methods on the other. All in all, my doctoral dissertation lies at the intersection of applied linguistics and ethnography in general, and at the intersection of migration and diversity studies and ethnographic and biographic-narrative research in particular.

1.2 Research aim, objectives, questions and themes

The present doctoral research is based on ethnography and focuses on migrant NGO practitioners’ personal and institutional trajectories in Finland. The main aim of this doctoral ethnographic research is to critically investigate migrant NGO practitioners’ personal and institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration by cross-analysing the interplay within their diverse social categories at the micro level and the intersection of these categories with the social structures of the wider society at the macro level and with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace at the meso level. To achieve this main aim,

two specific objectives are pursued: (1) to explore the personal trajectories of language, employment and integration of migrant NGO practitioners in the broader societal context, and (2) to examine the institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration of migrant NGO practitioners in the workplace context. These specific objectives lead to the accomplishment of the overall objective, which is to identify and illustrate the opportunities and challenges that migrant NGO practitioners encounter in relation to the policies and practices of language, employment and integration in the broader societal and workplace contexts of Finland, the receiving country (see Figure 1).

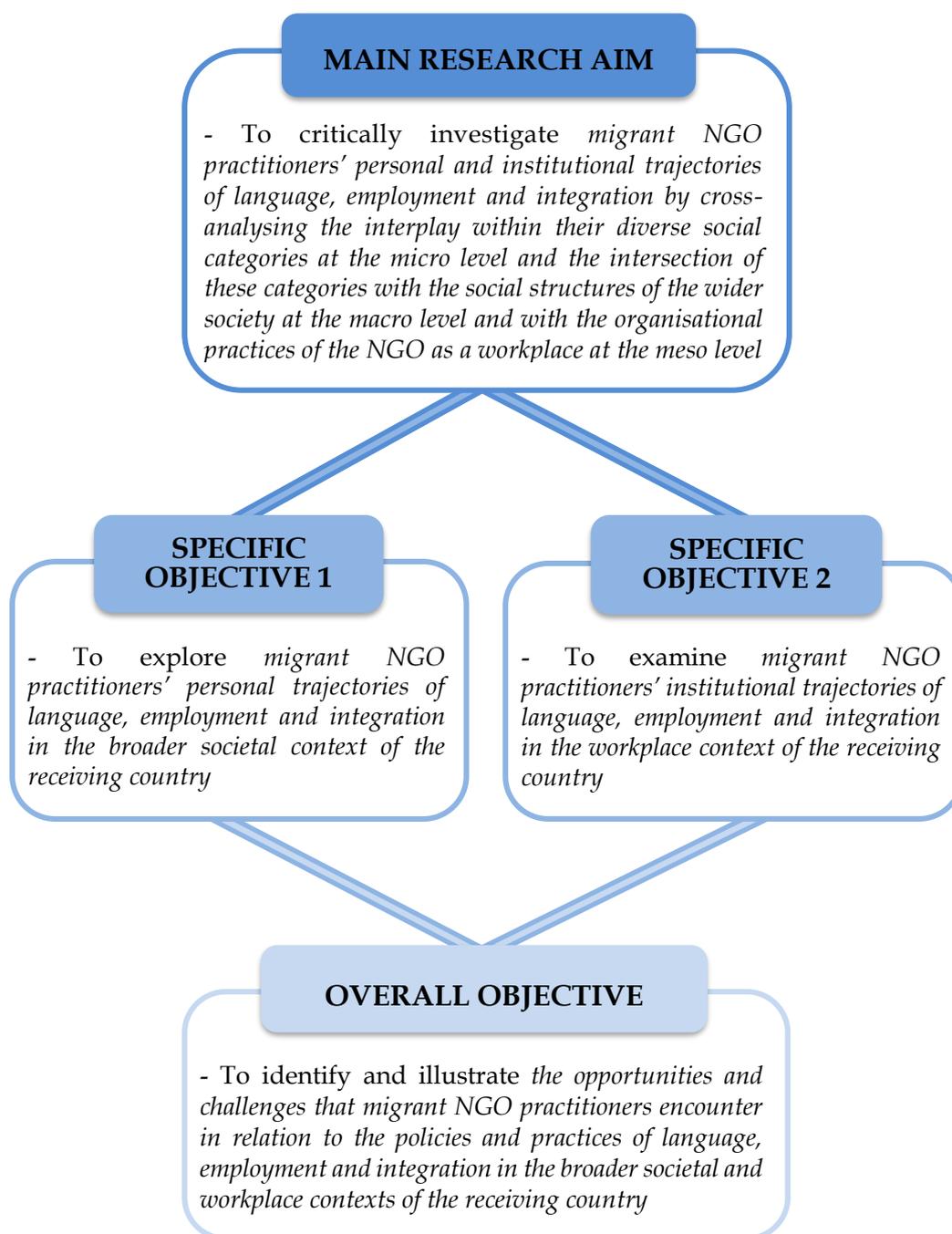


Figure 1. Overview of the main research aim along with its specific and overall objectives.

Thus, the above-mentioned research aim and objectives are addressed through the following two distinct but interrelated research questions and their empirical sub-questions:

1. How do migrant NGO practitioners narrate and experience personal trajectories of language, employment and integration embedded at the intersection of their social categories and the social structures of the wider society?
 - a. How do migrant NGO practitioners learn the Finnish language in different ways and settings in the broader societal context?
 - b. How do migrant NGO practitioners get different types of employment in the broader societal context?
 - c. How do migrant NGO practitioners integrate in different domains of life in the broader societal context?

2. How do migrant NGO practitioners narrate and experience institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration embedded at the intersection of their social categories and the organisational practices of the workplace, and how are they perceived by their NGO supervisors?
 - a. How do migrant NGO practitioners find, choose, apply for and obtain employment in the workplace context?
 - b. How do migrant NGO practitioners choose, use, learn and maintain language in the workplace context?
 - c. How do migrant NGO practitioners receive work orientation, guidance and support for integration in the workplace context?

These research questions and sub-questions are linked to the following two research themes: (1) migrant NGO practitioners' personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context, and (2) migrant NGO practitioners' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the workplace context. Specifically, the first research theme is presented through personal narratives representative of migrant NGO practitioners grouped according to their migration status, such as refugee, worker, student and family member (see Chapter 5). The second research theme is presented through institutional narratives representative of migrant NGO practitioners grouped according to their workforce status, such as salaried employee, subsidised employee, trainee, intern and volunteer (see Chapter 6). The former is addressed from the perspective of migrant NGO practitioners and the latter from the perspective of migrant NGO practitioners and their NGO supervisors with a Finnish background. Overall, this doctoral ethnographic research can empower the participants, especially migrant NGO practitioners with diverse backgrounds, by making their lived experiences and narratives visible and their voices heard in academia and beyond.

1.3 Key terms in the research

The key terms used in my doctoral study, such as migrant, language, employment, integration and trajectory, have been extensively discussed and debated in the literature for many years. Thus, all of them have numerous and varied definitions and explanations. To make it clear to readers, I outline below the meanings and ways in which these key terms have been used for the purposes of my doctoral research (see also Figure 2).

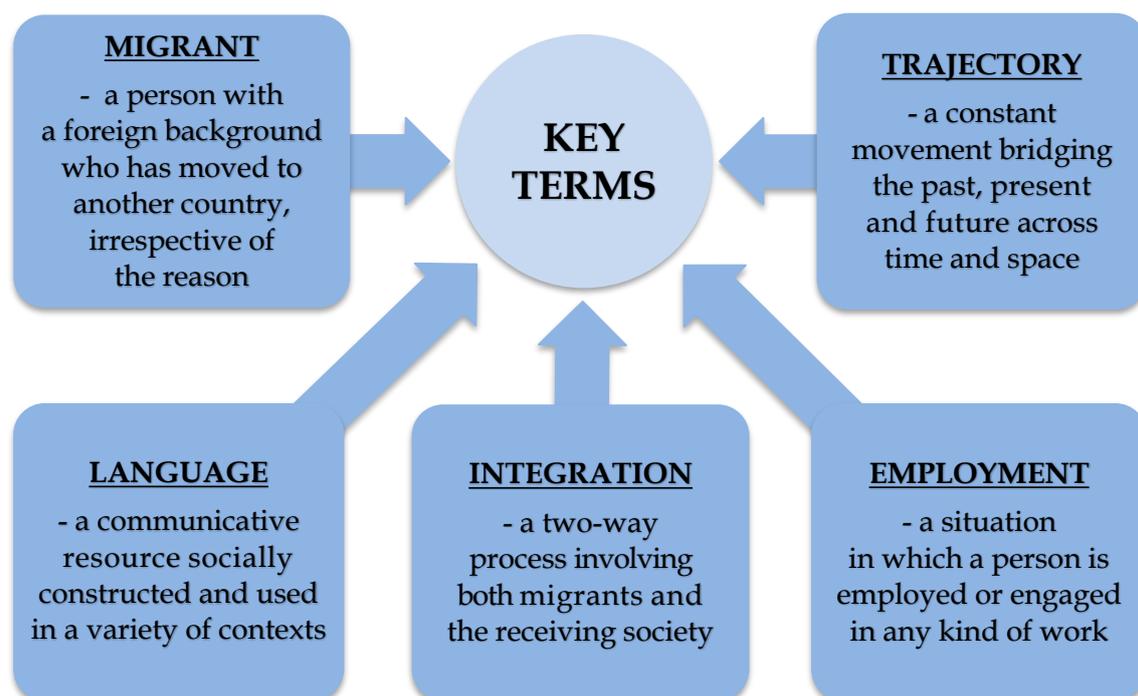


Figure 2. Overview of the key terms used in the research.

Migrant is one of the key terms. Migration-related terms, especially refugee and migrant, have frequently been discussed in academic studies, official reports, newspaper articles and social media. On these terms, there are two opposing views: residualist and inclusivist (Carling, 2017). As Carling (2017) notes, the former view sees migrants as people who have moved from one country of residence to another for any reason other than international protection, as is the case with refugees, whereas the latter view sees migrants as people who have moved from their country of residence, regardless of their reason for migration. In other words, refugees are characterised as distinct from other groups of migrants in the residualist view, and are considered as included in migrant groups in the inclusivist view. In my doctoral study, migrant is used as an umbrella term; it represents all groups of migrants whose experiences are analysed and discussed from the beginning of their migration to Finland. Thus, the term *migrant* refers here to *a person with a foreign background who has moved to another country, irrespective of the reason.*

Another key term is *integration*, which varies in meaning from context to context. Although there is no universal definition of integration, it has often been described and discussed as either a one-way or two-way process in the migration context. Like some other scholars, Castles, Korac, Vasta and Vertovec (2002) point out that a one-way process of integration implies the adaptation of newcomers to the host society without any reciprocal accommodation, which appears as “a watered down form of assimilation” (p. 116). As such, integration is seen as the individual responsibility of the migrant in the receiving country. However, integration as a two-way process means the adaptation of both the newcomers and the host society through mutual accommodation (see Castles et al., 2002). In brief, the responsibility for integration is placed not only on the migrants but also on society at large. Accordingly, the term *integration* is also understood here as *a two-way process involving both migrants and the receiving society*.

Language, the other key term, is seen here as *a communicative resource socially constructed and used in a variety of contexts*. In earlier research, this term often refers to the first, second, third and subsequent languages, underlining the fundamental distinction between them (see, e.g., Ellis, 2008; Jessner, 1999). However, following Leung (2001), Cameron (2002) and other scholars, I make a distinction between the first language and the additional language. The former concerns language(s) learnt in the childhood years from birth onwards, whereas the latter concerns language(s) learnt subsequently in the early years of life or later. That is, it is possible to have more than one first language and additional language at different proficiency levels.

A further key term is *employment*. Like many other terms, employment has various meanings and definitions. In previous studies (e.g., Krutova, 2016), it frequently refers to paid work, which is in line with the Collins COBUILD English Dictionary (1995, p. 541) definition of employment as “the fact of having a paid job”. In this sense, employment is mainly seen as paid work. However, according to the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2010), employment implies “the situation in which people have work” (p. 498). Work, in turn, is defined as “anything that people do that takes time, effort, and intent” (Smith, 2005, p. 229). These definitions indicate that, as presented in some earlier studies (e.g., Earl & Archibald, 2014), any kind of work performed by people can be considered employment, irrespective of whether it is paid or unpaid. In short, the term *employment* refers here to *a situation in which a person is employed or engaged in any kind of work*.

The last but not least important key term is *trajectory*, which is generally seen as “continuous motion” that connects the past, present and future, maintaining its coherence through time (Wenger, 1998, p. 154; see also Räisänen, 2013). Trajectory is also seen “as a means of capturing the intersecting dimensions of time and space”; however, it is not viewed “as a linear pathway or as equivalent in nature” (Martin-Jones & Gardner, 2012, p. 10). Therefore, the term *trajectory* is considered here as *a constant movement bridging the past, present and future across time and space*.

1.4 Overview of the dissertation

My doctoral dissertation consists of seven chapters, and it is organised as follows:

The introductory chapter, Chapter 1, begins with an account of my own experiences of migration, which motivated me to conduct research on a migration-related topic. I then present the background and significance of my doctoral research by identifying major research gaps in the literature. After that, I briefly introduce the research aim, objectives, questions and themes, followed by the key terms used in my doctoral study.

The contextual background is outlined in Chapter 2. First, the migration-driven diversity in the changing society of Finland is presented. I then describe changes in migration-related NGOs within the diversifying third sector in Finland. The chapter ends with a presentation and discussion of the changes in integration policy towards the growing and diversifying population of migrants in Finland.

The conceptual framework of the research is presented in Chapter 3. It starts with a description of my research interests and experiential knowledge in relation to my doctoral research project. Next, I introduce the guiding concepts of superdiversity and intersectionality, followed by the analytical frame used in analysing the research data.

Chapter 4 outlines the research methodology based on the ethnographic approach. This chapter is divided into eight sections, which address: (1) the research design, procedure and orientation; (2) the research context along with the management sites, work sites and participants; (3) the collection and production of the different data sets, such as observational, textual, interview, questionnaire and self-assessment data; (4) the management of data, including data organisation, storage, transcription and translation; (5) the selection of data and analysis according to the research themes and participants; (6) the steps and methods of data analysis; (7) the ethical considerations at key stages of the research; and (8) the reflections on the positionality and voice of the researched and the researcher.

In Chapters 5 and 6, the research findings are analysed and discussed in light of the existing literature. More precisely, Chapter 5 presents the findings of the first research theme on migrant NGO practitioners' personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context. The findings of the second research theme on migrant NGO practitioners' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the workplace context are presented in Chapter 6.

Conclusions and implications are reported in Chapter 7. In this chapter, I return to the research aim, questions, objectives and themes outlined at the beginning of my dissertation. Based on the overall objective, I then present the concluding discussion of the findings related to the research themes and the implications for policy and practice. The chapter ends with reflections on my ethnographic research journey, focusing mainly on the implementation, reporting, contributions, limitations of the research and possible directions for future research.

2 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

In recent years, the notions of diversity and change have received considerable attention in the scholarly literature on new phenomena and conditions specifically associated with increasing migration and globalisation. In this chapter, I draw on these notions for a similar purpose. In particular, I present the migration-driven diversity in the changing society of Finland. I also describe the changes in migration-related NGOs within the diversifying third sector in Finland. At the end of the chapter, I present and discuss the changes in integration policy towards the growing and diversifying population of migrants in Finland. These changes in integration policy might be considered necessary, but how they are put into practice or how effective they are in practice remains an open question that this doctoral study seeks to answer through migrants' lived experiences in the context of Finland.

2.1 Migration-driven diversity in the changing society of Finland

As in many countries around the world, diversity has always existed in Finnish society, which has experienced not only phases of outward migration but also phases of inward migration at different periods in its history. When Finland was an integral part of Sweden from the 12th to the 19th centuries, around 500–600 Finns, along with Swedes, voyaged to North America in the 1600s, where they founded the colony of New Sweden, later to become the state of Delaware in the United States (Heikkilä & Uschanov, 2004). During the past two centuries, large-scale emigration has taken place, with more than one million Finns moving abroad (see, e.g., Heikkilä & Uschanov, 2004; Tanner, 2004). Specifically, emigration occurred during the period from 1809 to 1917, when Finland was an autonomous grand duchy within the Russian Empire, as well as after Finland became an independent and sovereign state, that is, from December 6, 1917 onwards. Approximately 500 000 Finns emigrated to other countries, particularly to the United States (300 000 persons) from the 1860s to

the 1930s, and about 730 000 Finns emigrated from Finland between the 1940s and 1990s; the majority (535 000 persons) went to Sweden (Korkiasaari & Söderling, 2003). The largest annual emigration from Finland occurred in 1969 (54 107 persons) and 1970 (53 205 persons) (Statistics Finland, 2020a). At that time, the main reason for moving to other Western countries, mostly to the United States and Sweden, was to find employment, “to earn a basic livelihood”, a motivation termed “labour migration” (Korkiasaari & Söderling, 2003, p. 3). Moreover, emigration to Sweden was associated with the entry into the labour market of the post-war baby boomers and with major structural changes in the economy, namely urbanisation and the decline of employment in Finland’s agricultural sector (Martikainen et al., 2013).

Finland has also experienced successive phases of inward migration during the above-mentioned periods. While a large number of Finns moved abroad when Finland was part of the Russian Empire, foreigners, mainly from Europe, started coming to Finland, especially to Helsinki and other cities in the Southern part of the country. Most were entrepreneurs from diverse backgrounds, such as Norwegian sawmill proprietors, Bavarian brewers, Swiss cheese makers, British textile industrialists, Tatar fur and carpet traders, Jewish merchants and Italian ice cream makers, who subsequently made a significant contribution to the Finnish economy in the late 19th century (Tanner, 2011). Numerous Russian soldiers, civil servants, merchants and tourists also temporarily or permanently moved to Finland during this period (Korkiasaari & Söderling, 2003). After the First World War and the Russian Revolution, that is, starting from the time of Finland’s Independence, the number of migrants in the country increased by more than 33 000; most of them were from Eastern Europe, and half of them were Russians (Korkiasaari & Söderling, 2003). However, the situation changed considerably between the Second World War and the early 1970s, when Finland was “a rather closed society” and attracted only a relatively small number of migrants, particularly students, temporary employees or spouses of Finns, in addition to Finnish migrants returning mostly from Sweden (Korkiasaari & Söderling, 2003, p. 6). Thus, for some centuries, Finland has been a supplier more than a receiver of migrants.

Since Independence, the number of in-migrants exceeded the number of out-migrants for the first time during the years 1971–1974, and, from the beginning of the 1980s up to the present, more people have migrated to Finland than have left it (Statistics Finland, 2020a). The turning point for contemporary migration to Finland occurred during the late 20th century; since then, new groups, in addition to the earlier ones, have migrated to the country. In 1973–1977, Finland received refugees from Chile, and in 1979 and 1983, from Vietnam (Kyhä, 2011). Starting from the 1990s, growing numbers of asylum seekers and quota refugees have migrated to Finland for international protection. The first of the largest groups came from the war zone of the former Yugoslavia and Somalia (see Kokkonen, 2010; Turtiainen, 2012). For more than 30 years, unaccompanied minor asylum seekers, mostly from outside Europe, have also been arriving in Finland (Björklund, 2015). Similarly, people of Finnish origin,

particularly Ingrian Finns, have started moving to Finland as returnees following the collapse of the Soviet Union [SU] in late 1991 and the decision made by the Finnish President, Mauno Koivisto, in April 1990 to grant ethnic Finns special rights to (re)migrate to Finland (Rynkänen, 2011). When Finland became a member state of the European Union [EU] in 1995, it has also become a more attractive and accessible country for work and study for migrants, not only from the EU but also from non-EU countries (Tanner, 2004). However, the number of migrants moving to Finland for employment or study has increased since the first decade of the 21st century (see, e.g., Forsander, 2003; Kyhä, 2011; Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015). More recently, small numbers of people have also entered the country on other grounds, for example, adoption (Finnish Immigration Service, 2021). In sum, the above-mentioned grounds for migration to Finland indicate that today's migrant population differs from that of earlier historical periods and is more diverse than ever before.

In general, the diversification of the migrant population according to the grounds for migration can be seen among EU citizens and third-country nationals, including their family members. EU citizens have mostly come to Finland on the grounds of employment, family and study; some have also come on the ground that they had sufficient funds to live in Finland (see Figure 3). As can be seen from Figure 3, there was a small increase or decrease in the numbers of EU citizens related to their different grounds for migration to Finland in 2016 compared to 2019, and only the number of those migrating on the ground of employment showed a considerable decline, that is, from 5 274 to 3 865 persons. This decline might continue with Brexit, namely the withdrawal of the United Kingdom [UK] from the EU at the end of January 2020, as citizens of the UK were one of the largest groups of EU citizens moving to Finland for employment (for details, see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020c; 2021). In the case of third-country nationals, they moved to Finland not only on the grounds relating to family, employment and study but also on the grounds of remigration and international protection (see Figure 3). By 2020, most of the EU citizens came to Finland for employment, whereas the majority of the non-EU nationals migrated for a family ground, except in 2015, when the number of asylum seekers increased considerably and peaked in Finland, as in many other European countries (see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020b; 2021). Therefore, the number of third-country nationals who arrived in Finland as asylum seekers on the ground of international protection noticeably increased, rising to 7 745 persons in 2016, when a wide range of applications for asylum were processed (see Finnish Immigration Service, 2021). The international protection ground also refers to quota refugees who came directly from refugee camps, but their number did not significantly change, as the annual refugee quota in Finland ranges between about 750 and 1 050 persons (e.g., 1 034 and 749 quota refugees came in 2015 and 2016, respectively; see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020b). A further point to consider is that the number of third-country nationals entering Finland on the ground of employment approximately doubled in 2019 compared to 2016 (see Figure 3). This increase might be associated with the

Finnish Government's Migration Policy Programme, as it particularly promotes labour migration to address the shortage of labour in certain sectors of the economy (see, e.g., Ministry of the Interior of Finland, 2018). However, a relatively small number of third-country nationals came to Finland on the ground of remigration in 2019 compared to 2016 (see Figure 3), and it might be explained by the fact that the repatriation of Ingrian Finnish returnees, which started at the beginning of the 1990s, officially ended in July 2016 (see Aliens Act, 301/2004, Amendment 57/2011). Similarly, the number of third-country nationals moving to Finland on the ground of study declined from 2016 to 2019 (see Figure 3). This decline might be connected with the Finnish Government's new legislation pertaining to tuition fees, which international students from non-EU/EEA have been required to pay to study in a bachelor's or master's degree programme taught in a language other than Finnish or Swedish since August 2017 (see, e.g., Universities Act, 558/2009, Amendment 1600/2015). Thus, it seems that the selection of migrants according to their grounds for migration is regulated by the official migration policy in general and by the migration-related legislation in particular (see related discussions in Simpson & Whiteside, 2015).

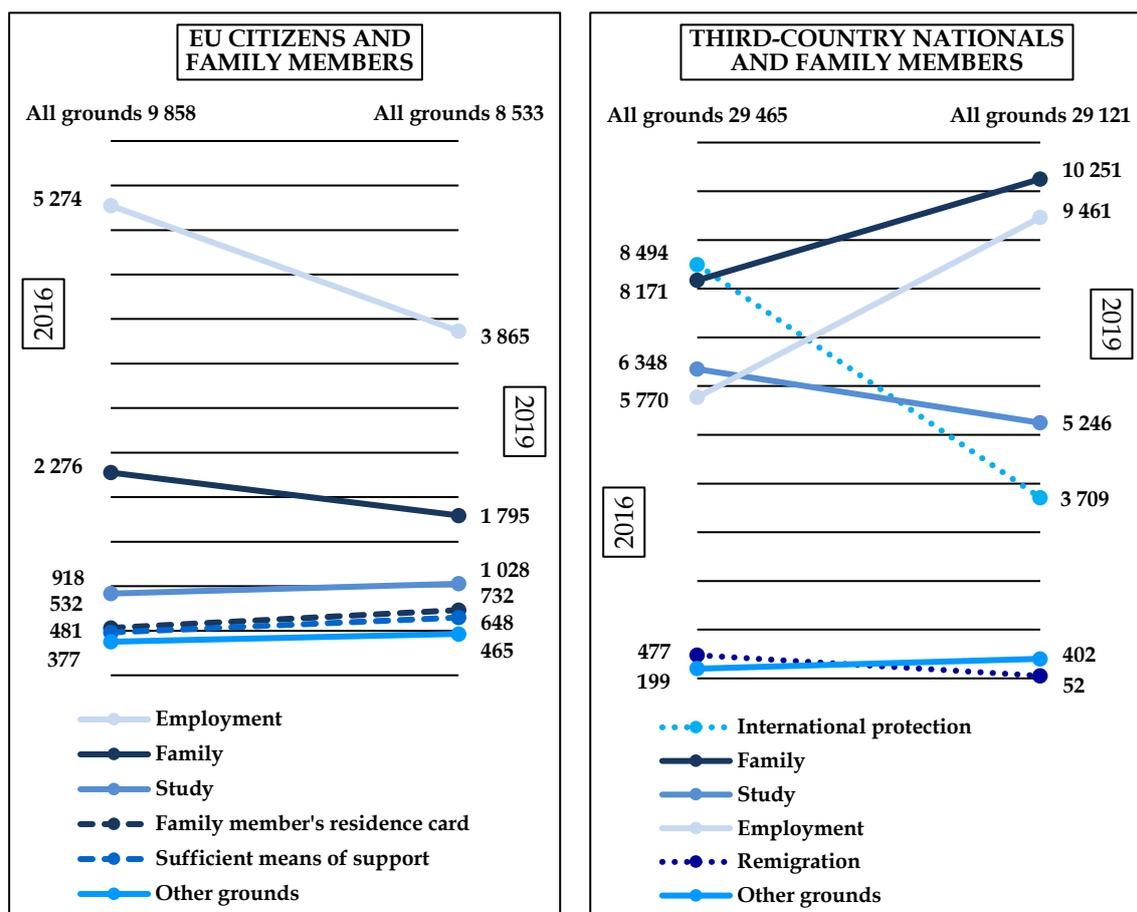


Figure 3. Migration grounds of EU citizens and third-country nationals, including their family members, on arrival in Finland in 2016 and 2019 (Finnish Immigration Service, 2020b; 2021).

The diversification of the migrant population is also evident with respect to legal status. In fact, there is a notable difference in legal status between EU citizens and third-country nationals. EU citizens, who remain in Finland for over three months, usually acquire their legal status by registering their right of residence based on their grounds for migration. The registration of residence also applies to the family members of EU citizens who are also EU citizens, whereas family members who are not EU citizens must apply for a residence card. In turn, third-country nationals and their family members, who remain in Finland for over 90 days, usually acquire their legal status by obtaining a residence permit based on their grounds for migration. They are generally granted a temporary (B) residence permit or a continuous (A) residence permit. Typically, the first residence permit is granted for a minimum of one year and a maximum of four years, that is, for a fixed term. Afterwards, third-country nationals can apply for an extended residence permit, which, in a similar way, is granted for a fixed term of up to four years. An extended residence permit can also be granted to third-country nationals on grounds different from those attached to their previous residence permits if their grounds for migration change during their stay in the receiving country, Finland. For example, a continuous (A) residence permit granted for employment can be changed to another continuous (A) residence permit issued on the ground of family. It is also possible that a temporary (B) residence permit can be changed to a continuous (A) residence permit and vice versa. Thus, the above information and examples taken from the Finnish Immigration Service (2020a; 2020b; 2020c) reveal that third-country nationals and EU citizens acquire different types of legal statuses that are based not only on their grounds for migration (see Figure 3) but also on their citizenship statuses, such as EU versus non-EU citizenship. It should also be mentioned that the migrant population includes undocumented migrants who do not have a legal status to live in Finland (see, e.g., Ahonen & Kallius, 2019; Jauhiainen et al., 2018). As Ahonen and Kallius (2019) point out, the number of undocumented migrants has recently increased because of the tightening of migration and asylum policies in Finland. Besides this, the Finnish Immigration Service seems to be responsible for increasing the number of undocumented migrants through its administrative practices (see Ahonen & Kallius, 2019). According to an earlier study conducted by Jauhiainen and his colleagues, there were approximately 3000–4000 undocumented migrants in Finland in 2017, and their number was increasing (see Jauhiainen et al., 2018).

In addition, migration status makes visible the diversification of the migrant population in the Finnish context. Typically, the migration statuses of both EU citizens and third-country nationals are determined on the basis of their grounds for migration to Finland (these grounds are shown in Figure 3). For example, migrants who have entered Finland on the ground of employment are granted migration status as a worker, a category that subsumes various subcategories, including a specialist, researcher, seasonal worker, entrepreneur, trainee, coach and so on. Another example can be the ground of family, based

on which migrants moving to Finland are granted migration status as a family member. This category also comprises various subcategories, such as a spouse, child, guardian, and other family members of a person in receipt of international protection, a person of a third-country national, or a person of a Finnish citizen. Thus, the main migration statuses include family member, refugee, worker, student and returnee statuses, which subsume a variety of subcategories (for more details, see Appendix 8). As such, migration statuses are much more diverse and complex than they appear at first sight. Also notable is the fact that the migration statuses of migrants can be changed if their grounds for migration change during their stay in Finland. This indicates that, as with their legal status, migrants may experience more than one type of migration status and move backwards and forwards between statuses at different periods during their residence in the receiving country (see also Schuster, 2005).

The diversification of the migrant population is noticeable even among migrants of the same ethnicity or from the same country of origin. For instance, while most of the Vietnamese came to Finland on the ground of international protection in the 1970s and 1980s, later they have mainly migrated to Finland on the grounds of study, employment or family. Similarly, Syrians originally started coming to Finland as workers, students or family members, whereas in recent years they have mostly arrived in the country as asylum seekers or quota refugees. Also of note is that migration to Finland has gradually increased and broadened to include new geographical areas and migration channels. For example, the 257 asylum seekers who received residence permits in the year 2000 were from over 20 countries; the largest groups were from the former Yugoslavia and Somalia (Finnish Immigration Service, 2020b). In the year 2019, the number of asylum seekers was 2 959 persons from more than 50 countries, and most were from Iraq, Afghanistan and the Russian Federation (for details, see Finnish Immigration Service, 2021).

The diversification of the migrant population is also evident in migrants' backgrounds, such as in their age, sex and place of residence in Finland. In 2019, for instance, the smallest number of migrants lived in the region of Central Ostrobothnia (2 038 persons) and the largest number in the region of Uusimaa (236 959 persons) (see Statistics Finland, 2020b). That is, the place of residence of more than half of the migrant population was in the most urban region of Finland, Uusimaa, which includes the Helsinki metropolitan area. Countrywide, the migrant population contained more men (213 262 persons) than women (199 382 persons) in the year 2019 (see Statistics Finland, 2020b). However, as Figure 4 shows, there were more men than women aged 55 years and below, and more women than men aged 55 years and above. A large number of migrants were adolescents, youth and adults (15–64 years), and most of them were aged 25 to 44 years. It is noteworthy that the number of elderly persons aged 65 years and over was relatively small. In brief, migrants, both men and women differed widely in age, although the majority were of working age or younger in 2019.

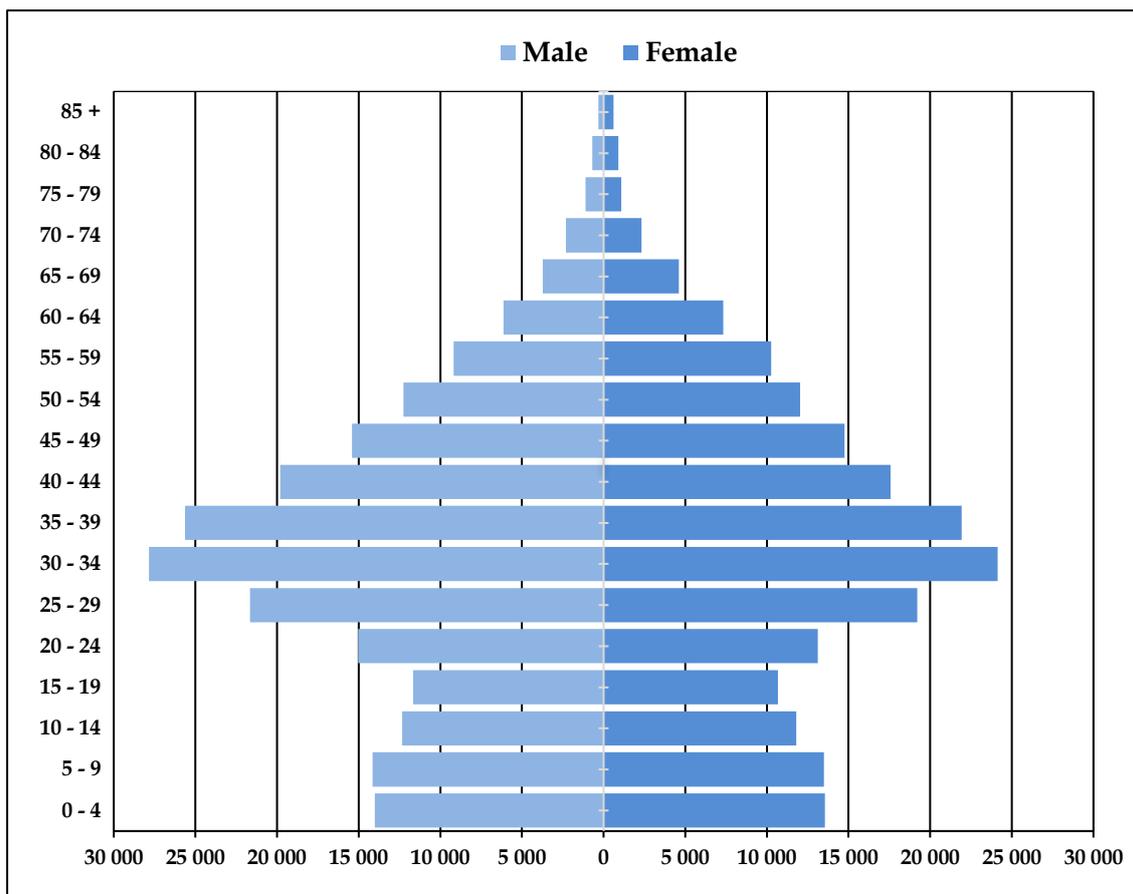


Figure 4. Age and sex of 'foreign language' speakers in Finland in 2019 (Statistics Finland, 2020b).

Likewise, the diversification of the migrant population can be seen in migrants' language backgrounds. According to Statistics Finland (2020b), more than 160 'foreign languages' (languages other than Finnish, Swedish or Sámi) were spoken as the first language in Finland in the year 2019, compared to approximately 60 in the year 1990. At that time, the largest 'foreign language' groups represented speakers of the languages of European countries (e.g., English, Estonian, German, Polish, Spanish, French, Hungarian), in addition to speakers of the languages of non-European countries (e.g., Russian, Arabic, Vietnamese and Chinese) (see Statistics Finland, 2020b). However, in 2019, the situation was the reverse, and the largest 'foreign language' groups were formed by the speakers of the languages of non-European countries more than European countries, including Russian, Estonian, Arabic, English, Somali, Kurdish, Persian, Chinese, Albanian, Vietnamese and Thai, among others (see Figure 5). Some of these 'foreign language' groups (Kurdish, Persian and Thai) had a relatively small number of speakers, and there were no speakers of Somali and Albanian languages in 1990. That is, the new 'foreign languages', including Albanian and Somali, appeared in Finland from the beginning of the 1990s onwards. As shown in Figure 5, the largest 'foreign language' groups constantly increased from 1990 to 2019, like many other smaller 'foreign language' groups

(for details, see Statistics Finland, 2020b). Figure 5 also shows the rapid change in the relative position of the largest ‘foreign language’ groups, such as Arabic and Persian. More precisely, Arabic speakers increased by 15 207 persons, surpassing the number of Somali and English speakers; similarly, the number of Persian speakers grew by 5 373 persons and exceeded the number of Albanian and Chinese speakers in 2019 compared to 2015. This change had a considerable effect on the migrant population structure and was mainly connected with the arrival of an exceptionally large number of asylum seekers (32 477)³ in 2015. Consequently, the number of ‘foreign language’ speakers increased by 24 431 persons in 2016, which was the highest annual increase between 1990 and 2019.

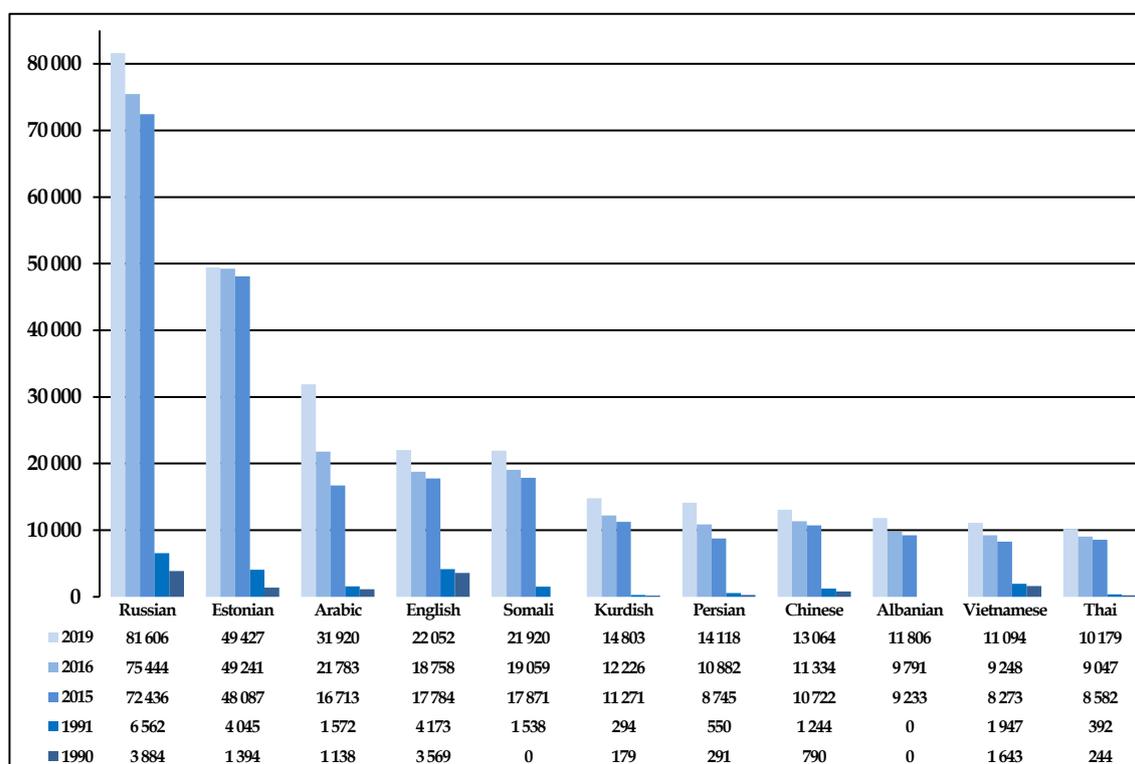


Figure 5. Changes in the largest ‘foreign language’ groups in Finland from 1990 to 2019 (Statistics Finland, 2020b).

It is also noteworthy that the number of persons whose first language is one of the official languages of Finland (Finnish, Swedish or Sámi) gradually started to decrease between 2016 and 2019 (8 442 and 13 525 persons, respectively), a phenomenon that appears to be associated with Finland’s ageing population and declining birth rate (for details, see Statistics Finland, 2020a; 2020b). To summarise, according to Statistics Finland (2020b), in 2019, the population of Finland (5 525 292 persons) comprised 87.28% (4 822 690 persons) Finnish speakers, 5.21% (287 954 persons) Swedish speakers, 0.04% (2 004 persons) Sámi

³ This number represents only asylum seekers who had officially applied for international protection in Finland (see Finnish Immigration Service, 2021).

speakers and 7.47% (412 644 persons) ‘foreign language’ speakers. The number of ‘foreign language’ speakers in 2019 was about 17-fold more than in 1990, when the number of ‘foreign language’ speakers was 24 783 (0.50%) (Statistics Finland, 2020b). Such a marked increase in the number of ‘foreign language’ speakers has brought noticeable changes to Finland’s linguistic landscape during the last few decades.

Thus, looking at different historical periods, it appears that Finland has experienced a wide range of outward and inward migration; therefore, neither migration nor *diversity* – “a feature of all human societies” (see Piller, 2016, p. 22) – are new phenomena in Finland. However, the “diversification of diversity”, that is, *superdiversity* (see Vertovec, 2006, p. 1) is noticeable among the present-day migrant population in the context of Finland. As described above, the migrant population has become increasingly diverse in, among other things, ground for migration, legal status, migration status, citizenship status, place of residence, age profile and language background. The diversification of Finland’s migrant population is an outcome of, in particular, the increase in the sheer scope, scale and unpredictability of recent and current global migration. All in all, these important factors indicate the migration-driven diversity that closely reflects the changing society of Finland. Furthermore, they highlight the increased diversity within the migrant population living in Finland.

2.2 Changes in migration-related NGOs within the diversifying third sector in Finland

In Finland, as in other parts of the world, the third sector has played a significant role in building and strengthening civil society. The third sector encompasses non-government and non-profit organisations that belong to neither the public nor private sector, the former comprising government organisations and the latter profit-making organisations (for an overview, see Anheier & Seibel, 1990). Typically, the third sector is made up of different types of organisations, one of which is the non-governmental organisation [NGO]. The main research context of this doctoral study is the NGO based in Finland.

In the third sector, the term NGO was coined in 1945, when the United Nations [UN] needed to draw a distinction in its charter between the participation rights of international private organisations and those of intergovernmental specialised agencies (Willetts, 2002). Although the term is in widespread use around the globe, it does not have a universally accepted definition and many other similar terms, including (but not limited to) *non-profit organisation*, *voluntary organisation*, *association*, *civil society organisation* and *third sector organisation*, are commonly used in different countries (see, e.g., Lewis, 2007; Pirkkalainen, 2013; Sama, 2017). Furthermore, these terms are frequently used interchangeably in different contexts. In the present doctoral study, the terms *NGO* and *association* are applied interchangeably.

As some scholars have noted, the role of NGOs in Finland has been considerably changed during the last few decades (Pyykkönen & Martikainen, 2013; see also Saukkonen, 2013). In particular, a distinction has been made between the old and the new third sector in the context of Finland. In the old third sector, NGOs predominantly sought to advance the interests of a specific interest group based on solidarity (Pyykkönen & Martikainen, 2013). However, in the new third sector, NGOs have mostly concentrated on employment, providing services and exercising social control (Helander, 1998, as cited in Pyykkönen & Martikainen, 2013). According to these scholars, the changing role of NGOs is particularly noticeable in Western countries, including Finland.

In general, NGOs play a central role in a wide range of societal fields, for example, culture and art, mental and health, and sport and leisure (Finnish Patent and Registration Office, 2017). Nowadays, different forms of NGOs operate in different parts of the country, and their number increases every year. Actually, the number of NGOs has rapidly increased since the 1990s, when policymakers in industrialised countries, including Finland, started to show interest in using the third sector to pursue various goals relating to the “efficiency and innovativeness of public services, democratic participation and new employment opportunities” (Ruuskanen et al., 2016, p. 521). Earlier, paid employment in the third sector was on a relatively low level, as NGOs were mainly founded on a voluntary basis and were engaged in providing their members with leisure activities as well as advocating and representing their interests (for details, see Ruuskanen et al., 2016). These types of activities and goals have gradually changed along with the restructuring of welfare systems in Europe, which in turn has promoted the fast growth of paid employment in the third sector (Ruuskanen et al., 2016). That is, NGOs have also started to be involved in providing welfare services alongside the public sector, which traditionally and particularly in the Nordic countries, played the primary role in delivering different types of services (Ruuskanen et al., 2016). For example, employment in the third sector has risen by 70 % during the last two decades in Finland. In 2011, the number of full-time third-sector employees was 77 000, the equivalent to 5% of all employees in the Finnish economy (Statistics Finland, 2012, as cited in Ruuskanen et al., 2013). To put it shortly, associations, particularly Finnish and Swedish NGOs operating in the third sector, have become one of the key actors in delivering welfare services in Finland. Here, Finnish and Swedish NGOs refer to the traditional associations established and led by mainly Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Finns (see also Lautiola, 2013; Saukkonen, 2013).

Apart from Finnish/Swedish NGOs, migration-related NGOs also operate in the context of Finland. Compared to the Finnish/Swedish NGOs, the number of migration-related NGOs⁴ is relatively small, although it has increased steadily since the 1980s along with the growing number of migrants entering Finland (Pyykkönen & Martikainen, 2013). In particular, migration-related NGOs include

⁴ In Finland, there are approximately 105 000 registered associations (see Finnish Patent and Registration Office, 2017), of which about 700–1000 associations are registered by migrants (see Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2015).

migrant associations, which are either mostly set up by migrants or mostly run by them (see Pyykkönen, 2007). Migrant associations have generally supported the strengthening of friendship and cultural ties between Finland and other nations, similar to most of the earlier established NGOs (for details, see Union of Friendship Associations in Finland, 2018). Some migrant associations have also implemented cultural and social activities with the help of paid employees and volunteers (Wahlbeck, 1999). Since the mid-1990s, the forms and goals of associations have undergone a change; new migration-related NGOs, trending toward multi-ethnic memberships and focusing on developing and serving trans-ethnic interests, have been set up (Pyykkönen, 2007; see also Saksela-Bergholm, 2009; Sahradyan, 2012). In addition, some associations have started to work with more specific interest groups, for example, the young or elderly groups, men's or women's groups, sports or arts groups, and ethnocultural subcultures or religious subgroups (Pyykkönen, 2007; see also Martikainen, 2009; Wahlbeck, 1999). More recently, the focus of associations has also shifted to diaspora and transnational activities and networks (Pirkkalainen, 2013; Sahradyan & Elo, 2019). In brief, migration-related NGOs have acted in different fields and have worked with diverse groups of migrants in the Finnish context.

Interestingly, while migration-related NGOs have operated in various spheres of life, they were not involved in integration-related work until the end of the 1990s. This may be explained by the fact that this task was mainly taken care of by the Finnish authorities (see, e.g., Wahlbeck, 1999; Pyykkönen & Martikainen, 2013). However, the role of NGOs has been steadily changing after the adoption of the Integration Act (493/1999), which emphasised the importance of migrants' own networks and associations in the process of integration (for a similar discussion, see Pirkkalainen, 2013; Sahradyan, 2012). That is, numerous earlier or newly established NGOs have become concentrated on integration and migration issues since 1999, when the Integration Act (493/1999) came into force for the first time in Finland (see also Pirkkalainen, 2013; Pyykkönen & Martikainen, 2013). The Integration Act (1386/2010) places even more emphasis on the multi-sectoral cooperation of public authorities with associations, enabling them to be involved in "the definition, implementation and monitoring of Integration programmes" (Pirkkalainen, 2013, p. 80).

On the basis of this significant change, migration-related NGOs now have a vital role in providing integration-related services and activities, including the teaching of the Finnish and/or Swedish languages, acquiring and disseminating information about the receiving society, building up social connections and networks, and applying for different kinds of employment, education and training opportunities, to note just a few (see, e.g., Lautiola, 2013; Sahradyan, 2012). For delivering such services and activities, these NGOs have mainly received fixed-term funding from the Funding Centre for Social Welfare and Health Organisations [STEA] (formerly Finland's Slot Machine Association). Fixed-term funding is also provided to these NGOs from public bodies operating at the local, regional and national levels, as well as from national or international foundations and organisations, either directly

or through public bodies (see also Lautiola, 2013). As such, migration-related NGOs usually receive finance for a fixed-term period to carry out certain activities and services from different external sources, a process that has been generally characterised as “governing at a distance” through funding (see Pyykkönen, 2007, p. 212).

Moreover, services and activities in migration-related NGOs are provided not only by paid employees and volunteers, as was earlier the case, but also by subsidised employees and interns or trainees engaged in training or services promoting employment (Sahradyan, 2012; see also Subsection 4.2.1 and Section 6.1). Also important is the fact that another type of migration-related NGOs is involved in integration-related work as well. Typically, they operate in-between the migrant and Finnish/Swedish associations. Associations of this type refer to NGOs that hire both Finns and migrants with diverse backgrounds from the beginning of, or gradually during, their existence. In addition, these associations work with both Finns and migrants as target groups and carry out a variety of projects to bring them together in different ways and settings. Such associations are termed civic NGOs in this doctoral study. In particular, the present doctoral study focuses on one of these civic NGOs, taking into account that such associations have received relatively little attention in integration-related work in the context of Finland.

In summary, the above-mentioned changes in migration-related NGOs characterise the diversifying third sector in Finland. These changes relate particularly to the form, goal and workforce of such NGOs acting in the context of Finland. Furthermore, the role of these NGOs has also been changing. One of the most crucial changes is the involvement of different types of migration-related NGOs in integration-related work, which aims at promoting migrants’ participation and integration into the receiving society (Lautiola, 2013; Pyykkönen, 2007). In line with the Integration Act (1386/2010), such NGOs are considered one of the key actors in multi-sectoral cooperation in the fields of integration and migration (Lautiola, 2013; Pirkkalainen, 2013). However, it is also important to point out that not all migration-related NGOs take part in integration-related work as they may have other missions and objectives (Pyykkönen & Martikainen, 2013), in addition to facing various challenges, for example, bureaucracy and funding (Finnish Refugee Council, 2019; Pirkkalainen, 2013; Sama, 2017). In the same way, not all migrants are involved with these NGOs because of a lack of interest in the activity of associations, for instance (Saksela-Bergholm, 2009). It should also be mentioned that, just like Finnish citizens, foreigners residing in Finland are entitled to establish an NGO and/or join it in accordance with the Finnish Associations Act (503/1989). The basic and universal right of freedom of association, guaranteed to everyone by the Constitution of Finland (731/1999, Chapter 2, Section 13), “entails the right to form an association without a permit, to be a member or not to be a member of an association and to participate in the activities of an association”. Typically, the registration of an association is carried out by the Finnish Patent and Registration Office; however, they can operate not only as a registered but also

as an unregistered association, the main difference between these being that the former is a legal entity and the latter is not (for details, see Finnish Patent and Registration Office, 2017).

2.3 Changes in integration policy towards the growing and diversifying population of migrants in Finland

Legislation and government policy on integration in Europe can be traced back to the mid-1970s and the early 1980s, when national integration policies developed in Sweden and the Netherlands, respectively (Penninx, 2005). In many other European countries, including Finland, integration policies were developed in the late 1990s; since then, integration has become a policy priority not only at the national level of the EU member states but also at the level of the EU itself (Penninx, 2005). In Finland, the national integration policy is largely based on examples and experiences from the Netherlands and the Nordic countries (Saukkonen, 2016).

In particular, the development of national integration policy was initiated by Finnish public authorities in the late 20th century when the migrant population started to grow and diversify in the context of Finland. At first, different activities were initiated to provide reception and integration services to newcomers who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s, especially in the metropolitan area of the country (see Saukkonen, 2016). Subsequently, the first Finnish Integration Act (493/1999) was adopted in 1999, and up to 2010, was amended from time to time with respect, for example, to the responsibilities of authorities, assignment of refugees to municipalities, reception of asylum seekers, content of an integration plan, implementation of integration training and integration assistance with financial support. This Integration Act (493/1999) was replaced in 2011 by a new Integration Act (1386/2010). Meanwhile, the official name of the Act changed from Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers (493/1999) to the Act on the Promotion of Integration (1386/2010).

The Integration Act (1386/2010) also introduced changes, some of which are presented here. First, the law has been extended in scope, as the Integration Act (493/1999) mainly targeted refugees and migrants who were unemployed or receiving income support (see Saukkonen, 2017). Therefore, in accordance with the Integration Act (1386/2010, Section 2), the primary objective of extending the coverage of the Finnish integration policy is to include all migrants whose right of residence has been registered or who have been granted a residence card or a residence permit under the Aliens Act (301/2004). That is, the diverse groups of migrants, irrespective of their reasons for moving to and residing in Finland, are in principle entitled to take part in the state integration programme.

Second, the meaning of the notion of integration (*kotoutuminen* in Finnish) has been broadened to involve both migrants and the receiving society in the

integration process. In particular, integration was defined as “the personal development of immigrants, aimed at participation in working life and society while preserving their own language and culture” in the Integration Act (493/1999, Section 2/1). Based on this definition, integration can be understood as a one-way process in which migrants shoulder the entire responsibility for integration in Finland. However, the wording has been changed in the Integration Act (1386/2010), in which integration is defined as “interactive development involving immigrants and society at large, the aim of which is to provide immigrants with the knowledge and skills required in society and working life and to provide them with support, so that they can maintain their culture and language” (Section 3/1). From this definition, integration can be understood as a two-way process, the responsibility for integration is shared between the migrants and the receiving society. In short, the national integration policy can be seen as tolerant in nature, discursively constructed to promote integration rather than assimilation (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015). Moreover, it can be called a multicultural policy⁵ in the sense that the Finnish state has a duty to support migrants not only in finding their way but also in preserving their own language and culture in Finland, the receiving country (Saukkonen, 2016).

Third, the promotion of integration has been expanded to include measures and services provided not only by the authorities but also by other parties. This view is based on the definition given in the Integration Act (1386/2010), according to which integration (*kotouttaminen* in Finnish) is defined as “the multi-sectoral promotion and support of integration ... using the measures and services provided by the authorities and other parties” (Section 3/2). In other words, the legislative emphasis for the promotion of integration is largely placed on multi-sectoral cooperation between public authorities (e.g., Employment and Economic Development Offices [TE Offices] and municipalities) and other parties (e.g., NGOs and educational institutions) (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015). Thus, based on this and the other definitions mentioned above, it is apparent that the national integration policy takes the importance of integration into account at both the micro and macro levels, as it defines integration using two different but related terms in Finnish: *kotoutuminen* and *kotouttaminen*. Specifically, the former refers to the receiving society and migrants, who are expected to be involved in the process of integration at the micro level, while the latter concerns the social structures of the wider society (e.g., authorities, educational institutions, NGOs and other parties), which are expected to promote the process of integration through multi-sectoral cooperation at the macro level.

Last, but not least, the measures and services promoting integration have been extended to cover basic information about Finnish society; guidance and advice; and an initial assessment under the Integration Act (1386/2010), in addition to the integration plan and integration training offered in accordance with the Integration Act (493/1999). These integration-related measures and

⁵ For a discussion of assimilation and multicultural policies, see Penninx (2005).

services are offered as part of the state integration programme, and they are provided by public authorities (e.g., municipalities and TE Offices) in cooperation with other parties (e.g., NGOs and educational institutions). In this regard, public authorities and other parties receive support, advice and/or guidance from the Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment [ELY Centres]. The detailed description of the above-mentioned integration-related measures and services is outlined below based on the Integration Act (1386/2010, Chapter 2), the national core curriculum for integration training for adult migrants (FNBE, 2012), the integration services for migrants provided through the Employment and Economic Development Services [TE Services] (2017g) and the information from the Centre of Expertise in Immigrant Integration (2019) (see also Figure 6).

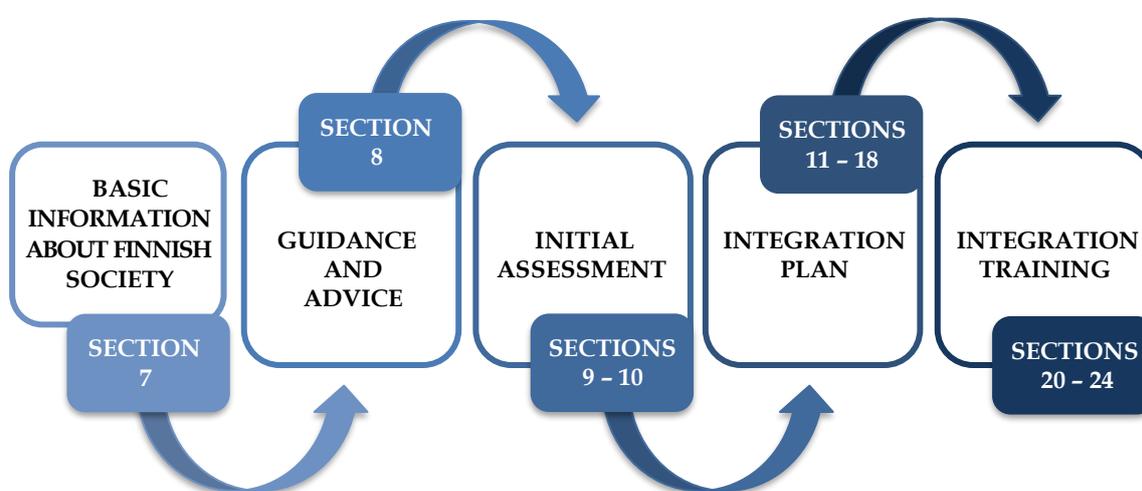


Figure 6. Integration-related measures and services under the Integration Act (1386/2010, Chapter 2).

- *Basic information about Finnish society* presents information on migrants' rights and obligations in working life and in society at large, as well as information on the measures and the service system promoting integration. This basic information package is provided through the *Welcome to Finland*⁶ guide and leaflet, which have been produced and updated in several languages. Both the guide and leaflet are available in printed and/or electronic format through the official websites and/or statutory bodies, public authorities and other organisations working in the fields of migration and integration.
- *Guidance and advice* are related to appropriate measures and services promoting the integration and working life of migrants, and they are delivered by public authorities. In general, migrants are provided with employment- and integration-related guidance and counselling services by municipalities and TE Offices, and, if needed, they are directed to other

⁶ For a discussion of the content of the basic information package *Welcome to Finland*, see Bodström (2020).

authorities, for example, the Finnish Immigration Service, the Finnish Tax Administration and the Social Insurance Institution [Kela]. Meanwhile, integration-related guidance and counselling services are also offered to migrants by the Info Centres or Info Desks coordinated and administered by the NGOs and/or municipalities in cooperation with ELY Centres. For the organisation and implementation of such guidance and counselling services, different local and regional models have been created based on different fixed-term projects.

- *Initial assessment* is considered the preliminary assessment of migrants' preparedness regarding employment, study and other aspects of integration, in addition to the need for language training and other integration-related measures and services. It primarily includes the examination of migrants' previous educational backgrounds, work experiences and language skills, as well as, if necessary, other matters affecting their employment prospects and integration. The initial assessment of migrants who are unemployed jobseekers or recipients of social assistance on a non-temporary basis is usually conducted by municipalities or TE Offices. As a general rule, these public authorities are also responsible for conducting the initial assessment for those migrants who ask for it.
- *Integration plan* refers to a personalised plan, which is jointly drawn up by the municipality and/or the TE Office along with the migrant. The major aim of the integration plan is to support migrants not only in learning the Finnish or Swedish language but also in acquiring other necessary knowledge and skills required in society and working life, with the help of integration-related measures and services. The integration plan is primarily prepared for migrants who are unemployed jobseekers or recipients of social assistance on a non-temporary basis and for those migrants who are deemed to need such a plan on the basis of the initial assessment. In fact, the first integration plan is drawn up no later than two weeks after the initial assessment has been conducted on the migrant, as well as no later than three years after the migrant's registration of the right of residence or the issue of the first residence card or residence permit. The duration of the integration plan is usually three years, but in some exceptional cases, it can be extended to a maximum of five years.
- *Integration training* is organised for migrants over the compulsory education age. The main objective of this training is to provide migrants with Finnish or Swedish⁷ language courses and, if necessary, courses that teach reading and writing skills. Integration training also aims at promoting migrants' access to employment and further education and training, as well as supporting the development of their social, cultural and civic skills. Typically, integration training is provided by a public

⁷ Migrants are predominantly provided with Finnish language courses through integration training, even though Finland is officially a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as national languages (see also Pöyhönen & Simpson, 2021).

authority, that is, the municipality or TE Office, which has prepared an integration plan with a migrant. Integration training is primarily offered in the form of labour market training; however, it can also be implemented through self-motivated studies. Public or private educational institutions generally design and deliver integration training that complies with the national core curriculum. Unemployed migrants or those at risk for unemployment are usually eligible to participate in integration training, but in certain circumstances, migrants who are gainfully employed can apply for this training as well.

With regard to the integration-related measures and services, migrants are entitled to receive integration assistance, which refers to “financial support paid to an immigrant so that he/she has secure means of support for the duration of the participation in the measures carried out as part of the integration plan” (Integration Act, 1386/2010, Section 19/1). This integration assistance has been replaced by a labour market subsidy or social assistance (Saukkonen, 2017), and it is one of the recent amendments to the Integration Act (1386/2010), which has come into force since the beginning of 2015. According to the Integration Act (1386/2010), the right to a labour market subsidy is determined in accordance with the Act on Unemployment Security (1290/2002), whereas the right to social assistance is determined in accordance with the Act on Social Assistance (1412/1997). That is, migrants who are unemployed jobseekers or recipients of social assistance on a non-temporary basis are generally eligible to receive a labour market subsidy and/or social assistance provided by Kela.

To summarise, it is apparent that legislation and government policy on integration has changed over time in Finland. The changes in national integration policy are related in particular to extending the scope of application of the law, the meaning of the notion of integration applied in the law, the range of institutional providers of integration-related measures and services, and the set of such measures and services offered to different groups of migrants, in addition to a division of the specific forms of financial support paid to migrants during the period of the integration plan. These and other similar changes in national integration policy seem to be positive and significant for promoting the integration of a growing and diversifying population of migrants in Finland; however, how they work or how effective they are in practice is another question, one which this doctoral research project attempts to answer by exploring the experiences of participants with a migrant background. In this regard, it should be noted that the above-mentioned changes largely pertain to the Integration Acts (493/1999; 1386/2010), on which the integration experiences of the research participants studied here are based. Therefore, it is not within the scope of the present doctoral study to discuss the Finnish Government’s drafting of new legislation that may bring further changes to the Integration Act in general or to integration-related measures and services in particular.

3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

This chapter introduces the conceptual framework used in my ethnographic research. In particular, it has been adapted from the conceptual frameworks proposed by Rallis and Rossman (2012) and Maxwell (2013), who present primary components central to the construction of the research journey and design. Based on these frameworks, the conceptual framework of my ethnographic research comprises the following five main elements: (1) research interests, (2) experiential knowledge, (3) existing literature, (4) guiding concepts and (5) analytical frame. The first element – research interests – can be considered “the starting point for constructing the conceptual framework” (Rallis & Rossman, 2012, p. 100). Experiential knowledge is the second element, and “it is both one of the most important conceptual resources and the one that is most seriously neglected in works on research design” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 44). The third element is the existing literature, including research, theories, policies and reports on practice (Rallis & Rossman, 2012; see also Maxwell, 2013), which are not presented separately here, as they are embedded in the analysis and discussion of the research findings. That is, I follow an ethnographic approach to discuss the existing literature alongside the data analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 and along with the concluding discussion in Chapter 7. I also provided an overview of the existing literature in Chapters 1 and 2 and identified where the major research gaps exist and where the present doctoral research can make its particular contribution. The fourth element – guiding concepts – of the conceptual framework refers to the direction to be taken by the analysis (Rallis & Rossman, 2012). That is, the analysis of data is directed through the guiding concepts and performed through the methods of data analysis (for details on the data analysis methods, see Subsection 4.6.2). Specifically, the guiding concepts of superdiversity and intersectionality are employed in the first (migrant NGO practitioners’ personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context) and second (migrant NGO practitioners’ institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the workplace context) research themes. The fifth and last element of the conceptual framework is an analytical frame that provides a preliminary map for analysing the research

data (Rallis & Rossman, 2012). As such, the analytical frame is not only informed by my research interests and experiential knowledge but also built on the existing literature and guiding concepts. Thus, the core elements described above are incorporated as an integral part of the “generative conceptual framework, one that can be considered foundational” (Rallis & Rossman, 2012, p. 91), based on which my doctoral research is constructed and conducted. These core elements of the conceptual framework are displayed in Figure 7 and further elaborated in the next sections.

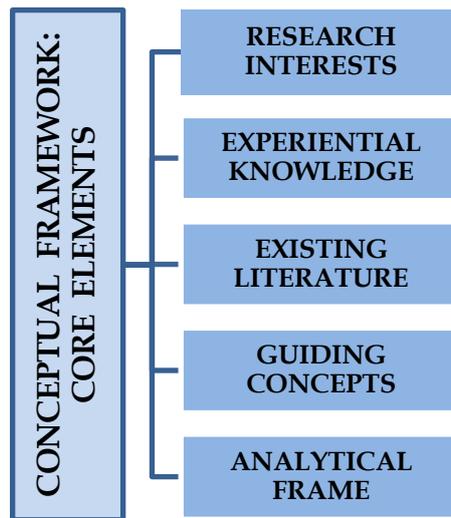


Figure 7. Core elements of the conceptual framework.

3.1 My research interests and experiential knowledge

Before moving to Finland to study in the international master’s degree programme at the Department of Education, University of Turku, I had worked as a secondary school teacher and teacher trainer in my home country, Armenia. In addition, I had participated in various educational projects and programmes implemented by national and international organisations and institutions based in Armenia, the USA and EU countries. It was for this reason that I initially planned to explore interactive and cooperative teaching methods for my master’s thesis. However, my plan changed after arrival in Finland, and my personal, professional and scientific interests reoriented towards researching migrants’ language, employment and integration experiences in the context of Finland.

As can be seen from the researcher vignette presented in the Introduction of Chapter 1, my research focused on language, employment and integration from the perspective of migrants working in NGOs, combine my personal, professional and scientific interests. These interests supported me in conducting not only my master’s thesis but also my doctoral dissertation research. Actually, my master’s thesis (Sahradyan, 2012) served as a pilot study for my doctoral dissertation. I implemented the pilot study in 2012, interviewing ten migrants working in

multicultural NGOs located in Turku, Finland. In particular, I explored migrants' experiences of Finnish working life integration through language, focusing on the roles of linguistic resources in their labour market entry and labour market participation in Finland. I also examined migrants' Finnish language learning experiences through formal, informal and non-formal learning. In brief, the pilot study helped me to gain a more nuanced understanding of migrants' experiences of language learning in different contexts, their language use at work and their integration into working life. That is, the pilot study provided me with prescientific experiential knowledge, which laid the foundation for the development and implementation of my doctoral research project.

My involvement as a team member in wider research projects such as "Transforming Professional Integration" and "Language and Superdiversity: (Dis)identification in Social Media", funded by the Academy of Finland, also provided me with scientific experiential knowledge relevant to my doctoral dissertation. More precisely, the research project "Transforming Professional Integration" was conducted by the Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä, in 2011–2014. The main objective of the project was to critically re-assess the roles and interplay of language proficiency, along with multilingual and multicultural practices and identities, in the integration of working-age migrants into Finnish working life. It focused primarily on adult migrants' integration experiences in the three focal settings: aspiration, achievement and abandonment. The aspiration setting comprised migrants who were preparing to take part in work and professional communities. Migrants who had access to work and professional communities were included in the achievement setting. The abandonment setting encompassed migrants who were marginalized in work and professional communities (for more information on the project, see Pöyhönen et al., 2013). This research project supported me in gaining a deeper understanding not only of migrants' different experiences of participation in the three core settings but also of local and national policies pertaining to migrants and migration in the receiving country. With regard to the research project "Language and Superdiversity: (Dis)identification in Social Media", it was implemented by the Department of Languages, University of Jyväskylä, in 2012–2016. The project aimed to investigate the ways in which linguistic and other semiotic resources were used by individuals and groups in everyday and institutional social media contexts, including Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, websites, blogs, chatrooms, discussion forums and so on (for more information on the project, see Leppänen et al., 2017a). Through this research project, I had an opportunity to learn how to conduct research in both physical and digital settings of the NGO as a workplace.

Moreover, my migrant background enabled me to acquire personal and professional experiential knowledge relevant to my doctoral research project. That is, I gained the above-mentioned experiential knowledge based on my experiences of learning the Finnish language, entering and participating in the Finnish labour market and being involved in different NGOs as a volunteer, visitor, client and executive committee member within the Finnish context.

Furthermore, it was helpful and important that I had a long history of migration, beginning in childhood and continuing into adulthood, as well as had experienced migration at different times, for different reasons, and in different contexts before moving to Finland. My previous experiences of voluntary work in local, national and international NGOs operating in or outside Armenia played a vital role as well. In sum, my doctoral research is based on my personal, professional and scientific research interests and experiential knowledge.

3.2 Guiding concepts

The migrant population often face different challenges and opportunities in terms of language, employment and integration in the receiving country (see, e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2018; Piller, 2016; Pöyhönen et al., 2018). To illustrate these challenges and opportunities, I have focused on the experiences of migrant NGO practitioners who had not only various workforce statuses in the workplace context but also various migration statuses in the broader societal context. That is, I explore the personal and institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration of migrant NGO practitioners by analysing their diverse social categories and intersecting them with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace on the one hand and with the social structures of the wider society on the other. To guide the above-described analysis of migrant NGO practitioners' personal and institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration, I draw on superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) and intersectionality (McCall, 2005) as guiding concepts, which are presented in the following sections.

3.2.1 Superdiversity

The concept of superdiversity was first used in a BBC News article by the sociologist Steven Vertovec in 2005. As Vertovec (2006) subsequently noted, the concept of superdiversity is characterised as a “diversification of diversity”, which refers not only to ethnicities and nationalities but also to other important migrant-related variables, such as “a differentiation in immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, labour market experiences, gender and age profiles, spatial factors, and local area responses by service providers and residents” (p. 1). In other words, the concept of superdiversity refers to a “multidimensional perspective on diversity” that goes beyond ethnic and national diversities (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1026; see also Meissner & Vertovec, 2015; Phillimore, 2011). In the words of Vertovec (2007), the increasingly diversified migrant-related variables are “not a matter of increased numbers but relative change in a given locality” (p. 1042). In short, superdiversity draws attention to various interlinking migrant-related variables and fosters a more nuanced understanding of the variety of these variables, which ultimately have an effect on “where, how and with whom people live” in the receiving country (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1025).

As Blommaert and Rampton (2011) point out, “the category of ‘migrant’ and of his/her sociocultural features” has become unpredictable over the past two decades (p. 1). These scholars also emphasise that the multiculturalism of an earlier era is mainly captured in an “ethnic minorities” paradigm, and it has gradually been replaced by superdiversity, which is:

characterized by a tremendous increase in the categories of migrants, not only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion, but also in terms of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of insertion into the labour and housing markets of the host societies, and so on (cf. Vertovec 2010). (p. 1)

This implies that superdiversity has emerged as an alternative to multiculturalism, which has usually grouped migrants based on their national or ethnic backgrounds. The concept of superdiversity has been further developed and applied in various disciplines, including sociology, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, education and history (see, e.g., Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2018; De Bock, 2015; Leppänen et al., 2018; Meissner & Vertovec, 2015; Phillimore, 2015; Simpson, 2016). In these and other disciplines, researchers have mainly focused on migration-driven diversity and explored, for example, superdiverse language practices, superdiverse repertoires, superdiversity in cities, superdiverse neighbourhoods, superdiverse streets, superdiverse societies and superdiversity in communities. They have also frequently addressed technology-driven superdiversity and studied superdiversity on the Internet, superdiverse social media, digital language practices in superdiversity and many others. To summarise, superdiversity is not only about migrants and migration; it also goes beyond them.

Needless to say, the original intention of the notion of superdiversity is to recognise “multidimensional shifts in migration patterns” (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015, p. 541). Vertovec (2019) clarifies in his recent article that superdiversity is:

(merely) a concept and approach about new migration patterns ... [and] not a theory (which ... would need to entail an explanation of how and why these changing patterns arose, how they are interlinked, and what their combined effects causally or necessarily lead to). (p. 126).

In this respect, it is worth noting that superdiversity highlights three interrelated aspects (Vertovec, 2007, as cited in Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). The first aspect is descriptive, which makes it possible to “encapsulate a range of ... changing variables surrounding migration patterns” and “portray changing population configurations”, stemming from the worldwide migration occurring over the past few decades (p. 542). The second aspect is methodological and concerns the possibility “to re-tool our theories and methods ... to move beyond ... the ‘ethno-focal lens’” in migration research (p. 542). The third aspect is practical; that is, it is “policy-oriented” and highlights the need for policymakers and public service practitioners’ to recognise the “new conditions created by the concurrent characteristics of global migration and population change” (p. 543). It also emphasises the need for “a shift from ‘ethno-focal’ ... policies and

services ... to matters like legal status" and its articulation with other migrant-related categories (p. 543; see also Phillimore, 2011; 2015). This section addresses the second aspect of superdiversity mentioned above (for the first and third aspects of superdiversity, see Chapters 2 and 7, respectively).

It is important to note that the concept of superdiversity has also been criticised by some researchers. For example, Czaika and de Haas (2014), who studied the global migration patterns during the period from 1960 to 2000, criticise the concept of superdiversity as Eurocentric, noting that "the idea that immigration has become more diverse may partly reveal a Eurocentric worldview" (p. 314). Specifically, Czaika and de Haas (2014) point out that superdiversity reflects increasing migration to Europe, particularly to Western Europe. Ndhlovu (2016) also criticises that superdiversity has been constructed from the perspective of the global North. Other researchers, such as Flores and Lewis (2016), criticise that superdiversity implies "a specific ahistorical framing of diversity", which ignores the diversities related to migrations throughout history (p. 105; see also Reyes, 2014). In response to these criticisms, it should be noted that superdiversity is not just a phenomenon of this time; it is the manifestation of historical development processes that have occurred in various societies and locations and at various times in history (Blommaert, 2015; De Bock, 2015; Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). Moreover, superdiversity is widely considered as "a contingent, ideological orientation to difference", irrespective of the question of "whether the difference is 'new' or 'old', ... situated in the 'West' or 'East', the 'global North' or the 'global South', [and] ... is historical or contemporary" (see Creese & Blackledge, 2018, p. xxvi).

Most criticisms of superdiversity point to a common concern that *super* does not add anything new to diversity that has existed in the world for centuries (see, e.g., Flores & Lewis, 2016; Ndhlovu, 2016; Reyes, 2014). In the words of Flores and Lewis (2016), "to claim that diversity is now "super" is to treat this diversity as a new phenomenon", disregarding the reality that features of diversity have existed in various settings for a long time (p. 105). Similar to Flores and Lewis (2016), Ndhlovu (2016) claims that superdiversity does not necessarily represent "a new phenomenon" (p. 35). The distinction between superdiversity and "regular diversity" is also questioned by Reyes (2014, pp. 367–368). From these criticisms, it appears that they have not taken into account the fact that diversity has mostly been examined through the lens of ethnicity and/or nationality in earlier studies, which have widely overlooked the multidimensional diversity that is evident among the migrant populations (see, e.g., De Bock, 2015; Meissner & Vertovec, 2015; Simpson, 2016). In this respect, De Bock (2015) highlights the potential of superdiversity as a concept for moving "beyond an ethno-focal perspective" to research a variety of factors that affect people's lives in their receiving countries (p. 583). Simpson (2016) also emphasises the potential of superdiversity that "enables, and perhaps obliges, a consideration of phenomena", which have been unexplored before (p. 5). In other words, superdiversity "makes us look at things", which we had previously overlooked (Simpson, 2016, p. 5). In addition, superdiversity makes it possible to understand and explain "complex phenomena and processes"

what were previously regarded “as ‘exceptional’” (Blommaert, 2015, p. 84–86). Thus, the potential of superdiversity is considered in my doctoral study with the aim of exploring the diverse social categories of migrant NGO practitioners in the workplace and broader societal contexts of Finland.

3.2.2 Intersectionality

Compared to superdiversity, the concept of intersectionality has a longer history. Intersectionality was initially applied in feminist research, and it is defined as “the mutually constitutive relations among social identities” in which gender as a category of identity has a central role (Shields, 2008, p. 301). The concept of intersectionality was first proposed by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a professor of law at Columbia, in 1989 to address the issue of how race and gender interact in different ways to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women’s working experiences (Crenshaw, 1991). Crenshaw argued that by looking at these dimensions separately, “the intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women’s lives ... cannot be captured wholly” (1991, p. 1244), meaning that race and gender as dimensions of identity cannot be explored in isolation from each other.

According to some researchers (e.g., Block & Corona, 2014; McCall, 2005; Shields, 2008), only one dimension of identity is usually studied along with other identity dimensions. For example, in the research done by Block and Corona (2014) among Latino youth in Barcelona, the focus was on multiple identity dimensions for examining the intersection of language, race, ethnicity and gender with social class; the latter was put at the heart of the intersectional analysis. Researchers also suggest that, in addition to “race and gender”, it is necessary to study other identity dimensions, including “nationality, language, age, sexual orientation, religion and so on” (Block & Corona, 2014, p. 28). Hence, it appears that, within the framework of intersectionality, the dimensions that have mainly been investigated in different disciplines, including applied linguistics, are gender and race.

Gender- or race-based research conducted within the framework of intersectionality has been criticised for not capturing the complexity of lived experiences and the diversity of the points of intersection (McCall, 2005). In response to this critique, McCall (2005) developed methodological approaches defined “in terms of their stance toward categories ... to explore the complexity of intersectionality in social life” (p. 1773). More specifically, McCall (2005) offers three methodological approaches that can be employed to analyse data within the framework of the complexity of intersectionality. The first approach is anticategorical complexity, which focuses on deconstructing fixed analytical categories that are considered “simplifying social fictions that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences” (McCall, 2005, p. 1773). The second approach is intracategorical complexity, and it is conceptually located between the first and third approaches, as the former does not accept categories, whereas the latter applies categories strategically. This second approach allows analysis of “the stable and even durable relationships that social categories represent at any given point in time”; however, it maintains “a critical stance toward

categories” (McCall, 2005, p. 1774). Researchers using this approach have mostly focused on neglected intersections within specific categories of social groups “to reveal the complexity of lived experience within such groups” (McCall, 2005, p. 1774). The third approach, intercategory complexity, focuses on the relationships across categories and among social groups to capture “changing configurations of inequality along multiple and conflicting dimensions” (McCall, 2005, p. 1773). In short, the anticategorical approach to intersectionality enables the analysis of complexity without the use of analytical categories, whereas the intracategorical and intercategory approaches to intersectionality enable an analysis of complexity within and between analytical categories.

The question of how intersectionality differs from the concept of superdiversity has been discussed in the research community. The Institute for Research into Superdiversity, based in the UK, organised the first roundtable to discuss the difference between intersectionality and superdiversity in April 2015 (see the report by Humphris, 2015). According to the invited speakers, the main difference between these two concepts is that superdiversity is connected to various variables and processes that go beyond ethnic and national origins, whereas intersectionality has a close connection with the “holy trinity” of gender, race/ethnicity and class, even if the latter has frequently been overlooked (Humphris, 2015, p. 2). The speakers also emphasise that the difference between the concepts of superdiversity and intersectionality is that they do not have the same points of entry to understanding social inequalities and power; however, they are not considered polar opposites. Moreover, the speakers point out that it is possible to bring both concepts together in fruitful ways. The possibility of bringing the concepts of superdiversity and intersectionality together in empirical research was also discussed in other exploratory and reading seminars on superdiversity and intersectionality, which were planned and organised by a wider research project “Language and Superdiversity: (Dis)identification in Social Media” at the University of Jyväskylä in 2015–2016. In addition to being a participant in these scientific events, I was also a team member of the research project and thus had an excellent opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the concept of superdiversity and how to integrate it with the concept of intersectionality in research. In sum, my doctoral research brings together superdiversity and intersectionality as guiding concepts, which are included as part of an analytical frame presented in the next section.

3.3 An analytical frame

As mentioned earlier, the fifth and last element of the present conceptual framework is related to an analytical frame informed by my research interests and experiential knowledge, in addition to the existing literature discussed at different points in this dissertation. To provide a preliminary map for analysing the research data, this analytical frame is also built on guiding concepts (see Rallis & Rossman, 2012), such as those of superdiversity and intersectionality

discussed above. In particular, I apply the concept of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) to explore the multidimensional diversity of migrant NGO practitioners' social categories, that is, not only their ethnic and national origins but also their migration status, workforce status, legal status, language, occupation, employment status, education, gender, race, age and others. To examine the interplay within the social categories of migrant NGO practitioners at the micro level, I employ the intracategorical approach to intersectionality (McCall, 2005). Furthermore, I apply the intercategory approach to intersectionality (McCall, 2005) to examine the intersection of the social categories of migrant NGO practitioners with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace at the meso level and with the social structures of the wider society at the macro level. The organisational practices of the workplace concern, for example, rules, regulations, procedures, requirements and routines in work sites (a multicultural centre and integration-related projects) and several management sites of the NGO. The social structures of the wider society, in turn, refer to laws (e.g., acts and decrees), systems (e.g., education and training), services (e.g., employment and social security), authorities (e.g., state, regional and local) and institutions (e.g., workplaces, universities, companies and NGOs). Applying such an all-embracing analytical frame reveals how migrants' diverse social categories, along with the social structures of the wider society or the organisational practices of the workplace, can jointly act as a gateway or gatekeeper, creating different opportunities and challenges for their personal and institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the receiving country. It may also show how diverse social categories are discussed and negotiated with the participants through the co-construction of knowledge and how these categories are adopted and challenged by the participants when navigating the social structures of the wider society on the one hand and the organisational practices of the workplace on the other. Overall, this analytical frame is applied to conduct my ethnographic research, the main aim of which is to critically investigate migrant NGO practitioners' personal and institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration by cross-analysing the interplay within their diverse social categories at the micro level and the intersection of these categories with the macro level of social structures of the wider society and with the meso level of organisational practices of the workplace. That is, the analytical frame constructed on the basis of the guiding concepts of superdiversity and intersectionality provides direction not only to the exploration of migrant NGO practitioners' personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context (the first research theme) but also to the examination of migrant NGO practitioners' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the workplace context (the second research theme). It is also important to note that the data gathered or generated on both research themes are analysed through the methods of analysis of narratives and narrative analysis, and they are represented through personal and institutional narratives (for details, see Subsection 4.6.2). An overview of the analytical frame used in the present ethnographic research is shown in Figure 8.

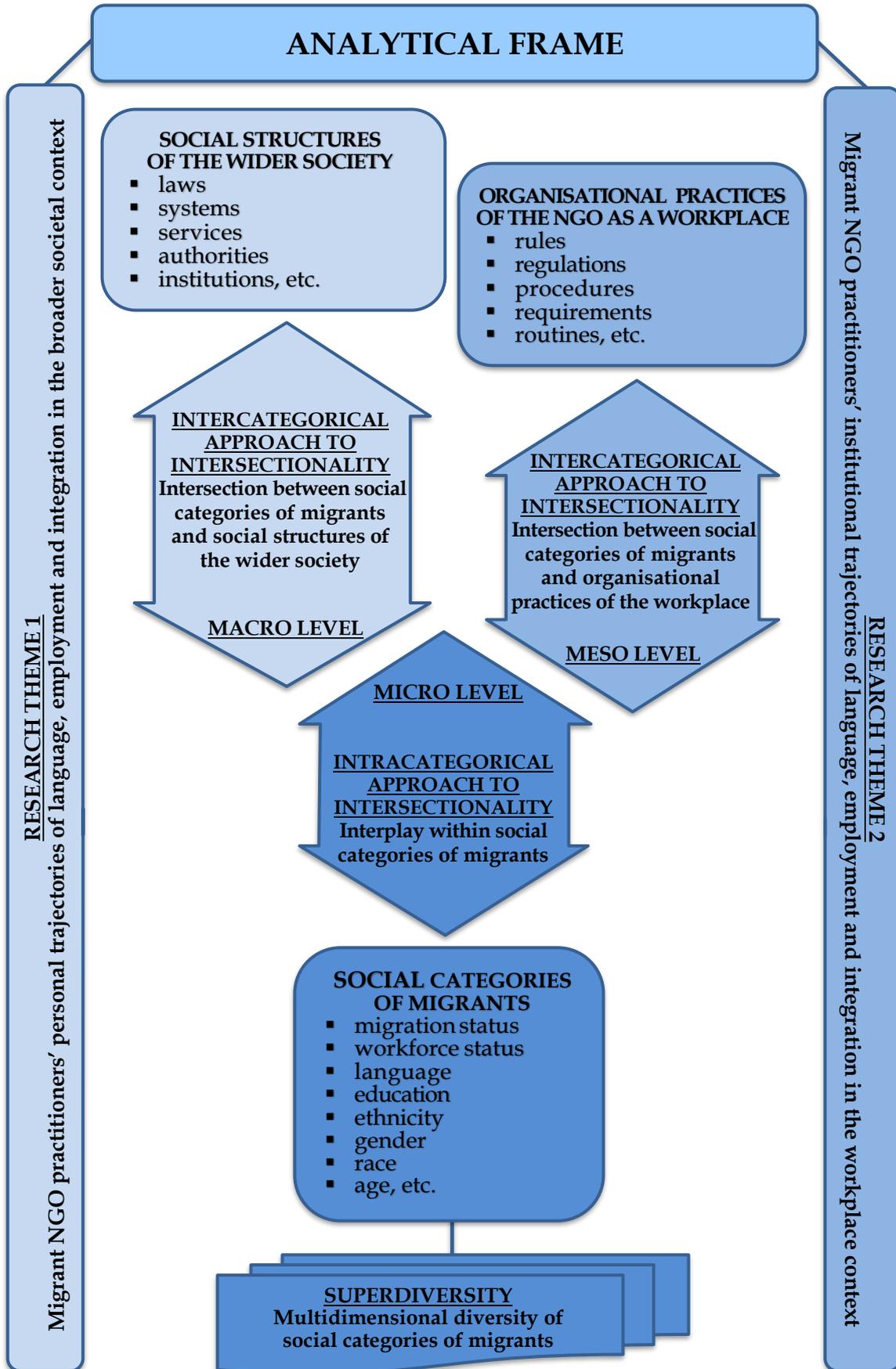


Figure 8. The analytical frame of the research.

4 METHODOLOGY AND THE RESEARCH PROCESS

In this chapter, I present and discuss in detail the ethnographic approach (see, e.g., Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Fetterman, 2010; Gobo, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Madden, 2010) adopted in my doctoral study, along with other features of the research process. The ethnographic approach enabled me to employ a variety of methods not only for the collection and production but also for the analysis of research data (see also Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Gobo, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Meanwhile, it made it possible to modify the methods used in my doctoral study in accordance with the research themes, sites and participants (see also Fetterman, 2010).

It is also important to note that the research process of my doctoral study based on ethnography was complex and dynamic in nature. Therefore, I describe the non-linear aspects of the research process, which created not only challenges but also opportunities for me as a researcher (see also Enns-Kananen et al., 2018; McKinley & Rose, 2017). In other words, in this chapter, I present and discuss the *actual* or *real* rather than “clean” or “polished” process of my doctoral ethnographic study as I experienced it (see also Enns-Kananen et al., 2018, p. 72; Rose & McKinley, 2017, p. 3).

Thus, after presenting the qualitative research design and procedure of my doctoral study that adopted an ethnographic approach, I describe the research context, including management sites, work sites and participants. The collection and production of the different data sets, such as observational, textual, interview, questionnaire and self-assessment data, are reported in the following sections. The data management protocol, including the organisation, storage, transcription and translation of the research data, is also described, followed by the presentation of the selection of data and analysis. In addition, I describe the steps taken in implementing the in-fieldwork and post-fieldwork analysis as well as the methods of data analysis, that is, analysis of narratives and narrative analysis. Finally, ethical considerations relating to key stages of the research and reflections on the positionality and voice of the researched and the researcher are discussed at the end of the chapter.

4.1 Research design and procedure

Within the qualitative research design, my doctoral study draws on ethnography, which is generally flexible and evolves gradually throughout the research procedure rather than derives from a pre-planned research process (see, e.g., Blommaert, 2018; Blommaert & Dong, 2010 for a detailed discussion on ethnography). By using ethnography, I was able to employ different core terms and concepts, as well as methods of data collection/production and analysis (see also Fetterman, 2010; Gobo, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Ethnography also enabled me to observe the participants' lived experiences and understand the meaning of these experiences by seeing "the world through their eyes", as described by Madden (2010, p. 178). Thus, the primary emphasis in my ethnographic research is on the participants' lived experiences and their emic points of view.

To document and present the experiences of participants and the researcher, I use narratives and vignettes, which are involved in ethnographies as "rhetorical forms ... (Hymes, 1996, p. 12-13) ... to provide the reader with some apprehension of the fullness and irreducibility of the 'lived stuff' from which the analyst has abstracted (cultural) structures" (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 4). As such, vignettes and narratives are considered "fundamental to ethnography" (Creese et al., 2017, p. 204) and therefore have a vital role in my ethnographic research. In line with the characteristics common to an ethnographic research approach, my ethnographic fieldwork started without following any predetermined route or path (see also Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Pole & Morrison, 2003). However, although I did not have a strategic plan regarding whom or what to observe, where, when and for how long, I entered the field with preliminary research aims and questions, meaning that I had some initial ideas or thoughts about what might be interesting or relevant for my ethnographic research (see also Hymes, 1980; Miles & Huberman, 1994). That is, as a researcher, I did not start the ethnographic fieldwork from "a completely clean slate" but maintained an open orientation towards my ethnographic observations (see also Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 38; da Costa Cabral, 2015).

For implementing the ethnographic fieldwork, I decided to conduct ethnographic observations in a civic NGO based in Finland, as it not only hired both Finns and migrants but also provided them with a wide range of services, activities and events. My ethnographic observations were conducted in the fieldwork sites, such as the management and work sites of the NGO (see Figure 9; see also Section 4.2 for detailed information on the research context). More precisely, I observed several management sites by focusing on the organisational management of the NGO. I also made ethnographic observations in five work sites, including a multicultural centre and four integration-related projects administered by the NGO. To acquire a better understanding of migrants' workplace experiences, I chose, from each work site, participants with diverse employment backgrounds. However, the participants, namely migrant NGO practitioners, for the ethnographic observations were only selected after several weeks of starting my fieldwork, when I realised that they differed in their

workforce status: some were salaried employees while others were subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers. In other words, I started by observing the work of migrant NGO practitioners with various work-related characteristics and starting points at work and then proceeded to focus on individuals with specific workforce statuses (the aim being to focus on specific targets; see also Blommaert & Dong, 2010). The Finnish NGO supervisors were also chosen from the work site for which they had been hired as salaried employees. They were selected on the basis of their professional role as a manager of a work site or as a manager involved in the management work of all the work sites. Altogether twenty-eight participants took part in my doctoral study: twenty-two NGO practitioners with a migrant background and six NGO supervisors with a Finnish background.

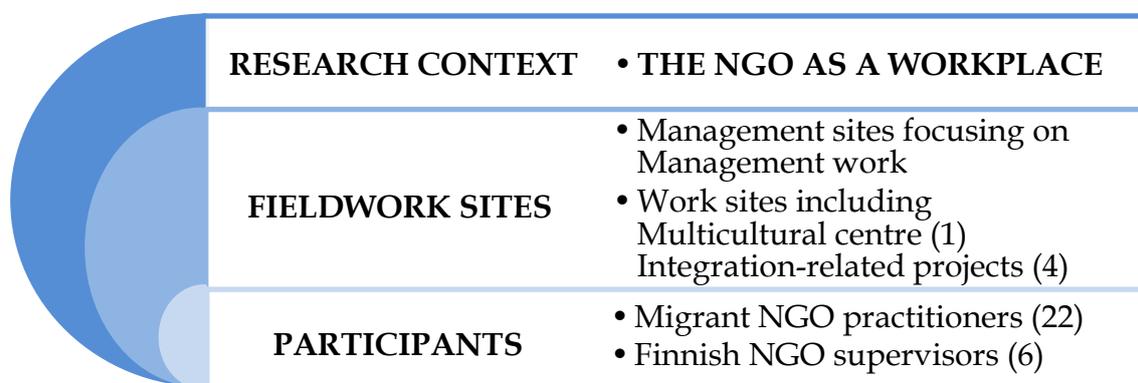


Figure 9. Overview of the research context along with fieldwork sites and participants.

The ethnographic fieldwork in the NGO took place at different periods during twenty-one months between 2014 and 2016. Specifically, the ethnographic fieldwork comprised four core phases and two follow-up phases, each phase lasting from two to five months (see Figure 10). During the first core phase of fieldwork, from February to June 2014, I made ethnographic observations in various projects or centres administered by the NGO. In July, I briefly analysed my ethnographic observations and prepared for the second core phase of fieldwork, which I carried out between August and December 2014. Having narrowed the scope of my ethnographic observations, I focused on work sites A, B and C, namely two integration-related projects and a multicultural centre working with migrant children, youth and/or adults. In other words, I chose these work sites from amongst those I had observed in the previous core phase. During the second core phase, I also carried out ethnographic observations at work site D – a new integration-related project working with refugees. From May to June 2015, I implemented the third core phase of fieldwork at work site E – a new integration-related project focused on migrants with different backgrounds. Meanwhile, I continued ethnographic observations at work sites A and B, which were in close cooperation with work site E. After a while, I noticed changes taking place in work sites B and E due to the arrival of a large number of asylum seekers in Finland in 2015, especially at the end of the year. To observe workplace changes related to societal changes, I decided to carry out the fourth core phase

of fieldwork between February and March 2016. In brief, as with the selection of the research participants, I chose the work sites “by observing *everything*” and then gradually focused on “*specific targets*” (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 29).

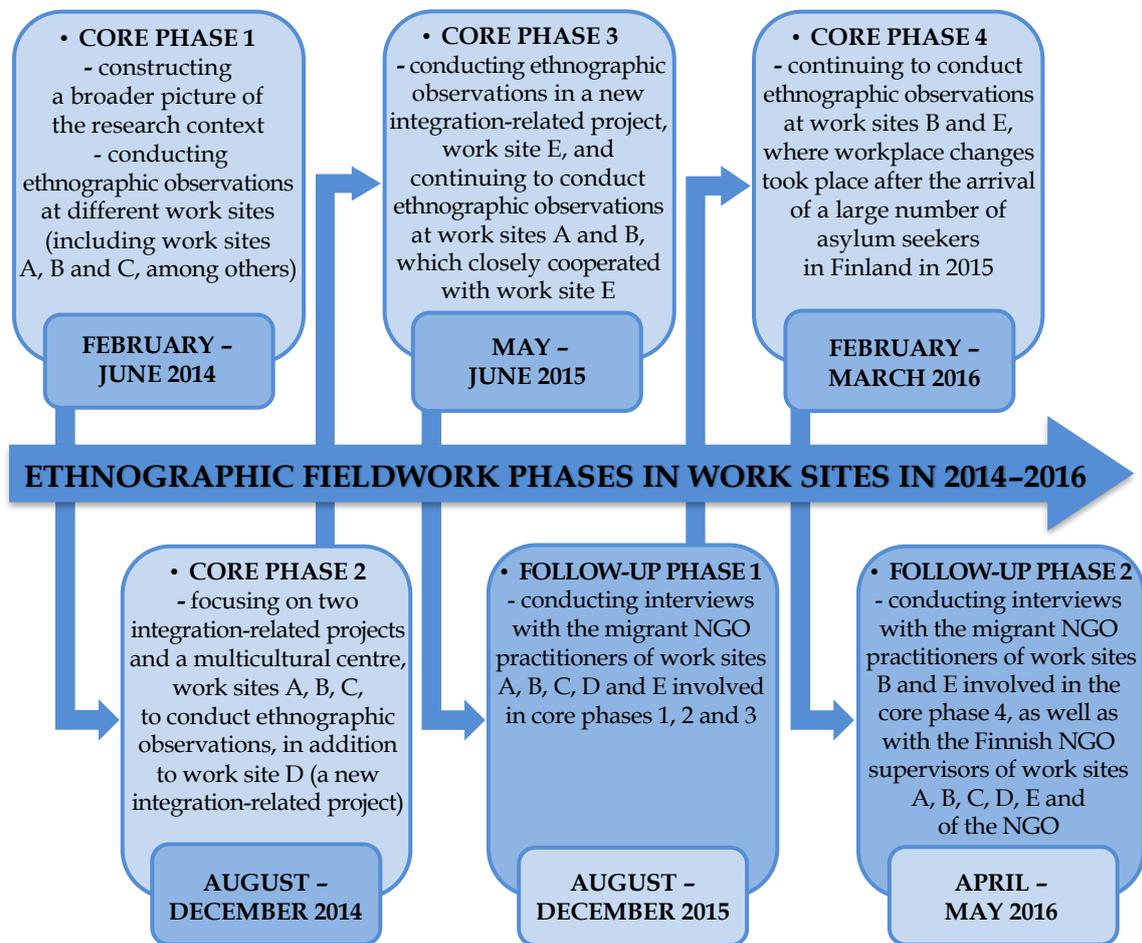


Figure 10. Overview of the ethnographic fieldwork phases in work sites in 2014–2016.

Throughout the core fieldwork phases, I also made ethnographic observations in different management sites, in addition to work sites mentioned above. In general, I observed work and management sites not only in their physical settings but also in digital settings, for instance, by following the NGO’s Facebook pages, blogs, webpages and emails. Meanwhile, my ethnographic observations were carried out in both front-stage and back-stage spaces of work and management sites. I also conducted ethnographic conversations with the participants to talk about their experiences in language learning, employment and integration after moving to Finland, as well as about their work tasks performed in the NGO.

It should also be mentioned that my ethnographic study was conducted collaboratively with participants who were involved at key stages of the research (for details, see Sections 4.7 and 4.8). In a similar vein, my ethnographic study was designed to be responsive to the needs and interests of the participants and thus in opposition to research conducted simply to feed “academic appetites” (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003, p. 10). Accordingly, the primary principle of my

doctoral dissertation was researching with rather than on the participants (see also Cameron et al., 1992; Kerfoot, 2016; Mullany, 2007).

As can be seen from Figure 10, the ethnographic fieldwork also included follow-up phases, allowing me to track changes related not only to participants' personal and institutional trajectories but also to actions taken at the work and management sites after I had completed the ethnographic observations. From August to December 2015, the first follow-up phase was carried out through formal interviews conducted with most of the participants (20 persons) who were migrant NGO practitioners and had been involved in the first, second and/or third core phases of fieldwork. The second and last follow-up phase was implemented between April and May 2016, when similar formal interviews were conducted with the migrant NGO practitioners (2 persons) participating in the fourth core phase of fieldwork and with the Finnish NGO supervisors (6 persons) who were not involved in the core fieldwork phases. The formal interviews were generally carried out in the form of biographic-narrative interviews (Wengraf, 2001) and ethnographic interviews (Spradley, 1979).

Apart from formal interview data, the follow-up phases of the ethnographic fieldwork also encompassed questionnaire data (demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires) and self-assessment data (self-assessment scales of language proficiency) produced with the migrant NGO practitioners and Finnish NGO supervisors. In the core phases, observational data from physical and digital settings, as well as interview data (informal interviews), were gathered or generated with the migrant NGO practitioners. Meanwhile, the textual data collection was carried out in both the core and follow-up phases (see Section 4.3 for detailed information on the collection and production of data). It is also important to note that the different data subsets, including multimodal and multilingual data (Flewitt et al., 2014; Holmes et al., 2013), offline and online data (Androutsopoulos, 2013; Peuronen, 2017) and qualitative and quantitative data (Pole & Morrison, 2003), were gathered or produced together in order to gain a nuanced understanding of rich and complex situations in ethnographic research (see also Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Kytölä, 2013).

Thus, in my doctoral research, the ethnographic and biographic-narrative orientations were used as complementary to each other (see Figure 11 for an overview of the research design). Following Wengraf (2001), the biographic-narrative orientation was employed to contextualise the participants' experiences in the workplace and broader societal environments, encouraging them to reflect on the past, present and future in their individual and organisational stories that come together within the narrative (see also Linde, 2009; Squire, 2008). In the case of the ethnographic orientation, I applied different strategies of ethnography, and one of them is institutional ethnography. The strategy of institutional ethnography, developed by Smith in the 1980s (see, e.g., 1987), is characterised by starting observations within "the local actualities of the everyday world, with the concerns and perspectives of people located distinctively in the institutional process" (Smith, 2005, p. 34). Meanwhile, it is oriented by "the everyday experience of people active in an institutional context" (Smith, 2005, p. 104). In line with institutional ethnography, I explored the experiences of

participants involved in institutional processes, along with the regulatory dimensions of the NGO as an institutional context. In addition to the front-stage and back-stage spaces (Goffman, 1956), I also made observations in different work-related situations not only in but also outside the NGO, “carrying ethnography beyond the locally observable” (Smith, 2005, p. 37). Another strategy used in my doctoral research is longitudinal ethnography. Numerous scientific studies conducted in institutional contexts contributed to the development of longitudinal ethnography in general and of longitudinal fieldwork in particular (see, e.g., Barley, 1990; Filer & Pollard, 1998; Pettigrew, 1990). In the words of Filer and Pollard (1998), “[t]he power of a *longitudinal* ethnography ... is that it adds the dimension of time to the holistic and multi-perspective research design of classic ethnography” (p. 58). As such, longitudinal fieldwork makes it possible to track actual changes that occur over time (Barley, 1990; Pettigrew, 1990). I therefore applied the strategy of longitudinal ethnography to track not only changes in the personal and institutional trajectories of participants but also changes in actions taken at the management and work sites of the NGO. The other strategy that I used is multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995), which enabled me to follow participants as well as the management and work sites of the NGO. Specifically, through the multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork, I could follow people, objects, biographies, ideas and texts across the multi-sited spaces of the research context. Within the strategy of multi-sited ethnography introduced by Marcus (1995, p. 95), “[e]thnography moves from its conventional single-site location ... to multiple sites of observation and participation”, thereby leading to multi-sited fieldwork. The last strategy adopted in my doctoral research is blended ethnography (Androutsopoulos, 2008), which involves more than one fieldwork setting, particularly focusing on offline and online activities. Blended ethnography, as described by Androutsopoulos (2008), is associated “with offline activities receiving equal or even more attention than online ones” (DCOE section, para. 8). On the basis of blended ethnography, my observations were mainly conducted in the physical settings and combined with those made in the digital settings of the NGO. In short, the strategies of ethnography, including institutional, longitudinal, multi-sited and blended, enabled me to make observations in different places and at different times within the research context, that is, to go beyond situating observations in one place and at one time frame. These strategies also provided me with opportunities to observe both the personal and institutional experiences of participants across time and space. In this sense, the strategies of ethnography were performed in complement to one another. Overall, both ethnographic and biographic-narrative orientations applied in my doctoral research are embedded in epistemology that addresses questions such as, “[w]hat can we know about the world and how should we obtain that knowledge?” (Johannesson & Perjons, 2014, p. 167). As such, these questions are central to understanding the ways in which we can know about reality (for details, see Creswell, 2013; Johannesson & Perjons, 2014). Based on the epistemological assumptions underpinning the interpretivist paradigm (Johannesson & Perjons, 2014), reality is viewed as subjective and constructed through the lived experiences of participants involved in my doctoral research.

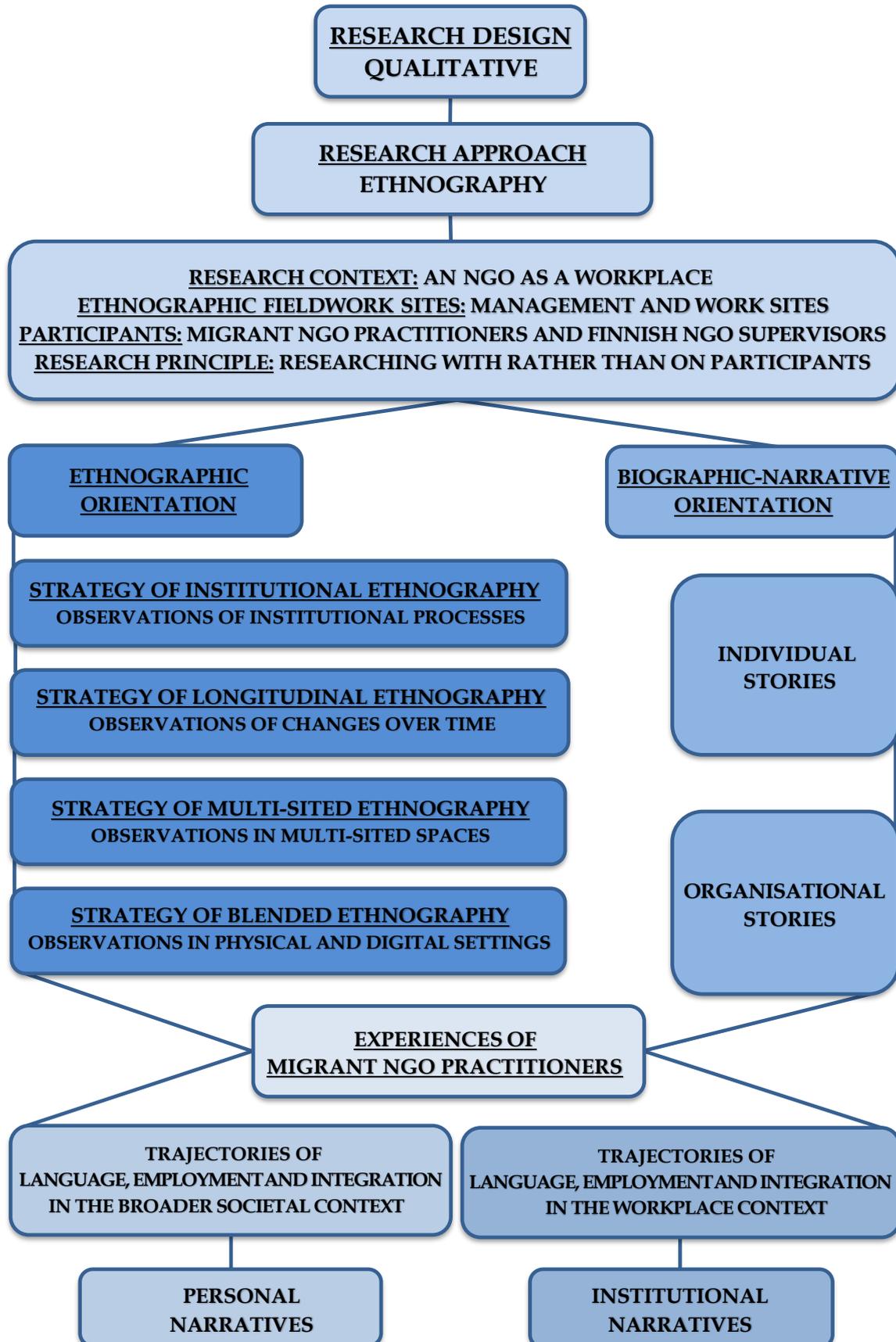


Figure 11. Overview of the research design.

To summarise, I conducted my ethnographic research in an institutional setting, specifically in an NGO as a workplace. While my doctoral research design was based on preliminary research interests and questions, it remained open to observations emerging from the research context. As such, the design and procedure of the research evolved strategically due to my having direct access to different types of data and fieldwork sites, as well as to the gradual development of my understanding relating to the phenomena under examination. Thus, following an ethnographic approach, the design of my doctoral research incorporated triangulation “to provide corroborating evidence” (Creswell, 2013, p. 251), for example, from different research sites, participants, data sets, methods of data collection or production, and methods of data analysis. These are presented and discussed in detail in the next sections, along with other important aspects of the research process.

4.2 Research context: A civic NGO based in Finland

Researcher vignette 2

When I was planning to conduct ethnographic observations for my doctoral research, I chose three NGOs located in Finland, which were actively working with children, youth and adults. However, I was granted access to make observations in only two of these NGOs, where I started to carry out ethnographic fieldwork in 2014. During this fieldwork, I realised that both NGOs were rich and complex fieldwork sites and therefore decided to focus on only one of them in my doctoral research project, bearing in mind that ethnographic research seeks depth rather than breadth. But which NGO to choose? This was not an easy task. What facilitated the selection of the NGO was my research focus, which I had narrowed down to the NGO where both migrants and Finns carried out different types of work, in addition to voluntary work. Providing services and organising activities for a wide range of target groups was also a factor of interest. Furthermore, the use of various linguistic resources with visitors and clients in a variety of situations and spaces of the NGO affected the selection process as well. In short, I chose the NGO that worked with local residents from different backgrounds and promoted bringing them together through different projects and open meeting places.

The above vignette from my research diary illustrates that the initial selection of the research contexts can be changed because of different reasons. In my doctoral study, not having the possibility to access a specific research context was one reason for making a change (see also da Silva, 2011). Another reason was associated with my research focus, which was modified during the research process (see also Saksela-Bergholm, 2009). The third reason was connected with the time and resources needed to design and conduct my doctoral research project (see also Pirkkalainen, 2013). While the reasons might be different in different academic studies, it is important to recognise that it is sometimes necessary for the researcher to rethink the research contexts that are initially selected.

Thus, the civic NGO⁸ based in Jyväskylä, Finland, was chosen as the main research context for my doctoral study. This NGO was established in Jyväskylä in 2001 and registered as a non-profit association at the National Board of Patents and Registration of Finland (currently the Finnish Patent and Registration Office). The official name of the NGO is *Keski-Suomen Yhteisöjen Tuki ry* in Finnish (abbreviated here to *KYT Association*), which is presented on its public website as *NGO Support in Central Finland Association* in English. The KYT Association's name indicates that it serves and supports NGOs that are located in the region of Central Finland. However, in addition to working with NGOs, it also works with residents from diverse backgrounds and provides them with a wide range of services and activities. Although nowadays the KYT Association mainly operates in Central Finland, it has also earlier functioned in other regions as well. In the first years after it was established, a few salaried employees were hired. However, the workforce has changed since then. Not only has the number of people working in the KYT Association increased, but the workforce has also been expanded to include subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers. The significance of these changes is also evident in the hiring of Finnish personnel as well as those with migrant backgrounds. In fact, the KYT Association was set up and run by Finns, and Finnish personnel were hired for the first few years. This situation has changed due to increasing migration to Finland, including Jyväskylä. Since 2003, the KYT Association has also hired migrants with diverse workforce statuses and has carried out various integration-related projects aimed at promoting migrants' involvement in different spheres of life in Finland. In 2008, the multicultural centre in Jyväskylä, which had started out as a project and subsequently served as an open meeting place, became part of the KYT Association, bringing together migrant and Finnish children, youth and adults to learn about each other's cultures, languages, traditions and values, among other things. Moreover, the KYT Association's executive committee was reconstituted in 2016 to include a member with a migrant background. Thus, it appears that the KYT Association has undergone noticeable changes, mainly associated with societal changes in Finland, in its organisational management, operational sector and regular workforce. These changes are also connected with the key role of NGOs, which are considered one of the main actors in migration- and integration-related work in accordance with the Finnish Integration Acts (493/1999; 1386/2010) and the Finnish Government Integration Programmes (see, e.g., Ministry of Employment and the Economy of Finland, 2012; Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2016). In short, the KYT Association has actively worked with local residents from both migrant and Finnish backgrounds and promoted bridge-building between them, in addition to supporting local NGOs representing different fields. As the main research context, the KYT Association is further described in the next section, with special focus on its institutional structure.

⁸ For the definition and information on *the civic NGO*, see Section 2.2.

4.2.1 Institutional structure of the NGO: Organisational management, operational sector and regular workforce

The institutional structure of the KYT Association represented three main components, such as organisational management, operational sector and regular workforce. In its organisational management, the highest decision-making body of the KYT Association was the general assembly (see Figure 12). The general assembly was held twice a year, in spring and autumn. Typically, the KYT Association's annual report and financial statement, along with the auditor's statement, were presented and discussed in the general assembly held in the spring. In the general assembly held in the autumn, the following year's action and financial plans and the membership fee for member associations were discussed and approved. The KYT Association's executive committee, including the chairperson, four full members and five deputy members, as well as the auditor and deputy auditor, were also elected in the autumn general assembly. The executive committee selected the executive director/managing director, when needed. For instance, the executive committee chose a new executive director/managing director in 2016 on the retirement of the existing director, who had held the position for more than ten years. The management of the KYT Association was carried out through internal and external management by the executive committee and executive director/managing director. The KYT Association usually operated in partnership with the KYT Cooperative, which had been founded two years earlier in 1999, and it shared the same executive committee and executive director/managing director. The KYT Cooperative provided accounting and financial services to different associations, but it was not included in my doctoral research because my dissertation predominantly focused on the KYT Association as an NGO acting in the third sector.

Regarding the operational sector, the KYT Association operated in five main domains: NGO services, member NGOs, open meeting places, projects and advocacy (see Figure 12). In the region of Central Finland, the KYT Association provided support services to NGOs and other civil society actors whose work was related to promoting the wellbeing of local residents and their integration into the wider society. Through its support services, the KYT Association assisted NGOs and other civil society actors in enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of their work and in building up their capacities. Specifically, the KYT Association provided them with support services, such as consultation, training and expert assistance in initiating or improving cooperation, in addition to offering an information platform for advertising and promoting NGOs' work and activity (for more information on the platform, see www.yhdistystori.fi/). These support services were also provided to the KYT Association's member NGOs, which were registered non-profit associations based in the region of Central Finland. Thus, the KYT Association acted as an umbrella association for its member NGOs, which represented a wide range of fields, including, but not limited to, health, sports, employment, culture and migration. The number of member NGOs steadily increased from year to year. Between 2014 and 2016, the number of member NGOs rose from 53 to 65, while, during the same period, two member associations resigned.

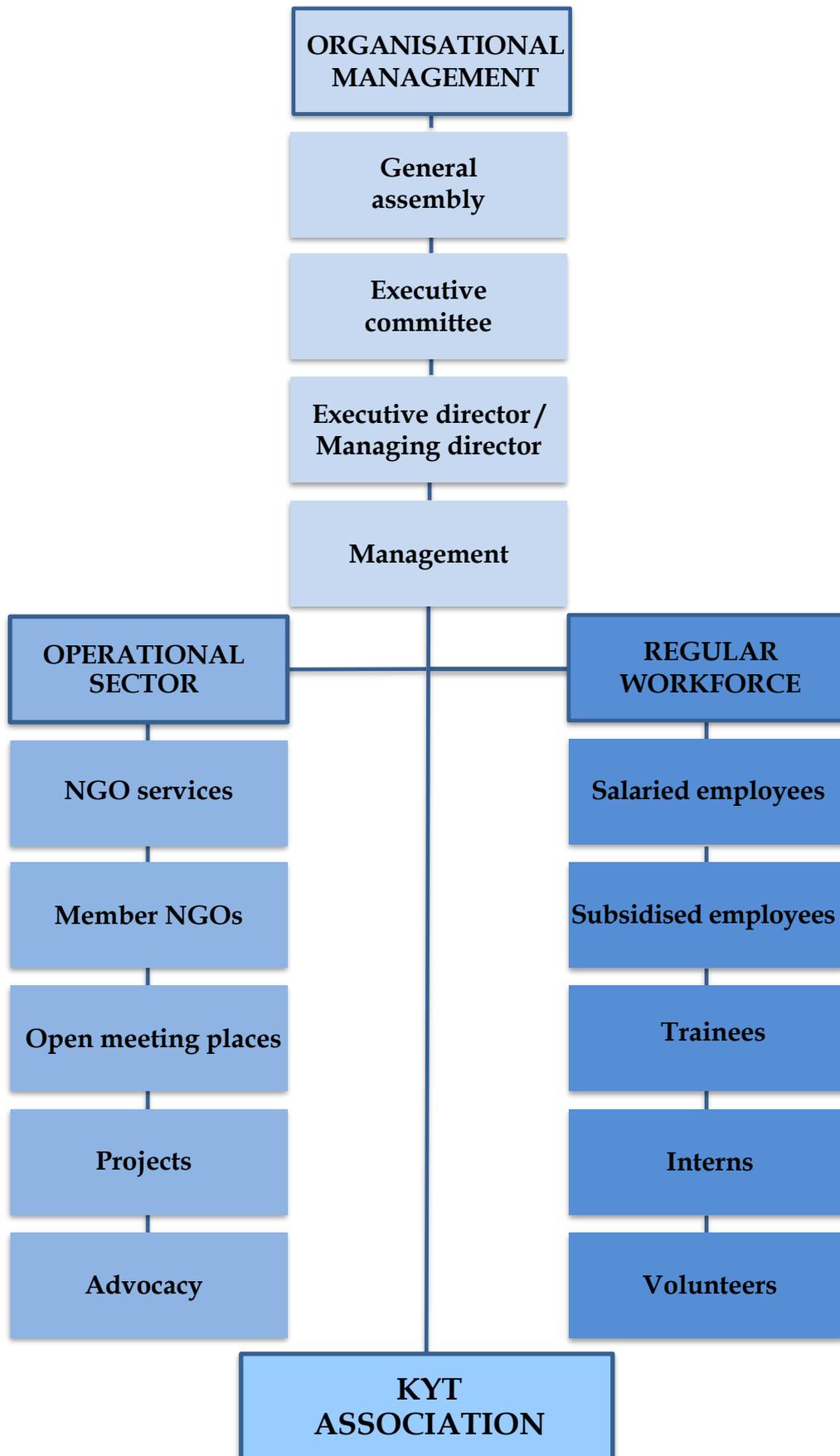


Figure 12. Institutional structure of the KYT Association.

In addition, the KYT Association provided local residents with open meeting places, namely the Civic Activity Centre Matara, the Multicultural Centre Gloria and another Centre, Sepänkeskus. These open meeting places enabled local residents to take part and engage in various activities and events together. They also offered meeting and conference rooms and office spaces to member/non-member NGOs and informal groups. Apart from the open meeting places, the KYT Association also administered and coordinated different projects for youth and adults from diverse ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds. Within the framework of activities implemented through projects and open meeting places, the KYT Association actively cooperated with different associations, public authorities, educational institutions and other stakeholders.

As part of its advocacy work, the KYT Association was an active participant and actor in the discussions and issues relating to civil society. At the local level, the KYT Association played an essential role in various strategy planning and implementation tasks and had a significant influence on wider policy processes and practices. The KYT Association was also represented in a wide range of advisory and steering groups, especially in the region of Central Finland. Moreover, the KYT Association served as a platform to bring together local government bodies, public institutions, associations and other key stakeholders, coordinating and fostering their cooperation and collaboration in different fields and contexts.

When it comes to the regular workforce, the KYT Association employed both Finnish and migrants with different workforce statuses (see Figure 12 and Chapter 6 for more details on the work-related characteristics of NGO practitioners and supervisors). For example, in 2014, the KYT Association had 31 salaried employees, most of whom were employed full-time. A few (7 persons) had an employment contract for an indefinite period, whereas the majority (24 persons) had an employment contract for a fixed-term, which was connected with the fixed-term project funding. Meanwhile, the KYT Association had 18 subsidised employees, in addition to trainees participating in a work-try out or rehabilitative work activity, interns receiving integration, vocational or university training, and volunteers acting as group leaders and cultural activists, for instance.

In general, the KYT Association received fixed-term funding from a wide range of external sources, which could be characterised as “governing at a distance” through funding (see Pyykkönen, 2007, p. 212). Most of its funding came from Finland’s Slot Machine Association, and it derived a small amount of income from renting spaces, NGO membership payments and donations. The KYT Association also received funding directly or through public bodies from foundations or organisations, for instance, the European Refugee Fund, the European Social Fund and the Finnish Red Cross. Furthermore, the KYT Association received financial support from public bodies, for example, the City of Jyväskylä, the ELY Centre of Central Finland, the TE Office of Jyväskylä, the Regional State Administrative Agency, the Ministry of the Interior of Finland,

and the Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland; these public bodies operated at the local, regional or national levels.

Overall, it is obvious that the KYT Association⁹ has undergone continuous change and diversification, resulting in the multi-level organisational management, multi-domain operational sector and multi-layered regular workforce. It is also apparent that the KYT Association has played different roles, such as implementer, catalyst and partner (Lewis, 2007). The implementer role can be seen in the KYT Association's mobilisation of resources to provide services to local residents as well as to local NGOs. Similarly, the role of catalyst is reflected in the ability of the KYT Association to inspire, facilitate or contribute to developmental change through advocacy work that, in turn, has a considerable influence on broader policy processes. Finally, the partner role is exemplified by the KYT Association's work on joint activities organised through projects and open meeting places with the cooperation of, among others, various public authorities, educational institutions, member/non-member associations and informal groups.

4.2.2 Fieldwork sites: Management and work sites

As mentioned earlier, NGOs play a vital role in integration-related work in Finland (see also the Integration Act, 1386/2010; Lautiola, 2013; Pyykkönen, 2007). The KYT Association is one of the NGOs that promote the integration of migrants into the receiving society through activities and services provided by open meeting places and projects. In my doctoral research, one of the open meeting places and four of the integration-related projects administered by the KYT Association are included as work sites (see Table 1), in which I carried out ethnographic fieldwork between 2014 and 2016. In particular, the work sites are the open meeting place, namely *the Multicultural Centre Gloria*, and the integration-related projects, such as *Info Gloria – Project for Developing Information Services for Immigrants*, *I'm in! – Project for Supporting the Integration of Migrant Youth and Parents into Society*, *Kanto – Civic Activity Centre Finds Employment Project*, and *Empowerment of the Community – Development of Peer-support and Support Family Activities for Refugee Migrants Project*. In the meantime, I conducted ethnographic observations in several management sites focusing on the organisational management of the KYT Association. To protect personal and institutional information, a detailed description of the work and management sites is not provided here. Furthermore, the names of management sites are edited and enclosed in backslashes, and the names of work sites are pseudonymised and referred to in my doctoral dissertation as “work site A, B, C, D or E”. The management and work sites' selection process and rationale are outlined in detail in Section 4.1.

⁹ The description of the KYT Association given in this and previous sections was obtained and recorded between February 2014 and May 2016 during my ethnographic fieldwork conducted in both physical and digital settings of the NGO (for more information on the KYT Association, see www.kyt.fi/).

Table 1. Overview of the work sites and participants.

Work sites				
multicultural centre ¹⁰ ($n = 1$) and integration-related projects ($n = 4$)				
Work site A	Work site B	Work site C	Work site D	Work site E
Participants				
Workforce status of NGO practitioners with a migrant background ($n = 22$)				
- salaried employee ($n = 1$)	- salaried employee ($n = 1$)	- salaried employee ($n = 1$)	- volunteer ($n = 1$)	- salaried employee ($n = 4$)
- subsidised employee ($n = 1$)	- subsidised employee ($n = 1$)			
- trainee ($n = 1$)	- trainee ($n = 4$)			
- intern ($n = 1$)	- intern ($n = 2$)			
- volunteer ($n = 1$)	- volunteer ($n = 3$)			
Participants				
Workforce status of NGO supervisors with a Finnish background ($n = 6$)				
- salaried employee ($n = 1$)	- salaried employee ($n = 1$)	- salaried employee ($n = 1$)	- salaried employee ($n = 1$)	- salaried employee ($n = 1$)
- salaried employee* ($n = 1$)				

* Note: A salaried employee was involved in all the work sites, particularly in management and administration work.

4.2.3 Participants: Migrant NGO practitioners and Finnish NGO supervisors

The participants involved in my doctoral research were NGO practitioners from migrant backgrounds (22 persons) and NGO supervisors from Finnish backgrounds (6 persons). As my doctoral research was conducted from a migrant perspective, the migrant NGO practitioners took part in both the core and follow-up phases of the ethnographic fieldwork, whereas the Finnish NGO supervisors only participated in the follow-up phase of the ethnographic fieldwork. In fact, research participants were selected through a “purposeful” or “purposive” sampling technique (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 126), carried out by first observing prospective participants at work and then focusing on “specific targets” (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 29). The aim of using this technique was to choose research participants who could provide in-depth insights into the target phenomena. As the rationale for the selection of research participants has been outlined in Section 4.1, I focus here on their demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds to illustrate not only the similarities and differences but also the multidimensional diversity that is evident in their backgrounds.

In general, the migrant NGO practitioners ($n = 22$) had heterogeneous backgrounds (see Table 2). They were originally from different parts of the world; the majority (19 persons) were from non-EU countries and only three from EU member countries. Before moving to Finland, more than half of the participants had migrated on the grounds of employment, study, family and/or international

¹⁰ The multicultural centre was registered as a non-profit organisation in Finland in mid-2016 and administered by the KYT Association by the end of 2016. That is, the centre has started operating as a local NGO in Jyväskylä since the beginning of 2017. This fact is not discussed in my dissertation, as I conducted the ethnographic fieldwork in the KYT Association, including the multicultural centre and four integration-related projects, from February 2014 to May 2016.

protection due to civil war or political persecution in their country of origin. Interestingly, 9 of the 22 research participants had also migrated within the receiving country; that is, they had lived in different parts of Finland because of their or their family members' employment and/or study. However, at the time of research, their place of residence was in Jyväskylä, which is the seventh biggest city in Finland and the biggest city in the region of Central Finland. It is also important to note that the participants had migrated to Finland between the late 1980s and early 2010s. On arrival, the majority of them were adults, and several were adolescents. During the research period, they had been residents in Finland for a minimum of three and a maximum of twenty-nine years and ranged in age from slightly over twenty to slightly over sixty. Most of the 22 participants were in their thirties or forties, and the others were in either their twenties, fifties or sixties. They were equally distributed by gender; 11 were females and 11 males. The majority of them were of different ethnic origins. The religious affiliation of almost half of the participants was Christianity, and that of the other half was Islam and Buddhism; several were non-religious.

Participants' first and most common ground for migrating to Finland was family (12 persons), followed by international protection (6 persons), employment (2 persons) and study (2 persons). Based on these grounds, participants had been granted the respective migration status of family member, refugee, worker and student. However, not only their migration ground but also their citizenship status at the time of arrival were taken into consideration in granting them legal status as either third-country nationals or EU citizens. The former were granted a temporary (B) residence permit (3 persons) or a continuous (A) residence permit (16 persons), and the latter were accorded the right to residence of an EU citizen (3 persons). It is notable that the legal status of some of the participants had changed at different periods of their residence in Finland before they had acquired Finnish citizenship. At the time of research, their citizenship status was as follows: thirteen participants had Finnish citizenship, of whom nine were holders of dual citizenship (Finnish and country-of-origin citizenship); seven participants had only country-of-origin citizenship, and two participants had no citizenship in any country. Their marital status also varied at the time of research: the majority lived with their spouse and child/children (17 persons), three were unmarried and lived alone, and two lived with either a spouse or siblings and a child.

Also of note is that the participants' first languages varied, and they spoke various additional languages. That is, all the participants were multilingual, and they had different proficiency levels in their additional languages. Apart from their other additional languages, they all also had a knowledge of Finnish, and only one had no knowledge of English. According to the participants' self-assessment (see Appendix 4), their proficiency levels in Finnish differed widely, ranging from beginner (A1) to advanced level (C2), and more than half of them had attained intermediate level (B1 or B2). In their working life, only one participant did not use Finnish at work because of having little knowledge of Finnish. However, all of them made use of their first language and/or additional languages in various workplaces, including in the target NGO of this study.

Table 2. Overview of the migrant NGO practitioners' demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Country of previous residence (ground)	Country of origin	Ethnic origin	First language	Additional languages	
- country of origin	- Afghanistan	- Afghan	- Arabic	Finnish +	
- country of origin & country of birth (family)	- Armenia	- Armenian	- Armenian	- English	
- country of origin & country of destination (employment)	- DR Congo	- Congolese	- Dari	- French	
- country of origin & country of destination (study)	- UK	- Dutch	- Dutch	- English & Arabic	
- country of origin & country of destination (international protection)	- Estonia	- English	- English	- English & Estonian	
- country of origin & country of destination (study & international protection)	- Iran	- Filipino	- Japanese	- English & French	
	- Japan	- Iranian	- Karelian	- English & German	
	- Liberia	- Japanese	- Kinyamulenge	- English & Russian	
	- Mauritania	- Karelian	- Kinyarwanda	- Russian & Persian	
	- Morocco	- Kurdish	- Kurdish	- English, Russian & Estonian	
	- Netherlands	- Liberian	- Persian	- English, Arabic & Persian	
	- Pakistan	- Mauritanian	- Russian	- English, French & Swahili	
	- Philippines	- Moroccan	- Somali	- English, French & Swahili	
	- Russia	- Pakistani	- Swahili	- English, French, Swahili, Kirundi, & other languages	
	- Somalia	- Russian	- Tagalog		
	- Thailand	- Somali	- Thai		
	- Tanzania	- Tanzanian	- Urdu		
		- Thai	- Vai		
Religious affiliation	Length of residence	Age at the time of research	Age at the time of arrival	Decade of arrival	Gender
- Christianity	- 3-9yrs	- 20-29	- 15-19	- 1980-1989	- female
- Islam	- 10-19yrs	- 30-39	- 20-29	- 1990-1999	- male
- Buddhism	- 20-29yrs	- 40-49	- 30-39	- 2000-2009	
- Non-religious		- 50-59	- 40-49	- after 2010	
		- 60 and over	- 50 and over		
Workforce status in the NGO	Highest educational attainment before migration		Highest educational attainment after migration		
- salaried employee	- lower secondary education		- integration training for adult migrants		
- subsidised employee	- upper secondary education		- specialised training		
- trainee	- vocational education		- preparatory vocational training		
- intern	- university education		- vocational education		
- volunteer			- university education		
Place of residence in Finland (internal migration ground)	Migration ground at the time of arrival	Migration status at the time of arrival	Subcategories of migration status at the time of arrival		
- the same place	- employment	- worker	- employee		
- different places (study)	- study	- student	- master's student		
- different places (employment)	- family	- refugee	- quota refugee		
- different places (employment & study)	- international protection	- family member	- unaccompanied minor asylum seeker		
- different places (employment or study of a family member)			- spouse of an Ingrian Finn		
			- spouse of an asylum seeker		
			- spouse of a quota refugee		
			- spouse of a student migrant		
			- spouse of a worker migrant		
			- spouse of a Finnish citizen		
Citizenship status at the time of research	Legal status at the time of arrival		Legal status at the time of research		
- no citizenship	- temporary (B) residence permit		- temporary (B) residence permit		
- dual citizenship	- continuous (A) residence permit		- continuous (A) residence permit		
- Finnish citizenship	- right of residence of an EU citizen		- permanent (P) residence permit		
- country-of-origin citizenship			- right of permanent residence of an EU citizen		
			- Finnish citizen		
Proficiency level in Finnish (self-assessed)	Marital status at the time of arrival	Marital status at the time of research	Family members at the time of arrival	Family members at the time of research	
- beginner: A1	- single	- single	- none	- none	
- beginner: A2	- married	- married	- spouse	- spouse	
- intermediate: B1	- divorced	- divorced	- siblings	- siblings & child	
- intermediate: B2	- cohabited	- cohabited	- siblings & children	- spouse & child or children	
- advanced: C1			- siblings & parents		
- advanced: C2			- spouse & children		

As the research participants had moved to Finland at different ages, they had different educational backgrounds prior to migration. The highest level of education of the four adolescents was lower secondary education, whereas the six of the adults had either upper secondary education or vocational education. More than half of the adults had received a university education (8 persons had a bachelor's degree and 4 persons a master's degree), and two of them had not completed their bachelor's studies. After migration to Finland, a few research participants (5 persons) had received integration training, specialised training or preparatory vocational training as their highest educational attainment. Similarly, a few research participants had studied in higher education institutions to acquire a university education (2 persons received a bachelor's degree with Finnish-medium instruction and 3 persons received an international master's degree with English-medium instruction); two of them have only recently started studying in a bachelor's or master's degree programme. The other participants (12 persons) had acquired a vocational education, namely a vocational upper secondary education or vocational adult education, but two of them could not complete their vocational studies and had to apply to acquire a new vocational education. Several of these participants had obtained two or three different types of vocational education. It is also notable that the majority of research participants had studied for a new education (11 persons for a vocational education and 3 persons for a university education), and only three research participants had received an education that corresponded to their pre-migration education (1 person: vocational education and 2 persons: university education).

With respect to work experience, a few of the adolescents and young adults had not worked before coming to Finland. The others had been hired as full-time salaried employees in various fields. Some had also been self-employed and/or a freelancer, trainee and volunteer in or outside their country of origin. After migration, only two research participants, both of whom had been salaried employees or freelancers, were able to get a job corresponding to their previous occupation. The others obtained new types of employment in different sectors. A few of these participants were salaried employees and/or freelancers, and the majority were self-employed and/or subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers. It is also important to note that almost half of the participants had an experience of more than one type of work before or during the research period. Furthermore, all the research participants had experienced unemployment at different periods during their residence in Finland. Some had also been stay-at-home parents on maternity/parental and child-care leave ranging from one to three years in duration.

Participants' workforce status also varied according to their length of work experience in the KYT Association, the main research context of my doctoral study: four were part-time and three full-time salaried employees (1–7 years), two were subsidised employees (5–6 months), five were trainees (2–4 years), three were interns (1–4 months) and five were volunteers (1.5–5 years). The salaried and subsidised employees had a formal employment contract;

most of these were fixed-term contracts, and only one salaried employee had been hired for an indefinite period. In general, they performed various types of work and had different proficiency levels in Finnish. Detailed information on their work-related characteristics in the KYT Association is provided in Chapter 6. Some background information on the participants is also reported in Chapter 5. Moreover, an overview of their demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds described above is presented in Table 2.

In addition to NGO practitioners with a migrant background, NGO supervisors with a Finnish background ($n = 6$) also took part in my doctoral research (see Table 3). Specifically, five were managers of a work site A, B, C, D or E, and one was a manager who was mainly engaged in management and administration work pertaining to all the work sites. The NGO supervisors were Finns, and their first language was Finnish. Like the migrant NGO practitioners, the Finnish NGO supervisors were also multilingual and had different proficiency levels in different additional languages. In particular, all the Finnish NGO supervisors had a knowledge of English as well as Swedish, which, as Finland's second official language, they had studied at school. Several of them also had a knowledge of German or French. At the time of research, their ages ranged from the late thirties to early sixties. One participant was male, and the other five were female. They all had a university education as their highest educational level: a bachelor's degree (2 persons) and a master's degree (4 persons). All were salaried employees of the KYT Association, where they had worked for a minimum of one and a half years up to a maximum of twelve years. Two of them had been hired for an indefinite period, whereas the other four worked on a fixed-term contract. Some of them had the experience of living abroad for a short or long period of time.

Table 3. Overview of the Finnish NGO supervisors' demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Country of origin	Ethnic origin	First language	Additional language
- Finland	- Finnish	- Finnish	- Swedish/English - Swedish/English/German - Swedish/English/French
Age at the time of research		Gender	Workforce status in the NGO
- 30-39 - 40-49 - 60 and over		- female - male	- salaried employee
Highest educational attainment			Work performed in the NGO
- university education (bachelor's degree) - university education (master's degree)			- manager of a work site A, B, C, D or E - manager involved in management and administration work pertaining to all the work sites

As mentioned earlier, my ethnographic study focused on two main research themes. To study the first research theme, the migrant NGO practitioners were divided into four groups according to their migration status: these were refugee, worker, student and family member (see Chapter 5). To study the second research theme, the migrant NGO practitioners and Finnish NGO practitioners were divided into five groups based on their workforce status: these were salaried employee, subsidised employee, trainee, intern and volunteer (see Chapter 6). It should be mentioned that the migrant NGO practitioners and Finnish NGO supervisors were viewed here as participants rather than informants. The rationale for this view was that they did more than just provide specific information: they also took part in the co-construction of knowledge and the collection and production of research data (see also Bäckman, 2017; Khan, 2013; Räisänen, 2013), as described in the next sections.

4.3 Collection and production of research data

Following an ethnographic approach (see, e.g., Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), I applied various research methods, including observation, interview, document review, questionnaire and self-assessment for the collection and production of data in my doctoral study. However, how these methods were used was adjusted according to my doctoral research themes, sites and participants (see also Fetterman, 2010). Furthermore, different methods were combined to gather and generate diverse data sets or subsets (see also De, 2019; Khan, 2013; Solovova, 2014).

The collection and production of data was carried out in the core and follow-up phases of the ethnographic fieldwork. The six ethnographic fieldwork phases, each of which lasted from two to five months, were spread across twenty-one months, starting in 2014 and ending in 2016 (see Figure 13). The observational data (from physical and digital settings), interview data (informal interviews) and textual data (institutional and policy documents) were gathered and produced during the four core phases of the ethnographic fieldwork. The collection of textual data also continued in the two follow-up phases of fieldwork, in which the production of interview data (formal interviews), questionnaire data (demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires) and self-assessment data (self-assessment of language proficiency) were also implemented. Thus, during the follow-up phases of the ethnographic fieldwork, the research data were jointly produced with the participants (see also Bäckman, 2017). The collection and production of the research data during the core phases of fieldwork was also done in close cooperation with the participants (for a similar approach, see Khan, 2013; Räisänen, 2013; Solovova, 2014). Moreover, as my doctoral study was conducted from the perspective of migrants, only NGO practitioners with migrant backgrounds took part in the core phases of fieldwork, whereas both the migrant NGO practitioners and Finnish NGO supervisors were involved in the follow-up phases of fieldwork.

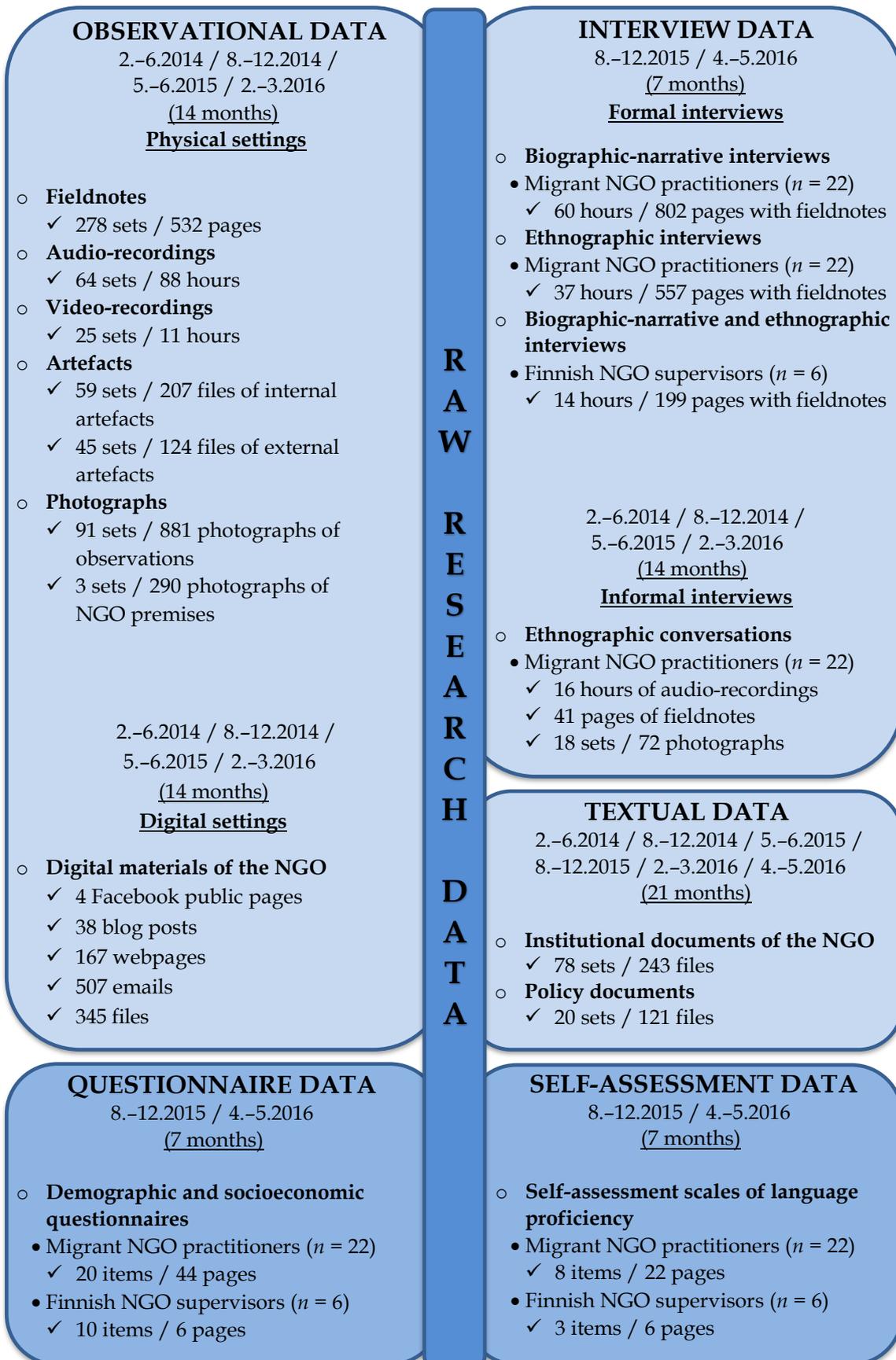


Figure 13. Overview of the raw research data.

Overall, I gathered and generated both qualitative (observational, interview and textual data) and quantitative (questionnaire and self-assessment data) data for my ethnographic research. In doing so, I challenged the dichotomies between qualitative and quantitative data in ethnographic research and the “traditional dichotomized views” of established boundaries between specific methods and methodologies (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 8). The rationale behind generating the quantitative data was to obtain information in a systematic way about participants whose backgrounds in terms of age, ethnicity, language, migration status, work experience and other socioeconomic characteristics were highly heterogeneous. The qualitative data, in turn, were collected or produced to capture in depth the personal and institutional experiences of participants in the receiving society. The collection and production of both qualitative and quantitative data was also important as it provided an opportunity to gain a comprehensive understanding of the target phenomena. More detailed information on the above-described data sets from the raw data gathered and generated during my ethnographic fieldwork is displayed in Figure 13 above. In this respect, it should be noted that not all the raw data from my ethnographic fieldwork are included in the analysis reported in my dissertation (for the selection of research data and analysis, see Section 4.5).

4.3.1 Observational data

Observations are fundamental aspects of an ethnographic approach. In general, ethnographic observations are conducted “to record the lived stuff”; however, it is apparent that “not all ethnographers participate in the field in same way” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 38; see also Blommaert & Dong, 2010). In my doctoral study, two kinds of ethnographic observations were conducted: *participant observations* and *non-participant observations* (Fetterman, 2010). The former were carried out in the physical settings of the KYT Association, whereas the latter were implemented in the KYT Association’s digital settings. That is, the observational data contained both offline and online data subsets (see also Androutsopoulos 2013). Furthermore, the observational data included a variety of multilingual and multimodal data subsets gathered from the KYT Association’s physical and digital environments (see also Kytölä, 2013; Peuronen, 2017).

Typically, participation and observation take place simultaneously during participant observations, which, as “a whole-of-body experience”, include the human senses – seeing, hearing, touching, tasting and smelling (Madden, 2010, p. 19). Ethnographers mostly conduct participant observations to explore research participants in their natural environments (Fetterman, 2010). Here, participant observations were aimed at studying the participants in their natural workplace settings. Participant observations were mostly conducted in the KYT Association’s multiple work sites in front-stage and back-stage spaces (Goffman, 1956, p. 75).

In the back-stage spaces, I mainly observed various types of meetings and guidance sessions that involved KYT Association’s insiders, for instance, managers, employees, trainees, interns and volunteers. Apart from insiders, clients and visitors (i.e., outsiders) also took part in the front-stage spaces, where I made observations, among others, on a variety of activities, events, sessions

and services. Furthermore, I observed the participants in different work-related situations in and outside the workplace. In short, offline data subsets, including fieldnotes, audio-recordings, video-recordings, artefacts, photographs and informal interviews, were collected and generated through participant observations conducted in the physical settings of the KYT Association. In order to keep track of the collection and production of these data subsets, I created monthly timetables for reporting information on the research data (see Appendix 3). It is also worth stating that the main focus was on the NGO practitioners with migrant backgrounds in the above-described work sites, and they were involved in participant observations for a minimum of one month and a maximum of ten months (for more information, see Table 4). I also observed the management sites where the migrant NGO practitioners worked in both the back-stage and front-stage spaces for from four to fourteen months.

As mentioned above, one of the data sources comprised fieldnotes, which not only report, for example, dates, sites, events, actors, actions, reflections, goals and ideas but also document complexity in participant observations (see, e.g., Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Gobo, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In particular, I made two types of fieldnotes: *participatory* and *experiential* (see also Khan, 2013; Madden, 2010). Participatory fieldnotes were taken in the form of *jottings* or *full fieldnotes* (see also Emerson et al., 2011). For example, jottings were taken during the participant observations of activities and events and subsequently expanded into full fieldnotes at the research site or upon returning home. During the informal and formal interviews, I also took participatory fieldnotes in the form of jottings, which were then expanded into full fieldnotes upon returning home. Full fieldnotes, in turn, were taken at the research site during the participant observations of meetings or services, for instance. As for the experiential fieldnotes, they were written after the participant observations of activities and events organised in open public places, including, but not limited to, parks, playgrounds and squares. That is, I wrote up the experiential fieldnotes retrospectively on the same or next observation day. When writing experiential fieldnotes or expanding participatory fieldnotes, I usually consulted other research materials collected along with the fieldnotes in order to more easily and clearly recall my observations. I also attached post-it notes to expand participatory and experiential fieldnotes as sometimes the notebook lacked the space for writing everything down. In general, I preferred to take participatory and experiential fieldnotes in handwriting since I utilised different linguistic resources (English, Finnish, Russian and/or Armenian) alongside drawings in recording my observations, which were mostly carried out in multilingual contexts (see examples of fieldnotes in Subsection 4.3.2). In addition to fieldnotes, I kept a handwritten research diary in which I wrote theoretical, methodological, analytical and personal notes and presented them through researcher vignettes relating to the research process. Taking into account that my handwriting might be difficult to read, I typed up most of the fieldnotes and researcher vignettes that were used in my dissertation. Meanwhile, I replaced identifying information to protect the confidentiality of participants and fieldwork sites (for details, see Section 4.7).

Table 4. Overview of the participant observations conducted in the physical settings of the KYT Association.

Work sites: A multicultural centre and integration-related projects	Workforce status of participants involved in participant observations	Duration of participant observations (from 1 to 10 months)	Participant observations in the physical settings of the NGO included observational data and interview data (informal interviews)
CORE PHASE 1			
February – June 2014			
(Migrant NGO practitioners / <i>n</i> = 9)			
- Work site A	- salaried employee* - trainee - volunteer	- 5 months - 4 months - 5 months	- fieldnotes - audio-recordings - video-recordings - artefacts - photographs - ethnographic conversations (informal interviews)
- Work site B	- salaried employee** - intern - trainee - volunteer - volunteer	- 5 months - 1 month - 2 months - 5 months - 5 months	
- Work site C	- salaried employee***	- 5 months	
CORE PHASE 2			
August – December 2014			
(Migrant NGO practitioners / <i>n</i> = 9)			
- Work site A	- salaried employee* - intern	- 5 months - 1 month	- fieldnotes - audio-recordings - video-recordings - artefacts - photographs - ethnographic conversations (informal interviews)
- Work site B	- salaried employee** - intern - trainee - trainee - volunteer	- 5 months - 4 months - 3 months - 3 months - 5 months	
- Work site C	- salaried employee***	- 5 months	
- Work site D	- volunteer	- 5 months	
CORE PHASE 3			
May – June 2015			
(Migrant NGO practitioners / <i>n</i> = 5)			
- Work site A	- subsidised employee	- 2 months	- fieldnotes - audio-recordings - video-recordings - artefacts - photographs - ethnographic conversations (informal interviews)
- Work site B	- trainee	- 2 months	
- Work site E	- salaried employee - salaried employee - salaried employee	- 2 months - 2 months - 2 months	
CORE PHASE 4			
February – March 2016			
(Migrant NGO practitioners / <i>n</i> = 2)			
- Work site B	- subsidised employee	- 2 months	- fieldnotes - audio-recordings - video-recordings - artefacts - photographs - ethnographic conversations (informal interviews)
- Work site E	- salaried employee	- 2 months	

* Note: Three participants were involved in two core phases; the others took part in one core phase.

The other sources of data used were audio- and video-recordings, which provided an opportunity to observe what was happening in naturally occurring interactions (see also Jakonen, 2014). That is, I made both audio- and video-recordings at the time of participant observations. During the data management, I noticed that I had frequently conducted video-recordings, for instance, of activities and events that were more action-oriented compared to meetings and sessions, where I had mostly made audio-recordings. I also took fieldnotes and/or photographs at the time of the audio-recordings and video-recordings. It should be noted that audio- and video-recordings only started after several days of fieldwork when the participants felt comfortable with my presence and observations (see also da Costa Cabral, 2015). The same approach was used for taking photographs.

As key visual elements, photographs were gathered for two purposes, including *photo-documentation* and *photo-elicitation* (Rose, 2016; see also Khan, 2013; Solovova, 2014). Photo-documentation was viewed “as accurate representations of reality” (Khan, 2013, p. 134) and was employed “to document and analyse a particular visual phenomenon” (Rose, 2016, p. 308). I took photographs in participant observations carried out in a variety of meetings, activities, events, sessions and services, for instance (see also Solovova, 2014). I also took photographs on different premises of the research site, concentrating at first on the linguistic landscape (see also Szabó, 2015) and later on the semiotic landscape (see also Khan, 2013), both of which changed across time and space. The rationale behind expanding the focus from the linguistic to the semiotic landscape was that the former only provided an opportunity to examine the “linguistic, ... albeit extremely important, element for the construction and interpretation of place”, whereas the latter allowed me to explore “the interplay between language, visual discourse, and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture” (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, pp. 1-2). In short, photo-documentation enabled me to capture the changing semiotic landscapes of the KYT Association and to gain a nuanced understanding of my participant observations. In the case of photo-elicitation, photographs systematically taken in participant observations were discussed with participants during the formal interviews (see Subsection 4.3.2 for more information on using photographs and other data sources in formal interviews). To explore participants’ institutional experiences in the KYT Association as a workplace, I usually took photographs myself. But when I was busy with taking fieldnotes or making video-recordings, I asked the participants themselves to take photographs in participant observations. In general, researcher-taken and participant-taken photographs seem “to be different from the procedural point of view” but are similar in the sense that they are “photographs as evidence to be interpreted” in interviews (Solovova, 2014, p. 67; Rose, 2016).

The collection of artefacts was also a vital component of my ethnographic study (see also Solovova, 2014). More precisely, the artefacts collected were divided into two types: *internal* and *external*. Internal artefacts were created and/or filled out in the KYT Association, that is, by the participants and/or their colleagues, clients, visitors. Examples of internal artefacts included calendars

of activities, schedules of services, materials from planning and organising activities and events, presentation slides of events and seminars, informative flyers and brochures on activities and training, client or attendance forms, and leaflets on projects and the visitor's book. The external artefacts were mostly informative flyers, brochures and booklets, produced, for instance, by public bodies, educational institutions and international, national or local NGOs. Most of the external and internal artefacts were *multimodal artefacts*; that is, they usually combined multiple semiotic modes and fulfilled specific communicative goals (see also Bodström, 2020; Hiippala, 2015).

In addition to the above-mentioned offline data gathered or generated through participant observations, I also collected online data through non-participant observations by following and observing the participants as well as the work and management sites in virtual settings. That is, observations were made in the digital research environments by "virtually being there" but without active participation (see also Androutsopoulos 2013, p. 238; Leppänen et al., 2017b). I conducted non-participant observations in both front-stage and back-stage spaces (Goffman, 1956) in the digital settings of the KYT Association. In the front-stage spaces, I regularly read the public websites of the KYT Association and its work/management sites, visited their Facebook pages, read their blogs and checked their external emails, among others. In the back-stage spaces, I checked their internal emails and internal files, for instance. In short, the observations conducted in the front-stage and back-stage spaces allowed me not only to observe digital workplace practices but also to trace activities and changes in the digital settings of the KYT Association and its work/management sites. Overall, the online data subsets represent digital materials drawn from Facebook public pages, blog posts, webpages, emails and files of the KYT Association and its work/management sites. It is worth mentioning that the above-mentioned digital materials contained a variety of data sources, for example, artefacts, photographs, announcements, documents and videos. Some of these sources were also collected through participant observations, apart from non-participant observations, as they were available in both the physical and digital settings of the KYT Association. In fact, non-participant observations were carried out in the same periods as participant observations (for more information, see the beginning of this Section). Moreover, I conducted participant and non-participant observations in the physical and digital settings of the KYT Association where various languages were employed; in many but not all of these spaces, I drew on my own linguistic resources. The rationale behind conducting observations in different spaces where different languages were used was to explore in detail the migrant NGO practitioners' institutional trajectories of language in the KYT Association as a workplace, which was included in one of the main research themes of my ethnographic study.

4.3.2 Interview data

In recent decades, interviews have been widely used in scientific research focused on migration to investigate the phenomenon from the participants'

viewpoints (see, e.g., Bäckman, 2017; Iikkanen, 2017; Kärkkäinen, 2017; Ruuska, 2020; Tarnanen et al., 2015). That is, my ethnographic study also employed the interview technique to explore participants' personal and institutional experiences and to obtain their emic perspectives. Specifically, I carried out individual informal and formal interviews with the research participants (see also Richards, 2003). The former were undertaken in the form of ethnographic conversations (Madden, 2010) and the latter in the form of biographic-narrative interviews (Wengraf, 2001) and ethnographic interviews (Spradley, 1979). Another difference between them was that the informal interviews were not scheduled in advance and mainly concentrated on a specific topic, whereas the formal interviews were usually prepared in advance and included a range of topics (see also Fetterman, 2010). Furthermore, the informal interviews were generated in different contexts and situations, while the formal interviews were mostly produced in a specific place chosen by the participants (see also Gobo, 2008). What the two types of interviews had in common was their discursive and interactive nature, as interviews are generally considered "speech events or activities" in which discourse is jointly constructed and knowledge is socially co-constructed by the participants and researcher (Mishler, 1991, p. 35).

As mentioned above, the individual informal interviews were conducted in the form of ethnographic conversations with the participants, namely migrant NGO practitioners, at the time of the core phases of the ethnographic fieldwork. The ethnographic conversations were sometimes audio-recorded, and photographs were taken with the permission of the participants; however, I mainly took fieldnotes and relied on my memory when writing up the conversations. As Madden (2010, p. 75) states, "[an] ethnographer is a form of recording device that must always be 'on'", particularly in ethnographic conversations.

In general, I conducted ethnographic conversations (i.e., informal interviews) with the migrant NGO practitioners to talk briefly about their personal experiences of language learning, employment and integration after moving to Finland, as well as about their institutional experiences in the KYT Association, the main research context of my ethnographic study. In addition, the migrant NGO practitioners were asked to describe their current workplace and its migration- and integration-related activity. I also conducted ethnographic conversations with the migrant NGO practitioners involved in the participant observations. I wrote down in my fieldnotes the questions that emerged during the participant observations; these were then discussed and analysed through ethnographic conversations with the migrant NGO practitioners immediately after my observations. That is, I did not arrange the ethnographic conversations in a setting such as an interview room and did not have a list of ready-made questions; rather, they were "held impromptu" in a variety of locations (see also Gobo, 2008, p. 191). In short, ethnographic conversations were employed as a deliberate means of generating information, a method which allowed me as an ethnographer to "learn new and valuable things" about the research context in general and the participants in particular (see also Madden, 2010, p. 75). I also

had an opportunity to discuss and analyse my fieldnotes with the migrant NGO practitioners through ethnographic conversations. Doing this promoted their engagement not only in the generation but also analysis of data (see also Ezzy, 2002), an outcome which could be described as the co-construction of knowledge (see, e.g., Bäckman, 2017; Mishler, 1991).

Regarding the individual formal interviews, they were conducted with the participants, migrant NGO practitioners and Finnish NGO supervisors, during the follow-up fieldwork phases. These interviews were prepared beforehand and focused on a range of topics. I used a semi-structured approach in the formal interviews that enabled me to discuss the same topics in different ways or in a different order with the participants and to probe more closely into participants' personal and institutional experiences (Dörnyei, 2007). The flexible and fluid nature of the semi-structured approach also provided an opportunity to talk about topics that had arisen during the discussion (Richards, 2003).

As noted earlier, I carried out individual formal interviews in the form of biographic-narrative and ethnographic interviews. Given the primary purpose of my ethnographic study, I chose these two types of interviews after reviewing various methodological and empirical studies. Specifically, based on a detailed review of the literature, I adapted for present purposes the ethnographic interview developed by Spradley (1979) and the biographic-narrative interview proposed by Wengraf (2001), both of which are presented and described below, along with the linguistic resources that the participants and I used in these interviews.

First, I conducted the biographic-narrative interviews (formal interview/1), focusing mainly on the migrant NGO practitioners' personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context (the first research theme). Specifically, I used the interviewing techniques of the Biographic Narrative Interpretive Method [BNIM], which comprises three subsessions (see also Peta et al., 2019; Wengraf, 2001). In subsession 1, to elicit the full narrative, the participants, namely migrant NGO practitioners, were asked the following single initial question:

In the first session of this interview, I am interested in hearing a story of your studying and working life. Please start wherever you like and take the time that you need. I will listen first, I won't interrupt you. I'll just take some notes on questions I will ask you about later. Please begin and tell me about yourself, your studies and employment before and after moving to Finland up to the present.

The Finnish NGO supervisors were also asked a similar single initial question, but it was related to their work sites and the KYT Association. In general, I did not interrupt the participants during subsession 1; I just took notes on the topics to discuss with them in subsession 2. The principle in subsession 2 was that the participants were asked questions only for the purpose of obtaining more information about various topics raised in their initial narration. For example, I asked one of the participants, *"You mentioned that you moved to Finland a few years ago. Can you please tell me how it happened and with whom you moved here?"* In subsession 3, I discussed specific topics with the participants, including main and

probing questions relating to their trajectories of language, employment and integration in the Finnish context. In brief, using biographic-narrative interviews by applying the BNIM interviewing techniques provided the participants with an opportunity to tell and reflect on their versions of their life stories, particularly lived experiences that were important to them (Peta et al., 2019; Wengraf, 2001).

After completing the biographic-narrative interview, I conducted the ethnographic interview with the same research participants (Spradley, 1979), that is, formal interview/2. Here, the interview was viewed as “ordered conversations” (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 44) and mainly related to the migrant NGO practitioners’ institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the workplace context (the second research theme). I started this interview with an initial question such as, “*In the previous interview, we talked about language, employment and integration. Do you want to add anything relating to these topics?*” A final question was also asked at the end of the interview, and it was, “*Do you want to add anything important for you or talk about something I didn’t ask you about?*” Some participants, but not all, responded to these questions by adding or clarifying information relating to the interview.

Based on the ethnographic observations conducted in the physical and digital settings of the KYT Association, a few specific topics were chosen for the ethnographic interviews, including, but not limited to, workforce statuses, work-related tasks, working languages, workplace communication and language use at work. For this, I prepared similar but not identical ethnographic questions to discuss with each participant, taking into consideration the participants’ different institutional experiences and their involvement in different workplace contexts. I asked three kinds of ethnographic questions: structural, contrasting and descriptive (Spradley, 1979). Structural questions were employed to obtain information on the participants’ work in the KYT Association, as in “*What were your main duties at work?*” Contrasting questions were put to understand the dimensions of the meanings used by the participants to distinguish between, for example, objects and events in their world of work. One such question is the following: “*What is the difference between weekly and monthly staff meetings?*” Descriptive questions were prepared using the typical and exceptional patterns identified, for example, in fieldnotes, photographs, audio-/video-recordings, artefacts, documents and digital materials collected at the time of the ethnographic observations. These questions were aimed at encouraging the participants to analyse and describe in their own words and/or to illustrate with examples their institutional experiences in the workplace. Examples of the descriptive questions are: “*Please choose photographs and artefacts and tell me about these activities and your participation in them*” and “*In my fieldnotes, I recorded how you and clients made use of different linguistic resources in workplace communication; can you give an example of such a situation and was that a typical or an exceptional situation in your work?*” Thus, it seems that the ethnographic interviews included a “specific but general research agenda” (Fetterman, 2010, p. 41), which enabled the participants to provide in-depth information on their work and workplace. Besides this, different types of data were described and analysed together with

the participants during the ethnographic interviews, and thus they were involved in the analysis as well as production of data (see also Ezzy, 2002).

Typically, the ethnographic and biographic-narrative interviews were audio-recorded, and fieldnotes were taken with the permission of the participants. Given that my ethnographic study was undertaken from a migrant perspective, I prepared more topics for the discussions with the migrant NGO practitioners. Therefore, the two types of interviews were carried out separately with the NGO practitioners with migrant backgrounds. As can be seen from Table 5, most of them preferred to be interviewed twice within one week or one month, and several of them preferred to be interviewed twice on the same day with a long break between the interviews. In general, the biographic-narrative interviews conducted with the migrant NGO practitioners took longer than the ethnographic ones. The mean duration of the former was 2 hours and 40 minutes, including an average of 25 minutes of initial narration of personal stories, whereas the mean duration of the latter was 1 hour and 50 minutes. In the case of the Finnish NGO supervisors, the biographic-narrative and ethnographic interviews were undertaken together on the same day; the mean overall duration was 2 hours and 35 minutes, including an average of 10 minutes of initial narration about their work sites and the KYT Association. During each interview, short breaks were usually taken as both the participants and I needed to rest to keep the interview from becoming burdensome. Having short or long breaks allowed me to talk with the participants about issues important to them and to add additional information to the fieldnotes I had taken throughout the interview process. Here, it should be mentioned that I informed the research participants that I would take fieldnotes about our conversations continued during the breaks and requested their permission to do so. Later, several participants asked me not to publish some information on their personal or working life that they had shared with me during the breaks. Similarly, two participants asked me not to quote them on what they told me in the interviews about their reasons for migration, as they were an extremely painful topic for them. I promised these participants that I would not include in the research the above-mentioned sensitive information, which might cause psychological harm to them, and I kept my word (for details on ethical considerations, see Section 4.7). In other words, some information was omitted from the research upon the request of the participants (see also Sanden, 2015).

In total, I conducted fifty formal interviews with the research participants in 2015–2016; forty-four formal interviews—two interviews with each—were undertaken with the 22 migrant NGO practitioners and six formal interviews with the 6 Finnish NGO supervisors— one interview with each. The interviews were usually conducted in the places chosen by the participants. The majority preferred to be interviewed in their workplace, while others preferred their home, my workplace, a park or a café as the interview site. Table 5 provides detailed information on the biographic-narrative and ethnographic interviews, namely the formal interviews, conducted with all the research participants, that is, both the migrant NGO practitioners and Finnish NGO supervisors.

Table 5. Overview of the formal interviews conducted with the participants.

Work sites: A multicultural centre and integration-related projects	Formal interviews produced with each participant	Linguistic resources used in interviews	Locations of interviews	Dates of interviews
FOLLOW-UP PHASE 1 August - December 2015 (Migrant NGO practitioners / n = 20)				
- Work site A (n = 5) - Work site B (n = 10) - Work site C (n = 1) - Work site D (n = 1) - Work site E (n = 3)	- Formal interview/1 (biographic-narrative interview) - Formal interview/2 (ethnographic interview) (two types of interviews conducted separately)	- English used with Finnish - English used with Finnish and Russian - Finnish used with English - Russian used with Finnish - Russian used with Finnish and English - Armenian used with Finnish, Russian and English	- researcher's workplace - participants' workplace - participants' home - café - park	- on the same day - within one week - within one month
FOLLOW-UP PHASE 2 April - May 2016 (Migrant NGO practitioners / n = 2)				
- Work site B (n = 1) - Work site E (n = 1)	- Formal interview/1 (biographic-narrative interview) - Formal interview/2 (ethnographic interview) (two types of interviews conducted separately)	- English used with Finnish	- participants' workplace	- within one week
FOLLOW-UP PHASE 2 April - May 2016 (Finnish NGO supervisors / n = 6)				
- Work site A (n = 1) - Work site B (n = 1) - Work site C (n = 1) - Work site D (n = 1) - Work site E (n = 1) - Work site A/B/C/D/E* (n = 1)	- Formal interview/1 (biographic-narrative interview) and formal interview/2 (ethnographic interview) (two types of interviews conducted together)	- English used with Finnish - Finnish used with English	- participants' workplace	- on the same day

* Note: A manager involved in administration and management work pertaining to all the work sites.

Generally, the languages used in the interviews varied (see Table 5). Both the research participants and I preferred to use our shared linguistic repertoires, including English, Finnish, Russian and/or Armenian, rather than to use a particular named language. More specifically, in most of the formal and informal interviews, we used English along with Finnish or vice versa. Meanwhile, in some interviews, we used Russian with Finnish or with English and Finnish; English with Finnish and Russian; or Armenian with Finnish, Russian and English. Languages other than those mentioned above were also sometimes employed in the interviews. Similarly, in addition to speaking, other modes of communication were used, for example, writing and drawing. In short, the research participants and I co-produced the interviews multilingually and multimodally. This procedure provided unique opportunities to jointly co-construct knowledge and negotiate meaning during the interviews (see also Bäckman, 2017; Mishler, 1991). Conducting interviews multilingually also enabled the participants and me to learn, improve and/or reactivate different language skills (see also Drozdowski, 2018; Gibb & Danero Iglesias, 2017). The extracts below illustrate these possibilities during the multilingual and multimodal data production in both the formal and informal interviews (for information on the transcription and translation conventions used, see Subsections 4.4.3 and 4.4.4; Appendix 1).

The first extract is taken from my discussion with Hamlet, who, as a trainee, took part in the group meeting organised for fathers with a migrant background, especially for those who had recently arrived in Finland. As I did not completely understand the word **asumistuki** [housing benefit] in the Finnish language used during the meeting, I asked Hamlet to explain its meaning to me after the meeting ended.

Extract 1

<p>Համետ, այսօրվա խմբային հանդիպման ժամանակ, երբ դու օգնում էիր վերջերս ժամանած միգրանտներին թարգմանությամբ, դու հաճախակի օգտագործում էիր asumistuki բառը: «Կարո՞ղ ես ինձ ասել ինչ է դա նշանակում, ես չեմ հասկացել դրա իմաստն ամբողջությամբ»: Համետը մտածեց մի փոքր և պատասխանեց, «Հիշեցի, հայերեն այն թարգմանվում է բնակարանային նպաստ, բայց թարգմանությունը հավանաբար շատ բան չի ասում, քանի որ այստեղի սոցիալական համակարգը տարբերվում է շատ երկրների համակարգերից: Լավ, կփորձեմ բացատրել, թե ո՞վ է ստանում այդ նպաստը և ու՞մ կողմից ... В очо́бном asumistuki տրվում է Kela-ի կողմից և նախատեսված է օգնելու ցածր եկամուտների ունեցող մարդկանց ինչպիսիք են՝ ուսանողներ, թոշակառուներ կամ ընտանիքներ երեխաների հետ ... Բայց բնակարանային նպաստը սովորաբար մասամբ</p>	<p>{Hamlet, in today’s group meeting, when you were helping recently arrived migrants with interpretation, you frequently used the word asumistuki [housing benefit]. “Can you tell me what it means? I haven’t fully grasped its meaning”. Hamlet thought for a while and replied, “I recalled, in Armenian it is translated բնակարանային նպաստ {housing benefit}, but the translation probably does not say much, as the social system here is different from the systems of many countries. Well, I’ll try to explain who gets this benefit and from whom ... В очо́бном (basically) asumistuki [housing benefit] is given by Kela [the Finnish Social Insurance Institution] and is intended to help people on low incomes, such as students, pensioners or families with children ...</p>
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<p>է ծածկում բնակարանային ծախսերը: Այս համակարգը բավականին բարդ է, որոշակի ժամանակ է անհրաժեշտ այն հասկանալու համար, բայց դու հասկացա՞ր բառի իմաստը», ես գլխով արեցի և ասացի, «հասկացա, բնակարանային նպաստը տրվում է մասամբ ծածկելու բնակարանային ծախսերը, և այն ստանալը կախված է մարդկանց եկամտի մակարդակից» ... «Այո, հասկացել ես», ժպիտով պատասխանեց Համլետը:</p>	<p>But the housing benefit usually partially covers housing costs. This system is quite complicated, some time is needed to understand it, but did you get the meaning of the word?" I nodded and said, "I got it, the housing benefit is provided to partially cover housing costs, and receiving it depends on people's income level" ... "Yeah, you have got it", Hamlet responded with a smile.) (Informal interview/fieldnote)</p>
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The second extract shows an example of my learning a new word in French, which is not part of my linguistic repertoire. One of the participants, Mark, explained the meaning of the word **bravoure** [[courage]]. After learning its meaning, I have started using it in oral communication like other French words, for example, **bonjour** [[good day]] or **merci** [[thank you]].

Extract 2

- Mark: ... the only thing I had in the beginning is that I was \a citizen of an EU country\ and **bravoure** [[courage]] and that's all ...
- Sonya: what means **bravoure** [[courage]]?
- Mark: **bravoure** [[courage]] I mean I'm not afraid to speak and not afraid to make mistakes (.) so, that's **bravoure** [[courage]].
(Formal interview/2)

The third extract illustrates how Lena and I negotiated the meaning of the Russian word **исправлять** (correct) through our different linguistic repertoires, which also helped Lena to recall the meaning of the Russian word in English.

Extract 3

- Lena: ... it doesn't matter small mistakes, I don't want to be perfect, I want to be adult (.) and it's not in the position of the adult, if you are like always being aa, aa, what is the English word?
- Sonya: **можешь сказать по-русски** (you can say it in Russian)
- Lena: **ну, если кто-то тебя все время исправляет** (well, if someone is correcting you all the time)
- Sonya: **исправлять** (correct) like correct, correcting?
- Lena: yes, yes, correcting all the time. it's like, "hey, leave me alone, I don't have to be like |corrected|, I don't need to be corrected."
(Formal interview/1)

In the fourth extract, I describe how Mika and I co-constructed knowledge regarding his duties at work by drawing a chart and writing down his main work duties, for instance, group guidance, school visits, meetings, camps, homework club, interpretation and individual work (see Figure 14). In writing this down, I made a spelling mistake by omitting a single letter in two words,

“tulkkausta” which I misspelt as “tulkausta”, and “ottaminen” which I misspelt as “otaminen”. I also misspelt the word “pullinat” as “pullinat” by writing a double letter. In presenting the chart here, I noticed these misspellings, which are linked to the difficulties I had in remembering the correct spelling of words with single or double consonants in Finnish. However, following this experience, I am now able to remember the correct spelling of these words, and nowadays, to avoid misspellings, I pay more attention to Finnish spelling in my writing.

Extract 4

Mika and I were having a short break after a long discussion about his work, and it continued during the break as well. As he was doing different types of work, it was a bit difficult for me to figure out what his main duties were. Mika noticed this and asked me, “Haluatko piirtää kaavion niin että sulla voisi olla selkeä kuva työstäni? [do you want to draw a chart so that you could have a clear picture of my work?]”. I replied, “miksi ei [why not], let’s make it”. So, he took a sheet of paper and started drawing the chart; meanwhile, I wrote down his main work duties on the chart. That chart is presented below (see Figure 14).

(Formal interview/2/fieldnote taken during the break)

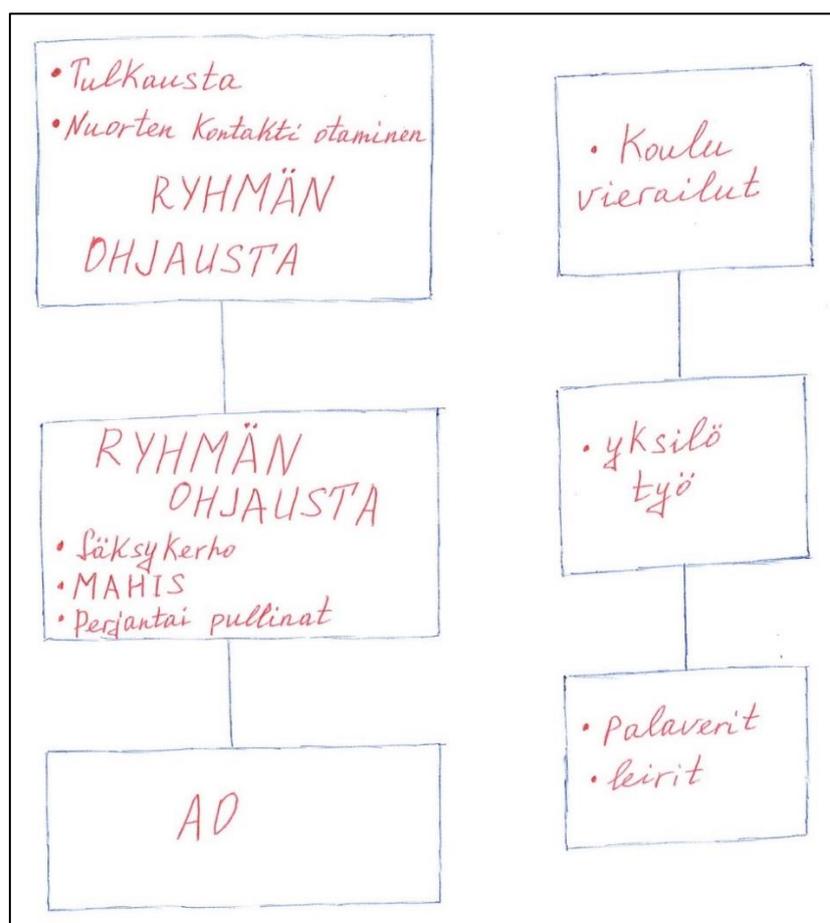


Figure 14. Outline of Mika’s work tasks in Finnish.

4.3.3 Textual data

Typically, textual data contain different types of written texts, including documents (see, e.g., Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). For my ethnographic study, I collected documents, mainly written in Finnish and/or English. Some of these were *policy documents* (see also da Costa Cabral, 2015), while others were *institutional documents* (see also Virtanen, 2017). The policy documents mostly related to areas of language, employment and integration at the national and local levels in Finland. These documents were gathered from the official websites of government bodies and public institutions as well as from Finlex – an online database of Finnish legislation, including acts and decrees. The institutional documents were collected from KYT Association’s management and work sites. I differentiate here between *public* and *private* institutional documents. In general, the private institutional documents were not meant for the public eye and included employment contracts or agreements, project proposals, minutes of meetings, financial statements and operational audit reports, among others. The public institutional documents were available on the website of the KYT Association and included KYT Association’s statutes, annual reports, project reports, instructions and membership or volunteer forms. Here, it is worth noting that the aim of collecting written texts, namely policy and institutional documents, was to obtain information on policies pertaining to migrants and migration on the one hand and the KYT Association as a workplace on the other. It also aimed at analysing written texts along with various research data sets, which not only provided another perspective on the studied phenomena but also resulted in “analytic insights that might not otherwise be possible” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 52).

4.3.4 Questionnaire data

As one of the reliable and valid methods, the questionnaire has been applied in different types of research to obtain statistical information on the phenomena under investigation (see, e.g., Pole & Morrison, 2003; Taalas et al., 2007). In my doctoral study, the primary aim of using questionnaires was to generate data on the participants’ demographic and socioeconomic characteristics in a systematic way (for a similar approach, see Motaghi-Tabari, 2016). That is, the participants and I jointly filled out the questionnaire relating to their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, country of origin, migration status, workforce status, marital status, language, education, and work performed before and/or after migration to Finland); most of them were then discussed in detail with the participants during the interviews. Although the same kind of questionnaire was administered to all the research participants, the questionnaire used with the Finnish NGO supervisors was shorter than the one used with the migrant NGO practitioners. The reason for this was that my ethnographic research mainly focuses on the participants with a migrant background. It is also worth noting that the questionnaire data were generated individually with the participants. More

precisely, the demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires, which were available in English and Finnish, were administered face-to-face using closed-ended and open-ended questionnaire items (see Appendix 2).

4.3.5 Self-assessment data

In academic studies, self-assessment of language proficiency has been carried out to gather information relating to different groups of research participants and their different language skills (see, e.g., Huhta, 2007; Leontjev, 2016a). Here, the rationale for gathering self-assessment data was to obtain information on the research participants' proficiency in additional languages, including Finnish (see also Tarnanen & Pöyhönen, 2011; Sahradyan, 2012), which play an important role in migrants' integration in the receiving country. Meanwhile, language proficiency is viewed from the perspective of *language expertise* rather than 'nativeness' (for a detailed discussion, see Rampton, 1990, pp. 98–99).

Typically, the self-assessment data were produced on a one-to-one basis with each participant. First, the participants and I discussed the descriptions of language proficiency levels provided in the self-assessment scales. I then asked the participants to self-assess their general proficiency in additional languages according to the three levels: beginner, intermediate and advanced. Apart from general proficiency in Finnish, the migrant NGO practitioners were also asked to self-assess their Finnish listening, reading, writing and speaking skills according to six levels, ranging from 1 to 6, which were the equivalent to levels from A1 to C2 in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages [CEFR] (Council of Europe, 2001).

The self-assessment scales of language proficiency used in my ethnographic research mainly comprised general and sub-skill level descriptions adapted from the National Certificate of Language Proficiency descriptors provided in the self-assessment scales (Appendix 4; see also FNBE, 2011). These scales, which were commensurate with the scales of language proficiency in the CEFR created by the Council of Europe (2001), were, along with the descriptors, available to the research participants in both English and Finnish.

4.4 Data management

In general, managing the research data and preparing them for analysis was neither straightforward nor linear, particularly in the case of the different types of multilingual and multimodal data, offline and online data and qualitative and quantitative data. That is, the data management protocol included the following main aspects: the organisation and storage of data and the transcription and translation of data (see Figure 15). I describe these aspects of data management in more detail below.

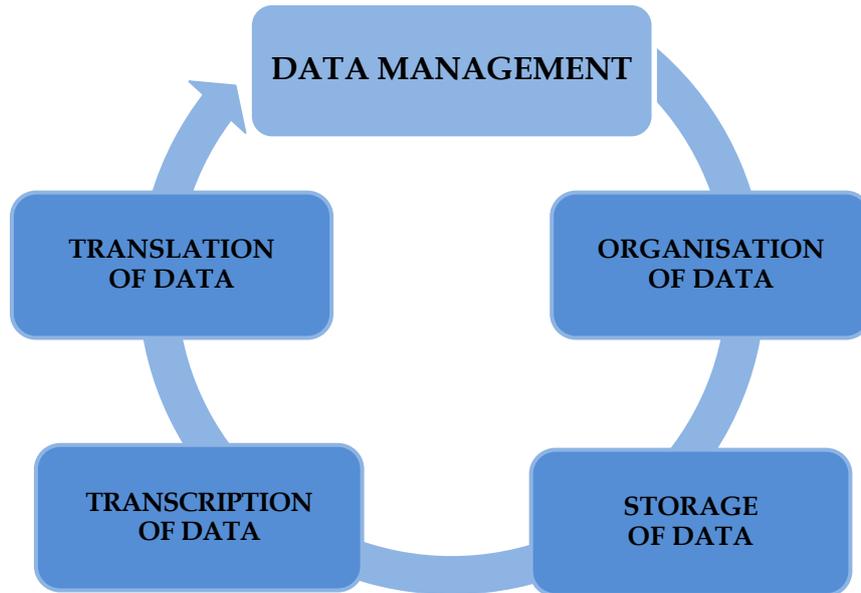


Figure 15. Main aspects of data management.

4.4.1 Organisation of data

The data organisation was mostly carried out during the core and follow-up phases of the ethnographic fieldwork, although it also continued after the fieldwork. Therefore, I differentiate between the *in-fieldwork* and *post-fieldwork* organisation of the data. In the case of the *in-fieldwork* data organisation, I first structured folders for each data set and its subsets to ensure their location in one place. I then regularly added research materials to the corresponding folders during or immediately after each day of fieldwork.

Meanwhile, I drew up several timetables to keep track of the collection and production of the research data at the different fieldwork phases (see Appendix 3). For example, one timetable contained information about observational and informal interview data collected in the core fieldwork phases. Another timetable contained information relating to the questionnaire, self-assessment and formal interview data gathered in the follow-up fieldwork phases. At the time of the *post-fieldwork* data organisation, I renamed files to avoid confusion as to which data set they belonged to, and I anonymised files to ensure the protection of data privacy. Furthermore, some folders were reorganised in order to separate the observational data into two subsets, that is, observational data gathered from the physical and those from the digital settings of the KYT Association. I also scanned a variety of research data, for example, fieldnotes, artefacts, documents, and added them to the corresponding data sets. In short, while the organisation of data was a time-consuming process, it was necessary as it facilitated ease of access to different types of data during different stages of research (see also Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Moreover, managing not only large-scale data but also diverse sources of data was a

learning experience for me as a junior researcher. It also helped me identify what was exceptional or typical in the participants' personal and institutional experiences.

4.4.2 Storage of data

In addition to the data organisation, I also stored the research data. In particular, I stored the data in two formats: electronic and hard copies (see also Copland & Creese, 2015). Textual and observational data from digital settings were stored electronically, whereas self-assessment, questionnaire, interview and observational data from physical settings were stored electronically and/or as hard copies. For example, photographs, artefacts, demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires and audio-/video-recordings were saved electronically. However, the storage of fieldnotes and interviews was done both electronically and as hard copies. I kept hard copies of the data in folders at home; it was more convenient for me to work from home, as I would not have been able to work with some parts of the data in an open office where anyone could have seen them. The electronically stored data were first stored on a hard drive protected by a password and then in the university storage system, where I alone had access to them. This procedure maintained data confidentiality while ensuring that data would not be lost or unavailable later. In sum, the research data were safely stored for current and future use, as stated on the informed consent form (see Appendices 5 and 6).

4.4.3 Transcription of data

In fact, it was neither possible nor meaningful to transcribe a huge amount of the data collected and generated during the different fieldwork phases. This process was facilitated by the planning of data transcription according to the research themes. That is, the data transcription began with the formal interview data, in particular the biographic-narrative and ethnographic interviews. However, after transcribing several formal interviews, I realised that I would be unable to transcribe all the interviews alone. It was a relatively time-consuming task as not only were the interviews in multiple languages, but they also contained a considerable quantity of talk. Therefore, I transcribed some of the interviews and three students, whom I provided with the transcription conventions and other necessary information regarding the transcription procedure, transcribed the rest. As soon as the interview transcripts made by the students were ready, I read all of them while listening to the interview recordings. In this way, I both came to know the data thoroughly and was able to check and add details to the transcripts, as needed. After formal interviews were transcribed, I started transcribing the informal interview data, namely ethnographic conversations, and observational data, namely audio-/video-recordings, collected from different physical and digital settings of the KYT Association. As they were in different types, in addition to being in different languages and in large quantities, I decided to listen to and/or watch all of these

data subsets and select specific data to transcribe under each research theme. Thus, I transcribed data that illustrated the phenomena of interest (for a similar approach, see Räsänen, 2013).

It should be noted that the data transcription involves processes of data interpretation and representation, and thus transcription is not as simple a matter as it might seem. Interpretation refers to the content of transcription and representation to the form of transcription (see, e.g., Bucholtz, 2000; Vakser, 2017; Weckström, 2016). The interpretation was needed when a rapid or an overlapping utterance was not easy to understand. Similarly, background noise, which was distracting, created some problems. Sometimes my knowledge of Finnish or Russian was not enough to recognise certain words or phrases, not only in the formal/informal interviews and audio-/video-recordings but also in other data subsets. What helped me to overcome these challenges was watching or listening to the recordings several times, looking up Finnish or Russian words and phrases in dictionaries, and studying them in conjunction with other types of data, for example, fieldnotes, photographs and artefacts.

Representation, in turn, was a complex issue. The formal/informal interviews and audio-/video-recordings were presented in the form of transcripts. They were generally transcribed in accordance with the transcription conventions shown in Appendix 1. These transcription conventions provided a direct representation of the original and displayed details that were important for the data analysis. However, as Bucholtz (2000, p. 1461) points out, any transcription system also involves the researcher's "ideological positioning", which cannot be precluded or ignored. Here, it is worth mentioning that some filler words and linguistic inaccuracies, but not all, were removed to enhance clarity and readability, either on my own initiative or upon the request of participants. Meanwhile, certain names of persons and places and other details were replaced with pseudonyms in the interests of confidentiality. Like the transcripts, all the other data sets were edited to keep work and management sites, participants and other persons' identities anonymous (for details on ethical considerations, see Section 4.7).

Short transcripts taken from formal/informal interviews and audio-/video-recordings were written, using italics and within quotation marks, in the form of in-text extracts. However, long transcripts and dialogues were written in the form of block extracts. To facilitate the analysis, paralinguistic features and situational descriptions were also included in the transcripts. The other types of data, including the questionnaire and self-assessment data, were presented in the form of tables or texts, while photographs and artefacts were shown in their original format or layout. Fieldnotes were either handwritten or typed. In short, different data sets took different forms according to the needs of analysis.

4.4.4 Translation of data

In general, I present the research data in the original language, including, but not limited to, English, Finnish, Russian and Armenian. Where the original

language is other than English, a translation has been made. That is, an English translation usually accompanies the original. This method is mostly utilised in the analysis (see also Nikander, 2008, p. 228–229).

Typically, translations in English are displayed within brackets as follows: English-translated Finnish text is shown in square brackets: [text], Russian text in round brackets: (text), and Armenian text in curly brackets: {text}. Similarly, English text originally used in the Finnish, Russian and Armenian texts is presented in pointed brackets: <text>. I employ these translation conventions (see Appendix 1) as they do not emphasise code switching, which focuses on “the language rather than the speaker” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 202). Meanwhile, bearing in mind that some of the research participants would not be able to read the transliteration of the original text, I decided to use original alphabets and standard orthographies in my doctoral dissertation (see also Vakser, 2017).

The translations into English were mainly my own work and were proofread for correctness by my colleagues, if needed. Data were translated to capture as far as possible the features and meanings of the original; however, dialectal or idiolectic meanings and features were sometimes difficult to translate (see also Bäckman, 2017, Weckström, 2016). I was usually able to overcome this difficulty with the assistance of colleagues who had experienced a similar challenge.

In sum, this and the previous sections present some of the complexities involved in the management of diverse data sets. However, it is important to acknowledge that such complexities could be of value. For example, in the management of the different types of multilingual data, “complexity became an opportunity” (Holmes et al., 2013, p. 292), or I would put it, *complexity created an opportunity* for me as an ethnographic researcher. On this point, I describe in the following vignette:

Researcher vignette 3

Inspired by my master’s thesis research conducted in English and Finnish, as well as by my dissertation supervisors’ experiences of supervising and researching multilingually, I decided to make use of my various linguistic repertoires to carry out my doctoral research multilingually. That is, I gathered and generated multilingual data sets jointly or in close collaboration with the participants, who were also multilingual speakers. I also carried out data management multilingually, which included the organisation, storage, transcription and translation of multilingual data sets. In these processes, I came to understand the complex and multifaceted procedures of multilingual research. Meanwhile, I noticed that more effort and time were required from me to carry out research using multiple linguistic resources. However, I also became aware of the opportunities of researching multilingually. Such opportunities included learning, improving and reactivating different language skills. In brief, I understood that **բարդությունը ստեղծեց հնարավորություն** {complexity created an opportunity} for me in conducting research multilingually. What also helped me to raise my awareness and understanding of the possibilities and complexities of researching multilingually was my involvement in scientific events organised by the Researching Multilingually

Network based in the UK and my informal discussions with junior and senior researchers involved in this academic network.

Thus, the vignette from my doctoral research diary described above reveals that both opportunities and complexities were integral parts of conducting research multilingually and that they enabled me to make use of my multilingual resources at different stages of my ethnographic study.

4.5 Selection of data and analysis

As the previous section illustrates, a wide range of data from different sources was gathered and generated for my doctoral study. Two crucial questions might be raised here: (1) why are such data needed? and 2) how are such data used?

The answer to the first question is simple and straightforward: because the research approach of my doctoral study is ethnography. In general, ethnography generates considerable amounts of data through “thick participation” in research sites (Sarangi, 2007, p. 573), which leads to the “thick description” of research data (Geertz, 1973, p. 10). However, it should be remembered that ethnography is “far richer than just a matter of description” (Blommaert, 2018, p. 2; Blommaert & Dong, 2010). In ethnographic research, multiple data sources are typically combined, allowing the researcher to move between them and gain a nuanced understanding of the phenomena of interest (see, e.g., Fetterman, 2010; Gobo, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Therefore, in my ethnographic study, I was able to combine observational, interview, textual, questionnaire and/or self-assessment data, which were collected and produced jointly or in close collaboration with the participants. I also combined diverse data subsets, including multimodal and multilingual data, offline and online data, and qualitative and quantitative data. Thus, my ethnographic study, by bringing together diverse data sets/subsets, provided unique opportunities to capture rich and complex situations (see also Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Kytölä, 2013; Pole & Morrison, 2003).

To answer the second question, the selected research data are used in the analysis of findings, as the primary focus of ethnographic research is depth rather than breadth (Blommaert, 2018; Blommaert & Dong, 2010). That is, “the small in big”, as someone described ethnography. Thus, I first organised the data sets and subsets relevant to the research themes with reference to the participants’ experiences, the forms of narratives and the methods of analysis (for details, see Table 6). Afterwards, I watched and listened to all the raw research data collected or produced at the different fieldwork phases and then, for each research theme, selected the data to be analysed. In short, not all the raw research data were employed in the analysis presented in my doctoral ethnographic study, which is a common case in ethnographic research (see, e.g., da Costa Cabral, 2015; Solovova, 2014).

Table 6. Overview of the participants, forms of narratives, methods of data analysis and data sets/subsets for each research theme.

<u>RESEARCH THEME 1</u>	
Migrant NGO practitioners' personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context	
<u>PARTICIPANTS</u> - Migrant NGO practitioners	
<u>FORMS OF NARRATIVES</u> - Personal narratives	
<u>METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS</u> - Analysis of narratives - Narrative analysis	
<u>DATA SETS</u>	<u>DATA SUBSETS</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ textual data ✓ interview data informed by ❖ questionnaire data • self-assessment data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ policy documents ✓ formal interviews/1 (biographic-narrative interviews) ✓ formal interviews/1/fieldnotes ✓ informal interviews (ethnographic conversations) ✓ informal interviews/fieldnotes ❖ demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires • self-assessment scales of language proficiency
<u>RESEARCH THEME 2</u>	
Migrant NGO practitioners' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the workplace context	
<u>PARTICIPANTS</u> - Migrant NGO practitioners - Finnish NGO supervisors	
<u>FORMS OF NARRATIVES</u> - Institutional narratives	
<u>METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS</u> - Analysis of narratives - Narrative analysis	
<u>DATA SETS</u>	<u>DATA SUBSETS</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ observational data (physical settings) ▪ observational data (digital settings) ○ textual data ✓ interview data informed by ❖ questionnaire data • self-assessment data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ fieldnotes ➤ artefacts ➤ photographs ➤ audio-recordings ➤ video-recordings ▪ digital materials of the NGO ○ institutional documents of the NGO ✓ formal interviews/2 (ethnographic interviews) ✓ formal interviews/2/fieldnotes ✓ informal interviews (ethnographic conversations) ✓ informal interviews/fieldnotes ❖ demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires • self-assessment scales of language proficiency

As Table 6 shows, different types of data were employed in the analysis. For instance, in the analysis of the participants' personal narratives (see Chapter 5), I made use of different types of data, including policy documents (Finnish acts and decrees), informal interviews (ethnographic conversations along with fieldnotes) and formal interviews (biographic-narrative interviews along with fieldnotes), which were informed by the data obtained from the demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires and self-assessment scales of language proficiency. Here, it is worth pointing out that the above-mentioned selected data were complementary in the analysis rather than analysed separately. This implies that the research data were not seen in the analysis as 'primary' and 'secondary' data, for example, interviews as 'primary' data and fieldnotes as 'secondary' data (see also Pöyhönen & Simpson, 2021). It is also important to note that bringing diverse data sets together provided an opportunity "to describe and analyze the complexity of social events *comprehensively*" (Blommaert, 2007, p. 682) and "to create an analysis that is detailed and nuanced" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 228). Furthermore, combining multilingual and multimodal data (Blackledge & Creese, 2017), offline and online data (Leppänen et al., 2017b) and qualitative and quantitative data (Pole & Morrison, 2003) enabled me as a researcher to construct meaning from different types of data in the analysis of my ethnographic study.

Overall, to manage the data analysis of this large-scale ethnographic study, I decided to organise the data analysis in accordance with the research themes (see Table 6). For the first research theme, I chose analysis of narratives and narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995) to explore the personal narratives (Squire, 2008) of migrant NGO practitioners on their language, employment and integration trajectories in the broader societal context (see Chapter 5). In the case of the second research theme, analysis of narratives and narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995) were chosen to examine the institutional narratives (Linde, 2009) of migrant NGO practitioners on their language, employment and integration trajectories in the workplace context (see Chapter 6). The data analysis of my ethnographic study is further elaborated in the subsequent sections.

4.6 Analysis of data

4.6.1 Steps of data analysis: In-fieldwork and post-fieldwork analysis

In general, the data analysis involved two main steps. The first step was carried out during the core and follow-up phases of the ethnographic fieldwork, whereas the second step was done after the completion of the ethnographic fieldwork. In other words, the steps of data analysis included both *in-fieldwork* and *post-fieldwork* analysis (see also Ezzy, 2002; Khan, 2013). These steps were primarily performed in the data analysis stage, and they were closely connected

with the stage of data sharing (for details on key stages of the research, see Section 4.7).

The in-fieldwork analysis started with informal interviews conducted with the research participants immediately after making my ethnographic observations. In these interviews, questions relating to the research topic were shared and discussed at the time of the core fieldwork phases. Afterwards, for conducting the formal interviews during the follow-up fieldwork phases, I read my fieldnotes several times and identified typical and exceptional patterns concerning the main research themes. I also identified similar patterns in other types of research data, for example, photographs, audio-/video-recordings, artefacts and documents gathered from the physical and digital settings of the KYT Association, the main research context of my ethnographic study. These patterns were shared and analysed with the research participants during the formal interviews (for details, see Subsection 4.3.2). Meanwhile, I jointly carried out an initial analysis of different data sets with several participants in order to present these data with them to scientific communities, including junior and senior researchers, and to societal communities in which diverse groups of migrants, NGO representatives, educators, public officials, policymakers and politicians were involved. This means that not only the researcher's voice but also the participants' voices are heard in my doctoral study as they both supported the production of the research data and contributed to the analysis of the data (see also Ezzy, 2002).

The above-mentioned step of the data analysis was then followed by post-fieldwork analysis. In this step, I shared and analysed the research data in data-sharing workshops organised at different higher education institutions within or outside Finland. In particular, the research data were analysed with the help of experienced researchers and doctoral students representing a variety of linguistic sub-disciplines. Through paper and poster presentations, I also shared the preliminary research findings of the analysis and received constructive comments and feedback from the researchers participating in local, national and international conferences. Furthermore, my dissertation supervisors and academic colleagues provided constant guidance and direction on data analysis in general and on bringing different types of data together in particular. In short, my doctoral study represents the voices of other researchers, in addition to the main researcher's voice (see also Khan, 2013; Vaarala et al., 2017).

The post-fieldwork analysis also included "vertical" and "horizontal slicing" of the research material (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, p. 70), which was read, listened to or watched in advance. As Barton and Hamilton (1998) put it, "A vertical slice ... is everything about one person ... , [whereas] a horizontal slice is everything about one concept and how it is realised across a range of people" (p. 70). Here, I applied vertical slicing of the research data in the analysis of the first research theme focused on the key participants' personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context (see Chapter 5). Horizontal slicing of the research data was used in the

analysis of common patterns across the data sources presented through the second research theme focused on the research participants' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the workplace context (see Chapter 6).

On a more practical level, SPSS software (Hinton, 2014) was used in organising and analysing the questionnaire and self-assessment data. More specifically, I conducted a frequency analysis of the participants' language proficiency self-assessments and their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, determining, for example, the frequency of males versus females or the number of participants at different proficiency levels in speaking and writing Finnish. I also carried out a descriptive analysis to construct a concise summary, including the minimum and maximum values, of the self-assessment and questionnaire data.

In addition, I used ATLAS.ti software (Friese, 2014) to manage and analyse various data sets of the research, such as observational data (from physical and digital settings), interview data (formal and informal interviews) and textual data (institutional and policy documents). In particular, I created separate open codes for analysing the data sets pertaining to the first research theme. However, combined open codes were generated to analyse similarities and differences within and between the data sets relating to the second research theme. Based on these open and combined codes, different categories/subcategories have emerged from the research materials, which were co-produced with the participants. It is worth noting that most of these categories/subcategories were discussed and negotiated with the participants through the co-construction of knowledge. As such, I used an inductive or bottom-up approach to conduct a data-driven analysis (for a similar approach, see De, 2019; Iikkanen, 2020). In short, both the ATLAS.ti and SPSS software tools provided an opportunity to bring together diverse data sets and to analyse and connect them in one place. In this regard, it should be emphasised that the software does not conduct the analysis for the researcher; instead, it supports the researcher in performing the analysis (see a similar discussion in Kärkkäinen, 2017; Leontjev, 2016b).

I also applied different methods of data analysis following an ethnographic approach that supports the deployment of more than one kind of data analysis (see, e.g., Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Fetterman, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Hence, I used the methods of data analysis to construct personal and institutional narratives appropriate to the research themes. These are presented in detail in the next section.

4.6.2 Methods of data analysis: Analysis of narratives and narrative analysis

In recent decades, narrative inquiry has been used in fields as diverse as sociology, history, psychology, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, education and economics, among others (see, e.g., Bamberg, 2005; Baynham, 2003; Bruner, 1986; Freeman, 2006; Labov, 1972; Lämsä et al., 2018; Oliver, 1998; Patterson, 2008; Polkinghorne, 1995; Pöyhönen et al., 2019; Simpson, 2011b; Squire, 2008).

In general, narrative inquiry includes both the analysis of narratives and narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995), which correspond to the two types of cognition proposed by Bruner (1986). That is, analysis of narratives is associated with the paradigmatic mode of cognition, whereas narrative analysis is associated with the narrative mode of cognition. In analysis of narratives, the data consist of stories, and the analysis reveals the themes that cut across stories and the relationships that subsist between and among them (Polkinghorne, 1995; see also Lämsä et al., 2018; Oliver, 1998). More specifically, stories are collected as data and then analysed through paradigmatic processes to produce categories or typologies, moving “from stories to common elements” (Oliver, 1998, p. 249; see also Martin et al., 2018). In these processes, categories can be derived not only deductively from the previous theory but also inductively from the research data (see, e.g., Lämsä et al., 2018; Oliver, 1998). In narrative analysis, on the other hand, stories are built on the basis of data comprising actions, events and/or happenings that are configured into a narrative by means of a plot; in other words, the data are integrated into a coherent whole (see, e.g., Oliver, 1998; Polkinghorne, 1995). Thus, the primary outcome of narrative analysis “is a narrative” (Oliver, 1998, p. 250), which usually has a plot with “a beginning, a middle and an end” (Denzin, 1989, p. 37). Typically, various core stories come together within the plot, which gives meaning to the experiences of the people being studied and helps the researcher gain a nuanced and deeper understanding of the bigger “why” questions (Oliver, 1998, p. 250).

In narrative inquiry, different approaches to narrative analysis also exist, meaning that “there is no one-fit-for-all method of narrative analysis” (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, p. 23; see also Baynham & De Fina, 2017; Polkinghorne, 1995; Riessman, 2008; Squire et al., 2008). The analytical variation in narrative inquiry is closely reflected in the theoretical divisions made in contemporary narrative studies (Squire et al., 2008). In particular, a distinction has frequently been made between *event-centred* and *experience-centred* approaches in narrative research (see, e.g., Patterson, 2008; Squire et al., 2008). An event-centred approach targets “the spoken recounting of particular past *events* that happened to the narrator” (Squire et al., 2008, p. 5). It is mainly used in the Labovian model of analysis, which focuses on linguistic and structural features of narratives, paying more attention to the text and less to the context of the narration (Labov, 1972; see also Patterson, 2008). An experience-centred approach, in turn, studies “narratives as stories of experience, rather than events” (Squire, 2008, p. 41). In addition, it takes a hermeneutic, content-oriented rather than structural approach to analysing stories that aim at a full understanding of life stories in a broader context (see, e.g., Patterson, 2008; Squire, 2008).

Yet another distinction has recently been made between the approaches of *small* and *big stories* (see, e.g., Bamberg, 2005; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, Freeman, 2006; Squire et al., 2008). In small stories, the focus is on “the micro-linguistic and social structure of the everyday, small narrative phenomena that

occur 'naturally' between people" (Squire et al., 2008, p. 7; see also De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012). That is, small stories enable the analysis of narratives-in-interaction (Bamberg, 2005), which tend "to prioritize 'event' over experience, and socially-oriented over individually-oriented narrative research" (Squire et al., 2008, p. 7). In big stories, more attention is paid to content and the construction of narratives rather than to the discursive nature of narratives constructed in interaction (Squire et al., 2008). Thus, the experiential richness and reflectiveness of big stories make it possible to capture a broader picture of real life (Freeman, 2006).

Moreover, there is a difference between the two forms of narratives: personal and institutional narratives. The former mainly refers to individual life (see, e.g., Riessman, 2008; Squire, 2008), whereas the latter mostly concerns organisational life (see Linde, 2009). In general, there are four primary assumptions about personal narratives. The first assumption is that personal narratives contain sequential and meaningful stories of individual experiences, that is, past, present and future stories about oneself and others (Squire, 2008), and thus constitute "turning-point moments in individuals' lives" (Denzin, 1989, p. 7). According to the second assumption, personal narratives are a means of human sense-making; however, it is important to bear in mind that "sequential temporal orderings of human experience into narrative are not just characteristic of humans, but *make* us human" (Squire, 2008, p. 43). The third assumption is that personal narratives are viewed as jointly constructed by the speaker and hearer and thus include "some reconstruction of stories across times and places", taking into account the view that it is impossible not only to retell narratives exactly as "stories are performed differently in different social contexts" (Squire, 2008, p. 44), but also to reproduce narratives exactly, as "words never 'mean' the same thing twice" (Andrews, 2008, as cited in Squire, 2008, p. 44). The fourth assumption is that because personal narratives represent individual change, they promote improvements in the telling of stories and thus are transformational (Squire, 2008). In short, personal narratives are presented through "texts which bring stories of personal experience into being by means of the first person oral narration of past, present, future or imaginary experience" (Patterson, 2008, p. 37).

When it comes to institutional narratives, they make it possible to gain a nuanced understanding of organisational realities that are closely connected to the experiences of the people belonging to organisations (Gabriel, 2000). Actually, institutional narratives contain organisational stories performed through "an exchange between two or more persons during which a past, [present] or anticipated experience [is] referenced, recounted, interpreted, or challenged" (Boje, 1991, p. 111). These narratives representing organisational stories are "repeatable and repeated both through time and across tellers" who primarily act in professional settings (Linde, 2009, p. 73). In addition to the stories collected among organisation members, institutional narratives also involve the stories that the organisation tells about itself (see, e.g., Czarniawska, 1998; Musacchio Adorasio, 2009). That is, narratives about institutions represent

collective memories in which individual memories are combined with institutional memories on the basis of *the stories from and of the field*; each of which complements the other as the two sides of the same coin. All in all, narrative research is useful for the study of experiences concerning not only individual but also organisational life through personal and institutional narratives, respectively. It is also important to note that the narratives can be expanded to cover perceptions and views of lived experiences (see Riessman, 2008), and they can include more than one source of data (see, e.g., Squire, 2008; Czarniawska, 1998).

In sum, I adopted both analysis of narratives and narrative analysis to explore the first and second research themes of my doctoral study, taking into account that these methods of analysis could effectively complement each other and provide an in-depth discussion of migrant NGO practitioners' experiences in the workplace and broader societal contexts of Finland. First, I used analysis of narratives to identify common themes across stories and the relationships between and among them, focusing on the experiences of migrants. Next, I applied narrative analysis to construct a personal or institutional narrative through common themes embedded in the individual and organisational stories, bringing the experiences of migrants and their views and perceptions of these into a unified whole. In the case of the institutional narrative, it also included perceptions of Finnish NGO supervisors of migrants participating in this research. To capture and present the bigger and broader picture of migrants' experiences, narrative analysis was applied along with big stories and experience-centred approaches. These were predominantly characterised by an emphasis on the content rather than the structure or discursive nature of the narratives. In brief, the analysis of narratives allowed me to explore *stories as data* through common themes, whereas the narrative analysis enabled me to present *data as stories* through participants' experiences and their views and perceptions of these (see also Polkinghorne, 1995). In addition, the combination of narrative analysis and analysis of narratives made it possible to produce *personal and institutional narratives* (see, e.g., Squire, 2008; Linde, 2009), which served as windows into the individual and organisational experiences of migrants by giving them a direct voice. Meanwhile, the personal and institutional narratives offered not only "[a way] of representing but of constituting reality" (Bruner 1991, p. 5) based on migrants' experiences in the host country. These narratives also provided an opportunity to present the stories of lived experiences not only by *bringing the outside in* but also by *taking the inside out* (see also Pöyhönen et al., 2019; Simpson, 2011b), which revealed the interplay between the social categories of migrants and the social structures of the wider society or the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace. Furthermore, using different stories in time and space through the intersection between "*here-and-now* and *then-and-there*" (Baynham, 2003, p. 353) facilitated the construction and analysis of personal and institutional narratives on migrants' trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal and workplace contexts of Finland. In constructing and analysing the

personal and institutional narratives (see Chapters 5 and 6, respectively), I also employed an analytical frame built on the guiding concepts of superdiversity and intersectionality (for details, see Sections 3.2 and 3.3).

4.7 Ethical considerations at key stages of the research

Ethics is an integral part of academic studies, particularly of studies carried out with 'vulnerable' groups, for example, children, the disabled and refugees (see, e.g., Copland, 2018; Kerfoot & Tatab, 2017; McKinley & Rose, 2017; Pöyhönen & Simpson, 2021). Conducting ethically responsible research was also an important component of my ethnographic study, as it concerned migrants from diverse backgrounds who had moved to Finland for different reasons and had different workforce statuses in the research context. In my ethnographic research project, ethical issues were generally managed and resolved within the "contextual realities and mutual understandings" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 176) of the participants and the researcher. Furthermore, not only the researcher but also the participants played a decision-making role in situations involving ethical issues (see also Tagg et al., 2017).

In general, following the Ethical Principles of the University of Jyväskylä (2012), the Guidelines of the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2012) and the Recommendations from the Association of Internet Researchers (2012), I made preparations for dealing with expected ethical issues. However, some unexpected ethical issues also arose during the research process. They were managed or resolved in accordance with the ethical principles, guidelines and recommendations mentioned above. Examples of expected and unexpected ethical issues were agreements signed with the representative of the KYT Association and with the data transcribers, respectively. In the former case, at the beginning of the research, I, together with the main representative of the KYT Association, planned to sign an agreement on conducting ethnographic research in both the physical and digital settings of the KYT Association, the main research context of my doctoral study. In the latter case, signing an agreement with the data transcribers was planned later in the data management stage, taking specific circumstances into consideration (see below for details). In short, research ethics "permeates the whole process and should be a continual concern" at every stage of the study (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 185; see also Copland, 2018; Ennsner-Kananen et al., 2018) to address both expected and unexpected ethical issues.

As noted above, ethical considerations were a major concern in my ethnographic research, and they were specifically addressed at key stages of the research, including, but not limited to, the research planning, data collection and production, data management, data sharing, data analysis and research reporting (see Figure 16; see also Ennsner-Kananen et al., 2018; McKinley & Rose, 2017). These key stages were seen as pieces of the research puzzle that were fitted together in the research process.

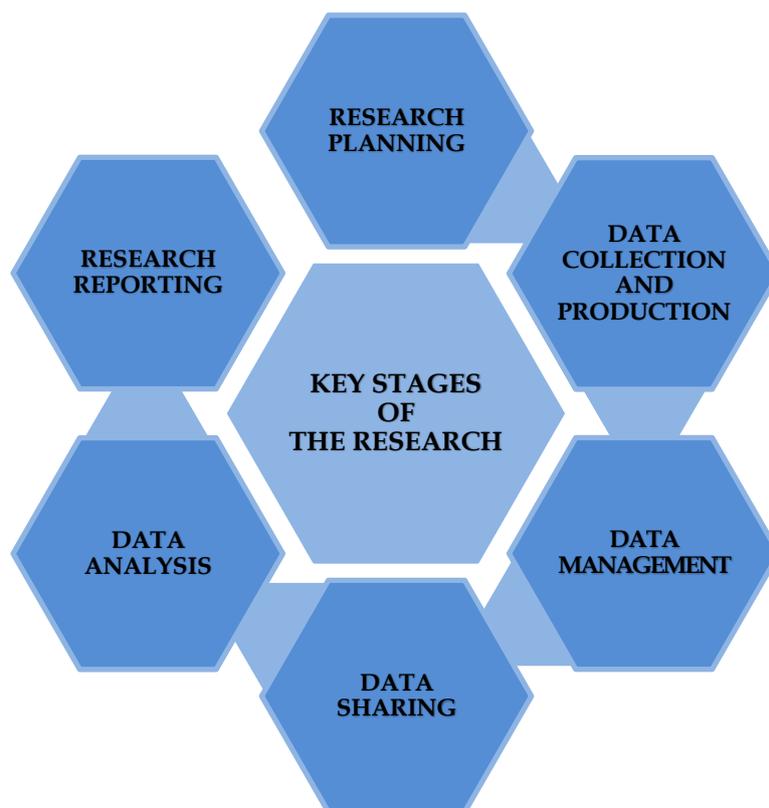


Figure 16. Ethical considerations addressed at key stages of the research.

At the research planning stage, I selected the research contexts, namely three NGOs based in Finland. However, I was granted access to carry out ethnographic observations in only two of them. When I started my observations, I noticed that these two NGOs were rich and complex ethnographic fieldwork sites and decided to include in my doctoral research project only one NGO to gain nuanced and comprehensive ethnographic insights (for more details, see Researcher vignette 2 in Section 4.2). This example shows that it is sometimes necessary to change the research contexts initially selected and thus emphasises the importance of *flexibility* in research planning (see also Rose & McKinley, 2017).

The data collection and production stage presented different ethical issues. First, permission was needed to conduct ethnographic research in the physical and digital settings of the KYT Association. Hence, a research agreement was concluded between me as the main researcher and the main representative of the KYT Association. In addition, all the research participants were asked to read and, if they agreed with its content, sign a written informed consent form. In the research agreement and informed consents, information was provided not only on the different types of data to be collected or produced in KYT Association's offline and online settings but also on the storage and sharing of research data for academic purposes. Furthermore, information was given about the anonymisation and confidentiality of research data (see Appendices 5 and 6).

As the research participants had different linguistic backgrounds, the written informed consent form was provided in several languages: English, Finnish, Russian and Armenian. The informed consent form stated that the participant's involvement in the research was voluntary and could be withdrawn at any time. Persons involved in the participant's work activities were also informed about the research and verbally asked to give their permission to participate in the research. Underage children were sometimes also involved in the participant's work activities; in such cases, the permission of parents or guardians was verbally asked. This means that, in line with the ethical principle of *autonomy*, the participants and other persons had the opportunity to choose to take part or not in my doctoral ethnographic study (see also Copland, 2018). All the participants were also treated fairly and equally in terms of their participation in this research, which thus adhered to the ethical principle of *justice* (see also Copland, 2018; Murphy & Dingwall, 2001).

At the time of signing the informed consents, I talked with the research participants to provide them with relevant information on the research. We also talked about their participation and involvement in the research process, discussing the principle of researching with, rather than on, the participants (see also Cameron et al., 1992; Kerfoot, 2016; Mullany, 2007). In these discussions, I noticed that the study was in the personal and/or professional interests of the participants who had migrant backgrounds and/or worked with migrants with diverse backgrounds. As a migrant, I also had a personal interest in the study, in addition to my professional and scientific interests as a researcher (see Researcher vignette 1 in Introduction in Chapter 1). Therefore, this ethnographic research would provide the participants and myself, among others, with long-term and/or short-term benefits (see also Copland, 2018). In particular, the research results would bring long-term benefits to the research participants in terms of improving their everyday and/or working lives. Meanwhile, I would have short-term benefits in terms of gaining a qualification or writing publications, for instance. All in all, the ethical principle of *beneficence* was evident in my ethnographic study as "a motivating feature of research", as described by Copland (2018, p. 136).

The data management stage included various aspects (see Section 4.4) in which ethical issues also needed to be considered. One of these aspects was data organisation, which was carried out during the different phases of ethnographic fieldwork. This especially concerned the anonymisation of files to ensure data privacy. Another aspect of data management was data storage for both present and future use after the completion of the research. Although my ethnographic study was conducted as part of wider research projects, I alone, as the main researcher, had access to the research data. As stated in the informed consent, other researchers and students writing their thesis would sign a confidentiality agreement before being granted access to the anonymised data (see Appendices 5 and 6). The last aspect of data management was related to the transcription of data. As mentioned earlier, I did not plan on making an

agreement with the data transcribers, as I expected to transcribe the interviews myself. However, after transcribing several interviews, I decided to recruit the assistance of data transcribers. The rationale behind this decision was the time-consuming nature of the task, as the interviews were both considerable in number and had been conducted in different languages. Therefore, I prepared an agreement on data confidentiality and signed it with each of the data transcribers (see Appendix 7). In other words, I ensured “the [confidential] treatment of information” (Davies, 2008, p. 59) related to the research participants.

The stages of data sharing, data analysis and research reporting raised similar ethical issues regarding the anonymisation and pseudonymisation of the research data. Ethical issues in the data sharing and analysis arose, especially in the in-fieldwork and post-fieldwork analysis, whereas those in the research reporting arose during the writing up of the research findings. Given that no single anonymisation or pseudonymisation technique can be used for all types of data collected or produced in physical and digital settings, I applied different techniques on a case-by-case basis (see also Finnish Social Science Data Archive, 2018; Association of Internet Researchers, 2012). First, to protect personal and institutional information, the names of management sites were edited and enclosed in backslashes, and the names of work sites were replaced with the code letters, such as work site A, B, C, D or E (for details, see Section 4.2). However, in accordance with the research agreement signed with the representative of the KYT Association, the names of management and work sites were not changed when general information was given about them. Second, the names of research participants were replaced with pseudonyms chosen by themselves to protect their identity (for details, see Section 4.8). Third, to prevent the possibility of participants being identified, their names were not provided to anyone – including the representatives of the KYT Association and other participants who were also taking part in the research. Fourth, identifiable features in visual images were disguised to conceal the identity of participants and other persons involved in their work activities (see, e.g., Figure 27). Fifth, to reduce disclosure risk, the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of participants were divided into groups and reported in tables or texts without pseudonyms, and they were presented in general terms and words (see, e.g., Table 2). Sixth, while participants’ pseudonyms were used in texts or extracts, their identities were otherwise kept as general as possible; for example, they were referred to by their migration statuses (refugee, worker, student and family member migrants) (see Chapter 5) or workforce statuses (salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers) (see Chapter 6). Seventh, to prevent linking the personal information of participants, their pseudonyms were different in different chapters, particularly in Chapters 5 and 6. Eighth, additional identifying information was edited and enclosed in backslashes and sometimes removed to prevent leakage of confidential information (see Chapters 5 and 6). Ninth, to preclude linkage of the data to work or management sites and participants, information on the dates of data collection or production was not provided in the analysis and discussion of the second research theme focused on the participants’

institutional trajectories (see Chapter 6); similarly, the dates of data collection or production were not given in the analysis and discussion of the first research theme focused on the participants' personal trajectories (see Chapter 5). Last, to protect participants and other persons involved in the study from harm, sensitive information has been omitted (for details, see Subsection 4.3.2). However, this does not mean that conflicting information was omitted from my doctoral study, the primary aim of which was to critically explore the phenomena under investigation from different perspectives and angles (see also Kytölä, 2013).

In general, following the ethical principle of *non-maleficence*, care was taken through various techniques of pseudonymisation and anonymisation to prevent harm to the research participants and other persons involved in my doctoral ethnographic study (see also Copland, 2018; Murphy & Dingwall, 2001). The above-mentioned pseudonymisation and anonymisation techniques were also used to ensure the privacy and confidentiality of personal and institutional information (see also Finnish Social Science Data Archive, 2018). However, following Copland and Creese (2015, p. 180), I also see that the use of these techniques might address the ethical issues regarding the anonymisation of the research participants or the institution to only a limited extent. For example, it was impossible to completely conceal the identity of the institution since I carried out my ethnographic study over an extended period in a local NGO (i.e., KYT Association), where many people were aware of my role as a researcher. Another example is the implementation of the research, which not only included the physical but also digital settings of the KYT Association, where information was publicly as well as privately available. Specifically, publicly available information (from, e.g., Facebook public pages, blogs, webpages and external emails) was potentially identifiable, even with anonymisation, compared to privately available information (from, e.g., internal emails and files). With respect to the above-mentioned ethical issues, it is important to note that I received permission to collect and produce different types of offline and online data for my ethnographic research project through the informed consents signed with all the research participants as well as through the research agreement signed with the main representative of the KYT Association. Furthermore, in accordance with the research agreement signed with the main representative of the KYT Association, I received permission to use the KYT Association's official name in my doctoral dissertation without anonymisation.

Overall, it is likely that complete anonymity is unattainable in both the offline and online environments studied here, even though a considerable effort was made through multiple anonymisation and pseudonymisation techniques (see also Copland & Creese, 2015; Peuronen, 2017; Walford, 2005; Woodfield & Iphofen, 2018). Therefore, instead of complete anonymity, this ethnographic study gives due credit to the research participants and the NGO, "acknowledging, crediting and representing their voices and originality" (see also in Leppänen et al., 2015, p. 12). That is, crediting all involved might be an alternative to seeking total anonymity (for a more detailed discussion on this point, see Kytölä, 2013; Leppänen et al., 2015).

4.8 Reflections on the positionality and voice of the researched and the researcher

The notions of positionality and voice have recently been taken up by various ethnographers. In most ethnographic studies, positionality and voice have been reported from the researcher's perspective. Here, I reflect on the positionality and voice of both the researched and the researcher, taking into consideration that my ethnographic study was conducted as research with, rather than on, the participants (see also Cameron et al., 1992; Kerfoot, 2016).

In general, "roles and relationships can be conceived of as 'positionality', that is, how the self is performed and perceived" in the research context (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 95, see also Davies, 2008). The self is typically put at the centre of the ethnographic fieldwork, during which roles and relationships are established and negotiated between the researcher and the researched (see Coffey, 1999; Madden, 2010). As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) point out, various roles can be adopted during the course of ethnographic fieldwork. To illustrate the different roles played by the participants and myself in the research context, I present the following vignette from my research diary.

Researcher vignette 4

Before starting my ethnographic fieldwork, I already had the experience of volunteering and participating in some of the activities and events organised by the multicultural centre, which was part of the KYT Association involved in my doctoral study. I also received information and consultation services provided by different projects of the KYT Association relating to migration matters as well as to the establishment and registration of a new association in Finland. That is, before starting my ethnographic fieldwork, I had already occupied various roles in different sites of the KYT Association, which was the main research context of my doctoral ethnographic study. More precisely, I performed the roles of volunteer, visitor and client, besides being a representative of one of the member NGOs of the KYT Association. During the ethnographic fieldwork, I often acted in the above-mentioned roles, in addition to my researcher role. Similarly, the study participants had different roles in the research context. For example, the NGO practitioners and supervisors acted in a particular work or management site as **työntekijä, työkokeilija, harjoittelija, vapaaehtoinen ja/tai yhdistyksen edustaja** [employee, trainee, intern, volunteer and/or representative of the association], whereas, in other work sites, they were involved as **kävijä tai asiakas** [visitor or client]. Although I had noticed some of these roles played by the participants before conducting the research, I learnt more about their roles during the ethnographic observations that I made in different management and work sites of the KYT Association.

As this vignette indicates, I carried out research in an institution familiar to me, one where I had performed multiple roles before starting the research. In this sense, the research process involved a move from the inside outwards. As such, my ethnographic research aimed at "making the familiar strange" to examine "the taken-for-granted aspects of an institution that in the final analysis turn

out to be most significant” (Erickson, 1984, p. 62). This approach is different from “mak[ing] the strange familiar”, which is traditionally adopted in anthropology (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 13).

The vignette also shows that the research participants were in both insider and outsider roles during the ethnographic fieldwork. More specifically, the former included such roles as employee, intern, trainee, volunteer and/or representative of the association, while the latter referred to their roles as visitor and client. Like the research participants, I was somewhere in between the insider role of a volunteer or representative of the association and the outsider role of a visitor or client. As a researcher, I therefore moved between insider and outsider roles in conducting participant observations in the physical settings and non-participant observations in the digital settings of the KYT Association (for details, see Subsection 4.3.1). Importantly, the above-mentioned roles provided an opportunity to unite and combine different insider and outsider perspectives to gain a nuanced understanding of the phenomena of interest. Moreover, during the ethnographic fieldwork, both the research participants and I were enabled to negotiate various roles in which we were positioned in different ways and at different sites, not only by others but also by ourselves. Through my varied roles, I also had easy and unrestricted access to the management and work sites of the KYT Association and was able to obtain detailed information on them. Furthermore, I was often in more than one role in a research situation; for instance, I was a researcher as well as a volunteer. In sum, both insider and outsider roles enabled the research participants and me as an ethnographer to establish and develop good relationships in the field (see also Coffey, 1999; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

In a similar vein, it is important to note that the voices of the researched and the researcher were heard in both the data analysis and reporting of the research. For instance, the participants and I jointly conducted the in-fieldwork analysis, thereby encouraging the participants to make their voices heard in the data analysis (for details, see Subsection 4.6.1; see also Ezzy, 2002). In the post-fieldwork analysis, the participants’ voices in the data analysis were present in the extracts taken from the different types of research data. When reporting the research findings, the participants’ voices were also taken into consideration through their choice of pseudonyms. Specifically, all the participants were asked to select their own pseudonyms for my doctoral study, and several of them were asked to choose two pseudonyms, which were used separately in different chapters, to prevent linking their personal information. Interestingly, the Finnish NGO supervisors chose equally between international- and Finnish-sounding pseudonyms, for instance, Margarita and Kaisa, respectively. Most of the migrant NGO practitioners preferred non-Finnish-sounding pseudonyms, for example, Omid, Zakoo, Som, Kweli and Keiko, while a few opted for international-sounding pseudonyms, for example, Nina, Hamlet and Sara. Finnish-sounding pseudonyms, for instance, Onni, Kalle and Mika were selected by several migrant NGO practitioners. In brief, the choice of pseudonyms was much more than just ensuring anonymity or confidentiality (see also

Weckström, 2016): it was also an opportunity to empower the participants in shaping the representation of their voices. It should be mentioned that the persons involved in the participants' working activities also received pseudonyms. As a large number of people were present in the ethnographic observations but not involved in the research as participants, it was neither possible nor meaningful to ask everyone to choose a pseudonym for themselves. Therefore, I selected pseudonyms for them that were international-sounding and as neutral as possible.

The researcher's voice was also an integral part of both in-fieldwork and post-fieldwork analysis. As a researcher, I carried out in-fieldwork and/or post-fieldwork analysis together with the participants, fellow researchers and my dissertation supervisors, whose voices were also included in the data analysis (for details, see Subsection 4.6.1; see also Khan, 2013; Vaarala et al., 2017). In reporting the research, my researcher's voice was present in the conceptual framework, which was guided by my personal, professional and scientific research interests and experiential knowledge of conducting my doctoral ethnographic research (see Section 3.1; see also Maxwell, 2013; Rallis & Rossman, 2012). I also explicitly presented my voice as a researcher by writing myself into the study through the researcher vignettes. The researcher vignettes were pioneered by Angela Creese and Adrian Blackledge, and were particularly used by the research team members as a way of focusing their relationships in the research context and within the research team (see, e.g., Copland & Creese, 2015; Goodson & Tagg, 2018). Here, researcher vignettes refer to short accounts written by the individual researcher during the research process. That is, my research diary is presented through researcher vignettes, as they shed light on the development of the research process along with my reflections on it. I organised the notes in my research diary into four different but interconnected categories: theoretical, methodological, analytical and personal. For instance, the notes contained explanations of concepts, methods or theories based on my reading (e.g., books, articles and reports) and on discussions at scientific events (e.g., conferences, seminars, workshops and writing clinics) in which I took part as a presenter, participant and/or organiser. They also included suggestions and comments from my dissertation supervisors and fellow researchers, with whom I had informal meetings and discussed the main research themes alongside the detailed analysis. Moreover, the notes were associated with the collection and production of diverse data sets in the physical and digital settings of the KYT Association as a research context. In addition, I recorded notes on my personal opinions, questions, concerns and feelings relating to various aspects of my doctoral study. Overall, the researcher vignettes taken from my research diary served as short written accounts to share and discuss the researcher's backgrounds, experiences, views, concerns and assumptions at different stages of the research. Furthermore, the researcher vignettes were used in my ethnographic study not only as a tool to reflect on but also as a way to include the researcher's voice in the research process (see a similar discussion in Pöyhönen & Simpson, 2021; Tagg et al., 2017).

5 MIGRANT NGO PRACTITIONERS' PERSONAL TRAJECTORIES OF LANGUAGE, EMPLOYMENT AND INTEGRATION IN THE BROADER SOCIETAL CONTEXT

This chapter focuses on the first research theme relating to migrant NGO practitioners' personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context of Finland. To analyse and discuss these personal trajectories, the migrant NGO practitioners were classified into four groups according to their migration status, owing to which they had different starting points for living in the receiving country, especially in the early years after migration. It is important to note that I only became aware of the differences in the participants' migration statuses during the ethnographic fieldwork when I started having informal conversations with them about their personal experiences of language learning, employment and integration in the Finnish context. Briefly, the research participants' migration statuses were refugee, worker, student and family member, which were based on their grounds for migration to Finland.

In fact, it was not easy to divide the research participants into smaller groups for the analysis of their personal trajectories as they had heterogeneous demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds, for example, age, gender, country of origin, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, legal status, marital status, workforce status, occupation and education before and after migration to Finland (for details, see Subsection 4.2.3). It was also challenging to choose whose personal trajectories to present from the twenty-two participants with a migrant background involved in my ethnographic research. The selection of the key participants' personal trajectories was therefore guided by their similarities with those of the other research participants representing the same group. That is, the personal trajectories of the key participants might, to some extent, shed light on the experiences of other research participants from the same group. In short, the following migrant groups' personal trajectories of

language, employment and integration are analysed and discussed through the different but interconnected personal narratives of the key research participants, such as (1) Refugee migrants' personal trajectories: Kweli's personal narrative *"There were more opportunities for me as a refugee migrant, but they were limited in many respects"*, (2) Worker migrants' personal trajectories: Lena's personal narrative *"I came here for employment, and I did many things on my own"*, (3) Student migrants' personal trajectories: Ayshe's personal narrative *"I was almost alone responsible for my successes and failures in Finland because I was just an international student"* and (4) Family member migrants' personal trajectories: Soha's personal narrative *"I migrated for family reasons and had to start from scratch in a new country"*.

Thus, the participants representing each migrant group are presented and described separately, followed by an analysis and discussion of the personal narratives of refugee, worker, student or family member migrants. The personal narratives are based on the key participant's experiences, illustrating their personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the Finnish context. These personal narratives also closely reflect the policies and practices of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context of Finland.

It should also be noted that, in this chapter, I use interview data, such as biographic-narrative interviews and ethnographic conversations, along with fieldnotes. More precisely, the former are related to formal interviews/1 and formal interviews/1/fieldnotes, whereas the latter refer to informal interviews and fieldnotes (see Section 4.5). The other data sets employed here are textual data (policy documents), questionnaire data (demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires) and self-assessment data (self-assessment scales of language proficiency). The above-mentioned data sets are embedded in the text to facilitate the flow of the personal trajectories of migrants narrated and discussed in the subsequent sections (for details on the data collection and production, data management, and data selection and analysis, see Sections 4.3–4.6). It is also important to note that all the participants' demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds are reported in general terms and words to ensure the privacy and confidentiality of personal information. In this regard, information on the dates of data collection or production is not provided, and the key participants' work experiences in the NGO, the main research context of this ethnographic study, are not presented in their personal narratives (for details on ethical considerations, see Section 4.7).

5.1 Refugee migrants' personal trajectories

In general, refugees have arrived in Finland for international protection since the 1970s–1980s; however, the number of quota refugees and asylum seekers, including unaccompanied minor asylum seekers, increased considerably from the 1990s onwards (see, e.g., Björklund, 2015; Kokkonen, 2010; Turtiainen, 2012).

The research participants' group of refugee migrants described here includes one unaccompanied minor asylum seeker and five quota refugees. One was female, and the other five were male. On arrival, two participants were adults in their late twenties or early thirties, while the other four were younger and in their late adolescence. Two of them had migrated alone, whereas the remainder had come with their siblings, siblings and children, or siblings and parents. They all were from non-EU countries and had lived in Finland for from six to twenty-three years.

Before migration, the four adolescent participants had acquired a lower secondary education, and they had not been employed. One of the adult participants had received an upper secondary education, and the other had an incomplete university education because of the civil war in the country of origin. The adult participants had mostly been self-employed and/or a volunteer. After migration to Finland, all the adolescent and adult participants had received a vocational education as their highest educational attainment – the former vocational upper secondary education and the latter vocational adult education. Several participants had obtained two or three different types of vocational education because of not finding a job relevant to their education or to wanting to move from a lower-class manual to a middle-class occupation. One participant had quit vocational studies in order to acquire a new occupation much in demand on the labour market. Interestingly, none of them had received a university education, although several had applied at least once to study in a Finnish university.

The research participants had mainly worked as a part-/full-time salaried employee, subsidised employee, freelance worker, trainee, intern and/or volunteer. However, three adolescent participants, who were in their twenties at the time of the research, had difficulties in finding paid work, especially salaried or subsidised work. Specifically, one of them did not have any paid work, and the other two had been hired only as a subsidised employee for five months or as a part-time salaried employee for a period of one year. Moreover, in the case of the latter, the participant's work was not commensurate with the vocational education acquired in the host country, Finland. Of the adult participants, one, in addition to voluntary work, had obtained salaried work relevant to the vocational education received after migration to Finland. The other research participant had been in different types of paid and unpaid work that did not often match the second vocational education received in Finland.

All the research participants had in common the use of their first language at work, as well as different additional languages, including Finnish. The four adolescent participants started learning Finnish by participating in preparatory instruction for basic education. The other two adult participants took part in Finnish language courses provided to adult migrants as part of integration training. In short, through Kweli's personal narrative, I present below the personal trajectories of language, employment and integration of refugee migrants in the wider Finnish context.

Kweli's personal narrative "There were more opportunities for me as a refugee migrant, but they were limited in many respects"

Kweli was originally from Central Africa. Because of the civil war in his country of origin, he had to flee with his family to a neighbouring country, where he lived in a refugee camp. As he describes it, "*meidän leiri oli hyvin pieni ja siellä asui kahdeksan ihmistä, se oli tosi vaikea meille asua yhdessä pienessä leirissä monta vuotta, mutta mitä voisimme tehdä? ei mitään, meillä ei ollut muuta paikkaa mennä tai asua [our camp was very small and lived eight people there, it was really hard for us to live together in a small camp for many years, but what could we do? nothing, there was no other place to go or to live].*" In the refugee camp, Kweli had experienced a shortage of food and water, lack of hygiene and health care and other difficulties in daily life. His only employment opportunity was doing voluntary work for church communities and associations and assisting them in coordinating youth work and in handling bookkeeping and financial matters. In his first two years of living in the refugee camp, he had also continued with a bachelor's degree programme in social policy at university. That is, Kweli had returned to his country of origin several times for short periods to take courses; however, he had not completed his university studies because of the ongoing war there.

After about a decade of living in the refugee camp, Kweli arrived in Finland with several family members under the refugee quota. They were selected by the Finnish authorities who had received their documents from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] and had conducted a personal interview with them in the refugee camp. The rest of his family members migrated to different countries around the world. Kweli was in his early thirties when he came to Finland at the end of the first decade of the 2000s. Upon arrival, he was granted migration status as a refugee and legal status such as a continuous (A) residence permit on the ground of international protection (see Aliens Act, 301/2004). As a refugee migrant, he had the right to start working without restrictions after receiving a residence permit in Finland (see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020d).

When Kweli arrived in Finland, he went directly to the region of Central Finland, where the municipality in charge of his resettlement was located. There he started participating in introductory training after a few weeks of his arrival. The training included a Finnish language course of five months provided in two periods and organised several hours a day by an integration-related project, which mainly helped newly arrived migrants with language education and integration at the local level. Based on the placement test conducted before starting introductory training, Kweli was placed in the fast-learners group. Upon completion of the introductory training programme, he continued studying the Finnish language in the fast-learners group but in different educational institutions. He first took Finnish courses 1 and 2, followed by a course on Finnish for working life, which enabled him to study information technology, to receive basic information on the culture and structure of the host society and to visit workplaces to gain familiarity with working life, alongside learning the Finnish language. Each of these three courses took about three months, and they

were intensive full-time courses lasting about seven hours per working day (for more information on the courses, see Pöyhönen et al., 2009). According to the Integration Act (493/1999), these intensive courses were part of integration training organised especially for refugee and unemployed migrants prior to the Integration Act (1386/2010) that came into force in 2011.

Kweli notes that he had limited possibilities to practise and develop his Finnish language skills outside classroom contexts of the above-presented training courses, that is, formal learning environments (see also Kaye, 2015). In this regard, Kweli emphasises the need for building a social network with local residents, both Finns and earlier arrived migrants, starting from the first year of migration, an opportunity that he did not have. At that time, his social contacts were mostly limited to his relatives and his friends who were recently arrived migrants participating in Finnish language courses. He had social contacts with only a few earlier arrived migrants and with Finns, who were either social workers employed in the immigrant services or teachers and staff members involved in the organisation and coordination of introductory or integration training programmes. Later, Kweli was able to extend his social network through engagement in voluntary work, which enabled him to establish social contacts with members of the church community and local NGOs working with migrants. In short, as a refugee migrant, Kweli had a limited social network at an early stage after arrival in the host country but was able to expand his social networks over time. These findings are in line with those of previous research focusing on refugees' experiences of building social networks and interpersonal relationships in the receiving society (e.g., Cheung & Phillimore, 2017; Kokkonen, 2010). A study by Cheung and Phillimore (2017) undertaken in the UK context also reports that refugees had three types of social networks in the first years after migration: (1) personal, (2) ethno-religious and (3) formal. The first network comprised "contacts with relatives and friends", the second network "contacts with national/co-ethnic groups and places of worship", and the third network "contacts with organisations such as housing authorities, college/education institutions ... etc." (Cheung & Phillimore, 2017, pp. 216–217). Another study carried out in Central Finland (Kokkonen, 2010) showed that, in addition to family, friends and community members, refugees often created interpersonal relationships with migration officials, teachers and interpreters, whom they met on a regular basis in the early years after migration. Kokkonen (2010) found that interpersonal relationships provided refugees with social support and promoted the development of their sense of belonging in the new social environment (see a similar discussion in Pöyhönen et al., 2019).

Kweli also indicates his limited opportunities for making social connections with earlier arrived migrants as mentors or tutors who might have supported him in using and practising Finnish in daily life situations. He reflects on this as follows: "*aikaisemmin saapuneet maahanmuuttajien resursseja ovat tärkeitä, mutta niitä ei usein käytetä Suomessa... on tarpeen ottaa heidät mukaan tukemaan vastasaapuneiden maahanmuuttajien suomen kielen oppimista [earlier arrived migrants' resources are important, but they are not often used in Finland ... it's necessary to involve them in*

supporting newly arrived migrants' Finnish language learning]." Meanwhile, Kweli emphasises his lack of social interactions with young Finns of his age, who also might have helped him to develop his Finnish language skills. A recent study conducted among young migrants (Lilja, 2018) found that the absence of social interactions with Finnish friends was linked to the lack of possibilities to use and practise Finnish language skills in everyday communication situations. In other words, Finnish friends played a vital role in facilitating the Finnish language learning process of young migrants, especially outside school, where language practices were perceived as quite different from those in school (Lilja, 2018).

Also of note is that during the above-presented introductory and integration training programmes, Kweli took part in work placements, that is, internships, which provided him with different opportunities to learn and practise Finnish in different work environments. For example, his first work placement lasted for about two weeks, during which he usually made coffee/tea and washed the dishes or just sat twiddling his thumbs because there was nothing else for him to do. In such a work situation, learning or practising the Finnish language was impossible, and, as he states, "*maahanmuuttaja voi oppia tai harjoitella suomea kun tekee työtä työharjoittelun aikana, mutta jos hän tulee vaan keittämään kahvia ja tiskaamaan kuppeja tai vaan istumaan, sitten ei tapahdu mitään [a migrant can learn or practise Finnish when s/he does work during the work placement, but if s/he comes only for making coffee and washing cups or for just sitting around, then nothing happens]."* In addition to the manual work tasks mentioned above, he was given other similar tasks during his second work placement, which lasted about six weeks. Kweli describes his experience in the second work placement in the following discussion:

<p>Sonya: mitä sinä teit toisen työharjoittelun aikana?</p>	<p>[Sonya: what did you do during the second work placement?</p>
<p>Kweli: ... mä tein samanlaista työtä toisessa työharjoittelussa mitä mä tein ensimmäisessä työharjoittelussa, mutta sen lisäksi, toisessa työharjoittelussa mun työtehtävä oli järjestää vanhoja papereita uusiin mappeihin ja laittaa ne kansioon, ja sitten he antoivat mulle työn laittaa turhia papereita silppuriin, olin siinä leikkaamaan ja järjestämään papereita koko päivä ...</p>	<p>Kweli: ... I did the same kind of work in the second work placement what I did in the first work placement, but besides this, in the second work placement my work task was to organize the old papers in new files and put them into a folder, and then they gave me the job of putting unnecessary papers into the shredder, I was there to cut and organize papers all day ...</p>
<p>Sonya: voisitko oppia suomen kieltä siellä?</p>	<p>Sonya: could you learn the Finnish language there?</p>
<p>Kweli: no, ei! ... mä kaipasini oppia suomea, mutta ei kenenkään kanssa pystynyt puhumaan työn aikana, ei kukaan tullut puhumaan mun kanssa silloin, olin yleensä <u>yksin</u> ja tein <u>tylsää työtä</u> ... voin sanoa suoraan, että mulla oli <u>hyödyttömiä kokemuksia</u> molemmissa työharjoittelussa.</p>	<p>Kweli: well, no! ... I missed learning Finnish, but I could not talk to anyone during work, no one came to talk to me then, I was usually <u>alone</u> and doing <u>boring work</u> ... I can say directly that I had <u>useless experiences</u> in both work placements.]</p>

In this discussion, Kweli emphasises that he had *“hyödyttömiä kokemuksia molemmissa työharjoittelussa [useless experiences in both work placements]*, and he further notes that it was associated with the fact that *“molemmat työpaikat eivät olleet valmiita ottaa maahanmuuttajataustainen työharjoittelija ja antaa hänelle mahdollisuuksia oppia ja harjoitella suomen kieltä työn aikana [both workplaces were not ready to take an intern with a migrant background and to provide him/her with an opportunity to learn and practise Finnish during work].”* As Kweli highlights above, the work tasks he performed during these work placements were mostly non-linguistic and unskilled in nature. Moreover, in both work placements, *“mun piti työskennellä yksin ilman vuorovaikutusta tai yhteistyötä kollegoiden kanssa [I had to work alone without any interaction or collaboration with colleagues]”*, he says. Kweli also describes that, in his first work placement, he did not even have any social interaction with colleagues during coffee and lunch breaks. In other words, his communication with them did not go beyond greetings. However, in his second work placement, he had social interaction with colleagues during breaks in the coffee room, where they had small talk, for instance, about the weather, news, holidays, weekends, hobbies and pets, which he found useful for learning and practising everyday Finnish words and phrases.

Kweli’s third work placement lasted for two weeks, and this time his experiences were different. He was able to interact and communicate with colleagues while working or having lunch/coffee breaks, which created a space not only for his social inclusion but also for his Finnish language learning/practising in the workplace context. He also had an opportunity to be involved in a project aimed at developing initial stage guidance and counselling for migrants living in Finland. Within the framework of this project, he mostly performed linguistic and other tasks of a skilled nature, such as participating in finalising the project’s implementation plan and discussing it with public authorities and third sector representatives during formal and informal meetings, translating information leaflets, and preparing registration or feedback forms for migrant clients. In his words:

<p>tämä työharjoittelu oli hyödyllinen mulle koska se antoi mahdollisuuksia kehittää ja myös harjoitella mun suomen kielen taitoja työpaikassa, ja erityisesti mun puhuminen ja kirjoittaminen suomeksi.</p>	<p>[this work placement was useful for me as it gave possibilities to develop and also practice my Finnish language skills in the workplace, and especially my speaking and writing in Finnish.]</p>
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Like his previous two work placements, the main objectives of the third work placement were to support migrants in gaining familiarity with workplace cultures and the world of work of the host society in general and in learning and practising Finnish language skills in the workplace in particular. It is worth noting that the third work placement was an integral part of the preparatory vocational training (MAVA training), in which he participated after completion of the integration training that included his first two work placements. Thus, it is apparent from Kweli’s experiences that not all his work placements enabled him to be involved in the workplace community and to perform tasks that might

support his learning and practising Finnish at work, even though they were generally provided and intended for that purpose (for more information on work placements and their objectives, see FNBE, 2012). It is also obvious that his opportunities in terms of learning or practising Finnish depended on his being given tasks that in their nature were linguistic and skilled or non-linguistic and unskilled, as has also been reported in national and international research on adult migrants' experiences of studying the host country's language (e.g., in Sweden, Sandwall, 2010; in Finland, Virtanen, 2016). Furthermore, his social interactions with colleagues not only during work but also during coffee/lunch breaks were clearly also important in this respect (see also a study by Negretti & Garcia-Yeste, 2015). In sum, Kweli's experiences illustrate that his possibilities for learning and practising the Finnish language at work were limited, especially in his first two work placements, with respect to both the work tasks he was given and his social interactions with colleagues in the workplace.

As noted earlier, after completing integration training, Kweli took part in the preparatory training for vocational education (MAVA training). The minimum Finnish language proficiency requirement for entry into MAVA training was CEFR level A2.2, and the target level on completion of training was B1.2 (see, e.g., FNBE, 2008; 2015). The aim of MAVA training was to assist migrants in developing Finnish language skills along with other skills required for vocational studies (for details, see FNBE, 2008). During this training, in addition to learning Finnish, Kweli studied general subjects (e.g., mathematics and natural sciences), learnt about the culture and structure of the host society and visited vocational schools to familiarise himself with different fields of vocational education. The MAVA training lasted for about nine months, after which he took a final examination consisting of a Finnish language test and an interview in Finnish administered and scored by his teachers. Based on the result of the final examination in Finnish, which was CEFR level B1, he was offered the opportunity to continue his education in a vocational school. Kweli was interested in working as an accountant and therefore chose business and administration as his field of study. This choice was also based on his previous experience of volunteering and providing support in accounting and financial matters to the NGOs operating in the refugee camp he had been living before moving to Finland. In response to my question about whether he talked to anyone before choosing his field of education, Kweli replies that he had meetings and discussions with the MAVA training teachers and study counsellors, but they advised him to choose another educational field from a list, including construction, restaurant and catering, cleaning, or social and health care. On this point, our conversation is presented below:

Sonya: puhuitko ketään ennen sinä valitsit koulutusalsasi?	[Sonya: did you talk to anyone before you chose your field of education?
Kweli: joo, puhuin (.) mulla oli tapaamisia ja keskusteluja MAVA koulutuksen opettajien ja opinto-ohjaajien kanssa	Kweli: yes, I talked (.) I had meetings and discussions with the MAVA training teachers and study counsellors

Sonya: mitä he sanoivat sulle?	Sonya: what did they say to you?
Kweli: heillä kaikilla oli <u>sama koulutusalojen lista</u> , ja he sanoi että nämä koulutusalat voi antaa mulle ‘realistisen mahdollisuuden’ <u>helposti opiskella</u> ammatillisia aiheita suomeksi ja <u>helposti saada</u> työtä mun opintojen jälkeen.	Kweli: they all had the <u>same list of educational fields</u> , and they said that these fields of education can give me a ‘realistic chance’ to <u>easily study</u> vocational subjects in Finnish and to <u>easily get</u> a job after my studies.]

From Kweli’s words, it appears that he was guided within the framework of MAVA training to enrol in vocational education that would lead to specific low-wage sectors of employment, as it would give him a ‘realistic chance’ of managing not only his vocational studies in Finnish but also his access to the Finnish labour market. Kweli’s experience is supported by Kurki (2019), who, in her ethnographic study, reports that, regardless of their personal interests, migrant students participating in MAVA training were generally guided to opt for specific vocational fields that would generate a low-wage workforce for the social and health care or other similar employment sectors. This educational guidance was considered justified by educators because of the demand in the Finnish labour market for people to fill certain types of jobs, including care and service work, and because such jobs would at the same time facilitate migrant students’ transition from vocational education to working life (see also Kurki & Brunila, 2014). It is also notable that most of these migrant students had to opt for education in what for them was an entirely new vocational sector since their previous work experience and education were considered as having relatively little relevance in the Finnish context (see, e.g., Kurki & Brunila, 2014; Masoud et al., 2020). In brief, it is apparent that guidance towards vocational education leading to low-wage employment is closely linked with the needs of the economy and labour market, and does not take into account the personal needs, experiences and interests of the migrant students participating in the MAVA training programme (for a review of similar findings, see Kurki, 2019; Kurki & Brunila, 2014). This can be interpreted as a result of the reorientation of education towards serving the demands of the labour market and producing “the type of worker needed for a neoliberalised economy” (Martín Rojo & Del Percio, 2020, p. 12).

As previous research indicates (Kurki & Brunila, 2014), some migrant students in Finland have refused to follow educational guidance that would lead them to work in low-wage sectors of employment. Kweli refused as well; he did not take the ‘realistic chance’ offered to him by the MAVA training educators. Based on his own interests and experiences, Kweli chose the field of study – business and administration – aware that he might encounter difficulties during his vocational studies. He reflects on this in the following quote:

mä tiedän että on vaikea opiskella merkonomialalla, minulle on sanottu että kirjanpitäjän ammatti on vaikea suomalaisillekin (.) se on <u>totta</u> mitä ihmiset	[I know that it is difficult to study in the field of business and administration, I have been told that it is difficult <u>for Finns as well</u> (.) it’s <u>true</u> what people have told me, it
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on sanonut minulle, oikeasti se oli vaikea opintojen alussa koska silloin mun suomen kielitaito oli <u>vielä heikko</u> .	was really hard at the beginning of studies because at that time my Finnish language skills were <u>still weak</u> .]
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This implies that, in the early stage of his vocational studies, Kweli faced a challenge in studying in Finnish. That is, his level B1 in Finnish, attained through integration training and MAVA training, was sufficient for him to access, but not necessarily study, his chosen field of vocational education. Hence, he underlines the necessity of taking Finnish language courses related to his chosen educational field, which would also be essential for participation in Finnish working life. However, as he notes, such courses on professional language learning were not available for migrants studying in the educational field of business and administration.

In this situation, Kweli did not give up and found a way to achieve his goal. Specifically, he asked the teacher to give him “*oppimateriaaleja selkokielellä [learning materials in easy language]*” and explain new topics to him after classes “*vähän hitaasti ja helposti suomeksi [a little bit slowly and easily in Finnish]*.” In this way, Kweli gradually progressed in his studies and, after a couple of months, was able to continue studying without the assistance of the teacher. Kweli notes that his family members, particularly his siblings and his wife, whom he married after moving to Finland, were unable to help him with his studies because they too were Finnish language learners. Thus, he emphasises the importance of his earlier learning and work experience in helping him graduate from vocational education, as well as the support he received from his vocational school teacher. In addition, a vital factor in successfully completing his vocational studies was that the field of education was “*mun oma valinta [my own choice]*”, he says and subsequently adds:

itse valitsin koulutusalan mun oman kiinnostuksen perusteella, siksi mun opiskelumotivaatio oli aika korkea, ja se auttoi mulle oppia ja onnistua suorittamaan ammattikoulutuksen loppuun, vaikka se oli aika vaikea erityisesti opintojeni alussa.	[I chose the field of education myself based on my own interest, that’s why my motivation for studying was quite high, and it helped me to learn and succeed in completing my vocational education, although it was quite difficult especially at the beginning of my studies.]
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Of note is that he was awarded a scholarship, as he obtained high grades during his studies and completed his vocational education earlier than the planned schedule. This was his first vocational education, during which Kweli completed both short- and long-term practical training, namely internships, in two different workplaces. His short-term practical training, which lasted for about two months, was implemented in the NGO, where he was mainly involved in preparing announcements and leaflets for activities and events, organising and participating in meetings and providing bookkeeping support. On his long-term practical training, he states, “*se oli vaikea löytää työharjoittelupaikka mikä sopisi hyvin minun koulutusalaan [it was hard to find a place for practical training which well-suited to*

my field of education].” More specifically, he faced the challenge of finding a relevant workplace in which to gain practical training experience in “*toimistotyö [office work]*” that included paperwork/ documentation and accounting tasks. Most of the workplaces offered him practical training in manual tasks, such as “*keittää kahvia, viedä roskat ulos, laittaa posti laatikkoon tai toimia apukuskinä [to make coffee, to take the garbage out, to put mail in the box or to act as a co-driver]*”, as he notes.

After a couple of weeks of searching, Kweli decided to do his long-term, six months, practical training in the local foundation, which was the only workplace offering work related to partially accountancy. His practical training experiences had shown him that it would not be easy to get a job as an accountant; however, he persevered and continued to look for a workplace after completing his vocational education. At that time, Kweli searched for a job through the website of the TE Office, where vacancies in the Finnish labour market were publicly announced. He sent job applications along with related documents to approximately ten accounting firms. Most did not reply to him, and only one informed Kweli that they had selected another applicant. He was informed that they had hired a Russian job applicant because of her “*sujuva suomen kielen taito [fluent proficiency in Finnish]*.” This surprised Kweli as he knew her from the vocational school. In his words:

<p>me opiskelimme yhdessä samassa ammattikoulussa, samassa luokassa, siksi tiedän että mä osasin puhua niin ‘<u>sujuvaa suomea</u>’ kuin hän ... me opimme samanlaisia suomen kielen sanoja, sanastoa ja tekstejä liittyivät samaan kirjanpitoammattiin, mielestäni, meillä oli samanlainen suomen kielen taitotaso tuolloin (.) mutta työnantaja valitsi hänet.</p>	<p>[we studied together in the same vocational school, in the same class, that’s why I know that I could speak as ‘<u>fluent Finnish</u>’ as she ... we learnt similar Finnish words, vocabulary and texts related to the same accounting occupation, in my opinion, we had similar proficiency level in Finnish at that time (.) but the employer chose her.]</p>
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From Kweli’s words, it is clear that, while they both had studied in the same field of vocational education and had similar proficiency levels in Finnish, the employer preferred to hire the Russian applicant, emphasising that she had advanced proficiency in Finnish. However, as Kweli states, the employer could not have had precise information about his language proficiency because he was not required to prove or demonstrate his Finnish language proficiency through a language test or certificate, commenting on it as follows: “*miten työnantaja voisi tietää, oliko suomenkielen taitoni keski tai ylin taso ilman tietoa kielitesteistä tai todistuksista? [how could the employer know whether my proficiency in Finnish was intermediate or advanced level without having information about language tests or certificates?]*.” Therefore, Kweli believes that an advanced proficiency level in Finnish was used as a “*‘punainen kortti’ [‘red card’]*” for him and as a “*‘vihreä kortti’ [‘green card’]*” for the Russian applicant, and that behind this language proficiency were some other categories that the employer left unsaid. In particular, Kweli thinks that the employer’s decision was most likely affected by the applicant’s Russian cultural background, which was seen

as ‘less distant’ from the Finnish culture in comparison to his African cultural background (for a discussion on experiences of migrants from ‘more distant’ cultural backgrounds in Finnish working life, see Heikkilä, 2017). In addition, Kweli mentions that the recruitment process might have been influenced by his racial background, as the Russian applicant’s ‘white’ skin being ranked more highly than his ‘non-white’ skin in terms of access to the labour market, which was racialised in the host country context (see a similar discussion in Creese & Wiebe, 2012). Moreover, he emphasises the importance of the applicant’s first language – Russian – in working with potential migrant clients, considering that the majority of the migrant population in Finland were Russian language speakers (see Statistics Finland, 2020b). In Kweli’s view, the selection process may also have been influenced by the fact that the Russian applicant’s spouse was a Finn, as employers generally preferred to hire migrants who had family ties with Finns; similar research findings have been reported in other Finnish studies (e.g., Koskela, 2014; Pehkonen, 2006; Tarnanen et al., 2015). Thus, it seems that migrants were ranked on a hierarchy according to their cultural, racial and language backgrounds and family ties, thereby explaining why migrant job applicants with certain social categories were more acceptable and valued by employers than others. This phenomenon can be considered a form of direct discrimination in a recruitment process where “a person, on the grounds of personal characteristics, is treated less favourably than another person ... is treated ... in a comparable situation” (see Finnish Non-discrimination Act, 1325/2014, Section 10). As a general rule, the Finnish Non-discrimination Act (1325/2014, Section 8/1) prohibits discrimination based on “age, origin, nationality, language, religion, belief, opinion, political activity, trade union activity, family relationships, state of health, disability, sexual orientation or other personal characteristics.”

After several months of unsuccessful job searching, Kweli started looking for the possibility of participating in a work trial or getting subsidised work in the accounting sector. For that purpose, he personally applied to different accounting firms, but to no avail. He describes this situation as follows:

mulla oli oikeasti hyvä todistus, mutta mä menin siellä |tilitoimistoon| pyytämään jos voisin olla pelkästään työkokeilussa tai palkkatukityössä (.) tiedän jo että on liian vaikeaa saada työtä kirjanpitäjänä, siksi yritin löytää työkokeilupaikka tai palkkatukityö ... kun mä menin siellä |tilitoimistoon| työnantaja sanoi mulle että ei ole täällä tietokone, ei ole tila missä sinä voit työskennellä (.) mutta kaksi viikkoa jälkeen sama firma otti työntekijänä mun suomalainen luokkakaverin joka oli vielä opinnot kesken, hän ei ollut vielä valmistunut ammattikoulusta ... hän sai toimistotila ja tietokone, mistä hän sai sen?

[I had a really good certificate, but I went there |to the accounting firm| to ask if I could be just on a work trial or subsidised work (.) I already know that it is too difficult to get a job as an accountant, that is why I tried to find a place for a work trial or subsidised work ... when I went there |to the accounting firm| the employer said to me that there is no computer here, there is no space where you can work (.) but two weeks later the same firm took as an employee my Finnish classmate who was still studying, he had not graduated from a vocational school yet ... he got office space and a computer, where did he

<p>oliko se tippunut taivaasta? ei! tietokone ja toimistotila olivat siellä, mutta työnantaja ei halunnut antaa mulle työtä koska mä olin maahanmuuttaja ... voin sanoa suoraan, että mulla oli aika huono kokemusta työpaikan löytämisestä ...</p>	<p>get it from? did it fall from the sky? no! the computer and office space were there, but the employer did not want to give me work because I was a migrant ... I can say directly that I had quite a bad experience in finding a workplace ...]</p>
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What is clear from this quote is that Kweli did not even succeed in finding a workplace where he could be given a work trial or subsidised work. It is also obvious that the employer preferred to hire a Finnish employee who was still a vocational school student rather than Kweli who had a migrant background, had obtained high grades during his studies and had already completed his vocational education with "*hyvä todistus [a good certificate]*", as he notes. When I asked Kweli how he knew that the accounting firm had hired a new employee, he replied:

<p>mä kuulin siitä ensin entiseltä luokkakaveriltani, ja sitten menin tuo kirjanpitoyritykseen taas.</p>	<p>[I first heard about it from my former classmate, and then I went to that accounting firm again.]</p>
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On that occasion, the same employer informed Kweli that a high level of proficiency in Finnish was a prerequisite for getting a job as an accountant, and, for that reason, the accounting firm had hired a new employee with a Finnish background. In Kweli's opinion, the employer mentioned the requirement of having a high proficiency level in Finnish, expecting that Kweli's Finnish language skills would not be good enough for him to get that job. However, the employer did not consider that the requirement for high language proficiency could be eased, as he was also ready to do a work trial or subsidised work. Kweli also underlines that having an advanced proficiency level in Finnish might be an unnecessarily high requirement to perform work-related tasks because the employers often require a full command of the Finnish language, even if it might not be needed at work (see a similar discussion in Huhta & Ahola, 2019). As Kweli notes, "*sujuva suomen kielen taito [fluent proficiency in Finnish]*" was again presented as a "*'punainen kortti' [red card]*" to him and as a "*'vihreä kortti' [green card]*" to another person who had a Finnish background. This implies that the employer demanded a high level of proficiency in Finnish and used this as a '*gateway*' or '*gatekeeping*' criterion to hire a '*suitable*' employee. It is also notable that the employer preferred to hire a new employee even without publicly advertising the job, which supports similar findings presented in an official report (Maunu, 2018), indicating that only about half of all vacancies are publicly announced in Finland.

Thus, similar to the participants of previous studies (e.g., Masoud et al., 2020), Kweli faced difficulties in finding an appropriate job after graduation in Finland as well. According to Kweli, not knowing "*'tarpeeksi suomea' [enough Finnish]*" was often presented by the employers as a reason for not hiring him. However, it was not clear to Kweli how the employers could decide what proficiency level in Finnish was necessary to do accounting work as they were

not specialists in language assessment or how the employers could know whether his Finnish language proficiency was in/sufficient to do the job without asking for information about it. As further underlines by Kweli, the need for advanced proficiency in Finnish was not justified by the employers as well. In addition, the employers did not take into account that he had studied in a Finnish educational institution and completed the necessary vocational education in Finnish for the job of an accountant, despite the fact that they were informed about it. As such, the employers did not accept or value Kweli's vocational education in Finnish, even when obtained in Finland. Taken together, these findings indicate that Kweli was placed at a disadvantage and in an unequal position in comparison to those who were hired on the basis of having a high level of proficiency in Finnish. This phenomenon can be characterised as a form of indirect discrimination in the recruitment process. In accordance with the Finnish Non-discrimination Act (325/2014, Section 13), indirect discrimination refers to a situation where "an apparently neutral rule, criterion or practice puts a person at a disadvantage compared with others as on the grounds of personal characteristics, unless the rule, criterion or practice has a legitimate aim and the means for achieving the aim are appropriate and necessary".

As a growing body of scientific literature shows, migrants often perceive or experience discrimination in getting a job in various countries across the world, including Finland. In particular, discriminatory recruitment practices are associated with migrants' proficiency in the host country's language, age, gender, ethnicity, race, and educational background, among others (see, e.g., Ahmad, 2020; Larja et al., 2012; Larja, 2019; Piller, 2016; Vakulenko & Leukhin, 2017; Weichselbaumer, 2016). Similarly, interviews conducted with TE Office specialists in Finland revealed that some employers did not want to hire migrant trainees for a work trial, even unpaid (see Paananen, 1999); trainees generally do not receive a salary from the employer in Finland (for more information, see TE Services, 2017b). A paper published on labour market policy measures in 2013 also reported that jobseekers with a foreign background had relatively limited opportunities compared to those of Finnish jobseekers to get subsidised work, namely employment supported by a state-provided pay subsidy (6.9% and 23.4%, respectively) (for details, see Maunu & Sardar, 2015). Thus, from Kweli's experiences and earlier research findings, it is clearly evident that discrimination against migrants occurs in the job recruitment process, making it difficult for them to obtain not only salaried work but also subsidised work or a work trial.

After his unsuccessful experiences of finding a paid job or employment through subsidised work or a work trial in the accounting sector, Kweli applied for and was accepted as a trainee for a work trial offered by the local NGO. His work trial period lasted six weeks in the NGO, where he was involved in planning, organising and participating in various activities and events targeted to different groups of migrants. To participate in the work trial, Kweli signed an agreement with the NGO as a workplace and with the TE Office, which administered employment promoting measures, including the work trial. During

the work trial period, Kweli received an expense allowance, in addition to unemployment benefits in the form of a labour market subsidy from Kela (for details on unemployment benefits, see Act on Public Employment and Business Service, 916/2012; Act on Unemployment Security, 1290/2002). At that time, Kweli also worked part-time as a native language teacher for migrant children, a course instructor for migrant youth, and a freelance interpreter for migrant adults; these types of “entry-level and ethno-specific jobs” are more common among recently arrived migrants (see Wahlbeck & Fortelius, 2019, p. 184), who are characterised as “language workers” in the host country (see, e.g., Piller, 2016, p. 95; Sabaté i Dalmau, 2014). Kweli’s monthly income from the above-mentioned jobs was over 300 euros per month, which decreased the amount of unemployment benefit he received during the work trial period. Kweli was informed about this, but he preferred to gain work experience through part-time work and to receive the adjusted unemployment benefits rather than to claim full unemployment benefits and not be able to work part-time. He emphasises the need for changing the rules concerning adjusted unemployment benefits to remove the so-called ‘unemployment trap’, as we discuss below:

<p>Sonya: sinä puhuit kannustinloukusta? voisitko kertoa mulle miten se vaikuttaa työelämään?</p>	<p>[Sonya: you talked about the unemployment trap, can you please tell me how it affects working life?</p>
<p>Kweli: hyvä kysymys! eli työttömyyskorvaus voi luoda ‘kannustinloukun’, joka on iso ongelma ei vain maahanmuuttajille mutta myös suomalaisille jotka ovat työttömiä (.) se lannistaa työttömiä ihmisiä menemästä töihin, löytämistä lyhytaikaista tai osa-aikaista työtä ... yleensä työttömät ihmiset ajattelevat että ei kannata tehdä työtä koska heidän työttömyyskorvaus laskee jos he saavat palkkaa enemmän kuin 300 sataa euroa</p>	<p>Kweli: good question! so the unemployment benefit can create an ‘unemployment trap’, which is a big problem not only for migrants but also for Finns who are unemployed (.) it discourages unemployed people from going to work, finding a short-term or part-time job ... usually unemployed people think that it is not worth working because their unemployment benefit decreases if they receive a salary of more than 300 euros</p>
<p>Sonya: okei, nyt ymmärrän miten se vaikuttaa</p>	<p>Sonya: ok, now I understand how it affects</p>
<p>Kweli: ... on myös tärkeää huomioida, että työttömät ihmiset eivät voi oppia jotain uutta muuttuvasta työelämästä jos he vain istuvat kotona eivätkä tee mitään</p>	<p>Kweli: ... it is also important to consider that unemployed people cannot learn anything new about changing working life if they just sit at home and do nothing</p>
<p>Sonya: joo</p>	<p>Sonya: yeah</p>
<p>Kweli: muuten, tiedätkö mitä kannustinloukku tarkoittaa englanniksi?</p>	<p>Kweli: by the way, do you know what the unemployment trap means in English?</p>
<p>Sonya: ei, en tiedä</p>	<p>Sonya: no, I don’t know</p>
<p>Kweli: googlataan se!</p>	<p>Kweli: let’s google it!</p>
<p>Sonya: okei!</p>	<p>Sonya: ok!</p>

Kweli: ((ottaa matkapuhelimensa, alkaa googlata ja usean minuutin kuluttua sanoo)) mä löysin käännöksen englanniksi, se tarkoittaa < <u>unemployment trap</u> >	Kweli: ((takes his mobile phone, starts googling and after several minutes says)) I found a translation in English, it means < <u>unemployment trap</u> >
Sonya: kiitos, nyt tiedämme ((hymyilee))	Sonya: thanks! now we know ((smiles))]

The above discussion shows that unemployed people might prefer not to work and not to apply for a part-time job as, if they were to earn more than 300 euros per month, it would lead to a deduction in their unemployment benefits. This would also mean that, by not gaining work experience, they would be unable to enhance their working life skills, which, in turn, could affect their chances of finding a job later in the changing world of work. In short, the “*kannustinloukku*’ [*unemployment trap*]”, which is also translated as [*welfare trap*] in English, prevents unemployed people not only from participating but also from learning in working life.

Kweli did his best not to fall into the ‘unemployment trap’ by working part-time during the work trial period in the NGO. After completion of this work trial, he continued working part-time and, at the same time, registered at the TE Office and continued looking for accountancy work commensurate with the vocational education he had received in Finland. Kweli’s registration as a jobseeker at the TE Office lasted for about six months, during which he again failed to find not only a salaried job but also a work trial or subsidised work in the accounting sector. Therefore, he decided to apply for a job in the NGO working with local residents, where he was subsequently hired as a full-time salaried employee with a fixed-term employment contract. What helped Kweli to get this job was his multilingual skills and experiences of being as a visitor, trainee and/or volunteer in local NGOs. In his opinion, it was also important that, at that time, he had applied and been accepted for apprenticeship training in the field of youth leisure and instruction in vocational education, a field that corresponded to his current job in the NGO. The apprenticeship training provided him with an opportunity to combine his work in the NGO with his studies in the vocational school (for details on apprenticeship training, see TE Services, 2017a).

During his work in the NGO, where Kweli was a participant in the present ethnographic study, he gained his second vocational qualification through apprenticeship training over a period of two years. He then continued working in the NGO sector and wanted to pursue a university education, which was “*mun unelma [my dream]*”, he says. In this regard, Kweli notes that he had applied for entry to a Finnish university in his first year after migration; however, without success. One of his applications for an undergraduate degree programme was rejected because of not knowing “*riittävästi englantia*’ [*enough English*]”, as he puts it. The other application was also rejected, as Kweli was at the beginner stage of learning Finnish at that time and therefore unable to study a minor subject in Finnish.

After completing his Finnish language courses, he applied for a bachelor's degree programme in social services at a university of applied sciences. He took an entrance examination that included an interview in Finnish and a written test in mathematics, psychology and the Finnish language. However, Kweli did not pass the written test in the Finnish language and was therefore unable to implement his study plan A, that is, to obtain a university education. He then formulated a study plan B, describing it as follows: "*kun mä en päässyt ammattikorkeakouluun suomen kielen takia, mä tein B-suunnitelma ja menin ammattikouluun [when I did not get into the university of applied sciences because of the Finnish language, I made a plan B and went to the vocational school].*" Upon completion of his first vocational education programme described earlier, he applied again for a bachelor's degree programme in social services and took a similar entrance examination that mentioned above. Although Kweli passed the entrance examination, he was placed on the waiting list because of a low score in the written Finnish language test. In his words:

<p>mä osasin eri kieliä, mutta yksikään niistä ei ollut hyödyllistä korkeakoulutuksen saamiseksi ... mulla ei ollut 'riittävästi suomen tai englannin kielen taitoa', joka oli tärkeä tässä tilanteessa ... mä osasin muutamia muita kieliä aika hyvin mutta ne eivät auttaneet minua koska niitä ei vaadittu yleiseen yliopistoon pääsyyn.</p>	<p>[I knew different languages, but none of them was useful for obtaining higher education ... I did not have 'sufficient knowledge of the Finnish or English language', which was important in this situation ... I knew a few other languages quite well, but they did not help me because they were not required for general university admission.]</p>
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Kweli also points out several challenges related to access to higher education that he encountered in the host country, Finland. Specifically, he did not have a possibility to receive counselling or guidance services or to take part in preparatory courses, as higher education institutions did not provide such services or courses to migrants at that time. Furthermore, Kweli notes that he was unable to gain formal recognition of the competences and skills he had acquired through the university education that he was not able to complete in his home country because of the war. Here, it is worth mentioning that Finnish higher education institutions have recently launched new services and projects aimed at enhancing educational opportunities for migrants (see, e.g., Vaarala et al., 2017). For instance, SIMHE services (Supporting Immigrants in Higher Education in Finland), implemented by six universities and universities of applied sciences, promote recognition of highly educated migrants' prior competences and skills as well as guide them in finding appropriate study paths. The INTEGRA project (University Studies as Part of the Integration Path) carried out at the University of Jyväskylä also provides guidance and counselling to migrants interested in obtaining higher education, upgrading a prior degree in accordance with the requirements of the Finnish degree system or completing interrupted degree studies embarked on outside Finland. This project also supports migrants in learning and practising the Finnish language and developing their academic skills within their own disciplines in Finnish. In addition, some

universities of applied sciences offer preparatory training courses within the framework of educational projects focused on the improvement of migrants' Finnish language skills along with other skills needed to enter higher education institutions. Thus, it seems that these and other similar projects and services may facilitate migrants' access to higher education in Finland.

On his learning experiences, Kweli emphasises the importance of studying and practising Finnish language skills both within and outside of the formal education that supported him in achieving his self-assessed advanced level proficiency in Finnish. That is, he first learnt Finnish through language courses arranged as part of introductory training and integration training and then further developed his Finnish skills through MAVA training. Meanwhile, he improved his Finnish skills through vocational education and different kinds of work experience, a process also reported in previous research on adult migrants' experiences in learning Finnish in different ways and different contexts (Sahradyan, 2012; 2015). In Kweli's opinion, the integration training organised as part of the state integration programme mainly promoted the development of his everyday language skills in Finnish. In general, the objective of integration training was to obtain CEFR proficiency level B1.1 (see FNBE, 2012); however, the majority of migrants achieved level A2.2 at the end of training (see, e.g., OECD, 2017). Therefore, some migrants continued studying Finnish through MAVA training to reach level B1 (see FNBE, 2008; 2015). Kweli experienced learning the Finnish language in the same way, as described in the following fieldnote extract:

I often had short discussions with Kweli on my ethnographic observations of his work tasks and activities, but today I asked him to talk about his Finnish language learning experiences. For that purpose, I went over to his office when it was time for a coffee break and his colleagues were having tea/coffee in the kitchen. During our conversation, Kweli talked about his Finnish language learning through integration training and MAVA training, which, in his words, "auttoivat minua saavuttamaan taso B1, mutta se oli vain riittävä pääsemään ammattikouluun, ei yliopistoon [helped me to reach level B1, but it was only enough to get into a vocational school, not university] ... While we were talking, he took a sheet of paper and pencil and started drawing a picture. After a few minutes, he put the picture in front of me on the table and said, "Katso miksi päädyin ammatilliseen kouluun [See why I ended up in a vocational school]". In the picture, Kweli visualised his Finnish learning trajectory, starting with introductory training and continuing with integration training and MAVA training, that had led him to a vocational but not university education. With Kweli's help, I immediately added the names of his training and education programmes to the picture and finalised it together. In response to my question on whether other migrants had the same trajectory, he replied, "Melkein sama, yleensä maahanmuuttajat kävelevät ylös samoja portaita ja tulevat samoihin oviin saman kotouttamisohjelman kautta [Almost the same, usually migrants walk up the same stairs and enter the same doors through the same integration programme]". He added that some migrants can achieve level B1 through integration training, which is why they do not take part in MAVA training, as its objective is also to help migrants to reach level B1. That is, some migrants apply directly for vocational education after integration training, but they are not many ... At the end of our conversation, Kweli's opinion was that it is necessary to offer Finnish language

courses at least up to level B2 to promote migrants' entry into Finnish universities as well. ((Kweli's illustration of his Finnish language learning trajectory leading to a vocational education is presented through his picture in Figure 17))

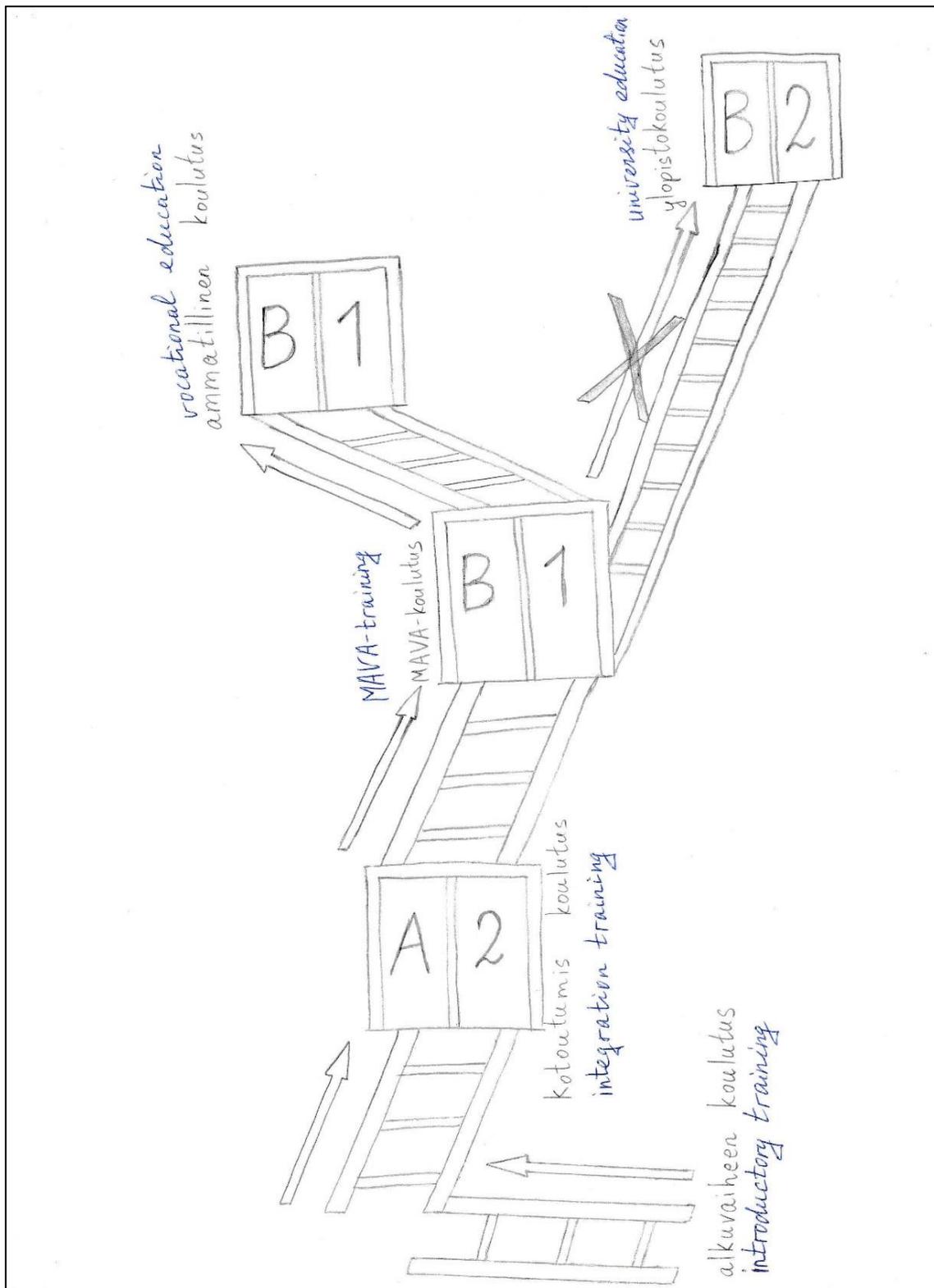


Figure 17. Kweli's trajectory of Finnish language learning in formal contexts leading to a vocational education.

From the above fieldnote and illustration, it is clear that Finnish language learning through the state integration programme, including integration training and MAVA training, did not provide Kweli with an opportunity for higher education, which requires a minimum proficiency level of B2 in Finnish. The only option open to him was vocational school, where a minimum level of B1 in Finnish was required for admission to his chosen field of education. It is also evident that vocational education is the typical trajectory for migrants after completion of their integration training or MAVA training, which generally aims at helping migrants to achieve level B1. According to Kweli's opinion, as presented in the fieldnote, there is a need to provide Finnish language courses at least up to level B2 to facilitate migrants' access to Finnish higher education, as well as to middle- or higher-wage employment and to the work field related to their educational background, as he notes later. To this end, Kweli underlines the necessity of promoting the enhancement of writing skills in Finnish, which he finds more difficult to develop and which are particularly important for participation in both education and employment (for a discussion of similar findings, see Cooke & Simpson, 2008; Sahradyan, 2012; Tarnanen & Pöyhönen, 2011).

For Kweli, it was difficult to concentrate on learning Finnish, especially in the early stages of his arrival in Finland because, as a refugee, he had experienced stressful and traumatic life and separation from his family members. According to the OECD report (2017), data gathered from providers of integration training suggest that Finnish language learning was more challenging for migrants who were more likely to be refugees (e.g., migrants from Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia). These data also show that the majority of Estonian-speaking migrants achieved level B1.1, whereas most of the Arabic- or Somali-speaking migrants reached level A2.2 upon completion of integration training (OECD, 2017; see also Suni, 2008, for learning distant languages such as Finnish and Vietnamese). Likewise, learning Finnish was harder for Kweli since his first and additional languages spoken in African countries differed significantly from Finnish. What helped him to learn Finnish was his young age, upon which he reflects as follows, "*mulle oli tietysti helpompi oppia suomea kuin vanhemmille maahanmuuttajille [it was of course easier for me to learn Finnish than for older migrants]*" (for a review of the effect of age on language learning, see, Ellis, 2008; Kulkarni & Hu, 2014; Sahradyan, 2012; Stevens, 1999). In his words, the above-mentioned factors were not considered during his placement assessment for integration training; that is, he was placed in the fast-learners group to learn Finnish based on his previous experience in learning several languages and studying at university, in addition to his aspirations to attain a university education and his Finnish language skills acquired through introductory training. A study focusing on placement assessment for integration training in Finland indicates that migrants were mostly recommended for slow, basic and fast tracks¹¹ on the basis of their

¹¹ These tracks were defined in the national core curriculum for integration training for adult immigrants (see FNBE, 2012), according to which the curriculum for integration training included Finnish (or Swedish) language and communication skills (30–40 credits), civic and working life skills (15–25 credits), and guidance counselling (5 credits).

Finnish language proficiency, the level of education, the number of languages studied and the need for learning Finnish (see Tammelin-Laine et al., 2018). Thus, judging from Kweli's experience, it seems necessary to provide Finnish language courses for migrants that take into consideration their grounds for moving to Finland, the educational level they have already achieved, the languages they have learnt, their age when they start learning Finnish through integration training, and their aspirations for learning Finnish. In other words, more attention needs to be paid to migrants' Finnish language learning aspirations and social categories, including their migration ground, language, education and age, when assigning them to slow, basic and fast tracks on the basis of placement assessment. Moreover, these social categories may influence the extension of the duration of Finnish language courses organised as part of integration training, which currently lasts about one year or less, depending on the pace or speed of instruction, as it is different for those on different tracks. In the extract below, Kweli underlines that "*kotoutumiskoulutus on mennyt väärään suuntaan [integration training has gone in the wrong direction]*" because "*nykyään se [kotoutumiskoulutus] kestää vuosi tai muutama kuukautta [nowadays it [integration training] lasts a year or a few months]*", making it difficult for migrants to develop their Finnish language proficiency and hence to access to education and employment:

<p>kotoutumiskoulutus on mennyt väärään suuntaan, mun mielestä sen pitäisi vähän palata takaisin ... kun mä tulin Suomeen, oli mahdollista opiskella suomea pidempään, mutta nykyään se [kotoutumiskoulutus] kestää vuosi tai muutama kuukautta ... kuinka suomen kielitaito parantuu silloin? riittääkö se pääsemään koulutukseen tai töihin? ei, ei riitä!</p>	<p>[integration training has gone in the wrong direction, I think it should go back a little bit ... when I came to Finland, it was possible to study Finnish for longer, but nowadays it [integration training] lasts a year or a few months ... how does Finnish language proficiency improve then? is it enough to get into education or work? no, not enough!]</p>
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In considering his integration experiences, it should be noted that, in accordance with the Integration Acts (493/1999; 1386/2010), Kweli — as a refugee migrant — was eligible for the state integration programme. Within the framework of this programme, he was entitled to an integration plan, in addition to participation in the integration training organised for adult migrants. Kweli also received considerable support from the local social workers who were employed in the immigrant services (nowadays known as integration services), which usually work with specific groups of migrants, including refugees, based on the municipal integration programme. As the study by Turtiainen (2012) conducted in Central Finland indicates, refugees generally identified social workers as a source of social, emotional and practical support facilitating their process of resettlement in their new country. Therefore, building a relationship of mutual trust between social workers and refugees was deemed crucial for social work carried out within the immigrant services (Turtiainen, 2012). Kweli refers to this as follows: "*luottamus oli tärkeää mulle ja myös sosiaalityöntekijälle, ilman*

luottamusta olisi mahdotonta tehdä työtä yhdessä pitkää aikaa, noin kolme vuotta [trust was important for me and also for the social worker, without trust it would be impossible to work together for a long time, about three years]." Kweli also mentions that the immigrant services, with the help of interpreters, enabled him to receive basic information about Finland through information sessions organised during the first months of his arrival. However, as he says, these information sessions were specifically for refugee and returnee migrants and their family members. That is, other migrant groups, for instance, student and worker migrants and their family members were not provided with a similar opportunity at that time. During his voluntary work in local NGOs, Kweli was informed that migrants from different backgrounds are provided with basic information about Finnish society through the *Welcome to Finland* guide and leaflet. However, in Kweli's opinion, not all migrants can use both guide and leaflet, and "*erityisesti maahanmuuttajat joilla ei ole lukutaitoa tai eivät tiedä oppaassa ja esitteessä käytetyt kielet [especially migrants who do not have literacy skills or do not know the languages used in the guide and leaflet]*", as he puts it. Thus, according to Kweli, neither the information session nor the guide/leaflet provides an equal opportunity to learn about the host country's society for migrants with different literacy and language skills and/or with different migration and legal statuses. He further adds that the *Welcome to Finland* guide and leaflet "*antavat vain yksipuolista tietoa, toinen puoli puuttuu [give only one-sided information, the other side is missing]*." As an example of a missing side, he mentions the information about discriminatory attitudes and behaviours towards migrants in different spheres of the host society. According to a study by Bodström (2020), the imagined community's "favourable aspects" (e.g., the welfare state) are included, but "non-favourable aspects" are excluded (e.g., the high rates of racism and discrimination) from the information packages intended to guide migrants in their early stages of integration in Finland (p. 180). This indicates that the information packages, including the *Welcome to Finland* guide and leaflet, not only provide but also exclude information about Finnish society (for a detailed discussion, see Bodström, 2020).

As a client of the immigrant services, Kweli was also informed about the structure of the host society (e.g., Finnish laws, social welfare services, public authorities and institutions); however, he became more familiar with these social structures through his voluntary work in local NGOs, where he worked with recently arrived migrants. In Kweli's opinion, voluntary work enabled him to develop his civic skills by learning not only how to function independently in society and manage everyday life but also to help recently arrived migrants in these respects. Thus, Kweli underlines the key role of earlier arrived migrants in addition to that of social workers in the integration of newcomers into the host society. At the same time, he highlights the importance of supporting migrants in learning how to function independently so that they can cope independently in activities of daily life after the 'integration period', which lasts three years and may be extended by a maximum of two years in special cases (see Integration Act, 1386/2010). He also points out that the development of his civic skills through voluntary work enabled him to be informed about Finland's

public elections. Both before and after receiving Finnish citizenship, Kweli participated in local and/or national elections in accordance with the Finnish laws (see Constitution of Finland, 731/1999; Election Act, 714/1998), but he was active as a voter and not as a candidate because he was not interested in being involved in politics. Meanwhile, he emphasises that “*maahanmuuttajien osallistuminen poliittiseen päätöksentekoon ja toimintaan on tärkeää, mutta maahanmuuttajien pääsy poliittiseen elämään on vaikeaa Suomessa [migrants’ participation in political decision-making and action is important, but migrants’ entry into political life is difficult in Finland].*” On this point, Kweli specifically underlines migrants’ limited information about the Finnish political system, political parties and electoral procedures, as well as their limited social connections with local residents and language proficiency in Finnish, which can significantly affect the entry of migrants into politics.

In sum, Kweli’s experiences illustrate that while, as a refugee migrant, he had more opportunities, these were, in many respects, limited. For example, it is obvious from his language trajectory that he started learning Finnish through language courses provided as introductory training. Afterwards, he continued learning Finnish through integration training and MAVA training. Kweli’s Finnish language skills were also strengthened through his studying in vocational schools and performing a variety of tasks through different types of employment. Of note is that integration training and MAVA training enabled him to access vocational but not higher education. He was also unable to gain entry to higher education after completion of his vocational education. In addition, Kweli’s employment trajectory shows that, during his work placements, he was given tasks that, in their nature, were more non-linguistic and unskilled than linguistic and skilled, which provided him with limited opportunities to develop his working life skills in general and Finnish language skills in particular. In this respect, his practical training placements were more beneficial, but he was unable to find a workplace in the accounting sector to gain practical training experience in accountancy work commensurate with his vocational education. Upon completion of his vocational education programme, he was again unable to find not only salaried work but also subsidised work or a work trial in the accounting sector. He was only able to find a part-time job as a native language teacher, course instructor and freelance interpreter for migrant children, youth and/or adults, in addition to participating in a work trial and voluntary work in local NGOs. He had, therefore, to change his occupation through a new vocational education programme, which enabled him to obtain salaried work in the local NGO. Kweli’s integration trajectory, in turn, shows that he received support from the state integration programme, but he had limited opportunities in many respects. All in all, his integration trajectory included learning the Finnish language, acquiring a vocational education in two different fields of education, building social networks, learning about the culture of the host country, being involved in NGO activities and events as a volunteer and visitor, obtaining different types of employment, such as work placement, practical training, work trial, voluntary work and salaried work, as well as participating as a voter in elections held in Finland.

5.2 Worker migrants' personal trajectories

Finland has become a more attractive country for migrants in terms of employment since 1995, when it joined the EU as a new member state, although the number of worker migrants has grown gradually since the first decade of the 21st century (see, e.g., Forsander, 2003; Kyhä, 2011; Tanner, 2004). Here, I present the research participants' group of worker migrants. In this group, two worker migrants, one male and one female, are included. These participants moved to Finland alone for the purpose of employment in their early twenties and thirties. They were originally from EU and non-EU countries and had lived in Finland for seven and ten years.

Both participants had studied at a university before migrating to Finland, although one of them had not been able to complete a university education. They had worked as a salaried employee, trainee and/or volunteer in or outside their country of origin. After moving to Finland, they had been self-employed, a trainee and/or intern, in addition to working as a salaried employee. Only one of them found a job corresponding to the education received in the country of origin; however, this participant became unemployed eight years later and consequently enrolled in a vocational school to gain a new occupational qualification. The other participant received a vocational education in the first few years after migration and started working in a related field. This participant subsequently obtained employment in a new occupational field and started studying in a Finnish-medium bachelor's degree programme to acquire a university education in the same occupational field.

Generally, in their workplaces, both participants used not only their first language but also additional languages, including Finnish. They started learning Finnish through self-study since, as worker migrants, they were not entitled to take part in the state integration programme, including among others, integration training. To reveal the personal trajectories of language, employment and integration of worker migrants in the broader societal context of Finland, Lena's personal narrative is reported below.

Lena's personal narrative *"I came here for employment, and I did many things on my own"*

Lena was born in Europe. After completing her high school studies, Lena continued her education and enrolled in a bachelor's degree programme in semiotics. She studied at a university in the country where she was born and raised. During her studies, she took a part-time job to cover her living costs. In her fourth year of university studies, she moved to another city, where she had been offered a full-time job in an advertising agency. Lena decided to work full-time for a period and then to go back to university and complete her education. Her rationale for this decision was to become financially secure since the state had no system for providing financial support to university students. Moreover,

her parents did not have the means to support her financially. It was also important for Lena that the job she was offered in an advertising agency was related to her educational field. In brief, she worked as an advertisement analyst and was mainly tasked with analysing the content of advertisements in newspapers, magazines and TV shows. After working for approximately four years in the advertising agency, she quit her job and went to another European country to do voluntary work, assisting in organising festivals for adults. In her words, *“it was very nice for a change from this exhausting advertisement world (.) it was a nice break for just somehow like purification.”* Lena then returned to the city where she had previously worked because her voluntary work was limited to a period of one year. After returning, she was unable to find any other job than that of an advertisement analyst and therefore had to continue working in another advertising agency. She worked for three to four years there, ending up with burnout. Her work was very tiring, and it was not what she wanted to do. Although Lena received a *“good salary”*, she did not like analysing advertisements; *“it’s not really my thing”*, she says. Lena was more interested in social work; she wanted to work with people and help them. Consequently, she decided not to continue her education at the university and her job in the advertisement agency. At that point, she made the decision to move to Finland and start her working life all over again.

When Lena arrived in Finland at the end of the first decade of the 2000s, she was in her early thirties. As she had EU citizenship, she did not apply for a residence permit. In accordance with the Finnish Aliens Act (301/2004), citizens of the EU/EEA Member States and Switzerland do not need a residence permit to live in Finland. However, if they stay in Finland for more than three months, they are required to register their right of residence on the ground for migration to Finland (see Aliens Act, 301/2004; Finnish Immigration Service, 2020c). Therefore, in the first three months, Lena was able to live in Finland without registering her right of residence. She later obtained employment, based on which she received migration status as a worker and acquired legal status by registering her right of residence as an EU citizen. According to the Finnish Immigration Service (see 2020c; 2020d), as a worker migrant and an EU citizen, Lena had an unrestricted right to start working immediately upon arrival in Finland.

Lena’s first job was in a cleaning company, where she was hired as a part-time salaried employee for about one year and worked, in her own words, as a *“cleaning lady”*. She knew about this job opening through a recruitment advertisement and easily got a job *“just through a phone call”*, as she puts it. Lena mentions that although no specific education or work experience was required to get a job in the cleaning company, the employer took into account her basic Finnish language skills, especially oral skills, which she started developing before applying for this job. Cleaning work, thus, appears not only to be a low entry barrier occupation but also to be one typically performed by migrants in their host country (Kloosterman et al., 1999, p. 254; see also Cooke & Simpson, 2008; Strömmer, 2016; Trux, 2002). In this case, educational attainment, work

experience and level of language proficiency level do not seem to play a significant role in the recruitment process. On the issue of language learning, the ethnographic case study conducted by Strömmer (2016) revealed that cleaners with a migrant background have limited opportunities to learn Finnish in the workplace. Lena's experience is in line with the above-mentioned research findings since she also had "*a very little possibility*" to enhance her Finnish language skills through a cleaning job.

In fact, Lena started learning Finnish in the first few months after her migration to Finland. She applied for a fee-paying university course to study the Finnish language, which she describes as follows: "*university course for studying Finnish was the only possibility ... I didn't have any rights to get any other | Finnish | language courses.*" This situation may be explained by the fact that, as an EU citizen, although she could live in Finland for the first three months without registering her right of residence, she was not eligible to participate in the Finnish language courses provided to adult migrants through integration training. Moreover, after registering her right of residence based on her employment, Lena remained ineligible for the Finnish language courses provided as part of integration training. This was because the state integration programme, including integration training, specifically targeted to refugees and unemployed migrants under the Integration Act (493/1999), which was in force until 2011. Therefore, Lena registered to take part in the university course and had to pay a course fee because she was not a regular enrolled university student. However, after her first class, Lena broke her leg and was unable to further attend the university-arranged Finnish course. Instead, she started learning the Finnish language through self-study at home. She asked her friend to borrow from the library some children's books in Finnish and the same books in the other languages that she already knew: English, Russian and Estonian. Lena describes her Finnish language learning experiences in the following extract:

Sonya: can you tell a bit more about your learning process?

Lena: well, I started to read children's books parallel in [--] two languages like in Finnish and what they had in a library the same book in Russian or in English or in Estonian ... so I used different languages to learn Finnish ... also I used Finnish to learn Finnish [--] it's like immediately when I started to understand something or to know few words I started to use them ... I tried to speak all the time, and when you start even if you know very very little Finnish but when you start then it's easier to develop your language skills, I don't know I never participated in any courses, Finnish language courses

Sonya: and what else helped you learn Finnish ...?

Lena: ... university courses because I tried so hard, it was very difficult to read one page, it took like two hours for one page, and I still didn't understand because it's an academic text ... I just remember how difficult it was then, but it was good it was a challenge, I always like a challenge, challenge myself.

From Lena's words, it appears that she challenged herself with university courses and made use of her multiple linguistic repertoires in her efforts to learn Finnish. As she narrates, "I was just reading the same book in both languages and trying to like construct some kind of language in my head (.) and after three months I spoke Finnish like on the basic level of course, but somehow I spoke Finnish in three months." In line with previous studies undertaken in Finland and elsewhere (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Pöyhönen et al., 2018; Simpson & Cooke, 2017), Lena's experience illustrates that multiple linguistic repertoires can be a valuable resource for learning the language of the receiving country. What is also apparent from her experience is that she immediately started using Finnish to develop her skills further and, as she states above, "I used Finnish to learn Finnish." Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that the university courses she took were beneficial for Lena's Finnish language learning. The migrants participating in the case study by Sahradyan (2012) similarly highlighted the importance for the improvement of their Finnish language skills of subject courses taught through vocational and university education. In Lena's case, she applied to the Open University to take specialised courses on social work and psychology, which enabled her to enhance her Finnish reading skills through intensive reading of academic texts. These university courses also enabled her to develop her writing skills in Finnish. At first, Lena wrote essays in English and asked one of her friends to translate them into Finnish; then, she started writing essays in Finnish herself. In her opinion, the most challenging task was to improve her Finnish writing skills, a topic on which she reflects in the following extract:

Sonya: you said that the most difficult for you was to improve your writing skills in Finnish?

Lena: well, it was, it was, yes

Sonya: and what helped you to improve your writing skills?

Lena: at first, to write like two sentences took me literally like three hours (.) it was very, very difficult to overcome this kind of inner fear [--], but then for next few sentences it took already two and a half hours, and next, it took two hours (.) so it was just like the hard process of writing ... and practising it.

As Lena puts it above, she gradually developed her Finnish writing skills through "the hard process of writing ... and practising it". In addition to the "inner fear" mentioned above, she also emphasises that writing in Finnish was emotionally stressful for her, and that she "felt stressed", especially at the beginning stage of learning. Earlier empirical studies have also highlighted the significance of language learners' emotions for the development of language skills (see, e.g., Méndez López & Peña Aguilar, 2013; Tarnanen et al., 2015; Scotson, 2019). Méndez López and Peña Aguilar (2013), for example, investigated the effects of the emotional experiences of Mexicans learning the English language. These researchers reported that not only positive but also negative

emotions served as learning enhancers and contributed to the improvement of language skills. Moreover, they found, like Lena, that language learners themselves perceived negative emotions as positive with respect to language learning.

After about one year after moving to Finland, Lena gave birth to a child and stayed at home to take care of her. At that time, she regularly brought her child with her to the multicultural centre, which was administered by the NGO working with local residents, including migrants and Finns. She made new Finnish and migrant friends and acquaintances there and started expanding her social connections in Finland. She also practised her Finnish language skills during various activities organised by the NGO, particularly in the family café arranged for migrant and Finnish parents and children. Thus, Lena's experience shows that her language learning and social participation as a stay-at-home mother were promoted by the NGO (for a discussion of similar findings, see Lautiola, 2013; Iikkanen, 2020; Intke-Hernandez, 2015). On this topic, it is worth mentioning that migrant stay-at-home mothers have received special attention since 2010, when a national educational development project, "Participative Integration in Finland", was launched and implemented by a provisional law included in the Integration Act (1386/2010). The Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä, was given charge of the project's development plan, and, from 2010 to 2013, the project was collaboratively implemented with municipalities, labour administration and NGOs representing the third sector. The aim of the project was to enhance the prerequisites for the integration of migrants in general and to create education and training models for specific migrant groups in particular. One such group targeted in this project was stay-at-home mothers with a migrant background who needed special support in integration and education (for a review of the project's development plan and final report, see Pöyhönen et al., 2010; Tarnanen et al., 2013). In addition, the importance of integration- and education-related support for migrant stay-at-home parents, especially mothers, was promoted by the first Government Integration Programme, which was approved in June 2012 (see Ministry of Employment and the Economy of Finland, 2012). It is also noteworthy that municipalities in Finland are mainly involved in the integration of economically inactive migrants, including stay-at-home parents; however, they face difficulties in providing integration services to everyone due to both lack of financial resources and lack of experience (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015). Moreover, the integration of migrant stay-at-home parents is addressed differently in different municipalities, as the latter have a high degree of autonomy in deciding how to oversee migrants' integration at the local level (Saukkonen, 2016).

For about a year and a half, Lena was on maternity/child-care leave and thus left outside the state integration programme during that period. As a stay-at-home mother, she was, in accordance with the Integration Act (1386/2010), eligible for an initial assessment conducted by public authorities; however, she was not familiar with the integration-related services available to ask for the

initial assessment offered as part of the state integration programme, and she was given no information on these services. In other words, Lena was, in practice, not provided with the integration-related services at the local level because, as a stay-at-home mother, she was considered outside the working life (see also Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015; Saukkonen, 2016). After her child-care leave, Lena's only possibility was to register as an unemployed jobseeker at the TE Office, which enabled her to look for a workplace in which to do a traineeship, that is, a work trial. She wanted to be a trainee in accountancy, despite not being keen on working as an accountant. The reason for her choice is presented below:

I wanted to get a job through **työharjoittelu** [traineeship], and for that purpose, I decided to apply to the work field of accounting ... I thought very rationally like [-] it will be easy to get a job in this field even for an immigrant as there is like job openings all the time and I'm good with math, and it doesn't matter that I don't much like it.

This indicates that Lena chose her field of work by taking into account the demands of the labour market of the receiving country. Some of the migrants in Sahradyan's (2012) study also reported that their choice of a job was closely linked with labour market needs rather than with their personal needs and interests. Like Lena, they preferred to choose an occupation that might facilitate their access to working life. Thus, in order to find a place to work first as a trainee and then as an employee, in accordance with her plan, Lena downloaded a list of workplaces from different company websites and emailed in Finnish to about forty workplaces. In her email, Lena wrote a few sentences about herself, including her educational and linguistic background and work experience in advertising agencies. The next day, she received calls from two accounting companies and agreed with them to be a trainee in one workplace for half a year and in the second workplace for another half year. Registration as an unemployed jobseeker at the TE Office was a core requirement for gaining access to both workplaces as a trainee. Besides this, she emphasises the importance of being a European citizen and having a cultural background that was viewed as close to the Finnish culture. Lena was also helped by her knowledge of Russian, Estonian and English, which were spoken by many migrants living in Finland. In addition, a knowledge of Finnish was important, and, as she states: *"if I did not speak Finnish back then, I would not get those places. Finnish was like essential, but the level of Finnish was not so important, actually it didn't matter."* She continues by saying that her basic skills in Finnish were *"sufficient"* to take part in the traineeship but having *"good Finnish skills"* was required to get a job, even when it might not be needed at work because obtaining a job was *"a completely different story."* In Lena's opinion:

it's easier to get **työharjoittelu** [traineeship] because that doesn't cost them [companies] anything, they have no responsibilities towards you and they get just free help (.) some companies take those trainees even if they don't have like a physical place for them.

Lena later gives an example from her first traineeship, where she had neither a computer nor a workstation and could only work if somebody got sick or was out of the office. She also had limited social interactions with colleagues. The situation was, however, different during the second traineeship, where her working conditions were better and she was more involved in the workplace community. At that time, she was given an opportunity to work with clients, and she worked hard to teach herself how to do bookkeeping and prepare financial statements. What Lena also recalls is that the second traineeship was more beneficial for learning and practising Finnish, especially when working with clients. These examples indicate that involvement in work activities promotes both language and professional learning (Virtanen, 2016), although learning depends not only on the individual but also on the opportunities provided by the workplace (Billett, 2001, 2011; Tynjälä, 2013).

At the time of completing her second traineeship, one of her co-workers left, and the manager of the company hired Lena as an accountant for a one-year period. When I asked Lena what helped her to get a job after her traineeship even without having a formal education in accountancy, she immediately replied "*työharjoittelu [traineeship]*", as it supported her in developing her skills and knowledge, not only in bookkeeping and taxation systems but also in working with clients with diverse backgrounds, a factor taken into account by the employer. The trust that she had developed during the traineeship was also beneficial for obtaining the job: "*I already was like trusted enough to work there*", she says. In addition, Lena mentions "*my language skills*", referring to the fact that she usually provided bookkeeping services to clients with whom she had language in common, including Finnish, Russian, Estonian and English. In particular, her first language skills were important at work because most of the clients who came to her workplace to get bookkeeping services had the same language skills. Being a European citizen, having a Finnish partner and sharing a close cultural background also played a vital role in getting the job, like for her traineeship.

After one year of working as an accountant, she applied for apprenticeship training in order to gain a vocational education, which gave her the possibility to study accountancy while working as an apprentice accountant in the same company for a three-year period. In general, apprenticeship training, combined with studies in an educational institution, is a practical way of studying for a vocational qualification that is based on learning in a workplace environment (see Act on Vocational Education, 630/1998; TE Services, 2017a). During her apprenticeship, Lena did not receive support relating to her professional development at work, despite the requirement of the scheme that some kind of supervision in the workplace should be given. As she states, "*I learnt a lot professionally, but I didn't learn it from anybody, I needed to learn it myself.*" Moreover, in addition to building up her confidence in working in the Finnish context, Lena also improved her Finnish language skills herself through work-related tasks and interaction with clients. The participants in Kärkkäinen's (2017) study similarly pointed to learning Finnish and gaining confidence in

Finnish working life as important outcomes of their apprenticeships. However, unlike Lena, some of them frequently received guidance and support in the workplace. After completing her apprenticeship training, Lena decided not to continue working for the same employer and gave her reasons for this in the following words:

I knew back then that it's actually a very bad place ... it was not a good working environment, but I agreed on this like consciously because I knew this is like my chance though I didn't want to be there (.) the salary was also like very little, | the boss | paid more for her Finnish employees having the same position as I had ... I found out it later ... actually I received less although my tasks were more challenging, I had different clients with different languages.

Lena says that although her working environment was unhealthy and stressful, she “consciously” agreed to work there because it was “my chance”, as she puts it above. She then states that “my chance” refers to the apprenticeship training, which provided her with an opportunity to work and, at the same time, acquire education (for a review of such possibilities, see Kärkkäinen, 2017). In the above extract, Lena also mentions that she received a lower salary than her Finnish co-workers “having the same position” and, as she later adds, “having the same qualification”. This can be interpreted as direct discrimination at work. According to the Non-discrimination Act (1325/2014, Section 10), “Discrimination is direct if a person, on the grounds of personal characteristics, is treated less favourably than another person was treated, is treated or would be treated in a comparable situation”. That is, Lena’s case exemplifies a form of direct discrimination in the workplace where a worker with a migrant background is paid less than a worker with a Finnish background, although both have the same position and the same qualification (for a discussion of labour discrimination, see Larja et al., 2012; Larja, 2019). Similar findings on lower pay for migrant workers compared to native-born counterparts have also been reported in other studies conducted in and outside Finland (see, e.g., Chiswick & Miller, 2008; Katainen, 2009; Kazi et al., 2019; Krutova, 2016; Remennick, 2004; Vakulenko & Leukhin, 2017). For instance, a study based on register data from Statistics Finland indicates the existence of a pay gap between migrants and Finns; the former are generally paid less than the latter (Katainen, 2009). In 2017, the pay gap between them was about 24% (see Kazi et al., 2019, p. 18–19). It is also noteworthy that the pay gap exists between migrant women and migrant men in Finland; the former earned about 26% less than the latter in 2017 (Kazi et al., 2019, p. 18–19). Similarly, a German study reports a considerable difference in the earnings of migrant women compared to their male counterparts (Aldashev et al., 2012). What Lena also highlights above is that she was not adequately remunerated, even when her work tasks were “more challenging”, as it was necessary to use multilingual repertoires with clients speaking different languages. A similar phenomenon was noted in a Spanish study (Sabaté i Dalmau, 2014), which investigated language practices in a *locutorio*, a call shop, located in a marginal neighbourhood near Barcelona. The researcher observed that a migrant

employee, Naeem, who was in charge of running the *locutorio*, mostly employed multiple linguistic repertoires in communication with migrant customers with diverse language backgrounds. According to the research findings, using a multilingual repertoire was essential for Naeem to do his job; however, consistent with Lena's experience, he was not adequately remunerated for his (language) work.

As soon as Lena had completed her apprenticeship training, she had to quit her accounting job and started her own accounting firm. In her opinion, the work experience and education gained through her apprenticeship training were beneficial for this move into entrepreneurship. She also mentions the importance of her multilingual skills in accountancy, emphasising her ability to support clients not only with bookkeeping and understanding the key features of the Finnish taxation system but also with the translation of documents since they had little knowledge of Finnish. Lena enjoyed working with clients and would have liked to continue running her own business; however, she was unable to fully support her family financially as she had only a small number of clients. Generally, as a novice self-employed entrepreneur, she did not receive support in developing her own business. It thus appears that she was basically left alone to face the challenges of business life, although, in accordance with the Finnish Government Integration Programmes (see, e.g., Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2016), migrants are actively encouraged and supported to engage in the business sector as employees and entrepreneurs. To enhance her employment opportunities, Lena planned to find a job in the social service sector. For this purpose, she took basic studies in social work at the Open University while working as a self-employed entrepreneur. At the same time, she started working as a part-time salaried employee with a fixed-term employment contract in the NGO where I met her and the other research participants of my doctoral study. In short, Lena's future career plan was to obtain permanent employment in the social service sector. She therefore applied for and was accepted for a Finnish-medium bachelor's degree programme in social work. Lena believes that a university education will enable her to realise her long-held dream of becoming a social worker and enhancing her career prospects in Finland.

With respect to her Finnish language learning experiences, Lena describes herself as a child, teenager and adult. More precisely, she "*felt like a child*" for the few first years as she could not fully express herself because of her limited vocabulary. Then, at some point, she started to "*feel like a teenager*"; she spoke Finnish but was still not able to use complicated syntax or clause structures. Now, she "*feels like an adult, but still there are times that it's not perfectly adult.*" As an example, Lena mentions her difficulties in speaking Finnish when she got tired: "*actually it is a bit difficult to communicate in Finnish with family members after an exhausting working day.*" Meanwhile, she recognises the benefits of learning and practising Finnish language skills with the help of her Finnish partner and two children whose first language is Finnish. She also emphasises the importance of having a Finnish family who supported her in extending her

social network, which played an important role in increasing her knowledge of Finnish in a natural way (see also Ahmad, 2005; Kärkkäinen, 2017). Based on her self-assessment, Lena had advanced proficiency in Finnish, but she needed to develop her work-related language skills, particularly writing skills, and wanted to improve “*writing in Finnish through and for my work*”, as she states. Moreover, Lena wanted to deepen her “*understanding murre [a dialect]*”, highlighting the dialects of Helsinki, Turku and Lapland, and adding that the use of Finnish was different in Jyväskylä, where people are perceived as speaking more or less standard Finnish. In general, her attitude towards Finnish language learning was different from the attitudes of most of the other participants. She describes it as follows:

actually people don't need to study languages ... they just need to do what they are doing and language just comes ... it's like my somehow attitude towards language learning that it's not a scary thing, it's just something which will come ... while studying a profession or performing work tasks or doing something else in some place ... I know my attitude is quite different from many who need to participate in courses to learn language, different people can have different attitudes, it's okay.

Interestingly, before moving to Finland, Lena had learnt English and Estonian in the same way as Finnish, that is, without taking formal language courses. Meanwhile, she notes that her previous experiences in learning language outside the formal education system supported her Finnish language learning as well. In Lena's opinion, her knowledge of Estonian also helped her learn Finnish. This opinion is confirmed by a large-scale study on the lexicons of 100 languages from a diverse array of language families (Dautriche et al., 2017), which found that semantically and phonologically similar languages, for example, the Finno-Ugric languages (Estonian, Finnish and Hungarian) are easier to learn. In turn, a study conducted with Vietnamese learners of Finnish (Suni, 2008) similarly found that it is more difficult to learn distant languages (e.g., Vietnamese and Finnish) than close languages (e.g., Finnish and Estonian). Lena, likewise, indicates that knowing Estonian supported her in learning Finnish since they are “*близкие языки, похожие языки (close languages, similar languages)*”, and, as she subsequently states, “*the words like ‘false friends’ between Finnish and Estonian that are similar in form but different in meaning ... are sometimes difficult to recognise and remember, but it's not a big problem.*” More about this topic is presented in the following fieldnote extract:

One sunny afternoon, when I went to the NGO for the ethnographic fieldwork, I saw Lena sitting in the kitchen. She was having coffee and talking with volunteers and trainees working in different projects. When their conversation was over, I approached Lena and asked, “**У вас есть время поговорить о вашем опыте изучения финского языка?** (Do you have time to talk about your Finnish language learning experiences?)”, she replied, “**Да, у меня есть около 30 минут до начала моей работы** (Yes, I have about 30 minutes before my work starts)”. I said, “It's enough, **kiitos!** [thanks!]”. For our conversation, we went into her office, which was near the kitchen. There we talked about her learning experiences through self-study and university courses. We also talked about the opportunities and

challenges she had in learning Finnish through working life. In her talk, Lena noted that learning Finnish was not so hard for her since she knew Estonian. As she described it, "...orthography in Finnish and Estonian are similar, that's why it's easy for me to read Finnish words or texts ... besides this, the structure of the Finnish language is easy to understand as Estonian also has complex inflectional suffixes (.) it's also not so much difficult to learn word meanings or vocabulary, but it's sometimes confusing [--] because the same or similar words can have different meanings in Finnish and Estonian." I asked her, "Do you mean 'false friends' that are pronounced or written similarly or identically but they have different meanings?" Lena replied, "Yes, I mean the words like 'false friends' between Finnish and Estonian that are similar in form but different in meaning (.) these words are sometimes difficult to recognise and remember, but it's not a big problem." At the same time, she opened a word file on a computer and started typing examples of 'false friends' to show me. As an example, she wrote the Finnish and Estonian word **hallitus**, which means [government] in Finnish and [[mould]] in Estonian. Another example is the Finnish word **pulma**, which means [trouble], and a similar Estonian word **pulm**, which means [[wedding]] ... At the end of our conversation, Lena said, "... it's not like I haven't faced difficulties in learning Finnish, but it's been really easier for me to learn because Finnish and Estonian are близкие языки, похожие языки (close languages, similar languages) (.) I think it might be more difficult to learn Finnish for those immigrants who speak languages that significantly differ from Finnish like Chinese, Vietnamese or Arabic languages." ((Lena's examples of words called 'false friends' in Finnish and Estonian written in a word file are provided in Figure 18))



Figure 18. Lena's examples of 'false friends' in Finnish and Estonian.

From Lena's language learning, employment and integration experiences, it is thus clear that Lena's migration status (worker) and labour force status (employed) did not provide her with an opportunity to take part in the state integration programme, about which she comments: "*I was working and I didn't get any language courses, I didn't get any **kotoutumissuunnitelma** [integration plan], I didn't get anything ... actually when I think like not the system but from \the NGO\ I got a lot of support.*" In her words, "*\the NGO\ was a very important place for me ... if there was not this place, maybe I would go back.*" Lena states that, in addition to the support of her Finnish family, she had also learnt about the culture of the

host country through her participation in cultural activities and events carried out by the NGO. Meanwhile, these activities and events were important for her learning about the culture of other countries and, as she says, *“learning about not only the Finnish culture but also the culture of immigrants’ countries of origin is needed as the society in Finland is gradually becoming more diverse due to migration.”* Lena’s experiences are broadly in line with the findings of previous studies showing that the NGOs play a central role in supporting migrants’ integration in the receiving country (e.g., Pirkkalainen, 2013; Pyykkönen 2007; Saksela-Bergholm, 2009). According to Pyykkönen (2007), who studied migrant associations in two Finnish cities, Tampere and Jyväskylä, NGOs actively promote the involvement of migrants in different spheres of life, for instance, cultural and social. In addition to the NGOs, migrants receive assistance in managing everyday and working life from their Finnish families, as reported by Kärkkäinen (2017), who examined adult migrants’ learning, teaching and integration in Finland. Likewise, Lena emphasises the importance of her Finnish family in this respect. As an example of coping in everyday life, she mentions knowing what social and healthcare services were available and how to apply for these services operated in the Finnish context. Regarding working life, she points out the process of seeking and applying for different types of work. In fact, migrants are given a possibility to become familiar with the host society’s structure and the world of work through integration training, which aims at supporting the acquisition of civic and working life skills, along with Finnish/Swedish language skills (see FNBE, 2012). In Lena’s case, she did not have the possibility to develop her language as well as civic and working life skills with the help of integration training, as she was a worker migrant and, according to the Integration Act (493/1999), not eligible for the state integration programme. The situation changed in 2011 when the Integration Act (1386/2010) came into force. Since then, different groups of migrants have been entitled to take part in the state integration programme. However, as a worker migrant, Lena was again left outside the state integration programme, including integration training, as it was mostly organised for migrants who were considered unemployed jobseekers in accordance with the Act on Public Employment and Business Service (916/2012) or recipients of social assistance on a non-temporary basis in accordance with the Act on Social Assistance (1412/1997) (for details, see Integration Act, 1386/2010). Accordingly, the above-mentioned legislative change seems not to be beneficial for worker migrants since they are generally not provided with an opportunity to participate in integration training, particularly Finnish or Swedish language courses, while having a job. Regarding this point, Lena and I had the following discussion:

Sonya: do you think there is a need to provide Finnish language courses to worker migrants?

Lena: well, I think yes, it is important, it is needed to provide Finnish courses for example as part of integration or workplace training (.) it would be more efficient and more beneficial to provide these courses to immigrants when they are employed rather than after they become unemployed.

In addition to her experiences discussed above, Lena states that she applied for Finnish citizenship *“because the political situation got a little bit angrier here |in Finland| towards immigrants, and I just want to be safe [--] I have a family here, I want to stay here.”* She also mentions another reason for applying for Finnish citizenship: *“I have EU citizenship ... but I applied for Finnish citizenship so that I can vote in both local and national elections, I want to vote and to have like more grounds to vote here |in Finland|.”* Finnish citizenship would entitle her to vote in presidential and parliamentary elections since EU citizens generally have the right to vote in municipal and European Parliamentary elections in accordance with the Finnish laws (see Constitution of Finland, 731/1999; Election Act, 714/1998). Thus, it is apparent that becoming a citizen of the receiving country not only grants migrants the rights to civic participation as voters but also ensures their safe and secure stay in the receiving country if, for political reasons, migration and integration policies change (for a more detailed discussion of these points, see Khan, 2013).

In sum, Lena’s experiences clearly show that she moved to Finland for employment and, as a worker migrant, did many things on her own. In particular, it is apparent that her Finnish language learning trajectory began with self-study and continued through her specialised university courses, paid work, work trials, NGO activities and family life. In turn, Lena’s employment trajectory reveals that she built a new working life for herself in the receiving country, starting from a lowly position as a cleaner and trainee, and moving up by becoming an apprentice, employed and self-employed entrepreneur accountant, and then working in an NGO and embarking on a university education so as to train as and become a social worker. Furthermore, it is obvious that Lena created her own integration trajectory, including learning the Finnish language, acquiring a vocational education and studying in a bachelor’s degree programme to receive a university education, developing social networks, learning about the culture of the receiving country, being involved in NGO activities and events as a visitor, planning to participate in elections as a voter, and obtaining various types of work, such as a work trial, subsidised work, entrepreneurship work and salaried work in Finland.

5.3 Student migrants’ personal trajectories

Since 1995, when Finland joined the EU, it has become a relatively accessible country for students coming from different parts of the world, and the number of student migrants has risen from the 2000s onwards (see, e.g., Elo, 2017; Mathies & Karhunen, 2021; Tanner, 2004). In this section, I describe the research participants’ group of student migrants. This group include two student migrants: one female and one male. They had come to Finland alone after acceptance for a master’s degree programme taught in English. At the time of arrival, the participants were almost the same age, that is, in their late twenties. They were from non-EU countries and had resided in Finland for a minimum

of three and a maximum of seven years. Before moving to Finland, the research participants already had a bachelor's degree, obtained both in and outside their country of origin. One of them had previously been employed as a salaried employee, while the other had had no previous work experience.

After moving to Finland, the research participants had an opportunity to find employment, and they had mainly worked as a salaried employee, intern and/or volunteer. At the time of their studies, they were engaged in different types of work that did not always correspond to the university education they had received before and after moving to Finland. In fact, both research participants had completed English-medium master's degree programmes in Finnish universities that were in the same field of education as their bachelor's degree programmes studied outside Finland. After graduating from their Finnish universities, one of them had a job opportunity, although not in the participant's educational field. The other had to move from Finland to another European country because of difficulties in obtaining employment relevant to the field studied.

Apart from additional languages, these research participants usually employed their first language in their different workplaces. Both used English as an additional language, and one of them used Finnish as well. They had started learning Finnish through university courses and, as students, were not eligible for the Finnish language courses provided to adult migrants as part of integration training. To illustrate the personal trajectories of language, employment and integration of student migrants in the wider Finnish context, Ayshe's personal narrative is presented below.

Ayshe's personal narrative "I was almost alone responsible for my successes and failures in Finland because I was just an international student"

Ayshe was originally from the Middle East. After graduating from high school, she continued her education at university, particularly in a bachelor's degree programme in music performance and pedagogy. During her bachelor's studies, she had started giving private piano lessons to children and teenagers. When she had completed her university studies, Ayshe had also started teaching piano in an educational institution. In addition to her work, she had decided to study psychology through distance university education. After two years of distance studies, she had applied and been accepted to continue her university education abroad. Consequently, she had moved to a country in the Eastern Mediterranean region, where she had completed an English-medium international bachelor's degree programme in psychology. As an international student, she had been awarded a study grant to cover half of her university tuition fees and maintenance costs. Moving to a new country was a new experience for her, and she describes it as follows:

Ayshe: it was somehow a happy feeling that I'm able to go, but at some point, it was also somehow really tough ... because I had to shut down everything that I had built up to that point

Sonya: was that the beginning of your migration journey?

Ayshe: yes, it was, you know my life changed totally when I moved to \a new country\, I was quite happy in some ways but very unhappy in other ways.

Ayshe emphasises how pleased she was to have an opportunity to deepen and expand her knowledge and skills through international university education. She was also happy doing voluntary work in animal rescue centres, where she had taken care of dogs and puppies while studying at a university abroad. However, Ayshe was not satisfied with her life situation as a student, as she had left her *“teaching career and stable life”* in her country of origin and had experienced *“a completely unstable life”* as a student migrant in the new country. In this regard, she later adds, *“I wanted to experience this student life abroad, I think that I took a big risk, but I don't regret it anyway.”* In her opinion, studying and living outside her country of origin was a life-changing experience for her before moving on to another country, that is, Finland.

After completing her bachelor's studies in the Eastern Mediterranean country, Ayshe applied and was accepted for an English-medium international master's degree programme in music therapy. Since she was a third-country national and her stay in Finland would last for more than three months, Ayshe applied for a residence permit as a third-country national and received migration status as a student. She was also granted legal status (a temporary (B) residence permit) on the ground of study (see Aliens Act, 301/2004; Finnish Immigration Service, 2020a). As a student migrant, she was entitled to work but with restrictions on the amount of employment if the employment was not related to her degree (see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020d). It should also be noted that when Ayshe applied to study in Finland, international students were generally not required to pay university tuition fees¹². She was *“really shocked”* to learn about the tuition-free education provided in Finnish universities but, at the same time, worried, *“how am I going to survive in Finland? [--] it's so cold and dark there ... and how long am I going to have an unstable student life.”* Despite these concerns, Ayshe decided to move to Finland to pursue her university education, and, as she states, *“I was again taking another risk ... but I think it was worth because I could get qualified education ... and it's free and it's in English, in my study language.”* In short, Ayshe's main motivation for studying outside her home country was to acquire an international education to enhance her employment and career prospects. The same motivating factor was also identified in recent research on Indian and British international students who moved to study from India to Anglophone countries or from the UK to Australia, Europe and North America (King & Sondhi, 2018). Thus, international student migration can be considered a *“career-enhancing investment”* to better compete in the world of work, globally or locally (King & Sondhi, 2018, p. 178).

¹² Starting from August 2017, international students from non-EU/EEA countries are required to pay a tuition fee for studying in bachelor's or master's degree programme taught in a language other than Finnish or Swedish (for details, see Appendix 10).

Ayshe moved to Finland at the beginning of the 2010s, when she was in her late twenties. She started studying Finnish at the university through Finnish language courses that were part of her master's degree studies. After completing two courses, Ayshe did not take another Finnish language course because she faced difficulties in learning Finnish at that time. She also needed to concentrate more on her subject courses since Finnish teaching methods and learning environments were not familiar to her, especially in the first year of her studies. Besides this, Ayshe had limited social connections with Finns, who might support her in using and practising Finnish. She had only one friend, who was her flatmate and an international student from France. At the university, the majority of her classmates were from Canada, the USA and European countries, but they rarely socialised with her because they had "*a wrong image about my country*", as she puts it. On this point, Ayshe recalls an episode when she was lunching with her classmates, and one of them asked several questions about her country of origin and its neighbour country located in the Middle East and then said, "*I think that whoever comes from those countries is a terrorist.*" In Ayshe's opinion, this episode represents the negative and stereotypical image of Islamic countries dominant in the Western world, about which she talked with her flatmate who suggested organising a New Year's party in the same way as in her home country and inviting classmates and other students to celebrate together. She took up this interesting idea, which enabled her to introduce her culture and traditions to university students and to make new acquaintances and friends from different parts of the world.

At the university, Ayshe later made some new acquaintances and friends, but only a few had a Finnish background, as she mostly studied with international students and, as she says, "*I've noticed that Finnish students often stick together rather than mix with international students ... they're shy of speaking English, though they speak English quite well.*" About university academic staff members, Ayshe states, "*most of my lectures or academic staff have been Finns with good English skills, but I've communicated with them during classes and related to my studies, and that's all.*" These illustrations show that using English as a shared language or studying in a shared educational setting partly supported Ayshe as an international student in creating social connections. In this regard, Ayshe's experience seems to differ from that reported by Laine (2017), who found that international students had two advantages: their English language skills and the higher education institutional environment, both of which promoted building social ties not only with young Finns but also with Finnish academic staff. It is also notable that, as an international student, Ayshe did not have an opportunity to establish social contacts with local residents, including Finns and migrants moving to Finland for reasons other than studies. That is, her social connections with local residents were not formed through her university studies; rather, she built personal social connections with them through different types of work she had done alongside studying at the university.

Ayshe started doing voluntary work in the local NGO during her first-year studies. She was told about the NGO by an international student, Nora, who had recently started volunteering there. Ayshe's voluntary work was

specifically related to planning and organising various cultural activities and events in which she also sang, danced and played musical instruments, introducing her home country's traditions, customs and values. The first cultural event in which she was involved as a volunteer was the celebration of Finland's Independence Day. At this event, together with several musicians, Ayshe performed an old folk song along with musical instruments representing her home country, and she describes it as follows: *"many people from my country came to me after the performance and said that they haven't heard this song alive like 20 years like 25 years, people became really emotional, many people cried."* After the performance, Ayshe and the musicians from her home and host countries decided to form a band, which performed voluntarily in a variety of cultural activities and events organised with the collaboration of the multicultural centre and integration-related projects administered by the NGO. Thus, as a volunteer, Ayshe was involved in cultural activities and events both individually and as a member of the band, and she continued her voluntary work in the NGO for several years until she had completed her university education. As she describes it:

this \NGO\ was an important place for me because I was an international student and did not have local friends, but here I could meet local people and make local friends with Finns and with migrants from my country as well as from other countries ... here I could also present my country's culture to local people as well as get to know about Finnish and other countries' cultures.

From these words, it appears that the NGO supported Ayshe in developing social connections with local residents on the one hand and in sharing her own culture and learning about the host country's culture and the culture of other countries on the other (for a review of similar findings, see Lautiola, 2013; Saksela-Bergholm, 2009). The NGO also helped her gain familiarity with the structure of the host society, including its public institutions and services. On this issue, she states: *"I didn't get information about public institutions or services from university, I got information about them in \the NGO\ where I volunteered ... I think it would be good to provide a civic orientation course to international students at the beginning of studies, it's important to know about them and how they function here."* Meanwhile, Ayshe received some information about elections through the NGO; however, she did not participate in elections since, as a non-EU citizen, she did not have the right to vote in a presidential, parliamentary or European parliamentary election; she only had the right to vote in municipal elections (for details on elections, see Constitution of Finland, 731/1999; Election Act, 714/1998), which did not take place during her period of residence in Finland. Besides this, Ayshe notes that her participation in elections as a voter would most likely be impossible because information and resources related to political parties and programs, as well as to candidates and their activities, were usually available in Finnish and Swedish. In this regard, she thinks that multilingual information and resources may facilitate different groups of migrants' involvement in public elections in the receiving country.

Meeting new people and making new contacts in the NGO was also beneficial to Ayshe in terms of work opportunities, as also reported in earlier studies conducted in the context of the NGO as a workplace (e.g., Sahradyan, 2012; Sama, 2017). More precisely, she looked for a child client to provide unpaid music therapy sessions as part of the practical training included in her international master's degree programme, and she found him through the NGO where she was volunteering. That is, she accidentally met a migrant who had a child with a traumatic brain injury and needed a music therapist who knew the child's first language. After a discussion with the child's father, she agreed to organise music therapy sessions for the child in his first language, which was linguistically close to Ayshe's first language. Afterwards, she contacted the child's special education teachers, who said, "*oh, no, he is a very very difficult case [--] you can't handle him, we can't even handle him, and how can you handle this boy?*" Her practical training supervisors also said that it would be too difficult to work with the child and offered her a choice from a waiting list. Ayshe refused and insisted on choosing the child because she believed that music therapy sessions would be more useful for him rather than for someone on the waiting list who was merely interested in learning about music therapy. After several discussions with her practical training supervisors and the child's schoolteachers, Ayshe was allowed to provide him with music therapy sessions in which she used songs in his first language that made him feel happy and energetic, even to the point of singing along with her. In brief, she overcame the predicted challenges and successfully completed her first practical training, which lasted for four months.

Ayshe then started looking for a workplace in which to do her second four-month practical training. This time, she found the activity centre with the help of her classmate, who was also employed as an intern in the same workplace. During this practical training, she worked as a music therapist and used her additional language, namely English. She worked in particular with a group of adults with developmental disabilities and helped them develop their communication and movement skills. In getting the above-mentioned practical training placements, she highlights the importance of her first language for the former and her knowledge of English for the latter. Her social connections also supported her in finding workplaces offering practical training. In the case of the first practical training, she also referred to her childhood, when her brother had sustained a traumatic brain injury similar to that of her child client. In the same context, Ayshe states that her practical training placements, namely internships, were included in the international master's degree programme, and reflects on them as follows:

these internships were requirements of our degree programme, so we |international students| had to do two different internships, one had to take place mainly in university, the other one could be done outside ... these internships helped to practise and develop more our professional capabilities and professional language competences needed for working life.

From her words, it is clear that practical training required as part of a university education can promote the professional (language) skills of international students.

Similar findings were reported by Virtanen (2016), who investigated the practical training experiences of international students studying for a nursing degree in Finland. Apart from practical training, Ayshe had also had short fixed-term jobs alongside her university studies. Her first job was at the Finnish university, where she was a part-time salaried employee, a teaching assistant, for four months. Her main working language was English. She mainly worked with students from various parts of the world and helped them organise an international cultural event to introduce their home country's traditions and customs through traditional food, song and dance. Her work tasks also involved giving lectures on culture and arts, and she gave several presentations on her home country's cultural life as well. Moreover, she ran music therapy workshops to support students in managing "*the culture shock of the darkness and the cold and the snow in the autumn semester*", as she notes. Ayshe's second job was at another Finnish university, where she was enrolled in the international master's degree programme. For seven months, she was a full-time salaried employee and worked as a research assistant within a wider research project focused on music therapy, with English as her main working language. Ayshe mostly performed individual tasks at work because her job was related to her master's thesis research project. However, she also collaborated with an international team of researchers with whom she enjoyed good social interactions in both formal and informal workplace settings. In this sense, her second job environment was different from that of her first one, about which she says:

I sometimes felt that I was really by myself there, not very socially integrated, I was mostly alone ... even in a coffee room ... I was even sometimes eating by myself, [-] not many |Finnish| teachers were interested in having discussions or conversations with me or it was quite silent like just simple short conversation, not very much but in some occasions it was different, so these were the things that I was feeling somehow that I'm different and I'm somehow like an external source or external person hanging there.

This description illustrates that her first workplace environment was not inclusive and accepting, and that she felt like "*an external source or external person*". It also shows that she had limited social interactions with her co-workers, even in a shared social space such as the staff coffee room. These social relations in the workplace can be regarded as a form of discrimination (for a discussion on discrimination in the workplace context, see Larja et al., 2012). These findings are in line with those reported by Negretti and Garcia-Yeste (2015), who carried out research at a Swedish University and found that academics with different backgrounds faced difficulties in becoming a member of the professional community. In addition, Ayshe's experience reveals the double-edged nature of the staff coffee room, which could be a space not only for social inclusion and participation but also for social exclusion and isolation. When I asked Ayshe whether language might be the reason for being socially isolated or excluded in the workplace, taking into account that her working language was English, she immediately replied:

Ayshe: I don't think so

Sonya: why do you think like that?

Ayshe: because I feel that Finnish people don't have that issue, they know English, they can speak English, but they just don't want to do so (.) I was there, and I'm not like a native English speaker who can make them like afraid or make them somehow worried about their language skills, I was just even more or less like them, I was open to even just having a short conversation to feel that I'm part of a working group or working environment [--] but mostly it was like that it was very open to feeling that okay you can't communicate with them.

She goes on to state that social interaction and participation in the workplace were affected by her foreign background rather than her limited proficiency in Finnish because most of her Finnish co-workers knew English quite well. Of relevance here are the findings of a national survey conducted on the use of the English language in Finland (see Leppänen et al., 2011), according to which English has a strong presence in Finnish society in general and in the workplace environments in particular. That is, staff members working in Finnish universities usually have some knowledge of English (see, e.g., Saarinen & Rontu, 2018; Ylönen, 2015). Based on the findings of these earlier studies, it might be assumed that English language skills can facilitate the communication and socialisation of migrant employees with no or little knowledge of Finnish with their colleagues, especially in the university setting. However, as Ayshe's experience shows, knowing English was not much help in her first workplace, where she mostly worked with Finns who treated her as an outsider because of her foreign background, whereas she had more opportunities for social interaction and communication in her second workplace, where she worked with both Finns and migrants with diverse backgrounds. This suggests that the diversity in the workplace is more likely to promote migrants' social inclusion and participation at work. It also confirms that a common language alone is not enough without changes in attitudes (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015) within the Finnish context where migrants are often viewed as 'others' (Näre, 2013).

With respect to the above-mentioned two short fixed-term jobs, Ayshe believes that her additional language, English, played an important role in her being employed not only as a teaching assistant but also as a research assistant at different universities. However, she emphasises that employers preferred to hire migrants with a knowledge of English as a first rather than an additional language. The significance of English for gaining employment can be explained by the fact that English holds a central position in professional life in Finland (see, e.g., Leppänen & Nikula, 2007; Räisänen, 2013). Furthermore, English is widely used as one of the main working languages in higher education institutions (see, e.g., Saarinen & Taalas, 2017; Ylönen, 2015). Regarding her personal social connections, Ayshe notes that they were also an advantage in finding employment in the Finnish labour market (for a review of such evidence,

see Ahmad, 2005; Alho, 2020; Mathies & Karhunen, 2021; Pehkonen, 2006; Tarnanen et al., 2015), especially in a situation when only about half of the vacancies (46%) are advertised through public employment services in Finland (see Maunu, 2018). Meanwhile, she emphasises the importance of her voluntary work and practical training for getting paid work, as also highlighted by the participants in a case study conducted with adult migrants working in Finland (see Sahradyan, 2012). In this regard, Ayshe underlines the development of her organisational and team-work skills in working with individuals from diverse backgrounds through voluntary work in the NGO, an experience which supported her in obtaining a teaching assistantship at the university to work with students from different counties. On her practical training, particularly the second one, she states, *“I think even this internship changed my life and brought that job opportunity for me as a research assistant because I think that I showed another aspect of my skills in music therapy in that really difficult situation.”* In general, Ayshe was satisfied with her work experiences during her university studies and liked working as a teaching and research assistant, as she narrates below:

I think that I was very fortunate in my work experience here | in Finland | because I didn't have tough jobs or inflexible timing jobs or jobs with restricted times for holidays, these things I have heard from my international like foreigner friends who have worked here and they have to plan their holidays very strictly, and they have to ask permission for so many things beforehand, so they don't have so much freedom in their work situation, but I had very flexible timings in both of my jobs ... besides the flexible working hours I was doing jobs that I really liked, I was just enjoying with my work.

This account shows that the flexible working hours enabled Ayshe to work unhindered alongside her studies. In this sense, her friends' work experience was different as they were also international students but had fixed working hours, which did not allow them to choose a suitable time to work. In fact, as an international student, Ayshe had the right to work up to an average of 25 hours part-time per week during the academic term, and to have unrestricted full-time work outside the academic term, for instance, in summer and during the winter vacation (see Aliens Act, 301/2004, Amendment 1218/2013, Section 78). In this regard, it should be noted that the number of working hours is not restricted on a weekly basis; instead, it is related to each academic term (for details, see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020a; 2020d). In accordance with the Aliens Act (301/2004), Ayshe was not restricted on the number of working hours with respect to her first job, as it was part-time, as well as with respect to her second job, which was full-time but was connected to her master's thesis. Furthermore, according to the Aliens Act (301/2004), she was entitled to complete practical internships without restriction on the number of working hours since these internships were an integral part of her master's degree programme. In short, the above-mentioned regulations specifically concerned Ayshe and other international students who were third-country nationals and granted a temporary (B) residence permit on the ground of study. As a general

rule, there are no such restrictions on employment for international students who are citizens of EU/EEA countries or Switzerland, as they do not need residence permits to remain in Finland, although, as migrants, they are required to register their right of residence in Finland (see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020c).

After submitting her master's thesis for evaluation, Ayshe continued with the voluntary work that she had started in the first year of her studies in the same NGO where I later conducted the current ethnographic research. At the time of the research, she found her third job. For three months, she was a part-time salaried employee and worked as a dance teacher and choreographer in another NGO organising dance courses for adults. After this, she made a career plan to invest in improving dance classes and workshops and combining them with both her educational background in music therapy and her own cultural background. *"That way maybe I can make my own job instead of looking for a job"*, she says. In other words, Ayshe planned to become self-employed rather than apply for a job. However, she soon realised that *"creating own work"* was not as straightforward as she had thought, especially when *"you are an international student who basically cannot get any support related to employment from university or public institutions providing job services"*, as she states. Ayshe therefore had to change her career plan from generating her own work to looking for work. She hoped to build a stable working life with long-term salaried jobs commensurate with her education and hence different from most of the short fixed-term salaried jobs that she had done during her studies.

Despite her efforts in applying for different jobs, she was unable to find employment that corresponded to her field and level of education. Like many migrant jobseekers, she faced two primary obstacles in this regard. One was related to her migrant background, as the employers often preferred to hire Finns, as previously reported in studies conducted in Finland (e.g., Ahmad, 2005; 2020). In Ayshe's opinion, this preference could be associated with the fact that *"they |employers| don't know much about foreigners [--] and can't trust easily people |foreigners| who apply for work (.) therefore they prefer to hire Finnish people ... and maybe the way that they communicate at work is easier as they have the same language and culture."* This indicates that employers' preference for hiring Finns over migrants might be because they had limited knowledge about jobseekers with a migrant background and because migrant jobseekers did not share their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Of relevance here are OECD/EU statistics (2018) showing that the unemployment rate of foreign-born 15- to 64-year-olds was significantly higher than that of their native-born counterparts in Finland in the year 2017 (16% and 8%, respectively); however, the unemployment rate of foreign-born jobseekers from EU countries was lower than that of foreign-born jobseekers from non-EU countries (13% and 21%, respectively). It is also noteworthy that the unemployment rate of highly educated foreign-born jobseekers was more than twice that of their native-born counterparts (12% and 5%, respectively) (OECD/EU, 2018). Furthermore, highly educated foreign-born employees were more often over-qualified for their jobs than their native-born counterparts (30% and 18%, respectively), although over-qualification rates were

lower among foreign-born and host-country educated than foreign-born and foreign-educated employees (14% and 28%, respectively) (OECD/EU, 2018).

The other major obstacle Ayshe highlights was related to some of her social categories, about which the employers typically left unsaid because they were hidden behind the employers' requirement of advanced proficiency in Finnish. In particular, she emphasises that her limited knowledge of Finnish was a hindrance, given employers' preference for hiring migrants not only with a knowledge of Finnish but also with high proficiency in Finnish, even if an advanced level of Finnish was not required or essential to perform work tasks (see also similar findings in Ahmad, 2005). Ayshe describes this as follows:

if you don't know Finnish, you can't do anything (.) so it's just what I have understood from Finnish employers or the way that they say it ... also Finnish employers show 'insufficient or inadequate Finnish language proficiency' as a 'red card' and use it as a 'gatekeeper' in the recruiting process... but I don't think that every job needs a very high level of Finnish and this is just the way to stop people | migrant jobseekers | from applying for or obtaining a job.

She also states that her knowledge of English as an additional language was not much help in getting a long-term job in line with her educational qualifications. Ayshe noticed that migrants from Anglo-Saxon countries, for example, from Canada, the UK and the USA, had easier access to the Finnish labour market through their first language – English – than migrants from other countries for whom English was an additional language. A study conducted by Heikkilä (2005) also found that the migrants who were the most successful in entering Finnish working life were from the USA and the UK; over 60% of the former and over 70% of the latter were employed in the field of education, the majority working as translators and language teachers, with English as their first language. Furthermore, in Ayshe's opinion, her non-Western cultural background also affected her chances of employment since most employers were generally familiar with Western culture and "*not really in touch with other cultures*", as she notes (for a comparable line of thinking, see Kärkkäinen, 2017). Last but not least, she mentions the role of her ethnic origin, emphasising that migrants from Western countries were more successful in entering the Finnish labour market than those from the rest of the world, an observation confirmed by other research studies (e.g., Ahmad, 2020; Forsander, 2003; Heikkilä, 2017). On this point, I asked the following question:

Sonya: how is it possible to know about the applicant's ethnic origin if it is not included in the job application?

Ayshe: ((smiles)) there are different ethnic identifiers in the application and one of them is the applicant's name

Sonya: ok! but how?

Ayshe: well, from my Arabic name, it's quite easy to guess that my ethnic origin is from the Middle East.

Ayshe's reply is in line with the research results from Finland and elsewhere (see, e.g., Ahmad, 2020; Booth et al., 2012; Larja et al., 2012; Piller, 2016; Weichselbaumer, 2016), showing that migrants' foreign-sounding names as markers of their ethnic origins hamper their being called for a job interview. For example, Larja and her colleagues (2012) carried out a field experiment in Finland and found that applicants with Russian names had to send twice as many job applications as Finnish-named applicants before being invited to a job interview. Another experimental study (Ahmad, 2020) revealed that applicants with Finnish names received more requests for job interviews than applicants with foreign names. The same experimental study also showed that employers preferred job applicants with European over non-European names; that is, candidates with English and Russian names encountered relatively fewer difficulties than those with Iraqi and Somali names in obtaining a job interview offer in Finland. Similarly, a field experiment conducted in Australia (Booth et al., 2012) indicated that applicants with Chinese, Middle Eastern and Indigenous names were less likely to be invited for a job interview compared to those with Anglo-Saxon and Italian names. Overall, based on the illustrations provided by Ayshe and the findings reported by earlier studies, it is apparent that the employers often prioritised hiring Finnish over migrant jobseekers. It is also obvious that the employers were less likely to hire migrants of non-Western ethnic origin and cultural background, as well as migrants with limited proficiency in Finnish and a knowledge of English as an additional language. Accordingly, in the recruitment process, the employers made distinctions not only between Finns and migrants but also among migrants in relation to their certain social categories, including but not limited to language, ethnicity and culture.

With regard to her integration experiences, Ayshe points out that her migration status as a student hindered her participation in the state integration programme, which might have supported her in finding employment commensurate with her higher education, especially after her graduation from university. Student migrants, namely international students, do not usually participate in the state integration programme, as they are not unemployed jobseekers or recipients of social assistance on a non-temporary basis (for details, see Act on Social Assistance, 1412/1997; Integration Act, 1386/2010). However, all migrants, including student migrants, are entitled to an initial assessment offered as part of the state integration programme and conducted by public authorities under the Integration Act (1386/2010). Ayshe was not aware of this and, therefore, did not request an initial assessment. She also did not register as a jobseeker with the TE Office during her studies, as she was not informed about it. In general, student migrants can register as a jobseeker with the TE Office during their studies, even though they are full-time students and have migration status on the ground of study (see Aliens Act, 301/2004; TE Services, 2017h). Registration as a jobseeker is commonly recommended in the last year of studies, when advice from the TE Office on applying for jobs and information about the labour market may be more beneficial to them. It should be noted that, after graduating from the university, student migrants are entitled to an extended

residence permit¹³ to seek work or start a business. At that time, they have the right to register as an unemployed jobseeker and to draw up an integration plan or an employment plan together with a TE Office expert. Ayshe was not aware of this and, therefore, did not apply for it. Typically, an integration plan is drawn up within three years after the issue of the first residence permit (Integration Act, 1386/2010), and an employment plan is drawn up when the duration of residence permits exceeds three years, or exceptionally five years in special cases (for more information on integration and employment plans, see Appendix 10).

In line with the integration or employment plan, student migrants who are not full-time employed or self-employed in that period are entitled to receive integration- and employment-related services offered by the TE Office (see, e.g., TE Services, 2017a; 2017b; 2017c). It is important to mention that student migrants cannot receive a labour market subsidy as unemployed jobseekers because their migration status is based on studying until graduation. Similarly, after graduation, student migrants cannot receive a labour market subsidy as they are granted a residence permit to seek employment (for details, see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020a; TE Services, 2017f). However, if student migrants meet the employment requirement, which applies to all persons, they may receive a basic unemployment allowance or earnings-related unemployment allowance as unemployed jobseekers after graduation from university. According to the employment requirement, it is necessary to have paid work for at least twenty-six weeks and a minimum of eighteen hours per week during the past twenty-eight months (Act on Unemployment Security, 1290/2002, Amendment 1199/2013). It is noteworthy that Ayshe had different types of work at different periods during her studies, which lasted about four years, and she was therefore entitled to receive not only employment-related guidance and counselling but also employment-related services and benefits upon completion of her studies. However, because of the lack of information about such opportunities, she was unable to exercise her rights in this respect. Ayshe says that no information on employment was given to her by her educational institution or by the public authorities, describing her situation as follows: *“I didn’t get any guidance and information on how or where to look for work, also I didn’t get any employment or career services from my university or public authorities (.). I only received some job ads through a university mailing list, that’s all.”* As Ayshe states in the fieldnote extract below, *“the only possibility for me was to get support through information and consultation offered by the \Info Centre\”,* which was coordinated and administered by the NGO with the cooperation of the municipality and the ELY Centre. The discussion presented in the following extract also shows how the Info Centre was able to help Ayshe and other migrants in various matters through integration-related counselling services provided in several languages and to different migrant groups.

¹³ The extension of residence permits after graduation concerns international students from non-EU/EEA countries or Switzerland who have completed a degree in Finland (for details, see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020a).

... After completing the second part of the interview, we took a short break in my office. During that time, Ayshe picked up a leaflet advertising the \Info Centre\ services from among the interview materials that were placed on my work desk, showed it to me and said: "You know, the only possibility for me was to get support through information and consultation offered by the \Info Centre\ ... which facilitates the integration of different migrant groups by providing with counselling services that support migrants to get answers for different issues." Afterwards, I took the leaflet from her, read it and said: "In Finnish, it's written in this leaflet that the clients are served in different languages, the service is free of charge, confidential and open to all, regardless of the background and reason for migration. It's also mentioned that the \Info Centre\ provides information and consultation, for example, related to housing, work, education, residence permits as well as related to social and health care services..." After talking about the leaflet, I asked Ayshe how the \Info Centre\ helped her. "For example, it supported me in applying for the extension of my residence permit", she replied and subsequently added that consultation was also available in Persian, her own language, but she preferred to get it in English because the application form for the extension of the residence permit was also in English, in addition to Finnish and Swedish. I then asked her: "Did you get any help related to employment from this \Info Centre\?" She replied, "No, I didn't because I was not informed about any employment-related opportunities concerning international students or graduates, that's why I didn't ask the Centre to support me concerning employment-related issues, now I know about some opportunities, but it's too late as I have already planned and prepared to move to \another European country\ in the coming year." ((the first side of the leaflet discussed with Ayshe during the interview break is provided in Figure 19))

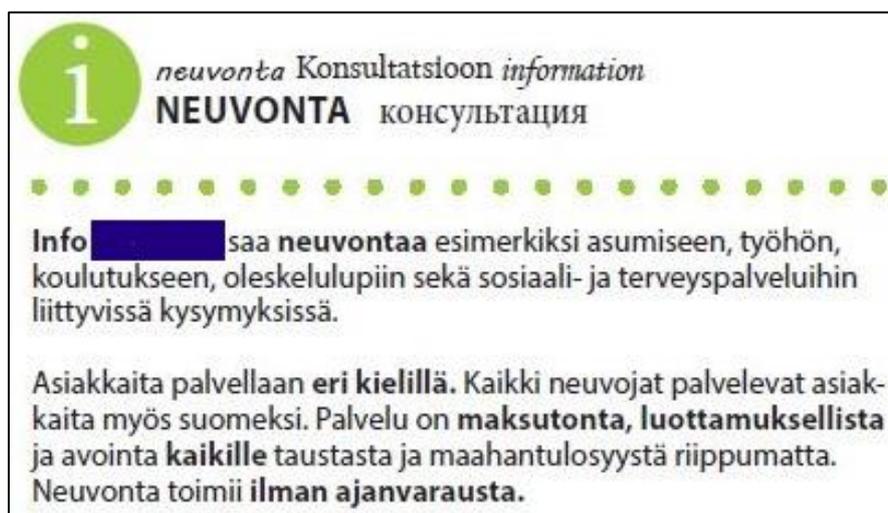


Figure 19. The first side of the leaflet advertising the counselling services discussed with Ayshe.

On her Finnish language learning experiences, Ayshe states that, both during her studies and after graduation, she was not eligible as a student migrant for the Finnish language courses offered as part of the state integration programme. Therefore, the only opportunity for her to study Finnish was at the university, where she took part in two Finnish language courses provided as part of her master's degree studies. She assessed her Finnish as at basic proficiency level

after completing these two courses, which did not support her in achieving the target proficiency level in Finnish set by the course organisers. According to her, these courses also did not assist her in achieving the Finnish proficiency level, which might make it possible to find work commensurate with her field of education received in Finland. Upon completion of the above-mentioned courses, Ayshe did not continue studying Finnish, reflecting on this as follows:

- Ayshe: I had two Finnish courses and it's not that I didn't try, I have tried, but I found it quite difficult
- Sonya: what was more difficult?
- Ayshe: to memorise the words, quite long words, I can't memorise them
- Sonya: I see
- ...
- Ayshe: it's very difficult, not the way to read or to write, but the structure of the language is quite tough, and I found it quite difficult to learn ... I think | Finnish | is quite different from the languages that I have learned in the past.

She later mentions that her first and additional languages (Persian and English, respectively) had quite different sentence structures and grammatical forms from those of Finnish. Ayshe's comments thus show that she found learning Finnish hard because it was semantically and syntactically distant from the other languages that she had studied before (for a discussion of learning distant languages, see Chiswick & Miller, 2005; Dautriche et al., 2017; Schepens et al., 2016). Ayshe further highlights that her difficulty in learning Finnish was associated with the fact that the Finnish language courses provided by the university were non-intensive courses taught for four to six hours per week, which was "*not effective and sufficient to study a new language within a reasonable period of time*". Besides this, Ayshe's only option was to participate in general Finnish courses since the university did not offer "*any specialised Finnish courses*" that might support in improving her "*professional language skills*", as she notes. Furthermore, general Finnish courses enabled her to develop more her reading and writing skills as well as her written language in Finnish. In other words, these courses focused more on the development of her written language and skills and less on her spoken language and skills. A similar point has also been made in other studies examining adult migrants' experiences of learning the host country's language in formal classroom settings (e.g., Cooke & Simpson, 2008; Sahradyan, 2012). From these findings, it appears that there is a need to develop Finnish language courses provided to student migrants studying in higher education institutions, which has also been emphasised in the Government Integration Programmes (e.g., Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2016), but no significant changes have yet occurred.

She also faced other challenges in learning Finnish. Specifically, Ayshe did not have an opportunity to use and practise Finnish outside the non-intensive courses because she had limited social connections with Finns, and Finnish was

not used as a lingua franca in the social spheres she participated when studying Finnish (for a discussion of similar findings, see Ahmad, 2005; Lilja, 2018). That is, Ayshe primarily used English, which was the main language in her master's degree studies as well as the shared language among her social connections who were mostly student migrants. In response to my question about the possibility of practising Finnish in public places (e.g., shops, cafes and bus stops), she indicates that using the Finnish language in public places was "*almost not possible*" for a person with little knowledge of Finnish since Finns had a habit of switching from Finnish to English when migrants manifested difficulties in communicating in Finnish. In her view, this habit of switching languages might be due to a desire to help migrants in everyday communication or to avoid difficulties, as it might not be easy to use or simplify the structure of Finnish to make it easier and more comprehensible to migrants. Thus, it seems to be difficult for migrant learners to demonstrate their language learning outside of the classroom, especially in the beginning stage of studying Finnish. Earlier studies conducted in Finland and other countries have also shown that adult migrants had limited opportunities to use and practise the language of the receiving country outside of formal learning spaces and situations (see Kaye, 2015; Sandwall, 2010).

Regarding her employment experiences, Ayshe states that it would have been useful to have had an initial discussion with a career guidance counsellor at the beginning of her university studies, as this might have helped her to know "*how to join or develop professional social networks, they are really important for getting a job here |in Finland|*" (for a similar discussion, see Alho, 2020; Mathies & Karhunen, 2021). She further notes that a career guidance counsellor might also have helped her to know what knowledge and skills she needed to acquire or develop to gain access to the Finnish labour market. Ayshe cites as an example the need to learn the Finnish language, on which her future career plans also depended (see also Majakulma, 2011). In her opinion, as a student migrant, she was seen as personally responsible for both learning the host country's language and getting a job in the host country, aspects that have also been reported in national and international studies (see, e.g., Kurki & Brunila, 2014; Majakulma, 2011; Masoud et al., 2021; Piller, 2016). In essence, this represents a typical neoliberal approach that emphasises the responsibility of the individual for self-improvement and self-care (Martín Rojo & Del Percio, 2020).

In a similar vein, Ayshe notes that it would have been beneficial to have had a meeting with a career guidance counsellor in or outside the university upon completion of her studies and to have discussed her employment possibilities as an international graduate. A research project examining the experiences of international graduates also reported (Shumilova et al., 2012) that the lack of access to job search information and career guidance are among the major obstacles to gaining employment that student migrants encounter after graduation from higher education institutions in Finland. In addition, the same research project indicated that approximately 60% of the student migrants who stay in Finland after graduation find jobs commensurate with their level

and field of education, while the rest remain underemployed. In the case of Ayshe, she did not want to be underemployed or accept jobs unrelated to her field and level of education. She therefore decided to move to another country to find work appropriate to her educational qualifications, as she had not succeeded in creating her own work or in her applications for different jobs after completing her master's degree studies. Thus, it appears that Ayshe encountered non-inclusive policies and practices regarding the employment of student migrants, as has also been reported by other researchers (e.g., Elo, 2017; Laine, 2017). It is also evident that Ayshe herself was responsible for the obtainment of employment, similar to the host country's language learning, both of which are the primary concerns of the Integration Act (1386/2010). Furthermore, it seems that student migrants' resources and experiences were not being sufficiently or effectively used in the Finnish context, despite the fact that the Government Integration Programmes (see, e.g., Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2016) have emphasised and recognised the importance of utilising the knowledge and skills of student migrants and promoting their career advancement in the Finnish labour market, as a way of strengthening Finland's competitiveness and economic growth.

In sum, Ayshe's experiences indicate that, as an international student, she was almost alone responsible for her successes and failures in the receiving country. Specifically, it is obvious that her Finnish language learning trajectory mainly included non-intensive Finnish language courses organised as part of her university studies, and that she did not succeed in developing and practising her Finnish language skills outside the university context because she had limited opportunities in this respect. It is also apparent from her employment trajectory that she was successful in obtaining practical training placements and short fixed-term jobs alongside her studies; however, they not always corresponded to her educational qualifications. Of note is that her efforts to generate her own work through self-employment or applying for different jobs after completing her studies failed. That is, she could not find employment that matched the university education she had received before or after moving to Finland. Furthermore, it is evident that she was largely responsible for planning and following her integration trajectory via studying the Finnish language, acquiring a university education through an international master's degree programme, establishing social networks, informing about public elections, learning about the culture of the host country, becoming involved in NGO activities and events as a volunteer, participating in NGO integration-related counselling services as a client, and obtaining different types of work, including practical training, voluntary work and salaried work at the time of her master's degree studies. Thus, as an international student, Ayshe herself found ways to take part and be active in different spheres of life, including working life, during her studies. After graduation from university, she was again left alone to find employment in Finland. Ayshe was unable to do this and had, therefore, to move to another European country to enhance her employment prospects.

5.4 Family member migrants' personal trajectories

In general, the majority of migrants have moved to Finland as family members since the last decades of the 20th century (see, e.g., Heikkilä & Pikkarainen, 2008; Kyhä, 2011), meaning that migration has mostly concerned the family formation or reunion in the context of Finland. Most of the participants also migrated to Finland as family members, and they are presented here. Thus, the participants' group of family members include twelve spousal migrants: four males and eight females. Although they all came to Finland on family grounds, they had a different subcategory of migration status for a family member, which was determined on the basis of their spouse's migration status on arrival in the receiving country. Specifically, they represented the spouse of a refugee (two quota refugees and one asylum seeker), a student (one student migrant), a worker (one worker migrant), a returnee (one Ingrian Finn) and a Finnish citizen (six native-born Finns). At the time of migration, the participants ranged in age from their early twenties to early fifties. Four of them had moved to Finland with their children and spouse, and the others alone for family formation or reunion. The majority of research participants were originally from non-EU countries, and only two were from EU countries. They had lived in Finland for a minimum of three and a maximum of twenty-nine years.

Before migration, one research participant had attained an upper secondary education, and the other participants had received a vocational education (4 persons) or university education (4 persons a bachelor's degree and 3 persons a master's degree). Two participants had never worked, as one of them had been on maternity/parental leave after completing vocational studies, and the other had moved to Finland after graduation from university. The remainder had been hired as a salaried employee in different occupations, and several of them had also been self-employed, a trainee and/or volunteer either in or outside their country of origin.

After moving to Finland, five research participants had received integration training, specialised training or preparatory vocational training as their highest educational attainment. Another five participants had acquired a vocational education; three had studied for a new occupation, and two had studied in a field that corresponded to their previous vocational education, but one of them had not completed education because of not being able to find a workplace for practical training. This participant had therefore to continue studying for a new occupation through another vocational education. Interestingly, only two participants had studied in a higher education institution to acquire a university education. One of them had just started studying in an international master's degree programme taught in English. The other one completed a bachelor's degree programme taught in Finnish but could not find a job relevant to the field studied. After two decades of residence in Finland, this participant enrolled in a Finnish-medium master's degree programme to obtain a new qualification. However, after a short period of study, the same participant had

decided to quit master's studies and seek employment in another European country for a period of one year or more.

In Finland, five participants had not obtained any paid work; they had worked only as a trainee and/or intern in various workplaces. In particular, one had moved to Finland when he was in his fifties, but four had arrived in their twenties or thirties and had mostly been on maternity/paternity and parental/child-care leave for from one to three years or longer in the case of having more than one child. The other two participants had worked as a part-time salaried employee, subsidised employee, trainee, intern and/or volunteer for a short period. The remaining five participants had worked as a part-/full-time salaried employee, subsidised employee, freelance worker and/or self-employed worker, in addition to working as a trainee, intern and/or volunteer. Of note is that only one of them found a job similar to previous work, while the others had new types of employment in different fields.

Typically, all the research participants made use of their first language at work, as well as additional languages, including Finnish. The majority of them (e.g., the spouse of a returnee, refugee and worker migrant or a Finnish citizen) began to learn the Finnish language through integration training, which included the Finnish language courses organised for adult migrants. Only one participant, the spouse of a student migrant, started learning Finnish through self-study because of not being eligible to participate in integration training, especially in her first years after migration. Thus, the personal trajectories of language, employment and integration of family member migrants, particularly spouses, in the broader societal context of Finland are represented below by Soha's personal narrative.

Soha's personal narrative "I migrated for family reasons and had to start from scratch in a new country"

Soha was born in South Asia, where her parents had migrated for employment reasons. Her parents were originally from Southern Asia, and they had returned to their country of origin when Soha was 6 or 7 years old. Upon arrival, she had started studying at secondary school. Afterwards, she continued her education at university, first achieving a bachelor's degree in mathematics and subsequently a master's degree in physics. After graduating from the university, Soha had worked for four years in a college as a teacher of physics. During this period, she had married a man with the same ethnic background, who was employed as an information technology specialist. In her first year of marriage, her husband had applied and been accepted for an international master's degree programme in Finland. Soha had therefore decided to quit her work and come to Finland with her husband, describing it as follows: "*it was really not easy, but I decided to leave everything that I built up in my country and move to Finland where I had a new start in life with my husband.*" Soha and I had the following conversation on this topic:

- Sonya: did you come to Finland alone or with your family?
- Soha: I came with my husband
- Sonya: what was the reason for moving here?
- Soha: we came because my husband was accepted to study as a master's degree student in an international programme at the Finnish university ... basically we came for qualified higher education and better employment opportunities and also for brighter future.

This conversation shows that Soha decided to move to Finland because of her family as well as for other positive reasons, which were “*qualified higher education ... better employment opportunities and ... brighter future*”. As pointed out by Palát (2017), positive reasons like these are considered pull factors according to the push-pull theory initially proposed by Bogue (1961) and subsequently developed by Lee (1966) and Jansen (1969). Other examples of pull factors are a higher quality of life, higher economic benefits, political and religious freedom, better health care, better living conditions and attractive climate (see Elo, 2017; Lee, 1966; Palát, 2017). Push factors, in turn, include war, famine, natural disasters, political instability, discrimination, a poor education system, poor health care, high unemployment levels and low salaries (see Heikkilä, 2017; Lee, 1966; Palát, 2017). Thus, pull factors attract migrants to move to the receiving country, while push factors cause migrants to leave their country of origin. However, pull and push factors are also connected; for example, a higher unemployment rate in the country of origin (a push factor) is connected with better employment opportunities in the receiving country (a pull factor). Additionally, more than one push or pull factor representing the same and/or a different category (e.g., political, economic, environmental and cultural) are usually in play since migration is a complex phenomenon with a variety of causes, as also reported above by Soha.

To move to Finland, Soha had to apply for a residence permit both because she was a third-country national and because her stay in the host country would extend beyond 90 days (for details on third-country nationals' residence permits, see Aliens Act, 301/2004; Finnish Immigration Service, 2020a). Therefore, she applied for and received migration status as a family member of a student migrant because her husband was an international student studying at a Finnish university. Soha was also granted legal status (a temporary (B) residence permit) on the ground of a family member of a student migrant, which gave her the right to work without restrictions on the amount or type of employment (for details on migrants' right to work in Finland, see Finnish Immigration Service, 2020c; 2020d).

Soha was in her late twenties at the end of the first decade of the 2000s when she arrived in Finland. In her first year after migration, Soha wanted to continue teaching: “*I was having some plan ... I was not having the idea that I cannot teach here ... I was thinking that I will continue teaching, maybe not in a college, but in some school.*” She thought that “*English as a global language*” could be useful

for getting a teaching job in a primary or secondary school. Actually, English for her was an additional language, one she predominantly used when studying at the university and working as a teacher of physics before migrating to Finland. However, soon she realised that getting a teaching job was not as straightforward as she had expected, and that her knowledge of English was no help in this respect. To work as a teacher of physics, Soha would need to have a good command of the Finnish language, as she found out visiting schools to look for a job. The Finnish employment system was unfamiliar to Soha; however, as a family member of a student migrant, she was not eligible for the guidance and counselling services provided by the TE Office, even though she was unemployed and looking for a job at that time. As a family member of a student migrant, she was also ineligible for the Finnish language courses arranged as integration training in accordance with the Integration Act (493/1999).

After being unemployed for about one year, Soha gave birth to her first child and became a stay-at-home-mother. Although, as a stay-at-home mother, Soha was also totally left outside the integration programme and did not get any support in Finnish language learning, she did not give up. Soha found another way to learn Finnish as she felt that *“it is not possible to survive without learning Finnish.”* In particular, she started learning Finnish through self-study at home with materials that her husband brought from the university, where he had participated in Finnish language courses. Meanwhile, daily activities, for instance, cooking meals helped to develop her Finnish language skills since she usually read advertisements for food products as well as lists of ingredients along with the instructions for preparation. Soha was also supported in learning Finnish at the beginning by watching cartoons with her daughter. A detailed description of her Finnish language learning through cartoons is given in the following fieldnote extract.

Today I visited Soha’s home to conduct the first formal interview with her. She was waiting for me with her youngest daughter, who was several months old; her elder children were in the kindergarten, and her husband was at work. At first, we briefly talked about her family while drinking Asian tea; meanwhile, Soha put her small child to sleep, as it was her afternoon sleeping time. We then started an interview to discuss her personal experiences of language learning, employment and integration in the Finnish context. After a detailed discussion about her Finnish language learning experiences, in addition to other related topics, we decided to have a short break. During the break, I said, “Soha, you mentioned in the interview about learning the Finnish language with the help of cartoons, I forgot to ask you how it happened.” Soha smiled and replied, “Well, when I was taking care of my eldest daughter, I watched Finnish cartoons with her every day, and it was the time when I began to learn Finnish myself at home ... when watching cartoons, I was trying to understand what was going on there in order to explain it to my daughter.” “How was it useful for you to learn the Finnish language? Can you explain it by watching a cartoon together?” I asked her afterwards. She replied, “Yes, sure.” So I got up from the armchair, took my tablet from the small coffee table and started searching for a cartoon online. In a few minutes, I found an animated cartoon **Hertta ja serkut**

[Hertta and cousins] from **Hertta maailma** [Hertta's world]¹⁴ series in Finnish from **Lasten Areena** [Children's Arena] in **YLE** [a public service broadcasting company in Finland]. After watching the cartoon for several minutes, Soha showed me one episode of it, saying the following: "...for instance, if I had watched this episode before, I could have seen that people were waving their hands, some of them were inside the house, and the others were outside ... from this, I could understand that they were hosts and guests who were saying goodbye each other ... usually, when I was listening to talks, I was also reading Finnish subtitles that appeared in cartoons, like here **Hei vaan! Kyllä oli kivaa! Pian taas tavataan** [Bye-bye! It was so nice! We'll meet again soon] ... and I was trying to learn these subtitles written in Finnish because I could use them in my daily life ... this is how cartoons were useful for my Finnish language learning, especially at the beginning stage of my learning..." ((an image of the animated cartoon episode discussed with Soha during the interview break is provided in Figure 20))



Figure 20. Image of the animated cartoon episode discussed with Soha.

¹⁴Niina Grönholm, the copyright holder for Hertta's world animation series, gave permission to use the image of Figure 20 in my doctoral dissertation (email correspondence with the executive producer, 26 April 2022).

As Soha describes it above, she paid close attention to pictures and movements to understand the situation and context, in addition to listening to talks and reading subtitles while watching cartoons with her eldest daughter. In this way, she could learn Finnish for use in her daily life through a variety of semiotic resources, such as text, speech, gesture, object and image. This implies that the use of different “semiotic resources – linguistic and non-linguistic –” makes it possible to negotiate meaning and learn the language of the receiving country (Simpson & Cooke, 2017, p. 3; see also Creese & Blackledge, 2015).

In general, the situation of stay-at-home mothers with a migrant background changed when Soha’s second child was born. At that time, the participation of migrant stay-at-home mothers in Finnish or Swedish language courses and their involvement in society and working life became a political priority, and it was promoted by the first Government Integration Programme for 2012–2015 (see Ministry of Employment and the Economy of Finland, 2012). Accordingly, different Finnish or Swedish language courses were organised within the framework of publicly funded projects to support the language learning of migrant stay-at-home parents, particularly mothers. Soha had an opportunity to participate in the project that organised a Finnish language course for three to four hours once a week. On her experience of learning Finnish through the above-mentioned project, Soha notes that it would have been more useful for her if the course had been organised several times a week rather than just once a week. On the other hand, she was pleased with the course and its content, describing it as follows:

one day we spent in a kitchen, we were talking just about the food items and the cooking things in Finnish, and then one day was like **liikunta** [physical activity] and we were talking about the body parts and the exercise in Finnish, so in that way, they were helping us in learning Finnish and about the daily life, routines and similar things.

From Soha’s experience, it is clear that the course arranged as part of the publicly funded project mainly supported stay-at-home mothers in learning Finnish outside the formal language education system. The study conducted by Intke-Hernandez (2015) indicates that formal language courses are not suitable for everyone, particularly parents with small children, as learning grammar and vocabulary are not necessarily related to their current needs. Rather, *learning together* and *from each other* would be more beneficial to migrant stay-at-home parents as they could not only learn the language of the host country according to their needs but also could meet people, communicate with them and develop friendship networks in the new society (Intke-Hernandez, 2015), benefits which were also highlighted in the interviews conducted with Soha. In the same context, Soha mentions that her social networks were later expanded through participation in the Finnish language courses organised as integration training; however, she mostly built social connections with recently arrived migrants from different parts of the world simply because she usually studied Finnish with them. Later, her social connections with earlier arrived migrants and Finns

were established through the NGO, where she first participated in cultural and family-oriented activities and events as a visitor with her children and later took part in a work trial as a trainee.

When Soha's second child was two years old, she decided with her husband to take him to kindergarten. In her words, "*actually I couldn't put my daughter to **päiväkoti** [kindergarten] until she was three years old, she was my first child and I was so touchy about her ... but when my son was two years old, he went to **päiväkoti** [kindergarten], I was much brave because he was not the first one ... also I already know that here in Finland the day-care system is so good."* As Soha mentions later, the reason for sending her son to kindergarten was also that she could intensively study Finnish, which she considers as "*a prerequisite for working as a teacher at school*". This time, as an unemployed jobseeker, Soha was provided with an opportunity to take part in the Finnish language courses as part of integration training provided to adult migrants. There were two main reasons for this. One was related to the change of her migration and legal statuses. Soha received migration status as a family member of a worker migrant, as her husband had started working in Finland. At the same time, her legal status was changed from a temporary (B) residence permit to a continuous (A) residence permit. The other reason was related to the change in the Finnish integration legislation. In 2011, the Integration Act (1386/2010) entered into force, which brought worker migrants' family members within the scope of the state integration programme.

After the above-mentioned changes, Soha, as an unemployed jobseeker, was eligible for participation in the state integration programme. She therefore registered with the TE Office, which first conducted an initial assessment with her. The initial assessment typically includes an initial interview about migrants' study and work experiences and their need for language training and other integration-related measures and services (for details, see Integration Act, 1386/2010). Based on the initial assessment, the TE Office then drew up an integration plan with her. The integration plan is generally regarded as a mutual agreement on measures and services to be deployed in support of the acquisition of Finnish (or Swedish) language skills and other necessary knowledge and skills (see Integration Act, 1386/2010). After conducting the initial assessment and drawing up the integration plan, Soha was recommended for the fast-track pathway of integration training, which was primarily intended for migrants:

who are accustomed to language studies and have fluent reading and writing skills in the Roman alphabet, excellent study skills and capabilities for independent and self-motivated study, as well as higher education or experience of academic studies, aiming to find employment in an academic profession or apply for continuing training in their own field. (FNBE, 2012, p. 14)

Soha followed the recommendation given by the TE Office and took the fast-track pathway for participating in two Finnish language courses offered as part of integration training. Not following the recommended track could result in

the loss of integration assistance, that is, the financial support provided to migrants for the duration of integration training (see a similar discussion in Masoud et al., 2021). Soha mentions that in setting her track recommendation, in addition to her employment aspirations, attention was paid to her previous educational level, language learning experiences, and the Finnish language skills she had developed through self-study. As a recent study conducted by Tammelin-Laine and her colleagues (2018) within the project “Finnish Placement Assessment for Immigrant Adults” reports, the Finnish language courses included in integration training were organised into three tracks – slow, intermediate and fast – that differed “by speed or pace of instruction” (p. 151). The fast track was the least recommended pathway (4.2%), followed by the slow track (15.0%) and intermediate track (69.6%) (Tammelin-Laine et al., 2018). Moreover, according to the above study (Tammelin-Laine et al., 2018), the tracks were mostly recommended to adult migrants eligible for integration training based on their needs for participation in integration training, the level of education, the number of languages studied and the Finnish language proficiency, whereas other backgrounds were not taken into consideration, as in the case of Soha.

Apart from learning Finnish, integration training also enabled Soha to gain cultural knowledge of the host country, and, as she points out, “*language learning is closely intertwined with cultural learning*”. As such, she emphasises learning about the Finnish culture through textbooks, teaching materials and classroom activities, along with discussions with the teacher. In addition, she had an opportunity to introduce her home country’s traditions, customs, arts and food through a presentation given to her classmates and to listen to similar presentations about their countries of origin. In her words, “*knowing about the Finnish culture as well as the culture of immigrants’ home countries are similarly important because here the society is continually changing, you know, the number of immigrants is increasing every year.*” As specified in the national core curriculum, cultural knowledge acquired through integration training can facilitate migrants’ participation in the receiving society (see FNBE, 2012). Moreover, integration training can support migrants in knowing about the social structures of the host society, about which Soha states: “*before studying in Finnish courses I have lived here for several years and already know about some services and institutions of Finland from my friends and acquaintances ... and I have also received information about them during Finnish courses through language learning materials and conversations with my teachers and coursemates.*” As the national core curriculum for integration training for adult migrants (FNBE, 2012) indicates, knowledge of the receiving society’s social infrastructure, institutions and services are regarded as civic skills, and studies in civic skills usually progress in parallel with other studies that are part of integration training. Taking up this issue, I asked Soha the following question:

Sonya: do you have any suggestions on how integration training can be improved regarding civic skills?

- Soha: I think it would be good to have separate courses or sessions focused on civic skills because we immigrants need to know well about our host society's structure or system
- Sonya: I see ...
- Soha: so I think we need to develop more civic skills in order to be able to cope with our daily life activities related to health care, employment, housing or other similar issues.

Soha's reply points to the need to pay more attention to the development of migrants' civic skills through integration training, as these skills are essential for understanding the social structures of the receiving country, which can help them manage in their daily life activities. As she herself states: *"it's also important for us immigrants to know about different societal activities like civic and political activities and take an active part in those activities too (.) as far as I know we are not so much involved in those activities, but we immigrants should be also active as voters and candidates in elections."* Later, Soha shares her experience of participating in civic activities, about which she notes, *"in the previous municipal election I didn't vote, even though I could vote."* The reason behind this was that the Finnish election and political systems were unfamiliar to Soha, as she generally did not receive information about them. She also did not receive information on political parties and their programmes. Moreover, as an emergent learner of Finnish at that time, she could not understand the information available in Finnish. However, she was preparing to participate as a voter in the next municipal election since her Finnish language skills developed through integration training would, to some extent, support her in reading and understanding news and information about elections and politics. As a non-EU citizen, Soha had the right to vote and be a candidate in municipal elections because she had resided in the Finnish municipality for a continuous period of more than two years (for details, see Election Act, 714/1998). She recently received Finnish citizenship, enabling her to vote in presidential elections as well as to vote and be a candidate in Finnish Parliamentary and European Parliamentary elections (see, e.g., Constitution of Finland, 731/1999; Election Act, 714/1998). Soha was also interested in becoming involved in politics and standing for election in order to be able to *"raise difficulties and benefits that immigrants experience, and also raise immigrants' voices in decision-making processes"*, as she puts it. For that purpose, Soha emphasises the need to further develop her skills in Finnish, as although she could reach an intermediate level through integration training, it is *"not enough to get into political processes like a candidate, and, as she subsequently states, "if selkokieli [easy language] I mean not complex Finnish vocabulary and sentence structure is used in politics here, then we immigrants can more easily and actively participate in elections as candidates besides being involved as voters."* She continues: *"also it's necessary to provide more information about Finnish elections and politics to us immigrants, especially who came from a non-EU country where political parties and agendas as well as election procedures are quite different."* These examples indicate the importance of having knowledge of

the Finnish language and the election and political systems of the receiving country for migrants' participation in civic and political life not only as voters but also as candidates.

Turning back to Soha's experiences of learning Finnish through Finnish language courses, it should be mentioned that she achieved CEFR level B1.2 upon completion of integration training. She makes the following comment about it: *"our group was a really fast learners' group, and there were educated people in our group ... all of us were very good at Finnish, and we all ended up at B1.1 ... | or | B1.2."* Besides this, Soha emphasises the importance of providing intensive full-time Finnish language courses lasting from five to six hours per working day. After completing these Finnish language courses organised as part of integration training, Soha felt *"easy with the Finnish language"* and started looking for a job because she did not want to waste her *"knowledge and work experience"*. She tried to get into the teaching profession again, but again without success:

if I with this level | B1.2 on the CEFR | go to some institution and tell them, "okay, I want to be a teacher", they will not accept me because here in Finland, if you want to be a teacher ... you have to be at level five, six | C1, C2 on the CEFR | which is the highest level **ylin taso** [advanced level], and this is really hard for me who is living just seven years in Finnish society, it's a bit hard for me to have that level, I think it's native Finnish level, this is a very complicated level, so this is one thing which I always told that this mark is too high that in achieving it, going up to that high mark, I will leave behind so much in my other abilities because I will have to put two or three years more or maybe four years more to improve my language skills then what about my professional skills? I will be left behind in my professional skills because then people with whom I'm going to compete they are having more skills, and they are more up to date than me (.) so if I'll be doing my language skills, I will be left behind in my professional skills as compared to my competitors.

From Soha's words, it appears that the language of the host country, and, in this case Finnish, plays a key role in obtaining employment as a teacher. Furthermore, the required language proficiency level in Finnish also affects getting a teaching job. As Soha clearly states in the extract presented above, her Finnish proficiency level of B1.2 on the CEFR is not sufficient because *"in Finland if you want to be a teacher ... you have to be at level five, six | C1, C2 on the CEFR |"*, which means that, in order to work as a teacher in basic education, it is required to have advanced level proficiency in Finnish. This language requirement is laid down in the Teaching Qualifications Decree (986/1998, Amendment 1133/2003). That is, teachers in basic education are required to have excellent spoken and written language skills in the language of instruction, which is usually in Finnish or Swedish, but it may also be in Sámi, Roma, Sign language or in a language other than those mentioned above (see also Basic Education Act, 628/1998). As such, a teaching job is considered a regulated job with high language requirements (Tarnanen & Pöyhönen, 2011), comparable to those in other regulated occupations, including, but not limited to, doctors and nurses (see, e.g., Suni, 2010; Virtanen 2016). In the above extract, Soha also

emphasises that she would have to study Finnish for several more years to acquire advanced level proficiency in Finnish, during which time her professional skills would be left behind compared to her competitors in the field. Hence, as shown by earlier studies conducted in Finland and elsewhere (e.g., Cooke & Simpson, 2008; Kärkkäinen, 2017; Tarnanen & Pöyhönen, 2011), proficiency level in the language of the host country acts as a *'gatekeeper'* in certain employment contexts, while the amount of time needed to achieve a high level of proficiency means that migrants might not be able simultaneously to maintain their professional skills needed in working life.

Meanwhile, Soha's experience shows that, apart from the knowledge of the host country's language, educational qualifications also affect migrants' participation in working life, about which she states, *"there are two things going side by side."* On this point, Soha continues: *"there is not only one language thing, there is another thing ... education degree with teaching qualification."* As the extract below shows, the educational qualifications required for working as a teacher are different in her country of origin from that required in Finland. Furthermore, the education systems of her home and host countries differ; in her words, *"education structures and regulations are different there and here"*.

I know also like one more thing, there is not only the language problem, there is not only one language thing, there is another thing, and this is like if I'm putting my teaching example, if I want to be a teacher, I have to have this education degree with teaching qualification in Finland ... but in my country if you are having university degree with some good grades then there is a public service commission exam and interview for the teachers, for the teaching job, and if you clear them then you can be a teacher (.) so I cleared that exam and interview but I have no paper for that, they don't give you any certificate because it's public [--] you have to appear in the exam then in the interview and then they select you (.) so there is no written document with me that I cleared that exam and then I cleared the interview there and then I got a working place in the college ... what I mean is that education structures and regulations are different there and here.

In speaking about her educational qualifications, Soha adds the following point: *"according to Finnish requirements it is more challenging for me to have the recognition of my teaching qualification here because I have received my education outside EU countries."* More specifically, she needed to have a decision on the recognition of the educational qualifications she obtained in her country of origin in order to be able to apply for a teaching job in basic education, which requires a teaching qualification and a higher education degree, usually a master's degree (see Teaching Qualifications Decree, 986/1998). As a general rule, decisions on the recognition of educational qualifications concern higher education degrees and professional qualifications. Decisions on the equivalence of higher education degrees completed abroad are made by the Finnish National Agency for Education [FNAE] (formerly the Finnish National Board of Education [FNBE]) based on the Act on Eligibility for Public Posts Provided by Higher Education Studies Completed Abroad (1385/2015). In the case of professional qualifications, decisions are made, among others, by competent authorities and typically of two

main types: a decision concerning the recognition of professional qualifications based on the Act on the Recognition of Professional Qualifications (1384/2015), and a decision regarding the recognition of foreign higher education studies as comparable to certain studies in Finland based on the Act on Eligibility for Public Posts Provided by Higher Education Studies Completed Abroad (1385/2015). The former is mostly related to professional qualifications obtained by an EU/EEA or Swiss citizen in an EU/EEA Member State or Switzerland, according to which the applicant may have to complete a compensation measure by selecting between an aptitude test and an adaptation period. The latter mostly refers to higher education studies completed by a citizen and in a country other than those mentioned above, and it may be required that the applicant complete supplementary studies, the maximum extent of which is half of the study module or one third of the total number of studies leading to that qualification (for more information, see FNAE, 2021). Hence, it is obvious that Soha would have had to take supplementary studies in line with the Finnish legislation, as her professional qualification was obtained outside the EU/EEA countries or Switzerland, and consequently would need more time and effort to become qualified to practice her profession in Finland.

In short, taking into account the above-mentioned statutory requirements, including language and professional qualification, Soha had to change her plan to be a teacher. She started working as a trainee in the NGO, which was the main research context of my ethnographic research. More specifically, as a family member of a worker migrant, she was allowed to register as an unemployed jobseeker in the TE Office and to take part in a work trial, aimed at supporting her return to the labour market after parental/child-care leave (for details on work trials, see TE Services, 2017b). Soha's work trial in the NGO lasted for a few months, and she found it *"a good experience even though it was only for a short time, [--] it was my first working experience here, and I learnt quite many things about working culture in Finland."*

When Soha had completed her work trial period, she applied to study to become a teaching assistant. She passed the Finnish written test but not the oral interview in Finnish. Her third child was then born, and she stayed at home to take care of her. After maternity/parental leave, Soha decided to get a new education and change her occupation because *"the criteria for getting a job like a teacher is high"*, and, as she subsequently notes, *"it | the work trial | was the only option for me to work here | in Finland |."* The other reason behind this decision was that Soha was not sure whether she could get a teaching job in the public school system, presenting it as follows: *"besides having a foreign name, I'm also wearing a headscarf [--] they both indicate my religious background ... that's why I can't be sure if I can find work as a teacher in Finnish public school."* In a similar vein, the Finnish respondents of the Eurobarometer 2009 considered that the expression of a religious belief, conveyed, for example, by wearing a visible religious symbol, put a job candidate at a disadvantage with respect to the choice between two candidates with equal skills and qualifications (as cited in Larja et al., 2012). Likewise, a study conducted in Germany (2016) revealed that

foreign-sounding names and headscarves as religious identifiers created more difficulties for migrant women to obtain employment, especially white-collar jobs in public institutions (Weichselbaumer, 2016).

Thus, Soha applied and was accepted for an international master's degree programme in information technology in which English was a medium of instruction. Her career plan was to change her occupation and become an information technology specialist, taking into account the increasing demand for specialists of this kind in the Finnish labour market. She also thought it would be easier to get a job as an information technology specialist in the private sector rather than as a teacher in the public sector on account both of her appearance and religious background in general and of the statutory requirements in particular. As reported earlier, statutory requirements for language and educational qualifications are laid down in Finnish laws (see, e.g., Act on the Knowledge of Languages Required of Personnel in Public Bodies, 424/2003; Language Act, 423/2003), but these requirements mostly concern public sector posts, including teaching posts, which are categorised as regulated occupations.

In the case of private sector posts, it is primarily up to employers to decide what language skills and language proficiency levels, as well as educational qualifications, are needed for particular jobs. In this regard, Soha emphasises that educational qualifications, including a higher education degree and a professional qualification gained in Finland, might be valued more by employers than those obtained abroad, particularly in a developing country such as her country of origin. Here, it is worth noting that foreign educational qualifications, "especially [those obtained] in countries considered to be less important in the global hierarchy", are often not accepted by Finnish employers (Forsander, 2003, p. 68; see also Paananen 1999), even if they are officially validated or recognised in Finland (Kyhä, 2011; Masoud et al., 2020). The proficiency level in the host country's language also creates difficulties for migrants to find employment commensurate with their foreign educational qualifications (Heikkilä, 2005; Pehkonen, 2006). It is, therefore, typical that highly educated migrants have to obtain a new education to start a new career in Finland (see, e.g., Forsander, 2013; Kyhä, 2011; Masoud et al., 2020). Also of note is that employers often demand a high level of proficiency in Finnish, even if doing the job does not require a full command of the Finnish language (see Ahmad, 2005). On this point, Soha assumes that the Finnish language requirements may be less demanding in the field of information technology, as the working language is usually English. In line with this assumption, a research study conducted among Russian-speaking migrants working in Finland (see Pöyhönen et al., 2013) reports that while migrants with a low proficiency level in Finnish could find employment as information technology specialists in a company where the main working language was English, they were also the most likely to be in a precarious situation and the first to go, if their company found itself in a financial crisis and had to dismiss employees. In sum, Soha wants to obtain employment in the field of information technology,

like her husband, and she believes that her intermediate proficiency level in Finnish, knowledge of the English language, and the university education that she started acquiring in Finland would, in addition to the rising demand for workers in IT, be acceptable to employers, and thereby facilitate her access to the Finnish labour market.

With regard to her Finnish language learning experiences, Soha notes that the integration training was more useful for the development of her reading and writing skills compared to her speaking and listening skills in Finnish. She also points out that *“we studied Finnish language ... this kirjakieli – written language, it’s different from this puhekieli – spoken language ... sinä – sä [you], olet – oot [are], when these short words come, the language totally changes.”* In particular, Soha noticed the difference between written and spoken Finnish during her work trial, in which she was involved as a trainee in the NGO. It thus appears that the Finnish language courses organised as part of integration training supported Soha in improving her written skills (reading and writing) more than her oral skills (speaking and listening) in the language of the receiving country (for a review of similar findings, see Cooke & Simpson, 2008; Sahradyan, 2012). On the basis of the self-assessment conducted after completing her integration training and work trial, Soha had upper-intermediate proficiency in Finnish and needed to further enhance her productive skills (speaking and writing). On this topic of Finnish language learning, particularly through integration training, Soha adds:

we had this one and a half year time, but we like me and five my classmates ended up in six months, so we really wanted to study Finnish more ... because we completed it |integration training| in a short time, so we were having some more seven or eight months’ time ...

This quote indicates that Soha and her classmates completed the integration training earlier than was usual, that is, in six months instead of one and a half years, and wanted to continue learning the Finnish language. However, it was not possible as they had already reached CEFR level B1. As she says, *“we talked to our teachers, but they told us that this is not the rule for TE-toimisto [TE Office], they told us that we cannot continue because the objective is that you can understand a daily conversation and you can also speak daily conversation, so if you’ve achieved that goal now, you have to leave.”* According to the Integration Act (1386/2010, Section 20; see also FNBE, 2012, p. 11), the objective of integration training is to achieve CEFR level B1 in Finnish/Swedish; that is, the goal is to provide migrants with functional basic proficiency in one of the official languages needed in everyday life. In line with this, Soha mentions that the Finnish language courses enabled her to use Finnish in daily life, for example, to make appointments to see a doctor or to have a meeting with her children’s kindergarten teachers. She was also able to understand and respond to most of the mail relating to daily life activities that she received. However, as she notes, it was difficult for her to understand the *“bureaucratic language”* used in official documents received from the TE Office or Kela, for instance, which contained *“complex sentence structures*

and bureaucratic terminology.” Meanwhile, she states that it was not easy to understand the information provided on the websites of these and other public bodies, reflecting on it as follows:

- Soha: it would be good to use **selkosuomi** [easy Finnish] so that we immigrants can read and understand information provided in public institutions’ official websites
- Sonya: do you know that information is sometimes provided in English and other foreign languages as well?
- Soha: yes, I know and it’s useful, but we know that not all immigrants can understand those foreign languages, including English, that’s why it’s also important to use **selkosuomi** [easy Finnish] in those websites
- Sonya: I see, do you want to add anything else?
- Soha: I want to add one more point, I think it would also be good to use **selkosuomi** [easy Finnish] when providing services to immigrant customers in TE Office or other public institutions.

These reflections suggest that the use of “*selkosuomi* [easy Finnish]” might help migrants to understand the information available on the official websites of public institutions as well as the official documents they receive from public institutions. It also indicates the need to provide services to clients with migrant backgrounds through “*selkosuomi* [easy Finnish]”, about which Soha states, “it would be good to organise seminars or training courses for public officials to support them to develop skills for using *selkosuomi* [easy Finnish] with immigrants.” She believes that, in this way, public institutions can reduce costs and save on the financial resources needed for translation and interpretation; meanwhile, migrants can benefit by using and practising their Finnish language skills. As Juusola (2019) points out, the need for *easy Finnish* has increased recently for several reasons, one of which is associated with the ever-growing number of migrants for whom the *easy Finnish* used in everyday communication can help them not only to learn the host country’s language but also to integrate into society at large. Relatively little research has been conducted on this issue. The more common term used in previous studies is *easy-to-read language* (*selkokieli* in Finnish); however, there seems to be a shift favouring the term *easy language* (*selkokieli* in Finnish) or *easy Finnish* (*selkosuomi* in Finnish) (see Vanhatalo & Lindholm, 2019). In general, *easy language* is used in both text and speech and is easier to read and understand lexically and syntactically than the standard forms and is, therefore, more useful for migrants with CEFR proficiency levels ranging from A1 to B1 (see Juusola, 2019). Hence, the use of *easy language* in public institutions and on their official websites would help Soha and other migrants to access necessary information and services, as well as to practise their Finnish language skills outside of the classroom environment and gradually learn bureaucratic language, which is typically not part of integration training.

It is also notable that Soha's Finnish proficiency level, achieved through integration training, was not sufficient for her in working life. In particular, she was unable to continue her teaching career in Finland and, in her words, *"if I go to some restaurant to some kitchen work or to some cleaning work, it | B1 proficiency level in Finnish | is enough ... but if I do some professional work like if I want to be a doctor or if I want to be a teacher, then it's not enough."* This interpretation is consistent with earlier findings (e.g., Suni, 2010; Tarnanen & Pöyhönen, 2011) indicating a gap between the Finnish proficiency level provided by integration training and the proficiency level required in working life, especially for regulated occupations, such as in medicine and education. Soha's words also indicate that the Finnish proficiency level provided in integration training is mostly adequate for the typical entry-level jobs for migrants, for instance, cleaning jobs (see also Strömmer, 2016). Soha mentions that she did not mind having *"a cleaning job for the survival"*, but this was not her long-term plan. As she later points out, *"I have this master's degree, university degree, and I have this much teaching experience ... I can give a good share to the community ... I can do some benefit for the society."* Furthermore, from the viewpoint of developing her Finnish language skills, she believes it would be more useful to be a teacher rather than a cleaner. In brief, these considerations suggest that, as a highly educated migrant, Soha's 'survival employment' would mean both deskilling in her working life and limited opportunities to increase her proficiency in the host country's language. Similar findings have been reported in previous academic studies conducted in other Western countries, including Australia, Canada and the UK (see, e.g., Cooke & Simpson, 2008; Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Piller, 2016). Instead, had Soha been employed in the field in which she had been educated or worked before moving to Finland, then she would most likely have been able not only to improve her Finnish language skills and participate in the Finnish labour market but also to make a contribution to the host community and society. Thus, Soha emphasises the need to offer migrants specialised Finnish language courses that are directly linked to their educational background and/or work experience, in addition to the general Finnish language courses organised as part of integration training.

On her integration experiences, Soha states, *"I came here as a student's family member and therefore didn't receive support to participate in working life or learn Finnish language"*, and she subsequently adds, *"the first years after the migration was quite difficult time for me, my family, we basically didn't get any support from anyone for a couple of years until the end of the first decade of the 2000s."* At that time, such possibilities were primarily targeted to migrants with refugee status and those who were deemed unemployed jobseekers in accordance with the Act on Public Employment Service (1295/2002) or were in receipt of social assistance in accordance with the Act on Social Assistance (1412/1997) since they were legally entitled to an integration plan (see Integration Act, 493/1999). Soha, in turn, as a family member of a student migrant, was not recognised by the employment and integration policies of the host country as an unemployed jobseeker, despite neither studying nor working during that period.

The situation of student migrants' family members changed after the Integration Act (1386/2010) came into force in 2011. Since then, they have had the right to register as an unemployed jobseeker and are entitled to an integration plan; however, they are not eligible to receive integration assistance (i.e., financial support) in the form of a labour market subsidy, as they are granted migration status as a family member of a student migrant (for details, see, Aliens Act, 301/2004; TE Services, 2017f). The above-mentioned legislative change did not affect Soha as her husband had obtained employment in Finland, which entitled her to receive a continuous (A) residence permit based on her migration status as a family member of a worker migrant. It was therefore important for Soha that, in accordance with the Integration Act (1386/2010), worker migrants' family members became eligible for the state integration programme. In other words, the change in the provisions of the integration law and in her migration and legal statuses enabled Soha not only to participate in the Finnish language course arranged as part of integration training but also to receive a labour market subsidy based on her continuous (A) residence permit.

Soha points out that her registration as an unemployed jobseeker at the TE Office also entitled her to participate in the Finnish language courses provided as part of integration training. However, when her labour force status (unemployed) changed and she became a stay-at-home mother (economically inactive), Soha was again left outside the state integration programme and was not provided by the authorities with information or services promoting integration. She could only receive integration-related guidance services from the Info Centre administered by the local NGO with the cooperation of the municipality and the ELY Centre. Similarly, the only opportunity for her was to participate in the Finnish language course organised as part of the publicly funded project on language learning for migrant stay-at-home mothers; however, this course was less beneficial as it was scheduled for a few hours a week.

As a stay-at-home mother, Soha was considered neither employed nor unemployed, that is, outside of working life, and was therefore not provided with employment-related services as well. Moreover, after parental/child-care leave, Soha's only possibility was to take part in a work trial, which, according to the agreement that she signed with the TE Office and the workplace, lasted for just a few months. In short, Soha's case illustrates the challenges that a migrant woman may face not only in learning the Finnish language but also in gaining access to the Finnish labour market (for a discussion of such difficulties, see Pehkonen, 2006). With respect to participation in the Finnish labour market, statistics (OECD/EU, 2018) show that the unemployment rate of foreign-born women aged 15 to 64 was higher than their male counterparts (17.3% and 14.8%, respectively) and more than double the unemployment rate of native-born women and men in the year 2017 (7.9% and 8.7%, respectively). This indicates that foreign-born women, including Soha, experience a double disadvantage – as women and as migrants – in the host society.

To summarise, Soha's experiences reveal that she moved to Finland as a family member migrant and had to start from scratch in a new country. More specifically, her language trajectory shows that she first started learning Finnish through self-study and then continued through various daily activities, Finnish language courses organised for migrant stay-at-home mothers or arranged as integration training, and the work trial implemented in the NGO. With respect to Soha's employment trajectory, it indicates that she had to build a new working life in Finland because she could not obtain a teaching job she had done in her country of origin. The only possibility open to her was to work as a trainee in a different occupational field, which was the downward employment mobility for her, and she therefore decided to abandon her plan to be a teacher and instead become an information technology specialist via a new university education in order to enhance her employment and career prospects in the host society. Her integration trajectory, in turn, shows that it was initially self-initiated and subsequently supported by the state integration programme, which, however, provided her with limited possibilities in different aspects. Overall, Soha's integration trajectory encompassed learning the Finnish language, building social networks, learning about the culture of the receiving country, being involved in NGO activities as a visitor and in integration-related counselling services as a client, taking part as a trainee in a work trial implemented in the NGO, embarking on an international master's degree programme to broaden her opportunities of getting employment in Finland, and preparing to participate in elections, first as a voter and then possibly as a candidate.

6 MIGRANT NGO PRACTITIONERS' INSTITUTIONAL TRAJECTORIES OF LANGUAGE, EMPLOYMENT AND INTEGRATION IN THE WORKPLACE CONTEXT

In this chapter, I focus on the second research theme relating to migrant NGO practitioners' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the workplace context of Finland. To analyse and discuss these institutional trajectories, migrant NGO practitioners were divided into five groups based on their workforce statuses, including salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers. The migrant NGO practitioners' workforce statuses were connected to their different work-related characteristics in management and work sites, indicating their different starting points in the NGO as a workplace. After several weeks of starting my ethnographic fieldwork, I realised these connections and continued conducting my ethnographic observations focusing on migrant NGO practitioners' institutional experiences along with their workforce statuses. The migrant NGO practitioners are therefore presented here through their workforce statuses.

Specifically, I start with the description of the work-related characteristics of migrant NGO practitioners according to their workforce statuses, such as salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers. After that, the migrant NGO practitioners' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration are analysed and discussed based on their institutional experiences. These trajectories also include the perceptions of Finnish NGO supervisors who worked with migrant NGO practitioners in different management and work sites of the KYT Association (for more information on the NGO practitioners and supervisors, as well as on management and work sites, see Section 4.2). In brief, the analysis and discussion of migrant NGO practitioners' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration are reported through the distinct but related narratives: (1) Institutional employment narrative "*Finding, choosing, applying for and obtaining employment in the NGO as a workplace*", (2) Institutional language narrative "*Choosing, using, learning and maintaining language in the NGO as a workplace*", and (3) Institutional

integration narrative “*Receiving work orientation, guidance and support for integration in the NGO as a workplace*”. These institutional narratives also closely reflect the policies and practices of language, employment and integration in the NGO¹⁵ as a workplace context.

Thus, in Chapter 6, I employ interview data (ethnographic interviews and ethnographic conversations) along with fieldnotes. The former refer to formal interviews/2 and formal interviews/2/fieldnotes, whereas the latter are related to informal interviews and fieldnotes. I also use textual data (institutional documents of the NGO), observational data from digital settings (digital materials of the NGO), observational data from physical settings (fieldnotes, artefacts, photographs, audio-recordings, video-recordings), questionnaire data (demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires) and self-assessment data (self-assessment scales of language proficiency). All the above-mentioned data sets are embedded in the text to facilitate the flow of the institutional trajectories of migrant NGO practitioners narrated and discussed in the next sections (for details on the data collection and production, data management, and data selection and analysis, see Sections 4.3–4.6). To ensure privacy and confidentiality of personal information, all the participants’ demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds are reported in general terms and words. Information on the dates of research data collection or production is also not provided in this chapter (for details on ethical considerations, see Section 4.7).

6.1 Work-related characteristics of migrant NGO practitioners: Salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers

In general, migrant NGO practitioners had heterogeneous work-related characteristics, about which I obtained detailed information during my ethnographic observations conducted in different management and work sites of the KYT Association. What helped me to present here such work-related characteristics was the classification of migrant NGO practitioners according to their workforce statuses: salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers. This classification illustrates not only migrants’ recruitment procedures and requirements in the KYT Association as a workplace but also their employment opportunities based on the labour market policy and services (for details on these services, see Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2018), which are seen as measures promoting employment in Finland. In particular, it reveals migrant NGO practitioners’ work situation, type of work, work status, work performed, work funded and duration of work, along with their participation within, outside and beyond the labour force (see Table 7).

¹⁵The NGO refers to the KYT Association, which is the main research context of this ethnographic study, in which the terms *NGO* and *association* are used interchangeably (for more information, see Sections 2.2 and 4.2).

Table 7. Overview of the work-related characteristics of migrant NGO practitioners.

1)*	2) Type of work	3) Subtype of work	4) Work status	5) Work performed	6) Work funded	7)*
SALARIED EMPLOYEES (<i>n</i> = 7) / WITHIN THE LABOUR FORCE						
employed in the general labour market	salaried work	part-time salaried work	- part-time salaried employee employed for a fixed period (<i>n</i> = 4)	- migration adviser	- employer received funding from • City of Jyväskylä • ELY Centre of Central Finland • TE Office of Central Finland • European Social Fund and/or • Finland's Slot Machine Association	1-7 YEARS
		full-time salaried work	- full-time salaried employee employed for a fixed period (<i>n</i> = 2)	- job coach - youth and family worker		
			- full-time salaried employee employed for an indefinite period (<i>n</i> = 1)	- coordinator of events and facilities		
SUBSIDISED EMPLOYEES (<i>n</i> = 2) / WITHIN THE LABOUR FORCE						
employed through employment services	subsidised work	employment-based subsidised work	- employment-based subsidised employee (<i>n</i> = 1)	- work planner	- payment from employer and KEHA Centre	5-6 MONTHS
		apprenticeship-based subsidised work	- apprenticeship-based subsidised employee (<i>n</i> = 1)	- youth worker		
TRAINEES (<i>n</i> = 5) / OUTSIDE THE LABOUR FORCE						
engaged in services promoting employment	work trial	work try-out	- trainee participating in a work try-out (returning to work after a long period of unemployment) (<i>n</i> = 1)	- planner and/or organiser of activities, events and occasions	- unemployment benefits with/ without social assistance and/or expense allowance paid by Kela and/or unemployment fund	2-4 MONTHS
			- trainee participating in a work try-out (returning to work after parental or child-care leave) (<i>n</i> = 2)			
			- trainee participating in a work try-out (clarifying vocational and career choices) (<i>n</i> = 1)			
		rehabilitative work	- trainee participating in a rehabilitative work activity (<i>n</i> = 1)			
INTERNS (<i>n</i> = 3) / OUTSIDE THE LABOUR FORCE						
engaged in training	internship	work placement	- intern receiving integration training (<i>n</i> = 2)	- planner and/or organiser of activities, events and occasions	- unemployment benefits with/ without social assistance and/or expense allowance paid by Kela and/or unemployment fund	1-4 MONTHS
		practical training	- intern receiving vocational education (<i>n</i> = 1)			
VOLUNTEERS (<i>n</i> = 5) / BEYOND THE LABOUR FORCE						
engaged in volunteering activity	voluntary work	volunteering	- volunteer cultural activist (<i>n</i> = 2)	- planner and/or organiser of cultural activities and events	- no payment	1-5-5 YEARS
			- volunteer group leader (<i>n</i> = 3)	- leader of the Russian language discussion group - leader of the English language discussion and study groups - leader of the peer-support group		

Note: * (1) Work situation; (7) Duration of work.

Typically, migrant NGO practitioners had salaried work, including part-time (4 persons) and full-time (3 persons), for one to seven years. All the part-time salaried employees were hired as migration advisers. They were employed in an integration-related project that provided information and consultation services to migrant clients relating to education, work, residence permit, citizenship, health care and other matters. Based on a fixed-term employment contract, the migration advisers worked a minimum of 4 hours per week, and they were paid hourly wages from project funding provided by the European Social Fund, the ELY Centre of Central Finland and the City of Jyväskylä. As for the full-time salaried employees, they worked in an integration-related project or in a multicultural centre and had different positions such as a job coach, youth and family worker, and coordinator of events and facilities. In particular, the job coach provided employment services to both migrants and Finns, supporting them in finding and applying for various kinds of employment or studies that assisted in obtaining an occupation. The main tasks of the youth and family worker were to plan and implement a variety of activities for migrant young people and their parents as well as to provide them with consultation on integration-related matters. The coordinator of events and facilities was mostly involved in organising cultural and social events in which participated Finns and migrants with diverse backgrounds. The coordinator was also responsible for the reservation of premises of the multicultural centre for informal groups and associations. All the full-time salaried employees received monthly salaries, which were paid by the employer from different funding sources, including the ELY Centre of Central Finland, the TE Office of Central Finland, the City of Jyväskylä and/or Finland's Slot Machine Association (currently the Funding Centre for Social Welfare and Health Organisations [STEA]). Only one of the full-time salaried employees had an employment contract for an indefinite period, and the others had an employment contract for a fixed-term.

The migrant NGO practitioners also carried out subsidised work, such as employment-based or apprenticeship-based (2 persons), for a period of five or six months. The employment-based subsidised employee was supported with a pay subsidy because of being more than 60 years old and being unemployed for a long time (for more information, see TE Services, 2017c). The employment-based subsidised employee was hired as a work planner assisting trainees and interns in learning about the workplace and performing different work tasks. Similarly, the apprenticeship-based subsidised employee was supported with a pay subsidy but due to apprenticeship training, which usefully combines work with studies (see Act on Vocational Education, 630/1998). The apprenticeship-based subsidised employee was employed as a youth worker and was actively involved in the implementation of a wide range of activities and events for youth with a migrant background. Both subsidised employees had a fixed-term employment contract and received monthly wages, which included a partial payment from the employer and a partial payment of a pay subsidy from the Development and Administration Centre of ELY

Centres and TE Offices [KEHA Centre] (see TE Services, 2017c). In general, a pay subsidy as an economic benefit is granted to an employer from the TE Office to cover the pay costs of an unemployed jobseeker, who is entitled to receive a pay subsidy card issued by the TE Office (Act on Public Employment and Business Service, 916/2012; TE Services, 2017a). In accordance with the labour market policy (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2018), the part- and full-time salaried employees hired for an indefinite or a fixed period can be characterised as *employed in the general labour market*. Employment-based and apprenticeship-based subsidised employees, in turn, can be described as *employed through employment services* (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2018). In other words, the migrant NGO practitioners hired through salaried or subsidised work are regarded as both employed and *within the labour force*, even though they get a job through different recruitment channels.

In addition, the migrant NGO practitioners were trainees and did a work trial, that is, rehabilitative work (1 person) and work try-out (4 persons). The duration of their work trials was between two and four months. The trainee participating in a rehabilitative work activity was unemployed for a long-term period, that is, for several years. Generally, the aim of the rehabilitative work is to assist in becoming accustomed to the rules of working life and to enhance own life management skills (for details, see Act on Rehabilitative Work, 189/2001; TE Services, 2017d). With regard to the work try-out, it is seen as a stepping-stone to the Finnish labour market (TE Services, 2017b). The work try-out aims at supporting persons in making choices of profession or career options and in returning to work of those who have been outside the Finnish labour market because of a long period of unemployment or other reasons for not working (see Act on Public Employment and Business Service, 916/2012; see also TE Services, 2017b). As such, one of the trainees was given an opportunity to clarify vocational and career choices through the work try-out. For the other three trainees, the work try-out was a way to return to working life after being an extended period of unemployed or after parental/child-care leave.

Furthermore, the migrant NGO practitioners were involved in work placement (2 persons) and practical training (1 person), which were generally considered an internship. That is, they worked as interns at the workplace for a period of one to four months. The two interns participated in a work placement as part of integration training organised for adult migrants. Typically, integration training encompasses Finnish or Swedish courses and a work placement period aimed at familiarising interns with “the Finnish world of work and develop their working life skills and communications skills required in the world of work” (FNBE, 2012, p. 35; Integration Act, 1386/2010). The other intern was engaged in practical training arranged through vocational education; practical training is usually intended for adults who have compulsory education and are jobseekers (TE Services, 2017e). Under the Act on Public Employment and Business Service (916/2012), vocational education and integration training

are provided to interns as labour market training. As a general rule, neither interns nor trainees had an employment relationship with the workplace; they were registered as unemployed jobseekers in the TE Office and were given unemployment benefits with/without social assistance and/or an expense allowance¹⁶ paid by Kela and/or unemployment fund (see, e.g., Act on Unemployment Security, 1290/2002; Act on Public Employment and Business Service, 916/2012). Meanwhile, trainees and interns did not have any particular position at work; they mostly participated in planning and organising a wide range of activities, events and occasions for local residents with diverse backgrounds. According to the labour market policy (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2018), trainees participating in a work try-out or rehabilitative work activity can be classified as *engaged in services promoting employment*, whereas interns receiving integration training or vocational education can be categorised as *engaged in training, particularly internship training*. Consequently, the migrant NGO practitioners, who are trainees or interns, are considered neither employed nor unemployed. That is, “[t]he labour market position of those participating in services promoting employment ... and those in training ... places them *outside the labour force*” (see Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2018, p. 3). The economic activation of both interns and trainees is mostly promoted through labour market policy services, which are provided by the TE Office and are defined in the Act on Unemployment Security (1290/2002).

Finally, the migrant NGO practitioners were engaged in voluntary work (5 persons), and they carried out volunteering activities for one and a half to five years. In general, voluntary work can be done in different ways and contexts, and it has different meanings. Here, voluntary work refers to work that supports the activities of communities and not-for-profit organisations or promotes the public good (TE Services, 2017i). The volunteers participating in this research were involved in a variety of groups and activities. The two volunteers were cultural activists, and they took an active part in planning and/or organising various cultural activities and events. The other three volunteers were leaders of the peer-support group, the Russian language discussion group or the English language discussion and study group. In addition to voluntary work, the volunteers carried out different types of work outside the KYT Association, or they were unemployed¹⁷. It should be noted that all the volunteers undertook unpaid work in the KYT Association. In short, the migrant NGO practitioners acting as volunteers received no payment because they were *engaged in volunteering activity* and, as such, they are viewed as *beyond the labour force*.

¹⁶ Unemployment benefits with/without social assistance and/or an expense allowance were given to interns and trainees who had a continuous (A) residence permit, that is, interns and trainees with a temporary (B) residence permit were not eligible for such financial support (see, e.g., TE Services, 2017f; 2017g).

¹⁷ In accordance with the Act on Unemployment Security (1290/2002), doing voluntary work does not affect receiving unemployment benefits when a person is registered as an unemployed jobseeker in the TE Office (see also TE Services, 2017i).

6.2 Institutional trajectories of salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers

In the following sections, institutional trajectories of migrant NGO practitioners (i.e., salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers) are analysed and discussed through their institutional narratives of employment, language and integration in the NGO as a workplace.

6.2.1 Institutional employment narrative “*Finding, choosing, applying for and obtaining employment in the NGO as a workplace*”

Finding information on employment opportunities has a central role in the Finnish labour market entry of jobseekers. As an official report of 2017 shows, the most common means of recruitment was announcements to current personnel and direct contacts to former employees, and only about half of the vacancies were announced through public employment services (Maunu, 2018). Meanwhile, this official report indicates that the third sector (Associations 57%) used more public employment services for recruitment than the public sector (state 53% and municipal 48%) and private sector (44%) in Finland.

As a workplace in the third sector, the KYT Association involved in this ethnographic study also made use of public employment services in the recruitment process. That is, the vacancies for salaried employees were announced on a public employment services website (*mol.fi*) operated by TE Offices in Finland. On this point, the Finnish NGO supervisor, Mari, remarks as follows: “*when we started the recruiting process, we actually put job advertisements in TE-toimisto [TE Office] mol.fi |website| ... we opened all vacancies there so that everybody could see them ... also we informed TE-toimisto [TE Office] if you know any of your customers who [--] are looking for such a job can look at these advertisements.*” Similarly, the vacancies for subsidised employees were advertised on a job-search website announcing different positions available in the NGOs based in Central Finland (*palkkatuki.fi*). The announcements for salaried and subsidised employees were typically published on these websites in Finnish. In addition to salaried and subsidised employees, different work sites of the KYT Association also posted announcements in Finnish and/or English to recruit trainees, interns and volunteers through the NGO’s public website (*kyt.fi*), as well as through social media (Facebook pages and blogs of KYT Association’s work sites). Some migrant NGO practitioners used the above-mentioned institutional websites and social media in this regard, and one of them, Kalle/volunteer, gives the following comment:

after moving to a new city, I searched meeting places for the local community activities on the Internet and found \the KYT Association’s\ website, where announcements about voluntary work were posted in both English and Finnish (.) that’s how I acquired information on volunteering here. ((a section of these announcements is provided in Figure 21))

<p><u>Announcement in Finnish</u></p> <p>[redacted] toimii monenlaisia ryhmiä sekä järjestetään erilaisia tapahtumia. <u>Tule mukaan vapaaehtoisena</u> – sekä ryhmissä että tapahtumissa on mahdollista olla vapaaehtoisena mukana. Myös uutta toimintaa ja tapahtumia voidaan ideoida yhdessä.</p>
<p><u>Announcement in Finnish</u></p> <p>Are you interested in voluntary work in [redacted] ?</p> <p>For more information, please visit [redacted] Wednesdays from 1 to 3pm.</p> <p>A wide range of groups operate in [redacted]. In addition, many kinds of events are organized. You are welcome to join us as a volunteer in carrying out activities in groups and in events. We can also plan new activities and events together.</p>

Figure 21. Announcements on voluntary work posted on the KYT Association’s website in Finnish and English.

It was, however, difficult for several participants to search recruitment information on the Internet as they had little digital literacy skills. On this point, one of the migrant NGO practitioners, Grisha/trainee, says:

<p>когда я приехал, ничего не знал про компьютер, просто слышал про компьютер ... здесь в Финляндии примерно два-три раза я ходил на компьютерные курсы, был хорошо, но конечно, было трудно ... я старик, мне трудно пользоваться компьютером и найти сайты, где публикуются объявления о вакансиях.</p>	<p>(when I arrived, I did not know anything about the computer, I just heard about the computer ... here in Finland I went to computer courses about two or three times, it was good, but of course, it was difficult ... I am an old man, it is difficult for me to use the computer and to find the websites where advertisements for vacancies are published.)</p>
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Therefore, Grisha/trainee directly contacted the Finnish NGO supervisor and asked about the possibility of doing a work trial in one of the work sites of the KYT Association, where he usually visited as a migrant to receive integration-related counselling services offered by the Info Centre. To acquire work-related information, some of the migrant NGO practitioners also emphasise the assistance from their family members and friends, in addition to TE Office specialists, job coaches working in NGOs, former employers, study counsellors and teachers. For example, Zakoo/intern, who recently moved to Finland, was an emergent learner of Finnish and had a limited social network. He was informed about the possibility of doing an internship in the KYT Association from his teacher of the Finnish language course organised as part of integration training. Similarly, Kaisa/supervisor says, “*in the beginning of \the NGO project\, we went to \educational institutions\ to tell the teachers and the students that we have this project and we can take some interns.*” What the migrant NGO practitioners

also underline is that they obtained information about vacancies in the KYT Association's different work sites from more than one source, about which Som/salaried employee states:

my husband found a job advertisement on **TE-toimisto** [TE Office] website and informed me about it ... the next day, I saw the same advertisement posted on \the Facebook page of the KYT Association's work site\.

Thus, it is apparent that the migrant NGO practitioners found information about available employment opportunities in KYT Association's work sites through different recruitment channels, including institutional websites, social media, social networks and/or direct contacts. Likewise, prior research conducted by Ahmad (2005) indicates that migrants used different job-search methods, such as impersonal, personal and direct. According to Ahmad's study (2005), the impersonal method was related to acquiring job information through the public employment service, newspaper or company website, whereas the personal method referred to assistance from a social contact classified as a close relation, acquaintance and work-related in the process of job information acquisition. In the case of the direct method, particular jobs were not advertised, and migrant jobseekers directly contacted the employers without any impersonal or personal assistance (Ahmad, 2005). In addition, Ahmad's study (2005) reveals that these job-search methods were affected not only by migrant jobseekers' interest in active job search but also by their personal characteristics, including age, education, length of stay in Finland, Finnish language proficiency and labour market experience, which are also highlighted by most of the migrant NGO practitioners and their supervisors involved in this ethnographic study.

Regarding their choice of employment in the KYT Association, the migrant NGO practitioners gave different responses. As Freda/volunteer notes, "*I came here as a refugee and got support from different people ... now it's my turn to help people who need it.*" The volunteers' employment choice was mostly associated with their willingness to help people from different backgrounds. The interns and trainees often connected their employment choice of doing an internship or a work trial in the NGO with their goals of learning and practising Finnish language skills through work and/or familiarising themselves with the Finnish working life and the activity of the NGO's work sites. When examining institutional documents, I noticed that similar goals were also mentioned in the agreements that the interns and trainees signed with both the work site of the KYT Association as a workplace and the educational institution where they studied or the TE Office where they registered as an unemployed jobseeker. Salaried and subsidised employees, in turn, connected their employment choice with the experience of working in the NGO as a multicultural and multilingual workplace. Some migrant NGO practitioners also emphasise, for example, their age, gender, language and culture for choosing to work in the NGO. Interestingly, most of them chose to work in the NGO sector because of facing difficulties in getting work, even unpaid work. On this point, Keiko/intern, who did practical

training in the KYT Association as part of her Finnish vocational education programme, says, “I applied to different workplaces but only this workplace accepted me [--] I couldn’t get any *toimistotyö* [office work] to do my *työharjoittelu* [practical training] in the accounting field which was needed for my Finnish vocational education ... employers don’t want to have us, migrant interns, they think we do paper work slower than Finns, also they think Finns know laws and system better than we do (.). employers just don’t want to spend extra time to help or train us even when they don’t need to pay us.” Another migrant NGO practitioner, Onni, who worked as a part-time salaried employee in the KYT Association, states as follows: “I was looking for a full-time job after completion of my vocational education here in Finland, but I couldn’t get any job relevant to my education ... then I found this part-time job, that’s okay! I can do that [--] it’s better than nothing.” Similar to the experiences of migrant NGO practitioners, earlier national and international studies report that migrants face challenges in getting not only paid but also unpaid work, particularly corresponding to their education (see, e.g., Booth et al., 2012; Larja, 2019; Myrskylä & Pyykkönen, 2014; Paananen, 1999; Weichselbaumer, 2016).

When it comes to applying for employment in the KYT Association, migrant NGO practitioners also had different experiences. For instance, volunteers did not submit any application or CV. In general, they had a conversation with a coordinator of voluntary work in Finnish and/or English and filled out a volunteer sign-up form together (a sample of the form is presented in Appendix 9). In this form, volunteers mostly provided personal information (e.g., first name, surname, email address and phone number), language skills, hobbies, activities to be involved as a volunteer and frequency of involvement in volunteering, as well as prior experiences in voluntary work. In the words of Margarita/supervisor, “\my colleague\ is having a meeting with a person who is interested in volunteering, they first discuss opportunities of doing voluntary work in different groups and activities that we organise here, then they write in the volunteer sign-up form about the activities or groups in which this person wants to be involved as a volunteer.” Margarita also states that the use of this form was optional before, and, as several volunteers point out, they did not fill out the volunteer sign-up form because they started volunteering a few years ago when its use was optional. During my ethnographic fieldwork, I also noticed that using this form along with a conversation with a person interested in volunteering became a typical procedure to apply for voluntary work, about which another supervisor/Kaisa comments as follows:

having a conversation and filling out a form with a new volunteer are useful for us to coordinate and develop voluntary work in our \NGO project\, but it’s also useful for volunteers because sometimes they don’t know that their support and participation in planning and arranging activities or events are considered as voluntary work ... especially volunteers who migrated to Finland from different countries and had different working cultures.

As such, the procedure of applying to be a volunteer in the NGO seems to promote the organisation and enhancement of voluntary work on the one hand

and raise awareness of voluntary work, especially among volunteers with a migrant background, on the other. The procedure of applying for a work trial or an internship was, to some extent, similar to the procedure of applying for voluntary work. Specifically, the migrant NGO practitioners, who applied to do a work trial or an internship, did not submit any application or CV. However, they had an informal interview with one or two staff members, with whom they filled out an agreement form¹⁸ of the work trial or an internship. The following fieldnote taken during my ethnographic observation describes an informal interview, along with filling out the agreement form of the work trial, with one of the trainees, Fatima:

It was a sunny spring afternoon. I went to a small office of Margarita/supervisor, who was preparing to have an interview with Fatima. In a few minutes, Fatima knocked at the door. Margarita opened the door, greeted in Finnish and invited her to sit next to me on the sofa. I also greeted Fatima in Finnish and asked permission from her to be present in the interview as a doctoral researcher. After receiving her permission, Margarita started the interview. At first, Margarita introduced herself as a staff member of the NGO and then asked Fatima to tell briefly about herself. Fatima told us that she lived for a few years in Finland, where she participated in Finnish language courses organised as integration training. Upon completion of integration training, her first child was born, and she stayed at home to take care of her daughter for about three years. After her maternity/child-care leave, she registered as an unemployed jobseeker in the TE Office and started looking for a workplace to do a work trial and, for that purpose, she came to today's interview. Margarita then asked Fatima to answer a few questions, such as why she was interested in working in \this work site of the NGO\ and what she wanted to do as a trainee, as well as what languages she knew, what she studied and where she worked before or after moving to Finland. Their conversation was mostly in Finnish, and they sometimes used English when it was difficult for Fatima to answer some parts of the questions in Finnish. They talked about these questions for approximately 15 minutes. Afterwards, Margarita said, "**Tervetuloa työskentelemään kanssamme!** [Welcome to work with us!]" and immediately took an agreement form of the work trial and started filling it out with Fatima. In the agreement form, it was necessary to write information on the workplace, the person responsible for her guidance at work, the representative of the TE Office and herself as a trainee, in addition to objectives, tasks, duration and other details pertaining to the work trial ... When the interview was over, Fatima and I went out of Margarita's office. At that time, I asked Fatima's opinion about the interview. She replied to me with a smile, "**Kaikki meni hyvin, se oli avoin ja rento haastattelu, jossa ei tarvinnut jännittää ollenkaan** [Everything went well, it was an open and relaxed interview, where there was no need to get nervous at all]". She then showed me a paper where was written in Finnish most of the questions discussed in the interview. When I asked her from where or whom she got that paper, she replied, "**Mä sain sen täältä, Margaritan kollegalta** [I got it from here, from Margarita's colleague]" and subsequently added that getting interview questions beforehand was beneficial for her, as she could prepare at home how to answer them. What she also found useful was that she was given an opportunity to answer in English when it was difficult to express herself in Finnish. ((interview questions discussed above are provided in Figure 22))

¹⁸ The agreement form of the work trial was usually filled out in Finnish, whereas the agreement form of the internship was often completed in Finnish and sometimes in English in the case of interns who were international students.

<p>Kerro itsestäsi (kuka olet, ammatti, opiskelut)</p> <p>[Tell about yourself (who you are, profession, studies)]</p> <p>Mitä osaamista voit tuoda [redacted] ?</p> <p>[What expertise can you bring to [redacted] ?]</p> <p>Mitä kieliä osaat puhua?</p> <p>[Which languages can you speak?]</p> <p>Miksi haluat tulla harjoitteluun [redacted] ?</p> <p>[Why do you want to come to practice in [redacted] ?]</p> <p>Missä olet hyvä?</p> <p>[What are you good at?]</p> <p>Mitä tykkäät tehdä?</p> <p>[What do you like to do?]</p>

Note: I added the English translation.

Figure 22. Interview questions for the work trial and internship used in the NGO.

From the above fieldnote extract, it is clear that the interview was conducted in an informal atmosphere. During this informal interview, Fatima/trainee was asked to briefly tell about herself and to answer some questions concerning her studies and work experiences before and after migration, language skills, and motivation for participating in the work trial in this workplace, among others. The interview was mostly in Finnish, and they sometimes used English when it was difficult for Fatima to answer in Finnish. Fatima found it useful as she could answer in Finnish as well as in English, when needed. For Fatima, it was also important that she could receive the questions discussed in the interview in advance since it helped her to be ready to answer them. During my ethnographic fieldwork, I noticed that similar interview questions in Finnish were given in advance to everyone who was interested in doing a work trial or an internship in different work sites of the KYT Association. In this regard, Kaisa/supervisor says, *“we give questions beforehand so that they can prepare for the interview ... we ask really basic things ... we’re interviewing, but not so deeply, because I think that we need to give them a chance and a place to work.”* In short, the aim of providing interview questions in advance was not only to facilitate informal conversations with migrants applying to work as a trainee or intern but also to support their access to working life through the work trial or internship offered by different work sites of the NGO.

In the case of applying for subsidised work or salaried work in the KYT Association, the procedure was different from that of the work trial, internship and voluntary work. More precisely, in the first stage of the recruitment process, the migrant NGO practitioners sent an application and CV for subsidised or salaried work to the KYT Association as an employer. Afterwards, they were invited for the interview with other shortlisted applicants in the second stage of the recruitment process. During the interview, the migrant NGO practitioners

generally presented their documents, particularly their education and employment certificates received before and after migration to Finland. The main difference between the procedure of applying for subsidised work and salaried work was that the former had a less structured interview than the latter, but both represented a formal interview in which were involved two or more interviewers who were staff members¹⁹ of the KYT Association. What both recruitment processes also had in common was that it was not required to provide recommendation letters since the names and contacts of referees could be added to the application or CV. In the following extract, I present my discussion with Adriana/salaried employee, who describes her experience of applying for salaried work in the NGO:

Sonya: did you submit any documents or applications for this | salaried | job?

Adriana: I sent my CV and job application like | a cover | letter

Sonya: not recommendation letters?

Adriana: well, when I came to the interview, I had already everything with me ... I didn't have recommendation letters, but I think I had like in my CV the names and phone numbers of couple of my clients as referees, but I don't know if they called them ...

Sonya: what documents did you take with you?

Adriana: well, all kinds of papers of my studies in the university and then [--] **koulutustodistus** [education certificate] | from a vocational school | and all jobs' [--] **työtodistukset** [employment certificates] ... that I received before and after moving to Finland

Sonya: and who participated, who took the interview?

Adriana: well, my colleague and then my boss and then \my another colleague\ like three persons participated in the interview.

From the discussion and illustrations given above, it is clear that the procedure of applying for salaried or subsidised work included two stages, such as submitting an application and CV and participating in a formal interview. However, as presented earlier, the same procedure for the work trial, internship and voluntary work involved only one stage, that is, the participation in informal interviews or informal conversations. These informal interviews and conversations also differed in structure from the formal interviews organised for salaried or subsidised work. Specifically, formal interviews lasted about 30–45 minutes, during which the questions displayed in Figure 22 were discussed in more detail, in addition to some other specific questions relating to work tasks, individual/team work activities and professional skills, among others. In other words, typical job interview questions were asked, and the migrant NGO practitioners, who applied for subsidised or salaried work, were not informed

¹⁹ Interviewers involved in the job interview were staff members who were mainly managers and salaried employees of the KYT Association.

about these questions in advance. The main language used in formal interviews was Finnish, but the migrant NGO practitioners were given the opportunity to use English when it was difficult for them to express themselves in Finnish. In the words of Mari/supervisor, *“during the interview, we did use English at times ... we gave the possibility also that if you needed to explain something in English, you could do that.”* Giving this possibility indicates that Finnish was the preferred working language in the KYT Association, which was flexible enough to allow using English as well. Likewise, an earlier study analysing the job interviews in the Danish context reports that the migrant applicants also had a possibility to use English when it was difficult for them to speak Danish, the main language used in the interview (Kirilova, 2013). Moreover, the study by Kirilova (2013) shows that the interviewers checked the migrant applicants’ speaking and listening skills in Danish and English while interviewing them in these languages. A similar point is emphasised by the participants of this study, about which Mari/supervisor notes as follows, *“we kind of checked it | Finnish skills | when we had a job interview, we were talking about different things in the Finnish language and trying to see if it is easy to understand or it is too difficult.”* In the same way, English skills were checked during the job interview, and, as Mark/subsidised employee states, *“my interview was in Finnish, but they | interviewers | discussed several questions with me in English probably to check my English skills besides Finnish.”* Checking Finnish and/or English skills through the job interview was done for primarily salaried and subsidised work that required Finnish and/or English skills. There were also some other working language skills that were necessary for performing certain subsidised and salaried work. In this case, the job interviewers usually discussed with the migrant applicants about those language skills but did not check them, as they did not speak those languages. Besides this, those language skills were often related to the migrant applicants’ first languages, a knowledge of which was taken for granted by the interviewers. In brief, mainly Finnish and, to some extent, English were used in the job interviews, which not only facilitated the participants’ interviewing process but also applied as a means to check their language skills by the interviewers. Although language test certificates were not required from the migrant applicants, some of them brought to the job interviews their Finnish language test certificates, especially *“YKI certificates | a national certificate of language proficiency | ”*, about which Som/salaried employee says, *“I was not asked to take my **kielitodistus** [language test certificate] to the interview, but I took it with me to show it to interviewers.”* Som found it useful to bring her language test certificate to the job interview as, in her words, *“I think interviewers took into account my **kielitodistus** [language test certificate] as it showed my Finnish skills assessed by professional language assessors.”* On this point, it is important to note that speaking a language does not mean that the job interviewers can act as qualified professional assessors of the migrant applicants’ language skills, which is a common practice in the Finnish labour market (for a similar discussion, see Huhta & Ahola, 2019).

With regard to the obtainment of employment, the experiences of migrant NGO practitioners show that it was connected to the recruitment requirements of KYT Association’s work sites, in which they had different workforce statuses

and performed different work tasks. In addition, the migrant NGO practitioners' social categories played a vital role in this regard. In response to my question, "what did help you get employment in \this work site of the NGO?" one of the salaried employees/ Abel replies, "ei vain yksi vaan monta asiaa [not just one but many things]" (see Figure 23).

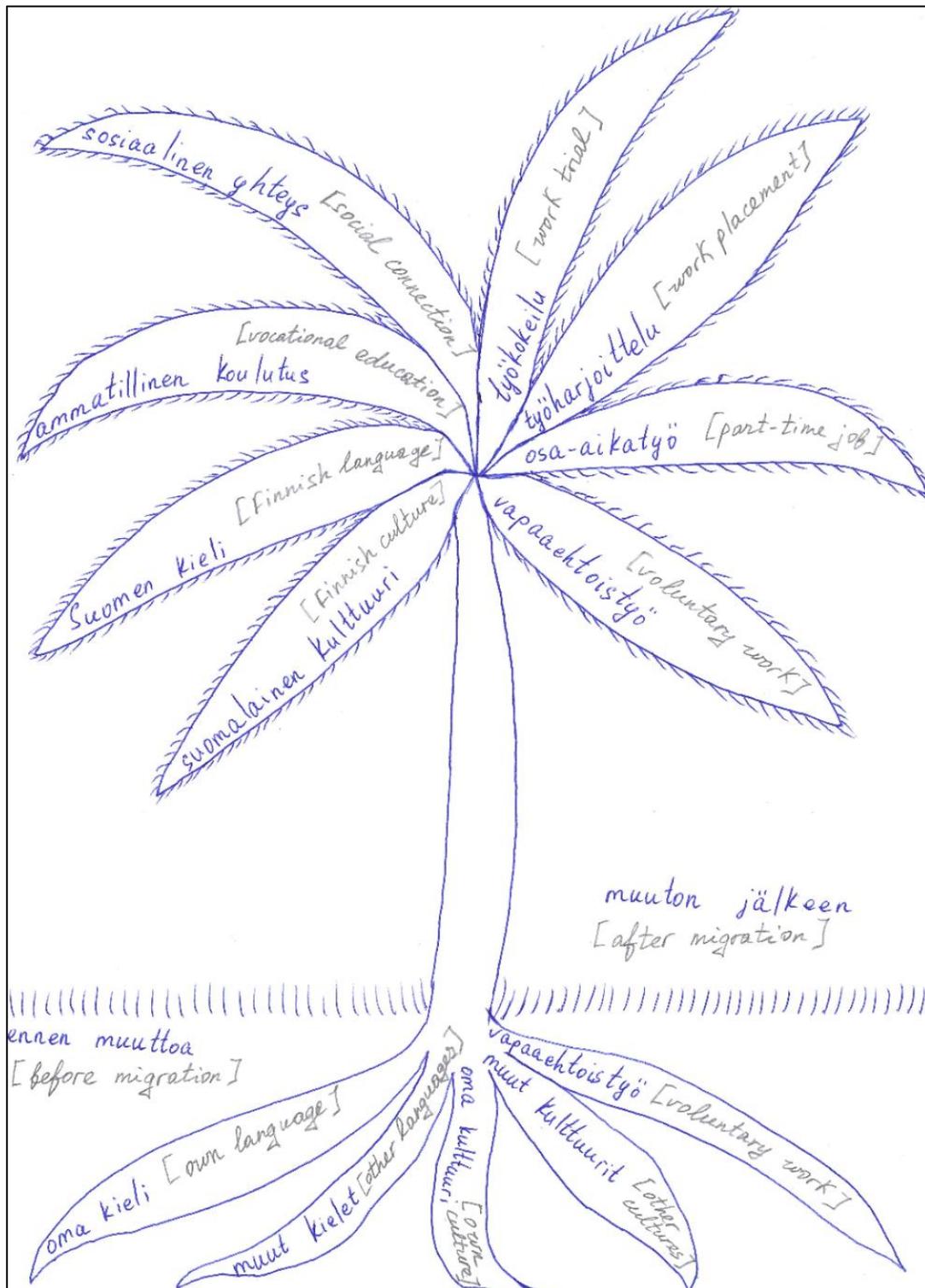


Figure 23. Abel's social categories supporting him in getting salaried work in the NGO.

Specifically, he highlights the usefulness of his part-time jobs, work trials and internships completed in different workplaces in Finland, in addition to his voluntary work done in various NGOs within and outside the Finnish context. In Abel's opinion, his own language and culture, along with his knowledge of Finnish and other languages and cultures, were significant as well. He also underlines his social connections established with the local residents, including migrants and Finns, through various forms of training or education and paid or voluntary work. Abel's social categories, which supported him in getting salaried work in the KYT Association, are presented by him in Figure 23 above. Thus, from Abel's experiences, it appears that no single social category alone (e.g., language, culture, education, occupation and workforce status) facilitates migrants' access to working life in the receiving country, which is also indicated in earlier empirical studies conducted in Finland (see, e.g., Pöyhönen et al., 2013; Tarnanen et al., 2015).

6.2.2 Institutional language narrative "*Choosing, using, learning and maintaining language in the NGO as a workplace*"

In general, there was no statutory language requirement for working in the NGO within the Finnish third sector; therefore, the choice of working language in the KYT Association as a workplace was associated with the linguistic status of the municipality, Jyväskylä, where it was located. That is, the working language of the KYT Association was considered Finnish, as the official/main language of the municipality of Jyväskylä was Finnish. This view was highlighted by most of the research participants, about which Mika/subsidised employee states as follows:

<p>Suomessa, yleensä tällä alueella, on suomi pääkieli (.) voi olla muualla ruotsin kieli, joka on pääkieli ruotsalaisella alueella (.) mutta suomi on tärkeää tällä alueella, sun pitää osata suomea, jos et osaa et voi tehdä töitä täällä, et voi toimi projektin työntekijänä tässä yhdistyksessä.</p>	<p>[In Finland, usually in this area, Finnish is the main language (.) there may be Swedish elsewhere, which is the main language in the Swedish area (.) but Finnish is important in this area, you need to know Finnish, if you don't know you can't work here, you can't work as a project worker in this NGO.]</p>
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In response to my question on whether Finnish was mentioned in any institutional document as an official working language in the KYT Association, Anssi/supervisor replies, "*siitä ei ole kirjoitettu missään [about it is not written anywhere].*" Similarly, another supervisor/Minna says, "*actually we don't have any document on language, but we all know our working language is Finnish because it's the local language, it's the main language used in this city.*" When I was observing the documents of KYT Association's management and work sites, I also noticed that there was no information about the official working language(s) in institutional documents. In short, it appears that the KYT Association had no formal document about the official working language(s), and there was no

statutory language requirement for working in the NGO. In this respect, the KYT Association as a workplace can be considered to operate under a *non-formalised language policy*, as also indicated in an earlier study by Sanden (2015) on the language policies in multinational corporations in Scandinavia.

From the above quotes and illustration, it is clear that the KYT Association did not have an official language policy, and it seems that Finnish might be the sole working language there, as the NGO was located in a Finnish-speaking municipality. Based on the KYT Association's institutional documents, it can also be assumed that Finnish was the sole working language, as these documents were mainly written in Finnish. Generally, they were both public (e.g., statutes, project reports, annual reports and membership forms) and private (e.g., employment contracts or agreements, project proposals, operational audit reports and minutes of meetings) institutional documents; the former were available on the KYT Association's website, whereas only the NGO supervisors and practitioners had access to the latter. The preparation and production of such institutional documents were included in the KYT Association's management and administration work, which were mainly done in Finnish and mostly implemented by the NGO supervisors and practitioners with a Finnish background. The migrant NGO practitioners, namely salaried employees, were partially involved in the management and administration work.

As the migrant NGO practitioners' experiences show, they were more involved in other types of work, and their working languages were not only Finnish but also other languages, including their first and additional languages. Typically, the language choice and use among the migrant NGO practitioners were different in different types of work. Specifically, at the institutional level, including all the management and work sites of the KYT Association, Finnish was the main working language. At the institutional level, the migrant NGO practitioners, particularly salaried and subsidised employees, were involved in advocacy work and development work. Advocacy work concerned, among others, participating in external seminars and workshops to present and discuss migration- and integration-related opportunities, constraints and prospects with public authorities, policy makers, civil society actors, academics and other stakeholders. Development work was, in turn, related to the involvement in internal seminars and workshops to share opinions and suggestions with colleagues working in different work sites with regard to the development of the NGO's visions, strategies, goals, structures and actions, among others. As such, advocacy work took place in the front-stage spaces of the KYT Association, and development work occurred in its back-stage spaces.

The migrant NGO practitioners, including salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees and interns, also did planning work and cooperation work at the sectorial level, which mainly included the work sites of the KYT Association. As part of planning work, the migrant NGO practitioners were involved in weekly staff meetings, namely planning work meetings, organised separately by each work site and/or jointly by several work sites. In these planning work meetings, they discussed and planned activities and events with

colleagues in Finnish. In the case of cooperation work, the migrant NGO practitioners took part in the meetings promoting collaboration with the local authorities, educational institutions and partner associations, among others. In this regard, Pia/salaried employee notes as follows: *“our meetings are, for example, with TE-toimisto [TE Office], Kotoutumispalvelut [Integration Services], Yliopistot [Universities] and also with Yhdistykset [Associations], [--] usually we share information what we are doing like activities, services related to migrants and integration, and we discuss and also plan how we can cooperate together.”* Pia further points out that these cooperation work meetings with authorities, including TE Office and Integration Services, were held in Finnish, as it was their main working language. However, similar cooperation work meetings with universities and associations were organised *“in Finnish or Finnish and English because both were their and our workplace languages”*, as Pia states. In brief, planning work was usually done in Finnish in the back-stage spaces and cooperation work in Finnish and/or English in the front-stage spaces of the KYT Association.

At the individual level, the migrant NGO practitioners, such as salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers, performed preparation work and implementation work of activities, events and services offered by the KYT Association to the local residents with migrant and Finnish backgrounds. In preparation work, the migrant NGO practitioners, along with their colleagues, acted as organisers or supporters either in pairs or in teams. Generally, multiple languages were used in preparation work depending on the organisers and supporters' common language skills and their work tasks, about which one of the participants, Sara/volunteer, states:

often different languages are used here in our movie team depending on who is doing what and what shared languages we have (.) as you saw today we were checking the movie script in Finnish and French, and some of us also in Kinyarwanda, but yesterday we were talking about the movie plot and characters in Finnish or Swahili or in both ... you know ((smiles)) not all these languages are visible to others who work here but are not our team members, or to those who will watch this movie later.

From this quote, it appears that different languages were used in preparation work, but *“not all these languages are visible to others”*, as Sara notes and adds, *“it's typical for colleagues' work as well, not just for our movie team”*. The movie discussed above was about one of her colleagues' home country before and during the war, as well as about refugees' everyday life in a camp and their selection process for moving to Europe, especially to Finland. Similar to preparation work in the back-stage spaces of the KYT Association, implementation work in the front-stage spaces was also done in multiple languages, and not all of them were visible in institutional documents and multimodal artefacts that shared and disseminated information about various activities, events and services of the KYT Association. That is, the activities, events and services were provided or implemented by the migrant NGO practitioners in different languages, which were not only visible but also invisible both inside and outside the workplace.

On this topic, I asked the migrant NGO practitioners whether their working languages were mentioned in flyers or leaflets advertising the activities, events or services in which they were involved at work. In response to my question, Omid/ salaried employee says, “kielistä ei mainita mitään (.) jos luet esitteitä, et voi tietää että käytän työssäni paitsi suomea myös omaa ja muita kieliä [nothing is mentioned about languages (.) if you read the leaflets, you can't know that I'm using in my work not only Finnish but also my own and other languages].” Similarly, Som/salaried employee comments as follows:

in this project are working migration advisers and I'm one of them (.) we work with migrant clients in different languages and help them in different matters like for residence permits, citizenship, employment, and studies ... my clients are migrants speaking Thai language, my own language, but I also sometimes give clients consultation in English or Finnish when my colleague who is in charge of Finnish and English consultation is busy or when \she\ is not here |in the workplace| ... as you see in this **aikataulu** [timetable] ((shows it to me)) my work language with clients seems to be only in Thai but actually it's also in English and Finnish (.) it's the same for my colleagues working as advisers, they use also English and Finnish when needed but it's not clearly visible in this **aikataulu** [timetable] ... basically our workplace doesn't have language use restrictions, I mean we can agree with our clients what language to use, and we try to help them through any language we have in common ((see the timetable in Figure 24)).

NEUVONTA-AIKATAULU				
MAANANTAI MONDAY	TIISTAI TUESDAY	KESKIVIikko WEDNESDAY	TORSTAI THURSDAY	PERJANTAI FRIDAY
suomi English 10-16	suomi English 10-16	suomi English 10-16	suomi English 10-16	suomi English 10-14
kurdi, persia فارسی کوردی 14-16	venäjä, viro русский Eesti keel 13-15	arabia العربية 14-16		thai ไทย 12-14

Figure 24. The second side of the leaflet advertising counselling services' timetable.

The above figure and quotation show that the counselling services were provided to migrant clients in different languages and in different working hours. These counselling services were provided by migration advisers related to citizenship, residence permit, work, education and other similar matters. One of the migration advisers was Som/salaried employee who provided counselling services not only in Thai, her first language, but also in her additional languages, particularly English and Finnish. However, when looking

at the timetable, her working language “*seems to be only in Thai but actually it is also in English and Finnish*”, as she states above. In Som’s words, her colleagues working as migration advisers also used Finnish and/or English, which were “*not clearly visible*” in the timetable as well. Meanwhile, Som highlights the possibility of helping migrant clients in a common language through the negotiation of the language choice with them since, as migration advisers, she and her colleagues did not have “*restrictions to use only the working languages visible in the timetable.*” This timetable was presented in the leaflet advertising counselling services, and it was publicly disseminated in physical (e.g., lobby and office areas) and digital (e.g., Facebook public pages/groups and mailing lists) settings of the KYT Association and its work sites. What I also noticed during my ethnographic fieldwork is that the working languages presented in the timetable were changed from time to time, as migration advisers with different linguistic skills were hired, taking into consideration migrant clients’ situations and their needs that changed over time. Meanwhile, I noticed that there were situations when certain words or phrases were often used in Finnish, although the conversation between the migration adviser and the client was in another language, about this I asked migration advisers. One of them, Adriana/salaried employee, gives the following reply:

sometimes I use some kind of words like **Kela** [Social Insurance Institution], **TE-toimisto** [TE Office] and so on in Finnish, also clients are using these kinds of words ... we assume we’ll understand each other (.) if we don’t understand then we’ll try to explain like what these words mean or what official places are they.

In addition, Adriana points out that she and her clients could learn Finnish from each other when “*mixing Finnish with other languages*”. The same point is made by another migration adviser, Onni/salaried employee, who comments as follows, “*well, some words I say in Finnish and also my clients because I think we get used to use those words in Finnish, for example, **perhevapaa** [family leave], **toimeentulotuki** [income support] or **opintotuki** [student financial aid] ... and if we don’t know those words, we could learn from each other.*” Onni also states, “*it might take longer to explain those words in another language as in another country the welfare system might be different.*” Similar replies I received from the other migration advisers, which show that this kind of language use or language learning is quite common in their work.

Another participant, Farida worked as a trainee through a work trial in one of the work sites of the KYT Association. Farida/trainee supported in implementing different activities and events for local residents with diverse backgrounds. More precisely, Farida assisted adolescents with a migrant background in learning Mathematics and Physics in the homework club, and she helped the elderly migrants to learn Finnish in the basic Finnish language learning group. Farida was also involved in the implementation of different events, such as cultural evening and women’s scarf day. Farida usually employed different working languages, including Finnish, English and her first language, depending on the activities and events in which she participated

as well as on her work tasks. In addition, it depended on the language skills of learners and attendees, with whom the language choice was negotiated when needed. One of such situations is presented below in the extract along with Figure 25:

- Pia: ((turns to Kaisa and asks in a low voice)) **vaihtaa Englantiin?** [change to English?]
- Kaisa: **Englanti?** [English?] **joo** [yeah], ((turns to Farida and says to her)) I think you could speak English
- Farida: ((smiles)) really, really? ok!
- Pia: because because [--]
- Kaisa: dear people, there is one issue, there are people who don't understand Finnish well [--], can she speak English? ((points to Farida))
- Farida: yeah, frankly if, if you really [--] want me to speak in English, I can
- Pia: ((points to attendees)) because [--] they can understand, everyone | can understand | English
- Kaisa: because some people do not understand Finnish so well ((turns to Farida))
- Farida: ok, ok, it's much better for me
- Kaisa: ((turns to attendees)) is it ok for everyone? **onko se kaikki ok?** [is it ok for everyone?]
- Attendees: ok, ok!
((Farida/trainee; Kaisa/supervisor; Pia/employee))



Figure 25. A cultural evening event.

This situation occurred during the cultural evening event, in which Farida/trainee gave a presentation on her home country, and the attendees of the event had both Finnish and migrant backgrounds. Farida started her presentation in Finnish, but after a few minutes, her colleague, Pia, noticed that it was difficult for some attendees to follow the presentation in Finnish and therefore asked Kaisa, her other colleague, to change the presentation to English. Kaisa understood the situation and suggested to Farida that she could continue presenting in English. Farida liked this suggestion and replied with a smile, “*really, really? ok!*” Afterwards, Farida and her colleagues started negotiating with the attendees to continue the presentation in English instead of Finnish, taking into account that some of the attendees did not understand Finnish well, but they all could understand English. Then, in response to Kaisa’s question, “*is it ok for everyone?*” asked in both English and Finnish, the attendees replied, “*ok, ok!*” Through this negotiation, Farida and her colleagues came to a mutual agreement with the attendees to continue the presentation in English.

Thus, the migrant NGO practitioners’ experiences indicate that their language choice and use at work depended on their workforce statuses and types of work implemented at different levels and different spaces of the workplace, which can be characterised as the multi-sited language policy (Halonen et al., 2015). According to Halonen et al. (2015), “... policies are essentially multi-sited by nature, taking place, being constructed, contested and reproduced on different horizontally and vertically linked levels simultaneously and in different times and spaces” (p. 3). Within the framework of the multi-sited language policy, the migrant NGO practitioners’ positions can be considered monolingual policy implementers and multilingual policy arbiters in the workplace, but these positions were not necessarily static and changed within and across different spaces and different levels (for details on policy arbiters and implementers, see Johnson & Johnson, 2015). From their experiences, it is also apparent that they used various working languages, but not all of them were visible within and outside the institutional setting (for similar findings, see Saarinen & Nikula, 2013). In addition, it is clear that the migrant NGO practitioners had the opportunity to negotiate their language choice at work, as well as to use translanguaging as a resource in workplace communication (see also Simpson, 2016). In line with an earlier study by Creese and Blackledge (2019), using translanguaging as a resource supported them in additional language learning within the workplace context (for a detailed discussion on translanguaging, see Moore et al., Simpson & Cooke, 2017; Stroud & Kerfoot, 2021). On learning Finnish and English as additional language at work, one of the migrant NGO practitioners, Samir/salaried employee, states as follows:

*here I develop and practise my Finnish skills by speaking with my colleagues [--] when we are working together and having lunch or coffee together ... also by writing and reading different information and documents related to migrants and migration ... for instance, I knew the word **pakolainen** [refugee] and I’ve learnt words like **turvapaikanhakija** [asylum seeker] and **kiintiöpakolainen** [quota refugee] here at work, these words have different meanings in Finnish and different meanings also legally ... I’ve also learnt these words’ meanings in English ... it’s important to know them when working with migrants.*

According to this quote, Samir/salaried employee was able to develop and practise his oral and written skills in Finnish through social interactions with colleagues during work or coffee/lunch breaks as well as through the tasks performed at work. Samir's English language skills were also developed through his work. However, the experiences of some migrant NGO practitioners, namely subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers, differed from those of Samir and other salaried employees in terms of work tasks, about which Yuliya/trainee says, "*mostly I'm involved in planning, preparing or organising activities and events which are good for me better understanding and speaking Finnish, but usually I'm not involved in working with texts and I can't make better my Finnish reading or writing skills.*" This implies that the work tasks enabled Yuliya to improve her oral but not written skills in Finnish. In a similar vein, they emphasise that working in the NGO helped to maintain their language skills, about which Grisha/trainee gives the following comment:

<p>до приезда в Финляндию я говорил по-русски, я выучил русский когда я учился в университете в России (.) но когда я переехал сюда, я редко использовал русский потому что я начал учить и использовать финский чаще ... а когда я начал работать здесь, я снова начал использовать русский язык.</p>	<p>(before moving to Finland I spoke Russian, I learnt Russian when I was studying at a university in Russia (.) but when I moved here, I rarely used Russian because I started learning and using Finnish more often ... and when I started working here, I again started using the Russian language.)</p>
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As an example of using Russian at work, Grisha/trainee presents the situation when he was interpreting the communication between a volunteer teacher and migrant learners from Finnish into Russian and vice versa. In similar situations, Grisha also used his other language skills, such as Dari, Persian and Finnish, which he mostly used with his family members, relatives, friends and/or acquaintances. Grisha then states, "*во время брейков на работе, я разговариваю с коллегами на финском (.) а также на дари, персидском или русском, ты знаешь, ты видел это (during breaks at work, I speak with colleagues Finnish (.) and also Dari, Persian or Russian, you know, you have seen it).*" In this respect, Georg/intern notes as follows, "*usually we use here different languages and not just Finnish (.) our work helps us to continue using our own or other languages besides Finnish.*" Another participant, Adriana/salaried employee, also comments the following, "*I keep my own language through my work (.) I rarely use it in other places or in my home.*" From these quotes and examples, it appears that the migrant NGO practitioners were provided with an opportunity to maintain their first and additional language skills not only through work tasks but also through workplace social interactions during work or coffee/lunch breaks. That is, the NGO as a workplace promotes language maintenance, which refers to "a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres" (Pauwels, 2004, p. 719). It is thus clear that language maintenance depends on the workplace

opportunities provided to the migrant NGO practitioners in general and on their work tasks and social interactions with colleagues in particular (see also Sahradyan, 2017).

6.2.3 Institutional integration narrative *“Receiving work orientation, guidance and support for integration in the NGO as a workplace”*

Typically, work orientation enables newcomers to be informed about the new work environment and supports their integration into the new workplace. In this respect, the workplace has a responsibility to provide relevant information about its structure and activity to newcomers, taking into account their personal characteristics and work tasks (Välipakka, 2013). Meanwhile, newcomers are expected to be active in seeking information that they need to know about their new workplace (Morrison, 2002). In brief, both the workplace and newcomers play an important role in work orientation that promotes workplace integration, which was also evident in the KYT Association as a workplace, in which the current ethnography took place.

In the workplace context, the migrant NGO practitioners had an opportunity to receive work orientation in different forms that are associated with different work routines. One of them was to receive necessary information through a work orientation folder, which was available for the newcomers working in the KYT Association’s work sites, including the multicultural centre and integration-related projects, involved in this ethnographic research. For instance, the work orientation folder contained general information on the multicultural centre, integration-related projects, the KYT Association and their cooperation with stakeholders. In addition, it included the key terms concerning migration, as well as basic information on the Finnish Integration Act (1386/2010) and official statistics related to migrants at the local and national levels. In the following extract, I present my discussion with Zakoo/intern about the work orientation folder:

- Sonya: do you know this **perhdytyskansio** [orientation folder] posted on the announcement board ((shows Zakoo the folder presented in Figure 26))
- Zakoo: yeah, I know (.) people who start working here usually read information given in this **perhdytyskansio** [orientation folder]
- Sonya: what about you, have you read it?
- Zakoo: of course, I read it but it’s a bit difficult to understand
- Sonya: why was it difficult?
- Zakoo: because I’m a new Finnish language learner, I moved to Finland recently
- Sonya: it’s only in Finnish?
- Zakoo: yeah, only in Finnish
- Sonya: did you ask anyone to help you?

- Zakoo: yeah, one of the Finnish interns helped me, you always can get help here, it's not a problem ((smiles)), but I think it would be good to give this information **selkosuomeksi** [in easy Finnish] so that new workers who are new Finnish learners like me can understand it
- ...
- Sonya: what information did you get, was it useful for you?
- Zakoo: basically I could get information about this NGO and \its work sites\ (.) I think it was useful to get that information
- Sonya: I see
- Zakoo: what was also useful was that I could learn about some words, statistics and legislation related to immigrants and immigration, most of this information was new for me ...
- Sonya: do you think anything should be changed or added to this information?
- Zakoo: I think it's needed to update information from time to time because some information about this NGO's new \work sites\ or about statistics on immigrants was missing or outdated ... other changes are probably not needed as you can get basic but important information that you need to know about the new workplace and its work activities

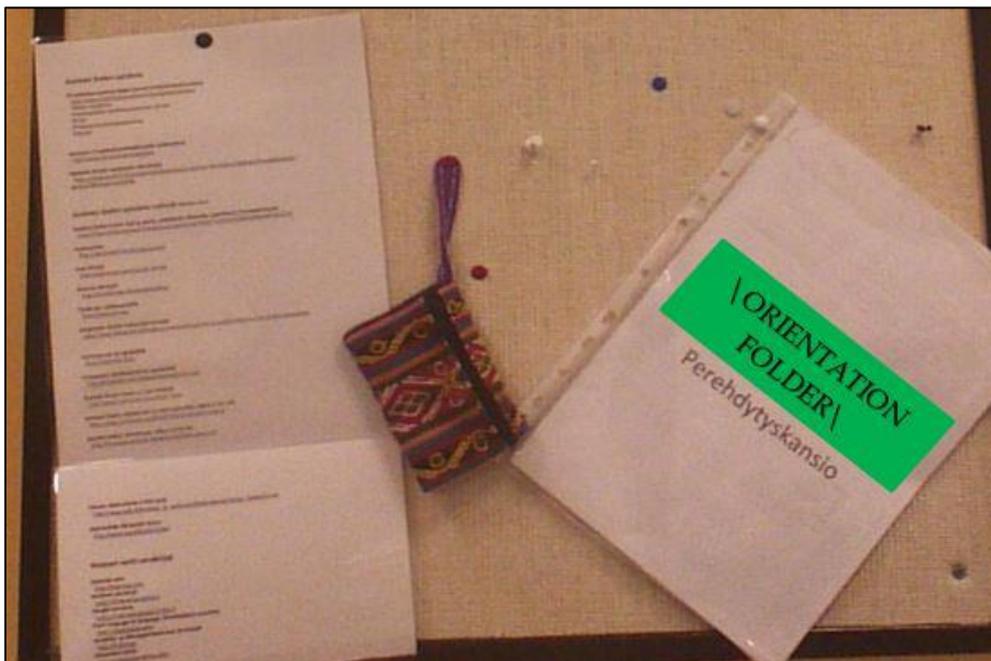


Figure 26. A work orientation folder in Finnish posted on the NGO's announcement board.

As the discussion in the extract along with Figure 26 shows, the work orientation folder was publicly available on one of the announcement boards in the NGO. It is also clear that this folder was particularly meant for the new NGO practitioners, regardless of their workforce status. Meanwhile, it is obvious that the work orientation folder enabled to get *“basic but important information that you need to know about the new workplace and its work activities”*, as Zakoo states

above. However, he also points out that it is necessary “to update information from time to time” since some information was “missing or outdated”. Moreover, Zakoo mentions about the information provided in the work orientation folder as follows, “it’s a bit difficult to understand ... because I’m a new Finnish language learner.” In other words, the information given in Finnish might pose a difficulty for migrant NGO practitioners who were emergent learners of Finnish. For that reason, Zakoo suggests providing that information “*selkosuomeksi* [in easy Finnish] so that new workers who are new Finnish learners like me can understand it.” Likewise, Dalia/volunteer emphasises the importance of translating the work orientation folder into “some other languages so that some people, who start working in this multicultural and multilingual place and do not know Finnish or know relatively little, can get information about their new workplace.” Interestingly, several migrant NGO practitioners note that they did not read the information provided in the work orientation folder, and one of them, Hamlet/trainee, makes the following comment on it:

<p>այստեղ \ՀԿ-ում\ մասնակցել եմ տարբեր միջոցառումների եւ նաեւ եղել եմ որպէս կամավոր մի քանի տարի, հիմա ես աշխատում եմ այստեղ työkokeilijana, եւ ես բավականին լավ տեղեկացված եմ այս աշխատավայրի մասին, թե ինչ է անում եւ ում հետ է աշխատում, то есть, եւ կարիք չունեմ կարդալու այդ perehdytyskansio-ն, եւ արդեն գիտեմ այն ինչ անհրաժեշտ է իմանալ այս աշխատավայրի մասին</p>	<p>{here \in the NGO\ I have participated in different events and have also been as a volunteer for a few years, now I am working here työkokeilijana [as a trainee], and I am quite well informed about this workplace, what it is doing and with whom it is working, то есть (that is), I do not need to read that perehdytyskansio [orientation folder], I already know what is needed to know about this workplace}</p>
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From the above quotes and illustration, it appears that the work orientation folder contains the necessary information for new workers and is more useful for recently arrived migrants and for those who were not much familiar with the KYT Association and its activities and work sites. It also shows that there is the need for regularly updating the information provided in the work orientation folder, in addition to giving that information in easy Finnish and translating it into multiple languages. In doing so, new workers who have no or little knowledge of the Finnish language would have an opportunity to learn about their new workplace and its activities, which is also suggested by previous research (e.g., Leskinen & Piirainen, 2016) conducted in a workplace setting where staff members had linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds similar to those of the migrant NGO practitioners involved in this ethnographic research.

Another form of receiving work orientation for migrant NGO practitioners was to take part in workplace meetings, including weekly and monthly staff meetings. For example, salaried and subsidised employees had an opportunity to get the overall information on the KYT Association and to get acquainted with colleagues, supervisors and practitioners, through monthly staff meetings, about which Abel/salaried employee remarks as follows, “ | *se on* | *KYT:n kaikki*

työntekijöiden yhteinen palaveri, se on vähän laaja ja kattaa projekteja mitä tapahtuu KYT:ssä (.) onko tullut uusi työntekijä? hänet perehdytetään ... mitä tapahtuu täällä, vähän niin kuin tutustua \KYT:n toimintaan\ ja muihin KYT:laisiin [|it is| a joint meeting of all employees of KYT, it is a bit broad and covers projects what happens at KYT (.) has a new employee come? she/he is introduced to ... what happens here, a bit like getting to know \the activities of KYT\ and other KYT members]." In monthly staff meetings, they also shared information about their projects and discussed their work tasks with colleagues employed in different work sites. In addition to salaried and subsidised employees, mainly trainees and interns and sometimes volunteers were involved in weekly staff meetings, which enabled them to receive specific information on work sites where they were working. Weekly staff meetings were organised separately by each work site and/or jointly by several work sites, which closely collaborate and cooperate in the implementation of local projects for both Finns and migrants with diverse backgrounds. In the next fieldnote extract, a weekly staff meeting organised by several work sites together is described along with my conversation with one of the migrant NGO practitioners, Pia/salaried employee:

This morning I took part in a weekly staff meeting organised in the NGO, where supervisors and practitioners, including one volunteer and a few employees, trainees and interns, were participating. They were working in different work sites that closely cooperated and carried out various activities and events together ... When the meeting started, a new trainee was introduced by one of the supervisors, and the other participants of the meeting introduced themselves. Afterwards, Pia started presenting and discussing with supervisors and practitioners about several activities that were planned to carry out that week. During the discussion, Pia was writing notes in the workplace calendar, and one of the practitioners was making notes on a computer file regarding the organisation of those activities. At that time, a new trainee was also asked about the activities in which he was interested in being involved, and his name was added to the paper where the names of practitioners and supervisors were written along with their work tasks and list of activities. Then, one of the supervisors talked about the dissemination of those activities' flyers and leaflets in the workplace as well as through the mailing lists and/or Facebook public groups of the work sites. At the end of the meeting, two practitioners with one supervisor described in detail the planned implementation of the next week's event on the celebration of the Independence Day of Finland. This was usually a big event, and it was carried out for local residents once a year ... As soon as the meeting was over, I approached Pia to talk about weekly staff meetings and the newcomers' participation in these meetings. When I asked, "Is it a common practice to introduce newcomers in weekly staff meetings?" She said, "Yeah, we usually do that, it's a good way to get to know each other." In response to my question, "Are these meetings useful for newcomers, what do you think?" she answers, "I think so, it's a good way to know about workplace activities and how they are planned and organised." She also added, "We ask everyone in meetings to say what they want to do, how they can help as organisers or supporters of activities, events, and then we write down their names and work tasks (.) I think this is particularly useful for newcomers because they can plan and discuss with colleagues what they can do and what are their work tasks, and if they can't remember, they can check them from this paper." That paper was usually placed on the table where the names of the organisers and supporters involved in the preparation and implementation of

activities and events were written along with their work tasks. ((a photograph of a weekly staff meeting organised by several work sites of the KYT Association discussed above is presented in Figure 27))



Figure 27. A weekly staff meeting organised by several work sites of the NGO.

Thus, the fieldnote and interview extracts illustrate that the migrant NGO practitioners were informed about their new workplace and its activities not only through monthly staff meetings, in which included all the work sites administered by the KYT Association, but also through weekly staff meetings organised separately and/or jointly by one or several work sites. In those meetings, the migrant NGO practitioners also got acquainted with colleagues, supervisors and practitioners, who worked in different work sites. Moreover, they usually planned and discussed their work tasks with colleagues in the meetings mentioned above. In brief, workplace meetings, such as weekly and monthly staff meetings, provided the migrant NGO practitioners with an opportunity to receive both work orientation and guidance, which were evidently interconnected in the KYT Association. As Hyytinen (2010) points out, work orientation is intended to support newcomers in learning about their workplace, its activities and significant people at work, whereas guidance is intended to assist newcomers in learning about their work tasks and how to perform them in the workplace context.

The migrant NGO practitioners also participated in workplace sessions, namely individual and group guidance sessions. Through these workplace sessions, they generally received guidance concerning their work tasks. More specifically, salaried and subsidised employees took part in individual guidance sessions, in which they were guided in planning and performing work tasks according to their positions and workforce statuses. On this point,

Mika/subsidised employee says, “with my *pomo* [boss] I met a few times, at first we planned together my main work tasks and talked about what materials I needed to use at work (.) and afterwards we met to discuss about the performance of my work tasks, I mean what was difficult or easy and what I needed to do in a different way].”

In addition to salaried and subsidised employees, interns, trainees and volunteers took part in group guidance sessions, in which were involved supervisors and practitioners working in the same and/or other work sites. In the next extract, Samir/salaried employee describes one of the group guidance sessions organised by the work site where he was employed:

we |practitioners and our supervisor| start, and everybody talks about own experience in the past few weeks, what have been done, what kind of challenge you faced, what was the difficult situation you had before, so you could talk about it, get some tips and ideas from others |colleagues| [--] also you could talk about something that is very sad or something that effects either mentally or physically or whatever have been [--] that you could discuss with others and see their opinions about it ... when you get ideas from others you could improve it in the future, you could benefit from whatever mistake or no mistake, so you get usual experience that’s the main idea behind it (.) and also you get to know the future like planning, what’s happening, what we are going to do next month and if there’s anything new material or training ...

This description shows that the group guidance session enabled Samir/salaried employee to share and discuss his work-related experiences, questions and concerns with his colleagues, namely a supervisor and practitioners. Meanwhile, he could get some ideas and opinions from them as well as could learn from their mistakes and achievements. In other words, he was provided with an opportunity to improve his work tasks with the help of his colleagues’ feedback and suggestions. It is also notable that getting “usual experience ... |was| the main idea behind it |the group guidance session|”, as emphasised in the description above. Likewise, Nina/volunteer, who participated in similar group guidance sessions organised for volunteers working with different groups and in different work sites, makes the following comment:

там мы поговорили об очень многих вещах, я тоже высказывала мнение относительно форма дискуссионного клуба, и тогда же я узнала о разных мнениях, например, руководитель французской группы который сказал что у него такая же ситуация была как у нас в русскоязычной группе (.) так что было полезно обсудить разные мнения с группой руководителей и с координатором добровольной работы, я думаю что это был хороший способ совместно обсудить и изучить опыт друг друга.

(there we talked about so many things, I also expressed an opinion regarding the form of the discussion club, and at the same time I learned about different opinions, for example, the leader of the French group who said that he had the same situation as in our Russian-speaking group (.) so it was useful to discuss different opinions with a group of leaders and a coordinator of voluntary work, I think it was a good way to discuss together and learn from each other's experiences.)

In short, it is clearly apparent that not only the NGO supervisors but also other colleagues guided the migrant NGO practitioners in their work through workplace meetings and sessions. According to Filliettaz (2011), such guidance is considered collectively distributed in the workplace environment. That is, it can be characterised as “*distributed guidance*”, which goes beyond the supervisor and includes a number of other workmates from the same workplace (Filliettaz, 2011, p. 491).

It should also be noted that some NGO supervisors and practitioners emphasise the need for the improvement of work orientation and guidance, in addition to those mentioned earlier. According to one of the NGO supervisors, Ellen, it is necessary to make the work orientation “*more structured*” to provide the migrant NGO practitioners with “*similar orientation opportunities*”. For example, I noticed during my ethnographic fieldwork that a few migrant NGO practitioners were not familiar with the work orientation folder, as they were not informed about it as well, and they did not notice that it was posted on the advertisement board in the NGO. On this point, Ellen/supervisor underlines the fact that the migrant NGO practitioners usually started working in different work sites and in different periods, which sometimes created difficulties in providing them with “*similar orientation opportunities*”. Ellen further states that a new worker was recently hired to be responsible for the work orientation and guidance of NGO practitioners, particularly interns and trainees with migrant and Finnish backgrounds. The new worker was Mark/subsidised employee, and he comments as follows: “*They \interns and trainees\always come [--] on Monday, it’s the day always for palaveri [meeting], so after meeting we’ll talk and I explain a little bit about \work sites\, I explain what we do every day and what kind of role they can have, and it depends [--], I mean some are really active and they organize |activities and events| even in evenings, and some are very slow.*” As Anssi/supervisor notes, being actively involved in the workplace was connected to the NGO practitioners’ personal backgrounds, in addition to the opportunities provided by the workplace. Likewise, another supervisor/Margarita points out the importance of work experience for the active involvement in the workplace environment, and she emphasises the need for providing “*more guidance*” to the migrant NGO practitioners with different workforce statuses, particularly to those who did not have work experience in and/or outside Finland. In this regard, the migrant NGO practitioners also underline the importance of their age, gender, culture, language and other similar categories. In sum, in addition to the need for improving the work orientation and guidance, the participants highlight the significance of the work orientation and guidance, as they both played a central role in migrant NGO practitioners’ integration into the new workplace culture. A Canadian study conducted by Lai and his colleagues (Lai et al., 2017) found that the migrant professionals encountered difficulties in workplace integration because of a lack of workplace orientation and guidance, which were considered essential for their adaptation to new workplace culture.

Concerning workplace integration, the migrant NGO practitioners also point out the support they received for their workplace communication in

different work contexts. During my ethnographic conversations with the migrant NGO practitioners, one of them, Farida/trainee states as follows: *“it’s somehow difficult for me to follow Finnish communication in staff meetings that are organised once a week (.) but a Finnish teacher working in a new project has recently joined us in these meetings, she writes down main points of our conversations **helpolla suomen kielellä** [in easy Finnish language] on the paper and shows us (.) it actually helps a lot to understand words, vocabulary and to participate in conversations and also to feel that you’re part of this workplace, and your ideas, opinions can also be taken into account here.”* On this topic, I had a conversation with the NGO supervisors, and one of them, Kaisa gave the following comment:

- Kaisa: now we have \from another integration-related project\ a Finnish teacher, and her job in the meetings is to write down on a paper like what we are talking about ... and to show it to everyone (.) so that they | trainees and interns | can take some notes ... can read and see ... and not just hear it, I think that has been helping
- Sonya: but before you didn’t have this practice?
- Kaisa: yeah, before we didn’t have that, and it has been a problem (.) we **ohjaajat** [supervisors] were talking about that before [--] we were talking that we need someone, and then this \integration-related project\ started and we asked \a Finnish teacher\ working there to help us in weekly meetings and she agreed
- ...
- Kaisa: weekly meetings can last really long and we are speaking Finnish (.) so it can be a bit like tiring if your Finnish is not so well yet ... and it can be really difficult to follow the conversation.

From the above extract and illustration, it is clear that the supervisors found a way to support the migrant NGO practitioners, particularly trainees and interns, in weekly staff meetings with the help of a Finnish teacher working in another integration-related project. Similarly, a volunteer/Dalia received support in work preparation meetings with the help of colleagues’ interpretation, about which she says, *“for me it’s really challenging to communicate in Finnish, as I’ve basic skills in Finnish ... but you have seen there is always someone working here who helps me with English interpretation and which helps me to communicate and share my ideas, suggestions and to feel being integrated here, I mean in this \work site\.”* However, another migrant NGO practitioner, Mark/subsidised employee, states that he did not receive language support in a monthly staff meeting, which *“was on a higher Finnish level ... and the talk was quicker.”* Mark further notes that he was involved in group work with colleagues in a monthly staff meeting, and, in his words, *“I was blocked, I couldn’t produce anything ... I had a headache from that moment and I left.”* Afterwards, Mark refused to attend monthly staff meetings in which usually participated salaried and subsidised employees working in different work sites of the KYT Association. Two of the salaried employees also mention that it was difficult for them to understand and participate in conversations in Finnish during these monthly staff meetings. Overall, the

migrant NGO practitioners' experiences show that the support they received for participation in workplace communication played a vital role in their workplace integration, which is in accordance with earlier studies reporting that workplace communication significantly affects the integration of migrant professionals into their workplace in the receiving country context (see, e.g., Buttigieg et al., 2018; Lai et al., 2017; Ramji et al., 2018).

What also promoted the migrant NGO practitioners' workplace integration was the support that they received for their workplace socialisation in different work contexts. In this respect, most of the participants highlight the significance of workplace social activities and events, for example, coffee and lunch breaks, picnics and get-togethers, and birthday and holiday celebrations. During my ethnographic observations, I noticed that the NGO practitioners and supervisors with different workforce statuses and from different work sites usually had lunch and coffee breaks *"at the same table and in the same kitchen"*, which is described as *"a central place for workplace social interaction"* in intern's/Keiko's words. However, I also noticed during my ethnographic observations that several migrant NGO practitioners, particularly part-time salaried employees, were not often involved in coffee and lunch breaks but participated in some other workplace social activities and events, and, as one of them, Onni, notes, *"I'm working only several hours a week, that's why I'm rarely having coffee or lunch breaks at work, but I sometimes participate in get-togethers or similar social events."* Meanwhile, in response to my question, *"how is your social interaction with your colleagues?"* Onni/part-time salaried employee replies, *"It's good! we talk, sometimes we make jokes, it's fine ((smiles))."* As the supervisor/Mari, who worked with part-time salaried employees, states, *"when we have [--] outdoor days or other social activities, they |part-time employees| are always invited to participate so that they feel that they are actually part of this work community ... we try to involve them as much as possible in different activities that we do here at work."* Similarly, full-time salaried or subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers were invited as a participant and/or an organiser to take part in different social activities and events organised inside or outside the workplace, which, according to some of them, helped in *"building good relationships with colleagues"* and in *"creating a positive atmosphere at work."* A few migrant NGO practitioners also note that such activities and events supported them in *"developing informal connections and networks in the workplace"*. Meanwhile, almost all of them emphasise the importance of *"feeling a sense of belonging to the workplace community"* through social activities and events. Thus, from the above quotations and observations, it is apparent that social activities and events mainly supported the migrant NGO practitioners' workplace socialisation, which, in turn, promoted their workplace integration, as also reported in other studies conducted on migrant professionals' experiences in the workplace environment (see, e.g., Lai et al., 2017; Malik & Manroop, 2017).

7 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In Chapter 7, I return to the research aim, questions, objectives and themes outlined in the introductory chapter of this doctoral dissertation. I then present the concluding discussion of the findings related to the research themes and the implications for policy and practice, based on the overall objective of the research from both top-down and bottom-up perspectives. These perspectives are intended to open up the concluding discussion rather than to indicate its direction. At the end of the chapter, I reflect on my ethnographic research journey with an emphasis on the implementation of this research, its reporting, contributions, limitations and possible future research directions.

7.1 Returning to the research aim, questions, objectives and themes

This doctoral study was based on ethnography and focused on migrant NGO practitioners' personal and institutional trajectories in Finland. The main aim of the study was to critically investigate migrant NGO practitioners' personal and institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration by cross-analysing the interplay within their diverse social categories at the micro level and the intersection of these categories with the social structures of the wider society at the macro level and with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace at the meso level. This aim was addressed through the following two distinct but interrelated research questions and their empirical sub-questions:

1. How do migrant NGO practitioners narrate and experience personal trajectories of language, employment and integration embedded at the intersection of their social categories and the social structures of the wider society?
 - a. How do migrant NGO practitioners learn the Finnish language in different ways and settings in the broader societal context?

- b. How do migrant NGO practitioners get different types of employment in the broader societal context?
 - c. How do migrant NGO practitioners integrate in different domains of life in the broader societal context?
2. How do migrant NGO practitioners narrate and experience institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration embedded at the intersection of their social categories and the organisational practices of the workplace, and how are they perceived by their NGO supervisors?
 - a. How do migrant NGO practitioners find, choose, apply for and obtain employment in the workplace context?
 - b. How do migrant NGO practitioners choose, use, learn and maintain language in the workplace context?
 - c. How do migrant NGO practitioners receive work orientation, guidance and support for integration in the workplace context?

The above-mentioned two main research questions and their sub-questions were related, respectively, to the two specific objectives: (1) to explore the personal trajectories of language, employment and integration of migrant NGO practitioners in the broader societal context, and (2) to examine the institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration of migrant NGO practitioners in the workplace context. The first specific objective was linked to the first research theme (migrant NGO practitioners' personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context) and addressed through the analysis of personal narratives representative of migrant NGO practitioners grouped according to their migration status, such as refugee, worker, student and family member (see Chapter 5). The second specific objective was linked to the second research theme (migrant NGO practitioners' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the workplace context) and addressed through the analysis of institutional narratives representative of migrant NGO practitioners grouped according to their workforce status, such as salaried employee, subsidised employee, trainee, intern and volunteer (see Chapter 6). These specific objectives contributed to the accomplishment of the overall objective, which was to identify and illustrate the opportunities and challenges that migrant NGO practitioners encounter in relation to the policies and practices of language, employment and integration in the broader societal and workplace contexts of Finland. In summary, based on the overall objective of the research, the concluding discussion of the findings related to the first research theme is presented from the perspective of migrant NGO practitioners in Section 7.2. In Section 7.3, the concluding discussion of the findings related to the second research theme is given from the perspective of migrant NGO practitioners and their NGO supervisors with a Finnish background. Some suggestions for policy and practice implications related to both research themes are also discussed in these sections.

7.2 Opportunities and challenges in the broader societal context of Finland

7.2.1 Personal trajectories from a top-down perspective

Looking back at the findings of this ethnographic study presented through the personal trajectories and narratives of participants with a migrant background, it becomes clear that they had different starting points in the receiving country (see also Tarnanen et al., 2015; Vertovec, 2007). That is, the research participants had different opportunities and faced different challenges in terms of receiving integration-related measures and services, which are typically provided by public authorities, particularly TE Offices and municipalities, in cooperation with NGOs and other parties in the context of Finland. Both public authorities and other parties generally receive support, advice and/or guidance from ELY Centres on the promotion of migrants' integration into the host society. At this point, it is important to mention that TE Offices are state authorities and therefore need to operate in the same way throughout the country and to provide the same kind of integration-related measures and services to unemployed jobseeker migrants who are considered TE Office clients²⁰ in accordance with the Act on Public Employment and Business Service (916/2012). However, municipality clients with a migrant background are recipients of social assistance on a non-temporary basis in accordance with the Act on Social Assistance (1412/1997) (see also Integration Act, 1386/2010). Generally, migrants who are municipality clients are offered different integration-related measures and services in different municipalities, which, as local authorities, have a high degree of autonomy in deciding how to oversee migrants' integration in line with their local integration policies (see Saukkonen, 2016). In turn, NGOs have the most flexibility in providing integration-related measures and services to the diverse groups of migrants with the cooperation of public authorities, but they also need to fulfil their own agendas and goals in accordance with their own rules and regulations, as well as to take into consideration the requirements set by the external sources of funding (see, e.g., Lautiola, 2013; Pyykkönen, 2007). All in all, the above-mentioned integration-related measures and services are offered as part of the state integration programme and mainly represent the *basic information about Finnish society, guidance and advice, initial assessment, integration plan and integration training*, as laid down in the Integration Act (1386/2010, Chapter 2).

In line with the Integration Act (1386/2010), *basic information about Finnish society* refers to information on the measures and the service system promoting

²⁰ Since March 2021, the tasks of TE Offices regarding certain unemployed jobseeker client groups, including TE Office clients with a migrant background, have been transferred to the municipalities participating in the local government pilots on employment. This and other recent changes are not included in my doctoral dissertation (for details, see Footnote 21).

integration, in addition to information on migrants' rights and obligations in working life and in society at large. In general, information about Finnish society is provided through the basic information package—the *Welcome to Finland* guide and leaflet. The electronic and/or printed versions of the guide and leaflet have been updated over time, and they are now available in several languages through the official websites and/or statutory bodies, public authorities and other organisations involved in migration- and integration-related work. A few research participants were given the guide upon arrival in Finland, and two of them also read the updated version of the guide and leaflet several years later when working in integration-related projects administered by the NGOs. Meanwhile, in the first months after migration, one of the participants had an opportunity to receive basic information about Finland through the information sessions organised for refugee and returnee migrants and their family members by the municipality's immigrant services and with the help of interpreters. At first sight, the *Welcome to Finland* guide and leaflet seem to be sufficient for providing migrants with the necessary information about the receiving society. However, as the research participants indicated, both the guide and leaflet cannot be helpful for certain groups of migrants, for example, those who do not have knowledge of the languages used in the guide and leaflet or who do not have reading skills in those languages. In addition to the official languages of Finland (Finnish and Swedish), the guide and leaflet are currently produced in the languages most widely spoken in the world and/or the largest 'foreign languages' spoken in the Finnish context. That is, the languages such as English, Russian, Estonian, French, Spanish, Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Somali, Turkish, Thai, Ukrainian and/or Vietnamese. It is thus clear that the information about Finnish society provided through the *Welcome to Finland* guide and leaflet was not equally accessible to migrants with diverse language backgrounds and literacy skills, as not all migrants have any of these prioritised language backgrounds or literacy skills. Similarly, the information about Finnish society provided through the information sessions was not equally available to migrants with different migration and legal statuses.

With respect to *guidance and advice*, migrants are entitled to receive appropriate measures and services promoting working life and integration, which are usually provided by public authorities, including but not limited to the TE Office and the municipality, in accordance with the Integration Act (1386/2010). In this study, the refugee participant and the participant who was a family member of a worker migrant with the legal status of a continuous (A) residence permit were able to register as an unemployed jobseeker and obtain guidance and counselling through the employment-related services delivered by the TE Office. One of them also received the same services through the NGO project that supported unemployed jobseeker migrants in terms of employment in cooperation with the TE Office. However, the student participant with the legal status of a temporary (B) residence permit was not able to receive the employment-related guidance and counselling services available to students

after graduation from university, when she was also regarded as an unemployed jobseeker. In fact, the student participant was not aware of these services, and no information was given to her not only by the public authorities but also by the educational institution in which she studied for an international master's degree. Similarly, the employment-related guidance and counselling services were generally not provided to several participants as stay-at-home mothers with different legal and migration statuses because they were considered as outside working life. After maternity/child-care leave, these participants could receive such services from the TE Office, where registration as an unemployed jobseeker was required. The only possibility that the research participants had, irrespective of their migration, legal and labour force statuses, was to receive information and consultation on various matters, including, but not limited to, residence permits, education, employment, housing and health care. However, these integration-related counselling services were offered only in several languages by the Info Centre, which was coordinated and administered by the NGO with the cooperation of the municipality and the ELY Centre. A few participants also received support on the above-mentioned matters from friends and family members, particularly those with a Finnish background, since they were not eligible to receive information and services offered by the public authorities. Thus, based on the participants' experiences, it appears that not all migrants had access to the integration- and employment-related guidance and counselling services that they needed, as these services were primarily targeted to certain groups of migrants.

In accordance with the Integration Act (1386/2010), the initial assessment is considered the preliminary assessment of migrants' preparedness for employment, study and other aspects of integration, as well as the need for language training and other integration-related measures and services. The initial assessment is conducted by the TE Office or the municipality, especially in the case of migrants who are unemployed jobseekers or recipients of social assistance on a non-temporary basis. It is also possible to conduct the initial assessment for those migrants who request it. However, as the participants' experiences reveal, the TE Office provided information and conducted the initial assessment mainly for unemployed jobseeker migrants, while the initial assessment was commonly not conducted for those migrants who were not the TE Office clients (e.g., worker, student and stay-at-home mother migrants). These participants were either not familiar with the integration- and employment-related services to ask for the initial assessment or they were not provided with the relevant information and services by the public authorities responsible for the initial assessment, that is, the TE Office and the municipality. Based on the participants' experiences, it is apparent that some migrants were unable to ask for the initial assessment as they were not informed about it, or the initial assessment was not made available to them.

Regarding the *integration plan*, it is jointly drawn up by the TE Office and/or the municipality along with the migrant, mutually agreeing on the integration-related measures and services supporting the acquisition of Finnish

(or Swedish) language skills and other knowledge and skills needed in society and working life (see Integration Act, 1386/2010). In general, migrants are entitled to an integration plan if they are unemployed jobseekers or recipients of social assistance on a non-temporary basis. The integration plan is also possible to make for other migrants if they are deemed to need such a plan based on their initial assessment. On this topic, one of the participants stated, “*there is hardly any migrant who would not, in one way or another, benefit from an integration plan*”. This indicates that the integration plan may promote migrants’ integration in the receiving country. However, as the research participants’ experiences show, the migrants, who were TE Office clients as unemployed jobseekers, had the possibility to have an integration plan, whereas the other migrants, who were not unemployed jobseekers, did not have such a possibility.

A similar situation is evident with respect to *integration training*, which is primarily arranged for adult migrants as labour market training (on average 25 hours per week) or as self-motivated studies (at least 20 hours per week) and organised in public or private educational institutions. Integration training is usually provided by the TE Office or the municipality, depending on which of them has made an integration plan with the migrant. This training is offered to unemployed jobseeker migrants or those at risk of unemployment, and it can also be implemented for gainfully employed migrants in certain circumstances. In this regard, the participants’ experiences illustrate that unemployed jobseeker migrants, who were a refugee or a family member, had an opportunity to participate in Finnish language courses organised as integration training in the form of labour market training, which was provided by the TE Office. However, the participants with other labour force, migration or legal statuses did not have an opportunity to be involved in integration training, either as labour market training or as self-motivated studies. Only Finnish language courses with several hours per week were offered to the student participant by the university and to the stay-at-home mother participant by the publicly funded project, but these non-intensive courses were considered as insufficient and ineffective by these research participants. In the case of the worker participant, Finnish language courses were not offered at all. As such, it seems that migrants who are not unemployed jobseekers (e.g., students, workers and stay-at-home parents) do not need to take intensive courses to learn the Finnish (or Swedish) language. Moreover, migrants who are not unemployed jobseekers do not need to take part in work placements to enhance their employment skills and/or to develop their cultural, social and civic skills or, further, to acquire reading and writing skills, if needed. That is, all these opportunities, including intensively learning the host country’s language, are mainly provided to unemployed jobseeker migrants as part of integration training in order to support their integration into society in general and working life in particular (for details, see Integration Act, 1386/2010; see also FNBE, 2012). However, it should be taken into consideration that migrants, who are not unemployed jobseekers, also need to access to similar opportunities based on their needs and life

situations in the receiving country. These and the other above-mentioned issues arising from the experiences of the migrants participating in this doctoral research, I leave for consideration by those responsible for the planning, coordinating, monitoring, developing and/or implementing of integration policies and integration practices at different levels in Finland.

As the findings of this study indicate, policies and practices are multi-sited, involving different main actors and levels (for a similar finding, see Halonen et al., 2015; Huhta & Ahola, 2019). In particular, multi-sited integration policies and practices involved the main actors, such as migrants and the wider society, and the main levels, namely national, local and individual. These integration policies and practices created different opportunities and challenges arising from the intersection of migrants' diverse social categories (e.g., migration status, legal status, labour force status, language background and literacy skill) with the social structures of the wider society (e.g., Finnish laws, public authorities, integration-related measures and services) at the national, local and individual levels. That is, the intersection of such social categories and social structures promoted or hindered migrants' integration in the broader societal context of the receiving country.

In summary, despite the fact that legislation and government policy on integration have been reformed and updated over the past few decades (see also Section 2.3), they appear to have been partially effective in practice, as only small changes have been made in integration practices in the Finnish context (see also Kurki, 2019). In particular, under the Integration Act (1386/2010), the scope of the national integration policy has been expanded to provide integration-related measures and services to all migrants, irrespective of their grounds for residence in Finland. However, consistent with previous research findings, the present ethnographic study reveals that the integration practices concerning these measures and services have been largely limited to certain groups of migrants (see also Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015; Saukkonen, 2016). Moreover, this study shows that integration practices have been limited to migrants with specific language backgrounds, literacy skills and migration, legal and labour force statuses, which have made them eligible to take part in the state integration programme, including the basic information about Finnish society, guidance and advice, initial assessment, integration plan and integration training. It thus seems that not all migrants have been included in the changes in the national integration policy based on the Integration Act (1386/2010) and have generally been left outside the scope of integration policies and practices at the local level. That is, not all migrants, irrespective of their grounds for residence in Finland, have been provided with equal rights and opportunities to be involved in the state integration programme in general and in measures and services promoting integration in particular.

One reason for the above-mentioned issues could be that some groups of migrants have been dealt with differently in different municipalities in accordance with local integration policies, in addition to the fact that the division of labour and responsibilities for integration between public authorities,

especially municipalities and TE Offices, has not been sufficiently clear (see, e.g., Saukkonen, 2016; 2017). Another reason could be the difficulties that public authorities have faced in providing integration-related measures and services to everyone because of the lack of resources or experiences (see Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015). As the present study has shown, another reason might be that the distinction has been made between the different labour force statuses of migrants, which make some eligible (e.g., unemployed migrants) and others ineligible (e.g., stay-at-home parent, student and worker migrants) for the state integration programme, including integration-related measures and services (see also OECD, 2018). According to the study, a further reason could also be the fact that migrants' social categories (e.g., migration, legal and labour force statuses) usually change at different periods of their lives (for a similar finding, see Schuster, 2005), in turn enabling or limiting their access to measures and services promoting integration into the host society. The last, but not least important, reason identified in the current study concerns the multidimensional diversity in the social categories of migrants, a factor that has not been taken into consideration in enabling diverse groups of migrants to access services and measures in the context of the receiving country (see also Phillimore, 2011; 2015; Vertovec, 2007). The multidimensionality of diversity is particularly evident in the migrant population, which has been noticeably growing and diversifying, among other things, in migration ground, legal status, migration status, labour force status and language background (for more details on the diversification of the migrant population in Finland, see Chapter 2).

Overall, the present study shows that there is a gap between the national integration policy and local integration policies on the one hand, and local integration practices on the other. This gap is also reported in the study by Pöyhönen and Simpson (2021) focused on official language policy and migrants' minority language rights. To address this gap, the findings of the current ethnographic study suggest that effective changes are needed to make in integration policies and practices by taking into consideration the intersection of migrants' social categories affecting participation and the social structures of the wider society affecting acceptance in the state integration programme, including integration-related measures and services. There is also a need to make changes in integration policies and practices to take into account the diversification of the migrant population in the Finnish context, as this would promote the creation of equal opportunities for all migrants to receive relevant information on and gain access to integration-related measures and services. In addition, making changes would be necessary to extend integration-related measures and services to include the needs of migrants with diverse backgrounds and to enhance multi-sectoral cooperation within and between public authorities (e.g., TE Offices, municipalities, ELY Centres) and other parties (e.g., NGOs and educational institutions), which play a vital role in the development and implementation of integration policies and practices at the local level. In this regard, it would also be important to design and deliver training courses and

seminars for public servants, study and career counsellors, third sector actors and other professionals working in the fields of migration and integration so that they can update and expand their knowledge and competences and, through the use of easy Finnish/Swedish, multilingual skills and translanguaging as resources, provide efficient and qualified integration-related services for diverse groups of migrants. Furthermore, since integration is an ongoing process and not a static outcome, integration-related measures and services should be developed and applied to promote migrants' integration not only at the early but also at the later stages after migration. These and other suggested changes are further discussed in the following section.

7.2.2 Personal trajectories from a bottom-up perspective

As this ethnographic study shows, the personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context of Finland varied across the participants with a migrant background. On the participants' personal language trajectories, the findings reveal that they started learning Finnish through self-study at home (worker and family member participants), the Finnish language course provided several hours a week as part of university studies (student participant), or the Finnish language course offered several hours a day via introductory training organised by an integration-related project (refugee participant). Later, only two participants (refugee and family member) were entitled to continue learning Finnish through intensive language courses lasting for five to seven hours a day, which were arranged for adult migrants as part of integration training. The family member participant was also offered a non-intensive Finnish language course organised for migrant stay-at-home mothers through the publicly funded project and the refugee participant an intensive Finnish language course provided via the preparatory training for vocational education (MAVA training). For the student participant, the only option was to continue learning Finnish through a similar non-intensive Finnish language course provided as part of university studies. According to this participant, non-intensive Finnish language courses offered by the university were neither effective nor sufficient for learning a new language within a reasonable amount of time. In the case of the worker participant, she was not eligible to participate in Finnish language courses. In this participant's opinion, providing migrants with Finnish language courses through integration training or workplace training would be more efficient and beneficial when they are employed rather than after they become unemployed. Hence, it can be concluded that the research participants with different migration, legal and labour force statuses were not provided with equal opportunities to study Finnish through formal language learning. This affected the participants' integration into society in general and into working life in particular, a similar finding has also been reported in earlier empirical studies conducted with working-age migrants in Finland (see, e.g., Pöyhönen et al., 2018; Tarnanen et al., 2015).

In a similar vein, the present study shows that the research participants experienced Finnish language learning in different ways and contexts through their studies in vocational or higher education, as well as through their NGO activities, daily activities and/or family life, which go beyond formal language learning. The participants also developed their Finnish language skills in some workplaces, especially through paid work, work trial, work placement and/or voluntary work. In this respect, the study reveals that workplace learning generally depends not only on the individual but also on the opportunities provided by the workplace (see also Billett, 2011; Tynjälä, 2013). For instance, the participant working as an intern had different experiences in learning Finnish during his work placements in two different workplaces, depending on whether the nature of his work tasks was non-linguistic and unskilled (e.g., making coffee, washing dishes and filing or shredding documents) or linguistic and skilled (e.g., participating in finalising the implementation plan of the project, translating information leaflets and preparing registration or feedback forms for clients). The latter enabled the research participant to develop his Finnish language skills, whereas the former did not. Likewise, another research participant, as a salaried employee, also experienced learning Finnish differently in different workplaces where different work tasks were required for working as a cleaner or as an accountant. Compared to the latter, the former provided limited opportunities for improving the participant's Finnish language skills. In accordance with the present findings, previous empirical studies have reported that learning the receiving country's language is closely connected not only with the work tasks performed in workplace settings (see Sandwall, 2010) but also with the work tasks required in occupational fields (see Strömmer, 2016). The current study also reveals that social interactions with colleagues during work and coffee/lunch breaks played an important role in the participants' enhancement of their Finnish language skills. However, the participants often did not have such opportunities since most of them had limited social interactions in workplace contexts and experienced difficulties in participating in workplace communication and becoming members of their professional communities, as also found in earlier research by Negretti & Garcia-Yeste (2015).

Similarly, the study findings indicate that most of the research participants' possibility to use and practise their Finnish language skills through social networks in the broader societal context were limited, as they had limited social connections with people from a Finnish background, especially in the early years after migration to Finland (see also Lilja, 2018). Some participants also had limited opportunities for making social connections with earlier arrived migrants, with whom they could use and practise their Finnish language skills in daily life situations. Furthermore, one of the participants emphasised the difficulty in using or practising Finnish language skills in public spaces, for example, cafes, shops and bus stops. According to the participant, this difficulty was associated with the habit of switching from Finnish to English in public spaces, which might be due to a desire to support migrants in everyday

communication or to avoid difficulties of speaking Finnish in an easier and more comprehensible way for migrants, a view also shared by the participants with a migrant background involved in previous research conducted in the Finnish context (see Kaye, 2015). Thus, the participants' opportunities appear to have been limited in terms of using and practising Finnish through social networks or in public spaces, where language practices are quite different from those in classroom settings.

The study further shows that the participants' multilingual repertoires could be a valuable resource for them in learning the receiving country's language in and outside of formal learning environments, which has also been reported in recent studies (see, e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Pöyhönen et al., 2018; Simpson & Cooke, 2017). Another finding is that learning the receiving country's language was easier for the participants whose first or additional languages were closely related to Finnish (e.g., Estonian) than distant from Finnish (e.g., Persian). A possible explanation for this might be that close and distant languages are more- and less-related phonologically, semantically and/or syntactically (see, e.g., Chiswick & Miller, 2005; Dautriche et al., 2017; Suni, 2008). In this study, the young age of participants also positively affected the development of their Finnish language skills (for a similar discussion of the effect of age on language learning, see Ellis, 2008; Kulkarni & Hu, 2014; Sahradyan, 2012; Stevens, 1999). Furthermore, the study reveals that, because of a stressful and traumatic life experience, the refugee participant encountered difficulty in concentrating on learning Finnish, especially in the early stages of his arrival in Finland. This finding confirms data presented in the OECD report (2017), indicating that Finnish language learning was more likely to be challenging for migrants who were refugees in need of international protection. In short, it is obvious that migrants' certain social categories, including migration ground, age profile and language background, may help or hinder learning the language of the receiving country. It can therefore be concluded that it is necessary to consider migrants' grounds for moving to Finland, the languages they have learnt and their age at the time of learning Finnish when assigning them to Finnish language learning tracks based on their placement assessment. However, as reported in a recent study focused on placement assessment for Finnish language courses offered as part of integration training (Tammelin-Laine et al., 2018), migrants were recommended for slow, basic and fast tracks based solely on their Finnish language proficiency, level of education and number of languages studied, as in the case of the participants in this ethnographic study.

The study also reports that, in accordance with the national core curriculum for integration training for adult migrants (see FNBE, 2012), the participants' goals for learning Finnish were considered when assigning them to different Finnish language learning tracks as part of integration training. However, as the participants' experiences show, their goals were not achieved upon completion of integration training, the objective of which is to promote migrants' Finnish or Swedish language learning and to help them to attain the proficiency level

of B1 on the CEFR (see FNBE, 2012). It is also noteworthy that only one of the participants reached the B1 target set by the course organisers in line with provisions of the Integration Act (1386/2010). In particular, the family member participant attained CEFR level B1 in Finnish, but she could not achieve her goal of obtaining a teaching job that corresponded to her previous educational background and work experience since it is generally required to have excellent spoken and written language skills in the language of instruction, and, in her case Finnish, in order to be eligible to work as a basic education teacher in Finland (for details, see Teaching Qualifications Decree, 986/1998, Amendment 1133/2003). The refugee participant attained CEFR level A2 through integration training, and he was unable to achieve his goal of getting into university, for which the minimum language requirement was B2 of Finnish. This participant was also unable to access vocational education, which similarly required a minimum proficiency in Finnish of B1. In this situation, his only chance was to continue studying Finnish through preparatory vocational training (MAVA training), the objective of which is to support migrants in achieving level B1 (see FNBE, 2015). After completing MAVA training, he was able to enter vocational school. As such, a typical trajectory for migrants seems to have access to vocational education after completion of integration training and/or MAVA training (for a similar discussion, see Kurki, 2019; Masoud et al., 2020). From these findings, it also appears that the Finnish language courses organised as part of integration training are offered up to CEFR level B1, while a higher level of Finnish language skills is needed to move on to higher education and working life in Finland.

The student participant, in turn, was provided with Finnish language courses as part of her university studies; however, these courses did not help her to achieve the level of proficiency in Finnish that might enable her to find a job in a field related to her higher education, especially after her graduation from university. She also could not reach the target proficiency level in Finnish set by the course organisers. As the participant's experiences show, she faced various difficulties in learning Finnish. One of the difficulties was that the Finnish language courses organised at the university were only available for several hours per week, making it impossible for her to learn a new language in a reasonable amount of time. This participant had to be satisfied with what the university had offered since, as a student, she was not entitled to participate in the state integration programme, including integration training. The other difficulty was related to the participant's limited opportunities to use and practise her Finnish language skills outside the classroom, especially when studying Finnish, as the language of instruction of her university studies was English, and her social connections were limited to students who used English as a common language. Another difficulty was that she could only take general Finnish courses because specialised Finnish courses focusing on the development of professional language skills were not available at the university. The findings thus indicate that Finnish language courses offered as part of higher education studies play a vital role for students with a migrant background, as these

courses are the most important way for them to learn Finnish during their studies. However, it is also clear that such non-intensive courses are not sufficient and effective for developing the Finnish language skills that these students need for employment in Finland. A similar point has been emphasised in Finnish Government programmes and strategies (e.g., Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2016), which have also presented measures aimed at improving the language courses (i.e., Finnish and Swedish) to better correspond to the employment-related needs of students moving to Finland to study in higher education institutions. Recent studies (Mathies & Karhunen, 2021; Saarinen, 2020) similarly underline the mismatch between the language of instruction in higher education (English) and the local language required for the labour market (Finnish or Swedish), which probably affects these students' employment prospects in Finland. It is also reported that higher education institutions, and especially degree programmes, have difficulty fitting Finnish language courses into a given number of degree credits (Mathies & Karhunen, 2021). Hence, it can be concluded that the issue with Finnish language courses provided as part of higher education studies has been recognised and widely discussed; however, significant structural changes have not yet occurred in the education system to promote the improvement of these courses offered to students with a migrant background, and potentially increase their employment opportunities in the Finnish labour market.

Thus, based on the research participants' experiences of not having equal opportunities to learn Finnish through formal language learning, it is suggested that intensive Finnish language courses be provided to different groups of migrants, especially those with different migration, legal and labour force statuses. To facilitate migrants' access to both higher education and employment corresponding to their educational background or work experience, it is also recommended to organise Finnish language courses up to at least CEFR level B2, as the Finnish language courses offered through integration or related training up to level B1 mainly supported the participants' entry into vocational education and/or finding unpaid or paid employment that often did not match their education or profession. In addition, it is needed to provide migrants with specialised Finnish courses related to their field of education or profession since the general Finnish courses offered to the participants were not effective for learning Finnish relevant to their studies or for working life in Finland. The study also underlines the need to develop the structure and content of Finnish language courses, given that most of the participants did not reach the target proficiency level in Finnish set by the course organisers. Moreover, there is a need to support migrants in developing their Finnish language skills through workplace language learning, the significance of which was emphasised by the participants who usually had limited possibilities in this respect. Finally, when providing migrants with opportunities to learn Finnish inside or outside formal learning settings, it is important to consider their needs and life situations so as to promote their participation and inclusion not only in working life but also in other spheres of the receiving society.

Regarding the participants' personal employment trajectories, the findings show that the majority had more experience of working as a trainee, intern and/or volunteer through unpaid work than as a subsidised and/or salaried employee through paid work. It is noteworthy that the participants' paid and unpaid work was mostly done with children, youth and/or adults with a migrant background, using their first language and/or additional languages, including Finnish, to work as a native language teacher, course instructor, teaching assistant, research assistant, interpreter, entrepreneur and/or NGO practitioner, among others. As such, the participants with a migrant background had access to the workplaces or occupations where they mostly worked multilingually with other migrants. Furthermore, the participants often worked on a part-time or fixed-term basis (see also Sutela, 2015), and none of them had a permanent job. The participants generally did not hold supervisory positions either. As the previous Finnish study by Jaakkola (2005) reports, migrants are accepted as co-workers rather than supervisors in the workplace setting. Another notable finding is that the participants faced discrimination in their workplaces (for a similar discussion, see, e.g., Larja et al., 2012; Larja, 2019). In particular, several participants were not working in appropriate conditions and/or assigned relevant work tasks. One participant was not adequately remunerated for her work; she received a lower salary than her colleagues, even when performing more difficult work tasks usually requiring multilingual skills. Most of the participants experienced limited social interaction and inclusion in the workplace communities despite sharing a common language, such as Finnish and/or English, with their colleagues. This indicates that without changes in attitudes, a common language alone is not enough (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015) in the Finnish context where migrants are often viewed as 'others' (Näre, 2013).

The study findings also reveal that the participants' work often did not correspond to their education obtained in or outside Finland, as has also been reported in earlier studies (e.g., Larja, 2019; Myrskylä & Pyykkönen, 2014). Further, most of the participants had to acquire a new education to start a new career in Finland (for similar findings, see Forsander, 2013; Kyhä, 2011; Masoud et al., 2020). Some participants had to gain an education in more than one domain in the receiving country. Specifically, the refugee participant was able to find temporary part-time jobs that were not commensurate with his educational background. However, he was unable to find a job commensurate with the vocational education he completed in Finland. Consequently, he had to change his occupation through a new vocational education in order to find suitable employment in another field. During her university studies, the student participant also had short fixed-term jobs that did not always correspond to her educational qualifications. Moreover, even after graduating from a Finnish higher education institution, she was unable to find gainful employment corresponding to her work experience or university education she had received either before or after moving to Finland. She therefore had to move to another European country to improve her employment prospects. The family member participant, in turn, could not obtain a job that matched her previous university

education and work experience and had to undertake another university education to enhance her chances of participating in Finnish working life. In the case of the worker participant, she found a job, but after completing her Finnish apprenticeship training, she had to quit and start working as a self-employed entrepreneur. However, as the participant was basically left alone to face the challenges of business life, she decided to change her occupation and enrol for another university education in another field. It is thus evident that the participants encountered difficulties in finding and maintaining employment commensurate not only with their education received outside Finland but also with their vocational or university education received in Finland (see also Masoud et al., 2020; Pöyhönen et al., 2013). Based on these findings, it is suggested that effective changes in employment-related services are needed to support migrants in getting jobs that match their educational background and work experience. Given the increase and diversification of the migrant population in Finland, along with the general shortage of labour, employment-related services are also needed to be expanded to facilitate the integration into working life of different groups of migrants, especially those with different migration, legal and labour force statuses.

Interestingly, the study shows that the participants faced difficulties in obtaining not only a regulated job in the public sector but also a non-regulated job in the private sector. For example, the family member participant was unable to get a teaching job that corresponded to her previous education and employment. To work as a teacher in basic education requires a teaching qualification recognised in Finland. This was more challenging for the participant as she obtained her professional qualification outside the EU (for details on the recognition of professional qualifications, see FNAE, 2021). Moreover, advanced proficiency in the language of instruction, in her case Finnish, is also required (see Teaching Qualifications Decree, 986/1998, Amendment 1133/2003); however, she was only able to study for, and reach, CEFR level B1 in Finnish, as this was the objective of integration training provided to her as an unemployed jobseeker migrant in Finland (for details on integration training, see, e.g., FNBE, 2012). In light of the difficulties in meeting the statutory requirements for language and professional qualification to practise her profession as a teacher in Finland, she decided to obtain a new university education and change her occupation in the receiving country.

Likewise, the refugee participant could not get a non-regulated job, such as an accountant in a private company, despite having completed a Finnish vocational education in that occupational field. He was also unable to find a work trial or subsidised work or even gain practical training experience in the accounting sector. He therefore decided to abandon his plan to become an accountant and instead study for a new occupation through another vocational education. In his case, although there were no statutory requirements on the eligibility to work as an accountant, he was unable to find employment. He sent job applications along with related documents to about ten different accounting firms. Only one employer responded by informing him that a new

employee with a migrant background had been hired because she had advanced proficiency in Finnish. The participant then applied personally to different accounting firms, but he received similar responses. For instance, one employer informed him that a prerequisite for getting a job as an accountant was a high level of proficiency in Finnish and, for that reason, a new employee with a Finnish background had been hired. This employer preferred to hire a Finnish employee who even did not yet complete his corresponding vocational education in accountancy. As underlined by the participant, the employers provided no justification for requiring advanced proficiency in Finnish. Besides this, it remained unclear to the participant how the employers, who were not specialists in language assessment, were able to decide on the proficiency level in Finnish necessary to do accounting work. It was also unclear to the participant how the employers could know whether his Finnish language proficiency was in/sufficient to work as an accountant without asking him to provide the information about his proficiency in Finnish. The employers also did not ask him to demonstrate or prove his Finnish language proficiency through, for instance, a language test or certificate. Furthermore, although the employers were informed that the participant had studied and completed the vocational education required to work as an accountant in the Finnish language and in a Finnish educational institution, they did not take these facts into account. It is also noteworthy that the participant and the newly hired employees had been classmates and had studied in Finnish in the same field of vocational education. Thus, it is obvious that the employers did not provide the participant with any justification for the requirement of advanced proficiency in Finnish and did not ask for any information about his Finnish language proficiency. In addition, the employers neither required from the participant to demonstrate or prove his Finnish language proficiency nor considered his vocational education in Finnish. These findings indicate that the employers put the participant at a disadvantage and in an unequal position in comparison to those hired on the basis of having a high level of proficiency in Finnish. In the recruitment process, this phenomenon can be characterised as a form of indirect discrimination under the Non-discrimination Act (325/2014, Section 13).

In line with earlier studies conducted in Finland and elsewhere (see, e.g., Cooke & Simpson, 2008; Kirilova, 2013; Pehkonen, 2006; Tarnanen & Pöyhönen, 2011), the present study indicates that the participants' proficiency level in the language of the receiving country posed a challenge in the recruitment context. As most of the participants noted, employers preferred hiring a new workforce with high proficiency in Finnish, even if an advanced level of Finnish was not required or essential to do the target job (for a similar discussion, see also Ahmad, 2005; Huhta & Ahola, 2019). These participants also emphasised that having '*insufficient or inadequate Finnish language proficiency*' or not knowing '*enough Finnish*' were presented as a '*red card*' and used as a '*gatekeeper*' by employers in the recruitment process. Moreover, according to some participants, their social categories were hidden behind the requirement of a high proficiency in Finnish, and about these categories were typically left unsaid by employers.

In this regard, the participants underlined that employers often prioritised hiring Finnish over migrant jobseekers, as well as hiring migrant jobseekers with Finnish family ties or those of Western ethnic origin and a Western cultural background, from a European country, with a 'white' skin colour and/or a knowledge of English as a first language, among others. This indicates that, in hiring a new workforce, migrant jobseekers were ranked on a hierarchy according to their language, culture, race, ethnicity, country of origin and/or family ties. That is, employers made distinctions not only between Finns and migrants but also between migrants in relation to certain social categories, favouring jobseekers with a Finnish or specific migrant background. This phenomenon can be characterised as a form of direct discrimination in the recruitment process where "a person, on the grounds of personal characteristics, is treated less favourably than another person ... is treated ... in a comparable situation" (for more details, see Finnish Non-discrimination Act, 1325/2014, Section 10). Overall, the findings show that most of the participants as migrant jobseekers faced discrimination in their access to the Finnish labour market (for similar findings, see, e.g., Larja et al., 2012; Larja, 2019; Ahmad, 2005; 2020). In light of this study findings, it is suggested that, as a way of preventing discrimination against migrant jobseekers with diverse backgrounds and providing them with equal opportunities in recruitment contexts, workforce recruitment, whenever possible, should be based on anonymous job applications, given that migrants' foreign-sounding names, as markers of some of their social categories, can hamper their chances of employment. It is also recommended that in order to prevent employers from using an unnecessary high level of language proficiency as a 'gatekeeping' or 'gateway' criterion to hire a 'suitable' workforce, the language proficiency requirement relevant to a given advertised position should be made clear and transparent. Furthermore, in view of the need for a multilingual workforce in both changing working life and changing society in Finland, it would be important to mention languages other than Finnish that can also be used in performing work tasks relevant to the advertised position.

The present study also shows that, in addition to language and employment integration, the research participants' social categories might affect participation and the social structures of the wider society might be affected by acceptance in other dimensions of integration as well (see Figure 28). According to the participants' experiences, the intersection of these social categories and social structures created not only opportunities but also challenges for them in different integration dimensions. For instance, in cultural integration, the participants had a possibility to share their own country's culture and to learn about the culture of the host country through Finnish language courses, NGO activities, voluntary work, and/or family life. In social integration, the participants were able to build social connections more with recently arrived migrants with diverse backgrounds than earlier arrived migrants and people with a Finnish background, as they often participated in Finnish language courses and vocational or university education with newcomers and worked in occupational fields

where newcomers were typically employed or engaged through paid or unpaid work. In educational integration, most of the participants had a possibility of gaining a university education and one of them a vocational education as their highest educational attainment. The latter had a refugee background and, although he had applied more than three times, had not succeeded in gaining entry to a higher education institution. In civic integration, the participants had various opportunities, as they were actively involved as volunteers, visitors and/or clients in NGO activities, events and/or services, which, in addition to their family, supported them in learning about the receiving country's structure and service system to function independently in society and manage their everyday life. However, most of the participants did not actively participate in voting, and none of them was involved in running for office since they generally received limited information about Finnish elections, electoral procedures and political parties and programmes. That is, the participants' opportunities in terms of their civic and political integration in general, and especially their participation in elections and decision-making processes, were limited. As the participants' experiences also show, the integration dimensions discussed in the study were often interrelated and had reciprocal effects. Thus, in line with previous research (e.g., Kazi et al., 2019, Saukkonen, 2017; 2020), the findings of this ethnographic study confirm that migrants experience multidimensional integration in the context of the receiving country. The study therefore suggests that migrants' comprehensive integration should be considered and promoted rather than limited to language and employment integration, which are currently emphasised and prioritised in both integration policies and practices at different levels in Finland.

In summary, the personal trajectories²¹ analysed and discussed through narratives illuminate the various opportunities and challenges that the participants with a migrant background faced in relation to the policies and practices of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context of Finland. As the study reveals, these opportunities and challenges were associated with the participants' diverse social categories (e.g., legal status, migration status, labour force status, language, education, race, ethnicity and age) and their intersection with the social structures of the wider society (e.g., laws, systems, services, authorities and institutions) (see Figure 28). In other words, the intersection of such social categories and social structures facilitated or impeded the participants' personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the receiving country. The findings also show that the participants experienced inclusive integration as a two-way process through participation and acceptance; the former might be affected by the participants' social categories and the latter by the social structures of the wider society. Furthermore, the participants' experiences

²¹The findings of these personal trajectories are based on my ethnographic research conducted between 2014 and 2016. Therefore, recent legislative changes or proposals concerning the measures and services related to migrants' language, employment and integration in the broader societal context of Finland are not included in my doctoral dissertation, as these recent changes had not been experienced by the present participants with a migrant background.

indicate that the two-way process of participation and acceptance was related not only to their language and employment but also to their cultural, social, educational, political and civic dimensions of comprehensive integration. Thus, the study findings on the personal trajectories illustrate that the intersection of the participants' diverse social categories with the social structures of the wider society played a central role in their inclusive and comprehensive integration in the broader societal context of Finland.

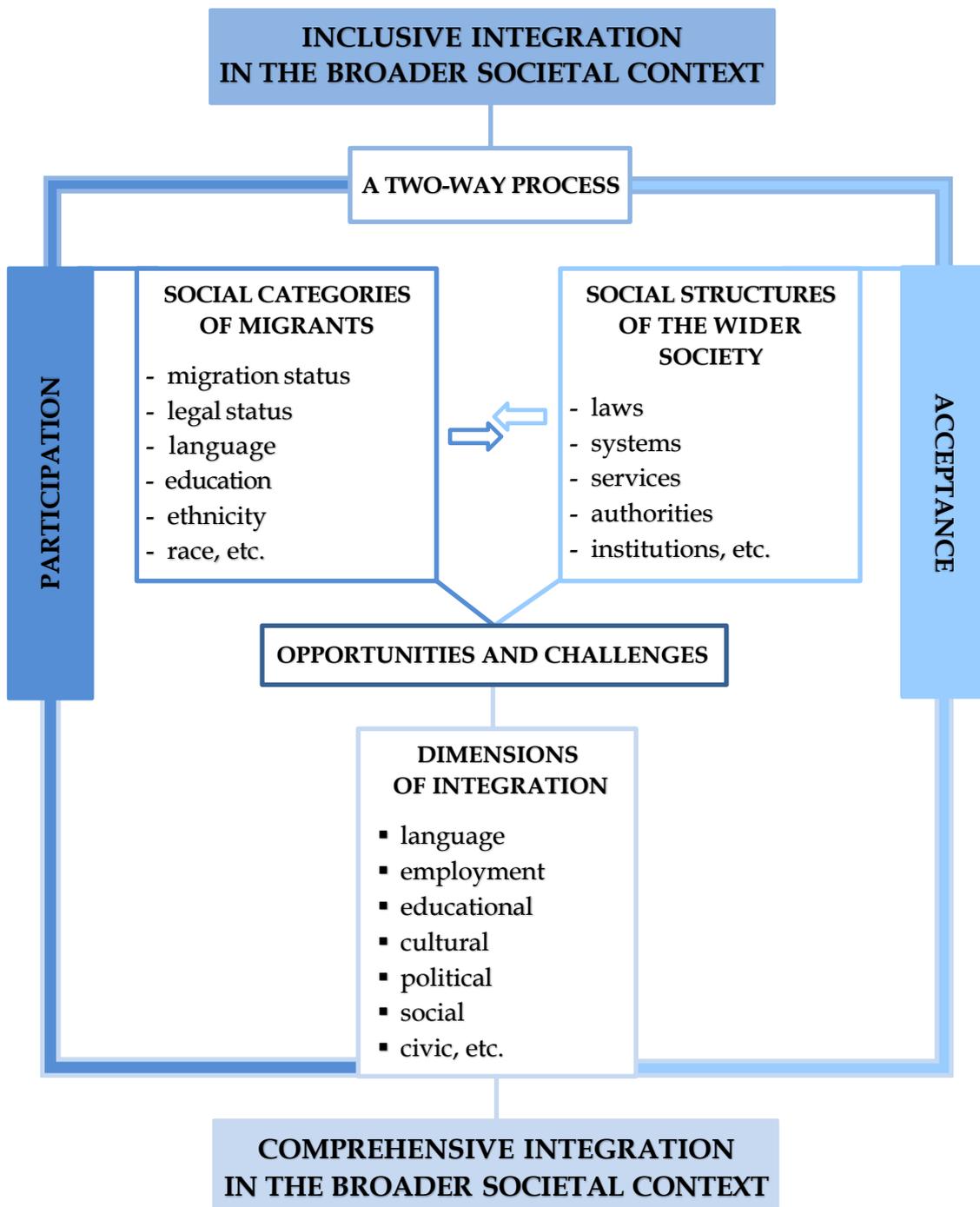


Figure 28. A synthesis of the main findings on inclusive and comprehensive integration of migrants in the broader societal context of Finland.

7.3 Opportunities and challenges in the workplace context of Finland

7.3.1 Institutional trajectories from a top-down perspective

From the findings of this ethnographic study presented through the institutional trajectories and narratives of research participants with a migrant background, it is evident that they differed in their starting points in the KYT Association as a workplace, which was the main research context of this study. That is, as migrant NGO practitioners, the research participants had different work-related characteristics at their time of employment in the KYT Association, and hence their workforce statuses were different. These workforce statuses included salaried employee, subsidised employee, trainee, intern and volunteer. More specifically, the research participants' work-related characteristics differed by their work situation, type of work, work status, work performed, work funded, and duration of work (for more information, see Table 7 in Section 6.1). The research participants' workforce statuses are in line with the national labour market policy and services (for details, see Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2018), which also reflect their employment trajectories within, outside and beyond the labour force based on the recruitment procedures and requirements of the NGO as a workplace, that is, the KYT Association representing the third sector in Finland.

In accordance with the labour market policy and services, the research participants' employment trajectories within the labour force were related to part- and full-time salaried employees who were considered as *employed in the general labour market*, as well as to employment-based and apprenticeship-based subsidised employees who were considered as *employed through employment services* (see Figure 29). As can also be seen from Figure 29, the employment trajectories of research participants outside the labour force concerned trainees participating in a work try-out or rehabilitative work activity and interns participating in a work placement as part of integration training or in practical training as part of vocational education. In particular, trainees were regarded as *engaged in services promoting employment* and interns as *engaged in training*. The research participants' employment trajectories beyond the labour force were related to volunteers who were regarded as *engaged in volunteering activity*. Thus, the research participants with a migrant background had different employment trajectories according to their different workforce statuses within, outside and beyond the labour force. They were also not only in paid employment (i.e., salaried work and subsidised work) but also in unpaid employment (i.e., work trial, internship and voluntary work) in the NGO as a workplace (for similar findings, see, e.g., Lautiola, 2013; Pirkkalainen, 2013; Sahradyan, 2012; Saksela-Bergholm, 2009).

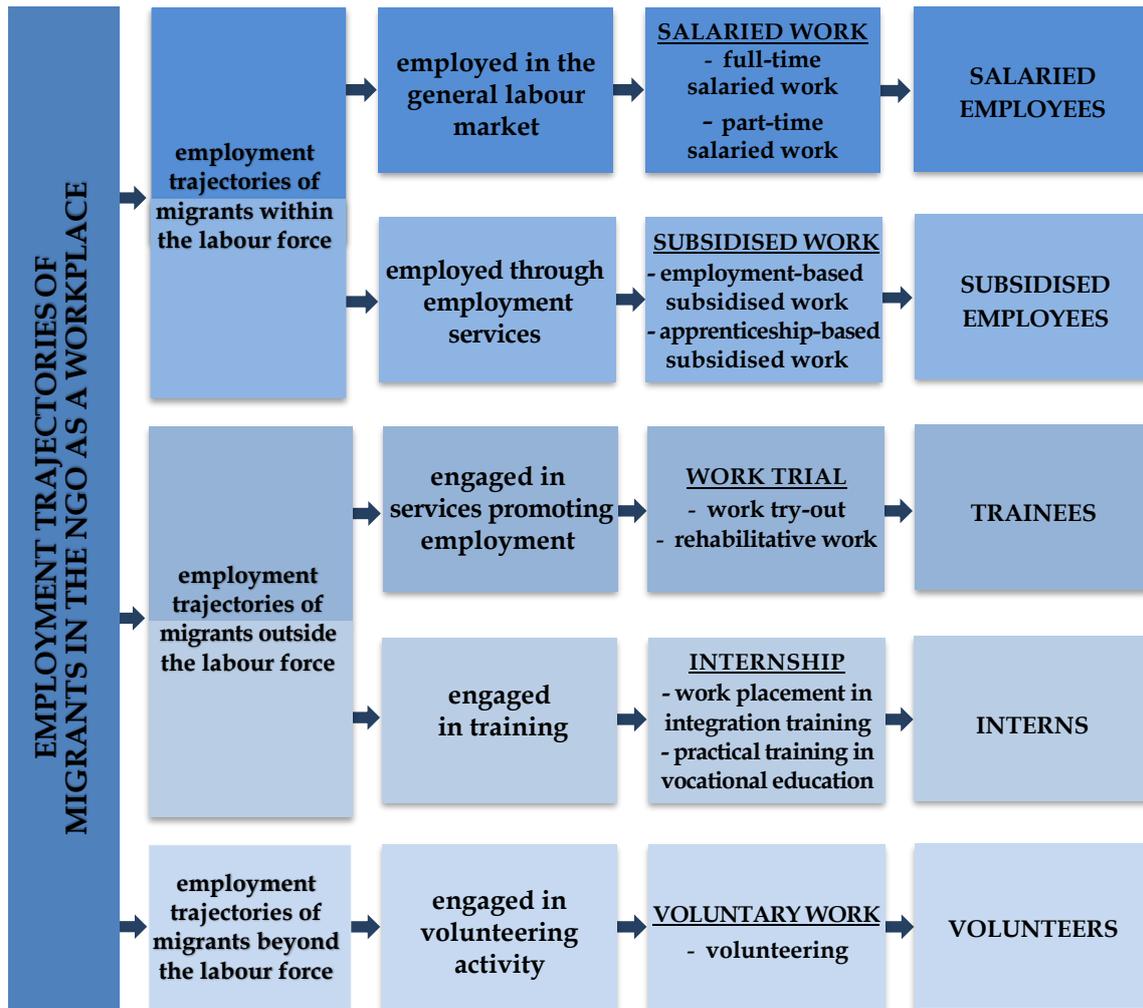


Figure 29. A synthesis of the main findings on the employment trajectories of migrants in the NGO as a workplace.

In a similar vein, the participants' employment status shows that they were hired more often as part-time than full-time salaried employees in the NGO. Similarly, the participants were mostly employed for a fixed-term than for an indefinite period. These findings are consistent with those of Sutela (2015), who found that employees with a migrant background were more often in part-time or fixed-term work compared to employees with a Finnish background. However, in this case, it should be taken into consideration that the KYT Association, like most NGOs in Finland, usually received project funding for a fixed-term period from external sources, which may affect the hiring of employees for a longer or indefinite period. In other words, the lack of permanent and sufficient financial resources may create difficulties for the NGOs as employers (for a similar discussion, see Finnish Refugee Council, 2019; Sama, 2017). Besides this, it is important to consider that the use of fixed-term project funding from external sources can be viewed as a way of governing NGOs from a distance (for an extended discussion on this point, see Pyykkönen, 2007), which also concerns the recruitment of employees in NGOs. Based on these findings, it is suggested

that reforming the funding of NGOs received from external sources is needed to provide them with more flexible and sustainable financial resources that can promote the full-time and long-term hiring of NGO practitioners as well as the implementation of long-term activities and services for local residents with Finnish and migrant backgrounds. In addition, the study findings underline the importance of making changes that would increase the recruitment of employees with a migrant background and hence promote workforce diversity in the NGO sector. In light of the growing and diversifying population of migrants in Finland and the labour shortage in different segments of the Finnish economy, this suggestion can be extended to other employment sectors as well.

The study also shows that the participants' eligibility requirements for getting employment as NGO practitioners in the KYT Association varied. More precisely, the eligibility requirements for participants with different workforce statuses were as follows: intern (enrolment as a student in the educational institution, see TE Services, 2017e; 2017g), trainee (registration as an unemployed jobseeker in the TE Office, see TE Services, 2017b; 2017d) and subsidised employee (registration as an unemployed jobseeker for a long period in the TE Office or enrolment as a student in apprenticeship training, see TE Services, 2017a; 2017c). Volunteers did not have to meet eligibility requirements to work in the NGO (see, e.g., TE Services, 2017i), but they were checked for a criminal record when applying to work with children under the age of 18, as was also done in the case of other NGO practitioners with either a migrant or Finnish background (for further information, see Legal Register Centre, 2021). Salaried employees were primarily required to meet the eligibility requirement for part- or full-time work (for details, see Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2018). Furthermore, the study shows that the participants, irrespective of their workforce statuses, did not have to meet any statutory requirements regarding language skills and educational qualifications to be employed as NGO practitioners.

Thus, the findings of this ethnographic study indicate that the intersection of the participants' social categories (e.g., workforce status) with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace (e.g., eligibility requirement) affected both participation and acceptance in the workplace context. Moreover, the participants' experiences show that there were no statutory requirements to be eligible to work in the NGO within the Finnish third sector. As such, the opportunity of getting employment in the NGO representing the third sector appears to resemble that in the private sector but differs from that in the public sector. The latter usually has a statutory requirement regarding, for example, language skills and educational qualifications in accordance with Finnish laws (see Act on the Knowledge of Languages Required of Personnel in Public Bodies, 424/2003; Language Act, 423/2003). However, as the participants' experiences also reveal, they needed to meet various eligibility requirements in terms of getting employment in the NGO, where recruitment requirements varied across different work sites and different workforce statuses as well, as discussed in the next section.

7.3.2 Institutional trajectories from a bottom-up perspective

Based on their institutional employment trajectories, the present study shows that the participants, namely NGO practitioners with a migrant background, acquired information about available employment opportunities in the KYT Association through various recruitment channels, including (1) institutional websites (employment services website, job-search website announcing vacancies in NGOs, and KYT Association website), (2) social media (Facebook pages and blogs of KYT Association's work sites), (3) social networks (formal: a TE Office specialist, job coach working in NGOs, former employer, study counsellor and teacher; and informal: a family member and friend) and/or (4) direct contacts (initiated by the KYT Association or by the applicant seeking employment). In addition, the study indicates that the KYT Association regularly posted announcements for the recruitment of salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers on its public website and social media platforms in Finnish and/or English; however, on the employment services website and the job-search website announcing vacancies in NGOs, job announcements for hiring salaried employees or subsidised employees were posted only in Finnish. Some of the participants also made direct contact with the KYT Association when looking for work rather than searching for information through various websites. For example, one of the participants, describing himself as "*an old man*", emphasised that he had found it difficult to use a computer and thus to find the websites where advertisements for vacancies were posted; therefore, he had directly contacted one of the KYT Association's work sites for receiving information on employment. Furthermore, active employment search by the participants played a vital role in obtaining information on the vacancies available in the different work sites of the KYT Association. In short, the study findings show that it was possible to be informed about vacancies through different recruitment channels, and that using these recruitment channels was connected not only with the KYT Association's recruitment regulations and rules on publicly advertising vacancies but also with the participants' age, duration of residence, workforce status and language proficiency in Finnish and English, among others. These findings complement those of Ahmad (2005), who examined migrant jobseekers' access to the Finnish labour market and found that different job-search methods were affected by migrants' active job search as well as by their personal characteristics, for instance, age, length of stay in Finland, education, Finnish language proficiency and labour market experience. More specifically, Ahmad's study (2005) reports the job-search methods, such as impersonal (through a public employment agency, newspaper and company website), personal (through a close relation, acquaintance and work-related) and direct (mostly initiated by migrant jobseekers). It is noteworthy that the majority of migrant jobseekers used personal (72%) compared to impersonal (19%), direct (7%) and other (2%) job-search methods (Ahmad, 2005). An official report published in 2017 also indicates that about half of the vacancies were announced through public employment services, while the most common means of recruitment were announcements to current personnel and direct contacts

with former employees (Maunu, 2018). Thus, the previous findings (Ahmad, 2005; Maunu, 2018) differ from those of the present ethnographic study, which shows that vacancies were generally visible and publicly advertised in and outside the KYT Association and were related not only to different workforce statuses but also to different work sites. This finding may be explained by the fact that the KYT Association represented the third sector, which, according to the official report, publicly announced more vacancies (Associations 57%) than the private sector (44%) or the public sector (municipal 48% and state 53%) in the context of Finland (for details, see Maunu, 2018).

In a similar vein, the present ethnographic study demonstrates that the KYT Association's procedure of applying for employment was associated not only with the recruitment regulations and rules of work sites but also with the workforce statuses of participants. Specifically, the procedure of applying for employment consisted of one or two stages: (1) the stage of submitting an application and CV and/or (2) the stage of participating in a formal interview, informal interview or informal conversation. For salaried and subsidised work, jobseekers were required to submit their application and CV and attend a formal interview. An informal conversation was usually conducted for voluntary work and an informal interview for an internship or a work trial. In general, Finnish was used in formal interviews, informal interviews and informal conversations, and migrant applicants were given an opportunity to use English when experiencing difficulties in expressing themselves in Finnish. At the same time, interviews, primarily formal interviews, were used by the job interviewers to check migrant applicants' skills in Finnish and/or English. These findings are in line with those of previous research conducted in Denmark (Kirilova, 2013), in which English could be used alongside Danish in the job interviews when migrant applicants found the use of Danish difficult, a procedure which also functioned as a way of checking migrant applicants' speaking and understanding skills in those languages. Thus, the recruitment procedures observed in this ethnographic study and in the previous study by Kirilova (2013) indicate that job interviews can be flexible in allowing the use of both languages (Finnish and English in Finland or Danish and English in Denmark); however, these interviews can also be used as a means of checking the language skills of migrant applicants by job interviewers who are not formally qualified to assess language skills. In other words, while using a given language in an interview does not qualify job interviewers to assess migrant applicants' language skills, it is nevertheless a common practice when recruiting migrants in Finland and other receiving countries (see, e.g., Huhta & Ahola, 2019; Kirilova, 2013). In this ethnographic study, migrant applicants' skills in Finnish, as the receiving country's language, and/or English, as the international language, were checked during the job interviews, mainly in recruitment for subsidised and salaried work where these language skills were required. The interviewers took into account Finnish language test certificates, especially national certificates of language proficiency (YKI certificates), which migrant applicants brought to job interviews, although applicants were generally not required to show such

certificates. It is also of note that to perform certain subsidised and salaried work, skills in other languages were also needed. However, since the interviewers usually did not speak those languages, they were not checked in job interviews. Moreover, as those language skills were often related to the migrant applicants' first languages, knowledge of them was taken for granted by the interviewers. In conclusion, these findings suggest that the common practice of checking migrant applicants' language skills through job interviews needs to be changed, not only in the NGOs within the third sector but also in other sectors and fields of employment. With respect to the language skills of job applicants with a migrant background, one option could be for interviewers to consider the certificates received by applicants from Finnish language courses provided as part of integration training, higher education studies or public and third sector projects. Similarly, consideration could be given to certificates or diplomas from a Finnish-medium upper secondary, vocational or higher education obtained in or outside Finland. A further option would be to give migrant applicants an opportunity in the recruitment process to take a language test developed and administered by qualified language assessors. These options could be used in relation to different language skills, including Finnish, and could be applied in NGOs and other workplaces. By so doing, it might be possible to promote not only the wider recognition and acceptance of migrant applicants' language courses and education received in or outside Finland but also to prevent discrimination based on language skills, which employers can use as a 'gateway' or 'gatekeeping' criterion to recruit a 'suitable' workforce.

As the study further reveals, the obtainment of employment in the KYT Association was connected with the recruitment requirements of work sites as well as with the participants' different workforce statuses (salaried employee, subsidised employee, trainee, intern and volunteer) and their different work tasks related to these statuses. It was also connected with the participants' other social categories since no single social category alone (e.g., first language, additional language, culture, education, occupation) could support them to gain employment in the receiving country (for a similar finding, see Forsander, 2013; Pöyhönen et al., 2013). The study also indicates that the participants' choice of employment in the KYT Association was associated with their age, gender, culture, language and other social categories, in addition to their workforce statuses. The majority of the participants' employment choice was as follows: volunteers (helping people from different backgrounds), interns and trainees (learning and practising Finnish language skills through work and/or familiarising themselves with Finnish working life and activities of the NGO's work sites) and subsidised and salaried employees (gaining experience of working in the NGO as a culturally and linguistically diverse workplace). Nevertheless, most of the participants with different workforce statuses also had a common employment choice. Specifically, they had to choose to work in the NGO, even when the work they did was not commensurate with the education they had received before or after their migration to Finland, as they had often been unable to obtain not only paid

(salaried and subsidised) but also unpaid (work trail and internship) work in the Finnish labour market. This finding is consistent with earlier studies conducted in and outside Finland, which also report that migrants encounter difficulties in obtaining paid or unpaid work in general and especially work related to their education (for a detailed discussion, see Ahmad, 2020; Booth et al., 2012; Larja, 2019; Maunu & Sardar, 2015; Myrskylä & Pyykkönen, 2014; Paananen, 1999; Piller, 2016; Weichselbaumer, 2016). It is thus clear from the findings of this ethnographic study that the NGO representing the third sector provides employment opportunities for different groups of migrants who experience difficulties in gaining access to working life. It is also apparent that these employment opportunities provided by the NGO promote the development of migrants' working life skills through multilingual work, which often involves migrants working with other migrants to assist their participation and integration in the receiving country.

The study findings on institutional language trajectories show that the participants' choice and use of their working language(s) were connected with their different workforce statuses (salaried employee, subsidised employee, trainee, intern and volunteer) and with their different types of work (advocacy, development, planning, cooperation, preparation and implementation) performed at different levels (institutional, sectorial and individual) and in different spaces (front-stage and back-stage) of the KYT Association (see Figure 30). As such, the participants' language choice and use at work can be characterised as based on a *multi-sided language policy* (Halonen et al., 2015). At the same time, the participants can be identified as *monolingual policy implementers* in their advocacy and development work at the institutional level (front-stage and back-stage spaces) and planning work at the sectorial level (back-stage spaces), where they chose and used mainly Finnish. It is also found that the KYT Association operated a *non-formalised language policy* (Sanden, 2015), as it had no formal document laying down an official working language(s) and as there was no statutory language requirement for working in the NGO within the Finnish third sector. Therefore, the participants' choice and use of Finnish were associated with the fact that it was the official language of the municipality in which the KYT Association was located. However, in addition to Finnish, English and/or other first and additional languages were also chosen and used by the participants in their cooperation work at the sectorial level (front-stage spaces) and preparation and implementation work at the individual level (back-stage and front-stage spaces), where they can be identified as *multilingual policy arbiters*. This implies that, at different levels and in different spaces, the participants' degree of authority and power to influence language policy varied in the workplace setting. As Johnson and Johnson (2015) claim, "language policy power is divided between those ... positioned as *arbiters* and ... *implementers*" (pp. 237–238). However, it is important to consider that the positions, such as arbiters and implementers, are not necessarily static; in other words, these positions can be changed within and across different institutional levels and spaces (Johnson & Johnson, 2015), which is also the case in the KYT Association.

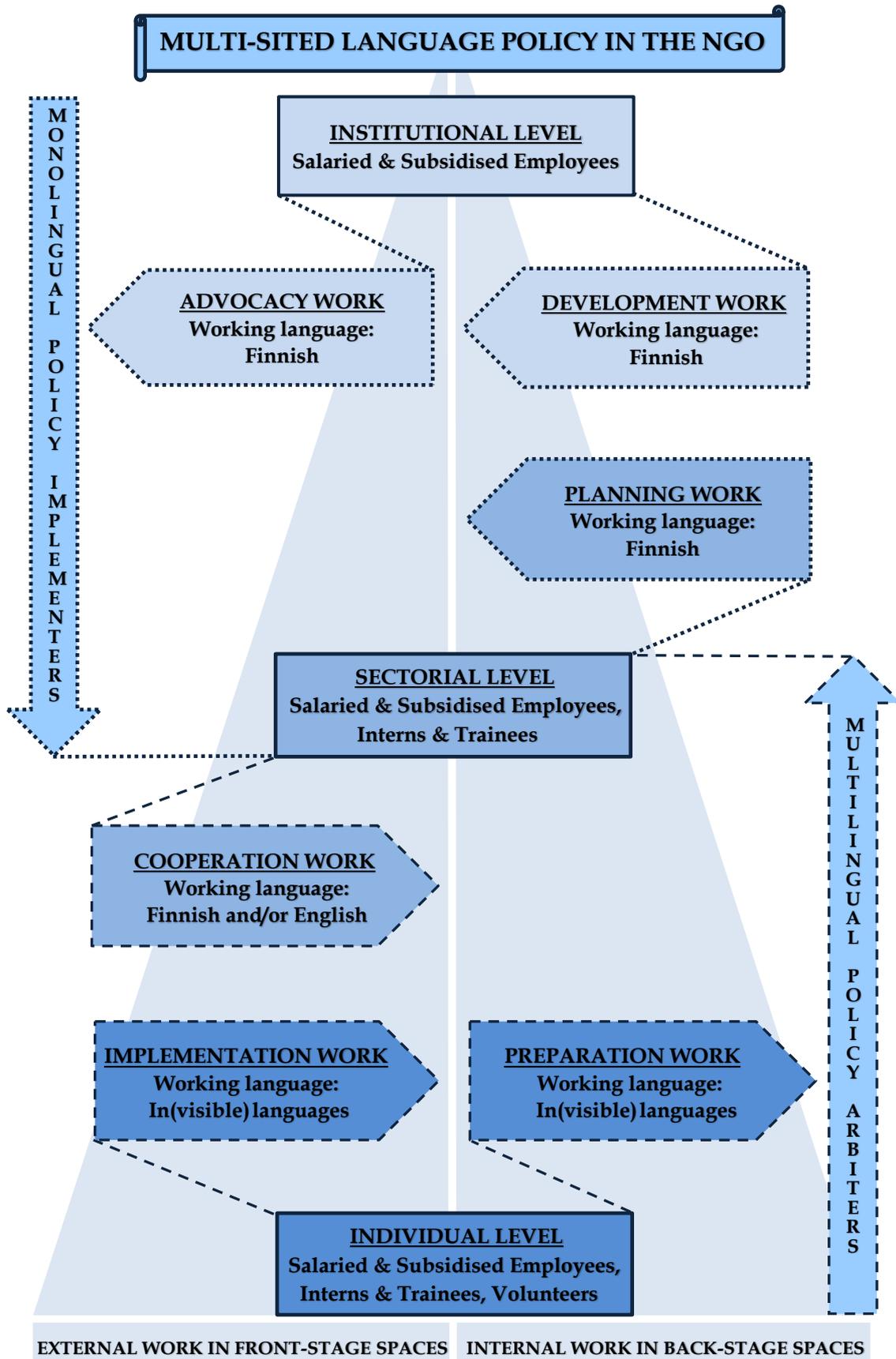


Figure 30. A synthesis of the main findings on the multi-sited language policy in the NGO as a workplace.

In a similar vein, the participants' experiences indicate that their working languages were not only visible but also invisible in the NGO context; a similar finding was reported in an earlier study conducted in the higher education context (see Saarinen & Nikula, 2013). That is, not all the languages that the participants used to perform work tasks were clearly visible, especially related to preparation and implementation work. In this respect, it is suggested that invisible languages be made visible through *institutional documents* (e.g., project proposals and reports, action plans and annual reports), as well as through *multimodal artefacts* (e.g., calendars, flyers and leaflets on activities, events and services). Since both institutional documents and multimodal artefacts fulfil certain communicative goals (Hiippala, 2015; Virtanen, 2017), they can promote the sharing of information and raising of awareness about the importance of migrants' multilingual resources in working life in general and in the NGO as a workplace in particular.

As already mentioned, the participants with different workforce statuses employed different working languages to perform different types of work. Notably, the participants often used multilingual skills and had the possibility of negotiating the language choice in their work when needed. As such, they can be viewed as *multilingual workers* in the NGO sector (see also Sahradyan, 2012). It is also notable that they employed *translanguaging* as a resource at work, which not only facilitated their workplace communication but also supported their workplace language learning (for comparable findings, see Creese & Blackledge, 2019; Simpson, 2016). In addition, the findings indicate that the participants' social interactions with colleagues both during work and coffee/lunch breaks promoted the maintenance and development of their first and/or additional language skills in the NGO, which differed from most of their other workplaces where they had limited social interactions and faced difficulties in social participation in the workplace community (for a related discussion, see Negretti & Garcia-Yeste, 2015). Similarly, the work tasks played a vital role in the maintenance of the participants' first and additional language skills (see also Sahradyan, 2017), as well as in the development of their additional language skills (for a similar finding, see Sandwall, 2010; Strömmer, 2017; Tarnanen et al., 2015; Virtanen, 2017). In particular, the participants' experienced learning Finnish as well as other additional languages in the NGO as a workplace. As the study findings also show, salaried employees were able to develop both their written (reading and writing) and oral (speaking and listening) skills in additional languages; however, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers mostly had an opportunity to improve their oral skills through their work tasks in the NGO. These findings prompt the suggestion that work tasks need to be planned and arranged in such a way that migrants with different workforce statuses can improve their oral as well as written skills. This suggestion applies not only to the NGOs but also to other workplaces, where both oral and written skills are essential for full participation in working life.

The study findings on institutional integration trajectories show that the participants were provided with work orientation and guidance in different

forms, according to the different routines in the KYT Association. Work orientation through the work orientation folder, which included general information on the KYT Association, its work sites and cooperation with stakeholders, in addition to basic information on the Finnish integration legislation, key terms on migration and official statistics related to migrants, was available to the participants with different workforce statuses. The participants who were salaried and subsidised employees also received work orientation and guidance through monthly staff meetings organised for all the KYT Association's work sites. Work orientation and guidance were also organised separately and/or jointly by one or several work sites through weekly staff meetings, mainly for salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and sometimes for volunteers. Generally, work orientation helped the participants, when newcomers, to learn about their workplace, its activities and colleagues working in different work sites, while guidance helped them to learn about their work tasks and performance targets (for a similar finding, see also Hyytinen, 2010). In addition, individual guidance sessions were provided to salaried and subsidised employees, who, with other colleagues (i.e., interns, trainees and/or volunteers) working in the same and/or other work sites, also received group guidance sessions. In these sessions and meetings, the research participants received guidance on planning and performing work tasks not only from their supervisors but also from other colleagues. According to Filliettaz (2011), such guidance for newcomers can be regarded as collaboratively distributed guidance in the workplace setting. Based on the participants' experiences, this study thus shows that both work orientation and guidance are essential for newcomers' workplace integration generally and especially for their adaptation to the workplace culture, as also reported in earlier research conducted by Lai et al. (2017). These findings suggest the need not only to make the work orientation *more structured* by informing all newcomers about the work orientation folder, updating the information provided in the folder, presenting the information in easy Finnish and translating it into multiple languages, but also to provide *more guidance* to newcomers who have no prior work experience in and/or outside Finland. These suggestions can be applied to the KYT Association, as well as to other workplaces in the public, private, and third sectors.

The participants' experiences also indicate that they received support for participation in workplace communication and workplace socialisation in different work contexts. In the case of workplace communication, for example, a Finnish teacher working in another integration-related project assisted interns and trainees in understanding and taking part in conversations conducted in Finnish at weekly staff meetings. Similarly, in work preparation meetings, colleagues helped volunteers by interpreting from Finnish into English. However, salaried and subsidised employees did not receive support with the Finnish language, which made it difficult for some of them to participate in conversations in monthly staff meetings. This finding suggests that monthly staff meetings need to be improved to facilitate the workplace communication of employees with a migrant background, a suggestion which applies not only to

the KYT Association but also to other workplaces. On the aspect of workplace socialisation, the participants, irrespective of their workforce statuses, were provided with various opportunities to take part in social activities and events organised in different work sites. Such social activities and events included but were not limited to coffee and lunch breaks, picnics and get-togethers, and birthday and holiday celebrations. These social activities and events helped the participants to build good relationships with colleagues, to develop informal connections and networks in the workplace, to create a positive atmosphere at work and/or to feel a sense of belonging to the workplace community. Their involvement as a participant and/or an organiser in such social activities and events also played a vital role, in addition to the opportunities that the workplace provided to them in this respect. In brief, the findings of this ethnographic study indicate that the workplace integration of the participants with a migrant background depends on the support that they receive for both their workplace communication and their workplace socialisation. These findings complement those of previous studies focusing on migrant professionals' experiences in the workplace context (see, e.g., Buttigieg et al., 2018; Lai et al., 2017; Malik & Manroop, 2017; Ramji et al., 2018).

Overall, the institutional trajectories²² analysed and discussed through narratives illustrate the different opportunities and challenges that the participants with a migrant background encountered in relation to the policies and practices of language, employment and integration in the workplace context of Finland. These opportunities and challenges were associated with the participants' diverse social categories (e.g., workforce status, employment status, language, culture, gender and age) and their intersection with the organisational practices of the workplace (e.g., rules, regulations, procedures, requirements and routines) (see Figure 31). That is, the intersection of such social categories and organisational practices supported or hindered the participants' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the receiving country. The participants' experiences also indicate that inclusive integration as a two-way process involved both participation and acceptance. The participants' social categories might affect participation, whereas acceptance might be affected by the organisational practices of the workplace. Moreover, the study reveals that the two-way process of participation and acceptance was related to the participants' different dimensions of comprehensive integration, such as workplace recruitment, workplace language, workplace culture, workplace communication and workplace socialisation. In sum, the findings on the institutional trajectories show that the intersection of the participants' diverse social categories with the organisational practices of the workplace had a vital role in their inclusive and comprehensive integration in the workplace context of Finland.

²² The findings of these institutional trajectories are based on my ethnographic research conducted in the KYT Association, especially in work sites such as a multicultural centre and four integration-related projects, as well as in management sites, between 2014 and 2016. Therefore, the recent changes made or proposed in the KYT Association, including work and management sites, are not included in my doctoral dissertation, as these recent changes had not been experienced by the present participants with a migrant background.

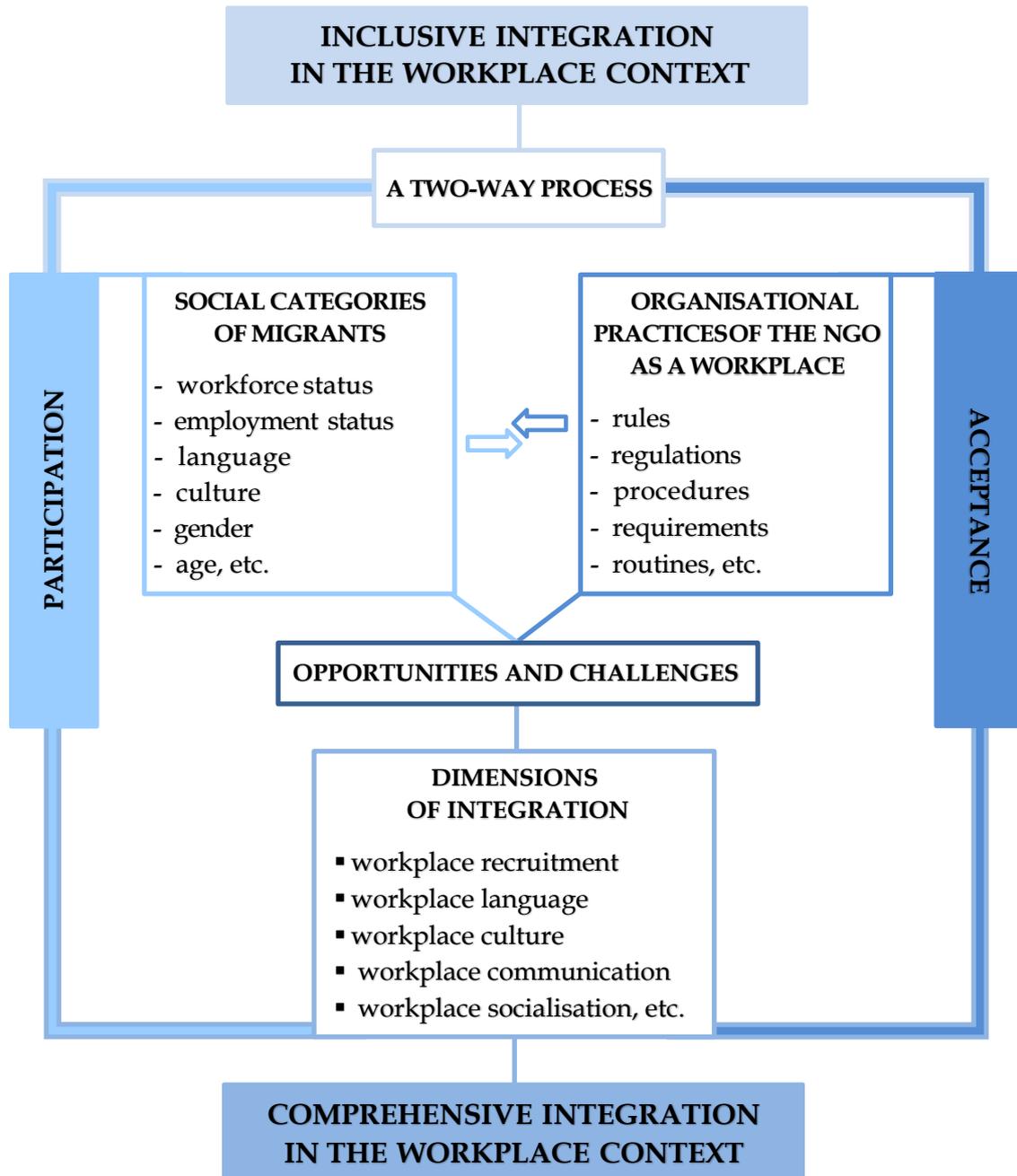


Figure 31. A synthesis of the main findings on inclusive and comprehensive integration of migrants in the workplace context of Finland.

7.4 Reflections on the ethnographic research journey

In this final section, I share my reflections on the journey of my ethnographic research by focusing on the implementation, reporting and limitations of the research and the directions for future research (see Figure 32). I also reflect on the research contributions that make an impact on both science and society, benefiting academic, professional and local communities.

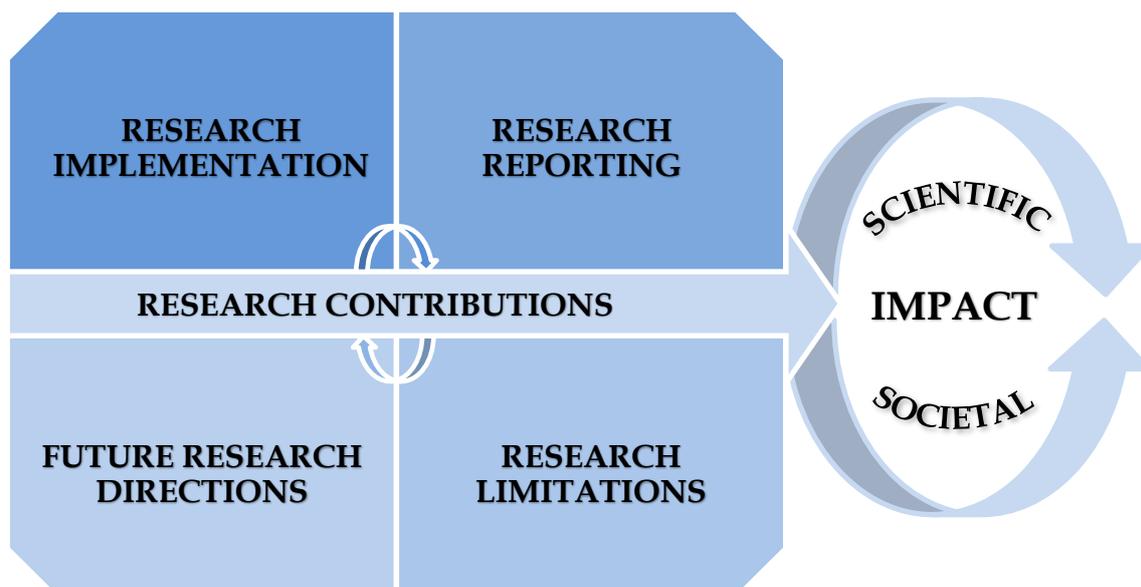


Figure 32. Overview of my reflections on this ethnographic research journey.

I start with my reflections on the implementation of the research, which was done in close collaboration with the participants and through the co-production of research materials with them (for a similar approach, see Khan, 2013; Räisänen, 2013; Solovova, 2014). The establishment of good relationships with the research participants played a significant role in this endeavour. Specifically, personal characteristics supported the building and development of good relationships between the participants and me as an ethnographic researcher, in addition to our identity negotiations during the ethnographic fieldwork (see also Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Below, I present some of these key personal characteristics, which also illuminate the positions and experiences of the participants and the researcher in the ethnographic research process.

One of the personal characteristics was *gender*, which, to some extent, made a difference when researching with female and male participants, especially in the case of the migrant NGO practitioners. In comparison to the male participants, most of the females reported feeling more comfortable socialising with me as a female researcher due to their cultural backgrounds. Similarly, I felt a little more connected with the female than male participants during my ethnographic observations. That is, in the field, I might have been considered as closer to the female than male participants. Another personal characteristic was the *place of residence* of the researcher and the participants. In fact, during the ethnographic fieldwork, I was living in the same city in the region of Central Finland as the research participants. Living in the same city was an advantage as it enabled me to create a sense of connectedness with the participants, irrespective of our different backgrounds. In this respect, I and the participants, including both the migrant NGO practitioners and Finnish NGO supervisors, could be viewed as insiders in the local context. However, in the national context, the migrant NGO practitioners and I could be positioned as outsiders as none of us were originally from Finland. The other personal

characteristic was a *migrant background*, which promoted the development of close relationships with the migrant NGO practitioners, who identified me as one of them and openly shared with me their opinions and concerns about migration issues. For instance, one participant stated, “*I’m telling you about this issue because I know you can understand me ... you are also maahanmuuttaja [a migrant], and you have probably experienced the same or similar difficulties in Finland*”. I heard similar comments from most of the migrant NGO practitioners during the different phases of my ethnographic fieldwork. Having a migrant background also allowed me to create close relationships with the Finnish NGO supervisors, as they had long experience of working with migrants from various parts of the world. Based on the shared migrant background of the researcher and the participants, the Finnish NGO supervisors could be viewed as outsiders and the migrant NGO practitioners and I as insiders since this ethnographic research was conducted from a migrant perspective. The last, but equally significant, personal characteristic was a *language background*, which contributed to establishing rapport between the participants and me as the researcher. That is, the participants and I had shared linguistic repertoires and therefore used several language skills and translanguaging as a resource, which enabled us to enhance our social interactions during the research process. Interestingly, the participants and I were positioned as both language learners and language supporters in the fieldwork sites. For example, in the work sites, the migrant NGO practitioners and I were considered as language supporters with respect to our first language, while in the management sites we were considered as language learners of Finnish – our additional language. The Finnish NGO supervisors, in turn, were regarded as language supporters of Finnish – their first language – in both the management and work sites. In this sense, the participants and I were in insider and outsider positions associated with our linguistic repertoires, which had an important role for our participation and involvement in the various fieldwork sites. Thus, the participants and I shared personal characteristics that provided us with an opportunity to be accepted or positioned as an insider and/or outsider in the research context (see also a related discussion in Motaghi-Tabari, 2016; Solovova, 2014). However, it should be borne in mind that the insider/outsider binary is dynamic and in flux over time and space rather than static or fixed (see Mullings, 1999), as in our case. Meanwhile, our personal characteristics promoted the creation and development of close and good relationships in the field, which enabled us to build trust and have open conversations on topics that had previously been left unspoken (for similar points, see, e.g., Charmaz, 2006; Khan, 2013; Peuronen, 2017). It is noteworthy that having good/close relationships and being in insider/outsider positions facilitated the collection and production of diverse data sets with the participants during the core and follow-up phases of my ethnographic fieldwork (for details, see Section 4.3).

Our personal characteristics also created some difficulties, especially at the beginning of my ethnographic fieldwork. One of the difficulties was related to the participants’ concern about sharing their personal and/or institutional experiences with me as the researcher, regarding how and by whom such

information might be used. This concern could have been associated with the fact that my and some of the participants' *educational qualifications* were different, and not everyone was familiar with research practices or had prior experience of research processes either in or outside Finland. I found it helped in this situation to talk individually with the participants about my ethnographic research and provide them with relevant information about the data collection and sharing, including data anonymisation and confidentiality. This information was also included in the informed consents, which I signed with each participant during fieldwork (for details on the informed consents, see Appendices 5 and 6). Besides this, I showed most of the participants my posters and slides from conference presentations, in which the names had been replaced with pseudonyms and the visual images disguised to protect the identity of both the participants and other persons involved in their work activities (for details on ethical considerations, see Section 4.7). In this way, I was able to inform the participants about research practices and to involve them in my ethnographic research. Other difficulties were related to *migration and legal statuses*, according to which my and most of the participants' personal experiences differed in terms of language, employment and integration in the context of Finland. Therefore, it was not an easy task for me to understand the different personal experiences of the participants, even though we had a shared migrant background. The reason for this might be that the migration status of most of the participants was that of a family member, refugee or worker, while only a couple of the participants had the migration status of a student and had moved to Finland on the ground of studying, as I had about a decade earlier. Based on these migration statuses, our legal statuses also differed as we had been granted a temporary (B) residence permit or a continuous (A) residence permit or accorded the right to residence of an EU citizen. That is, most of the participants and I had different starting points for studying, working and living in the receiving country, Finland. Likewise, some of the participants and I had different starting points in the NGO, where *workforce statuses* varied among salaried employees, subsidised employees, trainees, interns and volunteers. Similar to several of the participants, I had institutional experiences as a volunteer that clearly differed from those of the participants with other workforce statuses. In particular, these institutional experiences were different in terms of eligibility and recruitment requirements in the NGO within the Finnish third sector, of which I was not fully aware when I started my ethnographic fieldwork. To overcome the difficulties mentioned above, having informal conversations and/or conducting biographic-narrative and ethnographic interviews with each participant supported me in gaining a nuanced and detailed understanding of their personal and institutional experiences. Reading and analysing various policy and institutional documents and scientific literature related to different migration, legal and workforce statuses were also useful for me in this regard. Furthermore, it helped me to ask about and discuss the general experiences of migrants with these different statuses with my dissertation supervisors and fellow researchers investigating migration- and integration-related topics,

as well as with public officials and third sector actors working in the fields of migration and integration. This enabled me to identify and understand the similarities and differences between the research participants in their personal and institutional experiences, especially related to their migration, legal and workforce statuses in the broader societal or the workplace contexts of Finland.

Concerning the research reporting, I was able to take the written personal narratives back to the key participants and ask them to verify that they were complete and accurate. Similarly, in the case of the institutional narratives, I asked the participants to read the extracts along with explanations and analyses to verify that the ideas and reasoning based on the research data were correct and accurate. In this way, both personal and institutional narratives were checked with most of the participants, thereby enabling them to change or add information to the findings and reflect on my interpretations as the researcher. It should be noted that a few participants relocated to another city or country at some point after the completion of my ethnographic fieldwork, which means that I was not able to check the institutional narratives with them. It is also important to note that, as the participants varied in their proficiency levels of oral and written skills in English, which was the main language used in the personal and institutional narratives, several of them read these narratives in English and discussed them with me through our shared linguistic resources and translanguaging. In reporting both types of narratives, it was particularly useful to review data (e.g., fieldnotes, photographs, artefacts, documents and audio-/video-recordings) that I had jointly analysed and discussed with participants during the ethnographic conversations and/or ethnographic interviews. In short, the above-described procedures facilitated the negotiation of meaning and the co-construction of knowledge with the participants (see also Kerfoot, 2016; Mishler, 1991). These procedures also enhanced the validity and reliability of the research findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and helped in conducting member checking by providing the participants with an opportunity to “judge the accuracy and credibility of the account” (Creswell, 2013, p. 252). In my ethnographic research, credibility was also ensured through triangulation of the different participants’ experiences and views (migrant NGO practitioners and Finnish NGO supervisors), research orientations (ethnographic and biographic-narrative orientations), research strategies (institutional, longitudinal, multi-sited and blended ethnography), fieldwork sites (management and work sites), fieldwork phases (core and follow-up phases), data sets (observational, interview, textual, questionnaire and self-assessment data), data subsets (offline and online, multilingual and multimodal and qualitative and quantitative data), methods of data collection and production (observation, interview, document review, questionnaire and self-assessment), and methods of data analysis (analysis of narratives and narrative analysis). That is, triangulation was used “to provide corroborating evidence” for the research reporting in general and the research findings in particular (Creswell, 2013, p. 251).

Regarding the current research contributions and limitations along with future research directions, a methodological perspective should be considered.

From this perspective, my doctoral study extends ethnographic research conducted *with* rather than *on* the participants, whose involvement in the research process made it possible to take their needs, questions and concerns into account as well as to collaboratively conduct research through the co-production of materials and the co-construction of knowledge. That is, I applied different strategies and methods for the collection and production of diverse data sets jointly or in close collaboration with the participants in various fieldwork sites and through various fieldwork phases, thereby increasing both the quality and amount of the data. As such, my doctoral study was based on large amounts of raw research data, although, as is commonly the case in ethnographic studies, not all these data were analysed and reported in my dissertation (see, e.g., da Costa Cabral, 2015; Solovova, 2014). It is, however, important to acknowledge that all the raw data, namely “the totality of fieldwork data” (Blommaert, 2018, p. 127; see also Kytölä, 2013; Peuronen, 2017; Pöyhönen & Simpson, 2021), supported me as an ethnographic researcher, not only in gaining a deeper understanding of the target phenomena and the wider research context but also in becoming fully aware of what it means to collaboratively conduct ethnographic research with the participants. In addition, my doctoral study makes an important contribution to the growing body of ethnographic research conducted in institutional settings. In particular, it provides an in-depth and contextual insight into the participants’ institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the NGO as a workplace. For that purpose, I conducted ethnographic observations in fieldwork sites, such as management and work sites of the NGO. I made ethnographic observations in five work sites, including a multicultural centre and four integration-related projects administered by the NGO. I also observed several management sites by focusing on the organisational management of the NGO. In these fieldwork sites, my ethnographic observations mainly focused on the institutional trajectories of the participants, that is, the NGO practitioners with a migrant background. It should be noted here that my doctoral study was limited to examining the institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration of migrants in a single institution such as the NGO representing the third sector. Therefore, more research is needed to explore similar institutional trajectories in the same and other employment sectors, taking into consideration that migrants often face discrimination in the labour market on the one hand and in the workplace on the other (see, e.g., Ahmad, 2020; Larja, 2019).

From the conceptual perspective, the major contribution of my doctoral study is the construction of a conceptual framework, which was adapted from the frameworks proposed by Rallis and Rossman (2012) and Maxwell (2013). In this conceptual framework, I applied an analytical frame that was built on guiding concepts and informed by my research interests and experiential knowledge, as well as by the existing literature. Applying such an all-embracing analytical frame provided a direction for the data analysis, especially based on guiding concepts (Rallis & Rossman, 2012). The guiding concepts I used were superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) and intersectionality (McCall, 2005), which

enabled me to explore the intersection of migrants' diverse social categories with the social structures of the wider society on the one hand and with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace on the other. Combining these guiding concepts made it possible to explore migrants' experiences of language, employment and integration in the receiving country; however, this exploration focused only on migrants working in the same NGO and living in the same city. Further research is therefore needed on migrants' experiences in other places of work and residence, considering that not only workplaces (see Strömmer, 2017) but also municipalities (see Saukkonen, 2016) in Finland have a high degree of autonomy in designing and implementing migrants' language learning, employment and integration at the local level. Moreover, by bringing together the guiding concepts of superdiversity and intersectionality, I was able to explore how the migrants experienced inclusive integration as a two-way process of participation and acceptance, which formed part of the different dimensions of comprehensive integration they experienced in the broader societal and workplace contexts. More research on these contexts can be conducted to examine migrants' experiences in other integration dimensions that are not covered in this doctoral study, given that integration is multidimensional in nature (see, e.g., Kazi et al., 2019; Saukkonen, 2017).

As for the practical perspective, the findings of my doctoral study provide a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the opportunities and challenges experienced by migrants in terms of policies and practices related to language, employment and integration in the broader societal and workplace contexts of Finland. The insights gained from this study may be of use for initiating and making effective changes and improvements in policies and practices in both contexts. Based on the migrants' personal and institutional trajectories analysed through their distinct but interconnected narratives that combined their past, present and future experiences (see also Patterson, 2008) to capture a bigger and broader picture of real life (Freeman, 2006), I have discussed some of the implications of the study findings for policy and practice in the previous sections of this chapter. It should be noted, however, that after the completion of my ethnographic fieldwork, some changes were made or proposed in the management and work sites of the NGO as a workplace as well as in the Finnish laws and measures or services related to the fields of migration and integration in general and language and employment in particular. These changes are not included in this dissertation as my participants with a migrant background had not experienced them. Further research can extend this study by examining recent changes in policies and practices in Finland through migrants' lived experiences. It is, however, noteworthy that my longitudinal and multi-sited ethnographic study enabled the tracking of changes not only in migrants' personal and institutional trajectories but also in policies and practices, thereby helping to reveal, explain and assess both opportunities and challenges in terms of language, employment and integration faced by migrants across different times and spaces.

In summary, despite some limitations and the need for further research, my doctoral study makes a significant contribution methodologically, conceptually

and practically. The study also contributes to making scientific knowledge and research findings shareable and accessible to various communities and in various contexts. That is, starting from the research implementation process, I have presented and discussed my doctoral study, including its main objectives and preliminary findings, in scientific and societal activities and events (e.g., meetings, seminars, workshops and conferences) organised at the local, national and/or international levels. Through some of these activities and events, the study's main objectives and preliminary findings have been shared with wider audiences via institutional websites and social media platforms. I have also published peer-reviewed and non-refereed articles based on the raw data from my doctoral research and on the findings from my master's thesis, which served as a pilot study for this dissertation. Furthermore, based on the knowledge, competence and experience gained through my doctoral ethnographic research, I have voluntarily provided to several of my participants and also to recently arrived migrants, information and consultation on, among other things, courses and resources for learning the Finnish language; employment- and integration-related services offered by the public and third sectors; recruitment procedures and requirements for subsidised work, internship and work trail; and the system of public elections and the conditions for participation as voters. As a member of various expert groups, boards and networks at the local, regional and/or national levels, I have also been able to discuss and/or comment on draft proposals for migration- and integration-related policies and programmes, and to present and discuss possibilities, problems and/or prospects in the fields of migration and integration in general and specifically in the case of the NGOs involved in integration-related work. Overall, the above-mentioned contributions have not only a scientific but also a societal impact, benefiting academic (e.g., students and researchers), professional (e.g., educators, employers, policymakers, public officials and third sector actors) and local (e.g., residents with diverse migrant backgrounds) communities. These contributions made during my doctoral research process will continue and extend in and beyond academia after the completion of this dissertation.

SUMMARY

The society in Finland, like many societies around the world, has witnessed constant change due to globalisation and migration over the past few decades. This change is reflected in the migrant population, which has noticeably been increasing and diversifying in Finland. In this regard, language learning (Finnish or Swedish) and obtaining employment have, in accordance with the national integration policy, been prioritised as a way of promoting the integration of migrants into the receiving society (see Integration Acts, 493/1999; 1386/2010). That is, as noted in previous studies (e.g., Tarnanen & Pöyhönen, 2011), language and employment have become a policy priority and been established as key factors in migrants' integration in Finland. Meanwhile, previous studies indicate that no single social category alone (e.g., first language, additional language, migration status, education, occupation, ethnicity, gender or age) promotes migrants' integration into Finnish society in general and working life in particular (see, e.g., Forsander, 2013; Pöyhönen et al., 2013). Despite these findings, the diversity in migrants' social categories has often been overlooked in empirical research on migration-related topics, including language, employment and integration. As some scholars (e.g., De Bock, 2015; Simpson, 2016; Vertovec, 2007) have underlined, migration-related topics have been mostly investigated through the lens of ethnic and/or national origins. It is also noteworthy that while integration has generally been recognised as multidimensional in nature (see, e.g., Kazi et al., 2019; Saukkonen, 2017), relatively little research in more than one or two dimensions of integration in the broader societal or workplace contexts has been conducted on the lived experiences of migrants in Finland. My doctoral ethnographic study explored these contexts by focusing on the language, employment and integration trajectories of migrants working in a non-governmental organisation [NGO] involved in the fields of migration and integration in Central Finland.

More specifically, the aim of my doctoral study was to critically investigate migrant NGO practitioners' personal and institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration by cross-analysing the interplay within their diverse social categories at the micro level and the intersection of these categories with the social structures of the wider society at the macro level and with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace at the meso level. To achieve this main aim, I set two specific objectives: (1) to explore the personal trajectories of language, employment and integration of migrant NGO practitioners in the broader societal context, and (2) to examine the institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration of migrant NGO practitioners in the workplace context. The first objective was linked to the first research theme (migrant NGO practitioners' personal trajectories of language, employment and integration in the broader societal context) and was analysed through personal narratives representative of migrant NGO practitioners grouped according to their migration status, such as refugee, worker, student and family member.

The second objective was linked to the second research theme (migrant NGO practitioners' institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the workplace context) and was analysed through institutional narratives representative of migrant NGO practitioners grouped according to their workforce status, such as salaried employee, subsidised employee, trainee, intern and volunteer. The former was addressed from the perspective of migrant NGO practitioners, and the latter from the perspective of migrant NGO practitioners and their NGO supervisors with a Finnish background. Thus, these specific objectives lead to the accomplishment of the overall objective, which is to identify and illustrate the opportunities and challenges that migrant NGO practitioners encounter in relation to the policies and practices of language, employment and integration in the broader societal and workplace contexts of Finland.

Within the qualitative research design, my doctoral study is based on ethnography (Blommaert, 2018; Blommaert & Dong, 2010). Following this research design, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the NGO's work sites, including a multicultural centre and four integration-related projects, as well as in several of its management sites, between 2014 and 2016. The ethnographic fieldwork comprised four core and two follow-up phases, during which observational, interview, textual, questionnaire and self-assessment data were collected and generated. These included multilingual and multimodal, offline and online, and qualitative and quantitative data subsets. The data were collected and generated jointly or in close collaboration with the participants through the co-production of materials on the one hand and the co-construction of knowledge on the other (see also Kerfoot, 2016; Khan, 2013; Mishler, 1991). The participants of the research were twenty-two migrant NGO practitioners and six Finnish NGO supervisors. I used both biographic-narrative (Wengraf, 2001) and ethnographic (Blommaert & Dong, 2010) orientations in collecting and generating the research data. The former drew on individual (Squire, 2008) and organisational (Linde, 2009) stories, while the latter was grounded in the strategies of institutional (Smith, 2005), longitudinal (Barley, 1990), multi-sited (Marcus, 1995) and blended (Androutsopoulos, 2008) ethnography. I analysed the data by applying the methods of analysis of narratives and narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995).

Based on the conceptual framework adapted from the frameworks proposed by Rallis and Rossman (2012) and Maxwell (2013), the data analysis was directed through the guiding concepts, which were part of an analytical frame informed by the existing literature, as well as by my research interests and experiential knowledge. Superdiversity and intersectionality, in particular, were used as guiding concepts. I applied superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) to explore the multidimensional diversity of the migrant NGO practitioners' social categories. To examine the interplay within the social categories of migrant NGO practitioners at the micro level, I employed the intracategorical approach to intersectionality (McCall, 2005). Furthermore, I applied the intercategory approach to intersectionality (McCall, 2005) to examine the intersection of the

social categories of migrant NGO practitioners with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace at the meso level and with the social structures of the wider society at the macro level. By juxtaposing superdiversity and intersectionality, this ethnographic study provides new insights into research on migration and integration in general and on language and employment in particular.

The findings of my doctoral study were analysed and discussed through the personal and institutional trajectories of the participants, namely NGO practitioners with a migrant background. As the study findings show, the participants encountered different opportunities and challenges in relation to the policies and practices of language, employment and integration in the broader societal and workplace contexts of Finland. These opportunities and challenges were associated with the participants' diverse social categories (e.g., migration status, legal status, workforce status, language, education, culture, ethnicity, race, gender, age and country of origin) and their intersection with, on the one hand, the social structures of the wider society (e.g., laws, systems, services, authorities and institutions) and, on the other, with the organisational practices of the NGO as a workplace (e.g., rules, regulations, routines, procedures and requirements). This implies that the intersection of these diverse social categories with such social structures and organisational practices supported or impeded participants' personal and institutional trajectories of language, employment and integration in the receiving country. The study also reveals that the participants generally experienced inclusive integration as a two-way process involving participation and acceptance. In both the broader societal and workplace contexts, the participants' social categories might affect participation while acceptance might be affected by the social structures of the wider society or by the organisational practices of the workplace. Furthermore, the findings indicate that the two-way process of participation and acceptance formed part of the different dimensions of comprehensive integration experienced by the participants. That is, in the broader societal context, the integration of participants concerned not only language and employment but also other dimensions, such as cultural, social, educational, political and civic. Similarly, in the workplace context, the participants' integration concerned the dimensions of workplace recruitment, workplace language, workplace culture, workplace communication and workplace socialisation. These integration dimensions were often interrelated and reciprocal. Thus, the study suggests that the intersection of migrants' diverse social categories with the social structures of the wider society and with the organisational practices of the workplace should be considered when making changes in policies and practices aimed at promoting their inclusive and comprehensive integration in the broader societal and workplace contexts of the receiving country not only at the early but also at the later stages after migration. The findings of this ethnographic study can be widely used among migrants themselves, employers, public officials, policymakers, educational institutions, third sector actors and other stakeholders.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Transcription and translation conventions

[--]	unclear text
<u>and</u>	emphasised text
...	omitted text
" "	direct quote
' '	finger quote
?	question tone
!	animated tone or exclamation
,	brief interval within an utterance (less than 1 second)
.	long interval within an utterance (less than 2 seconds)
(.)	longer interval within an utterance (3 seconds or more)
(())	paralinguistic features and situational descriptions
\ \	names and other details changed for confidentiality
	explanatory text
[]	English translation of the original text in Finnish
()	English translation of the original text in Russian
{ }	English translation of the original text in Armenian
[[]]	English translation of the original text in other languages
< >	English used in the original text in Finnish, Russian or Armenian
Main language used in the original and translated text	Regular font
Other languages used in the original and translated text	Bold font

Appendix 2: Demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires: Closed- and open-ended questionnaire items²³

Migrant NGO practitioners

1. Pseudonym
2. Gender
3. Age
4. Country of birth
5. Country of origin
6. Ethnic origin
7. Religious affiliation
8. First language(s)
9. Additional language(s)
10. Country and place of previous and current residence
11. Migration year
12. Migration ground
13. Migration status
14. Citizenship status
15. Legal status
16. Marital status and family members
17. Educational attainment
18. Work experience
19. Workforce status in the NGO
20. Work performed in the NGO

Finnish NGO supervisors

1. Pseudonym
2. Age
3. Gender
4. Ethnicity
5. Country of origin
6. First language(s)
7. Additional language(s)
8. Educational attainment
9. Workforce status in the NGO
10. Work performed in the NGO

²³ Demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires were provided to the research participants in English or Finnish.

Appendix 3: Timetables for the core and follow-up phases of the ethnographic fieldwork

Timetable for the core phases of fieldwork							
Information about the informal interview and observation data gathered and produced through participant observations conducted in the physical settings of the NGO were reported here.							
1 Week 03.02 – 09.02.2014							
Hours	03.02 Monday	04.02 Tuesday	05.02 Wednesday	06.02 Thursday	07.02 Friday	08.02 Saturday	09.02 Sunday
8:00							
8:30							
9:00							
9:30							
10:00							
10:30							
11:00							
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16:30							
17:00							
17:30							
18:00							
18:30							
19:00							
19:30							
20:00							
Timetable for the follow-up phases of fieldwork							
Information about formal interview, questionnaire and self-assessment data were reported here.							
Researcher	The name of the researcher						
Language	Linguistic resources used by the researcher						
Participant	The name of the participant						
Language	Linguistic resources used by the participant						
Place	The place where the research data were produced						
Date	The date when the research data were produced						
Materials used for the production of questionnaire, self-assessment and formal interview data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Demographic and socioeconomic questionnaires - Self-assessment scales of language proficiency - Biographic-narrative and ethnographic interview questions along with research data generated during the core phases of fieldwork (e.g., fieldnotes, photographs, audio-/video-recordings, artefacts, documents). 						

Appendix 4A: Self-assessment scales of language proficiency²⁴

1. YLEISTEN KIELITUTKINTOJEN TAITOTASOASTEIKKO

Nimi _____

Perustaso	1 = A1	Ymmärrän hitaasta ja selkeästä puheesta yksinkertaisia perustason ilmauksia, jotka liittyvät suoraan omaan elämäni tai jotka koskevat välitöntä konkreettista ympäristöä. Pystyn ymmärtämään joitakin asioita helppotajuisista ja lyhyistä teksteistä. Selviän kaikkein yksinkertaisimmissa puhetilanteissa, mutta puhe on hidasta ja hyvin katkonaista ja ääntämisessä ja/ tai kielen hallinnassa voi olla puutteita. Pystyn kirjoittamaan erittäin lyhyitä tekstejä, joissa on lukuisia kielellisiä puutteita.
	2 = A2	Ymmärrän selkeää ja yksinkertaistettua puhetta, joka käsittelee jokapäiväisiä ja tuttuja asioita. Ymmärrän helposti lyhyitä, yksinkertaisia tekstejä ja saa selville pääasiat jokapäiväisen elämän aihepiirejä käsittelevistä teksteistä. Selviän rutiinomaisissa yksinkertaista tiedonvaihtoa vaativissa puhetilanteissa, vaikka ääntäminen tai kielen hallinta voi olla vielä puutteellista. Pystyn kirjoittamaan suppeita, yksinkertaisia tekstejä jokapäiväisistä asioista, mutta teksti voi olla hajanaista.
Keskitaso	3 = B1	Ymmärrän pidempää yhtäjaksoista puhetta ja keskeisen ajatuksen monista televisio- ja radio-ohjelmista, jos aihepiiri on tuttu ja puhetempo normaali. Ymmärrän tavallisia jokapäiväisen elämän tekstejä, mutta vaativimmat tekstit, joiden aihepiiri on vieras, saattavat tuottaa vaikeuksia. Selviän tavallisimmissa käytännön puhetilanteissa ja pystyn kirjoittamaan yksinkertaista, yhtenäistä tekstiä tavallisista aiheista, vaikkakin kieliopilliset ja sanastolliset puutteet toisinaan vaikeuttavat ymmärtämistä.
	4 = B2	Ymmärrän normaalitempoista puhetta yleisistä aihepiireistä, mutta joitakin yksityiskohtia saattaa jäädä ymmärtämättä. Nopea puhekieli ja murteellisuudet tuottavat kuitenkin vaikeuksia. Ymmärrän vaivatta yleisiä aihepiirejä käsitteleviä tekstejä, joskin muutamat tekstin välittämät sävyerot voivat jäädä epäselviksi. Selviän melko hyvin erilaisissa sekä virallisissa että epävirallisissa puhetilanteissa. Pystyn kirjoittamaan sekä yksityisiä että puolivirallisia tekstejä ja esittämään ajatuksiani yhtenäisinä kokonaisuuksina.
Ylin taso	5 = C1	Ymmärrän kaikenlaista normaalitempoista puhetta, vaikka joskus ymmärtäminen voi vaatia ponnistelua, jos aihepiiri tai asian käsittely on vierasta. Ymmärrän rakenteellisesti ja kielellisesti monimutkaisia tekstejä ja oman aikamme kirjallisuutta. Puhun ja kirjoitan selkeästi ja sujuvasti erilaisista aiheista, mutta harvinaisten sanojen ja monimutkaisten lauserakenteiden käyttö saattaa kuitenkin tuottaa vaikeuksia.
	6 = C2	Ymmärrän vaikeuksista kaikenlaista puhuttua ja kirjoitettua kieltä. Ilmausten hienot sävyerot tuottavat enää harvoin vaikeuksia. Puhun ja kirjoitan erittäin sujuvasti tilanteeseen sopivalla tyyllillä ja pystyn ilmaisemaan hienojakin merkitysvaihteita. Kieliopin ja sanaston hallinta on varmaa lähes kaikissa tilanteissa, ja pienetkin puutteet ovat harvinaisia.

²⁴ Self-assessment scales of language proficiency were provided to the research participants in Finnish or English.

Appendix 4A: Self-assessment scales of language proficiency (cont.)

2. PUHEEN YMMÄRTÄMINEN

Nimi _____

Perustaso	1 = A1	Ymmärrän hitaasta ja selkeästä puheesta perustason ilmauksia, jotka liittyvät suoraan omaan elämään tai koskevat välitöntä konkreettista ympäristöä. Ymmärrän lyhyiden, selkeiden ja yksinkertaisten esimerkiksi viestien ja kuulutusten keskeisen ajatuksen.	
	2 = A2	Ymmärrän hitaahkoa, selkeää ja yksinkertaistettua puhetta, joka käsittelee jokapäiväisiä ja tuttuja asioita. Ymmärrän esimerkiksi helposti tunnistettavia tietoja ja toimintaohjeita sekä yksityiskohtia tutuista ja helppotajuisista aiheista. Pitkät puhejaksot ja laajat kokonaisuudet saattavat kuitenkin olla vaikeita ymmärtää.	
Keskitaso	3 = B1	Ymmärrän pidempää yhtäjaksoista puhetta, jos aihepiiri on suhteellisen tuttu. Ymmärrän keskeisen ajatuksen puheesta, kuten monista televisio- ja radio-ohjelmista, jotka koskevat ajankohtaisia asioita ja joissa puhe on selkeää ja normaalitempoista. Normaalitempoinenkin puhe tuottaa kuitenkin välillä vaikeuksia, jos aihepiiri on vieras tai jos puhejakso on pitkä.	
	4 = B2	Ymmärrän normaalitempoista puhetta yleisistä aihepiireistä eri tilanteissa, kuten keskusteltaessa kasvokkain tai kuunneltaessa radiota; vain yksityiskohtia saattaa jäädä ymmärtämättä. Abstraktit aiheet, nopea puhekieli ja murteellisuudet voivat vaikeuttaa ymmärtämistä.	
Ylin taso	5 = C1	Ymmärrän kaikenlaista normaalitempoista puhetta, vaikka joskus ymmärtäminen voi vaatia ponnistelua, jos aihepiiri tai asian käsittely on vierasta tai jos asioiden välisiin suhteisiin vain viitataan eikä niitä ilmaista täsmällisesti. Ymmärrän monimutkaisia ohjeita ja pystyn seuraamaan kaikenlaista argumentointia, jos aihepiiri on suhteellisen tuttu. Murteellisuudet tuottavat jonkin verran vaikeuksia.	
	6 = C2	Ymmärrän vaikeuksitta kaikenlaista puhuttua kieltä silloinkin, kun kyse on syntyperäisen nopeasta puheesta, jos saan jonkin verran aikaa tutustua aksenttiin. Murteet ja hienot sävyerot saattavat kuitenkin tuottaa vaikeuksia.	

3. TEKSTIN YMMÄRTÄMINEN

Perustaso	1 = A1	Ymmärrän joitakin asioita helppotajuisista ja yksinkertaisista teksteistä. Ymmärrän helposti yksinkertaisia lauseita, perussanontoja sekä tuttuja sanoja esimerkiksi ilmoituksista, viesteistä ja ruokalistoista.	
	2 = A2	Ymmärrän helposti lyhyitä, yksinkertaisia tekstejä. Ymmärrän pääasioita tutuista jokapäiväisiä aiheita käsittelevistä teksteistä ja joitakin asioita myös yleisluonteisia aiheita käsittelevistä teksteistä.	
Keskitaso	3 = B1	Ymmärrän tavallisia jokapäiväisen elämän tekstejä, jotka eivät vaadi aiheen tuntemusta. Saan selvän yleisiä aihepiirejä käsittelevän laajahkonkin tekstin pääasioista, mutta vaativammista teksteistä voi jäädä osia ymmärtämättä ja vieraammat aihepiirit saattavat tuottaa vaikeuksia.	
	4 = B2	Ymmärrän vaivatta yleisiä aihepiirejä käsitteleviä tekstejä. Ymmärrän teksteistä pääsisällön, havaitsen tekstissä mainittujen asioiden keskinäiset yhteydet ja pystyn tekemään tekstin perusteella johtopäätöksiä. Muutamat yksityiskohdat ja tekstin sävyt voivat jäädä epäselviksi.	
Ylin taso	5 = C1	Ymmärrän lähes vaikeuksitta rakenteellisesti ja kielellisesti monimutkaisia tekstejä ja myös oman aikamme kirjallisuutta. Sävyt ja merkitysvivahteet voivat kuitenkin aiheuttaa ymmärtämisongelmia.	
	6 = C2	Ymmärrän käytännöllisesti katsoen kaikenlaista kirjoitettua kieltä. Pystyn havaitsemaan tyylieroja, mutta harvinaisten ilmausten merkitysvivahteet voivat joskus tuottaa vaikeuksia.	

Appendix 4A: Self-assessment scales of language proficiency (cont.)

4. PUHUMINEN

Nimi _____

Perustaso	1 = A1	Osaan kysyä ja vastata yksinkertaisiin kysymyksiin, jotka käsittelevät välittömiä, jokapäiväisiä tarpeita ja pystyn käyttämään tavallisimpia fraaseja. Selviän kaikkein yksinkertaisimmissa puhetilanteissa, mutta viestintä voi olla hidasta ja/tai hyvin katkonaista tai heikosti ymmärrettävää. Voin joutua käyttämään runsaasti ei-kielellisiä keinoja tullakseni ymmärretyksi.
	2 = A2	Selviän rutiinomaisissa puhetilanteissa, jotka vaativat yksinkertaista tiedonvaihtoa. Kielitaito rajaa kuitenkin paljolti sitä, mitä asioita pystyn käsittelemään. Viestin perillemeno edellyttää, että puhekumppani on valmis auttamaan minua sanottavan muotoilemisessa. Ääntäminen ja/tai kielenhallinta voi olla ei-kohdekielenomaista, mikä vaatii kuulijalta paljon ja vaikeuttaa viestin perillemeno.
Keskitaso	3 = B1	Selviän tavallisimmissa käytännön puhetilanteissa ja pystyn olemaan aloitteellinen jokapäiväisissä kielenkäyttötilanteissa. Puhe voi olla melko hidasta, mutta epäluontevia katkoja ei esiinny kovin paljon. Tulen ymmärretyksi kielellisistä ja/tai ääntämisestä johtuvista puutteistani huolimatta.
	4 = B2	Selviän melko hyvin sekä virallisissa että epävirallisissa puhetilanteissa ja pystyn puheessani erottamaan jossakin määrin muodollisen ja epämuodollisen kielimuodon. Pystyn esittämään ja perustelemaan mielipiteeni ymmärrettävästi sekä kuvailemaan näkemääni, kuulemaani ja kokemaani. Joudun vain harvoin käyttämään kiertoilmauksia arkielämän puhetilanteissa kielitaidon puutteellisuuden vuoksi.
Ylin taso	5 = C1	Puhun sujuvasti ilman, että olisi useinkaan selvää tarvetta hakea ilmauksia. Puheenvuorot ovat luontevia, yhtenäisiä ja sopivan pituisia. Pystyn esittämään selkeän, yksityiskohtaisen kuvauksen monimutkaisestakin aiheesta. Osaan käyttää idiomaattisia ilmauksia ja arkielämän sanontoja ja pystyn ilmaisemaan sävyeroja kohtalaisen hyvin, vaikka harvinaisten sanojen ja monimutkaisten lauserakenteiden käyttö saattaa kuitenkin tuottaa vaikeuksia.
	6 = C2	Puhun erittäin sujuvasti ja puheessa esiintyy vain satunnaisesti ei-kohdekielisiä piirteitä, kuten vierasta korostusta. Pystyn ilmaisemaan täsmällisesti hienojakin merkitysvaihteita, käyttämään myös idiomaattisia ilmauksia monipuolisesti ja tarkoituksenmukaisesti sekä varioimaan puhettani kielellisesti ja sisällöllisesti tilanteeseen sopivalla tavalla.

5. KIRJOITTAMINEN

Perustaso	1 = A1	Pystyn kirjoittamaan erittäin lyhyitä tekstejä, kuten viestejä, postikortteja ja muutamia yksinkertaisia lauseita, jotka käsittelevät itseäni. Teksti on sisällöltään erittäin niukkaa ja/tai hajanaista ja rakenteiltaan erittäin puutteellista, vaikkakin osin ymmärrettävää.
	2 = A2	Pystyn kirjoittamaan suppeita, yksinkertaisia tekstejä jokapäiväisistä asioista. Teksti voi kuitenkin olla hajanaista, ja siinä esiintyy vaikeasti ymmärrettäviä ilmauksia.
Keskitaso	3 = B1	Pystyn kirjoittamaan yksinkertaista, yhtenäistä tekstiä tavallisista aiheista. Teksti on sisällöltään pääosin ymmärrettävää, mutta jotkin epäselvät ilmaukset, epäjohdonmukaisuudet tai ei-kohdekielinen rakenteiden käyttö katkaisevat paikoin lukurytmin tai vaikeuttavat ymmärtämistä.
	4 = B2	Pystyn kirjoittamaan sekä yksityisiä että puolivirallisia tekstejä ja esittämään ajatuksiani yhtenäisenä kokonaisuutena. Pystyn ilmaisemaan näkökantani suhteellisen laajasti sekä korostamaan esityksessäni keskeisiä seikkoja. Teen eron virallisen ja epävirallisen kielimuodon välillä, mutta epäluontevia ilmauksia saattaa esiintyä satunnaisesti.
Ylin taso	5 = C1	Pystyn kirjoittamaan selkeää, yksityiskohtaista ja sujuvaa tekstiä erilaisista aiheista asiaan kuuluvalla tyylillä. Kykenen esittämään ja perustelemaan mielipiteeni vaativastakin aiheesta. Harvinaisten sanojen ja monimutkaisten lauserakenteiden käyttö saattaa kuitenkin tuottaa vaikeuksia.
	6 = C2	Pystyn kirjoittamaan erittäin sujuvia erityyppisiä tekstejä, joissa esiintyy vain satunnaisesti ei-kohdekielisiä piirteitä. Pystyn kirjoittamaan sisällöltään monipuolisia, rakenteeltaan loogisia ja kielellisesti idiomaattisia tekstejä vivahteikkaalla ja tilanteeseen sopivalla tyylillä.

Appendix 5A: Informed consent of migrant NGO practitioners in Finnish

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO	SOVELTAVAN KIELEN- TUTKIMUKSEN KESKUS	
Suostumus tutkimukseen osallistumisesta		
<p>Annan suostumukseni osallistua tutkimukseen <i>Kansalaisjärjestössä työskentelevät maahanmuuttajat: Kieli, työllistyminen ja integroituminen</i> (työnimi). Tutkimus on osa laajempaa tutkimushanketta <i>Integroituminen ammattiyhteisöihin Suomessa</i>, jossa tutkitaan maahanmuuttajia ja heidän integroitumistaan työelämään useista eri näkökulmista.</p>		
<p>Olen tietoinen, että osallistumiseni tutkimukseen on vapaaehtoista ja voin perua tutkimukseen osallistumiseni missä vaiheessa tahansa.</p>		
<p>Ymmärrän, että anonymiteettini turvataan tutkimusaineiston* raportoinnissa, analyysissa ja käsittelyssä tutkimuksen kaikissa vaiheissa. Tutkimuksen tulokset ovat luottamuksellisia ja niistä raportoidaan tieteellisissä julkaisuissa ja opinnäytetöissä sillä tavoin, että henkilöllisyyteni ja haastatteluissa mainitsemiä henkilöiden henkilöllisyys ei paljastu. Tutkimus- ja opetuskäytössä aineistosta saa käyttää vain lyhyitä otteita siten, että minun tai muiden henkilöiden henkilöllisyys ei paljastu. Työtehtäviini osallistuville henkilöille kerrotaan tutkimuksesta ja heiltä pyydetään suostumusta osallistua tutkimukseen. Alaikäisten lasten ollessa kyseessä heidän vanhemmiltaan tai huoltajiltaan myös pyydetään suostumus tutkimukseen osallistumiseen. Henkilöllisyyttäni tai työtehtäviini osallistuvien henkilöiden henkilöllisyyttä ei paljasteta.</p>		
Annan luvan, että haastatteluni	<input type="checkbox"/> tallennetaan videolle <input type="checkbox"/> tallennetaan ääninauhalle	
Annan luvan, että työtehtäviäni	<input type="checkbox"/> tallennetaan videolle <input type="checkbox"/> tallennetaan ääninauhalle <input type="checkbox"/> havainnoidaan mutta ei tallenneta	
<p>Tutkimusaineistoa saavat käyttää vain päättäjät, tutkijat, jotka työskentelevät tutkimushankkeessa <i>Integroituminen ammattiyhteisöihin Suomessa</i> tai muissa samanlaisissa tutkimushankkeissa Jyväskylän yliopistossa, sekä opiskelijat, jotka tekevät opinnäytetyötään näihin hankkeisiin liittyen. Tutkimusaineiston salassapito turvataan salassapitosopimuksella, jonka allekirjoittavat aineistoa käsittelevät tutkijat ja opiskelijat. Tutkimusaineisto varastoidaan Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskuksen, Jyväskylän yliopistoon siten, että ulkopuolisilla ei ole pääsyä aineistoon. Päättäjät varastoi kaiken tutkimusaineiston huolellisesti jatkokäyttöä varten tutkimushankkeen päättymisen jälkeen.</p>		
<p>*Tutkimusaineisto sisältää muun muassa video- ja äänitallenteita, aineistoa Internet-sivulta ja sosiaalisesta mediasta, kenttämuistiinpanoja, litterointeja, valokuvia ja esineitä.</p>		
Paikka _____	Päiväys _____ 20____	
Nimi isoin kirjaimin _____	Sähköposti _____	
Allekirjoitus _____	Puhelin _____	
<p>Sonya Sahradyan Päättäjät tutkimuksessa <i>Kansalaisjärjestössä työskentelevät maahanmuuttajat: Kieli, työllistyminen ja integroituminen</i> (työnimi)</p>		
<p>Sähköposti: _____ Puhelin: _____</p>		
<p>Sari Pöyhönen Professori Johtaja tutkimushankkeessa <i>Integroituminen ammattiyhteisöihin Suomessa</i> Sähköposti: _____ Puhelin: _____ Tutkimushankkeen kotisivut: _____</p>		

Appendix 5B: Informed consent of migrant NGO practitioners in English

<p>UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ</p>	 <p>CENTRE FOR APPLIED LANGUAGE STUDIES</p>
<p>Informed Consent</p>	
<p>I agree to participate in the study <i>Migrants working in the NGO: Language, employment and integration</i> (working title). This study is part of a wider research project <i>Transforming Professional Integration</i>, which focuses on migrants and their integration into the working life from various perspectives.</p>	
<p>I am aware that my participation in the study is voluntary and I can withdraw from the study at any point.</p>	
<p>I understand that my anonymity will be secured in the research data* that are used in the report as well as the analysis and discussion of data at any stages of the study. The results of the study will be confidential and reported in scientific publications and theses in such a way that my identity or the identity of any persons that I mention in the interviews will not be disclosed. Only short extracts are allowed to be used for research and teaching purposes in such a way that my identity or those of other persons will not be disclosed. The persons involved in my working activities will be informed about the study and will be asked to give their permission to participate in the study. In case of underage children, the permission of parents or guardians will also be asked. My identity as well as the identity of all the persons involved in my working activities will not be disclosed.</p>	
<p>I give permission for my interviews to be</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> video-recorded <input type="checkbox"/> audio-recorded</p>
<p>I give permission for my working activities to be</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> video-recorded <input type="checkbox"/> audio-recorded <input type="checkbox"/> observed but not recorded</p>
<p>The research data will only be used by the main researcher as well as by the researchers involved in the research project <i>Transforming Professional Integration</i> or in other similar research projects conducted at the University of Jyväskylä and by the students writing their theses linked with the projects. The confidentiality of the research data will be safeguarded by a confidentiality agreement signed by the researchers and students dealing with the data. The research data will be stored at the Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä in such a way that outsiders will not have access to them. The main researcher will safely store all the research data for further use after the research project has finished.</p>	
<p>*Research data includes, among others, video and audio recordings, materials from websites and social media sites, fieldnotes, transcripts, photographs and artefacts.</p>	
<p>_____</p> <p>Place</p>	<p>_____. 20____</p> <p>Date</p>
<p>_____</p> <p>Name in block letters</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>E-mail</p>
<p>_____</p> <p>Signature</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>Tel.:</p>
<p>Sonya Sahradyan Main researcher of the study: <i>Migrants working in the NGO: Language, employment and integration</i> (working title) E-mail: _____ Tel: _____</p>	
<p>Sari Pöyhönen Professor Leader of the research project: <i>Transforming Professional Integration</i> E-mail: _____ Tel: _____ Research project website: _____</p>	

Appendix 5C: Informed consent of migrant NGO practitioners in Russian

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

SOVELTAVAN KIELEN-
TUTKIMUKSEN KESKUS

Согласие на участие в научном исследовании

Я даю свое согласие на участие в исследовании «Мигранты работающие в негосударственной организации: Язык, занятость и интеграция» (рабочее название). Это исследование является частью другого более крупного исследовательского проекта «Трансформирующаяся профессиональная интеграция», который направлен на исследования мигрантов и их интеграции в трудовую жизнь с различных точек зрения.

Я знаю, что мое участие в исследовании является добровольным, и я могу выйти из исследования в любой точке.

Я понимаю, что моя анонимность в научно-исследовательских данных*, которые будут использоваться в отчетах, а также в анализе и дискуссиях, гарантируется на всех этапах исследования. Результаты исследования носят конфиденциальный характер, а моя личность или личность любых лиц, которые я упоминаю в своих интервью, не будет обнародована в научных публикациях и тезисах. Для научно-исследовательских и учебных целей я разрешаю использовать только короткие отрывки таким образом, чтобы моя личность или личности других людей не смогли бы быть идентифицированы. Лица, участвующие в моей трудовой деятельности, будут проинформированы об исследовании заранее, и от них будет получено разрешение на участие в исследовании. В случае участия в исследовании несовершеннолетних соответствующее разрешение будет получено также от их родителей или опекунов. Моя личность, а также о личности всех лиц, участвующих в моей трудовой деятельности не будет идентифицирована.

Я даю разрешение на то, чтобы мои интервью будут записаны на видео носителях
 на аудио носителях

Я даю разрешение на то, что мои рабочие мероприятия будут записаны на видео носителях
 будут записаны аудио носителях
 не будут записаны, но исследователи могут наблюдать за их проведением

Данные исследований будут использоваться только основным исследователем данного проекта, а также исследователями проекта «Трансформирующаяся профессиональная интеграция» и других подобных исследовательских проектов, проводимых в Университете Ювяскюля и студентами, пишущими свои дипломные работы на тему данных проектов. Конфиденциальность данных исследований защищена соглашением о конфиденциальности, подписанным исследователями и студентами, занимающимися данным проектом. Собранные данные будут храниться в Центре прикладных языковых исследований университета гор. Ювяскюля таким образом, что посторонние не будут иметь к ним доступа. Главный исследователь будет хранить все данные исследования строго конфиденциально для дальнейшего использования и после завершения исследовательского проекта.

* Данные исследований включают в себя, среди прочего, видео и аудио записи, материалы с веб-сайтов и социальных сетей, полевые заметки, транскрипты интервью, фотографии и артефакты.

Место	_____, ____ 20____
Имя и фамилия печатными буквами	Дата
Подпись	Эл. почта
Соня Саградян	Тел.

Основной исследователь проекта: «Мигранты работающие в негосударственной организации: Язык, занятость и интеграция» (рабочее название)
 Электронная почта: _____
 Тел.: _____

Сари Пёюхёнен
 Профессор
 Руководитель исследовательского проекта: «Трансформирующаяся профессиональная интеграция»
 Электронная почта: _____
 Тел.: _____
 Веб-сайт проекта: _____

Appendix 5D: Informed consent of migrant NGO practitioners in Armenian

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

SOVELTAVAN KIELEN-
TUTKIMUKSEN KESKUS

Համաձայնություն գիտական հետազոտությանը մասնակցելու համար

Ես տալիս եմ իմ համաձայնությունը մասնակցելու «Հասարակական կազմակերպությունում աշխատող միգրանտներ: Լեզու, զբաղվածություն և ինտեգրացիա» (աշխատանքային անվանումը) թեմայով հետազոտությանը: Այս հետազոտությունը մասն է կազմում մեկ այլ ավելի մեծ՝ «Փոխակերպելով մասնագիտական ինտեգրումը» հետազոտական ծրագրի, որն ուղղված է հետազոտել միգրանտներին և նրանց ինտեգրումը աշխատանքային բնագավառում տարբեր տեսանկյուններից:

Ես իրազեկ եմ, որ իմ մասնակցությունը հետազոտությանը կամավոր է, և ես կարող եմ դուրս գալ հետազոտությունից ցանկացած պահի:

Ես հասկանում եմ, որ հետազոտության բոլոր փուլերում իմ անսնունդությունը կլինի ապահովված գիտահետազոտական տվյալներում, որոնք օգտագործվելու են հաշվետվություններում, ինչպես նաև վերլուծություններում և քննարկումներում: Հետազոտության արդյունքները կլինեն գաղտնի և կներկայացվեն գիտական հրատարակումներում և թեզիսներում այնպես, որ իմ ինքնությունը կամ այլ անձանց ինքնությունը, որոնց անունները ես նշում եմ իմ հարցազրույցներում, չեն բացահայտվի: Գիտահետազոտական և ուսումնական նպատակների համար թույլատրվում է օգտագործել միայն փոքրիկ հատվածներ այնպես, որ իմ ինքնությունը կամ այլ անձանց ինքնությունը չբացահայտվի: Այն անձինք, ովքեր կմասնակցեն իմ աշխատանքային գործունեությանը, նախապես կտեղեկացվեն հետազոտության մասին և նրանցից կստացվի համաձայնություն մասնակցելու հետազոտությանը: Անչափահասների դեպքում՝ համապատասխան համաձայնություն կստացվի նաև նրանց ծնողներից կամ խնամակալներից: Բմ ինքնությունը, ինչպես նաև բոլոր այն անձանց ինքնությունը, ովքեր կմասնակցեն իմ աշխատանքային գործունեությանը, չեն բացահայտվի:

Ես տալիս եմ համաձայնություն, որ իմ հարցազրույցները տեսանկարահանվեն ձայնագրվեն

Ես տալիս եմ համաձայնություն, որ իմ աշխատանքային միջոցառումները տեսանկարահանվեն ձայնագրվեն հետազոտվեն, բայց չձայնագրվեն/չնկարահանվեն

Հետազոտության տվյալները կօգտագործվեն միայն այս ծրագրի հիմնական հետազոտողի կողմից, ինչպես նաև այն հետազոտողների կողմից, որոնք ներգրավված են «Փոխակերպելով մասնագիտական ինտեգրումը» հետազոտական ծրագրի կամ ՅուՎասկյուլայի համալսարանում իրականացվող նմանատիպ այլ հետազոտական ծրագրերի մեջ և այն ուսանողների կողմից, որոնք գրելու են թեզիսներ այդ ծրագրերի հետ կապված: Հետազոտության տվյալների գաղտնիությունը կապահովվի գաղտնիության վերաբերյալ համաձայնագրով, որը ստորագրվում է այդ ծրագրերով զբաղվող հետազոտողների և ուսանողների կողմից: Հետազոտության տվյալները կպահպանվեն ՅուՎասկյուլայի համալսարանի Կիրառական լեզվի ուսումնասիրությունների կենտրոնում այնպես, որ կողմնակի անձինք մուտք չեն ունենա դրանցից օգտվելու: Գլխավոր հետազոտողը ապահով կպահպանի հետազոտության բոլոր տվյալները՝ հետազոտական ծրագրի ավարտից հետո օգտագործման համար:

* Հետազոտության տվյալներն իրենց մեջ ներառում են այդ թվում՝ տեսա և ձայնագրումներ, վեբ կայքերի և սոցիալական կայքերի նյութեր, գրառումներ, տասնադարձություններ, լուսանկարներ և արտեֆակտներ:

Appendix 5D: Informed consent of migrant NGO practitioners in Armenian (*cont.*)

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO	SOVELTAVAN KIELEN- TUTKIMUKSEN KESKUS	
_____	_____. 20 ____	
Վայրը	Անստիվը	
_____	_____	
Անուն, ազգանունը տպատատերով	Էլ. հասցե	
_____	_____	
Ստորագրություն	Հեռախոս	
<p>Սոնյա Սահրադյան «Հասարակական կազմակերպությունում աշխատող միգրանտներ: Լեզու, զբաղվածություն և ինտեգրացիա» (աշխատանքային անվանումը) թեմայով ծրագրի հիմնական հետազոտող Էլեկտրոնային հասցե: _____ Հեռախոս: _____</p>		
<p>Սարի Պոյհոնեն Պրոֆեսոր «Փոխակերպելով մասնագիտական ինտեգրումը» հետազոտական ծրագրի ղեկավար Էլեկտրոնային հասցե: _____ Հեռախոս: _____ Ծրագրի վեբ կայք: _____</p>		

Appendix 6A: Informed consent of Finnish NGO supervisors in Finnish

<p>JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO</p>	 <p>SOVELTAVAN KIELEN- TUTKIMUKSEN KESKUS</p>
<p>Suostumus tutkimukseen osallistumisesta</p> <p>Annan suostumukseni osallistua tutkimukseen <i>Kansalaisjärjestössä työskentelevät maahanmuuttajat: Kieli, työllistyminen ja integroituminen</i> (työnimi). Tutkimus on osa laajempaa tutkimushanketta <i>Integroituminen ammattiyhteisöihin Suomessa</i>, jossa tutkitaan maahanmuuttajia ja heidän integroitumistaan työelämään useista eri näkökulmista.</p> <p>Olen tietoinen, että osallistumiseni tutkimukseen on vapaaehtoista ja voin perua tutkimukseen osallistumiseni missä vaiheessa tahansa.</p> <p>Ymmärrän, että anonymiteettini turvataan tutkimusaineiston* raportoinnissa, analyysissa ja käsittelyssä tutkimuksen kaikissa vaiheissa. Tutkimuksen tulokset ovat luottamuksellisia ja niistä raportoidaan tieteellisissä julkaisuissa ja opinnäytetöissä sillä tavoin, että henkilöllisyyteni ja haastatteluissa mainitsemini henkilöiden henkilöllisyys ei paljastu. Tutkimus- ja opetuskäytössä aineistosta saa käyttää vain lyhyitä otteita siten, että minun tai muiden henkilöiden henkilöllisyys ei paljastu.</p> <p>Annan luvan, että haastatteluni <input type="checkbox"/> tallennetaan ääninauhalle <input type="checkbox"/> tallennetaan videolle</p> <p>Tutkimusaineistoa saavat käyttää vain päättäjät, tutkijat, jotka työskentelevät tutkimushankkeessa <i>Integroituminen ammattiyhteisöihin Suomessa</i> tai muissa samanlaisissa tutkimushankkeissa Jyväskylän yliopistossa, sekä opiskelijat, jotka tekevät opinnäytetyötään näihin hankkeisiin liittyen. Tutkimusaineiston salassapito turvataan salassapitosopimuksella, jonka allekirjoittavat aineistoa käsittelevät tutkijat ja opiskelijat. Tutkimusaineisto varastoidaan Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskuksen, Jyväskylän yliopistoon siten, että ulkopuolisilla ei ole pääsyä aineistoon. Päättäjät varastoi kaiken tutkimusaineiston huolellisesti jatkokäyttöä varten tutkimushankkeen päättymisen jälkeen.</p> <p><small>*Tutkimusaineisto sisältää muun muassa video- ja äänitallenteita, aineistoa Internet-sivuilta ja sosiaalisesta mediasta, kenttämuistiinpanoja, litterointeja, valokuvia ja esineitä.</small></p>	
Paikka	Päiväys _____, 20____
Nimi isoin kirjaimin	Sähköposti
Allekirjoitus	Puhelin
<p>Sonya Sahradyan Päättäjät tutkimuksessa <i>Kansalaisjärjestössä työskentelevät maahanmuuttajat: Kieli, työllistyminen ja integroituminen</i> (työnimi) Sähköposti: _____ Puhelin: _____</p> <p>Sari Pöyhönen Professori Johtaja tutkimushankkeessa <i>Integroituminen ammattiyhteisöihin Suomessa</i> Sähköposti: _____ Puhelin: _____ Tutkimushankkeen kotisivut: _____</p>	

Appendix 6B: Informed consent of Finnish NGO supervisors in English

<p>UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ</p>	<div style="text-align: right;">  CENTRE FOR APPLIED LANGUAGE STUDIES </div>
<p>Informed Consent</p> <p>I agree to participate in the study <i>Migrants working in the NGO: Language, employment and integration</i> (working title). This study is part of a wider research project <i>Transforming Professional Integration</i>, which focuses on migrants and their integration into the working life from various perspectives.</p> <p>I am aware that my participation in the study is voluntary and I can withdraw from the study at any point.</p> <p>I understand that my anonymity will be secured in the research data* that are used in the report as well as the analysis and discussion of data at any stages of the study. The results of the study will be confidential and reported in scientific publications and theses in such a way that my identity or the identity of any persons that I mention in the interview will not be disclosed. Only short extracts are allowed to be used for research and teaching purposes in such a way that my identity or those of other persons will not be disclosed.</p> <p>I give permission for my interview to be</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: flex-end; gap: 20px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> audio-recorded <input type="checkbox"/> video-recorded </div> <p>The research data will only be used by the main researcher as well as by the researchers involved in the research project <i>Transforming Professional Integration</i> or in other similar research projects conducted at the University of Jyväskylä and by the students writing their theses linked with the projects. The confidentiality of the research data will be safeguarded by a confidentiality agreement signed by the researchers and students dealing with the data. The research data will be stored at the Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä, in such a way that outsiders will not have access to them. The main researcher will safely store all the research data for further use after the research project has finished.</p> <p>*Research data includes, among others, video and audio recordings, materials from websites and social media sites, fieldnotes, transcripts, photographs and artefacts.</p>	
<p>_____</p> <p>Place</p>	<p>_____. _____. 20____</p> <p>Date</p>
<p>_____</p> <p>Name in block letters</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>E-mail</p>
<p>_____</p> <p>Signature</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>Tel.:</p>
<p>Sonya Sahradyan Main researcher of the study: <i>Migrants working in the NGO: Language, employment and integration</i> (working title) E-mail: _____ Tel: _____</p> <p>Sari Pöyhönen Professor Leader of the research project: <i>Transforming Professional Integration</i> E-mail: _____ Tel: _____ Research project website: _____</p>	

Appendix 7A: Transcription agreement in Finnish

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO	SOVELTAVAN KIELEN- TUTKIMUKSEN KESKUS	
SALASSAPITOSITOUMUS		
<p><i>Kansalaisjärjestössä työskentelevät maahanmuuttajat: Kieli, työllistyminen ja integroituminen (työnimi)</i> – tutkimuksen haastatteluaineistoa käyttävän tulee noudattaa seuraavia salassapitosääntöjä:</p>		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Haastatteluaineistoa ja kysymyksiä ei saa missään muodossa: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ luovuttaa kenenkään muun käyttöön; ▪ näyttää muille, hankkeen unhopuolisille henkilöille; 2. Haastateltavista henkilöistä tai heidän haastattelussa mainitsemista muista henkilöistä ilmi käyvät tiedot (esim. nimi, asema, työpaikka, elämäntilanne tai muut arkaluonteiset asiat) on pidettävä luottamuksellisina. 		
<p><i>Kansalaisjärjestössä työskentelevät maahanmuuttajat: Kieli, työllistyminen ja integroituminen (työnimi)</i> – tutkimukseen haastatteluaineistot ja kysymykset sekä haastateltaviin liittyvät tiedot luottamuksellisina.</p>		
<p><i>Kansalaisjärjestössä työskentelevät maahanmuuttajat: Kieli, työllistyminen ja integroituminen (työnimi)</i> – tutkimuksen päättökija on Sonya Sahradyan.</p>		
_____	_____.20____	
Paikka	Päiväys	
_____	_____	
Nimi isoin kirjaimin	Sähköposti	
_____	_____	
Allekirjoitus	Puhelin	
<p>Sonya Sahradyan Päättökija tutkimuksessa: <i>Kansalaisjärjestössä työskentelevät maahanmuuttajat: Kieli, työllistyminen ja integroituminen (työnimi)</i> Sähköposti: _____ Puhelin: _____</p>		

Appendix 7B: Transcription agreement in Russian

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO	SOVELTAVAN KIELEN- TUTKIMUKSEN KESKUS	
ОБЯЗАТЕЛЬСТВО О НЕРАЗГЛАШЕНИИ		
<p>Работающему с материалами интервью в рамках исследовательского проекта “Мигранты работающие в негосударственной организации: Язык, занятость и интеграция” (рабочее название) следует соблюдать следующие правила о неразглашении:</p>		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Материалы и вопросы интервью нельзя ни в какой форме: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Передавать для использования кому-либо; ▪ Показывать посторонним, не относящимся к проекту, лицам; 2. Сведения об интервьюируемых лицах или упоминаемых ими в интервью других лицах (напр., имя, социальное положение, место работы, жизненная ситуация или другие конфиденциальные сведения) должны сохраняться в тайне. 		
<p>Таким образом, я обязуюсь сохранять конфиденциальность имеющейся у меня информации, относящейся к материалам и вопросам интервью и сведениям об интервьюируемых, исследовательского проекта “Мигранты работающие в негосударственной организации: Язык, занятость и интеграция” (рабочее название).</p>		
<p>Основной исследователь проекта “Мигранты работающие в негосударственной организации: Язык, занятость и интеграция” (рабочее название) является Соня Саградян.</p>		
_____	_____. _____. 20____	
Место	Дата	
_____	_____	
Имя и фамилия печатными буквами	Эл. почта	
_____	_____	
Подпись	Тел.	
<p>Соня Саградян Основной исследователь проекта: “Мигранты работающие в негосударственной организации: Язык, занятость и интеграция” (рабочее название) Электронная почта: _____ Тел.: _____</p>		

Appendix 8: Migration grounds and migration statuses of EU and non-EU nationals in Finland²⁵

Migration grounds	Migration statuses	
	Categories	Subcategories
international protection	- refugee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a quota (resettled) refugee whom the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has designated as refugees or other foreigners needed international protection for resettlement; - an asylum seeker, including an unaccompanied minor (under 18 years of age seeking asylum without his/her parent or guardian), who is granted asylum, subsidiary protection and humanitarian protection (note: a residence permit on the basis of humanitarian protection was granted until May 16, 2016, in accordance with an amendment to the Aliens Act (301/2004)).
remigration	- returnee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a former Finnish citizen; - a person who is a descendant of native Finnish citizens; - a person from areas of the former Soviet Union – Ingrian evacuees or those who served in the Finnish army during 1939–1945; - an Ingrian Finn whose one of the parents or at least two out of four grandparents are or have previously been Finnish by nationality (note: a residence permit on the basis of remigration of Ingrian Finns was granted until July 1, 2016, in accordance with an amendment to the Aliens Act (301/2004)).
employment	- worker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - an employee (work requiring a partial decision from the Employment and Economic Office); - an employee with high qualifications or specialised expertise who has received an EU Blue Card; - an employee of a religious community or a non-profit association; - a seasonal worker; - entrepreneur; - a researcher; - a trainee; - a coach; etc.
study	- student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a student of universities; - a student of universities of applied sciences; - a student of vocational schools; - a student of upper secondary schools, etc.
family	- family member	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a guardian, child, spouse and other family members of a person in receipt of international protection; - a guardian, child, spouse and other family members of a third-country national; - a guardian, child, spouse and other family members of a Finnish citizen; etc.
other grounds	- other statuses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - an au pair; - an adopted child; - a victim of human trafficking; - a person having sufficient funds to live in Finland; etc.

²⁵ For more information, see Finnish Immigration Service (2021; 2020a; 2020c).

Appendix 9: Volunteer sign-up form

VAPAAEHTOISEKSI

\YHDISTYKSEEN\

YHTEYSTIETOLOMAKE

Kerro itsestäsi sekä mitä sinä voisit tehdä?

Sukunimi:

Etunimi:

Sähköposti e-mail:

Puhelinnumero:

Postiosoite:

Kielet:

Erityisharrastus, osaaminen:

Muuta, hyvä tietää:

Olen toiminut aiemmin vapaaehtoisena, missä?

Mitä minä voisin tehdä? Miten olla mukana?

\Yhdistyksen\

toiminnassa minua kiinnostaa, haluaisin olla mukana:

- Ryhmät (mikä ryhmä, mitä voisit tehdä)
- Tapahtumat, miten?
- Kielet, miten?
- Uuden toiminnan aloittaminen, mikä?
- Esiintyjänä, vierailijana toiminen ryhmissä ja tapahtumissa
- Tietty teema, mikä?
- Muu, mikä?

Kuinka paljon voit olla mukana?

___ joskus ___ usein ___ silloin kun tarvitaan ___ en tiedä

Muita terveisiä, ajatuksia, ideoita:

Appendix 10: Glossary

<p>Apprenticeship training</p>	<p>Apprenticeship training is mostly governed by the Act on Vocational Education (630/1998), the Decree on Vocational Education (811/1998) and the Act on Vocational Adult Education (631/1998).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>
<p>Basic unemployment allowance</p>	<p>A basic unemployment allowance is applied from Kela and is paid to persons who meet the work requirement applicable to employees or self-employed persons after they have become unemployed.</p> <p>(https://www.kela.fi/web/en/basic-unemployment-allowance)</p>
<p>Bilingual and unilingual municipalities</p>	<p>Municipalities in Finland are classified as bilingual and unilingual (see Language Act, 423/2003). In a bilingual municipality, the minority includes “at least eight percent of the population or at least 3,000 persons”, and “if the minority comprises less than 3,000 persons and its proportion has decreased below six percent”, a bilingual municipality is defined as unilingual (see Language Act, 423/2003, Chapter 1, Section 5).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>
<p>City of Jyväskylä</p>	<p>The City of Jyväskylä is usually responsible for living and environment, business development and employment, day-care and education, healthcare and social services, culture and leisure, and integration services; it collaborates with other local authorities and local associations.</p> <p>(https://www.jyvaskyla.fi/en)</p>
<p>Earnings-related unemployment allowance</p>	<p>An earnings-related unemployment allowance is applied from the unemployment fund and is paid to persons who meet the work requirement, are wholly or partly unemployed, and in addition are a member of an unemployment fund through, for instance, a trade union.</p> <p>(https://www.kela.fi/web/en/unemployment-benefit-from-kela-)</p>

ELY Centres	<p>ELY Centres (Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment) are responsible at the regional level for the task implementation and development of the central government. They have three areas of responsibility: business and industry, labour force, competence and cultural activities; transport and infrastructure; and environment and natural resources.</p> <p>(http://www.ely-keskus.fi/en/web/ely-en)</p>
Employment plan	<p>An employment plan is “based on the jobseeker’s personal goals regarding work or education, and the assessed need for services” (see Act on Public Employment and Business Service, 916/2012, Chapter 2, Section 7).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>
EU citizen or comparable person	<p>An EU citizen or a comparable person is “a citizen of a Member State of the European Union (EU) or a citizen of Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway or Switzerland” (see Aliens Act, 301/2004, Section 3, Amendments up to 1152/2010 included).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>
Expense allowance	<p>An expense allowance is paid by Kela or an unemployment fund as compensation for travel and maintenance costs incurred during participation in employment promoting measures taken by individuals who have an integration plan or an employment plan.</p> <p>(https://www.te-palvelut.fi/en/jobseekers/support-finding-job/services-promote-employment)</p>
Full and adjusted unemployment benefit	<p>An unemployed person working part-time or only occasionally during a period of unemployment is entitled to full unemployment benefit if his/her earnings before taxes amount to 300 euros or less per month or 279 euros over 4 weeks. If these amounts are exceeded, unemployment benefit is adjusted such that 50% of earned income above 300 or 279 euros is subtracted from the full amount of unemployment benefit (see Act on Unemployment Security, 1290/2002, Amendment 1049/2013).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>

Integration plan	<p>An integration plan refers to “a personalised plan drawn up for an immigrant covering the measures and services, the aim of which is to support him/her in acquiring a sufficient command of the Finnish or Swedish and other skills and knowledge required in society and working life and to promote his/her opportunities to play an active role in society as an equal member of society.” The first integration plan is drawn up no later than three years after registration of the right of residence or the issue of the first residence card or residence permit under the Aliens Act (301/2004). The integration plan lasts for three years, and it can be extended up to five years in special cases (see Integration Act, 1386/2010, Chapters 1/2, Sections 11/12).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>
INTEGRA project	<p>The INTEGRA project (University Studies as Part of the Integration Path) was launched at the University of Jyväskylä in 2017. This project has cooperated with the SIMHE services (Supporting Immigrants in Higher Education in Finland), the Open University, and the Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication.</p> <p>(https://movi.jyu.fi/en/development/integra)</p>
Integration training	<p>Integration training in the form of labour market training is provided in accordance with the Act on Public Employment and Business Service (916/2012, Chapter 5, Section 1/2), and it is usually required to study full-time (about 25 hours per week) during normal working hours (see Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015).</p> <p>Integration training in the form of self-motivated studies is also provided, in which case it is necessary that the studies are included in the integration plan, and the TE Office gives permission to start the training programme, which requires study for at least 20 hours per week (see TE Services, 2017g).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources and References)</p>
Kela	<p>Kela (Social Insurance Institution of Finland) is a government agency that provides basic economic security for residents of Finland.</p> <p>(https://www.kela.fi/web/en)</p>

<p>Labour market subsidy</p>	<p>A labour market subsidy is granted and paid by Kela, and it is financial assistance intended to support unemployed persons looking for work, who have not had a job before or who have had a job that does not meet the employment requirement, among others.</p> <p>(https://www.kela.fi/web/en//labour-market-subsidy)</p>
<p>Local government pilots on employment</p>	<p>Local government pilots on employment are implemented in 25 areas and 118 municipalities in Finland. The aim of local government pilots is to increase the effectiveness of employment promotion by coordinating municipal and the State services, resources and skills. The local government pilots began on 1 March 2021 and will be extended until services are permanently transferred to municipalities. Currently, the Finnish Government is preparing the TE services reform, according to which TE services will be entirely transferred to municipalities during the year 2024. The clients of local government pilots will continue as clients of their municipalities until the permanent transfer of services.</p> <p>(https://tem.fi/en/local-government-pilots-on-employment) (https://tem.fi/en/te-services-reform-2024)</p>
<p>Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment</p>	<p>The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland is responsible, among others, for the functioning of the labour market and workers' employability, as well as for the integration of migrants.</p> <p>(https://tem.fi/en)</p>
<p>Ministry of Education and Culture</p>	<p>The Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland is responsible, among others, for the development of education, science, cultural and youth policies, as well as for the education of migrants and international cooperation in these fields.</p> <p>(https://minedu.fi/en)</p>
<p>Ministry of the Interior</p>	<p>The Ministry of the Interior of Finland is responsible, among others, for internal security, border management and migration-related matters.</p> <p>(https://intermin.fi/en)</p>

<p>Municipal integration programme</p>	<p>“Municipalities have overall and coordination responsibility for the development, planning and monitoring of integration at local level” (see Integration Act, 1386/2010, Chapter 2, Section 30/1); therefore, “[a] municipality or more than one municipality jointly shall draw up an integration programme for promoting integration and for strengthening multi-sectoral cooperation that is approved by the municipal council of each municipality and that is reviewed at least once every four years” (see Integration Act, 1386/2010, Chapter 2, Section 31/2).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>
<p>Non-discrimination Act</p>	<p>Under the Finnish Non-discrimination Act (1325/2014, Section 8/1), “No one may be discriminated against on the basis of age, origin, nationality, language, religion, belief, opinion, political activity, trade union activity, family relationships, state of health, disability, sexual orientation or other personal characteristics. Discrimination is prohibited, regardless of whether it is based on a fact or assumption concerning the person him/herself or another”. The purpose of the Non-discrimination Act (1325/2014, Section 1) is “to promote equality and prevent discrimination as well as to enhance the protection provided by law to those who have been discriminated against.”</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>
<p>Pay subsidy</p>	<p>A pay subsidy is an economic inducement granted by the TE Office to an employer to cover an unemployed jobseeker’s pay costs, and it usually ranges from 30–50%, depending upon the length of the jobseeker's unemployment.</p> <p>(https://www.te-palvelut.fi/en/jobseekers/support-finding-job/get-pay-subsidy-card-find-job/pay-subsidy)</p>
<p>Quota refugees</p>	<p>Quota refugees have been resettled in Finland starting from the 1970s. An annual resettlement programme was established with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] in 1985 (see Jacobsson & Sirén-Borrego, 2013). Each year, at the time of approving the State budget, the Finnish Parliament decides on the number of quota refugees to be admitted to Finland. From 2001 to 2020, the annual number of quota refugees was 750 per year, except in 2014 and 2015, when Finland admitted 1 050 quota refugees because</p>

	<p>of the difficult situation in Syria (see, e.g., Finnish Immigration Service, 2020b). In some years, however, the number of quota refugees arriving in Finland has been less than the above-mentioned annual number because of the lack of willingness of municipalities to accept quota refugees (see UNHCR, 2011, as cited in Turtiainen, 2012).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources and References)</p>
Regional State Administrative Agencies	<p>Regional State Administrative Agencies work in cooperation with local authorities. Their areas of responsibility include basic public services, legal rights and permits, education and culture, occupational health and safety, environmental permits and rescue services.</p> <p>(https://www.avi.fi/en)</p>
SIMHE services	<p>SIMHE services (Supporting Immigrants in Higher Education in Finland) were piloted by the UniPID network (Finnish University Partnership for International Development) at the University of Jyväskylä and Metropolia University of Applied Sciences in 2016. SIMHE services were expanded to include higher education institutions, such as the University of Helsinki, Karelia University of Applied Sciences, Oulu University of Applied Sciences and University of Turku, in 2017.</p> <p>(https://www.jyu.fi/en/apply/get-to-know-us/guidance-for-migrants/higher-education-institutions-in-responsible-of-simhe)</p>
Social assistance	<p>Social assistance is granted and paid by Kela; it was transferred from municipalities to Kela from the beginning of 2017. Social assistance, that is, income support is considered a last-resort form of financial assistance, which is provided to individuals or families to cover the costs of some of the basic necessities of life.</p> <p>(https://www.kela.fi/web/en/social-assistance-quick-guide)</p>
Social work	<p>Social work, as part of the municipality's integration services, lasts three years for refugee migrants.</p> <p>(https://www.jyvaskyla.fi/en/health-care-and-social-services/social-services/services-immigrants/integration-services)</p>

TE Offices	<p>TE Offices (Employment and Economic Development Offices) provide public services to employers and job seekers at the local level.</p> <p>(http://www.te-palvelut.fi/te/en/index.html)</p>
Third-country national	<p>A third-country national is “any person who is not a citizen of the European Union or a comparable person” (see Aliens Act, 301/2004, Section 3, Amendments up to 1152/2010 included).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>
Tuition fees for international students	<p>Starting from August 2017, international students from non-EU/EEA countries have been required to pay tuition fees for studying in a bachelor’s or master’s degree programme taught in a language other than Finnish or Swedish (see Universities of Applied Sciences Act, 932/2014, Amendment 1601/2015; Universities Act, 558/2009, Amendment 1600/2015). However, according to the Acts mentioned above, “tuition fees are not charged for citizens of [EU/EEA countries] and for persons who, under the Aliens Act [301/2004], have a European Union Blue Card, a continuous (A) residence permit, a permanent (P) residence permit or a long-term resident’s European Union residence permit issued to third-country nationals nor for any family members of the above.” The minimum tuition fee is 1 500€ per academic year, although it generally ranges between 4 000€ and 18 000€, depending on the university and the degree programme. Higher education institutions also offer different scholarships for those students who are required to pay tuition fees.</p> <p>(https://www.studyinfinland.fi/scholarships)</p>
Unemployed person	<p>An unemployed person is “a person who is not in an employment relationship or not in full-time employment in business or in his/her own work in the manner referred to in Chapter 2 of the Act on Unemployment Security (1290/2002), and who is not a full-time student referred to in Chapter 2 of the Act on Unemployment Security; furthermore, a person in an employment relationship is considered unemployed if he/she is fully laid off or if his/her regular weekly working hours are fewer than four” (see Act on Public Employment and Business Service, 916/2012, Section 3).</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>

Work trial	<p>A work trial was developed in 2013, when traineeships and work try-outs were merged under the Act on Public Employment and Business Service (916/2012) (see also European Social Charter, 2015). The Act on Public Employment Service (1295/2002) was repealed and replaced by the Act on Public Employment and Business Service (916/2012), which came into force on 1 January 2013. A jobseeker receives a labour market subsidy while participating in a work trial, the duration of which may not exceed 12 months; it is usually not possible to work for the same employer for more than 6 months.</p> <p>(see Additional Resources)</p>
YKI certificate	<p>A YKI certificate (national certificate of language proficiency) is a certificate of language proficiency that allows adults to prove their language skills in an officially recognised way. A YKI certificate can be used for different purposes, including applying for work and studies.</p> <p>(https://www.oph.fi/en/national-certificates-language-proficiency-yki)</p>