

DISCOURSES OF INTEGRATION  
Immigrants' perceptions of cross-cultural  
adaptation in letters to the editor

Master's Thesis  
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## JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

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| <p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>This discourse analytical study explores the ways in which immigrants discuss and negotiate cross-cultural adaptation in the Finnish society. Immigrants, as representatives of minority, must continuously negotiate their position; thus, the aim of this research is to reveal those power structures that conduct the integration discussion.</p> <p>The data for this study, 25 texts, was collected from the letters to the editor section of Helsingin Sanomat. It is relevant to give the immigrants themselves a chance to use their voice and discuss integration; until now, their contribution to the societal debate has been limited.</p> <p>This qualitative study uses critical discourse analysis as a research method, because it is by the use of language that the immigrants convey meanings they give to integration. Theories of acculturation and cross-cultural adaptation work as a theoretical basis for this study.</p> <p>Seven different, partially overlapping discourses arose from the data: Receptive Society, Rejective Society, Immigrant Responsibility, Dialogic Interaction, Resource, Justification-Solidarity and Authority Appeal and Critique discourses, of which the Rejective Society discourse appears to be the most prominent one. The findings show that the immigrants negotiate their positions and roles in many different ways. The generalization of the findings reveals two different stances: there are those who feel welcome and able to affect one's situation, and those who feel excluded from the society and consider themselves incapable. The Finnish society is still in the process of genuine multiculturalism; it appears that what is especially needed is a change in the negative attitudes towards foreigners among the majority, not so much the state level integration measures.</p> |  |
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| <p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>Tämä diskurssianalyttinen tutkimus selvittää niitä tapoja, joita maahanmuuttajat soveltavat keskustellessaan ja neuvotellessaan kulttuurienvälisestä sopeutumisesta suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa. Maahanmuuttajien täytyy vähemmistön edustajina jatkuvasti määritellä asemaansa; tutkimuksen tavoitteena onkin paljastaa ne valtarakenteet, jotka ohjaavat kotoutumiskeskustelua. Tutkimuksen aineisto, 25 tekstiä, on kerätty Helsingin Sanomien yleisönosastolta. On tärkeää antaa maahanmuuttajille itselleen mahdollisuus käyttää omaa ääntään ja puhua kotoutumisesta; tähän mennessä heidän osallistumisensa yhteiskunnalliseen keskusteluun on jäänyt rajalliseksi. Tämä laadullinen tutkimus soveltaa kriittistä diskurssianalyysiä tutkimusmetodinä, sillä juuri kielen kautta maahanmuuttajat ilmaisevat kotoutumiselle antamia merkityksiä. Akkulturaatio- ja kulttuurienvälisen sopeutumisen teorit toimivat tutkimuksen teoreettisena lähtökohtana. Aineistosta nousi seitsemän erilaista, osittain päällekkäistä diskurssia: vastaanottavan yhteisön, torjuvan yhteisön, maahanmuuttajan vastuun, dialogisen vuorovaikutuksen, resurssin, oikeutus-solidarisuuden sekä auktoriteettiin vetoamisen ja kritiikin diskurssit. Näistä torjuvan yhteisön diskurssi vaikuttaa olevan hallitsevin. Tulokset osoittavat, että maahanmuuttajat neuvottelevat asemistaan ja rooleistaan monin erilaisin tavoin. Tulosten yleistäminen paljastaa kaksi erilaista asemaa: ne, jotka kokevat olonsa tervetulleiksi ja kykeneviksi vaikuttamaan omaan tilanteeseensa, ja ne, jotka kokevat olevansa suljettuja yhteisön ulkopuolelle ja kykenemättömiä vaikuttamaan tilanteeseensa. Suomalainen yhteiskunta prosessoi yhä monikulttuurisuutta; näyttää siltä, että eritoten kaivataan muutosta kielteisiin asenteisiin valtaväestön keskuudessa, eikä niinkään valtiotason kotoutumistoimenpiteisiin.</p> |  |
| <p>Asiasanat – Keywords</p> <p>Maahanmuutto, kriittinen diskurssianalyysi, akkulturaatio, kulttuurienvälinen sopeutuminen, kotoutuminen, media</p>  |  |
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TABLE 1: NUMBER OF IMMIGRATION-RELATED LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IN HELSINGIN SANOMAT 1990-2010

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Global movement and migration from one country to another is irredeemable in the contemporary world. Multiculturalism can be seen as an established policy in postmodern societies. Finland, too, is an increasingly multicultural society, although immigration is a relatively new phenomenon. A multicultural society raises many intercultural questions. Immigration and its consequences in Finland's population structure have established the need to produce research regarding multiculturalism and to take into account the heterogeneity of the population (Rastas 2005, 78). The need for investigating the cross-cultural adaptation of immigrants to the Finnish culture by qualitative means and giving voice to the immigrants themselves has also been recognized (Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2006).

The purpose of this study is to investigate the ways in which immigrants discuss cross-cultural adaptation, and especially integration, in letters to the editor. Marvel about the lack of immigrant participants in the public integration discussion worked as a catalyst for this study. In order to advance successful adaptation of immigrants and improve the conditions and context of adaptation it is important to study how immigrants themselves perceive it, and also how they discuss it in public. The public viewpoint highlights the importance of the societal context in which adaptation is taking place; immigrants, as representatives of a minority, must continuously negotiate their position in the Finnish society. Thus I am interested in the power negotiations in the different discourses. That is to say, how immigrants, through letters to the editor, discuss and debate with the majority audience about adaptation. Therefore the nature of the Finnish society as an adaptation environment is in the scope of research as well. I will also investigate what kind of factors are considered important in the adaptation process. Hence, some sort of objective truth about the adaptation phenomenon is not relevant here, but the concentration is on the meanings that are attributed to the process.

Power use is an important aspect in this study: emphasis is on how immigrants, by talking about integration, use or attempt to use and get power as underdogs, and how the majority controls power. Thus, the discourses that rise from the data have functions and consequences. Bearing this in mind, I have identified the following research questions:

1. Which discourses are prominent in the letters to the editor on the adaptation of immigrants, and how are these discourses constructed?
2. How do the immigrant writers negotiate their position in the society and how do they perceive themselves as a part of the society in the context of societal power relations and the prevailing cultural perceptions?
3. Which factors are prominent and/or considered important in cross-cultural adaptation when reflected to different models of acculturation strategies, processes and outcomes?

This qualitative study uses discourse analysis as a research method. Discourses are “ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the ‘mental world’ of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world” (Fairclough 2003, 124). To put it simply, a discourse is a perspective of the world. Critical discourse analysis is also interested in the power aspect. Analyzing the data by the means of discourse analysis is substantial, because it is by the use of language that the immigrants convey meanings they give to integration. My intention is to look into those practices through which the immigrant writers build different representations or discourses of integration. In short, using language equals to producing social reality. Newspaper texts in part are creating reality instead of just reflecting the reality. Discourses are not simply a product of either social structure or individuals, but clustered in structures affecting the construction of our identities and personal experiences. (Burr 1995, 111.) Hence focusing on discourses can function as a key to social and personal change. In addition to theories of discourse, I will also use theories of cross-cultural adaptation in this study, and particularly that of Y.Y. Kim (2001).



The textual data for this research is extracted from the main quality newspaper in Finland, Helsingin Sanomat. By analyzing the letters to the editor written by immigrants about integration I attempt to reveal those power structures that conduct the integration discussion, that is to say, how integration can be discussed by immigrants themselves and how society uses power. It is of interest to see how immigrants see themselves as a part of the social reality and as producers of the social reality.

### **Previous research on immigration**

Immigrants and immigration policy, as well as the concepts of integration and adaptation have been studied somewhat extensively in Finland. Research topics have covered acculturation and adaptation (e.g. Jasinskaja-Lahti 2008, Kosonen 2008), the Finns' attitudes towards immigrants (e.g. Jaakkola 2005, 2009), racism (e.g. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2002, Joronen & Salonen 2006, Puuronen 2011), and identity (Liebkind 2009). In addition to identity, Liebkind has studied ethnic relations, acculturation and multiculturalism among others (e.g. 1994, 1996, 2000, 2001). The working life of immigrants has been investigated by Forsander (2000, 2002, 2004) and Linnanmäki-Koskela (2010). Research on refugees has been conducted by Pentikäinen (1997), Päivärinne (2002) and Valtonen (1997, 1999), among others. There has also been studies on multiculturalism in schools (e.g. Miettinen & Pitkänen 1999, Talib 2000, 2002 and Talib et al. 2004), adolescence (e.g. Honkatukia & Suurpää 2007, Talib 2008), immigrant women (e.g. Martikainen & Tiilikainen 2007), immigration policy (e.g. Mannila 2009), nationality (e.g. Lepola 2000) and immigrant families (e.g. Alitolppa-Niitamo 2005).

The most extensive study conducted on the integration of immigrants in Finland was made by Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti (2006) which investigated the integration and adaptation of 457 immigrants in the capital area during 1997-2004. The study found that the participants had adapted quite well to the Finnish culture.

Most of the studied immigrants had both Finnish and co-ethnic friends, and had been able to maintain their own culture and language in Finland. Racism and discrimination in addition to unemployment, financial problems, poor health and lack of social contacts were seen as the greatest risk factors for hindering adaptation and increasing marginalization. (Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2006) In contrast, Ekholm's (1994) research revealed that only a few of the studied refugees had been able to fully participate in the economic, social and political life in the Finnish society. The study showed that ethnic group support was facilitating integration, whereas unemployment was mentioned as a hindering factor.

Despite the comprehensive research on immigration, the study of immigrants speaking about integration on a public arena has remained limited in my opinion. Therefore I see it is relevant to investigate representations of integration produced by immigrants themselves, with an objective to use power and affect on the social practices by the means of writing letters to the editor.

### **Structure of the thesis**

This study combines of nine chapters. After introduction in chapter one, I will present the societal context of immigration in chapter two by going through the history of immigration in Finland, as well as the immigration policy, discussion and attitudes. Chapter three focuses on media as an object of research. Chapter four discusses the theoretical background of this study by introducing different theories of cross-cultural adaptation and acculturation. Critical discourse analysis is presented in chapter five. Chapter six concentrates on the methodology. In chapter seven I will present the findings, and chapters eight and nine discuss and conclude the results.

## **2 FINLAND AND IMMIGRATION**

Before taking a look at immigrants in the Finnish context, it is useful to clarify how immigrant is generally defined. Immigrant is a foreigner whose intention is to settle in Finland long-term (Talib 2002, 18). The most common reasons for migrating to Finland are return migration, exile, asylum seeking, marriage and other family reasons (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2002, 17). Forsander (2002, 88) further notes that immigrants can usually be divided into two groups: labor force immigrants who immigrate because they or member of their family have a job in Finland, and non-labor force immigrants who immigrate to Finland for other reasons. The latter group includes refugees, return migrants and those who move as a result of marriage or other family reasons.

In Finland, the term immigrant is often used as an overall category and it is almost a permanent label for all people of foreign birth moving to the country more or less permanently (Kosonen 2008, 13). In this study, immigrant refers to all those people who have migrated to Finland from abroad, regardless of their motives for migration. Huttunen (2002, 346) however contradicts the term immigrant when referring to those who want to closely attach to their new country. The term can be seen to maintain segregation and categorization according to which the newcomer is not one of the locals.

### **2.1 HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION IN FINLAND**

Finland has been a relatively homogeneous culture throughout its independent history, and it has a short history in immigration. However Finland has had several ethnic and linguistic minorities for centuries, e.g. the indigenous Samis, the Roma, Ingrian Finns, Russians, Jews and Tatars. There is also a Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

Traditionally Finland has been a country of emigration instead of immigration (Liebkind 1996, 199). Although Finland has received foreign citizens throughout its history, the actual integration policy is a fairly new phenomenon. Finland's immigrant population is small, both in absolute and relative terms. As of 2010 there were approximately 168 000 immigrants in Finland. Largest immigrant groups by citizenship were by far Estonians and Russians. (Ministry of the Interior 2010, 4.) Finland's immigration policy has generally been highly restrictive in comparison to other European and Nordic countries (Liebkind 1996, 199). Nevertheless the number of immigrants in Finland has increased rapidly during the past 20 years. Percentually the increase of immigrant population in the 1990's has been faster than in other European countries (Ruusunen 1998, 6).

The first flood of refugees began in 1917 and continued until the mid-1920's. About a half of this population were Russian emigrants arriving to the country as a result of revolution, the other half constituted of Ingrians and Karelian refugees. (Pentikäinen 1997, 223.) The following decades were negligible in terms of immigration until the next considerable immigrant population arrived from Chile and Vietnam in the 1970's (see Pentikäinen 1997, 225). During the 1970's and 1980's Finland accepted only a minimum amount of immigrants (Liebkind 1996, 199). The beginning of the 1980's turned the migration flow from emigration to immigration. Even then, that is before the 1990's, a typical immigrant heading for Finland was a return migrant - in other words someone who had left the country at an earlier point of time. (Forsander 2002, 87.) From 1986 Finland has annually received a certain number of quota refugees (Pentikäinen 1997, 225). A notable increase in the amount of immigrants took place in the 1990's when the number of immigrants quadrupled. The first large foreign group were the return migrants from the former Soviet Union. They were followed by the asylum-seeking Somalis and other Africans, and refugees from the former Yugoslavia. (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2002, 16-17.) The amount of incoming immigrants grew rapidly, predominantly due to the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Finland's membership to the European Union in 1995 (Söderling 1998, 14-15). The rapid

growth of the immigrant population from the beginning of the 1990's coincided with a deep economic recession.

It has been estimated that in 2020 there are 190 000 - 200 000 foreign citizens residing in Finland, composing 3,7 % of the population. A total of 25 650 people moved to Finland in 2010, of which 12 200 were EU citizens. (Ministry of the Interior 2010, 3.) Due to the high number of immigrant residents it is substantial to study the integration of immigrants.

## 2.2 FINNISH INTEGRATION POLICY

Finland's Ministry of the Interior defines integration as measures taken by the authorities to promote integration. The aim of integration is to ensure that immigrants can participate in the Finnish society in the same way as anybody else living in the country. Learning the Finnish or Swedish language is one of the key objectives of integration. Acquiring sufficient language skills promotes immigrants' employment opportunities or opportunities to continue their studies. Integration also means the personal development of immigrants, aimed at promoting immigrants' participation in working life and the Finnish society while preserving their own language and culture. Significant factors contributing to readiness for integration are the level of education, language skills, age at which the person immigrated to the country, state of health and previous experience of other cultures. The person's own motivation and active participation play a central role in integration, but the surrounding society and the attitudes of the majority population also affect how well immigrants integrate into their new country. (Ministry of the Interior, 2011b.)

Mannila (2009, 221-222) claims that the Finnish immigration policy can be outlined in three aspects. Firstly, the policy includes a strong sentiment of offering ethnic Finns a home country, which has led to ethnic favoritism in the policy.

Secondly, compared to most countries, the immigration policy in Finland has its focus on humanitarian migration, that is, resettlement of refugees and asylum seekers. Finally, a large share of immigrants have arrived to Finland for family reunifications and marriage. Acknowledging these three aspects clarify the actual current integration policies and laws in Finland, which are presented next.

Until the beginning of the 1990's, the endeavor of Finland's minority politics was to assimilate both national ethnic minorities and immigrants to the Finnish society. Currently the ideal of minority politics is integration which acknowledges the simultaneous difference and equality of people. (Miettinen & Pitkänen 1999, 6.) Cultural autonomy and societal equality are also seen as a part of integration (Talib 2000, 68).

According to the Government Migration Policy Programme (Government Migration Policy Programme 2006, 2), one of the main objectives of Finland's migration policy is to promote the development of a multi-valued, multicultural and non-discriminating society and thus foster Finland's internationalization process. In multicultural political programs governments aim to take into consideration the needs of the representatives of different cultures and secure their rights, in order to secure equality and and prevent conflicts (Ylänkö 2000, 49-50).

Multiculturalism has been the main theme in immigration policy since 1990 (Ylänkö 2000, 68). The term has been defined as equal coexistence of different cultures (see Ikäläinen et al. 2003, 9). In Finland, the Ministry of the Interior is responsible for the integration of immigrants. It also develops legislation on migration (Ministry of the Interior, 2011a.) Integration policy refers to the measures designed to encourage active participation of immigrants (Forsander 2000, 173). The initial Finnish integration law was enacted in 1999, when the Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers came into force (493/1999). The basis for this Act were immigrants who arrived to Finland as refugees or returning migrants. The integration services were aimed primarily

to the unemployed immigrants. (Migration Department website)

The integration law was afterwards revised, and the new Act on the Promotion of Integration (1386/2010) came into force on 1 September 2011. The scope of application of the new Act had been extended to cover all immigrants residing in Finland for the minimum of one year, regardless of their motives for migration. Also the initial guidance was improved and the participation of immigrants was increased as well as interactivity between immigrants and the original population. (Migration Department website)

The objective of the Act is to support and promote the integration of immigrants and to improve their opportunities to actively participate in the Finnish society. Moreover, the Act is intended to promote equality, non-discrimination and positive interaction between different population groups. (1386/2010 § 1.) The aim is to enable immigrants to reach an equal position with the rest of the population in respect of both rights and obligations. The most important definitions in the Act are as follows:

1. integration (*kotoutuminen*) means the interactive development of immigrant and society which aims to provide the knowledge and skills required in the society and working life whilst supporting the immigrant's opportunity to preserve their own language and culture;
2. integration (*kotouttaminen*) means the multifaceted promotion and support of integration by measures and services of the authorities and other such operators;
3. immigrant means an individual that has migrated to Finland and abides in the country with a permit allotted for other than travel or similar short-term abode, or whose right of residence has been registered, or who has been allotted a residence card. (1386/2010 § 3.)

In order to facilitate the integration and employment process of immigrants, the new Act highlights the initial stage of integration. The Act guarantees certain

services at the first stage of integration, such as provision of basic knowledge of the Finnish society including one's rights and obligations, and guidance and counseling. The Act also provides services like initial mapping of the immigrant's situation, which tentatively estimates the immigrant's preparedness for work, study etc. The need for language education and other services and measures promoting integration are also assessed. (1386/2010 § 7,8,9.)

According to the new Act, all immigrants who, on the basis of the initial mapping, are considered to be in need of an integration plan are entitled to it. The plan is individually prepared for those in need, and it covers those services and measures that are meant to support the immigrant's opportunity to gain sufficient skills in either Finnish or Swedish, and other knowledge and skills needed in society and working life. The purpose of the plan is also to promote the immigrants' opportunity to participate in the activities of the society as an equal member. The plan is prepared in cooperation with the immigrant, local authority and the Employment and Economic Development Office. (1386/2010 § 11,12,13.)

Immigrants who have exceeded the compulsory education age take part in integration training. The training involves lessons in either Finnish or Swedish, and if necessary, also reading and writing and other education that promotes access to work or further education. (1386/2010 § 20.) To improve the efficiency of integration training the Act initiated the Participative Integration Project which aims for more client-orientation.

In addition to national-level provisions, the Act also defines the general objectives of the promotion of integration at local level and obligates municipalities to develop, plan and monitor the integration of immigrants within their areas. Municipalities organize measures and services promoting and supporting the integration of immigrants. Centers for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment are responsible for immigration and integration matters at regional level; they guide the local Employment and Economic Development Offices in



providing labor market services that promote and support integration. (1386/2010 § 29-33, 37.)

The migration policy guidelines and measures have been defined in the migration policy programme (Government Migration Policy Programme 2006). According to the programme, its overall purpose is to define migration policy values, with the aim of respecting human and fundamental rights, to reinforce a culture of good governance and to combat migration-related threats. The policy aims for promoting the work-related immigration and the student and researcher immigration. It also plans to channel the return of Ingrian Finns to meet the needs of the labor market. Other key elements in the policy, as stated earlier, are the promotion of multiculturalism and non-discrimination. Guiding foreigners and fostering the integration of immigrants, developing the humanitarian immigration and improving the conditions for supervision are emphasized as well.

Other laws that apply to the foreign population of Finland are the Aliens Act (301/2004), which regulates the entry into and departure from Finland, and the residence and employment of immigrants, and Non-Discrimination Act (21/2004), which secures equality and prohibits discrimination based on e.g. nationality.

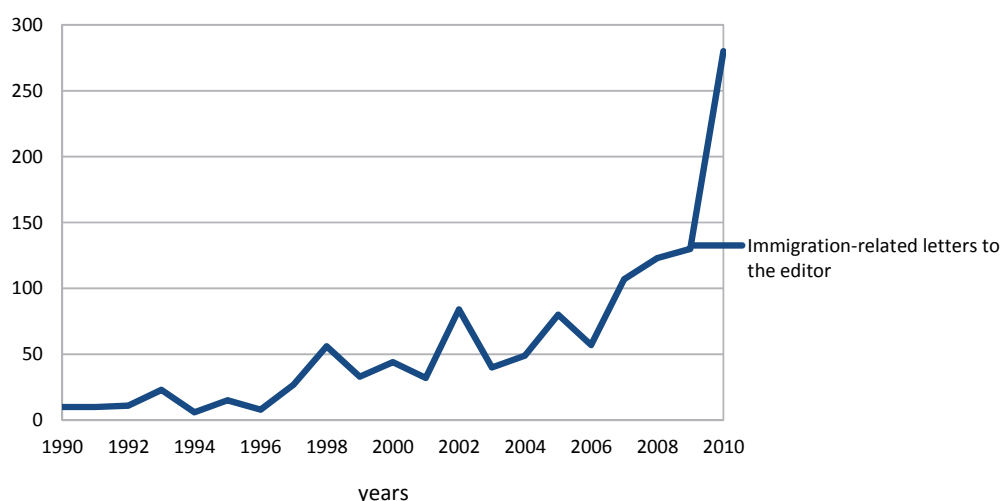
To summarize, the key objectives of integration are learning the Finnish or Swedish language, and, for working-age immigrants, to find employment. In that case, the entire society would benefit from the immigrants' skills and qualifications. It is highly noteworthy, however, that integration does not always accord with the laws. The integration process proceeds individually, and adjustment to the new culture and practices does not necessarily comply with the schedules set in the law. Integration is not a one-way process but it is interaction and dialogue between the entire population. Positive attitudes and willingness to communicate with immigrants are important aspects of integration. Nevertheless, the responsibility of the implementation of integration ultimately remains with the individual. Forsander, Raunio, Salmenhaara and Helander stress that immigration

policy is about ideological choices that embody the attitudes of the society (Forsander et al. 2004, 74).

### 2.3 FINLAND'S IMMIGRATION DISCUSSION AND GENERAL ATTITUDES

Immigration has been a highly topical phenomenon in Finland for quite some time. The rise of the populist and nationalist political party True Finns (*Perussuomalaiset* in Finnish) to Finland's political field has partially been responsible for retaining the immigration issue on the surface in the public debate. Immigration has been a notable phenomenon also elsewhere in Europe during the past decades.

The more the immigrants are visible in the streetscape, the more there is discussion about the subject. The following chart indicates the distribution of the immigration-related letters to the editor in Helsingin Sanomat during the years 1990-2010. It includes all immigration-related letters to the editor found with the search word *maahanmuut\** (immigra\*).



*Table 1: NUMBER OF IMMIGRATION RELATED LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IN HELSINGIN SANOMAT 1990-2010*

The search word *maahanmuut\** produced only ten hits from 1990, increasing up to 280 hits in 2010. There was a slight increase in the immigrant-related letters to the editor in the economic recession year 1993 (23 texts), but it was not until 1998 (56 texts) when the number of letters began to rise somewhat significantly. A major leap, altogether 107 texts, took place in 2007 and since then the immigration-related topics have been widely debated in the letters to the editor section in Helsingin Sanomat. Based on this chart, it can be stated that the discussion on immigration in Helsingin Sanomat has dramatically increased in the past few years. Thus it is important to closer examine the context that the society provides for integration.

Before 1990's Finland has not been perceived as a multiethnic country. When it comes to Finland's multicultural climate, both nation-state and homogeneous culture have been predominant ideologies. According to the nation-state model, the country and its citizens, the state and the national culture conjoin steadily. According to Lepola (2000, 384), this kind of thinking is not remote history in Finland, but most of the nowadays Finns have grown into it. The lack of multicultural orientation in the Finnish society is visible also in the ways in which the immigration procedures were referred to in the 1970's and 1980's: in those days there was talk about "refugee aid" and "reception", currently "integration" is the general term (Päivärinne 2002, 25).

According to Talib (2002, 48-49), the regime of ethnic hierarchy prevails in Finland, as well as in other communities. The regime is not necessarily acknowledged, but it does exist. People are categorized in different groups based on their ethnicity, and these groups are placed on a different range in the hierarchical regime. For instance, immigrants from a certain area are the most undervalued in the hierarchy and are therefore placed in the lower end of it (cf. Talib 2002, 49). Attitude can be defined as emotional knowledge in which knowledge factors and emotion factors combine. Linked with attitude is either acceptance or rejection. (Wahlström 1996, 72.) The Finns regard different

nationality groups in different ways. The most positive attitudes are towards those immigrants who are the closest to us culture and living standard-wise, that is, those coming from the Nordic or Anglo-Saxon countries. The most reserved attitude is towards those with distinctive looks and culture, and who come from countries with a low standard of living. (Jaakkola 2005, 69.) According to Jaakkola, the attitudes of Finns towards Arabs and the Somali refugees are systematically more negative than those towards, for instance, Swedes, Britons and ethnic returning emigrants. Including 24 different ethnic groups, the Finns have most positive attitudes towards the British and the most negative towards the Somalis. (Jaakkola 2005, 72-76.)

Research shows that in 1987 8 %, in 1993 24 %, in 1998 14 % and in 2003 13 % of the population wished to receive significantly less refugees and thus had very negative attitudes towards them (Jaakkola 2005, 44). A high percentage of negativity in 1993 can be explained with the simultaneity of the economic recession. Jaakkola (2005, 10-12) further notes that negative attitudes arise from seeing the foreign people as either a socio-economic or cultural threat to oneself or one's reference group. After the revival of economy and the reduction of unemployment in 1998-2003 also the real and imagined threats towards the socio-economic status subsided (Jaakkola 2005, 11). It seems that during the most recent economical hardship, the attitudes towards immigrants showed signs of increasing negativity.

In 2003, the groups that had the most positive attitudes towards immigrants were women, the well-educated, supporters of the Green League and the National Coalition party, students, urban residents and especially those living the capital city area, accustomed travelers, and those who knew immigrants personally. Groups with the most negative attitudes were pensioners, boys aged 15-17, farmers, residents of small towns and sparsely populated areas, modestly educated, unemployed and those who did not have any immigrant contacts. (Jaakkola 2005, 128-129.)

Finland's stable societal conditions and high living standard may attract immigrants, but there are also factors which make Finland an undesirable destination for immigration. These factors can include for instance tough climate, difficult language or remote location. However, Finland's ethno-cultural communities have expanded to the extent that they provide significant support to their members in the integration process (cf. Valtonen 1999, 33). Talib and Lipponen on the other hand believe that integrating into Finnish culture is challenging for neo-Finns due to individual-centric culture and valuing one's ability to get by on their own (Talib & Lipponen 2008, 37). It should also be noted that the Finnish society has not adapted to immigration on all of its sectors. For instance, Rätty (2002, 47) remarks that the functioning of the Finnish schooling system, culture life, social services etc. are still based on the idea of one nation that has one common culture and language. The system does not take into account the special needs of immigrants.

It is difficult to objectively determine whether the immigrant attitudes among the Finns are positive or negative, as there are several studies contradicting each other. The immigration critics have however received plenty of attention in the media and public debate. Media may in part influence in the recurrence of negative stereotypes and attitudes, as the newspaper articles concerning immigrants are for many Finns the only contact with minorities. Also Internet allows hostile and degrading talk of immigrants. (Joronen & Salonen 2006, 21, 60.) It can however be said that it is the duty of the citizens of well-being societies to provide help for those in need. Kiljunen (1994, 23) suggests that attitudes especially towards refugees can function as an indicator of the credibility of international development policy and humanity of the rich industrialized countries.

### 3 MEDIA AS AN OBJECT OF RESEARCH

The consumption of newspapers has traditionally been firm in Finland. The Finns rank among the most enthusiastic newspaper readers in the world when measured in the relative amount of magazines and newspapers or the ratio of the issued magazines and papers to the number of consumers (Nordenstreng & Wiio 2000, 16). Newspapers reach four out of five Finnish adults on a daily basis, although the time spent with newspapers has slowly decreased. Nevertheless over 90 % of the population read newspapers regularly. (Kunelius 2003, 111.)

Like discourses, which I present in more detail in chapter five, the newspaper texts are not merely language or ways to use language, but they are a part of both reality and the construction of reality. Pietilä & Sondermann (1994) suggest that, when investigating newspapers, one should abandon the idea of society being the context of a newspaper. Instead, newspaper should be viewed as society. The time-space of the newspaper is social due to the ingathering of audience and actors where they are present to each other (*ibid.*). The production and consumption of newspapers is about interpreting reality. Reading equals to understanding the connections of events, actors and matters - in other words, action in which the readers' relationship to the figured reality and parties of communication is constructed. (Kunelius 2003, 152.) Also Suhonen (1994, 36) states that in developed societies, media has a central role in constructing the societal reality. According to journalistic ideal, media does not reflect the objective society or reality as they are but contributes to their creation by selecting what type of news is released and how (see e.g. Tuchman 1978, 12). In this study, media texts are not understood only as objective reflectors of reality, but as active constructors of reality. Texts are in alliance with the surrounding culture and are built from the surrounding value system and the writer's own socio-culture. This constructionist view is common in social sciences.

This study regards media as means for societal contribution and influence.

Contribution occurs through news release, advertising and opinion exchange. There is no such thing as an objective text in media research - the text always bears the viewpoint of its writer. A news text, as well as a letter to the editor, reveal something about their writer and their ideology. Ideology refers to the sociocultural values and opinions of the text's framer. Ideology incorporates those ways in which the world is represented and that are used to build certain social identities and relations (Fairclough 1995, 12 ). Therefore ideology cannot be separated from power. Fairclough further defines ideology as "propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination" (Fairclough 1995, 14). To reveal these implicit assumptions one should also decipher what is not expressed. When analyzing media, one is constantly comparing and evaluating representations and their ideological meanings.

Media functions as an arena for public debate, but not only as a mediator of knowledge. Media also participates in the debate. (Välvirronen 1996, 15-16.) The term arena reflects the view of media as a competition field for different interpretations of reality, meanings and instruments of symbols (see Hall 1992, 179-181). Arena provides a public field for those who participate in the definition and debate of the societal matters and questions. There is a contest on the arena of whose definition becomes generally accepted. (Välvirronen 1996, 89.) Also Koivunen & Lehtonen (2005) refer to media as an arena and a battlefield of action. The contestants involve those who set the rules and are authorized by law and those who must struggle to be included in the public debate (see Hall 1992, 181).

In addition to being able to choose the participants of the debate, media can also indicate the participants' authority and role by linguistic choices (Välvirronen 1996, 89-90). What is noteworthy here is that media collects different actors on the same arena – this enables different perspectives, interests and interpretations of reality to be presented, according to the democratic ideal. One of the prerequisites

of democracy is polyphonic, pluralistic and open debate. (ibid.)

Although readers are allowed to contribute in the construction of reality (e.g. by means of writing a letter to the editor), the media is seen to construct the borders of the debate and conduct the discourse by making choices and interpretations (see e.g. Väliverronen 1996, 16). Media has undeniable power in channeling the public debate on the letters to the editor section as it can determine the subject matters and viewpoints that are published. According to Fairclough, media texts constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the social position and interests and objectives of those who produce them (Fairclough 1995, 103-104). The press singles out the speakers allowed on the field consciously and unconsciously. However Saaristo notes that the same argument is valid for the letters to the editor section: also those texts are ultimately edited, that is, selected by the editor (Saaristo 2000, 42).

Media should provide people the means for intercommunication and contribution. One of the societal tasks of media is to advance the public debate and the freedom of speech (see Hemánus 1990, 30). However, the media of today tend to forget their duty to provide tools for the citizens to process societal issues. Media should address citizens as potential participants in public issues rather than as victims or observers. (see Varis 2000, 9-10). It has become more difficult for ordinary people to be heard in the media, and it is the responsibility of media to allow the people to participate in the societal debate. Fairclough (1995, 40) however remarks that the communication events of the media are a certain kind of monologues and the audience cannot directly affect this communication. There is no proper dialogue between media and public as the public's part is merely to listen (ibid.). However, people use newspapers in addition to radio and television to bond with the society, as Fiske (1992, 36) claims, referring to the comprehensive research of Katz, Gurevitch and Hass conducted in 1973. Ordinary people use media to influence the decision making. Kunelius (2003, 193) emphasizes the link between mass media, public opinion and political decision-making. Also Fairclough (1995, 2-3)



notes the links between mass media and wider sociocultural change. A letter to the editor can therefore be interpreted as an attempt to affect on the higher-level decisions.

#### 4 CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION AND ACCULTURATION

Adaptation has been defined as a generic term to describe the psychological changes and eventual outcomes of individuals experiencing acculturation (Berry 1997, 6). The term can be used to refer to both the process of adaptation as well as the state which is a result of different adaptation strategies (Berry et al. 1988, 62). Kim (2001, 183) notes that no immigrant can escape the adaptation process at least on some level if he/she remains in and functions within the larger host culture. In order to understand the greater context of adaptation and acculturation it is important to take a look at how culture and intercultural communication are generally defined.

Hofstede (2001, 9) regards culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another". Chen and Starosta (2005, 26) define culture as a "negotiated set of shared symbolic systems that guide individuals' behaviors and incline them to function as a group". Furthermore, according to Chen and Starosta (2005, 27), culture is pervasive, penetrating into each aspect of our lives and influencing the way we think, talk and behave. In Hall's (1970, 186) classic definition, "culture is communication and communication is culture".

Communication, both verbal and nonverbal, is the tool for fostering the enculturation/acculturation process, as it is for all human learning (cf. Kim 2001, 47). The bond between culture and communication facilitates our daily communication as culture functions as a framework in which the communication behavior is interpreted. A learned set of values, norms and beliefs determine interaction and communication in different situations. (Lustig & Koester 2003, 27.) Communication becomes intercultural when participants from at least two different cultures confront (Chen & Starosta 2005, 30). In intercultural interactions the participants perceive each other rather as representatives of cultural groups than as individuals. Therefore, viewing each other as having different cultural

identities is what distinguishes intercultural communication from intracultural communication. (Kim 1991, 266.)

#### 4.1 DEFINING ACCULTURATION AND INTEGRATION

There are two essential ways of absorbing culture. Enculturation is a process that connects developing individuals into their primary cultural context. Acculturation in turn is a process that individuals undergo once the cultural context changes. (e.g Kim 2005, 381-382, Berry et al. 1996, 271) The latter concept plays a central role in the research in question and requires further clarification.

Theoretical frameworks of acculturation come from the field of psychology, and especially the research in stress and coping, social learning and skills, social cognition and intergroup perceptions (see Liebkind 2001, 391). Acculturation process is taking place when different cultures come across: "...dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members." (Berry, 2005, 698). Berry (1997, 7), Kim (2001, 12) and Liebkind (2000, 13) all describe the multi-dimensional acculturation process by referring to Redfield's classic definition from 1936: acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. Often, however, one of the cultures is more influential (Berry 1997, 7).

Previously dominating view on acculturation was unidimensional which suggests that immigrants undergo a unidirectional change towards the mainstream society. Currently bidimensional models are prevailing; they recognize the possibility of ethnic groups to preserve their culture while adapting to the mainstream culture (see Liebkind 2009, 18). The research of acculturation and adaptation acknowledges two adaptive outcomes, psychological and sociocultural.

Psychological adaptation refers to the long-term changes resulting from the interaction between different cultural groups. They involve the individual's identity, values, behavior, social relations and mental health. The mental well-being, the extent to which an individual feels in control of his life and personal satisfaction in the new culture and society are also important references. Sociocultural adaptation emerges as fluent social skills and behavior that are in accordance with the norms of the new community. (Ward & Kennedy 1993, 230-231, Berry 1997, 14, Berry 2005, 709.) Berry (1997, 14) adds economic adaptation to the listing; it refers to having a satisfying and effective job.

In cross-cultural psychology, acculturation is seen to take place on both individual and group level. On individual level, the behavioral repertoire of the immigrant changes (Berry 2005, 699). There is a connection between this level and psychological adaptation. On group level, changes in social structures, institutions and cultural practices occur (Berry 2005, 698-699). Kim (2001, 12-15) groups the conceptions of cross-cultural adaptation on micro and macro levels. Micro level studies focus on individuals and their experiences in acculturation, whereas macro level refers to viewing acculturation as a group or intergroup phenomenon, primarily focusing on ethnocultural members adapting to the larger society. So far, studies on individual level have received less attention.

In the process of acculturation, also deculturation often takes place. It refers to unlearning some of the old cultural patterns (e.g. Kim 2005, 382). Terms such as adaptation and adjustment have also been used when describing the acculturation process. Adaptation has been talked about when the long-term outcome of acculturation is meant. It is a relatively stable change that is taking place in an individual or group in response to external demands (Berry 2005, 699-700, 709). The term adjustment has been used when referring to a short-term acculturative process (e.g. Anderson 1994).

The process of acculturation is manifold. According to Alitolppa-Niitamo (1994,

30), immigrant reaches a fairly stable position in approving new cultural traits after years or decades. Adapting is different with different individuals; some assimilate entirely to the new culture without preserving anything from their old culture, and to others maintaining old habits and values is highly important. Generally the degree of acculturation transforms with generations as the second immigrant generation absorbs more new cultural features than the first one (ibid.). Acculturation can also proceed at different phase in different areas of an individual's life (Liebkind 1994b, 234). Padilla (1980a, 1-2) reminds that acculturation as a concept is too ambiguous; it is not possible to handle it only by analyzing social institutions, cultural models or political structures but it should take the individual aspect into consideration as well.

According to a wide-ranging conception, integration as an acculturation strategy guarantees the best psychological outcomes (e.g. Berry 1997, 24). Since integration is also the official acculturation objective in the Finnish immigration policy (e.g. Ministry of the Interior, 2011b) and it is the most preferred and recommended strategy elsewhere as well, I will now present some academic definitions of integration in closer detail. Just like any other concept of acculturative studies, also integration can be defined and understood in numerous ways.

According to Kim (2001, 31) integration means social participation in the host environment. Valtonen (1997, 22) takes into account the result in addition to the process: in her definition, integration is either a process of participation in societal spheres, or an end product in which immigrants are able to fully participate in the society. Ekholm (1994, 1) sums up the most common definitions of integration as the immigrants' opportunity to maintain their own culture and language in addition to having equal opportunities with the majority. Ekholm (1994, 18-19) has redefined the concept of integration into smaller units; internal and structural integration. Internal integration refers to coherence and solidarity of the ethnic group, with an objective to develop and maintain the culture and collectivity of the

ethnic community. The aim of structural integration on the other hand is to involve immigrants in the economic, social and political life of the society by applying their own cultural and ethnic principles.

In most definitions, integration is seen as a process rather than as a static state (Forsander 2001, 39). Integration is generally segmented, i.e., it proceeds in a different phase in different areas of life (Martikainen & Tiilikainen 2007, 19). Thus integration is a subjective process; it takes different directions and has varying durations with different individuals. Anyhow, Puusaari (1997, 24) argues that the integration process takes at least three years on average, but the full integration in another culture takes up to three generations.

Many factors influencing the integration process are acknowledged in the academic field. Berry (1997, 21-22) has listed the following factors: age, sex, education and the social status. According to Ekholm (1994, 19-20) also the historical, political and economical circumstances of the majority have an impact on integration. Recently the concept of transnationalism has gained attention as an influence on integration. It refers to the process through which immigrants create and maintain relations with their countries of origin from their countries of resettlement. Transnationalism consists of economic, social, religious and political ties between the two countries. (Tiilikainen 2003, 61). In case the bond with the country of origin is strong, it can function as a decelerating factor in the integration process.

Although the phenomenon of intercultural activities is increasing, the concept of integration is still much debated. Researchers have either given up attempting to define the concept and take it as given, or they have developed their own definition (Forsander 2001, 38). The way integration is generally understood has also faced criticism as the concept does not focus on the changes taking place in the dominant group while the non-dominant group is integrating (Forsander 2001, 38–39). Due to these defects it is worthwhile to examine the different nuances of

the term in order to achieve a more extensive understanding of integration. Integration is still, irrespective of the dispute between theorists, the most widely used term in literature. The present study focuses on the immigrant writers' own conceptions of integration; the definition presented here thus concentrates on providing a general understanding of the term.

#### 4.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE ACCULTURATION PROCESS

Acculturation is a multi-layered and subjective process that each individual experiences differently. Personal traits dealing with the individual's identity as well as the outside factors affect on the acculturation process. Each acculturating individual reacts to a certain situation in an individual manner. It is important for the immigrant to be aware of the numerous factors that can play a role in the cultural adaptation process.

Economic, politic, social and cultural variables influence the acculturation process, but there are also other affecting attributes, such as psychological and attitudinal variables like self-esteem, value basis, identity dispersion, mental flexibility, motivational factors and cognitive styles. (Berry 1990, 250-251.) Berry et al. (1987, 491) recognize factors that affect the adaptation process on both individual and societal level. The factors on the individual level of acculturation include specific characteristics of the immigrant, such as age, sex, status and personality traits. Societal level variables include, for instance, contact, status and social support networks.

Berry (1997, 23) points out the distance between the culture of departure and the new homeland as an important factor in the acculturation process. Also Kim (2001, 84) states that a small difference between the stranger's original values and norms and the new environment predict better adaptation. The length of stay in the country influences the need and motivation to adapt. Those who stay longer may

have a deeper need to adapt to the new culture than those who are staying for only a short while. Also the host tends to expect more sociocultural conformity from immigrants planning to stay for an indefinite period. (Kim 2001, 17.) Similar religion, color of skin and the most important values and ways of life are seen to correlate positively with adaptation (see Padilla 1980b, 49-50).

In order to understand acculturation conditions one should take the context of acculturation into consideration. For instance, societies that have accepting attitudes towards foreigners and support communication between hosts and foreigners facilitate adaptation, whereas societies with negative attitudes hinder adaptation. Strangers in these societies may face discrimination, prejudice or even hostility. (see e.g. Berry 1997, 17, 25.) These sort of contextual factors have recently been emphasized in the acculturation research.

There are numerous indicators for successful acculturation. These acculturation outcomes are measured as mental and physical health, psychological satisfaction, high self-esteem, feelings of acceptance and satisfaction, positive and extensive interaction with hosts, acquiring culturally appropriate behavior and skills, academic performance and competent work performance (see e.g. Liebkind 2001, 391). On the other hand, setbacks experienced by the immigrant increase proneness to conflict, regardless of his/her age. Especially status changes, in addition to age and sex factors, indicate acculturative stress and also the possibilities for successful integration. The elderly, women, and immigrants arriving without a partner have experienced stress more often than others. (Berry et al. 1996, 288.)

When facing a new environment several changes can occur, such as changes in relationships, physical surroundings, biological changes (e.g. nutrition), and cultural and psychological changes (Berry 1997, 17). Due to these changes and unfamiliar situations an individual may not be able to function effectively (see Kim 2001, 4-5). Facing unfamiliarity in a new culture where rules of the original



culture do not necessarily apply can be stressful (cf. Kim 2001, 50). Acculturative stress is a part of the adaptation process. Stress is a response to a new cultural environment in which the adapting individual is unaware of how to act. He must start learning the most simple things in life all over again. Inabilities and defects of the newcomer to act in accordance with the new environment may result in frustration as well as in both physical and emotional symptoms. When acculturation experiences are seen as problematic, acculturative stress results and ultimate adaptation depends on the personal appraisal of the stressors and the coping resources available for dealing with residual stress. Examples of emotional symptoms can be heightened levels of depression, which is linked to the experience of cultural loss, and anxiety, i.e. uncertainty about how one should live in the new society. (Berry 2006, 43.)

Liebkind (1994a, 32-33) distinguishes seven risk factors for adaptation difficulties: 1. Significant decrease in the socioeconomic status 2. Inability to speak the majority language 3. Separation from family and relatives 4. Experiencing discrimination by the majority 5. Isolation from other members of one's own culture 6. Stress or traumatic experiences that occurred before moving 7. Old age or adolescence.

According to Berry (1997, 21), theoretical models and empirical studies cannot unambiguously show different factors as being directly influencing, moderating or mediating in the acculturation research. It is likely that adaptation and the acculturation process vary according to the host country and their immigration policy in addition to the host's philosophy and attitudes towards multiculturalism. Thus, the social and political environment of the host culture has an influence on the acculturation process of individuals.

Having acquainted with the definition of acculturation and different factors contributing to the process, it is time to open up the concept by introducing a few models which look at the acculturation process step by step.

### 4.3 OUTCOMES AND STAGES OF ACCULTURATION

Several models of acculturation exist which differ in their emphasis on different aspects of adapting into a new culture. Acculturation models can stress, for instance, the acculturation conditions, contexts, orientation, objectives or outcomes. A few acculturation models are presented here in order to gain a general idea of the acculturation process. That said, the main focus is on Kim's (2001) theory of cross-cultural adaptation.

Bidimensional models of adaptation recognize the possibility that acculturation process can take several paths. John Berry's (e.g. 1990, 1997) conceptual framework of acculturation attitudes and strategies has influenced several theorists in the field of sociocultural acculturation research. His model is based on the principles of cultural maintenance and contact-participation. Cultural maintenance refers to the extent to which individuals value and wish to maintain their cultural identity. Contact-participation refers to the extent to which individuals value and seek out contact with those outside their own group, and wish to participate in the daily life of the larger society. Thus, preserving one's own culture and internalizing the new culture are not seen as mutually exclusive phenomena. Depending on the answers that an acculturating individual gives to the questions "Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics?" and "Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with the larger society?" four different acculturation outcomes can occur: integration (the answers to the questions above are "yes" and "yes" respectively), assimilation (no, yes), separation (yes, no) and marginalization (no, no). (see e.g. Berry 1990, 1997.)

Integration refers to the desire of maintaining key features of the immigrant's cultural identity while having contact with the members of the host society. According to Berry (1997, 24), integration is the most preferred and most successful acculturation strategy. It predicts less acculturative stress and better

emotional well-being (Berry 1997, 25). Assimilation refers to the desire of the immigrants to adopt the host society's culture while rejecting their own cultural identity (Berry 1997, 9). Assimilation is a common acculturation strategy especially in the United States where the ethnic minorities are expected to give up their language and tradition and assimilate among the majority as soon as possible (Talib et al. 2004, 44). Assimilation does not however increase the immigrant's opportunities to be successful in the majority culture as it fails to acknowledge the resources of one's own minority culture and identity (Talib 2000). Separation refers to maintaining all features of the immigrant's own culture while rejecting the host culture. The final strategy, marginalization, refers to rejecting both the immigrant's own culture and the host culture. (Berry 1997, 9.) This kind of rejection of both cultures weakens the immigrant's identity (Talib et al. 2004, 45).

Berry (1990) reminds that the individual's choice of an acculturation strategy can depend on the situation; for instance, one can apply the assimilation strategy at work, speak the languages of both the country of departure and the host country, and thus choose integration, or maintain traditional relationships in family and marriage, thus applying the separation strategy in private relationships. Individuals process and experiment several of these strategies and select the most suitable one for each context and period (Berry 1997, 12). The host individuals' acculturation expectations are influential in the process so that the immigrants may not always be free to pursue their preferred acculturation strategy (cf. Berry 1997, 10).

Although influential, Berry's model has also faced criticism. It has been claimed to see the concept of culture as static, and that it is oversimplifying structures (see Forsander 2001, 36-37). The criticism of the static nature of Berry's model is justified, as the acculturation process rarely is unambiguous with a clear ending point. Most immigrants undergo a more dynamic and unstable process of acculturation. Berry's model however provides lucidity to the division of different acculturation concepts.

In contrast to Berry's outcome-oriented model, Bennett & Bennett (2004) emphasize the different stages an individual experiences during the acculturation process. Bennett and Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity describes the adapting individual's reactions to cultural differences with a linear six-stage continuum, starting from ethnocentrism and ending with ethnorelativism. Ethnocentrism, which includes the stages of denial, defense and minimization, refers to regarding one's own culture as central; confronting new cultures occurs from the viewpoint of one's own culture. Ethnorelativism, including acceptance, adaptation and integration, means the awareness, acceptance and ability of the individual to adapt to the new culture in terms of changes in attitudes, formation of cultural identity and intercultural sensitivity. (Bennett & Bennett 2004, 152-158.)

The denial stage isolates the strangers from other cultures. Individuals often view other cultures by forming simplifications or stereotypes of them. In the defense stage people recognize cultural differences but often only in negative terms, still regarding their own culture as superior. Minimization stage refers to the strangers being more aware of other cultures and having a more positive attitude towards them; yet strangers tend to minimize the cultural differences and make universal assumptions of other cultures. Towards ethnorelativism, the acceptance stage refers to increasing tolerance, awareness and acceptance of different views. People on the adaptation stage utilize the knowledge of the other culture and their own, and are able to have different perspectives and behave effectively in accordance with the norms of the new culture. Finally, the integration stage refers to people being able to assess behavior from different cultural frames of reference without judging either one of them. (Bennett & Bennett 2004, 152-158.) Having now introduced some theoretical ways of regarding the acculturation process, I will focus on Kim's theories of acculturation which are at the core of this research.

#### 4.4 KIM'S THEORY OF THE PROCESS AND STRUCTURE OF CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION

Several theorists, like Kim and her stress-adaptation-growth model, see adaptation as a growth/learning process. These studies view cross-cultural adaptation as a movement towards psychological and social adaptation. Kim (2001, xii) argues that most previous studies are based on the linear-reductionist assumption with their focus on the cause-and-effect notion. Thus they fail to explain other factors and their interrelationship in the cross-cultural adaptation process. (ibid.) In other words, these models do not describe the adaptation process as a whole. Kim's model combines several existing conceptions of acculturation and it also includes the phenomenon of intercultural communication.

Kim's theory comprises of two models which aim to describe the adaptation process and the factors that contribute to it. She bases her theory on three assumptions: 1. Humans have an innate self-organizing drive and a capacity to adapt to environmental challenges 2. adaptation of an individual to a given cultural environment occurs in and through communication, and 3. adaptation is a complex and dynamic process that brings about a qualitative transformation of the individual. (Kim 2001, 35-37.) In her theory, Kim (2001, 31) uses the generic term of cross-cultural adaptation which she defines as the dynamic process by which individuals, upon relocating to new, unfamiliar, or changed cultural environments, establish or re-establish and maintain relatively stable, reciprocal and functional relationships with those environments. By the concept of cross-cultural adaptation Kim refers to all kinds of cultural coping. The term stranger applied in her model on the other hand refers to all the people who are undergoing a cross-cultural experience. (Kim 2001, 32.)

##### **4.4.1 Stress-adaptation-growth**

Cross-cultural adaptation occurs through various phases. Kim (e.g. 2001, 54-70)

has studied the different stages of adaptation, and describes the process as a dynamic stress-adaptation-growth cycle in which stress and learning take turns and result in gradual psychological growth. Stress, adaptation, and growth thus are in a dynamic interplay.

In the process of acculturation an individual is adapting to the new cultural norms and also deculturating from his/her own cultural traditions to some extent. One must constantly struggle between the need to learn and adapt to the new environment, and resistance to change. This kind of rotation of feelings may cause stress and emotional upheaval, such as confusion, uncertainty and anxiety, in unfamiliar situations. Individuals do not know how to act in the new cultural context and thus experience stress. Stress occurs whenever an individual's internal capabilities are not adequate to the demands of the environment. (Kim 2001, 55.) In a stressful situation, a stranger attempts to invent ways to overcome it. Therefore it can be regarded as a chance to adapt further and grow. Stress pushes the stranger towards adaptation and he/she slowly learns new cultural habits. This is succeeded by growth in perceiving, behaving and knowing. Strangers respond to each stressful experience by drawing back, which in turn activates adaptive energy to help them reorganize themselves and leap forward. (Kim 2001, 55-57.)

Accordingly, adaptation does not occur linearly but cyclically. As the stress-adaptation-growth pattern occurs repeatedly, the adapting individual knows more of how to behave in a given situation and adapts deeper into the host culture. The more the individual adjusts to the new requirements in the host culture, the more the stress decreases. Thus, stress is likely to be at its strongest level in the early stages of adaptation. (Kim 2001, 57-59.)

#### **4.4.2 Structural model of cross-cultural adaptation**

Kim (2001) has introduced a holistic approach to cross-cultural adaptation with her multidimensional structure model that explains six factors and mechanisms

contributing to the degrees of adaptation. Kim's model combines sociological, anthropological and psychological factors in the adaptation process (Kim 2001, 32). What is particularly emphasized in the model is the importance of intercultural communication and the ongoing reciprocal relationship between the adapting individual and the environment. The quality and quantity of communication has an influence in the adaptation process of an immigrant, especially within a new environment (Kim 2001, 72). Kim (2001, 32) states that as long as the adapting individual communicates with the host environment, cross-cultural adaptation is occurring. Furthermore, in contrast to studies in which learning is regarded as a stage, Kim's theory sees learning as individual transformation.

The six dimensions in Kim's model are: 1. personal communication (host communication competence) 2. host social communication 3. ethnic social communication 4. environment 5. predisposition 6. intercultural transformation. I will briefly discuss them next.

#### Personal communication

Communication is a prerequisite for successful adaptation into a new environment. Individual needs to be competent in the host communication to be able to have contact with the host nationals. This is called host communication competence in Kim's theory. (2001, 72-73, 98.) It refers to the stranger's ability to receive and process messages in the host environment appropriately and effectively. Host communication competence is necessary in order to interact with the locals in accordance with their own communication system. (Kim 2001, 73, 98-99.) There are three recognized and interrelated components in host communication competence: cognitive, affective and operational (Kim 2001, 73).

*Cognitive* competence refers to the knowledge and understanding of host communication, including language, cultural codes and rules, such as history and

beliefs (Kim 2001, 106-108). *Affective* competence refers to the emotional or motivational drives or reflexes toward successful adaptation, thus providing motivational capacity to deal with the challenges of the new environment. Being open for change, in other words having flexible identity, is an important factor in affective competence. The extent to which the adapting individual shows appreciation towards the aesthetic features of the new culture, such as art or music, is also an indication of affective competence. (Kim 2001, 108-114.) Finally, the *operational* competence refers to the other aspects of host communication competence including the technical skills of being able to perform the daily tasks and the ability to choose the right kind of behavior in each context. Resourcefulness, i.e. having creativity to cope with the unfamiliar situations, is also a part of the operational competence. To put it simply, operational competence helps the adapting individuals to act correctly in the new cultural environment. (see Kim 2001, 114-117.)

### Social communication

Host communication competence is directly and reciprocally connected to being able to participate in interpersonal and mass communication activities in the host environment. Interactive communication experience with the locals gives the stranger an opportunity to reflect his/her communication skills and further develop one's competence. (Kim 2001, 74, 121.)

Social communication comprises of two elements: host social communication and ethnic social communication. *Host social communication* is related to host communication competence as interaction with the host culture increases the stranger's competence. Both interpersonal and mass communication are acknowledged: host interpersonal communication helps strangers to secure vital information and insights into the mind-sets of the locals, thus providing strangers a reference point for their own behavior. Finding social support for handling difficulties is also emphasized. *Host mass communication* refers to a larger



environment and implies to integrating via media, television and so on. (Kim 2001, 75-76, 121-131.)

Strangers may seek assistance from their own ethnic groups in the initial stages of the adaptation process. This process refers to *ethnic social communication* in Kim's theory. Co-ethnic support often facilitates the change of the cultural environments and it also offers knowledge and assistance in the new culture (in case that the ethnic group supporters have adapted well themselves). Ethnic social communication also allows individuals to preserve contact with their original culture. However, too strong reliance on co-nationals may result in fewer opportunities to interact with locals and develop host communication competence. Thus, short-term co-ethnic support is positive, but in the long run it may hinder the adaptation process. (Kim 2001, 76-78, 134-138.)

### Environment

The host environment is regarded to have a direct impact on the nature of the adapting individual's integration process. According to Kim (2001, 147), strangers' communication and adaptation in a new cultural environment cannot even fully be understood without taking the conditions of the new environment into account. Some societies are more open and willing to communicate with strangers than others. Kim presents three environmental conditions influencing adaptation. They are host receptivity, host conformity pressure and ethnic group strength. (Kim 2001, 78, 147.) The extent to which the host environment expresses receptivity and conformity pressure on a stranger is closely influenced by the overall ethnic group strength. (Kim 2001, 80)

*Host receptivity* refers to the openness of the host environment towards the stranger. The degree of openness and friendliness in welcoming strangers and providing support for them varies within different societies. Negative attitudes can arise from the perceived dissimilarity from the hosts, i.e. ethnic prejudice. (Kim

2001, 79, 148-149.) The majority may have prejudice against strangers who look different or have a significantly different cultural background. Strangers feel encouraged to learn and adapt in case the host environment is open to them (Kim 2001, 152).

*Host conformity pressure* refers to the extent to which the natives set expectations for the adapting stranger to behave like them and adopt their normative communicative patterns. The host culture affects the pressure to conform to cultural norms and practices by showing tolerance or intolerance towards the stranger and their ethnic groups. Host conformity pressure often includes pressure of learning the local language. Long-term strangers generally experience more pressure to conform than short-term visitors. The cultural homogeneity or heterogeneity has an impact on the level of conformity pressure towards strangers. (Kim 2001, 79-80, 152-153.)

*Ethnic group strength* refers to the way the ethnic subculture supports or restricts the stranger's adaptation to the host culture. A strong ethnic group has greater possibilities to influence the society at large. A strong ethnic group can also have negative impacts; it can push the stranger to maintain his/her cultural heritage and thus complicate host social communication. (Kim 2001, 81, 155.)

### Predisposition

The predisposition dimension takes into account the mental, emotional and motivational readiness to deal with the new cultural environment. Some individuals are more open to new experiences and thus are more adaptive than others. The three predisposition factors in Kim's model influence the potentiality of adaptation of the individuals. The factors are: preparedness for change, ethnic proximity and adaptive personality (Kim 2001, 82, 165).

*Preparedness for change* equals to the stranger's readiness for and understanding

of challenges of crossing cultures. Strangers who have prior cross-cultural knowledge and/or experiences (such as cross-cultural training in language and culture) tend to have more realistic expectations of adaptation and thus have a higher chance of adapting. The preparedness of the adapting individual is also influenced by the circumstances under which the cross-cultural transition takes place: whether the move was voluntary or involuntary and how expected or unexpected it was have impact on the preparedness of the individual. (Kim 2001, 82-83, 166-168.)

*Ethnic proximity* refers to the similarity or dissimilarity of the stranger's ethnic (physical and psychological) characteristics in comparison to those of the host nationals. Especially such physical attributes that classify the individual as ethnically different may form a psychological barrier between the stranger and the locals. Ethnic characteristics include values and behavioral norms in addition to looks. (Kim 2001, 83-84, 168-172.)

*Adaptive personality* is regarded to facilitate the adaptation process, and it can be divided into three attributes: openness, strength and positivity. Openness refers to willingness of strangers to change and learn by expanding their knowledge on the new culture without ethnocentric bias. Characteristics of openness are, for instance, open-mindedness, flexibility and tolerance for ambiguity. Strength means having the capacity to face and deal with new transitional and intercultural challenges in the host society. Strength refers to resilience, risk-taking, hardiness, persistence and resourcefulness, whereas positivity refers to optimism, acceptance of different kinds of people and a high self-esteem, self-trust and self-efficacy. Together these three attributes form the basis for developing host communication competence and facilitate adaptation to a new culture. (Kim 2001, 84-85, 172-178.)

### Intercultural transformation

Individuals experience adaptive changes towards an ongoing process of intercultural transformation, which results from the process of cross-cultural adaptation. By undergoing these processes the stranger can reach *functional fitness*, meaning that he/she is able to perform daily activities. (Kim 2001, 183-186.) Increased *psychological health* is another result of intercultural transformation, as mental health may falter during the process of adaptation, for instance while experiencing culture shock or acculturative stress. It reflects a sense of internal cohesiveness and confidence. (Kim 2001, 187-189.) The outcome of successful adaptation is forming an *intercultural identity*. It consists of the individual's original cultural identity and features of the new culture. The individual's character transforms from monocultural to multifaceted. The development of intercultural identity includes two different aspects: individualization and universalization. Individualization refers to the process in which the stranger is becoming aware of his/her own identity as well as the identity of others. Universalization is about understanding different others and respecting universal principles and values. (Kim 2001, 190-194.)

Kim's model has been presented extensively in this study, because a thorough understanding of the model deepens the analysis of those factors that the writers bring up in their letters regarding integration. The model is specific enough to provide a stable basis for analysis and reveal the data content to the smallest detail. It can also shed light to the frequency of different discourses and factors, which is important in order to construct as realistic perception of the data as possible. Kim's model has a central role in this study due to its comprehensive nature; it aims to take into consideration the different interactive aspects of the acculturation process, such as the environmental factors which are not acknowledged in most other models.

When conducting research, one is compelled to make generalizations of the data.

Kim's theory, in my opinion, clarifies the content and the particularities of the data. The model also provides an idea to the reader of how manifold the process of acculturation is and what kind of factors, even those that seem surprising at first, contribute to it. With this model it is simple to see what integration is in practice for the immigrant writers. Thus, the analysis manages to rise above simplifications and the so called gut-feeling.

The immigrant writers in this study discuss integration from several points of view and I do not expect them to focus on one specific area. However, special interest is placed on communication and environment.

## **5 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

The present study applies critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA), and particularly Norman Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis, as the theoretical framework. Discourse analysis in general is known to be a very broad and heterogeneous method of analysis. Likewise the concept of discourse is open to many interpretations and it cannot be defined unequivocally. However there is one aspect of the method that is generally agreed upon: CDA is not actually a method but rather a point of view when doing research. Van Dijk (1993, 252) notes this characteristic to be essential for CDA; it is not seen to serve a specific discipline, but it is motivated by pressing social issues. The obscurity of the term derives from the varying approaches different disciplines have on viewing the relationship between language and social practices. Several distinctive and overlapping definitions of discourse are acknowledged. I will present only a narrow overlook on the definitions, focusing in the ways in which I use the concept in this study.

### 5.1 THE CONCEPT OF DISCOURSE

The theoretical-methodological context of discourse analysis is social constructionism. According to this view, our shared reality is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann 1967, 13). The everyday knowledge, a reality taken for granted, is produced in people's minds and actions. People construct perceptions of the surrounding world in interaction with others. Reality cannot be confronted "pure" but it is always named from a certain point of view. (Berger & Luckmann 1967, 78-79; Burr 1995, 2-8.) This approach meets the interests of this study for it is my purpose to appoint those ways in which the immigrant writers confront reality and how they "name" it, that is, from which point of view they are looking at reality.

Many of the discourse theorists have been influenced by Michel Foucault. He understands discourse as being constituted by a group of sequences or signs, in so far they are statements and can be assigned particular modalities of existence – discourses are a group of statements that belong to a single system of formation. (Foucault 1972, 107). Discourses consist of several statements which conjointly compose a discursive formation (Foucault 1972, 117). The Foucaultian way of looking at discourse can be said to mean the perception of reality which appears in the language of each era (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 25-26). The Foucaultian approach emphasizes the relations between power, knowledge and discourses. The discursive practice defines how and with what justification somebody has the right to speak. All communication and interaction between people thus creates and maintains power relations. Discourses are connected to power and include ideological dimensions. (see e.g. Foucault 1972, 1977.)

Norman Fairclough, who is one of the most renowned theorists in discourse studies, aims to combine the Foucaultian social definition of discourse with the linguistic definition referring to interaction (see Fairclough 1992, 4). The term discourse in Fairclough's context is broader and more abstract than Foucault's. The concept of discourse generally equals to the way of representing and producing ideas and knowledge through language, that is, language as a social practice. This refers to discourse being one mode of action in which a person acts upon the world and upon others. There is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures. (Fairclough 1992, 63-64.) The social aspects in language use are present at all times: language cannot be used in a vacuum but is both affected by and affects the situations, processes and social contexts involved (Fairclough 1989). Discourse is a practice that does not just represent the world, but also signifies, constitutes and constructs the world in meaning through discourse practices (Fairclough 1992, 64).

To put it simply, discourse can represent a specific part of the surrounding world from a specific perspective (Fairclough 2003, 129). It can also be viewed as a

certain way of using language in different social situations (Fairclough 1992, 3). Van Dijk (2001, 114) has described discourse with a well-known metaphor: discourses are like icebergs of which only certain parts of knowledge are explicitly revealed. Most of the knowledge is hidden, being assumed knowledge that is taken for granted (ibid.). In the context of linguistics, both written and spoken tokens of language are regarded as samples of discourses, but the significant role of interaction between interlocutors and the social context of the discursive situation is emphasized as well (Fairclough 1995, 54-55). According to Fairclough's conceptualization, discourses are diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned - differently positioned social actors see and represent social life in different ways, as different discourses (2003, 206). Discourses differ in the ways they represent the social – its processes, people, objects, means, times and places (Fairclough 2003, 133).

## 5.2 LANGUAGE AND POWER

Having now explained the concept of discourse, I will next present critical discourse analysis, focusing especially on Norman Fairclough's approach.

Discourse analysis is seen as both theory and method (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999, 16). According to many researchers (e.g. Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995, 2003; Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009; Van Dijk 1998, 2001) discourses both reflect and construct the social world. The idea of critical discourse analysis is to reveal and explain different power relations of texts, and how these power relations affect and are affected by society. CDA strives to connect the analysis of texts to the broader social context in which they are used and produced.

As already mentioned, the critical orientation of discourse analysis concentrates on studying the relations of language use and power. Power relations, according to Fairclough (1989, 27), refer to the control and power in economic, state and



ideological level. Power relations influence discourses as well as the discourses influence them. Power, like language use, is regarded as a productive phenomenon that is connected to social practices. It is not seen as an outside force influencing the discourses, but it is constructed in them. The research interest is on how the power relations are produced in different social practices, that is, how certain things reach the position of truth, and what kind of subject positions are produced. (see Fairclough 1989.) Investigating the power structures also requires the knowledge of context. I will explain the concept of context further in chapter 5.3 dealing with the three dimensions of discourse.

An essential objective of critical discourse analysis is to reveal the problem areas - which are often social - of the society, generally approaching it from the viewpoint of the underprivileged (van Dijk 1986 cited in Wodak 2001, 1). My aim is to investigate those power structures that influence in the integration process of the immigrants. In this analysis I will not only pay attention to the frequency of a certain discourse, but also to how axiomatic it is presented.

The influence of discourses covers both abstract and concrete world by generating change. Thus, the potential power of using language lies in its ability to name certain things, to define them in a certain way. An individual makes sense of the world by organizing it and naming things from his own point of view. Also the public discussion, in this case the integration discussion, names different aspects of the discussion in its own way. The nature of naming has an effect on how the phenomenon in question is generally regarded. Media, for instance, is exceedingly influential in naming things, and the audience is subjected to those namings. In this way all actions have real consequences. Thus, the power of discourse refers to its ability to influence both people's minds and their actions.

Texts are elements of social events that have causal effects - in other words, they bring about changes. These changes can occur in our knowledge, beliefs, attitudes or values. (Fairclough 2003, 8.) This is the significant difference between critical

and analytical discourse analysis – the critical approach takes the aspiration towards societal change into account. By emphasizing the relations of power, ideology and discourses, CDA aims to bring politically and socially relevant subjects, particularly societal problems, into research, and thus reveal the inequality and injustice hidden in discourses (Fairclough 1992). For instance, Van Dijk has done research on racist expressions in Dutch schoolbooks. His studies led to the production of new education material. (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, 280.) Van Dijk's work is an example of the improvement interest of CDA; CDA often focuses on the majority/minority problematics and social discrimination. In addition to racism, CDA has also studied anti-Semitism, sexist language use, communication between doctor and patient and other ways of language use in institutional settings (ibid.). I regard CDA to be an applicable method for this research, because being labeled as an immigrant has an effect on one's social status.

In case that using language results in a societal change, language use is consequential. Furthermore, the two attributes that are generally given to language in the context of critical discourse analysis are social and functional. These definitions refer to language being used in social interaction, language use serving a certain purpose and the situationality of language use. (see Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009, 14.) Critical discourse analysis approaches language with the idea that using language has consequences - language is seen to be social rather than individual action (see Fairclough 1992, 63). Instead of only representing reality, discourse constructs it as well. Fairclough (1992, 64) identifies three functions of language and dimensions of meaning which coexist and interact in all discourse: identity function, relational function and ideational function. Thus, language constructs social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and beliefs. Identity function refers to how social identities are constructed in discourse. By relational function Fairclough means that social relations are enacted and negotiated in the interaction situations. Ideational function refers to how texts signify the world in processes, entities and relations. By having consequences,

discourses also have power in many respects: they contribute to constructing opinions, world views, relations, identities and behavior.

Other central concepts used in critical discourse analysis are, for instance, ideology and hegemony. I will explain them further in the following chapter in which I also present the three-dimensional model of discourse.

### 5.3 THREE-DIMENSIONAL MODEL OF DISCOURSE

Fairclough (e.g. 1992, 1995) has introduced a three-dimensional model for analyzing discourses. The three dimensions are text, discourse practices and social practices. The textual level concentrates on the linguistic choices made by the language user, such as words or grammar. A text in this context can either mean speech, writing or a visual image. The level of discourse practices attempts to detect how the text is produced and who it is meant for. Receiving and interpreting the text are also important aspects of analysis. Discourse practices function as a mediator between text and social practices. The third level, that of social practices, focuses on those social, institutional, cultural, political and financial surroundings that the text has been produced and read in. (Fairclough 1992, 73-96) Discourse lives on each of these levels, but the levels are closely connected to one another (Fairclough 1992, 4). Although Fairclough (1992, 71) emphasizes language in the discourse studies, he notes that the linguistic analysis of text alone does not suffice to reveal everything that is understood by discourse.

The methods of critical discourse analysis can be adapted depending on the questions one wishes to find answers for (Pietikäinen 2000b, 209). Thus the analysis process in CDA can be emphasized in a way that the researcher finds most relevant. All three levels presented above are not always included; rather the research can focus only on one or two levels in more detail. In this study, my emphasis is on the second and especially the third level. I will however present all

levels in closer detail next.

The first, textual level has four aspects: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. Vocabulary is about individual words, grammar is about how words are combined to clauses and sentences, cohesion is about how clauses and sentences are linked together and text structure is about large-scale organizational properties of texts (Fairclough 1992, 75). According to Fairclough (1992, 77), some of the most important aspects are wording, word meaning and metaphor. The text analysis can be as detailed as needed depending on the interests of the study. Although I will be concentrating more on the following two levels, I will note the textual level when I see it is relevant.

The level of discourse practices is about the processes of text production, distribution and consumption. These processes may vary according to different social factors. (see Fairclough 1992, 78.) The production of the text, as well as the social context of text consumption can offer a great deal of variation. During analysis one must consider the elements that affect the text. Text always has an author, a publishing medium and an audience. The author of a text is never neutral; he always makes linguistic choices according to his own agenda. Also the consumer of the text interprets it according to his or her conception of the world and thus contributes to its meaning (cf. Fairclough 1992, 79-80). Interpretation of the texts depend on the resources that the member of the society has. These resources are mostly non-conscious and automatic, and they include the norms, conventions and social structures of the society. (Fairclough 1992, 80.) In addition to the aforementioned, distribution is also an important aspect in text analysis; it affects the interpretation of the text (Fairclough 1992, 79-80). The environment for producing and receiving text in this research is, for instance, a letter to the editor section, newspaper, media, readers, publicity and the limitations set by them. Also history, the general immigration discussion, the social environment, and attitudes towards immigrants are a part of this environment.

Discourse analysis does not investigate discourses as such, but how they are actualized in different social practices. They are not self-sufficiently constructed but are defined in relation to each other. In other words, discourses can be intertextual. Intertextuality is a feature of the text which links the text into discursive practices - the text at hand is constructed of pieces of other texts. The interpreter brings other texts into the interpretation process by using previously consumed texts as an assisting instrument when looking at the texts. (see Fairclough 1992, 84-85, chapter 4.)

With the term social practice Fairclough refers to the institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event and how they shape the nature of the discursive practice (Fairclough 1992, 4). The level of social practices concentrates on ideologies, hegemonies and hierarchies that are in power in the culture and society the discourse is produced in (Fairclough 1992, 86). Social practices are accepted and learned from the environment, culture and society. Discourses are a part of a particular social practice and are always produced in a certain cultural and historical environment. (Fairclough 1992.) When looking at socio-cultural practices one should also discuss the economic, political and cultural questions (Fairclough 1992, 66). The term "political" refers to the power relations and ideologies, and "cultural" refers to values and identities. In the present study the focus is on the political viewpoint due to the relevance of power relations in this research. The analysis on this level can include the immediate situational context, the institutional practices surrounding the situation, or the overall context of the society and culture. Fairclough (1995, 50) stresses that attention should be paid particularly to the wider, cultural and societal context, because it is shaping the discourse practices that in turn shape the contextual frame. These practices in my study could be the heterogeneous population structure in Finland and the minority status of the immigrants.

The analysis of the text alone is not sufficient when one wishes to find out whether a certain discursive event functions ideologically. One should also decipher how

texts are interpreted and received and what kind of societal impact they have. Ideology should be thought of as a process which articulates certain representations of reality and certain constructions of identity, especially the collective identities of groups and communities. (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, 275-276.) According to Fairclough (2003, 9), ideologies are not simply beliefs and values, but they are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation. Ideologies are significations and constructions of reality (physical world, social relations, social identities) which are built into various dimensions of the forms and meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production or transformation of relations of domination (Fairclough 1992, 87). Ideologies are often biased or groundless constructions of society. People are not always aware of the fact that their discourses are ideologically charged and can affect the interlocutor (see Fairclough 1992, 90). Discourses are viewed as most effective when they become naturalized, common sense, that do not require questioning (Fairclough 1992, 87).

When looking at a discourse one must always take context into account. Instead of studying a closed language system, language should be studied in its context in the language use situations. Discourse is thus historical and is always in connection to other discourses produced earlier, simultaneously or later. (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, 276.) The history and context of the discourse also connects culture, society and ideology into the analysis. The relationship between language and society cannot be disregarded at any point of analysis. The context of language use are, for instance, the people participating in the language use situation, their relationships, the physical and societal environment and so on. As Wodak (2001, 2-3) puts it, critical approach requires the reviewing of texts, but also the processes and structures behind the investigated subject - this is important because the underlying factors have an influence on the production of texts. Yet it is relevant to know the situation and those social structures in which the audience interpret the texts - the meanings are built in the contemporary context.

Author always presents his world view in speech or writing by choosing to use certain structures and vocabulary. When investigating the letters to the editor, one can detect different ways of describing matters in either a positive or negative light by using certain adjectives that create desired connotations. In addition to the inclusion of issues in the texts, one should also pay attention to what is excluded. In representation one always chooses what is included and what is excluded, what is primary and what is secondary (Fairclough 1995, 4). A writer may for instance emphasize facts that are profitable in pushing a certain agenda. In such case those facts that could have been mentioned but were not can reveal a great deal about the underlying attitudes of the writer. Meanings are produced through interpretations of texts, and texts are open to diverse interpretations (Fairclough 1992, 89). The manufacturer of the text cannot be sure how the consumer of the text interprets it. Thus one text can hold several distinct interpretations of values and attitudes.

Now we are at the very core of critical discourse analysis: certain aspects of texts are often received as given, disregarding the ideologies and hidden agendas. CDA aims to reveal these hidden meanings and ideologies. In my research I attempt to investigate what kind of ideologies are present in the letters of the immigrants and what kind of functions the texts have. Another aspect that is taken into account is hegemony, which according to Fairclough (1992, 92) is power over society as a whole, a sort of leadership and domination over the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of society. Hegemonic power is under a constant battle (Fairclough, *ibid.*). All participants want to dominate, those who already have power and those who do not; that means that power must be constantly reasserted by those who have power (Fairclough 1989, 57). These power battles can be revealed in discourses (Fairclough 1992, 66-67). Representing minority, immigrants are not holders of power but are aspiring to get power. I will dig in to those methods that the writers use to change the prevailing societal dominance. To make it short and simple, instead of having purely linguistic interests, I am more fascinated by entities of beliefs and actions.

Some summarizing words of critical discourse analysis are in order. Within the social approach, discourse is typically defined as constructing reality, understanding the relationship between language and the social, and as joining together power and knowledge. The analytical objectives of CDA can be summarized with three points. One of the objectives is the examination of causal relationships between texts, discourse practices and social phenomena. Examining how texts, discursive practices and social phenomena are shaped by power relations is also emphasized. The third objective is analyzing how these processes participate in changing the power relations, and thus have ideological impacts. (see e.g. Pietikäinen 2000b, 201.)

In short, discourses can be regarded as a certain way of looking at a certain issue from a certain perspective. Discourses provide a way of organizing and structuring the world since it is generally agreed that language has a social impact on the surrounding world. When talking about immigration, for instance, one can use discourses of the demand for internationalization or preserving the national culture. As Blommaert notes, (2005, 4), discourse is in fact what transforms our environment into a socially and culturally meaningful one. They shape people and their conception of themselves and the world. Discourse is not a description of the reality, but is reality itself.



## **6 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

### 6.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF A QUALITATIVE STUDY

The purpose of qualitative research is not to produce exactly the same research processes or results time after time, but it is relevant to credibly justify the research choices; that is to say, doing research is continuous revising, questioning and theoretical interpreting. Since the researcher is an instrument in qualitative study, the research report must provide information on the researcher's viewpoints, experiences and personal contacts to the studied phenomena. (see Tynjälä 1991, 393–396.) Due to this kind of multi-dimensionality it is purposeful to look into the reliability assessment criteria in the field of qualitative research.

The analysis of qualitative data is more ambiguous than that of quantitative, for there are more interpretation problems involved (Mäkelä 1990, 45). In qualitative research, validity refers to the researcher's ability to carefully demonstrate their decisions, justifications and principles regarding the study. In order to increase reliability, the researcher must document and justify all phases of the interpretation process (Hirsjärvi et al. 2007, 227). In this way the reader has the possibility to follow the researcher's argumentation and thus decide whether to agree or disagree with the results. The researcher should sufficiently describe the data and the research process in order to allow the reader to ponder the applicability of results to other contexts (Tynjälä 1991, 395).

The phases of qualitative research can be hard to separate from one another, and therefore analyzing the data and assessing reliability are interconnected in qualitative analysis. Thus the researcher is bound to question his/her answers and solutions and in this way take a stand on the comprehensiveness of the analysis and reliability of the work. (Eskola & Suoranta 2008, 208.) The basis for qualitative research is the researcher's open subjectivity and recognition that the

researcher is the instrument of the study and the criteria of reliability (Eskola and Suoranta (2008, 210).

Being such an ambiguous research method, discourse analysis has incurred criticism in the academic field. It has been criticized for its unclear focus and inability to change or affect discourses and power relations any more than other methods. Discourse analysis is seen to have attempted to monopolize the the opportunity for real change. In order to be successful the theory requires detailed and compelling textual analysis. (Toolan 1997, 87-88, 99.) CDA is committed to achieving change; therefore its most important tasks should be the provision of options for discourses (Toolan 1997, 90). The elements in discourse that display inequality should be exposed, and ways to change them should be presented (Toolan 1997, 88). One important task is the creation of new terminology in order to accomplish change in the discourse and prove the criticism towards the old terminology appropriate (Toolan 1997, 90). Researcher's possible bias towards certain data should also be taken more into consideration (Toolan 1997, 87). The purpose of CDA can be interpreted as an attempt to give voice to those who are oppressed and to raise awareness on the issue. Research itself may not have concrete tools for change but it can work as an intermediate for change.

It is no easy task to set pre-criteria for the significance of the data. The researcher must nevertheless define the societal and cultural position of the data, as well as its sufficiency, comprehensiveness, appraisability and verifiability (Mäkelä 1990, 47-48). The data in this research consists of 25 texts. In discourse analysis, the size of the data is not strictly in proportion to the comprehensiveness or credibility of the research. Even a small data can produce significant results. (Hirsjärvi et al. 1997, 221.) In qualitative methods, quality of data is more important than its quantity (Vilkka 2005, 126). The comprehensiveness of the data refers to not basing one's observations on random extracts (Mäkelä 1990, 53). The success of the research process is mostly about how well the researcher can utilize the data in creating the interpretation. However it is the researcher who should be in charge of

the analysis and not let the data lead the way.

## 6.2 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR AS A NEWS GENRE

Studying the letters to the editor is an effective way to investigate the people's views as the letters to the editor section is one of the most upfront venues for citizen participation. The requisitions appointed to the genre of the letters to the editor can be regarded through the definition of Kauppinen & Laurinen (1988, 60-61). According to them, a letter to the editor is such a text that is taking a stand and resembles conversation. Previously stated opinions about a certain subject work as a basis for these texts. The writer ponders over these earlier presented texts and constitutes their own understanding. These letters include the justified main argument and the invalidation of the possible counter-arguments (ibid.). Each text bears an imprint of their makers, other texts and even presumed viewers and readers (Väliverronen 1998, 32). Therefore texts are never purely objective.

As Suhonen (1994, 53) states, the conception of the audience does not base on the agendas recommended by the media or power dominants, nor does it build upon the boundary conditions set by the surrounding reality. People's conceptions about different issues are composed by their experiences and life conditions as well as their status in the society (ibid.). For instance, most of the letters to the editor are compiled by readers or other representatives of the audience. Those texts participate in the process of shaping the content of media. Thus they also constitute opinions and conceptions.

Investigating letters to the editor as a source for data is problematic to some extent. According to Hemánus (1975, 41), the letters published in the newspaper do not necessarily reflect the distribution of opinions as they are, but there may be an emphasis on a certain direction. Hemánus (ibid.) also states that the news editors can regard certain opinions differently and favor some stances on the expense of others. That is, the editors filter the texts according to their own

agenda. Only a fraction of the texts end up in the pages of the newspaper.

Furthermore Hemánus (1975, 41-42) presumes that the editorial offices receive letters that accompany the general standpoints and policies of the newspapers rather than oppose them. Hemánus (1975, 42-43) claims that the letters to the editor are also propaganda that rise from the territory of the society, when the writers for instance react to a societal situation in a propagandist way. Nevertheless, only certain reactions are allowed to the limelight, as the gatekeepers of the newspaper accept the texts according to a certain system.

Helsingin Sanomat has its dual role as a public arena bringing the nation together, because it both maintains and shapes the publicity (Alasuutari 1996, 28). The letters to the editor section in Helsingin Sanomat is one of the most prominent public and societal discussion forums in Finland. As a rule, the writer is taking a stand with their own name. Although Helsingin Sanomat has a strong influential position, I am not interested in the views of this newspaper. My emphasis is on the letters to the editor as sources. The letters document those discourses within which different actors take a stand on the immigration integration. It is however noteworthy that Helsingin Sanomat is solely in charge of the selection of texts that end up in the letters to the editor section. The section constructs as a certain kind of influential discussion space that is affected by the influential status of Helsingin Sanomat. In this space, the writers rhetorically construct their own political, cultural, societal, gendered and regional insights by subjugating other competing discourses.

### 6.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this study is to look into the different representations of cross-cultural adaptation. These representations will be analyzed by means of critical discourse analysis. Power is closely connected to discourses, and therefore is in the center of this research; power is also related to those ways in which

immigrants can negotiate their positions in the society. To bring the study on a more practical level, I will also examine the influential factors in integration. Bearing these guidelines in mind, I have identified the following research questions:

1. Which discourses are prominent in the letters to the editor on the adaptation of immigrants, and how are these discourses constructed?
2. How do the immigrant writers negotiate their position in the society and how do they perceive themselves as a part of the society in the context of societal power relations and the prevailing cultural perceptions?
3. Which factors are prominent and/or considered important in cross-cultural adaptation when reflected to different models of acculturation strategies, processes and outcomes?

#### 6.4 DATA COLLECTION

The data for this study was collected from the Helsingin Sanomat editorial archive. The archives can be browsed at [www.hs.fi/arkisto](http://www.hs.fi/arkisto) after signing up to the service. The archive contains all articles published in Helsingin Sanomat since 1990. Helsingin Sanomat was chosen as a source for the data due to its strong, powerful position in the Finnish society. It is an opinion leader and debate initiator (see e.g. Suhonen 1994, 70-72) and it reaches a variety of people nationwide. Helsingin Sanomat can also be regarded as the immigrants' natural forum of opinion exchange, as more than half of the immigrants in Finland live in the Helsinki metropolitan region (see Forsander 2012, 2). It is recognizable also in this study: of the 23 immigrant writers (there are 25 texts in total, but two writers contributed twice) 16 reside in the Helsinki metropolitan region during the writing of the letter, two in other large cities and the remaining five elsewhere in Finland, two of which wrote under a pseudonym and thus did not reveal their place of residence.

When retrieving immigration-related articles at the Helsingin Sanomat archive, I narrowed the search only to cover the letters to the editor. The time span of the search was January 1990-December 2010. The search word was *maahanmuut\** (immigra\*), truncated in order to allow various inflections, such as plural and genitive forms. The search word was chosen due to its general nature; *maahanmuuttaja* is a term referring to all foreigners permanently residing in Finland despite their motives behind migration. In this study it is by no means relevant to specify any immigrant groups. The purpose is to investigate the different aspects of integration and all immigrants are valued as equal opinion influences. The search word *maahanmuut\** produced 1225 hits altogether.

To be assured not to miss anything relevant, I also used the search word *kotout\** (integrat\*). This search produced 180 hits, most of them overlapping with the previous search results. *Kotout\**, referring to the Finnish terms *kotoutuminen*, *kotouttaminen*, (integration), was selected as a search word because it is an established term for integration in the Finnish language. I also performed an additional search with words *pakolai\** (refuge\*), *siirtolai\** (emigra\*) and *turvapaikanhak\** (asylum seek\*) with 999, 365 and 229 hits respectively. However none of these made it to the final analysis.

My understanding is that with these search words I was able to detect all letters to the editor discussing immigration in the last 20 years. There is a slight possibility, however, of not having noticed some integration-related texts. This can be the case of not using certain search words. For instance, the Finnish word *integraatio* (integration) is sometimes used when talking about immigrant integration. I however decided to disregard the term as it can refer to many other contexts besides immigrant integration whereas the term *kotoutuminen* applies only to the immigrant integration context. Also such words as *ulkomaalainen* (foreign) or *sopeutuminen* (*adaptation*) may have detected relevant texts for this study but were eliminated due to their ambiguous nature. My way of selecting the articles for analysis is just one possibility among many to collect the data.

All search results were closely examined and those texts were eliminated that did not fulfill the requirements. In order to be included in the research data, the article must clearly indicate that the writer was born abroad but now resides in Finland. It was also relevant that the article discussed immigrant integration on a personal level. Separate sentences regarding integration but which were out of context were left unnoticed. The criteria left out all originally Finnish writers discussing immigration. Also the second-generation immigrants were eliminated. In case the article had more than one writer and it could not be indisputably proved that all writers were immigrants, the article was disqualified.

After the first reading, 112 texts matched the criteria. Further analysis showed that many of the chosen articles were irrelevant. I carefully checked whether it is undeniably clear that the writer indeed is a first-generation immigrant and that they now live in Finland. Several texts also shortly mentioned immigrants or integration but the actual content of the text was about something else. Some articles also discussed integration purely on an institutional level for instance opposing an authority resolution. Bearing this in mind, 25 texts filled the criteria in the end. These texts were carefully read and analyzed. I will present the results in chapter seven.

#### **6.4.1 Why Helsingin Sanomat?**

Helsingin Sanomat was used as a source for the data of this research due to its nationwide, monopoly-like status in Finland. The liberal broadsheet Helsingin Sanomat has been the leading newspaper for decades and its influence on the public opinion is remarkable. Helsingin Sanomat has almost an institutional position in the Finnish society and it practically acts as an official voice in the public sphere (Pietilä & Sondermann 1994, Pietikäinen 2000a). According to Klemola (1981, 13), Helsingin Sanomat is one of Finland's state authorities and an institution that has its own and independent societal and political will.

Helsingin Sanomat covers 55 % of the capital city area and 21 % of the entire country (Helsingin sanomat/TNS Gallup 2010, 2). With a circulation of 383 361 (Levikintarkastus Oy. Finnish ABC 2010) and a number of readers over 900 000 in 2010 (Kansallinen Mediatutkimus KMT 2010, 3), Helsingin Sanomat is incomparably the largest daily newspaper in Finland, and also in the entire Nordic region (Sanoma News 2011). Helsingin Sanomat is also among the most efficient print media in reaching Finnish decision makers (TNS Gallup, 2009). This is one of the reasons I selected Helsingin Sanomat to be included in this research – the writers of the letters to the editor wish to be heard by the large audience as well as the decision makers. Immigrants aim for improvement in their texts and therefore choose the essential forum of the societal opinion-exchange. Also, most of the immigrant population of Finland resides in the Helsinki region (e.g. Forsander 2012, 2) and thus Helsingin Sanomat can be seen as their natural choice of forum for societal debate. However one must bear in mind that, like media in general, also Helsingin Sanomat is selective about which issues and matters it brings to public, and presents its own opinion of them.

The audience of newspapers and the letters to the editor section can be thought of as a so called universal audience. In other words, universal audience contains individuals from diverse backgrounds. The newspaper audience has even been described a community, although it is only a loose community at best. Mass communication can be regarded as social action and thus the forms of media and their audience are a certain kind of social community. (Pietilä & Sondermann 1994, 53, 99.) Writing letters to the editor is thus social action, as is reading. A letter to the editor is an attempt to reach a wide range of different people manifesting one's own agenda.

Helsingin Sanomat reaches a wide variety of people as there is no political division of readers when it comes to choice of a newspaper. Thereby the audience of Helsingin Sanomat consists of the entire spectrum of political positions. Officially, however, the paper is politically unaffiliated which is typical for the



largest newspapers in the present-day Finland. Nevertheless there are some similarities between the readers of Helsingin Sanomat. For instance, many of them are highly educated and well-paid (Helsingin sanomat/TNS Gallup 2010, 11-12). There may be a regional and socioeconomical bias among the audience and writers of Helsingin Sanomat, but I do not consider it having a major influence in the case of this study as my main research topic is to investigate the discourses produced by immigrants when writing about integration.

Holding such a unique position in the Finnish media scene, it is well justifiable in my opinion to use Helsingin Sanomat as a sole source for data in this research. Helsingin Sanomat is a powerful opinion leader and debate initiator (see e.g. Suhonen 1994, 70-72). In this research I understand mass communication as a profound part of the society. Therefore media influences the political decision making and also citizens' awareness on common issues. Debating on societal issues by the means of writing letters to the editor is one way of contributing to awareness and decision making. It is important to bear this in mind although the main emphasis of my study is on the discussion of integration.

## 6.5 ANALYSIS PROCESS

Discourse analysis is a method of analysis in this study. As Potter and Wetherell (1987, 168) advise, the analysis requires processing the data several times, because what seems relevant after the first reading is in discourse analysis usually not the most interesting part. Finding the systematic models is time-consuming. Discourse analytical reading differs notably from those reading methods that are used in studies; instead of searching for the main points in the texts, discourse analytical interest is in the vague and even contradictory details. In discourse analysis, the transparency of the analysis process is emphasized. Researcher's own perceptions and cultural background naturally affect the interpretations, but in discourse analysis this is justifiable and even valuable. Each research process is

unique and resembles the researcher - the idea is not to look for one objective truth. Due to the multi-dimensional nature of discourse analysis, it is important that the researcher is explicit and logical about the research process in order to allow the reader to follow the processing of interpretations. Each research is just one interpretation of the given subject. Therefore justification and explanation of methods and findings is particularly important in discourse analysis.

The analysis of the data began by reading the material dozens of times. When categorizing the data into discursive entities, the question of how to distinguish 'one discourse' arose. What makes it especially challenging to structure the discourses is that they are not distinct entities in the data. Ideological representations are generally disguised in texts, which provides additional challenge (Fairclough 1995, 44-45). Fairclough (2003, 124) emphasizes different levels of abstraction and generality, and refers to the multilayered character of discourses. According to him, there are two requirements for discourses. First, there must be commonality and continuity in the ways in which the world, or a specific issue, is represented. Secondly, one must note the dialectics between discursive and non-discursive elements: separate discourses have separate social significances and effects on non-discursive aspects of life. (ibid., 126) Fairclough (1995, 202) also advises that, when conducting discourse analytical study, one should pay attention to the following:

- How is the text designed, why is it designed in this way, and how else could it have been designed?
- How are texts of this sort produced, and in what ways are they likely to be interpreted and used?
- What does the text indicate about the media order of discourse?
- What wider sociocultural processes is this text a part of, what are its wider social conditions, and what are its likely effects? (Fairclough 1995b: 202)

In addition to these directions, I formulated some instructional questions of my

own which I kept asking myself when analyzing the data:

- What is the aim of the text, what does the writer wish to accomplish?
- What kind of themes, topics, and subjects arise?
- How does the writer define and position him-/herself?
- How is the integration discourse constructed, what is the approach, the ideal, how is the problem presented and how can it be solved?
- What kind of language is used, and what kind of words and rhetorics?

I took notes from early on and attempted to categorize the data by different distinguishable discourses which altered constantly as the process went on. I contemplated similarities and divergences and searched for continuity and the main idea. What is important in the analysis are those representations and constructions of identities and relations that cannot be found in the text. During analysis the researcher should constantly ask themselves questions about what is written and what is not. (Fairclough 1995, 58.) Bearing this in mind, I tried to read between the lines to see what is missing from the texts. I also sketched charts in order to outline my thoughts and ideas. Finally I detected three simplified discourses: discrimination discourse, responsibility discourse and prescriptive discourse.

After more careful research I found the discourses too simplistic; especially the prescriptive discourse was too vague by its parameters and held other discourses within. At that time I decided to divide the texts into smaller parts and paragraphs and re-build the discourses. The analysis process turned out to be equally demanding this time; one single paragraph often comprised several different discourses. Many of the texts were surprisingly powerful in expression and therefore it seemed impossible to bind one text into one discourse. It was challenging even within a single sentence. I however did not disconnect separate sentences or words from the context but attempted to maintain the connection to the entity so that the results were as truthful as possible. I attempted to assess the

texts from as many points of view as possible. Finally I managed to identify seven discourses: Rejecting Society, Receiving Society, Immigrant Responsibility, Dialogic Interaction, Resource, Justification-Solidarity and Authority Appeal and Critique. Some of the discourses contain clearly distinguishable sub-levels which focus on specific aspects but are bound together on a greater level.

My intention was to look at the discourses in a Foucaultian way by observing the power structures and relations. Representing a minority, immigrant writers are subjected to power use from the majority. The purpose was to see how they respond to that unbalance. I attempted to reveal the self-evident truths of integration debate and to pay attention to the societal context of integration.

## 6.6 DATA DESCRIPTION

Although integration has been discussed on the pages of Helsingin Sanomat for many years, it must be acknowledged that in this particular study, 12 of the 25 texts are a result of an assignment appointed by Helsingin Sanomat. In April 2010, an editor of Helsingin Sanomat wrote a short request at the letters to the editor section encouraging immigrants to participate in the integration discussion. It was noted that immigration was mainly discussed by others than the immigrant population and that the opinions of immigrants themselves should be asked. The editor pleaded the immigrants to answer the following questions: Do you see yourself as a member of the Finnish society? What has made it difficult or easy? How could original Finns and the Finnish society advance the integration of immigrants? Helsingin Sanomat especially encouraged quota refugees and asylum seekers to write about their experiences. Therefore the approach to integration in these particular letters may vary as the writers who replied to the Helsingin Sanomat assignment possibly emphasize the aforementioned issues rather than others, possibly also having a quota refugee or an asylum seeker status. I however do not see this as a problem because all texts have a common factor in the end:

they all discuss integration of immigrants and all writers have their own point of view to the issue nonetheless.

Due to the appeal of Helsingin Sanomat for the immigrants to take active part in the discussion, most texts in the data, 18 altogether, are from 2010. Two texts in the data are from 2009, one from 2008, two from 2002 and two from 1998. I chose to include all integration-related texts written by immigrants in order to get as comprehensive conception of the integration discussion as possible. Therefore, instead of just focusing on the integration debate from 2010 when the subject was highly topical, I chose to include all integration texts from two decades. Concepts and perceptions of integration naturally change in the course of twenty years, but the letters are still discussing the same subject and are therefore comparable with each other. It is not my intention however to compare the letters as such, or detect the change over time but to find common factors in constructing the discourses.

The shortest text in the data was 776 characters and the longest 5612 characters. As for the writers, it is nearly impossible to define their age or sex as it was mentioned only in a few texts. 13 writers mentioned their homeland: four are from Somalia, and one from Algeria, Estonia, Russia, Iran, USA, UK, Pakistan, Malaysia and Austria each. Nine writers revealed the reason for their arrival. Such reasons were war or other similar situation (six references), studies (one reference), work (one reference), and a relationship with a Finn (one reference). The earliest point of time that the writers came to Finland was in the 1980's, altogether three mentions. Eight writers stated having come to Finland in the 1990's, and two in 2008-2009. Seven of the writers mention their academic education, and six referred to their occupations. They were as follows: a chef, a head of a day care center, child welfare worker, entrepreneur, translator/author of non-fiction, and a psychologist. Because all writers did not reveal much about their backgrounds (e.g. education, occupation, nationality, socio-economic status etc.), I will not focus on their actual positions but I am interested in those places that the writers position themselves in.

Now, after having introduced the context of this research, I will move on to presenting the results.

## **7 DISCOURSES OF INTEGRATION**

Integration is a wide-ranging subject and it can be discussed from several viewpoints by stressing different aspects, themes and topics. I have identified seven discourses concerning integration from the data. In the following chapters I will analyze the letters to the editor through direct citations, which is typical for discourse analysis. By plenty of quotes I aim to implement transparency that is required in discourse analysis. I also want to give the writers of the letters to the editor the chance to discuss things as they have experienced them and speak with their own voice. By letting the writers overtake the arena, the message that they wish to spread will be passed on to the readers as the writers intended. Letting the immigrants speak freely is important because I wanted to study their texts as entities without emphasizing any certain aspect or viewpoint. After all, the purpose of this study is to investigate how integration and immigration are discussed and which factors are considered important in the process. I have also wanted to convey the rich language of the letters to the readers by using plenty of citations.

As mentioned, the discourses are comprehensive and partially overlapping. In some cases the texts were so multidimensional that they produced material to more than one discourse at a time. Due to this kind of variety I have placed some text extracts under several discourses in case there was no clear power structure as to which discourse was the strongest. Some texts, on the other hand, seem like they could be positioned to more than one discourse, but I have, according to my consideration on each case, placed them under such discourse I felt was most relevant. If there was several references to similar or same issues, I have omitted those texts from the analysis that I thought were less informative. There are also texts that were disregarded in the analysis due to their irrelevance (according to my definition), or in case I perceived that the text would not bring any additional information to the discourse.

I have translated the Finnish text extracts taken from the Helsingin Sanomat editorial archive to English. I have attempted to preserve the context, but all translations are not fully literal in order to avoid verbal clumsiness. This principal was practised especially when the writers used such phrases or proverbs in Finnish that do not translate intelligibly into English. These kind of texts were translated into a more universal, easily understandable form. In a few cases I have also left out some unnecessary expressions, such as connective words, without however changing the original contexts. Also the headlines of the letters have been left out of the analysis. I have attached the original texts with possible grammatical and typing errors. Each translation is marked with a running footnote. Three dots (...) indicate omitted words.

Because I am not a linguistic, I will not focus on textual analysis as much as I am interested in the discursive and social practices. Nevertheless I will immerse to more detailed analysis of text when it supports my interpretations and meanings surfacing from the data.

### 7.1 RECEPTIVE SOCIETY DISCOURSE

This discourse emphasizes the inclusive disposition of the Finnish society. The society and authorities are regarded as responsive and receptive towards immigrants, and the environment is pro-multiculturalism, open, accepting and safe. Help and support is provided for the immigrants. According to this discourse, Finland gives immigrants a chance, treats them equally and has a functioning immigrant policy. The experiences of the Finnish society in this discourse are generally positive.

Immigrants get the same prerequisites as the Finns: we get a safe country, and one doesn't have to fear tomorrow.<sup>i</sup> (0021)

Equal treatment is regarded as an important factor in integration. When



immigrants are given the same premises for life as the natives, they must carry the responsibility for their integration. When the society is economically and politically stable, one can build his/her life in peace without fear. Safety is also referred to in (0017), in which a safe environment is seen as a key to building one's future. Many writers express gratitude for the assistance provided by the society:

My future prospects are bright and I'm happy about the help addressed by the Finnish society.<sup>ii</sup> (0017)

Although I'm still in an insecure judicial position, I'm happy with the opportunities and rights that I've got.<sup>iii</sup> (0017)

I am an immigrant that likes it in Finland. I have learned the Finnish language, got two degrees – thanks to Finland's tax payers. I even own an apartment in Helsinki because of having worked the whole time during my studies. I haven't had the right for the Finnish student aid, but free education made my dreams come true.<sup>iv</sup> (0021)

A great value is put on the received rights and opportunities. In the latter extract the writer states how she *got* - as having been given - two degrees instead of, for instance, acquiring them, thus implying a personal achievement. The writer's dreams have come true thanks to the society and its tax payers. The resources provided by the society make it possible for the immigrant to function independently. This in turn increases the likelihood of successful integration.

Since the Finnish society is viewed as generous, it is well justifiable to expect the immigrants to reciprocate:

Finland gives a lot – and is allowed to demand. All of us who pay taxes know that.<sup>v</sup> (0021)

Finns accept those who have come from elsewhere by giving a lot: free education, social security and a safe society in which one can trust the laws and the government. What is wrong with asking much back?<sup>vi</sup> (0021)

Everyone has their own share in making the society function well; therefore if one

has been given, one also must give. Everyone pays and everyone receives if one is paying taxes. The Finnish society approves immigrants and others who come from elsewhere. Education, social security system, a safe society and reliable laws and government guarantee a good starting point for a new life in a new environment. The rhetoric question may refer to an existing defensive stance that is possibly adopted by some immigrants. Often rhetoric questions are also meant to accentuate one's own argument by making it impossible to deny.

Certain general attributes about Finland are named in the data. By analyzing the nature of the Finnish society immigrants also analyze their own position and where they stand in the community:

From my experience the best thing about Finland is precisely the free, high quality education. In spite of the starting points one can try and affect one's future. One doesn't necessarily need relations, money or support from parents. Also the fact that people can be trusted is wonderful. Finns are kind to each other. Nature is considered in Finland, and the future as well. Elsewhere it seems that only this moment counts. In Finland people look far ahead in the future.<sup>vii</sup> (0021)

Everyone has the possibility to affect the course of one's life. The society allows individuals to take control and use power when it comes to their own lives. Having a total control and the possibility to make a difference in one's situation regardless of the starting point leaves the responsibility of integration to the immigrant.

One of the reasons for the experienced openness and receptiveness of the Finnish society is a well functioning immigration policy. However, a prerequisite for good policy is the motivation and courage of the authorities to make efforts for the integration of immigrants.

The 17-year-old miss goes to high school, horseback rides, participates in kickboxing and jujutsu and studies Russian in an adult education centre. It doesn't matter that she's been to Finland only one year. It doesn't matter that her Finnish isn't perfect. She is well integrated.<sup>viii</sup> (0007)

Everything has gone easily and smoothly.<sup>ix</sup> (0007)

I wanted to share this positive experience of mine because all my experiences of Finland aren't positive. However: the Finnish law is awesome if the authorities have enough good will and courage to investigate the new special cases.<sup>x</sup> (0007)

The utterance "well integrated" puts the immigrant in a passive place in which she cannot take credit for her successful integration. The society, on the other hand, is the active agent who enabled the integration. Active integration measures from the society however make it possible for the immigrant to take active part in the society. The integration law is seen to have potential but the authorities are the ones who can utilize that potential.

Feelings of integration derive from being allowed to participate to the society. Work and school communities create a sense of belonging:

As originally a Somalian man I feel like I have integrated well to Finland. After receiving a residence permit I quickly got attached to the working life. I have worked as a bus driver, taxi driver, truck driver and an entrepreneur of transportation business. Nowadays I have a liaison interpreting business and I also work as an interpreter.<sup>xi</sup> (0015)

A small town and school, classmates and teachers, are a part of my life. I have good relations to my student mates. And although they're sometimes quiet and seem lonely, I feel like a member of the community.<sup>xii</sup> (0017)

I myself work in ICT and my experiences are very positive. The Finnish firms have more and more open take on foreign employees. (...) Especially the highly educated immigrants don't have problems with getting employed and they adapt to the Finnish society.<sup>xiii</sup> (0008)

And do I feel integrated? Regardless of what I said, many Finns have been friendly to me, including my wife's family.<sup>xiv</sup> (0016)

Immigrants are in a position to experience participation and membership if they are in contact with the society and its institutions. The writer of the extract (0017) feels like a member of the community despite the occasional silence and assumed

loneliness of the classmates. Taking up personal space and letting others take their own space as well is important for a Finn, but in this case it does affect on the immigrant's feelings of belonging to the group. By noting the more open attitude towards foreigners the writer implies that the environment is also more multicultural. Although the society is seen as open and accepting, so far, however, the well educated immigrants have a greater chance of adapting and getting employed. Negative experiences which are referred to in the latter extract may naturally hinder adaptation. The importance of belonging to a community is acknowledged; here the immediate family is referred to as a significant community. Regardless of the size, the welcoming communities facilitate adaptation.

The Receptive Society discourse allows plenty of elbowroom for the immigrants. Since they feel well accepted by the society, they generally also adapt well and take responsibility for their integration. Immigrants also feel that receiving a steady basis for life from the society means that they are in control of their own life and that they can make independent decisions.

## 7.2 REJECTIVE SOCIETY DISCOURSE

Of course there are a few things that I don't like, especially isolation that I feel because I think that I can live with the friendly Finns.<sup>xv</sup> (0002)

We came to Finland almost a decade ago and the truth is that we are full members of this society. We share its everyday joys and sorrows and the endless abusing. We have a hard job ahead of us, a high wall to cross, deep and stubborn prejudices to break. It is a difficult job that requires struggle, lots of energy and time, but we'll manage if we only got to be left alone and had space to breathe.<sup>xvi</sup> (0001)

But I don't want to live in a country to which I am not welcome.<sup>xvii</sup> (0024)

Feelings of rejection and discrimination are some of the most recurring themes in my data. As the heading suggests, the Rejective Society discourse presents the

Finnish society as rejecting towards immigrants. Discrimination is widely experienced, and immigrants feel excluded from the society. Rejection takes place in many different sectors of the society, and by different agents. Work-related discrimination is a strong theme in this discourse. I will also discuss such issues as negative attitudes of the majority, othering, stereotypes, misconceptions and prejudices. Due to extensiveness of this discourse I have condensed the data, but nothing relevant concerning the analysis has been left out. I will also use subheadings for clarity.

### Inadequacy and Othering

Some of the writers feel that regardless of what they do and how hard they try, they will never be accepted to the Finnish society and their efforts will never be sufficient. Feelings of repeatedly being taken as the “other” occur frequently in the data.

We want to build the society. It's burdening that we can't do it in peace. Personally I have tried hard to adapt to Finland, paid taxes, worked, been honest in my words and deeds. Now it feels like even that is not enough.<sup>xviii</sup>  
(0006)

Building the society can be thought to refer to the willingness to participate. Immigrants are not, however, given the chance to do that. Any measures that the writer has taken have not resulted in feelings of approval.

We've had it up to here with a country that has less foreigners than one suburb of Vienna and that doesn't want immigrants regardless of their age, education, language skills or homeland.<sup>xix</sup> (0024)

Experiences of discrimination can function as a greater barrier for participation than being unable to speak the language. The writer of the previous extract refers to the lack of multiculturalism in Finland, and it is strongly stated that Finland does not want immigrants irrespective of their backgrounds. Experiences of *othering* are frequently referred to in the data; it seems as though immigrants can

never be considered a Finn:

As a foreigner I will always be a second class human in Finland. It doesn't matter how well I speak the language and how well I've adapted to Finland. I thought when I came that one day I'd apply for the Finnish citizenship but my joy has been completely killed. I've decided to move back to Austria. My girlfriend wants to come with me.<sup>xx</sup> (0024)

A foreigner has a second class citizen status, and is not in a position to be a complete Finn. Even sufficient language skills and adaptation are not given any credit.

I also realized that all the pretty talk about a multicultural Finland and integrating the immigrants were boloney, because the foreigners are continuously discriminated, whatever they do. The society doesn't want us and we (and perhaps also our children) remain foreigners.<sup>xxi</sup> (0022)

Foreigners must naturally deal with their culture shock wherever they go, but I cannot not compare moving to Finland for instance to visiting America. There we don't feel like foreigners as we do here, and in both cases this feeling has to do with culture.<sup>xxii</sup> (0016)

The label of a foreigner seems vibrant and nearly impossible to shake. It is also suggested that foreignness can be inheritable. Exclusion is implied to be typical particularly for the Finnish culture. One is bound to ponder whether one is able to fully integrate if always taken as the other. Being the eternal other evokes frustration or even aggression:

What should the foreigners do so that they'd become as "Finnish" as any other citizen? Would they be well integrated if they were wifebeaters? Or if they got drunk in a restaurant and got into a fight? Or if they got caught for drunk driving?<sup>xxiii</sup> (0022)

Negative stereotypes of the Finnish culture are used to break the distinction between the "good" Finns and the "bad" immigrants. The writer questions whether becoming "Finnish" is an ideal and something to pursue. The fairness of being judged by stereotypes is contradicted. Eventually othering may result in separation from the society:

I think it's going to take long until the foreigners and the Finns fit to live together and before the foreigners can integrate to Finland. Until then they must live in their own groups which doesn't help them get used to the society.<sup>xxiv</sup> (0002)

### Stereotypes, Misconceptions and Prejudices

The data revealed that most stereotypes and misconceptions about immigrants concern work and social benefits. Either immigrants are thought of as unwilling to work or freeloading off the Finns:

You can imagine how unreasonable it feels when somebody claims that “you don't do anything”, “you don't want to work”. Now of course someone else blames me for taking a job from a Finn. The situation is very distressing.<sup>xxv</sup> (0001)

We have to get away from the perception that immigrants occupy the Finns' jobs and if they cannot find work, they freeload off the Finns.<sup>xxvi</sup> (0006)

Immigrants are portrayed to be in a position in which they are never doing the right thing. If one is not working, it means he is unwilling to work. If one is working, it means he has taken a Finn's job. Immigrant is in no place to function at all. The writer is appealing to the readers by using the words “you can imagine”, which suppresses the possible opposing viewpoints. Thus, one must agree with the writer about the unreasonableness of the situation. One writer (0011) mentioned that refugees, in particular, face stereotyping. Free education was also seen as a object of utilization (0005).

The data claims that certain type of looks and nationality raise prejudices. A color of skin is seen to be a catalyst for stereotyping and prejudice:

Being a black man, people attempt to buy drugs from me on the street, although I have never even seen them.<sup>xxvii</sup> (0023)

I wish that immigrants are not attacked physically or emotionally on the streets, schools, the bus, parliament etc. for looking different. For only living

in Finland permanently.<sup>xxviii</sup> (0004)

It's about time that in Finland we approve that for instance a dark-skinned can be a Finn. A Finn that is not perceived as a threat but as an equal member of our community. I wish that also immigrants would see themselves as equal Finns who have different ethnic background.<sup>xxix</sup> (0014)

It appears that, the more the majority feels threatened by the newcomers, the more reluctance they express towards them. It can be concluded that immigrants, by representing something different, are viewed as a threat to certain fundamental values of the Finnish society. The native Finns have the power to define the "real" Finns, and define those people as immigrants who in fact are "real" Finns. Also Finns who are in contact with foreigners are said to confront prejudice, as dealing with foreigners is perceived as a "risk":

Finns who are dealing and working with foreigners are often thought of as mad risk-takers, and especially Africa is thought of as a hopeless place of which nothing and no one good can come out.<sup>xxx</sup> (0023)

Small communities in particular are said to be a vital breeding ground for prejudices and stereotypes. (0010) argues that many immigrants do not have the motivation to adapt due to the lacking sense of community and weakened attitudes in the provinces. There are also experiences of name-calling on the basis of one's ethnicity.

The reception there was nearly staggering bullying, russkifying, shaking by the hair and teasing. The same continued in the upper level: I was often out alone during recess and got angry looks and comments, even from teachers. The situation was too uncomfortable in a small town.<sup>xxxii</sup> (0010)

As the negative attitudes among grown-ups are acknowledged, children are regarded as the new, open-minded generation:

Few Finns understand those who came from elsewhere but there's too few of them, maybe one in three million. It's fun with kids because they have less prejudices than adults.<sup>xxxiii</sup> (0023)



Most adults seem to suffer from an attitude problem resulting from the lack of knowledge so I'm not putting much hope in raising them, but the future is in the children.<sup>xxxiii</sup> (0023)

Prejudices are seen to result from lack of knowledge. Adults who have adopted certain viewpoints about foreigners are seen as unable to learn new perspectives about them. As the following text demonstrates, some adults are, consciously or unconsciously, transferring negative attitudes to the next generations as well:

Some Finnish parents won't even put their children to multicultural day-care centers and make a noise if there are other than native Finns working in a day-care center or school. How can people still think that they can isolate from the rest of the world?<sup>xxxiv</sup> (0023)

Nowadays multiculturalism is a world-wide fact; thus it can be interpreted that isolation from the rest of the world does not fit to the modern ideal of internationalism and crossing cultures. Reluctance to take contact to the foreigners can also be discerned in the following extract:

Here we face suspicion towards a stranger immediately. Finnish neighbors don't notice each other, if only possible, but turn their heads away to avoid an eye-contact. A foreigner who values amicability between neighbors interprets this as rejection. In Laajasalo I had to wait two insistent years before neighbors reacted to my salutations.<sup>xxxv</sup> (0016)

Non-communication can be construed as a use of power. The lacking eye-contact means that in addition to verbal communication, also non-verbal communication is missing. Majority's negligence advances the division between the in-group and the out-group.

### Work and Unemployment

Living and working in Finland was a big dream of mine. I did know that bureaucracy doesn't exist only in my homeland, and that immigrants will face plenty of problems with the authorities. But I would've never believed that it's this difficult to be a foreigner in Finland. I always thought that being fluent in languages and highly educated I would surely find work.<sup>xxxvi</sup> (0024)

There are plenty of experiences about unemployment in the data. Discrimination in work-related issues can be regarded as the most critical form of exclusion, as work is often said to be the most efficient and important channel to societal participation. Employers are exercising power over the immigrant applicants by rejecting them. Many of the texts in this discourse described discrimination resulting from, for instance, the attitudes and prejudices of the employers. Many writers have felt how competence, work experience, language skills or high education are irrelevant factors in case the applicant happens to be foreign. Also, it is signaled that immigrants do not have the same legit rights as the rest of the population.

Prejudices among employers seem to be the single greatest reason for immigrant discrimination. The next writer sums up some of the employers' excuses he has faced in job search:

The responses have been at the same time ridiculous and dangerously discriminating: “we think you don't know Finnish”, “the applicant is very competent and speaks excellent Finnish but since he is not a native Finn we're afraid that he cannot discuss deep matters”, “you're competent but in a responsible job we fear for the reliance of our customers”, “because you are highly educated we think that you wouldn't enjoy our company”, “you don't have the knowledge of Finnish literature”, “you don't have a business view and you don't know the Finnish corporation world” and dozens of other excuses that reveal what the typical attitude of a Finnish employer towards an applicant with an immigrant background is like.<sup>xxxvii</sup> (0005)

It can be concluded that attributes that are generally valued in a job applicant, such as language skills and education, are not always regarded positively from the employer's point of view, especially when the person in question is an immigrant. The false perceptions of the immigrants' insufficient language skills were said to be an obstacle for employment also in (0024), despite the fact that the writer has written a Finnish dictionary in his homeland. (0022) writes how an employer once told him straightforward that he did not want immigrants, and that he was too educated. The writer received smaller salary than the Finns who had a lower

education and shorter work experience; that was explained with the fact that the writer's education did not correspond with the Finnish education level. One writer, an EU citizen, was even asked for his work permit (0024). (0001) wrote about stereotypes he has faced concerning his own ethnic group even by a well-known Finnish politician who labeled the unemployed Somali as reluctant to work whereas an unemployed Finn was seen as a victim. Also other high-level authorities, such as companies, public administration and universities, have expressed discrimination towards the immigrants, as the following extract reveals:

We have knocked long enough on the doors of companies and public administration to get a job. When even universities favor the familiar and discriminate competent immigrant applicants, and when the applicant with an immigrant background is placed as the last and bad option in companies, the person's motivation to participate in building the Finnish society and repaying one's debt is very low.<sup>xxxviii</sup> (0005)

Immigrant unemployment is still a problem both in occupations that do not require high education and in those that do. An applicant with a foreign background is seen to have insufficient skills for whatever kind of job:

Immigrant can't get work easily no matter how hard one tries and however competent one is. Even cleaning jobs require perfect Finnish skills. Then one sees if the name is unusual and whether the applicant is a Finnish citizen. Even if one is a Finnish citizen the skin color is checked, where one comes from etc.<sup>xxxix</sup> (0001)

I appreciate that I got to study in a college in English and got a good education. But when the same courses are also in Finnish and the Finnish friends find work already during studies, but the rest of us can only find temporary jobs even after graduation, I wonder if the Finns' courses are better quality and different content than the English ones, or is it a question of language, prejudices or what.<sup>xl</sup> (0023)

In some cases, the challenging job search has affected the immigrant's psychological resources and well-being:

I have sent almost 500 job applications since January. I have sent applications mainly for jobs corresponding with my education and the kind of jobs that

don't require high education. In the beginning of my unemployment I believed that my education, work experience and most of all my Finnish language skills would be enough to break the prejudices. I believed that I'd find work easily. Now I see that work is underneath a very heavy stone, and my resources to hit the stone are starting to run out.<sup>xli</sup> (0005)

After several years it's easy to take all this somewhat positively. But when I came here, the compensations and professional assignments offered to me were downright ridiculous, and like many current immigrants I was depressed. All this made it even harder to create a new career for myself.<sup>xlii</sup> (0016)

There are examples in the data of immigrants who have been employed, but suffer from an unequal status at the workplace. (0022) writes about being the only foreign postgraduate at his department, and the only one who did not get a scholarship or even a work permit. (0023) on the other hand has periodic and occasional jobs in three different firms, while his Finnish superiors have a lower education than him. Due to not having a Finnish qualification for a teacher, (0024) has only received a few short substitutions. As (0016) argues, the employers prefer using short-term experts and gives an example of an IT-professional who speaks five languages and has been unemployed for ten years.

Incapacitating the immigrants is one method of exercising power. Many writers express feelings of being at the mercy of the majority:

The treatment can be compared to apartheid that prevailed in South Africa before the 1990's in which the black, regardless of their education, had to settle for any job that was offered to them by the white for pity.<sup>xliii</sup> (0005)

The apartheid reference implies to the racial segregation experienced by the writer. The majority has control over the job markets and regulate jobs out of pity. Immigrants are in a position in which they must settle to whatever is being offered by the rulers, and thereby cannot function to change the prevailing state of affairs. The following extract illustrates how some immigrants are cornered into a position in which the only solution is to leave:

I've often pondered whether I'll have to move away like other immigrants who have left the country. Or should I live in the light of dreams and try once more? Unfortunately a person who has been rejected several times gets a feeling of being forsaken (...) Others have gotten stuck with jobs that don't correspond with their education. Others are forced to leave Finland and go elsewhere after a job.<sup>xliv</sup> (0005)

An ideal situation for this writer seems to be to stay in Finland, regardless of the experienced rejection. Incapacitation can also occur through denigration of one's expertise:

Both the Ministry of Education and the university that I completed my academic degree in, have approved my degree. This meant nothing to the employer who decided to personally evaluate my degree. I wasn't qualified for even those projects that concentrated on the region that I was from and in which I was an expert!<sup>xlv</sup> (0022)

Although there are systems designed to advance employment in Finland, such as the employment office, experiences of them are however less than ideal:

I actively applied for jobs and courses. I quickly noticed that the courses weren't meant to arrange jobs but to embellish the statistics. Everything was a waste of time and money.<sup>xlvi</sup> (0022)

Having been unemployed for several years, (0022) was never offered a job by the employment office and did not receive any help finding one. Just once he was told that his background was the reason for unemployment. This kind of discourse suggests that instead of relieving the difficulties experienced by the immigrants, different authorities and institutions treat foreigners unequally in comparison to the native Finns. Negative attitudes and misconceptions are not a problem only among ordinary Finns, but also the high-level decision-makers:

In Finland it's still generally useless for us to dream of responsible duties in public administration. Appointing Finland's first person with an immigrant background to an executive level in public administration got considerable publicity. As if a miracle had happened!<sup>xlvii</sup> (0005)

According to the data it seems that the employers' prejudices are mostly caused by

negative attitudes towards different culture, nationality or skin color. Now after having discussed the attitudes and perceptions of the majority and the employers, I will now contemplate other aspects and viewpoints concerning the feelings of being rejected.

### Humility and Dispute

There are some occasions in my data which portray immigrants as not having the right to make complaints. Certain humility is expected from the immigrants:

If we are polite and smiling, we are approved better. A Finn can even tell that he knows a one nice Somali. But if we show what it's like to be a target for prejudice and hatred from day and year to another, there's a vicious circle as a consequence that is nearly impossible to be released from. If we tell how we feel (like I'm doing now) there will be trouble. We can't respond to hostility with hostility although we feel like it. One must surrender.<sup>xlviii</sup> (0006)

My complaint about the small salary and unfair treatment made the employer treat me like a trouble-maker, and I was threatened with a dismissal. I carried on in the job for my family's sake.<sup>xlix</sup> (0022)

It seems as though the Finnish ideal is to fall silent about one's personal problems. Immigrants particularly are not in a position to complain, as if being admitted to the society erases the right for criticism. If the immigrants are polite and smiling, they do not intervene with the customary Finnish course of life. In case the immigrants wish to address the prejudices and hatred that they confront, they at the same time label Finns as prejudicing haters. That, in turn, increases hatred and prejudices among Finns. Thus, submission is said to be the only alternative for immigrants. As the immigrants are portrayed as having deficient rights in the society, they are regarded as deficient members of it. On the contrary to the demands of humility, the data reveals opposing viewpoints as well. Some immigrants have taken an active stance and have fought back against racism and discrimination:

Am I now the good or bad immigrant? I am an immigrant who fought against

this racism that I underwent for years. Why have I survived? With will and motivation and the help of certain people.<sup>i</sup> (0010)

By asking whether the writer is good or bad, (0010) conveys the problematics of defining oneself as a person in the crossfire of different demands appointed to immigrants. Like the previous extract argues, it is however possible to overcome and survive discrimination.

### Invoking the Law and Agreements

Many writers demonstrate a proficient knowledge of legislation by pleading to acts and regulations especially in the context of work-related issues:

So I am not just a foreigner who had a little misfortune. This kind of treatment of the people with foreign background is systematic and is visible in both private sector and in government's bureaus. This despite the fact that discrimination is prohibited by law.<sup>ii</sup> (0022)

The act prohibiting discrimination is also mentioned in (0005) in which it is compared with the equivalent laws of two other countries. Nevertheless, as it seems that in those other countries the situation is improving, in Finland the law is not efficiently promoting approval towards the strangers. In (0006) it is stated that incitement against a population group is prohibited by law. Nevertheless the media is in his opinion taking privileges by “writing whatever they wish about the Somali” (0006). (0022) writes about how he received smaller salary than his co-workers and took action:

I thought that in a constitutional state I'd manage to repress the discrimination in court. I was wrong, because the judge, who verified that my education level corresponds with the Finnish education level, didn't consider smaller salary discrimination. This is is how it is in a constitutional state...<sup>iii</sup> (0022)

Also other agreements are pleaded besides those that are legally binding. The following extract emphasizes the unwritten ideals and moral obligations:

By joining European Union Finland has politically chosen its way towards a multicultural society in which people move more from one country to another and are equal. This might be the case when the European citizens are concerned, but when those who come from a third country are concerned, the society's indicators of equality are unfortunately alarming.<sup>liii</sup> (0004)

Here it is pointed that Finland has obligations in approving and manifesting multicultural and equal ideals due to joining European Union. Union refers to different groups having common interests and goals. Mobility between different countries thus seems likely, and should be accepted by choice. This extract once again proves the existence of a certain ranking order among immigrants; others, that is those who are closer to one's own culture, are more easily accepted than those who represent "difference".

#### Reasons for Discrimination

There are a few occasions in the data where the writers are pondering reasons for discrimination:

The global economic crisis has caused a regression in Finland. Hostility, racism and prejudices against us have increased. It's not us who caused the depression.<sup>liv</sup> (0006)

We're not the only ones who suffer from prejudices, but for some reason we incur more racism. Perhaps it's because we're muslims or that our skin is black.<sup>lv</sup> (0006)

It seems that the Finnish lack of self-esteem raises suspicions of why anyone would choose living here.<sup>lvi</sup> (0016)

Weak economy is mentioned as a possible reason for negative attitudes towards immigrants in two texts. The global economic crisis is said to increase hostility, racism and prejudices. (0021) states that although it is wrong to attack immigrants and call names, it is understandable in her opinion that Finns are worried about immigrants not being able to provide for themselves. Religion and dissimilarity are also depicted as a source for rejection in the case of the Somali. As mentioned



before, those who have distinct markers of difference face more discrimination. One writer presumes the lack of self-esteem to cause negative attitudes. The lack of experience with the foreigners (0002) and feelings of insecurity (0016) are also listed as possible originators for discrimination. As the latter writer argues, the notable multitude of immigrants can make the majority feel unsafe. Media is suggested to function as a generator of negative attitudes:

Many Somalian refugees came to Finland during recession in the 1990's. The Finns didn't have a preconception of us, and the reaction to us was calm. But soon the media began to spread a negative image of us. It was difficult to get a job, and many doors shut down.<sup>lviii</sup> (0006)

It is alarming that the media publishes these writings and returns to the 1990's way of stigmatizing us. We don't dare to defend ourselves because nobody dares to safeguard our backs.<sup>lviii</sup> (0006)

### Integration as a Challenge

Discrimination and rejection by the Finnish society is so frequent that immigrants consider true integration to be a great challenge. Several writers pose a question of how one can integrate to such a society that does not approve immigrants. The Finnish society is described as, for instance, “hostile against strangers” (0006). The following texts raise the question of integration responsibility. All these examples intensify their message with rhetoric questions:

Immigrants should have a reason to integrate and adapt to the Finnish society, and when all reasons are shed with discrimination, there's not much to be happy about. Why be in a train that only provides the last car without all the prerequisites needed for traveling?<sup>lix</sup> (0005)

Finland is a racist country that fears the foreigners while it accuses us for not integrating. Is it our fault?<sup>lx</sup> (0022)

I wish that each of us would stop for a minute and put themselves in the refugee's place. How can one be able to integrate into the society if it can't receive dissimilarity attitude-wise?<sup>lxi</sup> (0020)

The language in the Rejective Society discourse is generally strong. There are

numerous practical examples in the discourse of the power exercised by the majority, leaving immigrants unable to function. Immigrants have also reacted to the experienced discrimination in many different ways. I have attempted to present the texts as extensively as possible but due to the varying viewpoints and illustrations I have been compelled to neglect some of them.

### 7.3 IMMIGRANT RESPONSIBILITY DISCOURSE

I think there's been one-sided conversation about what immigrants need instead of once they come to Finland they must take the same position with others (...) Then one must go forward on his own and of course learn the language and customs of the country.<sup>lxii</sup> (0021)

And dear immigrants, no one has invited us to this country. We have come here voluntarily. If we can't integrate to this country and enjoy our lives, we can stop torturing ourselves and leave for instance to one's homeland. Fortunately Finland belongs to the so called constitutional states. As you've noticed, fully free mobility belongs to the rights of each woman and man. One does not need to escape this country, getting a plane ticket will do.<sup>lxiii</sup> (0003)

This discourse, along with the the Dialogic Interaction discourse, emphasizes questions regarding the integration accountability and participation. In the Immigrant Responsibility discourse the writers regard that immigrants themselves have the primary responsibility for their own integration. Their efforts towards successful integration are stressed as the most important factor in the process, and societal participation is highly valued. Behaving according to the ways of the country, having the right attitude and accepting the new conditions, taking responsibility of one's situation, acknowledging the importance of participation and finding a personal motivation for adapting are some viewpoints that are highlighted in this discourse. The writers are also criticizing immigrants who are not willing to make efforts for their own integration, and authorities whose political correctness has gone a step too far.

### Immigrants are responsible

The following definitions of integration reflect such adaptation orientation in which immigrants are primarily responsible for the process:

Integration occurs by developing oneself. Then one learns the norms and rules of the society and learns to live according to them.<sup>lxiv</sup> (0025)

In practice integration means an independent livelihood for the immigrant, building a social network and an active participation to the Finnish society.<sup>lxv</sup> (0019)

The word immigration means settling down and starting a new life in another country.<sup>lxvi</sup> (0003)

Integration is seen as a personal process, as it is said to occur by "developing oneself". Development can be thought to refer to personal growth and learning. Here it is implied that requisitions for integration are adopting the norms and rules of the society and living according to them. Integration is also defined as independent livelihood, social networks, active participation, and settling down and starting a new life. All three extracts see integration as a unilateral process, in which the immigrants are the ones who act.

Behaving according to the country's manners, "when in Rome (or Finland) do as the Romans (or Finns) do", is often seen as the leading principle in the integration process:

I think the SDP chairperson Jutta Urpilainen said it right that one must live in a country according to its ways.<sup>lxvii</sup> (0021)

Foreigners usually accept the local customs without questioning, "when in Rome, do as the Romans do". A foreigner should follow the laws, rules, customs and cultural traditions of the other country and this must be understood.<sup>lxviii</sup> (0003)

I have never experienced any kind of racism or name-calling because I act according to the country's ways.<sup>lxix</sup> (0021)

As also explained in the Dialogic Interaction discourse, the idea of the phrase “maassa maan tavalla” (or “when in Rome, do as the Romans do”) refers to an individual being expected to function and behave according to the country's manners. Thus, it is mostly the immigrants who are in the position to adapt. On this discourse, however, this stance is generally accepted, in contrast to the Dialogic Interaction discourse which is opposing this perspective. Here, there are even experiences of reaching an equal status, when the immigrant has been acting according to the ways of the country.

At the core of successful integration is having a right attitude. Feelings of approval of the new life and environment set realistic expectations and approaches to the process:

First I felt that I had to accept my new life because what made me come here was more difficult.<sup>lxx</sup> (0002)

I don't consider myself an eternal tourist and I didn't create golden visions (dreams) of returning to my home country in the indeterminate future. I have integrated well into this country's system from the beginning and I have accepted the Finnish culture as it is, with its pros and cons. Nothing in the world is perfect! And I didn't build a little box around me called “own culture”.<sup>lxxi</sup> (0003)

One must think the right way that each country has its pros and cons. One must just try to integrate to the Finnish society. Then it becomes easier to understand Finns.<sup>lxxii</sup> (0002)

Accepting the new situation is almost seen as a responsibility. It is useful to adopt as open-minded attitude as possible. An “eternal tourist” refers to never making the effort of truly integrating. The new situation is thought of as temporary, which hinders the adaptation process. The better one understands the reality of the situation, the faster the integration occurs.

### Intercultural Identity

An open attitude and taking responsibility of integration is reflected to experiences

of cultural identity:

I live, laugh, eat, take pleasure, mourn, work and enjoy like other ordinary people in Finland. Having lived half my life in this country I already think of it as my first homeland.<sup>lxxiii</sup> (0003)

The writer has adapted to the culture and feels like an ordinary person, doing the same ordinary things as anyone. Integration has advanced to an extent in which Finland is the writer's *first* homeland. It is implied here that a second homeland indeed exists. Dualistic cultural identity can thus also exist, as well as the idea of having two homelands. Often, however, one of these cultures is more prevailing. The writer continues:

However I have not forgotten my identity nor the good sides of my homeland's culture. They are my good memories from my childhood and youth, everything fun relating to my memories. I do not need clubs nor temples to keep them alive. They are eternally alive in my heart.<sup>lxxiv</sup> (0003)

Remembering one's own cultural heritage is considered important, and treasuring both the attributes of the new and old culture are not exclusive. The writer reveals not having forgotten his identity. Forgetting one's identity sounds somewhat confusing; it creates an impression of identity taking shape in childhood and youth, and in this case, in the writer's original homeland. The writer seems to regard identity as something he has grown into.

While we encourage the integration of individuals to the Finnish society, it is our task to encourage the entire community to adopt the rules of the society without losing our own identity.<sup>lxxv</sup> (0012)

Integration as a cultural adaptation outcome is also emphasized here. There are several references to the "rules" of society in my data. It means that immigrants want to follow the same societal norms as anyone else, but at the same time preserve and maintain their identity. In this extract, like in the previous one, identity seems to mean something that is composed in the child's formative years. Confronting a new cultural environment can compose a threat to identity, and

there is a fear of "losing" it. Due to the expression "our identity", it can be interpreted that the writer considers himself as a part of the immigrant community that needs to encourage other immigrant individuals to adapt. Supporting the arriving fellow immigrants can be helpful also to those immigrants who have come to the country at an earlier point of time. Feelings of being frightened by the new culture identity-wise are also stressed here:

Now by founding several foundations and organizations the communities aim to protect themselves and their culture and to preserve their identity. The organizations primarily function to proceed the issues of the country of departure. This creates a gap between the majority and the immigrant community. A gap that can prevent the integration of immigrants.<sup>lxxvi</sup> (0012)

Immigrants can, by separating from the mainstream society, create a gap between the majority and themselves and thus maintain juxtaposition, instead of taking action towards integration, as immigrants are expected to do. Nevertheless, aiming to preserve one's cultural background can also be positive for adaptation:

I perceive that in order to integrate better into this society I must hold on to my roots, values and culture since my whole identity is built on them. At the same time it is important that I acquaint myself with the Finnish culture, world of values and history. By reading Seitsemän veljestä and Täällä pohjantähden alla I got a new kind of perspective into Finnishness.<sup>lxxvii</sup> (0011)

The writer perceives his identity to construct on his roots, values and culture. Being in touch with them facilitates integration. Nevertheless the importance of knowing the culture, values and history of the host country is also acknowledged. Finnish literature is found helpful in getting a new perspective into Finnishness. Also in this extract integration is perceived as the desired outcome of adaptation strategies.

### Personal Efforts

Familiarizing with the Finnish culture is mentioned as an example in the following

text too. Its writer found a personal motivation to integrate from the Finnish culture. An event from the country's history worked as a catalyst for finding motivation:

The Finnish life and Finland's history have a lot to offer if one is enthusiastic to learn. I personally found my interest in the Winter War and that has kept me in its grasp and taken me to the core of one of the most significant episodes in Finland's history. It opened up an unbelievable journey to Finland's past and the soul and psyche of the Finnish community. I felt like I began to belong to the society despite whether some people liked my hobby or not.<sup>lxxviii</sup> (0018)

Everyone should find their own “Winter War” which helps them find themselves in this community. Now I'm anxiously waiting for my third trip to Karelia to experience the lessons of the past again.<sup>lxxix</sup> (0018)

By being active and enthusiastic one can achieve a stable position in the Finnish community. Familiarizing with a groundbreaking event empowered the writer to understand the true essence of the Finns and become a member of the society. According to the writer, making efforts towards integration is worthwhile:

Language takes its time but with hard work everyone can reach a phase when they can start having meaningful conversations with the locals. Getting to that took me at least five years and it was worth all the effort! (...) Due to hard work and persistence I can now enjoy this country and the community that's my home and family. Whatever I do, I do it to enrich this country!<sup>lxxx</sup> (0018)

Integration is not portrayed to be easy, instead it is a long, demanding process. Hard work and persistence are an ideal. The process rewarded the hard-working immigrant with a community which is a home and a family. This, like the following extract stresses learning and adapting to be up to the immigrants themselves:

I read plenty of magazines and literature, I also took workers' institute courses on different fields – for instance a Karelian pastry course – and thus learned the language in a year. Nobody organized or paid these courses for me.<sup>lxxxi</sup> (0021)

Supporting and providing for oneself is presented as an ideal. Feeling pressures of control and responsibility for one's life would promote integration, at least with refugees, as the writer argues:

I believe that people with refugee background would integrate better to Finland if the pressures of providing for oneself were stronger. There should be more requirements for social security, especially income support. The forms of social security are too passivating.<sup>lxxxii</sup> (0015)

### Participation

It is important to get the immigrants more actively involved in the integration measures. Those who have lived here longer could be asked as simple things as what kind of information, courses and support they would have needed in the beginning.<sup>lxxxiii</sup> (0020)

In addition to having the right kind of attitude and accepting the new situation, active participation to the society is recommended. For (0018), the access to the Finnish community and culture is mastering two major things, language and the Finnish way of life. For (0015), on the other hand, work has had a significant meaning in integration and happiness as it is important to provide for one's family and relatives. Knowing language and culture, and having a work community enable societal participation. As (0019) notes, "work and an active participation to the society are a normal way of life anywhere in the world – not just Finland"<sup>lxxxiv</sup>.

Immigrants can attain influence and decision power by taking part to the society. Thus they are portrayed as being able to affect their own conditions:

We should boldly join the workers' unions so that we'd familiarize with the rights and responsibilities brought by employment contracts. A job is a door to the Finnish culture (...)<sup>lxxxv</sup> (0004)

We're already a 100 000 strong minority living in Finland, part of which already has the right to vote in the election. Also we can be an important voter group in the election. I hope that immigrants would actively follow politics so that they could have an influence by voting for a party in the next election that manages their affairs most efficiently.<sup>lxxxvi</sup> (0004)



Immigrants are encouraged to join societal decisive bodies, such as workers' unions, and use their right to vote in order to promote their living conditions. Organized immigrant groups are depicted as potentially powerful, and the power can be claimed by participation. Here, like in many other texts, job is described as the key predictor of successful integration.

The current integration debate and measures are viewed as somewhat one-sided. The debate is said to need more explicit concepts and immigrant participation (0008). A constructive and critical conversation is in order:

Also immigrants must be able to critically regard the defects related to immigration: they must be critical towards their own affairs and the problems and defects faced by their ethnic community.<sup>lxxxvii</sup> (0014)

Immigrants should more actively bring the problems of their community into the common debate so that things could be discussed in a more constructive way. Immigrants must courageously communicate, be creative, innovative and motivated in order to change the prevailing juxtaposition in the immigration debate instead of waiting for the change to happen on its own.<sup>lxxxviii</sup> (0014)

Finns need answers, and it is the responsibility of immigrants to provide answers. Or else the questions are answered by extreme movements on their behalf. If the discussion rests on the extreme movements, it is bad for all of us.<sup>lxxxix</sup> (0014)

Immigrants are advised to take charge of the nature of immigration discussion. Openness is described as an important feature, along with communication, creativity, innovativeness and motivation. The existence of juxtaposition in the immigration debate is taken as a fact. Immigrants cannot afford to be passive, as it may lead to the control of the discussion by extreme movements. This also refers to the criticality towards the immigration phenomenon. Finns are said to need answers; thus the importance of a dialogue is emphasized. The natives are presented to be in a position in which they do not understand the unknown, that is immigrants, and for this reason it is the immigrants' responsibility to discuss. A

common disadvantage is stressed.

Immigrants must come along in the common debate and not take the victim's role that is offered to them. They must understand that they belong to this society that has rights and responsibilities.<sup>xc</sup> (0014)

In contrast to the Rejective Society discourse, which characterizes society as the reluctant one, here immigrants are described as those unwilling to settle. The text formulates such an impression that immigrants do not consider themselves as a part of the society, and have not internalized their rights and responsibilities yet. Here immigrants are the ones who must take action. What is particularly interesting in the previous extract is the role of a "victim" that the immigrants are being "offered". A victim refers to an underdog, and taking a role of a victim is acquiescing. The majority, those in power, offer the role of a victim. Victim is never in the position to function.

#### Criticism and Political Correctness

The writers express direct criticism to those immigrants who are not willing to take part in the process. Also authorities whose political correctness disengages the immigrants from their responsibilities face critique. The following extract continues the participation theme, as it is stated that immigrants are reluctant to take part to the society:

Integration has often failed in Finland. Municipalities and government are not in my opinion the only reasons for failure. Immigrants have their own share in this because many of them are reluctant to actively participate in integration. Few immigrants follow Finland's happenings. They are virtually still in their homelands by satellite channels and update their lives in light of local events.<sup>xci</sup> (0012)

The failure of integration is acknowledged; however, municipalities and government are not solely responsible for it. There seems to be a prevailing comprehension of authorities being primarily responsible for failed measures of

integration. Active mental and concrete participation to the new country is required from the immigrants.

Immigrants are criticized for adopting a wrong attitude towards the adaptation process:

Whenever I hear the word immigrant, I wonder whether I should cry or laugh! It feels as though both the Finnish authorities and – what's even worse – immigrants have forgotten the meaning of this word.<sup>xcii</sup> (0003)

I'm amused by these immigrants who constantly talk about returning to their homeland one day. They have taken the role of "the tourist eternally holding suitcase in his hand" even if they had lived in Finland for years.<sup>xciii</sup> (0003)

Based on these extracts, it can be concluded that the term immigrant refers to an obligation of the immigrant to adapt. However, the Finnish authorities, as well as immigrants themselves, have "forgotten" the true meaning of the concept. Some immigrants are said to take the role of a tourist, and in that case, a complete integration is not possible.

Different immigrant groups can be viewed, within the minority community, as unequal:

The former chairman of the Somali League said (HS 15.3.) that the attitudes towards immigrants were hardened. It's typical that particularly a representative of the Somali interest group makes comments about "discrimination". The working immigrants do not face discrimination nor do they have an interest group because they don't need one.<sup>xciv</sup> (0008)

I interpret this statement to mean that there are different classes within the immigrant community; working immigrants are regarded as better than non-working immigrants, even among immigrants themselves. It seems as though unemployment, and thus discrimination, is a personal choice of the Somali. "Discrimination" within quotation marks implies disapproval towards those who do not participate to the society by working. It can thus be concluded that the

majority are not the only ones guilty of labeling immigrants; also other immigrants from within the community succumb to it. By stating that it is "typical" particularly for the Somali to comment about discrimination, the writer consolidates certain stereotypes regarding the Somali. Personal participation is valued to such a great extent that other factors in the integration process, such as reception by the society, are left unnoticed.

Immigrants are not the only ones facing criticism concerning willingness and societal participation. Authorities, too, are judged on the basis of excessive political correctness. Again, immigrants are seen to mainly be responsible for the integration process; too much understanding and support can hinder adaptation instead of promoting it. Here, political correctness is thus seen as a negative phenomenon.

I'm also amused by the fact that even the Finnish authorities are involved in this ridiculous show by trying to understand the so called immigrants.<sup>xcv</sup> (0003)

The writer calls the integration process "a ridiculous show", a definition which refers to the lenient attitude of the authorities. The "so called immigrants" lead the show and do not have to face enough demands for adaptation. Confronting reality from the very beginning of the integration process is the best guarantee for positive results. Understanding the immigrants "too much" is eventually passivating them:

Dear authorities, if you want to help these immigrants to integrate in this country and be successful, (...) stop doing disservices to these people. Don't keep immigrants from experiencing the laws, rules, habits and culture of this country by understanding them too much. Give them a chance to experience and feel the rough reality that more or less prevails in each country.<sup>xcvi</sup> (0003)

On the other hand one must admit that some immigrant groups don't adapt and get employed as easily. Political correctness has unfortunately lead to the fact that the problem is being silenced because one fears the label of a racist. I don't think it's racism to prove that the highly educated immigrants adapt better, because education is completely unaffiliated with skin color.<sup>xcvii</sup> (0008)

Certain immigrant groups, that are not specified here, are said to face more problems in adapting and getting employed. This problem cannot however be addressed publicly by the majority due to fear of being labeled as a racist. The public discussion around immigration seems to be both overly cautious and overly heated. A neutral tone of talk does not seem to have space in the discussion but it is dominated by peripheral opinions. Immigrants, on the other hand, seem to be in a position to criticize other immigrants and the politically correct nature of the discussion:

Finns shouldn't change their own religious and cultural traditions in fear of offending immigrants. The immigrants must adapt like we must have done.<sup>xcviii</sup> (0016)

This discourse views immigrants as the power-holders. They are regarded as being able to influence their level of integration by, for instance, having the right attitude and taking certain measures.

#### 7.4 DIALOGIC INTERACTION DISCOURSE

Interaction, cooperation and dialogue are regarded as important factors in the integration process. At the core of the Dialogic Interaction discourse is interaction between immigrants and the majority as well as the importance of an ongoing dialogue. Both parties have responsibilities in integrating the immigrants and the objective of integration is achieved only by teamwork. The data acknowledges the existence of a societal dialogue and discussion on the immigrant integration phenomenon but at times it is considered as deficient or distorted. The majority's participatory stance is contradicted in some articles. Interaction however appears as an ideal.

The responsibility of integrating the immigrants lies with both the immigrants and majority. Both parties have been appointed their own tasks in the process. The writer of the next extract uses the expression of a “two-way street” to describe the dual process of integration:

Integration is a two-way street. The tasks of us immigrants are learning the language, culture and the rules of this society. The task of the majority is to open doors for us as we knock on them.<sup>xcix</sup> (0001)

Some of the most common requirements for integration in the data are repeated in the previous extract; learning the language, culture and the rules of the society. The tasks of the immigrants and the majority function in relation to each other; however, the majority's task is, according to the writer, to “open doors for us”. Thus, immigrants must take action to adapt to the society by learning, whereas the majority controls the access to the society.

The data includes nearly opposite perspectives on who should take responsibility for the integration process. The writer of the following first text (0006) sees integration primarily as an effort of the immigrants and expects a more cooperative orientation from the majority. The writer of the second text on the other hand states that integration is not solely the majority's responsibility. The opposing viewpoints reveal something about the perceived integration responsibility: the demand for the participation of the Finns is detectable in the data, as well as the participation of the immigrants.

It is said: “when in Rome, do as the Romans do or leave”. However integration is bidirectional. Also Finns must see that there is interaction between us.<sup>c</sup> (0006)

The integration of immigrants is not solely the majority's responsibility. It is a question of a mutual tango dance of the immigrant community, individual, municipalities and the government.<sup>ci</sup> (0012)

The idea of the Finnish phrase “maassa maan tavalla tai maasta pois” refers to an individual being expected to function and behave according to the country's manners, and in any other case, leave the country. However, in this context the better known proverb “when in Rome, do as the Romans do” is used. The above reference to this proverb is one of many in the data. The saying connotes an underlying ideal of the newcomers being obliged to adapt to the new environment

while it does not pay attention to the environment's duties in the process at all. The writer displays a certain idea about the discussion environment in the Finnish society by referring to the frequent use of the proverb. “When in Rome, do as the Romans do” is taken as a hegemonic truth when it comes to the societal attitudes towards integration. By stating a personal opinion the writer attempts to change the (perceived) prevailing view on integration. The bidirectional nature of immigrant integration is also portrayed with a tango metaphor. This choice of a word can be interpreted to refer to a close cooperation in which both participants have a mutual goal and an understanding of the rules.

In many articles, social interaction with the Finns is seen as a desirable but yet unfulfilled goal. Amity, contact, cooperation, humanity and common values are emphasized in interaction:

I wish the immigrants and Finns would work together in accordance on every field and that would create even stronger, more tolerant society in which the income would distribute more evenly, so that the peace of the society would be preserved.<sup>cii</sup> (0004)

In my opinion it is important to search for similarities with the surrounding people that base on common human values despite culture or religion. These moments can be experienced, for instance, at the coffee breaks of the workplace, on a football field or at the bee of the housing cooperative.<sup>ciii</sup> (0011)

By seeking into Finnish organizations the immigrants would get a different kind of contact with the Finns. I want to invite the Finnish supporters of multicultural Finland to join also corporations founded by immigrants.<sup>civ</sup> (0004)

Working and making efforts together in order to promote integration can be a resource for the society and its members. Combining different potentials is a common advantage producing tolerance, peace and economic equality. It is reminded that religion or culture are merely a cover – underneath all humans share the same essence and values. People often base their prejudices against the unknown on the basis of culture or religion. Interaction occurring in informal,

everyday situations can facilitate seeing through the unfamiliar surface.

To some, interaction with the Finns is no longer an ideal, but reality. Having contact with the majority is generally thought to facilitate adaptation. Cross-cultural interaction reduces prejudices, develops language skills and extends the social environment.

Luckily many of us have Finnish friends, relatives, acquaintances and work- and school colleagues who have become acquainted with us personally, know us and know what we are truly like as people. It would be good if also the other sceptics, like Ilaskivi, had the courage to get to know us better. Perhaps we are a bit different-looking and dress differently, but we however don't bite.<sup>cv</sup> (0001)

In order to accomplish these objectives work is ultimately the best integrator, and learning the country's language helps to find work. From my experience I can tell that a social network, in which there are both Finns and immigrants, is automatically born alongside work, and language skills improve. When Finnish is spoken both at work and in the circle of friends, then one learns the language by using.<sup>cvi</sup> (0019)

I didn't realize how hard it is to be without mother and father. I was hoping they were with me and my life would be easier. The situation improved by getting to know a few Finnish families.<sup>cvi</sup> (0017)

Personal contact with the majority is important, but interaction is at times seen to be dependent on the willingness of the majority to interact. Immigrants alone do not have the power to make interaction happen. Here, the experienced reluctance of the majority to interact is explained with different looks of the immigrants. In many cases, people are afraid of the unknown, something that does not fit into their familiar normative frame. These fears generate preconceptions which in turn hinder adaptation. On the other hand, work and language skills are seen as essential factors in the integration process, as is mentioned several times in my data. Social networks do not solely contribute to feelings of belonging and support, but they bring about other advantages as well.

Interaction and dialogue between immigrants and the majority are still insufficient



in some respects. More attention and support is needed from the Finns. Immigrants can only do so much to promote their integration; a complete adaptation is impossible without the contribution of the majority. The natives are in a powerful position as the immigrants are in need of something whereas the majority is the provider of that something:

The best, suitable option should be found for everyone. There are enough of those to be integrated in Finland – noticing is just needed now and then.<sup>cviii</sup> (0007)

Stretching out a hand to the immigrants living nearby and getting interested in them in the same way as in the visiting tourists is something that everyone can do to help foreigners adapt better.<sup>cix</sup> (0013)

The society, authorities and ordinary Finns can do a better job in noticing the immigrants. When it comes to integration measures, the same tactics cannot be applied to all newcomers. Immigrants can feel like they have been left outside in case attention and social support are not provided for them. A layman should demonstrate interest towards the immigrants because everyone who is a representative of the majority has functioning power. There is a clear distinction drawn between tourists and immigrants, although the groups have one obvious commonality, their foreignness. Unlike immigrants, tourists are not perceived as a threat. On the contrary, tourists are profitable to the society as they bring money and thus contribute to the Finnish economy. They are often wealthy and from Western countries or other familiar, non-threatening cultures, and are therefore "safe". Prejudices are again seen as hindering the social interaction. What is needed is stretching out a hand, taking contact and opening oneself to the stranger.

I don't know Finnish perfectly, but I get on in Finnish at work. I really appreciate that one encourages to speak Finnish and that mistakes are not laughed at.<sup>cx</sup> (0023)

Language skills are important in order to create contacts. Encouragement is teamwork, whereas laughing at mistakes is an exercise of power. Belittling someone on the basis of weaker language skills puts him/her in a social marginal.

Isolation also promotes isolation due to the lack of practice in language skills.

I don't think immigrants expect that their new homeland would take care of them; they just need help with the basic things to get started. I think the basic things are: a chance to work, encouraging to learn Finnish and a welcoming, warm handshake!<sup>cx1</sup> (0013)

”Care-taking” is not expected from the majority, whereas help with the basic things is necessary. Basic things are defined as work, learning Finnish and a welcoming attitude, all typical requirements for adaptation in the data. ”Care-taking” can be interpreted to refer to gratuitous assistance. This, however, is undesirable; immigrants themselves are seen to have responsibilities as well as the representatives of the majority.

Although perceived highly necessary, the dialogue at its current state can also be harmful in relation to immigrant integration. The discussion which should promote integration often either distorts the public image of immigrants or hinders adaptation:

Unfortunately the opinions of a normal, working, tax-paying immigrant are not listened to at all in the current immigration debate. Mostly those immigrants are speaking who belong to the marginal groups; in other words those who have an interest group or make noise of themselves by emphasizing their “dissimilarity”. This distorts the public image of immigrants.<sup>cxii</sup> (0019)

The norm of an immigrant is an active contributor who works and pays taxes. This kind of Lutheran work moral is a Finnish ideal; hard work and providing for oneself is highly respected, even expected. The data includes several cases in which paying taxes is mentioned as a form of participation to the society. If a working immigrant is the rule, the non-working, non-tax-paying immigrants are exceptions. However they are the ones whose voices are listened to in the societal debate, whereas the “normal” immigrants are silenced. By using the word “listen” instead of “hear” it is implied that the society is an active agent; it can choose the participants of the conversation and selects the voices and opinions that are

allowed to the public arena. Incoherence between different immigrant groups can also be detected. The modus operandi of the marginal groups is not appreciated here, as the entire immigrant community may be labeled because of them. The discussion of the need of multiculturalism division (in 0019) is another example of the kind of societal debate that does not promote integration, because “our everyday life is already multicultural”<sup>cxiii</sup> (0019). The current integration debate is seen to be more in touch with the marginal matters instead of having something to do with the real life of the working immigrants.

A two-way participation to the integration process can also be viewed as a negative thing when the participants act against each other. Juxtapositioning puts the immigrants and the majority on opposite sides:

There has been juxtaposition to be sensed in the immigration discussion. The tone of the discussion has often been that “you must integrate” or “you must live according to the ways of the country”. Then the numerous immigrants who have already integrated and who already are a part of Finland are forgotten. There are also those who are often perceived as immigrants although they were born in Finland.<sup>cxiv</sup> (0014)

The majority is upholding juxtaposition as it dictates certain behavioral patterns that the immigrants are expected to follow. The integration process is, according to the majority, one-sided, as the immigrants are told to integrate and live according to the ways of the country. The minority has been given a role of the listener as the majority clearly leads the discussion. Prejudices exclude the integrated immigrants and even ethnic Finns from the society.

Encounters between the original population and the newcomers are often artificial:

Authorities do provide facilities (for instance the international culture center Caisa) in which Finns and foreigners can meet and talk. There the Finns feel that they have a permission to give up their culture and on their way home return to it. This kind of encounter between Finns and foreigners is fake.<sup>cxv</sup> (0016)

The multiculturalism of the Finns is something temporary that is turned on when the Finns feel like it. In a "naturally" multicultural environment, such as the international culture center, Finns have a "permission" to give up their culture. In a normal, everyday surrounding an atypical action in relation to one's culture might seem strange to onlookers. Multiculturalism is a new phenomenon in Finland; thus confronting immigrants might be something Finns do not know how to handle.

The communities of the immigrants who have moved to Finland haven't yet got organized in such a way that the entire community would have the possibility to participate in the decision-making concerning them.<sup>cxvi</sup> (0012)

The recency of the immigration phenomenon can also be seen in the lack of participation of the immigrants. Here, however, immigrants are viewed as influential in the decision-making process; once organized, immigrants can have significant power in the societal discussion concerning them.

The Dialogic Interaction discourse suggests that contact and cooperation are the key to successful integration. Immigrants express willingness to fulfill their tasks in the process, but at times a more active participation from the majority is expected.

### 7.5 RESOURCE DISCOURSE

In this discourse, the writers regard immigrants as a resource for the Finnish society. The immigration phenomenon is presented beneficial to the entire nation, and the texts emphasize the positive consequences that result from immigration. The immigration phenomenon brings numerous opportunities for the society and its people and it functions as a common advantage.

Four different aspects were detected from the Resource discourse. The first one

concentrates on everyone's best interest – giving immigrants the opportunity to integrate and participate in the society will eventually be an advantage for the native Finns and the entire Finnish society. The second aspect stresses the know-how, skills, abilities and willingness of the immigrants. The third aspect emphasizes the fact that Finland is actually in need of immigrant workforce. Immigrants provide additional resources for different occupations and sectors that lack or will lack labor force. The fourth and final aspect focuses on the downfall of the society in case it will not utilize the immigrant resources. It will not only be a loss for the society but also for the original population and the immigrants themselves.

#### A Common Advantage

One must remember that immigrants are not in war against the Finns but they are bringing opportunities for Finland.<sup>cxvii</sup> (0010)

Some people seem to think that refugees come to Finland to utilize the social benefits and to use the assets of the society. We however have the potential to be a resource for Finland both in working life and other fields of life.<sup>cxviii</sup> (0011)

A war metaphor is used to describe the perceived juxtaposition between immigrants and the majority. Also prejudices regarding social benefits and the assets of the society are attempted to break by pleading to the resource aspect. In some texts, the functioning power is in a way handed to majority: in case the representatives of the majority are willing to accept immigrants and make welcoming gestures towards them, they also eventually benefit from it. Personal profit for the individual is stressed here:

It is everyone's advantage if everyone living here feel like they belong to the group. A nice greeting and a smile can mean a lot to a person who feels like an outsider. Those who belong to the group take care of their environment and work for its improvement – those who feel like outsiders turn in on themselves or separate to small groups that divide people instead of uniting them.<sup>cxix</sup> (0013)

How about a national Invite an Immigrant to Lunch Day? One might get a good friend, and a small flavor of other cultures would enrich the entire society.<sup>cxx</sup> (0013)

I believe that in order for integration to succeed, the most important thing is displaying mutual respect and equality. This can increase the sense of community, caring for each other and content instead of isolation, animosity and despair.<sup>cxxi</sup> (0011)

The majority is positioned as having ascendancy. They are given an impression of being able to influence things that will improve by accepting the immigrants. A number of benefits are listed, such as caring for and improving environment, making friends, enriching the society, creating a sense of community, caring for others, and general content. In contrast, if the members of majority will not make an effort of accepting the newcomers, it can lead to immigrants turning in on themselves, separating to small groups that divide people, isolation, animosity and despair. The majority is given the position to choose the kind of society they wish to live in. Common advantages are also discussed in relation to new development ideas or suggestions directed at the authorities. The societal benefits resulting from a training program for the academically educated include an opportunity for the business companies to experience internationalism and enrich their work community. It would also help work communities to get used to foreign specialists (0009). As a consequence of a point system that selects immigrants on the basis of education, work experience and language skills most Finns would take a positive view on immigrants because the benefits for the Finnish society would be obvious (0008). Focusing the integration measures on as fast employment as possible would be useful for the society as working immigrants adapt to the Finnish lifestyle and are useful to the Finnish society by working (0019).

#### Immigrants Are Competent

Different skills and abilities of immigrants as well as their willingness to work and participate in the society are emphasized.

What to do with the prejudices prevailing in the working life? Employ us so that we can show that we are capable and willing.<sup>cxxii</sup> (0023)

I am an Estonian immigrant possessing good Finnish language skills and an academic education. The educated immigrants in Finland are a resource that are not really utilized, unless one is for instance a doctor or an IT-engineer.<sup>cxxiii</sup> (0009)

The immigrants must be given a chance to proceed in the Finnish society and to show what we are capable of.<sup>cxxiv</sup> (0006)

The combining factor is asking for an opportunity to participate and show what the immigrants are capable of. The society is not giving a proper chance for the newcomers. It is stated, in the form of a rhetoric question, that prejudices still exist in the working life. The rhetoric question is asked in a situation of not knowing what to do anymore; in this case it can also refer to experienced helplessness or frustration. There is also a direct plea to employers. Prejudices and other reasons for work-related discrimination apply also to educated immigrants. An academically educated who is also fluent in Finnish seems like an ideal immigrant.

There is one exceptional text among others. Its writer has been able to utilize personal resources, as most other writers imply not having been given the opportunity. International background and language skills have been an advantage in creating contacts and offering a fresh perspective:

As for me, I have been offered good working opportunities. The difficulties I have experienced have turned into a resource that I have been able to utilize in the working life as well. My international background and language skills have helped creating contacts and given a new perspective into the Finnish working community.<sup>cxxv</sup> (0011)

#### The society needs foreign workforce

Additional resources in the working life are highly necessary, and immigrants can provide those resources. Immigrants can increase professionalism and expertise on many fields, and they are also needed for jobs for which Finns do not suffice.

Once a great amount of the working-age Finns retire, the entire structure of the society will change.

I have admired the persevering and insistent will of the Finns that has raised the post-war Finland to world's top level. Finland's development and participating in Finland's development are however facing the challenges of globalization. In order to sustain Finland's competitiveness the need for education and internationality has continuously been emphasized.<sup>cxxvi</sup> (0005)

The educated people with foreign background who have come to Finland often wish to stay in Finland, and there is also a demand for that, because the necessity of foreign workforce is visible in many sectors.<sup>cxxvii</sup> (0005)

Finland and some of its attributes are praised in the extract. Nevertheless Finland is facing challenges of globalization. The reader is left with an impression that education and internationalism could be the answer for these challenges. Common advantage is again emphasized. Now immigrants are presented as the ones with power: to stay on top, Finland needs the contribution of the foreigners. It is also noted that immigrants do not only want to participate to the society, but they want to participate to the Finnish society in particular.

In the global economy, Finland needs immigrants who actively participate in the Finnish working life and society. As a small country Finland will only cope in this global contest by high technology and innovativeness. The highly educated immigrants bring more value to this with their own expertise.<sup>cxxviii</sup> (0008)

The decision-makers suggest that more foreigners should be employed to Finland. They are needed for jobs that Finns do not want to do.<sup>cxxix</sup> (0006)

Globalization is a multifaceted term, but here it refers to such societal change that leaves Finland in a position in which it cannot function independently anymore. Highly educated immigrants are portrayed as a part of the solution. On the other hand, immigrants are needed also for jobs that Finns do not want to do.



### Everyone's loss

In case Finland will not utilize the immigrant resources, it is a loss not only for the immigrants but also for the Finnish society.

Most Finns do not seem to know where we immigrants come from and what kind of different backgrounds and conditions are affiliated with our lives. Plenty of good and useful knowledge and skills remain unused due to negative attitudes.<sup>cxxx</sup> (0023)

Having negative attitudes and suffering from a sheer lack of knowledge can eventually work as a disadvantage for the majority. Immigrants are portrayed as an undiscovered resource with plenty of good and useful knowledge.

Each individual's education costs dozens of thousands of euros, and when a person is in a situation that he's ready to pay his debt, the society shuts all the doors from him and in a way discards its own investment by throwing the valuable capital of expertise away!<sup>cxxx</sup> (0005)

We are in a very conflicting situation where there's a risk of both creating juxtaposition between the workforces of stricter original Finns and those with immigrant background, and on the other hand the accelerating emigration of the educated. In both cases both the Finnish taxpayer and the person who missed out on job will lose.<sup>cxxxii</sup> (0005)

Often, however, people with immigrant background who were educated in Finland move to other countries, and the investment made with the taxpayers' money remains without compensation.<sup>cxxxiii</sup> (0005)

Was the foreigners' education and experiences a waste of time since the society does not want to profit from them?<sup>cxxxiv</sup> (0022)

The language in these extracts is strong, and many powerful figures of speech are used to describe how everyone will lose in case immigrants are not allowed to participate. Shutting all the doors, throwing the expertise away, creation of juxtaposition, investment remaining without compensation, and education and experiences being a waste of time are examples of a convincing message. The Finnish society will suffer major losses if it will not utilize its own investment by employing immigrants. A valid point of not being allowed to pay one's debt is

made. The expertise of immigrants is not only ignored, but almost disregarded since the society is willing to throw away the capital of expertise. To be literal, the direct translation would be “throwing expertise to the garbage”, which is certainly a term that refers to contempt. Juxtaposition will banish the educated immigrants. A lost resource will not only be a problem for the authorities or employers who do not want to profit from immigrants' professionalism, but it is a problem also for an ordinary tax-payer. Finland has provided an education for a number of immigrants whose schooling has been paid with the tax-payers' money.

The increasing ill-being is another disadvantage resulting from the unused resources:

We must turn the hatred on ourselves and unleash it in our own community. As a consequence there is ill-being for us and the society.<sup>cxxxv</sup> (0006)

In my work with the young I have noticed how a part of the Somali young have began to turn against the society. For instance school bullying has increased.<sup>cxxxvi</sup> (0006)

Having a sense of belonging to a group or a community can be regarded as an essential condition for happiness and well-being. Rejected and discriminated immigrants turn to their own groups which will increase ill-being within them. It also nourishes the distinction and separation between ethnic and native groups. Exclusion from a group can lead to serious consequences, such as school bullying.

The Resource discourse approaches integration from the viewpoint of consequence. That is to say, the texts in this discourse emphasize how the Finnish society transforms and is affected by immigration by stressing the resources immigrants would bring.

## 7.6 JUSTIFICATION-SOLIDARITY DISCOURSE

The Justification-Solidarity discourse revolves around the idea of equality and human value. The basic tone in this discourse is somewhat defensive and explanatory as the immigrants feel that they must justify their actions and behavior in different ways. They also attempt to break certain misconceptions regarding themselves. What is encouraged in this discourse is to look at each and every person as an individual instead of labeling them on the basis of their ethnic group. This discourse is often appealing by its nature, and it touches upon basic moral and ethics. Hence, what is requested from the majority is solidarity.

Equality and respect are highlighted as a basic right for every human being. Although there are differences in cultures and habits, people are all equal, and in the end, similar with each other.

There's a hope within me that one day we immigrants will get almost the same status as the Finns. We are Asian, African, European, American. Of course we're different, we think, work and love differently, but we are however equal as people.<sup>cxxxvii</sup> (0004)

Hundreds of thousands of Finns have emigrated to the world for many different reasons. They want respect and human treatment so that they could live on with their lives. The Somalis in Finland want the same treatment even though they came to the country as refugees.<sup>cxxxviii</sup> (0001)

Immigrants have the status of an underdog and the treatment is not yet fully equal. Hoping to get "almost" the same status as the Finns may imply that a full acceptance is not even expected. The right for equality and respect is justified with many different ways. For some reason it is relevant to proclaim that immigrants are equal as people. These kind of statements reveal that the majority's attitudes towards immigrants are perceived as degrading. It seems like those who enjoy the benefits of a well-being society on a daily basis have become so blinded to basic human dignity that they need to be reminded of how each person is equal in value. This is a disturbing scenario, especially in light of the fact that Finns themselves

have historically been in similar position with the Somalis, as it is reminded in the extract. Not fitting to the majority should create an understanding of what it is like to be the underdog and having to struggle for respect and human treatment from the majority. As it is stated, leading one's own life is challenging in the lack of good treatment. It is also justifiable to ponder whether the society has a downgrading attitude towards refugees as an immigrant group as it is stated that the Somalis want equal treatment *even though* they came to the country as refugees. A refugee status thus invokes negative notions, whereas work-related immigration is more desired.

We don't have to like everyone – it suffices that we respect each other.<sup>cxxxix</sup>  
(0020)

I believe that in order for integration to succeed, the most important thing is showing mutual respect and equality.<sup>cxli</sup> (0011)

One definition of the noun *respect* is "consideration for the feelings or rights of others" (Oxford Dictionary of Current English, 2001). Here it can be interpreted that the term respect refers to having an objective attitude and being able to accept difference even if one is not in favor of a different lifestyle. Mutual respect and equality helps immigrants to integrate, but it can also advance the majority's approval.

Many texts in this discourse appeal to the reader's emotional capacity:

Each person has had their safety net in their homeland and loneliness in a new homeland is a frightening thing itself.<sup>cxlii</sup> (0020)

Propably we make a lot of mistakes like it often is in a new environment but we learn from them all the time.<sup>cxlii</sup> (0001)

Most people can relate to feelings of loneliness and being in an environment in which one does not know how to act. Being outside of one's comfort zone is frightening to anyone, and a frightened person is rather a victim than a threat. By offering a point of identification the writer attempts to evoke feelings of

compassion which make the strangers seem less intimidating. Certain misconceptions are acknowledged also in the next extracts:

Of course we're all not goody-goody or angels no matter how hard we'd try. We are a group of people that comprises of different individuals and that holds many types of people just like other population groups. Therefore we'd like not to be mistreated.<sup>cxliii</sup> (0011)

I myself am from Somalia and I can ascertain that there are Somalis in Finland who are guilty for instance for crimes and misuse of social security. These problems do not necessarily result from their religion or culture. There are different individuals in Finland's Somali community: some act asocially, some don't. Just like with the Finns.<sup>cxliv</sup> (0014)

The formulation of these extracts show that immigrants are generally regarded as one solid group, and that this group faces prejudices that are attempted to be changed. Writers are prepared for an assumed counter-argument by protecting their own perspective in advance. This occurs by stating that some of the immigrants and members of their own group misbehave. Generalizations about immigrants seem to exist in the Finnish society as the audience is told that the immigrant groups consist of individuals, and that the entire group should not be labeled on the account of some exceptions. A common conception among majority seems to be, according to the writer, that allowing immigrants to Finland generates crime and misuse of social benefits. These problems, whether real or exaggerated, should not be explained by religion or culture. It can thus be concluded that religion and culture create stereotypes of their individual members, and likewise the individual members stigmatize the collective religion and culture.

The perception of the immigrants wanting to take advantage of the high living standards of Finland seem to live on strong. Many writers felt the need to explain the true reasons behind their migration. Feelings of being labeled as a dependent expenditure for the society made some writers emphasize their lack of alternatives. Leaving their home country was not a matter of choice, but it was inevitable. Migration was triggered by critical, extremely difficult situations at home. Arriving to Finland also meant plenty of personal sacrifices:

I didn't want to come to Europe for a better living standard or financial situation. I left everything behind because I didn't have a choice.<sup>cxlv</sup> (0011)

In 1995 I came across a difficult situation and I had to leave Algeria and move somewhere. I only had one chance, it was Finland.<sup>cxlvi</sup> (0002)

The reason we came to Finland is that we escaped the heavy-handed tyranny that persecuted young students who opposed it. That was followed by a war that shocked the whole world, in other words an ugly tribal war that doesn't have a rational explanation; friend against friend, a war in which one must kill or be killed.<sup>cxlvii</sup> (0001)

The events swarmed and they could not be prevented. It was impossible to be a part of the solution and therefore many of us decided not to be a part of the problem and left.<sup>cxlviii</sup> (0001)

I left my homeland Iran because as a student activist the conditions in the country were very critical for me. My close friends and relatives like hundreds of thousands of others were imprisoned or killed for their opinions. My 18-year-old girlfriend was executed and my brother was in prison. Like other political activists, I was in deadly peril in my country. This is the difference that I see between emigrants and political refugees like myself: as a political refugee I haven't had the support and protection of my own country's government behind me but the situation was exactly reverse.<sup>cxlix</sup> (0011)

The language used in these texts defending immigrants' arrival to Finland is extremely strong. The reasons given for migration are, for instance, persecution by the heavy-handed tyranny, a war that puts a friend against friend and in which one must kill or be killed, swarming events, destruction of the country, critical conditions, imprisoned or killed friends and relatives, an executed girlfriend and personal deadly peril. In a no-alternative situation the immigrants are not in a position to act in any way. It seems as though the only valid excuse for immigrants to come to a wealthy well-being society is having their life at risk. The conclusion of these defensive texts is that treating immigrants on the basis of prejudices and misconceptions may be a hegemonic stance amongst the majority, according to these writers. A genuinely open, multicultural society would hardly demand such intense justifications for the presence of someone from another culture.

In addition to feeling the need to justify their reasons for coming to Finland, many writers also justify their entitlement for residing in the country. That entitlement is generally rationalized by stressing the immigrant's active participation to the society. Generally the described participation in the Finnish society means studying, working, learning the language and culture, and starting a family (as stated also in 0025, 0022):

Having lived in Finland over 16 years I have attempted to acquaint myself with the Finnish history, culture and Finnishness in addition to studying and acquiring professional competence.<sup>cl</sup> (0005)

When immigrants are debating about societal participation they often stress the resource aspect. By participating to the society immigrants can be a common advantage. The need of and willingness for independence is also emphasized.

We have tried to learn the Finnish language, wanted to build this society and be a part of it. We work as doctors, Nokia employees, in social services, home care of the elderly, youth work and engineers. Many are educated, international and fluent in languages. In the parliamentary election a candidate with a Somali background was about to become a member of the parliament. It began to feel like we were finally getting into the Finnish society.<sup>cli</sup> (0006)

Before we always provided for ourselves and our families with hard work. We want to do the same here in Finland in spite of all the obstacles. Many of us already work, many others are badly looking for it. Some are studying and want to build a new life here in spite of all the losses.<sup>clii</sup> (0001)

With his text Ilaskivi offended many Somalis who live in the country legally and honestly, manage their own societal tasks, work and pay their taxes.<sup>cliii</sup> (0001)

There are many of us well educated people with foreign background in Finland. We pay taxes, serve this country and raise our children while some Finns transfer their money abroad or leave so that they don't have to pay taxes!<sup>cliv</sup> (0022)

Immigrants participate actively to the society by, for instance, building and

serving the country, working and operating on different fields, being educated, international and fluent in languages, taking care of their own societal tasks and providing for themselves, being law-abiding and honest, and paying taxes. Personal and group-level efforts in order to advance integration are listed. Once again the prejudices and misconceptions about immigrants are visible behind the justifications. The extracts prove that immigrants suspect a part of the majority to regard them as inactive and reluctant to provide for themselves. As the foreigners manage their own societal tasks, like every other full member of the society, one would expect the treatment to also be equal. However it is still in decline. Paying taxes is seen as an important measure of participation. Immigrants' involvement in the Finnish society is reflected to involvement of the Finns, as it is stated that a part of the latter group will not contribute societally. One text even aims to promote solidarity by encouraging the Finns to participate further. Placing oneself in the position of an immigrant and understanding the global scale of immigration can facilitate immigrant's integration process:

If the Finns want to help immigrants to integrate, I recommend studying or working abroad. It's broadening to personally experience the life of an immigrant. Then one knows what the immigrants' life is like and one can relate to them better. Immigration is already a part of everyday life to a large part of people in the global economy.<sup>clv</sup> (0019)

The Justification-Solidarity discourse struggles with experiences of stereotypes and preconceptions. The discourse analytical idea of language producing consequences is visible in this discourse. The discourse reveals the writers' ambition to affect the readers and their opinions. It can be concluded that there is an objective of presenting a more positive image of immigrants that is based on realistic factors.

### 7.7 AUTHORITY APPEAL AND CRITIQUE DISCOURSE

The central idea of the Authority Appeal and Critique discourse is starting a debate



with the authorities by appealing, criticizing and requesting. Practical advice and ideas on how to advance and facilitate immigrant integration are also presented in this discourse. Decisions and policies regarding immigrants are under criticism. By authorities I understand all public institutions and their representatives that can somehow contribute to integrating the immigrants.

Especially work-related problems and issues are under the scope of criticism. The writers are demanding action from the decision-makers:

In practice, unemployment is a painful thing for everyone. It doesn't know borders, races, skin color, nationality or groups of people. Unemployment is one of the most serious problems in this country and it requires solution from everywhere – especially the decision-makers of the country.<sup>clvi</sup> (0001)

I wish that the immigrants, Finnish political decision makers and other pivots will seriously begin to decrease the high unemployment of the immigrants, to notice them too while making decisions.<sup>clvii</sup> (0004)

Unemployment is a problem that treats everyone equally. Although there is direct talk to decision-makers in the two previous extracts, immigrants are seen to have power in changing the prevailing situation by working together with politics and other pivots. At the moment, though, immigrants are felt to be left out of the decision-making process.

Part of the immigrant courses are sheer overcharging: the firms make money by keeping people on school benches but almost nothing useful is learned there, at least not the kind of things that are needed in working life. The details of grammar, history of Finland and the tree species of Seurasaari are nice to know and handle later, once the society and especially work have been handled.<sup>clviii</sup> (0023)

In order for the integration to succeed better, all integration measures must be concentrated on as quick employment as possible.<sup>clix</sup> (0019)

The current immigration policy, according to the two previous extracts, is not at its best when it comes to successful employment. The immigrant courses focus on irrelevant subjects, and financial interests override those of the immigrants. Work

is the first priority to focus on in integration process, and it is even suggested that all integration measures should concentrate on efficient employment.

It's difficult for an adult refugee to learn the language without contacts to the majority, to which the most natural channel is work. This of course requires a more fearless attitude from the employees towards those who speak Finnish with an accent and leave job applications with a foreign name.<sup>clx</sup> (0015)

The companies owned by the Finnish government could set an example by more active employment of immigrants who permanently live in Finland.<sup>clxi</sup> (0004)

One significant problem in the unemployment issue concerning the immigrants is that the attitudes are not yet completely neutral. A more fearless attitude towards foreigners is asked for. Notable institutions and companies are requested to set a positive example for others by employing immigrants more actively. The writers are also coming up with other means to promote integration and present different development ideas and changes to current policies. For instance, making immigrants a part of the decision-making, giving space for them in public, and a more careful monitoring of the immigrant training is suggested:

The decision making group in the offices that manage the immigrants' issues should include immigrants as well, because they know from experience what kind of obstacles they have faced at work and in social life.<sup>clxii</sup> (0004)

Yle could give space on TV to other minorities besides just Finland's Swedes as well.<sup>clxiii</sup> (0004)

Authorities and real experts should more carefully monitor the content and teaching methods of the language training aimed at immigrants.<sup>clxiv</sup> (0023)

Immigrants are portrayed to be viewed as a similar bunch, ignoring the actual differences in their social, economic and cultural backgrounds. Even high-level authorities are guilty of uniforming them:

Authorities desperately attempt to show sympathy for asylum seekers, be fair to economic immigrants and fulfill the needs of the industry by attracting

professional workforce. Immigrants cannot however be treated as if they were similar.<sup>clxv</sup> (0016)

HS Gallup (15.3.) asked “Should Finland take more immigrants?”. The question is too general, because immigrants don't comprise a coherent, homogeneous group. There are big differences in education and socio-economic status among immigrants, not to mention the culture of the country of departure.<sup>clxvi</sup> (0008)

It is implied here how immigrants are regarded as an amorphous group in which the attention is not on individuals but on a faceless crowd. Even Helsingin Sanomat is portrayed to be maintaining this conception by its immigration-related poll. If the majority was offered a concrete point of convergence, for instance by giving strangers a name and a face, they may be able to view immigrants more objectively. Perhaps the newcomers of the Finnish society have not had sufficient amount of space in the public arena. This is also suggested in the comment in which Yle is mentioned.

One text (0025) is mainly focusing on criticizing a resolution concerning establishing a parliament for immigrants. The text takes into account many different aspects regarding the subject, and its stance is strongly objecting. This is the only text in my data that takes a stand against certain authority decision. The writer considers certain integration measures logic and necessary, such as organizing education and employment, but a parliament set up only for immigrants is according to her “somewhat offensive”. The writer describes herself “an integrated immigrant”, and lists requisitions for successful integration:

I stongly think that the requisition for a successful integration is treating the immigrant with the same rights and obligations as the representative of the majority, without categorizing the immigrant into any special group. Of course there must be support, but within reasonable limits.<sup>clxvii</sup> (0025)

The support should be aimed so that the immigrant feels equal and not special. I'd even say that integration has been a success when the immigrant considers himself an ordinary citizen.<sup>clxviii</sup> (0025)

I think the immigrants' own parliament advances differentiating and

juxtaposition (“our parliament against their parliament”) rather than integrating. The parliament is building a fence between immigrants and the original population, on both sides.<sup>clxix</sup> (0025)

An ideal is to treat immigrants equally, as the data has also previously proved. An ordinary citizenship is pursued. Differentiating declines the possibility of becoming a part of the community. A strong message is sent to the authorities by emphasizing the gravity of juxtaposition. Political correctness can lead to undesired consequences that eventually will not advance integration. There is such thing as too much support from the authorities. It is also stated that “Society has a political structure, in which the decisive body is the parliament. That is, a decisive body for the whole society, not just one part of it”<sup>clxx</sup> (0025). This kind of policy is felt to externalize immigrants from the society. To make a valid point, the writer continues:

I asked this “parliament question” from Russian speaking immigrants at the popular russian.fi discussion forum. Even there, among many people with different backgrounds, I didn't get a comprehension of what interests the parliament would serve. Nobody else came up with an explanation. They seem to experience their influence opportunities sufficient as they are. It remains unclear for us who the parliament is being set up for and for what purpose.<sup>clxxi</sup> (0025)

The writer appeals to general disapproval here. Consensus is used to legitimize certain viewpoints by referring to general opinion. Immigrants are the true specialists in the area of integration, and even they cannot understand the relevance of an immigrant parliament. This is a powerful message to the authorities. In addition to references to authority resolutions, there are also suggestions to alter the immigration policy at some parts.

There should be more conditions for social security, especially income support. The forms of social security are too passivating.<sup>clxxii</sup> (0015)

Other pragmatic ideas of advancing integration include, for instance, a national Invite an Immigrant to Lunch Day (0013), a training program customized for the academically educated that includes a higher level education in the Finnish

language (0009), and a point system (like in e.g. Canada, Australia or New Zealand) which selects immigrants according to education, work experience and language skills (0008). One writer recommends the so called humanitarian immigration to be given up entirely (excluding quota refugees) (0008). The ideas presented by immigrants aim at a more efficient immigration policy and successful integration. These suggestions directed to authorities imply that the society should make immigrants participate more. A national Invite an Immigrant to Lunch Day would on the other hand encourage ordinary citizens to take contact to foreigners. This however requires an authoritative initiative. Training programs and point systems would facilitate integration for those with higher education, which would also be more advantageous for the society. What is also interesting is that these practical ideas were nearly always introduced with a reference to resource: when something new is suggested, its advantages were carefully considered. This would make the innovations seem more appealing to the authorities and decision-makers. The resource aspect is discussed further in the Resource discourse.

The Authority Appeal and Critique discourse has mainly focused on the immigrants taking part in the societal discussion, and more importantly, attempted to participate in the decision making. They participate to the debate from their own position of an integration specialist. An interesting question is, however, whether writing to the letter to the editor section is the most effective way to make a difference in the decision-makers. Perhaps immigrants feel that at the moment they do not have a better way of participating, and that the public nature of a published letter to the editor would spread the word efficiently. This discourse, like the Justification-Solidarity discourse, has a distinct ambition to influence the state of affairs.

## 8 DISCUSSION

### 8.1 NEGOTIATING POSITIONS

The basic assumption in this study is that language is essential for using power (see Fairclough 1995, 54). The identified seven discourses reveal that immigrants negotiate their positions and roles in many different ways by using language. As the writers discuss and negotiate their position in the society, they also negotiate and present power relations. They can choose the way in which they name certain issues as they attempt to change things. In the context of each discourse I investigated the power structures and relations that are under constant battle by immigrants, majority and the society. I will next contemplate what the data and the results reveal of the society, power use and ideologies. I will also discuss what the writers have created and aspired to achieve by using language – that is, looking into the wider social significance. The way the immigrant writers discuss integration inevitably reveals something about the Finnish society.

As for the amplitude of different discourses in the data, it is safe to say that the **Rejective Society** discourse was most discussed. It is also the discourse with the richest, most descriptive language use. However the themes that were predominant in the Rejective Society discourse also recurred in other discourses. Stereotypes, prejudices and unemployment were such topics. Therefore there was some repetition in the discourses, due to the attempt to analyze things from different viewpoints. The Rejective Society discourse discusses the demands of equality and the experienced injustice. Othering, stereotyping and prejudicing are recurring themes. Like in the Dialogic Interaction discourse, also here the majority is presented as unwilling to take contact to immigrants. Unemployment and other work-related problems are prominent. They are said to arise from prejudices of the employers and other high-level decision-makers. Both highly educated and those with low education have trouble in getting employed. Rejection in the job markets

also affect on one's psychological well-being. Measures intended to promote employment for immigrants are not functioning ideally. Such reasons for discrimination are pondered as weak economy, different religion and looks, the Finns' lack of self-esteem, the lack of experience regarding the immigrants, feelings of fear and insecurity, and media.

Exercise of power prevents integration: how can an immigrant integrate to such society that is unable to receive difference? A strong experience of being excluded from the society is clearly visible in this discourse. It is obvious that the majority holds the power, as it makes the immigrants unable to function, even to an extent in which the immigrant chooses to leave the country, as one example shows. Immigrants are not getting an opportunity to integrate or become Finns or even remotely Finns. Non-communication and stereotyping is common, as some of the other discourses reveal. In case the immigrants are even acknowledged by the society, their position is to be humble and grateful. Only a few writers stated having attempted to gain a fighter's position. Some writers tried to challenge the society by appealing to law: thus, it is the majority's responsibility to accept immigrants. One writer admitted to having fought for justice in court, attempting to gain power this way. Media is also regarded powerful. In this discourse, the positions given to immigrants by the society are not the same that they are willing to adopt. Societal change and contribution is pursued.

Although experiences of rejection and downright discrimination were frequent, there was also a strong opposing view: the **Receptive Society** and **Immigrant Responsibility** discourses argued that the Finnish society provides good starting points for living. In the Receptive Society discourse immigrants were seen as equal with the original population. The writers expressed gratitude for the received rights and opportunities, and stated that reciprocity is in order: as the Finnish society was considered generous, the writers felt that they should fulfill their own duties. They also believed that they can significantly affect their own situation. The immigration policy was said to function when the authorities apply it

correctly. Communities were seen as an important integration factor. The society was praised for giving immigrants a chance to function independently, which gives them the position of a fully authorized member of the society. Thus, the position provided by the society is corresponding with the position adopted by immigrants.

The Immigrant Responsibility discourse was taking a similar stance with the Receptive Society discourse. It was constructed around the idea of acting and behaving in accordance with the ways of the country. Immigrants felt that they are primarily responsible for their integration, and that they should adopt the right attitude from the beginning. An ideal identity would be an intercultural one; holding on to one's own, original national and cultural identity was desirable, as well as familiarizing with the new culture. Maintaining one's identity was at times seen as a negative thing in case it prevented the immigrants from getting to know the new culture. Personal efforts towards integration were highly valued and recommended, and it was generally stated that integration is eventually up to oneself. Some even suggested there should be more pressure from the society for the immigrants to provide for themselves. Participation was an important theme in this discourse; its central message was that foreigners can have an influence in their own situation, and the newcomers were urged for more active participation. The reluctant immigrants with a wrong attitude were criticized by the writers, as well as the politically correct authorities: too much understanding and support was regarded to passivate the immigrants.

All in all, this discourse regards immigrants to have functioning power, and it sees them as actors. The principal of acting according to the country's manners is a position mostly given by the society, as this seems to be a general tendency among many societal debaters, but it is also a position accepted by the immigrants themselves. The society, by giving the integration responsibility to the immigrants, also gives them power. By making efforts towards successful adaptation one can redeem the functioning power. This discourse also sees immigrants as capable of



making an impact to the larger society instead of just one's personal situation. Societal participation offers an opportunity to change prejudices and other negative misconceptions that there are among the majority. Although the Immigrant Responsibility discourse provides an active role for the immigrants, there was a reference in the data to the role of a victim that was offered by the society. Adopting this role of a victim was criticized, as immigrants were seen as able to change things. There is also an example in the data of how immigrants can use power on other immigrants: one writer in this discourse referred to a specific nationality group as unwilling to participate, thus labeling them "bad" immigrants.

These previously presented two leading principles – exclusion and inclusion - were detectable in the other four discourses as well, while they still maintained an independent trend of ideas. The **Dialogic Interaction** discourse urged for more participation from the majority; also more support and encouragement was needed from them. Therefore the majority was the one with power. Both the immigrants and the majority were seen to have their responsibilities in the integration process. Contact with the Finns was highly valued; some in fact had it, whereas others were still lacking interaction with the locals. The public immigration debate was seen as distorted in many respects, creating misconceptions and supporting juxtaposition. Disregarding the immigrants can create feelings of an outsider. One of the positions given to immigrants in this discourse is the one in which they are expected to act according to the country's manners; however this is a position which the writers are unwilling to accept. Majority can also use power by belittling immigrants, or by having a societal discussion about immigration by stressing irrelevant viewpoints. Different groups of immigrants are given different positions; a working immigrant is an ideal, whereas others are often undervalued. The Finns are in a position in which they can choose when they wish to be multicultural, but the immigrants do not have this privilege. Furthermore, this kind of multiculturalism is not genuine nor far-reaching. Immigrants are however partially seen as able to use power, in case they combined their potential. The general disposition in this discourse is that the immigrants wish to integrate and

interact but it is impossible without the contribution of the majority. The society also has power to define who is being listened to in the discussion, and thus, who is a Finn and who is not.

The **Resource** discourse aimed for a well-being, multicultural society. Immigrants were said to be a mutual advantage. They were also portrayed as keen and competent – this viewpoint was presented especially in the context of work. Finland was said to need foreign workforce in the challenges of globalization and internationalization. Everyone will lose in case immigrants are not allowed to pay their debt, as expressed in the discourse. Throwing their expertise away will not only waste the tax-payers' money, but there is a risk of increasing ill-being as well. Similarly to the Rejective Society discourse, this discourse struggles with experiences of stereotyping and juxtaposition; despite of these, a chance to show one's skills is asked for. In this discourse it seems that the writers willingly let the majority be in the position of a power user by making them aware of their power: they are let to choose the positive consequences that occur from immigration. The majority are also portrayed to be in a position in which they can prevent the possible injurious effects that will occur in case the immigrants were excluded from the society. Thus the power of the majority is not questioned in this discourse. There is one occasion though in which immigrants are characterized as the ones with power: it is not only stated that immigrants are an advantage, but that they are in fact necessary for the changing society.

The **Justification-Solidarity** discourse aimed for more understanding, approval and equality. Individuality, respect and the willingness to participate were also highlighted. The discourse was emotionally appealing as the writers attempted to correct general misconceptions and felt the need to justify their arrival to and residing in Finland. It was also suggested that Finns could put themselves in the immigrants' position. In this discourse the writers aspired to change the prevailing state of affairs, but felt that they did not have actual power to generate change. Therefore those that in fact have power, which is the majority, were pleaded to use

it justly. The immigrants clearly have the position of an underdog in this discourse. By correcting prejudices the immigrant writers give tools for the majority to handle their fear towards the unknown. There were references in the discourse to the society that is uniforming the immigrants, which denies the position of an individual member of the society. Stereotypes and misconceptions often lead to the position of an abuser which is given to immigrants by the society. By stressing their activity, the immigrants attempt to claim their entitlement for staying in Finland. Thus, it can be concluded that the position that the immigrants wish to adopt is willing and active, whereas the position they have been addressed by the society is passive and reluctant. The experienced prejudices are the most prominent feature in this discourse.

The **Authority Appeal and Critique** discourse aimed for practical societal change. Work was an important theme in the discourse. Although all discourses demonstrate societal participation from the immigrants, it was especially obvious in this discourse. There were demands for action to make integration more efficient. The writers displayed knowledge of the policies by suggesting amendments. Better attitudes were required from employers and high-level decision-makers. Including immigrants in the decision-making and giving space for them in public were stressed. In this discourse too immigrants were uniformed by the society. One specific resolution received criticism and it was stated that immigrants should be treated as equal, instead of special. Practical ideas regarding changes in immigration policy, as well as cultural changes, were presented. This discourse, like the Rejective Society, Dialogic Interaction, Resource and Justification-Solidarity discourses, strongly pushed societal change. The society is seen as the power-holder, but immigrants challenge their power in this discourse by discussing integration from the position of an "integration specialist". Power is used by excluding immigrants from the decision-making process. The risks of juxtaposition are acknowledged here, like in many other discourses. An ordinary citizenship is the desired position from the immigrants' viewpoint, but the position that is given to them by the society does not allow them to participate as much as

they would want to. In a way this discourse can be seen as a use of power, as criticizing the rulers is a part of democracy.

The diversity of the identified discourses prove just how unilateral the category of “immigrants” often is. As discussed above, many immigrants are in a challenging position in the Finnish society. Not only do they need to re-define themselves and their societal position, but they need to struggle with different identity issues. The status of an immigrant changes one's perceptions of the self, but also the perceptions of others: immigrant is no longer taken as one among others, but they represent difference. As Puusaari (1997, 21-22) argues, when it comes to immigrants, their age, sex, special skills, professional status or characteristics are not necessarily noticed but the immigrant is easily seen as a representative of his/her nation; thus, foreignness becomes the most important part of identity. Many writers in the data expressed feelings of being excluded from the society due to discrimination. The data frequently suggested that no matter how hard the newcomers try to become a part of the society, their efforts do not necessarily suffice. According to Clarke (2004, 634) learning the language and adapting to the majority culture of the new homeland do not automatically guarantee approval and equality. Thus it seems that true Finnishness is hard to redeem. As Forsander (2004, 205-206) argues, the integration discussion is dominated by the idea of “Finnishness deficit”, and asks when the immigrant individual is ready enough to become a part of the circle of belonging. On the basis of the data it can be concluded that being accepted in the circle of belonging may be difficult. However, the data suggests that becoming Finnish is not even an ideal among most immigrants, and that it is integration that is in fact pursued for. Furthermore, Forsander (2004, 203) poses a question of whether there even is a society into which all Finns are integrated or to which the immigrants are supposed to integrate.

Discrimination on the basis of ethnicity is still quite frequent in the Finnish society, although recent research shows that the increase of critical attitudes

towards immigration have started to stagnate (Haavisto 2012). Finnish studies have found that the immigrant groups with the greatest cultural distance to Finland experience discrimination the most (Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2006, 19). In addition to different looks and culture, there are reserved attitudes towards those who come from a country of low standard of living (Jaakkola 2005, 69).

Discrimination appears to be a problem especially in the working life. According to the data it seems that the employers' prejudices are mostly caused by negative attitudes towards different culture, nationality or skin color. However the research of the Institute of Migration (Heikkilä & Peltonen 2002, 6) reveals that prejudices more likely result from fears, language problems and different customs. Promoting the immigrants' work opportunities is highly recommended: working is valued in Finland and it is mostly by work that citizens redeem their the status of a fully authorized member of the society. Furthermore, as Alitolppa-Niitamo (2005, 39) found, work can provide, in addition to financial security, a natural environment for creating social contacts and interaction outside family. It can also open up perspectives to the Finnish culture, lifestyle and society. All these aspects support the integration process. In addition there is a great psychological significance in employment (ibid.).

Although immigrants are most successfully recruited for jobs that require little or no training (see Heikkilä & Peltonen 2002, 6), immigrant unemployment is still a problem both in occupations that do not require high education and in those that do. Excluding certain groups of people from the society can lead to serious and unwanted consequences; therefore it is valuable to get the contribution of all members of the society in order to make the co-habitation function. As Perhoniemi and Jasinskaja-Lahti found in their study (2006, 78), Finnish friends were helpful in work and everyday life related issues. Having a sense of belonging to a group is important regarding one's self-esteem and overall happiness. Recent research supports this argument. A Finnish study of the young immigrant male criminals revealed that feelings of belonging and having ties to society is important, and

giving up a criminal life might also mean giving up the only network of friends, in case they are also in crime. (Honkatukia & Suurpää 2007.) Thus, ideally, true integration should be a mutual effort of all parties, by including the minorities in the circle of societal belonging.

## 8.2 PREFERRED STRATEGIES, VARYING PROCESSES AND PROMINENT FACTORS IN ACCULTURATION

Acculturation as a process is diverse, and multiple strategies can be applied. Different writers are naturally experiencing different phases of acculturation and emphasize different viewpoints. These applied strategies, phases and factors that are considered important in acculturation are discussed next.

Of the four acculturation attitudes and strategies presented by Berry (1990, 1997), integration was the most desired outcome on the basis of the letters to the editor. In most cases, cultural maintenance was valued, but the importance of creating contacts with the locals and participating in the society were also highlighted. Distinguishing the most preferred acculturation strategy from the letters to the editor was somewhat easy, since many writers stressed the importance of maintaining one's own culture as well as familiarizing with the new one. It was also obvious that different writers were going through different phases of the process; however separating these phases from one another was a more difficult task. Some conclusions can anyhow be drawn.

Several stages of adaptation could be detected from the data, when reflected to Bennett & Bennett's (2004) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. There were those who felt strong negativity towards the society, thus situating in the ethnocentric end of the line, and those who had positive experiences of the society, thus orientating towards ethnorelativism. In the denial stage, individuals

view other cultures by forming simplifications or stereotypes of them; this seemed to be the case for instance with (0022), who described that becoming Finnish means becoming a wifebeater, driving drunk or getting into a fight in a restaurant. Referring to such extreme national stereotypes stems from utter exclusion from the society; in such case it is difficult for the writer to see past the stereotypes.

Although it is impossible and impractical to define the exact phase of adaptation of each writer on the basis of their texts, it is however obvious that many were still accustoming to the new cultural environment. The stages of denial, defense and minimization were visible in many expressions in the letters to the editor; there were for instance many references to Finland being racist and unaccepting, and that certain other countries did not have these problems. On the other hand, many writers expressed willingness to behave according to the ways of the new country. In a couple of occasions, the writer acknowledged that each country has both positive and negative attributes; this kind of thinking was perhaps the closest to the integration stage presented in Bennett & Bennett's model.

The most important factors concerning successful integration from the writers' point of view can be summarized in social participation and contacts. Berry et al. (1987, 491) have introduced factors affecting the adaptation process on individual and societal levels. The societal level variables in particular, such as contact with the hosts and having social support, were frequently mentioned in the data. Of the seven risk factors resulting in adaptation difficulties distinguished by Liebkind (1994a, 32-33), insufficient language skills and experienced discrimination seemed to be prominent factors. Separation from family and other members of one's own culture, as well as experienced hardships were also mentioned. This study also found, similarly to Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti (2006), that unemployment is a significant hindering factor in the adaptation process. I will investigate the factors that affect the integration process in more detail by reflecting the data and the results to Kim's (2001) structural model of cross-cultural adaptation.

### **8.2.1 Reflecting data to Kim's structural model of cross-cultural adaptation**

By reflecting the data to Kim's (2001) structural model of cross-cultural adaptation I will summarize which factors are considered important in the integration process. Communication is essential for successful integration, but also environmental factors are noted in this study. I will also attempt to clarify the frequency of the references concerning different aspects of integration.

My assumption is that integration occurs mainly through communication, and is strongly affected by the nature of the society. Communication and the extent to which the writers feel accepted by the society are also easier to detect from the texts than, for instance, predisposition or identity. Discourse analysis scrutinizes the contextual factors. One cannot study a certain phenomenon without a framework; by investigating the immigrants' perceptions of integrating in the Finnish society we also learn something about the society itself. Kim's model acknowledges these environmental factors. I will next discuss the environmental factors in addition to other factors presented in Kim's theory.

#### Personal and Social Communication

The importance of personal and social communication as well as host communication competence was especially referred to as the need to know the Finnish language and interact with the locals. Of 25 articles, 16 mentioned language by stressing different viewpoints. The significance of knowing Finnish and evaluating one's personal ability to speak Finnish were the most frequent references to the Finnish language in general. The demands by the society of knowing the language were acknowledged. Some writers had experienced negative attitudes towards their language learning, such as disbelief and discouragement, and were hoping for more support. Some longed for more efficient language training for the immigrants. There were also references to one's



personal efforts towards learning Finnish, and it was mentioned as the primary integrator. Some writers experienced that even good Finnish language skills were not useful since they faced discrimination regardless. One writer mentioned weak language skills as his greatest defect in integration.

Other features of cognitive competence that were considered important were the knowledge of Finnish history, rules and values. There were three references to history in the data; one writer said his interest towards the Winter War was a significant factor in the integration process. Four writers mentioned adopting the cultural rules as an immigrant's responsibility. One said it was important to familiarize with the Finnish values.

Affective competence, i.e. emotional or motivational drives towards successful adaptation, was detectable in such texts in which the writer expresses his/her flexibility and openness to accept the new situation. Many writers listed their efforts and activities for advancing integration, which also shows motivation. Two writers referred to the Finnish literature; by reading, one can reach a fresh perspective on Finnishness.

Many texts noted the importance of communicating with the Finns to advance integration. This was discussed especially in the Dialogic Interaction discourse. Five writers said they in fact had personal contacts with the Finns. One text mentioned reading newspapers as a method of integration, thus referring to host mass communication. One writer recommended co-ethnic support, whereas another text noted the significance of the immigrants encouraging individuals to adapt and take in the rules of the society.

### Environment

Two different viewpoints regarding the environment can be detected from the data. Others feel accepted and approved by the Finnish society, whereas others

experience the society to be rejective and discriminative. The opinions and language in these texts were generally strong. Host receptivity has been extensively discussed in both Rejective Society discourse and Receptive Society discourse. Like the titles suggest, the first sees the society as resentful against immigrants, and the latter as welcoming. The Rejective Society discourse was wide and comprehensive due to numerous references to rejection experienced by the society. Four writers regarded the Finnish society to be straightforward racist. There were many references to the society not wanting immigrants and not giving them equal opportunities. One writer stated not being welcome to Finland, another viewed Finland as unable to deal with difference. Several writers mentioned prejudices and suspicions. There were also those, although in smaller quantity, who considered the Finnish society as accepting. In those writings, Finland was said to be generous and supportive.

There were surprisingly few mentions of host conformity pressure in the data. It mostly manifested in the experienced pressure towards language learning and behaving and living according to the country's manners, "when in Rome, do as the Romans do". Both of these were referred to in a few occasions. Discrimination and separation were a more frequent topic, meaning that the majority aims to keep immigrants in their own territory so that conformity is not even possible. Thus immigrants remain immigrants and are not expected to behave like Finns. There are a few texts that nearly desire host conformity pressure by the majority as it is stated that immigrants should not receive special treatment but should take the same position with others. Only one text commented on expectations for assimilation.

Ethnic group strength was not mentioned in the context of any specific immigrant group; it was more common to discuss all immigrants as one minority group. However there was one writer referring to the Somali. Their own in-group was regarded as the only contact group, thus providing support for the group members, but hindering adaptation to the society. None of the immigrants wrote about the

positive support by their own ethnic groups, and did not refer to having friends of their own nationality.

### Predisposition

Of those who revealed their background, only one mentioned having known Finnish prior the arrival to Finland. As he had studied Finnish at a university level in his homeland, he was also familiar with the culture. No one mentioned having previous international experiences, but a few writers stated that they knew to expect facing challenges in the new environment. Three writers said their arrival to Finland was due to compulsion, one mentioned having come to Finland voluntarily. There is also one general reference to all immigrants residing in Finland voluntarily. As for ethnic proximity, five writers noted that a dark color of skin has a negative influence on the majority's reactions.

Many writers in the Immigrant Responsibility discourse wrote about their adaptive personality by stating that one must accept the new situation. Many also considered integration to be up to oneself. Ways to describe adaptive personality were, for instance, emphasizing one's optimism, positive attitude and eagerness to learn.

### Intercultural Transformation

Of the adaptation outcomes, integration seems to be regarded as the ideal among the writers. The single greatest factor affecting integration was work, to which 19 writers referred. Other essential prerequisites for integration were language skills, independent livelihood, social networks, active participation, and learning the Finnish culture, values, history, lifestyle, norms and rules. Factors that received less mentions were, for instance, education, a welcoming handshake from a local, holding on to one's roots, settling down and starting a new life in Finland, developing oneself, hoping to be treated with the same rights and responsibilities

as anyone, and an ordinary citizenship. Those who referred to themselves as "integrated" are able to perform their daily activities and thus are functionally fit. There were more comments in the data about being well adapted than having adapted poorly. However altogether there were more texts suggesting unsuccessful adaptation than good adaptation; these texts just did not state it directly. Reasons for unsuccessful adaptation were generally the experienced discrimination. Weak language skills were also mentioned on one occasion.

Two writers pondered their identity in the data, and both of them described it as intercultural. They felt that in order to integrate, they must adhere to their roots, as that is what identity constructs of. However more than two texts acknowledge the importance of having an intercultural identity. Universalization, understanding others and respecting universal values, is also referred to in the data as the importance of common values and equality is highlighted.

Reflecting the data to Kim's theory summarizes the discussion of integration, and reveals how work, language and other factors were discussed and from which viewpoint. Like discourses and power, the contributing factors in the integration process are relevant. On the basis of what has been discussed above, it seems that the communication and environmental factors were referred to the most. They are also at the center of interest of this study. It can be concluded that although the term integration is quite one-sided, only focusing on the efforts of the immigrants themselves, also the environment has a great impact on the success of integration.

### 8.3 EVALUATION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Looking for objective truth is not in the center of discourse analytical study. Instead of searching for the universal truth, discourse analytical research focuses on such interpretations that are justified in the best possible way from a certain essential viewpoint (Ilmonen 2001, 108). This emphasizes the responsibility of the

researcher. My basic assumption in this research is that purely objective facts are unattainable and that there are different constructions of reality which are affected by many things, such as preconceptions and prior knowledge of the researcher as well as the approach chosen by the researcher. The results attained in this study are one research alternative which I have concluded by analyzing the data. The meanings in the texts need an interpreter instead of simply emerging from the texts.

When selecting the data and analysis method for this study I was bound to consider the applicability of textual data to the research frame as well as the representativeness of the data. Who are the writers, who is an immigrant, who is involved? What kind of people are writing these texts? Do they represent the immigration population? What is said and unsaid in the texts? I reflected the basic questions of discourse analysis: who said, what was said, what was meant, why it was said, how it was said, what was the purpose and to whom was it intended.

In the present study, I have constructed those discourses that the immigrants have constructed on integration in their texts. Being a second-degree observer is always problematic to some extent as the analyst must deliberate how to estrange oneself from their culture, its language and the meanings. My subjectivity as a researcher was present during the entire research process; my choices and decisions concerning the research process has influenced its progress and implementation. I have, for instance, selected the data according to self-appointed criteria, chosen the research questions and detected the parts from the data that I consider most relevant. Anyhow, there are certain guidelines to follow when doing research. Consistency is one of the most important assessment method in qualitative research. Theory, data, analysis, interpretation methods and reporting must be connected. (Eskola & Suoranta 2008, 220-221.) I have attempted to follow these guidelines to the best of my understanding.

When studying the letters written by immigrants one must bear in mind that

“immigrants” are not a homogeneous group of people, but have varying backgrounds in e.g. culture, religion or education. Although they all present their viewpoint on integration, some of them have better prerequisites to integrate than others. I am aware that different factors influence on the immigrants’ willingness and predisposition to participate in the societal debate. The supply of media is institutionally and professionally controlled, and usually those who hold previous political, economical or cultural influence have the optimum access to media visibility (see Fairclough 1995, 40). This can be thought to apply also to the writers of the letters to the editor: those who consider themselves active, aware of the social reality and possessors of expertise of a certain issue are more likely to take part in the societal debate. Those who participate in the public debate must naturally have a personal interest in the question at hand and be determined to act on it.

Other issues to consider when investigating articles produced by immigrant writers are for instance language skills: how well and precisely can they present their knowledge and ideas with possible limitations in their Finnish skills (the language of the newspaper in question, Helsingin Sanomat)? I am also aware that the letters to the editor may not be published in the newspaper as such but can be subjected to editing. One should bear in mind that this study comprehends immigration discussion only from 1990. However this is justifiable because, as seen in chapter 2.1 about the history of immigration in Finland, the great flow of immigrants did not arrive until the beginning of 1990’s.

I preferred newspaper texts because they are natural material that exist regardless of the researcher. This excluded such methods as interviews or conversation. The viewpoint of the informant is different when they discuss integration publicly, to the entire newspaper nation. When investigating letters to the editor, one can never be sure how adequately the texts represent the population group in question or the so called public opinion (see e.g. Hemánus (1975, 41). It is not however my intention to do a universally applicable research on the integration of immigrants.

Instead I am studying those discourses that the immigrants construct about integration and that are bound to a certain context. It is assured in the Helsingin Sanomat web page that the writings are not published or turned down on the basis of how they comply with the views of the newspaper. It is important to note that deeper processing of the possible value alignments of Helsingin Sanomat or other reasons affecting the publishing is omitted in this research. I am however aware of the fact that it is the newspaper itself that makes the decision of which letters to the editor make it to the final edition.

Critical discourse analysis turned out to be a challenging, yet befitting method for this study as it has the ability to reveal and display such features concerning integration that would not be possible to detect with certain other methods. CDA, for instance, enables the viewing of power relations and negotiations of the societal positions. Nevertheless, each research process has its limitations. My study is not unchangeable, universal or timeless; instead it should be regarded as a product of a certain time and place. I have been in constant dialogue with the data and after each reading it sharpened. One issue increasing the reliability of my work is that the analyzed texts are a comprehensive sample of the immigration letters during two decades. The data is also natural; the researcher has in no way contributed to its formation. In order to clarify the research process and increase its reliability and transparency I have also presented exact citations from the data throughout the research process.

This research could be expanded by including a wider range of newspapers in the data, such as local and regional newspapers, or by studying other public texts or appearances concerning immigration and integration. Also the participatory immigrant groups could be narrowed down. It might be interesting to study, for instance, immigrants culturally similar to Finns and see how they regard themselves as a part of the society and how they discuss their places in the society. What is lacking in this study is the true dialogue between immigrants and the native Finns; thus the viewpoint of the majority would be of significance.

## 9 CONCLUSION

Different multileveled and partially overlapping discourses arose from the data, discussing the integration phenomenon and those factors that contribute to it. The articles discussed integration diversely, emphasizing individual experiences on micro level, and society as a whole on macro level. It is challenging to draw conclusions or generalizations from letters with such multidimensionality and variability. Making generic deductions is not even an object of this research; instead it is necessary to present the most relevant, recurrent themes. It is no surprise which factors are considered crucial for successful integration; as reflected to Kim's (2001) structural model of cross-cultural adaptation, knowing the language, getting employed and having contacts with the locals were mentioned the most. As this was somewhat predictable in my opinion, my main focus in the research was on other questions. I wanted to investigate the phenomenon more extensively. Studying for instance power relations can produce such knowledge that can be utilized on the micro levels of the society as well in addition to macro levels, such as authorities and decision-makers.

Dividing the data roughly, two distinct tendencies can be detected: those who feel welcome and able to affect one's situation, and those who feel excluded from the society and consider themselves incapable. A common factor for most articles was the ideal of multiculturalism, which was prominent in all discourses. It was discussed as a feature of the operational environment and as a socio-political goal. Regardless of the discourse, it also seemed that integration was presented as the most desirable goal for adaptation. Based on the data it appears that attitudes in particular are what require change, not practical measures, such as the immigration policy.

The identified seven discourses can be fitted into larger themes. The Rejective and Receptive discourses discuss the receptivity of the Finnish society and thus handle



the question of what kind of integration environment Finland is according to the writers. The integration responsibility is debated in the Immigrant Responsibility and Dialogic Interaction discourses. Resource, Justification-Solidarity and Authority Appeal and Critique discourses focus on questions of consequences and requisitions for integration. However all discourses refer at least partially to other discourses as well, and none of them are completely bound to one theme. The strength of the discourses can be rationalized by how consistent and harmonious they are. For instance the Rejective discourse was uniform, whereas the Solidarity and Authority discourses held more variety and heterogeneity. It can be concluded that the detected discourses are partially contradictory. However, even single letters had contradictory statements in some cases, which only proves the diversity of the data.

The fact that "immigrants", as a group, inevitably represent minority and write from the position of an underdog, it is not surprising that most of the discourses discuss discrimination and exclusion. Writing letters to the editor is a chance for power use, therefore it is natural that the writers seize upon the inequities. Something being wrong and unbalanced is usually the main catalyst for taking action. The rejection by the society is mainly seen to rise from juxtaposition, stereotypes and prejudices. This can be due to a strong ideology of protecting the national Finnish culture. It should be noted that the negativity in the data can result from different stages of the adaptation process: one is more likely to experience stress in the initial phase of acculturation. On the contrary, there are prominent experiences of opposite ideologies in the data, such as open and multicultural society. The data revealed that those who feel integrated generally considered the Finnish society as open and accepting, whereas those who regarded it as rejecting did not have as successful experience of integration.

I selected the data without many presumptions about what kind of discourses may be prominent. In this research it is important to give a free voice to the immigrants; thus all comments and discourses are equally meaningful. The

purpose was to study how immigrants talk about integration, meaning that all viewpoints must be included in the data to make the study as valid as possible. As suspected, only a small fraction, 25 altogether, of the letters to the editor in the Helsingin Sanomat archive were qualified to be included in the data. This can be interpreted in two possible ways: either immigrants residing in Finland do not indeed participate to the societal discussion to a great extent, or alternatively, only a part of their letters were published in the newspaper.

The oldest text in the data was from 1998, and the newest were from 2010. Despite the time gap, the discussed themes and viewpoints did not reveal great variety. Furthermore, the conclusions drawn from the data are valid despite the fact that the data does not only comprehend the current situation but covers a time span of two decades. Most writers contributed with their own voice, bringing something personal to their texts. Some wrote from an impersonal viewpoint. It is however difficult to evaluate what kind of people participate in the integration discussion. Nevertheless there is at least one common factor for the writers. Representing minority, the immigrants must redefine their identity, but also their position in the society. When a person is classified as an immigrant, he/she must function in this position within certain limits and conditions. Immigrants thus reproduce their subjectivity as they adopt a certain way of looking at and positioning themselves among others.

Although a marginal sample from a letters to the editor section cannot be said to represent general opinion, it can nevertheless be regarded advisably. All discourses can be interpreted to profess similar ideologies by focusing on a few central themes. The central question is, what kind of world is constructed in the discourses? Just, equal and multicultural world is the goal presented in the data. On the basis of the results of this study it seems that Finland is still in the process of learning about multiculturalism. Many aspects in the society already function well when it comes to multiculturalism, but there is still some work ahead. What needs to be fixed are especially the negative attitudes and prejudices towards

immigrants among employers and the majority. However, As Forsander (2004) argues, it seems that regardless of the integration orientation, it is in fact the immigrants who are expected to make efforts for integration – hence, integration is not a mutual effort.

As a researcher I am bound to consider certain ethical aspects concerning this study. A question I have been pondering is what use is there in making yet another study of how things should be, instead of making an actual change? Why talking about immigrants instead of talking with them? The research results however exist irrespective of the researcher's choices, revealing something about the meanings of the negotiations taking place in the society. It is my utmost wish that with this study I have been able to contribute to a more open, dialogic atmosphere which is necessary to make the interaction between the natives and the newcomers work.

It is important that far-reaching resolutions about integration are made on the political level. Par excellence this study reveals that there indeed is something that everyone, on all levels of the society, can do to facilitate the integration of immigrants. Participating in the integration measures and taking even a modest contact to immigrants can eventually lead to greater consequences. A multicultural society is a gradual process in which citizens grow. Thus, when considering our personal attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism, we must ask ourselves what kind of society we wish to live in. Whatever decisions are made today concerning immigration will come around in the future.

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## **APPENDIX**

### **Letters to the editor in Helsingin Sanomat**

- 0001. Näpit irti somalitulokkaista! 05.02.1998
- 0002. Suomeen tottuminen vie aikaa 05.10.1998
- 0003. Maahanmuuttaja ei ole ikuinen turisti 10.03.2002
- 0004. Maahanmuuttaja haluaa sopeutua 08.07.2002
- 0005. Koulutettu maahanmuuttaja ei kiinnosta Suomea 12.06.2008
- 0006. Antakaa meidän rakentaa yhteiskuntaa 07.03.2009
- 0007. Tyttäreni kotoutuminen on sujunut hienosti 24.11.2009
- 0008. Koulutus valintakriteeriksi 24.03.2010
- 0009. Akateemisille oma kotouttamisohjelma 15.04.2010.
- 0010. Eläminen helpottui muutettuani pienestä kaupungista Helsinkiin 15.04.2010.
- 0011. Haluan rakentaa yhteiskuntaa 15.04.2010.
- 0012. Harvat maahanmuuttajat seuraavat Suomen tapahtumia 15.04.2010.
- 0013. Lämmin kädenpuristus auttaisi ulkomaalaista sopeutumaan 15.04.2010.
- 0014. Maahanmuuttajien oltava kriittisiä myös itseään kohtaan 15.04.2010.
- 0015. Sosiaalietuuksille kovemmat ehdot 15.04.2010.
- 0016. Suomalaisten epäluulo haittaa maahanmuuttajan kotoutumista 15.04.2010.
- 0017. Tutustuminen suomalaisperheisiin lievensi ikävää 15.04.2010.
- 0018. Tutustuminen talvisotaan kotoutti minua 15.04.2010.
- 0019. Työ on ylivoimainen kotouttaja 15.04.2010.
- 0020. Täällä pidempään asuneilta voisi kysyä vinkkejä 15.04.2010.
- 0021. Maahanmuuttajana sain samat eväät kuin suomalaiset 17.04.2010.
- 0022. Miten voimme kotoutua, ellemmme saa samoja mahdollisuuksia kuin ”suomalaiset”? 17.04.2010
- 0023. Töitä koulutetuille maahanmuuttajille 18.04.2010.
- 0024. Tulin unelmieni maahan ja petyin 19.04.2010.
- 0025. Mihin maahanmuuttajat tarvitsevat omaa parlamenttia? 20.06.2010

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<sup>i</sup> Maahanmuuttajat saavat samat eväät kuin suomalaiset: saamme turvallisen maan, eikä huomista tarvitse pelätä.

<sup>ii</sup> Tulevaisuusnäköymäni ovat kirkkaat ja olen iloinen suomalaisen yhteiskunnan osoittamasta avusta.

<sup>iii</sup> Vaikka olen yhä epävarmassa oikeudellisessa asemassa, olen tyytyväinen saamiini mahdollisuuksiin ja oikeuksiin.

<sup>iv</sup> Olen maahanmuuttaja, joka viihtyy Suomessa. Olen oppinut suomen kielen, saanut kaksi koulutusta - kiitos Suomen veronmaksajille. Omistan jopa asunnon Helsingissä, sillä olen koko opiskeluaikani tehnyt työtä. Minulla ei ole ollut oikeutta suomalaiseen opintotukeen, mutta ilmainen koulutus on mahdollistanut unelmieni toteutumisen.

<sup>v</sup> Suomi antaa paljon - ja saa myös vaatia. Me kaikki sen tiedämme, jotka maksamme veroja.

<sup>vi</sup> Suomalaiset hyväksyvät muualta tulleet ihmiset antamalla paljon: ilmaisen koulutuksen, sosiaaliavun ja turvallisen yhteiskunnan, jossa voi luottaa lakeihin ja valtioon. Mitä väärää on siinä, että vaaditaan myös paljon takaisin?

<sup>vii</sup> Kokemukseni mukaan Suomessa on parasta juuri ilmainen ja korkeatasoinen koulutus.

Lähtökohdista riippumatta täällä voi yrittää ja vaikuttaa itse tulevaisuuteensa. Ei välttämättä tarvita suhteita, rahaa tai vanhempien tukea. Myös se on hienoa, että ihmisiin voi luottaa. Suomalaiset ovat toisille kilttejä. Suomessa ajatellaan paljon luontoa ja muutenkin tulevaisuutta. Muualla tuntuu, että vain tämä hetki on tärkeä. Suomessa katsotaan pitkälle tulevaisuuteen.

<sup>viii</sup> 17-vuotias neiti käy lukiota, ratsastaa, osallistuu potkunyrkkeilyyn ja jujutsuun sekä opiskelee venäjää kansalaisopistossa. Ei häiritse, että hän on ollut Suomessa vain yhden vuoden. Ei häiritse, että hänen suomen kielensä ei ole täydellistä. Hänet on hyvin kotoutettu.

<sup>ix</sup> Kaikki on mennyt helposti ja sujuvasti.

<sup>x</sup> Halusin kertoa tämän positiivisen kokemukseni siksi, että kaikki Suomen-kokemukseni eivät ole positiivisia. Silti: Suomen laki on mahtava, jos viranomaisilla riittää hyvää tahtoa ja rohkeutta tutkia uusia erikoistapauksia.

<sup>xi</sup> Alun perin somalialaisena miehenä koen kotoutuneeni Suomeen hyvin. Oleskeluluvan saatuani pääsin nopeasti kiinni työelämään. Olen toiminut bussikuskina, taksikuskina, rekkakuskina ja kuljetusalan yrittäjänä. Nykyään minulla on asioimistulkkausyritys ja toimin itsekin tulkkina.

<sup>xii</sup> Pieni kaupunki ja koulu, luokkakaverit ja opettajat, ovat osa elämääni. Minulla on hyvät suhteet opiskelijatovereihini. Ja vaikka he ovat joskus hiljaisia ja yksinäisen oloisia, tunnen olevani yhteisön jäsen

<sup>xiii</sup> Olen itse ICT-alalla töissä ja omat kokemukseni ovat hyvin positiivisia. Suomalaiset firmat suhtautuvat yhä avoimemmin ulkomaalaisiin työntekijöihin. (...) Varsinkaan korkeasti koulutetut maahanmuuttajat eivät koe vaikeuksia työllistymisessä ja sopeutuvat suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan.

<sup>xiv</sup> Koenko itse kotoutuneeni? Huolimatta siitä, mitä sanoin, monet suomalaiset ovat olleet ystävällisiä minulle, vaimoni perhe mukaan lukien.

<sup>xv</sup> Tietysti on muutama asia mistä minä en tykkää, varsinkin eristäminen, mitä minä tunnen, koska ajattelen, että voin elää ystävällisien suomalaisten kanssa.

<sup>xvi</sup> Tulimme Suomeen melkein vuosikymmen sitten ja totuus on, että me olemme tämän yhteiskunnan täysiä jäseniä. Jaamme sen arjen ilot ja surut sekä loputtomat haukkumiset. Meillä on kova työ edessämme, korkea muuri ylitettävänä, syviä ja sitkeitä ennakkoluuloja purettavina. Se on vaikea tehtävä, joka vaatii ponnistelua, paljon energiaa ja aikaa, mutta pärjäämme kyllä jos vain saisimme olla rauhassa ja tilaa hengittää.

<sup>xvii</sup> Mutta en halua asua maassa, johon en ole tervetullut.

<sup>xviii</sup> Haluamme rakentaa yhteiskuntaa. On rasittavaa, ettemme saa tehdä sitä rauhassa. Itse olen

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yrittänyt kovasti sopeutua Suomeen, maksanut veroja, tehnyt työtä, ollut rehellinen sanoissani ja teoissani. Nyt tuntuu, että sekään ei riitä.

<sup>xix</sup> Olemme kurkkua myöten täynnä maata, jossa asuu vähemmän ulkomaalaisia kuin yhdessä Wienin esikaupungissa, ja joka ei halua maahanmuuttajia riippumatta heidän iästään, koulutuksestaan, kielitaidostaan tai kotimaastaan.

<sup>xx</sup> Ulkomaalaisena olen Suomessa aina toisen luokan ihminen. On ihan sama, miten hyvin puhun kieltä ja miten hyvin olen sopeutunut Suomeen. Ajattelin, kun tulin, että hakisin joskus Suomen kansalaisuutta, mutta iloni on täysin pilattu. Olen päättänyt muuttaa takaisin Itävaltaan.

Tyttöystäväni haluaa tulla mukaan.

<sup>xxi</sup> Tajusin myös, että kaikki kauniit puheet monikulttuurisesta Suomesta ja ulkomaalaisten integroinnista olivat puppua, koska ulkomaalaisia syrjitään jatkuvasti, tekevät he mitä tahansa. Yhteiskunta ei halua meitä ja pysymme (ja kenties lapsemmekin) ulkomaalaisina.

<sup>xxii</sup> Ulkomaalaisten täytyy tietenkin käsitellä kulttuurishokkiansa mihin hyvänsä he menevätkin, mutta en voi olla vertaamatta Suomeen muuttamista esimerkiksi Amerikan-vierailuun. Siellä emme koe olevamme ulkomaalaisia niin kuin täällä, ja molemmissa tämä tunne liittyy kulttuuriin.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Mitä ulkomaalaisten pitäisi tehdä, jotta heistä tulisi yhtä "suomalaisia" kuin kenestä tahansa kansalaisesta? Olisivatko he hyvin kotoutuneita, jos he olisivat vaimonhakkaajia? Tai jos he joisivat itsensä känniin ravintolassa ja tappelisivat? Tai jos he jäisivät kiinni rattijuoppoudesta?

<sup>xxiv</sup> Luulen, että kestää kauan ennen kuin ulkomaalaiset ja suomalaiset sopivat elämään yhdessä ja ennen kuin ulkomaalaiset voivat kotoutua Suomeen. Siihen asti heidän on pakko elää omissa ryhmissä mikä ei auta heitä tottumaan yhteiskuntaan.

<sup>xxv</sup> Voitte arvata kuinka kohtuuttomalta tuntuu, kun silloin joku väittää, että ”et tee mitään”, ”et halua tehdä työtä”. Nyt tietysti joku muu syyttää minua siitäkin, että olen vienyt työpaikan suomalaiselta. Tilanne on todella ahdistava.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Meidän pitää päästä pois käsityksestä, että maahanmuuttajat vievät suomalaisten työpaikat ja jos eivät saa töitä, elävät suomalaisten siivellä.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Kadulla minulta mustana miehenä yritetään ostaa huumeita, vaikken ole niitä ikinä nähnytkään.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Toivon, että maahanmuuttajia vastaan ei hyökätä fyysisesti eikä henkisesti kadulla, kouluissa, bussissa, eduskunnassa ym. sen vuoksi, että he näyttävät erilaisilta. Siksi, että he vain vakituisesti asuvat Suomessa.

<sup>xxix</sup> On jo sen aika, että Suomessa hyväksymme, että esimerkiksi tummaihoisen voi olla suomalainen. Suomalainen, jota ei nähdä uhkana vaan tasa-arvoisena yhteisömme jäsenenä. Toivoisin, että myös maahanmuuttajat näkisivät itsensä täysiarvoisina suomalaisina, joilla on erilainen etninen tausta.

<sup>xxx</sup> Ulkomaalaisten kanssa tekemisissä olevia ja työskenteleviä suomalaisia pidetään usein hulluina riskinottajina, ja etenkin Afrikkaa pidetään toivottomana paikkana, josta ei voi tulla mitään eikä ketään hyvää.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Siellä vastaanotto oli lähes tyrmäävää kiusaamista, ryssittelyä, tukistelua ja kiusantekoa. Sama jatkui yläasteella: olin monesti yksin ulkona välitunnilla ja sain vihaisia katseita ja kommentteja, jopa opettajilta. Pienessä kaupungissa tilanne oli liian tukala.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Jotkut harvat suomalaiset ymmärtävät muualta tulleita, mutta heitä on liian vähän, ehkä yksi kolmessa miljoonassa. Lasten kanssa on hauskaa, koska heillä on vähemmän ennakkoluuloja kuin aikuisilla.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Suurin osa aikuisista näyttää potevan tiedonpuutteesta johtuvaa asenneongelmaa, joten en pane paljonkaan toivoa heidän kasvattamiseensa, mutta lapsissa on tulevaisuus.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Jotkut suomalaisvanhemmat eivät edes suostu laittamaan lapsiaan monikulttuurisiin päiväkoteihin ja nostavat metelin, jos päiväkodissa tai koulussa on töissä muita kuin syntyperäisiä suomalaisia.



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Miten ihmiset vieläkin kuvittelevat voivansa eristäytyä muusta maailmasta?

- <sup>xxxv</sup> Kohtaamme täällä heti epäluulon tuntematonta kohtaan. Suomalaiset naapurit eivät huomioi toisiaan, mikäli vain mahdollista, vaan kääntävät päänsä pois välttääkseen katseitten kohtaamisen. Ulkomaalainen, jolle naapureiden välinen ystävällisyys on korkeassa kurssissa, tulkitsee tämän hylkäämiseksi. Laajasalossa sain odottaa kaksi peräänantamatonta vuotta, ennen kuin naapurit vastasivat tervehdyksiini.
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> Suomessa asuminen ja työskenteleminen oli suuri unelmani. Tiesin kyllä, että byrokratiaa ei ole vain kotimaassani, ja että maahanmuuttajalla on edessään paljon ongelmia viranomaisten kanssa. Mutta en olisi koskaan uskonut, että Suomessa on näin vaikeaa olla ulkomaalaisena. Ajattelin aina, että kielitaitoisena ja korkeasti koulutettuna löytäisin varmasti töitä.
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> Vastaukset ovat olleet toisaalta naurattavia, toisaalta vaarallisen syrjiviä: "luulemme ettet osaa suomea", "hakija on hyvin pätevä ja puhuu erinomaisesti suomea, mutta koska hän ei ole syntyperäinen suomalainen, pelkäämme, ettei hän pysty keskustelemaan syvistä asioista", "olet pätevä, mutta vastuullisessa tehtävässä pelkäämme asiakkaidemme luottamuksen puolesta", "koska olet korkeasti koulutettu, luulemme, ettet viihdy yrityksessämme", "sinulla ei ole suomalaisen kirjallisuuden tuntemusta", "sinulla ei ole liiketoiminnallista näkemystä etkä tunne suomalaista yritysmaailmaa" ja kymmeniä muita tekosyitä, jotka osoittavat, millainen on suomalaisen työnantajan tyypillinen asenne maahanmuuttajataustaista työnhakijaa kohtaan.
- <sup>xxxviii</sup> Olemme koputtaneet riittävän pitkään yritysten ja julkishallinnon oviin saadaksemme työpaikan. Kun yliopistoissakin suositaan tuttuja ja syrjitään päteviä maahanmuuttajahakijoita, ja kun yrityksessä maahanmuuttajataustainen hakija asetetaan viimeiseksi ja huonoksi vaihtoehdoksi, on ihmisen motivaatio osallistua suomalaisen yhteiskunnan rakentamiseen ja oman velkansa takaisin maksamiseen hyvin alhainen.
- <sup>xxxix</sup> Maahanmuuttaja ei pääse helposti töihin vaikka kuinka ahkerasti yrittäisi ja vaikka olisi kuinka pätevä. Jopa siivoushommiin vaaditaan täydellistä suomen kielen taitoa. Sitten katsotaan onko nimi erikoinen ja tarkistetaan onko työhakija Suomen kansalainen. Jos on jopa Suomen kansalainen katsotaan mikä on ihonväri, mistä maasta on lähtöisin jne.
- <sup>xl</sup> Arvostan sitä, että sain opiskella ammattikorkeakoulussa englanniksi ja sain hyvän koulutuksen. Mutta kun samat kurssit ovat myös suomeksi ja suomalaiset kaverit saavat töitä jo opiskeluaikana, mutta me muut emme saa valmistumisen jälkeenkään kuin pätkättöitä, ihmettelen, ovatko suomalaisten kurssit parempitasoisia ja erisisältöisiä kuin englanninkieliset, vai onko kysymys kielestä, ennakkoluuloista vai mistä.
- <sup>xli</sup> Olen tammikuusta lähtien lähettänyt lähes 500 työhakemusta. Hakemuksia olen lähettänyt pääasiallisesti koulutustani vastaaviin tehtäviin sekä sellaisiin tehtäviin, joihin ei edellytetä korkeakoulutusta. Työttömyyteni alkuvaiheessa uskoin, että koulutukseni, työkokemukseni ja ennen kaikkea suomen kielen taitoni riittää rikkomaan ennakkoluuloja. Uskoin, että saisin helposti työtä. Nyt huomaan työn olevan hyvin raskaan kiven alla, ja voimavarani kiven hakkaamiseen alkavat loppua
- <sup>xlii</sup> Monen vuoden jälkeen on helppoa suhtautua tähän kaikkeen kutakuinkin positiivisesti. Mutta kun tulin tänne, minulle tarjotut palkkiot ja ammatilliset työtehtävät olivat suorastaan naurettavia, ja monien nykyisten maahanmuuttajien tavoin olin masentunut. Tämä kaikki teki entistäkin vaikeammaksi luoda itselleen uusi ura.
- <sup>xliiii</sup> Kohtelua voidaan verrata Etelä-Afrikassa ennen 90-lukua vallinneeseen apartheidiin, jossa mustien, koulutuksesta riippumatta, piti tyytyä valkoisten heille säälistä tarjoamaan mihin tahansa työhön.
- <sup>xliiv</sup> Olen monesti pohtinut, joudunko minäkin muiden maasta lähteneiden maahanmuuttajien tapaan muuttamaan pois. Vai pitäisikö elää unelmien valossa ja yrittää vielä kerran? Ikävä kyllä ihminen,

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joka on monta kertaa tullut torjutuksi, saa sellaisen tunteen, että hänet on hylätty (...) Toiset ovat juuttuneet korkeakoulutustaan vastaamattomiin töihin. Toiset ovat pakotettuja jättämään Suomen ja lähtemään muualle työn perässä.

- <sup>xlv</sup> Sekä opetusministeriö että yliopisto, jossa suoritin korkeakoulututkintoni, on hyväksynyt perustutkintoni. Tämä ei merkinnyt mitään työnantajalle, joka päätti itse arvioida tutkintoni. Minua ei kelpuutettu edes niihin projekteihin, jotka olivat kohdistuneet alueelle, josta olin kotoisin, ja joissa olin asiantuntija!
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Hain aktiivisesti työpaikkoihin ja kursseille. Huomasin nopeasti, ettei kurssien tarkoitus ollut järjestää työpaikkoja vaan kaunistella tilastoja. Kaikki oli ajan ja rahan tuhlausta.
- <sup>xlvii</sup> Suomessa meidän on useimmiten vielä turha unelmoida julkishallinnon vastuullisista tehtävistä. Suomen ensimmäisen maahanmuuttajataustaisen henkilön nimittäminen julkishallintoon johtajatasolle sai aikamoista julkisuutta. Ikään kuin olisi ihme tapahtunut!
- <sup>xlviii</sup> Jos olemme kohteliaita ja hymyileviä, meidät hyväksytään paremmin. Joku suomalainen voi jopa kertoa, että tuntee yhden mukavan somalin. Mutta jos näytämme, miltä tuntuu olla ennakkoluulojen ja vihan kohteena päivästä ja vuodesta toiseen, on seurauksena noidankehä, josta on lähes mahdoton vapautua. Jos kerromme, miltä tuntuu (kuten minä nyt), on seurauksena vaikeuksia. Emme voi vastata vihamielisyyteen vihamielisyydellä, vaikka mieli tekisi. On alistuttava.
- <sup>xlix</sup> Valitukseni pienestä palkasta ja epäoikeudenmukaisesta kohtelusta sai työnantajan kohtelevaan minua kuin rettelöitsijää, ja minua uhattiin irtisanomisella. Jatkoin työssä perheen takia.
- <sup>l</sup> Olenko minä nyt se hyvä vai huono maahanmuuttaja? Olen maahanmuuttaja, joka taisteli tätä rasismia vastaan, jota sain silmille vuosien ajan. Miksi olen selvinnyt Tahdolla ja motivaatiolla ja eräiden ihmisten avulla.
- <sup>li</sup> Minä en siis ole joku ulkomaalainen, jonka kohdalle sattui vähän epäonnea. Tämäntyylinen ulkomaalaistaustaisten kohtelu on systemaattista ja näkyy sekä yksityisellä sektorilla että valtion virastoissa. Tämä siitä huolimatta, että syrjintä on laissa kielletty.
- <sup>lii</sup> Luulin, että oikeusvaltiossa onnistun torjumaan syrjintää oikeusteitse. Olin väärässä, koska tuomari, joka totesi, että koulutustasoni vastaa suomalaista koulutustasoa, ei pitänyt pienempää palkkaa syrjintänä. Näin oikeusvaltiossa...
- <sup>liii</sup> Euroopan unioniin liittymällä Suomi on valinnut poliittisesti tiensä kohti monikulttuurista yhteiskuntaa, jossa ihmiset liikkuvat enemmän maasta toiseen ja ovat tasa-arvoisia. Näin ehkä on, kun puhutaan Euroopan kansalaisista, mutta kun puhutaan kolmannesta maasta olevista, yhteiskunnan tasa-arvon mittarit valitettavasti hälyttävät.
- <sup>liiv</sup> Maailmanlaajuinen talouskriisi on aiheuttanut Suomessa taantuman. Vihamielisyys, rasismi ja ennakkoluulot meitä kohtaan ovat kasvaneet. Emme me ole lamaa aiheuttaneet.
- <sup>liv</sup> Emme ole ainoita, jotka kärsivät ennakkoluuloista, mutta jostain syystä joudumme rasismin kohteeksi enemmän. Ehkä syy on, että olemme muslimeja tai että ihomme on musta.
- <sup>lv</sup> Näyttää siltä, että suomalainen itsetunnon puute nostattaa epäluuloja siitä, miksi kukaan valitsisi täällä asumisen.
- <sup>lvii</sup> Suomeen tuli 1990-luvulla laman aikana paljon somalialaisia pakolaisia. Suomalaisilla ei ollut ennakkokäsitystä meistä, ja meihin suhtauduttiin rauhallisesti. Mutta pian media alkoi levittää meistä huonoa kuvaa. Oli vaikea saada töitä, ja monet ovet sulkeutuivat.
- <sup>lviii</sup> Huolestuttavaa on, että media julkaisee näitä kirjoituksia ja palaa 1990-luvun tapaan leimata meitä. Emme uskalla puolustautua, koska kukaan ei uskalla turvata selustaamme.
- <sup>lix</sup> Maahanmuuttajalla pitäisi olla syy integroitua ja sopeutua suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan, ja kun kaikki syyt häneltä syrjinnällä riisutaan, ei jää paljon ilon aihetta. Miksi olla mukana junassa, joka tarjoaa vain viimeisen vaunun vailla kaikkia matkustamiseen tarvittavia edellytyksiä?

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- <sup>lx</sup> Suomi on rasistinen maa, joka pelkää ulkomaalaisia samaan aikaan kun se syyttää meitä siitä, ettemme kotoudu. Onko syy meidän?
- <sup>lxi</sup> Toivon, että jokainen meistä pysähtyy minuutiksi ja asettaa itsensä pakolaisen asemaan. Miten voi kyetä integroitumaan yhteiskuntaan, jos siellä ei asenteellisesti osata ottaa vastaan erilaisuutta?
- <sup>lxii</sup> Mielestäni on puhuttu yksipuolisesti siitä, mitä maahanmuuttajat tarvitsevat eikä siitä, että kun he tulevat Suomeen, heidän tulee asettua samalle viivalle muiden kanssa (...) Sitten pitää itse lähteä eteenpäin ja tietenkin opetella maan kieltä ja tapoja.
- <sup>lxiii</sup> Ja hyvät maahanmuuttajat, ei kukaan ole kutsunut meitä tähän maahan. Olemme tulleet tänne vapaaehtoisesti. Jos emme pysty integroitumaan tähän maahan ja nauttimaan elämästämme, voimme lopettaa itsemme kidutuksen ja lähteä pois vaikkapa omaan kotimaahan. Onneksi Suomen valtio kuuluu niin sanottuihin oikeusvaltioihin. Kuten olette huomanneet, täysin vapaa liikkuminen kuuluu jokaisen naisen ja miehen oikeuksiin. Tästä maasta ei tarvitse lähteä pakoon, siihen riittää lentolipun hankkiminen.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> Kotouttaminen tapahtuu oman itsensä kehittämisen kautta. Tällöin opitaan yhteiskunnan normeja ja sääntöjä ja opetellaan elämään niiden mukaisesti.
- <sup>lxv</sup> Käytännössä kotoutuminen tarkoittaa maahanmuuttajille itsenäistä toimeentuloa, sosiaalisen verkoston rakentamista ja aktiivista osallistumista suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan
- <sup>lxvi</sup> Sana maahanmuutto tarkoittaa asettumista ja uuden elämän aloittamista toisessa maassa.
- <sup>lxvii</sup> Minusta Sdp:n puheenjohtaja Jutta Urpilainen sanoi oikein, että maassa on eletävä maan tavalla.
- <sup>lxviii</sup> Vierasmaalaiset yleensä hyväksyvät paikalliset tavat kyselemättä, ”maassa maan tavalla”. Vierasmaalaisen pitäisi noudattaa toisen maan lakeja, sääntöjä, tapoja ja kulttuuriperinteitä ja tämä on ymmärrettävä.
- <sup>lxix</sup> En ole ikinä kokenut minkäänlaista rasismia tai nimittelyä, koska toimin maan tapojen mukaan.
- <sup>lxx</sup> Aluksi tunsin, että minun täytyi ottaa vastaan minun uusi elämä, koska, se, mikä pakotti minut tänne, oli vaikeampi.
- <sup>lxxi</sup> En pidä itseäni ikuisena turistina enkä kutonut kultaisia mielikuvia (unelmia) palaamisestani kotimaahani epämääräisessä tulevaisuudessa. Olen integroitunut alusta asti hyvin tässä maassa olevaan systeemiin ja olen hyväksynyt suomalaisen kulttuurin sellaisena kuin se on, hyvine ja huonoine puolineen. Ei mikään ole maailmassa täydellinen! Enkä rakentanut pientä laatikkoa ympärilleni nimeltä ”oma kulttuuri”.
- <sup>lxxii</sup> Pitää ajatella oikein päin, että joka maassa on hyvät puolet ja huonot puolet. Pitää vain yrittää kotoutua Suomen yhteiskuntaan. Sitten tulee helpompi ymmärtää suomalaisia.
- <sup>lxxiii</sup> Elän, nauran, syön, ilahdun, suren, työskentelen ja nautin kuten muut tavalliset ihmiset Suomessa. Kun olen elänyt puolet elämästäni tässä maassa, pidän jo sitä ensimmäisenä kotimaanani.
- <sup>lxxiv</sup> Silti en ole unohtanut identiteettiäni, enkä kotimaani kulttuurin hyviä puolia. Ne ovat minun hyviä muistoja lapsuudestani ja nuoruudestani, kaikkea kivaa joka liittyy muistoihini. Niiden elossa pitämiseen en tarvitse kerhoja enkä temppeleitä. Ne ovat ikuisesti elossa sydämessäni.
- <sup>lxxv</sup> Samalla, kun rohkaisemme yksilöiden kotoutumista suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan, on tehtävämme rohkaista koko yhteisöä omaksumaan yhteiskunnan pelisäännöt menettämättä omaa identiteettiämme.
- <sup>lxxvi</sup> Nyt lukuisia yhdistyksiä ja järjestöjä perustamalla yhteisöt pyrkivät suojelemaan itseään ja kulttuuriaan ja säilyttämään identiteettinsä. Järjestöt toimivat ensisijaisesti lähtömaan asioiden etenemisen puolesta. Tästä syntyy kiulu valtaväestön ja maahanmuuttajayhteisön väliin. Kiulu, joka voi estää maahanmuuttajien kotoutumista.
- <sup>lxxvii</sup> Koen, että kotoutuakseni paremmin tähän yhteiskuntaan minun on pidettävä kiinni juuristani, arvoistani ja kulttuuristani, koska koko identiteettini rakentuu niiden varaan. Samalla on tärkeää, että

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tutustun Suomen kulttuuriin, arvomaailmaan ja historiaan. Lukemalla Seitsemän veljestä ja Täällä pohjantähden alla sain uudenlaista perspektiiviä suomalaisuuteen.

<sup>lxxviii</sup> Suomalaisella elämällä ja Suomen historialla on paljon tarjottavaa, jos on innokas oppimaan. Itse löysin kiinnostukseni talvisotaan, ja se on pitänyt minut otteessaan ja vienyt yhden Suomen historian merkittävimmän tapahtuman ytimeen. Se avasi minulle uskomattoman matkan Suomen menneisyyteen ja suomalaisen yhteisön sieluun ja psyykeen. Tunsin alkavani kuulua mukaan yhteisöön huolimatta siitä, pitivätkö jotkut harrastuksestani vai eivät.

<sup>lxxix</sup> Jokaisen pitäisi löytää oma "talvisotansa", joka auttaa häntä löytämään oman itsensä tästä yhteisöstä. Nyt odotan innokkaasti kolmatta matkaani Karjalaan kokeakseni taas menneisyyden opetukset.

<sup>lxxx</sup> Kieli vie aikansa, mutta kovalla työllä jokainen pääsee vaiheeseen, jossa voi alkaa käydä mielekkäitä keskusteluja paikallisten kanssa. Minulla siihen pääsy kesti ainakin viisi vuotta, ja se oli kaiken vaivan arvoista! (...) Kovan työn ja sinnikkyuden johdosta pystyn nyt nauttimaan tästä maasta ja yhteisöstä, joka on kotini ja perheeni. Mitä teenkin, teen sen rikastuttaakseni tätä maata!

<sup>lxxxii</sup> Luin paljon lehtiä ja kirjallisuutta, kävin myös työväenopiston kursseja eri aloilta - muun muassa karjalanpiirakkakurssin - ja näin opin vuodessa kielen. Kukaan ei järjestänyt tai maksanut minulle näitä kursseja.

<sup>lxxxiii</sup> Uskoisin, että pakolaistaustaiset kotoutuisivat Suomeen paremmin, jos paineet elättää itse itseä olisivat kovemmat. Sosiaalietuuksille pitäisi olla enemmän ehtoja, varsinkin toimeentulotuelle. Tukimuodot ovat liian passivoivia.

<sup>lxxxiiii</sup> On tärkeää saada itse maahanmuuttajat aktiivisemmin mukaan kotoutumistoimenpiteisiin. Täällä jo pidempään asuneilta voisi kysyä niinkin yksinkertaisia asioita, kuin mitä tietoa, kursseja ja tukea he olisivat alkuvaiheessa kaivanneet.

<sup>lxxxv</sup> Työnteko ja aktiivinen osallistuminen yhteiskuntaan ovat normaali elämäntapa ihan missä vain maailmassa – ei vain Suomessa.

<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Meidän tulisi rohkeasti liittyä työntekijäliittoihin, jotta tutustuisimme työsopimuksien tuomiin oikeuksiin ja velvollisuuksiin. Työpaikka on ovi suomalaiseen kulttuuriin (...)

<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Me olemme jo yli 100000 ihmisen suuruinen Suomessa asuva vähemmistö, josta osalla on äänioikeus vaaleissa. Myös me voimme olla tärkeä äänestäjäryhmä vaaleissa. Toivon, että maahanmuuttajat seuraisivat politiikkaa ahkerasti, jotta voisivat vaikuttaa äänestämällä heidän asioitaan tehokkaimmin hoitavaa puoluetta seuraavissa vaaleissa.

<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Myös maahanmuuttajien täytyy osata suhtautua maahanmuuttoon liittyviin epäkohtiin kriittisesti: heidän tulee olla kriittisiä omia asioitaan, etnisen yhteisönsä kohtaamia ongelmia sekä epäkohtia kohtaan.

<sup>lxxxix</sup> Maahanmuuttajien pitäisi tuoda aktiivisemmin yleiseen keskusteluun yhteisönsä ongelmia, jotta asioista pystyttäisiin keskustelemaan rakentavammin. Maahanmuuttajien pitää rohkeasti kommunikoida, olla luovia, innovatiivisia ja motivoituneita muuttaakseen vallitsevaa vastakkainasettelua maahanmuuttokeskustelussa eikä odottaa, että muutos tapahtuisi itsestään.

<sup>lxxxix</sup> Suomalaiset kaipaavat vastauksia, ja maahanmuuttajien velvollisuus on vastata. Muuten kysymyksiin vastaavat suomalaiset ääriliikkeet heidän puolestaan. Jos keskustelu on ääriliikkeiden varassa, on se meille kaikille pahaksi.

<sup>xc</sup> Maahanmuuttajien on tultava mukaan yhteiseen keskusteluun eikä ottaa uhrin roolia, jota heille tarjotaan. Heidän pitää ymmärtää, että he kuuluvat tähän yhteiskuntaan, jossa on oikeuksia ja velvollisuuksia.

<sup>xc</sup> Suomessa kotoutuminen on monesti epäonnistunut. Kunnat ja valtio eivät ole mielestäni ainoita epäonnistumisen syytä. Maahanmuuttajilla on tässä oma osuutensa, koska monet heistä ovat

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haluttomia osallistumaan aktiivisesti kotoutumiseen. Harvat maahanmuuttajatta seuraavat Suomen tapahtumia. He ovat satelliittikanavien välityksellä virtuaalisesti vieläkin kotimaassaan ja päivittävät elämänsä sikäläisten tapahtumien valossa.

- <sup>xcii</sup> Aina kun kuulen sanan maahanmuuttaja, ihmettelen, pitäisikö itkeä vai nauraa! Tuntuu siltä, että tämän sanan tarkoitus on unohtunut sekä suomalaisviranomaisilta että – vielä pahempi – maahanmuuttajilta.
- <sup>xciii</sup> Minua naurattavat nämä maahanmuuttajat, jotka koko aika puhuvat siitä, että jonakin päivänä palaavat takaisin kotimaahansa. He ovat ottaneet ikuisesti ”kädessään matkalaukkua pitävän turistin” roolin, vaikka olisivat jo vuosikausia asuneet Suomessa.
- <sup>xciv</sup> Somaliliiton entinen puheenjohtaja sanoi (HS 15.3.), että asenteet maahanmuuttajia kohtaan olisivat koventuneet. On tyyppillistä, että nimenomaaan somalialaisten etujärjestön edustaja kommentoi ”syrjinnästä”. Työssä käyvät maahanmuuttajat eivät koe syrjintää eikä heillä ole etujärjestöä, koska he eivät sitä tarvitse.
- <sup>xcv</sup> Minua naurattaa myös se, että suomalaiset viranomaisetkin ovat mukana tässä naurettavassa show’ssa yrittämällä ymmärtää niin sanottuja maahanmuuttajia.
- <sup>xcvi</sup> Hyvät viranomaiset, jos haluatte auttaa näitä maahanmuuttajia integroitumaan tähän maahan ja tulemaan onnistujiksi, (...) lopettakaa karhunpalvelusten tekeminen näille ihmisille. Älkää estäkö maahanmuuttajia kohtaamasta tämän maan lakeja, sääntöjä, tapoja ja kulttuuria ymmärtämällä heitä liikaa. Antakaa heille mahdollisuus kokea ja tuntea karkea todellisuus, joka enemmän tai vähemmän hallitsee jokaisessa maassa.
- <sup>xcvii</sup> Toisaalta on tunnustettava, että jotkut maahanmuuttajaryhmät eivät sopeudu ja työllisty yhtä helposti. Poliittinen korrektaus on valitettavasti johtanut siihen, että ongelmasta vaietaan, koska pelätään rasistin leimaa. Minun mielestäni ei ole rasismia osoittaa, että korkeasti koulutetut maahanmuuttajat sopeutuvat paremmin, koska koulutus on täysin ihonväristä riippumatonta.
- <sup>xcviii</sup> Suomalaisten ei tulisi maahanmuuttajien loukkaamisen pelossa vaihtaa omia uskonnollisia ja kulttuurisia traditioitaan. Maahanmuuttajien tulee sopeutua, niin kuin meidänkin on pitänyt tehdä.
- <sup>xcix</sup> Sopeutuminen on kaksisuuntainen katu. Meidän maahanmuuttajien tehtäviin kuuluu kielen, kulttuurin ja tämän yhteiskunnan pelisääntöjen oppiminen. Valtaväestön tehtävä on avata meille ovia kun me niitä koputamme.
- <sup>c</sup>Sanotaan: ”maassa maan tavalla tai maasta pois”. Kuitenkin sopeutuminen on kaksisuuntaista. Myös suomalaisten on huolehdittava, että välillämme on vuorovaikutusta.
- <sup>ci</sup> Maahanmuuttajien kotoutumisessa vastuu ei ole vain valtaväestön. Kyseessä on maahanmuuttajayhteisön, -yksilön, kuntien ja valtion yhteinen tangotanssi.
- <sup>cii</sup> Toivon, että maahanmuuttajat ja suomalaiset tekisivät sopusoinnussa työtä joka alalla yhdessä ja siitä syntyisi entistä vahvempi, suvaitsevaisempi yhteiskunta, jossa tulot jakaantuisivat tasaisemmin, jotta yhteiskunnan rauha säilyisi.
- <sup>ciii</sup> Minusta on tärkeää etsiä ympäröivien ihmisten kanssa yhtäläisyyksiä, jotka pohjaavat yleisinhimillisille arvoille kulttuurista tai uskonnosta huolimatta. Tällaisia hetkiä voi kokea vaikkapa työpaikan kahvitauoilla, jalkapallokentällä tai taloyhtiön talkoissa.
- <sup>civ</sup> Pyrkimällä suomalaisiin järjestöihin maahanmuuttajat saivat myös erilaisen kontaktin suomalaisten kanssa. Haluan kutsua suomalaisia, monikulttuurisen Suomen kannattajia myös maahanmuuttajien perustamiin yhdistyksiin.
- <sup>cv</sup> Onneksi monilla meistä on suomalaisia ystäviä, sukulaisia, tuttuja ja työ- ja koulukavereita, jotka ovat tutustuneet meihin henkilökohtaisesti, tuntevat meidät ja tietävät, minkälaisia me todella ihmisinä olemme. Olisi hyvä, jos muutkin epäilijät, kuten Ilaskivi, uskaltaisivat tutustua meihin lähemmin. Ehkä olemme hieman erinäköisiä ja pukeudumme eri tavalla, mutta emme kuitenkaan pure.

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- <sup>cv</sup> Saavuttaakseen nämä tavoitteet työ on maahanmuuttajille ylivoimaisesti paras kotouttaja, ja työn saantia edistää maan kielen oppiminen. Omasta kokemuksesta voin sanoa, että työn ohella syntyy automaattisesti sosiaalinen verkosto, jossa on sekä suomalaisia että maahanmuuttajia, ja kielitaito kehittyy. Kun työssä ja kaveripiirissä puhutaan suomea, silloin oppii kielen käyttämällä.
- <sup>cvii</sup> En tajunnut, kuinka vaikeaa on olla ilman äitiä ja isää. Toivoin, että he olisivat kanssani ja elämäni olisi helpompaa. Tilannetta auttoi tutustuminen muutamiin suomalaisperheisiin.
- <sup>cviii</sup> Jokaiselle pitäisi löytää paras, sopiva vaihtoehto. Kotoutettavia Suomessa riittää - huomaamista vain välillä kaivataan.
- <sup>cix</sup> Kädenojennus lähellä asuville maahanmuuttajille ja heistä kiinnostumisen samalla tavalla kuin vierailevista turisteista on jotain, mitä jokainen voi tehdä auttaakseen ulkomaalaisia sopeutumaan paremmin.
- <sup>cx</sup> En osaa suomea täydellisesti, mutta pärjään suomeksi töissä. Arvostan kovasti sitä, että kannustetaan puhumaan suomea eikä naureta virheille.
- <sup>cxii</sup> En usko maahanmuuttajien olettavan, että heidän uusi kotimaansa huolehtisi heistä; he vain tarvitsevat apua perusasioissa päästäkseen alkuun. Mielestäni perusasiat ovat: mahdollisuus tehdä työtä, kannustus suomen oppimiseen ja tervetulleeksi toivottava, lämmin kädenpuristus!
- <sup>cxiii</sup> Valitettavasti nykyisessä maahanmuuttokeskustelussa ei kuunnella ollenkaan normaalin työssäkäyvän, veroa maksavan maahanmuuttajan mielipiteitä. Äänessä ovat lähinnä ne maahanmuuttajat, jotka kuuluvat marginaaliryhmiin; toisin sanoen ne, joilla on etujärjestö tai jotka pitävät itsestään kovaa meteliä korostaen omaa "erilaisuuttaan". Tämä vääristää julkista kuvaa maahanmuuttajista.
- <sup>cxiiii</sup> Me elämme jo monikulttuurisessa arjessa.
- <sup>cxv</sup> Maahanmuuttokeskustelussa on ollut aistittavissa vastakkainasettelua. Keskustelun sävy on usein ollut, että "teidän pitää integroitua" tai "teidän pitää elää maan tavalla". Silloin unohdetaan ne lukuisat maahanmuuttajat, jotka ovat jo integroituneet ja jotka ovat jo osa Suomea. On myös niitä, jotka usein mielletään maahanmuuttajiksi, vaikka he ovat syntyneet Suomessa.
- <sup>cxvi</sup> Viranomaiset kyllä antavat tiloja (esimerkiksi kulttuurikeskus Caisa), joissa suomalaiset ja ulkomaalaiset voivat tavata ja puhua. Siellä suomalaiset kokevat, että heillä on lupa luopua kulttuuristaan ja kotimatalla palata siihen. Tällainen suomalaisten ja ulkomaalaisten kohtaaminen on epäaitoa.
- <sup>cxvii</sup> Suomeen muuttaneiden maahanmuuttajien yhteisöt eivät vielä ole järjestäytyneet niin, että koko yhteisön olisi mahdollista osallistua heitä koskevaan päätöksentekoon.
- <sup>cxviii</sup> Pitää muistaa, että maahanmuuttajat eivät ole sodassa suomalaisia vastaan vaan tuomassa Suomelle mahdollisuuksia.
- <sup>cxix</sup> Osa ihmisistä tuntuu ajattelevan, että pakolaiset tulevat Suomeen hyödyntämään sosiaalisia etuisuuksia ja käyttämään yhteiskunnan varoja. Meillä on kuitenkin potentiaalia olla voimavara Suomelle niin työelämässä kuin muillakin elämänalueilla.
- <sup>cx</sup> On jokaiselle hyödyksi, jos kaikki täällä asuvat tuntevat kuuluvansa joukkoon. Mukava tervehdys ja hymy voivat merkitä paljon ihmiselle, joka tuntee itsensä ulkopuoliseksi. Ne, jotka kuuluvat joukkoon pitävät huolta ympäristöstään ja tekevät työtä sen parantamiseksi - ne jotka tuntevat olonsa ulkopuoliseksi sulkeutuvat itseensä tai hajautuvat pieniin ryhmiin, jotka erottavat ihmisiä eivätkä yhdistä.
- <sup>cxxi</sup> Miten olisi kansallinen Kutsu maahanmuuttaja lounaalle -päivä? Siinä saattaisi saada hyvän ystävän, ja pieni mauste muista kulttuureista rikastuttaisi koko yhteiskuntaa.
- <sup>cxixi</sup> Uskon, että kotoutumisen onnistumiseksi kaikkein tärkeintä on molemminpuolisen kunnioituksen ja tasavertaisuuden osoittaminen. Tämä voi lisätä yhteisöllisyyttä, toisista välittämistä ja tyytyväisyyttä

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eristäytymisen, vihan ja epätoivoisuuden sijaan.

- <sup>cxxii</sup> Mitä tehdä työelämässä vallitseville ennakkoluuloille? Ottakaa meitä töihin, jotta voimme näyttää, että osaamme ja haluamme.
- <sup>cxxiii</sup> Olen virolainen, hyvän suomen kielen taidon ja akateemisen koulutuksen omaava maahanmuuttaja. Koulutetut maahanmuuttajat ovat Suomessa resurssi, jota ei juuri käytetä, ellei ole esimerkiksi lääkäri tai it-alan insinööri.
- <sup>cxxiv</sup> Maahanmuuttajille pitää antaa mahdollisuus edetä suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa ja mahdollisuus osoittaa, mihin pystymme.
- <sup>cxxv</sup> Itselleni on tarjoutunut hyviä työmahdollisuuksia. Kokemani vaikeudet ovat kääntyneet voimavaraksi, jota olen kyennyt hyödyntämään myös työelämässä. Kansainvälinen taustani ja kielitaitoni ovat auttaneet kontaktien luomisessa ja antaneet uutta perspektiiviä suomalaiseen työyhteisöön.
- <sup>cxxvi</sup> Olen ihailnut suomalaisen sisukasta ja periksi antamatonta tahtoa, joka on nostanut sodanjälkeisen Suomen maailman huipputasolle. Suomen kehitys ja Suomen kehittämiseen osallistuminen ovat kuitenkin globalisaation haasteiden edessä. Suomen kilpailukyvyyn säilyttämiseksi on jatkuvasti korostettu koulutuksen ja kansainvälisyyden tarvetta.
- <sup>cxxvii</sup> Suomeen tulleiden koulutettujen maahanmuuttajataustaisten ihmisten toiveena on monesti jäädä Suomeen, ja sille olisi myös tilausta, sillä ulkomaalaistyövoiman tarve näkyy monella sektorilla.
- <sup>cxxviii</sup> Globaalissa taloudessa Suomi tarvitse maahanmuuttajia, jotka osallistuvat aktiivisesti suomalaiseen työelämään ja yhteiskuntaan. Pienenä maana Suomi pärjää tässä globaalissa kilpailussa vain korkeateknologian ja innovatiivisuuden avulla. Korkeasti koulutetut maahanmuuttajat tuovat tähän omalla osaamisellaan lisäarvoa.
- <sup>cxxix</sup> Päätäjät esittävät, että Suomeen pitäisi ottaa töihin lisää ulkomaalaisia. Heitä tarvitaan tekemään töitä, joita suomalaiset eivät halua tehdä.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Useimmat suomalaiset eivät näytä tietävän, mistä me maahanmuuttajat tulemme ja millaisia erilaisia taustoja ja olosuhteita meidän elämäämme liittyy. Paljon hyvää ja hyödyllistä tietoa ja taitoa jää käyttämättä negatiivisten asenteiden takia.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Jokaisen ihmisen koulutus maksaa kymmeniä tuhansia euroja, ja kun ihminen on siinä tilanteessa, että olisi valmis maksamaan velkaansa, yhteiskunta sulkee kaikki ovet häneltä ja ikään kuin hylkää oman investointinsa heittämällä arvokkaan osaamispääoman roskiin!
- <sup>xxxii</sup> Olemme hyvin ristiriitaisessa tilanteessa, jossa on vaarana sekä jyrkemmän kantasuomalaisen ja maahanmuuttajataustaisen työvoiman vastakkainasettelun synty että toisaalta koulutettujen ihmisten kiihtyvä maastamuutto. Molemmissa tapauksissa sekä suomalainen veronmaksaja että työtä vaille jäänyt ihminen häviävät.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> Usein kuitenkin Suomessa koulutetut maahanmuuttajataustaiset ihmiset muuttavat muihin maihin, ja veronmaksajien rahoilla tehty investointi jää vaille vastinetta Suomessa.
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> Oliko ulkomaalaisten koulutus ja kokemukset ajan tuhlausta, kun yhteiskunta ei halua hyötyä niistä?
- <sup>xxxv</sup> On pakko kääntää viha itseämme kohtaan ja purkaa sitä omassa yhteisössä. Seurauksena on pahoinvointia meille ja yhteiskunnalle.
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> Olen työssäni nuorten parissa huomannut, miten osa somalialaisnuorista on alkanut kääntyä yhteiskuntaa vastaan. Esimerkiksi koulukiusaaminen on yleistynyt.
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> Sisimmässäni on toivo, että eräänä päivänä me maahanmuuttajat tulemme saamaan melkein saman aseman kuin suomalaiset. Olemme aasialaisia, afrikkalaisia, eurooppalaisia, amerikkalaisia. Olemme tietenkin erilaisia, ajattelemme, teemme työtä ja rakastamme eri tavalla, mutta kuitenkin olemme samanarvoisia ihmisiä.

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- <sup>cxxxviii</sup> Satoja tuhansia suomalaisia on lähtenyt maailmalle monista eri syystä. He haluavat kunnioitusta ja inhimillistä kohtelua, jotta voisivat elää omaa elämäänsä. Somalit Suomessa haluavat saman kohtelun, vaikka he tulivat maahan pakolaisina.
- <sup>cxxxix</sup> Meidän ei tarvitse pitää kaikista - riittää, että kunnioitamme toisiamme.
- <sup>cxl</sup> Uskon, että kotoutumisen onnistumiseksi kaikkein tärkeintä on molemminpuolisen kunnioituksen ja tasavertaisuuden osoittaminen.
- <sup>cxli</sup> Jokaisella ihmisellä on ollut kotimaassaan tukiverkostonsa, ja yksinäisyys uudessa kotimaassa on jo itsessään pelottava asia.
- <sup>cxlii</sup> Varmaan teemme paljon virheitä niin kuin uudessa ympäristössä usein sattuu, mutta opimme niistä koko ajan.
- <sup>cxliii</sup> Emme tietenkään ole kaikki puhtaita pulmusia tai enkeleitä vaikka kuinka yrittäisimme. Olemme joukko ihmisiä, joka koostuu erilaisista yksilöistä ja johon mahtuu monenlaisia ihmistyyppejä kuten muihinkin kansaryhmiin. Sen takia halusimme, että meitä ei kohdeltaisi kaltoin.
- <sup>cxliv</sup> Olen itse kotoisin Somaliasta ja voin todeta Suomessa asuvan somalialaisia, jotka ovat syyllistyneet esimerkiksi rikoksiin ja sosiaalietuisuuksien hyväksikäyttöön. Nämä ongelmat eivät välttämättä johdu heidän uskonnostaan tai kulttuuristaan. Suomen somalialaisessa yhteisössä on erilaisia yksilöitä: jotkut toimivat epäsosiaalisesti, jotkut eivät. Aivan kuten suomalaistenkin kohdalla.
- <sup>cxlv</sup> En halunnut Eurooppaan paremman elintason tai taloudellisen tilanteen vuoksi. Jätin taakseni kaiken, koska minulla ei ollut muuta vaihtoehtoa.
- <sup>cxlvi</sup> Vuonna 1995 minulla tuli vaikea tilanne ja minun täytyi jättää Algeria ja muuttaa johonkin. Minulla oli vain yksi mahdollisuus, se oli Suomi.
- <sup>cxlvii</sup> Syy minkä takia tulimme Suomeen on, että lähdimme pakoon kovakätistä hirmuhallitusta, joka vainosi nuoria opiskelijoita, jotka vastustivat sitä. Sitä seurasi koko maailmaa järkyttänyt sota, toisin sanoen likainen heimosota, jolle ei löydy rationaalista selitystä; ystävä ystävää vastaan, sota jossa täytyy tappaa tai tulla tapetuksi.
- <sup>cxlviii</sup> Tapahtumat vyöryivät eikä niitä pystynyt estämään. Oli mahdotonta olla osa ratkaisua, ja sen takia monet meistä päättivät olla olematta osa ongelmaa ja lähtivät.
- <sup>cxlix</sup> Lähdin kotimaastani Iranista, koska opiskelija-aktivistina olosuhteet maassa olivat minulle hyvin kriittiset. Läheisiä ystäviäni ja sukulaisiani kuten satoja tuhansia muita oli mielipiteittensä vuoksi vangittu tai surmattu. 18-vuotias tyttöystäväni oli teloitettu ja veljeni oli vankilassa. Kuten muutkin poliittiset aktivistit, olin maassani hengenvaarassa. Tässä on ero, jonka näen siirtolaisten ja kaltaisten poliittisten pakolaisten välillä: poliittisena pakolaisena minulla ei ole ollut oman maan hallituksen tukea ja suojaa takanani, vaan tilanne oli juuri päinvastainen.
- <sup>cl</sup> Yli 16 vuotta Suomessa asuneena olen yrittänyt opiskelun ja ammattipätevyyden saannin lisäksi tutustua suomalaiseen historiaan, kulttuuriin ja suomalaisuuteen.
- <sup>cli</sup> Olemme yrittäneet oppia suomen kielen, halunneet rakentaa tätä yhteiskuntaa ja olla osa sitä. Meitä on lääkäreinä, Nokian työntekijöinä, sosiaalivirastoissa, vanhusten kotihoidossa, nuorisotyössä ja insinööreinä. Monet ovat koulutettuja, kansainvälisiä ja kielitaitoisia. Eduskuntavaaleissa somalialaistaustainen ehdokas oli päästä kansanedustajaksi. Alkoi tuntua, että vihdoinkin olimme pääsemässä sisään suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan.
- <sup>clii</sup> Ennen elätimme aina itsemme ja perheittämme kovalla työllä. Haluamme tehdä samaa täällä Suomessa kaikista esteistä huolimatta. Monet meistä tekevät jo työtä, monet muut etsivät sitä kipeästi. Osa opiskelee ja haluaa rakentaa täällä uutta elämää kaikista menetyksistä huolimatta.
- <sup>cliii</sup> Ilaskivi loukkasi kirjoituksellaan monia somaleja, jotka asuvat maassa laillisesti ja rehellisesti, hoitavat omia yhteiskunnallisia tehtäviään, tekevät työtä ja maksavat veronsa.
- <sup>cliv</sup> Suomessa on paljon meitä hyvin koulutettuja ulkomaalaistaustaisia ihmisiä. Maksamme veroa,



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- palvelemme tätä maata ja kasvatamme lapsemme samaan aikaan, kun jotkut suomalaiset siirtävät rahansa ulkomaille tai lähtevät pois, jotta eivät joudu maksamaan veroa!
- <sup>clv</sup> Jos suomalaiset haluavat auttaa maahanmuuttajia kotoutumisessa, suosittelen opiskelua tai työtä ulkomailla. On avartavaa kokea itse maahanmuuttajan elämä. Silloin tietää itse, millaista maahanmuuttajien elämä on ja osaa suhtautua heihin paremmin. Globaalissa taloudessa maahanmuutto on isolle osalle ihmisistä jo nyt osa arkielämää.
- <sup>clvi</sup> Käytännössä työttömyys on kipeä asia kaikille. Se ei tunne rajoja, rotuja, ihonväriä, kansalaisuutta eikä ihmisryhmää. Työttömyys on tämän maan pahimpia ongelmia ja vaatii ratkaisua kaikkialta – varsinkin maan päättäjiltä.
- <sup>clvii</sup> Toivon maahanmuuttajia, suomalaisia poliittisten päätösten tekijöitä ja muita avainhenkilöitä ryhtymään tosissaan alentamaan maahanmuuttajien korkeaa työttömyyttä, huomioimaan heitäkin päätöksentekohetkellä.
- <sup>clviii</sup> Osa maahanmuuttajakursseista on silkkaa rahastusta: firmat ansaitsevat pitämällä ihmisiä koulunpenkillä, mutta juuri mitään hyödyllistä siellä ei opita, ainakaan sellaista, mitä tarvitaan työelämässä. Kieliopin yksityiskohdat, Suomen historia ja Seurasaaressa puulajit on mukava tietää ja osata sitten myöhemmin, kunhan on muuten päästy käsiksi yhteiskuntaan ja varsinkin työhön.
- <sup>clix</sup> Jotta kotoutuminen onnistuisi paremmin, kaikki kotouttamistoimenpiteet on keskitettävä mahdollisimman nopeaan työllistymiseen.
- <sup>clx</sup> Aikuisen pakolaisen on vaikea oppia kieltä ilman kontakteja valtaväestöön, mihin luonnollisin väylä on työ. Tämä toki vaatii työnantajilta pelottomampaa asennetta murtaen suomea puhuviin ja vieraskielisellä nimellä työhakemuksia jättäviin.
- <sup>clxi</sup> Suomen valtion omistamat yritykset voisivat näyttää esimerkkiä työllistämällä Suomessa vakituisesti asuvia maahanmuuttajia aktiivisemmin.
- <sup>clxii</sup> Maahanmuuttajien asioita hoitavissa virastoissa päätöksentekoryhmään voisi kuulua myös maahanmuuttajia, koska he tietävät omasta kokemuksestaan minkälaisia esteitä heille on tullut eteen työssä ja sosiaalisessa elämässä.
- <sup>clxiii</sup> Yle voisi televisiossa antaa tilaa myös muille vähemmistöille kuin pelkästään suomenruotsalaisille.
- <sup>clxiv</sup> Viranomaisten ja oikeiden asiantuntijoiden pitäisikin tarkemmin valvoa maahanmuuttajille suunnattujen kielikoulutusten sisältöjä ja opetusmenetelmiä.
- <sup>clxv</sup> Viranomaiset yrittävät epätoivoisesti osoittaa myötätuntoa turvapaikanhakijoille, olla oikeudenmukaisia taloudellisille maahanmuuttajille ja tyydyttää teollisuuden tarpeita vetämällä puoleensa ammattitaitoista työväkeä. Maahanmuuttajia ei kuitenkaan voi kohdella kuin he olisivat samankaltaisia.
- <sup>clxvi</sup> HS:n kyselyssä (HS 15. 3.) kysyttiin "Pitäisikö Suomeen ottaa lisää maahanmuuttajia?" Kysymys on liian yleinen, koska maahanmuuttajat eivät muodosta yhtenäistä, homogeenistä ryhmää. Maahanmuuttajien keskuudessa on suuria eroja koulutuksessa ja sosio-ekonomisessa taustassa, lähtömaan kulttuurista puhumattakaan.
- <sup>clxvii</sup> Olen nimittäin vahvasti sitä mieltä, että onnistuneen kotouttamisen edellytys on maahanmuuttajan kohtelemisen samoin oikeuksin ja velvollisuuksin kuin kantaväestön edustajankin, erittelemättä maahanmuuttajaa mihinkään erityisryhmään. Tukea pitää tietenkin olla, mutta järkevyyden rajoissa.
- <sup>clxviii</sup> Tuen pitäisi tähdätä siihen, että maahanmuuttaja kokee itsensä tasa-arvoiseksi eikä erityiseksi. Sanoisinpa jopa, että kotouttaminen on onnistunut, kun maahanmuuttaja kokee itsensä tavalliseksi kansalaiseksi.
- <sup>clxix</sup> Minun mielestäni maahanmuuttajien oma parlamentti pikemminkin edistää eriytymistä ja vastakkainasettelua ("meidän parlamenttimme vastaan heidän parlamenttinsa") kuin kotouttamista. Parlamentti on aidan rakentamista maahanmuuttajien ja kantaväestön välille, molemmin puolin.

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<sup>clxx</sup> Yhteiskuntaan kuuluu poliittinen rakenne, jossa päättävä elin on parlamentti. Siis, koko yhteiskunnan päättävä elin, eikä sen yhden osan.

<sup>clxxi</sup> Esitin tämän "parlamentti-kysymyksen" venäjänkielisille maahanmuuttajille suositulla russian.fi -keskustelupalstalla. Sieltäkään, monen eritaustaisen ihmisen joukosta en saanut ymmärrystä, mitä etuja parlamentti oikein palvelisi. Kukaan muukaan ei keksinyt selitystä. He näyttävät kokevan omat vaikutusmahdollisuutensa riittäviksi jo nyt. Epäselväksi meille jääkin, kenelle parlamenttia oikein ollaan perustamassa, ja mihin tarkoitukseen.

<sup>clxxii</sup> Sosiaalietuuksille pitäisi olla enemmän ehtoja, varsinkin toimeentulotuelle. Tukimuodot ovat liian passivoivia.