Schoolscapes in Multicultural Centers in Finland: How Staff Members Perceive Multilingualism

Marino Ishimoto

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Faculty of Education and Psychology
University of Jyväskylä

ABSTRACT

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This study aims at exploring how multilingualism is represented in multicultural centers in Finland, and interpretations of these representations made by the staff members in multicultural centers through the lens of schoolscape.

To accomplish the study aims, walking interviews with staff members was conducted in five different multicultural centers. The fragments of schoolscape in the multicultural centers were photographed. Discourse analysis was used for analyzing excerpts from the interviews.

The findings reveal the covert language policy towards multilingualism in the investigated multicultural centers, which was to use Finnish as a lingua franca, while other languages than Finnish were used accordingly. Varieties of interpretation towards this covert language policy were made by the staff members. Some of them rather encouraged immigrants to speak Finnish, while others also pointed out the positive aspects of speaking immigrants' mother tongue. Additionally, a perceived lower status of the Swedish in the multicultural center came to fore, even though Swedish is the other national language in Finland. Fragments of schoolscape in Finnish were carefully designed to make them understandable regardless of the Finnish language proficiency.

With the findings, language policy and ideology inside and outside of the multicultural centers are reflected. The ways to enhance multilingualism in the aspect of the dichotomy in the use of language, time restrictions, staff members' awareness of the impacts of the schoolscape on multilingualism are suggested. The number of participants, researchers' Finnish language proficiency and focusing only on the visual aspect of schoolscape may limit the findings.
Keywords: schoolscape, multilingualism, non-formal education, multicultural center

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1 INTRODUCTION

Finland has a relatively short history of hosting immigrants compared to other countries (OECD, 2017). However, the number of immigrants in Finland has been rapidly increasing since early 1990's. Statistics Finland (2018a) shows the number of residents with foreign citizenship in Finland is more than 400,000, which is almost eight times more than in 1990. Moreover, the number of residents who speak other languages than the domestic language in Finland (Finnish, Swedish, Saami) is nearly 400,000, which is also around five times more than three decades ago (Statistics Finland, 2018b). Finnish society nowadays is also becoming more multilingual: more than 30 foreign languages other than domestic languages are spoken in Finland. The five majorities of foreign language speakers speak Russian, Estonian, Arabic, Somali and English. (Statistics Finland, 2018b). Multilingualism in Finnish society is nowadays, therefore, becoming an important phenomenon.

Language policy in immigrants' education policy and in Finnish integration policy seem to have two main goals which are sometimes conflicted: integration training focuses on immigrants' acquiring Finnish or Swedish language, while protection of immigrants' mother tongue is also stated. According to Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration of Finland (1386/2010), basic education for immigrants above the age of the compulsory education and integration training are conducted in Finnish or Swedish. However, the same legislation also states that the integration in local level must be implemented with consideration of the preservation of the mother tongues of the immigrants. Similarly in the national core curriculum of the basic education for the adults states that students' different cultural background, including linguistic background, should be considered to strengthen their cultural identity, while teaching promotes students' integration to Finnish society simultaneously (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2017).

Despite these two main goals of the language education policy in Finland, the actual state in language use of the immigrants in Finland seems to be less

directed towards using adult immigrants' multilingualism as a strength and resource. According to Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland (2017):

> Immigrants' own languages are not taken into consideration as a strength and resource, which would also support integration into Finnish society. However, over 500 languages are spoken in Finland. (p.22).

Therefore, this study sheds lights on the language use of the learning environment for the adult immigrants to investigate actual state on the process to promote multilingualism, as well as to find the clues to enhance multilingualism more in the Finnish society through the lens of schoolscape. This study particularly focuses on non-formal educational environment since multilingualism in non-formal education is not well concerned compared to formal education in schoolscape study. To accomplish the aim of the study, I chose muilticultural Centres (*Monikulttuurikeskus* in Finnish) as a research site, defined as a meeting place for immigrants and ethnic minorities (Statistics Finland, n.d.).

2 CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

This section explains the context of multicultural centres from two aspects of spatiality. First, the context of the physical locations of investigated multicultural centers is elaborated on particularly from the aspect of the linguistic features. In the next section, the function of multicultural centers as non-formal educational institutions and as spaces of multicultural interaction is demonstrated.

2.1 Locational background of the investigated Multicultural Centers

This section elaborates on the locational context of the investigated multicultural centers, particularly from the aspect of linguistic features. There are around 30 multicultural centers in Finland (V. Elonheimo, personal communication, September 18, 2019). The research request was sent to 15 institutions whose contact information was available on the internet. As a result, 5 institutions agreed on being investigated.

2.1.1 Locational context of the investigated multicultural centers

The locations of the five institutions varies. Two out of those institutions are in the Eastern part of Finland. One of the multicultural centers which locates in eastern part of Finland is pseudonymized as EF1 (in the city I1); Another Multicultural center in Eastern Finland is called as EF2 (in the city I2). Other three multicultural centers locate in Southern Finland (SF in the city E), Central Finland (CF in the city K), and Northern Finland (NF in the city P). The exact name of the municipalities where those institutions are located cannot be mentioned for the sake of data protection. Pseudonyms of the investigated multicultural centers and cities are not related to the actual names of those: they are neither initial of the name of the city nor the institutions.

2.1.2 Population and linguistic features of each municipality where investigated multicultural centres located

The population structure of each municipality by the number of foreign language speakers varies. 'Foreign language' in this context means the languages other than Finnish, Swedish and Sami (Statistics Finland, 2018c). Percentage of the population of the speakers of Russian, Farsi, Arabic in each municipality is less than 1 percent (Statistics Finland, 2018c), whereas the fragments of linguistic landscape containing Russian, Farsi and Arabic could be found in most of the investigated multicultural centers. Linguistic landscape is, in short, "linguistic items found in the public space" (Shohamy,2006. p.110.; cf. Section 3.3.).

Specifically, the Russian speakers account for 1 per cent in the cities of I1 and I2 (Statistics Finland, 2018c). Yet still, there can be found some notifications written in Russian in the supermarket which is in the neighbor municipality of the city of I1 (Staff members in EF1, personal communication, November 25, 2019).

Most residents in the municipalities where the investigated multicultural centers are in, on the other hand, speak national language. 'National language' in this context means Finnish and Swedish (Language Act, 423/2003). Generally speaking, the number of Swedish speakers is far less than the number of Finnish speakers in all the research sites: Over 80 percent of the residents in the five municipalities are Finnish speakers (Statistics Finland, 2018c).

The city of E is bilingual municipality (*kaksikielinen kunta*) (Statistics Finland, 2019) since the number of Swedish speakers is more than 10000, which is more than the minimum required number to be nominated as a bilingual municipality (Language Act, 423/2003). According to Language Act (423/2003), it is compulsory for companies and authorities in the bilingual districts is to provide the information both in Finnish and in Swedish. In fact, when exploring around the city where SF locates in, it could be found that the road signs are written in Finnish and Swedish. On the contrary, for instance the road signs are usually written only in Finnish in the monolingual municipalities.

2.2 Multicultural centers as non-formal educational spaces

This section provides the definition of non-formal education and multicultural center, organizational background, and the examples of activities and services provided in the investigated multicultural centers. The function of multicultural centers as non-formal educational institutions is thus demonstrated.

Non-formal education is defined by UNESCO (2011) as "Education that is institutionalized, intentional and planned by an education provider" (p.81). However, unlike formal education, non-formal education does not follow continuous process, and it is typically provided as short courses, workshops or seminars. In addition, non-formal education does not necessarily lead to qualification which is recognized by the national or local authority. Non-formal education programmes contribute not only to younger generation but also to adults. The content of non-formal educational programme varies: Non-formal educational programmes aim at youth literacy development, providing education for out of school children, obtaining life and work skills, as well as for social and cultural development.

Meanwhile, multicultural centre is a place where the immigrants and the native-born Finnish people can interact, learn and exchange their culture (Statistics Finland, n.d). Despite the definition, many of the multicultural centres have more functions than just for a cultural exchange, and the integration of the immigrants. For instance, CF is targeted not only to the people with the foreign backgrounds but also to the younger people. Rehabilitation programme has been provided in SF with those who have disabilities. Activities, events and assistances provided by the investigated multicultural centers are also different from each other. For example, CF and EF2 offer guidance and counselling services for the immigrants in several different languages beside organizing events and weekly activities.

Mulicultural centers are not owned by the public authorities. Although the organization that owns each multicultural center is different from each other,

they are owned by either local or international NGOs. Three out of all investigated multicultural centers are funded by STEA (Funding Centre for Social Welfare and Health Organization); all the investigated multicultural centers are funded also by the several different organizations. With some exception, most of the investigated multicultural centers have been managed for about one to two decades.

Considering the targeted visitors, varieties of activities and services provided in the investigated multicultural centers and their organizational background, multicultural centers can be positioned as a non-formal educational space. Yet in this study, despite of the multifunctionality, multicultural centers are investigated as non-formal educational spaces where immigrants can learn and use various languages.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The previous section provided the context of the investigated multicultural centers as well as the locational background. This section aims at giving the definition of the theoretical framework as a lens to understand the investigated Multicultural Centers. The key concepts of this study, which are language ideology, language policy, linguistic landscape (LL) and schoolscape will be elaborated based on previous research. The definition of language policy is elaborated first by making comparison with overt and covert language policy. After that, language ideology is defined in the next subsection with the viewpoint of relationship between language policy and ideology. The third subsection defines the concept of LL, which has been utilized as a lens to understand language policy and ideology. This subsection also aims at showing that LL research has been conducted in various contexts particularly nowadays. Schoolscape study is included in the diversity of LL study, which is going to be defined in the final subsection.

3.1 Language policy

Bugarski (1992, as cited in Schiffman, 2002, p.3) describes the definition of language policy as:

> the policy of a society in the area of linguistic communication - that is, the set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting that community's relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential.

Schiffman (2002) further differentiates between overt (explicit, de jure) and covert (implicit, de facto) language policy. Similarly, Shohamy (2006) defines explicit and implicit language policy. Shohamy (2006) defines explicit language policy as a language policy which is "stated explicitly through official documents, such as national laws, declaration of certain languages as "official"

or "national", language standards, curricula, tests, and other types of documents" (p.50). Implicit language policy, on the other hand, is derived from various de facto practices (Shohamy, 2006). Although language policy has been often considered in a national political level, it is considered as a decision making about language use both in macro and micro societal contexts (Shohamy,2006).

This study focuses on covert language policy emerging from actual language practices to gain holistic understandings of the decision making of the language use in multicultural centers. There is always a gap between overt (explicit, de jure) and covert (implicit, de facto) language policy, and covert language policy reflects the actual state of the language use in the community more than the overt language policy (Spolsky, 2004).

Language policy research towards multilingualism in Finland has been conducted from individual level to national societal level. Language policy in Finland is discussed in the legislation, basic school curriculum and integration policy (Tarnanen & Huhta, 2008), higher educational institutions (Saarinen 2014), as well as the gap between national and family language policy (Haque, 2011).

3.2 Language ideology

Language ideology is the concept that represents the gathered individual beliefs and ideas towards language and language use. Language ideology is often investigated to reveal how the societal norms, institutional and organizational structures and power is reflected upon the language and language use in the communities (Woolard & Schiffelin, 1994).

Lanza & Woldemariam (2009) further elaborates on language ideology in relation to language policy: "Language ideologies serve to rationalize existing social structures and dominant linguistic practices, particularly through their institutionalization in official language policy" (p.189), and the people's evaluations towards languages and multilingualism. Hence, language ideology

can be defined as individual perception and position towards language policy, and the reasons of individuals' for following or creating language policy.

3.3 Linguistic landscape (LL)

Linguistic Landscape (LL) has been often investigated to explore the reconstruction and deconstruction of language ideologies and language policies in multilingual communities (e.g. Chenoz & Gorter, 2012). Landry and Bourhis (1997) define the concept of LL as follows:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. (p.25)

LL is nowadays conceived as a more inclusive concept: Shohamy (2006) defines LL as "linguistic items found in the public space" (p.110). The definition of LL has been further expanded corresponding to recent technological development: nowadays, the concept of LL includes "electronic flat-panel displays, LED neon lights, foam boards, electronic message centers, interactive touch screens, inflatable signage, and scrolling banners"(Gorter, 2013, p191). Similarly, LL found in the public online space called Online Linguistic Landscape is also investigated (Kallen, Dhonnacha, & Wade, 2020). Furthermore, LL matters graffiti and street arts in the public space (Machetti & Pizzorusso, 2020) and languages that are used orally (Brown, 2012; Menken, Rosario & Valerio, 2018).

LL has been investigated in the sociolinguistic contexts since LL has been also perceived as a reflection and as an influence constructing the power and the status of language in the society (Kallen, 2010; Chenoz & Gorter, 2012). LL study thus can provide multiple perspectives on multilingualism "by focusing on language choices, hierarchies of languages, contact-phenomena, regulations, and aspects of literacy" (Gorter, 2013, p191).

3.4 Schoolscape

3.4.1 LL as a pedagogical tool

The effective use of LL as a pedagogical tool has been experimented. Rowland (2012) summarizes in the literature review the benefits of the use of LL in the second language class: LL contributes to improve pragmatic competence, critical literacy skills of the students, to enhance sensitivity of connotational aspects of language and multicompetence and the possibility of incidental language learning, and promote students' acquisition of multimodal literacy skills. Particularly in relation to incidental language learning, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) points out that use of LL in second language acquisition provides learners with holistic input of the target language.

LL can be a pedagogical resource not only for teaching language but also to enhance the awareness of the language diversity in the community (Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre, & Armand, 2006), as well as to allow students to consider the ways to use language in the society (Sayer, 2010) and critically consider the relationship between learners, space and society and target language (Bever & Richardson, 2020). Use of LL as a pedagogical tool, therefore, offers opportunities (language) learners and students to consider languages with sociolinguistic perspective. This means, in turn, investigating LL in educational context may reveal the interrelatedness of the language, text, literacy and learning in the surrounding environment, and "contribute to a better understanding of the relations and connectedness between a learner, a community and everyday contexts" (Bever, 2012, p.337).

3.4.2 Definition of Schoolscape

LL studies in educational context is also called 'schoolscape' research, which is a branch of LL studies. Brown (2005, p.79) defined schoolscape as follows:

> the schoolscape comprises the physical and social setting in which teaching and learning take place. It is the vital, symbolic context in which the curriculum unfolds and specific ideas and messages are officially sanctioned and socially supported in the school.

Brown (2012) further specifies the definition of schoolscape as "the school-based environment where place and text, both written (graphic) and oral, constitute, reproduce, and transform language ideologies" (p.282), which overwraps with the definitions of LL. Despite the name and definition, schoolscape does not only matter formal educational context such as schools, but also educational places outside of schools. For instance, like the current trends in LL study, schoolscape research is implemented also in the context of language learning with 3D holographic experience (Zheng, Liu, Lambert, Lu, Tomei, & Holden, 2018). Przymus and Kohler (2018) extends the concept of Schoolscape from the linguistic items in the schools to the linguistic items which can be found vicinity of the schools. The concept of schoolscape is thus applicable to non-formal educational spaces, such as multicultural centers.

Concept does not only consider linguistic items in the educational space: Szabó's (2015) definition of schoolscape has also included a reference to the spatial organization in the educational spaces with the arrangement of furniture.

3.4.3 Schoolscape research to explore language policy and language ideology

LL studies have been conducted to obtain deeper understanding in language policy in various communities (Gorter, et al., 2012.; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009), and for exploring language ideologies (e.g. Shohamy & Gorter, 2009; Gorter, Marten & Mansel, 2012), including schools (Johnson, 2013).

Schoolscape research has been also conducted to see language ideologies and policies in educational spaces. Brown (2018) conducted diachronic observation of the schoolscape in Estonian schools to see the shift of covert language policies in the schools with regards to the shift of overt language policies in Estonia. In addition, Menken, et al. (2018) suggests in the findings that the shifting of school principal's heterogeneous language ideology is reflected on multilingual schoolscape in the classroom. Furthermore, as LL and language policy can affect bidirectionally (Goter, Aiestaran & Cenoz, 2012), schoolscape may also influence

language policy in schools. Menken, et al (2018), for example, mentions that use of multilingual schoolscapes may function as an initial enhancement of multilingualism in school.

Meanwhile, schoolscape research has been also conducted to explore language ideologies. For instance, Brown (2005) implements ethnographical study to analyse schoolscape in Estonian schools to see language ideology of the use of Võro, which is one of the regional languages in Estonia. Schoolscape in Finnish school is investigated as well. Szabó (2018) investigates schoolscape in both Finnish school and Hungarian school with ethnographical approach to analyse how the teachers in those schools construct language ideologies while explaining the schoolscape during the interview. Moreover, like in LL, language ideologies can be also constructed through and reflected in schoolscape such as 'hidden curriculum' demonstrated in schoolscape with regards to value of languages (Laihonen & Szabó, 2018).

Considering the definition of schoolscape and the schoolscape studies conducted previously, exploring schoolscape is suitable to explore the reflection and construction of language policy and ideology in non-formal educational space, such as multicultural centers. This study focuses on the visual dimension of schoolscape in multicultural centers nevertheless the multidimensionality of schoolscape to see covert language policy of the investigated multicultural centers and language ideology of the staff members.

4 RESEARCH AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aims at understanding the various relationships between Finnish language policy and language policy in the investigated multicultural centers towards multilingualism through the lens of schoolscape. As mentioned in the introduction, Finnish language policy seems to apply two main goals including the use of Finnish and the protection of immigrants' linguistic background (Act on the promotion of Integration in Finland, 1386/2010). However, despite Finnish language policy towards multilingualism, the actual implementation does not necessarily align with it (cf. Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009). This study is thus conducted to explore the relationship of various national and institutional language policy and ideologies related to multilingualism in multicultural centers.

Integration process has mainly been investigated from the viewpoint of public authorities; only few studies have investigated integration process from the viewpoint of immigrants themselves (Leinonen, 2015). Moreover, immigrants have not yet been investigated in LL (including schoolscape) studies thoroughly (but see Hellén, 2019). Schoolscape-related conversation with some staff members in multicultural centers, who came from outside Finland may also uncover some aspects of the integration process of immigrants in Finland.

Furthermore, there are not so many schoolscape studies in non-formal educational environment, such as 'multicultural centers.' This study, therefore, may expand the point of the concept of schoolscape. With the purpose of exploring how multilingualism is perceived in multicultural centres, I conducted an exploratory study with the following research questions:

1. How multilingualism is represented in the schoolscape of multicultural centers?

2. How do staff members of multicultural centers perceive, interpret and explain such representations?

5 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STUDY

This section elaborates on the implementation of the study, including the features of participants, data generation and analysis methods, reliability and validity of the selected research methods as well as ethical considerations. To accomplish the aims of the study, 14 participants from 5 multicultural centers were investigated with walking interview, and the excerpts from the interview were analyzed with discourse analysis. The shortest interview lasted around 20 minutes; the longest interview was around 2 hours. The fragments of the schoolscape in the multicultural centers were photographed.

5.1 Participants

As mentioned in the 'Context' section, research request was sent to 15 institutions whose contact information was available on the internet. 5 institutions agreed on being investigated consequently. The total number of participants was 14. Based on the participants' needs, the interview was conducted in groups in CF, EF1, NF. and SF. In those four multicultural Centers, all the participants were not necessarily involved in the entire process of the interview: some of the participants were required to leave the interview because of their tasks.

The characteristics of the participants were asked at the beginning of the interview. The participants were asked about their job titles, period of work and their language skills. These pieces of information are described in Table 1. In the following paragraphs comes an overview of the features of the participants and the definitions of the terms used in the Table 1.

All the participants except one in the CF are the staff members in the investigated multicultural centers. The only exception was a participant in CF who was a volunteer worker at that moment. Participants had different job titles; manager (*Esimies* in Finnish) in all the investigated multicultural centers except EF1 and CF participated in the interview. According to the explanations

of the managers in three investigated multicultural centers, the main duties of a manager are documentation including applying for funds, projects and filing reports and human resource management. 6 out of all the participants were working as instructor (*ohjaaja* in Finnish), who are mainly in charge of planning and organizing the events, trainings, and activities in the multicultural centers. However, some of the instructors are also in charge of advisor, who have provided guidance with adult immigrants requiring assistance to gain social benefits, job application, etc. For the sake of personal data protection, job title of each participant is not listed in Table 1.

Taking a glance at the period of work, around half of the participants have worked in the investigated multicultural centers for 1-5 years. The longest period of work in the investigated multicultural centers was more than 10 years. 4 out of all the participants had worked in the investigated multicultural centers for less than one year. The shortest period of work lasted 1.5-2 months. However, those participants have already got involved in the multicultural centers as intern or volunteer worker for more than a year. For personal data protection reasons, the period of work is described with three ranges in Table 1: 'less than 1 year', '1-5 years' and '5+ years'.

Albeit the employers of the participants were not originally included in the questions, it was revealed while listening to their job descriptions that the employers of the participants were not necessarily the investigated multicultural centers. 4 out of all the participants mentioned that they were not employed by the investigated multicultural centers, but the projects which they have been engaged (project worker), research institutions such as universities, or the municipality where the investigated multicultural center locates.

Speaking about the language skills of the participants, around a half of the participants speak Finnish as a mother tongue. 6 out of all the participants speak other languages than Finnish as a mother tongue. For personal data security reasons, participants' mother tongues are written in Table 1 either 'Finnish' or 'Other language than Finnish'. Most of the participants know more than 3 languages; the participants are not necessarily fluent in all the languages they know.

The number that is listed next to participants' mother tongue is how many languages they know; this number also includes the languages skills which participants mentioned were limited (For instance, the languages they mentioned 'I speak a little bit…', 'I know…', 'I can understand but cannot speak').

Table 1.

Features of the participants

Multicultural Center	**informants** (psudonomyzed)	**period of work**	**language skills**
CF	c1	1-5 years	Other language than Finnish, +2
	c2	5 + years	Finnish, +4
	c3	less than 1 year	Other language than Finnish +2
EF1	e11	1-5 years	Other language than Finnish, +2
	e12	1-5 years	Other language than Finnish, +5
	e13	1-5 years	Other language than Finnish, +4
EF2	e21	5 + years	Finnish, +1
SF	s1	1-5 years	Finnish, +7
	s2	1-5 years	Other language than Finnish, +4
	s3	1-5 years	Finnish, +2
	s4	1-5 years	Finnish, +4
	s5	1-5 years	Other language than Finnish, +5
NF	n1	5 + years	This participant left the conversation before asking linguistic background
	n2	less than 1 year	Finnish, +3
	n3	less than 1 year	Finnish, +3
	n4	5 + years	Finnish, +1

5.2 Research Methods

This section focuses on the research methods for this study. This study was conducted with an ethnographical approach.

5.2.1 Quantitative and qualitative approach to investigate schoolscape

Although schoolscape research tends to be investigated more with the qualitative approach, schoolscape research has been conducted both with quantitative and qualitative approaches (Savela, 2018). This section discusses the benefits and the challenges of both approaches in schoolscape research or LL research in general. After that, the suitableness of qualitative research in this research is further elaborated.

The quantitative strand of research (Amos, 2016; Cenoz & Gorter, 2012; Savela, 2018) captures the overview of the features of LL and schoolscape in certain (educational) communities. This overview may include, for instance, the distribution and the frequency of the use of languages in the investigated communities (Savela, 2018). Furthermore, quantified LL data can be compared among different years in one community or among different communities to estimate the trends, changes and specific features of the use of languages (Blackwood, 2015).

However, the quantitative strand of LL research may overgeneralize the results since the subtle differences among the fragments of LL may tend to be ignored in the process of data analysis (Amos, 2016). Particularly considering the texts in the fragments of LL, they are not necessarily descriptive; the texts in the fragments of LL may contain also the implicit semantic features as well (Savela, 2018). Hence, with the quantitative approach, those implicit semantic features in the fragments of LL may be ignored especially in the process of data classification (Savela, 2018).

With the qualitative approach, on the other hand, those implicit meanings in the fragments of LL may be figured out by, e.g. having interview with those who have created the fragment of LL. For instance, Szabó (2015) conducted qualitative schoolscape research using 'tourist guide technique'.

The purpose of using 'Tourist guide technique' was to draw the implicit language ideologies and policies constructed by the participants (Szabó, 2015).

Regarding these features of quantitative and qualitative approaches in LL and schoolscape study, this study was conducted with a qualitative approach. Qualitative approach is more suitable for this research since the main interest of this research is not to see the trends of the language ideologies and policies of multicultural centers nationwide Finland nor of each investigated multicultural center. The purpose of this research is rather to have profound understanding of the language ideologies and covert language policies constructed by the staff members at the investigated multicultural centers.

Despite the suitableness of the qualitative approach to this study, it should be emphasized that the findings of this research cannot generalize the trends of the multicultural centers and nationwide Finland. This study is rather exploratory research which aims at capturing a large amount of relatively unstructured information without explicit expectation (Check & Schutt, 2012).

5.2.2 An ethnographical approach to investigate language policies and ideologies

The previous section explained the reason why this study is conducted with qualitative approach by making the comparison with the strengths and challenges in quantitative approach. This section further describes which qualitative research method was used in this study. This research is implemented with an ethnographical approach considering the challenges in typical ethnographical studies and because of the suitableness of the research aims.

Ethnography is a qualitative research method in which researchers study a particular social- and cultural group to gain holistic understanding from insiders' perspectives through active participation in the research field (Kramer & Adams, 2018). Ethnography also matters meanings behind individual behavior (Brewer, 2000).

Ethnography has been typically conducted through 'participant ob-

servation', aiming at observing through the lens of the members in the investigated community through researcher's active participation in the communities of interest (Kramer & Adams, 2018). However, it is difficult for the researchers coming outside of the communities of interest to observe the community from the community members' perspective (Kusenbach, 2003). Pink (2007) also points out the objectification of the visual representatives in the investigated communities when conducting observation in ethnographical study; the aim of ethnographical study is rather to provide the ethnographers' experiences through the negotiation and interpretation of the visual in the communities of interest. To achieve this goal, the research methods in the ethnographical studies may tend to be more collaborative with the participants (Pink, 2007).

This study is thus conducted with an 'applied' ethnographical approach considering the above-mentioned strengths and challenges of ethnographical research. To address the challenge in ethnographical study, this study was conducted with walking interview so that it would be easier to obtain an insider's point of view in the data generation process (Kusenbach, 2003).

Furthermore, Laihonen & Szabó (2017) mentions in the literature review that schoolscape research with ethnographical approach involving research participants enables to uncover participants' language ideologies from their emic perspectives. Ethnographical approach is thus suitable for this research so that the participants' emic perspectives would be evoked in the collaborative data generation.

5.2.3 Walking interview in general

As mentioned above, this study is conducted with an 'applied' ethnographical approach to understand the language ideologies and covert language policies of the staff members of the investigated multicultural center through the collaborative process of data generation. To achieve this goal, the interviews were conducted while walking together with the participants and the researcher, which is so-called 'walking interview' (Evans & Jones, 2011). Before the explanation about the suitableness of the walking interview to the study, this section

provides the overview of the walking interview in general, including the varieties of its methodologies, their strengths and drawbacks.

Evans and Jones' (2011) typology of the walking interviews describes that there are three kinds of walking interviews. One of them is the interviews while walking the route is determined by interviewees, which is often utilized to investigate the area which interviewees are familiar with. On the contrary, the interviews while walking the route determined by interviewers are also conducted to investigate the area which interviewers are familiar with. There is also a walking interview whose route is determined neither by interviewers nor by the interviewees.

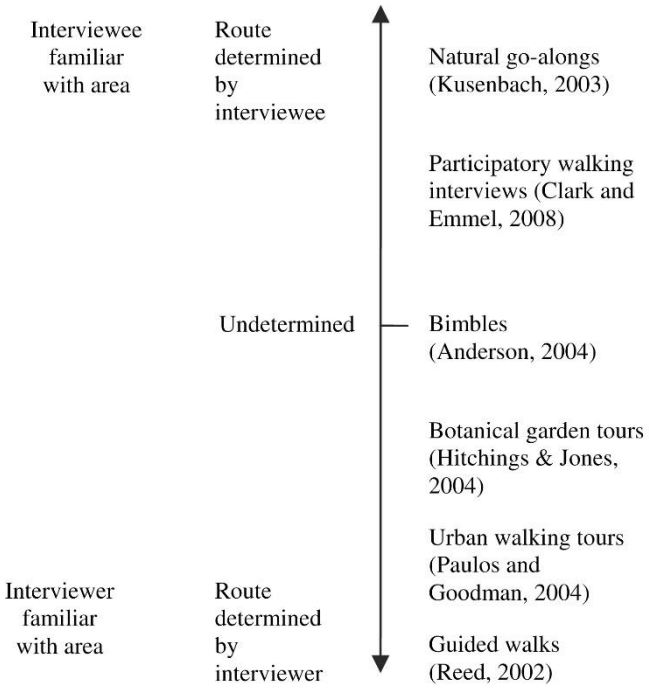

Figure 1: Typology of walking interviews (Evans & Jones, 2011)

One single axes in Figure.1 describes who determines the route and familiarity of the areas of interest when using each walking method alongside the axes. It should be emphasized that this typology does not mean to show the com-

prehensive list of methods in walking interview; this typology rather aims at indicating the most suitable methods in walking interview according to the research interests (Evans and Jones, 2011).

Evans and Jones (2011) summarize that "a major advantage of walking interviews is their capacity to access people's attitudes and knowledge about the surrounding environment."(p.850). Yet using recording equipment (e.g. voice recorders and cameras) during walking interview is challenging. Using several recording tools simultaneously while walking is also challenging, As Evans and Jones (2011) describes "particularly when the interviewer is trying to film, walk and talk at the same time, this can both distract from the interview process and produce video which is unsteady and disorientating." (p. 851)

Evans and Jones (2011) further describes the strengths of each method in walking interviews, which would be dependent on the means to decide the route. If the routes are determined by the interviewees, the interviews while walking may focus on asking questions which is more relevant to the research goals, or on investigating the meanings and roles of the specific areas and buildings to the participants. However, walking the routes decided by the interviewers may not be suitable for understanding investigated places in the context of the daily life of the participants. Walking along the routes decided by the interviewees, on the other hand, may enable to gain deeper understandings of the meanings of the investigated places in the context of participants' everyday life. Yet, it may also result in having more discursive conversations, which may not be necessarily relevant to the research goals.

5.2.4 Walking interview in this study

The data generation in this research was conducted with the interview while walking along the routes decided by the interviewees despite its drawback that is mentioned above. Most of the interviews conducted for this research eventually looked similar to 'go-along' interview, which is described by Kusenbach (2003) like "fieldworkers accompany individual informants on their 'natural' outings, and - through asking questions, listening and observing - actively explore

their subjects' stream of experiences and practices as they move through, and interact with, their physical and social environment" (p.463). Nevertheless the above-mentioned description, 'go-along' interview can be conducted either in a more semi-structured way or by letting participants 'guide' the walking and dialogue (Carpiano, 2009).

Walking along the routes determined by the interviewees is suitable for the research considering the identity of the researcher. I was almost complete novice of the many of the investigated multicultural centers. Furthermore, I visited all the investigated multicultural centers just as a researcher or a visitor. Hence, I do not have any experience to visit there as a 'staff member', which is the status of participants of this research. Walking along the routes determined by the interviewees may complement this identity issue since, as Carpiano (2009) mentions about the strength of 'go-along' comparing to the traditional sit-down interview and 'go-along' interview like:

> While more traditional interview techniques allow for the researcher simply to be verbally ''led along'' by the respondent only in terms of discussion, the go-along allows for being led along a spatialized journey as well—learning about the local area via the interplay of the respondent's ideas and the researcher's own experience of the respondent's environment (p.267).

Therefore, if the participants are encouraged to lead (guide) the dialogue with 'walking interview' approach, I (as a researcher, who is a complete novice in the workers' perspectives in multicultural centers and some specific multicultural centers themselves), might be able to obtain deeper understandings of the fragments of schoolscape from the viewpoints of the staff members.

Nonetheless, the routes of the walking interviews for this research could not be always decided by the participants. The participants in the multicultural center which was investigated first, seemed not to be comfortable with guiding me during the interview. In that case, I decided the route of the walking interview. In addition, after this interview, I always asked the participants if they would like to guide the dialogue or not at the beginning of the interview. I tried to make the interviewing process as flexible as possible to ensure collaborative data production.

In relation to allowing flexibility in this study, this interview was conducted either individually or in groups according to the request from the participants. Conducting walking interview in groups seemed to encourage participants to have conversations. In addition, as Kusenbach (2003) mentions that conducting go-along interview in groups could be productive, since doing go-along interview with people who are familiar with each other 'can reduce some of the obvious discomfort that a number of participants feel about being followed in, and queried about, their mundane local practices by an ethnographer' (p.464).

Besides those two points to encourage the participants to guide the walking interview, I let the participants hold the voice recorder, while I held the camera to photograph the fragments of the schoolscape. This technique is used in the 'tourist-guide technique', one of the methods in walking interview (Szabó & Troyer, 2017). Letting participants hold the voice recorder may encourage them to lead the interview, since it "implicates that she/he is in control of the verbal interaction" (Szabó & Troyer, 2017, p. 314). Furthermore, with participants holding voice recorder, researcher do not have to hold two recording devices simultaneously and thus the interview process became smoother.

Particularly in the context of schoolscape/LL study, walking interview involving participants may lead participants to be aware of the problems embedded in the schoolscape to reform local language policy (Szabó, 2015), as well as to change LL (Szabó & Troyer, 2017). Likewise, some of the participants in this study also mentioned during the interview that walking interview evoked their thoughts which they were not usually conscious of.

5.2.5 Tuition of language during interview

I conducted walking interviews mainly in English; participants were not necessarily confident with speaking in English. When the interview was conducted in a group of people with different English proficiency level, I and the participants with advanced English proficiency level tended to dominate the conversation unintentionally. In those situations, I tried to ask questions in Finnish,

which is commonly spoken by the staff members, to make the interviewing process as collaborative as possible. In addition, when we had the participants who are not confident with speaking in English, the staff members who can speak English often interpreted from Finnish to English.

5.3 Data Analysis

Language ideology research is most often implemented through analysing conversations. For instance, Laihonen (2008) analyses the discursive conversation carried out in Romanian Banat in Hungary by using conversation analysis (CA). With CA, Laihonen's (2008) study can focus on turn-taking strategies in the conversation to see the process of (re)constructing the language ideologies of the participants. Szabó (2015) analyze the data obtained through walking-interview with discourse analysis (DA), which rather focuses on the language usage in the conversation.

In this study, the conversational data obtained through the interview was analysed with discourse analysis. The focus of this research is to analyse the transcribed conversation for the sake of investigating language ideologies of each participant.

5.3.1 Discourse analysis in this study

Conversational data obtained through the interview was transcribed, and analyzed with discourse analysis. Discourse analysis in conversational data is defined as an analysis "about how people use language in communication" (Byrne, 2017). Discourse analysis has been used to investigate shared norms that have emerged from the language use in the group conversation in certain communities and to see how the communities have negotiated social policies and structures (Siegel, 2018).

Discourse analysis is chosen as a data analysis method in this study since the main interest of this study is rather to investigate language ideology of

the participants, which has been analyzed through the observation of the language use and how certain language has been described in the conversation (Leeuwen, 2004; Laihonen, 2008).

5.3.2 Possible hinderances for data analysis

Speaking about the conversational data analysis, my limited understanding in Finnish language may become difficulties to obtain the deeper understandings of the discourses in Finnish language in the conversation. In addition, as mentioned in the section 5.2.5., some participants seemed not to be confident with their English skills. Furthermore, the mother tongues of all the participants (and researcher) in this study are any other languages than English. These may also limit the emergence of the discourse in the conversation during the interview.

5.4 Reliability and validity

Reliability in qualitative study means consistency in research method in a simple term. According to Tracy (2012), reliability in qualitative research refers to "the stability and consistency of a researcher, research tool, or method over time" (p.228). Hence, reliable qualitative study can be conducted with the exact same way no matter who implement it (Tracy, 2012). Meanwhile, Kirk & Miller (1986) mentioned, validity in qualitative research addresses "whether the researcher sees what he or she thinks he or she sees" (as cited in Franklin, Cody & Ballan, 2010). Therefore, ensuring validity in qualitative study means to ensure the findings as precise as possible.

To ensure the reliability of this study, I always followed the same procedure when asking questions: I asked all the participants to introduce themselves first, then moved to walking interview and asked participants if they forgot to mention anything at the end of the interview. However, as mentioned in the section 5.2.4, I sometimes needed to modify the ways to conduct walking interview based on the participants' request. Meanwhile, as mentioned in the section 5.2.4, I encouraged participants to lead walking interview

for enhancing validity so that I could understand what participants have regarded as important. I also used Finnish in the interview to encourage participants who might not be confident with English proficiency to speak, so that the findings could include as various viewpoints of the participants as possible.

5.5 Self-awareness of the researchers' identity in the ethnographical studies

As mentioned previously, ethnographical study tends to be collaborative for the sake of achieving the goal of ethnographical studies. In relation to this, Pink (2007) points out that in ethnographical studies, the researchers should be aware of their identities such as their age, gender, social status and nationality, as well as how those identities may be conceived by the people in the investigated communities. Researchers' self-consciousness of their identity is important since their identities situating and situated in the investigated communities may influence the researchers' and participants' process of negotiating the realities. Taking Pink's (1999) research as an example, the researcher's identity which is to be 'a woman with a camera' influences the construction of the relationship with the participants, and thus the process of generating data.

Likewise, the researcher's identity especially in the aspect of my experiences in each investigated multicultural center and my language proficiency, may influence the collaborative process to generate data. I, as a researcher, visited all investigated multicultural centers. However, I have visited CF and EF2 as a visitor before visiting those two multicultural centers as a researcher. Thus, I might have already been in better rapport with the staff members in CF and EF2 than with those in the other rest of the multicultural centers. I could make some questions during the interviews based on my own previous experiences of visiting those two multicultural centers. Meanwhile, I was almost complete novice in the other rest of the investigated multicultural centers nevertheless I could obtain some pieces of basic information about them on the internet or from the emails

sent by the staff members. Furthermore, in some cases, I was also complete novice in the municipalities where those multicultural centers locate. In those multicultural centers, I needed to ask some basic questions about the multicultural centers and about the municipalities.

My language skills may also have positive and negative influence towards the data production. I speak English as a second language, and I am a Finnish language learner in an advanced level; I am still not yet fully confident with using Finnish autonomously. Knowing Finnish language may promote us to have mutual understanding with the participants; my lower proficiency of Finnish language or my speaking mostly in English might sometimes hinder the collaborative process in data production, particularly as mentioned in the section 5.2.5, when those who have better command of English tended to dominate the conversation.

5.6 Ethical considerations

Personal data protection should be implemented in lines of General Data Protection Regulation (2016/679) since all this research was conducted in the European Union. This section describes how personal data is protected in the aspect of informed consent, storing data, and anonymizing and pseudonymizing data.

Informed consent was taken before the data collection. Consent form was sent to the participants around 2-4 weeks prior to the data collection process so that the participants could have time to read through the information written in the consent form. Consent form was signed by all the participants before the data collection process. The consent form included the descriptions of the whole procedure of the data collection, the purpose of the research, and the means of collecting data. It was written in the consent form also that the participants' personal information, such as their name, are anonymized and they have right to withdraw the interview at the any points of the research. The consent form which was used in the research can be found in Appendix 1.

In addition, before the interview, the verbal explanation about what is written in the consent form was given by the researcher. The purpose of giving oral explanation about ethical consideration is to ensure participants' understanding the content of the consent form for every participant, and to give clarification or interpretation in simple English or Finnish. Based on the requirements from some participants who seemed to have difficulties to interact perfectly in English, I and other participants having a good command of English and Finnish clarified the content of the consent form in simple Finnish. If needed, I gave more clarifications of how to ensure the personal data protection especially while photographing, so that the participants could understand that their faces would not be photographed.

The collected data, including pictures and audio recordings of the interview, was stored in the network drive provided by the home directory of the University of Jyväskylä. The files containing the collected data were encrypted by using VelaCrypt. As demonstrated in the introduction and the section 5.1, all the name of investigated, multicultural centers, and the name of the participants are pseudonymized. The name of the municipalities where those investigated multicultural centers are situated are pseudonymized (cf. section 2.1.1.) and the organizations of owning each multicultural center are anonymized. The names of the municipalities are pseudonymized also since most of the cases, there is only one multicultural center in one municipality. Hence, if the name of the municipality was revealed, the name of the investigated multicultural centers, the name of the participants, would be at risk to be revealed. In relation to this, the detailed features of the municipalities where the investigated multicultural centers are situated, such as the exact number of inhabitants are not presented explicitly.

The photographs were not chosen as illustration in this thesis, if the photographs contained the information which may jeopardize personal data. The information that may lead to expose the personal data is the name of the organization and the investigated multicultural centers, their logo, and the name

of the municipalities. The pictures containing that information were basically not chosen.

6 FINDINGS

The finding section consists of three parts: use of Finnish and Swedish (national languages in Finland) and use of other languages than national languages in Finland in the investigated multicultural centers. Each section elaborates on the content of the conversation about the reasons and the occasions to use each of the language.

As described in the section 6.1.1, Finnish was perceived as a lingua franca in the investigated multicultural centers according to the interviews. However, other languages than Finnish were also used, mainly because correct translation is available, and it was needed for the new immigrants. In addition, the participants mentioned that they pay attention to the use of colors, fonts, pieces of information and vocabulary of Finnish when creating Finnish-only brochures/flyers.

Although Swedish is the other national language in Finland, the fragments of schoolscape containing Swedish were hardly seen during the interview in all the investigated multicultural centers. Yet I intentionally brought conversation about the use of Swedish in SF. The municipality which SF is in is bilingual municipality (*kaksikielinen kunta* in Finnish), where Finnish and Swedish are used. I asked about the use of Swedish in SF to difference between bilingual language policy of the municipality where SF is located and implicit language policy in SF. I also asked one of the participants working at one of the investigated multicultural centers in bilingual municipality about the use of Swedish language. I decided to ask about the use of Swedish language to this participant since I was interested in how this participant, who was from bilingual municipality in Finland and speaks Swedish as a mother tongue, have perceived the use of Swedish language in monolingual municipality (*yksikielinen kunta* in Finnish).

Some of the conversation were held fully in Finnish or contained terminology in Finnish. In those cases, my English translation is written with Italic font in brackets.

6.1 Use of National Language in Finland: Use of Finnish

This section sheds lights on the use of Finnish language, as well as how the staff members may perceive the use of Finnish language in the investigated multicultural centers. In the whole interview, the use of Finnish language in the investigated multicultural centers emerged in the aspect of 3 points: (i) using Finnish as a lingua franca in the investigated multicultural centers, (ii) as a tool for the visitors to learn Finnish language, and (iii) as a tool to display information in a limited space. Most of the investigated multicultural centers mentioned explicitly or implicitly that Finnish was used as a lingua franca. However, the reasons to choose Finnish as a lingua franca and to what extent they expect visitors to use Finnish were not necessarily the same in all investigated multicultural centers.

Meanwhile, according to the interviewees, conveying the correct information to those who do not fully understand Finnish, the use of the colors and fonts, the choice of the words and the piece of information have been considered in the investigated multicultural centers when creating the fragments of schoolscape (such as brochures and fliers). The means to make Finnish-only schoolscape more understandable is written in the section 6.1.2.

Finnish language was used also for other reasons than just because it is perceived as a lingua franca. Section 6.1.3 focuses on the use of Finnish as a learning tool for the visitors whose mother tongue is not Finnish. Not only that, Finnish was used also as a practical solution for put information in a limited space in the brochure or in the institutions. This point is further explained in Section 6.1.4. In addition, the participants in SF further elaborated on the different use of Finnish language in the place open only to the staff members and to

everyone. The distinguish of the use of Finnish in the different places within the institution is explained in the section 6.1.5.

6.1.1 Using Finnish as a lingua franca (EF1, EF2, NF, CF, SF)

In the interview, the participants in EF1, NF, CF and SF mentioned explicitly or implicitly about the use of Finnish language as a lingua franca in the investigated institutions. Although we did not have a conversation specifically about the use of Finnish language in EF2, considering the fragments of schoolscape in EF2 mainly written in Finnish, Finnish might work as a lingua franca also in EF2. Whereas Finnish was perceived as a lingua franca in the investigated multicultural centers, the reasons to choose Finnish as a lingua franca and to what extent participants expect to use Finnish in the institutions were different from each other. This section begins with the conversations about the use of Finnish as a lingua franca with the participants who might also perceive the use of other languages positively (EF1, NF). After that, this section continues with the conversation about the same topic, yet with the participants who might expect to use Finnish more than the other languages (CF, SF). Two participants from CF did not mention to what extent they might expect Finnish to be used in the institution. The excerpts from the conversation with those two participants are included at the end of this section.

Conversation in EF1

Once we started to walk, e11 gave a description about the language policy in EF1 explicitly to the researcher in front of all the participants. Although initially this description was given solely by e11, e12 started to interrupt the conversation between the researcher and e11 with the positive attitude towards the description given by e11. This may implicate that e11 and e12 may agree with the language policy in EF1. In the following excerpt e11 and e12 explained in English to me otherwise it would have been difficult for me to follow the conversation fully. Nonetheless, I tried to respond in Finnish so that another

participant (e13), who might be able to understand Finnish more than English, may not be fully excluded from the conversation.

> e11we can say first we have this rule that our working language or EF1's language is Finnish so because we have people from so many different places speaking so many different languages that we cannot find any other common language so our common language must be Finnish
>
> R joo sit kaikki käyttää suomea niin *(Yeah then everyone uses Finnish yeah)*
>
> e11and ah
>
> e12but a lot of people are talking their own languages here I notice
>
> e11yeah of course
>
> R totta *(true)*
>
> e11and and that is perfectly possible because it's also I think for the people it's very important when you are living in another culture and that's possible to people
>
> e12 yeah where we can't stick to their own language
>
> e11 it's also part of their well-being
>
> e12 yes it is
>
> R joo on hyvää hyvinvoinnille niin niin tietysti *(yeah it's good for the well-being yeah yeah of course)*
>
> e11 so of course we get people talking whatever they want
>
> e12 yeah
>
> e11 but when we are together and we need to communicate and we try to do it always
>
> e11,12 in Finnish
>
> R no hm *(well hm)*
>
> (continues)

At the beginning of the conversation, e11 explained the language policy of EF1 as a 'rule', 'our working language' and as 'common language', which is Finnish. In the following conversation e11 explained that the brochures and websites were all written in Finnish. Although as e12 mentions that 'a lot of people are talking their own languages' at EF1, e11 might have relatively positive attitude

towards it since speaking in the visitors' own mother tongue is 'part of their well-being'. The response from e12 to it ('yes, it is') indicates that e12 may also agree with e11's opinion. Yet still, EF1's language policy is using Finnish when they need to communicate together, since, as e11 explains at the beginning, that the visitors of EF1 have so many various kinds of language and cultural background that it is difficult to convey all the pieces of information in the mother tongues of all the visitors. This language policy seems to be obvious in the EF1, assuming from the e11 and e12 saying 'in Finnish' at the same time at the end of the excerpt.

In the following conversation, mainly e11 explained the various reasons why other languages, such as Arabic and English, are not chosen as a working language in EF1. According to e11, nowadays the flow of the immigrants is changing, so that the Arabic speakers no longer consists of the majority group of the immigrants. Furthermore, e11 mentioned that the English speakers are not as many as Russian or Somali speakers in EF1. Hence, those languages are not chosen as a working language in EF1.

Conversation in NF

In the middle of the interview in NF, we had a conversation in front of the piles of brochures about the general information of NF. n3 and n4 elaborated on the reasons to use Finnish language. n3 and n4 described that Finnish language is used in the office, which is similar to the situation at EF1. The following excerpt is from the conversation in front of the brochures of the NF:

R kaikki on kirjoitettu suomeksi yeah *(everything is written in Finnish)*

n3 yeah yeah it is it is pretty much the language that we use in the office is Finnish but of course of course sometimes like sometimes we have who speak in English so it depends but often like our customers they maybe not they don't know English

R mm

n3 so Finnish is the first like foreign language that they learned so it makes sense makes sense you know for to you know help them with that language…

(continues)

Unlike in EF1, n3 did not assert clearly that Finnish language is 'official language' or 'working language' in NF; n3's saying 'it is pretty much the language that we use in the office is Finnish' may indicate that the covert language policy of NF is to use Finnish at least in the office or among the staff members. n3 continued the conversation with saying that 'so Finnish is the first like foreign language that they (visitors) learned', which indicates also that Finnish is commonly used in NF so that the visitors can understand.

Conversation in SF

The participants in SF did not assert its language policy explicitly during the interview. Yet, the conversation in front of bookshelves in the lobby contains the implication of language policy in SF. According to participants' explanation, the bookshelves contain books written in around ten different languages. While all the participants gave the explanations about the languages used in the books, s1 commented on using other languages than Finnish in SF:

> s1 multiple languages here in this shelf even though we are trying to keep it in Finnish
>
> s3 yeah
>
> s4 yeah
>
> R really
>
> s1 no no not here but but but usually we try to encourage people to speak Finnish and use Finnish in this place but of course ah it's immigrant organizations they bring their own languages here and they are quite welcoming of us

Researcher challenged s1's comment: 'multiple language here in this shelf even though we are trying to keep (it) in Finnish' by saying 'really'. Then, s1 clarified the meanings of 'we are trying to keep (it) in Finnish' by saying 'we try to encourage people to speak Finnish and use Finnish in this place'. s1 further elaborated on the point by saying 'it's (SF is) immigrant organizations they (visitors) bring their own languages here and they are quite welcoming of us', to clarify that s1 did not mean to restrict the immigrants' use of other languages than Finnish. Despite the clarification of s1, comparing to the content of

the conversation in other investigated multicultural centers, SF seems to encourage visitors to use Finnish in the institution stronger than other multicultural centers.

This section further observes s1's perception of use of Finnish language with a focus on s1's use of 'we' pronoun in the utterance. Using 'we' pronoun may exclude a group of people who do not belong to the same group as a speaker (Íñigo-Mora, 2004). Use of 'we' pronoun referring to I (speaker) and my (speaker's) group is defined as exclusive "we", which usually connotates power relation between 'us' and 'them' (Íñigo-Mora, 2004). Nikula, Saarinen, Pöyhönen and Kangasvieri (2012) also points out the use of 'we' pronoun in EU language education policy may dechotomize, and even imply power relation between 'we' (authority of EU member state) and 'them' (migrants to EU member state). This power relation is described as "'we' have the power to give value to 'them', or to exclude 'them' as outsiders rather than include 'them'"(Nikula, et al., 2012, p. 52).

Although the power relation between 'us' and 'them' was not explained explicitly in s1's utterances, s1's use of 'we' pronoun seemed to mark boundary between 'us' (staff members of SF who speak Finnish) and 'them' (migrants to Finland who do not speak Finnish). According to the above-mentioned excerpt, s1 used 'we' pronoun as staff members in SF, who 'try to keep it (collection of books in the bookshelf) in Finnish',' try to encourage people (coming outside of SF) to speak Finnish', and '(try to) use Finnish'(s1). Meanwhile, 'they' pronoun in the utterances of s1 seems to stand for visitors who 'bring their own languages here (to SF)', yet still 'are welcoming of us (staff members, who have encouraged 'them' to speak Finnish)'(s1). I would assume 'they' may refer to visitors migrating to Finland who do not have a good command of Finnish particularly in s1's utterances, since s1 mentioned 'but of course ah it's immigrant organizations' to explain the background of their 'bringing their own language' (s1) through donating books written in their mother tongue. s1's

use of 'we' pronoun may indicate that s1 conceives Finnish language as language belonging to staff members of SF and the institution of SF itself, whereas it is uncertain that this boundary creation is s1's intentional act.

Yet, I would like to emphasize that I cannot assert solely based on s1's utterances that 'Finnish language as our (staff members of SF and SF itself) language' is shared norm of all staff members. Even though s1 initiated his/her statement with 'we' pronoun, I did not have further discussion about this norm with other staff members.

Conversation in CF

There were several flyers advertising the events and language learning groups in CF in the place where most of the workshops have been held. Many of the flyers are written in Finnish; some of them are written in some other languages such as Russian and English. When we have a conversation in front of these flyers, c1 explains another reason in the following conversation with c3, which indicates how they have perceived Finnish language.

> c1: (…) In many cases it's like we do use a lot of English but just like as said that in many cases Finnish that yeah, so it's good to have a clue about Finnish language in what you have...
>
> c3: It's an integration, right
>
> c1: So there are many people do not speak English. Yeah. Learning little by little.
>
> c1: That's like the thing to keep in mind. That is about the integration in Finland. So like it is very important.

c1 has mentioned that 'So there are many people do not speak English', which indicates that there are many visitors who cannot always speak English in CF. Whereas, as c1 told, 'In many cases it's like we do use a lot of English' in CF, Finnish also should be written in the flyers otherwise many of the visitors could not understand the content of the flyers. As these excerpts indicate that Finnish language has often functioned as a common language in CF since English cannot be necessarily understood by everyone. In summary, similar to what s1's saying indicates in the conversation in front of the bookshelf in the previous example,

c3's saying may implicate that c3 may think it is rather obligatory for the immigrants to speak in Finnish for the sake of integration.

When c1 mentioned 'it's good to have a clue about Finnish language in what you have...' and '(Many of the visitors to CF are) Learning (Finnish) little by little', c3 tried to define those as ' (a tool for) integration' in Finland, by saying 'It's an integration, right' and 'That is about the integration in Finland'. c3 also mentioned that 'That's like the thing to keep in mind' and 'so like it is very important' after c1 said '(Many of the visitors to CF are) Learning (Finnish) little by little'. These excerpts implicate that c3 might perceive learning Finnish language, which is one of the national languages in Finland, as an important tool for immigrants in Finland to be integrated into Finnish society. This can be called linguistic commodification referring to how language has become valued commodities in certain community (Runnai & Tupas, 2008). c3 commodified Finnish language as '(a tool for) integration' and thus 'very important'. Other staff members from CF, c1 and c2 do not mention the tolerance of using other languages than Finnish despite CF's using Finnish as a lingua franca.

We had a conversation in front of the blackboard that shows weekly schedule in CF. This blackboard is put in the main space of CF, where most of the workshop and weekly events have been conducted. The pieces of information are written by either interns or the students who have worked there accordingly. Although some of the schedules are written in English, most of them are written in Finnish. This excerpt shows the responses to the researchers' question about the reason to choose Finnish language in the black board. I started to speak in Finnish in the following conversation so that all the participants could follow the conversation; due to my low proficiency of Finnish language at that moment, I eventually needed to use English:

> R: Sitten toivottavasti se on hyvä kysymys mutta miksi olette kirjoittaneet melkein kaiken suomeksi sen täällä *(Then hopefully it is a good question but why have you written almost everything in Finnish in here)*
>
> (…)

c2: And they've been also one of the reasons which is like to for all most of us is studying Finnish and it's one which is ah like, bringing us together One of the languages and in there is, (the name of the Finnish conversation group conducted in CF). It's for people who want to study Finnish

Researcher: Yeah I've been to and it's so nice yeah

c2's utterance in front of a black board in the main space of CF implicates that Finnish language is perceived in CF as a lingua franca. c2's saying indicates how the Finnish language has been considered by the visitors and staff members. For instance, Finnish language 'bringing us together', which implicates that c2 conceives Finnish language as the communication tool for people coming to CF. c2 also gave an example of the opportunity to learn Finnish in CF ('for people who want to study Finnish'), which may also indicate that many visitors of CF are interested in learning Finnish.

c1 explained why Finnish is often used in the flyers which aim at advertising events. One of the reasons is that most of the facilitators of the events are not confident to use other language but Finnish. According to c1, if flyers are written in Finnish, those facilitators would be able to use flyers as a note to remember the content of the events, so that they would feel easier to explain their events to others.

6.1.2 Means to convey information to those who do not fully understand Finnish when creating Finnish-only fragments of schoolscape

As mentioned in the previous section, all the investigated multicultural centers use Finnish as a lingua franca. Although most of the fragments of schoolscape in the investigated multicultural centers were also written in Finnish, the visitors of the multicultural centers cannot necessarily have a good command of Finnish. Hence, the participants mentioned that the use of color, fonts, pieces of information and words are carefully decided to convey information to those who are not fluent in Finnish. This section describes the means to create the Finnish-only fragments of schoolscape for the people without good command of Finnish, in the aspect of the use of colors and fonts, choice of the pieces of information and the vocabularies.

Use of colors and fonts

n3 and n4 in NF indicated that they have cogitated on the way to convey information in Finnish to the visitors who do not yet have a good command of Finnish. According to n3, use of the color in the flyer is decided corresponding to each weekday: each weekday is underlined with the certain color so that the colors can indicate on which weekday the events will happen.

Likewise, in CF, different colors of chalks are strategically used in the blackboard, which is installed in the one of the main rooms in CF. Different colors of the chalks are used in CF to inform the weekly schedule for those who are not proficient in Finnish. For instance, the schedule of the guidance services was written in yellow color, so that those who have just come to Finland can understand when it is conducted. This guidance service aims at giving information such as how to obtain a residence permit, housings, education, job hunting, etc., mainly for the immigrants who have just come to Finland.

In addition, s4 in SF mentioned about the poster in front in the staff room, describing what kind of fonts and colors should be used in the visual materials of SF. s1 mentions that SF has changed their logo mark since 2018 and since then, SF is trying to 'keep it (visual material) in line somehow'(s1) by following the rules of using specific colors and fonts. SF has created this visual brand so that the immigrants who do not understand Finnish may still be able to comprehend that the visual material is telling about SF. Similarly, NF has also had its rule of the use of colors and fonts in the posters about NF.

Choice of information

The participants in SF mentioned that they try 'to keep everything (every sentence) short' (s1), and have tried to provide essential information only, such as the venue and the time of the event is happening. The participants in NF and EF2 referred to making shorter descriptions and choice of information as well.

According to s1 and s3, those points are important not only for the visitors having foreign backgrounds but also for the people joining rehabilitation group. As s1 mentions during the interview repeatedly, that SF is not targeted only to the immigrants. For instance, SF has a rehabilitation group for those who have special needs. s3 mentions about the use of Finnish language from the viewpoints of interaction with the participants in the rehabilitation group, who have difficulties in using Finnish:

> s3 and when I give an information to my clients I have to think is this information valid
>
> s1 yeah
>
> s3 is this what they need
>
> s1 yeah
>
> s3 because in my head there is many many other things which are considering the same thing but if I tell it to them but they are like what we don't understand so that's why just say this simple things like that and leave other out

As other participants in the investigated multicultural centers have mentioned, s3 has paid attention to conveying essential information to the clients by 'leave other (information) out'. Whereas s3 may have more pieces of information than just an essential one, if other redundant information is told, the clients would feel confused (as s3 expresses their response by saying 'what we don't understand'). s3 has therefore paid attention to 'say (this) simple things'.

Assuming from the conversations conducted in the investigated multicultural centers, giving as essential information as possible is taken into consideration in all the investigated multicultural centers. However, it was only in SF where these aspects were mentioned in other contexts than interacting with immigrants.

Choice of vocabulary: Using Selkokieli (easy language) in Finnish

In the interviews, the participants in EF1, NF and SF mentioned about using *selkokieli* (easy language) in Finnish. *Selkokieli* is one of the forms of Finnish language, which is designed for those who have difficulties in reading or

understanding *yleiskieli* (standardized language in Finnish). The texts written in *selkokieli* have more simple structure with using more simple vocabularies than texts in *yleiskieli*. The framework of *selkokieli* came from Sweden and has been developed since 1980's in Finland. *Selkokieli* was originally designed for those who have development disorder. However nowadays it has been developed also for elderly people and new Finns coming outside of Finland. (Finnish Center for Easy Language, n.d.)

The participants in EF1 explained the reasons to use *selkokieli* during the interview. When I asked what kind of things the participants pay attention to when creating advertisements in Finnish at the later part of the interview in EF1, all the participants mentioned or agreed with the point that it is good to write in *selkokieli*. In the participants' point of view, *selkokieli* is 'fantastic'(e11), 'very good system'(e12) and *'se paljon auttaa ihmisiä kotoutumisaikana* (it helps people so much in the period of integration)'. (e13). The participants further shared their perspectives towards using *selkokieli* by sharing the participants' personal experiences as migrants to Finland or their knowledge of it.:

> e11 this is really good you can really understand otherwise its difficult to understand when they speak very quickly and then when it comes to this one I I remember I was very happy first I was able to understand anything and that comes selkokieli
>
> e12 mm
>
> e11 then I understood and it was really nice to feel that I that I understood
>
> e13 se paljon auttaa ihmisiä kotoutumisaikana *(it helps people so much in the period of integration)*
>
> e11 joo
>
> e13 vaikka uutiset news (*even though news*)
>
> e11 yeah selkokielellä *(in selkokieli)*
>
> e12 joo selkokielellä *(yeah in selkokieli)*
>
> R niin joo joo *(well yeah yeah)*
>
> e11 se on kuva se on molemmat kieli selkokieli ja kuvat ei kelankieli *(it is picture it is both language selkokieli and picture not Kela's language)*
>
> e12 nah no Kela's language yeah this is like this is no selkokieli

In the above conversation, e11 and e13 shared his/her own experiences at the initial phase of its life in Finland. e11 mentions that ' it's difficult to understand (Finnish language) when they (Finnish people) speak very quickly' and that was the reasons e11 felt 'I was very happy first I was able to understand anything and that (Finnish language) comes *selkokieli*'. e13 seemed to agree with what e11 has mentioned, based on e13's saying *'se paljon auttaa ihmisiä kotoutumisaikana* (it helps people so much in the period of integration). e11 concluded that the advertisement written in Finnish should include the images and Finnish in *selkokieli*.

Before having the conversation about *selkokieli*, all the participants mentioned or agreed with the point that the official documents from e.g. Kela (Social Insurance Institution in Finland) or immigration office were difficult to understand even for Finnish people or with translation application whereas it is written in Finnish and Swedish. That could be the reason of e11's and e12's using '*Kelan kieli* (Kela's language)' as an antonym of '*selkokieli*'.

6.1.3 Using Finnish as a tool to learn Finnish language (EF1, EF2, SF)

Finnish language was also used in the fragments of schoolscape in SF and EF2 as a tool for the visitors to learn Finnish language. Fragments of schoolscape was used in SF as a reminder of important vocabulary for the visitors. On the other hand, in EF2, fragments of schoolscape was used for suggesting the ways to learn Finnish language, and to learn Finnish used in the authentic context. Meanwhile in EF1, there was a conversation about using Finnish in the institution in general to help visitors practicing using Finnish.

Conversation in SF

SF has provided tailoring services as a part of rehabilitation programme. There is a room in SF allocated to this tailoring service, where sewing machines and tools to fix clothes can be found (see Figure 2). In this room, there was a piece of paper put on the wall to remind the meanings of '*ratkoja* (ripper)' in Finnish. s3 decided to make the notes of '*ratkoja*' when the clients have asked

what ripper is called in Finnish. During the conversation beside the note of ripper, s1 initiated to claim the importance of making the notes to remind the meanings of the words in Finnish of the visitors:

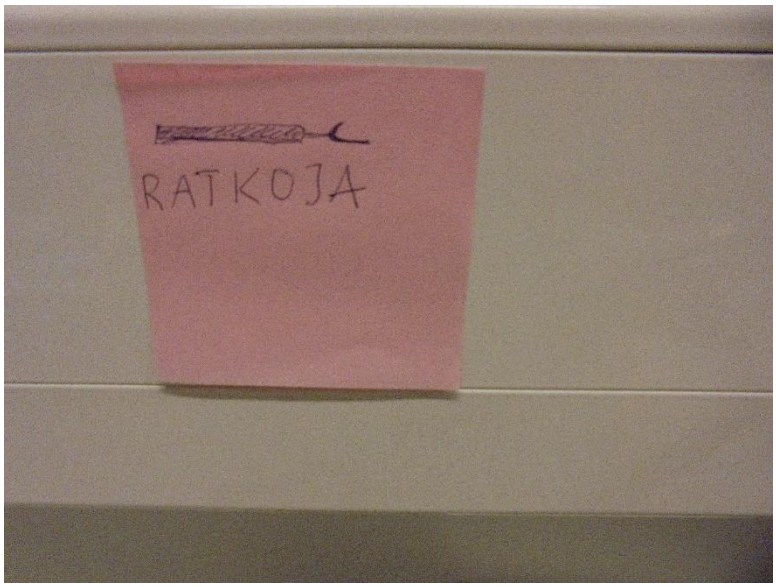

Figure 2: Memo in SF for reminding the name '*ratkoja*' (ripper).

s1 sometimes it's a somehow it's a keyword here so it's important for them to know the word

s3 yeah maybe

s1 if someone has explained it and wrote it down

s1 claimed that the 'keyword', such as the name of the sewing tools in Finnish is 'important for them (clients of the rehabilitation group) to know'. Therefore, it can be assumed that s1 may think it important to make the reminders of the keywords in Finnish 'if someone has explained and wrote it down'. s3 reacted on s1's comments by saying 'yeah maybe', which may indicate that s3 might partially agree with s1's opinion.

This note at the sewing room in SF may scaffold the visitors' memorizing new vocabulary. 'Scaffolding learning' in language acquisition is "to the support that enhances learners' ability to develop new knowledge and skills that are transferable to new contexts" (European Center for Modern Language,

n.d.). Wedell and Malderez (2013) classifies the functions of scaffold learning into four categories, and one of them is 'Marking critical features'. 'Marking critical features' in English language teaching is, for instance, to use the fragment of schoolscape, or to write on the blackboard for emphasizing the important points which the group or the individuals feel difficult to understand (Wedell & Malderez, 2013). The example found in SF can be classifed as 'Marking critical features' function since the note '*ratkoja*' was made after the visitors of SF asked how to call it in Finnish.

Conversation in EF2

When the interview was almost ending, I asked about the small notes written in Finnish, which were put on products for everyday use. Those notes describe the name of the products in Finnish. For instance, the note written '*tietokone*' (computer) could be found on the back of the monitors of the computer for common use. When I inquired the reasons to put those notes, e21 responded 'you can learn some new words' (e21) and 'those (the notes on the products) are only for that' (e21). Yet, e21 explained that those notes have been used in EF2 to give some tips to learn vocabularies in Finnish, which is, 'to put words to every place' (e21) at home as it has been practiced also in EF2. Similarly, Finnish has been used in the fragments of schoolscape as a tool for the visitors to learn Finnish in SF, EF2.

The conversation in front of notes on a microwave oven indicates that staff members in EF2 has chosen commonly used vocabulary than what is written in dictionary when creating those notes. The word '*Mikro*' is divided with hyphen to show syllable boundaries in the note. This is called syllabification, a method which has been used in Finnish ABC books (*aapinen* in Finnish) so that children recognize the word with the awareness of syllables (Häikilö, Betram & Hyönä, 2016). Here is the excerpt from the conversation in front of the microwave oven (see Figure 3):

Figure 3: Note in EF2 written microwave in Finnish (*mikro*).

e21 this also mikroaaltouuni which is like the word but nobody use it in Finland

R mikroaaltouuni

e21 yes yes so that is written mikro so

Although as e21 mentioned that microwave oven is originally called 'mikroaaltouuni' in Finnish, this is not used by anyone in Finland according to e21. Instead, 'mikro' is chosen to be written on the note since it is widely used in Finland. This example illuminates that '*puhekieli*' (colloquial language, literally 'spoken language' in Finnish) has been taught in EF2 rather than standard language (*yleiskieli* or *kirjakieli* [literally 'book language'] in Finnish) through schoolscape. One of the features of *puhekieli* is the word is described shorter in *puhekieli* than *yleiskieli*. For instance, *mikroaaltouuni* is written in *yleiskieli*; *mikro* is the abbreviated version of *mikroaaltouuni*, thus *mikro* is *puhekieli* (Viinikka & Voutilainen, 2013).

Yleiskieli, which is also called as *kirjakieli*, is standardized Finnish language form used in newspaper, TV and radio programmes, non-fiction book and manuals, so that everyone can understand regardless of which Finnish dialects they speak. *Yleiskieli* has been taught to use in the schools in Finland. (Institute for the Language of Finland, n.d.) *Puhekieli* , on the other hand, Finnish language

form used in everyday life, which allows more flexibility in formulation and thus it does not need to follow the rule of *yleiskieli* (Viinikka & Voutilainen, 2013). Using *puhekieli* in schoolscape for pedagogical use indicates that teaching frequently used form of language may be perceived as more important than learning standard form of language in EF2.

Conversation in EF1

The staff members in EF1 mentioned the reasons to use Finnish language as a working language in EF1 for the purpose of giving opportunities for the visitors to practice speaking Finnish. e11 and e12 in EF1 made a contrast between the situation in vocational training as a part of integration course and in EF1. e11 and e12 gave example of the immigrants ('foreigners' in the excerpt) who could not practice Finnish well in the vocational training:

> e11 and we think it is a good thing because we all are foreigners then we get to learn and the students who are here now at the moment they are studying administration and they have the possibility to go to supermarket to make a practice
>
> R joo (*yeah*)
>
> e11 and they decided that we don't go there because we don't learn there anything because when they go to the supermarket they put them
>
> e11 e12 to clean
>
> e11 or to just to for that you know to replace and there is so that we don't speak with anybody
>
> R joo kielitaito ei (kasvaisi) (*yeah language skill would not (develop)*)
>
> e11 so they will not learn anything
>
> e12 yeah
>
> e11 so they decided they come here that a at least we have this Finnish language as a as a working language they will communicate with people and they will learn something they will practice language and if for them its much better than go to the supermarket

e11 and e12 talks about the immigrants in the integration course who could not practice Finnish well in the vocational training, since 'they (supermarkets) put them (immigrant trainees) to clean', and thus 'they will not learn anything' (e11). Therefore, according to e11, immigrants are not necessarily given

tasks in which are not language-intensive and do not contribute to the development of their proficiency in the integration course.

Similarly, Masoud, Holm and Brunila (2019) reports that immigrants in Finland cannot necessarily receive proper training during their vocational training. Instead, some immigrants result in just washing dishes or observing other colleagues without interactions with people and learning more practical skills. Same study suggests that it could be because of the discrimination in the workplaces. Above-mentioned excerpt may indicate that similar cases reported in Masoud, et al. (2019) may also affect immigrants' learning process of Finnish, and multicultural centers could be an 'alternative' place for the immigrants to practice using Finnish in more practical situations.

6.1.4 Using Finnish to display information in a limited space (CF, EF2)

c1 in CF and e21 in EF2 pointed out the reason to use Finnish in the aspect of displaying the information in the limited place in the flyers/brochures and in the institution. When we had a conversation in front of the flyers which are mostly written in Finnish, c1 mentioned how Finnish language has been used in the blackboard as a consequence of negotiating with practicalities when promoting multilingualism in CF. For example, the choice of language is 'depending on the group', which implicated that the schedules of the groups which main participants are non-Finnish speakers are often written in English. However, c1 also mentioned that 'Siksi on tilaa et(tä)… *(because of the space …)*', 'because of the space' is limited for writing more than three languages in the blackboard. This excerpt may indicate that although CF has tried to use as various language as possible, the number of languages is sometimes limited by the practicalities (e.g. the size of the place) and thus Finnish language has been used as a result of negotiating with the practicalities.

6.1.5 Using Finnish differently: depending on the place in the institution (SF)

In the whole interview, the participants in SF mentioned the use of Finnish language in different forms and tone of voice depending on the place in the institution. When we entered to the staff room of SF, staff members (mainly s1) explains the fragments of schoolscape that can be found in the room. The staffroom in SF is not open to the visitors, whereas sometimes the visitors happen to enter the room. The explanations of the schoolscape in the staffroom implicates that the staff members may differentiate the use of Finnish language inside and outside of the staffroom. s1 explains the use of Finnish language in the fragment of schoolscape in the staff room:

> s1 there is office also because sometimes somewhat I might say that the language we use here is somehow somewhat different
>
> s3 it is
>
> s1 so there are there some jokes here
>
> s3 yeah

s1 began the explanation of the features of the schoolscape with saying 'the language we (staff members) use here (in the staff room) is somehow somewhat different'. s1 further elaborated on this point by saying 'so there are some jokes here'. These lines of saying by s1 may indicate that one of the differences of the use of Finnish language is to use the joke or not. s1 continued the conversation with describing the fragments of schoolscape containing jokes. The first one was a poster beside the s1's chair, which mentioned that 'hit your head here if you are nervous' in Finnish (Figure 4). Another one was a sticker taken by s1 from the express bus, that mentioned '*varattu* (reserved)' in Finnish (Figure 5). This sticker was put beside S1's chair, so that 'no one should come and (anyone) shouldn't come and sit on my place'(s1).

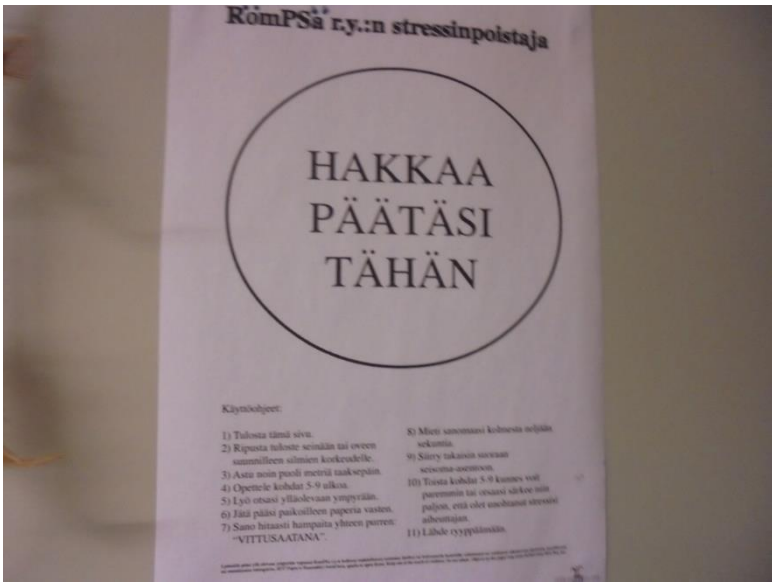

Figure 4: Fragment of schoolscape in SF including jokes written in Finnish

Figure 5: Sticker written 'reserved (*varattu*)' in Finnish in SF

None of the participants have suggested any reasons to distinguish the use of Finnish language inside and outside of the staffroom. However, there could be two reasons assuming from what s1 and s3 have payed attention to when using Finnish. One of the reasons is that jokes might be perceived by the participants in SF as the information, which is not so essential as, for instance, the venue of the events happening at SF. Another reason could be it might be difficult for the visitors of SF to understand jokes in Finnish since jokes are usually consisted of cultural issues and complex language use.

6.2 Use of national language in Finland: Use of Swedish

This section sheds lights on the use of the other national language in Finland: Swedish. I asked the question about the use of Swedish in SF, since municipality E has the largest population of Swedish speakers among the research sites. Although the participants in SF did not mention the use of Swedish in the fragments of schoolscape, they share their thoughts on the potential participants of the Swedish speaking group held in SF.

I could have a conversation with a Finnish participant whose mother tongue is Swedish, working at a monolingual municipality. Hence, I inquired of this participant how s/he thinks about the use of Swedish language in the municipality and his/her workplace. Pseudonymized workplace and municipality are not stated in this section 6.2.2. for the sake of personal data protection.

6.2.1 Comments on the potential participants in a Swedish speaking group (SF)

Many of the fragments of the schoolscape containing various languages could be found in the lobby in front of the main entrance in SF. In the middle of the interview, we had a conversation in front of the wall in the lobby. We could find weekly schedule, local radio programmes organized by SF, and other advertisements about the future events in SF from this wall. Those advertisements are put around the word: *'Tässä kuussa tapahtuu* (In this month [it] happens)' in Finnish.

We had a conversation in front of the brochure about weekly schedule of SF, which is put on the wall. I asked the questions about the use of Swedish language in SF, since only E is a bilingual municipality (*kaksikielinen kunta*) among the research sites. Therefore, when I found weekly Swedish language practice session from the weekly schedule of SF, I asked about it. None of the participants in SF clearly mentioned about the reasons to use Swedish in SF, nor the use of Swedish language in SF in general. The conversation about Swedish speaking practice group indicates that some participants' point of view towards people who may have need to practice Swedish language. As s1 and s2 mention that

there are not so many participants in Swedish practice group; the conversation implicates that s1 and s2 have different points of view towards the reason behind:

> R but is there like many participants in Swedish speaking group or
>
> s2 I don't know who has been there like
>
> s1 we have been maybe six or eight on the best days something like that
>
> s2 yeah
>
> s1 but not so many actually we think of ah there is a need for practicing Swedish but but people do not recognize this need
>
> s2 yeah I think I think is just a about like even though we've been advertising it and everything it always takes a little bit of time until people actually like
>
> s1 yeah
>
> s2 realize it oh there actually is Swedish and I could go and learn some Swedish and stuff so
>
> R mm
>
> s2 and I think because that has happened before for us for example we advertised the parents could take their kids here also and we would take care of the kids while they were in Finnish courses or something that's a very important thing actually like important parts
>
> s1 for many mothers
>
> s2 yeah for many mothers so ah but then actually it wasn't that like it didn't get into peoples knowledge then and actually it happens just like a half a year after now when we don't actually advertise it anymore that's when they took their kids and now we have kids to take care of
>
> R hoo
>
> s2 so its its like super interesting how this whole things works and it takes time for people to acutually recognize it and realize it

In the conversation, s1 and s2 firstly tried to explain the number of participants coming to Swedish language group. Since it was I who brought this topic to the conversation suddenly, the participants might not be ready for giving the exact number of participants. Thus, s2 might respond 'I don't know who has been there like' (s2). However, s1 tried to give the estimated number of participants by saying 'We have been maybe six or eight on the best days something like that' (s1) but '(usually there are) not so many (participants) actually (as) we

think of (right now)' (s1). Assuming from s1's saying, there might be around 6-8 participants in Swedish speaking group at most successful cases, while usually there might be less people than that number.

s1 and s2 then further elaborated on the possible reasons behind the number of participants in Swedish language group. s1 explained it with saying 'there is a need for practicing Swedish but but people (who may need to learn Swedish) do not recognize this need (by themselves)'(s1). s1 did not mention specifically about the features of 'people' who may need to learn Swedish. Yet, considering the use of 'they' pronoun in s1's utterance in the section 6.1.1., I would assume 'people' in this utterance may be also used in a similar manner as 'they' pronoun in the section 6.1.1., which may include migrants to Finland living in the areas where Swedish is spoken.

On the other hand, s2 argued that people in need may not recognize their advertisement of Swedish speaking group since spreading the information 'always takes a little bit of time until people actually like (get the information)' (s2). To illustrate the case, s2 referred to the process of advertisement of the services offered in SF previously, which was to take care of children while their mothers took Finnish language class in SF. According to s2, despite making advertisement, 'it (information about the service) didn't get into people's knowledge (or mind)' (s2), but participants started to come 'just like a half a year after now when we don't actually advertise it anymore' (s2). I could not ask if Swedish language group started recently and thus I cannot assert if the case that s2 referred to also might happen in Swedish language group. Yet still, based on what s2 mentioned, s2 might think the information of the activities does not necessarily reach smoothly to the target group, and that might be the reason that the number of participants in Swedish speaking group is not as many as expected.

In summary, according to s1, the number of participants in Swedish speaking group is smaller than staff members' expectation or despite the potential needs. The reasons of not having many participants in Swedish language group of s1 and s2 seem to be different from each other. s1 might think it because

those who may need to practice Swedish are not yet aware of the needs by themselves. Meanwhile, s2 might think it because the advertisement of this activity has not yet reached to the target group.

6.2.2 Comments on the use of Swedish in a monolingual municipality from the viewpoint of a Finnish speaking Swedish as mother tongue

One of the participants working at the multicultural center in a monolingual municipality elaborated on his/her perspective towards the distribution of the Swedish language in the research site, which can be hardly seen. The elaboration is found in the following excerpt:

> R varmaan koska se on siis niin paljon kaikki on kirjoittettu varmaan joo on suomeksi vai varmaan venäjäksi mut mitä sä ajattelit sitä
>
> *(perhaps because it is then well many everything has been written perhaps well in Finnish or Russian but what do you think about it)*
>
> Osallistuja: ah mun mielestä se on periaatteessa sääli ettei täällä koska Suomi on kaksikielinen maa ja ruotsinkielisyys minä olen etelä-suomalainen minä olen Etelä-Suomesta ja muuttanut tänne ja Etelä-Suomessa melkein kaikki osaavat puhua suurin osaa myös ruotisa ruotisa ja suomea ja se on mun mielestä hirveä sääli että tällä ihmiset eivät olleet niinku omakusneet ruotisa ollenkaan koska se on kuitenkin kuuluu suomalaisuuteen myös ruotsinkielisyys että se on se on vähän semmonen huono juttu mun mielestä tällä ei puhuta ruotisa
>
> *(ah in my opinion it is basically a pity here because Finland is bilingual country and Swedish language I am Southern Finnish I am from Southern Finland and moved here and in the Southern Finland almost everyone can speak greatly can use also Swedish Swedish and Finnish and it is in my opinion it's a great pity that here people have not acquire Swedish at all because it is anyways Swedish language is a part of Finnish also that it is it is a little such as bad thing in my opinion here Swedish is not spoken)*

This participant is coming from the one of the bilingual municipalities (*kaksikielinen kunta*) in Southern Finland and his/her mother tongue is Swedish. The participant described that it is 'sääli (*pity*)' that people in the monolingual research site do not speak Swedish, even though as the participant explained that Finland is 'bilingual country (*kaksikielinen maa*)' and Swedish language is a part of Finnishness (*kuuluu suomalaisuuteen myös ruotsinkielisyys*). This excerpt implicates that Swedish language are not spoken and even sometimes cannot be used everywhere in Finland whereas Swedish is also an official language in Finland, which may disappoint Finnish citizens whose mother tongue is Swedish, such as this participant.

6.3 Use of other languages than national languages

This section focuses on the use of other languages than national languages. Although there is a variety of reasons behind of using other languages than national languages in different occasions, some of the parts may overwrap with the reasons to use Finnish language. For instance, in EF2, as described in the 6.3.2., the languages in the fragments of schoolscape are chosen because of a limited space to install them. The two main reasons to use other languages than national languages, which was talked in the interview, were because of the availability of the translation (NF, CF, EF1) and the needs from the new immigrants (NF, EF2, CF).

Meanwhile, according to the participants, other languages than national languages are used based on the majority of languages spoken in the institutions, (NF, EF2) to make the environment inside of the institution more inclusive (EF2, CF) and sometimes unintentionally(SF).

6.3.1 Using other languages than national languages since translation is available (NF, CF, EF1)

The participants in NF, CF, and EF1 mentioned explicitly or implicitly that one of the reasons to use other languages since the translation made by the native speakers of the languages are available.

Example in CF: sign board containing the slogan of CF

For instance, the sign board of the CF contains other languages than Finnish because the translation by native speakers are available. The signboard was created at the end of 2018, and the slogan of CF is written in Finnish with dark color. This slogan in Finnish is embedded with various languages, such as in Arabic, Estonian, Thai, French, Spanish, German, and Persian with pale color. According to c1, the staff members of CF wanted to create this sign board with a short notice and thus they needed to look for people speaking certain languages for asking to check language in a few days. In addition, as c1 explained, 'it's not very good way to use the interpreter. For example, in Google'

to check the correct usage of foreign languages. Therefore, it was decided to put various languages which speakers can be reachable in one or two days.

Example in EF1: Why the fragments of schoolscape contains other languages less than national languages

e11 in EF1 also mentions that it is difficult to translate every material to all the languages because of the time and resource restricts. Instead of translating the whole advertisements, the visitors are encouraged to use the application in the smartphone to translate the posts on social media, so that at least the visitors can understand the place and time for each occasion.

Example in NF: Translation made by the immigrant workers

The conversation in NF in front of the notice board implicates the situation of the immigrant workers in NF, who mostly translate the materials from Finnish to their mother tongue. At the beginning of the interview, n3 led us to the 'notice board', where we could find weekly and monthly notices. Those notices included the posters of the cultural events, language practice group, and so on. Besides the posters, pictures including people from various countries are put on the notice board. Those pictures were 'randomly chosen from the magazine'(n3).

In front of this notice board, we had a conversation about the use of languages in the brochure that include the information of the weekly schedule. I asked why the weekly schedule is written in Finnish whereas some posters found in the notice board are written in other languages. n3 and n4 answered the questions, which indicates that other languages than Finnish are chosen to be used because translation is available:

(…)

n4 ja meillä on myöskin tavallisesti kolme maahanmuuttaja *(and we also have usually three immigrants)*

R mm hm

n4 meillä on ollut vuodesta 2001 yli 30 maasta työntekijöitä yli 60 ihmistä ja aina kun meillä on vaikka venäjänkielinen ja silloin meillä on venäjänkieliset mainokset *(we have had from the year 2001 from over 30 coutries workers over 60 people and always when we have although Russian language speakers and that time we have Russian language advertisement)*

R uh huh aivan *(oh yeah true)*

n4 jos meillä on persiankielinen ja silloin meillä on perisankieliset mainokset aina kun on tietyn kieliset työntekijöitä ja sitten me pystymme myöskin tiedottamaan meidän toiminnasta eri kielillä *(if we have Persian language speakers and that time we have Persian language advertisement alsways whe n certain language workers and then we can also announce our activities in different languages)*

As n4 mentioned that the advertisements can be written in other languages than Finnish '*aina kun on tietyn kieliset työntekijöitä* (whenever there are certain language speaking workers)' in NF1. When we walked around the staff room in NF1, n3 mentions that at that moment there was a staff member who can speak Arabic. Likewise, n3 also mentioned that Russian speaking volunteers have translated the advertisement in Russian. In addition, the staff members speaking other languages than Finnish have their own '*verkosto (*network*)*' (n4), so that n4 mentioned that they can spread the information in their own language by using this network.

6.3.2 Using other languages than national languages to display static information (EF2)

e21 in EF2 mentioned that other languages than national languages are used when displaying the information which does not change frequently. At the beginning of the interview, e21 took me to the entrance door, which is 'I think the most important thing' (e21), because 'every poster we (EF2) have is there' (e21). Entrance door is swing-open door. One of the doors contains weekly schedules, signs of the EF2, and other brochures about weekly activities mainly in Finnish. However, the signs of the EF2 and its opening hour are written in Finnish, Russian and English. e21 begins the explanation about the posters that shows opening hour of EF2 on this door.

e12 so here's our opening times those are in in Finnish English and in Russian

R yeah

> e12 because that one is easier to do and those things don't change so we can use that all the times but to like you'll see many things are in Finnish

e12 explains the reasons to use three different languages to describe opening hour for two reasons: it is relatively easy to explain in several different languages ('that one is easier to do'), and 'those things (opening hour) don't change'. However, as e21 pointed out, that most of the brochures and posters on the door are written in Finnish.

In another door, there are posters describing the rules of EF2 in five different languages including Finnish. These posters written in other languages than Finnish were created by interns from foreign countries. The posters showing the rules to use EF2, such as *'Älä ota tavaroita ilman lupaa* (Do not take the things without permission)', *'Kunnioita muita ja ole ystävällinen* (Respect others and be friendly)', etc. e21 mentioned that some of the posters have been revised for more than twice, because the visitors of the EF2 pointed out the grammatical errors in the posters. This poster is written in different languages for similar reason to using three different languages in the posters of opening hours:

> e21 and this is also nice because these are the same rules and these don't change every month and this was easy so we have done it once and it can stay like our like opening hours like

This excerpt indicates that using different languages to describe the things which do not change often, such as the rules and opening hours, is 'easy'(e21) solution to use various languages. e21 did not mention explicitly that using other languages to show static information is 'easy' in what aspect. However, considering other institutions' using other languages when translation is available, e21 might mention that it is 'easy' to use other languages for showing static information since the translation is not frequently required.

In addition, other languages than national languages are chosen to be used based on the number of speakers of these languages. e21 in EF describes the reasons to choose specific languages based on this point. e21 in EF2 describes the reasons to choose Finnish, English and Russian in the posters about opening hour and the sign of the EF1 in the following excerpt:

e21 and of course our sign is like three different languages

R mm hm

e21 we can't use everything so I think English and Russian are quite big languages that many people can speak so that's why

e21 mentioned 'we can't use everything' to describe that it is difficult to include all the languages spoken in the EF2 in the posters. Instead, English and Russian are chosen since according to e21, English or Russian are spoken by 'many people' (e21) in Finland or internationally. At the end of the interview, e21 also mentioned that there are a lot of Russian speakers in I2. Using Russian language in the posters in EF2 may reflect on the number of residents in I2 who can speak Russian.

6.3.3 Using other languages than national languages as a tool to make the environment more inclusive (EF2, CF)

The participants in EF2 and CF mentioned that the other languages than national languages are used as a tool to make the environment more inclusive in the aspect of language and culture. e21 in EF2 took one of the fragments of schoolscape as an example to use various languages for appreciating different cultures. The interpretation by c3 in CF indicates positive attitude of CF towards 'multiculturalism' (c3).

Example in EF2: 'Multilingual tree'

Different languages from Finnish can be also found beside the entrance door of EF2. There is a tree made of paper on the wall close to the entrance door, where visitors can put a leaf with the name of their home countries in their own mother tongue (see Figure 6). Encouraged by e21, I wrote the name of my home country in my mother tongue and put on the tree during the interview. This tree with various languages was installed one month before the interview, when EF2 celebrated its anniversary since its establishment. Although this tree was originally prepared for this celebration, the staff members in EF2 decided

not to remove it even after the cerebration. The reason to leave this tree poster was described by e21:

> e21 because it's really nice because then you can see like okay this is we are thinking this is only in our celebration but now we have continued it because it's quite nice
>
> R hmm mm
>
> e21 and usually we have to look like last year how many people from how many different countries there has been so I think this is the easy way to like look I think the main countries you see

As e21 described, this tree with various language is 'only in our celebration'(e21). Yet EF2 decides to continue to put it 'because it's quite nice' (e21), since with this tree, it would be 'easy' (e21) to see the number of visitors and their cultural background. In this study, it is only in EF2 where the fragment of schoolscape is used for the explicit purpose of showing cultural diversity within the institution.

Figure 6: 'Multilingual tree' in EF2

Example in CF: Sign board containing the slogan of CF

Here is another excerpt from the conversation where we had in front of the sign board, which is already explained in the section 6.1.1. After c1's explanation about the reasons for choosing different languages in this sign-board, c3 has interpreted the color and the layout of the languages that can be found in this sign-board as follows:

> c3: (…) I can imagine that the dark letters are the famous one. These are like because we are in Finland. And these are the goals of this centre (CF) (…) pale colors are like, what is the what is CF about like multiculturalism. It's like, it speaks to you directly to you. Like, if I see it in my language, I will be like, I will feel all not a little bit and I'll be like, maybe I'll give it a try. Like they tried for me like, why should I go and check what it is, you know, like, so like, Finnish culture in the center, and then... it's parts of all of us, because it's integration. So like, we all contribute in our own ways, like learning the language, communicating, communicating with cultures, like creating new cultures with English one in the local environment. I think.

Likewise c3's interpretation of the use of Finnish in the section 6.1.1, c3 interpreted that Finnish language was written in 'dark(-color) letters', because 'we are in Finland'. Moreover, c3 interpreted the reasons to put Finnish language in the center of the sign-board, because 'Finnish culture in the center, and then… it's parts of all of us, because it's integration.' Considering c3's interpretation of the color and the layout of Finnish language in the sign-board, c3 may perceive Finnish language as a representative of Finnish culture, which should be the center of CF and among all the immigrants, since learning Finnish language and culture is the way of immigrants' integration to Finnish society. Despite what c3 mentioned multiculturalism, it emerged from the conversation that c3 may understood 'integration' as a one-way process focusing solely on immigrants' learning cultures and languages in host countries, rather as two-way process which enable both immigrants and host country to retain their own cultural identity.

c3 also interpreted different languages with 'pale color' and 'all around' the slogan written in Finnish since CF has promoted 'multiculturalism (c3)'. Considering also how c3 concluded the sentences ('we all contribute in our own ways, like learning the language, communicating, communicating with cultures'), c3 may have thought that various languages on the sign-board (including the process of creating this sign-board), as well as CF itself, have encouraged c3 and the visitors to know more about different cultures in outside of Finland, which may have lead everyone in CF to appreciate multiculturalism.

6.3.4 Using other languages than national languages which are mainly spoken by the visitors (EF2, NF)

The participants in EF2 and NF explained the reason to choose specific languages for the fragments of schoolscape based on the size of the language

group of the visitors. As explained in the section 6.3.2, e21 mentioned that Russian, English and Finnish are chosen to be used in the many of the fragments of schoolscape in EF2 since those languages have been spoken internationally or widely in nationwide Finland. Meanwhile, n3 in NF described the reasons to use Arabic considering the number of Arabic speakers in Finland.

Conversation in NF

Unlike what e11 in EF1 mention in section 6.1.1, n3 in NF mentions that the reasons to use Arabic is that the majority of the visitors in NF speak Arabic:

R: monthly schedule is written in I guess all in Finnish

n3: yeah its all in Finnish

R: but some other events are written in some other languages is there any reason why like

n3: well Arabic is kind of useful because we got plenty of Arabic speaking customers

R: uh huh

(continues)

n3 mentioned that using Arabic is 'useful' because of a number of visitors to N1 coming from Arabic-spoken countries. Linguistic commodification (Runnai & Tupas, 2008.; cf. Section 6.1.1.) is emerged also from this conversation: n3 assigned value to Arabic language as 'useful' in this conversation.

6.3.5 Use other languages than national languages for new immigrants (NF, EF2, CF)

The staff members of NF, EF2 and CF mentioned the use of language when providing guidance of writing official documents for the new immigrants. CF provided the guidance in five different languages. NF and EF2 have similar services. They also described that the reason to offer the guidance in various languages by giving the examples of the use of Finnish language in the official documents.

Conversation in EF1

Despite the explicit language policy of EF1, which is to use Finnish as a 'working language' if the specific activities are aiming at people who speak other languages than Finnish, the brochures are created for them in their language. Similarly, the brochure about the guidance and advising services provided by EF1 mainly for the immigrants coming recently is not only written in Finnish, but also in Russian and English. The following excerpt is from the conversation in front of these brochures, which are put inside the building of EF1 just beside the entrance door. The participants explained that they provided brochures of their guidance and advising services (they are referred to *neuvonta* or *neuvontapalvelu* in Finnish), in some other languages than Finnish for the following reason.

e11 if you don't understand Finnish, filling out forms dealing with housing issues booking times for doctors this is very important for people

R no joo *(well yeah)*

e11 yeah applying for education you need to look for school may be it's a an applications applications for jobs writing a cv or doing a school work

e12 mm hm

e11 yes

e13 samanlainen on venäjäksi *(same in Russian)*

e11 venäjäksi on tehty ainakin ei ole siellä *(it has been made in Finnish it is not there)*

R on onko siellä *(is is it there)*

e11 I don't (I) have it in computer but it's not here

e13 silloin kun kävimme eri paikoissa *(when we visited different places)*

e11 yeah we printed and gave it to Russian people

e13 so much Russians

e12 yes

The guidance and advising services are provided at EF1 for the immigrants who have problems in writing the official documents, such as to apply

for the schools, social benefits, and to make an appointment to the doctors. e11 and e12 explains that it is difficult for the immigrants who have just started to learn Finnish language, and that is the reasons to provide this service in the visitors' mother tongue although the 'working language' in EF1 is Finnish. As e13 and e11 mentioned that the staff members sometimes have handed in brochures directly to the potential users of guidance and advising services. e11 explains in the previous conversation that the direct distribution of the brochure to the possible participants is possible, since I1 is 'very small place' according to e11.

Furthermore, e11 mentioned that 'they (immigrants) are very afraid of making mistakes' when filling in the application form to e.g. Kela (Social Insurance Institution in Finland). According to e11 and e12, one mistake in the application document of the social benefits cause the applicants to 'have a big mess' (e11), since Kela 'sends all the papers back' (e12). e13 also pointed out that the bureaucratic systems in Finland does not necessarily work in the same way as in the visitors' own countries, which may hinder the visitors to have a 'real picture' ('oikein kuva', as e13 describes in Finnish) of the bureaucracy in Finland. Providing guidance in the visitors' own language is thus important in the participants' point of view in that sense.

The participants in EF1 pointed out in the discursive conversation that new immigrants in Finland may have difficulties to ask for help for the Finnish people at the initial phase of their life in Finland because of the language barrier. All the participants thus agreed with the point that guidance services should be provided in various languages at EF1. The following excerpt is from that conversation, which elaborated on the difficulties for the new immigrants in Finland to make connections between local Finnish people.:

> e11 yeah especially in I1 you can be really very alone so eh if you don't cannot communicate in the standard language and the attitude of the people towards foreigners is not the most open in the beginning
>
> e12 no it's not
>
> e11 foreigner is almost like a threatens of and afraid of me
>
> e12 yeah even if you I move from south Finland here and they looked like me to like you don't belong here you are from the south

R eeh really oh

e13 selitä tästä tumma ihmisiä ja maahanmuuttaja *(please explain also the dark people and immigrants)*

e11 okay of of of course and then if if you are dark then it's even worse

e12 yeah

e11or more difficult but eh but eh it's only for for you can be very white and blue I and I get the same at the this is

e12 yeah just because you speak another language

e11 yeah speak another language

e12 or the dialect

e11 are are afraid of you they are like a something like eh strange something

e12 yeah

R mm hm

e11 and and so they will not come to you to ask that do you need help this will not happen

e12 no no

e11 this is a little bit how people are I am not saying wrong or right it's just that how people are so the foreigners is very difficult to find help (…)

(continues)

e11 and e12 shared their experiences in I1 as a resident coming outside of I1. e11 mentions that because of the lack of knowledge in 'standard language' of I1 (which could be assumed Finnish with local dialect in that context), foreigners are perceived as a 'threat' of the local habitats in I1. Likewise, despite e12 is Finnish citizen, e12 felt that local habitats in I1 may think e12 'don't belong here (I1)', because s/he does not come from I1 nor speak Finnish with eastern accent.

Conversation in NF

Although the implicit language policy of NF is to use Finnish language, other languages are used especially when the customers need guidance to fill in the official documents.

n3 (…) there is the Arabic worker who sometimes is very short after a customer comes and in ask is she coming here and I am sorry not today but can I help you no thank you bye so

R really

n3 so yeah so yeah so maybe some people don't have the confidence yet to talk in Finnish so it's okay it's understa- understandable but but yeah but of course we try to help as best as we can

n4 And also people ah usually come here with the letters from Kela and it's different language so

n3 yeah yeah it's even difficult

n4 so and its easier to to cope with own language

n3 yeah yeah so they can ask like our Arabic worker like what does this mean like really mean cause even if we say that it's a toimeentulotukihakemus (*income support application*) then they are like what

R yeah yeah joo *(yeah)*

The first line of n3's mention implicates that the immigrants may need the assistance in their own language, because 'some people don't have the confidence yet to talk in Finnish (n3)'. n3 gave description of the visitors who need the assistance in their own language (in Arabic in this context) by saying 'customer comes and in ask is she (Arabic speaking worker) coming here and (n3 responds) I am sorry not today but can I help you (and the customer says) no thank you bye so'. These lines of conversation can be classified as 'generic/iterative narrative' from which emerges speaker's typical customs or repeated behavior (Baynham, 2011).

Similarly, in EF1, as n4 mentioned and n3 agreed with the point that official documents such as 'the letters from Kela (n4)', are written in difficult Finnish. n4 described Finnish written in official document as 'different language', and n3 agrees with the point by saying 'it (the language written in official document)'s even difficult'. n3 elaborated on the level of Finnish language, which is far more advanced and complicated by giving the example of 'toimeentulotukihakemus (*income support application*)' written in the documents from Kela. n3 indicated that the term (such as *toimeentulotukihakemus*) in official documents are difficult for the immigrants by saying 'then they (visitors) are like what'. n3

almost screamed out and put stress on '(they are like) what' to describe how the visitors react upon the specific terms in the official documents in Finnish. The expression given by n3 indicates that the visitors have difficulties with managing official documents in Finnish. Therefore, n3 and n4 agree with the point that 'it's easier to to cope with (official documents in the visitors') own language' (n4), which may be also the reason to provide the services in other languages than Finnish in NF.

6.3.6 Using other languages than national languages with no specific explanation (SF)

The conversation in SF may indicate that sometimes other than national languages are used in the multicultural centers without any specific reason. We found a piece of paper put on a wall in the lobby. The information in this paper was written neither in Finnish nor in English. Yet assuming from the contact information written in the paper, this paper was distributed by an organization in a neighboring university of SF. The conversation in front of this paper implicates that the reason to use specific language in the fragment of schoolscape is not necessarily certain among the staff members:

s1 we don't even know what's written here

R I was likely to asking what's written there but where did you find it

s3 someone has sent it to us or someone has bring it to us

s2 yeah

s1 yeah maybe it's one of I don't know I actually didn't notice it before

As s1 and s3 mentioned, the participants did not know the content of the paper and where it comes from. According to s1, this paper is 'one of (the things) I don't know' and 'I actually didn't notice it (the paper) before'. Assuming from what s1 mentioned, this paper might be put so recently that the participants could not recognize the existence nor the content of this paper. The participants in SF seem to be certain about the content of the other rest of the fragments of

schoolscape based on their explanations that were made during the interview. Furthermore, the wall contains some other posters/brochures from several different organizations. Considering above-mentioned points, this piece of paper is not yet fully understood by the participants since it might be put recently and become almost indistinguishable with other rest of the papers put on the wall. The participants seem not to know about the language used in this paper as well. Therefore, it eventually could not be revealed that whom this paper is written for.

The above-mentioned conversation shows that schoolscape is dynamic and can be changed by the external factors. As Brown (2018) points out, schoolscape is "continuingly changing in their scope (e.g., within a classroom, school or nationally)" (p.12). This dynamic aspect of schoolscape emerged from the conversation: schoolscape changes rapidly and thus even staff members could not follow these changes. Furthermore, according to Brown (2018), schoolscape can be affected by the external factors: the speed of shaping schoolscape can be "accelerated by revolution or government changes" (p.12). The fragment of schoolscape itself and s3's utterance ('someone has sent it to us or someone has bring it to us') also indicate that external factors, such as 'neighboring' university, causes and even accelerates the dynamics of schoolscape in SF.

The above-mentioned conversation also indicates that schoolscape can be so complex that people cannot really interpret it fully: that there are so many flyers that one cannot even keep tracking them. This case raises the question of salience in LL: what people actually notice, what happens when there is so much information that people cannot manage to interpret fully.

Analyzing the conversation from the methodological perspective, the walking interview method and the conversation may evoke what the participants did not yet recognize. Similarly, Szabó (2015) mentions that walking interview involving participants led participants to problematize the issues embedded in the schoolscape.

6.4 Summary of the Findings

Findings from the observation of the schoolscape and schoolscape-related conversation in walking interview illuminated the covert language policy towards multilingualism. In addition, participants' different understandings and interpretations of the covert language policy towards multilingualism also emerged from the school-scape related conversation. This section summarizes the findings of this study according to the research questions. The section titled 'How multilingualism is represented in the schoolscape of multicultural centers?' summarizes the findings related to the covert language policy towards multilingualism with making a contrast of the use of Finnish and other languages than Finnish, dichotomy in the use of Finnish, as well as the use of Swedish. The section titled 'How do staff members of multicultural centers perceive, interpret and explain representation of multilingualism?' briefly explains the different understandings and interpretations of the covert language policy towards multilingualism by exemplifying the varieties of interpretation of the use of Finnish as a lingua franca. The second section also sheds lights on the comments from one of the participants on the use of Swedish language.

6.4.1 How multilingualism is represented in the schoolscape of investigated multicultural centers?

The findings from the walking interview in the multicultural centers uncovered 'How multilingualism is represented in the schoolscape of multicultural centers'**.** Schoolscape in the investigated multicultural centers have been created mainly in Finnish for learning purposes, and for displaying information in a limited place. However, other languages than Finnish have been also used to enhance inclusivity, for the new immigrants who have just started to learn Finnish, if the space allows to install, if the staff members have time to create, if the translation is available, and even unintentionally. The other languages than Finnish are chosen to be used based on the number of the language speakers in nationwide Finland or among visitors. Despite the existence of the fragment of mul-

tilingual schoolscape, schoolscape-related conversation during walking interview revealed that at least investigated multicultural centers use Finnish language as a lingua franca in the institutions. Those findings thus implicated two main tensions of the covert language policy towards multilingualism in the investigated multicultural centers, which is to promote immigrants to learn Finnish language and to protect immigrants' mother tongue at the same time. Yet, as explained in the section 6.1.2., colors, fonts, vocabulary and information are carefully chosen when the investigated multicultural centers create visual materials for those who do not have a good command of Finnish.

Dichotomy of the use of Finnish language between staff members and visitors also emerged from the schoolscape-related conversation. In SF, Fragments of schoolscape including jokes in Finnish could be found only in the staffroom, where the access of the visitors is forbidden.

Although Swedish is the other national language in Finland, few pieces of schoolscape in Swedish could be seen in the investigated multicultural centers. Furthermore, only few mentions about the use of Swedish in the investigated multicultural centers could be heard in the interview. These may implicate that Swedish language is not as valued as Finnish language in the investigated multicultural centers.

6.4.2 How do staff members of multicultural centers perceive, interpret and explain representation of multilingualism?

The findings from the school-scape related conversations in the walking interview also uncovered 'How staff members of multicultural centers perceive, interpret and explain representation of multilingualism'. Varieties of interpretations, explanations and perceptions of the representations of multilingualism were made by the participants during the walking interview; As mentioned above, their common interpretation was that they have used Finnish as a lingua franca in the multicultural centers. Participants further interpreted the use of Finnish language. Some participants, such as the participants in SF, seemed to encourage migrants to speak Finnish stronger. Similarly, c3 in CF interpreted

Finnish language as a tool for integration. Other participants, particularly those who came from outside of Finland, pointed out the positive aspect of the visitors' speaking other language than Finnish. For example, the participants in EF1 perceived immigrants' speaking their own language as the enhancement of their well-being. It was also revealed from n3's utterances that Finnish language is sometimes the only language that immigrants can understand beside their mother tongue.

As mentioned in the section 6.4.1., Swedish language seems not to be as valued as Finnish language in the investigated multicultural centers, whereas Swedish is the other national language in Finland. However, I could hear general interpretation of Swedish language from one of the participants working at monolingual municipality, who is a Swedish-speaking Finnish citizen. The utterances of this participant implicate that the current status of Swedish language as a national language in Finland is disappointing from the Swedish-speaking Finnish citizens' point of view.

7 DISCUSSION

As mentioned in the section 6.4.1., investigated multicultural centers seemed to follow two main conflicted goals in covert language policy towards multilingualism, which are to protect other languages, while Finnish is used as a lingua franca in the institutions. Meanwhile, interpretations and understandings of this covert language policy were different from participants. Discussion section thus further reflects on this covert language policy and participants' language ideology towards multilingualism through making a comparison between language policy and ideology outside of the multicultural centers. In addition, the functions of schoolscape/LL as pedagogical tools, suggestions to enhance multilingualism inside and outside of multicultural centers are also considered based on the findings. The last subsection illustrates the limitations of the findings of this study and implication for the future studies.

7.1 Language policy inside and outside of multicultural centers

This section sheds light on the findings of this study in relation to language policy and ideologies in the investigated multicultural centers by making a comparison between national and university language policy in Finland, researcher's own language ideology and language policy and ideologies of the investigated multicultural centers that were involved in this study.

7.1.1 National language policy in Finland and multicultural centers

As staff members in all the investigated multicultural centers mentioned implicitly or explicily, Finnish language seems to be perceived as 'lingua franca' of the all the investigated multicultural centers. However, at the same time, other languages than Finnish are also used for the new immigrants who have just started to learn Finnish language and to make multicultural centers more linguistically inclusive. Thus, language policies in investigated

multicultural centers seem to be similar to nationwide language policy for the immigrants: Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010) states that integration training for the immigrants are offered either Finnish or Swedish, while it mentions the importance of the appreciation of immigrants' own linguistic background.

Although discourse of threat about multilingualism is strong in other research, it was not shown (explicitly) in this study. For instance, Nikula, et al's (2012) analysis of the Finnish and EU expilicit language policy paper suggests that multilingualism could be perceived as a threat to destruct the cohesion of the society and to deprive of the status of the national languages. However, none of the staff members mentioned at least explicitly about this fear when they talked about the reasons to use Finnish language as a lingua franca. The reasons behind Finnish as a lingua franca in the investigated institutions were rather, to communicate with people having different lingusitic background (such as EF1 and NF), or as a result of staff members' considering learning Finnish langauge is important (or mandatory) for the immigrants in Finland (such as SF and CF).

One of the possible reason that discourse of threat about multilingualism did not explicitly emerge is, as mentioned in the section of theoretical framework, there is always gap between explicit and implicit language policy (Spolsky, 2004). Nikula, et al. (2012) investigates explicit (de jure, overt) language education policy mainly in formal educational context which was published almost one decade ago; the scope of this study is rather implicit (de facto, covert) language policy in non-formal learning space. Despite the fact that investigated multicultural centers conduct Finnish languge classes, these classes are not a part of integration training (*kotoutumiskoulutus* in Finnish) provided by the authorities. Therefore, investigated multicultural centers might not necessarily take into account the national explicit language policy which was investigated in Nikula, et al (2012).

Another possible reasons is that all the participants of this interview can speak more than one language, and even almost a half of them

speak some other languages than Finnish or Swedish as a second language. Assuming from the participants' language proficiency and their background, multilingualism might not be conceived as threats by the participants of this study.

The participants did not seem to perceive multilingualism as a threat. However, it was emerged from the conversation in EF1 in the section 6.3.5 that local citizens in Finland outside of multicultural centers might perceive multilingualism (or, those who are not fluent in Finnish) as threat.

7.1.2 Language policy of Finnish universities, investigated multicultural centers and researcher

This subsection reflects on language policy of Finnish universities, investigated multicultural centers and researcher. I decided to ponder on language policy of Finnish universities since I, as an international student in Finnish university, could realize during data generation that university language policy has influenced my own decision of the use of language. This subsection particularly discusses the use of English since I often use English in everyday life in Finland and for academic purpose.

Although the overt national language policy of Finland and covert language policy at the investigated multicultural centers seem to follow similar lines, it seems that language policy in Finnish higher educational institutions might be different from covert language policy in the investigated multiculral centers. Albeit Saarinen (2014) mentions that nowadays English language has a strong position in Finnish higher education, it was not evident in the all investigated multicultural centers. One of the possible reasons behind using Finnish as a lingua franca is, as the staff members in EF1 and NF mention that the many of the visitors of multicultural centers are not fluent in English. This implicates that the educational contexts of multicultural centers and higher educational institutions are different from each other in the aspect of the learners in each institution.

This 'Finnish as a lingua franca' language policy might be reflected

on using both English and Finnish in the interviews in this study, which was unexpected for me. I, as a student of an international programme at a Finnish university, might have taken it for granted that the staff members in 'multicultural' centers had no troubles with speaking in English. As the findings in Saarinen's (2014) research indictates, English is often connected to 'international' or 'internationalization' in Finnish universities. I, an 'international' student in Finnish university, thus considered that it might be possible to conduct the interviews in English also in 'multicultural' centers. Furthermore, since English language has been used globally and often stands for grobalization and diversification (e.g. Crystal, 2003), this notion of English language may also cause me to believe that I could have conversation in 'multicultural' centers fully in English. The whole interview process and findings made me realize that the discrepancy of language policy of the investigated multicultural centers and mine. I also realized from those two things that I also believed in the notion of English language that stands for grobalization, diversification and 'multiculturalism'. Whole data generation process made me realized that I had unconciously believed in the notion of 'multiculturalism' with a limited scope. In the data generation process, I could modify my notion of multiculturalism to more inclusive, which appreciate the use of every different language.

7.2 Language ideology of multicultural centers: Multilingualism and well-being

The previous section focuses on the 'Finnish as a lingua franca' policy in the investigated multicultural centers; this section aims at reflection on language ideologies of the investigated multicultural centers that were implicated in the findings. The summary of the language ideologies of the investigated multicultural centers is provided first. After that, the reasons to use other languages than national language is further elaborated from the aspect of enhancing immigrants' well-being.

Although the investigated multicultural centers seem to use both Finnish and other languages, the conversations about the fragments of schoolscape implicate that the staff members seem to have different point of view towards to what extent visitors should use Finnish in multicultural centers. For instance, the conversation in SF and CF implicates that some of the staff members in those two institutions want visitors (especially immigrants) to use Finnish more than any other languages. On the other hand, as the staff members in EF1, immigrants' linguistic background is also appreciated. Despite the language policies in investigated multicultural centers, language ideologies of the staff members and insititutions towards multilingualism thus seems to be different from each other.

Focusing on the reasons to appreciate visitors' linguistic background, as the staff members in EF1 pointed out, using visitors' own langauge could be the way to enhance their well-being. Well-being in the context of immigrants' adoptation has several dimentions: One of them is "Social psychological adoptation"(p.23), which means "a sense of belonging to one's own ethnic group and the larger society" (p.23) and to have a positive attitude towards other ethnic groups (Mähönen, 2015). Multilingual schoolscape/LL can take the role to enhance visitors social psychological adoptation especially in the aspect of raise their sense of belonging to their own ethnic groups. This is because, as Gillingar, Sloboda, Simicic and Vigers (2012) points out in the literature review, multilingual schoolscape/LL "imparts a feeling of home and personal and communal safety"(p. 265). In some of the investigated multicultural centers, such as EF2 and CF, multilingual fragments schoolscape is displayed (e.g. 'multilingual tree' in EF2) for the purpose of enhancing inclusivity; it was not evident in all the investigated multicultural centers.

Speaking about the well-being and the use of language, learning Finnish language may also enhance immigrants' well-being, since immigrants may be able to establish networks with people, find job in Finland, and feel sense of belonging in Finnish society with Finnish language skills (Mwai &

Ghaffar, 2014). None of the participants mentioned about the use of Finnish language in the aspect of well-being explicitly; they implicitly mentioned the use of Finnish language for well-being enhancement. As section 6.1.2 shows that *selkokieli* (easy language in Finnish) is used for convey information to as many vistors as possible. The conversation in EF1 in the section 6.1.3 demonstrates that multicultural centers function as a place to practice using Finnish language for immigrants who would like to learn Finnish. Finnish language is used in the sign-board in CF, which is explained in the section 6.3.3., to enhance inclusivity in the institution linguistically. In addition, section 6.3.5. illustrates that the participants need to use Finnish language to assist immigrants in filling in the forms of Kela (Finnish Social Institution of Insurance), that are written in Finnish. These cases implicitly demonstrate that Finnish language is used in the investigated multicultural centers for enhancing immigrants' sense of belonging in Finnish society with learning Finnish langauge and removing or minimizing language barriar for the new coming immigrants.

7.3 Schoolscape/LL as a pedagogical tool for learning Finnish

As mentioned in the literature review, schoolscape/LL can be used also for the pedagogical tool. EF2 and SF used fragments of schoolscape as a pedagogical tools for the visitors' learning Finnish. Meanwhile, the conversation in EF1 indicates that Finnish is used for learning purposes more in a general context.

7.3.1 Use of Finnish in Schoolscape for learning Finnish language

EF2 put the name of the electronic products and other tools related to everyday life in Finnish as a tool for immigrants to learn Finnish. This kind of use of schoolscape may function as an incidential input (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008) of Finnish language, so that the visitors may learn new vocabulary spontaneously. On the other hand, fragment of Schoolscape in the sewing room

in SF may function as a scaffold of the visitors' memorizing new vocabulary (Wedell & Malderez, 2013; cf. Section 6.1.3.).

7.3.2 Use of Finnish for learning Finnish in general context

The staff members in EF1 mentioned the use of Finnish for learning purpose more in a general context. The examples given in the conversation in EF1 indicate that the integration programme for the immigrants does not necessarily work as an opportunity to practice using Finnish. Similar cases also happen to other immigrants according to Masoud, et al (2019). In addition now-adays, because of a number of applicants, immigrants in Finland is now in a long queue to receive integration course (Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland, 2016), whereas this waiting days are becoming less from 180 days to 80 days on average from 2014 to 2016 (National Audit Office of Finland, 2018). Multicultural centers could be, therefore, one of the alternative places for the immigrants to learn (or practice) Finnish language.

7.4 Suggestions towards multilinguralism

Despite the importance of multilingualism concerning well-being, the findings also indicate the challenges of creating multilingual schoolscape. Meanwhile, the findings also implicate the ideas to design schoolscape for multilingual communities outside of the multicultural centers. This section aims at providing suggestions towards multilingualism inside and outside of multicultural centers.

7.4.1 Staff members' awareness of the impacts of Schoolscape on enhancing multilingualism

This study indicactes that multilingual schoolscape in investigated multicultural centers was not necessarily shaped purposefully (such as in SF). In addition, as the example of bookshelf in SF indicates, the impacts of the use of multilingual schoolscape on enhancing immigrants' well-being are not necessarily taken into consideration by the staff members in the investigated multicultural centers. Hence, the effective use of multilingual schoolscape which

have already existed might be needed to be considered in the aspect of the enhancement of immigrants' well-being. For instance, Menken, et al (2018) shows the bookshelf in the school containing books written in the mother tongues of the pluralingual students as an example to enhance pluralingual students' sense of belonging to their school.

7.4.2 Time restriction

Taking a closer look at the reasons behind using Finnish language (or, not using some other languages than Finnish), time restriction is one of the crucial factors to create multilingual schoolscape. In the formal educational context in Finland, lack of time of the teachers also limit them offering assistance for the pluralingual students sufficiently (Voipio-Huovinen & Martin, 2012). The investigated multicultural centers might be also in the similar situations to public schools in Finland. Although Menken, et al. (2018) mentions that using multilingual schoolscape can be one of the easy solutions to promote multilingualism, the conversations in the investigated multicultural centers indicate that even making multilingual fragments of schoolscape might be difficult because of time restriction.

Despite the above-mentioned difficulties, the conversations in the investigated multicultural centers reveal that there are several solutions to create multilingual schoolscape and to convey essential information to non-Finnish speakers. Those were, for instance, effective use of colors, *selkokieli* (easy language in Finnish), asking translation to visitors/immigrant interns, using various languages to display static information (such as opening hours in EF1). These might be also the solutions for promoting multilingualism or giving information to plurilingual students in Finnish formal education. The benefits of existing multilingual schoolscape, as mentioned in the previous sections, might be needed to be considered.

7.4.3 No distinction of using Finnish: Jokes in multilingual schoolscape

The use of language may create boundaries among different ethnic and langauge group and dichotomize minoirty and majority community. As Boudereau and Dubois (2005) mentions, 'language choices, decisions on location, meaningful contents, colour and size all are interpreted in specific contexts in specific verbal interations, allowing for the discourse and allowed by discourse to construct 'us' and 'them'' (as cited in Gilingar, et al., 2012, p. 264).

The conversation in the staffroom in SF may indicate that the use of Finnish in different manner may also draw lines between 'us (staff members in SF)' and 'them (vistors of SF)'. In the staff room in SF, there were several fragments of schoolscape containing jokes in Finnish, which could not be seen in the outside of staff room. The staff member of SF described this situation as ' language we use here (in the staff room) is somehow somewhat different'(s1) . Jokes are embedded into the multilayers of the cultural and societal context (Davies, 2003), which might be a challenge for non-Finnish speakers to understand. That might be the reason for creating fragments of schoolscape containing jokes only in the staff room.

Yet, on the other hand, jokes might be resources to learn cultures embedded in the language (Davies, 2003). Considering this and for making the environment more inclusive, schoolscape including jokes might be also beneficial for the visitors from outside Finland.

7.4.4 Use of the other national language in Finland: Swedish

Drawing the lines between 'us' and 'them' must be also considered when using Swedish language in LL/Schoolscape. At least in this study, only a few of the fragments of schoolscape containing Swedish could be found in the investigated institutions, whereas Swedish is the other national language in Finland. Furthermore, there were only few mentions about the use of Swedish in the investigated multicultural centers in the interview. This may indicate that Finnish is dominant in practice in spite of the fact that Finnish and Swedish are

both national languages according to legislation (Language Act, 423/2003). As Gilingar, et al. (2012) mentions, language is crucial factor to define minority community, so that few practice of using Swedish language in schoolscape/LL in the investigated multicultural centers may also minoritize Swedish language. Use of Swedish in schoolscape/LL might be, therefore, needed to be considered for the sake of protecting the status of Swedish language in Finland and multicultral centers.

7.4.5 The use of multilingual schoolscape as a learning tool to enhance language awareness

Multilingual schoolscape can be a solution to eliminate the destinction between 'us' and 'them', Although this study reveals that schoolscape is used as a tool for learning Finnish language in several investigated multicultural centers, a few examples of using schoolscape enhancing language awareness (e.g. Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, et al., 2006) were found in this study. For excample, the 'multilingual tree' in EF2 can be considered as the use of schoolscape to enhance language awareness and as a tool to enhance inclusion from linguistic perspective.

7.5 Limitations of the findings and implications for further studies

The last section discusses the limitations of the findings from the viewpoint of the scope of this study and from methodologcial perspectives. Limitations of the findings in the scope of studies include two points; there are three possible limitations in methodological perspectives. Implications for further studies are elaborated on based on those limitaions.

Firstly, it should be emphasized that this study focuses on only one aspect of schoolscape in multicultural centers. As mentioned in the literature review, the concept of schoolscape/LL entails not only the visual aspects but also sounds (Brown, 2012; Menken, et al., 2018). During the visit of all the investigated multicultural centers, I often could hear someone speaking in some

other languages than Finnish. Hence future studies may need to focus on the other aspects of schoolscape than its visual aspects for obtaining more holistic understanding of the schoolscapes and language policy and ideology in multicultural centers.

The second point is that this study focuses on the schoolscape in investigated multicultural centers from the staff members' point of view. Albeit there were some indications in the interviews about the visitors' interpretation of the schoolscape, these might not be necessarily identical with actual visitors' point of view. Therefore, schoolscape in multicultural centers may also needed to be investigated with a focus on visitors' perspective in the future studies.

The third point is about the number of multicultural centers which were investigated in the study. As mentioned in the Context of the Study, there are around 30 multicultural centers in Finland; this study investiageted 5 of those multicultural centers. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot solely generalize the schoolscape and language policy/ideology of all multicultural centers. More multicultural centers thus might needed to be investiagted to understand the tendency of the whole network of multiculutral centers in a future study.

The fourth point is using qualitative approach in this study. Qualitative approaches cannot reveal the tendency of the use of language in the whole multicultural centers in Finland. A quantitative approach might be also beneficial to capture the overview of the schoolscape and language policy in a network of multicultural centers (Laihonen & Szabó, 2017) .

The last point is about the researchers' language proficiency. For instance, whlie interviews were conducted in English, Finnish was used occasionally since some of the participants were not confident with their English proficiency. Using two languages in the interview enabled to make the process of the interview more inclusive; however, this also brought some challenges in the data generation and analysis.

As mentioned in the Implementation of the Study section, I only knew some basic Finnish when conducting the interview. Hence it was

sometimes difficult for me to make follow-up questions in Finnish during the interview to obtain deeper understanding in what participants have mentioned. In addition, throughout the whole process of data generation, my Finnish language skills developed continuously; I cannot yet use Finnish language autonomously. It sometimes resulted in let participants who were fluent in English rule the conversation during the interview. This may become a hinderance to obtain the point of view from all the participants in this study.

With basic knowledge of Finnish language and Finnish culture, understanding Finnish language was also a challenge to analyze the excerpts from the interview. Not having in-depth understanidng of Finnish language and culture, it was difficult for me to understand the notions and cultures embedded with the languages. Considering those challenges with regards to researcher's language proficiency, researcher's knowing language(s) that are spoken in the investigated places, is crucial to gain genuine understandings of the investigated places.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Consent form

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY

RESEARCH PERMIT

I am Marino Ishimoto. I study in the international Master's program "Educational Sciences". In my research, I investigate Linguistic Landscapes (e.g. posters, boards, pictures and signs) in multicultural centers in Finland to understand how multilingualism is perceived and promoted in such institutions. My research will help both Finnish and international students and experts in the field of education to understand the significance of multicultural centers and linguistic landscapes in the aspect of promoting multilingualism in Finnish society.
The supervisor of my thesis is Postdoctoral Researcher Tamás Péter Szabó, Ph.D. (e-mail: xxx@xxxx.xxx , telephone:xxx-xxx-xxxx).

Data is collected by interviews which are voice recorded and photo/video documented. The linguistic landscapes of visited institutions will be photographed.

Participation in the research is voluntary, and consent can be withdrawn later at any point of the research process by sending an e-mail to my below e-mail address, or returning to me by hand. Research data is handled and used in a confidential manner. Research data is handled and presented in a way that research participants' personal identity cannot be revealed. Research data is handled according to the data management principles of the University of Jyväskylä which are in line with GDPR.

I gladly provide you further information about the research; please feel free to contact me via e-mail: xxx@xxxx.xxx or phone: xxx-xxx-xxxx

I request your consent to participate in the above mentioned research.

Thank you for considering my request.

With best regards,

Please return this consent form for me.

I hereby give my consent to my participation in the above mentioned research

☐ yes

☐ no

I hereby give my consent to the use of research materials including my contribution for research and educational purposes (e.g. interview recordings, my photos or other submissions)

☐ yes

☐ no

_____ _____

Date and place Signature and clarification of name