“WHY I’M SO GOOD AT ENGLISH”
A CASE STUDY ON THE COMMUNICATIVE REPERTOIRE OF A FINNISH RETURNEE

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan yhden ulkomailta Suomeen palanneen suomalaisen lähetyslapsen eli kolmannen kulttuurin kasvatin (TCK) vuorovaikutusrepertuaarin kehittymistä hänen sopeutuessaan suomalaiseen koulukulttuuriin. Teoreettisena viitekehyksenä toimii laaja käsitys kielestä jatkuvasti kehittyvänä vuorovaikutuksen välineenä ja repertuaarina, joka toimii sekä sosialisaation välineenä että tuloksena ja joka heijastaa sekä aiempia että nykyistä kontekstia. Tämän tapaustutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli selvittää, miten palaaja rakentaa vuorovaikutusrepertuaariaan sopeutumisprosessinsa aikana eli sosiaalistuessaan suomalaiseen alakoulukontekstiin kansainvälisessä koulussa opiskelemiensa vuosien jälkeen. Toisena kiinnostuksen kohteena oli, mitä englanti merkitsee palaajalle ja miten hän näkee suomalaiset englanninkielentunnit kokemustensa valossa. Hänen aiemmassa asuinpaikassaan englanti oli lingua franca eli yleiskieli, jota käytettiin sekä äidinkielenään englantia puhuvien että kaikkien muiden kuin suomenkielisten kanssa. Tutkimuksen aineistona olivat kaksi palaajan alakouluaikanaan antamaa haastattelua vuosilta 2011 ja 2013.

Tutkimuksessa rakentuu käsitys kolmesta erilaisesta koulukontekstista sekä vuorovaikutusrepertuaarista jatkuvasti muotoutuvana kokonaisuutena, joka koostuu erilaisista resursseista: kielellisistä, metapragmaattisista, semioottisista, ihmissuhteisiin sekä kulttuuriin ja kulttuurienvälisyyteen liittyvistä resursseista. Näitä resursseja käyttäen ja samalla niitä muokaten palaaja käy läpi sosiaalistumisprosessia osallistuen siihen aktiivisesti: mm. havainnoiden, vertaillen, arvioiden, mukautuen ja vastustaen.

Asiasanat – Keywords communicative repertoire, socialisation across contexts, resources, English, ELF, EFL, returnee, TCK

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1 INTRODUCTION

We live in a globalised, superdiverse world where people cross borders of countries and territories but also of languages and cultures more than ever both in the physical world and virtually, through media and the internet (see Bell-Villada & Sichel 2011; Cottrell 2011; Blommaert 2013; Blommaert & Backus 2013). Finland is no exception to the trend of globalisation and in the school context this means that Finnish classrooms are increasingly multicultural (Pyykkö 2017) – although neither have they ever been monocultural (on this persisting myth see Kaikkonen 2004). Currently, not only are there growing numbers of immigrant pupils and second generation immigrants in Finnish schools but in addition many Finnish pupils today have roots in other countries or experiences of living abroad. The question for teachers, and certainly not least for language teachers, is how this multiude of experiences, expertise, language knowledge and cultural skills, in short the communicative repertoires of the pupils, could and should be taken into account at school (see Van Reken 2011). Crossing linguistic and cultural barriers surely is at the heart of all language learning: so how do we, as language teachers, give value to the real-life crossings that are taking place in our classrooms and schools, in the lives of the children we teach?

In this case study I will present a Finnish returnee, who lived abroad with her family on an island in the Pacific for approximately four years and spent her early primary school years in a small international school there. I had the privilege to interview her twice after she had returned to Finland, first in spring 2011 and later in spring 2013, as a part of my studies in Education (see Lind 2011 and Kaaja 2015). This current study draws on both these interviews and, through a process of thorough reanalysis of the data, sets out to construct a picture of the crossings of cultural and language barriers that the participant made during her primary school years. In other words, this research seeks to discover how the returnee's communicative repertoires were (re)constructed in the process of becoming socialised into the Finnish school system after years of living in a multicultural expatriate setting where English was the lingua franca. As a teacher of English, a special point of interest in this study is to examine what English meant to the participant during this stage of her life and how she experienced Finnish EFL (English as a Foreign Language) classes.

2 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

This study draws on multiple theoretical strands. Chapter 2 introduces the concepts that are central for understanding and explaining the issues that are being addressed. In order to apprehend the experiences of a returnee we must first discuss the nature of the expatriate way of life and what it means to grow up in several cultures, or, more to the point, between cultures. Then we shall turn to communication, and how examining an individual's repertoire can enhance our knowledge on both mobility and the ways of speaking within communities. Finally, this chapter will shortly review the role of English both globally and locally in the Finnish setting.

2.1 The world of expatriates and their children

This study presents the case of a child who has lived abroad for several years in her childhood. There are several interrelated names for children growing up outside their countries of origin. Typically, people living outside their native country have been classified according to the reason of their departure and/or duration of their stay abroad: refugees have left their native territories because living there has become impossible and often will not be able to return for a considerable time, if ever; immigrants have left in search of a better life and have traditionally been thought to come from lower-educated or low-income backgrounds (Korkiasaari 2003) (although this is certainly not always the case, see Huttunen 2009), and often mean to make a life for themselves and their children in their new location (Van Reken 2011; Cottrell 2011); and finally, expatriates (a term originally especially used in business contexts) are people who live abroad more or less temporarily for work-related reasons (Warinowski 2012). Expatriates have often been sent abroad by a company or organisation located in their native country or are employed by the government of their homeland (Useem & Downie 2011[1976]; also see Warinowski 2012). They

generally come from the highly educated, well-to-do middle- or upper-class of their societies (Warinowski 2012). The distinction is an important one because, although all these groups have similarities, there are also some major differences in the life stories of these groups and expectations regarding integration, repatriation, and affiliation (see Van Reken 2011; Cottrell 2011). In the case of this study, the participant clearly comes from the expatriate group: her parents worked as missionaries sent by a Finnish mission society and the family lived abroad for approximately four years, then returning to their native Finland.

Children of expatriate families have been studied since the 1950s: John and Ruth Hill Useem, a sociologist-anthropologist couple first became interested in the lives of expatriate families in India, and in their research launched the term *third culture* (Pollock, Van Reken & Pollock 2017). The concept was coined as a result of their findings: they realised the culture of the expatriate community neither resembled the native cultures of the expatriates nor did it match the culture of the host country, that is, the country where the expatriates were residing (ibid.) It was a culture in between cultures, a third culture "created, shared and carried by persons who are relating societies, or sections thereof, to each other" (Useem & Downie 2011[1976]). In the process the Useem's first gave a name to the children growing up in this setting: *third culture kids (TCKs)*, a term that has since become prevalent in the research of expatriate children's life stories and experiences (Pollock, Van Reken & Pollock 2017; also see Warinowski 2012). The following definition by Pollock (Pollock, Van Reken & Pollock 2017: 15-16, brackets as in original) is the classic one:

> A Third Culture Kid (TCK) is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture. The TCK frequently builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture may be assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is [often] in relationship to others of similar background.

As the interviews with the participant and my previous studies (Lind 2011; Kaaja 2015) show, this is a relevant framework for understanding her experiences and patterns of socialisation. She also belongs to the *missionary kid (MK)* subgroup of TCKs (see Pollock, Van Reken & Pollock 2017), a further determining factor of her life story.

Another name that has been used of those living abroad due to their parent's work is *global nomads*, a term coined by McCaig (according to Bell-Villada & Sichel 2011). Although not a part of the original definition (see McCaig 2011), this term highlights the fact that many expatriates successively live in several different countries: diplomats and military personnel move from one station post to the next every few years, companies send their employees to new locations, or back and forth between the main office in the home country and their projects around the globe – and family members often follow. Many children who have grown into this type of "nomad" life, shifting to a new country often during their childhood, may find it difficult to settle

down at a later point in their life (Pollock, Van Reken & Pollock 2017). On the other hand, their intercultural experiences can and should be seen as a useful resource in today's globalised world and working life (McCaig 2011; also see Pyykkö 2017). This view leads to a question that I wish to raise and will examine in the conclusion: do we, as teachers and communities, see these skills and experiences as possibilities for learning – or as threats to our system?

In this study I generally use the term *returnee* to describe the participant's position as someone who has been abroad but has returned to her home country. The term has also been used by Chik (2008) in her case study on native English-speakers in Hong Kong EFL classrooms, a study that brings forth some of the linguistic problems a third culture kid may face when the "passport country" is not English-speaking. In general, research has shown that for many third culture kids, returning to their parents' home country can be a difficult process (see Schaetti 2000, according to McCaig 2011). Many of the problems of re-entry resemble those any immigrant to the country might face, yet because for TCKs it is meant to be "returning home" a new layer is added to the experience: they are "hidden immigrants", they are expected to "feel at home", know how to behave and what to say even though the world they come from is in many ways utterly different from the one they enter (Van Reken 2011; also see Pollock, Van Reken & Pollock 2017). Some of the cultural differences will be overt (clothing, for instance), some will be subtle (rules of politeness, say) and some will be invisible (for example attitudes), a point that has been made by Weaver and Kohls in their iceberg model of culture (see Figure 1; Pollock & Van Reken 2009). A returnee needs to navigate all these levels while being as Useem (2011[1976]: 22, citing a student) states, "both 'a part of' and 'apart from' whatever situation they are in": an outsider and an insider at once (also see McCaig 2011).

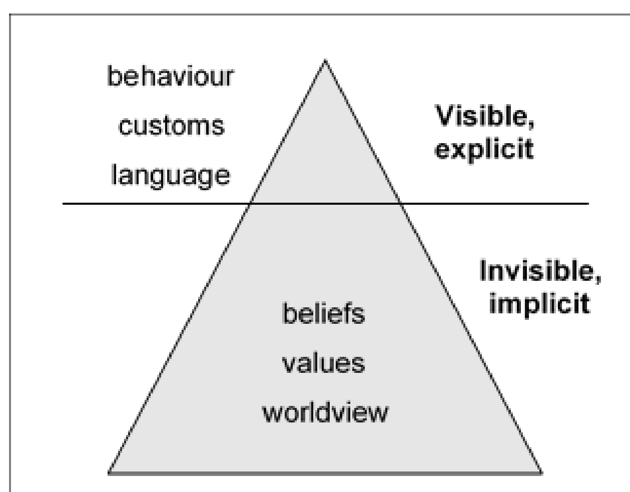

FIGURE 1 An adaptation of the Cultural Iceberg Model of Weaver/Kohls (see Pollock & Van Reken 2009: 42).

In this study I will view this process of re-entry through the concepts of socialisation and communicative repertoires: How does a returnee adapt her repertoire to the, essentially, new context and its "ways of speaking" (on the latter concept see Hymes 1996: 33)? How does she manage the process of "socialization across contexts" (Duff 2008: 267), that is, moving into a new educational setting and "into the cultures, language and literacy practices, identities, and stances instilled there" (Duff 2008: 257)? These concepts will be the focus of the following chapter.

2.2 Communicative repertoires, ways of speaking and language socialisation

A repertoire can be defined as the combination of communicative resources that an individual has (Räisänen 2013) be they linguistic, cultural, or social (Blommaert & Backus 2013). The roots of this concept lie in strands of sociolinguistics developed, since the 1960s, by Hymes and Gumperz (Blommaert & Backus 2013; Räisänen 2013). For Hymes (1996), a repertoire is "a set of ways of speaking", an entity, which comprises both "speech styles" (that is, linguistic knowledge) and the "contexts of discourse", with "relations of appropriateness" established between these two (Hymes 1996: 33). With the current increase in mobility and diversity, the concept of repertoires has gained new momentum in sociolinguistics of globalisation and in linguistic ethnography, fields that are interested in the way individuals' language use reflects society at large (Räisänen 2013). Where the concept originally focused on aspects of interaction within speech communities, more recent research has shifted the viewpoint to the individual (Blommaert & Backus 2013; also, Räisänen 2013; Hymes 1996). Within this new framework, repertoires have come to be seen as biographically organized "records of mobility" that reflect all those communities and languages that an individual has had access to (Blommaert & Backus 2013: 28).

What follows, is that repertoires can be regarded as continuously evolving complexes of resources that change and are constructed throughout an individual's life in and through the interactions that a person participates in (see Blommaert & Backus 2013), much in the way that identity is today viewed as a fluid construction and a life-long process (see Kaaja 2015). Individuals' repertoires are unique, just as life histories are, and are influenced by the socialisation trajectories of the individual (Blommaert & Backus 2013; Räisänen 2013). Duff (2008: 258-268) points out that "the need to understand complex socialization processes, outcomes, and points of tension has become quite acute" as globalisation, migration and modern means of communication have brought about new expectations for language learning and use as well as novel literacies and modes of sociolinguistic control.

Drawing on Ochs and Schieffelin (2008), the founders of the research field of *language socialisation*, socialisation can be defined as the process of becoming a competent member of a social group. Naturally, the ability to communicate appropriately is essential to any competent member of a group: as Hymes (1996: 33) states, "membership in a speech community consists in sharing one or more of its ways of speaking". Therefore, language plays a crucial dual role in socialisation: it is both the desired outcome of successful socialisation and the means through which socialisation happens (Ochs & Schieffelin 2008). Furthermore, as a means it is not neutral but ridden with local socialisation practices and ideologies, which organise language learning (ibid.) – or "language acquisition" in the original use of Ochs & Schieffelin (2008). Following Blommaert & Backus (2013), however, I choose to use the concept of learning, which can be seen as a broader term.

Learning a language, or in Hymes (1996) terms the "ways of speaking" of a community, then, always happens within a linguistic and sociocultural context and the resources available for an individual's repertoire depend on the patterns of socialisation they have partaken in. As Blommaert and Backus (2013: 30) state:

> Repertoires enable us to document in great detail the trajectories followed by people throughout their lives: the opportunities, constraints and inequalities they were facing, the learning environments they had access to (and those they did not have access to), their movement across physical and social space, their potential for voice in particular social arenas.

Hence, while individuals' repertoires are unique, they also shed light on the communities and "social arenas" where they are used and formed, revealing interesting aspects of the current patterns of mobility, the norms and ways of speaking in particular societies, and an individual's struggle for making sense of these and finding voice amidst it all (see Blommaert & Backus 2013). This last point is worth some notice: although a newcomer is expected to learn the ways of the community they enter, at the same time the newcomer may also attempt to resist or change the prevalent practices and cultures (Duff 2008). Duff (2008) calls for more studies on how this is managed and what the consequences are – both for the newcomer and for the community.

Outlining the changes that possibly took place within the Finnish school communities that the returnee entered goes beyond the scope of this study – some notes related to this may be found in Lind (2011). Otherwise the topics drawn out above, along the lines of Blommaert & Backus (2013) as well as Duff (2008), Räisänen (2013) and Ochs & Schieffelin (2008), are what the present study, for its own small part, hopes to examine through the careful analysis of one unique case: How does the returnee socialise into the practices and ways of speaking of a Finnish school – when having first being socialised into a very different community – and which parts of the culture does she resist or wish to change? What linguistic, metapragmatic, semiotic,

social, and cultural resources are needed to make sense and gain voice in a Finnish school setting, and, in contrast, which resources were valuable in the previous English as a lingua franca (ELF) setting? This final question brings us to one further important dimension of the case which must be reviewed: the place English holds in the world and in Finland.

2.3 English: the global language and its place in the Finnish context

As the current global lingua franca, English holds a special position when discussing aspects of multiculturalism related to international migration and multilingualism (see Ferguson 2006) but also when exploring superdiversity within national and other communities (Blommaert 2013; Blommaert & Backus 2011;). This lingua franca function of English inevitably influences most Finnish people with experiences of living abroad as well as Finnish society at large (see Leppänen et al. 2011).

Many Finnish global nomad children around the world study in English medium international schools, and outside of school use English with their friends and, in some cases, their siblings as well. English will often be the language of communication in the expatriate community, and it may also be the language used in their parents' workplaces. Some may even be studying the native language(s) of their host country through English. In bi-cultural families English may be the common language between parents even if it is not the native language of either parent, simply because it is a language that both understand to a reasonable degree (see Crystal 2003). In short, for many people who have a multicultural background, English is not only a language that is studied at school and used on holiday trips, it is more: it is a language used in everyday situations, in learning new languages, in making friends, in sharing thoughts and feelings, and in telling jokes, singing songs, and playing games (also see Leppänen et al. 2011). It is a language of affection and memories, a language essential to their identities (see Meneses 2011), that is, and an important part of their communicative repertoire, even if not always measurable on the scales given in language tests (see Blommaert & Backus 2013). Again, to others who have less "multicultural experience" in the traditional sense, English may be an important language in their internet gaming or social media communities (see Blommaert & Backus 2013). A point worth making is that this real-life lingua franca English, or rather, these "Englishes", do not always resemble the English teacher's idea of "correct" English (see Räisänen 2013 on the prevalence of discourses of "correctness" in the school context). Therefore, an important question in an increasingly multicultural school is how English teachers acknowledge the language skills and identities of the pupils, and how they treat the variation within English language (on the latter point,

see Ferguson 2006), a question which I shall revisit in chapter 5 when discussing some of the implications of this case study.

In Finland, constitutionally a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as the national languages, English has often been cited as "the third national language" (e.g. in the title of Leppänen, Nikula & Kääntä 2008). According to a survey in 2012, 90 percent of Finnish citizens between the ages of 18 and 64 claimed to have at least some competence in English, making English the best-known foreign language and leaving Swedish far behind, with 71 percent of the adult population (ages 18 to 64) knowing a little or more of the language (Niemi, Ruuskanen & Seppänen 2014). The response options relating to language skills had been drafted on the basis of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (the CEFR, see Council of Europe 2020) and, taking a closer look at the proficiency levels stated by the participants of the study, it can be observed that more than a fourth of the respondents felt they were proficient users of English, over a third felt they were independent language users, and approximately 20 percent felt they were at the basic user level, with a further tenth reporting to have only very limited knowledge in English (Niemi, Ruuskanen & Seppänen 2014). It is worth noting that younger Finns assessed their English skills to be better than older citizens (over 40 percent of under 35-year-olds stated they were proficient in English) (ibid.), and more often in contexts such as home, hobbies and with friends (Leppänen et al. 2011), which suggests the influence of English is growing. However, while many Finns rate their proficiency in English high, most (that is, over 83 per cent) do not consider themselves bi- or multilingual: it would seem this status is generally seen as reserved for those with a wide set of native-like language skills in more than one language (Leppänen et al. 2011). Among the group that do claim to be multilingual, however, education and work are evaluated as important sources of their language repertoire (ibid.).

English has a prominent role in the Finnish education system. Teaching in Finland is primarily conducted in either Finnish or Swedish at all stages of education from primary to university level (see Leppänen et al. 2011), although there are a growing number of language showering and immersion programmes especially at the primary level (mostly in English) (see Rasinen 2006), a long history of IB senior high schools, and an increasing number of vocational and higher education degrees that are currently offered in English. The true stronghold of English, however, is foreign language education both in compulsory education and in various forms of voluntary training (see Leppänen et al. 2011). For most, English is the first foreign language studied at school: close to 90 percent of Finnish third graders (the age most pupils began their foreign language studies at the time of the survey) chose to study English in the years 2000 to 2016 (Pyykkö 2017). In 2019 new legislation was passed, making foreign language learning compulsory for all first graders by the spring term of 2020

(Opetushallitus 2019). Although the original intention was partly to broaden the choice of languages studied, the follow-up report reveals English has again drawn the longest straw: in many schools it has been the only language on offer, and it is still by far the most popular first foreign language (Vaarala et al. 2021).

When taking a closer look at English language teaching and learning in Finland, there is some evidence that a great deal of emphasis has been put on "correct" language (see Räisänen 2013) and that the ideal in EFL has been to imitate the "native speaker" as fully as possible (see Kopperoinen 2011). According to a study on senior high school textbook audio materials by Kopperoinen (2011), for instance, a vast majority of recordings provided were in either the British RP (Received Pronunciation) or GA (General American). In the two major textbook series examined, the proportion of classifiable non-native accents were 3 per cent in one and only 1 per cent in the other. It could be concluded that Anglo-American linguistic forms still play a major role in Finnish EFL classrooms, and that they are just that: English is seen as a foreign language rather than as a lingua franca (also see Räisänen 2013).

According to the National Survey on the English Language in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011), English is used less on a daily basis in Finland than in many other European countries. There are multiple possibilities for intake (e.g. the subtitled TV programmes and films, music on the radio, and texts and audio-visual material online, advertisements and other features of the linguistic landscape) but, especially outside bigger cities, relatively few opportunities to practice output (Leppänen et al. 2011) – although this may be changing with the increasing use of social media and other online platforms, the importance of English in youth culture and gaming communities, and the growing need for English in business contexts (see Leppänen & Nikula 2007). Nevertheless, together with the over-representation of Anglo-American material in EFL classes (see Kopperoinen 2011; Räisänen 2013; Savolainen 2020), a lack of real-life multi-lingual communication situations where English would be the natural vehicular lingua franca may have played a part in keeping up the idealised position of the "native English-speaker".

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

In this chapter, I will first present the research questions and the methodological frame of the study. This will be followed by an introduction of the participant and the data collected. The chapter will finish with an explication of the analysis process.

3.1 Research questions

Three important considerations influenced the forming of the research questions. The research questions came to be outlined in an interaction between the researcher, the data, and theory (see Åkerström, Jakobsson & Wästerfors 2004). As the data (see chapter 3.3.) was originally collected for two previous studies, a crucial question was, what questions could be asked and answered using the data (see Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen 2010). The broad topics I was interested in were language, communication, English, and the re-entry process, and this directed my attention at the initial stages of reading. These themes also lead me to the theoretical frame outlined in the previous chapter. For the formation of the first research question the dissertation of Räisänen (2013) and the article of Blommaert and Backus (2013) were extremely influential: they provided me with the central concept of *the communicative repertoire*, a new analytical tool for tackling the data (see Åkerström, Jakobsson & Wästerfors 2004 : 323-324), and, together with Duff (2008) affirmed the view that the returnee is *an active constructor* of her repertoire during the process of socialisation across contexts. The research questions below reflect these notions, and the second question brings the role of English, one of the original topics of interest, under special consideration:

In view of the returnee's reflections on re-entry and the different sociocultural and linguistic realities she has confronted:

1. How does a Finnish returnee construct her communicative repertoire in the process of becoming socialised into the Finnish school context after years spent in an international school setting?
2. What does English mean to the returnee and how does she view Finnish EFL classes after her experiences of living in a multicultural ELF context?

3.2 Methodology: a case study with an ethnographic twist

This study is a case study of the experiences of one Finnish returnee. The history of science has seen much debate on the suitableness and validity of a case study as a scientific method in its own right (see Flyvbjerg 2004). Today the position of case studies as rich sources of in-depth information is, however, better acknowledged (ibid.). Case studies do not always produce generalisable results or clear-cut summaries but neither need this be the goal: "Case stories [---] can neither be briefly recounted nor summarized in a few main results. The case story is itself the result." (Flyvbjerg 2004: 400). It is true case studies are contextual, but precisely because of this they can shed light on the complex social realities where they take place. Flyvbjerg (2004: 399) goes as far as to argue that:

> [T]he most advanced form of understanding is achieved when researchers place themselves within the context being studied. Only in this way can researchers understand the viewpoints and behaviour that characterizes social actors.

The caption above brings us close to the field of ethnography, which is a method that aims specifically at this: at going into "the field" among the people (ethno) and then writing about it (graphy) (Kananen 2014). The way this present case study relates to ethnography is bidimensional. First, the experience of being a third culture kid, a missionary kid and a returnee is not alien to me. In fact, having spent some seven and a half years of my childhood in Nepal and returning to Finland at the age of twelve, this topic is acutely relevant to my own life experiences (also see Lind 2011). Thus, my stance to the themes of this study is one of "an inmate", which is a very useful perspective from an ethnographic point of view (see Blommaert & Jie 2010; Pole & Morrison 2003). This position has influenced the original drafting of the first semi-structured thematic interview, finding the participant, establishing a confidential relationship with her, and forming an understanding of the case - naturally together with the invaluable interviews of the first study, one with the returnee and two with her classmates (see Lind 2011). Secondly, as the later interview with the returnee was a part of a larger pool of ethnographic data (including participant observation, a vast

number of documents, and six interviews), I gained a rather comprehensive idea of the school context of the returnee and the wider social realities embedded in it (see Kaaja 2015). Although loss of context can be a possible challenge when reanalysing old data (Corti & Thompson 2004), the "thick description" (see Geertz 1973) available in Kaaja (2015) and basis laid for it in Lind (2011) together with my personal experiences guarantee that the contextual knowledge required in the analysis of this case persists. Also, as Åkerström, Jakobsson & Wästerfors (2004: 314) point out, there actually exists an "explorative potential" in familiar material that one has gotten to know over a long period of time. And yes, it is rather a long story – but an interesting one, I hope!

3.3 Participant and interview data: narratives of the returnee experience

The participant is a Finnish girl who lived on an island in the Pacific with her family for approximately 4 years. She began her primary education there and attended a small international English-medium school. Her parents were missionaries and were sponsored by a Finnish Lutheran mission organisation. The family mainly lived in a small town where many of the other inhabitants were also missionaries from around the world. They visited Finland twice during their stay abroad. Note that for purposes of confidentiality and anonymity, the name of the participant is omitted, and places are referred to indirectly (see e.g. Kuula & Tiitinen 2010).

The participant returned to Finland mid-term in autumn 2009 at the age of 9 and was placed in grade three (in Finland 3rd-graders are 8- to 9-year-olds). Her school was a suburban primary school of approximately 450 pupils and was located in the neighbourhood where the family temporarily resided (in Finland children usually attend the school closest to their home). This school is called "the first Finnish school" in the context of this study, because after finishing third grade the family moved within the same city (a city of over 100,000 inhabitants and among the ten biggest cities in Finland) and the returnee had to change schools. "The second Finnish school" was an inner-city primary school of about 400 pupils. There the participant studied from grade four to grade six. Because of this history, the present study, in fact, provides an interesting insight into two different Finnish school contexts.

I had the opportunity to interview the participant on two distinct occasions: first in spring 2011 for my Bachelor's Thesis in Education (Lind 2011) and later, in spring 2013, for my Master's Thesis in Education (Kaaja 2015). The focus of the first study was on the peer-relations of the returnee and her classmates (Lind 2011) and the second study was a classroom ethnography on the multicultural reality of a Finnish

classroom (Kaaja 2015). The first interview, conducted in 2011, took place at the participant's home and the total length of the interview was approximately 1 hour and 20 minutes (Lind 2011). At the time of this interview, the participant was 10 years old and in fourth grade. The interview was a semi-structured thematic interview, and it included questions about life abroad, about repatriation and entering the Finnish school context and about changing schools. Peer relations were a point of interest throughout the interview. For further information on the interview, see Lind (2011).

The second interview took place at the returnee's school (the second Finnish school) in February 2013 when the returnee was in sixth grade (Kaaja 2013). The interview was held during a lesson but privately in separate small space familiar to the participant. The length of this interview was a little over 42 minutes and it was a thematic interview, where a mind map had been drawn of the topics I wished to discuss. A major part of the time, however, was spent in discussing (or rather, my presenting) the ideas developed in my Bachelor's Thesis (Lind 2011), as I was keen to find out whether she felt the findings were valid (feedback from participants can be seen as important for developing as a researcher, see Flyvbjerg 2004). In hindsight, this interview ought to have been planned better (or reserved a greater amount of time) as the interview was rather cut short when the returnee had to hurry to her next lesson. Even so, it held several rich points. In both interviews the maturity of the participant's answers were notable both in her use of language and in the perceptions and analyses she made (early maturity is a feature common to many TCKs, see Pollock, Van Reken & Pollock 2017).

The two interviews were carefully transcribed for the previous studies (Lind 2011; Kaaja 2015). In both cases the transcription included the interviewer's and interviewee's speech as fully as possible, including incongruences, interjections, and filler words and, where applicable, marking notable changes in tone and extralinguistic features such as laughter (see Appendix 1 on transcription and citation procedures, and for a more detailed description see Lind 2011 and Kaaja 2015). These features have been translated from Finnish into English as naturally as possible in the citations chosen for this study. In these citations, however, short interjections and affirmatory remarks by the interviewer have been deleted, as they were not a point of focus. The data of this current study presents an opportunity for a small-scale longitudinal study with a timespan of two years in between the interviews – a remarkable amount of time for a child. To make this visible, when citing the interviewee in this study, I shall include information on which interview the citation comes from (the one conducted when the returnee was in fourth grade or the one in sixth grade) as well as a note on which context is being referred to.

The interviewee's answers about the time in the Pacific and the first Finnish school, as well as the actual point of entry into the second Finnish school can be seen

as retrospective narratives. I view these interviews as narratives of the returnee's life and processes of adjustment into new contexts, because, essentially, they are stories of where she came from, where she found herself and who she feels she is (or was) in each of these settings as a person and in relation to her peers and the wider context. According to Flyvbjerg (2004), Mattingly (1991) points out that narratives give meaningful form to experiences we have encountered – and influence our expectations of the future. Spelling out our history – even if it is "only" our own version, often riddled with contradictions, and not always near the "objective" truth of what happened – is an age-old method for making sense and understanding ourselves and the world around us (Flyvbjerg 2004: 401).

A final point must be made on the ethical aspects of reanalysing data. This was an important consideration when designing the study, as the original requests of consent had been for the particular studies (Lind 2011; Kaaja 2015) and the interviewee was a child at the time and so the official consent was given by her parents, although consent was also received from the returnee herself (for ethical principles regarding research with human participants, see the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity TENK 2019). Would I be able to contact the participant? If not, could I use the data without breaching confidentiality and the limits of the consent once given? How would she, as an adult, feel about the interviews given as a child? Happily, I found a way to get in touch with the participant, and she gave her consent for the reuse of the data. The interest shown by the participant especially towards the role of English in the re-entry process, gives some indication of how important a topic is touched upon in the present study.

3.4 Analysis: qualitative content analysis with a discourse touch

At the beginning of this research project, which can be said to have begun in December 2020, I used some time to peruse the collection of data remaining from my previous studies (Lind 2011; Kaaja 2015). After deciding to focus on the two interviews introduced in the previous chapter, my next task was to reacquaint myself with the interview data. This I did by first listening to the recordings of the original interviews and then by carefully rereading the transcriptions. At this preparation stage, I wanted to keep my eyes open to many kinds of interesting phenomena rising from the data without pre-set research questions.

The next phase in the analysis process was to delve into theory and find the analytical tools to uncover unexplored aspects of the data (see Åkerström, Jakobsson & Wästerfors 2004). Having found the concept of communicative repertoires (in Räisänen 2013) resonated well with the data, I then reorganised the data by collecting

all passages of the data deemed important from this point of view into a new document. At the same time, I sketched out the research questions. Once this process of data reduction was done, the said document contained 11 and a half pages (almost 6000 words) of which about two thirds came from the first interview (Lind 2011) and one third from the second interview (Kaaja 2015). With a purpose of getting a better hold of the material and finding suitable methodological tools, I continued to work out my theoretical and methodological framework.

Following a useful suggestion in Ruusuvuori, Nikander and Hyvärinen (2010: 16), I broke my research questions down into smaller sub questions. Under the first research question I placed three main concepts and questions related to them. These three parts were:

a. CONSTRUCT: What is the participant's active role in rebuilding/modifying her repertoire? ("building community membership" in Räisänen 2013 somewhat influenced this category)
b. COMMUNICATIVE REPERTOIRE: Tracking the returnee's "itinerary of mobility" and all those resources that she has used or gained at different points (Blommaert & Backus 2013; also Räisänen 2013).
c. SOCIALISATION: How does the participant manage "socialization across contexts" (Duff 2008)?

For the second research question a similar division was made:

a. ENGLISH LANGUAGE: What does she say about English?
b. FINNISH EFL CLASSES: How does she describe her experiences of Finnish EFL classes?
c. MULTICULTURAL ELF CONTEXT IN CONTRAST: How does she describe her experiences of the multicultural ELF context and how does she contrast it with the Finnish EFL lessons?

From these six viewpoints and further sub questions related to each of them (see Appendix 2), I pored over the data numerous times. At this stage, my study also took a turn to deductive qualitative content analysis, as I created various categorisation matrixes to facilitate this preliminary phase of analysis (see Elo et al. 2014: 2). The stance however was not purely deductive: questions were modified, and categories added if the data seemed to point that way. Some subcategories were rather intuitive and were based on the data and influenced (often unconsciously) by the insights gained in my previous studies; and some of the categories overlapped somewhat. It could also be argued that my approach to the analysis was broadly discursive: I was not only interested in *what* the interviewee said but also *how* these meanings were created (see Rapley 2004). After all, overlooking discourse really is not an option in a study related to communication (see Kaaja 2015). To quote Rapley (2004: 26, italics as in the original):

> I'm not trying to establish the 'truth' of interviewees' actions, experiences, feelings and thoughts but rather how specific (and sometimes contradictory) *truths* are produced, sustained and negotiated.

For each of the three categories under the first research question (i.e., construct, communicative repertoire, and socialisation) the whole of the reduced data document was reviewed at least once, sometimes several times, to find answers to sub questions (see Appendix 2). Practically this happened by copy-pasting parts of the interview into matrix charts, grouping the extracts and adding codes, identifiers, and explanations to groups of data within each category. Finding answers to the second research question and its sub questions was an easier task as the references to English had been highlighted early on and were less ambivalent than the more theoretical concepts related to the first research question. At times original interview transcripts were also revisited, and by the end of the categorisation process, which took about 10 weeks in all, the number of pages in the reduced data document had risen to approximately 14 pages (and almost 7400 words) (see Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen 2010, for the suggestion of returning to original data to check how generalisable the findings are within the whole data set.) During this preliminary stage of analysis, theory was also read alongside analysis to enhance an understanding of concepts that remained hazy.

In April I got my first "Eureka!" moment with the analysis, when themes I had analysed under the categories of construct and communicative repertoire, came together in a meaningful way the very moment I woke up in the morning (for the enhanced version of this model, see Figure 4 on p. 27). Qualitative analysis is, after all, a creative process (see Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen 2010; also Åkerström, Jakobsson & Wästerfors 2004): sometimes messy and arduous, at other times inspirational – and during certain points in the analysis, utterly illuminative. The organisation phase of the analysis (see Elo et al. 2014) began with one such moment. However, at this stage some of the preliminary analysis was still under way – it is typical in qualitative analysis for different stages of the analysis to overlap (see Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen 2010; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018[2002]) and working up to the organisation phase required seemingly endless readings of the data. What kept the analysis going, was that even after so many hours with the data, every now and again a new point emerged. Another thing that became clearer during this stage of the process, were the concepts that could be used in reporting the analysis: the preliminary analysis was done partly in Finnish because the original data was in Finnish. Thus, finding appropriate equivalents for the concepts in English, was an essential prerequisite for moving on to the organisation phase and the writing up of the research report.

In the organisation phase the themes that had arisen in the preliminary analysis were organised into eight hand-written documents (most of them in the conceptual

map form) based on the original main categories or parts of them. Across these eight documents it was then possible to make comparisons and connections between different parts of the analysis, and the major findings outlined in these documents were then brought together into one conceptual map (see Appendix 3). This formed the basis for the process of writing the report, which is a central stage of analysis, as there is nothing like trying to "make sense of the findings for readers in a meaningful and useful way" (Elo et al. 2014: 6) to clear one's thoughts and sharpen one's analysis. It was at this stage that Figures 2, 3 and 5 were modelled. Visuals are useful tools for analysis and can also help the reader gain a better picture of the conceptualisations made (see Ruusuvuori, Nikander & Hyvärinen 2010).

This chapter has aimed at providing the reader with a thorough account of the analysis process so that the trustworthiness of this qualitative study can be ascertained (see Elo et al. 2014). The following chapter will delve into the analysis itself and the findings procured from the data.

4 THE COMMUNICATIVE REPERTOIRE OF A FINNISH RETURNEE

In this chapter, I will seek to find answers to the research questions: First, *how does the returnee construct her communicative repertoire in the process of becoming socialised into the Finnish school context after years spent in an international school setting*, that is, in the process of socialisation across contexts (see Duff 2008)? Secondly, *what does English mean to the returnee and how does she view Finnish EFL classes after her experiences of living in a multicultural ELF context?*

As shown in chapter 3.4, where I reflected on the analysis process, forming a picture of the construction of a communicative competence in the processes of socialisation across contexts was a multifaceted task. In the following three chapters (4.1, 4.2 and 4.3) I will display the findings from three different angles. To begin with, I will review the nature of the different communities that the returnee has been socialised into. Then, I will identify the different communicative resources the returnee both possessed and built up during the process of reconstructing her repertoire. After this, I will present a picture of what constructing a communicative repertoire would seem to entail in view of this case. In the fourth chapter 4.4, I will take a closer look at one of the major resources in the returnee's repertoire: the English language.

4.1 Where she came from: the routes of socialisation

Where we come from is an essential question to answer if we are to construct a picture of the repertoire we have at any given moment in our history and the changes that this repertoire has undergone (see Blommaert & Backus 2013). The paths our lives have taken determine which roots of socialisation have dug deep into the soil of our soul, and, in turn, which fruit our repertoire can bear. In the case of the participant of

this study and the timescale in which her repertoire is here viewed, three central periods and places of socialisation can be discerned: the time she spent in the Pacific in the international school and the overall community there, the school she first entered in Finland and her spell there, and the time since, when she attended the second Finnish school. This is her "itinerary of mobility" (see Blommaert & Backus 2013), these are the roots that influence the communicative repertoire she has been able to construct by sixth grade - or grow if we stick to the metaphor of roots (see Figure 2). Figure 2 also reminds us that socialisation happens on levels that go beyond the school contexts: the family and the society at large are two examples of other substantial influences on the socialisation processes of the returnee.

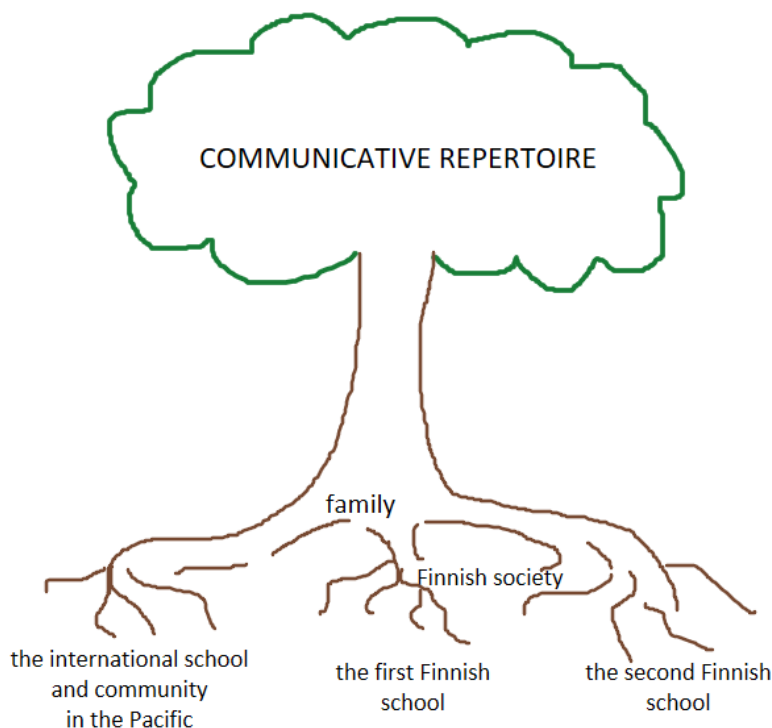

FIGURE 2 The roots of socialisation

Next, I will present the school communities of the returnee and something of the context surrounding them. Table 1 (on page 20) displays some of the major features of each of the three contexts and a few notes on their linguistic and sociocultural realities as presented in the interviews by the returnee. Direct quotes from the interviewee are shown by quotation marks. The information on school type and teachers, school and class size, and knowledge about the community in the Pacific have been reinforced by background research online, and ethnographic fieldnotes. To further provide a concise picture of each of the communities presented in Table 1, I will then offer a short overview of each context. These descriptions are also based on the interviewee's perceptions (and supplemented by a little information found elsewhere) and reflect the routes she has travelled.

TABLE 1 An overview of the three sources of socialisation of the returnee

	The international school in the Pacific	**The 1st Finnish school**	**The 2nd Finnish school**
School and class	- an international English-medium K-12 school of c. 250 pupils - “a much smaller school”: only one class per grade - “female class teacher(s)”	- a suburban primary school of c. 450 pupils - “a smaller school” (than the 2nd Finnish school, in fact bigger) - “shabbier” than the 2nd Finnish school - 21 pupils in the returnee’s class (about a half of them girls) - “female class teacher”	- an inner-city primary school of c. 400 pupils - “a much bigger school” (than the 1st Finnish school, in fact smaller) - more technology, outwardly “smarter” than the 1st Finnish school - 21 pupils in the returnee’s class (about a half of them girls) - “male class teacher” (+ a female EFL teacher and changing teacher trainees)
Social context of class	- usual to mostly spend time with your best friend/friends – joining other groups difficult - volunteering and active participation in class is normal	- classmates eager to get to know the returnee - both teacher and class know of the returnee’s background	- only some classmates eager to get to know the newcomer (half of the class not interested at all) - class teacher is unaware of the returnee’s background, as are many classmates - active participation in class is rare (except by the returnee)
Overall context	- an island in the Pacific - a missionary community, a small town/village - multilingual and multicultural, but English the lingua franca (although Pidgin the official local language); Finnish studied at school, and used with family and other Finns - “always warm”, lots of outdoor life	- Finland, a European “more developed country” - a city of over 100,000 inhabitants - Finnish the language used both in and out of school; youth language a new linguistic feature for the returnee; EFL studied at school - the Finnish society and its - positives (according to returnee): extended family, hobbies, lots of different kinds of sweets, libraries, swimming halls, different seasons etc. - negatives (as determined by the returnee): drinking, smoking, swearing, “digital things” etc.	

In the Pacific, the overall community was a multicultural small missionary village community, which was quite secluded and, in some ways, rather protective:

no smoking, drinking, or swearing existed, or if they did, they were not visible to a child. English was the lingua franca, and the dominant language of education and peer interaction, although there were some opportunities to use Finnish both at school and with friends, and obviously with the family. The international school was rather small, which perhaps influenced the social reality: according to the participant everyone tended to stick to their best friends at school and if a friend was away from school and one had to join another group, it did not feel nice. The culture of learning there was very active: everyone tried to do their best and succeed and there was no want of volunteers when needed.

The first Finnish school, a suburban school of about 450 pupils, which the participant attended for a little less than one academic year, was apparently socially a pleasant place. It was easy to make friends, the teacher had prepared the classmates for the joining of a new class member from the Pacific, and everyone seemed to be interested in welcoming the newcomer. The new classmates liked similar things to the returnee: outdoors activities, games, and creative play. Before starting at this school, the returnee did worry about fitting in and wondered about cultural features such as eating in the school canteen instead of having her usual packed lunch (in Finland all school children are provided a meal at school for free) and dressing suitably for school as she was afraid everyone would be very fashionable and wear make-up – an idea she had got from the number of clothes stores in Finland. However, she found that "everyone was normal", just like herself, and, after the first day at school, felt at ease; even if she did have some trouble learning "the modern Finnish that you speak with your friends" and its abbreviations that were alien both to her and her parents.

The second Finnish school, although located in the same city, was very different from the first one. It was an inner-city school of 400 pupils, and outwardly "smarter", as there was more technology (Smartboards, for instance). The school felt bigger than the first Finnish school, and the atmosphere was not as welcoming as in the previous school:

> Example 1 (in 4th grade, referring to the 2nd Finnish school):
>
> When I came to this school, well the teacher didn't even know that I'd been abroad somewhere and then he just said that we have a new pupil here and we started doing math, and that was that.

Also, about a half of the class seemed reluctant to get to know new pupils (a view which was confirmed in the interviews of the classmates, see Lind 2011). The returnee did get a few friends right away, but they were rather interested in "digital things" such as computer games and TV programmes, and "bigger girls' things" such as hanging out and going to the movies; unlike the peers in the previous school – or the returnee, who felt her new classmates were a year older than herself. In EFL classes,

where the returnee did tell the teacher of her history (of which she otherwise kept rather silent), she was not given any special tasks, possibly for fear of envy. Boys, especially, did not even seem to try to succeed or be active in class. Swearing and vocabulary related to fashion, gaming and technology became increasingly prevalent in the peer interactions of this context.

4.2 The communicative resources she had and developed

One part of the analysis of the process of repertoire construction was to look at the different communicative resources present and/or seemingly lacking in the narratives the returnee told of her experiences of entry and adaptation. Five major groups of resources were perceived in these narratives: linguistic resources, metapragmatic resources, interpersonal resources, semiotic resources, and cultural, intercultural and metacultural resources. As Räisänen (2013) points out concerning her own study of the communicative resources of Finnish engineers, the classification made is not the only possible one. Nevertheless, the findings are firmly grounded on the rigorous analysis of the data and, furthermore, are informed by theory.

Linguistic resources encompass the "languages" the returnee knows: Finnish, English and Pidgin were the languages brought up in the interviews. Finnish is the returnee's L1, a language which was a part of her education in the Pacific (she had Finnish lessons at school in the mornings with native Finnish teachers and Finnish peers) and the language of education later in Finland. Throughout, Finnish was, implicitly, the language of communication with her own and extended family (the latter via Skype and Christmas post when not in Finland) and, explicitly, with Finnish peers and friends both in the Pacific and naturally later in Finland; a language in which she felt getting friends was actually easier than in English. When returning to Finland the returnee, however, recognised the lack of modern youth language in her repertoire:

> Example 2 (in 4th grade, referring to the 1st Finnish school):
>
> Well yes, of course they talked about all these games and then they talked in a certain style and then they used abbreviations and they used other words that I had never like needed, that I'd not come across, so they hadn't then like, mum and dad hadn't understood to tell me, and then our mum and dad still don't know all the abbreviations that you have in modern Finnish that you talk with friends.

The abbreviations used were strange to her – and to her parents, who had not been able to prepare her for this type of language – and many of the topics of discussion (e.g. Finnish games, fashion, and "digital things") were unfamiliar. By sixth grade the returnee was mostly able to understand talk on these topics and had incorporated the

use of some youth language into her own repertoire. English, the other central linguistic resource in the returnee's repertoire will be discussed in detail in 4.4. Suffice it to say here that it is a language over which she has considerable command and a language important to her. The returnee's knowledge of Pidgin is limited to receptive skills and minimal language knowledge (see Blommaert & Backus 2013): recognising and possibly understanding something. She cannot produce the language herself.

Metapragmatic resources are related to linguistic ones, as talking about language and analysing language use is a metapragmatic act. Because the returnee had more than one language in her linguistic repertoire, much of her metapragmatic understanding came from making comparisons between Finnish and English both on the level of vocabulary and on the pragmatic level of language use. She was also able to make out differences between distinctive varieties of Finnish (her parents' language versus youth language, for instance) and of English, and compare her own linguistic repertoire with those of others'. The returnee's analysis of swearing (by sixth grade an increasingly prominent linguistic feature in youth language) as an important symbol of group membership, is one further example of metapragmatic skills at use:

> Example 3 (in 6th grade, referring to Finland in general):
>
> In Finland it's quite sadly a normal thing and then if you don't swear it might lead to, like not even belonging to the group [---] and I don't think that's nice at all

This is also an example of a case where a resource others use is recognized but not taken as a part of one's own repertoire (see Räisänen 2013).

The line between metapragmatic, semiotic and cultural resources is a fine and questionable one. In the broadest possible sense, semiotic resources could refer to any process of making meaning out of linguistic, cultural, or visual signs, and the earlier example of analysing the meaning of swearing could also be seen as an instance of semiosis. However, for the purpose of this study, by *semiotic resources*, I refer to knowledge and learning related to non-verbal signalling and the use of non-linguistic elements in communication. Thus, the returnee's wish to choose her own style and clothes so as to fit in can be seen as use of semiotic knowledge. Non-verbal signalling is also present in how the returnee describes her English classes and being an active learner in general, an example of "school language" (Blommaert & Backus 2013) in use:

> Example 4 (in 4th grade, referring to the 2nd Finnish school):
>
> [In EFL lessons] I can raise my hand all the time for all the questions, and then in class otherwise as well I've set myself a goal of raising my hand all the time even when I don't necessarily know the right answer but so that I at least try my best.

In the interviews, one important use of semiotic resources was apparent in the way the returnee spoke of how she was shown around school by peers and how she learnt games by watching others and joining in. This "learning by doing" is a very important semiotic resource when becoming socialised into a new context.

Under *interpersonal resources* I have placed all the instances of social and communicational skills and community membership skills that were presented in the returnee's narrative. The returnee was, for instance, very confident about her ability to make new friends:

> Example 5 (in 4th grade, referring to the 1st Finnish school):
>
> I usually get to know people quite easily, so that's really not a problem for me.

Her capability of developing into an independent group member and her wish to make newcomers feel welcome are other such features that shall be further discussed in the following chapter. Her interpersonal skills also show in her capacity to analyse the patterns of friendship in different communities, her will to take the lead in groupwork (she claims her leadership skills come from having three little brothers), and her empathy and ability to relate with others' life realities, be they newcomers in a Finnish school, adherents of other religions, or friends in difficulties across the globe.

The capacity to understand others across cultures also reflects the returnee's *cultural, intercultural and metacultural resources*. The lifestyle of a missionary is inherently intercultural: relating one's faith meaningfully to those holding other worldviews is at the heart of the enterprise, and this is often done by living amongst people representing other cultures and working with colleagues from around the world – this certainly plays a part in the missionary kid experience. Also, in addition to having lived in the Pacific, the returnee has, apparently, travelled in other parts of the world as well (the States she mentions) because she judges her knowledge of the world – and the value of her missionary kid background – in the following way:

> Example 6 (in 6th grade, referring to her missionary kid experiences):
>
> [W]hen you've travelled a lot then you kind of get this idea of the world and everything, so then you like know a little bit of every country or almost, or of a great many countries a little something of each of them, when you've been there, so that's nice.

The community in the Pacific was a multicultural one. The returnee's classmates came from all over the world and her two best friends were a German and an American. However, the missionary community appears to have lived somewhat apart from the indigenous islanders because when the returnee tries to work out her own identity and relation to multiculturalism, she phrases it in this way:

> Example 7 (in 6th grade, referring to the Pacific):
>
> So like from [the Pacific], well I don't have any like any really [Pacific/islander features] because I wasn't there in the village so much as there in the [mission community's town] where there were other like, other like normal people, so not like all [islanders] but then there are certain influences like certain habits or other things from there like but then like then you're not necessarily purely Finnish.

This idea of the, assumedly, Western community as "normal people" rather jumps out. It may be partly explained by the context of the discourse, that is, her comparing her history with what I had rather flamboyantly told of mine in class. On the other hand, it connects with the normality discourse that was prevalent in the class (see Kaaja 2015, for a longer discussion on these matters) and can possibly be a mode of expression she has picked up in the context of the second Finnish school. Wherever it comes from, it is a reminder, that however interculturally competent someone is othering is never beyond anyone of us, and that we cannot be free of our whiteness (Kaaja 2015; see Löytty 2005a; Löytty 2005b; Rastas 2004; Rastas 2005; Rastas 2007). Later the returnee concludes her identity work for then by estimating she is "at this stage, having adapted to living here" "three fourths a Finn".

This constant negotiation of one's own position towards multiculturalism, Finnishness and, in many instances, features of the Finnish culture (as can be seen in the returnee's pronounced opinions on smoking, drinking, swearing and "digital things") is quite typical for third culture kids: simultaneously being "a part of and apart of" (see McCaig 2011; Useem 2011[1976]) the community gives the returnee plenty of ground for making observations, comparisons, evaluations and, paradoxically, generalisations of all the cultures that have been a part of her life. Ample examples of this metacultural discourse can be found in the data and the citations in this report. So, while her own cultural skills related to Finnish school life were limited when she entered the first Finnish school, her awareness of cultural differences was very acute. This type of intercultural knowledge also comprehends the possibility of misunderstandings. The returnee is very conscious of the fact that "Finns" have their own, often limited, conceptions of what nature and life in the Pacific are like. As a hidden immigrant she has also had to come to terms with the fact that others may assume she shares certain sentiments or cultural beliefs which she does not. Her insider view of the language and culture of Christianity (gained from her family and probably also the church in Finland and the missionary community in the Pacific), combined with chance encounters with other religions during her travels, enables her to recognize the importance of any religion to its adherents rather better than her more secular peers. This complex of resources related to knowing about the world and understanding different cultures and religions is at the heart of the third culture kid repertoire.

To go back to the roots of socialisation metaphor (see Figure 2 on p. 19), the resources displayed above form the communicative repertoire of the returnee: these are the fruit of her socialisation processes (see Figure 3) and a part of the story of how her communicative competence is evolving. Some resources are still ripening, changing form and growing, while other fruit are slowly decaying: time has done its task and knowledge of Pidgin and the childhood resource of creative play, for instance, are making way for other resources more suitable to new stages of the returnee's life. A memory of their sweetness will continue to linger, and they will always have a certain flavour to them because they have been a part of the communicative repertoire of the returnee. She will be able to relate to others who have or have had similar fruit, but, nevertheless, they are fading. Other fruit yet are strong and healthy and will determine the directions the tree will grow towards and perhaps, in time, even produce seeds of socialisation for future generations.

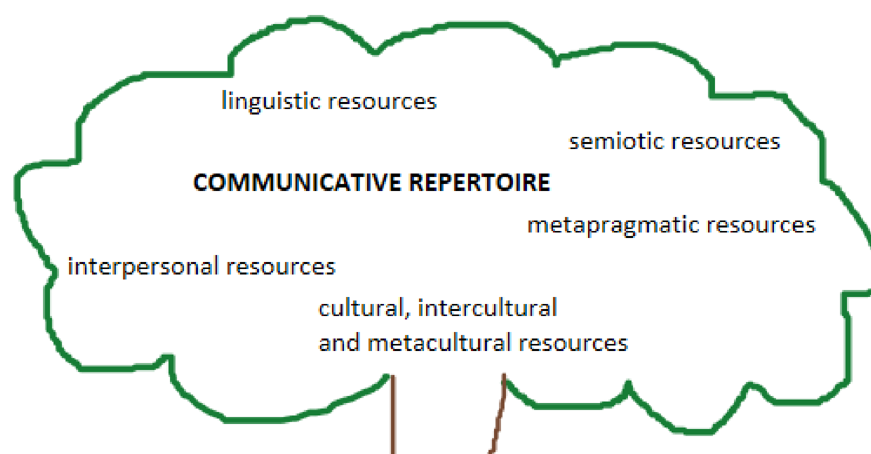

FIGURE 3 The fruit of socialisation

4.3 How she adapted: constructing the communicative repertoire

Now knowing something of the sort of communities the returnee entered and left behind, and of kinds of resources she had at her disposal or lacked, we shall move on to the actual core of the research question: How does a Finnish returnee construct her communicative repertoire in the process of being socialised into the Finnish school context? The aspects of (re)constructing a repertoire that emerged during the analysis can roughly be divided into three categories – the starting point, the process, and the outcome – according to when they take place during the process (see Figure 4 on the following page; also see Appendix 3). This division initially came to me in the first eureka moment of the analysis (see chapter 3.4) and, as it seemed helpful, and appropriate for the inclusion of all major themes in the analysis, I developed it further and shall here draw on it to outline my findings. The lines between the different

phases of repertoire construction are fine and fluid: there is order but also overlapping. The communicative resources discussed in the previous chapter 4.2, find their place at the bottom of this model, for throughout the process of (re)construction the returnee uses these resources that form her repertoire. On the other hand, the resources are also modified during the course of socialisation. Thus, the process of constructing a repertoire and using it go hand in hand at each stage of the process, which is symbolised by the two-way arrows.

STARTING POINT **When a change in the context of socialisation occurs or is expected to occur.**	**PROCESS** **When a change in the context of socialisation has happened and new meanings and practices are being worked out.**	**OUTCOME** **When the repertoire has been modified to meet the needs of the new context of socialisation**
Assessing previous knowledge and experience (and its usefulness in the new context). Observing (new surroundings and others' behaviour). Expectations and presuppositions (that come from previous experiences and patterns of socialisation and draw on current observations). Affective and attitudinal factors (influence how own resources and the change itself is viewed).	Making observations. Comparing: noticing differences and making comparisons. Evaluating and judging. Dealing with surprises and disappointments. Learning and incorporating new ways of speaking (by observing, asking, following, joining in, trying out, and practising; with help from peers, and others, who invite, show, tell, and serve as models). Negotiating - lack of resources - lack of voice and affirmation - hidden otherness - misunderstandings - others' attitudes, assumptions, and misconceptions.	Adjusting (to fit in and/or to accommodate others). Resisting and criticising. Holding on to important things from other contexts (to maintain identity). Giving up, losing, and forgetting. Modifying/changing dominant practices (through own behaviour or with help from others).
	<u>**USING RESOURCES AVAILABLE:**</u> - linguistic - metapragmatic - semiotic - interpersonal - cultural, intercultural and metacultural	

FIGURE 4 The aspects of constructing a communicative repertoire

Using the model presented above as our map and point of reference, we shall now turn to the actual findings that gave birth to this model. Let us first look at what happens at the starting point of the process of constructing a repertoire by turning to some examples from the data. When retrospectively describing how she prepared for her first day in the first Finnish school, the returnee pondered:

> Example 8 (in 4th grade, referring to Pacific and 1st Finnish school):
>
> Well, I've like never been to any school before, so of course I thought I don't want to stick out now from others with any clothes or things.

In this citation we can clearly see how the returnee *assessed her previous experience* of going to school in the Pacific as quite useless in the context of adjusting her repertoire to suit the Finnish school setting. Instead, she *observed* her new surroundings keenly, to make out what to expect. Her *expectation* that everyone would be wearing very fashionable clothes (due to the fact that she saw so many clothes stores around) was however later proven a false *presupposition*. She was happy to find her new classmates were actually, "normal just like me". On the *affective* side, she was excited before the first day at school but was also confident about her ability in making new friends. This was the starting point for her socialisation into the Finnish school context: she did not feel she knew much about the context but kept her eyes open in order to learn and was aware of some of her own resources.

Once the process of socialisation has gotten under way, the balance shifts from expectations and superficial observations to *making more specified observations* and *comparing* the differences between the current and previous contexts of socialisation and their ways of speaking in order to make sense of the new one. The interviews hold ample examples of comparisons and detailed observations on the social realities the returnee has encountered. Among the most prevalent ones are differences in school contexts, comparisons of English and Finnish (see chapter 4.4), and the disparities between the family and earlier missionary culture in the Pacific and the modern, highly digitalised, dominant Finnish culture. Other differences she notices are to do with peer relations: in the friends themselves, their attitudes, and the things they enjoy doing (for example outdoors versus indoors activities). Comparisons rarely remain purely analytical and often include *evaluations*. The following citation, in addition to pointing at and evaluating differences between the Finnish culture and the returnee's previous and home culture, also shows how – as some expectations and presuppositions are bound to go wrong – *dealing with disappointments and surprises* is a part of the process of adjusting to a new context:

Example 9 (in 4th grade, referring to her home culture and the 2nd Finnish school):

I'm, well my personality is a little different, like I'm not for example, like I'm used to, like I've been brought up so that I don't have to have any videogames or things in my life and then others like they are practically, for them it might depend on it whether they're bored or not whether they have a videogame of not, right. And then, too, I'm not like, well others in our class might swear quite a lot and I haven't actually even known about it, so it was of course a bit of a disappointment that there are all these downsides to Finland, too.

Learning new ways of speaking involves plenty of learning by doing, by joining in and trying out new things. In the first Finnish school, peers were eager to help with this, they invited the returnee to join all the games and showed and explained to her the rules of typical Finnish recess games step by step. In fact, they were so enthusiastic that the returnee rather made it sound like a relief that after a few weeks she was able to join them herself more independently and "didn't have to just tag along" as much anymore. In other words, she had developed from a novice member of the group with a limited repertoire into an independent member – an important sign of a socialisation process well under way. In the second school the peers did also show her around the school but after that:

Example 10 (in 4th grade, referring to the 2nd Finnish school):

I went with the others and then I tried to join in the games they had. Here the rules they've got are a little bit different from the games I had learnt in [the first Finnish school], so well this was really quite a different kind of school, like [the first Finnish school] had been a little smaller and this was of course much bigger and stuff.

Sometimes it does not require crossing an ocean for a culture to change drastically, both in the little things (game rules) as well as in its whole atmosphere… In this case it only required moving to another part of the city.

A very challenging part of the process is *negotiating* all the difficulties that arise from the fact that one's own resources are limited and that finding voice with them can be difficult (see Blommaert & Backus 2013) – in addition to the fact that others also engage in the process with their own backgrounds, their own set of limited resources, their own expectations, attitudes, and assumptions (also see Lind 2011 and Kaaja 2015). This provides a fertile ground for misunderstandings, especially in the case of a hidden immigrant, who is not visibly different and therefore is expected to think and act like others, as in the case of racist jokes:

Example 11 (in 6th grade, referring to the 2nd Finnish school and Finland in general):

Usually, you know, well there are things which are actually serious things, but then in Finland you can usually like joke about them and like then I've noticed that when something is important to me then for others it might not necessarily be so, so then they might think, that I feel about it the same way although I don't necessarily even think of it the same way.

Another occasion, where something went somehow wrong in the negotiation, happened with the English teacher. When I asked the interviewee whether she had any special tasks in EFL lessons she answered:

> Example 12 (in 4th grade, referring to the 2nd Finnish school):
>
> Well not really actually but then, well everyone who has, for example, finished a task quicker then she gives them [extra tasks], so like all together and to the others as well, so she hasn't especially given me anything because, as she doesn't want others in our class to become envious or anything but I did tell her straight away that I've been in a place like this and that I know English and that I might know it better than others in my class and that I probably won't have any trouble with any tasks, so.

The interesting question here is why the teacher did not respond to the returnee's disclosure in a more encouraging manner – or at least was not able to convey any feel of support. The citation clearly implies the returnee had expected for more; after all, at that stage in the second Finnish school, the English teacher was the only person she had openly told of her background. Did the EFL teacher have too much work to do, and it was just easier to pass over the implicit request for more advanced learning material? Did the returnee sound too boastful in the Finnish context, and the teacher thought it would be better to bring her down a peg or two? And did the teacher really say or imply that others would become envious or was this the returnee's explanation and something she had already been socialised into in the Finnish context by this stage? Wherever this idea of envy came from, it stuck, and the returnee revisited it bringing it up spontaneously two years later, when asked if there were any disadvantages or difficulties related to her missionary kid background:

> Example 13 (in 6th grade, referring to the 2nd Finnish school or Finland generally):
>
> Well no, not really, but then when you like know English well, for example, and have visited some places then some people might become envious because of it, but well I haven't felt any disadvantages, except that they might say something mean but that hasn't happened but could happen.

Against this backdrop it is perhaps no wonder the returnee chose to be rather silent of her past, even while it meant, in a sense, losing a major part of her story: being wary of envy had become a part of her communicative repertoire. This brings us to the questions that will lead us to the final phase, the modified repertoire: What is the price of becoming socialised across contexts? What are the possible outcomes?

In order to fit into a new community, one has to *adjust*. The returnee, for example, adjusted her dress to suit the common style. "I chose my own style which would fit in well enough so I wouldn't especially stick out", is how she put it. She began to use expressions common in youth language (with the possible exception of swearing). She also realised that when talking to Finns about how life was in the Pacific, she had to adjust her story so as to accommodate the interlocuters, many of whom had some

assumptions but little knowledge or understanding of the place and the life realities there. By sixth grade the returnee had given up some of her initial antipathy towards "digital gadgets":

> Example 14 (in 6th grade, referring to Finland in general):
>
> Well yeah, I've gotten used to it [i.e. having all sorts of digital gadgets around] and then like, I'd even like one for myself but then there's still that, that, that certain something like that I can get along without as well and that even if there is a TV or something it's not like you necessarily want to watch it [---] like it's quite a normal thing but you don't feel you especially need it.

The previous citation also shows *holding on to* something the returnee feels is an important part of her identity – that is, not becoming dependent of technology – and continuing to *resist* the dominant discourse of technological advancement and technology as an essential sign of better life. At other points in the data, she highlights she is rather an outdoor type of person and does not value indoors life tied to technology (e.g. watching TV or playing videogames). This act of resistance is more clearly apparent in the following caption from the first interview:

> Example 15 (in 4th grade, referring to Finland):
>
> It's nice to live here [in Finland] and it's like maybe a little more modern anyways than in [the Pacific], because there are all these digital things and other things but like anyway well Finland is a more developed country than [the one in the Pacific] but anyway but I'd actually say that it was nicer to live in [the Pacific] than here in Finland because well it's that I don't really pay notice to whether a country is more or less developed because to me it really doesn't matter if you have a flat screen TV or what, so yeah."

She also *criticises* the way her classmates view religions as something odd:

> Example 16 (in 6th grade, referring to the 2nd Finnish school):
>
> Like when there's a religious celebration, then others might think, 'are they crazy or what' when it's actually like a really normal thing.

One outcome of being socialised into a new community is that something of the old ones will often be *forgotten, lost,* or *given up*. In the returnee's case the most apparent loss is that of the Pidgin language of the Pacific island where she lived. She had learnt some of it during a village stay period and believed she would still recognize it and even possibly be able to understand it. But especially as she had never really identified with the "islanders" (see chapter 4.2) it is quite natural that the ability to use Pidgin was one part of her repertoire that was gradually lost. Another change in her repertoire which she was rather sorrier about, was the loss of creative play with the move from the first Finnish school to the second one: she suspects this change would have come about in the previous school as well at some stage but not quite as soon. Packed lunches are also a cultural feature that she misses from her community

of socialisation in the Pacific, and she continues to resist the idea that a free school meal is something special.

Finally, when becoming socialised across contexts the newcomer might end up *modifying or changing the community* they enter and may add something new to the community itself. In the case of the returnee there were three major changes that she hoped for and tried to initiate in the second Finnish school. The extent to which any change actually took place at the community level goes beyond the scope of this research, but something can be said of each attempt. First, the returnee tried for her part to change the learning culture in the classroom to a more active one by setting a goal of trying her best and participating actively in class. The classmates in fact attested that after the returnee had entered the class in the fourth grade, their class had somehow begun to feel "smarter" (see Lind 2011). Later, in sixth grade, however, it would seem the returnee had given the project up to some extent. Based on ethnographic observations she was certainly no longer very active during English lessons (where she still felt everything was easy) and when asked how others would describe her, she stated:

Example 17 (in 6th grade, referring to the 2nd Finnish school):

> Well probably that I'm good at school. That usually comes up when someone asks about me although I'm, not myself, or I don't think I'm especially good but like that's actually like that last year I was, well, like I focused on school and so I did well at school and then last year it, school, was still quite easy and so everyone, they all have this idea that I'm good at school even if I wouldn't be at the moment."

The second change that she decided to implement was giving newcomers and visitors a better welcome, as her experience had not been that good in the second Finnish school and the class generally was not very welcoming. Drawing on her own experiences of changing schools, she wanted to make sure that she at least would behave nicely towards others in a similar situation. Apparently, her best friend also liked getting to know new people, so this was something they did together. The third change was a more ambivalent issue: as a teacher trainee wanting to study – and promote – multiculturalism (and having knowledge of her history in the class as a hidden immigrant due to the interview I had had with her in fourth grade) I suggested I could interview her in religion class when we were discussing the topic of missionaries and mission work. I gave her a few days to think it over and she assented. The initial outcome was this:

Example 18 (in 6th grade, referring to the 2nd Finnish school):

> When you said that **there's a missionary kid in our class* ((smiling))*, well they didn't even all of them actually know about it, I mean at least not the boys, well the girls, the girls I've told like but then certain boys, well if they have, if they have like asked why I'm so good at English I might tell them that I've lived, like been to an international school and then, but

> then even if you once say it then the next time again they're still like they don't necessarily even believe it, so then if someone else brings it, for example the teacher brings it up then it becomes real.

And later she went on to analyse the experience by saying that giving a presentation on the topic would not have been nice anymore since so much time had already passed from those days but that being interviewed in front of the class was nice as now:

> Example 19 (in 6th grade, referring to the 2nd Finnish school):
>
> It felt like they got to know me a little better and came to understand like why I'm so good at English, that I'm not good just like that.

It is possible to conclude that although she herself had kept rather silent about her background, she had felt some change ought to happen at the community level so that she could feel accepted and become a full member of the community – which is, after all, the goal of socialisation. For this she required help from a figure of authority, that is, affirmation of the legitimacy and value of her experience. (For a further discussion on this point see Kaaja 2015.) While concluding our detailed tour of the aspects of repertoire construction, the last two quotations in this chapter now turn our thoughts in the direction of the second research question, the role of English language in this picture.

4.4 English – the ambivalent resource

To answer the second research question, that is, *what English means to the returnee and how she views Finnish EFL classes after living in a multicultural ELF context*, I reviewed the data from three different perspectives. These were: 1. What the returnee said about English and her relationship with it in general. 2. How she described Finnish EFL classes, learning English there and the social context of the classes. 3. How her previous multicultural EFL context and experiences contrasted with the Finnish context, and what sort of a combination of Englishes these two contexts together provided for her communicative repertoire. Before going further, we must note that the returnee's ideas on English were not the focal point of either of the interviews. The returnee probably would have had plenty of more to say about English had she been guided to do so. These following observations must, thus, be seen as depicting the overall role of English at that current stage of life, not as an exhaustive list of her skills in or conceptions of English.

First of all, beyond a doubt, the returnee is very fluent in English (which was also confirmed by ethnographic data in Kaaja 2015) and very aware of her competence. This can partly be deduced from what she tells of her life in the Pacific: that she went

to school in English – a defining feature of her experience when she narrates it to peers in Finland – and that much of her interaction with peers in the Pacific happened in English, including creative play (for instance creating a play language of their own with a friend), games, nursery rhymes (as when she knew the "Teddy bear" rhyme in English but only came across the Finnish version after repatriation) and talking about school. Also, her competence is visible in how she claims English to be a "really strong subject" at school in Finland (in the context of EFL lessons, which we shall come back to in a moment) and, furthermore, in how she describes her overall relationship with English:

> Example 20 (in 6th grade, referring to English):
>
> Well, at least it's like I think it's like, or well it feels easy and like that you can like easily cope in English or talk in English and get along with like strangers, foreigners, and then like you can express yourself in English as well, that there are many kinds of words that Finnish doesn't have, so much.

We can decipher that English is an important language of communication and self-expression to the returnee. It is a language that broadens her linguistic repertoire in important ways, as it holds vocabulary and styles of expression that are lacking in Finnish. When comparing her friends in the second Finnish school with those from the international school she spoke of this:

> Example 21 (in 4th grade, comparing the 2nd Finnish school, the Pacific and Finland):
>
> "Well they are, umm, they [Finnish friends] aren't necessarily always as positive in their attitudes, like then my friends [in the Pacific] were always like the other way and then I've got, I've noticed this thing comparing [the Pacific] friends and Finns that of course Americans use really strong words for example when they're describing something, that they've got loads of words like if they think some, something is really great they say that it's wonderful and awesome and stuff but in Finland you just say it's great and so."

Why then, if English means so much to the returnee, does the title of this chapter name English an ambivalent resource?

There are a few instances in the interviews when English is not viewed in an entirely positive light. Both these cases relate to peers, the first out of school and the second at school. Early in the first interview the returnee explains that getting friends was much easier in Finland, where "you can speak Finnish all the time, so you don't then need English all the time". In this context, English is seen as an imposed language, something that the returnee has had to use in the lingua franca context and has at times found arduous. The second negative side of English is that it might cause envy in classmates, as I noted above in chapter 4.3: either because of something the teacher said, or because the general atmosphere suggested anyone who stood out would be envied, a little anxiety or stressfulness would seem to surround the use of English at school. Also, in the questions her peers asked her because of her proficiency in English,

and their "not even believing her" when she tried to tell of her background, the returnee senses her skills require an explanation and affirmation for them to be socially acceptable. This presupposition of envy and reluctance to stand out is an interesting cultural phenomenon (for an analysis of the fear of jealousy as a Finnish cultural feature and its repercussions see Himanen 2013a and Himanen 2013b) and contrasts greatly with the reality of the international school where everyone was eager to succeed.

This brings us to the final question of how the returnee views Finnish EFL classes in the light of her experiences abroad. The answer would seem to be that (with the exception of having possibly been slightly disappointed with the teacher's non-reaction to her English skills) she is generally quite happy with the EFL lessons:

> Example 22 (in 4th grade, referring to EFL classes):
>
> It's often quite fun and there are all these fun tasks too and stuff but the yes it's, it's not exactly boring but all the things are really familiar to me.

By "all the things" she refers, for example, to the structures being taught in fourth grade (e.g. articles and "the s", possibly meaning the plural or third person s, or the 's suffix). Peers, who have only studied English since grade three, actually have to study hard and need to rely on the teacher's assistance to get these right, while the returnee "just has to see whether it sounds odd or not" – another manifestation of her acquired fluency and native-like internalisation of correct structures. The one thing that she does feel she can gain from the EFL lessons is vocabulary. This is a topic she mentions in both the interviews: In fourth grade she explains she learns new words "every week" and especially words she has never needed to use "like ice hockey" (not surprising in the Pacific context). Later in sixth grade she has come to the conclusion that the vocabulary taught at school is "more English English", that is British English, and that she often already has, or has heard, a different word for the item named (possibly American English, in view of many references to her American friends, Americans in general and the fact that she has travelled in the States). Thus, we can conclude her skills in English include a metalinguistic awareness of different varieties of English as well as the afore mentioned metapragmatic knowledge of how Americans typically use their language in comparison with Finns theirs. The main thing, to the returnee, seems to be that she is learning at least something: she values the English language and wants to learn more of it. While this is happening, she can continue to be content enough with her EFL lessons and the Finnish school context even if, when asked which school she has liked the most, her answer was:

Example 23 (in 4th grade, referring to the Pacific):

Well, probably it was the one in [the Pacific], since there you got to speak English and your skills developed all the time and you also got to speak Finnish but, and there you also got to take your own packed lunch.

The final line is a nice reminder of a crucial issue: for someone who has grown up in an ELF context, it is not only the language that they have absorbed but also the culture that goes together with it, the whole context of socialisation. A packed lunch may seem a small and inconsequential thing in the greater process of socialisation across contexts, but it is in the multitude of these little things that the returnee feels her otherness. The resources gained by living in several contexts and successfully adapting to new ones are great – but the scales are always balanced by losses and ambivalences that must be negotiated. Finally, to bring the findings of this chapter together, Table 2 holds a short list of what English means to the returnee:

TABLE 2 What English means to the returnee

WHAT ENGLISH MEANS TO THE RETURNEE
• **in the Pacific English was…** o the primary language (and culture) of education – and later a defining feature of her experience o the lingua franca, the language of communication (both in and out of school) with her friends of multiple nationalities including both native and non-native speakers of English o a must, an imposed language • **in EFL classes in Finland English is…** o her strong subject o easier for her than her classmates: where she instinctively knows correct structures, her classmates must study them o a cause for envy (or feared to be so by the teacher and the returnee) o mainly about learning new vocabulary (of the British English variety) • **to her personally English is…** o a language she desires to develop in and learn more of o a language of communication (even with strangers and foreigners) o a language of self-expression o a language that adds vocabulary to her repertoire o a language (and related cultures) in which she has metapragmatic knowledge o a language presumably used when travelling the world

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, I will draw together and discuss the major findings of this study, consider the weighty themes of ethics and credibility, and finish with a few suggestions for future directions of research.

5.1 Summary of findings and discussion

What I set out to do in this study was to track down the "records of mobility" (see Blommaert & Backus 2013: 28) of one Finnish returnee, and describe in detail the repatriation process of this returnee from the viewpoint of her communicative repertoire. I was also interested in what place English, her language of education whilst abroad and the lingua franca language of the community there, held in her repertoire. I wished to increase knowledge about the challenges a returnee faces when confronting new ways of speaking and to find out what kinds of differences there might be between her various contexts. I also wanted to form an understanding of *how* the returnee managed the process of socialisation into the Finnish school context. And finally, I wanted to give voice to the returnee, a possibility for her to narrate her experiences. Now I will draw some final conclusions on these points.

First, what were we able to learn about the differences between the ways of speaking the returnee confronted? What were the linguistic, sociocultural, and pragmatic features of each of her contexts – or in Hymes' (1996: 33) words, features related to speech styles, contexts of discourse and relations of appropriateness? Let us return to Table 1 (p. 20) charting out the differences between the returnee's three contexts of socialisation, but now, in Table 3 on the following page, draw together the findings of this study from the viewpoint of the ways of speaking in each context. It is worth noting, that differences may reveal possible points of difficulty, points where the previous communicative repertoire will not suffice and thus must be reconstructed.

TABLE 3 The differences in ways of speaking between the three contexts

<table>
<tr><th>Ways of speaking</th><th>In the school and overall community in the Pacific</th><th>The 1st Finnish school and overall community</th><th>The 2nd Finnish school and overall community</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Linguistic features</td><td rowspan="2">- English (ELF) used at school (except in Finnish classes) and with all non-Finnish friends (e.g. German & American friends)
- Finnish spoken with own family and Finnish friends and in Finnish classes
- some Pidgin (and possibly other native languages and other mission families' home languages) present in the surrounding community</td><td>- Finnish both at school and in the free time
- first contacts with Finnish youth language (e.g. abbreviations) through peers at school and new vocabulary related to recess games
(-EFL at school, but not mentioned specifically)</td><td>- Finnish both at school and in the free time
- youth language with peers at school (swearing an increasingly important element) and new vocabulary related to fashion, videogames and other "digital things"
- EFL teaching at school: possibly more British English than American English</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">- some embedded English (see Blommaert & Backus 2013) (and possibly other languages such as French) in hobbies: at least in jazz-dance and cheerleading</td></tr>
<tr><td>Socio-cultural features at school</td><td>- packed lunch
- volunteering and active participation in class is usual
- pupils from all over the world
- usual to mostly spend time with your best friend/friends – joining another group difficult</td><td>- lunch in school canteen
- returnee's background is openly told of and discussed by the teacher and by the returnee
- active interaction and reciprocal interest between classmates and the newcomer: everyone eager to get to know the returnee and show her around the school and spend time with her during recess, the returnee eager to get to know classmates
- returnee and peers enjoy outdoor activities and games and using their imagination
- boys and girls interact
- a few "troublemakers" in the class</td><td>- lunch in school canteen
- active participation in class is rare (except by returnee)
- returnee's background unknown to the class teacher, the returnee does not talk much about her background
- returnee tells of her background to the EFL teacher but does not get encouragement
- only some classmates eager to make contact with the newcomer, the newcomer must be active herself to get to know people and to be admitted into recess games (which have rules different from those in the first school
- a clear distinction is made between boys (mostly "annoying") and girls
- joking related to racism is a recurring phenomenon</td></tr>
</table>

Socio-cultural features of interaction with peers out of school	- an American friend, Finnish friends and (possibly) the returnee's brother most common playmates (German friend lived further off) - often outdoor things: creative play, games, using imagination etc.	- playing in the woods and in the neighbourhood - a few friends in the same terraced house - friends through hobbies (gymnastics, jazz dance, acting, piano and music lessons) but no interaction with them outside hobbies	- "hanging out" and "bigger girls' things" (e.g. movies) and just talking with the best friend (instead of playing) - "digital things" play an important role - cheerleading as a new hobby
Pragmatic features	- swearing, drinking and smoking inappropriate (as none were visible) - positive attitude the norm - volunteering, active participation and trying your best in class the norm	- openness and reciprocal interest the norm - preparing for and welcoming newcomers usual - appropriate dress an important feature for the returnee	- talking about the Pacific and life there seems inappropriate (the experiences feel passé and are not affirmed, they might cause envy, and others seem uninterested) - no need to show a positive face - inactivity in class the norm - swearing is regarded as appropriate (or even a requirement in peer group interactions)

From the table above we can clearly see that one does not have to cross an ocean in order to find oneself in a new context: even when the overall community remains the same, as in when moving within the same city, a drastic change may occur. This is important to bear in mind, especially as a teacher: all new pupils in our classes are in the process of reconstructing their repertoires and negotiating their way into new ways of speaking.

In Figure 5 on the following page, I have mapped out the different sources of socialisation present in the communities of the returnee. In this framework of socialisation, around the central figure of self – who is always an active participant in the socialisation process (see e.g. Duff 2008) – are grouped the three major sources of socialisation for the participant: the family, the school, and the peer group. The school and the peer group overlap considerably because the returnee's peer interaction mostly happened at school or with friends from the school context. (She considered peers from hobbies as less important and did not see them outside her hobbies.) When discussing the route of socialisation that the returnee has travelled along, this model helps us notice that the shifts have not been the same scale. In the move from the Pacific to Finland, everything except the family changed. In comparison, the shift from

one Finnish school to another may seem a small one: only the school and peer group changed. Yet, this was a change that influenced the returnee's views on Finnish school life considerably and brought forth new challenges and requirements for the construction of her repertoire. The relative importance of the sources of socialisation shown in the model vary across time and place: for instance, in the Pacific, hobbies held a less prominent position. In consequence, although the picture does somewhat aim at depicting the place and weight that these different instances hold in the data, and the interplay between them, it is a fluid construction. Also, it must be noted that some of these sources of socialisation, such as the church, were present in the interviews often implicitly rather than explicitly. The reason I find this model useful, however, is that it reminds us of the various forces at play in any individual's socialisation process – and the resources that enter an individual's communicative repertoire because of them. It would be interesting to compare such frameworks of different individuals, or of one person at various stages of life: it would probably help us understand something of the variety of repertoires present in a class or a workplace– or in the lifespan of an individual.

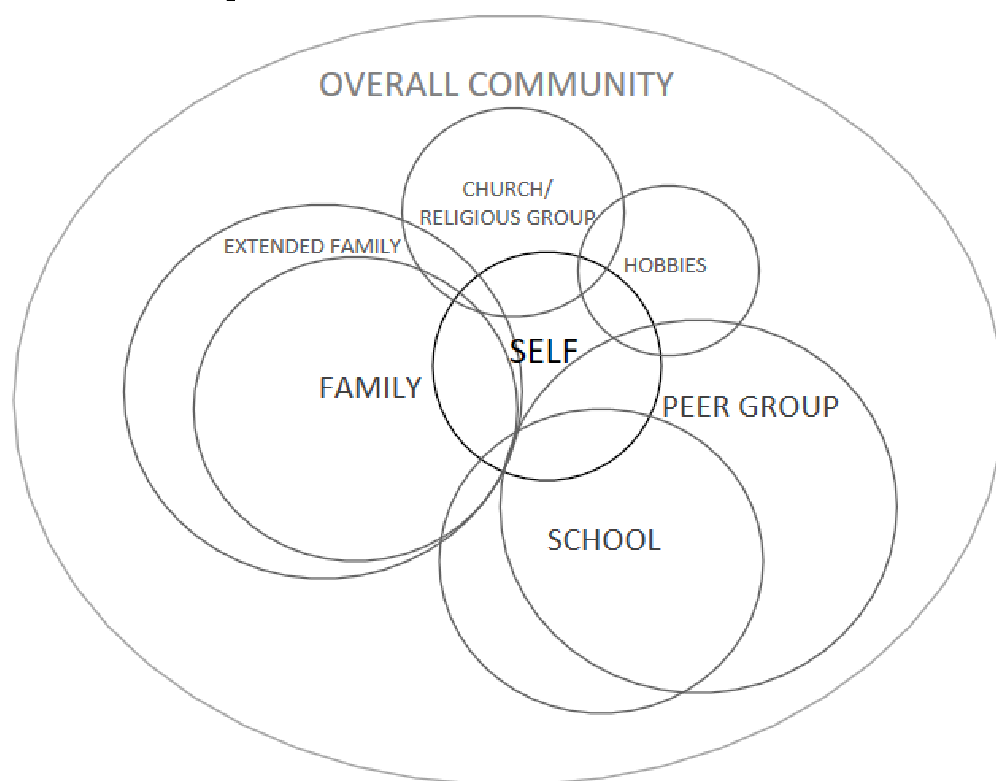

FIGURE 5 The framework of socialisation

This study hopes to contribute to an understanding of the process of constructing a repertoire by looking at one particular case and examining how the returnee, in view of her narrative, managed the passage from one context of socialisation to another. As socialisation happens *through* language (Ochs & Schieffelin 2008), it is naturally

through language that we modify and reconstruct our communicative repertoire to meet the demands of each new context. Our ability to make observations, comparisons, and evaluations, to reflect on our knowledge and feelings, to negotiate difficulties and deal with loss and surprises, to learn new ways of speaking and adjust to them or resist and criticise them, to implement change in ourselves or our communities (see Figure 4, p. 27) – and furthermore, our capacity to voice these experiences – all of it comes down to the language we have, our unique combination of linguistic, metapragmatic, semiotic, interpersonal, and (inter)cultural resources. At the same time, these resources are an outcome of earlier patterns of socialisation and are being modified in the present process of socialisation: this is how we are socialised *into* language through an active process of reconstruction (see Ochs & Shieffelin 2008). Finally, the resources we have, determine, for their part, how we can present ourselves and how we will be seen by others (see Blommaert & Backus 2013). Ultimately this will influence how we will succeed in becoming full and functional members of a group.

A final note must be made on the importance of voice. As Blommaert and Backus (2013: 29-30) so aptly put it:

> Voice, as we know, is subject to normative judgment – one has voice when someone else ratifies it as such. In that sense, our subject's repertoire is a complex of traces of power: a collection of resources our subject had to accumulate and learn in order to make sense to others, that is, in order to operate within the norms and expectations that govern social life in the many niches in which he dwelled and through which he passed. The elements of the repertoire are resources he needed to deploy, practices he had to perform, in order to be 'normal' in the polycentric and dynamic world in which he lived.

Now the question for us, and especially for teachers of language, is how do we ratify the voices of others, of our pupils and students? This study has been all about giving voice to the returnee. It is apparent that she has not always felt that others have appreciated her collection of resources. This is, perhaps, most apparent in the case of her EFL classes, where she came to understand that instead of a possibility, her proficiency in English was rather a threat: she might be envied and teased for her skills. Could this case remind us to listen carefully to our pupils and students? Each of them has their own set of challenges, hopes and, above all, something to give. One of the returnee's challenges would appear to have been the fact that "school language" (see Blommaert & Backus 2013) differed from one context to another: where presenting one's skills and trying one's best was desirable in one context, not making a fuss of oneself seemed to be more appropriate in another. Yet, even so, the returnee probably could have navigated this challenge with support and would have had plenty to give to others: she could have shared her insights on the variation of vocabulary in different varieties of English with her classmates; or could have explained how describing something differs in Finnish and in English and thus enhanced her classmate's

pragmatic understanding of the language; or told of cultural features such as the packed lunch, for instance. Probably, however, she did little of this because the threat of standing out and not being "normal" loomed over her.

When, during the short period I taught the returnee, I offered her (and her classmates) books to read in English at home or in class whenever they needed extra work, she was happy to take this opportunity – as well as were some of her classmates. It did not require much from me, as a teacher trainee, and yet it was a sign that I valued her skills and wanted to help her develop them. At the same time, her classmates also profited from this little token of support. After all, the returnee is not alone in feeling that English language is personally important to her: according to Leppänen et al. (2011) almost 60 per cent of all Finns and close to 80 percent of respondents under the age of 25 stated that English was at least moderately important to them. So, the returnee certainly is not the only one wanting to develop her skills in English, and many would probably gladly learn from her – although considerations of classmates' language anxiety (see Chik 2008) should also be taken into account and discussed openly in cases where a more proficient language user joins a group. In a lingua franca setting, after all, there is no need to feel embarrassed by less native-like pronunciation or a simple and concise vocabulary; quite the contrary, sometimes the simpler the better (see Räisänen 2013).

Finally, if we are really prepared to give voice to our pupils, both those who come from other parts of the world and those who have moved in from the other side of the town, we might be able to become aware of the norms and parameters of our own culture and context. We may even find ourselves questioning some of the features of our own community and begin to search for ways of making our community better, perhaps together with those newcomers who have given us this insight and who will find it hard to implement change on their own. Listening to the voices of those from other backgrounds and cultures will help us understand other kinds of worldviews and life realities, other ways of acting and living. We can never assume we know where an other person comes from without actually listening to their story. We must also remember that not all Finnish returnees in our classes will have studied in English – some will have studied in French, Russian, or German (see Leppänen et al. 2011), others in Hebrew, Arabic or Finnish: they and many others of our pupils may have a communicative repertoire far wider or very different from our own. How could we see and support these pupils' language identities and affirm the value of and their languages and ways of speaking? How could these language reserves become useful resources both for the individuals and the whole society we live in (see Pyykkö 2017)? How could we see beyond the CEFR and language tests and make use of the whole potential hidden in the varied resources of our pupils (see Blommaert & Backus 2013)?

5.2 Ethics and credibility

The desire to give voice to the returnee, highlighted above, is an important factor from the ethical point of view and an essential aspect influencing the trustworthiness of my study. For the reader to be able to assess the trustworthiness of my study, I have given as full an account of the data and the process of analysis as possible (see Elo et al. 2014). I am also deeply indebted to the participant and thankful for her continued trust in me, and I wish to be worthy of her confidence. Credibility has, thus, been a key concern, and through citations from the interviews and their careful transcription and translation I have tried to authentically convey the voice of the returnee (see Elo et al 2014; Lincoln & Guba 1985, according to Elo et al. 2014). In these procedures and in the report, I have also paid attention to the anonymisation of the interviewee (see Kuula & Tiitinen 2010; Eskola & Suoranta 1996).

The study is a case study and, as such, not necessarily generalisable over contexts in the traditional sense (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018[2002]; cf. Flyvbjerg 2014). In this study, for instance, we see that all three of the returnee's contexts were different: a categoric division to international versus Finnish school context, for example, would hide the fact that the Finnish school contexts also vary a great deal. Therefore, the purpose of this study is not to determine what a Finnish school context is like in general, but rather look at the ways in which the returnee adjusts to the demands of each distinctive school context (see Flyvbjerg 2004). Hence, I have tried to look at the phenomena involved in the processes of repertoire construction and socialisation across contexts first at a very specific level but later also at a more general and theoretical level, to enhance transferability (see Lincoln & Guba 1985, according to Elo et al. 2014). As Blommaert and Backus (2013 : 29) suggest:

> [W]e can see 'structure', or at least 'pattern' in repertoires that are otherwise entirely unique. The structures and patterns are dynamic and adaptable, while they are driven by shared motives and intentions: to make sense, to have voice wherever we are.

What I can say, is that I have tried my best, within the limited time resources, to convey the voice of the returnee to you, to study theory applicable to making sense of this narrative and, as an insider of a kind in this partially ethnographic enterprise, to make the overall process as transparent as possible (on transparency, see Riessman 2008). Ultimately, it is up to you, the reader, to assess whether this unique narrative deserved to be heard, whether the findings were interesting and worth your attention (Lincold & Guba 1985, according to Elo et al 2014), and whether the story interacted with theory meaningfully (see Flyvbjerg 2004) and was presented to you in a way that rings true.

5.3 New directions for thought

For me, this project has been very interesting and (as my family could testify) I have poured hours of work into it: and yet I feel I have only barely touched the surface of the phenomena described in this study. There would certainly be more room for research around these themes. Future directions for study could include studying actual repertoires-in-use of returnees – that is to observe what actually happens in their interactions with peers and teachers and to see whether similar phenomena as charted out in this study could be found at the level of action as well as on the level of narration. The key theoretical findings of this case study could also be compared with the experiences of a larger group of returnees or considered in other settings of socialisation across contexts.

Another fascinating topic of research would be to further study how English acquired as a child outside Finland influences perceptions of EFL classes, and to investigate the longer-term trajectories or enregisterment processes of those who have returned to Finland from ELF contexts (see Räisänen 2013). Also, there is some indication that the returnee's language skills affect others in the language class (see Chik 2008). Thus, studying the viewpoint of the peers of a returnee could shed more light on the social realities present in the language classroom, and also on the phenomenon of envy raised in this study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION AND CITATION PROCEDURES

Codes used in transcription

((interviewer's perceptions))	
[original word or phrase has been changed or replaced]	
[---]	a passage has been left out
[ ]	*IPA-transcription*
a passage which is emphasised or spoken in a louder manner	
(silent or unclear speech)	
(whisper)	
laughter or something said laughingly	
...	a pause
=	a new turn beginning, or a turn continuing without a pause
{ }	overlapping speech
ye-es	an elongated vowel or word
thi-	a word or sentence cut in the middle (here think)

An example passage of the transcription and the same passage as a citation in Finnish and its translation in English:

(NB! H stands for "haastattelija", i.e. the interviewer, and K for the interviewee.)

105. H: Joo. Ääm. No … millasissa tilanteissa sä koet että sulla on niink-, siitä sun tavallaan lähetyslapsitaustasta, on iloa?
106. K: No-o. Siis millä lailla?
107. H: No vaikka että- tai millasissa tilanteissa se on niinku hyvä juttu tai kiva juttu? Saatko yhtään ajatuksesta kiinni?
108. K: Öö. No siis ainakin sillein et jos voi niinku kertoa toisille silleen=
109. H: Mm.
110. K: =ja sitte kun on matkustellu paljon niin sitte on niinku vähän niinku tullu semmonen käsitys siitä maailmasta ja=

111. H: Mm.
112. K: =kaikesta, et sitte tietää niinku vähän kaikista maista tai melkein- tai suuresta osasta maista niinku vähäsen jotain jokaisesta=
113. H: Mm.
114. K: =ku on vähän käyny siellä niin=
115. H: Mm.
116. K: =on se ihan kiva juttu.

The same passage (starting from line 110) as a citation:

> [K]un on matkustellu paljon niin sitte on niinku vähän niinku tullu semmonen käsitys siitä maailmasta ja kaikesta, et sitte tietää niinku vähän kaikista maista tai melkein- tai suuresta osasta maista niinku vähäsen jotain jokaisesta ku on vähän käyny siellä niin on se ihan kiva juttu.

And the English translation in this study:

> Example 6 (in 6th grade, referring to her missionary kid experiences):
>
> [W]hen you've travelled a lot then you kind of get this idea of the world and everything, so then you like know a little bit of every country or almost, or of a great many countries a little something of each of them, when you've been there, so that's nice.

APPENDIX 2: CATEGORIES AND SUB QUESTIONS OF PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

1a CONSTRUCT

- ennakointi
  - What does she expect/anticipate?
- erojen tiedostaminen/kuvaileminen (puhumisen tavat yhteisöissä)
  - What differences does she recognize and describe in the ways of speech of different communities?
- uusien tapojen haltuun ottaminen
  - Which new ways of communicating does she incorporate into her repertoire and how?
- vanhojen tapojen jättäminen/menettäminen
  - Which ways of communicating does she give up/loose?

1b COMMUNICATIVE REPERTOIRE

- kielet ja niiden osaaminen
  - Which “languages” belong to her repertoire, how has she learnt them, how well does she feel she can use them and in which contexts?
- vuorovaikutuksen vaikeudet, epäonnistumiset ja onnistumiset
  - How does she reflect on communicating with her repertoire at different points in her history? What kinds of misunderstandings/difficulties, feelings of competence or lack thereof does she bring up?
- vuorovaikutuksen osallistujat ja konteksti
  - Who has she had the need to communicate with and in which communities and settings?
- resurssit
  - When she narrates her history, what sort of resources/means does she seem to have in her stories and what sort of resources does she seem to lack in them? Not only linguistic resources but also semiotic, metapragmatic, cultural(?)…

1c SOCIALISATION INTO FINNISH SCHOOL CONTEXT VS. INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL CONTEXT

- puhumisen tavat eri yhteisöissä ja tapojen erot
  - What differences can be made out in the ways of speaking and the contexts of the two (or three) different settings/communities?
- aiempien vuorovaikutustapojen vertailu uuteen
  - How does she reflect on prior “discourses” from the international school context (and first Finnish school context) and how does it affect her thoughts on her new school?
- halu muuttaa uutta yhteisöä
  - Does she wish to change something in the new setting? Does she try to? How? Does it seem to work out? Why/why not?
- uuden yhteisön tapojen vastustaminen
  - Which practices and discourses does she resist?
- uusien toimintamallien kehittäminen
  - Does she develop new practices?

2a ENGLISH

- englanti – kuvailu
  - How does she describe English?
- erilaiset englannit
  - What kinds of different Englishes does she note on?
- englanninkielentaito
  - What does she feel she can do with English, what is her “competence” in English?
- tunne englantia kohtaan
  - How does she seem to feel about English? (Is it an affective language?)

2b FINNISH EFL CLASSES

- kouluenglanti
  - What does she say about the English in EFL classes?
- englannin oppiminen ja käyttö koulussa
  - What does she feel she can learn in class? What does she feel she can do with her English in class?
- englannintuntien sosiaalinen konteksti
  - What does she say about the social context? (The teacher & the other pupils & the norms.)

2c MULTICULTURAL ELF CONTEXT IN CONTRAST

- kouluenglanti ja muu englanti – vertailu
  - What does she say about ELF? How does she compare “school English” with the “real stuff”?
- kulttuuritietoisuus
  - What kind of cultural (and other) knowledge does she possess because of the multicultural ELF context?
- kansainvälisen koulun sosiaalinen konteksti
  - How does she reflect on the social context of the international school setting?
- englannit osana vuorovaikutusrepertuaaria
  - What kind of English(es) does she have in her repertoire because of her history in an ELF context and the Finnish school context?

APPENDIX 3: THE ASPECTS OF (RE)CONSTRUCTING A COMMUNICATIVE REPERTOIRE