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Language Planning for Adult Immigrant Integration
Critical Perspectives on Challenges for and Motivations of Immigrant
Second Language Learners in Finland

Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

Finland has experienced a notable rise in immigration over the past decades while also since 2000 the reasons for relocation have diversified. Generally, local language learning is seen as a critical factor in the integration of foreign language speaking immigrant populations in their host societies. Language planners in Finland place education in the local language as a priority in efforts to support and advance integration. However, the Finnish language garners comparatively little attention on the international stage and learning Finnish can present challenges for second language migrant learners. Despite programming and financial support for adult immigrant learners, insufficient language skills continue to be a barrier to integration.

This thesis research aims to identify motivators and challenges of adult immigrant learners of the Finnish language in the Helsinki region through the lens of critical language planning. Opportunities to study and use Finnish language are discussed taking into account critical perspectives on traditional language planning, such as discrimination based on one's ethnicity, gender or economic situation as well as the presence of a prominent language of wider communication. The informants are Finnish language learners, non-EU adult immigrants to Finland who have been residents for 4-15 years. They participate in narrative interviews that are analyzed and discussed on the backdrop of language planning for migrants in Finland. Participants' accounts of their learning goals, motives and process, communicative experiences, and the role of English in Finland are examined along with the role of L2 learning in integration.

The interview analyses indicate that skills in English in the absence of Finnish aptitude can be sufficient for economic and social integration in certain cases, while remaining a limiting factor in other sectors of life, for example civic engagement and flexibility in personal advancement. Finnish language skills are seen to be most pertinent for the economic integration of those not fluent in English, who do not have a higher or professional education or who otherwise have difficulty finding sufficient employment. Participants however describe difficulties finding opportunities to use what they have learned in practice due to social or economic circumstances and the role of English in communication. Informants' experiences of language switch with Finnish speakers are seen as a discouraging barrier to practice and indicative of opposing language planning for internationalisation and integration. Further language planning for access to instruction and practice is seen to be advisable particularly for immigrants immersed in primarily English-speaking environments.

KEYWORDS: Critical language planning, immigrant integration, second language learning

1 INTRODUCTION

Over the past three decades, global migration has seen massive growth, with the possibility of citizens to leave their countries of origin for a variety of reasons becoming more accessible, and countries previously seen as emigration nations now being hubs of increasing immigration. This has also been the case in many member-states of the European Union. Immigration has experienced a steep increase both due to increased intra-European mobility due to unification and the arrival of third-country nationals to work, study, be with family members or seek refuge. Finland, as a member of the European Union, is also subject to this change and thus, has moved in a relatively short period from its status as a nation of emigration to an immigration destination for many foreign nationals.

1.1 Background

In the period after the Second World War, Finland was still experiencing increasing emigration, but especially in the 2000s, it has experienced a major increase in immigration. In 2012, foreign nationals made up 3.9% of Finland's total population and 4.9% of the population spoke a foreign language as their native language (L1) (Ministry of the Interior Finland 2012). As a result, migration and integration have become a major public discourse in Finland, namely in the domains of social services to aid in the social and economic integration of foreign nationals as well as to prevent discrimination. In addition, public discourse often also centers round the transforming cultural climate, perceived societal changes and pitfalls of welcoming newcomers into a country whose near history of migration was directionally outward (Jaakkola 2009: 16; Sisäasiainministeriö 2013: 9).

As is commonplace in questions of national and cultural identity, language can play a role in defining overtly and covertly the members and non-members of a group. In practice, for a newcomer to a country, mastery of the local language(s) plays with little doubt a major role in the success of integration and prevention of social or economic exclusion (McGroarty 2002: 24). This idea is evidenced in much of the discourse

regarding integration and social cohesion, often citing with little needed explanation that a lack of sufficient language skills was for many a barrier to the attainment of gainful employment and/or social ties. The issue of migrant integration is complex and multifaceted, being one that not all migrants experience in the same way. Migration and integration are directly connected to issues of social or economic status, issues of prejudice on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender and gender identity, religion or sexual orientation. (Sisäasiainministeriö 2013: 8)

Language has been seen in many instances as one way to advance one's level of access or possibly attain some form of group membership status, at the very least through its proven role in improving chances for many to attain gainful employment and become economically independent in their new country. Increased migration and the rise of discussions of social and economic integration in public discourse has also highlighted the importance of migration-related linguistic questions about the role, importance and particularities of language planning (LP) for migrant populations (Latomaa, Pöyhönen, Suni & Tarnanen 2013: 163–164). Development of linguistic aptitude through public or private education is seen as an integral step in the well-rounded integration of foreign language-speaking migrant populations, as is the case in Finland. Once again, depending on one's proficiency in a common language of wider communication and its prominence in the host society (where and with whom one is able to communicate effectively using the aforementioned language of wider communication), the foreign language speaker's urgency to achieve fluency in the dominant language of their new country of residence may differ.

These are questions present in discourse in many member states of the European Union as well as numerous countries of the group of mainly economically developed countries seen to belong to the 'Global North', a region in which immigration has become a major part of societal growth and development. Immigration and subsequent integration processes are also often characterized as, in some cases, a fairly newfound burden on public and social services, as immigrants are often seen as needing public-funded aid to access education and become active in the labour market (Husted, Heinesen, & Andersen 2008: 911). With public discourse surrounding immigration often focussing on the financial and human resources needed to effectuate integration programmes

aimed at promoting economic independence and social cohesion, it has been a primary initiative to identify and improve those efforts seen to be the most essential in the well-rounded integration of migrants. The subject of social and economic integration of migrants has been studied at length from a range of perspectives, often focussing on access to services and education, promotion of social cohesion and wellbeing as well as the path to economic independence and the effects of discrimination (see Pöyhönen, Tarnanen, Kyllönen, Vehviläinen & Rynkänen 2009; Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015; Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2013).

1.2 Finland, Migration and Demographic change

This substantial increase in immigration has been monitored and documented by officials, and figures regarding the demographics and ethnic and linguistic compositional changes in Finland have been recorded yearly in, among other publications, the Ministry of the Interior's Annual Report on Immigration (Sisäasiainministeriö 2014). While the leap in growth has been particularly notable after 2000, the reasons for immigration to Finland have also diversified, with family ties, studies and employment being the dominant bases for relocation to Finland. Other reasons for migration to Finland include return migration (on the basis of Finnish ethnic background or family ties), international protection (seeking asylum or refugee protection from conflict) and for other reasons, including adoption, au-pair work placement, a dating relationship with a Finnish citizen or having been a victim of human trafficking (Sisäasiainministeriö 2013). These figures apply to those individuals who are not citizens of the European Union or the European Economic Area. This is distinct from the situation of the 1990s, when most immigration to Finland was on humanitarian grounds (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2012a).

Number of foreign nationals in 2001–2012

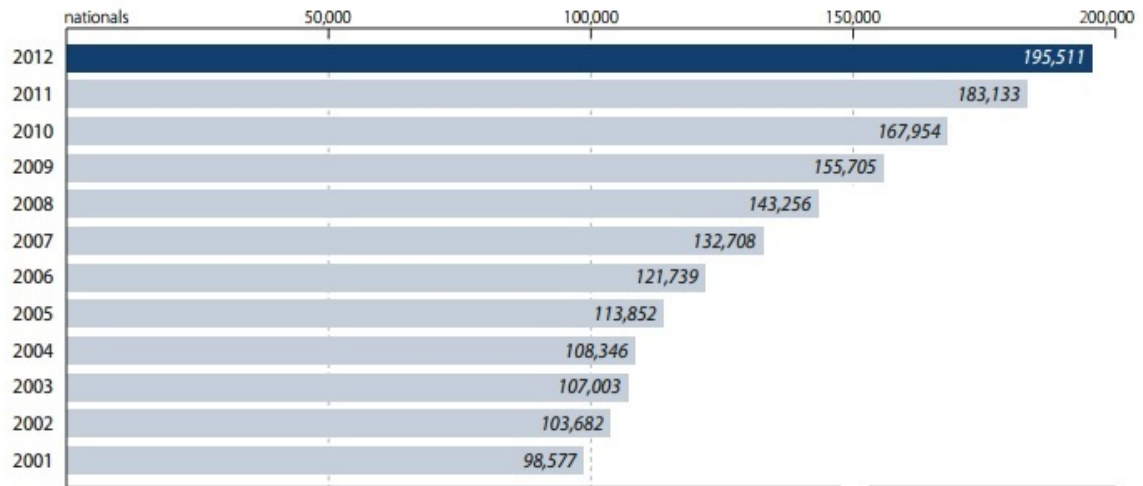


Figure 1. Number of foreign nationals in Finland in 2001–2012, information sourced from Statistics Finland (Ministry of the Interior Finland 2012)

While rates of immigration have increased so has the cultural and linguistic composition of Finland changed, primarily in the urban centres. While the municipalities of the Capital City Region (Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa) have by a sizable margin the largest populations as well as largest proportions of foreign residents in comparison to Finnish residents (8,4%, 8,0% and 7,8% respectively), other urban centres such as Turku, Vaasa, Kotka and Tampere are also home to comparatively substantial numbers of foreign residents (Ministry of the Interior Finland 2012). The mean age of immigrant foreign citizens to Finland was also substantially lower than that of the total Finnish population in 2010 (33.7 years versus 40.0 for men, 34.4 years versus 42.8 for women), making them a key group in labour market planning (Statistics Finland 2010). While employment and the attainment of economic independence is often at the forefront of discourse regarding migrant integration, unemployment rates of foreign citizens residing in Finland remains notably higher than that of the rest of population. In 2011, rates of unemployment for foreign citizens sat at 21,7%, while for Finnish citizens instance of unemployment was significantly lower, at 9,5% (Ministry of the Interior Finland 2012). At the end of 2013 however the unemployment rate of immigrants had risen to 28.6% (Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 87).

This massive growth has also changed the linguistic landscape of Finland which, while having never been a monolingual nor mono-cultural society, has seen substantial growth

in groups of foreign language-speaking communities. In 2012, the official state languages, Finnish and Swedish, were spoken by 89,7% and 5,4% of the population, respectively, while 4,9% of those residing in Finland on a permanent or long-term basis spoke a foreign language as their mother tongue. This proportion was expectedly higher in urban centres where rates of immigration are also larger, with 11,8% of residents of the capital region being foreign language native-speakers (Statistics Finland 2012b). Foreign language speakers also accounted for 87% of the national population growth in 2012, and have represented the majority group (juxtaposed with growth represented by speakers of Finnish, Swedish or Sami) in population growth since the late 1990s (Statistics Finland 2012b). This represents a growing and continuing trend in demographic change, with the direct catalyst being increasing immigration. Current legislation and government planning takes into account this growth and prepares to adapt and optimise services accordingly, at least currently, rather than trying to curb its growth altogether (Sisäasiainministeriö 2013; Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015; Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2012a).

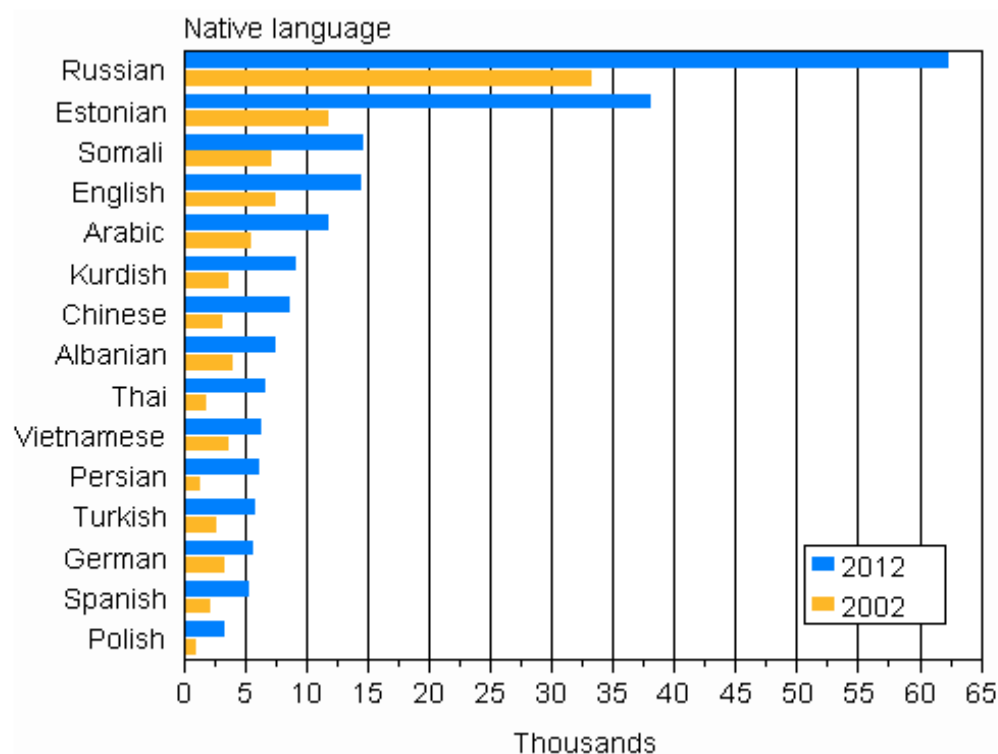


Figure 2. “The largest groups by native language 2002 and 2012” (Statistics Finland 2012a)

The foreign language-speaking population of Finland is not within itself homogenous as illustrated by Figure 2, despite the national figures often focussing on Finnish, Swedish, Sami and 'others'. Recorded growth in these foreign language speaking groups has been constant and substantial, with the most common foreign languages spoken as mother tongue in Finland being Russian, Estonian, Somali, English and Arabic (see Figure 2). The issue of language-related statistics, specifically regarding foreign language-speaking population information, has not been refined in Finland as it has in countries with longer histories of large-scale immigration, like Canada or the United Kingdom, where census questions are more suited to a multicultural and multilingual public (Latomaa 2012: 533). Figure 2 however is not fully representative of the reality of language use in Finland; while English is not the most commonly spoken mother tongue of foreign language speakers in Finland, it is widely used as a language of wider communication.

1.3 Framing the Research, Aims and Questions

Whilst endeavouring to define and enact effective and comprehensive services to enable immigrant integration, needs and goals are identified and action plans designed to suit them. When addressing an issue as broad as integration for immigrants to Finland, it is undoubtedly challenging to prioritize and place in a logical order of importance the steps to successful integration of a diverse group of foreign nationals into a host society. Just as the bases for relocation to a host state vary, so do the individuals accessing services and benefiting from policy and planning meant to facilitate integration. While concerned public officials are responsible for legislation, securing funding, programming and the provision of integration-related services, concrete definitions of successful immigration integration are difficult to devise.

These statements also ring true in discussions of language planning and policy for migrant populations, as diverse groups of learners and their respective needs require appropriate and effective language planning to provide not only language-in-education services that support successful language acquisition, but provide comprehensive training to support a multi-faceted ideal of immigrant integration. Discourse around

language planning for migrant populations has often focussed on language-in-education (acquisition) planning, while globalisation, internationalism and an increase in language learning and mobility have changed the landscape. Now, the study of one or more languages of wider communication (lingua francas, global languages), most notably but not exclusively English, has become commonplace and a cornerstone of education in many nations. (Baldauf Jr 2012: 239)

This research employs critical perspectives in its examination of language planning in place for migrants in Finland through informant narrative interviews. Their shared experiences will subsequently be contextualized and critical analysis of language planning will allow for a discussion on possible ways to further utilize language planning to advance social, economic and political equality for migrants to Finland. This research also examines the relationship between the integration of foreign language-speaking immigrants through LP and language(s) of wider communication, while at the same time looking to the macro-level policies, ideologies and structures behind the phenomena. The informant interview data are analysed moving outward from the micro-level, making use of critical perspective and drawing evidence from relevant language planning.

Language planning is a widely researched field with similarly extensive research on LP in an era of mass migration and ‘globalisation’. Research on immigrant integration in theory and practice has in the same manner been on the foreground of research concerning demographic and cultural change. This thesis research focuses its lens on the experiences of immigrants with language learning in the host country, with a concentration on the individuals’ goals, motivations and experiences in contrast with existing LP discourses from a critical planning perspective. Motivation and individual difference in second language learning is an established field of research and provides a variable for analysis in combination with the existing discourses of language planning (see Dörnyei 2009; Ellis 1997, 2004; Gardner 1985). Notably, this research looks at the motivations reflected in language planning juxtaposed with those of the language learners and language planning’s current ability to cater to the diverse needs of language learners.

There is also certainly a discussion underway on the causes, effects and particularities of the prevalence of English as a global lingua franca (see Pennycook 1998; Phillipson 1998, 2003; Ricento 2000b; Tollefson 2000), as well as in the Finnish context (see University of Helsinki 2015; University of Helsinki 2015a; Bonnet 2002; Kangasvieri et al. 2011). Similarly, increased mobility has meant that immigrant integration, societal participation, employment and the role of language studies are widely studied in Finland and abroad (see Anderzén 2012; Filhon 2013; Forsander 2013; International Organization for Migration n.d.; Kiuru 2012; Latomaa et al. 2013; Pöyhönen, Tarnanen, Kyllönen, Vehviläinen & Rynkänen 2009). Research on integration and second language acquisition as well as motivation have sought to identify the motives and effects of learning on the lives of immigrants. Work on English in Finland has often had a particular focus on the views of English held by Finns as well as English in mainstream Finnish language planning.

Research on second language learning and immigrant integration has however intersected less with critical analyses involving the role of English. The field of language planning for foreign language speakers' L2 acquisition and integration must, considering the current language situation of Finland, address the role of English as a language of wider communication. It must also take into account critical issues of race and existing relationships of inequality if language planning is to meet policy goals. This research draws upon established fields in an investigation of language planning for foreign-language speaking immigrants to Finland that looks to identify challenges and motivators in L2 learning in the Finnish context and connect them with relevant LP phenomena, with a particular concentration on the role of English as a lingua franca. Adding to the existing research on language planning, integration and L2 learning, this work focuses on critical analysis of language planning for foreign language speaking migrants in Finland with an added concentration on the role of English as a language of wider communication.

The research aims of this thesis are thus outlined by the following research questions:

RQ1: What are motivators and challenges in Finnish language learning from immigrants' perspectives?

RQ2: How does language policy and planning for immigrants to Finland relate to or address these challenges and motivators?

RQ3: What is the role of English or other languages of wider communication?

The methods applied to gather data relevant to the above questions for analysis, namely informant interviews paired with critical analysis of language planning documentation, are discussed in further detail in Chapter 5 of this thesis. Data from the informant interviews are analysed on the backdrop of current, relevant language planning in place. A critical analysis of the language planning phenomena is based on the narrative experiences of the informants, allowing for an examination of the issues at multiple magnifications. Critical language planning also allows the research to turn its lens to alternative issues and active discourses in LP for migrants. This means examination for example of the role of languages of wider communication, most notably English, in not only immigrants' processes of language learning but in individuals' experiences with integration from a broader perspective.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis opens with an introduction to the subject matter and aims of the research, an examination of the methodology for data collection and analysis as well as the theory in use. This is followed by an introduction of and discussion on language policy and planning (LPP) as a field and an investigation into the current state of affairs in Finland. The work continues with an analysis and discussion of the research interview data and concludes with an outlook to future strategies.

2 LANGUAGE PLANNING FOR MIGRANTS AND CRITICAL LANGUAGE PLANNING

Language Planning is often used as a singular term, as the fields of language policy-making and language planning act in unison to attain language goals or rectify language problems. In a broader sense, LP attempts to change the language practices, levels of literacy and/or use of language(s), perception and status of language groups and address language-related concerns (Baldauf Jr 2005: 1). Ricento (2000: 208) describes LP as a “multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary field that embraces the core disciplines of linguistics, political science, sociology and history”. The abbreviation LPP is used here when discussing the distinctions between language policy and planning while LP (language planning) is used later as a term encompassing the field as a whole.

Despite their interdependence, Language Policy and Planning are distinct and represent two separate practices. Baldauf Jr describes language *policy* as being “statements of intent”, with language *planning* being their “implementation” (2005: 1). This definition is expanded upon by Kaplan (2013: 2) who defines a language policy as “a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system”. This definition reinforces in more practically applicable terms the idea of policy in LPP being the principles, ideas and goals that have either led to or resulted from action in language planning. In this sense, the relationship between language policy and language planning is not rigidly sequenced and as such one need not precede the other in processes of LPP. Kaplan also provides a concise, general definition of language planning, describing it as “an activity, most visibly undertaken by government... intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers” (Kaplan 2013: 2). The change achieved by language planning is not limited to the structure of a language, for example how one is to speak or write correctly in a regulated language, but can also be aimed to affect the community of speakers or society, for example how a language is perceived or taught, where and why so (Rubin & Jernudd quoted in Kaplan & Baldauf Jr 1997: 3).

When one engages in language policy-making and planning, the change they seek to effectuate is often seen to be in the same of its positive value or usefulness to an entire

society or language community or a more specific implicated group. The scope of LPP is neither definite nor limited, rather like language, it transcends domains and is present in micro- and macro-magnifications of society. LPP is often, but not exclusively, carried out by government and public administration or an individual or group in a position of authority, possessing the ability to make decisions or implement policies that could be seen as meeting the definition of LPP, i.e. affecting the linguistic practices of a group (Kaplan 2013: 2). Kaplan & Baldauf (1997: 6) place language planning under the broader categories of National Resource Development Planning and Human Resource Development Planning respectively, and identify the possible actors in LPP as “government agencies, education agencies, non/quasi government organisations and other organisations”. An exploration of the history, development and current types of LPP as a field of research and practice is necessary to understand its function and implications today.

2.1 LP – from its Roots to Contemporary Concepts

Language Planning, a comparatively young term in academia, has arguably been in existence and practice since the dawn of human civilization, despite the implications bearing little resemblance to the LP of present day (Kaplan 2013: 1). As a field of research, it is considered to have come into being after the Second World War at the time of imperial dissolution, although it possesses a deep philosophical and practical history in, among other domains, military administration and its functionality in the creation and legitimization of the nation-state (Baldauf Jr 2012: 233–234). In its earliest days as a discipline, LP, then known as “language engineering” was meant to aid in the rectification of so-called “language problems” in the post-colonial developing world (Kaplan 2013: 2). Nancy H. Hornberger has noted that the first appearance of the term ‘language planning’ may be found in the language standardization work of Haugen (Hornberger 2006: 25). The approaches and ideology behind these practices have since been criticized and are subject to re-evaluation, particularly the language planners’ trust in the value of pursuing development, modernization, efficiency and unification through enacting language policy and planning (Kaplan 2013: 2; Ricento 2000: 199).

The ideals of language planning in this post-war period may now, years on, appear ethnocentric and seem to carry an imperial tradition, in that Western languages were often adopted as the languages of development and modernity in developing, which most often amounted in the economic gain of the West (Ricento 2000: 199). With intentions focussed on modernization and the creation of a stable and unified nation-state, it was often seen as favourable to establish a system of stable diglossia, in which “a major European language (usually English or French) should be used for formal and specialized domains while local (indigenous) languages could serve other functions” (Ricento 2000: 198). It was imperative that the language(s) implemented in this stage of planning were able to fulfill their role in nation-state unification and the advancement of construction of a national historical identity as well as having an established speaker base and level of popular acceptability (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr 1997: 7).

The elimination of linguistic heterogeneity, or at least its ushering out of official use in formal settings like government administration, was thus seen to clear the way for modernization and nation-state unification. It is also noted that the perpetuation of the notion that national unity is dependent on one common language is still echoed in the LP practices and research of today (Baldauf Jr 2012: 234). Ricento (2000: 198) goes on in his work covering three phases of language planning and policy as a field of research to note that language planners at the time felt that the only appropriate languages for their purposes were well-established and standardized written languages with the ability to adapt to what was to come in the domains of technology and social change. The notion of the imposition of language inequality in the name of modernity and development may be interpreted as prescriptive and an implicit continuation of imperialist tradition. However at the time, planners were seen to be non-political in their aims and approach their work from a purely technical standpoint. (Kaplan 2013: 2)

Following LP's beginnings as a field seen often as applicable exclusively in the developing, post-colonial context, it began to become clear that issues of language were present at the state-level around the world (Kaplan 2013: 3). This realization that issues of language were pondered and regulated by the government in contexts not relating to development or modernization shaped the direction of LP, which is now heavily affected by, among other phenomena, the massive growth in global migration and the

acknowledgement of concepts like linguicism and linguistic human rights (Kaplan 2013: 4). The earliest forms of language planning, whether or not it was known by that name at the time, do seem to bear in their rationalized principles a similarity to colonialist thought, namely through the simultaneously implicit and explicit implementation of a linguistic hierarchy in the name of progress. The concept of linguistic imperialism, “linguicism” and linguistic human rights are now more widely present in language planning and policy, championed by Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, among others (see Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson & Rannut 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas 2002; Phillipson 1997, 1998).

There came about a realization by those in the field that prescriptive language policy and planning in post-colonial nations led to the development of hierarchies of language and perpetuated cycles of dependence on Western powers. This acted as the subsequent catalyst of the second phase of LP in the 1970s and 1980s. This phase was characterized by the critical and discerning stance of LP scholars on the theories and practices of their predecessors, possibly sparked by the failure of modernization theories. (Ricento 2000: 200) The notion that language planners acted non-ideologically in their practices of status planning in the post-colonial developing world was eventually questioned. Juan Cobarrubias, as also cited by Ricento (2000), stated that “certain tasks of language planners, language policy makers, educators, legislators, and others involved in changing the status of a language or language variety are not philosophically neutral” (Cobarrubias 1983: 41). It was noted in Cobarrubias’ work on ethics and status planning that more attention had been paid in the past to changes to a language’s structure, corpus planning, than to reallocations of roles and domains of a language’s use. This was coupled with the assertion that a definitive assessment of a language’s status at a given time is difficult to determine, as it is by its nature in a constant state of change as well as dependent on context and perspective. (Cobarrubias 1983: 43)

Ricento (2000: 201) notes that while stable diglossia had also been considered an ideologically neutral concept, research began to focus on the effects of high and low language status, typically in the post-colonial context having an indigenous language serve ‘low’ purposes and a European language in use for ‘high’ purposes. This disparity in language status and the imposition of European languages to the high status role in

primarily official functions was seen to maintain traditions of socioeconomic inequality and asymmetries of power. Ricento explains the shift in LP research thusly:

Rather than studying *languages* as entities with defined societal distributions and functions (with some languages designated as more appropriate than others for certain high status functions), sociolinguists focused on the status and relations of *speech communities* in defined contexts. In this approach, the connections between community attitudes and language policies were analyzed to explain why language x had a particular status[...] and the consequences of this status for individuals and communities (Ricento 2000: 202).

Moving from analyses of languages to the study of speech communities in LP acknowledged the reality of language as social behavior, which was subject to the influence of political and economic factors as well as that its speakers' own beliefs and ideological stances (Ricento 2000: 203).

Development in language policy and planning research continues to be shaped by macro-level sociopolitical phenomena. The age of increased global mobility, internationalization and globalisation have led to previously uncommon movements of speech communities and new language issues to which LP concepts and strategies must be accommodated. Migration is a preeminent topic in language planning presently, highlighting the need for strategies to accommodate for the integration and ethical treatment of large, relocated populations belonging to diverse speech communities. LP for present-day migration patterns has focussed on the efficacy of language-in-education or acquisition planning as well as examining the role of languages of wider communication or 'global languages' (Baldauf Jr 2012: 239). Reasons for relocation have diversified as have language issues arising therefrom. Desired outcomes for language planning strategies have, in contrast to those of the traditional, oftentimes aimed at the advancement of international competence of individuals to match the mass movements and globalisation that characterize the era.

Apart from the upsurge in migration, the dissolution of the Soviet Union has enacted processes of nation (re)building for newly independent states where national ethnic and linguistic identities are experiencing a rebirth that demand status planning and development of new language policy reflective of the population and accommodating to minority language speakers (Ricento 2000: 203, Baldauf Jr 2012: 239). This coincides with the creation of supra-national bodies or 'supra-states' like the European Union, the

LP practices of whom interest researchers in the struggle between local and regional speech communities and dominant supra-national adopted languages like English, French and German (Ricento 2000: 203). Baldauf also notes the breakdown of the monolingual state ideal in favour of multilingual language policy, citing the South African example of democratization through the instatement of eleven official languages, as well as the emergence and awareness of micro-level language planning as key concepts in the next steps of LP research. The examination of agency in language planning is also a topic of research, namely studying the increased agency in one's choices of languages to use and languages to learn in a variety of contexts. (Baldauf 2012: 239–240)

2.2 The Archetypes of Language Policy and Planning

Language planning is designed and enacted to achieve language goals or rectify language problems. Situations and motivations are diverse and numerous, but the aim of LP in any context will be to trigger change in a language's structure, the way it is used, learned, spoken or perceived in various settings (Baldauf Jr 2012). Scholars in the field have thus defined the archetypes of language planning, which serve different purposes and engage different actors when undertaken, but are often used intertwiningly to reach language objectives. Table 1, an adaptation of that of Baldauf (2006), is meant to elucidate the goals and functions of a number of the LP archetypes.

Table 1. An evolving framework for language planning goals by levels and awareness, modified table from Baldauf (2006: 150–151)

Approaches to Goals	1. Policy Planning (on form) Goals	2. Cultivation Planning (on function) goals
1. Status Planning (about society)	<p><i>Status Standardization</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Officialization - Nationalisation - Proscription 	<p><i>Status Planning</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Revival - Restoration - Reversal - Maintenance - Interlingual communication - International - Intra-national - Spread
2. Language-in-Education Planning (about learning)	<p><i>Policy Development</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access Policy - Personnel Policy - Curriculum Policy - Methods & Materials Policy - Community Policy - Evaluation Policy 	<p><i>Acquisition Planning</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reacquisition - Maintenance - Foreign/Second language - Shift
3. Prestige Planning (about image)	<p><i>Language Promotion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Official/Government - Institutional - Pressure group - Individual 	<p><i>Intellectualization</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language of Science - Language of Professions - Language of High Culture - Language of Diplomacy

Status planning addresses issues concerning the roles and functions of languages in a particular society, ranging from designating official languages, languages used in public functions and government or taught in the education system. This type of planning of roles, functions or titles of languages in their particular societal contexts serves to reinforce or reduce the status of the languages, presumably to solve an identified language ‘problem’ or meet a language-related goal (Ferguson 2006: 20–21). Corpus

planning is often enacted by language professionals, as it aims to modify aspects of a language's structure (e.g. lexification or standardization). Status planning is enacted for the most part by politicians or administration. It should be noted, however, that both changes in a language's structure as well as its roles and functions in society can be and often are politically motivated. (Ferguson 2006: 20–21)

As mentioned in Table 1, status planning can aim to revitalize a language or restore or establish its place in roles of influence; those bearing social, political or economic power. This process can be used to advance hierarchic relationships between linguistic groups or to even attempt to rectify existing inequalities, an example being the efforts of language planners to reduce disenfranchisement and socio-political exclusion among speakers of Pidgins and Creoles by allowing these languages space in the domains of education or public administration (Siegel 2007: 146–147). These efforts to advance the status of a language in certain, societally important domains have been seen to enact a positive response in public opinion toward the language (Lotherington 2004: 703).

Closely related to this type of modification in a language's societal role and perception is prestige planning, language planning that alters or heightens a language's perceived societal standing, often with the aim of enacting planning that will cause the language to be held in a higher regard due to its occupation of prestigious societal roles. This cultivation of appreciation or esteem for a language through its use in highly regarded contexts is not necessarily undertaken by language policy makers, rather often reaping benefit in a language's public appeal when used by notable figures in the sciences or literature (Lo Bianco 2010: 148–149). Analyses of this type of planning are important to understand how and why speakers perceive and experience languages as they do in examinations of language planning and how languages in a particular context co-exist (Hornberger & Hult 2008: 283).

Language-in-education or acquisition planning has been subject to some controversy in its classification as an archetype of language planning as opposed to language teaching as part of applied linguistics (Cooper 1989: 33–34). Acquisition planning deals with language learning and language users, enacting planning to meet goals related to language acquisition, and as is the case with all types of LP, can take place at micro-, meso- and macro-level magnifications (Baldauf 2006: 152). To illustrate the distinction

between status and acquisition planning, which are perhaps mutually more closely related than the other archetypes, Hornberger notes that status, prestige or corpus planning alone are not able to enact the necessary steps to enact their intended effects. An example can be made of language officialisation, which is on its own unable to meet the inherent planning goals of status-building without, among other measures, adoption of a standardized writing system and the creation of space and curricula in education for the language to be acquired and mastered by the public. (Hornberger 2006: 31)

Cooper (1989: 33) reiterates that while these forms of planning do not and often cannot exist in isolation, the distinction must be made between the types of planning that deal with the form and uses of a language and that which focuses on the users as well as the advancement of growth of the linguistic community. Cooper identifies three overt goals in acquisition planning; acquisition (in the case of second or foreign languages), reacquisition (in the case of language revitalization or ‘renativization’ of languages) and language maintenance (the attempt to prevent full language shift or language extinction, often in the context of diglossia or the presence of a lingua franca). While the goals of acquisition planning are inherently linguistic, to enact instruction and L2 learning of a particular language to address a particular need, the rationale behind the concerned decision-making can be influenced by other societal factors. It is noted in this work that the abovementioned goals are enacted in practice by planning aimed at increasing opportunities to learn the language(s) in question, advancing learners’ motivation or incentive to learn or both of these simultaneously. (Cooper 1989: 159–160) Tollefson presents an argument that public discourse on language, and thus for these purposes language education and acquisition planning, in a majority of countries is centred around discussions of “which particular policies achieve or sustain ‘national unity’ and the degree to which they affect the “equality of different linguistic groups” (Tollefson 2000: 17). This is reiterated when approaching decisions in language planning as reflections of a variety of ‘social judgements’ of which the majority are not inherently related to issues of language itself (McGroarty 2002: 19–20).

Lo Bianco notes that language education planning can seek to react to the labour market, attempting to prepare learners for the needs of the labour market by fortifying specific skills or combination of skills seen to be advantageous. This can lead to

conflicting, unequal or diglossic relationships between languages seen to be instrumentally or economically valuable and those which denote one's group membership when juxtaposed in education policy, as noted in the example of Singaporean language education planning and the role of English and non-English locally spoken languages. Language education policies can also address geopolitics or the needs of minorities. (Lo Bianco 2008: 113–118)

Acquisition planning in practice can be seen applied in numerous contexts to address various language problems or goals. Cooper outlines notable examples, including those found in language revitalization as part of national linguistic identity building, like in the case of Israel, or for language preservation (maintenance), like in the case of the Irish language in Ireland. Planning for acquisition can act as an exertion of political power as seen in the Soviet Union with the introduction of the Cyrillic writing system in minority languages of the Soviet republics to hasten their speakers' acquisition of the supranational Russian or the international presence of actors like the British Council, Goethe Institute or Alliance française charged with the promotion and advancement of learning of their respective represented languages. (Cooper 1989: 157–160)

McGroarty (2002: 25) asserts however that it is important to avoid oversimplified interpretations of the social or political backdrops of language policy or planning decisions that depict relevant international and intergroup relations or questions of human rights as static norms as opposed to reflections of dynamic, social change. This is also pertinent in this research as it is a critical analysis of language planning involving linguistic minorities and the presence of a language of wider communication. Similarly, this is consistent with Pennycook's (1998) argument on the agency of groups in the face of global English.

2.3 Issues in Language Planning for Foreign Language-speaking Migrants

Migration today presents particular challenges for language planners as it involves the increasing mobility and relocation of members of diverse linguistic groups. For this reason language issues and their resolution through policy and planning are often among the central concepts in discourse around migrant integration. In a time of

increasing migration, language planners have had to address issues of linguistic integration and diversity (Latomaa, Pöyhönen, Suni & Tarnanen 2013: 163). For example, when planning language for an inclusive, equal and integrated society, one must take into account the explicit and implicit barriers faced by foreign language-speaking migrant populations. Language planning for migrants must adapt to diverse populations and involves status planning, language-in-education (acquisition) planning as well as minority language rights. McGroarty (2002: 24) notes that in times of increased transnational mobility, language skills are central in one's own definition of citizen and group membership, while their absence, such as in the case of some newcomers, can lead to isolation or a need to adapt alternative integration strategies. As language plays a key role in identity building and group membership, language planning must be taken into account when planning to support processes of societal integration for migrants. Language planning for migrants involves a diverse group of individuals, each with their own unique background, circumstances and goals that play into their path to language learning and integration (Latomaa et al. 2013: 164).

The process of second language learning is highly social; the ability to communicate is central to one's endeavour to achieve adequate language skills (Latomaa et al. 2013: 164). Pendakur and Pendakur (2002: 3) note that language is key in defining one's ethnic identity and group membership. Membership in a group or cultural community is not however binary, rather one's self-identification can range from core member to non-member depending on a number of factors including, among others, mother tongue and language skills. While cultural and linguistic minority communities can constitute groupings that create opportunities like "labour enclaves", Pendakur and Pendakur (2002: 3–4) refer to Breton's (1974) concept of 'institutional completeness', which denotes the (in)availability of adequate employment and services for community members. However, when working, studying, accessing services or otherwise interacting with members of the linguistic majority community, it must be noted that language ability and accent can play a role in differentiation (Pendakur & Pendakur 2002: 4). Discrimination on the basis of one's accent or other expression of membership to a non-majority cultural community are noted among barriers to migrant employment in international reports on integration (Birrell & McIssac 2006: 110). While immigrant or foreign language-speaking populations may form communities, this never happens in

isolation rather in interaction with the majority ‘host society’ in the established social and legal frameworks (Extra & Yagmur 2006: 133–134). When a community is small or membership insufficient to serve all of its own needs, a ‘member’s’ concept of their own belonging can transform as their identity becomes more relatable to other groups through contact, also sometimes affecting one’s concept of their own native language (Latomaa et al. 2013: 169).

		Integration into the host society	
		YES	NO
Integration into the ethnic group	YES	Multiple inclusion / competent bilingualism	Segmentation / monolingual segmentation
	NO	Assimilation / monolingual assimilation	Marginality / limited bilingualism

Figure 3. Types of social integration and language proficiency, modified from Esser (2003:8)

Researchers have explored this topic often using social and human capital examples to explain disadvantages and benefits of membership of a foreign language community. Figure 3 presents a model introduced by Esser, who has noted that in the process of acquiring country capital (noting examples of higher education or employment), domestic language abilities or the lack thereof can act as a barrier for foreign language-speaking migrant populations. While Table 3 does oversimplify issues such as bilingualism and group membership, it is reflective of official notions of language planning for integration that are further explored in Chapter 3. It is noted in this research that migrant groups are often in a disadvantageous position in the aforementioned goal realization due to their “ethnic group capital”. This includes for example their own language or social capital of their home country. In comparison to “national capital”, like the domestic language or social capital of the receiving country,

this ethnic group capital is dependent on ‘special circumstances’, like an existing community of people who understand your language or trans-national networking. It is explained that this ethnic group capital is hindered in the new societal concept as it lacks widespread points of applicability in comparison to country capital, like domestic language knowledge. (Esser 2003: 11)

Latomaa et al. note that when speaking of domestic language education for migrants, the dominant language(s) of the destination/host society, which is taught as part of integration education, is best referred to as the ‘second language’ as opposed to ‘foreign language’. This refers to the language’s majority status in the host society as well as to its role of language of communication in day-to-day situations in contrast with a foreign language, which may be more limited in its range of usability on a daily basis. While L2 education for migrants has the ability to advance foreign language speakers’ learning, this type of learning is also heavily affected by the support and conditions of the linguistic environment (Latomaa et al. 2013: 169–170). Spolsky and Lambert explain that public support for foreign language-speaking migrants, like provision of language instruction and other services to aid in linguistic integration and communication, is a relatively new development in the planning of migrant linguistic integration and language policy. In the past, migrants were more often seen to be temporary residents who were to ensure before arrival that they possessed sufficient skills in the language of their host society for their needs. Immigrants have been notably underrepresented in traditional language policy and planning, both for the aforementioned reason and a host of other factors (e.g. lack of own territory), and while this has since experienced widespread change, policy does in some cases continue to demand certain language skills from migrants for gaining citizenship or even entry into a host country. (Spolsky & Lambert 2002: 567)

2.4 Critical Language Planning

This research uses Critical Language Planning as a tool for analysis of the collected interview data and relevant LP phenomena (see Tollefson 1991, 2002, 2006). Gee (1999: 2) explains that language possesses an inherently political nature in its

distribution of ‘social goods’, namely anything jointly understood or perceived to be providing of ‘power, status or worth’. In this case, CLP allows the research to view planning phenomena and the experiences of foreign language speakers in Finland taking into account critical issues that may not be held as relevant in traditional language planning.

Critical language planning is related to postmodern language planning, which is also discerning in its view of traditional LP theory (see Pennycook, 2006) and integral in Ricento’s third stage of language policy and planning research. Likely referring to this stage, Johnson (2011: 268) notes that academic research followed suit by adopting aspects of critical social theory in their research after LP “was criticized for its attempt to divorce the purported objective science of language planning from the ideological and socio-political reality of language use”. This is a reference to the promotion of inequitable power relations through the drafting of policy and planning to address language “problems” that, due to the nature of language, cannot be an apolitical action. This acknowledgement of the inherently political nature of planning led scholars in the field to take into account the aforementioned power discourses and, as Johnson (2011: 168) describes, to offer an alternative form of language planning that does not neglect the socio-cultural context of languages in analysis. LP research became increasingly concerned with the social, economic and political repercussions of language planning and contact, a major change in direction from corpus-focussed planning aimed at modernization and status planning for purposes of nation-state unification (Ricento 2000: 202). However, Baldauf Jr. (2012: 237–238) notes that these approaches stemming from key concepts in critical theory often lend themselves best to critiquing, rather than reforming, policy and planning in place.

James W. Tollefson describes critical language planning (CLP) as falling under the umbrella of critical applied linguistics, as it marries the functions of language policy and planning, with influence from critical theory, which aim to enact social change. CLP is critical of traditional or mainstream approaches to language policy and planning, namely its ignorance to social and political discourses of inequality. Whereas traditional LP viewed its original functions in post-colonial, multilingual and developing states as a positive, apolitical approach to development, CLP highlights the tendency of these same

policies to nonetheless perpetuate social inequalities while the interests of dominant social groups are advanced. Just as it is characterized by its steadfast critique of traditional LP approaches, CLP work is aimed at enacting social change in processes of social, economic and political inequality maintained by traditional language policy and planning. CLP in effect aims to draft policy, and thus do language planning, that reduces the aforementioned societal inequalities where old strategies may have covertly maintained them. (Tollefson 2006:42–43)

The research serving as rebuttal to the former practices and perceptions of language planning caused disenchantment with the optimistic views of traditional LP research by namely drawing on failed examples of language policies guilty of perpetuating societal inequalities, such as those of South Africa. Critical approaches to understanding language planning asserted that traditional policies were often majority-serving and sustained the existence of a range of inequalities, and thus sought to achieve social change and justice through research and LP (Tollefson 2006: 42–43). CLP thus examines language policy and planning not only in search of how existing, “mainstream” language policies may perpetuate oppressive power relations in society, rather also searches for how LP can be used to advance equality and integration (Tollefson 2002: 4).

Tollefson claims that there are three correlated forms in which a critical approach appears in LP, namely the “work that is critical of traditional, mainstream approaches to language policy research...research that is aimed at social change; and... research that is influenced by critical theory,” (Tollefson 2006: 44). Critical theory, which considers the processes involved in the establishment and perpetuation of social inequality, also examines ideologies that forge the perception that inequality is an inevitable and essential part of society. When paired with the disillusionment with traditional approaches to language planning in which the planners involved were seen to be ideologically non-partisan, the field of research began to further take account of its covert societal repercussions. Tollefson goes further in research to examine ideas of critical theory adopted into ‘Critical Language Planning’ (CLP). This includes recognition of the “structural categories” of gender, race and class, the need for “ethical and political considerations in research”, as well as Marxist, neo-Marxist and other

concepts adapted in critical theory. (Tollefson 2006: 44–47) Baldauf (2012: 238) identifies the critical theory concepts present in this approach to be “power, struggle, colonization, hegemony and ideology and resistance.”

While CLP questions practices of policy and planning, its research methodology and belief in social justice also oppose traditional, positivist approaches of ‘objective’ researchers maintaining distance from their subjects (Tollefson 2006:43). Thus, when engaging in critical analysis of language planning, the actions shared by interview informants on the micro-scale (language-in-use, language learning experiences, for example) are analyzed through a critical lens moving outward from the micro to find larger-scale, relevant discourses in language planning that maintain existing social, economic or political inequalities. Using the lens of CLP in this case would allow one to identify power dynamics and further contextualize these inequitable relationships as well as actively identify the points that could be utilised in initiating social change through LP.

When seeking to examine language planning phenomena in dynamic contexts in a comprehensive manner, the selection of relevant data can be a challenge as one attempts to perform analyses at a variety of magnifications (Hult 2010: 9). Hult (2010: 10) goes on in his work that for those wanting to approach the analysis from an ecological perspective one single methodological tool may not suffice, instead favouring a variety of meditated choices of tools and approaches. In the context of LP research, the planning aimed at the rectification or regulation of the language issue at hand may be seen to make up this network. This can in turn show us how languages or their users are portrayed in policy documents and subsequently relate these discourses to ‘on the ground’ language use and perceptions of language(s) (Hult 2010: 11).

In Skutnabb-Kangas’ work on linguistic human rights, linguicism is raised as a concept to explain complex constructions of discrimination that arise from the unequal appreciation or hierarchisation of ethnic and linguistic identities. This work expands on ethnicism/racism, without disregarding the relevance of gender and class, taking into account not only discrimination on the basis of one’s cultural capital but also one’s linguistic capital. It is explained that linguicism is derived of inequalities based on one’s own first language or proficiency in the official language(s) or international language(s)

that are given value within the context in question. This is advanced by colonisation that has in some forms moved beyond purely physical, territorial dominance and rather perpetuates colonial hierarchies through the promotion of one language's dominance. (Skutnabb-Kangas 1998: 16) Those who do not or are unable to conform (for example by becoming proficient in a dominant, world language) can thus be excluded from resources and power (Ricento 2000c: 18).

It is important however not to isolate the concept of linguisticism from other longstanding discourses of inequality, like those of race, class and gender. Skutnabb-Kangas refers to linguisticism as being in this sense "linguistically argued racism" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988: 13). Although these forms of discrimination are considered akin to one another, essential differences between concepts like ethnicism, linguisticism and racism should not be ignored. Wiley notes that "language, like culture, but unlike race, is perceived to be *mutable*" (2000: 72). It is also explained in Wiley's work that linguisticism may also affect racialized groups in unique ways when compared to those groups whose racial or ethnic identities are not problematized, devalued or dehumanized in dominant discourse. This is illustrated by the United States and the example of promotion of English as the language of national unity in which race and ethnicity were determinate factors in deciding which groups were to be 'assimilated' linguistically. This promotion was undertaken in the name of acculturation and integration into societal structures while racialized groups, specifically Native Americans, were subjects of deliberate deculturation "for the purpose of subordination, without structural incorporation". (Wiley 2000: 72–75)

Van Dijk expands on linguisticism, noting that one must take into account its ability not only to prevent or reduce the usage of one's first language, but also enacting phenomena in which individuals are "excluded from or marginalized in communicative events," (2000: 75). Critical issues of control, domination and abuse can be analyzed in the context of linguisticism. Access to public discourse and the social standing or appreciation of one's particular form of 'talk' or language can be determined or manipulated by the dominant, majority discourses or group wielding social power or influence. Inequitable access to these communicative events is noted as a form of marginalization, resistance to which can be enacted by marginalized groups finding a voice in influential levels of

discourse, such as those of politics, education or the media. (Wiley 2000: 73–76) This type of marginalization can be applied to the context of foreign language-speaking migrants as L2 learners in that one's ability to learn the local language or gain access to local language studies and opportunities to utilize what one has learned may be directly linked to having a valued voice in public discourse. Limited access to participation in valued public discourse may occur when one is unable to gain access to education or become civically active without the required, expected or most highly regarded language skills.

3 IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION AND LANGUAGE PLANNING IN FINLAND

Migrant integration in Finland is planned and enacted by a number of public and third-sector actors who take responsibility for its various domains. Nationally, immigrant integration policy is under the supervision of the Ministry of Employment and the Economy, while migration policy, as well as all that relates to immigration and international protection issues, are handled by the Ministry of the Interior (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2014).

3.1 Immigrant Integration in Finland

The integration of immigrants to Finland is directed by the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (2010) which provides definitions of goals and delegates the roles of state-level as well as regional and municipal actors. The act, as stipulated in §1, aims to respond to the growth and diversification in immigration to Finland by providing sufficient information on integration-related services and by directing immigrants in their first steps to accessing the aforementioned services and the obtainment of individualised planning based on their level and type of needs (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö, 2014). The Ministry of Employment and the Economy acts as an umbrella organisation, planning and developing policy to advance migrant integration as well as leading other agencies and public sector actors involved. It should be noted that integration in the Finnish context has two distinct meanings are defined in law, the first being integration (kotoutuminen), defined as:

interactive development involving immigrants and society at large, the aim of which is to provide immigrants with the knowledge and skills required in society and working life and to provide them with support, so that they can maintain their culture and language (Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration, § 1 section 3).

This refers to the more interactive and transformative act of becoming integrated and creating societal cohesion. The second definition, also found in Chapter 1, Section 3 of the same Act, refers to the active role of public actors, defining integration (kotouttaminen) as “the multi-sectoral promotion and support of integration [...] using

the measures and services provided by the authorities and other parties,” (Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration § 1 section 3).

Internationally, Finland has garnered a fairly good reputation for integration policy and planning considering its comparatively short time spent as an “immigration state”. MIPEX (Migrant Integration Policy Index), which analyses the integration policies of numerous countries in Europe and North America, notes that Finland scores high in international comparative policy reviews particularly in the fields of political participation, anti-discrimination laws, access to public schooling and promotion of employment for migrant populations. However, the same studies showed lacking results in, among other sectors, promotion of intercultural education. (Huddleston, Niessen, Chaoimh & White 2011)

The integration paths of immigrants to Finland are largely diverse; a single strategy provision for the integration of immigrants is of course insufficient when the needs and personal situations of a sizable group of individuals are in question. A general idea of the path to integration is however presented in Figure 3. Public information on the particulars of integration policy can be found on the Ministry of Labour and the Economy’s website dedicated to the subject (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö n.d.-a) in addition to the publicly available documentation on integration policy and planning (Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015; Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2012a). Figure 3 also illustrates the principle and practice of openness and availability of information regarding integration of immigrants as well as the actors responsible to pass on said information.

In a publication on the current state of affairs in integration policy in Finland, the Ministries of the Interior and of Employment and the Economy (Sisäministerio, Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö) explain that a collection of materials about Finnish society called Perustietoa Suomesta (Basic Information about Finland) has been distributed by officials enacting the Integration Act since 2011 to foreign citizens at the time of their relocation to Finland. As illustrated in Figure 4, initial surveying or mapping of one’s integration plan is done primarily based on one’s eligibility or obligation to do so, primarily based on one’s current state of employment. The initial survey and testing are used to map the skills, education and language skills of the individual with the objective

of determining if an integration plan is needed and, if it is indeed necessary, arranging for an appropriate, individualized programme. This programme is meant to advance integration and hasten one's search for employment and normally consists of planning to meet the individual's needs through provision of language education, work experience or further training. While a majority of respondents in Labour Offices (TE-toimisto) had found the integration plans to be an effective practice, problems included the inability of planning to affect limited availability of language courses or work experience placements as well as the difficulty of monitoring those in need of ongoing assistance or additional integration plans. (Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 72–77)

While the paths to integration in Figure 4 are reasonably inclusive and accessible for a number of life situations, they are not applicable to all immigrants to Finland. Those immigrants who relocate to Finland as students, in pursuit of a degree rather than to complete a short-term exchange programme, often have a different path to integration. Kiuru notes that policies on the status of international students and international graduates of Finnish post-secondary institutions have in recent years tended to the advancement of foreign students' opportunities to move from fixed-term to continuous or permanent residence. Strategies have included policies ranging from easing graduates' possibilities to stay in Finland to seek employment and creating international, English-language degree programmes with attention paid to Finnish labour market needs to easing and speeding the process of application for citizenship for those who have lived in Finland previously on a temporary residence permit (for example foreign graduates of Finnish post-secondary institutions). (Kiuru 2012: 8, 26)

Current strategy in place among higher education institutions emphasizes the need to internationalise, support an increasingly multicultural society and attract foreign students to Finnish degree programmes with superior education and research opportunities as well as the opportunity to enter the Finnish labour market (Ministry of Education 2009: 10–11). It is however also noted by Kiuru that foreign graduates of Finnish institutions of higher education often encounter difficulties in finding employment, citing issues including companies' possible prejudice against foreign employees and insufficient language skills for the Finnish market. This phenomenon

has garnered attention for being in contradiction with the strategies and policy in place as well as leaving Finland's highly skilled and internationally competent human resources unused as they opt eventually to seek career opportunities elsewhere. (Kiuru 2012: 33–34)

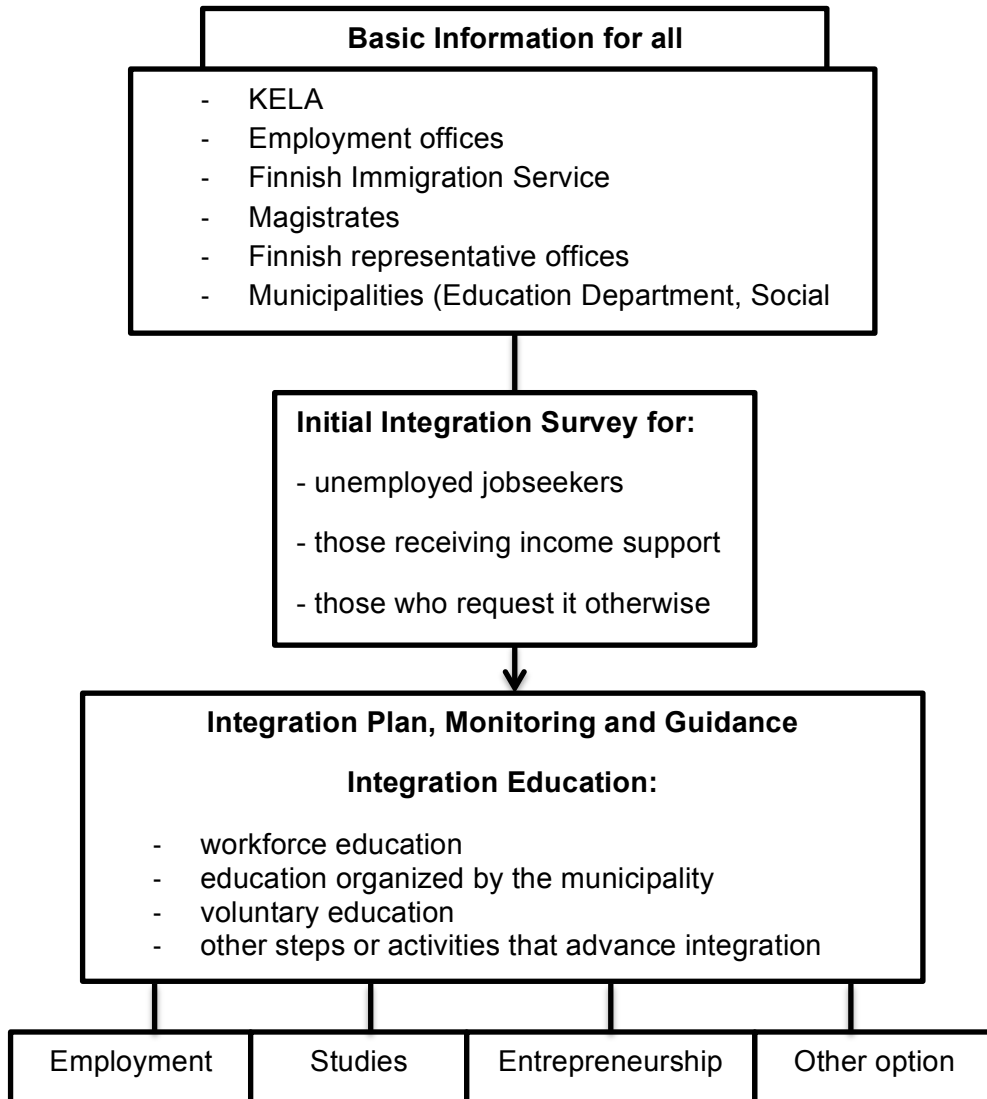


Figure 4. Individualized Support for the Advancement of Integration, modified from Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 71

Discourse on migration frequents the pages of Finnish news media, with topics of economic independence/employment and the challenges therein; the cost of social services and benefits as well as integration programmes and strategies are central

themes. In publicly funded news media as well as private monthly and daily publications, popular definitions of successful integration legislation and programming are projected and often feature discussion on public spending; “Integration reform was a success – Payment of benefits to immigrants decreased” (Hänninen 2014a), “Immigrants receive as much money as the rest” (Ruuska 2013), referring to the apparent misconception in Finnish society that immigrants are able to receive more state benefits than Finnish citizens in identical situations. Finnish news media sources do also display a preoccupation with the attitudes and habits in employment or entrepreneurship of immigrants (see Yle Uutiset 2009; Yle Oulu 2010; Gertsch 2013; Hänninen 2014b). Similarly, popular definitions and conceptions of the importance of integration programming are constructed in news media, which have a particular focus on domestic language education, and thus language-in-education/acquisition language planning, as well as the availability and costs thereof (see Jormanainen 2013; Kokko 2009; Koskinen 2013; Yle Etelä-Karjala 2011; Pirilä-Porvali & Syvänen 2013). Societal participant and political awareness on the part of immigrants is encouraged by, for example, Yle Uutiset selkosuomeksi (YLE 2015) which facilitated for example the clear and understandable reportage of party platform information in the 2012 municipal elections. This included information on parties’ stances on the increase in migrant domestic language education in Finland, to aid in informing voting decisions in issues that concern immigrants (see Yle Uutiset selkosuomeksi 2012).

Finnish public discourse on the topic of immigrant integration often centres on the economic variable; levels of public spending, unemployment or costs on social security. It has also been acknowledged in recent public administration strategy and other private research that the situation of immigrants to Finland is at times exacerbated by the negative attitudes and prejudices of the native population (Sisäasiainministeriö 2013: 8; see Castaneda, Rask, Koskinen, Koponen & Mölsä 2012; Haavisto 2012; Jaakkola 2009). This has been studied in public sector research, for example in tests of labour market ethnic discrimination in recruitment processes (see Larja et al. 2012). Negative inter-community dynamics and insufficient opportunities for inter-group contact and communication between immigrant and Finnish populations are addressed as areas of concern and need for improvement in the policy documents addressing the goals and action plans in the domains of overall immigration policy in the “Future of Immigration

2020” (Sisäasiainministeriö 2013) as well as immigrant integration policy and goals published in the State Integration Programme (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2012a).

Both of the aforementioned ministry-published documents set broad-based standards and principles, short-term and longer-term goals and objectives in the design, delivery and evaluation of immigration and integration services and programming. They also set defining principles by which public officials and actors in the field will work in future. Inter-group contact is noted as important also in discussions of increasing the active participation of migrants in all sectors of public life, with recent planning and funding aimed at the prevention of ethnic and economic segregation in housing policy as well as advancing the civic engagement of immigrants and immigrant organizations through education. The role of non-governmental organizations and advocacy groups are also noted as supporters of integration through their work in the provision of education and opportunities to advance immigrants’ public participation (Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 66–68).

Rectification of the disparity in unemployment between migrants and Finnish citizens has been noted as a priority in much literature and policy regarding immigration and integration policy, including being one of the current points of focus of the state integration programme (Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2012a). Approaches to the improvement of this situation are often centred around more readily available and higher-quality education for immigrants, but other studies have delved into other barriers to employment for foreign nationals, including recruitment discrimination and the devaluation of human capital (see Larja et al. 2012, Olakivi 2013, Salmonsson & Mella 2013). Critical issues related to marginalized groups are taken into account in public policy, namely the need for diversity in integration planning and strategies for different personal situations, including those who are unemployed with limited Finnish or Swedish language skills having come to Finland through family ties as the spouse of a Finnish citizen, the elderly and those belonging to a sexual or gender identity minority (Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 65).

3.2 Language Planning for Migrants in Finland

As Latomaa et al. describe in their recent work on linguistic issues in the context of migration, Europe as a continent has been home to a comparatively small number of languages, due in part to the neglect and discrimination experienced by minority language groups as well as the ideology that monolingual societies are more cohesive. Finland had been no exception to this rule, despite a bilingual official language policy that was obliged to take into account and guarantee the right to one's own native language, which is applicable also to migrant populations today. This guarantee of the right to one's own mother tongue extends to, for example, basic schooling in Finland, where children of parents belonging to a linguistic minority have the right to receive education in their own native tongue as part of the normal school programme. Whilst Finland began welcoming its first asylum seekers in the 1980s, other Nordic nations already had relatively well-established language policies for foreign language-speaking migrants, on which Finland later modelled their own planning. As opposed to focusing on the pedagogy or individual cognitive experience of language learning in societal integration, it is viewed as a social process or action. (Latomaa et al. 2013: 163–5). Domestic language education for foreign language speaking immigrants in Finland is seen as instrumental particularly in advancing the chances of foreign citizens to obtain employment or opportunities for entrepreneurship, while it is cited also to be key in achieving public policy goals related to the advancement of immigrants' societal participation (civic engagement) and access to education (Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 65).

Latomaa et al. note that language policy for linguistic minorities in Finland is reflective of supra-state influence from the United Nations and European Union, for example in its obligation as an EU member state to enforce non-discrimination on the basis of one's language as outlined in the Article 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. This is visible not only by the status given to minority languages in Finland but also in the guarantee of the right of 'other' linguistic groups to maintain and develop their languages. (Latomaa et al. 2013: 166) In language acquisition planning for migrants in Finland, the achieved level of proficiency in Finnish or Swedish language is

judged based on the Common European Framework for Languages (CEFR)¹, which sets out goals for the development of language learning and education in the European Union. Latomaa et al. (2013: 168) note that the CEFR views individuality, community membership and strategy implementation as central to language learning. Finnish language planning for foreign language speakers aims to uphold equality in its promotion of functional bilingualism, which aims to allow the L2 learner to acquire the second language while still being provided with opportunities to maintain their own mother tongue (Latomaa 2005: 162–163). The concepts of language education and learning processes employed today in language planning for foreign language-speaking migrants allow for the idea of learning inside and outside of the classroom, as well as how one's language skills develop being in direct correlation with the circumstances in which they use the second language (Latomaa et al. 2013: 168–9). This is reflected in the teaching plan for adult migrants to Finland, which accommodates for diversity in learning styles and goals while acknowledging integration as an interactive process between societal players and the individual (Opetushallitus 2012: 11–12).

The Finnish National Board of Education is responsible for the planning and cooperative implementation in education for adult migrants to Finland. In this practice of acquisition planning strategy and practices are developed to advance Finnish or Swedish language learning for migrants in accordance with the goals of the integration policy. Some general objectives in language-in-education planning for migrants to Finland are echoed in other legislation. For example, the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration, Chapter 2, Section 20 stipulates that domestic language education is to be planned in accordance with the National Core Curriculum for Integration Training for Adult Migrants; the “linguistic objective of integration training is to provide the immigrants with the basic language skills in Swedish or Finnish required in daily life.” Qualifications for teaching Finnish as a second language (Suomi toisena kielenä or S2) in basic and secondary schooling are defined in the Teaching Qualifications Decree (Asetus opetustoimen henkilöstön kelpoisuusvaatimuksista,

¹ Council of Europe, Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR), www.coe.int/lang-CEFR

986/1998). Requirements for teaching Finnish as a second language to adults, however, vary depending on the institution in question. S2-teachers in labour market oriented education are most commonly required to have a graduate degree with studies in Finnish language and pedagogy, while liberal adult education institutions often require studies in pedagogy and an applicable graduate degree (Suomi toisena kielenä –opettajatyö 2015).

Reflective of the language situation in Finland as a whole, most immigrants to Finland study primarily Finnish language rather than Swedish, but the planning of L2 teaching for both languages is governed by the same policies and strategies in place (Latomaa 2005: 162). Education policy states that the key goals in light of increased immigration will be to support teaching that reflects an equal and diverse population of students and to maintain the availability of instruction in Finnish or Swedish as a second language at all levels of education (Opetusministeriö 2009: 16). Acquisition planning for foreign language speakers has its roots in the 1970s, when the need for Finnish as a second language in basic education was first acknowledged. This was followed by a series of planning steps throughout the 1980s and 1990s in response to increasing immigration, including official acceptance of FSL as part of the core curriculum and the founding of FSL teacher training programmes at a number of universities (Latomaa 2005:163). Currently, any student in basic or secondary education who is deemed to have national language skills that are less than that of a native is entitled to receive second language instruction in place of Finnish or Swedish instruction directed at native speakers, as well as additional instruction in his/her native language, where possible (Opetusministeriö 2009: 16).

While second language instruction is available and guaranteed for foreign language speaking children in comprehensive education, acquisition planning directed at adult immigrants is delivered through diverse channels dependent on the situation and needs of the learner. The path to integration education introduced in Chapter 3.1 is not one that is followed by all foreign language speakers after relocation to Finland and second language education is offered and accessed in a variety of settings. Integration education is offered primarily to unemployed jobseekers and those receiving income support. In a report on the state of Integration education published by the Finnish National Board of

Education, it is said to consist of 60 weeks of study (35 hours/week), comprising 30-40 weeks of language instruction, 15-25 weeks of working life and societal skills training and 5 weeks of individual and group guidance counselling. The goal of this preparatory education is to equip learners with societal and applicable work skills in addition to achieving a B1.1 level of proficiency in Finnish or Swedish language. The principles of flexibility and individualized approaches to instruction guide planning in the education, allowing for students and instructors to plan the study modules based on the learner's needs, changing the schedule as needed and as dictated by one's own individual progress. (Opetushallitus 2012: 11–13)

While integration education aims primarily to give unemployed jobseekers and recipients of income support necessary linguistic and practical skills to achieve economic independence, it is open to all who have moved to Finland on a permanent or long-term basis (including those who have relocated on the basis of family ties, international protection or Finnish heritage) and are deemed in need of an integration plan (Opetushallitus 2012: 8; Pöyhönen, Tarnanen, Kyllönen, Vehviläinen & Rynkänen, 2009: 19–20). In practice, this is often seen to exclude those who have come to Finland as employees or to study on a long-term basis among others, despite their needs for guidance in integration and eligibility to have their needs for an integration plan evaluated. This can often be linked to these groups' lack of access to public integration and education services in their initial stages of integration to Finland (Pöyhönen et al., 2009: 20; Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 79). Research like that of Lainiala & Säävälä (2010) focuses its lens on the experiences of immigrant mothers with L2 learning and use, highlighting the need for further understanding of one's individual life situation, motives and challenges in the L2 adult learning process.

Immigrants' use of their own first languages and languages of wider communication in employment is also diverse. Latomaa et al. note that despite skills in the majority of foreign languages spoken in Finland not being seen as resources in high demand, Russian and Estonian speaking immigrants often use their L1 in employment. English is also seen in many domains to be a workplace necessity and for this reason it has been indicated that in some cases those in search of employment may also be obliged to improve their skills in this language in addition to Finnish. (Latomaa et al. 2013: 181)

Anderzén (2012: 6–7) affirms that the offering of publicly organized labour market education and integration is often supplemented by voluntary instruction in liberal adult education institutions like Adult education centres, folk high schools, study centres and summer universities, whose students are often not unemployed jobseekers but voluntary learners already otherwise employed or engaged in studies. According to a recent report, education at liberal adult education institutions can also be completed as part of integration education if the education is in Finnish or Swedish language or seen to improve the student's preparedness to obtain employment, thus entitling the student to integration support benefits and possibly labour market support. A goal presented in recent language planning and integration strategy affirmed the objective to make all voluntary integration education state-financed. (Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 83, 87) These are, depending on the institution, governed by the Ministry of Education and Culture, owned by the relevant municipality or privately owned and operated by a political party, union or non-governmental organization and offer various forms of part-time to more intensive courses of study, study groups and vocational training (Anderzén 2012: 7; Opetushallitus 2015).

Demand for this optional or self-motivated form of integration-related education has seen a clear increase, especially in those regions with the highest concentrations of migrants and thus most limited availability of integration and work force education (Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 83). Course offerings in Finnish as a second language are most concentrated on the basic level of instruction with limited or no availability of instruction at more advanced levels (beyond the B1.1 level mentioned previously), often due to a lack of demand and the inability to form groups of worthwhile size (Anderzén 2012: 40). To contextualize the focus on achievement of this B1 (satisfactory) level of L2 proficiency, Latomaa et al. (2013:175–176) note that this B1 level of proficiency has become a pervasive standard in many domains including basic education, adult L2 education, acceptance of foreign healthcare professionals into the Finnish system and attainment of Finnish citizenship, reflective of policies on integration and naturalization in other European states.

4 LINGUISTIC HEGEMONY AND ENGLISH IN FINLAND

The spread of English and its rise to a status of global prominence has been widely recorded and discussed in research of language phenomena. While the status of English as a widespread language of wider communication is fairly established, the ramifications of this state of affairs for language planning are still very much worth of research. This chapter aims to briefly elucidate the hierarchical structures in which world languages exist, the rise of English as well as how these phenomena pertain to critical language planning and the Finnish context.

4.1 Critical Perspectives on Linguistic Hegemony and English

The spread of a dominant ‘global’ language can be seen as another facet of globalization, running parallel with economic, cultural and other types of phenomena part of an ever-shrinking and increasingly interlinked world community (Phillipson 1998:101). Phillipson (1997:238) describes linguistic imperialism as: “a theoretical construct, devised to account for linguistic hierarchisation, to address issues of why some languages come to be used more and others less, what structures and ideologies facilitate such processes,”. While the term linguistic imperialism was introduced by Phillipson in direct reference to the achieved position of English language (achieved as it is asserted this has not occurred without agency), it is now accepted that the term can be applied to a long list of languages at different times in history. English, however, has arguably expanded in a uniquely marked way, extending beyond colonialism to US expansionism and the overwhelming economic and political influence of the English-speaking global North. (Canagarajah & Said 2011:388–389)

Critical studies examine the role of language in disparities in distribution of social power in a similar manner to research on race, class or gender in relation to societal hierarchies (Phillipson 1997:239). To frame linguistic imperialism, it can be understood as a sort of cultural imperialism which forms and maintains two forms of inequality between the dominant language and other languages; “Structural refers broadly to material properties (for example institutions, financial allocations), cultural to

immaterial or ideological properties (for instance, attitudes, pedagogic principles),” (Phillipson 1998:104). One could thus characterize the relationship between English and other languages as perpetuating established but non-static relationships of inequality between language groups in institutional contexts, for example the European Union or universities, as well as cultural contexts, like the spread of English-language cultural content like music or film or changes in attitudes about English language, skills or speakers. As previously stated, these relationships are fluid in nature and are changed by the socio-political phenomena of the time, as such being subject to resistance. Supranational entities and globalization have garnered resistance even in LP bolstering nation-state identity, with notable examples seen in numerous European states’ rules on language skill requirements for citizenship or permission of residence. (Cillia & Busch 2002: 579)

Canagarajah and Said suggest that when critically examining the role of English linguistic imperialism today, it is crucial to understand how the relationship between English and other languages can exist in non-traditional contexts. When one imagines linguistic imperialism in a traditional sense, one may think of colonial-era language planning in which the role and status of colonized populations’ native languages were actively weakened while those of the colonial language were promoted and linked with access to various forms of power. While this type of linguistic imperialism remains and is still carried out today, linguistic hegemony has a role in English language dominance today that does not entirely fit this framework. One can understand hegemony as the internalization and perpetuation or enactment of a dominant group’s ideology by other social groups. (Canagarajah & Said 2011:389) When this is applied to linguistic inequalities, it may refer to a group or groups accepting, reproducing and advancing discourses of English superiority. In questions of language, education policy or language acquisition planning may be the most crucial tools for this, as evidenced in nation-state creation in Europe as well as colonial language planning (Phillipson 1998).

As there is no clear line to be drawn between the spread of a language and its diffusion creating hegemonic relationships, often a language’s status as lingua franca or language of wider communication will be justified as ideologically neutral. Aided by modern forms of communication technology, it can be argued that the spread of English is a

linguistic phenomenon symptomatic of a greater political, cultural and economic influence originating in the United States (Cillia & Busch 2002: 579). Pennycook notes however that the use of English by populations specifically in the post-colonial context can be used as a tool to attain access to and participate in discourse. Thus the agency of those populations implicated in the hegemonic relationship of English with other languages must not be overlooked nor should the ability of minority groups to utilize English as a discursive tool for their own purposes be oversimplified. (Pennycook 1998: 38, 215) The argument made by Tollefson that language policies are often discussed in terms of their effects on national unity and equality among linguistic groups is relevant in this matter, as arguments around English as a global language may refer to its ability to bring those who are proficient in it to a state of 'economic equality' by offering them opportunities unavailable to those who do not speak English. It should nevertheless be noted that this notion of English offering opportunities for other linguistic groups may indeed be undercut by existing political and social factors that can serve to exclude other non-English languages and social barriers that place limitations on the spaces in which 'low-status Englishes' are considered acceptable. (Tollefson 2000: 17–18)

4.2 The English Language in Finland

As the spread of English materializes in different regions in distinct ways, the phenomenon of linguistic hegemony in language policy and planning in Europe and its social and political ramifications are a unique topic of much critical research and discussion (see Phillipson 2003). As in the neighbouring Nordic states, the English language in Finland has come to hold an undeniably prominent status in comparison with other non-domestic languages. While English may often be touted to be the language of wider communication for a modern, internationalizing Finland, polarizing viewpoints on the consequences of its rise to dominance make it a worthwhile subject of investigation and critical language planning analysis. While this sub-chapter does not attempt to elucidate the historical background of linguistic imperialism in the Finnish context, it aims to provide a brief review of the current state of affairs regarding the role, use and discussion around the English language in Finland.

English is widely accepted to occupy an important space in the linguistic landscape of Finland. The role of English as a language of wider communication in the country is not unique, particularly when drawing comparisons between Finland and other Nordic states. Formally, English does not have an official or elevated legal status in Finnish in relation to other foreign languages (see Language Act 2003). Despite this, a vast amount of public information, services, media and education are available in English. In just under 100 years, English has had its 'first touch' with the Finnish public, entered the Finnish education system, attached itself to modernity and internationalism and finally secured its place as a foreign language not just in favour but of near necessity for the millennial generation (Leppänen et al. 2010: 18–19).

In a 2011 report published by the Finnish National Board of Education, developments in choices of language studies in Finnish primary schools were examined. It indicated that English had, between 1994 and 2009, continued a near-constant growth in prevalence as the A1 language of choice (a student's first compulsory foreign language, started most commonly in the third year) with 90,2% of pupils choosing English in 2009. This contrasted with the situation of Swedish, for example, which saw a constant decline of just over two-thirds in fifteen years, sitting at 0,9% of pupils studying Swedish as their A1. This would mean, in the case of Finnish-speaking students, that studies in the second official language, Swedish, would begin in their seventh year of primary schooling at the latest. Other languages, like German and French, also experienced decline in their respective proportion of students' foreign language study choices. (Kangasvieri, Miettinen, Kukkohovi & Härmälä 2011: 8–10)

Pupils' studies of English are complemented by contact with English outside of the classroom; a majority of Finnish students have been seen to use English or encounter it in the media (music, television, films), use English in their experiences online and indicate a positive attitude toward the language (Bonnet 2002: 84–90). This trend of setting a relatively early start into the study of English is echoed in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland, where English is the first compulsory foreign language students encounter with starting times for the studies ranging between the first and fifth years of primary school. In some cases, like that of Iceland, English has replaced a language that

has earlier been studied as the primary foreign language (Kangasvieri, Miettinen, Kukkohovi & Härmälä 2011: 11–17).

As the data noted above indicated this trend having continued on for a number of years, other information on the role of English in Finland and other Nordic states shows similar trends in its spread and growth among adults. A national survey on the English language in Finland conducted by VARIENG of the University of Jyväskylä collected and analysed data on Finns' views on the role of English, their attitudes to the language itself, as well as its presence in Finland now and in the future, among other themes. The research refers to polarization in viewpoints on the positive or negative role of English in Finland including the fear of domestic languages being replaced in various settings by English. The data revealed that for the participants English was, apart from one's first language, the most used language at work and while travelling. It was also the most seen and heard other language in one's surroundings, with the conclusive statement that the visibility, audibility, presence and engagement of Finns with English (through studies and practical use) is currently unrivalled by any other non-domestic language. It is noted that while English is seen in some capacities as a threat to the status of domestic languages that skills in English are highly valued if not seen as indispensable for the current generation. (Leppänen et al. 2010: 46, 65, 129)

On the theme of the future of English in Finland, the same study shows respondent results that while less conclusive than the aforementioned, warrant discussion nonetheless. While over half of respondents saw officialization of English in Finland as unlikely, the future outlook for the language was decidedly one of further expansion; it was expected English would be more important, present in day-to-day life and in the education system as well as an essential skill for Finns. Additionally, while a majority believed English would not overtake Finnish, most saw business/finance and science to be the domains most likely to be English-dominated 20 years on from the time of the research. While this research provides insight into the role and status of English in Finland today, the lens was focussed on Finns (Finnish citizens), with some representation of foreign language speaking minorities living in Finland but without the data on their attitudes, habits and experiences with English being a particular focal point. (Leppänen et al. 2010: 141–152)

Forsander notes that in examinations of the role of English in the Finnish workplace, research points to a post-industrial workplace in which one cannot adequately complete their day-to-day tasks without knowledge of a 'dominant language' or working language which, even in formerly Finnish or Swedish-speaking settings, is increasingly seen to be English. However, for foreign language speaking degree students in Finland, for example, the strong presence of English along with the limited access to Finnish language education can complicate the transfer into the Finnish labour market, where domestic language skills are more desirable if not required. (Forsander 2013: 231–234) As demonstrated by the aforesaid, there are contending views on the occupation and dominance of English in certain spaces (science, international business) as well its future role in Finland (replacing domestic languages in certain sectors, change in official status). Taking these phenomena into account, it is evident that critical analysis of language planning for foreign language speakers in Finland cannot take place without consideration of the effects of the prominence of English and its assumed functions in society.

5 MOTIVATION OF ADULTS IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

This thesis research concerns itself with discussions of language planning for foreign language-speaking adult immigrants and its contribution to the learners' integration into the host society. Adult second language learning differs greatly from that of minors or, for example, foreign language learning and thus a brief background of the central, relevant themes is necessary for analysis. While this chapter does not endeavour into cognitive aspects of language acquisition, it looks at second language learning from the perspective of the learner and the environment to understand both generally how second language acquisition is studied and the role motivation plays therein.

5.1 Adult Second Language Learning

Ellis (1997: 3–4) explains that second language acquisition is the process of learning a language other than your own first language(s) or native tongue(s), when competence in the latter is already established. While using the term 'second' language may lead to misunderstandings as to how many languages the learner has indeed studied or speaks competently, for the purposes of research, 'second language' is intended to refer to any language apart from one's own first language. 'Second language' is also used as an encompassing term to mean both a language that has a significant role in the society as well as a language learned outside the society where it is widely used with the goal of facilitating communication. (Littlewood, 2004: 503–504)

Littlewood describes research in second language learning moving from an orientation around 'language elements', namely grammar and vocabulary, towards an understanding of how the learner develops a diverse array of 'communicative competences'. The most prominent of these is 'discourse competence', referring to the ability to, for example, connect and comprehend multiple ideas in text or successfully uphold and participate in conversation in the second language. These are functional, communicative aptitudes that refer to the ability to use the second language in practical situations rather than having an understanding of grammatical concepts or knowledge of

vocabulary (linguistic competence), which does not directly equate to communicative competence (Littlewood 2004: 503–504).

The difference in ability and success in second language learning between adults and children is widely discussed, with a general belief being that children are more easily and quickly able to learn second languages fluently with more ‘native-like’ pronunciation. While this theory is widely supported by research dealing with language learning and age, the differences seem to be less absolute than popular belief may convey. Cook notes that while cognitive and physical differences and their effect on L2 learning have been explored, social factors of interest have included the contrasting relationships and situations in a child’s experience compared with those of an adult learner. It is also discussed that in studies in various contexts examining L2 learner success between children and adults that adults are overall more successful at the start of their learning, while children’s eventual success may be the result of the situations they encounter in their learning process as well as the learning environment itself. (Cook 2008: 147–9) These differences are however far from clear-cut, as indicated by variations in the context of the existing research.

In the context of immigration the distinct situations the L2 learner may encounter based on his/her age are relatively apparent; a child learner may be educated in public education, encounter different kinds of opportunities in which to use the language they know and continue to expand their abilities. The adult immigrant learner may however, depending on their own personal situation, not have the opportunity to receive as much instruction or use their language skills in practice.

5.2 Motivation in Second Language Learning

While this research is not concerned with cognitive aspects of L2 learning nor does it attempt to make any assumptions about the informants’ language aptitude (the cognitive aspects of one’s ability to learn languages), it does endeavour to analyze and discuss informants’ motivations and challenges in relation to relevant language planning phenomena. These discussions of adult second language learners’ experiences should take into account participants’ motivation and activity. They are generally seen as

crucial elements in successful language learning, with high motivation making up for possible personal deficiencies and acting as a sustaining factor in achieving long-term goals in spite of language learning's occasionally laborious processes. Alternatively, a lack of motivation can derail the most apt of learners (Dörnyei 2009:117). Ellis (1989: 83) describes the affective orientation of learners, an unstable orientation ranging from passive to active, with active learners described as those able "to tolerate the inherent ambiguity in language, persist in problem solving and enjoy taking decisions. They are self-directed and able to manage their own learning." One's level of activity or indeed motivation has also been seen to be at least partially accountable for differences in achievement in adults learning a second language (see Willing 1988).

There is a distinction to be made between orientation and motivation, in which orientation is one's reason(s) to engage in L2 learning, with motivation, however, referring to one's "attitudes toward learning the language, desire to learn and motivational intensity" (Gardner 1985:54). While motivation is widely discussed in a number of fields of research, it is a concept for which there is no single accepted definition. Research on motivation, which is far from limited to studies of second language learning, examines why individuals do what they do. Motivation in the context of second language learning differs from that of other activities or learning in that it encompasses a wide array of social changes, identity-building and interaction with the L2 culture (Dörnyei 2009:118). Ellis (1997:75) describes motivation in L2 learning as "the attitudes and affective states that influence the degree of effort that learners make to learn an L2," as well as its four primary sub-types; instrumental, integrative, resultative and intrinsic.

For the interests of this research as well as suitability to the research and methods, instrumental, integrative and resultative motivations will be of most relevance to analyses of the informant interviews and related language planning and thus will be explicated further. Instrumental motivation is described as being an important, goal-oriented orientation in which the endeavour to learn a language is fuelled by the functional and non-social (not interpersonal) necessity of language skills for the achievement of one's objective. Practical examples of this in the context of immigrated adult language learners could be motivation to learn the host society's language(s) in

order to find employment or gain access to education (Ellis 1997: 74; Liuolienė & Metiūnienė 2006). Integrative motivation in second language learning stems from a learner's interest in the speakers or culture of a particular target language community, while this is however not entirely irrevocable as shown by previous research on integrative motivation in varying contexts (Ellis 1997:75). Nonetheless one can discern that the integrative motivation is concerned with one's interest to gain an understanding of or some form of membership in a language community (Ellis 2004:536 ; Liuolienė & Metiūnienė 2006:94). One can also consider the characteristics of integrative orientation in relation to integrative motive. One's orientation refers to their reasons for wanting to, for example, interact or learn more about a certain language community, whereas the motive refers to one's attitudes about the language and learning itself, motivational intensity as well as other attitudes. It appears that while one can have a strong integrative orientation, this does not automatically in turn determine their level of motivation in language learning. (Gardner 1985: 54–55)

The concept of resultative motivation differs from the two aforementioned archetypes as in this case motivation is not seen as the instigator of learning rather considering L2 learning success as a source of motivation for the learner (Ellis 1997: 76–77). Recognition of the resultative variant addresses arguments that analyses deal with motivation as a causative and static factor in L2 learning as opposed to a dynamic attribute with the ability to change according to the learner's experiences (Ellis 2004: 537). Ellis explains that true to its dynamic nature, resultative motivation is not solely positive. One's success or lack thereof can lead to a decreased inclination to learn due to experiences the learners are exposed to as their learning progresses. Examples can be found in situations in which speakers of an L2 have been exposed to increased discrimination as they had further access to communicative experiences with their surrounding second language community. (Ellis 1997: 76)

6 DATA

The accounts, narratives and definitions shared by research participants will be subject to analysis on the backdrop of language planning for immigrant populations in Finland as well as contribute to a more complete working definition of integration goals, apart from those set by public sector actors and policy makers. In the analysis and discussion, investigation attempts to draw links between language planning and social actions, while establishing discourses in place of which the analyzed social action is symptomatic (Hult 2010: 10).

6.1 Research Background, Aims and Methods

Language policy and planning as practice aims to rectify language problems and regulate the use or structure of language to suit its goals. Determination of the ramifications of this practice demands a theoretical body and analytical structure suitable to the broad and dynamic spaces in which observations can be made. To understand the context of a social action, it is essential to have access to a framework that allots the researcher the tools necessary to draw the connections between relevant or implicated discourses or actions. The analysis and discussion recognize and utilize elements of critical language planning and investigate agency in language planning for immigrant populations. The role of languages of wider communication (*lingua francas*) is also explored. Analysis and discussion on the effects of language policies and planning practices on social action lead to a clearer conception of the character of LP's involvement in the advancement of integration processes and allow for discussion on possible future strategies.

For the purposes of this research, the primary criteria in seeking out and choosing research participants for the interview-based component of primary material for analysis were the following: Participants should be over the age of 18, have moved to Finland and resided here on a permanent basis for a minimum of 4 and maximum of 15 years, should speak a foreign language as their native tongue (i.e. languages other than those designated official; Finnish and Swedish, or minority languages in Finland; Sami,

Romani, Finnish Sign Language and Karelian). In addition, due to the nature of the research, it was desirable for the participants to have, in some capacity, participated in the study of Finnish, whether in an institutional setting (Integration Education, local Adult Education Centre, post-secondary institution, private institution, etc.), or independently. The limiting of the research participant pool to include only those over the age of 18 was also a matter of practicality as the research and analysis of language planning and policy for immigrants in Finland focuses markedly on the policy and services in place for adult immigrants to Finland, rather than the services in place for the integration and language education of immigrant minors in primary and secondary schools. It should be noted that the criteria in looking for research participants nonetheless left open the possibility that a participant could have partially completed his/her primary or secondary education in Finland, although this was not the case with any of the interviewees.

No requirement was specified regarding participants' reasons for coming to Finland (employment, studies, family ties, international protection or other reasons), although it is included in the pre-interview questionnaire that participants were asked to complete. Additionally, the participants were chosen based on their status as foreign language speaking, but this research focuses on those who relocate to Finland from outside of the European Union. For both practical reasons and reasons related to the scope of the analysis, it was not imperative that the subject pool be limited to any one or number of ethnic or language communities, nor was the gender identity of the participant taken into account other than, once again, in the pre-interview questionnaire. It was made clear when seeking out interviewees that all those who chose to participate would not be personally identified in the thesis. Prospective participants were also offered the option of completing the interview in their preferred language. Female-identified research participants were also given the option of completing the interview with a female interviewer, in consideration of their personal preference and comfort. Considering the nature of the interviews, in which informants were encouraged to share narratives of their experiences with language since immigration in a partially structured conversation, the personal comfort and ability to communicate fluently without excessive reflection or self-correction on the part of the interviewee were paramount.

6.2 Research Participants and Questionnaire Data

Participants for the research interview were contacted and invited to take part through their respective Finnish language teachers at various institutions in the capital city region providing teaching in Finnish as a foreign language as well as through online communities of Finnish language learners. They were provided with the criteria for participation. Those who agreed to participate were provided with an anonymous online questionnaire in Finnish and English, the purpose of which was to gather background information on the circumstances of each participant's relocation to Finland, their social situation and background as well as brief information about their studies of Finnish language.

While working within the limitations of availability of motivated participants, this research attempts to take into account the risks of generalization. As the demographic information below demonstrates, the interviewees represent a diverse array of life situations, allowing the research to contemplate the relevant issues from a number of perspectives. As told by Gillham, "one may seek informants who come from different 'strata' within the group – in terms of status, occupational category, or degree of experience," (2005: 42–3). Although the settings of the participants with which this research is concerned are not entirely the same, the interviewees were not for example enrolled in the same course nor did all come from the same linguistic community, for these purposes one can consider their shared positions as foreign language-speaking immigrants and learners of Finnish as a second language sufficient to make up a sampling. This sampling in turn can be used not to draw definite or representative conclusions, but rather to analyse on the backdrop of theory, examining the phenomena that arise in analysis and generalising as to, for example, which of these may be prevalent among the foreign language-speaking immigrant community at large. (Gillham 2005: 43)

The demographic information in Table 2 provides a general overview of the group of interview participants. The majority of participants identified themselves as female (seven female and five male respondents). All but one of the participants had resided in

Finland between four and nine years and similarly the same participant, P3, was the only one to have studied Finnish for more than 7 years. The diversity in countries of origin of the participants saw three participants from Russia and one participant from each of the other represented states respectively. None of the participants originated from an EU member state. The most common first language of participants was Russian with three speakers. Four of the participants had originally come to Finland on the basis of family ties, including P4 who was granted residency in Finland as a returning migrant (Finnish: *paluumuuttaja*) due to her ethnic Finnish background. This participant did not however indicate that Finnish language had been spoken in her home life or among her relatives. Five participants had originally come to Finland to study, but have since obtained employment in Finland. P3 came to Finland on the basis of employment and P7 and P8 came on the basis of international protection. All of those interviewed lived in city centres, with the majority in the capital city region while the remainder of participants lived in municipalities that place within the 15 most populated in Finland, which also have some of the highest proportions of foreign citizen residents.

Table 2. General demographics on research participants

Participant Number	Gender	Country of Origin	Native Language(s)	Years lived in Finland	Original reason for relocation	Years of Finnish language studies
P1	Female	Russia	Russian	7–9	Studies	1–3
P2	Female	Kazakhstan	Russian	4–6	Studies	1–3
P3	Female	Russia	Mari	13–15	Employment	18 +
P4	Female	Russia	Russian	7–9	Family ties	4–7
P5	Male	Kosovo	Albanian	4–6	Family ties	1–3
P6	Female	Philippines	Cebuano	7–9	Family ties	4–7
P7	Male	Sri Lanka	Sinhala	4–6	International Protection	4–7
P8	Female	Somalia	Somali	4–6	International Protection	1–3
P9	Male	Kenya	Swahili, Kikuyu	4–6	Studies	1–3

P10	Male	Colombia	Spanish	4–6	Family ties	1–3
P11	Female	Armenia	Armenian	4–6	Studies	1–3
P12	Male	Nepal	Nepali	7–9	Studies	4–6

While four of the interview participants were receiving education in Finnish language as part of publicly funded integration/labour market training for unemployed migrants, five were enrolled in voluntary Finnish language courses and one no longer participated in Finnish courses (P3). Participant 3 had, after studying Finnish for a number of years, gone on to complete studies in teaching Finnish as a foreign language and received employment as an instructor in integration training programming. Participants 1 and 2, who were enrolled in voluntary courses, had first received basic education in Finnish language as a part of English-language medium Master's programmes at Finnish universities and since chosen to continue their language studies after graduating and finding employment. Five of the participants (P4, P5, P6, P7, P8) were unemployed or underemployed while seven were employed in full-time positions, engaged in post-secondary studies as well as full or part-time employment or fully engaged in their studies which acted as a means of sustaining their livelihood (P11 was employed as a PhD student and researcher). The three employed interviewees had obtained graduate degrees while the unemployed and underemployed participants had levels of education ranging from secondary school to professional school and undergraduate studies.

Table 3. Summary of research participants' questionnaire answers relating to social situation, education, language studies and history

#	Marital Status	Education	Profession	Method of study in Finnish	Education providers	Other languages spoken or studied
P1	Married	Master's Degree	Engineer (E-commerce)	Courses, independent work	Post-secondary institution, Adult education institute	English, German
P2	Domestic partnership	Master's Degree	IT Consultant	Courses, independent work	Post-secondary, Adult education institutes	English, Kazakh
P3	Married	Master's Degree	Teacher	Courses, independent work	Various post-secondary institutions	Russian, English, Spanish
P4	Married	Bachelor's Degree	LVI-technician, currently unemployed	Courses, independent work	Various Adult education institutes	English
P5	Married	Secondary School	Unemployed	Only language courses	Adult education institute	English
P6	Married	Professional School	Unemployed	Courses, independent work	Adult education institute	English, Tagalog (Filipino)
P7	Single	Secondary School	Unemployed	Courses, independent work	Adult education institute	English, Hindi, Malayalam
P8	Married	Grade School	Housewife, Practical trainee	Only language courses	Adult education institute, NGO courses	English

P9	Single	Bachelor's degree	Café worker	Only language courses	Post-secondary institution	English
P10	Domestic partnership	Master's degree	Engineer	Courses, independent work	Adult education institute	English, Catalan
P11	Single	Master's Degree	Student	Courses, independent work	Adult education institutes, language centres	English, Russian, Slovak
P12	Domestic partnership	Master's Degree	Student	Only independent work	Post-secondary institution	English, Hindi, Urdu

Among the participants, studies of languages of wider communication were common, with all but one participant (P5) having previously studied English. Studies of other commonly spoken languages, second official languages or languages of wider communication in their participants' respective countries of origin were also common among this group, as exhibited in Table 3. In terms of methods and habitudes in studies of Finnish, three participants (P5, P8, P9) indicated that they did not supplement their learning in courses with independent work and practise, whether alone, with friends or colleagues or their partners. All other participants indicated that they studied in courses with contact teaching in addition to learning independently apart from P12, who indicated in the interview that after completing obligatory Finnish language courses as part of an English-medium university study programme his learning continued independently. Of the participants, six were married, three in a domestic partnership and three single. Of these nine in relationships, six were with Finnish-speaking partners (P1, P2, P3, P6, P10, P12) and three with speakers of their own native language (P4, P5, P8). This data will be further examined in the interview analysis, in which the narratives of the participants will give further context to these demographics.

6.3 Methods of Information Collection in the Interview

The research interviews were to be conducted in a manner that would allow the participant to tell as much or little about a given topic as desired. This semi-structured method meant that while questions were prepared in advance and the same for each interview, participants were encouraged to speak freely and approach the interview more as a conversation than a conventional questionnaire. As Gillham explains, it is well established in semi-structured interviewing that the durations of interviews deviate only slightly between participants and questions are formulated to be 'open'. The role of the interviewer in this case is to listen and follow the cues of the informant, judging the correct times to pose additional sub-questions or 'probe' on certain subject matter that seems to be of particular interest or significance to the participant. (Gillham 2005: 70)

7 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter contains the analysis and discussion of the informant interview data and documentation on language planning for foreign language-speaking immigrant populations in Finland. Analysis is divided according to prevalent themes that arose in the interviews and examined through the lens of critical language planning. The phenomena are discussed using relevant sources of documentation on language planning where applicable as well as critical issues associated therewith and direct excerpts from informant interviews for analysis. Excerpts are presented in sub-chapter sections outlining participants' L2 learning goals for integration, experiences with English in their own lives as well as perceptions of English in Finland. Subsequent sections probe communicative experiences and language switch as well as access to Finnish language education supportive of integration as well as situations in which to use what one has learned. These are followed by contextualization with relevant LP phenomena as well as analysis from a critical language planning perspective. The analysis finishes with a presentation of conclusions and suggestions for further research on the subject.

7.1 Economic and Social Goals of Informant L2 Learners

Participants were encouraged to share their thoughts on immigrant integration, adult second language studies and the Finnish language itself. This was pertinent in gaining an understanding of informants' personal backgrounds and attitudes toward second language learning. Understanding one's notion of language as a part of comprehensive integration is key when examining factors in L2 learner motivation based on the informant interview data. Informants' points of view on the importance of Finnish language for integration varied slightly, with a number of informants identifying it as being of the utmost importance in understanding the host society, while others identified it as a precondition for economic independence. The most widely shared opinion on the Finnish language and adult learning itself focussed on the difficulty of Finnish as a language, noting specifically the complex grammar as well as the marked

difference between spoken and written language. Only one participant (P3) spoke a language relative of Finnish as her native language (Mari), which she did note as being advantageous in her studies due to similarities in grammar, pronunciation and, to some extent, vocabulary. This sub-chapter examines informants' views on integration and L2 learning as well as their attitudes toward and experiences with the Finnish language.

The objectives of this section of the analysis are firstly the identification of learners' integration-related goals in learning Finnish as a second language and establishment of any language-specific issues that may challenge one's motivation. Participants' concepts of integration as well as goals associated with L2 learning varied but were largely representative of integration and language planning objectives outlined in sub-chapters 3.1 and 3.2. Key themes were seen to be the achievement of financial independence as well as cultural and social integration through L2 skills.

The following is text from Participant 2 explaining her thoughts on whether Finnish language skills are important to integration:

- (1) From the immigrant point of view of course it's important to learn the language, especially you know, if you're planning on staying here and uh, it's really important to understand what's happening you know, it's important to understand what's going on in the news and the papers, politics, you know you want to know what's happening around [...] You came here, you need to at least understand. I think that also like important is that if you're coming to Finland to you know, to try to find your spot, in here and being like for the society, being so useful and you know, being employed and being you know, sort of um, good citizen of the country where you are living. (P2)

The above excerpt is reflective of a bidirectional understanding of integration on the part of the informant; language aptitude is seen in the informant's remarks to serve instrumental purposes for the benefit of the foreign language speaker in the form of increased awareness and understanding of the goings-on of the host society while also fulfilling duties or responsibilities that are implied to be expected or required, namely achievement of economic independence and fulfilment of civic duties. Here language is perceived as valuable not only to the learner personally, but also to the society at large to which the learner is meant to be useful or productive, most evidently through being employed. The goals of language planning for foreign language speakers in Finland as well as integration policy practice outlined in Chapter 3 (see Opetushallitus 2012;

Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015) reflect a similar construction of integration as interaction, as does the definition of integration in the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (see Chapter 3.1). It can also be noted that in the interview, Participant 2 explained that the abovementioned goals of L2 learning for integration were in her case achieved before the attainment of working language skills, which became a priority only after obtaining full-time employment and establishing a relationship and social network in Finland.

The emphasis on economic independence and responsibilities of migrants was also present in other informants' accounts of the advantages of Finnish language learning:

- (2) It's very important. Uh, if you want to work in a place, they see your language skills. We have knowledge of Finnish, so we can get a job easily. We can attend the interview, so it will help us. You know, if anyone want to live in Finland, they should need to learn Finnish. So, uh, if I learned, I will study ammatti or bus driver, so we can, uh, continue. We can get a good job and good life now... I want to start own business in Finland. And, uh, I know many people, they achieve that in Finland. They came five years before, they studied hard, now they speak very well and they got good job in Finland. So that's why they motivated me. I follow them. (P7)

The above excerpt from the informant interview with participant 7 exhibits a similar yet notably pointed focus on the economic benefits of learning Finnish language for the learner in answering explaining whether or not Finnish skills were important to his integration goals. The participant views L2 learning as an instrumental necessity in his ability to access professional education, employment and entrepreneurship and refers to instances of successful economic integration in his social network in which individuals have studied and become proficient in Finnish, leading them to fulfillment of economic goals. The process described in the excerpt is referential to the intended process of one's pathway into and forward from integration education, illustrated in Figure 3, possibly showing an assimilation of the goals of the learner and the methods outlined in integration education. The informant also attributes the learning of Finnish to not only achievement of his personal goals, but notes its advantages to all those moving to Finland.

The following excerpt is illustrative of a participant with first-hand experience of the working life benefits of L2 learning, despite an indication that L2 learning was not able to completely facilitate economic integration goals in the informant's case:

- (3) They offered these courses to me and I accepted and I saw that this is a good opportunity to find a job. And I was studying here for this reason, because I can't find job and the language here is too - too important to find job [...] Then I started to study here, and I think it's the best school, because they use a different methods... And I studied there for 15 months and after that I found job, but not in my profession... I can understand that I need more time to find a job, like I need to speak better and I need a maybe, I need the studies from here because Finnish is very proud about their academic level here and sometimes they don't - how would I say, they don't believe I know - believe in another educational system... They are not confident in it. (P10)

The informant's notion echoes excerpts 1 and 2 in its designation of Finnish proficiency as a prerequisite for financial independence, but goes on to introduce problematic factors in the search for employment that may undermine one's success. Here, these are namely the value placed on a recognizable, domestic (Finnish) education as well as the linguistic objectives of integration/language education in relation to realities of the demands of working in various skilled domains where language requirements may be higher. This excerpt is indicative of a participant whose goals for L2 learning are, just as in preceding participants' comments, directly linked to access to employment in the host society, but who encounters limitations in the ability to utilize acquired language skills in combination with higher education and professional studies. As a consequence, the participant must modify his own language goals to not only obtain any sort of employment, but to acquire adequate language proficiency to access his own industry. Participant 9 also explored the theme of language skills and their effect on one's ability to exploit their education and professional competences:

- (4) I just graduated so I was thinking of taking some Finnish courses to increase my job opportunity chances. Yeah, so most likely I will take some advanced courses [...] I think Finnish is the priority, it doesn't matter what qualifications you have, they must check your Finnish. Unless it's an international company, that's when you don't really need it, but yeah. (P9)

Participant 9 reiterates the point made in excerpt 3 related to education, however noting that Finnish qualifications do not outweigh language skills in the search for

employment. The informant does however acknowledge one exception to his rule, stating that international companies may offer space for highly educated or qualified non-speakers or those with weaker skills in Finnish. While these environments may offer employment opportunities to those whose level of Finnish proficiency may not be perceived to be sufficient in Finnish-speaking work environments, effectively alleviating the weight of L2 learning goals in the job-seeking process, they are also relatively exclusive and may be seen to affect one's integration in other ways. This is connected to the success of foreign graduates of Finnish institutions in the domestic workforce and is relatable with Kiuru's (2012) work on the subject. In these excerpts diversity in the life situations of informants are seen to reshape L2 learning goals, even if the unifying factor is the objective of accessing employment.

In the following excerpt from Participant 6, the urgency of one's integration and language goals are seen to be intensified by the demands of parenthood:

- (5) Of course because here in Finland if you don't have money, oh my gosh! I need to find a job, a good job. It's really important. And I have kids and of course it's not good that you don't have own job, you just wait on your husband, it's not good, so it's important you have own income and own job [...] Hmm, for example, if I'm, uh, because I don't need– I mean, I don't need, uh, I don't need something like higher than this, I just need to learn Finnish and then find a job. As long as I have a job, I'm not thinking something more. (P6)

This excerpt is indicative of instrumental value attributed to Finnish skills in the integration process directly related to the achievement of economic independence with an express statement that the objective in Finnish studies is not related to other aspects of one's personal integration discussed in the interview like building one's own social network or advancing one's civic engagement. Participant 6 refers to the responsibilities of a parent, noting that having children makes financial stability crucial. While the objective is employment, or integration into the labour market, it seems to bear additional value as a parent, spouse and woman; the comment expresses a negative view of unemployment not only for its financial disadvantages but also for its effect on the participant's role in the family unit. This relates to issues of language, gender, familial roles and child rearing, which were also expressed by other participants with children and are explored in current research addressing critical issues of gender, language and parenthood (see Lainiala & Säävälä 2010). Language goals in the narratives of the

participants are affected by their own personal situations, even when their ultimate objectives may be comparable.

The following excerpt from Participant 8 displays a perception of a relationship between the informant's own language studies, professional education and employment and the success of her children in her description of the relationship between integration and L2 learning:

- (6) Jos ei ole mitään, pätevä, ammattia, joskus ei löydä kunnan työtä. Pitää tehdä keikkatöitä, pätähommia, siivota ja sellaista, muttei saa kunnan työtä. Mutta ammattiin pääseminen vaatii myös kieli. Siihen hakee monta sataa ihmistä, siihen pääsee kymmenen ihmistä kielitestin kautta. Ihmiset ei motivoi jos pari kertaa hakee ja kokee etten pääse ikinä ammattiin enkä pysty ammattiin. Ihminen taantuu, se kokee ettei hyväksy, ettei pääse. Varsinkin kun on aikuiset ihmiset, me tullaan tänne aikuisena, vähän vaikea taas opiskella. Opiskelen ensin, pääsen ammattiin, pääsen työelämään ja lapset opiskelee korkealla... Kieli, kaiken avain on kieli, suomen kieli. (P8)

[If you don't have anything, a profession, sometimes you don't find a proper job. But getting a job also demands language. Many hundreds of people apply to it and ten get in through a language test. People (are not motivated) if a couple of times they apply and feel that I can't ever get into a profession and I am unable to do a profession. One regresses, feels that they don't accept, can't get in. Especially when adult people, we come as adults, a little bit difficult to study again. I'll study first, get into a profession, get into working life and the children will study high up... Language, language is the key to everything, Finnish language.]

Participant 8 explained that her goals for Finnish language learning were to get her language to a level that would allow her to enrol in professional studies and eventually enter the workforce with her qualifications. While the relationship between these goals and the academic success of her children cannot be interpreted as categorically interdependent, it is of significance that her language-related integration objectives included this point. Her point is also connected with previous comments on language and education in that language is her key to accessing professional education and subsequently a 'proper' job. Apart from securing economic independence, Participant 3 referred to the importance of knowledge of Finnish in child-rearing, pointing specifically to their ability to participate actively in their child's education:

- (7) Aina sanotaan, että naisten varsinkin pitäisi oppia sitä suomea jos on lapsia. Jos äiti osaa suomea hyvin sitten lapsillakin menee koulu hyvin koulussa. Äiti pystyy auttamaan tai valvomaan. Aika usein mietin, miten meidän jotkut äidit

pärjää, kun lapsia on vaikka useita tai ainakin muutama sitten - mitä ne tekee, ehkä niil on hyvät lapset, ei tarvitse valvoa. Ehkä ne itse tekee, vai meneekö koulu hyvin? Toivottavasti ne yrittää, mutta olisi tosi tärkeää, jos osaisi suomea. Pystyis valvomaan, auttamaan, kommunikoimaan opettajan kanssa. (P3)

[It's always that women especially should learn Finnish if they have children. If the mother can speak Finnish well then the children do well in school as well. The mother can help and monitor. I often think about how some of our mothers get by when they have a number of children or at least a few then – what they do, maybe they have good children, they don't need to watch over them. Maybe they do it themselves or does school go well? Hopefully they try but it would be very important if they could speak Finnish. They'd be able to monitor, help, communicate with the teacher.]

This excerpt introduces viewpoints of the instrumental value of L2 aptitude that extend beyond its ability to improve one's opportunities to gain employment or achieve financial independence. In this excerpt it can be noted that Finnish is seen as a key to active parenting, helping to monitor and ensure children's academic progress. This bears a similar message to that of Participant 8 in excerpt 6 in that language is linked to life skills associated not only with the achievement of one's personal goals but also to one's familial role and the success of one's children. Here L2 learning outcomes implicate not only the learner but also his/her immediate family dependents. It is worth noting however that this statement implicates women specifically, which does refer to a prescriptive idea of gendered familial roles in which women's L2 learning goals in particular should take into account factors in one's personal life like responsibilities related to child rearing.

In the next excerpt additional alternative perspectives on established notions of L2 learning goals are presented as from the informant interview with Participant 3, who shared experiences of advising students as a teacher in integration education:

- (8) No minä sanon aina opiskelijoille, että kaikki asiat on hyvin Suomessa jos puhut suomea ja käyt töissä. Ok, voit käydä töissä vaik et puhu suomea, onko se sit niin kotoutunut... en tiedä. On niitä ihmisiä, oon tavannutkin. Pitkä aika Suomessa, pärjää englannilla, on työelämässä - no, se kuitenkin on varmasti vähän poissa tästä yhteiskunnasta. Aina joku jää pois, että se on aina parempi jos osaa maan kieltä. Se on mun mielestäni, jos osaa kieltä, opiskelee tai on työssä, tai kuitenkin on joku sellainen päämäärä tai paikka tässä elämässä, sitten on kotoutunut... Sitten tavallaan ihminen tuntee itsensä onnelliseksi... Koti on täällä. Toki kielitaito on hirmun tärkeä, tietenkin työ kuten sanoin, ehkä sitten - voisko olla yhteisö, koska jos esimerkiksi ei ole sitä kielitaitoa tai se on heikko, eikä ole töissä - tässä nyt ajattelen vaikka kotirouvia, vaikka Lähi-Idästä tai

vaikka Afrikasta. Jos vaikka pohjakoulutus on heikko, suomen kieli ei nyt - ei suju tai opiskelu ei onnistu niin hyvin. Aina on niitä ihmisiä ja sitten, sen takia sitten työnsaanti ei onnistu tai ehkä ei oo tavoitteena, jos omassa kulttuurissa nainen on kotona, lapsiakin on paljon. Ehkä sitten tämä yhteisö, eli jos on sukulaisia lähellä, lapset ja niin pois päin. Sitten vaikei olisi sitä kieltä eikä työtä, sitten ihminen varmasti on kotoutunut — tyytyväinen. Niitäkin ihmisiä on paljon. (P3)

[Well, I always say to students that everything is fine in Finland if you speak Finnish and work. Ok, you can work even though you don't speak Finnish, is he/she so integrated then... I don't know. Those people exist, I've met some. A long time in Finland, they get by with English, they're in working life – well, it's surely a bit outside the society. Something is always left out, it's always better if you can speak the country's language. It's in my opinion, if you can speak the language, study or work, or in anyway have some sort of goal or place in this life, then you're integrated... Then in some way a person feels happy... home is here. Sure language skills are very important, of course work as I said, maybe then – could it be the community, because if for example you don't have language skills or they are weak and you don't work – here I'm thinking about housewives, like from the Middle East or Africa. If, for example, your basic education is weak, Finnish language doesn't – doesn't flow or studies don't go so well. There are always those people and then because then getting work doesn't happen or maybe isn't a goal if in their own culture the woman is at home and a lot of children as well. Maybe then this community, so if you have relatives near you, children and so on. Then even though you don't have the language or work the person is surely integrated – satisfied. There are a lot of those people, too.]

Participant 3 reiterates the established notion of L2 learning as instrumental in and precedent of obtaining employment while asserting that this is not invariably the case, noting the example of those who achieve said goals with English. The acknowledgement of the phenomenon of foreign language speakers living and working in English in Finland with a negative outlook on its effects on one's comprehensive integration indicate that non-economic L2 goals are independently important. This is indeed representative of the current integration education curriculum in its inclusion of civic studies in combination with language instruction indicating that Finnish studies have both instrumental and integrative value (see Ellis 1997; Ellis 2004; Dörnyei 2009). It is noted here that despite one's success in economic integration without Finnish proficiency, language skills are always a benefit and without them one is in some way 'outside' the mainstream society or dominant language community. However, the participant does frame the possibility of achieving a form of integration through a goal or purposeful activity in life and interaction with one's own established family and

community. The participant illustrates these life situations that differ from the established norm using examples of women from the Middle East and Africa, suggesting that they may be commonly faced with difficulties stemming from a lower level of basic education in their country of origin and life situations in which they are less readily able to engage in language education or the workforce. This example is juxtaposed with the group of foreign language speakers who manage their lives in Finland using English, with both seen to have the possibility to attain alternative forms of integration while still missing out on the purported benefits of Finnish language proficiency. This is referential of limited group membership on the basis of a lack of proficiency in the locally spoken language, referential of ideas explored by Pendakur & Pendakur (2002) as well as McGroarty (2002).

The following excerpt from Participant 2 begins to explore further motives for the L2 learner:

- (9) From the immigrant point of view of course it's important to learn the language, especially you know, if you're planning on staying here and uh, it's really important to understand what's happening you know, it's important to understand what's going on in the news and the papers, politics, you know you want to know what's happening around. And because you know Finland is a very small country but as long as you are living here, you came here, you need to at least understand. I think that also like important is that if you're coming to Finland to... um, you know, to try to find your spot, in here and being like for the society, being so useful and you know, being employed and being you know, sort of um, good citizen of the country where you are living. (P2)

While the above quotation indeed acknowledges the economic value of L2 learning, it goes on to expand upon previous alternative motives by introducing the concept of Finnish as part of advancing one's awareness of societal goings-on and one's civic engagement. Participant 2 reiterates the notion of one's need to find a purposeful or productive path from excerpt 8 while again, as in excerpt 1, being reflective of a concept of integration in which the immigrant fulfils certain obligations to the host society through language learning and integration. Furthermore, in combination with a mention of the desires or needs of the L2 learner, namely wanting to understand current events as opposed to be only being expected or required to displays a bidirectional understanding of integration processes. Here Participant 2 refers not only to being 'useful' as being independent financially or economically productive; there is mention

also of good citizenship, which can be understood to make reference to the aforementioned societal knowledge. One can thus identify a connection made in the excerpt between language proficiency and the ability to understand and gain information on current events and political issues as well as to one's opportunity to become an engaged, active citizen.

Participant 1, who had a comparable background to that of Participant 2, also explored this topic:

- (10) I mean, I feel quite often left out because I don't feel comfortable if I'm on the tram in the bus, on the metro, I don't understand what goes on around me. I feel kind of left out of the life of the society... The current events, the news, all of that, I don't understand that well and I get frustrated if I hear something I don't understand it fully, I don't listen anymore. So that's the part that is very annoying to me. And if I were to speak Finnish, I would feel like I belong much more. I mean even though I don't speak Finnish, I'm interested in Finnish culture. It's interesting to me because I just want to know, and when I live here I just want to learn as much as possible... I'm not a citizen but I can live here and uh, enjoy all of the benefits of this society, go to work for a Finnish company, that's a rare opportunity still. So I value it and I kind of like having this chance of being as integrated as I can be, not speaking Finnish... It is super important because the language basically shows what kind of um, attitude to life different peoples have... If you learn the language, then through language you can understand the attitude of people to life, and that makes it much easier for you as a person to integrate into the society because by using this language one way or another you become familiar and you start understanding and maybe even using as your own the values of the society. (P1)

This extract is indicative once again of the phenomenon of economic integration preceding, or in the absence of, language skills described in excerpt 8. Both excerpts 9 and 10 reiterate and provide examples to confirm P3's notion that integration without language skills is likely lacking in its ability to make one fully a part of society. Participant 1, who works and has established a family in Finland using English as the primary language of communication, expresses dissatisfaction with the inability to understand her surroundings using concrete, everyday examples like conversations in public settings and accessing Finnish-language news media. Language skills are linked to a sense of belonging that extends beyond that attained through achieving financial independence; they are seen here to be essential in gaining access to public discourse (and thus being able to take part therein) as well as gaining a deeper understanding of the local culture and attitudes of Finnish speakers themselves. This limited access can

be interpreted as an extension of linguisticism in that the foreign language speaker's understanding and proficiency are not of the societally accepted level to partake in major discourse (van Dijk 2000: 73–76). Participant 1 also connects language proficiency with an understanding of the common values of its speakers and the L2 learners ability to adopt them. Here L2 learner goals extend beyond the most practical and represented in policy to include one's own civic engagement, awareness of and ability to take part in public discourse as well as forge meaningful relationships.

In the following excerpt Participant 12 discusses L2 learning goals for short and long-term integration-related objectives:

- (11) Well, there are two ways of course. One is that you don't learn the language but you know your people who are in different positions and who are working already here, because that seems to work quite good. But I would personally suggest them to start learning the language like, from the first instant or as soon as possible because that will help them in the long run. Well, that would depend on what part of Finland you live in and as far as I have witnessed I think it's quite possible but, well yeah, it's quite possible. But, with the language it makes your life a bit - it makes your life easier I think. And without the language you can get to that stage but you will not get anywhere else than that, I think. But with the language you can still go on. (P12)

In this extract the participant refers to the previously discussed established linguistic minority communities being important resources for immigrants in finding employment. While these strategies are seen by the participant to be effective, his suggestion is nonetheless that newcomers to Finland should begin learning Finnish (or the locally spoken language) as soon as possible. This is based on an assertion that while without language skills and with the support of one's community one can find the means for subsistence in Finland, a lack of L2 proficiency will be disadvantageous for the foreign language speaker in the long run. In the participant's opinion one can, without working level language skills, often find employment through one's own networks or community, but will find these communities often unable to provide subsequent opportunities for development. This is again reflective of Pendakur & Pendakur's (2002: 3) work on labour enclaves, but it should be noted that these labour enclaves still involve intergroup interaction through contact with existing structures of the host society (Extra & Yagmur 2006: 133–134). This L2 goal touches thus not only on the comparatively short-term objective of gaining employment but also on ensuring one's

long-term, future possibility to access further education, change professions or become active in other areas of society. This is reflective of L2 learning goals in integration education which aim to provide basic language instruction and civic studies to learners which allow for subsequent advancement down a number of varying ‘integration paths’ (Opetushallitus 2012: 11–13).

In the following excerpt, Participant 11 explains her notion of L2 learning as part of integration:

- (12) Learning Finnish can be useful for different things, uh, for finding friends of course this is one main thing. Also for finding work but now it's, society becoming here multicultural — Finnish for people is important but I don't think that the language is the main thing... Integration is a very wide concept I think. Integration can be like integrated into the Finnish society, when you understand Finnish culture, fables, traditions and when you are part of the society then you are integrated. I think that if you consider yourself as a member of the society and you behave — not only behave but you understand the Finnish culture, the Finnish traditions. But it doesn't mean that you are integrated. So for that it's important to know the language in order to be able to understand what is happening and to understand the, um, to understand the society through language, I think. And for being part of Finnish society or host society is that you know how is society's organized or what society's doing and then you can decide whatever you want to do. Do you want to be part of some specific group or do you want to do something that Finns that they are doing or you want to do something else? But in order to understand that - to do that you need to understand what is happening around you. So when you will be able to understand this, uh, society, then I think that you can be considered yourself as an integrated person. (P11)

Participant 11 presented a view of integration that differed from that of the majority of informants. In this interview extract, the participant presents the idea that language is, while still significant, in fact outweighed in importance by cultural knowledge, an understanding of traditions and social goings-on as well as a self-identification of being part of the society. Finnish language becomes most relevant in understanding societal structures and using one’s knowledge to choose an appropriate path. This is again reflective of an idea of short and long-term motives for L2 language learners and underlines the importance of L2 proficiency in one’s ability to ensure their opportunities for continuing development and self-determination. Participant 11 also noted that Finnish is valuable in establishing a social network and securing employment. However, the informant’s subsequent reasoning of why L2 learning is not necessarily

the most important of variables in one's integration success bears noting. The mention of the development of multiculturalism in Finnish society in this argument denotes an idea that multiculturalism lessens the urgency to learn Finnish or its necessity in achieving widely accepted integration goals. This may refer to the ability to manage one's life in Finland using a language of wider communication rendering Finnish skills less essential. Assertions about the importance of L2 learning for the achievement of various types of integration-related objectives seen in other informants' responses are however affirmed in the excerpt and it is also reflective of a bidirectional understanding of integration.

The experiences of Participant 8 and other informants serve as counterargument to this idea of multiculturalism alleviating the urgency of L2 learning:

- (13) Suomen kielen puhuminen... On vaikea ymmärtää, vaikea pysyä perässä. Silloin kun aloitin ja sain vähän edes ymmärtää, sitten tavoite oli, että jatkan, jatkan, jatkan, kunnes pääsen oppimaan. Opiskella... Jos on vieraassa maassa, jokainen haluaa ymmärtää ja itse hoitaa ongelmat. Sen takia. (P8)

[Speaking Finnish language... It's difficult to understand, difficult to keep up. When I started and got to understand even a little then my goal was that I'd continue, continue, continue until I get to learn. To study... If you're in a foreign country, everyone wants to be able to understand and handle their problems themselves. That's why.]

Participant 8 expresses here the desire to be able to manage her own life independently, the key to which is L2 learning. The excerpt is reflective of the resultative motive in L2 acquisition described by Ellis (2004: 537; 1997: 76), showing that initial developments in understanding and communication in Finnish had a positive effect on the motivation to learn. That which differentiates the experience of Participant 8 and a minority of informants in this study is their ability to communicate with the native population in a language of wider communication. Participant 8 was not able to sufficiently communicate in English upon arrival to Finland to manage her own affairs, contrasting with other participants who were able to do so and often worked, studied or communicated socially primarily in English in English-dominated environments. Here the instrumental value of Finnish as L2 is augmented in the absence of an alternative language usable in day-to-day situations, to access education or employment. Finnish society becoming increasingly multicultural does not thus have a uniform effect on the

needs of foreign language speakers in terms of L2 learning. This reference to a more multicultural society may in fact denote a society in which an international population is able to communicate and interact using a common language or languages.

The following excerpt presents a slightly differing notion to the role of L2 learning in integration and forming a social network in Finland:

- (14) Se työ varmasti on tosi tärkeä suomalaisten näkökulmasta – että, ahaa, toi – esim jos vähän katellaan tai ei tiedetä kuka ihminen on, ihonvärin perusteella tai jotain - onhan niitä rasisia kommentteja, mikä on tietenkin epäasiallista. Mutta kuitenkin helposti ihmiset ajattelee, että ahaa tuossa kävelee joku musta mies, varmasti verorahoilla, minun verorahoilla hän tässä pelleilee tai kävelee eteenpäin, vaikka hän kävisikin töissä. Mutta sitten kun asuu ja tuntee ihmisen, ahaa, tämä on Ahmed, hänhän on bussikuski, minun naapuri Ahmed, hän puhuu suomea, sitten on kaikki hyvin. Mun mielestä suomalaiset aika suopeasti suhtautuu ihmisiin, maahanmuuttajiin jos ihminen on työssä ja puhuu suomea. (P3)

[Work is surely very important from the Finns' perspective – that, aha, that – for example if they look a bit or don't know who someone is, on the basis of their skin colour or something – there are really these racist comments, which is of course inappropriate. But in any case people easily think that ah, a black man is walking there, surely on my tax money, with my tax money he's fooling around or they walk on, even though he indeed works. But then when they live and know the person, ah, this is Ahmed, he is a bus driver, my neighbour, Ahmed, he speaks Finnish, then everything is fine. In my opinion, Finns relate quite favourably to people, to immigrants if the person works and speaks Finnish.]

In contrast to ideas about the importance of cultural knowledge, civic engagement and awareness of societal goings-on as keys to integration, Participant 3 reiterates the importance of employment and language skills in building positive social relationships. The extract is seen to set certain standards to which the foreign language speaker or immigrant is meant to adhere in order to gain the approval of the native population, with less focus on the cooperative nature of integration. In the imagined example, the foreign language speaker gains the approval of the native, by speaking Finnish and working, both of which are noticed by the native with time and interaction. It is relevant to note that the illustration deals with a racialized individual, whose visibility befalls prejudice. The example addresses racialized prejudices about and preoccupations with the socio-economic status and habitudes as well as language skills of immigrants in Finland (see sub-chapter 3.1). There is an implication that timely intergroup contact between Finns and those immigrants who disprove these preconceived notions may work to eliminate

these stereotypes, placing a great deal of weight on language proficiency and financial self-sufficiency in the relationship-building as part of integration. This hypothesis does not however sufficiently address the issue of race presented therein. While the immigrant in the illustration may be able to disprove the native Finn's preconceptions, these preconceptions are inherently connected to issues of race and ethnicity. The illustration does not address the fact that one may not be able to impact broader perpetuation of racial and ethnic prejudices or even have the opportunity to do so without the ability to take part in a constructive dialogue on the subject.

7.2 Participants' Contacts with English and Notions of its Role in Finland

The role of English in the lives of participants as well as in Finland in general was a major and recurring theme in informant interviews. Nearly every interview participant identified English as having some meaningful or instrumental role in communicative situations in day-to-day life in Finland, whether it was a language spoken by them or not. Some informants saw English language as a tool for obtaining employment, access to education and managing one's daily life, in some respects in place of Finnish language. Other informants saw English as a desirable skill, an instrumentally important language in Finland. Knowledge of English in some capacity was seen to be beneficial, while also having disadvantageous aspects like the tendency for language switch in situations in which using Finnish was seen to be challenging or inconvenient. The prominent role of English in the lives of foreign language speaking adult immigrants to Finland as well as in Finnish society as a whole warrants further examination to better understand the phenomena in practical instances of language use as well as the relevant language planning in place.

The informants had varying levels of exposure to, use of and proficiency in English. For some, English was their primary, if not exclusive, language of communication in day-to-day activities, apart from select situations in which their preference was to use Finnish or another language. While none listed English as their native language, many had studied English from elementary school, including some for whom English was the medium of instruction. In a number of cases, this English-medium primary education

was likely the result of a post-colonial system in which English was given elevated value through language planning of its status, prestige and acquisition.

The following excerpt from Participant 6 came in response to a discussion about her feelings about the languages in her life and her opinions of their importance:

- (15) English because I know that English is most important. Yeah. If you go to some other country, English *on tärkeä* [is important]. Just, English, Tagalog, *mun kieli* [my language], but Tagalog is not working here in Finland, just English. Nothing more, just English. When I was in the Philippines before I came here, my husband sent me a *suomen kieli, mikä se on* dictionary [Finnish language, what is it – dictionary]. Said “you need to understand, you need to learn”, I said no! Really, I am so bored, I don't like! I'm prepared to study at school, because I feel I much more learn at school than myself... I speak Cebuano when I was young at home, but then when I would go to school, I speak Tagalog, then English because in our school when I was in elementary and high school, we just speak two language. Well, if you're inside of the school, in the school time you speak only Tagalog and *englantia* [English], but when it's break time you can speak your *oma kieli* [own language]... You know what, I just, in my- when in my culture- I just always heard English, English all the time, because I have gotten enamoured from the culture... The accent (laughs), in the UK. I never heard Finland, I never heard, I said, when I met my husband I said, where is Finland? Is that part of America? Hey, are you americano? All I knew was America, Canada and UK, Australia, yes, but Finland I never heard, Yeah, Germany, but Finland, no. But when I arrive, when my husband said to me, you need to school. (P6)

In the informant's experience, two languages were given elevated value in the education system, Tagalog and English, while her own native language, Cebuano, was reserved for non-official, social interaction outside of school time. P6 attributes value to English as an international language, or the most important among them, noting that it is valuable when travelling abroad. The informant also discusses the prominent profile of the English language and reputation of English-speaking countries; she notes that in her home country and culture, English was heard and spoken seemingly everywhere and through this she came to appreciate it. It is evident that in the informant's experience, English occupied a prominent space and was the medium by which one communicated in certain official or institutional contexts. The participant's views bear similarities with those of the Finnish respondents in the VARIENG study on perceptions of English in Finland namely in their views of English in business, finance and science-related environments (see Leppänen et al. 2010).

The following extracts are depictive of a comparable experience with English in early life:

- (16) Well in Nepal, we have private schools and we learn English from our childhood, even though they are crappy English, but it's at least not our mother tongue... And it's only English that we officially learn in schools. When I learned, um, Finnish, every time when I tried to understand the Finnish language or tried to speak, I had to think in English and relate it with English and that kind of helped and kind of ruined the learning process at the same time. It helped because I could relate it with something and ruined because Finnish cannot be compared with English. So, it - well it did not really completely ruin it but there was a lot of problem... But English did help because of course the Finns would not speak Nepali. And all my Friends who taught me Finnish they understood English quite well and we were studying together... (P12)
- (17) I studied just 6-month course for English in Sri Lanka. Then, uh, I worked in a shop, uh, that shop was located in a tourist place. So foreigners come and come and go so at that time I had a chance to speak with them. Then I went to Dubai so there were lot of people from other countries so I used to speak and uh, I watch lot of English movies. So, I listen, watch, everything. (P7)

Participant 12 studied primarily in English during primary schooling and, as in the preceding excerpt, refers to its utility in Finland as a more viable medium of communication than his own native language, Nepali. The informant explains that English is the only language officially studied in schools in Nepal; other languages, like Hindi as he explained later, were learned through media sources and interpersonal contact. He shares the opinion that the English language used in his schooling was of low quality, but still alludes to this being preferable to studies in the locally spoken first language. This suggests that the informant holds English in high esteem, pointing to its worth in comparison to other languages as a medium of instruction and subsequently of international communication. In the interview excerpt from Participant 7 a contrasting experience with English is presented; while English did not play a comparatively significant role in his basic schooling, it was later acquired both through the media and through international contacts in his working life. The near omnipresence of the language in the media and as a mode of communication in his life outside of his home country before relocation to Finland allowed him to become proficient and confident communicating in English. These experiences are depictive of the greater trend of

English as a global language of intergroup communication, aided in its modern-day spread by advancements in communications technology (see Cillia & Busch 2002).

The following excerpt deals with an experience with English and Finnish that contrasts with the preceding:

- (18) Ok, now because I am here in our department in the university, it is full of foreign people, we use English in the department... Yeah, because here in the university, it's the main language in our department but maybe the other departments is different [...] I think I wanted to learn Finnish because in this moment, I wanted to have contact with the family of my ex-girlfriend and they don't speak English. This is one of the reasons I wanted to learn Finnish, but I understood I needed to improve, I needed to learn English in the same time. (P10)

For Participant 10, questions of language learning were influenced by both his social life and possibilities to advance in his studies and career. Not being confident communicating in English or Finnish upon relocation to Finland, the informant had to mitigate his language choices around that which was important in terms of his interpersonal relationships while still taking his possibilities to study and obtain employment. Currently his employment and studies require proficiency in English, while the former also calls for skills in Finnish. This is illustrative of the phenomenon discussed by Forsander (2013: 231–234), in which foreign language speakers in Finland are faced with challenges regarding language requirements that call for skills in the locally spoken language as well as a language of wider communication, commonly English. As discussed, English enjoys a certain level of prestige and elevated status in Finland in comparison to other languages; it is widely used in international degree programmes as a medium of instruction and spoken widely throughout Finland in social and professional settings (see Leppänen et al. 2010). Informant 10 acknowledges this, and as discussed in the interview, recognizes the necessity to simultaneously improve his skills in English and Finnish in order to achieve goals related to his career, studies and social life.

The following excerpt introduces English as a mode of communication among foreign language speakers in Finland, while excerpt 20 presents an alternative, in which one can see the same language of wider communication phenomenon in a non-English context:

- (19) P8: Kakkoskieli on ruotsi, mutta mun mielestä kakkonen on englannin kieli koska monet ihmiset puhuvat englantia. Mutta mun näkökulma, mä sanoisin, että nuoret eniten puhuvat ja osaavat. Yli keski-ikä monet ei osaa englannin kieltä. Ja muut maahanmuuttajat.

[The second language is Swedish, but in my opinion number two is English because many people speak English. But my point of view, I would say, that mostly young people speak and know it. Over middle-aged people, many do not know English. And other immigrants.]

I: Puhuvatko maahanmuuttajat mielestäsi usein englantia keskenään?

[Do immigrants often speak English together in your opinion?]

P8: Kyllä, koska jos kumpikaan ei osaa suomen kieltä vielä ja kumpikin osaa englantia heitä yhdistää englanti. Jos ei muuta kieltä.

[Yes, because if neither of them speak Finnish yet and both speak English they are connected by English. If there is no other language.]

- (20) I started learning Russian and from the third grade English. Then I continued those learning at university also, the same English and Russian. So it's like part of curriculum in my studies, it has been part of curriculum. Well, I use mainly English. With my Finnish friends I sometimes use English or Finnish. But I have also friends from other countries, if they are, uh, if they can use Russian for example from former Soviet Union countries so I speak with them Russian but otherwise I speak English, which is like a lingua franca among foreign students... I think now that I — I speak often English and it became like main language for me. (P11)

Participant 8 presents an opinion on the language situation in Finland; her notion suggests that Swedish, the second official language, in effect falls behind English, which is more widely spoken as a second language by Finnish-speaking youth. This notion could be supported by both the results of the VARIENG study on Finns' perceptions of English (Leppänen et al. 2010) and the current curriculum and data presented on habits of language studies in Finnish basic schooling (see Kangasvieri et al. 2011). The suggestion by Participant 8 that English serves as a facilitator of communication between foreign language speakers in Finland is affirmed by Participant 11, who notes that in her case, this phenomenon is particularly apparent among foreign students. Participant 11, who works and studies as a doctoral student, notes that in her experience English serves not only as a study medium but also as a socially unifying lingua franca and, perhaps as a result, the most significant language in her life in Finland. According to the informant, Russian language also serves a similar social

function in the unification of those able to use it in communication from the former Soviet Union, despite not enjoying the same status as English in Finnish society.

In the following excerpt, Participant 3 explores the role of English in the Finnish as a second language classroom:

- (21) Toki jotain joskus täytyy selittää jotain sanoja tai jonkun lauseen ja silloin tietenkin apukielet ovat sallittuja. Ehkä semmosissa vähän erilaisissa tilanteissa, ei ihan nyt luokassa... että yritetään kovasti käyttää vain sitä, vain suomea. Että kaikki olis tavallaan samassa asemassa koska ryhmässä kuitenkin ei oo niin että 100 prosenttisesti osataan esim englantia. Tai on ihmisiä jotka eivät osaa englantia. Ja eivät osaa kaikki venäjää tai arabiaa, että suomi se on ainoa kieli, ihan alusta asti ummikoille opetetaan kaikki suomeksi. (P3)

[Sure some things sometimes have to be explained or some sentence and then of course helper languages are permitted. Maybe in those kinds of a little bit different situations, not quite in the class... We try hard to only use it, only Finnish. So that everyone would in a way be in the same position because in the group it's still not the case that 100% of us speak for example English. Or there are people who don't speak English. And not everyone speaks Russian or Arabic, so Finnish is the only language, right from the start we teach to monolingual people everything in Finnish.]

According to the excerpt from Participant 3, while English is a prevalent language in many educational contexts in Finland, L2 learning for immigrants requires immersion in Finnish. As a teacher of Finnish in integration education, she notes that not all students speak English, or other languages of wider communication like Russian or Arabic, and for this reason using Finnish as the sole medium of instruction maintains equality in the learning environment. Apart from exceptional situations in which the teacher must give an explanation to the student in a language they are able to better understand, Finnish is the sole language used in the classroom. It remains unclear from the excerpt how students without knowledge of an additional language of wider communication fare in these situations.

The following excerpts are however characteristic of the thoughts on English expressed by those informants who were not confident in communicating in the language, both of whom were enrolled in integration education at the time of interview:

- (22) Kun minä opin suomen kielen kurssin ja hyvin... Ei hyvin mutta melkein hyvin. Minä haluaisin, että puhua myös englantia. Miksi? Koska... Kaikki maailman puhua englantia ja... englantia on... Ei niin vaikea kieli kuin helppo, mutta kaikki

puhua englantia. Kaikki. Ja esimerkiksi jos haluaa mennä, menen Saksa tai... Ranska tai Sveitsi tai... sinä voit jos puhua englantia, ei ole vaikea sinulla koska kaikki puhua, ei hyvin mutta... Voi keskustella ja kysyä ja vastata. (P5)

[I learn the Finnish language course and well... Not well but almost well. I would like to also speak English. Why? Because... Everyone (in the world speaks) English and... English is... Not as difficult as easy, but everyone (speaks) English. Everyone. And for example if you want to go, I go (to) Germany or... France or Switzerland or... you can if (you) speak English, it is not difficult for you because everyone speaks, not well but... One can converse and ask and answer.]

- (23) Luulen, että se on erittäin hyvä jos osaat englantia kun muutat Suomeen, koska se auttaisi. Kaikki opettajat puhuvat englantia. Jos et ymmärrä, saa kysyä, mutta venäjää he eivät tiedä. (P4)

[I think that it is very good if you can speak English when you move to Finland because it would help. All of the teachers speak English. If you don't understand, you can ask but they don't speak Russian.]

While both of the informants of the excerpts above had had limited contact with English in their schooling in their home countries, neither identified themselves as proficient communicators in the language nor did they use it in their day-to-day life in Finland. Participant 5 noted that after becoming proficient in Finnish he would like to learn to speak English, specifying its capacity to advance his chances of international mobility. In contrast, Participant 4 refers to arrival in Finland and L2 studies, noting that her own native language, Russian, was less commonly spoken and thus teachers were unable to answer her questions, while if she spoke English, they could. This affirms the situation described by P3 in excerpt 21; English, although not given any sort of official status in this FSL (S2) in particular, still pervades the learning environment due to its prevalence as an international language. While Russian is also a language of wider communication in its own right, as exemplified in excerpt 20, its reach and community of speakers is not sufficient in this case to serve as an alternative mode of communication in the spaces English is able to.

7.3 Language Switch

In discussions of practical experiences using the languages one has learned, informants shared a number of similar experiences involving language switch. Language switch in the context of this research can be understood to refer to the switch from one language to another, for example mid-conversation. Language switch can also be identified in situations in which one makes a choice on the language to be used in a communicative experience based on some information or assumption about the nature of the situation or the person with whom he/she is speaking. In these cases, language switch refers nearly exclusively to the switch from the most commonly spoken local language, Finnish, to a commonly spoken language of wider communication, English. The following excerpt is illustrative of a fairly common narrative of language switch shared by the interview informants:

- (24) Monet ei ymmärrä, että maahanmuuttaja osaa suomen kieltä... Yleensä itseni minä vastaan suomen kielellä — “ai sä osaat, anteeksi!” Koska he ajattelevat, että maahanmuuttajat ei osaa suomea ja sanoo englanniksi. Jotkut tietää paremmin, puhuvat heti suomen kieltä, ja jotkut yrittävät heti eri kieltä. En tiedä jälkeinpäin olenko hidas. He luulevat, että vastatulleet eivät ymmärrä. Minulla on asiakas, hän ei halua paljon puhuu, hän sanoo “how are you” ja mä sanon “fine!” Vain muutama sana, “mitä kuuluu”. (P8)

[Many people don't understand that an immigrant can speak Finnish... Normally myself I answer in Finnish – “Ah, you can speak (Finnish), sorry!” Because they think that immigrants don't know how to speak Finnish and say it in English. Some know better, they speak Finnish immediately and some try a different language immediately. I don't know afterwards if I am slow. They think that newcomers don't understand. I have a customer, he doesn't want to speak much, he says “how are you” and I say “fine!” Only a few words, “how are you”.]

According to the extract, many speakers of Finnish language assume that immigrants will be unable to sufficiently communicate in Finnish and for this reason make the decision to switch to English, the language of choice for contact across linguistic boundaries. Participant 8 chooses to actively reply in Finnish, commenting that when her Finnish skills are asserted the initiator of the language switch will apologize, surprised. As stated by the informant, while this language switch does not occur in all of her communicative experiences with speakers of Finnish, it is quite common. One must also look into the factors contributing to the assumptions that lead to language switch;

how it is one deduces that someone is an immigrant or foreign language speaker. It is important to note the effect that this has on the informant's opinion of her own proficiency in Finnish; she asks herself after an instance of language switch if she is slow – if her speaking in Finnish was held as impractical for the communicative experience.

Language switch also occurs in the informant's work environment as a trainee. The following extract continues the exploration of catalysts for language switch and its effect on the L2 speaker:

- (25) Everywhere, yeah, everywhere, I mean, at the store if I try to say something in Finnish and then I say some word that I'm not fully... um.. That-that I don't say fully correctly, of course people understand that I'm not Finnish speaking person, they switch to English immediately, and I, I've been explained that it's probably because they want to be friendly, and, uh, especially in stores, they want to show nice customer support, not customer support, customer service. So, they want to be um, they want to speak the language that you speak basically. So they switch to English. For me it's frustrating, because I want to go on and practise my Finnish but I can't. People hear my accent and they want to speak the language that I understand best. (P1)

When answering a supplementary question about where language switch occurs and why, Participant 1 explains that language switch happens everywhere, pointing to the inadequacies of her own L2 skills and mistakes as well as her 'non-native' accent. The informant also shares that she has been told by others that the language switch occurs because those in customer service positions want to offer service in the language the customer understands best. Participant 1 describes the switch as frustrating and again reiterates the issue of accent. Despite a desire to practice and use Finnish to manage one's everyday affairs, events like the identification of a 'non-native' accent, difficulty or slowness of speaking can, according to the past two excerpts, lead to language switch initiated by the Finnish-speaking participant. It can be suggested that this frustration felt by Participant 1 may have a negative effect on second language learning motivation. Critique of one's own language skills were in both of the excerpts identified as possible language switch catalysts; these experiences could be interpreted as having a negative effect on the L2 learner's evaluation of his/her language abilities, which is directly connected with one's resultative motivation (Ellis 2004; Ellis 1997). Additionally, when one's attempts to manage daily affairs in a second language are circumvented through

language switch, the instrumental value of the L2 decreases and as such so does the instrumental motive.

Reasoning for language switch and contrasting views on its effects on opportunities for L2 learners to use their skills in practice are explored in the following excerpts:

- (26) Sometimes it's a little bit challenging because when you are starting using Finnish and then Finns, uh, for example me at the post office or in the shops they reply in English – because of I think that my pronunciation or my poor Finnish they understood that I am a foreigner then they immediately reply in English. This is one thing, that it doesn't give us foreigners to practice our Finnish language skill. But I am trying nowadays to reply in Finnish and to somehow to show that I would like to communicate in order they will also reply me in Finnish, not in English. It can have two explanations. Sometimes we have this discussion also among foreign students, with who I am studying Finnish as a second language. We think sometimes that it is that they don't want to struggle with us, with our poor Finnish. Or sometimes they are really want to help us – they understood that our Finnish is not so good enough and they would like to help us by using English. These two options I can give. But I don't know, of course it depends on the person. For example if we speak about what usually is basic conversation "how are you, what are you doing" or what you did during the weekend, kind of basic conversation, not real – if something is like serious talk then I switch to English. (P11)
- (27) Kaupoissa on helppo, jokaisessa paikassa missä on asiakaspalvelu, jossa ihmiset ovat kiinnostunut ymmärtää sinua. Siel on helppo. Aa, joskus nuoret puhuvat sitä, nuorten kieltä, murrekieli, slängi. Joskus en ymmärrä yhtään! Slängi. Jokaisessa suomessa.. monessa alueessa oma murrekieli, sitä on vaikea joskus ymmärtää. Vähän apua tarvitsee kun muuttaa, ei oo ystäviä, ei oo ketään, ei tiedä mihin mennä. Vaikka ensimmäinen kuukausi tarvitsee ihminen, joka auttaa ja sitten sanoo sinne tarvitsee sinne ja olisi, vähän kuin tulkki, koska ei riitä sitä suomen kieltä. Kun tulin, minulla ei yhtään. Minä en ymmärrä mitään mitä hän sano, myös puhuvat sellaista virallista kieltä, mutta nyt minä ymmärrän. (P4)

[It's easy in stores, in every place where there is customer service, where people are interested in understanding you. It's easy there. Ah, sometimes young people speak that youth language, dialect language, slang. Sometimes I don't understand anything! Slang. In every Finnish... in many regions they have their own dialect language, sometimes it's hard to understand. You need a little bit of help when you move, you don't have friends, you don't have anyone, you don't know where to go. For example the first month you need a person who helps then says you have to go there and there and would be a bit like an interpreter, because your Finnish isn't sufficient. When I came, I didn't have any. I don't understand anything that he/she said, they also speak that kind of official language, but now I understand.]

The excerpts above from Participants 11 and 4 came in response to a discussion about experiences using the Finnish skills one has learned in practice. Participant 11 describes bringing L2 learning from the classroom into practice as challenging, largely due to the habit of Finnish speakers to switch to English when the L2 speaker encounters difficulties. The informant presents a pair of possible explanations, namely that the instigator of the language switch may not have the patience to speak Finnish with the L2 speaker or that he/she wants to be helpful and make their communication as effortless as possible. As in preceding excerpts, the informant told of her persistence in speaking Finnish in the hope that her desire to practice and speak in Finnish will be understood and reciprocated. Participant 11 goes on to say that when a topic goes beyond basic conversation into more serious topics, she actively switches to English.

The above contrasts with the experience of Participant 4, who tells of finding customer service staff to be helpful and have a desire to understand and communicate. The informant has however had more challenging communicative experiences involving for example varying dialects and slang as well as more official registers in Finnish, which she later described having encountered most often in contacts with public sector agencies. Participant 4 however goes on to specify that she now understands this more official talk. The difference lies in the participants' language skills and linguistic habitudes. Participant 11 notes that in more demanding communicative experiences, she instigates language switch, while Participant 4 would have liked to have help in the form of an interpreter or strategy to facilitate communication upon arrival in Finland, but in their absence has come to understand the type of talk she identified earlier as especially difficult. In practice this meant that Participant 4, without much support or the ability to use a language of wider communication in place of Finnish, was exposed to challenging communicative events with few options apart from using an interpreter's services or working to improve her L2 skills. This undoubtedly bolsters the L2 learning instrumental motive; Finnish language skills became a necessity for management of her personal affairs, while it could be said the opposite is true for Participant 11, who is able to handle the same communicative experiences using English.

The following excerpts from Participants 6 and 7 depict motivation in L2 learners and can be used for further examination of languages of wider communication as part of L2 learning:

- (28) If I go to store, if I sometimes... *Suomalainen ei ymmärrä englantia* [The Finn doesn't understand English]. Sometimes. If I go to a store, whatever, because you never speak- I, nowadays, I try not to speak *englantia* [English]. Yeah. Only *suomi* [Finnish]. Nowadays, I try not speaking English, I speak Finnish. Because at school, all my classmates don't speak English. Sometimes if I speak, sometimes I'm mistaking the way I spoke. Like, for example, um, because you know, *tulli, tuuli, tuli...* In one experience that I had, at- where was that? I was at store and buying something, and he said "*MITÄ?! MITÄ?!*" ["WHAT?! WHAT!?!"] and then "*Ah, se on-*" [Ah, it is] - well, *en muista* [I don't remember], but they say "*Ah, tämä on oikein*" [Ah, this is right] and then I was shy, but I say to myself, everyone is not perfect. I mean, you don't be shy, as long as someone is teaching you. Because I prefer it to speak English, because I know it, because *minä puhun suomi hidas* [I speak Finnish slow]. And if I don't understand, like, for example if I go to *työtoimisto* [employment office] or Kela, I don't understand, I said, uh, "*voin puhua englantia?*" [I can speak English?] and they say yeah. For the important thing. (P6)
- (29) Sometimes, uh, you know when I can't... in Finnish, I speak in English. It happened. Yeah, they speak very well in English, I think every person in Finland, they know English. It is the plus and minus. If they don't speak in English, you can learn more quickly... Uh, let's say, it's sometime minus for us. Because, I know English, um, I have to speak in English. If they don't know English, I can try in Finnish, so that's a problem. (P7)

Excerpt 28 presents a situation in which the informant finds at the store that the customer service staff do not understand English and for this reason must speak Finnish. While she explains that she attempts to speak primarily Finnish in any case, this experience offers the L2 learner opportunities to communicate and even receive advice on mistakes or misunderstandings and ultimately complete the conversation using the L2. While she connects this with feelings of shyness or loss of confidence, the ultimate result is a learning experience as the informant points to the positivity of being able to be instructed in a practical communicative experience. Participant 6 notes that despite active efforts to use more Finnish in management of day-to-day tasks, she chooses like other informants to initiate a language switch to English in situations where communication in the L2 would be especially demanding or the subject matter is particularly important. In excerpt 29, Participant 7 highlights the didactic value of practice with Finnish speakers, but asserts that the opportunities for this are hampered

by language switch and the prominence of English in Finland. The participant finds this situation problematic; without the presence of English and Finnish speakers' tendency to switch languages when speaking with L2 learners, one would have more opportunities to practice and learn. Both of the participants show high motivation to learn Finnish through their perseverance in using Finnish in day-to-day situations despite their possibility to use English, a language in which they are more proficient.

In the following extracts participants' notions of visual cues for language switch are explored:

- (30) Yeah, usually they use English when they know I am foreign. But I try to speak straight in Finnish and they maybe, they understand Ok, you want to practice or you want, um - it continues sometimes. When I don't understand something I ask to them if they can repeat, but in Finnish, but in the other form you know? ... Like usually when you are a foreigner and they like saw, and I have seen it many times, no but- I know how to speak Finnish and when they saw that I did a small mistake when I speak, people usually switch immediately to English, and that's not integration. I would say that they need, actually we have talked a lot about this with other foreigners. We think Finnish society needs a lot more foreigners, like at least 10 years to start integrate people. But I think the language is the key in this case, because if you speak in Finnish, they can be like a bit - they can share things with you. I try to follow the conversation in Finnish and this is my way, I don't know. And if they answer all the time in English, of course I feel like maybe they don't understand me when I'm talking in Finnish... And if they answer all the time in English, of course I feel like maybe they don't understand me when I'm talking in Finnish. Of course, like, depends on the place actually. Like in Helsinki, there are some places where there are plenty of foreigners. They can't distinguish who is Finnish and who is not so they will go in straight with the Finnish. But in these places like Tampere and I don't know more in the North, they can recognize who is a foreigner or not. And they, for example, for me it's like always they speak English as soon as I get into a supermarket or another place they speak with me in English. I don't know I think maybe because how I look, because I'm not *blondi* [blond], so I think there are some other factors, other than the language. Yeah, for the appearance, how you look like, yeah, but maybe if you are with other Finnish, like you have a friend or something and they know you speak a little bit Finnish with these people, they may speak straight with you in Finnish because you have a bridge. (P10)

- (31) I think based on their linguistic utterances as I said, but it also depends on the person. Someone can see if you look like a foreigner then they can switch to English but on the other hand, uh... Because nowadays you cannot even say who is Finn and who is not. So this is also not the case anymore that you can justify or can show who has black hair or black skin or whatever. The nationality and - you can not see from the appearance. But Finns usually, I think... based on their language skills, often in my mind. I am not sure, again it depends on person. (P11)

The excerpts above are depictive of similar instances of language switch as those in earlier interview extracts but introduce the subject of language switch based on visible cues or racialized identification. Participant 10 asserts that contact with Finnish speakers using the L2 advances integration while language switch and the assumption that one must use a language of wider communication with non-native speakers is indicative of a native population unaccustomed to the integration of immigrants into society. As was the case in previous instances, the informant questions his own language proficiency and ability to be understood in communicative experiences in which language switch occurs despite repeated attempts to continue the conversation in Finnish.

Participant 10 hypothesises about regions with higher populations of immigrants and language switch, suggesting that in places with larger, established immigrant communities Finnish speakers would not be able to make an assumption about one's preferred language based on visual cues. The informant refers directly to hair colour in this case, but denotes an assumption and language choice based on the looks, race or presumed ethnicity of a participant as opposed to uniquely on the basis of one's accent or grammatical accuracy. When in the company of Finnish speakers, the informant notes that one is more likely to be able to communicate in Finnish with outsiders, perhaps alluding to a situation in which the precedent of language choice in a given communicative experience is set and as such the L2 speaker is more freely able to participate without subsequent language switch. While language switch may decrease one's need to use Finnish to manage in certain situations, and thus instrumental motivation, it does bear great integrative value according to the participant.

Participant 11 goes on in her examinations of language switch to address the same issues of visual cues and racialized language assumptions. In this discussion on the reasons for language switch, the informant asserts that the language switch must be

based on linguistic cues; the Finnish speaker initiates language switch upon noticing the L2 speaker experiencing difficulty. While she addresses the possibility of one's choice of language being based on a speaker's appearance and consequent assumptions about ethnicity and language, it is asserted that this type of identification cannot be justified due to the diversity of the Finnish population. According to Participant 11, one can not presuppose another is a foreign language speaker based on appearance because one's nationality or ethnicity is no longer connected to appearance in an increasingly diverse society. She has however established that one can 'look like a foreigner', providing examples of black hair or skin as non-Finnish, identifiable traits. In this sense, the informant recognizes that language choices based on preconceived, racialized assumptions on identity are not justified, but that this does not phase out the practice outright.

The following excerpt addresses language switch in the context of integrative motivation:

- (32) Yeah, in the beginning, yeah, English is basically the base language that we - it's like a bridge - in the beginning. But now I have friends with whom I don't speak English at all and I try my best to ask the same thing in Finnish. But then when the situation is really critical and I can't do that I have to of course speak English. English is basically the bridge language. Well, when I use Finnish I think it brings me closer to the culture here, too. It helps me, it helped me feel less outside, less alien. And well, actually, when I speak Finnish with my friends I'm able to think that I am a native here. But when I have to use English with Finnish people, then I start to feel like I'm an outsider. (P12)

Participant 12 acknowledges the instrumental value of English in foreign language speakers' lives in the early stages after relocation to Finland. This value was recognized by all of the participants, irrespective of their ability to communicate in English. Reminiscent of other informants' experiences, he notes that exceptionally critical or demanding situations require a switch to English. An integrative orientation can be identified in the participant's discussions on the topics of culture, social relationships and belonging; speaking in Finnish is connected to closeness to the culture, identifying oneself as a 'native' or local and more broadly as less of an outsider. Speaking English in this case has the opposite effect, evoking a sense of not belonging. For Participant 12 who came initially to Finland to study in an primarily English-speaking environment, the initial instrumental motive for learning Finnish may not have been particularly

pressing. In this case however, the desire to learn and communicate in the L2 is bolstered by the integrative orientation - a desire to feel a part of the society through management of his life in Finnish and communication with Finnish-speaking friends using the locally spoken language. This is also indicative of a changing self-identification (see Latomaa et al. 2013), connecting language use and social contacts with his own identity. This identity however lies on a spectrum which is subject to influence, making him feel less that he belongs, 'like a native here', and identifying more as an outsider. While language switch is occasionally necessary to navigate more challenging situations, it has a negative effect on the informant's own perception of his belonging in Finnish society.

In the following interview extract, language switch is seen to not be exclusive to English as well as having the ability to affect language choices in the long term:

- (33) Jos ihminen on vaikka akateeminen, englantia tosi hyvä, suomalaisethan aika helposti lähtee puhumaan englantia — “ah, nythän mä voin harjotella sitä englantia”. Ja esimerkiksi, muitten kielten suhteen ehkä ei niinkään, mut englantia on sellanen, että helposti mennään puhumaan ja jäädään sitten siihen, että yhteinen kieli on englantia. Mut sitten jos englantia ei ole niin vahva tai ihminen maahanmuuttaja, jolla ei ole englantia, ja sitten suomi on yhteinen kieli. Kyllä se vaikuttaa, että suomalaiset mitenkään semmosia hiljaisia ja juroja niinkuin sanotaan. Kyllä ne puhuu jos tutustuu ja sitten on yhteisiä intressejä ja harrastuksia. Ja suomikin jos sujuu sen verran, et - kyllä, pääsee juttuun... Ja sitten venäjää käytän myös hyvin vähän... Työpaikalla en käytä, siis käytän hyvin vähän. Tai yleensä ihmiset ei osaa ajatella että osaan venäjää... Ihan hyvä sitä peitellä, aika usein venäjänkieliset lähtee sitten mukaan, aina sitten ne haluaa kommunikoida, siis opiskelijoista puhun, venäjäksi ja sitten kun jos ne kuvittelee että minä en osaa venäjää, ne yrittää sitten suomeksi. (P3)

[If a person is academic for example, English is very good, Finns start speaking English quite easily – “ah, well now I can practice English”. And for example, perhaps not so with other languages, but English is one that easily one can go and speak and then one continues with English as the common language. But then if English is not so strong or the person is an immigrant who doesn't speak English, and then Finnish is the common language. Yes it seems that Finns are not in anyway these types of quiet and sullen people like it is said. They do speak if they get to know someone and then there are common interests and hobbies. If Finnish also flows well enough that – they do get along... And then I do not use Russian much. At work I don't use it, well I use it quite rarely. Or normally people don't realize that I can speak Russian. It's good to cover it up, quite often Russian speakers will then go with it, always then want to communicate, I'm talking about students, in Russian and then when if they imagine that I don't speak Russian they try in Finnish.]

Here Participant 3 introduces two additional observations on language switch between native speakers and L2 learners in Finland, namely initial language switch having an affect on one's language choices in the long term as well as language switch with languages other than English. It is pertinent to note that, as alluded to in the above extract, language switch is not exclusive to English, although the participant does note that English has a status that differs from that of other foreign languages. Nonetheless language switch is not a phenomenon that should be examined as exclusively language-specific; as the informant states, Russian, another regional language of wider communication, can have the same effect on L2 learning and motivation by giving an accessible alternative to using what one has learned. Participant 3 also refers to language switch as involving Finnish speakers pleased at the opportunity to practice their English and the switch subsequently leading to a longer term effect on language choices in interpersonal communication. She connects this to a deconstruction of stereotypes of the typical Finnish personality. Here one can deduce that language switch and choices of language made in the early stages of building relationships could shape future habits of communication. Additionally, the notion of Finnish speakers' interest in speaking and practicing English language could allude to additional incentive for social contact with foreign language speakers outside of common interests, which would foreseeably affect future language choices as well.

The following excerpt comments on language switch's effects on long-term language choices from the perspective of the L2 learner:

- (34) I think you know. I think, uh, it's a human nature that if you can get along with something then most people just do that. It's just you know, the motivation, or lack of it. Then of course it's a bit challenging when it comes to... uh, learning the language, just because it's so different, but I wouldn't say it's like really, really something you cannot (laughs) overcome. And when it comes to finding a job it can be, um, it can be challenging depending on the area of your expertise. It's by far, or so far, in the IT area it's sort of easy because you can get along with it. But, mm, I think just you know, self-motivation (laughs) or lack of it (laughs). (P2)

This comment from Participant 2 came in response to a discussion about the reasons for language switch and factors in L2 learning success among migrants. The informant refers to the challenges of learning a second language and notes that motivation is ultimately the key to L2 learning success. Alternatively the participant points to what

she calls a fact of human nature; a person will always choose the alternative that allows them to manage with less effort or hardship. As asserted in the excerpt, although the Finnish language presents its own challenges to the learner, they are not impossible to overcome and, according to the informant, the key factor in L2 learners' success is in fact motivation. When faced with deterrents or barriers to L2 learning, the learner must have a strong motive, whether it is instrumental, integrative, resultative or intrinsic (Ellis 1997).

In these excerpts language switch has been seen to be a way to manage communicative situations in which one's L2 skills are insufficient but also as a deterrent to practical use of the L2 with negative effects on learners' motivation. Situations in which language switch between L1 and L2 and language of wider communication occurs are diverse and the change in language can be enacted by either party in communication for a number of reasons. As part of a critical examination of this phenomenon it is important to take into account factors like race, ethnicity and linguistic background that factor into these choices.

7.4 Access in Adult L2 Learning

Access was a key theme in the informant interviews concerning L2 learning and the interviewees' opportunities to study and use their language skills in practice. In this research, the word access is used to refer to foreign language speakers' opportunities to access spaces and situations in which they are able to learn, study, practice and use Finnish in their professional and personal lives. Given the diverse sampling of informants, the circumstances around each informant's access were unique and shaped by the individual's life situation and experiences relocating to Finland. Reasons for relocation to Finland as well family, study and employment situations were seen to affect issues of access.

Participant 1 describes her experience relocating to Finland in the following excerpt:

- (35) Well when I came here my studies of Master's degree, they were in English, so it was fully international programme and I didn't feel any need to study Finnish, but of course we had mandatory classes... So that's the thing, because I didn't

feel a need to speak English - uh, to speak Finnish - because I was submerged in the English language community in a way, those were either exchange students or then the English language speaking teachers, professors. So I didn't continue studying Finnish, and I started at a job so I didn't complete my studies but I started working full time, and that was again an international environment and most of the people spoke English fluently or then used English as their business language... English I speak with my husband. I try to speak primarily Russian with my daughter, but because English is more, you know, the common language in the household, you know she hears a lot of English as well, and occasionally I speak English to her as well. I hear Finnish when my husband speaks to our daughter or his friends or family, but I don't take part in those conversations mostly. ...I try to not speak Finnish around our daughter, because my Finnish is so bad and I don't want her to learn that same way. At work I speak English all the time, except for with a few Russian-speaking people there, so, at lunchtime, I could speak Russian with them... but I would say that 80% of the time it's English language. So, all these situations, at the stores, at the restaurants, in the city it's - I speak English. (P1)

In this excerpt, Participant 1 shares her experiences of relocating to Finland initially to study in an English-medium Master's degree programme, followed by her transition into working life and establishing her family. With few exceptions, English has been the primary mode of communication in schooling, working life and family life. The English-medium degree programme offered not only teaching in English but also an entire community in which the informant lived, studied and formed social relationships. She was subsequently able to find employment in an international, English-speaking working environment where opportunities to speak Finnish were few, despite the staff offering occasional opportunities to speak in her native language, Russian. In this case the international degree programme, despite its offering of initial basic Finnish courses, created a space within Finnish society in which the foreign language speaker did not experience the integrative or instrumental motive for L2 learning, as the language of wider communication sufficed for her most immediate needs. As was suggested in excerpt 33 by Participant 3, language switch and the initial social contacts that take place in a non-domestic language of wider communication are able to become long-term language habitues. Participant 1 feels that her parental responsibilities, including ensuring that her child hears and acquires Finnish from the native parent as well as her desire to share her own native language mean that the primary language of familial communication is English. These factors influence one's opportunities to use the L2 in practical situations; when one is required or compelled to speak another language in one's school, work and family life, little room is left for L2 learning and practice.

This topic is explored further in the following two excerpts:

- (36) Well first of all I think the language, the language barrier affects a lot. Yeah, so that's the first thing I'll say, and I think also it depends on the environment to come to... If you come alone, join a university or some institution, let's say university, it's quite different because after school everybody goes home and are at home in their rooms or with their international friends. So you don't really meet the Finnish students at school because you are with the international community. So, yeah, it is quite separated, the Finnish students and the international students throughout my 4 years studies. So, uh, I think that played a major role in my small - like, I felt the integration was, I felt like I belonged to a different, you know, community when I came... Our school never had these - never built bridges between us and the companies, so it's like the companies don't trust you, they don't know you. So, that's true, now I feel like I'm fighting this battle alone, because, you know, I'm alone in a foreign country and trying to find a job in a Finnish-speaking country. They could definitely make it easier because most of the students I know who studied with me, they're moving away from Finland after graduating. So what's the point of educating people in Finland if all of them leaving? I'm not saying they're responsible for everyone getting places and all of that, but if you look at the statistics I think 99% of the international students either leave Finland or move away from the field they are studying here. I could be able to go for interviews in Finnish, job interviews in Finnish. I could be able to access more job search engines and I could have more information about my field of study, about finding jobs in companies. (P9)
- (37) I think one thing that could be improved - providing more language courses to foreigners. In order to be able to have this integration process faster, intensive Finnish language courses, it would be good if the foreigners could take part in at the beginning when they arrive in Finland. This could promote their integration process. (P11)

Participants 9 and 11 both originally relocated to Finland as students, as did Participant 1, to take part in English-medium education programmes. While for Participant 11 this education also served as her employment, Participant 9 was in the transitional stage between graduation and entering the labour market. The informant makes reference to feelings of isolation from the community of local students within an international, English-speaking student community. He also asserts that inadequate support from his post-secondary institution is visible in this transitional phase; additional facilitated market contacts as well as language and societal education could have assisted in gaining access to the labour market. According to the informant, language skills could aid in gaining access even to Finnish-only job search engines and help one to be able to participate in a job interview in Finnish. Participant 11 asserts that intensive language education for newcomers to Finland starting from the time of relocation could advance

one's integration. While those who relocated to Finland as students in this research did mention compulsory basic Finnish studies as part of their degree programmes, these types of courses are not comparable to integration education.

It has been affirmed that the transition to the labour market can be particularly challenging for foreign graduates in Finland due to insufficient domestic language skills and employers' hesitance to hire international employees (Kiuru 2012: 33–34). This phenomenon is reflected in the excerpt from Participant 9, who points to isolation, language skills and lacking networks as factors exacerbating his search for employment. Additionally, public sector strategy names challenges like those faced by Participant 9 as areas that need particular attention in combination with the continued internationalisation of Finnish post-secondary institutions (Ministry of Education 2009: 10–11). While internationalisation and the offering of additional opportunities for universities to welcome foreign students and researchers often means increased offerings of English-medium programming, the international —but primarily English— environment created thereby seem to limit foreign students' access to the benefits of integration and L2 learning.

In the following extracts Participants 7 and 5 explore comparable phenomena of isolation from the local community and thus L2 learning, opening the discussion to include also barriers arising from one's working life:

- (38) I worked four years so I didn't learn anything. Not even one word. So I worked with my friends, they were also our people in Sri Lanka, Tamils, so there was no chance to learn. So then, um, I stopped my work. The company stopped me because they had an economic problem, so then um, I thought that this is the chance to learn. So that's why I applied for Finnish course. - Did you learn any Finnish while working? - Just you know, a few words, *yksi, kaksi, kiitos* [one, two, thank you], and those. There were only Sri Lankans and Estonians, so they don't speak Finnish. (P7)
- (39) Mutta kun minä olin töissä, minä olin myös- öö... suomen kielen kurssilla vain kolme kuukautta... Mutta oli tosin vähän aikaa. Kaks päivää viikossa ja neljä tunti viikossa. Vain... Mutta oli vaikea koska minun täytyy menin kello viisi iltapäivä kello kahdeksan loppu ja sitten heti töihin. Ja minä paljon stressi, minä opin tosi vähän... Jos minä etsin töitä minä haluaisin, että ovat kaikki suomalaista. Koska jos ovat albanialaista, niin minä menin tosi takana koska puhuu aina albania. Ja jos ovat suomalaista, on parempi, koska opin koko vuosi paljon sanoja ja puhua. Suomeksi. Nyt, um, minä täytyy puhua suomeksi ja etsi

töitä suomalainen firmassa. Mutta en tiedä. Ku sen jälkee minä mietin että otan ajokortin bussilla ja ajan bussinkuljettaja. (P5)

[But when I was working, I was also- uh... in a Finnish language course only for three months... But it was very little time. Two days a week and four hours a week. Only... But it was difficult because I must I went at five o'clock afternoon at eight o'clock it ended and then immediately to work. And I much stress, I learned very little... If I look for work I would like that they are all Finnish. Because if they are Albanian I will go very behind because they always speak Albanian. And if they are Finnish, it's better, because I learn the whole year many words and to speak. In Finnish. Now, um, I have to speak in Finnish and look for work in a Finnish company. But I don't know. Because after it I think that I'll take a driver's license for the bus and I'll drive bus driver.]

Both Participants 5 and 7 shared experiences in their informant interviews of working in environments in which at least one of the primary spoken languages was their own native tongue. In both cases, this experience paired with their subsequent loss of this employment and enrollment in integration education has intensified their desire to study Finnish and as expressed by Participant 5, find work in a primarily Finnish-speaking environment to support his learning. This is reflective of the concept of labour enclaves presented by Pendakur and Pendakur (2002: 3–4); the participants were able to find work in which their own native language was sufficient as well as make contact with their linguistic community. The nature of the work and the linguistic environment however had in these cases a negative effect on their L2 studies. Both of the participants explained that they did overnight work, which left little time or availability for appropriate Finnish courses, although Participant 5 did attempt to study simultaneously.

These working situations, in which the participants were able to earn their living working with speakers of their own native language, did not however offer the informants all that they needed for integration, L2 learning and personal development, which is indicative of insufficient institutional completeness (Breton, 1975 in Pendakur & Pendakur, 2002). Participant 5 for example had, since accessing integration language education, set a goal for his professional development which was dependent on the improvement of his L2 skills. As was evident in other excerpts, L2 skills are key in realising goals related to one's own development, whether they be related to one's career, education, social networks or civic engagement. This can be related to Esser's (2003: 11) suggestion of goal-achievement (gaining of 'country capital') for migrants and the challenges that arise through the disparity in value attributed to ethnic group and

national capital. While the ethnic group capital of the participants was able to secure them work, they both were in need of 'national capital' to move forward in their studies and professional lives.

The following excerpt deals with two instances of discrimination in communicative experiences with Finnish speakers:

- (40) I notice about *suomalainen* [Finnish], even though you are so nervous and you need to smile and say hello, especially near my house, my neighbour, I say "Moi!" [Hi!] and [long pause] Nothing, just not speaking. I don't know why they're scared! I'm not sick, I'm fine, I'm healthy! I don't know why you can't say hi to me! It's like that, my neighbour. Every time, because I have kids, my kids play outside, and because they have kids, and I said "You can play with them" and my kids says "*Tule tänne leikkii mun kanssa*" [Come here and play with me] and their mother says "*Ei, älä mene*" [No, don't go]. Yeah, I experienced that. Some don't like because sometimes some Finnish guy also think that, uh, other country for example - koska everyone think that I'm *thaimaalainen* [Thai], that we're thaimaalainen. One time, to be honest with you I speak real, I'm going to Stockholm, then with my friend, then there is a suomalaisen, I think he is at least something like, I'm sure he is rich. Then of course, you know, you are a woman, you party, you wear nice. Then he says to me "*paljonko hintasi on?* how much are you? How much you are?" I said "What?! *Mitä sinä* - what?" Why, because, he think that easy woman, yeah. What? He think we're cheap to buy, "you think I'm cheap?" Excuse me, I'm married, I have kids. It's like that. I experience that also. Yeah because that's like - why is it like that? And I tell that one to my husband and my husband joke to me "say that you are *kallis!*" [expensive] And I say to myself, "why is it like that?" Do I need to be, like wear normal clothes so that noone will ask me, or why is it like that? (P6)

Participant 6 shares two experiences in this excerpt that relate to her access to establishing social relationships in Finland as well as access to spaces that are normally open to the public without fear of discrimination or harrassment. In both of these excerpts, race, perceived ethnicity and visibility are central themes. The first example comes from the participant's home, where she feels that her Finnish neighbours are unwilling to engage in polite conversation or allow their children to play together. This is a clear barrier to the establishment of social relationships with Finnish speakers which the participant interprets as resulting from ethnic or racial discrimination. In the second example given in this narrative, the informant indicates that Finns perceive her to be from Thailand. In a racialized sexist comment a man asks the participant her price, effectively denying her access to a safe, recreational environment free of discrimination. As Wiley (2000: 72) suggests, while the participant had not given the man in this

incident any indication of her ethnicity or mother tongue, her race – which she is not able to 'mute' – was the subject of a degrading and discriminatory comment. These cases highlight the need to avoid painting all forms of discrimination against immigrants with a broad brush; ethnicism, linguicism, sexism and racism as well as other relevant forms of discrimination deserve and demand attention in critical analyses of this type. These experiences are undoubtedly important in an examination of the participant's experience learning and using Finnish however as they play a role in the social process of language learning and her access to constructive contacts with the local community.

The following excerpt continues the examination of access to situations in which L2 learners are able to use and practice Finnish in social situations:

- (41) Ok, now because I am here in our department in the university, it is full of foreign people we use English in the department... But outside of the university, in the streets, in the markets I try to speak in Finnish, but it is I think maybe 40%... Now, I use more than when I came here, because when I came here I didn't understand anything, and I didn't understand the first year. I studied but you can't understand everything, you can't. I find hard to understand. After the course I went to work, I worked like a waiter, like a assistant of waiter and I needed in this moment, it was a moment when I start to speak and try to understand with others, you know? You know in this environment, working in restaurants, you have to make everything now and quickly. You don't have time to think long time... They don't know like, they usually don't know that you want to learn Finnish. Of course there are groups that are especially for those, that exchange the language. But they don't know that you have the intention of learning the language... for example - I participate in a soccer team and we have a club that the meaning of the club is like integrate people, foreign people with Finnish. We have people in the team from Finland and foreign people. We usually, we for example, we speaking Finnish there, they continually speaking Finnish, because it's a different environment and they know what is the mission of the club. (P10)

Participant 10 shares his experience immersed in an English-medium work and study environment at a university and compares this time with his first job in Finland, working as a waiter's assistant in a restaurant. This experience clearly gave increased instrumental value to Finnish as the second language; initially basic skills in Finnish were required to access the job and the working in the Finnish-speaking environment gave the informant an opportunity to advance his own language skills. However, due to the pace and type of working environment, one's place of employment is not always the

most conducive to constructive practice and L2 learning. To address this, the informant takes part in an organisation whose objective is to connect Finnish speakers with L2 learners through sport with the express mission of creating opportunities to communicate in Finnish and advance integration. Here the awareness of the Finnish speakers in the group of these integration and L2 learning-related objectives provides the foreign language speakers access to an aware, social and open learning environment.

In the following excerpt the theme of integration education and its ability to provide sufficient language skills for future studies in Finland:

- (42) Aina sanotaan, että kursseja vähän ja en pääse kurssille, lehdet kirjoittaa “kurseille pitkä jono”... Mun mielestä ei oo kovin pitkä jono, aikaisemmin oli vielä huonommin asiat... Kotoutumista tuetaan tällä hetkellä omasta mielestäni aika hyvin... Jotkut, ei enemmistö, ei osaa sitä arvostaa. Monissa maissa on näin mut Suomessa sinulle tarjotaan kurssi - pitkä, vuoden mittainen kurssi on sopiva mun mielestäni ja sitten vielä tarjotaan rahaa elämiseen, tuetaan asu- asumista ja niin poispäin. Et se on hyvin järjestetty. Toki sanon vielä kerran, et aina voi järjestää jotenkin paremmin. Esimerkiksi, öö, tällainen juttu, tai tällainen paikka nyt ehkä puuttuu kotoutumiskoulutuksesta - se kotoutumiskoulutus, joka tähtäis olee B1.1, ja sen jälkeen puuttuu paikka - yks paikka, esimerkiksi kun haluaa ammattikouluun mennä, vaikka lähihoitajaksi opiskelemaan, se taso on B2. Eli pitää olla vielä jotakin vähän ehkä akateemisille, ehkä... Eli B2:n saavuttamiseen - ei oo mitään semmosta. Kun on joku hyvä opiskelija, joka vois sitä kielitaitoa sitä B2 saavuttaa - kotoutumiskoulutus loppu. No mihin sitten? (P3)

[It is always said that there are too few courses and I cannot get into a course, the papers write that “long queues into courses”... I think think the queue is not so long, before things were even worse... Integration is supported quite well at the moment in my opinion... Some, not the majority, do not appreciate it. In many countries it’s like this but in Finland you’re offered a course – a long, year-long course is appropriate in my opinion and then they offer still money for living, they support liv- living and so on. So it’s well organized. Sure I’ll say once more that things can always be organized better. For example, uh, this sort of thing, or this sort of place is maybe missing from integration education – that integration education that would aim to be B1.1 and then after that the place is missing – one place, for example when one wants to go to professional school or study to be a care worker, the level is B2. So there must still be something for those a bit maybe academic, maybe. So for the achievement of B2 – there’s nothing of that sort. When someone is a good student who could achieve the language skills, the B2 – integration education ends. Where to then?]

In this extract, Participant 3 addresses statements and widely held opinions about the availability of places in integration education that she considers to be unfounded. The

informant makes references to the assistance provided to students of integration education and a lack of appreciation for these services, which are considered effective in comparative international reports (Huddleston et al. 2011). She does however note the lacking availability of appropriate additional education for those immigrants wishing to go beyond the B1.1 level of proficiency that integration education holds as its objective level (Opetushallitus 2012: 11). This is relevant to the topic of access in that the goal proficiency level in integration education is not seen to be suitable for those wishing to continue their studies to specialise in a professional field or access post-secondary education. While the B1.1 level of language proficiency is in these cases insufficient for access to further education, it is a commonly applied standard goal level in many official respects from the acceptance of foreign medical credentials to the granting of Finnish citizenship (Latomaa et al. 2013: 175–176).

The following excerpt, also from Participant 3, provides an alternative point of view on the idea of motivation and access in L2 learning:

- (43) Maahanmuuttajathan aika usein sanoo “ei kukaan puhu suomea, missä minä puhun suomea?”, mikä on ihan pötyä. Se ei oo totta, Suomessa aina voi löytää paikka, missä voi puhua. Se on aina itsestään kiinni... Aina sanotaan että ei oo, ei oo, mutta sitten kun tehdään, sitten ei tavoiteta niitä maahanmuuttajia. Mut kuitenkin se on erittäin hyvä kurssi, mut silloin kysytään maksetaanko, maksaako Kela? Vaikka kurssi on ilmainen. Ja sitten vaikka pääsee ilmaiseksi — tai pitäisi vielä jotakin saada, varsinkin kysytään sosiaalivirkailijoilta, että bussilippu, halutaan vielä bussilippu ilmainen saada... Se on vähän ikävää. Tässä kotoutumisessahan aika usein puhutaan, miten järjestetään tai miten pitäis opettaa tai missä ei ole mitä, mut aika vähän puhutaan maahanmuuttajien omasta vastuusta. Mun mielestä asia numero yksi kotoutumisessa on ihmisen oma vastuu. Okei, joskus voi olla vaikea tilanne, esimerkiksi pakolainen, perheongelmia, tai ei ole pakolainen mut sairaus ja niin pois päin. Joka tapauksessa aikuinen kun ja jos tulee Suomeen, useimmiten aikuiset ihmiset muuttaa vapaaehtoisesti Suomeen... Suomi tarjoaa ehkä paljon mahdollisuuksia. Kolmas sektori, järjestöt, kotoutumiskoulutus, iltakurssit, aina löytyy jotakin, että jos ihminen on asunut 10 vuotta Suomessa eikä puhu suomea, semmostakin löytyy, ja aina joku on syyllinen ja aina sanotaan “TE-toimisto ei anna kurseja” tai “naapuri Virtanen ei puhu suomea”. Hirveän harva maahanmuuttaja sanoo, että “voi että, itse olen laiska”. En ole koskaan kuullut... Se on vähän kuin laihduttamista. Jokainen tavallaan lihava ihminen ehkä tietää, miten täytyy laihduttaa, tai mitä täytyy tehdä, jotta laihtuis: syö vähemmän, liiku enemmän. Mut sitten jos ei onnistu, hän tietää et “ahaa, nyt taas minä en jaksa sitä laihduttamista. Nyt ostin sitä suklaata,” tai “en jaksa nyt lenkille mennä”. On aina itsestään kiinni - jos sinä et laihtu, teet jotakin väärin. (P3)

[Immigrants do say quite often "noone speaks Finnish, where do I speak Finnish?", which is rubbish. It's not true, in Finland one can always find a place to speak. It's always dependent on the oneself... It is always said that there isn't, there isn't, but then when it's done, then immigrants cannot be reached. But it is anyway a very good course, but then they ask if it is paid for, does Kela pay? Even though the course is free. And then although they get in for free — or they should still get something else, especially they ask social officials about the bus ticket, they want to get a free bus ticket... It's a bit unfortunate. Well in integration we often speak about how to organize and how we should teach or where we don't have what, but we speak quite rarely about immigrants' own responsibility. In my opinion the number one thing in integration is the person's own responsibility. Ok, sometimes there may be a difficult situation, for example a refugee, family problems, or is not a refugee but has a sickness or something to that effect. In any case when one is an adult when and if they come to Finland, most often adults move to Finland voluntarily... Finland maybe offers many opportunities. The third sector, organisations, integration education, evening courses, one can always find something, so if someone has lived for 10 years in Finland and does not speak Finnish, there are situations like that as well, and someone is always to blame and they always say "the Employment Office doesn't give any courses" or "my neighbour Virtanen doesn't speak Finnish". Very rarely does an immigrant say "oh no, I'm lazy". I've never heard... It's a bit like dieting. Every overweight person knows in a way how to diet/lose weight or what to do in order to lose weight: eat less, exercise more. But then if they don't succeed, they know "Ah, now I once again don't feel up to losing weight. Now I bought some chocolate," or "now I don't feel like going for a run". It's always dependent on oneself – if you don't lose weight, you're doing something wrong.]

In this excerpt the informant shares contrasting opinions on motivation and access in L2 learning in Finland. Participant 3 points to the availability of courses while claiming that in many cases, L2 learners can be demanding in terms of the type of course and additional services offered, giving examples of requests for support for bus tickets and living expenses. The informant points to those who have relocated voluntarily to Finland, recognizing separately the exceptional situations faced by refugees and those with complications in their family lives or health, asserting that in Finland there is an abundance of opportunities to access L2 instruction. While instruction and programming are offered by the public and private sectors as well as non-governmental organizations, the problem is in her opinion a lack of motivation on the part of the L2 learner. In this argument, a foreign language speaker's failure to access L2 education or other services that support L2 acquisition can be attributed in equal measure to the immigrant's own level of motivation or initiative. The participant in this case appears to view one's voluntary relocation to Finland as necessitating a high level of L2 learning

motivation, asserting that adequate services are available for those who are willing to make the concessions to access them.

The above extracts are reflective finally of access to the labour market and discrimination, an issue of access that arises in public discourse surrounding immigration (see Chapter 3.1) and integration policy as well as heavily in research and public sector strategy (see Castaneda et al. 2012; Haavisto 2012; Jaakkola 2009; Sisäasiainministeriö 2013). The following excerpt from Participant 4 addresses difficulties faced by immigrants in accessing the labour market:

- (44) Työnantajat eivät halua maahanmuuttajia töihin. Lähetän niitä hakemuksia, jos viisikymmentä lähetän, hyvä jos yksi vastaa, että tällä hetkellä ei ole. Eivät vastaa, ei mitään. Minä luulen, että niillä on paljon tullut hakemuksia eikä oo aikaa vastata. Riippuu ihmisestä... Luulen, että tämä on niin kaikissa valtioissa. Ensin otetaan omia ihmisiä ja sitten maahanmuuttajia, Venäjällä on sama! No, se tuntuu... Niin ku, tuntuu siltä, että ihmisillä on erilainen asenne... Suhtautuu eri tavalla... mutta ei aina. (P4)

[Employers don't want to hire immigrants. I send those applications, if I send fifty, good if one answers that there is none at the moment. They don't answer, nothing. It depends on the person... I think it is so in all states. First they take their own people and then immigrants, it's the same in Russia! Well, it feels... Like, it feels like people have a different attitude. They relate in a different way... but not always.]

- (45) Well, there is, there is some of that [discrimination] but it's a minority. But there is. But sometimes I feel, um, there is like just insecurities bringing all these problems. Because maybe they're insecure, you're a foreigner you come and take the jobs and all these things. So, there is, there is, but it's a minority group. (P9)

In their informant interviews, Participants 4 and 9 reflected a phenomenon that has been established in international research done on integration and barriers to employment. Immigrants often face discrimination based on their language, accent, ethnicity and other factors linking them to the non-majority population when searching for work (Birrell & McIssac 2006: 110). While Participant 4 relates this to her own home country and similar practices there, Participant 9 draws a connection between the discrimination and anxiety surrounding the economic situation and immigrants occupying spaces one perceives should be for the local population. While it is not possible from this extract to deduce with any certainty that the participants' fruitless attempts to find employment are the result of discrimination, their perception of this discrimination in the search for work is indicative of awareness of the issue in their own lives. It is important to note

that apart from financial independence, lack of access to the job market also excludes the participants from intergroup contact, L2 learning in practice as well as opportunities for personal and professional growth at work.

8 CONCLUSIONS

In the informant interviews, participants shared their motivations and goals in L2 learning for integration, which included the objectives of obtaining work, accessing education, civic engagement, intergroup contact and the creation of social relationships as well as a sense of belonging. As asserted by Dörnyei (2009: 118), participants' motives were not solely related to the acquisition of the second language but were rather intertwined with social processes, identity-building, intergroup relations and personal change. The differing life situations of the informants were clearly in a central role in defining key motivators. For some, L2 learning was not the key to accessing employment but held integrative value, while for others, achieving communicative competence (see Littlewood 2004) in Finnish was key to accessing education and entering the job market.

As stated in the first research question, it was important to identify motives as well as challenges in the informant data. Integration-related L2 goals related to access to employment or education can be understood as instrumental motives; they are not inherently social or interpersonal goals, rather personal objectives which necessitate proficiency in the L2 (Ellis 1997: 74; Liuolienė & Metiūnienė 2006:94). L2 learning goals related to intergroup contact, civic engagement or achieving a sense of belonging can be interpreted as displays of integrative motivation. As Ellis (1997: 75, 536) and Liuolienė & Metiūnienė (2006: 94) explain, these are interpersonal or intergroup-oriented interests or motives that stem from a desire for communication, understanding or some sort of group membership in the language community. Resultative motivation was explored in the participant interviews from the viewpoint of informants' positive and negative experience using Finnish in practice. It is important to take resultative motivation into account when analysing narratives about communicative experiences told by L2 learners. Issues that arose in the research like language switch have a clear impact on one's impression of their own ability communicate effectively in Finnish. Motivation should not then be considered a static or causal value in this analysis, but rather as suggested by Ellis (2004: 537) be interpreted as subject to influence in change as the result of relevant events and experiences.

Working outward from the informants' shared experiences, barriers first at the interpersonal communicative level can be identified. Language switch as discussed in the informant interviews, when initiated by the Finnish speaker, had the ability to negatively affect the participant's perception of their own language skills. This is indicative of Ellis' (1997: 76) notion of negative resultative motivation, as are situations in which participants encountered increased discrimination as intergroup contacts became more common. When one considers L2 learning as a communicative process occurring inside and outside the classroom as suggested by Latomaa et al. (2013: 168-169), this type of language switch acts as a form of exclusion from communicative events in the L2 and thus also from communication as an equal member of the linguistic community. Disallowing communication in the commonly spoken local language is a form of differentiation and denial of group membership, which may arise from the participant's language ability or accent, as suggested by Pendakur & Pendakur (2002: 4). It can be deduced that switch initiated on the basis of accent or proficiency acts as devaluation of one's linguistic capital, reflective of linguicism (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1998), in that the non-native's L2 skills are considered unfit to manage one's affairs or carry out a conversation, opting rather to use a language of wider communication.

Language switch was not solely perceived to be triggered by identification of a speaker's non-native accent or proficiency, but was also seen to be a racialized occurrence in which participants felt their 'non-Finnish' looks resulted in the choice to use a language of wider communication. This language switch is indicative of assumptions made regarding an individual's ethnicity and language ability on the basis of their appearance, which demonstrates the suggestion made by Wiley (2000: 72) regarding the unmutability of race in comparison to language or culture. This connection of appearance to culture or language as well as group membership is reflective of a greater hierarchal inequality and pervasive existing discourse on race and identity.

The theme of language switch bears similarities to that of access; many times access to communication in the L2 was denied through a choice to use a language of wider communication like English. Issues of access like relative isolation in an English-speaking, international school or work environment can be seen to reduce the

instrumental and integrative values of L2 learning. Pendakur & Pendakur (2002: 3–4) discussed the concept of language as part of group membership, noting that one's definition of group membership can lie on a spectrum. Insufficient access to intergroup contacts using the L2 can thus be presumed to decrease one's sense of group association, as evidenced by participants' narratives related to their feelings of frustration and lack of belonging due to an inability to understand or communicate using Finnish. As McGroarty (2002: 24) states, the ability to speak the local language is key in the identification of members of a group and in the prevention of foreign language speakers' social or economic exclusion. Participants' experiences of limited intergroup contact, discrimination or a common unwillingness to speak Finnish with a foreign language speaker are reflective of situations in which one's non-membership is defined and the integrative value of L2 learning suffers.

The role of English in integration and L2 learning shared by the participants was undeniably significant, making it relevant not only to the third research question but pervasive in all examinations of the informant data and related LP. It was the primary language to which Finnish speakers switch in communication and informants' shared experiences are reflective of its dominant role as *lingua franca* in Finnish society (see Leppänen et al. 2010). Many informants were immersed in English-medium school or work environments and oftentimes this was seen to reflect onto their social lives as well. As switching to English and isolation within English-dominated environments were seen to reduce all relevant forms of L2 learner motivation at an interpersonal level, it is important to understand the functions of English in Finland as well as the ramifications of its occupation of such a prominent space in the linguistic landscape. The cultural form of linguistic imperialism described by Phillipson (1998: 104) is evident in the participants' narratives. This occurs when the role of English as the language of international communication is affirmed and perpetuated in communicative events where the Finnish speaker switches to English, thus assigning the foreign language speaker a non-member or outsider role. As evidenced by the aforementioned linguistic and racialized triggers for language switch, this role assignment through language switch does not occur in an ideological vacuum, but is rather reflective of pervasive discourses of inequality.

English is often dominant and a language prerequisite in the modern Finnish workplace, although proficiency in the locally spoken language are nonetheless often a barrier for foreign workers and particularly international graduates of Finnish post-secondary institutions (Forsander 2013: 231–234; Kiuru 2012: 33–34). While this was not the case for all participants, domestic language requirements in working life, despite skills in English, were often seen to be a barrier. Additionally, English was seen to be less able to ensure one's access to professional and personal development through, for example, education. As the practically unrivalled language of international communication in use in Finland, English is however able to allow its speakers a certain amount of social power and access, even without skills in the local language.

As suggested by Pennycook (1998), the ability of English to be utilised by its speakers in the post-colonial context for their own purposes can be empowering; among the research participants, many may not have been afforded the opportunities for study or work in Finland without a certain level of proficiency in a locally spoken language of wider communication. Also, English was seen to be an alternative language choice for some, which was used actively in especially serious or hard to manage situations in which one's Finnish skills were insufficient. Tollefson's (2000: 17–18) rebuttal however, despite recognizing the ability of English to provide these opportunities to achieve economic equality, notes that benefits are often circumvented by existing social and political factors. For example, inequalities are perpetuated in that English is often an additional requirement in accessing employment, limiting access to non-speakers, even in spite of local language skills. A language of wider communication may also not enable a foreign language speaker to become civically engaged or participate in valuable forms of public discourse, as evidenced by Van Dijk's (2000: 73–76) and supported by informant experience.

As affirmed in the research questions, it was important for the analysis to identify relevant phenomena in language planning for migrants to contextualize the informant data. Language planning in Finland for foreign language speaking migrants has a marked focus on equipping L2 learners with the skills needed to enter the workforce (see Opetushallitus 2012; Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015; Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2012b). This is indeed reflective of Lo Bianco's (2008:113–114)

assertion that language-in-education planning can often be done keeping in mind the particular requirements of the labour market. This is not however a phenomenon that is exclusive the education of immigrants or even to acquisition planning alone. For example, language-in-education planning involving English for basic education in Finland as well as individual language choices in schooling are reflective of a perceived economic value of English in its elevated status (see Kangasvieri et al. 2011). Additionally the status and prestige ascribed to English in post-secondary institutions and the modern Finnish workplace (see Forsander 2013; Kiuru 2012) denote a perception of value in enabling intergroup communication, 'internationalisation' and economic opportunities. Here we see linguistic hegemony in the language planning in place in Finland in its perpetuation of the structural dominance of English (Phillipson 1998: 104)

While English is seen in the informant interviews to enable mobility and intergroup communication to a certain extent, its role in the lives of foreign language speaking migrants is not uniquely positive. Language planning that focuses heavily on the economic integration of migrants does not address the needs for social integration and societal skills/civic engagement experienced by immigrants who, for example, are in a primarily English speaking environment in Finland. The planning in place does also not sufficiently address the reality of integration needs of those perceived to be temporary or fixed-term residents, like foreign graduates. This is despite public strategy indicating a desire for internationalisation in post-secondary sector that would then advance the development of a multicultural society as well as the access of foreigners to the labour market (Ministry of Education 2009: 10–11).

Difficulties entering the labour market due to insufficient Finnish skills are indicative of a need for greater investment in the L2 learning of foreign students, for example, if policy goals of internationalisation in post-secondary education and subsequently the labour market are to be realized. Language planning that perpetuates the dominant status of English and linguistic hegemony, may be seen here to be flawed in its neglect of the reality of more diverse linguistic dynamics in integration. From the perspective of Esser's (2003) work, one would need a recognition of something beyond ethnic group capital and national capital. The need is to address not only social capital and language

skills from an immigrant's home and receiving countries, but also internationally usable language skills and social capital like English, international experience and contacts.

As suggested by Lo Bianco (2008: 113–118), language planning to accommodate economic needs can result in unequal relationships between speech communities. Beyond the difficulties faced by those with proficiency only in a language of wider communication in matters of economic integration, the perception of English as a language of intergroup contact can be noticed in participants' experiences of interpersonal communication and L2 use. Existing discourses of racialized and discriminatory criteria for group membership materialize in the Finnish speaking population's language choices in everyday communication with foreign language speaking immigrants. These language choices trickle down from established discourses on the role of English in society into the ground-level communicative experiences.

While Finnish language planning for foreign language speakers addresses issues of integration in a way that is appreciated internationally, there is a need to re-evaluate current LP practices in relation to the achievement of integration goals with more attention paid to the role of English and its interaction with existing discourses of inequality. As Tollefson (2002: 4) affirms, critical approaches to language planning should seek to not only identify and deconstruct problem areas but also make suggestions for their improvement through LPP. This research suggests that language planning should take into account the capacity of languages of wider communication like English to both unify and segregate, noting the ramifications of its presence in various domains and addressing these individually. Language planning for foreign speaker immigrant integration should also acknowledge the value of domestic language skills in goals of internationalisation as well as in the advancement of an equal, multicultural society.

Future research in critical language planning for this domain may focus on more focussed groups in which for example, the position of English is particularly elevated. In the Finnish context, these could include institutions of higher education and English-medium international Master's or post-graduate study programmes. The notable presence of English in this sector has garnered attention (see the University of Helsinki's "English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA)" project,

<http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/index.html>), and additional research could look to focus on the international students of English-medium post-secondary education in Finland as migrants, focussing on the effect of a predominantly English-speaking environment on their access to services or motivation to learn Finnish, feel socially integrated, find employment after graduation or become civically engaged.

Research on access to Finnish language instruction and integration education on the part of recent foreign graduates of Finnish post-secondary institutions is pertinent in that their legal residence status, a temporary B-level residence permit for graduate job seekers, does not entitle access to integration education as residence is not seen as long-term or permanent. This in turn leaves open only options for voluntary study, for example at liberal adult education institutions. Problematic factors may be that this type of voluntary education often does not fully reflect the curriculum goals of labour market oriented education in its delivery of working life skills or practical job training and that it will be subject to additional budget reductions in the coming years (Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 83–84). Identifying barriers of this kind should continue to be prioritized in acquisition planning for foreign language speakers, especially when it is in the interest of meeting other strategic development goals. Current goals include the advancement of opportunities for foreign graduates of Finnish institutions to obtain employment and remain in Finland and for the relevant institutions to enact ongoing development of language and working life skills training for foreign students, the former being supported even by a current legislative proposal to lengthen the period of validity of the aforementioned graduate job seeker's residence permit from six months to one year (Kiuru 2012: 26; Sisäministeriö & Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2015: 38–39; Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö 2012: 71).

Similar research could be done in multi-national firms or other professional domains in Finland in which the working language is English. The interview participants' relayed experiences in this research highlighted aspects of this type of educational programming or work environment in Finland that may affect an individual's motivation in learning Finnish and their subsequent integration. This warrants further investigation with participant samplings that would allow for more commonalities to be identified and comparative work to be done. Research into motivators in Finnish language learning

that take into account principles of critical language planning may focus more intently on issues of race, sex, gender expression or economic standing in language planning phenomena at various magnifications, in addition to linguistic hegemony and the eventualities thereof.

In situations identified in these research interviews, individuals that are racialized in the Finnish context or otherwise identified as non-native speakers are often subject to language switch in communicative experiences. When this is combined with identified inhibitors to access to language learning in the individual's life situation, often differing family and social situations or working life variables that cause a form of isolation from communicative day-to-day experiences in Finnish, the learner's access to opportunities to use Finnish in practice is reduced. In the cases of these previously identified at-risk groups, including international students, employed immigrants using a language other than Finnish in their working life, spouses or stay-at-home parents, this exclusion from practical use of their acquired L2 skills may have a negative effect on learning motivation, leaving Finnish language little instrumental or integrative value and with few personal results or achievement from which to draw motivation for future efforts. This language switch phenomenon, in the presence of a widely spoken language of wider communication, may thus act to further impede the ability to access employment or education, create social ties and become civically engaged on the part of individuals identified in integration and language planning to be at higher risk of societal exclusion. Language planning for foreign language speakers may in the future look to a more open definition of internationalism that supports intergroup contact and language learning. Moving away from the hegemonic ideal of a single lingua franca to facilitate intergroup communication may enact social change and address inequalities in the relationship between language, ethnicity, race and group membership.

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