



IRJA PIETILÄ

Intercultural Adaptation
as a Dialogical Learning Process

Motivational factors among the short-term
and long-term migrants



ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be presented, with the permission of
the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Tampere,
for public discussion in the Auditorium A1
of the Main Building, Kalevantie 4, Tampere,
on June 10th, 2010, at 12 o'clock.

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE



ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

University of Tampere
Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
Finland

Distribution
Bookshop TAJU
P.O. Box 617
33014 University of Tampere
Finland

Tel. +358 40 190 9800
Fax +358 3 3551 7685
taju@uta.fi
www.uta.fi/taju
<http://granum.uta.fi>

Cover design by
Juha Siro

Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 1523
ISBN 978-951-44-8088-1 (print)
ISSN-L 1455-1616
ISSN 1455-1616

Acta Electronica Universitatis Tamperensis 962
ISBN 978-951-44-8089-8 (pdf)
ISSN 1456-954X
<http://acta.uta.fi>

Tampereen Yliopistopaino Oy – Juvenes Print
Tampere 2010

“If a person walks along the road and meets another person who comes from the opposite direction, she or he only knows her or his own side of the road not the other one’s side. That knowledge can be achieved in the meeting with that person. Communicators can create a space between them if both parties want to share and learn from each other.”
(Buber, 1999)

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was completed alongside my work at the University of Tampere Language Centre teaching on the Intercultural Communication Studies Program, and I greatly appreciate the supportive attitude of Director Antti Hildén.

I wish to express my deepest gratitude first to my supervisor, Professor Jaakko Lehtonen, for his valuable suggestions during the process. He has encouraged me over the years and believed in me. I am also grateful to my other supervisor, Professor Kaarle Nordenstreng, who never forgot to ask how my research was proceeding wherever we saw each other.

I would like to thank the reviewers, Professor Liisa Salo-Lee and Dr. Anne Alitolppa-Niitamo for many helpful and valuable comments they made for the manuscript of this dissertation.

I also want to thank Dr. Vesa Korhonen for his generous help during the crucial point of the research. He was always willing to share his time and expertise. I want to thank Dr. Jukka-Pekka Puro for providing me additional impetus to complete my study.

I want to acknowledge my colleague, Nancy Aalto, who has taught and discussed intercultural issues with me over the years. Special thanks to my colleague, Dr. Irma Ilomäki, who gave me very supportive and valuable feedback about the manuscript and whose friendship I truly value. I want to thank my other colleagues, Brigitte Reuter, Pirkko Huhtinen, Hilikka Samb, Lauri Tolkki, Auli Kulkki-Nieminen and Dr. Teija Waaramaa-Mäki-Kulmala, who have supported me during the dissertation process and pushed me forward. I want to thank all the other people who have given me encouragement over the years.

My thanks to all the interviewees in the research. You gave me your time and an opportunity to share an important part of your lives. I am grateful of that opportunity. I am also grateful to Virginia Mattila, who cared about the style of my dissertation, making it more professional. She also supported and encouraged me during the process.

Many special thanks to my sister, Päivi, who encouraged me during the whole process and cheered me with numerous phone calls and postcards. I want to thank my two other sisters, Ritva and Sinikka, with whom I have shared learning processes since childhood.

I owe special thanks to my children Eveliina, Miika and Juha and their spouses Petteri and Katja. They reminded me about the schedule of my dissertation and life after it. I needed those comments to use my time even more effectively. I want to express my sincere thanks to my son-in-law, Petteri, who helped me with the data to perfect the graphic representations of the lines of motivation. I would not have managed to do it by myself. He also helped me to design the final layout.

Words cannot express my gratitude to my husband, Pekka, for his love, endless patience and support. When I did not believe that this reading and writing process would ever end, he gave me encouragement. He also took care of my health by preparing food and taking me out for walks in the fresh air.

I dedicate this dissertation to my grandchildren Topias, Roosa and Luka. Their smiles and antics preserved me from stress. They gave me something else to think about and put me into a constant dialogue about many vital issues of life.

Kangasala, 11th of April 2010

Irja Pietilä

Abstract

Pietilä, Irja

Intercultural adaptation as a dialogical learning process

Motivational factors among the short-term and long-term migrants

University of Tampere, 2010, 280 pages

English summary

The purpose of the present research was to describe and understand the process of intercultural adaptation. More specifically, the focus was on motivation and factors affecting the migrants' motivation to learn more about Finland and adapt to Finnish society. Another goal was to find out what kind of role sociocultural learning has in intercultural adaptation. The key argument of this research was that intercultural adaptation is an intercultural dialectical learning process. The main theoretical approaches were connected to intercultural communication, dialogue, motivation and sociocultural learning. The main research questions were:

- 1) What motivates people to adapt to a new culture? What kinds of factors affect people's motivation to adapt? Are there differences between the short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants in their motivation?
- 2) What does it mean to adapt to a new culture? What is the process of intercultural adaptation like? Are there differences between the short-term sojourners' and long-term immigrants' adaptation processes?

The research was conducted using qualitative methodology. The data was collected via two main methods: drawing the lines of motivation followed by in-depth face-to-face interviews and focusing on the discussions on their lived experiences of intercultural adaptation processes in Finland.

The intercultural adaptation process was approached from the perspective of two different groups: short-term sojourners (N=10) and long-term immigrants (N=10). The term short-term sojourner group consisted of people who had lived in Finland less than 14 months and whose stay in Finland was temporary. Those in the long-term immigrant group had stayed more than five years in Finland. They had come to Finland with the intention of staying for a long time. The interviewees were either studying in higher education or working in Finland and had academic degrees. The interviewees of both groups had come to Finland voluntarily.

The results of this research were achieved through a content analysis of the in-depth interviews of intercultural adaptation process and analysing the lines of motivation within the process. Narratives were also created out of the data. The results showed that the two groups seemed to have quite different factors affecting the level of motivation to adapt to Finnish society.

The reason for coming to Finland and the planned length of stay in Finland seemed to affect how much the interviewees learned Finnish or about Finnish culture. These factors seemed to affect before arrival and during the adaptation

process. Another important motivating factor was connected to the amount of interaction with Finns.

The short-term sojourners had been minimally motivated to learn Finnish or about Finnish culture before arrival. After arrival they had been motivated to learn about Finland and Finnish culture at the beginning but their motivation was impaired because they did not find enough Finns to communicate with and feel included. Even if they could speak very little Finnish, they would have liked to use Finnish more. They gave up because they did not manage to create contacts with Finns and thus mainly socialised with other international students. They did not put so much effort to adapt to Finnish society.

The long-term immigrants, on the other hand, were very motivated to learn Finnish and about Finnish culture before arrival. They had many opportunities to learn from and with Finns in a dialogue. Poor language skills at the beginning of their stay and even later seemed to be the biggest obstacle for many of the long-term interviewees. They would have liked to be able to express themselves thoroughly in all kinds of situations. Failure in this made them feel helpless. Work, study and social relationships played important roles in their adaptation processes and affected the amount of motivation and learning. They had put great effort into learning Finnish and all the areas of Finnish society.

Intercultural communication situations with the host culture members seemed to play an important role in intercultural adaptation. Because the two groups had significantly different opportunities to communicate with Finns they also had different opportunities for sociocultural learning and dialogue. The short-term sojourners realised that they did not understand many meanings of Finnish culture. However, the short-term interviewees knew that they had become aware of cultural differences which would be beneficial in their future lives. Hence they had increased intercultural sensitivity. The long-term immigrants reported that they had very good understanding of Finnish cultural meanings. They also commented that they had gained multiple identities. Hence they had reached higher levels of intercultural sensitivity.

Yet, both groups emphasized the everlasting process of intercultural learning. Sociocultural learning framework would be a very suitable and beneficial approach in interpreting the intercultural adaptation processes. Dialogue in intercultural encounters would benefit both parties in intercultural adaptation process.

Keywords: Intercultural adaptation, sociocultural learning, motivation, intercultural communication, intercultural sensitivity, dialogue, Finland

Tiivistelmä

Pietilä, Irja

Kulttuurienvälinen sopeutuminen dialogisena oppimisprosessina

Motivaation merkitys lyhytaikaisesti ja pitkäaikaisesti maassa olevien keskuudessa.

Tampereen yliopisto, 2010, 280 pages

Finnish summary

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus oli kuvata ja ymmärtää kulttuuriin sopeutumisen prosessia. Ensimmäinen tavoite oli lisätä ymmärrystä tekijöistä, jotka motivoivat maahantulijoita oppimaan suomalaisuutta ja sopeutumaan suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan. Toisena tavoitteena oli selvittää, millainen rooli sosiokulttuurisella oppimisella oli heidän sopeutumisprosessissaan. Päälähtökohtana tutkimuksessa oli, että kulttuuriin sopeutuminen on kulttuurienvälinen, dialektinen oppimisprosessi. Tutkimuksen pääteoriat liittyivät kulttuurienväliseen viestintään, dialogiin, motivaatioon ja sosiokulttuuriseen oppimiseen. Keskeiset tutkimuskysymykset olivat:

1. Mikä motivoi ihmisiä sopeutumaan uuteen kulttuuriin? Millaiset tekijät vaikuttavat ihmisten motivaatioon? Onko lyhytaikaisten ja pitkäaikaisten maahanmuuttajien motivaatiossa eroja?
2. Mitä merkitsee uuteen kulttuuriin sopeutuminen? Millainen prosessi se kokonaisuudessaan on? Onko lyhytaikaisten ja pitkäaikaisten maahanmuuttajien sopeutumisprosessi erilainen?

Tutkimus toteutettiin käyttämällä kvalitatiivista tutkimusmetodologiaa. Aineisto kerättiin käyttämällä kahta tutkimusmenetelmää: haastateltavat piirsivät koko sopeutumisprosessiaan kuvaavan motivaatioviivan, minkä jälkeen tehtiin syvähaastattelu heidän sopeutumiskokemuksistaan.

Sopeutumisprosessia tutkittiin kahdella eri ryhmällä. Toinen ryhmä koostui haastateltavista, jotka olivat olleet Suomessa vähemmän kuin 14 kuukautta. Toisen ryhmän haastateltavat olivat asuneet Suomessa enemmän kuin 5 vuotta. Kummassakin ryhmässä oli kymmenen henkilöä. Lyhytaikaisten ryhmään kuuluvat olivat tulleet Suomeen väliaikaisesti, kun taas pitkäaikaisten ryhmään kuuluvien oli tarkoitus elää Suomessa pitkään, vaikka koko loppuelämänsä. Haastateltavat joko opiskelivat korkeakouluissa tai kävivät töissä. Työssä olevilla oli akateeminen loppututkinto. Kaikki haastateltavat olivat tulleet Suomeen vapaaehtoisesti.

Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset saatiin analysoimalla syvähaastattelut sisällönanalyysiä käyttämällä ja analysoimalla motivaatiokäyrien muutoksia ja merkittävien tapahtumien vaikutusta sopeutumisprosessin aikana. Tutkimusaineistosta luotiin myös sopeutumisprosessia kuvaavat narratiivit.

Tulokset osoittivat, että tutkittavien ryhmien sopeutumiseen vaikuttavat tekijät olivat melko erilaisia tutkittavissa ryhmissä. Suomeen tuleminen syy ja suunnitellun

oleskelun pituus vaikuttivat siihen, miten paljon maahanmuuttajat opiskelivat suomen kieltä tai kulttuuria. Nämä tekijät tuntuivat vaikuttavan motivaatioon sekä ennen Suomeen tuloa että tulon jälkeen. Toinen suuri motivaatioon vaikuttava tekijä oli vuorovaikutuksen määrä suomalaisten kanssa.

Lyhytaikaisten ryhmän tutkittavat olivat melko minimaalisesti motivoituneita opiskelemaan suomea ennen maahan tuloaan tai tutustumaan esimerkiksi Suomen historiaan. Saavuttuaan Suomeen heillä oli ollut halu oppia suomea ja suomalaista kulttuuria. Heidän motivaationsa oli kuitenkin vähentynyt, koska he eivät olleet löytäneet tarpeeksi suomalaisia, joiden kanssa olisivat voineet kommunikoida ja tuntea itsensä mukaan otetuiksi suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan. Vaikka he osasivat hyvin vähän suomea, he olisivat halunneet käyttää sitä enemmän. He antoivat kuitenkin periksi, koska eivät onnistuneet luomaan kontakteja suomalaisiin, ja siksi sosiaalisia suhteita luotiin lähinnä toisiin kansainvälisiin opiskelijoihin. He eivät myöskään nähneet kovin paljon vaivaa sopeutuakseen suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan.

Pitkäaikaisten ryhmän tutkittavat olivat olleet motivoituneita oppimaan suomea ja hakemaan tietoa suomalaisesta kulttuurista jo ennen tuloaan Suomeen. Heillä oli myös paljon kontakteja suomalaisiin ja mahdollisuus oppia heiltä aivan Suomeen tulon alkuajoista lähtien. Huono kielitaito varsinkin oleskelun alkuaikana oli suurimpana esteenä kulttuuriin sopeutumisessa. He olisivat halunneet ilmaista itseään suomeksi kaikissa tilanteissa. Kun he eivät onnistuneet, he tunsivat itsensä avuttomiksi. Pitkäaikaisten ryhmän tutkittaville merkitsivät työ tai opiskelupaikka sekä sosiaaliset suhteet paljon sopeutumisprosessissa ja ne vaikuttivat paljon motivaation määrään. He olivat nähneet paljon vaivaa oppiakseen suomea ja erilaisia asioita suomalaisesta yhteiskunnasta.

Kulttuurienväliset viestintätilanteet suomalaisten kanssa näyttivät olevan merkityksellisiä sopeutumisprosessissa molemmissa ryhmissä. Koska tutkituilla ryhmillä oli hyvin erilaiset mahdollisuudet kommunikoida suomalaisten kanssa, niin heillä oli myös eri määrä mahdollisuuksia sosiokulttuuriseen oppimiseen ja dialogiin. Lyhytaikaisten ryhmän haastateltavat olivat huomanneet, että he eivät ymmärtäneet suomalaisen kulttuurin merkityksiä kovin hyvin. Kuitenkin he olivat tulleet tietoisiksi kulttuurisista eroista ja heidän kulttuurienvälinen herkkyytensä oli siis alkanut kehittyä. Heidän mielestään sillä voisi olla positiivista merkitystä heidän tulevaisuudessaan ja uusissa kulttuurien kohtaamistilanteissa.

Pitkäaikaisten ryhmän haastateltavat raportoivat, että he ymmärsivät suomalaisen kulttuurin merkityksiä erittäin hyvin. He myös sanoivat, että heille oli kehittynyt monikulttuurinen identiteetti. Pitkäaikaisten ryhmän haastateltavat olivat siis saavuttaneet kulttuurienvälisen herkkyyden korkeampia tasoja.

Molemmat ryhmät painottivat, että kulttuurienvälinen sopeutuminen ja oppiminen ovat jatkuvia prosesseja. Tutkittavien mielestä dialogi kulttuurienvälisissä kohtaamistilanteissa auttaa molempia osapuolia adaptaatioprosessissa. Sosiokulttuurisen oppimisen viitekehys on siis hyvin sopiva ja toimiva malli tutkittaessa kulttuurienvälistä sopeutumisprosessia.

Avainsanat: kulttuurienvälinen sopeutuminen, sosiokulttuurinen oppiminen, motivaatio, kulttuurienvälinen viestintä, kulttuurienvälinen herkkyyden, dialogi, Suomi

Contents

Acknowledgements	5
Abstract	7
Tiivistelmä	9
Contents	11
Figures	14
Tables	17
1. Introduction	19
1.1 Intercultural adaptation in today's world	19
1.2 Purpose of the research.....	21
1.3 Philosophical orientations	23
2. Adaptation processes and contextual considerations	27
2.1 My personal stories about adaptation processes.....	27
2.1.1 "Have I ever studied English" – England 1978-80.....	27
2.1.2 "Why the banana seller left" – Tanzania 1980-82.....	28
2.1.3 "I was always the first in the queue" – Libya 1983-85.....	29
2.1.4 Reflections on my personal adaptation experiences.....	30
2.2 Finland as a place to adapt	32
3. Intercultural adaptation as an opportunity for learning together.....	37
3.1 Approaches in intercultural adaptation.....	37
3.1.1 Studies on intercultural adaptation	37
3.1.2 Key concepts in the intercultural adaptation process	40
3.1.3 Different adapting groups	42
3.1.4 Models of intercultural adaptation.....	46
3.2 Intercultural communication and dialogue.....	52
3.2.1 Culture, intercultural interaction and interpretation	52
3.2.2 Dialogical communication.....	60
3.3 Motivation and sensitivity in intercultural adaptation processes	66
3.3.1 Motivation and needs for adaptation	66
3.3.2 Intercultural sensitivity	72
3.3.3 Intercultural competences.....	78
3.4 Intercultural learning through cultural experiences.....	81
3.4.1 Intercultural experiences and sociocultural learning	81
3.4.2 Dialogical learning.....	87

3.4.3	Shared understanding.....	91
4.	Methodological considerations and the research process	95
4.1	Orientation of the research and research questions	95
4.2	Qualitative research methodology and research procedure.....	98
4.3	Pilot study material and findings.....	103
4.4	Information about the interviewees of the research	107
4.5	Data collection.....	109
4.5.1	Drawing the line of motivation.....	109
4.5.2	In-depth face-to-face interviews	111
4.6	Analysing and reporting the data.....	112
5.	Experiences of intercultural adaptation processes in Finland	117
5.1	Environmental factors in adaptation process.....	117
5.1.1	Pre-arrival knowledge and motivation.....	117
5.1.2	Environmental considerations	124
5.1.3	Summary of environmental factors in intercultural adaptation.....	127
5.2	Migrants' experiences of factors affecting motivation to adapt.....	128
5.2.1	Factors increasing motivation to adapt	128
5.2.2	Factors impairing motivation to adapt.....	140
5.2.3	Summary of factors increasing and impairing motivation to adapt.....	155
5.3	Migrants' experiences of sociocultural learning and the intercultural adaptation process	159
5.3.1	Intercultural interaction with Finns	159
5.3.2	The sociocultural learning process and understanding	164
5.3.3	Summary of opportunities for sociocultural learning.....	170
5.4	Variations in intercultural adaptation processes.....	173
5.4.1	Comparisons of the short-term and long-term migrants' intercultural adaptation processes.....	173
5.4.2	Lines of motivation during the adaptation processes	176
5.4.3	Competences needed in the adaptation process.....	178
5.4.4	Narratives about intercultural adaptation processes	181
5.4.5	Summary of features of the different adaptation types.....	185
6.	Towards a dialogical adaptation model.....	189
6.1	Emerging needs and motivation to adapt	189
6.1.1	Motivation to adapt: an essential precondition	189

6.1.2 Individual and group variation in adaptation processes	195
6.1.3 Increased sensitivity during the adaptation process.....	196
6.2 Sociocultural learning and shared meanings	202
6.2.1 Sociocultural learning and intercultural adaptation.....	202
6.2.2 Social relationships - crucial for learning.....	203
6.2.3 Intercultural adaptation - a never-ending process.....	207
6.3 The model of intercultural adaptation as a dialogical learning process	211
6.4 Assessment and self-evaluation.....	213
6.4.1 Reliability and validity of the research.....	213
6.4.2 Self-assessment.....	215
6.4.3 Suggestions for further research	218
7. Conclusions	219
8. Epilogue	225
References	226
Appendix 1	259
Appendix 2	270

Figures

<i>Figure 1.</i>	Main emphasis of the research.....	22
<i>Figure 2.</i>	Kant's theory.....	24
<i>Figure 3.</i>	Map of Finland.....	33
<i>Figure 4.</i>	Temperature fluctuation and amount of daylight in Finland	34
<i>Figure 5.</i>	Foreign people in Finland 1870 – 2007	35
<i>Figure 6.</i>	U-curve Model of Cultural Adaptation.....	47
<i>Figure 7.</i>	W-curve Model of Cultural Adaptation.....	48
<i>Figure 8.</i>	Model of intercultural adaptation: Communication emphasized.....	50
<i>Figure 9.</i>	The Dialectical Model of Intercultural Adaptation.....	51
<i>Figure 10.</i>	Popper's three worlds.	53
<i>Figure 11.</i>	Model of intercultural communication	57
<i>Figure 12.</i>	The Double Swing Model of Communication.....	58
<i>Figure 13.</i>	Model for communicating with strangers	59
<i>Figure 14.</i>	Life-world model of intercultural interaction	60
<i>Figure 15.</i>	Third-culture building model.....	64
<i>Figure 16.</i>	Maslow's hierarchy of needs	67
<i>Figure 17.</i>	Extended model of Maslow's hierarchy of needs.....	69
<i>Figure 18.</i>	Modified model of Maslow's hierarchy of needs.....	71
<i>Figure 19.</i>	ERG theory of human needs	72
<i>Figure 20.</i>	A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity	76
<i>Figure 21.</i>	Experiential learning cycle	84
<i>Figure 22.</i>	Components of social theory of learning	86
<i>Figure 23.</i>	Advocacy and inquiry in mutual learning.....	89
<i>Figure 24.</i>	Model for developing symbolic understanding and opportunities for a dialogue	93
<i>Figure 25.</i>	Interrelationship of the key concepts of the research.....	98
<i>Figure 26.</i>	Methodologies and methods of a research paradigm.....	99
<i>Figure 27.</i>	Outcomes of the pilot study for the research project	106
<i>Figure 28.</i>	Dimensions of the line of motivation.....	110
<i>Figure 29.</i>	Authentic picture of the line of motivation.....	177
<i>Figure 30.</i>	Types of adapting processes	182

<i>Figure 31.</i>	Types of needs; imaginative picture	193
<i>Figure 32.</i>	Process from the periphery to the centre.....	203
<i>Figure 33.</i>	Level of understanding of Finnish culture: imaginative picture for the short-term interviewees	209
<i>Figure 34.</i>	Level of understanding of Finnish culture: imaginative picture for the long-term interviewees	210
<i>Figure 35.</i>	Model of intercultural adaptation as a dialogical learning process.....	212

Tables

<i>Table 1.</i>	Main structure of the research.....	23
<i>Table 2.</i>	The origin and number of immigrants in Finland 2008.....	35
<i>Table 3.</i>	Number of incoming and outgoing students at the University of Tampere.	36
<i>Table 4.</i>	Existing approaches of intercultural adaptation research	38
<i>Table 5.</i>	Types of acculturating groups.....	44
<i>Table 6.</i>	Dimensions of acculturating processes	45
<i>Table 7.</i>	Characteristics of two adapting groups.....	46
<i>Table 8.</i>	Rules for intercultural dialogue	65
<i>Table 9.</i>	Information content on different levels of needs	70
<i>Table 10.</i>	Levels of cross-cultural awareness	75
<i>Table 11.</i>	Perspective consciousness	76
<i>Table 12.</i>	Levels of understanding.....	77
<i>Table 13.</i>	Four focuses in intercultural competence research.....	78
<i>Table 14.</i>	Main research questions with the follow-up questions for the present research.....	97
<i>Table 15.</i>	The main approaches of the research.....	101
<i>Table 16.</i>	Phases of the research process	102
<i>Table 17.</i>	Basic information on the pilot interviewees	104
<i>Table 18.</i>	Collection of themes from the pilot study.....	105
<i>Table 19.</i>	Short-term sojourners participating in the research	107
<i>Table 20.</i>	Long-term immigrants participating in the research.....	108
<i>Table 21.</i>	An example of the analysing process.....	115
<i>Table 22.</i>	Coding of interviewees	116
<i>Table 23.</i>	Comparisons of reasons for coming and knowledge before arriving in Finland.	127
<i>Table 24.</i>	Factors increasing motivation to adapt	156
<i>Table 25.</i>	Factors impairing motivation to adapt	158
<i>Table 26.</i>	People affecting the migrants' sociocultural learning	171
<i>Table 27.</i>	Important aspects of adaptability	175
<i>Table 28.</i>	Summary of various themes between four adapting groups.....	186
<i>Table 29.</i>	Notions about the intercultural adaptation process in Finland	198

1. Introduction

1.1 Intercultural adaptation in today's world

Throughout history people have come into contact with other people with different habits, customs, communication styles and behavioural practices. Today, the amount of intercultural contacts is bigger and the speed of changes is quicker than ever before (Lehtonen, 1993b; 2002, 13). It means constant change and adaptation in our present world. People move because of many reasons like work, studies, tourism, wars and catastrophes. When people come into firsthand contact with each other, certain different practices are applied and they become a routine.

Intercultural adaptation and adjustment are very common processes in people's lives. The citation below was written nearly 300 years old. It was written by a French priest, Réginald Outhier, who took part in an expedition to Finland and the polar circle 1736-1737. At that time Finland was part of Sweden and the place where the French scientist went was about 1000 kilometres away from Stockholm. This citation tells about the contact between two different cultures - French and Finnish. Outhier wrote how unknown Finland was in France and how sensitive an issue practising their religious ceremonies in Finland would be while travelling:

“People in Stockholm did not know anything about Finland, the place where we were planning to go. No wonder people in France knew much less. Earl de Maurepas gave us the altar to practice our religion. ... After the negotiations, the ambassador of Sweden suggested that we did not use our religious altar in Finland. If we offended the people there they would rebel against us and we would not be able to finish our task. But people of Tornio did not disapprove our religious services because they did not need to watch them and we did our services behind the closed doors.” (Outhier, 1975, 140.)

One can easily recognise that the citation above reflects the historical and religious conditions of the time. The modern world brings many of us into everyday contact with people from different cultural backgrounds. People travel, work and study in foreign countries. More than six million tourists visited Finland 2008 (MEK, 2009), which is more than the population in Finland, 133 000 foreign nationals lived in Finland 2007 (Leitzinger, 2008) and about 12,000 degree students were studying in Finland 2008 (CIMO, 2009).

The number of people adapting to new circumstances worldwide is huge. When people travel or move to a new country, their everyday communication may to be accomplished in new ways. As culturally diverse workplaces and societies become

increasingly common, everyone needs an understanding of intercultural adaptation and intercultural communication.

Cultural adaptation has been studied extensively since the 1930's in the United States and more recently in Northern and Western European countries (Kim 2005, 376). Intercultural adaptation can be seen from different viewpoints. There is a long tradition of perceiving adaptation as a problematic process. Some scholars, on the other hand, see it mainly as a learning process. The field of adaptation studies has been fragmented by differing perspectives and many different terms have been used, among them culture shock, acculturation, adjustment, assimilation, integration and adaptation (Kim 2005, 376).

In many studies the process of adaptation has been perceived to go through different phases (e.g. 1960; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963) or explained by modes of acculturation (e.g. Berry, 1980; 1990; 1997; 2003; 2006). More recent models (e.g. Hedge, 1998; Kim, 2001) emphasize the challenges people face when they have to deal with contradictions between their internal identity and this external world around them (see Kim, 2001; 2002).). Kim (2001; 2005) also notes that communication lies at the heart of the adaptation process. In intercultural communication situations all communicators affect each other and in most cases people have to adapt to some extent.

Berger (2001, xi-xii) and Berry (1997, 8) calls the challenge of diverse societies pluralism, meaning that people with different beliefs, values and lifestyles are forced to interact with each other, and therefore either run into conflict or somehow accommodate each other's differences. When people work in multicultural environments they have to change their behavioural practices and learn new ways of communicating.

The phenomenon of adaptation has been my personal interest for many years because of my own experiences of living abroad for longer periods of time. I have lived some two years in England (London, 1978-1980), two years in Tanzania (Mtwara 1981-1982), and two years in Libya (Benghazi 1983-1985). My own experiences of living abroad and speculations about my personal intercultural adaptation processes in three different countries have given me the first idea of the factors affecting in intercultural adaptation process and have led me towards the models and theories of cultural adaptation. Even if the length of stay in those three countries was about the same, the intercultural adaptation processes were different. It has interested me for many years why those adaptation processes were so different and why my level of motivation varied. Intercultural communication experiences played an important role in my cultural adaptation processes and affected the amount of adaptation motivation I had.

All societies need a profound understanding of the factors influencing migrant's willingness to learn and adapt to a new culture. Even if people have similarities in their adaptation process, they also differ from each other. Intercultural communication experiences play an important role in the intercultural adaptation process and affect the degree of motivation to adapt to a new culture. Through motivation and willingness to understand each other, people can build a community where respect is the key word and moments of misunderstanding are opportunities to learn more.

1.2 Purpose of the research

In the context of immigrants and increasing recruitment of overseas students, there has been a growing need to understand the processes of intercultural adaptation in Finland. It is challenging to adapt into new cultural practices and not everyone feels like adapting. Motivation plays a crucial role in intercultural adaptation. Willingness to learn about a new culture requires motivation, which in turn promotes intercultural adaptation and understanding. If people are not motivated they put only minimal amount of effort to their adaptation. Hence one of the interesting questions in the intercultural adaptation process is what motivates people to adapt.

The purpose of the present research is to describe and understand the process of intercultural adaptation and the factors affecting the amount of motivation to learn and adapt to Finland. The intercultural adaptation process is approached from the learning and growth perspective using the dialectical model of intercultural adaptation and social theory of learning. The research consists of two different migrant groups who have lived in Finland for differing amount of time and who have come to Finland for different reasons. The first group is called short-term sojourners. They have stayed in Finland for a couple of months or years and their stay is temporary. The second group is called long-term immigrants who have stayed in Finland for more than five years. Their stay in Finland is more permanent. Comparisons are made between these two groups on their level of motivation and sociocultural learning.

The main purpose of the present research is to find out how the interviewees see the process of adapting to a new culture as a whole and how they describe and interpret their changes in motivation to adapt. Another goal is to identify the factors which affect motivation to adapt in a new cultural milieu and understand the reasons improving or impairing the level of motivation to adapt. One goal is to describe how these two different groups have experienced the process of adaptation in Finland and what kind of phases they have had in their processes of intercultural adaptation and sensitivity by interpreting the experiences of the participants and describing their subjective notions about the adaptation process and how the subjects describe and interpret their changes in their amount of motivation.

The emphasis of the present research is on the learning perspective of adaptation, the main focus being on the process. The process of adaptation is seen as a sociocultural learning process, which is seen as an interactive process occurring in communication between people and in which the migrants and hosts can learn together in a dialogue. Participants can benefit from each other and deepen their understanding of the other party. The present research looks at the intercultural adaptation process from the migrants' point of view. However, through migrants' experiences one gains understanding of the role of host culture members as part of the adaptation process. Hence the main interest areas are first, to find out about motivating factors in intercultural adaptation process and second, if the migrants and host culture members have opportunities to learn together. The data for the present research contains drawings of the changes in the level of motivation to adapt during the intercultural adaptation process and in-depth interviews about the respondents' experiences in Finland. The main research questions are:

- 3) What motivates people to adapt? What kinds of factors affect people's motivation to adapt? Are there differences between the short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants in their motivation?
- 4) What does it mean to adapt to a new culture? What is the process of intercultural adaptation like? Are there differences between the short-term sojourners' and long-term immigrants' adaptation processes?

Figure 1 presents the main emphasis of the present research showing the goal of the research with antecedent focuses and connected research questions and methods.

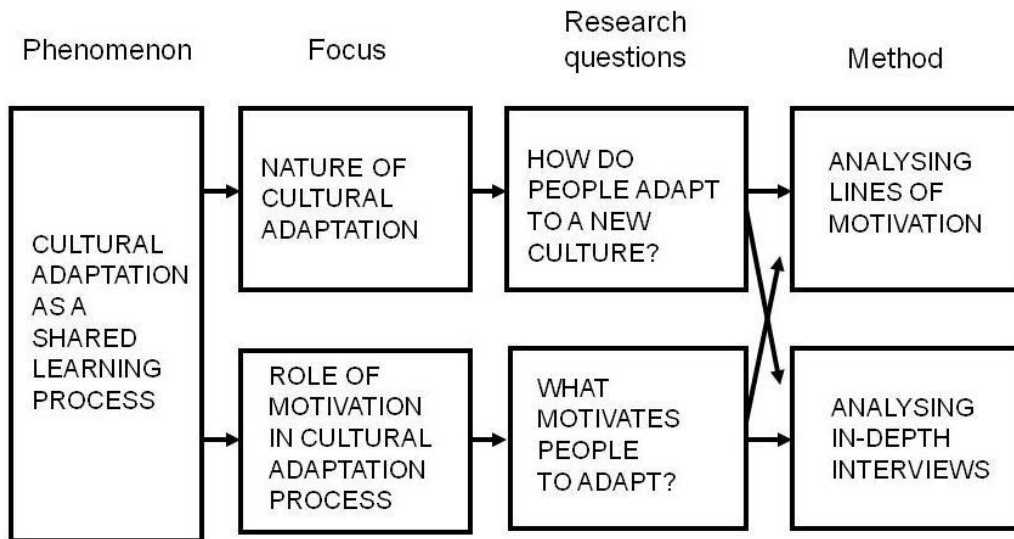


Figure 1. Main emphasis of the research

The contents of the present research are presented in the following chapters. The main structure of the thesis is shown in the Table 1

Table 1. Main structure of the research

Chapter	Contents of the chapter
Chapter 1	A short overview of the intercultural adaptation in our modern world The main purpose of the present research and the philosophical framework of the research
Chapter 2	An overview of the intercultural adaptation process through the author's personal experiences in three different countries Basic information about Finland as a place for adaptation and contextual considerations
Chapter 3	Theories and models connected to the process of intercultural adaptation
Chapter 4	The research process, the methodological orientation, data collection and analysis
Chapter 5	The findings of the research
Chapter 6	Discussion and interpretation of the results and presentation of the dialogical learning model of intercultural adaptation. Assessment and self-evaluation and recommendations for further research
Chapter 7	Conclusions about the research
Chapter 8	Final reflections of the adaptation processes after reading my own diaries from England, Tanzania and Libya.

1.3 Philosophical orientations

The basis for the philosophical foundation of the present research lies in Kant, who claims that all perceived knowledge is conveyed through the conceptual structure of the human mind. Kant's theory claims that knowledge has no stable ground in people's perceptions or in cognition because ultimate reality comes through their consciousness and phenomena include both cognition and experience. (Häkli, 1999; Niiniluoto, 2002; Niiniluoto & Saarinen, 2002.) Hence Kant's theory emphasizes people as active constructors of knowledge through recognition and interpretation. Kant's philosophy also notes that people's beliefs create expectations, which can affect what people really see or think they see (Niiniluoto, 1990, 48-53). Figure 2 shows that the world of phenomena is people's interpretation of their perceptions.

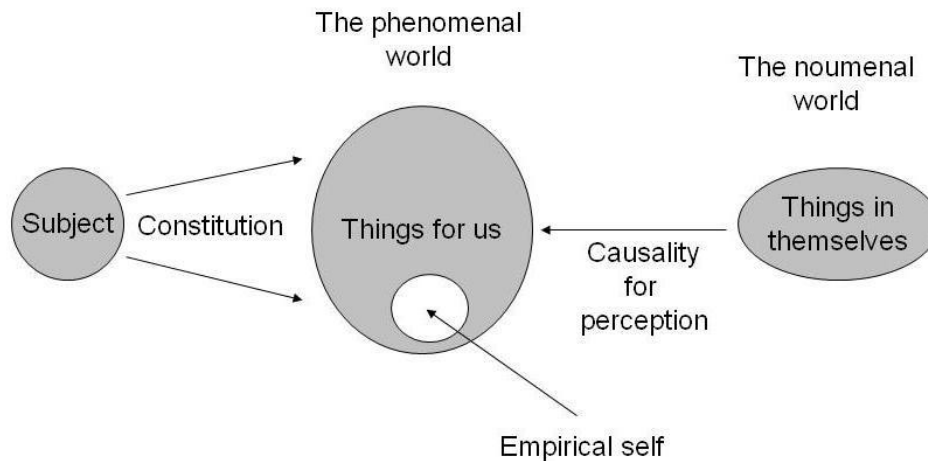


Figure 2. Kant's theory (Niiniluoto, 1990, 50)

The present research follows the phenomenological-hermeneutical orientation (e.g. Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Gadamer, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2006), which also emphasizes the importance of people as an important part of knowledge construction and interpretation, which means that the reality around people is in a constant move. Dewey has noted that people are inclined to perceive things which interest or are important to them but their interests can change depending on the situation (Niiniluoto, 1990, 52; Niiniluoto & Saarinen, 2002, 125-128). Niiniluoto claims that people act in a certain way because they feel that their actions are functional and successful (Niiniluoto, 2002, 111). Research from an interpretive perspective focuses on understanding the processes and how cultural contexts influence communication.

It has been noted in studies on intercultural contact (e.g. Neuliep, 2000; Bochner, 2003) that people coming to a new culture have to acquire the relevant skills and knowledge which are specific to the new culture and people undergo a certain amount of acculturation. In many studies the main emphasis of adaptation has been on the newcomer's responsibility and the most common questions in acculturation studies have been about who needs to adapt and what the adapting people need to know to adapt better (Derwin & Clark, 1989).

People and societies should orient more towards diversity management or multiculturalism which recognises cultural differences but in which no one needs to give up these differences to succeed (Weaver & Mendelson, 2008, 58). It requires sensitivity towards different people with differing cultural practices. Chen and Starosta (2000) talk about intercultural sensitivity as follows:

“Intercultural sensitivity can be considered as an individual's ability to develop a positive emotion towards understanding and appreciating cultural differences in order to promote appropriate and effective behaviour in intercultural communication”. (Chen & Starosta, 2000, 408)

This kind of orientation means in its full meaning a profound understanding of each other's cultural meanings which in turn requires sharing different viewpoints, which leads to dialogical intercultural communication and sensitivity.

Because the lived experiences of the interviewees and possibilities for shared meanings are emphasized in the present research the philosophical basis for the intercultural contact lies in the philosophy of dialogue. Buber (1999) wrote 1923 that if people coming from different directions meet on the road they only know their own side of the road not the other one's side. That knowledge can be achieved only in the meeting with that person and sharing their experiences. Communicators can create a new "space" between them if both parties want to share and learn from each other. (Buber, 1999, 104.) Murto, Kaunisto-Laine and Korhonen (2007) state that dialogical communication means giving space to the other person's thoughts without the need to correct him or her. Freire (1970, 2004) is realistic when he adds that people do not engage in dialogue only because they like each other but because they recognize the social character of the process of knowing and learning.

Sharing is an important part of the learning process because people cannot have total knowledge of the world. This notion applies to intercultural communication situations because people in intercultural communication situations cannot have all the knowledge they would need in the situation. When people meet someone whom they do not know or experience something that is confusing or strange, it requires sharing the information on some level. The process of mutual learning can take place. The deeper the level the more shared understanding can be reached. Hence adapting to a new culture requires learning because "learning is a necessary and universal aspect of the process of developing culturally organised functions" (Vygotsky, 1978, 90).

The theory of social constructionism emphasizes the interaction and mutual meaning making process (Burr, 2007). Berger and Luckmann (1966) note that the process of learning new cultural patterns is not a passive adaptation of other people's cultural concepts but a gradual meaning making process. They emphasize that "men together produce a human environment" and people who are involved in interaction construct the world around them. The relationship between people and society is dialectical and they are dependent on each other. (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, 59-61.) Dialectical perspective (Ricoeur, 1976; 1992) emphasizes the multiplicity, dynamic and changing process of intercultural interactions. Dialectical approach also emphasizes the relational aspects and stresses the importance of relationships more than individual aspects. However, the dialectical perspective notes that people are both group members and individuals. Hence individual and social factors affect in intercultural adaptation process. (Martin & Nakayama, 2007, 81-83.) The dialectical perspective presents the constant chain of tensions, which are results from communicative challenges (Puro, 1996a, 40).

Gergen (1994) has pointed out that people learn the same meanings through social relationships because meanings are created in relationship with other people and the construction of meanings is an ongoing process. (Nikander, 2001). Because knowledge and values are cultural constructions they can also be reconstructed (Evanoff, 2000; Niiniluoto, 1990). Hence people who are interacting are making

sense of the situation and creating a common understanding. This leads to the notion that intercultural interactions have an important role in intercultural learning. Even if Corson (1995) is highly sceptical about achieving authentic intercultural communication and a common understanding in intercultural communication situations, Nynäs (2006, 31-32) emphasizes that the success of intercultural communication is very much dependent on how the communicators behave towards each other. The understanding and interpretation of the situation are interrelated and continuously affect each other.

Gadamer's thoughts about communication have been highly influential in the field of intercultural communication in recent years (Dahl, 2006, 17). Like Buber (1999), Gadamer (1999, 345) also notes that in communication situations nobody knows what will come out in a conversation. Understanding is something which happens to the communicators. Gadamer (2000, 302-306) uses the concept "horizon of understanding" where interpretations are related to the experiences of the communicators and are in constant motion. When people with different cultural backgrounds meet in a communication situation, the old horizon extends and opens in relation to the new horizons. The process is called a "fusion of horizons", or a "change of understanding" (Gadamer, 1999). If intercultural communication encounters are successful, people extend their horizons and it leads to mutual understanding.

Sociocultural theories recognise the symbolic and socially constructed nature of the human universe and the possibilities for organising them are infinite (Cooperrider, 2001). Sociocultural theories also emphasize the contextualised learning in which account must be taken of differing cultural circumstances and historical contexts (see also Lindqvist, 1991, 24-28). The researchers of the sociocultural perspective are more interested in process and development and use multiple ways to reveal social constructions. (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996, 14-15.)

In the present research the phenomenological approach gives an opportunity to identify and concentrate to the most significant moments of the short-term sojourners and the long-term immigrants in their adaptation processes. The recognition and interpretation of those moments increases the understanding of the phenomenon. That is why the present research follows content analysis and interpretive approaches in analysing them and pays attention to intercultural communication experiences as opportunities for dialogue, learning and understanding the Finnish cultural practices and opportunities to create shared meanings through dialogue.

2. Adaptation processes and contextual considerations

2.1 My personal stories about adaptation processes

2.1.1 “Have I ever studied English” – England 1978-80

In the following chapters I will recount some of my own experiences, thoughts and feelings during my own intercultural adaptation processes in England, in Tanzania and in Libya. After these narratives I draw conclusions about some of the factors which affected my adaptation processes. I have not used any materials from my diaries in recounting but I will come back to these stories in the Epilogue (Chapter 8) after referring to my diaries from London, Mtwara and Benghazi.

In England (1978-1980) we stayed in London in a student hostel in central London near Russell Square. The hostel had about 150 residents of some 50 different nationalities. It was my first experience of living abroad. I had not met many foreigners in Finland and many “exotic” nationalities were new to me when I saw them in London. We were a young couple with a one-and-a-half year old child.

I had many positive advance expectations about the time in London. To be at the heart of so many cultural activities, see all the famous places, learn the language etc. I thought that I knew quite a lot about England and London. But I did not know anything about the everyday life. After seeing the sights and sampling the famous city atmosphere, I had to live the everyday life.

I was surprised how poorly I understood the language after many years of studying it at school. At school I did not learn the different dialects, I did not learn how to speak, and I did not learn the different ways to communicate in English. In fact I was shocked how little I knew - as if I never had studied English. I used Finnish with my husband and daughter but I used English with other residents of the student dormitory, when I attended some evening classes and when I did some voluntary work. I walked a lot in the city with my daughter and I heard people speaking English a lot around me. Slowly I started to understand the London dialect. I could ask directions, greet people etc. But still I felt that I lacked the opportunity for more profound interaction because of my language skills.

While we stayed in London, my nearest relatives visited us. They brought us some Finnish delicacies, for example Finnish bread, which we enjoyed a lot. I was surprised how much I missed Finnish food. The biggest problem for us was money. My husband had a scholarship which was hardly adequate for all of us and I could not go to work. Due to meager finances I could not go to the theatre or other cultural

events as often as I wished. I also had to be very careful what to buy for food. It affected my motivation to stay.

One surprising thing was the social life in London. The students who lived in the same hostel became our friends – some of them still are. We had lots of activities in the hostel and we shared a lot of cultural knowledge. But I would have liked to visit a “normal” British home in London. Some colleagues of my husband were very polite and showed interest in me when I was visiting his workplace. Some of them said that they would like to invite us for dinner one day. That day never came. I felt very disappointed, even hurt. Why do they say things if they don't mean them! However, we made some British friends with whom we still keep in contact and I remember the time in London with affection.

2.1.2 “Why the banana seller left” – Tanzania 1980-82

In Tanzania (1981-1982) we lived in Mtwara, near the Mozambique border. Everything was very different from Finland or London. I had never heard of Mtwara and had no specific expectations. We discussed the conditions in Mtwara with someone who had lived there earlier. The information was mainly about how to survive. We needed that information because we had two little children (daughter of three-and-a-half and a son of six months). The information was very limited. I hardly knew what to ask. I had no idea how people behaved, what kinds of things they valued etc.

The climate in Tanzania was the first surprise to me. I like warm weather but the Tanzanian climate was also humid and exhausting. I was constantly tired even if I got used to the humidity quite soon. Our diet was very limited because of what was available you could not find everything. Vegetables were hard to find in Mtwara because it was too warm to grow them, e.g. carrots. And the shops were very, very empty. But we could buy wonderful fruit all year round. I always say that our baby grew up on milk and bananas.

The beginning of the adaptation process was much harder there than it had been in London. I did not know the Swahili language at all before coming to Tanzania. I suspected that people were talking to each other about me in the shops or in market-places. I could sometimes also manage in English but still I felt handicapped. One of the most important incidents which greatly affected my intercultural sensitivity occurred at the beginning. One day a banana seller was approaching our house. I went out and I was happy to be able to buy bananas at the door. I took one bunch of bananas and said in English and nonverbally that I would take them. I asked the price and he said it. I explained that I will go inside and get the money. When I was inside looking for the money I noticed that the banana seller took the bananas and left. I was surprised, disappointed and even angry. Why did he leave? I blamed my language skills and my own behaviour. Maybe I should not have taken the bananas from the basket. I had many explanations for what could have gone wrong. I reported about the incident to our houseboy. He was a bit surprised, too. Then he asked about the price the banana seller had asked. When he heard it, he said what the problem was. The price had been much too high and I had not bargained the

price at all. The seller wanted to create a long business contact with me. If he had taken too high a price from me, he could not have come to my door another time because I would know that I had been overcharged and he would feel ashamed. He saved face by leaving our house. When he came again the following week I had learnt to bargain and I got my bananas. Our business relationship lasted throughout our stay in Tanzania. I learned a lot from this incident. My own interpretations were all wrong. I needed someone to explain the reasons behind the behaviour.

Our daughter got malaria and I was about to return home. I was extremely worried. At the beginning I was also worried about the snakes and other animals but I saw a snake only once and I got used to many animals I didn't know beforehand. A lizard in the bedroom would have frightened me in Finland but was a common thing in Tanzania.

Most of my social contacts were with Finns or with other foreign sojourners. We had parties and we practiced sports together. Only one relative from Finland came to see us in Tanzania. The contacts with the locals were very limited and in parts negative e.g. stealing my money or goods in the marketplace. I never visited any Tanzanian homes but I enjoyed some moments with the local women and I had interesting discussions with our houseboy. The outside contacts were made through the children. Tanzanian women wanted to show their children and "inspect" my children. We shared womanhood. We laughed a lot together and I liked their laughing. It came so naturally from the heart. I miss their laughter a lot here in Finland.

2.1.3 "I was always the first in the queue" – Libya 1983-85

In Libya (1983-1985) we were again in a big city - Benghazi. The family had grown by one member so we had three children (six, three and a three-month-old baby). I knew something about the conditions in Benghazi because my husband had gone ahead to arrange the flat and other practical matters and he had written me letters. The flat was waiting for me and the children when we arrived. We lived in the city centre among Libyans, but there were a couple of Finnish families who lived in the same building. Those families had small children, which was very nice.

Our daughter learned French, because she attended the French school and some expressions in Arabic. Hence she was sometimes the one who ordered tea or asked directions for us. I did not know Arabic beforehand and even though I studied Arabic in Libya, I only learned the basic expressions. But I managed. I saw everyday Libyan life to only a limited extent. I normally went to buy the bread with my children. I chose the shortest queue. I was surprised that every time I was standing in the queue, people let me go first. I thought that maybe it is because I had small children or because I was obviously a foreigner. No, it was because I was standing in the men's queue. I learned that from my husband's students. They taught me many other things. They invited our family to visit their homes and we invited them to our home. Hence we socialised a lot with the local people and I had many opportunities to take part in ladies' gatherings and even wedding celebrations. I experienced many moments of shared knowledge with Libyans. Social relationships

with local people were the biggest difference compared to the time in Tanzania and even in England.

In Libya I could pursue my own activities and hobbies. The leisure activities mostly took place among other immigrants or sojourners. We also made friends with other Finnish people. Libya offered many historical specialities from the era of the Romans. It was very special to visit Cyrenaica and Leptis Magna and think what a long history the country had.

Libya was a closed country and our relatives could not visit us while we were there. The political pressure between the United States and other Western world caused some stress towards the end of our stay. Walking alone in the streets could be unpleasant because men shouted something from the cars. I looked like a foreigner and my clothes were different in style but not provocative as far as I believed.

The time in Libya was very interesting and I have done a great deal of reminiscing. The relationships continued after we returned to Finland. The contacts with Finnish people have lasted until today but the Libyans have lost contact during the years. If we had had the Internet at that time, the contacts might well have lasted longer. I learned about Libya and the Libyan way of life and experienced quite a lot of it while we were in Libya. Therefore I have followed the news and political issues connected to Libya much more and often I have had a more positive attitude to Libyan affairs than most of the people I have talked to in Finland or in other countries. I think my own experiences have helped me to get rid of black-and-white thinking.

2.1.4 Reflections on my personal adaptation experiences

While reflecting my own memories I have a feeling that I only remembered some incidents in my adaptation processes. I remembered the most significant situations and experiences. I realised that I had been quite fragile and sensitive in new circumstances. My motivation had been wavering in all the foreign countries I had lived. When I felt good I was motivated to adapt and learn more but if my mood was low I wanted to go away. Hence my motivation was connected to my general mood but not entirely. Sometimes, even if I felt frustrated or sad, I was motivated to learn more and listen to explanations about the reasons for different kind of behaviour.

My own experiences have made me curious about the factors affecting motivation to adapt to a new country. In the following paragraphs some notions about the factors affecting my own intercultural adaptation processes are drawn.

One of the factors, possibly impeding my adaptation, was the temporary nature of my stay in these countries. I knew from the beginning that I was going to stay about one to two years in each. The decisions to go abroad were always taken jointly in our family and I decided to go abroad voluntarily. I think it was a very important factor affecting my attitude towards all the challenges I experienced. In foreign countries people experience different kind of stress, which they would not necessarily experience in their home country (e.g. language problems, health

problems etc). In those situations people easily would start to blame their spouse or circumstances about the difficulties.

I noticed that adaptation motivation was different among the people who had stayed for a long time compared to short-term sojourners. They also had quite different knowledge levels about the culture. The long-term foreign residents knew a lot about the practicalities of the place and they helped me to understand some practices in a foreign country. Most of them knew the local language. The short-time sojourners seemed to enjoy their time and they had strong opinions about the everyday life and ways of behaving in a “new” country.

I belonged to the short-timers’ group. I knew that we were in those countries only for a limited time. I wanted to learn some basics of the language and to enjoy the everyday life and all the opportunities to experience something different. I enjoyed all the cultural activities in London, the warm climate and the sea in Tanzania and opportunities to take part in social activities with the locals in Libya. But the amount of my motivation to learn was very low sometimes. In London I expected more contacts with British people and I felt disappointed when I did not have so many. In Tanzania my husband and the children got malaria and I wanted to leave the country immediately with them. In Libya the feeling of safety was sometimes very weak and it made me angry and unmotivated.

I normally recovered from low motivation by listening to Finnish music, writing long letters to my relatives and friends in Finland or baking something nice. Of course I had my husband and the children around me, which helped me a lot. I can only wonder how different it would have been to be alone somewhere. My husband and children certainly affected what I experienced in those countries – making some limitations but in most cases opening new opportunities to learn.

Language skills played an important role in my adaptation process; knowing the language made me more comfortable and independent. I knew English beforehand and I studied Swahili and Arabic. I managed with my poor language skills in Tanzania and Libya because I could use some English. I also used nonverbal communication channels. Communication situations were mostly successful and we understood each other, I think. The process included lots of laughing and smiling – especially in Tanzania. Sometimes, when more specific language proficiency was needed, I asked someone to be my interpreter. This worked well but it was not always easy or nice to ask for help and I hesitated to bother others.

One major factor affecting my motivation to adapt was the social life. The attitudes of the locals towards me meant a lot. Feeling welcomed or important increased motivation to adapt. It is evident that in a foreign country social networks change a lot. Relatives and friends are left behind and missed. New relationships can be achieved but it seemed to be quite hard to create relationships with locals. Often I would have liked to socialise more with locals and share the local culture and feel more part of it. With only expatriates as friends, one feels like an outsider of the host culture. New relationships may be enjoyable but one learns nothing or very little about the local culture.

Intercultural interactions and cultural explanations were very important to me, indeed crucial for my learning. Somebody who could explain the cultural differences to me was extremely important, without such help I would have drawn

many erroneous conclusions in all the countries. If I stuck to these, I would have had much more negative feelings about the people and the culture. I also think that earlier experiences helped my new adaptation processes. Even if the places for my cultural adaptation were very different, I could use my experiences and feelings as a source for the adaptation process.

Among the nicest experiences and the best learning situations were the moments I spent with local people. I recall those moments, when a host national explained something to me, very valuable. I shared something (food, child care, sports etc.) with them. I felt that we both wanted to understand each other.

To summarise my thoughts about my adaptation processes, I would like to emphasize that the experiences were different in all the countries I have lived and my motivation varied. They were affected by the location, my own personal stance, family matters and having had some previous experience living abroad. I also may have had other reasons, which hindered my adaptation processes. My methods to learn about the culture also changed during those years. I remember reading a lot about Britain. When we were going to Tanzania, I asked people who had been there and when in Tanzania, our houseboy or other sojourners and immigrants explained and gave clarifications about various things. In Libya I had opportunities to communicate with locals quite a lot and participate to all kinds of social activities and visit families. Today, I see it very clearly that I learned best through social relationships and participation.

Hence my interest to understand people who are adapting to Finland increased. It would be interesting to know how Finland as a context for adaptation would affect the adaptation process. It would be interesting to know what affects their motivation to adapt and do they have opportunities to learn with Finns. The following section will explain some geographical and demographical facts about Finland.

2.2 Finland as a place to adapt

As noted in the previous section, contextual and environmental factors affect the adaptation process. For example, if people normally feel safe in their living environments they may feel very fearful if they live in an unsafe neighbourhood and this may affect their everyday lives. Contextual factors in the present research are defined as characteristics of the environment that are connected e.g. to working life or political climate. Environmental factors are connected e.g. to climate and location of the place for adaptation. These factors were not studied systematically in the present research but interviewees' comments raised some themes which were connected to challenges in working life, general attitude of the host nationals, climate or natural environment and they seemed to affect the interviewees' level of motivation. Hence, for some of the readers of the present research it may be helpful to know some contextual and environmental factors about Finland to get a better understanding of the circumstances, where the migrants were living. The following section shortly presents some information about the population, location, weather, language and migration in Finland.

The population of Finland is 5.3 million and Finnish is spoken by over 90% of Finns. However, globally Finnish is a small language. If people visit Finland for some months, they may feel that they do not need to learn it. Most of the interviewees commented that Finnish is a difficult language because it did not remind them of anything they had learned before.

The Finnish climate was also mentioned several times in the interviews. Cold and darkness during the winter were mentioned many times in the interviews. Because Finland is located in Northern Europe (see Figure 3), winter is a long season and there is very little daylight during the winter. On average, winter lasts about 100 days in southern parts of Finland and about 200 days in Lapland.

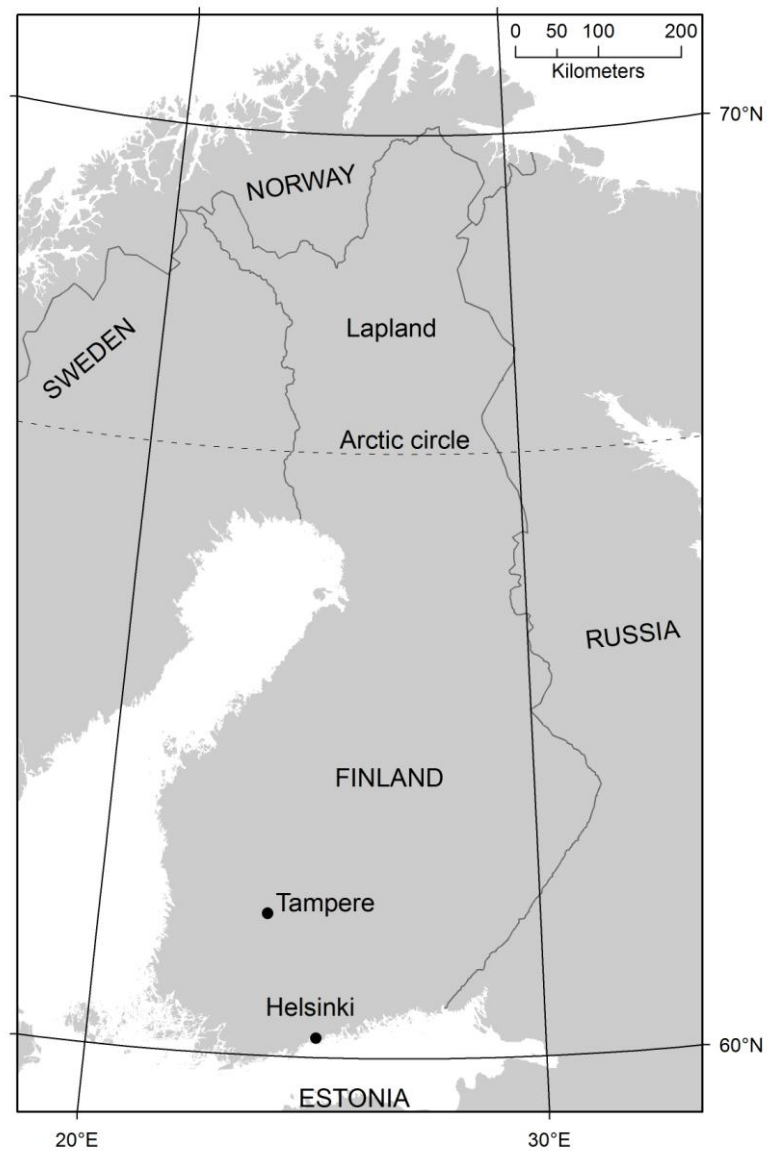


Figure 3. Map of Finland

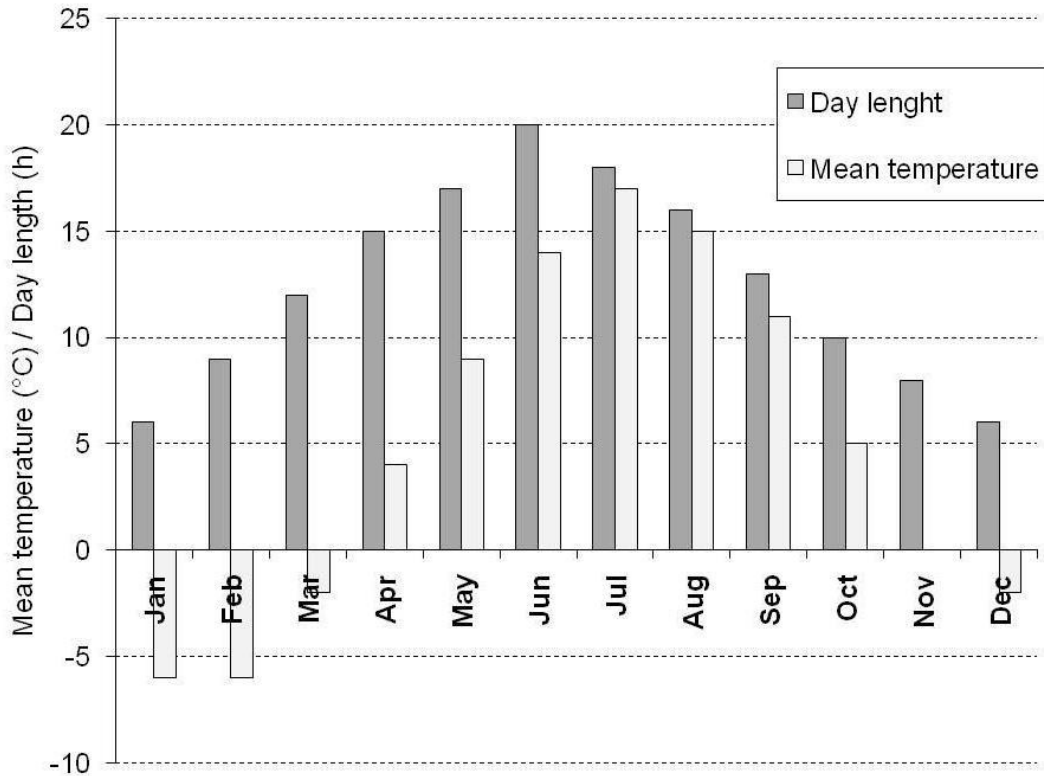


Figure 4. Temperature fluctuation and amount of daylight in Finland (Ilmatieteen laitos, 2010)

On the other hand, summers are very light in Finland. Figure 4 presents the average monthly temperature fluctuations and the amount of daylight during the year in Finland.

Many researchers claim that demographically and culturally Finland has been a relatively homogenous country but, as Sallinen (2000), notes, there will be changes and intercultural communication challenges in the future when Finland becomes more multicultural. Lehtonen and Löytty (2003, 7-10) also claim that Finland is not as homogeneous as people normally think because all cultures are creations of constant interaction with members of other cultural groups and nowadays many people in Finland come into regular contact with people from different cultures.

Foreigners have migrated to Finland throughout history (Koivukangas & Saarto, 2003). As Leitzinger (2008) also notes, migrants in Finland are not a new phenomenon. In the 1990s Finland became a country of net immigration. Figure 5 shows the share of foreign population in Finland 1880-2007.

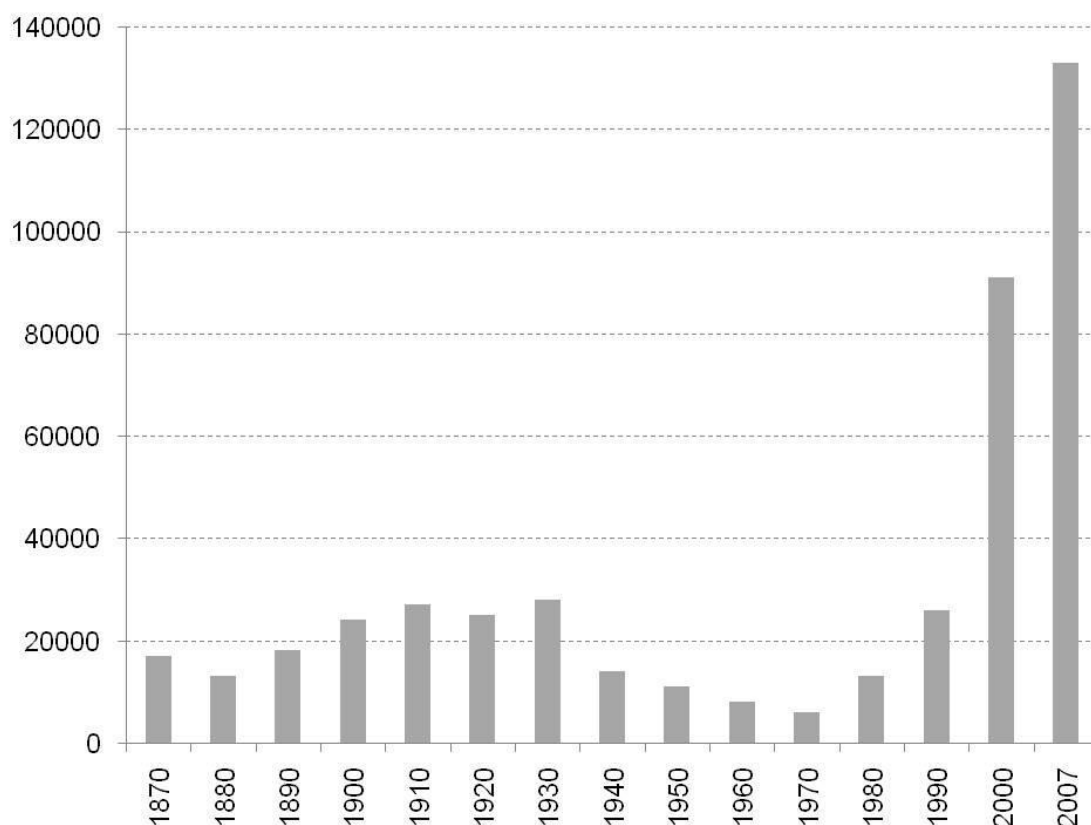


Figure 5. Foreign people in Finland 1870 – 2007 (Leitzinger, 2008, Statistics Finland, 2009)

The Russian minority is the biggest ethnic group in Finland. The next largest groups are Estonians and Swedish citizens. (Finnish Immigration Service 2009.) Table 2 shows the biggest immigrant groups in Finland in 2008.

Table 2. The origin and number of immigrants in Finland 2008 (Finnish Immigration Service 2009)

Country of origin	Number	Country of origin	Number
Russia	26887	Germany	3480
Estonia	22509	Turkey	3437
Sweden	8493	Great Britain	3243
Somalia	4919	Iraq	3219
China	4515	India	2716
Thailand	3924	Iran	2502

Finland's foreign community is very small compared to other European countries but it is growing. The biggest group of immigrants is people who reside in Finland through marriage. About 30,000 foreigners married to Finns live in Finland. A considerable proportion of the foreign community is returnee Finnish migrants or their children who have the citizenship of another country. (Koivukangas & Saarto, 2003.) Finland can expect the growth in immigration flows in the future. It is very important to be aware of the factors which may hinder a migrant's the opportunities to get a job. In Finland immigrants are still often seen as a threat and competitors in the labour market (Pitkänen, 2005). However, Finnish society and attitudes will have to adjust to the temporary and permanent presence of an increasing number of people with foreign background. In reality, both parties have to adjust to each other.

Finland receives today comparatively many foreign students. The number of foreign degree students at Finnish universities and polytechnics has more than doubled from 2000 to 2008. Tampere, where all the short-term interviewees were studying, has three universities: The University of Tampere, Tampere University of Technology and Tampere University of Applied Sciences. There are about 1,000 foreign degree students and 1,200 exchange students at the universities in Tampere. Table 3 shows the number of outgoing and incoming students at the University of Tampere (Kurki, 2009).

The number of immigrants and overseas students in Finland is small, but it has increased over in recent years. Finns also travel, work and study abroad much more than earlier. Hence there is a growing need to understand the processes of intercultural adaptation in different situations and within different adapting groups – the Finns who adapt to new circumstances abroad and migrants who adapt in Finland.

Table 3. Number of incoming and outgoing students at the University of Tampere.

Year	Outgoing Students	Incoming Students
1998	352	180
1999	377	211
2000	390	263
2001	351	312
2002	326	358
2003	338	354
2004	394	384
2005	339	369
2006	391	409
2007	364	406
2008	376	454

3. Intercultural adaptation as an opportunity for learning together

3.1 Approaches in intercultural adaptation

“The real voyage of discovery is not in seeing new lands but in seeing with new eyes.” (Marcel Proust)

3.1.1 Studies on intercultural adaptation

The phenomenon of intercultural or cross-cultural adaptation has been a theme which has been investigated in many countries, from different perspectives and within different kinds of adapting groups. It has been viewed from many conceptual angles, for example from cultural identity, attitude towards the host culture, second language acquisition and host communication competence perspectives. Some studies have focused on the affective fit with the new culture or on cognitive aspects of adaptation like cultural awareness. Some studies have focused on behavioural processes which include sojourner’s interaction with the environment. Kim (2001, 11-25) categorises the main existing approaches of intercultural adaptation into studies on micro-level or macro-level perspective, short-term or long-term orientation, adaptation as a problem or as learning and growth, adaptive factors on general or individual level and assimilation or pluralistic perspective as a goal. Table 4 presents Kim’s (2001, 11-25) categories about the main differences between the existing approaches of intercultural adaptation research.

According to Kim (2001) most of the existing studies can be categorized into macro-level or micro-level studies. Macro-level studies have viewed acculturation primarily as a group phenomenon and they have observed changes in the host culture as a whole. Studies have focused primarily on issues pertaining to stratification and the emphasis has been on structural issues involving immigrant groups and subcultures and dynamics of change in societies. Micro-level studies have placed the emphasis on the intrapersonal and interpersonal experiences of newcomers in unfamiliar environments. (Kim, 2001, 11-15.) Traditionally, studies of intercultural adaptation have been based on the assumption that intercultural adaptation is a natural phenomenon and that people should apply the practices of the new society. This view reflects the assimilationist ideology where “newcomers” are changed to fit the standards of the new culture which in turn stays the same (Bauman, 1996, 67-68). The more recent trend in cross-cultural adaptation discourse

has been toward an increasing pluralism emphasizing the importance of ethnicity maintenance. (Kim, 2001, 17-24.)

Table 4. Existing approaches of intercultural adaptation research

Macro-level perspective <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - dynamics of change in societies - stratification of societies 	Micro-level perspective <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - experiences of an individual - interpersonal experiences
Long-term adaptation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - immigrants 	Short-term adaptation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sojourners, tourists
Adaptation as a problem <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - culture-shock - marginality - acculturative stress - cultural oppression 	Adaptation as a learning and growth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - growth facilitating - self-awareness - transitional learning - cumulative process
Societal factors affecting adaptation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - host society - type of adapting group - type of adaptation being experienced - demographic factors 	Individual factors affecting adaptation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - psychological characteristics - personality characteristics - communication skills - language proficiency - uncertainty reduction
Assimilation as a goal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "melting-pot" attitude 	Pluralism as a goal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "ethnicity maintenance" attitude - conscious choice

Among the adaptation studies the emphasis has long been the problematic nature of cross-cultural experiences. This problem-based view of intercultural adaptation is used in studies of culture shock. Matsumoto, Hirayama and LeRoux (2006, 1) note that intercultural adjustment studies have documented the stresses, trials, and tribulations of sojourners and immigrants and identified affective, cognitive and behavioural skills needed in successful and unsuccessful adaptation. However, some psychological components associated with positive intercultural adjustment have not been identified a lot (Berry, 1999). The studies which emphasize the learning and growth-facilitating nature of the adaptation process see intercultural adaptation process as a phenomenon that leads to cross-cultural learning experience, self-understanding, and self-awareness.

Even if the main tendencies are clearly divided in the table above, most of the studies of intercultural adaptation are mixtures of these different approaches. The overview of some of the adaptation studies is presented in the following sections.

The biggest group of studies considers immigrants and their adaptation to their new environment. Kim (1977; 1978; 1987; 2001; 2006) was one of the first researchers to explore the relationship between communication, intercultural adaptation and acculturation. In one of her early studies Kim notes that immigrants who participated in different networks of the host country were more acculturated than immigrants who were within their own immigration groups. The main findings

of that study for becoming more acculturated were first, potential for interaction with members of the host society and for consuming its media, second, competence in the host language, third, motivation or eagerness to learn about and to participate in the host culture and last, the availability of mass media. (Kim, 1977, 69-70.)

Kosic, Kruglanski, Pierro and Manetti (2004) report that immigrants' acculturation to the host culture is interactively determined by their need for cognitive closure - how much the immigrants wanted to take part and understand new society. Another more recent area of interest is the attitude of the host culture toward migrants and the relations between immigrants and host societies (Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006). Woods (2004) notes that women who were adapting to Canada felt uncertain and insecure in their social identifications, especially at the beginning of their stay.

Migrant studies in Finland have dealt with ethnic relationships (Liebkind, 1988; 1994; Paananen, 2005), attitudes of the host national residents towards different migrant groups (Jaakkola, 1995; 2005), interpersonal relationships of refugees in a foreign country (Alitolppa-Niitamo, Söderling & Fågel, 2005; Kokkonen, 2006a; 2006b), cultural identity (Reijonen, 2002), psychological adjustment, perceived discrimination, unemployment and adaptation (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Forsander, 2001, 2002; Wahlbeck, 2003; Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti & Solheim, 2004; Garam, Gennis & Salmelin, 2005; Ekholm, Magennis & Salmelin, 2005; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Perhoniemi, 2007; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Perhoniemi, 2007; Vartia, Bergholm, Giorgiana, Rintala-Rasimus, Riala & Salminen, 2007). Experiences of expatriates have also interested scholars of intercultural adaptation. Siljanen (2007) suggests that expatriates experience identity transformations and transformative learning while they are abroad. However, there are no studies focusing on motivational factors in the adaptation process and emphasizing sociocultural and dialogical learning.

Studies about the short-term sojourners' adaptation processes have also been in the focus of intercultural adaptation studies (e.g. Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Ward, Okura, Kennedy & Kojima, 1998). All over the world, especially in Britain and the United States, a wide range of studies have been made on how international students adapt to a new culture (e.g. Gmelch & Gmelch, 1997; Hullett & Witte, 2001; Gill, 2007; Chirkov, Vansteenkiste, Tao & Lynch, 2007; Pitts, 2009). Hullett and Witte (2001) studied international students' adaptation through anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) theory. The results indicated that favourable contact with and knowledge of the host culture were strong predictors of whether uncertainty control or anxiety control processes will dominate. Gill's (2007) research of Chinese students' intercultural adaptation emphasized that the intercultural adaptation is a process of intercultural learning. One of the perspectives has been to study the identity issues connected to students' general well-being (Jung, Hecht & Wadsworth, 2007). Today many researchers also claim that there should be studies on how tourists adapt (e.g. Ward, 2008).

In Finland there are not many studies about international students' adaptation processes (Aalto, 2003a; 2003b). In recent years CIMO (Centre for International Mobility) in Finland has published research reports about the experiences of international exchange programmes (Aalto & Garam, 2004), experiences of Finnish

students studying abroad (Garam, 2000; Aalto, 2003b and international students in Finland (Garam, 2002; Garam, 2003; Kinnunen, 2003). Taajamo (1999) and Koistinen (2002) have studied Finnish students abroad. They note that studying abroad develops into a learning experience and a new kind understanding. Taajamo (2005) also studied foreign students in Finland and notes that international students find it really difficult to become familiar with the larger society and create relationships with Finns in Finland. Nerg (2008) studied foreign students in Tampere and notes that international students create a strong community within the international students' group and they do not have many contacts with Finnish students.

Intercultural adaptation researchers have noted that second language acquisition reflects the willingness or need for intercultural adaptation and learning. Many studies of second language acquisition have investigated the factors which motivate people to study the host language and use it (Noels & Clément, 1996; Culhane, 2004). Gardner (2002) reports that integrative motivation, which enables people to participate to society, is the clearest motivation for children to learn the second language but begins to diminish in adolescence and instrumentally motivated people develop second language skills to satisfy their everyday communicative language requirements. In Finland, the second language acquisition studies have concentrated in language identity studies (Kaikkonen, 1994; Kurhila, 2003; Suni, 2008).

The present research focuses on psychological and sociocultural factors in the intercultural adaptation process and emphasizes motivational factors and dialogical learning in that process.

3.1.2 Key concepts in the intercultural adaptation process

Change and difference are inevitable for people in their environments and people have to adapt all their lives to these changing conditions. Primary adaptation or socialisation begins when children are taught the codes of their society. This contains many features and which is very similar to the process of intercultural acculturation (Berry, 2006, 543). However, the socialisation process continues throughout life. Later in life people have to adapt, for example, to a new workplace, illness or retirement. Anderson (1994, 301) note that intracultural adaptation processes are conceptually identical to intercultural adaptation processes. Janet Bennett (1993) claims that all transitions involve loss and change for people.

There are many names for the intercultural adaptation process depending on what kind of approach is taken and what kinds of aspects of adaptation are emphasized but the concepts can be used quite interchangeably. The following section will give some basic differentiations about the terms connected to adaptation processes.

Acculturation, adaptation and adjustment are not always clearly differentiated from each other and they may be used meaning very similar issues. Acculturation is a big framework, which contains adaptive processes (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001, 43). The term 'acculturation' has been defined as a "phenomenon when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact and as a result change the original cultural patterns of either or both groups"

(Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936, 149-152). Sam and Oppedal (2002, 2-8) define acculturation as the developmental process towards adaptation and gaining competence within more than one cultural setting – learning to deal with new cultural situations. Kim (2001, 31) defines acculturation “as a process by which individuals acquire some aspects but not all of the host culture”. Berry (1980; 1990; 1999; 2001; 2003; 2005; 2006) claims that acculturation refers to the process of cultural change, which is the result when two or more cultural groups come into contact. He continues that acculturation refers to the psychological changes and psychological stress symptoms that people experience as a result of being members of cultural groups that are undergoing acculturation at the group level. (Berry, 1999.) Hence Berry’s definition of acculturation is linked to individual changes but he talks about people as members of the group and about the effect of acculturation to the group.

Ward and Kennedy (1999) and Ward (2006) make the distinction between adaptation and adjustment. They define the term ‘adjustment’ as being based on the subjective evaluation of one’s life situation. The adjustment refers to the “subjective experiences which are associated with and result from attempts at adaptation and that motivate further adaptation”. Adjustment refers to the general concept of well-being, such as notions of anxiety, mood, depression, subjective well-being, satisfaction and happiness. (Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Ward, 2006.) Likewise according to Kim (2001, 31) adjustment refers to psychological responses to intercultural challenges.

Ward says that the term ‘adaptation’ is based in the sociocultural domain and it is the process of altering one’s behaviour to fit to a new environment or circumstances or as a response to social pressure (Ward 2004; 2006; 2008). Berry (1980; 1999; 2001; 2003; 2005; 2006) and Berry and Sam (1997) also emphasize that adaptation means behavioural changes, which are made in response to a new environment. Hence the general definition of the term adaptation emphasizes the change and adjustment to new surroundings. According to the Merriam-Webster’s Online Dictionary adaptation is:

1. The act or process of adapting or the state of being adapted.
2. Something, such as a device or mechanism, that is changed or changes so as to become suitable to a new or special application or situation or a composition that has been recast into a new form.
3. An alteration or adjustment in structure or habits, often hereditary, by which a species or individual improves its condition in relationship to its environment.
4. The responsive adjustment of a sense organ, such as the eye, to varying conditions, such as light intensity.
5. Change in behaviour of a person or a group in response to new or modified surroundings.

The definition above looks at adaptation from the perspectives of different disciplines but they all emphasize adaptation as a process reacting to some changes to varying conditions. Earlier, intercultural adaptation was seen as a transitional experience that moves from a low level of self- and cultural awareness to a high

level of self-awareness and cultural awareness in a new environment. The process of adapting to a new culture can produce a feeling of loss of cultural identity for some people and stimulate personal growth for others.

More detailed definitions of intercultural adaptation or cross-cultural adaptation see them as a complex, dynamic and evolutionary process people undergo in a new and unfamiliar environment – a process that “moves” with a structure of multidimensional and multifaceted forces operating simultaneously and interactively (Kim, 2001, xii). Due to changed conditions, the process of intercultural adaptation challenges people’s cultural practices but at the same time offers opportunities to learn and grow (Kim, 2001, 9). Hence intercultural adaptation or cross-cultural adjustment (Berry, Kim & Boski, 1987) refers broadly to the process of increasing people’s level of fitness between person and environment and to meet the demands of the new cultural environment. Lazarus (1976) adds that environments may create demands for people but can also satisfy their needs.

However, Evanoff (2000; 2006) wants to make a clear distinction between integration and adaptation. Integration most often means that people “begin to incorporate values from the host culture into their own system of values” and adaptation, on the other hand, means “a process by which migrants adapt their personal norms to the norms of the host culture”. Evanoff (2000, 2006) also criticises the definitions which see adaptation as the responsibility of the people who are visiting or living in a new cultural milieu to adapt themselves to the cultural norms of the host culture. Evanoff claims that transformation should mean that people try to fit in with the host culture but that also “the host cultures transform themselves to accommodate the presence of sojourners”. The norms for interaction are actively constructed through the process of intercultural dialogue. (Evanoff, 2000; 2006.) Also Anderson (1994, 301) sees intercultural adaptation as a two-way interactive process, in which “individuals both give and take from their environments.”

The present study follows Evanoff’s definition of adaptation. Adaptation is seen as a process through which people adapt their own norms to the new environment. Adaptation is also seen as a continuous, interactive process demanding some changes from both parties. Hence adaptation is not only responsibility of the “newcomers”.

3.1.3 Different adapting groups

The number of people who face intercultural adaptation process is huge. Millions of people live permanently outside their home countries and millions of people travel as international tourists and many other people travel because of their studies or work. People who go through intercultural adaptation processes have been named in many ways. The following section presents some of the most common migrant groups but it does not include all the possible names for different adapting groups.

Among the cross-cultural adaptation studies there is a division between studies of immigrants and refugees living in a new culture more or less permanently and studies of the short term adaptation of temporary sojourners. Bauman (1995, 94-98)

divided people into two big groups: tourists and vagabonds. Tourists move on purpose and they can travel free with few restrictions. Tourists want excitement, pleasure and amusement and they are normally welcomed by the host culture. Bauman defined tourists as follows:

“The tourist is a conscious and systematic seeker of experience, of a new and different experience, of the experience of difference and novelty – as the joys of the familiar wear off quickly and cease to allure (Bauman, 1995, 96).”

Vagabonds, on the other hand, are forced to travel because of war, poverty or hunger. They have no set destination. Vagabonds move because of necessity and they are normally not welcome by the host society. Bauman defines vagabonds as follows:

“Vagabonds do not know where they will move next because they do not know or care much. Each place is a stopover but they never know how long they will stay in any of them.” (Bauman, 1995, 94).

How welcomed the groups are by the host society affects the way people see these different groups and which group people want to include in and which group they want to exclude from society (Bauman, 1995, 95). Bochner (2003) lists modern-day migrant groups, like employees of international organisations, guest workers, students, tourists, immigrants, refugees, missionaries and peacekeepers. According to the Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary the term migrant refers to all kinds of groups of people who move from one region to another.

The sojourner and immigrant are differentiated based on the planned time of stay in a foreign country. The Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary defines the concept of ‘sojourner’ as follows:

“A sojourner is a temporary resident in a foreign country.”

The definition shows that sojourners move to a country only temporarily. International students belong to that group. International students can be defined also as follows:

“International students can be defined as individuals who temporarily reside in a country other than their county of citizenship or permanent residence in order to participate in international educational exchange” (Paige, 1990, 162).

Immigrants, on the other hand, come to a foreign country in order to stay for a longer time or forever. The Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary defines immigrants as follows:

“An immigrant is a person who comes to a country where they were not born in order to settle there - usually for permanent residence.”
 (<http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn>)

The present research uses the terms short-term sojourn when it talks about the interviewees who had come to Finland for a limited time – normally only for less than a year. The term long-term immigrant is used when the interviewee had stayed in Finland longer than five years. Even if most of the long-term immigrants had come to Finland to stay for a long time some of them had been first sojourners whose status had changed e.g. because of a workplace or falling in love with a Finn.

Berry (2006) and Berry and Sam (1997) arrange different kinds of acculturating groups according to the voluntariness of the contact and the mobility. Table 5 categorises types of acculturating groups. Voluntary contact groups choose to relocate across cultures. They are called immigrants, sojourners and ethno-cultural groups. Involuntary contact groups have come to the intercultural contact involuntarily, like indigenous people who were displaced because of the contact, refugees and asylum seekers. Murphy-Lejeune (2002) suggests that the travelling students can be seen as new migratory elite because they can move freely. In the present research both of the groups studied came voluntarily to Finland.

Table 5. Types of acculturating groups (Berry, 2006; Berry and Sam, 1997; Berry 1990)

Mobility	Voluntariness of contact	
	Voluntary	Involuntary
Sedentary	Ethno-cultural groups	Indigenous people
Migrant Permanent	Immigrants	Refugees
Migrant Temporary	Sojourners	Asylum seekers

When talking about the willingness to adapt, one of the major questions over the years has been to what extent people want to adapt to their new cultural milieu. In many studies of intercultural adaptation the interest has been on the “final” or the “result” stage of the adapter and there are plenty of different categories with different names (see Rudmin, 2003). The most used categorisation has been Berry’s model of acculturating processes. Berry (1980, 1990, 1999, 2003) arranged immigrants to four positions according to their answers into two questions they have to deal in a new culture: The questions were as follows: 1) To what extent the immigrants are motivated or allowed to retain identification and involvement with the culture of origin or their ethnic culture and 2) To what extent the immigrants are motivated or allowed to identify with and participate in the mainstream. Table 6

shows the dimensions of acculturation and the names for different acculturating groups. It presents the attitudes of the acculturating groups. In the model integration is seen as an ideal result of the acculturation process because it integrates two cultural systems within a person (Berry, 1980; 1999; 2003; 2005; 2006).

Table 6. Dimensions of acculturating processes

		Motivated or allowed to retain identification and involvement with the culture of origin or the ethnic culture	
		Yes	No
Motivated or allowed to identify with and participate in the mainstream	Yes	Integration or bi-culturalism	Separation
	No	Assimilation	Marginalisation

Milton Bennett (1986; 1993) also uses the term integration for the highest level of the developmental model of intercultural sensitivity, which is a positive outcome of the adaptation or development process. Janet Bennett (1993) explains the differences in adaptation processes and makes the difference between constructive marginality and encapsulated marginality, which is more negative stage of the process. Encapsulated marginals are “never at home”. On the other hand, “constructive marginals” are “never not at home”. The stage of “constructive marginality” has been achieved when people have developed a cognitive and affective perspective and skills for a pluralistic world but who are also able to maintain the distance to the cultural conventions in which they participate and are able to transcend the limitations of any culture. She states that the terms were made to indicate the characteristics of a cultural lifestyle of those two groups (Bennett, J. 1993.) Characteristics of those groups are listed in Table 7.

Boski (2008, 142-152) notes that the stage “constructive marginality” can be called “universalism” because people become autonomous from the conditions of their cultures. It is very similar to the stage “dynamic in-betweeness” (Yoshikawa, 1987). On the other hand, “encapsulated marginality” refers to the stage where people have a sense of alienation from their original culture and the new culture. These stages appear after a longer stay in a foreign country but the present research also looks for these characteristics.

There are many different kinds of models about adaptation. The following section will present some models of intercultural adaptation.

Table 7. Characteristics of two adapting groups (Bennett, J. 1993)

ENCAPSULATED MARGINAL	CONSTRUCTIVE MARGINAL
Disintegration in shifting cultures	Self-differentiation
Loose boundary control	Well-developed boundary control
Difficulties in decision making	Self as choice maker
Alienation	Dynamic in-betweens
Self-absorption	Authenticity
No recognized reference group	Marginal reference group
Multiplistic	Commitment within relativism
Conscious of self	Conscious of choice
Troubled by ambiguity	Intrigued by complexity
Never "at home"	Never not "at home"

3.1.4 Models of intercultural adaptation

The main tendency of intercultural adaptation research during the past 50 years has emphasized the processes of recovering from culture shock or adjustment stress. Anderson (1994, 293) lists four broad categories of models, which describe the process of adapting to a new culture: "recuperation" models, "learning" models, "journey" models and "equilibrium" models. The following sections are based on her categorisation.

The first category of models in intercultural adaptation is the "recuperation" models. These models have been used a lot. The models identify various stages in intercultural adaptation process. The most popular recuperation models of intercultural adaptation are U-curve and W-curve models. Lysgaard's (1955, 50) and Oberg's (1960, 177) models of intercultural adaptation are classic stage models of intercultural adaptation. Figure 6 presents the U-curve model of intercultural adaptation. It shows that in cultural adaptation everything seems to be easy at the beginning and it is called the honeymoon or tourist phase. Then comes the crisis of loneliness and sadness but eventually people recover from the crisis. Oberg (1960) calls the stage of crisis with the name culture shock. Other scholars have used names like personality crisis and personality development (Adler, 1975; 1982; 1986), identity crisis (Harris & Moran, 1979; Weaver, 1993; Winkelman, 1994). When people are at the bottom they feel strain, sense of loss, feelings of rejection by the

members of the new culture, confusions, anxiety and anger and feelings of helplessness. The dominant picture of those intercultural adaptation models has been a process of experiencing culture shock and then recovering from it and adjusting to new circumstances. The result stage has been called the adaptation, acculturation or bicultural stage.

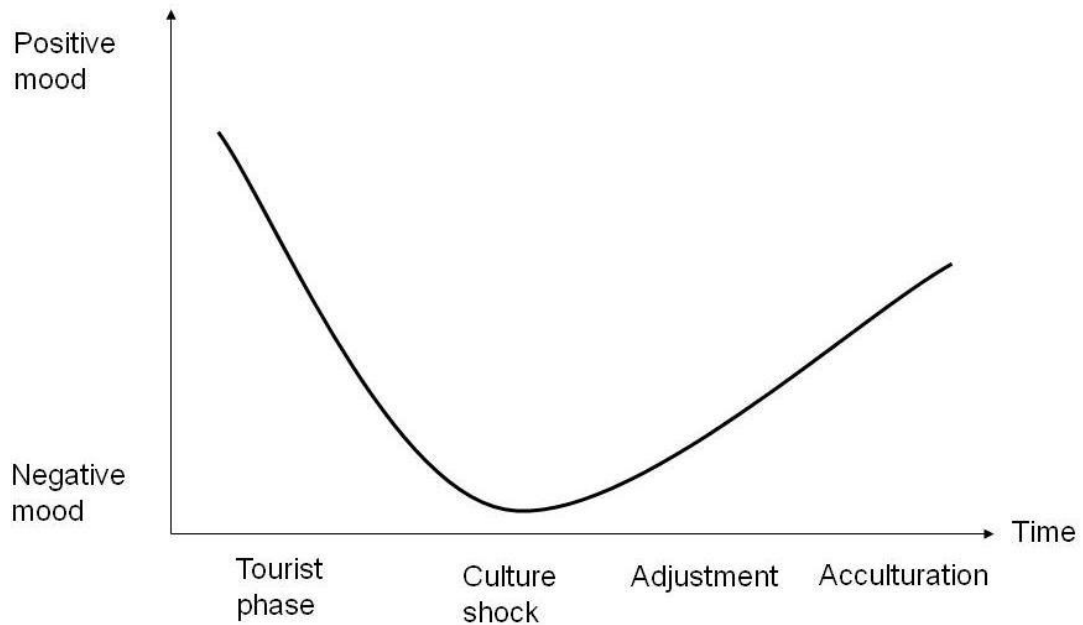


Figure 6. U-curve Model of Cultural Adaptation (after Lysgaard, 1955 and Oberg, 1960)

The W-curve model presented in Figure 7 contains the same phases as the U-curve model but in addition to that it also explains stress when returning home. When migrants return to their home countries they may face a similar process of adaptation to their own cultures. The stress of coming home is called re-entry shock or reverse culture shock (Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1963). Martin (1993) also sees adaptation as a process, where re-entry is one phase of the whole process.

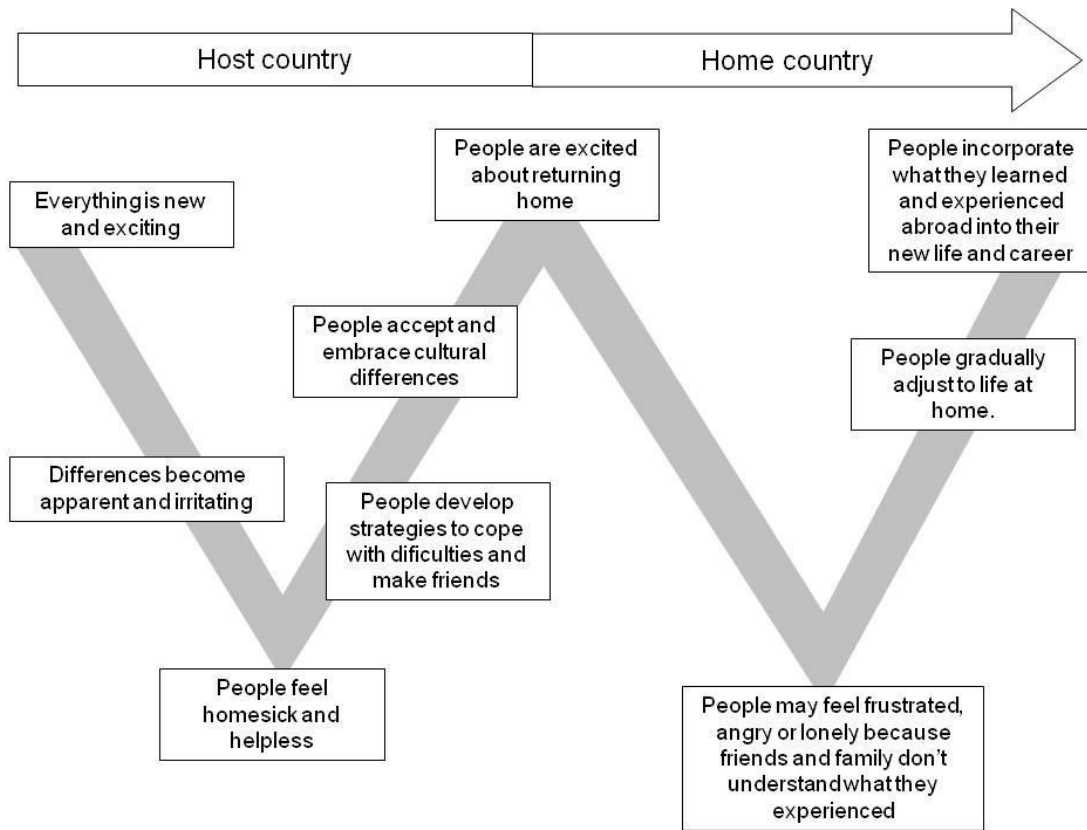


Figure 7. W-curve Model of Cultural Adaptation (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963)

Even if it is known that all kinds of transitions in people's lives may cause some stress or anger, the shock models generalise the process very much and mask real differences. Culture shock is also misleading because culture is not necessarily the reason for stress but different environmental factors. People do not experience culture shock as in Torbiorn's (1982) research, which only reports a feeling of irritation. (Anderson, 1994, 294.) Many researchers have criticised the U-curve or W-curve models of intercultural adaptation because they assume that people adapt to the new culture as the time goes by. Pedersen (1994), Ward, Bohner and Furnham (2001) and Ward (2008) note that the culture-shock models emphasize too much the threatening character of intercultural contact without noticing the beneficial consequences of the adaptation process for the participants. Ward, Okura, Kennedy and Kojima (1998) also report that the U-curve model did not apply when Japanese students were adapting to New Zealand and they had a lot of adjustment problems at the beginning; nor did the researchers find Oberg's (1960) honeymoon stage at the beginning. Paige (1993) claims that culture shock occurs as a part of a broader culture learning process.

The second group of intercultural adaptation models is the "learning process" models, which emphasize, that people have to learn "the parameters of the new sociocultural system and acquire the sociocultural skills necessary for participating in it". Scholars (Ruben, 1976; Triandis, 1983; 1995; Furnham & Bochner, 1983; 1986, Nishida, 1985; Furnham, 1988; Hammer, 1989; Pedersen, 1994; Hammer,

Bennett & Wiseman, 2003) emphasize the importance of intercultural communication skills and behaviour learning in the adaptation process. When migrants learn the rules for interpreting the environment and rules for behaving, they are able to have effective social communication without many failures. (Anderson, 1994, 294-295.) These models are linear: the adaptation line slowly ascends – people slowly learn and adapt. One of the disadvantages of these models is that they do not pay attention how willing people are to learn and accept the new ways of doing things.

The third group of intercultural adaptation models is the “journey” models, which emphasize the adaptation process as recovery and learning. These models (e.g. Bennett, 1986) are also linear and they see adaptation as a step-by-step psychological journey from ignorance to the state of understanding of the foreign culture. Bennett (1986) and Bennett and Bennett (2004) explain that people have different amount of “cognitive sensitivity”, which affects how people react to cultural differences.

The fourth family of models is “equilibrium” models, which construe intercultural adaptation as a “dynamic and cyclical process of tension reduction”. Intercultural adaptation is a process where adapters reduce the internal imbalance caused by the culture contact. These models (e.g. Torbiorn 1982; Grove & Torbiorn, 1993) note that people have to change their perceptual frame of reference, behaviour or the environment. How well this works is evaluated by the adapters so the models give information about “subjective adjustment” and stages of adjustment cycle. (Anderson, 1994, 296.)

As noted earlier, the concepts and approaches are very fragmented in the field of intercultural adaptation. The categorisation presented above is one attempt to differentiate the approaches from each other and focus on certain aspects of the model. Some of the models have been criticized and tested (see Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yershova & DeJaeghere, 2003). To get a wider picture of the adaptation phenomena the following section will present two more recent integrative models of intercultural adaptation. These models take into consideration multiply factors affecting in intercultural adaptation process. The first integrative model places communication to the centre and the second model emphasizes the dialectical character of intercultural adaptation.

The first model by Gudykunst and Kim (1997, 339) argue that “adaptation occurs in and through communication”. Figure 8 shows the communication-centred model of intercultural adaptation (Kim, 2001, 87; Kim, 2005, 385) communication activities link newcomers to their new environment and thus makes adaptation possible.

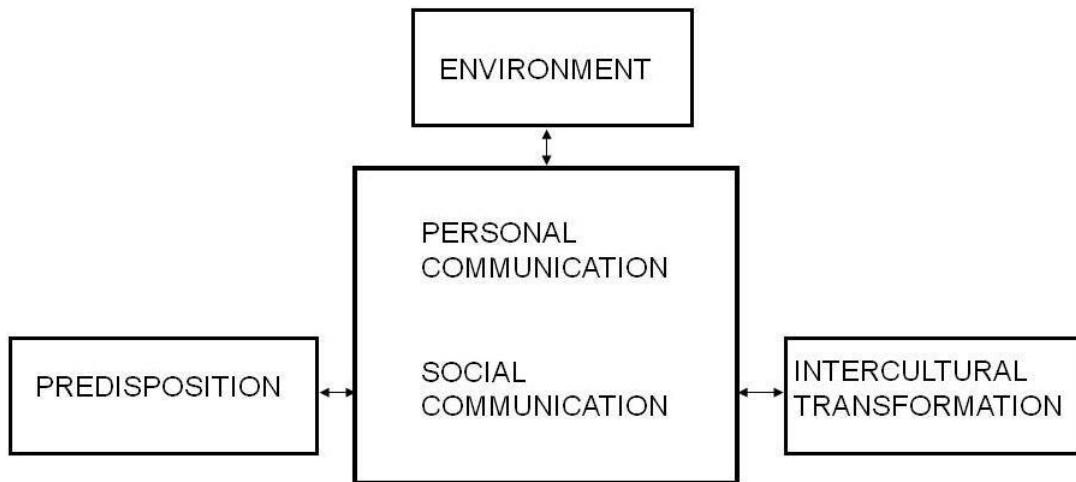


Figure 8. Model of intercultural adaptation: Communication emphasized (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997; Kim, 2001)

Personal communication refers to the mental processes by which people organize themselves in their socio-cultural milieu by developing ways of seeing, hearing, understanding and responding to the environment. Social communication refers to the people's capacity to communicate in the host cultural context. It includes interpersonal communication and mass communication. The environment gives the conditions for the new sociocultural milieu. The host environment may be welcoming towards the migrant or not. Predisposition includes the traits strangers themselves bring to the adaptation process. (Kim, 2001, 85-88.)

The second model by Anderson's (1994) is called a dialectical model of cross-cultural adaptation and it is based on sociopsychological adjustment theory. It emphasizes that all kinds of adjustments are cyclical and recursive processes. The model takes into account psychocultural and sociocultural factors in the process. Migrants try to solve problems and overcome obstacles embedded in the interactions with the host culture. Even if the obstacles are an important part of the model they do not have the same linear meaning as in culture shock models. The response generation is a crucial part of the model. People themselves can choose how to respond in different situations and create their own adjustment patterns. Figure 9 presents the main components of the model.

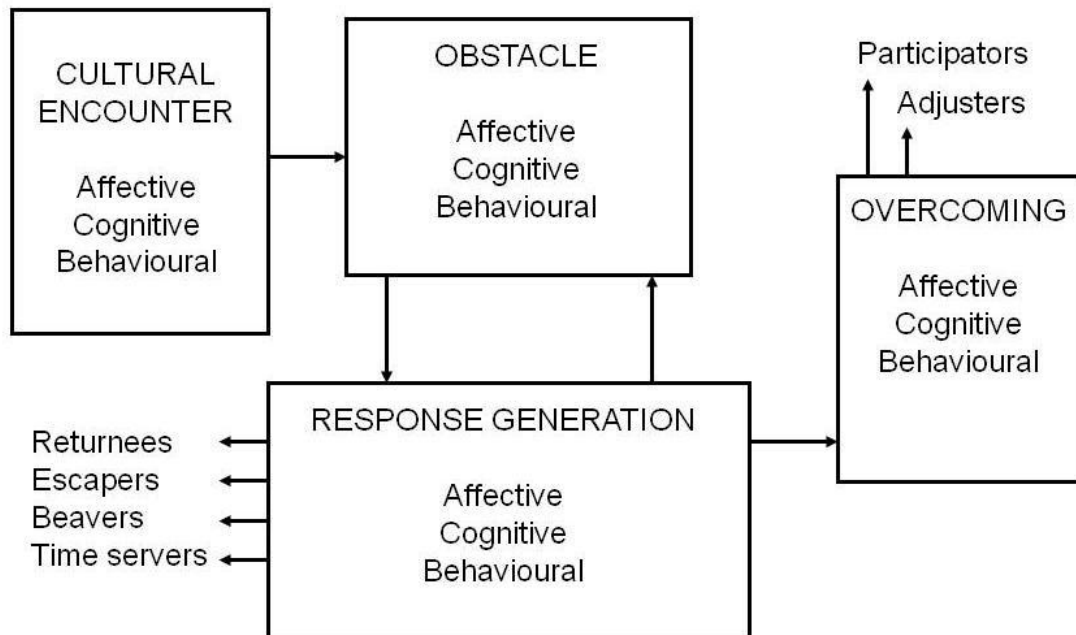


Figure 9. The Dialectical Model of Intercultural Adaptation (Anderson, 1994)

People's motivation to adapt to a new culture can lead to fundamental changes in their own behaviour. Thus, the dialectical model claims that the drive of motivation is the force to move people to adapt, the extent to which the immigrants are motivated or allowed to identify with and participate in the mainstream. Anderson also notes that cultural adaptation is a continuum because the obstacles can appear at any time of the adaptation process – so it is never-ending. The dialectical adaptation model is a model that can be used to analyse different types of migrants regardless of the length of time they stay in the host culture and the intensity of their interaction with the host nationals. (Anderson, 1994.). The dialectical adaptation model can be used for investigating short-term and long-term migrant groups. Anderson's (1994) dialectical model of intercultural adaptation is composed of six principles:

1. It involves adjustments: Intercultural adaptation is a motivated, goal-oriented process in which sojourners learn to accommodate to the new culture by solving the obstacles, which appear all the time at certain level.
2. It implies learning: Intercultural adaptation and learning processes are reciprocal and interdependent. The obstacles or cultural barriers in a new culture require people to learn the meanings of the situation and to develop strategies to solve the problems. To reach the goal of intercultural adjustment demands learning. Intercultural adaptation requires new strategies to solve the problems.
3. It implies a stranger-host relationship: In order to move from outsider status to insider status, people must modify their thinking and behavioural

patterns to fit the frame of reference of the host culture. There are cultural differences how host cultures facilitate the socialisation of the newcomer.

4. It is cyclical, continuous and interactive: The process is cyclical because it reflects the ups and downs and repetitive sequences of affective, cognitive, and behavioural reactions to facing and generating responses to the obstacles. Affective, cognitive and behavioural dimensions may be in balance or out of balance. The new culture influences and changes people but at the same time they influence and change the environment.
5. It is relative: Intercultural adaptation is not about survival or growth. It is ongoing and most migrants fall between the two extremes and the adaptation is always incomplete.
6. It implies personal development: Intercultural adaptation process challenges and pushes people to change affectively, cognitively, and behaviourally in order to fit themselves into the lifestyles of the new environment but it is a lifelong process.

The framework for the present research consists of components of these two integrative models of adaptation. The model by Gudykust and Kim (1997) serves the function that communication is a crucial part of adaptation. The second model by Anderson (1994) emphasizes adaptation as a continuous and cyclical process where motivation may affect the adaptation process and reactions during the process. Even if Anderson's model talks about problems in the adaptation process, the present research will focus on positive and negative issues affecting motivation to adapt. It takes into consideration psychocultural and sociocultural aspects of adaptation and uses sociocultural learning theory as a method of learning. Intercultural communication and dialogue are seen as a salient part of the whole process.

The following chapters will present three main theoretical orientations of the present research, namely intercultural communication, motivation and sociocultural learning.

3.2 Intercultural communication and dialogue

“When people interact, it is like a dance in which they are constantly moving together, subtly responding to each other’s rhythm and posture. The dance is constructed between them and cannot be seen as the result of either person’s prior intentions.” (Shotter, in Burr 2007, 140.)

3.2.1 Culture, intercultural interaction and interpretation

Communication is the foundation of all human relationships. It is everywhere contextualized, locally designed, situation ally managed and individually applied

(Carbaugh, 1990, xvi). Intercultural communication emphasizes communication which takes place between people from different cultural backgrounds or when cultural patterns of communication contact one another. Intercultural adaptation process contains lots of these contacts.

Culture is often considered the core concept in intercultural communication and adaptation. Niiniluoto (1990, 11) claims that the human mind and culture are quite independent entities that have been developed through evolution and which are kept and renewed through human actions and which set conditions and frameworks for the growth and development of new human beings. Popper (1979) presents a model of three worlds, which has been named nature, psyche or subjective consciousness and culture or society. Figure 10 shows how these three worlds affect in people's life. Culture is made by people and it has its own history. It contains material artefacts like books, clothes and furniture and non-material artefacts like meanings and purpose of use. (Niiniluoto, 1990, 15-25.)

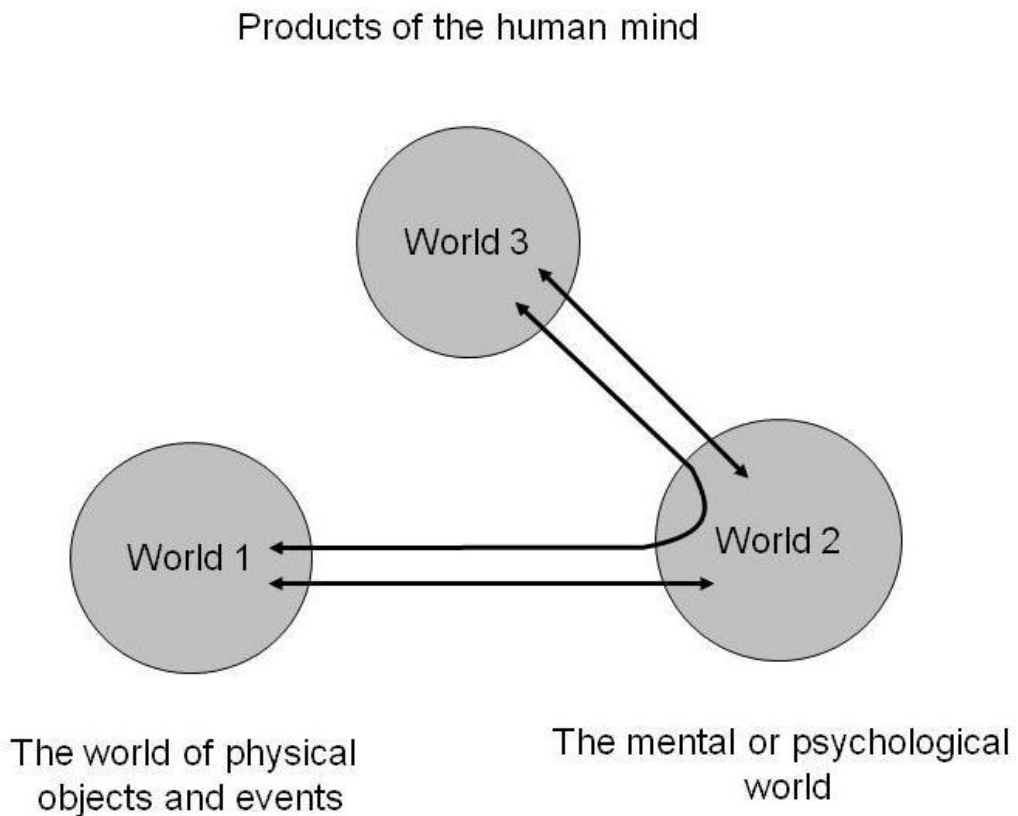


Figure 10. Popper's three worlds (Niiniluoto, 1990, 23)

Hence culture affects people's everyday life experiences and intercultural communication situations and interpretations. Culture operates on many different levels – not only on national cultural level

Culture has often been seen as a static or very slow-moving entity and people have been concerned about the purity or authenticity of their cultures. Derwin and

Clark (1989, 5) claim that people have been concerned about cultural imperialism and cultural invasion – new influences being more a threat than an opportunity to learn something new. Burbules and Torres (2000, 14) note that “one characteristic of globalization means tension between cultural homogeneity and cultural fragmentation leading towards dialectical situation where both tensions appear simultaneously”. Many scholars challenge the common view that cultures are stable and homogenous (see e.g. Derwin & Clark, 1989; Jandt, 1995; Jandt & Tanno, 1994; 2004; Fornäs, 1998; Casmir, 1999; Bolten, 1999; Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Rodriguez, 2002; Jensen 1998, 2005). They claim that cultures are not stable but constantly changing. Cultures contain interplay between ambiguity and meaning, chaos and order, homogeneity and diversity and other dialectical tensions (Rodriquez, 2002, 1-2). Jensen (2005, 1-2) talks about the ‘complex concept of culture’ in the field of intercultural communication. She illustrates the ‘complex concept of culture’ by the following statements

- Culture is common knowledge and meaning shared with others
- Culture is something we do
- Culture is constantly being recreated and it is constructed between people
- A culture cannot be seen as homogeneous, but must be seen as being divided up into different spaces, each of which contains different values and meanings.
- Each individual can participate in many different social categories and should therefore not only be portrayed as a national category, but also in categories such as gender, education, social background, age etc. (Jensen, 2005, 2.)

Dahl (2000, 135) defines culture as follows:

”Culture is the constantly ongoing attempt of the collective to define itself and its situation. It is an interpretive process of communication”.

The complex concept of culture emphasizes the dynamic and shared character of culture. In the present research the complex concept of culture is used because it emphasizes cultural changes as shared constructions.

As noted earlier, communication lies at the heart of the intercultural adaptation process (Kim, 1995; Gudykunst & Kim, 1997) and there are several approaches to communication (see e.g. Griffin, 2008). Chen and Starosta (1998, 21) define communication as “an interdetermining process in which people develop a mutually dependent relationship by exchanging symbols”. This definition emphasizes the communication situation as a reciprocally dependent action. Sarbaugh (1988) suggests that there is uniqueness in every person and situation, as well as elements of similarity. This uniqueness can lead to a claim that every communication event is to some degree intercultural. But when the participants are more heterogeneous (e.g. worldview, patterns of beliefs or overt behaviours) the level of ‘interculturalness’ increases (Sarbaugh, 1988, 30-37.)

The terms “intercultural” and “cross-cultural” communication are often used instead of each other. However, many researchers emphasize that they have a different orientation to the phenomenon. Intercultural communication implies interaction and is conceived as “direct, face-to-face communication encounters between or among individuals with differing cultural backgrounds” (Kim, 1995, 12-13). From intercultural perspective it is possible to study the experiences of people who move from one cultural system to another and to examine the interaction of people from different countries. The term cross-cultural communication applies to something which covers more than one culture. It compares chosen aspects of culture in various countries but considers each country separate. It does not suggest any interaction between the various cultural systems (see e.g. Gudykunst & Kim, 1997; Jandt & Tanno, 2004; Fries 2010)

When intercultural communication is seen as a flexible concept, it focuses on communication “as procedure, as communicatings and as acts of energising” (Derwin and Clark, 1989, 6). Through participation in the communication process people begin to establish a world of communicational reality which causes people to learn a particular ways of coding the world and to form a community in which they organize themselves socially and culturally. Chen and Starosta’s (1998) holistic model of communication also emphasizes the dynamic and mutually dependent feature of human communication. The reciprocal relationship between communicators connects their communication systems and defines understanding in communication situation. That leads to the outcomes of the interaction and the continuation of the communication situation. Contradictions and conflicts may emerge in the interaction process but the success of communication depends on the ability of the communicators to maintain a dynamic balance. Chen and Starosta (1998) list four components of communication:

- First, communication is a holistic phenomenon. The communicators cannot be understood unless people understand their relationships and people cannot understand their relationships unless they understand the communicators.
- Second, communication is a social reality. The socially created nature of human communication is based on the common meanings what people assign to verbal and nonverbal behaviours. It means that in different contexts the same message can be interpreted in different ways.
- Third, communication is a developmental process. Human communication is never absolutely complete or finished. In this transforming and endless process, mutual influence can produce a mutual and interdependent interaction.
- Last, communication is an orderly process. It means that communication behaviours are orderly and patterned rather than unpredictable and chaotic. The rules of creating shared meanings and actions promote the achievement of personal and collective goals in communication process. (Chen and Starosta, 1998, 21-24.)

When people come from different cultural backgrounds, it is generally more challenging for them to understand each other. Katriel and Philipsen (1990) found that “communication” for North Americans manifests “mutual self-disclosure, positive regard for the unique selves of the participants and openness to emergent, negotiated definitions of self and other.” But somewhere else expectations about communication situation may not be the same. Hence understanding other people means “interpenetration of life worlds.” (Katriel & Philipsen, 1990, 91.) One has to keep in mind that people have different expectations regarding behaviour and even communication carries different meanings for different cultural groups.

Theories of intercultural communication originated in anthropology, where Hall (1959, 1966, 1976, 1998) exerted great influence. The intercultural communication field has had two main traditions: functionalist and poststructuralist (Jensen, 2003-2004). The functionalist research tradition has made models which can predict how culture influences communication and how communication can be successful between cultures. This approach has been very popular. Some of the best known researchers in this field are Samovar and Porter (2000), Gudykunst (1983; 1987; 1991; 1995; 2005) Hall (1959; 1966; 1976; 1998) and Hofstede (1980; 1997), Hofstede and Hofstede (2005). However, Jensen (2003-2004) claims that functionalistic theories do not work in many intercultural communication situations. She argues that the poststructuralist approach is able to handle the complexity in society because it does not provide categories to explain intercultural communication. Some of the researchers advocating the poststructuralistic approach are Applegate and Sypher (1988), Colier and Thomas (1988), Jensen (1998) and Jandt and Tanno (1994; 2004).

Jensen’s (1998; 2003-2004) model of intercultural communication looks at communication from a poststructuralist perspective. Jensen says that this model wants:

- to give a description of an intercultural communication process between two actors, who are both addressers and addressees
- to emphasize the inter-connectedness between the participants in the communication process and
- to show that the communication process is an infinite, ongoing process.

Figure 11 presents Jensen’s model of intercultural communication, which emphasizes components similar to those of the communication model by Chen and Starosta. The model contains four analytical tools for analysing the intercultural communication situation: positions of experience, cultural presuppositions, self-perception and fix-points. Jensen (1998, 2003-2004, 10) claims that with these analytical tools the researcher can gain a better understanding of how the actors interpret each other’s expressions in everyday life and how the actors construct their identities in relation to other people.

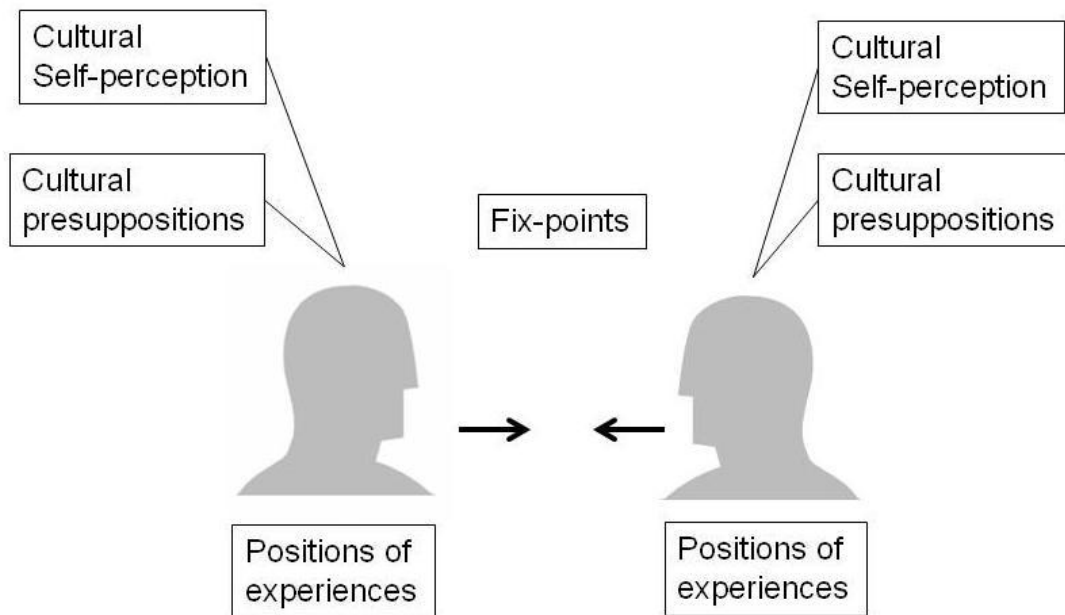


Figure 11. Model of intercultural communication (Jensen, 2003-2004, 5)

Positions of experiences refer to the fact that “all interpretations are bounded in individual experiences, but although the experiences are subjective, they are related to the social positions of a person”. The actor’s experiences will be different, not only related to their different cultures, but also related to their social positions in society. It means that cultural background is always a part of a person’s experience, but the actual role played in the communication situation is negotiated with other relations. Cultural presuppositions are connected to people’s understanding - no matter what kind of knowledge we have about the “others”, no matter how lacking and prejudiced it is, this knowledge is the basis for the interpretations we make. Cultural self-perception tells how people express a cultural community as the one they identify with. The identification takes place by constructing other groups which in turn gives an understanding about their own cultural communities. Cultural fix-points are the focal points that arise in the communication between two actors who both feel they represent a certain topic. For a topic to be seen as a cultural fix-point, both actors have to identify with this topic and give positions to them in discussion. (Jensen 2003-2004, 5-9.)

Another model which emphasizes the interconnectedness of the communicators is Yoshikawa’s (1987) “The Double Swing Model”, which is presented in Figure 12.



Figure 12. The Double Swing Model of Communication (Yoshikawa (1987).

The model is a sign of infinity, which emphasizes that both parts in the communication situation play the role of sender and addressee. In a double-swing model communication is seen as an infinite process. Yoshikawa notes that both participants will change in the communication contact. He also underlines that the goal for communication is not to eliminate differences, but to use the dynamics that arise through the meeting. (Yoshikawa, 1987.)

Jensen (2003-2004) notes that the intercultural communication model by Gudykunst and Kim (1997), which is presented in Figure 13, is a very important step in the attempt to describe the intercultural communication process as a dialogical process. Gudykunst and Kim (1997) themselves argue that intercultural communication is a dialogical process in which both parties are both addresser and addressee. They emphasize that “without understanding the strangers’ filters, people cannot accurately interpret or predict their behaviours” (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997, 47). The model shows that the encoding and decoding of communication messages is a process influenced by the cultural, sociocultural, psychocultural, and environmental characteristics of the communicators. The circles are drawn with broken lines to indicate that the elements affect, and are affected by, the other elements. All the factors have an impact on how people communicate with people from different cultures and how they interpret their behaviour.

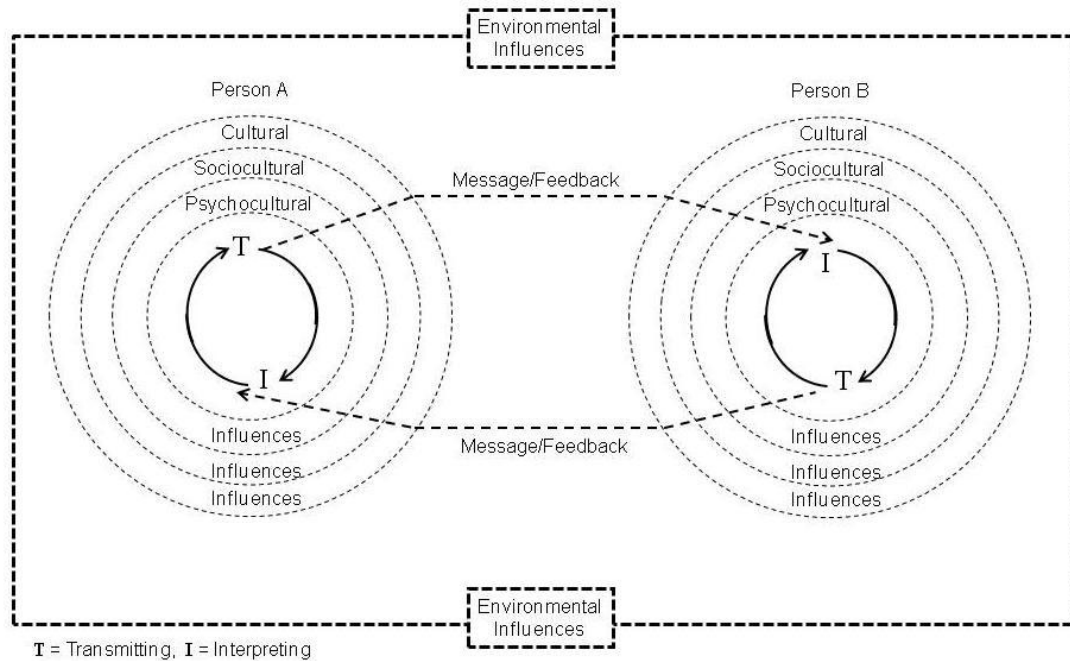


Figure 13. Model for communicating with strangers (Gudykunst and Kim, 1997, 45)

Cultural influences on the intercultural communication process include those factors involved in the cultural ordering process. Cultural values and communication norms and rules are unique within each culture but there are similarities and differences. Sociocultural influences are those involved in the social ordering process. Certain patterns of behaviour become consistent over time. The various groups of which people are members enforce sets of expected behaviours. Psychocultural influences are those involved in the personal ordering process. The variables contain for example our stereotypes, attitudes and expectations. Environmental factors include for example geographical location, climate and architectural setting. (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997, 47-49.)

In Jensen's (2003-2004) opinion the model by Gudykunst and Kim makes it possible to think in terms of social or personal differences. Misunderstandings in intercultural communication happen but they are not only due to cultural differences but for example personal characteristics. As Hinnenkamp (1999) puts it:

“A communicative exchange is not intercultural by virtue of interactants being from different cultural backgrounds. Nor is it intercultural by virtue of a misunderstanding between interactants from different cultural backgrounds. Even if territoriality or the treatment of taboo zones or any other cultural reason is responsible for the core misunderstanding, then we still might find that a treatment of it is a cooperative endeavour irrespective of the participants' cultural backgrounds. The sociocultural knowledge necessary for constituting a repair context as part of the misunderstanding event or in

reaction to the core misunderstanding seems to be reciprocal.” (Hinnenkamp, 1999, 16.)

The present research uses the holistic model of communication emphasizing the reciprocal relationship and interconnectedness of the communicators in the communication situations. The term intercultural communication is mainly used to refer to communication between the migrant and the host culture member. If intercultural communication includes communication between members of other cultures it will be emphasized. In addition to that, the present research looks for creation of shared meanings in intercultural communication. This process is often called dialogue and the models emphasize dialogical communication processes. The following chapter will address the dialogical communication and what it means in intercultural communication and adaptation.

3.2.2 Dialogical communication

Bolten (1999) states that intercultural communication process is unique and non-repeatable moment but at the same time a constant negotiation with the momentarily present “Inter-Culture” (Bolten (1999, 213-217). Hence it takes into account the “unknown”, which is the creation of individuals in interaction. Figure 14 below presents a modified model of his ideas. In the original model people’s “life-worlds” did not overlap but this modified picture emphasizes that the individual “life-worlds” of people also overlap.

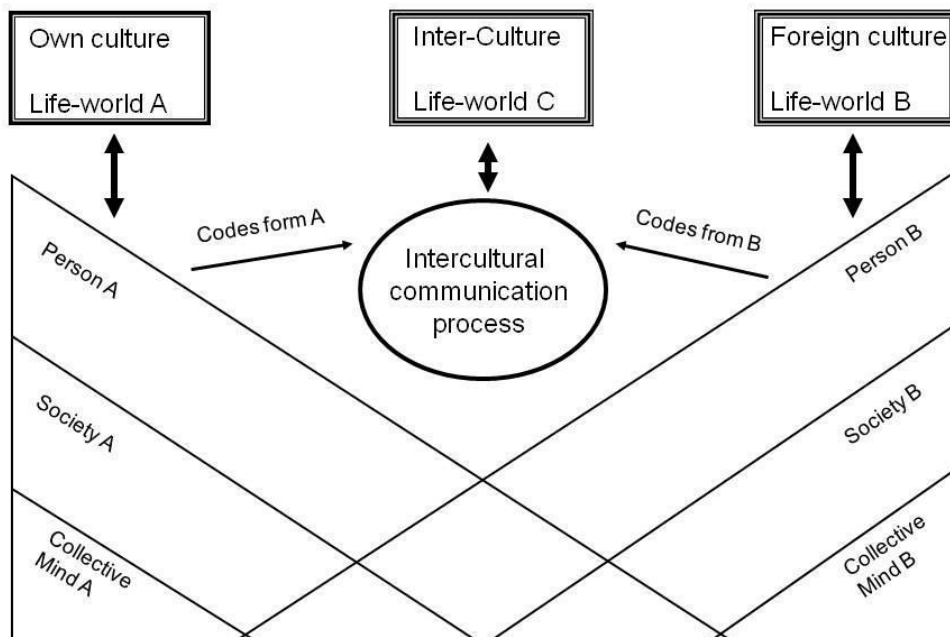


Figure 14. Life-world model of intercultural interaction (modified from Bolten, 1999)

Geisner (1988, 108) claims that the prototype of speech communication is the process of real dialogue, in which “persons reciprocally try to gain mutual understanding”. Philosophers and researchers have used many terms and definitions about the dialogical phenomenon. The term “dialogue” most often refers to communication practices where participants develop shared understanding. Buber (1999) and Gadamer (2004) use the “I-Thou relationship” when talking about dialogical communication. Isaacs (1999) talks about “the ability to think and talk together”, Argyris and Schon (1978, 1996) use the term “mutual learning dialogue”, Senge (1990, 1993) “thinking together”, Bohm (1996) “generative dialogue” and Habermas (1984) “symmetrical dialogue”. From a philosophical perspective (e.g. Buber, 1999; Värrä 2004), dialogue is more than agreement to disagree or want tolerating the differences. Rather, it is a cooperative search for understanding. Dialogue is communication that expands people’s viewpoints.

Buber (1999), who has been influential in the field of dialogical communication, argues that dialogue is an essential part of community and that dialogue is much more than the exchange of messages. In dialogue - whether spoken or silent – participants really have the other parties in mind with the intention of establishing a living mutual relation between them. Such a relationship allows each participant to potentially change the other or be changed by the other. There are two primary attitudes and relations: ‘I-Thou’ and ‘I-It’. He says that the ‘I-Thou’ relationship is between two human beings which are characterised by qualities such as ‘mutuality, openheartedness, directness, honesty, spontaneity, frankness, lack of pretence, non-manipulative intent, communion, intensity, and love in the sense of responsibility of each other. (Buber, 1999.) Buber (1999) also set forth criteria for genuine dialogue. Here are some of his principles for intercultural dialogue:

- When people interact genuinely, they go beyond themselves to encounter the other person as an equal.
- One participates in genuine dialogue without distortion.
- Genuine dialogue focuses on the message and not on how that message might be received by the other.
- All participants in genuine dialogue must be willing and able to share fully. (Buber, 1999.)

In sharp contrast to this is the ‘I-It’ relationship where people use and experience the other person as an object for their profit or their self-interest (Buber, 1999).

As noted earlier, the term “dialogue” has been used to represent many kinds of communication practices. Dialogue is a process of communication aimed at learning about and sharing with other people. Dialogue also aims at learning how to deal with one’s own stereotypes and eventually acquire a generally de-stereotyping style of communication (Matoba, 2003). Hence people have to be aware of their stereotypes (see Lehtonen, 1992; 1994; Salo-Lee, 1998). This kind of awareness is very important in intercultural communication situations because people easily use stereotypes as the deeper knowledge is missing. Ting-Toomey (1999, 16) claims that mindfulness, which is like dialogue, in communication means that people are aware of their own and others’ behaviour and focus their attention on the

communication process. Bakhtin (1986) and Linell (1990; 1998) say that a dialogic perspective emphasizes communication, where people co-construct something together, instead of monologue. The most literal and explicit meanings of “dialogue” in communication situation are presented in the list below (Carbaugh, Boromisza-Habashi & Ge, 2006):

1. The term refers to verbal co-production of two or more parties
2. The practices range from cooperative interactions to competitive discussions.
3. An ethos of mutuality of exchange pervades these practices.
4. The predominant tone is collaborative and varies from formal to informal.
5. The predominant channel is face-to-face but includes also other channels.
6. Structuring norms include speaking in a sincere, informative and expressive way about one’s views and listening in a way that is open to the views of others.
7. Goals of practice vary from advancing one’s view to informing, clarifying, presenting a range of views, developing shared understanding, resolving a conflict, transforming social circumstances, establishing a common goal, affirming social relationships and establishing future actions.
8. The practices are conceived to be varying importance: In some cases the weightiness is in the topic and in others in the form of the social activity. (Carbaugh et. al 2006, 41.)

A transcultural form of communication which is based on dialogue is seen as a basis for cross-cultural adaptation, a creation of multicultural identities and a construction of a multicultural society (Baraldi, 2006). Transcultural communication means that communicators emphasize and are interested in the other party. For example, in the context of a doctor-patient relationship transcultural communication is patient-centred (Free, 2005). In an intercultural communication context transcultural communication means that cultures can be understood through interaction which is oriented to the other party.

Bauman (1996) notes that dialogue is the only possibility to start equal relationship and tolerance. The main emphasis in dialogical communication is on mutual trust and respect and it is considered to be the most difficult level of communication because dialogue is oriented toward both the understanding and resolution of differences between people in different contexts. Dialogue is only possible in a relationship of mutual respect and knowledge of the other culture as well as one’s own culture and tradition and real dialogue is possible only in the presence of mutual understanding. In dialogue all communicators have a good understanding and acceptance of their own heritage and a similar understanding and acceptance of the others’ heritage. Acceptance means more than tolerance. Participants do not feel any loss of self even if they respect the culture, customs and traditions of the other party. Pruitt (1994) states that the outcome of the dialogue process is not a compromise but an “integrative agreement”. (Evanoff, 2000.).

Burbules (1993, 8) says that dialogue is an activity directed toward the discovery of new understanding which stands to improve the knowledge or sensitivity of its participants”. Pakkanen (2002, 245) adds that in dialogue participants strive for a

conversation based on genuine listening and mutual understanding. Burbules (1993) lists three rules for dialogue: 1) Rule of participation, 2) Rule of commitment and 3) Rule of reciprocity.

First, the rule of participation is about giving all participants equal opportunities to choose if they want to take part in dialogue; they need to have equal rights to be active participants. Second, the rule of commitment means that the participants are expected to try to understand each other's points of view. This means that the atmosphere has to be safe enough to pose questions, disclose their underlying thoughts, motivations, and emotions. Finally, the rule of reciprocity underlines the fact that dialogical relations are relations between people where there are not experts, privileges or authorities in the sense that they would be looked up to. (Burbules, 1993, 66-83.) Heikkilä and Heikkilä (2001, 19-20) also note that modern world is full of information but it needs to be shared. Hence people need a dialogical communication approach in the adaptation process to be able to focus on learning about oneself and about other party in a shared interaction and this adaptation process in its best creates something new. As Casmir (1999, 11; see also Geisner, 1988, 108) puts it: "Together implies ... that we can build something that eventually is ours".

Casmir's definition of communication also talks about communication as a relationship between communicators but he also emphasizes the need to participate. The dialogic nature of human communication processes accepts communication as an on-going negotiation of meaning between participants who can build new foundations and practices for their "mutually beneficial efforts in an attempt to organise their chaotic environment". (Casmir, 1992; 1999.)

Casmir (1992; 1999) uses the concept of a "third culture" which is "the creation of mutually beneficial interactive environment" and defines communication as follows:

"I think of communication as that which happens, symbolically, between human beings as they do things together ... as they build identities, societies, cultures or institutions for their continued existence and growth in a common socio/cultural environment." (Casmir, 1999, 2-6.)

Figure 15 presents Casmir's model of a third culture building. This approach concentrates on individual level emphasizing phases which are dynamic, interactive and mutually interdependent. The model is a representative of a co-operative, communication, community building process which does not include the need for coercion by anyone, including outsiders. Nor is it a process which seeks a predetermined, culturally imposed, finalised, predictable end state. (Casmir, 1999, 9-11.) The third culture model also pays attention to needs to communicate in dialogical manner (Holmes, 2005).

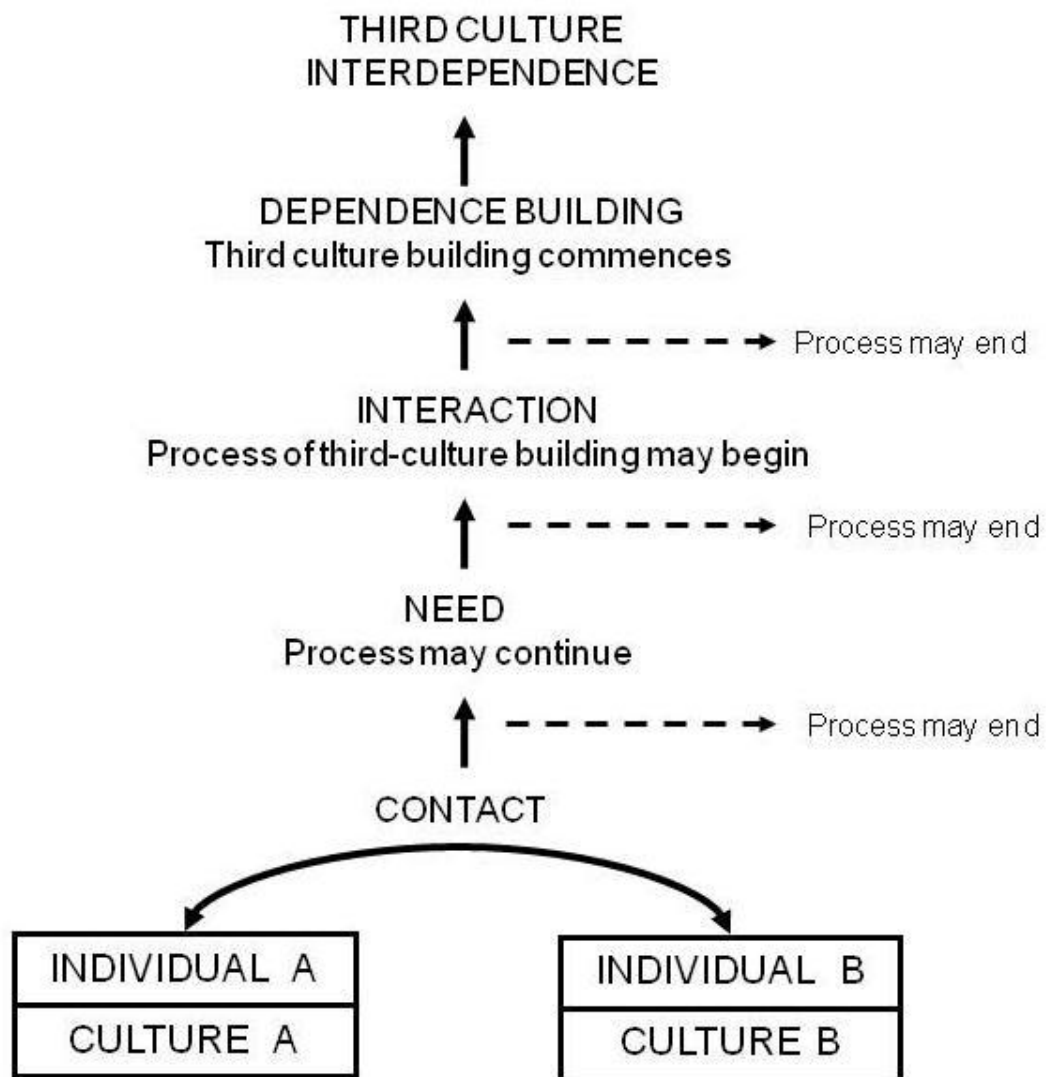


Figure 15. Third-culture building model (Casmir, 1999, 9)

Casmir (1999) notes that the “third-culture model” works best in long-lasting relationships. He even argues that in short-term relationships there are very limited possibilities to establish and maintain meaningful relationships and truly dialogic communication interactions. On the other hand, transformation or change which has occurred through dialogue has greater value to the participants and is more consistent (Burgoon, Dillman & Stern, 1993). The “third-culture model” emphasizes that the process may end at any point.

Heinonen (2000, 125) talks about the rules for a dialogue in religion but they can also be applied to the intercultural communication situation. Table 8 presents these dialogic rules modified for intercultural communication.

Table 8. Rules for intercultural dialogue

Rule	If the rule is not followed
Cultures should not be compared as whole entities.	It leads to stereotyping and simplification
People should always compare the same dimensions of a culture and from the same perspective.	For example rituals and social representations can get mixed
People should be aware that theory and practice are not the same	People may forget e.g. historical facts
People should be aware which features of the culture are primary and which features are secondary.	Superficial symbolic features may lead to erroneous conclusions about the symbols and about cultures
People should see to whole picture of the culture when interpreting a small unit.	The cultural meaning may get lost in the context.
When people have found similarities in their cultures they should be careful when drawing conclusions or analogies of them.	People may think that those similarities carry out the same cultural meanings.

Habermas (1994, 20; 2003, 291) notes that intercultural dialogue is a demanding process that requires participants from very different cultural backgrounds to seek some degree of mutual understanding. Because cultures are deeply rooted in and expressed through a particular social tradition, participants in intercultural dialogue must be able to distinguish between the norms that they expect to be universally accepted and their own worldviews and value commitments. Nisbett (2003) also argues that people think and see the world differently.

Like Casmir in his “third-culture model”, Cai and Rodriguez (1996-7) also note that “intercultural interaction between intercultural partners may fail due to negative experiences and subsequent inappropriate adaptation”. The world may be going towards convergence and new cognitive forms which are based on a blending of social systems and values, which may change the way people perceive and think. However, people’s awareness of connections with other people and the amount of willingness to associate with other people varies from time to time. Nisbett takes an optimistic view of the process and believes that people are starting to move in the direction where each other’s characteristic social practices are represented and transformed and “the stew will contain the best of each culture”. (Nisbett, 2003, 224-229.)

The present research emphasizes that it is important to find out what kind of reasons either increase the possibility to move on or decrease the willingness to continue the process of adaptation. The willingness to create a “third culture” or the “stew” is closely connected to motivational factors. However, there are not many studies about motivational factors in the intercultural adaptation processes. Hence this research wants to concentrate on factors which have enhanced or impaired motivation to adapt. The following section will focus on motivational issues of the adaptation process.

3.3 Motivation and sensitivity in intercultural adaptation processes

“If you want to understand the jungle, you can’t be content just to sail back and forth near the shore. You’ve to get into it, no matter how strange and frightening it might seem.” (Carl Jung, in Boeree, 2006)

3.3.1 Motivation and needs for adaptation

Motivation is the reason for doing something. For example, learning a second language, three functioning components affect this: attitudes toward learning, desire to learn to achieve the goal and the amount of effort to learn (Gardner, 2002). Motivation affects learning and dialectical adaptation models see motivation as a major driving force for intercultural learning and adaptation because among the opposing forces the process of adaptation may end at any point. The relational dialectic models (Baxter, 1988; McNamee & Gergen, 1999; Anderson, 2003) also note that there are opposing values in all relationships. Some opposing values could be privacy vs. transparency, novelty vs. predictability and autonomy vs. connectedness. When these needs are at odds with each other, there may also be relational tension. For example, if transparency is valued, the sharing of information is the main goal in intercultural interaction and it can make the relationship closer and stronger. On the other hand, people also have a need for privacy, which may decrease the willingness to participate in social interaction. Hence people may have a need for independence but at the same time they want to create social relationships.

Kim (2001) defines adaptation motivation as the willingness to participate and become functionally fit in the host environment. Adaptation motivation provides “an emotional and motivational capacity to deal with the various challenges of living in a host environment”. It is reflected, for example, in willingness to learn the host language and culture. The stronger motivation to adapt is, the greater the likelihood that people will make an effort to learn and participate in the host environment. (Kim, 2001, 108-109.) There are two major types of motivation: instrumental and integrative motivation. People who have instrumental motivation are motivated e.g.

to learn a second language because they have practical reasons for doing so, like getting a better job. People who have integrative motivation want to learn a second language to create relationships or to follow the media. Achievements during the learning process influence attitude and motivation but the primary achievement is a result of attitude and motivation. (Gardner, 2002.) The present research focuses on the whole adaptation and learning process and changes in the level of motivation are looked for.

The term ‘motivation’ refers to the conditions that propel action (Yu, 2000, 120). Researchers of psychology have been interested in what energises, directs or sustains human behaviour. Especially in the field of organisational studies motivation has been of great interest - why workers perform tasks or help to accomplish organisational goals (Pace & Faules, 1994). Yu (2000, 133) notes that interpersonal relationships are an essential part of people’s existence and relational perspective of communication motivation seems to explain a good performance of organisational tasks in a Chinese organization. In the field of education studies on motivation have always been interested in finding out what motivates students to learn. Engeström (1981, 22-23) claims that emotionally important considerations create motivation in the learner. However, Fornäs (1998) notes that although people’s actions are based on their intentions and motives, people are not necessarily aware of them.

Nuttin (1984, 8-15) states that motivation is an active need in a concrete situation. However, Huitt (2004) notes that studies in the field of motivation do not agree on the identification of human needs and how they are ordered. Maslow’s (1943; 1954) hierarchical model of needs has been one of the most popular theories of human motivation. Figure 16 presents Maslow’s hierarchy of needs.

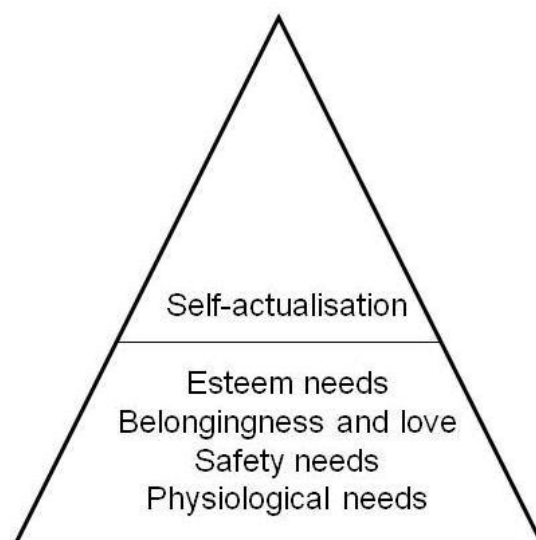


Figure 16. Maslow’s hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1954)

The theory talks about five needs in hierarchical order: physiological, safety and security, sense of belonging, esteem and self-actualisation. These five needs are categorised into two bigger groups: deficiency needs and growth needs. Deficiency needs means that people are reliant on them, like food or living in a safe area free from threats and violence (Norwood, 1999). Deficiency needs are:

1. Physiological needs, like hunger, thirst, sex, etc.
2. Safety and security needs, like being out of danger
3. Need for belonging and love, e.g. affiliate with others and be accepted
4. Need for self-esteem, e.g. achievements, to be competent, to gain approval and recognition

According to Maslow's theory, deficiency needs have to be satisfied in hierarchical order before people can move to the next level. Growth needs are connected to the process of a gradual increase in understanding or personal development like the need for self respect and need for "healthy pride in one's self" or realisation of one's potentials (Norwood, 1999). The growth need originally consisted of one category: self-actualisation but later, Maslow and Lowery (1998) differentiated two lower-level growth needs before and one higher-level growth need after the level of self-actualisation. The growth needs in the modified model are as follows and are presented in Figure 17.

5. Cognitive needs: to know, to understand and explore
6. Aesthetic needs: symmetry, order and beauty
7. Self-actualisation: to find fulfilment and realise one's potential
8. Self-transcendence need: to connect to something beyond the ego or to help others find fulfilment and realise their potential. (Huit, 2004.)

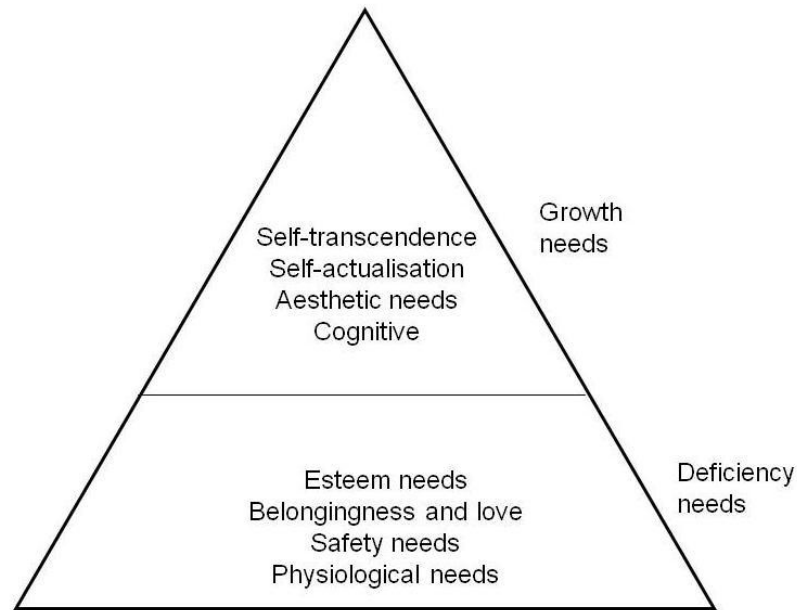


Figure 17. Extended model of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow & Lowery, 1998)

Norwood (1999) used Maslow's hierarchy of needs to identify what kinds of information people seek at different levels. Table 9 shows a collection of questions asked at different levels of need. On the lower levels people look for information which helps them to cope in everyday situations or information which increases safety, relationship building and self-esteem. On higher levels people want information which strengthens moral, intellectual and spiritual improvement or information to make others to feel better and improve themselves. In the present research, the information the sojourners or immigrants are looking for may give some ideas as to what kinds of needs they have. The interviewees also report what kinds of needs they have had at different stages of their adaptation process in a foreign country.

Table 9. Information content on different levels of needs (Norwood, 1999; Huitt, 2004)

Need group	Level of the need	Information	Information content
Growth needs	Self-transcendence	Edifying	Information on how to connect to something beyond themselves or how others can be edified
	Self-actualisation, Aesthetic needs Cognitive needs	Edifying	Information which builds up or strengthens moral, intellectual or spiritual improvement
Deficiency needs	Esteem needs	Empowering	Information about how to develop ego
	sense of belonging and love	Enlightening	Information which helps relationship development
	Safety and security needs	Helping	Information which assists how to be safe and secure
	Physiological needs	Coping	Information that is directly connected to meet the needs of a person in a short time span

Yu (2000, 120) argues that most motivation-related research is Western bound. Pinto (2000, 68-69) also argues that Maslow's theory of needs is not necessarily valid in all cultures because it represents the values which put the individual into the central position and where self-development is the highest ideal. In some cultures the group has a central position and honour is the highest goal. Yu (2000, 135) and Matsumoto and Juang (2008, 419-420) have also noted that interpersonal relationships may not play the same kind of role in motivating people cross-culturally. Yu (2000) argues that key motivational themes in Chinese culture are obligations, indebtedness, interconnectedness and loyalty. A modified model of Maslow's needs is presented in Figure 18. The order of needs looks very different from Maslow's hierarchy of needs.



Figure 18. Modified model of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Pinto, 2000)

Alderfer (1972) also modified Maslow's theory of needs into the ERG theory of human needs. It includes three types of needs: existence (E), relatedness (R) and growth (G). Existence needs include physiological needs, like food, water, sex and material things. Relatedness needs contain significant relationships in people's lives, like family members, friends and colleagues. Growth needs include the desire to be productive and innovative and achieve the people's potentials and accomplish meaningful tasks. Figure 19 presents these needs. The categories in ERG theory are very similar to Maslow's theory but the greatest difference is the absence of hierarchy (ERG – Clayton P. Alderfer). Alderfer's model claims that the needs need not to be satisfied in hierarchical order and they may occur at the same time. Hence categories may vary for each person and people may have many active needs simultaneously. In many cases many needs have to be satisfied at the same time to motivate. In addition to these comments, the ERG theory claims that a need does not disappear even if it has been satisfied.

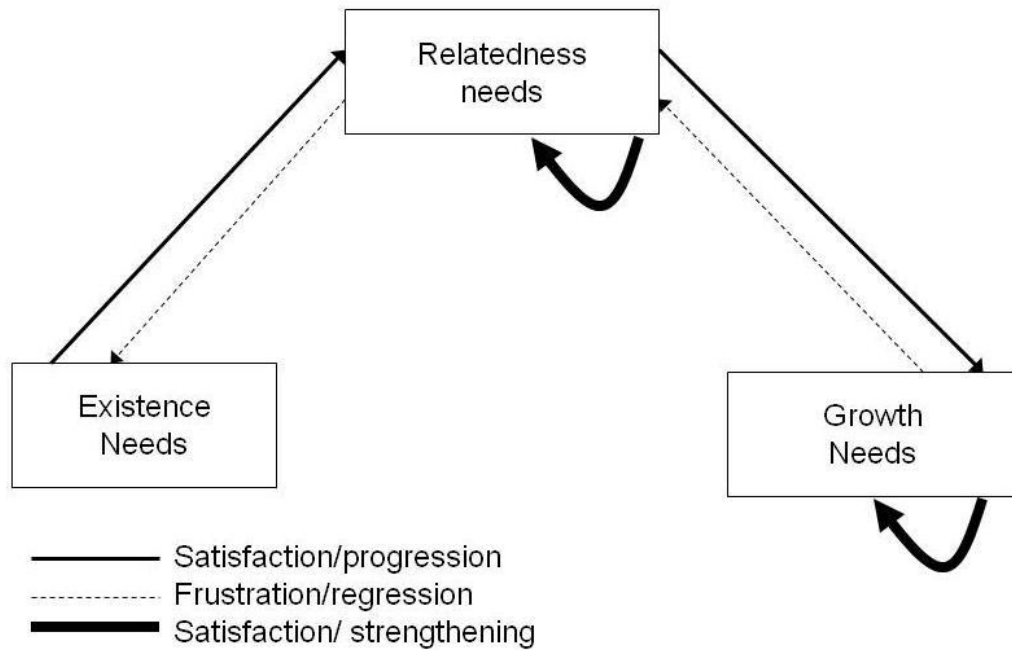


Figure 19. ERG theory of human needs

Even if no single motivation theory can explain people’s behaviours, all the different theories of needs have one category which appears common to all of them – a category connected to social relationships. Nuttin (1984, 6-20) claims that motivation is “rooted in the dynamics of functional relationship”. Hence motivation can be strongly connected to social relationships and social relationships are important tools for sharing and understanding new things. There are various models which emphasize developing empathy and the process of transition from ethnocentric to ethnorelative in an intercultural contact. The following section will present some of these models.

3.3.2 Intercultural sensitivity

When people move to a new environment, they may find it strange and frightening and they try to keep away from those feelings or they may find new environments interesting and fascinating and try to learn more. Our multicultural world requires the ability to see through the eyes and minds of people from different ethnic, sexual and cultural backgrounds. Pitkänen (2006, 208) also notes that even if cultural differences may cause tension and conflicts, difference is the greatest richness of humankind.

In intercultural communication situations people easily judge and evaluate other people’s behaviour. Judgements or evaluations are based on cultural learning and people are not necessarily conscious of them. In intercultural contexts cultural interpretation mechanisms often lead to misunderstandings. Fox (1997) talks about

different levels of intercultural communication actions and makes the distinction between miscommunication and distorted communication. Miscommunication is a failure of the cultural interpretation mechanism or simply a miscoding of language. Distorted communication, which may be intentional or unintentional, occurs if the intention and assumptions regarding the communication situation are unclear and if there is a power imbalance between one participant and another. (Fox, 1997, 89-95.) Habermas (1984, 87-99) makes a distinction between strategic communicative action and communicative action. In the strategic communicative action model all actors are oriented to their own success. In the communicative action model, however, the actors try to reach an understanding together.

The process of achieving intercultural sensitivity and understanding has been noted as one of the major areas in developing understanding about the new culture. The phenomenon is multifaceted and researchers have used different names about the process, like cultural map (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961), cross-cultural awareness (Hanvey, 1986) intercultural learning (Hoopes, 1981), developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, M., 1986, 1993), multicultural mind-set (Chen & Starosta, 1998) and fusion of horizon (Gadamer, 2004, 90-96). The list below offers a collection of different terms used in different research areas about the process towards understanding and ethnorelativism. Many of them are closely connected to studies of intercultural competence. Many of the different terms have been used to talk about the process of gaining understanding between people with differing cultural backgrounds but the contents are not the same in them. Deardorff (2006) also found that even if the researchers have used the same term, there were differences in their definitions of the phenomenon. The list is not a complete list of all the possible names given to the phenomenon of sensitivity development.

- scheme of ethical development (Perry, 1970)
- cross-cultural awareness (Hanvey, 1986; 2004)
- intercultural mindset (Adler, 2001)
- unconscious competence (Howell, 1982)
- intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 1986, 1993)
- dynamic in-betweenness (Yoshikawa, 1987)
- appreciative inquiry (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987)
- mindfulness (Langer, 1989, 1997)
- constructive marginality (Bennett, J., 1993)
- intercultural maturity (Kegan, 1994; King & Baxter-Magolda, 2005)
- intercultural communication competence (Chen & Starosta, 1996)
- intercultural adroitness (Chen & Starosta, 1996)
- cultural literacy (Varis, 1998; Wood, Landry & Bloomfield, 2006)
- ethical intercultural communication (Chen & Starosta, 1998; Evanoff, 2004)
- host communication competence (Kim, 2001)
- participatory competence (Holden, 2002)
- intercultural dialogue (Evanoff, 2004)
- cultural intelligence (Peterson, 2004)
- dialogic literacy (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 2005)

Chen and Starosta (1999; 2000) want to emphasize that intercultural sensitivity, intercultural awareness and intercultural competence are closely related concepts. First, they define intercultural awareness as “the cognitive aspect of intercultural communication” and contact. Successful intercultural communicators have learned similarities and differences of each other’s culture. Second, intercultural competence is connected to “the behavioural aspects of intercultural communication”, which means that people are able to behave effectively and appropriately in intercultural communication situations. Third, intercultural sensitivity means that people have “a desire to motivate themselves to understand, appreciate and accept differences and to produce a positive outcome from intercultural communication interactions”. (Chen & Starosta, 2000, 406-408.) Hence these three concepts are separate but mutually dependent elements. The present study focuses on motivational factors but, as noted earlier, concepts cannot be separated very clearly from each other and some comments about other areas are made. The terms sensitivity and awareness are used most.

Intercultural sensitivity is a positive drive to accommodate, understand and appreciate cultural differences in promoting an appropriate and effective behaviour in intercultural communication. The concept is seen as a dynamic and multidimensional concept describing people’s active desire to be motivated to understand, appreciate, and accept differences among cultures. The reasons for such motivation lie in the expectation of positive outcomes from intercultural interactions. Intercultural awareness and sensitivity are such qualities that enable people to achieve a multicultural mindset. (Chen & Starosta, 1998, 231.) Understanding the host culture enables people to modify their communication patterns to be more accurate in the unfamiliar communication situation. The following paragraphs present some of models of intercultural awareness and sensitivity.

When writing about global understanding, Hanvey (2004) differentiates five dimensions which contribute to the formation of a global perspective. One of the dimensions is a model of cross-cultural awareness describing the degrees of awareness. Table 10 presents the four-level model of intercultural awareness. In the model the first level is the lowest level and the fourth level is the highest level of intercultural awareness.

Table 10. Levels of cross-cultural awareness (Hanvey, 1986, 11)

Level	Information	Mode	Interpretation
I	awareness of superficial or very obvious cultural traits; stereotypes	tourism, textbooks, National Geographic	unbelievable, i.e. exotic, bizarre
II	awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own	culture conflict situations	unbelievable, i.e. frustrating, irrational
III	awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own	intellectual analysis	believable, cognitively
IV	awareness of how another culture feels from the standpoint of the insider	cultural immersion, living the culture	believable because of subjective familiarity

At the first level a person is aware of superficial and very obvious cultural traits. Such awareness is gained, for example, through tourist trips or from textbooks. On that level the interpretation of different behaviour is normally unbelievable, exotic, strange, interesting and bizarre. At the second level people become aware of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with their own cultural traits. Such cross-cultural awareness is gained in culture conflict situations which at this stage are interpreted as unbelievable, frustrating, irrational etc. At level three people are aware of significant and subtle cultural traits but they accept this cultural trait intellectually – analysing them in a wider frame of reference. It is believable and makes sense to them. At the fourth level people become aware of how another culture feels from the standpoint of the insider. It is believable because of subjective familiarity – living the culture.

Hanvey (1986; 2004) also talks about empathy and transpection in the awareness process. Empathy means the capacity to imagine oneself in another role within the context of one's own culture. Hanvey claims that it is necessary to reach a stage even beyond empathy. Transpection means the capacity to imagine oneself in a role within the context of a foreign culture, which Hanvey sees as an important capacity for people in present world. Strange behaviour must become familiar and believable. Ideally, this means getting inside the head of those "strangers" and looking out at the world through their eyes. (Hanvey, 1986; 2004.) Table 11 presents the levels from low capacity for empathy to capacity of transpection. Hanvey claims that this is also a process of intercultural understanding.

Table 11. Perspective consciousness

Perspective	Context	Cultural capacity
Traditional	Local perspective	Low capacity for empathy (fixed roles in the context of a local culture)
Modern	National perspective	High capacity of empathy (variety of roles in the context of a national culture)
Post-modern	Global perspective	Capacity for transpection (viewpoint of roles in foreign cultures)

Bennett’s (1986; 1998) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity shows the developmental process in which people transform themselves affectively, cognitively and behaviourally from ethnocentric stages to ethnorelative stages. The main attention is to the subjective experiences of the learners and how the learners react to cultural differences. Developing intercultural sensitivity means that people learn to recognise and deal with cultural differences through different stages. (Bennett, 1986, 181-182.) Figure 20 shows the development of these different stages.

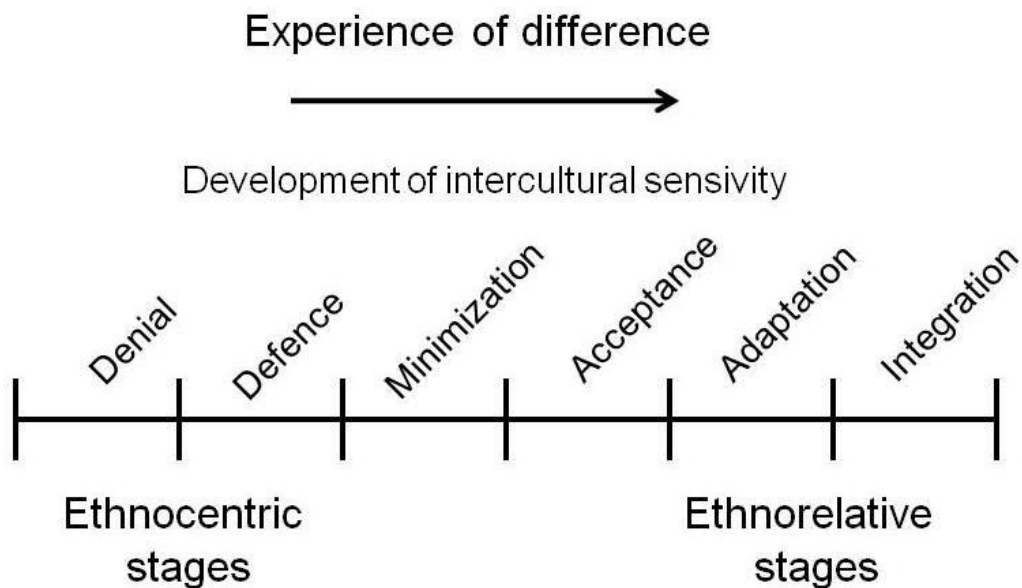


Figure 20. A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 1986; 1998)

Table 12. Levels of understanding (Bennett, 1986, 181-186)

	Developmental Stage	Level of sensitivity and understanding
Ethnocentric stages	Denial	People deny the existence of cultural differences
	Defence	People attempt to protect their own worldview to counter the perceived threat of cultural difference
	Minimization	People attempt to protect the core of their own worldview by concealing differences in the shadow of cultural similarities
Ethnorelative stages	Acceptance	People begin to accept the existence of behavioural differences and underlying cultural differences
	Adaptation	People become empathetic toward cultural differences and become bicultural or multicultural.
	Integration.	People apply ethnoculturalism to their own identity and can experience difference as an essential and joyful aspect of all life.

The process includes six stages. The first three are ethnocentric stages, where people see their own worldview as central to reality. The three last stages are ethnocultural where people understand that cultures can be understood only within a cultural context. Table 12 explains the sensitivity of these six stages.

Bennett's model of intercultural sensitivity requires gradual change in affective and cognitive areas and behavioural ability. In the model adaptation is a stage where people build on acceptance of and respect for cultural differences. People widen their perspectives and add to their "repertoire" new ways of behaving, thinking and feeling. They can choose from many cultural frames of reference. In the integration stage those different frames of reference are constantly renegotiated. (Bennett, M. 1993.) Hence cultural sensitivity is seen as a process which constantly develops.

Brewis (2008) presents a dialectic view of the Bennett's model emphasizing the space between the ethnocentric and ethnocultural pull. Brewis notes that people "start with a total intercultural unawareness and end with a developed intercultural awareness". People make choices and construct their identity which suits best in their new circumstances. (Brewis, 2008, 207-220.) In Brewis's opinion the process is not as linear as Bennett claims.

Ideally, achieving intercultural sensitivity means responsibility and interest from both parties involved in the communication situation. It may require specific competences from the participants. Many models of intercultural awareness and

sensitivity emphasize the qualities and skills people should have or should acquire in the process of intercultural understanding – intercultural competences. The following section presents the main qualifications intercultural competence contains.

3.3.3 Intercultural competences

Over the decades communication competence has been much studied and intercultural competence has been one of the main research areas of intercultural communication (Salo-Lee, 2006a; 2006b; 2007). There are several studies about communication competence or intercultural communication competence (e.g. Ruben, 1976; 1986; Chen, 1989; Hammer, 1989; Martin & Hammer, 1989; Bennett, M., 1993; Martin, 1993; Gudykunst, 1995; Chen and Starosta, 1996; 2000; Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003; Arasaratnam & Doerfel, 2005). Salo-Lee (2005; 2007) notes that focus and target groups of intercultural competence have varied over the years. The focus taken affects what is emphasized in the research. Salo-Lee (2005; 2007) identifies four focuses in intercultural competence research. Table 13 presents these four focuses.

Table 13. Four focuses in intercultural competence research (Salo-Lee, 2007)

Classification	Focus
“We there”	Focus on expatriates abroad
“They here”	Focus on immigrants
“We all here”	Focus on increasing domestic multiculturalism
“We all here and there”	Focus on global multiculturalism and development of technology

Communication competence and intercultural competence studies have emphasized cognitive, behavioural and affective components in communication situations. In most of the studies the focus is on a person and the qualities one should have. One of the most used definitions of interpersonal communication competence is communication which is effective and appropriate in a given context (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984). Hymes (1979) defines components of communicative competence in a communication situation as follows:

- 1) To what degree something is formally possible
- 2) To what degree something is feasible by virtue of the means of communication available.
- 3) To what degree something is appropriate in relation to the context in which it is used and evaluated.
- 4) To what degree something is performed and what its doing entails.

Such communicative competence emphasizes communicative means and meanings of the people in a situation and what is considered appropriate in the community. Carbaugh adds that competence is the impression of the interactants in interpersonal situation. (Carbaugh, 1993, 171-172.) In intercultural contexts the concept of communication competence becomes even more complex. Many researchers (e.g. Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984; 1989; Hammer, 1989; Martin, 1993; Spitzberg, 2000; Chen & Starosta, 1996, Kim, 1991) have conceptualised the basic components of intercultural communication competence. The three most common components in different theories can be found in the affective, cognitive and behavioural domains of communication.

Operationalising those components in intercultural interaction, however, is a difficult task. If people are competent in their own cultural milieu, it does not mean that they are competent in different cultures and in intercultural communication situation (Kim, 1991, 1995). In intercultural communication situations people make interpretations based on their own expectations regarding competent behaviour. One important question is who defines what is appropriate and effective. The constant effort to create a culture-free criterion for intercultural communication competence has been under study. Various models of intercultural competence have been developed and various perspectives have been used (Salo-Lee, 2006a; 2006b; 2007; 2009; see also Chen & Starosta, 1998).

Arasaratnam and Doerfel (2005, 138) investigated the variables that contribute to intercultural communication competence to create a comprehensive model of intercultural communication competence applicable in all cultures. They found that the qualities associated with the competent interpersonal communicator were very similar to those defined for intercultural communication competence. They found dimensions like heterogeneity, transmission, other-centeredness, observing, motivation, sensitivity, respect and relatedness. (Arasaratnam & Doerfel, 2005, 138-159.) However Ribeau, Baldwin and Hecht (2000, 128-134) and Chen (2008) emphasize that rules for effective or satisfying communication behaviour are different depending on the ethnicity of the group or the situation.

As noted above, a standard definition for intercultural communication competence has been a challenging task and no agreement has been reached (Hajek & Giles, 2003). In the intercultural communication field, the functionalist research tradition especially includes competence research in their studies to establish criteria to determine which characteristics a person needs in order to acquire intercultural competence. (Jensen, 2003-2004, 3.) They have been interested in identifying abilities and dispositions or behavioural characteristics which would be beneficial e.g. to businessmen to perform their functions successfully (Knapp, 1998).

In Deardorff's (2006) study intercultural scholars were asked to identify the elements of intercultural communication competence which they also referred to as cross-cultural competence, global competence or global citizenship. The statements which were agreed on most as important elements of intercultural communication competence were as follows (Deardorff, 2006, 247-248):

- 1) The ability to shift one's frame of reference appropriately
- 2) The ability to achieve one's goals to some degree
- 3) The ability to behave appropriately and effectively in intercultural situations.

Intercultural scholars in that study also mentioned components connected to personal attributes, like curiosity, general openness and respect for other cultures. The conclusion of the research was that no single component is enough to ensure competence (Deardorff, 2006, 247-248.) Kuhn (1975) talks about three components, which are activated in communication situations: detectors, selectors and effectors. Detectors process the information in a communication situation, selectors select the communicative acts according to the goals or values of people and effectors are connected to the ability to carry out the behaviour selected. Kim's (2001, 99-117) model of host communication competence contains three components which are very similar to Kuhn. The components of host communication competence are cognitive, affective and operational. The cognitive components reflect the ability to identify and understand messages in different situations. Affective components of host communication competence contain adaptation motivation, identity orientation and emotional orientation. Operational components refer to the capacity to carry out specific behaviours. Kim emphasizes that the components are interrelated and simultaneously present in an intercultural communication situation. (Kim, 2001, 99-117.)

Martin (2000) divides the components of competence into two major categories

1. Individual components of competence: motivation, knowledge, attitudes, behaviours and skills.
2. Contextual components of competence: e.g. political, institutional, and organizational contexts.

Martin's model emphasizes contextual factors as an important part of competence. It means that competence is not only connected to individual skills and qualities. Hence an important aspect of being competent is to understand the context in which communication occurs and how it affects communication. A good communicator is sensitive to these contexts. However, the present research did not focus on contextual factors but discusses about them, if needed.

Scollon and Scollon (2001, 134) propose two main categories in successful communication: pragmatic effectiveness and cultural sensitivity. Pragmatic effectiveness means that people participate in communication situations as fully as possible and do not take their requirements as self-evident. Cultural sensitivity means that people are conscious of how their own communication may be perceived.

Howell (1982) emphasizes that there are four levels of intercultural communication competence:

1. Unconscious incompetence, where people misinterpret other people's behaviour but are not aware of it. "Be yourself approach".
2. Conscious incompetence, where people are aware that they misinterpret other people's behaviour but do not know why things went wrong and what to do.
3. Conscious competence, where people modify their behaviour to take into account the fact that they are communicating with a person from another culture.

4. Unconscious competence, where the correct communication pattern has become such a part of people's habit structure that they no longer have to think about using a different pattern with people from another culture. (Martin 2000, 317-323.)

The levels of competences start from unconscious incompetence, where people do not understand that they do not understand towards conscious incompetence and conscious competence. The highest level of competence is unconscious competence where people use different patterns unconsciously. Unconscious competence is similar to tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge is very important for all human behaviour because only shared cultural connection makes interaction possible. Tacit knowledge is present in all social consciousness and is learned in social interaction and dialogue – not through instruction. (Valkonen, 2003, 30.) Carbaugh (1993, 178) also suggests that the concept of competence in intercultural encounters “requires attentions to the means and meanings of communication”. He continues that the meanings are mostly in the actors' motives and their interactional goals. (Carbaugh, 1993, 178.) Hence motivational factors have an important role in intercultural interaction.

Intercultural communication is required in intercultural learning and adaptation process. Through dialogue the mutual reassessment of those social traditions and a new understanding of the other are possible. When people are motivated to communicate with each other, especially in a dialogical manner, they have good opportunities to learn from each other and increase their intercultural sensitivity, awareness or competences. The models of intercultural adaptation have mostly emphasized the qualities and skills of the “new comer”. The following section adds a different perspective to these models - intercultural adaptation is seen as a responsibility of both parties or at least an opportunity to learn together.

3.4 Intercultural learning through cultural experiences

“If a person walks along the road and meets another person who comes from the opposite direction, she or he only knows her or his own side of the road not the other one's side. That knowledge can be achieved in the meeting with that person. Communicators can create a “space” between them if both parties want to share and learn from each other.” (Buber, 1999)

3.4.1 Intercultural experiences and sociocultural learning

Learning is defined as “gaining knowledge or skill in by study, practice or being taught”. (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English). Nissilä (2006, 42-43) claims that nearly all the researchers have noted that learning simultaneously comprises cognitive, emotional and societal dimensions, which means that all three

dimensions are always integrated parts of the learning process. The life situation and the societal conditions of each learner may constitute a more or less rejecting or positive attitude towards learning. (Nissilä, 2006, 42-43.) Hence any of these dimensions also affects the learning process.

Berry (2006) uses the term cultural transmission to refer to the constant process of learning. He reports three forms of cultural transmission: vertical, horizontal and oblique. Vertical transmission or learning is from their parents, horizontal involves learning from their peers and oblique means learning from other adults. Berry (2006) also notes that the process of acculturation involves culture shedding and culture learning. Culture shedding means that people may lose some of the features of their original culture and culture learning refers to processes of learning new ways of doing things – mostly adding new things to their repertoire. (Berry, 2006, 546-547.)

Miller and Seller (1990) make a distinction between transmissional, transactional and transformational learning. In transmissional learning knowledge is transmitted by the teacher and in transactional or transformational (see also Mezirow, 1991; 2000) learning experiences, inquiry, critical thinking and interaction with other learners are an important part of the learning process (Miller & Seller, 1990).

Paavola, Lipponen and Hakkarainen (2004) present three metaphors of learning; First, learning as knowledge acquisition (the acquisition metaphor), second, learning as participation in social community (the participation metaphor) and third, learning as knowledge creation (the knowledge-creation metaphor), which emphasizes processes for transforming prevailing knowledge and practices.

Lewin (1951) emphasized that learning takes place when people participate and interact with their environment (Hansen, 2000, 2-3). In the intercultural adaptation process people normally have to participate and interact with their environment, which requires learning new procedures. Through intercultural experiences people become aware of their own growth, learning, and change. Hence the learning process begins when people are involved in different kinds of experiences. Learning experience combines personal and social components (Vuorinen, 1998). Paige (1990, 182) identifies five components of intercultural learning: Learning about the self, learning about the concept of culture, learning about intercultural phenomena, learning about a specific culture and learning how to learn. Paige (1990) and Pietilä (2010) also note that participation and mutual interaction between international students and hosts has been neglected as an important learning opportunity.

It is not easy to change people's normal ways of doing things because they feel confident with them. In new situations, people may be confused about different ways of doing things or may be blind to the deeper meanings of the incident. One may ask what people should learn and how it should be learned or how willing people are to learn about the new culture. Paige (1993, 5-13) lists situational and personal factors, which are connected to the psychological intensity of intercultural experiences, which are: cultural differences, ethnocentrism, language, cultural immersion, cultural isolation, prior intercultural experience, expectations, visibility, invisibility, status, power and control. Hansen (2000, 2-3), however, notes that learners have to be motivated to learn.

Anderson (1994) notes that people who are adapting to new circumstances react differently if they cannot get what they want. Berger (1979) categorizes three strategies how people obtain information about others: passive, active and interactive. Passive is mostly observation, active is information collecting without direct contact with the people whom they observe and interactive includes direct interaction with the people they want to get information. Ackermann (2001) notes that in today's world, learning is not so much about acquiring information or submitting to other people's ideas or values but exchanging ideas with others. Hence interaction and sharing of ideas between people is important. Papert (1980) and Papert and Harel (1991) note that learning takes place in a context and the learner is consciously engaged in constructing an entity with others – the things they care about most (Ackermann, 2001, 4).

Constructionist learning approach proposes that learning is an active process in which learners actively construct mental models and theories of the world around them. Experiential learning theories have a similar orientation. In those theories experience plays a key role in the learning process (Hansen, 2000; Smith, 2001). Kolb (1984) claims that learning itself is an adaptation process and “knowledge is created through the transformation of experience”. The theory of experiential learning became better known through the work of Freire (1970), Kolb and Fry (1975), Kolb (1976; 1984) and Mezirow (1991). Kolb and Fry (1975) explored the processes associated in concrete experiences. They developed a model of experiential learning cycle which is presented in Figure 21 with four elements: concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and active experimentation. The complete cycle allows people to learn new skills, new attitudes or new ways of thinking. One cycle is not the end of the learning process but the beginning of a new cycle. It means that the process is like a spiral which never ends (Allan, 2003, 103). When people understand the general principles of a certain action, they can apply that understanding into a new situation.

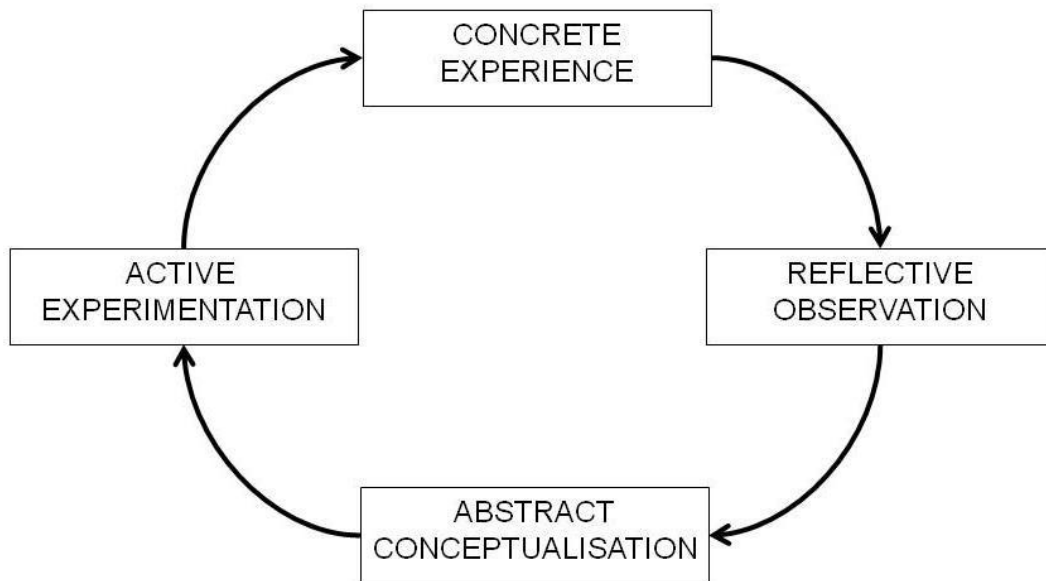


Figure 21. Experiential learning cycle (Kolb, 1984, 33)

Mezirow (1991; 2000) emphasizes even more than Kolb people's critical reflection of their own and others' tacit assumptions and expectations in the learning process. He also continues that transformative learning often involves emotions and beliefs.

Säljö (2001) notes that the more life experience people have the more likely they are to view learning as an internal, experience-based process. On the other hand, some scholars (e.g. Dewey, 1990; 1998; Hanvey, 2004) have pointed out that experiences cannot automatically be equated with learning. Hanvey (1986; 2004) emphasizes both formal and informal levels of learning. He claims that people commonly have difficulties in accepting the behaviour of other groups and continues that people often think that contact between cultures leads to understanding but this does not seem to be the case. People may have rich data through their experiences but no understanding because the behaviour they experience together may be incomprehensible to them and they cannot escape the influence of their own culture. People must be ready to accept and respect the behaviour of the other people and have the capacity to participate. He claims that cultural awareness does not mean just understanding a foreign culture and contact alone is not enough but people must feel with others. Wenger (1998, 85) also points out that "practice" does not mean harmony and collaboration in relationships. Hence experiences may sometimes distort educational growth and hinder learning if the learning process lacks interaction. For example, prejudices and stereotypes can be the results of experiences which have been misinterpreted (see also Salo-Lee, 1998;

Lehtonen, 2001; Petkova & Lehtonen, 2005) and can distort the interpretation process.

Sociocultural learning theories combine the elements mentioned above. They emphasize the interdependence of social and individual processes in the construction of knowledge. An emerging theme in theory and practice is the collaborative and transformative way in which knowledge is co-constructed. Human consciousness builds up in a dialogical interaction which at its best gives the participants the feeling of learning together and creating a “we” relationship (Korhonen, 2003, 37).

Sociocultural learning takes place when the participants communicate and exchange ideas, knowledge, experiences and emotions in a reflective and authentic manner (Korhonen, 2005). The focus in the construction of knowledge is on the process, which can provide change and transformation. This means that the expertise is there for common use (Korhonen, 2003, 37). Because conditions are constantly changing it means more opportunities for learning. The sociocultural theorists also recognise the need for cultural, cognitive and attitudinal bridges between the learners and their new environment and the notion that cognitive, social and motivational factors are interrelated in the learning process (John-Steiner and Mahn, 1996, 1-24).

One of the applications of sociocultural learning theory is the situated learning theory by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998). This is related to Vygotsky’s (1978) notion of learning through social development. Vygotsky (1978) claims that learning and development take place in socially and culturally shaped contexts and activities are mediated by language and other systems of symbol. The situated learning model proposes that learning is a process of participation in communities of practice and is situated because it is normally embedded within activity, context and culture. It is also usually unintentional. Lave and Wenger (1991) call this a process of “legitimate peripheral participation.” As the beginner moves from the periphery of a community to its centre, he or she becomes more active and engaged within the culture and eventually assumes the role of an expert. (Lave & Wenger, 1991)

Lave and Wenger (1991) claim that when people are at the beginning of learning a new operation mode, they depend on others with more experience and over time, assume increasing responsibility for their own learning and participation in joint activity. They noted that e.g. children become skilled practitioners in the specific cognitive activities in their community by observing, participating and repeating the experiences. Learners participate in a wide variety of joint activities which provide the opportunity for synthesising the influences into the learner’s new modes of understanding and participation. Situated learning theorists are interested in what kinds of social engagements provide the proper context for learning. (Lave and Wenger, 1991.) Understanding, meaning and learning are relative to the contexts (Hanks, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Korhonen (2003) too, claims that information, knowledge and learning are phenomena which are dependent on all the factors of the context. Wenger (1998, 4) lists four assumptions of learning, which lead to learning as social participation, which in turn “shapes not only what we do but also

who we are and how we interpret what we do.” The basic assumptions for sociocultural learning are the following (Wenger, 1998, 4):

- People are social beings.
- Knowledge is a matter of competence with respect to valued enterprises.
- Knowing is a matter of participating in the pursuit of such enterprises.
- Meaning is people’s ability to experience the world and their engagement with it meaningful, which is the ultimate goal of learning.

From these assumptions Wenger (1998) creates his social theory of learning. Figure 22 presents the model, which includes four components: meaning, practice, community and identity. Hence intercultural adaptation as a sociocultural learning process involves competences, participation and feeling things meaningful.

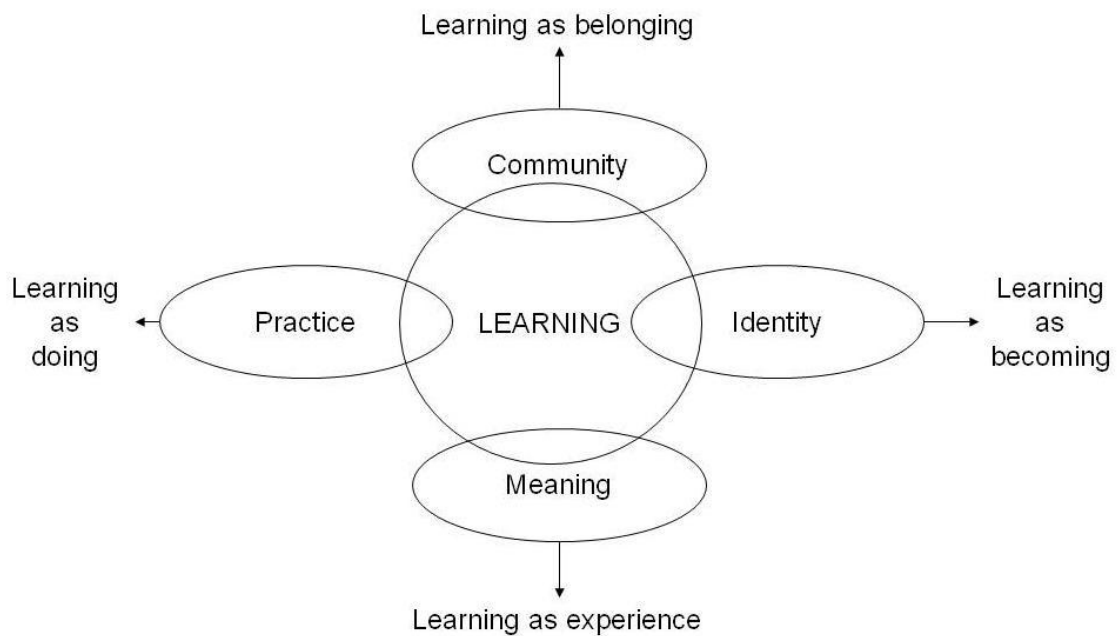


Figure 22. Components of social theory of learning (Wenger, 1998)

Meaning is the way of talking about our ability to experience our life and the world meaningful. Practice is the way of talking about shared resources, frameworks and perspectives that sustain mutual engagement in action. Community is the way of talking about the social configurations in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognisable as competence. Identity is a way of talking about how learning changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities. (Wenger, 1998, 5.)

The situated learning model and learning with the help of competent people (Halttunen, 2003) is applicable in intercultural communication situations because

intercultural adaptation process requires in most cases some kind of situated learning about the new culture. When people move to a new culture they are beginners in that culture. They do not have a full understanding of how society functions and what the meanings are. Especially at the beginning of their stay the newcomers would benefit from learning from the “experts”. That would mean that people who are adapting to a new culture would need opportunities to participate in society. If a member of the host culture were to act as an expert and share the knowledge with a newcomer, understanding would increase in both participants. However, both parties in the intercultural adaptation process should see the importance of sharing. Typically, the host culture members might well raise the question as to what they would achieve from the learning and sharing situation. The following section presents some notions and advantages of a shared learning process – dialogical learning, which could be the goal of multicultural societies.

3.4.2 Dialogical learning

In dialogue, which is authentic communication, the main focus is on social interaction oriented towards understanding (Habermas, 1984, 234). Fox (1997) and Gadamer (2006, 57) use the term authentic communication when communicators act with the intention of reaching an understanding. This means that communicators who want to be authentic have a special sensitivity to intercultural situations and how to behave in them. They are willing to extend their horizons beyond their culture and seek to understand and appreciate what is significant and valuable in each culture. Taylor (1998) notes that transformative learning requires rational thinking, as Mezirow (2000) claims, but learning new attitudes and ways of thinking also requires taking risks and willingness to be vulnerable. Transformative learning theory requires that people’s attitudes and assumptions are also challenged. Hence transformative learning theory at its best leads to dialogical learning.

Habermas (1984, 99), however, states that communication is often strategic. When communication is strategic, a person has certain goals and intentions which are not communicated to the other person. Where such strategic intent is hidden, there can be no authenticity in the communication. Senge, (1990; 1993) contrasts dialogue with discussion: Discussion is aimed at settling differences, whereas dialogue is aimed at advancing beyond the participants’ initial states of knowledge and belief. Abbey (2008) also states that dialogue is not simply talk or sharing but an extended process leading to new insights, deep knowledge and understanding. Bereiter and Scardamalia (2005) add that people may use two kinds of practices in knowledge construction: The first is called belief mode, which evinces different opinions using arguments the second is called design mode which emphasizes the creation of new ideas and which concentrates in creating ideas and developing them. “Dialogue is purposeful, but it does not have a fixed goal”. (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 2005.)

Gallois (2003) also noted that in intercultural contexts participants are not always motivated to communicate well. Authentic communication implies the opening of oneself to the full power of what the other person is saying. Such opening does not

entail agreement but rather the process of dialogue. Habermas (1984, 99) presents some qualifications of the message sent in the authentic intercultural communication situation. He lists that what the person is saying must be:

- truthful or sincere
- true, as far as the person knows
- normatively appropriate, in terms to the best of the person's knowledge of cultural norms
- comprehensible to the other person.

When two people are engaged in a meaningful conversation and their communication is authentic, the participants sense a kind of resonance. Meaning is jointly created, through trust, sincerity and willingness to acknowledge differences of cultural background. (Gadamer, 2004, 2006.) Authentic intercultural communicators listen to the other party, show respect and work mutually with their counterparts to resolve misunderstandings (Fox, 1997, 89). Buber (1970, 94) also notes that when people listen to each other and are honest and open with each other, it builds a basis for achieving dialogue. Roy and Starosta (2001) note that in order to understand something new, people open themselves to other possibilities or prejudices. Being open does not mean that there are no prejudices or biases. Normally, people who imagine themselves free from prejudices become unconsciously dominated by them and cannot let anyone to correct their understanding. (Roy & Starosta, 2001, 9.)

Participants in intercultural dialogue must be able to see their own culture as one among others. They must accept that they have to cooperate with people who have, for example, differing religious beliefs. Successful dialogue requires in certain situations that participants show tolerance, which allows them to maintain some degree of cooperation with people whose worldview is very different from their own. Acceptance of pluralism is a general requirement for cross-cultural dialogue. (Fost, 2001.)

There are different lists of dialogical competences. Burbules (1993, 85-89) says that asking questions plays an important role in dialogue. Dialogical questions cannot have obvious answers; they have to leave room for creative answers and own interpretations. Freeman (2001, 21) notes that in a dialogical atmosphere differences can encounter and interact with each other, enriching and enhancing understanding. The core dialogical competences for a communicator are: attitude of a learner, radical respect, openness, speaking from the heart, generative listening, slowing down, suspending assumptions and judgments, advocating productively, inquiring with genuine curiosity and observing the observer, which is self-awareness (Freeman, 2001).

Chen and Starosta (1998, 288) use the term ethical intercultural communication. This includes four behavioural standards: mutuality, nonjudgementalism, honesty and respect. Burlison and Caplan (1998) emphasize that the role-taking or social perspective-taking ability is a major social-cognitive ability underlying competent and effective communication and leads more easily to person-centred message production. Person-centred messages reflect an "awareness of subjective, affective

and relational aspects of communicative contexts”. (Burlison & Caplan, 1998, 11-13.) Such an orientation to communication is dialogical and in intercultural contexts it would mean that people are able to see the things from the other person’s perspective. Hence dialogical competences are:

- 1) to give space for the ideas of the other person
- 2) to respect the ideas of the other person
- 3) to listen without the need to correct or resist
- 4) to develop the ability to being the other’s situation
- 5) to be sensitive. (Burlison & Caplan, 1998, 11-13.)

The mutual learning model by Argyris and Schön (1978) and Argyris (1993) is based on cooperation and respect between people. It was developed for organisational contexts and it is important in organisational change and learning (Schein, 1992; 1993; Lakomski, 2001) but it is also applicable in other contexts, like the intercultural adaptation process. In most communication situations people are normally interested in promoting their own ideas and they become defensive if they feel challenged or threatened, because they make assumptions about the thoughts and motivations of their partners (Wiik, 1999, 304-307). However, people who use the mutual learning approach want to know what the other person thinks. They believe that they can get a better outcome if they work together and learn from each other. The mutual learning model enhances the quality of relationships because it emphasizes an examination of the internal values or criteria for their actions by asking questions that show genuine interest towards the other party and willingness to discuss their own ideas (Wiik, 1999, 306-308). Figure 23 below presents some tools for mutual learning.

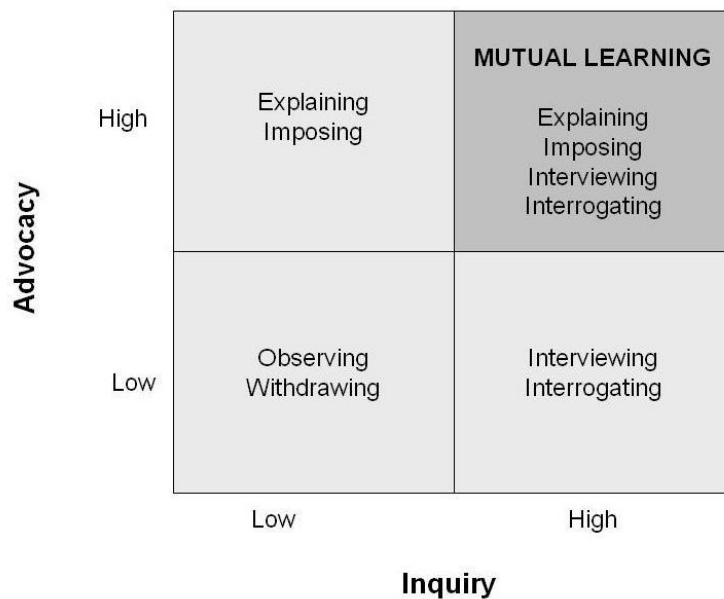


Figure 23. Advocacy and inquiry in mutual learning (McArthur, in Wiik, 1999, 308)

Kofman (2003) continues by saying that when people use the mutual learning model, the prevailing principles are curiosity, transparency and joint accountability. Kofman lists three basic principles connected to mutual learning model: curiosity, transparency and joint accountability. They are explained as follows:

1. Curiosity – really being inquisitive, asking yourself, what is the other person thinking, why is he or she thinking that, why is he saying what he is saying, what is he seeing that you do not see.

2. Transparency – saying what you think and feel, not compromising, not concealing what you are saying. You reveal that the statement had an emotional impact, but it still moves the dialogue forward.

3. Joint accountability – If you are trying to resolve an issue or take an action that involves another person or group, each of you has to be accountable. Each person or group is accountable to the other; you have to work together even if you see things differently. (Kofman, 2003.)

If people engage in mutual learning or dialogue they can learn together and understand each other. In mutual learning it becomes possible to assume shared responsibility for the acceptance that others' views can be as valid as their own and it can help to solve the problem because every problem or error is an opportunity to learn.

The mutual learning model has consequences for both behaviour and learning. People do not need to behave defensively or manipulatively. People feel free to explore and search for new information and new alternatives. The relationships are based on integrity, commitment and dignity. But creating a culture of openness and continuous improvement requires personal transformation. Reflection and transformation are the deepest level of learning (Moon, 2004). Bakhtin (1986) and Gergen (1994) have noted that people should be ready to reflect their use of language and bring together the community of different voices leading to less conflict in the world. Gergen also emphasizes that people should move more toward "relational beings". (Burr, 2007, 141.)

Cultural literacy (see Wood, Landry & Bloomfield, 2006; Salo-Lee, 2007; Korhonen, 2008) is more recent term referring to the idea of shared knowledge. It refers to an ability to participate in the production of new knowledge and understanding. It means developed cooperation between people and it is the potential which enables human interaction in a respectful manner. This kind of literacy means thinking and investigating together and leading to collaborative learning situations (Korhonen, 2008). Skills or qualities for cultural or dialogic literacy allow others to finish their thoughts, respecting others' thoughts, feelings, views and realities and listening intently without needing to fix, counter, argue or resist (Conway, 2001).

Cognition and experience are closely intertwined and they cannot be separated when people want to learn cultures (Cushner, 2008). Dialogic communication expands individual viewpoints and develops a sense of working together in order to reach a new and wider understanding (Buber, 1999). Chen and Starosta (1998) note that in the process of dialogue "both parties are conjointly transformed into different beings". This means that dialogue looks for mutual understanding. It is not only the responsibility of one party to achieve understanding but rather the responsibility of

both parties involved in the communication situation. The last part of these theoretical considerations explains some notions about the process towards shared meanings.

3.4.3 Shared understanding

Dahl (2006) notes understanding is the common denominator of all communication activity even if people are not always willing to understand each other. This also applies to understanding other cultures. Understanding new ways of doing things is a challenge. It involves perceiving meaning, knowing, comprehending, interpreting and obtaining information and acting.

Gadamer is more concerned about the process of understanding than about the product, which leads to the notion that the interpreter should explore the everyday occurrence of understanding that gives communication its meaning (Roy & Starosta, 2001). Nynäs (2006, 34) claims that in all interpersonal communication the basic dynamic is the same. Hence Nynäs does not differentiate between interpersonal and intercultural communication and understanding. He further notes that communication means a balance between understanding, misunderstanding, and lack of understanding. The process towards understanding is not a one-sided process, rather a process of mutual understanding. (Nynäs, 2006, 23-34.)

Gadamer (2004, 29-37) notes that understanding is grounded in tradition and is therefore prejudiced. He continues that prejudices do not need to be avoided or minimized, but that people have to be aware of their own prejudices. Through intercultural interaction the cultural schemas influence the construction of individual schemas. Evanof (2006) claims that direct intercultural experiences enable people to challenge, what is accepted as social knowledge in different contexts. Boski (2002) and Lindqvist (1991) add that for a more profound and a deeper understanding people may need historical analysis of the new environment.

Sociocultural researchers claim that individual processes of knowledge construction and social processes of joint understanding are connected and interdependent. Social knowledge resides in the interaction: It is created, maintained and put to use by a human group (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987). Vygotsky's (1978) dialectical approach claims that nature influences human beings and human beings affect nature and create changes in nature which create new conditions for their existence. Hence conditions are in constant change. (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996, 11.)

Guan (1995) points out that the way people communicate in intercultural communication situations affects the way they interpret and understand the other party. Depending on the intentions of the communicators people can use self-centred dialogue, dominant dialogue or equal dialogue. Self-centred dialogue is ethnocentric and means that in an intercultural communication situation communicators use their own cultural standards to judge and interact with each other - they are both lacking cultural understanding. In dominant dialogue, one of the communicators is aware of the other one's cultural traits and differences and uses this knowledge to control and to achieve his or her personal goals. Equal

dialogue between the communicators represents an ideal form of intercultural communication understanding. This type of intercultural communication is based on mutual understanding of cultural similarities and differences. Both parties make sincere and empathetic efforts to overcome their differences on an equal basis trying to reach a common understanding. (Chen & Starosta, 1998, 28-29.)

Nynäs (2006, 29-32) also talks about mutual understanding in communication situations. Dialogical understanding or shared understanding means that communicators identify the particularities of the other party. In dialogue (Buber, 1999; Gadamer, 2004) communicators' goal is to meet and share their views and to be open to perceive the other's viewpoint and widen their understanding. Gadamer says that all genuine human dialogue involves not simply understanding what the other is saying and how the other feels but coming to grips with one another. Dialogue occurs not only because participants love or like each other but people are open to express their ideas because in dialogue communicators do not need to compromise their beliefs to suit to each other. Buber (1970, 94) says that dialogue empowers people because it widens their view of the world and encourages incorporating differences instead of excluding them.

Fogel (1993, 90) writes:

“When relationships evolve into patterns in which participants perceive them as sequences of discrete exchanges or reward and cost it is quite likely that the creativity has gone out of them. They are no longer dynamic systems in which individuals grow; they have become the prison of the soul. Repeated encounters, therefore, can sometimes dull the senses and produce hatred, anger and boredom. It is not mere repetition that leads to creative elaboration; it is one's stance toward the other, one's openness to change and desire to create new meaning through the relationship. Relationships must have ... something not quite known, something that may never be understood or even articulated, something that entices the mind and body and that renews the meaning in the relationship. Meaning remains open and fluid and, in being so, allows us to also remain open and fluid. Thus, how we embody, construct, understand and relate to the world are all deeply intertwined and inseparable processes.”(Fogel, 1993, 90.)

Through dialogue people will achieve mutual understanding and realize new possibilities because dialogue allows participants to create new meanings together and come to a mutual understanding. In dialogue meaning is discovered between people and the dialogical process encourages people to recognise that there is meaning beyond their own ideas. Rodriguez (2002, 1-2) argues that cultures evolve by encouraging the rich interplay between different ways of thinking and that promotes the evolution of new and different ways of understanding and experiencing the world. This kind of interplay is possible in intercultural adaptation processes when people from different cultures come into contact with each other.

Heinonen (2000, 131-142) studied inter-religious interactions development of symbolic understanding and argues that people have to become aware about the symbols of the religion to achieve a dialogical interaction between each other. The

present author has modified Heinonen's model to apply to intercultural communication situations. The model has numerous of similarities with other models of intercultural awareness but Heinonen's (2000) model is more concerned with the dialogue and shared understanding between the communicators. The symbolic understanding develops through five stages. Figure 24 shows the illustration of the dialogical understanding process.

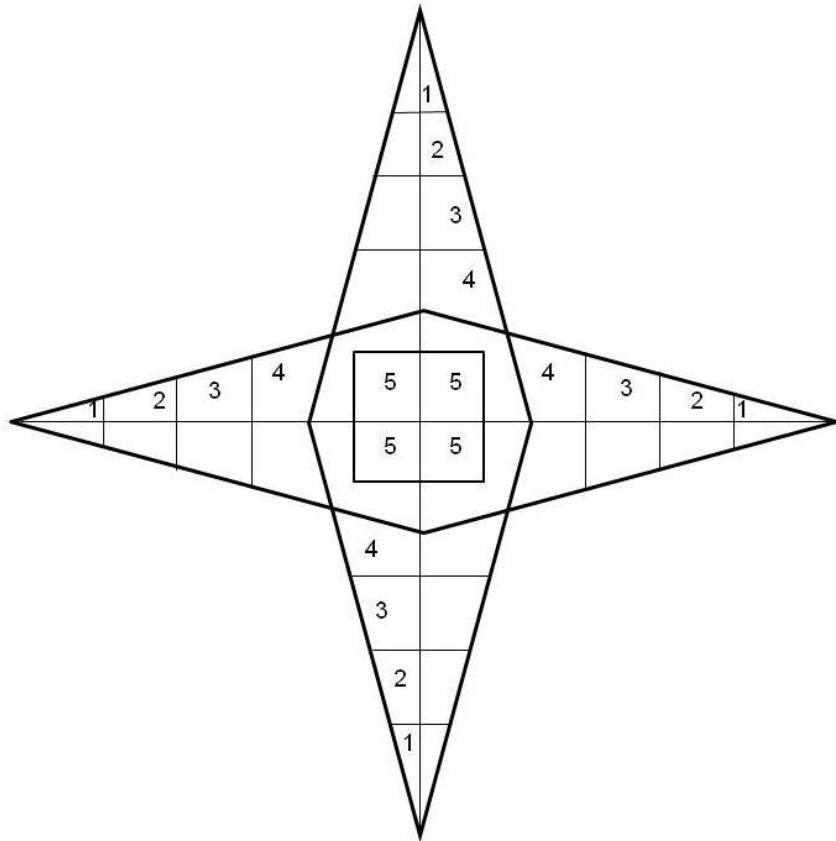


Figure 24. Model for developing symbolic understanding and opportunities for a dialogue (Heinonen, 2000, 137)

The points of the stars represent different cultures and the numbers represent the levels of symbolic understanding. On the lower levels from one to three it is hard to create dialogue between the communicators because the participants understanding of cultural symbols are limited. On the fourth and fifth levels a dialogue between participants is possible. All the levels of symbolic understanding are as follows:

- 1) On the first level cultural symbols unite the group members and differentiate them from other groups. On that level it is hard to find common ground regarding the meanings.
- 2) On the second level the interpretations of the symbols are one-dimensional, which means that there is only one

interpretation – the interpretation of everyone’s own respective culture. When concepts are separated from the deeper cultural meanings, they can be used, for example, for political propaganda.

- 3) On the third level people have gained bi- or multi-cultural understanding but people do not have personal experience or connection to those practices.
- 4) On the fourth level people understand that symbols have multiple meanings. People are also aware of the dimensions and meanings which unite cultures. Now the points of the stars begin to unite. Symbols are no longer separating but uniting people from different cultures. On that level people have to give up the idea that their own frame of reference is the only way to interpret on the universal level.
- 5) The fifth level represents the dialogical level. It means that there is harmony between the different symbolic systems. People have found the specific features of their own culture but at the same time they have become aware of the uniting features of cultures. Sometimes it may mean that people have to give up their earlier values and attitudes but at the same time they have gained experiences and new ways of thinking which strengthen their life and identity. (Heinonen, 2000, 131-142.)

There are numerous similarities in the components of competence in intercultural communication competence and dialogical competences which can lead to dialogical learning and understanding. The main difference is mutuality, which is the major force in dialogic communication. However, Aarnio (1999, 220-224) notes that people lose interest or motivation in communicating using dialogue – especially if the other party does not fulfil their expectations, for example, if they do not ask questions.

When people move to a new country and come into contact with a new culture, intercultural adaptation process begins. One may wonder what could help them in their adaptation process and what motivate them to adapt. One could also speculate if sociocultural learning is a common way to learn about a new culture and if people are motivated to respond to the challenges of a dialogue. The present research gives answers to these questions by approaching the phenomenon via lived experiences of two adapting groups in Finland.

4. Methodological considerations and the research process

4.1 Orientation of the research and research questions

The main goal of the present research is to investigate the process of intercultural adaptation and identify what reasons enhance motivation to adapt and what kind of reasons impair willingness to adapt to a new culture. The present research uses the term intercultural adaptation to refer to the continuous process of change in a new cultural context. This research defines boundary conditions of the adapting groups like Kim (2001, 34):

- 1) The adapters have a primary socialisation in one culture and they have moved into a different culture.
- 2) The adapters are at least minimally dependent on the host environment for meeting their personal needs.
- 3) The adapters are at least minimally engaged in firsthand communication experiences with the new environment. (Kim, 2001, 34.)

The present research focuses on two adapting groups: short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants. To those boundary conditions, another condition is added. The members of the groups have come to Finland voluntarily. Host culture adaptation is not in the focus of the present research but the notions about the behaviour of the host culture members are discussed.

The present research approaches intercultural adaptation from the growth-facilitating nature of adaptation. The term 'intercultural adaptation' is defined as an intercultural learning process where both migrants and hosts come into contact and may learn from each other. Intercultural communication situations create opportunities to learn because the process of interpreting and understanding requires interaction with other people. Hence intercultural communication experiences are very important in the intercultural adaptation and learning process.

The present research approaches the phenomenon of intercultural adaptation from the sociocultural learning theory perspective. Sociocultural learning theories provide a framework for reciprocal or shared learning situations. At the same time sociocultural learning models emphasize the opportunities for dialogue. However, cultural adaptation processes vary within each individual and the extent of adaptation also varies. The research interest of the present research is what affects the process of adaptation and the level of motivation to adapt.

The goal of the adapting person or a group affects the adaptation process. As noted earlier, many of the studies in cultural adaptation have approached the phenomenon using the theory of culture shock as a model. Cultural adaptation is very often seen as something achieved, like a competent communicator in a new culture and the studies have emphasized the outcome of the adaptation process – not the process itself. The present research is interested in the intercultural adaptation and it is seen as a complex, continuous, dynamic and multidimensional process in which people who are adapting to a new culture have an active role in the process and in which the host cultures also adapt themselves to those who are adapting. It is an evolutionary process of mutual change. The concept ‘adaptation’ is seen from the transformative perspective, which emphasizes that in the intercultural adaptation process both parties should transform themselves through intercultural communication - through dialogue.

In the cultural adaptation process motivational factors play an important role. They affect how people behave and what kind of choices they make during their adaptation process. The present research intends to find out what motivates sojourners and immigrants in Finland and if the motivating considerations change over time. The focus is on comparing the motivating factors and willingness to learn within two migrant groups which have been in Finland for different periods of time. The purpose is not to arrange motivational needs in any hierarchical order but to look at similarities and differences within and between the two groups under study. Hence there will be the comparative element present throughout the research.

The focus of the present research is to describe the process of intercultural adaptation in Finland and to attain a better understanding of the factors affecting motivation to adapt. The main question in the present research is to find out how motivated people are to adapt and learn about a new culture and what affects their motivation to adapt. What motivates people to adapt is studied by investigating the factors affecting the level of motivation within two migrant groups in Finland: short-term sojourners who have been in Finland for some months and who plan to stay in Finland temporarily and long-term immigrants who have lived in Finland for several years and who have come to Finland with the intention of staying for a longer time.

The present research sees the concept of culture as complex and diverse. Cultures are constantly recreated and constructed in intercultural communication situations. The emphasis is on intercultural communication experiences and the opportunities for a mutual learning process. Cultural adaptation as a mutual learning process leads to a better awareness and understanding of cultures. When people move to another country they bring their national culture with them but at the same time they bring all the other levels or categories of culture with them, for example student culture or professional culture. Different categories of culture are not of major interest and are not studied systematically in the present research but if “cultures” seem to have certain relevance in the situation they will be commented on and their meaning discussed.

The present research follows the principles of the dialectical model of intercultural adaptation and the principles presented by Anderson (1994). The main principles connected to personal development were that intercultural adaptation is

motivated and goal oriented, it is relative and implies personal development. Principles which were connected to sociocultural factors were that intercultural adaptation is reciprocal and interdependent with learning; it implies stranger-host relationships and is a cyclical, continuous and interactive process. Table 14 below presents the main research questions and the follow-up questions for the research. The follow-up questions illustrate the principles of the dialectical model of intercultural adaptation. The questions were not posed systematically but they were kept in mind during the data collection period and asked, if needed. In all the research questions both short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants are included and comparisons between the two groups are made.

Table 14. Main research questions with the follow-up questions for the present research

1. What motivates people to adapt to Finland?
What factors affect the interviewees' motivation to adapt? What goals do the interviewees have for their adaptation?
What changes do the interviewees undergo during their adaptation process?
What have the interviewees learned during their adaptation process? What kind of intercultural sensitivity have the interviewees acquired?
2. What does it mean to adapt to Finland?
What is the intercultural adaptation process like? How much do the interviewees understand of the meanings of Finnish culture?
How do the host nationals affect the interviewees' cultural learning and understanding process? Have the interviewees moved from outsider status to insider status?
What comments do the interviewees have about their adaptation process? How do the interviewees feel at the moment about their adaptation?

The present research will combine the sociocultural and psychocultural domains of learning and look at what meanings and effects the interviewees have in the intercultural adaptation process. The aim is to provide a holistic and comprehensive understanding of the process based on the experiences of the interviewees in Finland. Figure 25 shows the interrelationship between the theoretical approaches of the present research.

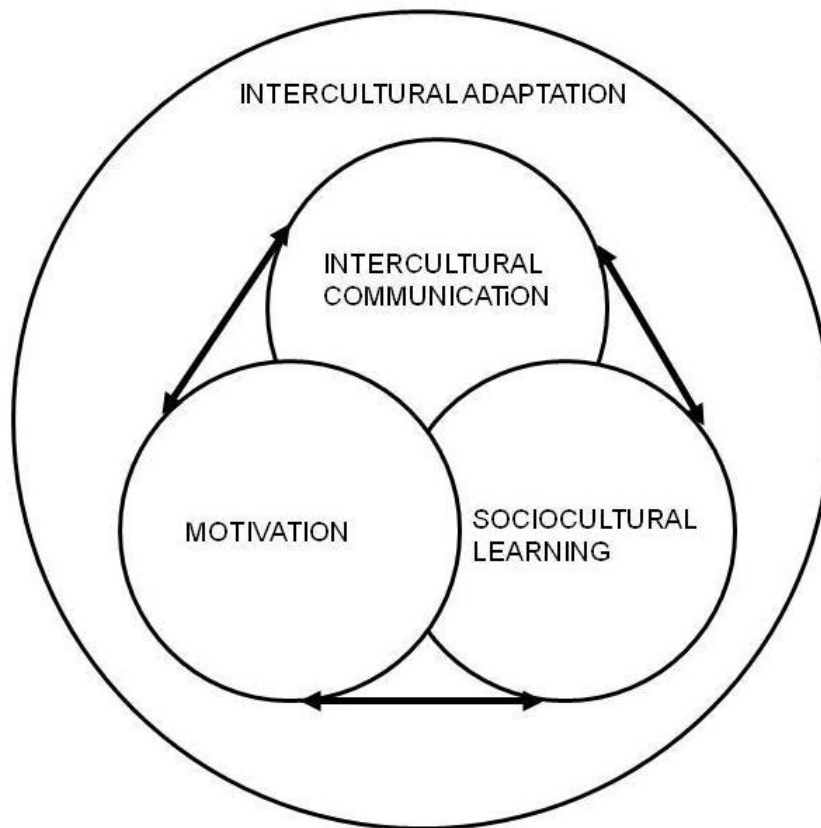


Figure 25. Interrelationship of the key concepts of the research

It also presents the interdependence of the concepts and the dynamic character of the intercultural adaptation process. The process of collecting the data and analysing it has used this framework as a basis.

4.2 Qualitative research methodology and research procedure

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) define methodology as the process in which “the researcher collects empirical materials bearing on the question and then analyses them and writes about them” presenting the process to others. Methodology includes the specific ways the researcher uses to investigate questions of the research. Interpretive researchers want to understand the world through descriptions of subjective experiences usually using qualitative methods (Martin & Nakayama, 2007, 76) and qualitative research wants to understand phenomena in context-specific settings (Golafshani, 2003, 600). It means that “the researcher does not

attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest” (Patton, 2001, 39). Bodgan and Bilken (1992) say that qualitative researchers believe that reality is socially constructed through interactions with other people and that people have multiple ways of interpreting their experiences. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) note that qualitative inquiry is an umbrella term for various philosophical orientations containing different research strategies. Figure 26 presents a general picture of the main levels of a research paradigm.

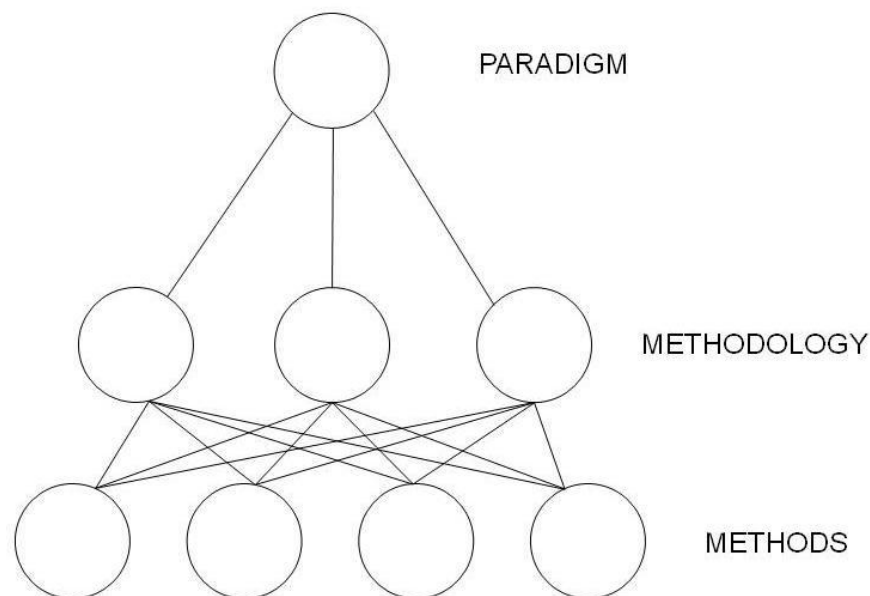


Figure 26. Methodologies and methods of a research paradigm (Dick 2006)

The present research uses qualitative research methodology and approaches the research question using a phenomenological perspective which concentrates on the individual’s subjective conscious experiences. Phenomenological methods are used to investigate experiences, thoughts, feelings and perceptions and to describe and analyse their contents (Boeree, 2005). The present research uses social constructionist theory, which emphasizes processes of social interaction and like Gergen (1985; 1991; 1994) claims that meanings are created and recreated in interaction with others.

Qualitative research is concerned with accounting for social action in order to find the meanings which constitute the reality of that action (Anderson, 1987, 268). The main goal of a qualitative research is to make sense of personal stories and the ways in which they intersect (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, 9). Habermas (1994) emphasizes that in qualitative research methodology the empirical inquiry does not try to verify theoretical claims, but to understand the situations. Qualitative

researchers do not seek to generalise the results but to describe and understand a specific behaviour from their interviewee's own perspective or give a theoretically meaningful interpretation of a phenomenon (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, 61-62; Grönfors, 1982).

In qualitative research the aim is to gather information that gives an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons for it. This affects the methods chosen for the study. Oplatka (2001) notes that life-story research has the individual and his or her life, experiences and thinking in the focus of the research. The life-story is one's description of his or her meaningful parts of his or her life. The methods used in the life-story are inductive, interpretive and explorative, which may lead to new concepts and processes. (Oplatka, 2001.) The present research has many similarities with the life-story method even if the life-story method most often uses written text. The present research applies the ideas of life-story research very faithfully.

In qualitative research methodology the method and the data collected are in constant interaction and theoretical considerations are constantly renegotiated. According to Anderson (1987, 239) the philosophical grounding is an inductive process moving from particular experiences to more general understanding. This means that the research process is not be linear but more like a loop – prior knowledge is reflected against new knowledge and methods are modified. Qualitative researchers gather information by many different methods, including participatory observation, direct observation, in-depth interviews and various documents. Forms of data collection may also include text and images (look e.g. Anderson, 1987; Eskola & Suoranta, 1998).

The aim of the present research is to describe and understand the process of adaptation among different groups of foreigners in Finland – to hear their “life-stories” about intercultural adaptation. The life-story method is considered suitable for the present research because the phenomenon is complex and may include many relevant variables. The life stories were about intercultural adaptation in Finland. For some of the interviewees it had happened within five months and for some of them within thirty years. The tools of the scientific investigation and the principles used in this research consisted of two main methods; drawing the line of motivation and in-depth interviews. The methods of data collection were kept as open as possible to give the researcher and interviewees more flexibility and to capture the richness of the themes (Smith, 2005, 9-10).

While analysing and interpreting data, qualitative researchers may also use multiple methods. The present research used content analysis to identify motivating factors affecting in intercultural adaptation process. Holsti (1969) offers a broad definition of content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages." More information about the analysing process will be given in Chapter 4.6.

The main approaches of the present research are listed in Table 15.

Table 15. The main approaches of the research

PARADIGM	HERMENEUTIC
	PHENOMENOLOGICAL
METHODOLOGY	QUALITATIVE
	LIFE-STORY METHODOLOGY
METHODS	LINE OF MOTIVATION
	IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW
	INTROSPECTION
ANALYSIS	CONTENT ANALYSIS
	TYPIFYING
EVAUATION	TRIANGULATION
	SELF-ASSESSMENT

According to Geertz (1973) qualitative research reports are “thick descriptions” of a phenomenon. This means that all human behaviour should explain the context of the behavioural practices as accurately as possible. Researchers have a very important role in the process and they must be acutely aware of the position and biases they may harbour in different phases of the research process. (Geertz, 1973.) The qualitative research process entails a constant interaction between the theory and the collected data.

The main motivation for the present research came from the researcher’s personal experiences of living in foreign countries and of being around people going through processes of intercultural adaptation. As the data collection process progressed, the understanding of the phenomena increased. Some previous assumptions were not verified and some aspects of the adaptation process gained much more attention than expected in the interviewees’ stories than. The research journey was fascinating. Table 16 categorises the main steps of the present research

Table 16. Phases of the research process

Process	Outcome of the process
Reflecting author's own adaptation experiences living abroad Adaptation experiences of friends and relatives (oral) Adaptation experiences of international students (written and oral)	Interest Pre-understanding Themes
Interviewing the adaptation processes of international students, friends and relatives	Interest Themes Methodology
Reading studies about adaptation, acculturation and adjustment processes	Methodology Theories and models
Tentative definition of the research goal	Research questions/Themes
Tentative outline of the themes and selection of methods for the research	Methodology Methods
Pilot in-depth thematic interviews and analysis	Realisations Method development Themes and research questions Defining the groups
Modifying the themes for the interview and defining the methods	Theory building Method development Structure of the research
Collecting the data, analysing and modifying the themes	Theory building Understanding
Reading research literature about the themes in the research	Theory building Understanding
Content analysis and writing the research report	Theory building Understanding Reflecting

The following sections will give more detailed descriptions of the research procedure as a whole, the interviewees, data collection and process of analysing the data.

4.3 Pilot study material and findings

The main emphasis of the research was to obtain information about motivating and non-motivating factors during the adaptation process and to find out if people who come to a foreign country have opportunities to learn from the host nationals. A pilot study was made and some material was collected on the intercultural adaptation theme. The materials consisted of two main sources - written essays about adaptation and two in-depth interviews.

The first source was essays written by international students at the University of Tampere and Tampere University of Technology. The students had written essays about their adaptation processes with their own personal reflections about their adaptation processes in Finland and about the increase in their awareness about Finnish culture. These essays had been a part of introductory course in intercultural communication which was taught by the author. The essays had given a preliminary understanding of the experiences the international students had had in their intercultural adaptation. There were about two hundred (200) essays with information about the adaptation processes and notions of learning about a new culture – about Finland. They were written 2001-2006. Even if the essays were not used systematically for the present research, they had given a clear picture of themes which seemed to appear regularly in these essays. Themes as climate, food, social interaction with Finns, language difficulties, friendships with international students seemed to appear very often. These essays also seemed to differentiate the students if they were degree students for some years or exchange students for some months. The students who came to Finland only for a couple of months did not seem to put as much effort into learning about Finland. The degree students were more interested to learn more – but not very much. Because of this observation the pilot study was confined to people who represented groups which had been a shorter or a longer time in Finland.

The second source in the pilot study consisted of two in-depth interviews. The background information about the interviewees presented in this research is very general and vague to ensure anonymity. The pilot interviews took place in April 2007 and each lasted about one and a half hours. The interviewees were advised that the main theme would be their adaptation process in Finland and their experiences in that process. The interviews were kept as unstructured as possible. They were more like discussions about their adaptation processes. The researcher had prepared some questions but the interviewees were free to choose the topics they wanted to talk about on their adaptation. The researcher did pose some general questions about the adaptation but more often she only needed to ask for elaboration. Both interviewees were eager to talk about their experiences in Finland.

The pilot interviews were representative of the two different groups studying in Finland. One of them had been in Finland only five months as an exchange student, while the other had been in Finland for five years and intended to stay. Some basic information is presented in Table 17.

Table 17. Basic information on the pilot interviewees

Pilot interviewees	Stay in Finland	Reasons for being in Finland	Residential status in Finland
1. Interviewee Female	5 months	Study/ Exchange	Temporary
2. Interviewee Female	5 years	Study/ Engagement to be married	Permanent

The first interviewee in the pilot study had been in Finland for 5 months as an Erasmus exchange student and did not plan to extend her stay. The main topics she talked about in the interview were her reasons for coming to Finland, climate, food and drinking, social contacts, international students, the education system and religion. She had been very satisfied with the arrangements for her studies in Finland but she was quite sure that she would not come back to Finland to study or work. She said that she could and quite probably would come to Finland for a holiday in the future. The long winter and food seemed to be the main reasons for her not wishing to stay. She had a few Finnish friends but not very many social activities with Finns except at the university. She had greatly enjoyed the company of the international students. She had made many friends with them and enjoyed the time spent together.

She communicated constantly in English. She had been impressed with the high level of English in Finland and had used some Finnish words only in the shops. The biggest differences she had noticed from her country of origin were religion, the student hostel and food. She said that students in Finland are less religious than in her own country. She also said that students in her own country live at home with their parents if they can. If they lived in hostels, they had to share a room.

The second interviewee had been living continuously in Finland for about 5 years and was engaged to a Finnish man. She was planning to stay in Finland if her parents did not need her. Her future was somewhat uncertain. The main topics she talked about in the interview were Finnish language, her boyfriend, relatives, media, studies, natural environment and everyday life. Her Finnish boyfriend and especially the relatives of the boyfriend caused her to learn Finnish. She was happy that she could manage herself in most situations in her everyday life. She had learned to read Finnish and she followed the Finnish media. She also followed the media of her country of origin but not continuously. She missed her family members and visited her home country at least once a year.

She knew a lot about political life in Finland, different communication styles and Finnish traditions and celebrations. She said that she had no problem with the cold weather in Finland because the buildings are always warm inside. She also mentioned the unspoilt countryside in Finland. When she talked about her studies

she mentioned the different relationships with teachers. She noticed that teachers were friendly and informal with their students, which is very different from teacher-student relationships in her home country.

The analysis of the data from the pilot interviews showed that the interviewees had quite different themes for discussion. Some of the topics they mentioned were the same, but they emphasized different aspects of them. For example, they both mentioned language and climate. Interviewee 1 talked about the language skills needed in shops or on the bus while Interviewee 2 talked about language as a tool for communicating with her boyfriend’s relatives or following the news and political discussions. Interviewee 1 talked about the high level of education and the organisation of studies when, on the other hand, Interviewee 2 mentioned different power structures at the university between students and teachers. The themes are presented in Table 18.

Table 18. Collection of themes from the pilot study

Interviewee 1 5 months in Finland	Interviewee 2 5 years in Finland
Climate cold and dark	Climate cold but houses warm inside
-	Unspoiled natural environment really wonderful
Food very different and sometimes strange	-
Finnish drinking habits (too much drinking)	-
Mainly had international friends	Many Finnish friends and Finnish relatives
Limited knowledge of Finnish language	Finnish language used regularly
Well organised studies and nice teachers High level of education	Well organised studies and nice teachers Equal power relationships between students and teachers
No consumption of Finnish media	Regular consumption of Finnish media
Roman Catholic church too small in Finland	-

The results from the pilot data were crucial in developing the present research, in defining the final groups and selecting the methods – especially inventing the method “drawing the line of motivation” for the present research. Figure 27 presents the outcomes of the pilot study.

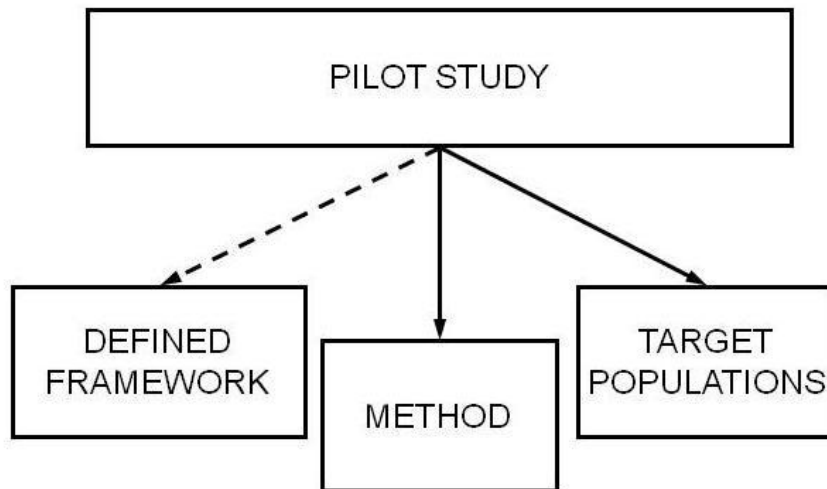


Figure 27. Outcomes of the pilot study for the research project

The interviewees seemed to have very different levels of motivation to learn about Finland and adapt to Finnish society. The level of motivation seemed to be closely connected to the envisaged length of stay in Finland. This aroused the author's interest in studying two different groups of people: on the one hand those who have been in Finland only a short time and on the other hand those who have stayed longer and to compare the motivating factors in their adaptation processes. The two groups also seemed to emphasize different issues in their adaptation process which gave some indication for the themes of the present research. The content analysis of the data from the pilot studies gave ideas and directions about the possible categories in the main research.

The greatest innovation may concern the drawing method. During the pilot interviews the researcher noticed that when people talked about their experiences it was sometimes difficult to follow their thoughts. It was hard to see the connections between the experiences and the duration of stay or even relative differences in the level of motivation to learn. The researcher started to develop a method which would allow time for the interviewees to reflect their experiences in peace and enable the researcher to follow the process of adaptation with the interviewees through their various phases and concentrate on changes during their cultural adaptation processes. The method will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.5. The following section will give information about the interviewees of the present research

4.4 Information about the interviewees of the research

Based on the pilot study the research groups were formed and two groups of ten interviewees (N= 20) were chosen to take part to the present research. The first group (N=10) consisted of people who had been in Finland less than 14 months. They came from eight different countries. They were students of Tampere University and Tampere University of Applied Sciences. Eight of them were exchange students (Erasmus or Erasmus-Mundus) and two of them were studying on master's degree programmes. The residence in Finland was from five months to 14 months, the average being 8.4 months. The group consisted of five female and five male students. Of the interviewees two were from Germany and two from the United States and the rest were from China, Greece, Estonia, France, India and Russia. The youngest interviewee was 20 years old and the oldest was 42 years. The average age for the short-term migrants was 25.2 years. Table 19 contains basic information about the short-term interviewees (abbreviated to S). The interviewees are organized in the order of the duration in Finland. Hence the bigger the number after S the longer the person has been in Finland. Because of the relatively small number of foreign students in Tampere, only a limited amount of information is given to ensure that the interviewees cannot be identified.

Table 19. Short-term sojourners participating in the research

Country of origin	Months in Finland	Gender	Code in the text
Greece	5	Female	S1/f/GR
United States of America	5	Male	S2/m/US
France	6	Female	S3/f/FR
Estonia	6	Male	S4/m/EE
Germany	6	Male	S5/m/DE
People's Republic of China	7	Female	S6/f/CN
Russia	8	Female	S7/f/RU
United States of America	13	Male	S8/m/US
Germany	14	Female	S9/f/DE
India	14	Male	S10/m/IN
Average age 25.2 years (range 20-42 years) Average stay in Finland 8.4 months (range 5-14 months)			

The second group (N=10) consisted of people who had been in Finland more than five years. Residence in Finland was ranged from five years to 31 years. The average stay in Finland was about 16 years. The group consisted of five females and five males who were either working or studying in higher education in Finland. The

migrants who were working had academic degrees and permanent jobs. The long-term interviewees came from eight different countries: three were from Germany and the rest were from Brazil, Lithuania, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Russia and the UK. The youngest interviewee was 22 years old and the oldest was 66 years. The average age of the long-term migrants was about 46 years.

The Table 20 below presents basic information about the long-term interviewees (abbreviated to L). The interviewees are organized in the order of the duration of their residence in Finland. Hence the bigger the number after L the longer the person has been in Finland. Because of the relatively small number of foreign people in Finland, only a limited amount of information is given to ensure that the interviewees cannot be identified.

Table 20. Long-term immigrants participating in the research

Country of origin	Years in Finland	Gender	Code in the text
Brazil	5	Female	L1/f/BR
New Zealand	5	Male	L2/m/NZ
Nigeria	7	Male	L3/m/NG
Norway	8	Male	L4/m/NO
Lithuania	17	Female	L5/f/LT
Germany	18	Male	L6/m/DE
United Kingdom	23	Male	L7/m/GB
Russia	24	Female	L8/f/RU
Germany	24	Female	L9/f/DE
Germany	31	Female	L10/f/DE
Average age 46.1 years (range 22-66 years) Average stay in Finland 16.2 years (range 5-31 years)			

All the interviewees were staying in Finland when the research was conducted and they had come to Finland voluntarily. They were found via the researcher's personal contacts, the researcher's family members or via interviewees of the research. When the interviewees were found via other interviewees, the sampling followed the snowball sampling strategy (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004). However, this snowball strategy only applied to a couple of interviewees. Otherwise, interviewees were known to the author of the present research. Even if they were known on some level the research process gave many new insights to their adaptation processes.

When the interviewees were asked to participate in an interview some background information to the research was given, for example, that the research concerned their intercultural adaptation process, that they should reserve about two hours for the research procedure and that this request could be declined. All the

interviewees participated willingly and were happy to share their adaptation experiences.

4.5 Data collection

The data for the present research was collected from the interviewees using two main methods. First, the interviewees were asked to draw the line of motivation in their adaptation process and second, the data was collected through in-depth face-to-face interviews. The interviews were held at the University of Tampere, at the Tampere University of Technology and at the University of Helsinki from April 2008 to March 2009. The places for the drawing and the interview were in all cases quiet and free from interruptions.

The data collection procedure started with an explanation of the purpose of the research and the reason why the interviewee had been chosen to take part in the research. Interviewees were informed that the interview would take about two hours. General information about the theme of the research and the duration had been given when the interviewees were asked to participate. The data collection took on average about one and a half hours. The methods are explained in detail below.

4.5.1 Drawing the line of motivation

The method which visualized the interviewees' level of motivation and important moments in their adaptation processes was created mostly on the basis of the pilot interviews. The first idea to use a visual method came from Huhtanen's (2004) research. She had studied women who, after having been educated as pianists, had become piano teachers. She calls her method "a stream method". It is based on Denicolo's and Pope's (1990) "snake technique". The method gives the interviewees an opportunity to reflect their significant experiences in their lives and become more aware of their own development process.

The first task for the interviewees was to draw a line representing their adaptation process in Finland indicating the amount of motivation they had had at different times. They were given A3 size papers containing a vertical axis on which to plot the level of motivation and the horizontal axis for the time elapsing.

- Instructions: 1) Draw a line describing your level of motivation to adapt to Finland.
 Start the line from the moment you first thought of going to Finland.
 2) Draw also a vertical line in your picture A) at the point of your decision
 B) at the point of your arrival.
 3) Mark the time every now and then on the time line. You can write comments
 in your picture. You can continue the picture on a new paper, if needed.

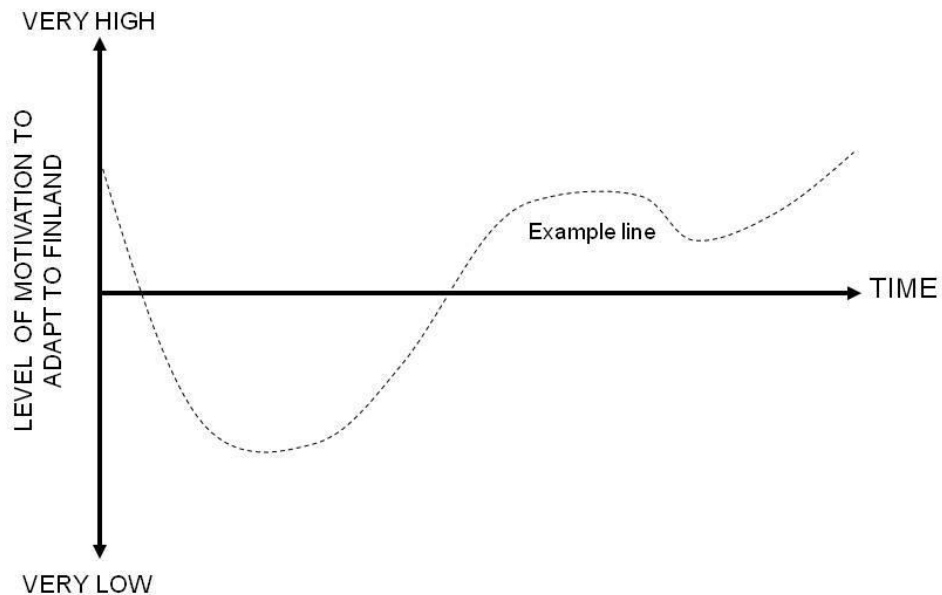


Figure 28. Dimensions of the line of motivation

The interviewees were asked to think how their level of motivation or willingness to adapt to Finland had changed during the time they had stayed in Finland. They were asked to think of the whole time they had thought about Finland as an option to visit or live in but especially the time they had stayed in Finland. They were asked to draw the level of their motivation to adapt to Finland. Lines going upwards or downwards would show how their motivation level had changed during their stay. The horizontal axis on the paper represented the average level of motivation: neither positive nor negative. The motivation scale (vertical axis) was from very high to very low but no absolute numbers were given. Thus results are relative to each interviewee and curves cannot be compared as such. The main emphasis in this research was the talk about why motivation rises or falls, not the absolute level of the line.

The horizontal time axis was also open and flexible. The interviewees were allowed to use the time axis according to their own experiences. Sometimes five centimetres represented one week sometimes one year or more. The researcher asked them to mark three particular points on their time lines, namely first, the moment they heard of Finland for the first time and started to think of Finland as a potential country to live in or visit, second, when they had decided to come to Finland and, finally, the day they arrived in Finland.

The interviewees drew the lines alone, to help them to first reflect on their own experiences in peace. The interviewees commented positively about the opportunity

to draw the lines alone. For many of them it was an eye-opener for their own experiences – especially thinking about the whole process of their adaptation. Some of the short-term interviewees used calendars when they were drawing the line. There was no time limit for doing the line of motivation. On average it took 35 minutes to draw the motivation line. The range was from 20 minutes to one and a half hours. The drawings were used in the in-depth interviews which followed the drawing session.

4.5.2 In-depth face-to-face interviews

The interviews were held after drawing. The only exception was the case when drawing the line of motivation took one and a half hours. This particular interviewee was willing to come another time for the interview. Because of the possible sensitivity of the issues during the intercultural adaptation process, the researcher emphasized the following:

- 1) The material collected in the interview was confidential.
- 2) The researcher would not use interviewees' names in the report and would try to minimise the amount of personal information about the interviewees. The researcher asked some of the interviewees afterwards if they agreed with the way the identification was done in the report.
- 3) An interviewee's participation was voluntary and he or she could censor any parts of the interview during the interview or afterwards and not answer at all if so inclined.

The interviewing was mostly in English (14/20 interviews) but six interviews were held in Finnish. One of short-time sojourners wanted to have the interview in Finnish but all the other five interviewees conducted in Finnish were made with long-term migrants. All the interviewees spoke English or Finnish without major problems. Sometimes both languages were used if words in Finnish or English were missing or concepts needed explanations. English was the native language of seven interviewees but not the native language of the researcher. Since six interviews were conducted in Finnish, they were translated into English by the author.

At the beginning of the interview some background information about the interviewees was collected. There were questions about their previous experiences of living abroad (periods longer than three months), their knowledge about Finland and experiences with Finnish people before arrival. The background information questions were the following:

- Who are you?
- How long time have you been in Finland?
- What was your reason for coming to Finland?
- Have you lived abroad (over 3 months) before coming to Finland?
- What did you know about Finland before coming here?
- Had you met any Finns before coming to Finland?
- What do you do in Finland?

After the background questions the interviewees were asked to explain what the line of motivation and its curves represented. The line helped the researcher during the interviews to follow the process of intercultural adaptation and the changes in the level of motivation. It was easier to focus on points in the line where the line went down or up or stayed stable and elicit the reasons for the changes or even for the stable periods. Going through the motivation line the researcher obtained information about the factors which had affected their level of motivation and willingness to learn and adapt. The interview followed the line of motivation and the researcher could ask for explanations when the direction of the line of motivation changed. When the curve made changes upwards or downwards, the researcher asked more about the reasons for those changes. The interviewees explained what had happened to them and gave more information. The interviewees gave reasons for their ups and downs in the line. The interviewees also talked about the reasons when the line levelled out. The researcher posed additional questions to elicit more detail. The interview process followed the interviewees' state of mind. They were allowed to talk about the issues they found important and meaningful for them. The researcher had certain themes in mind which she wanted to cover during the interview but in many cases she did not need to address these separately as they emerged during the interview.

The interviews were more like discussions because the interviewees could speak freely and the researcher reacted to what the interviewee said. The researcher made additional questions and drew conclusions which showed that she was interested in the interviewee's experiences. Probably this helped them to talk more and touch upon more sensitive topics. A couple of times the researcher referred to her own experiences abroad to show that she understood the interviewee's experiences. This had a positive affect and gave the feeling of sharing similar experiences and emotions. The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to 95 minutes. The average time was about one hour.

4.6 Analysing and reporting the data

According to Smith, Harre and Van Langenhove (2005) the focus in phenomenological analysis is on the lived experiences of the participants. It examines the meanings of these experiences for the participants and aims to understand the content and complexity of those meanings. The sense-making process is based on the interpretations of the other person's world.

In the present research the data collected via lines of motivation seemed to help the interviewees to organize their experiences and thoughts, which in turn made the interviews easier to follow. The interviewees also commented that the drawing task made them more aware about certain issues in their adaptation process.

In the present research the significant situations were included in the line of motivation. While drawing the lines, the interviewees thought about their experiences and significant moments in their lives. When the line went up or down, it gave information that there had been some important changes in their lives. Those

situations had been significant and had meant something for them. Sometimes the even line also reported about important stages in the adaptation process – like a stable study or work situation. However, the situations have been significant and have meant something for them. When the interviewee explained about a significant moment, the researcher gained an understanding of the individual's thinking, feeling and acting in those situations. The explanation concerned the characteristics of meaning. This led to the content analysis of the meaning of those significant situations. The lines of motivation will be presented in coded form (see Appendix 1 and 2). One authentic drawing is shown in Chapter 5.3.2.

The data collected in the interviews is a collection of individual interpretations of the actions in the interviewees' lives and is unique to the person interviewed. In some of the cases these actions are personal acts but in most of them they are in connection to other people or circumstances.

All the interviews were taped, transcribed and classified into themes and sub themes. The analysis process of the present research follows the procedure defined by Miles and Huberman (1994) who claim that qualitative data has to be first reduced, second, categorised and finally, organised into theoretical concepts. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2006, 111-115) present a process of analysing the qualitative data. The process looks as follows.

1. Listening and studying the interviews and transcribing them
2. Reading the interviews and investigating the content
3. Making reduced expressions out of data
4. Making a list out of the reduced expressions
5. Looking for similarities and differences
6. Combining reduced categories and creating subcategories
7. Combining subcategories and creating upper categories
8. Combining upper categories and making joint concepts.

Analysing the data was a gradual process. It started straight after the first interview and continued to the last. Lehtovaara (1996, 34) emphasizes that when the researcher tries to understand the phenomenon, he or she cannot separate it from the whole. The interviews were listened through a couple of times to gain an overall understanding of the phenomenon. After listening the tapes were transcribed and read a couple of times.

Some themes seemed to appear in various interviews and they were listed and made into a table. During the interviewing and analysing process new categories were added to the list, if needed. The process of analysing and categorising always loses something and the researcher cannot report about everything. Eskola and Suoranta (1998, 175) note that defining the themes is most often the first approach to the analysis of qualitative data. The researcher had some tentative categories in mind based on her own experiences and on the pilot study, but the final categories emerged from the data.

The main themes were drawn from the data and they were categorised into subcategories. The categories were classified according to the mentioning frequencies. Hence some tendencies could be seen at early stage of the process.

Some smaller categories were also formulated from the data. The main themes and the meanings connected to them recurred in many of the interviews. Clearly those issues had played an important role for the interviewees in their adaptation process and affected the amount of motivation and the willingness to learn more. Some of the themes were as follows:

Finland as a context for adaptation

Natural environment

Climate and food

Size of the city

Work and/or studies

Language

Feeling safe and comfortable

Meaning of intercultural adaptation – cultural identity

Characteristics of the adaptation process

Variations of the adaptation process

Adaptation in relation to self

Temporality

Interaction and sociocultural learning process – shared meanings

Interaction with Finns

Social activities

Understanding Finnish culture

Falling in love with a Finn

Adaptation in relation to other learning

Competences needed in adaptation

Participation

The analysed data seemed to show some common features in the stories about the adaptation and learning and about the level of motivation. Clear differences were found between the two groups studied. However, even if these categories were made and some similar tendencies were found, each interviewee's lived experiences were unique and carried individual meanings about the situations.

There were also clear differences in the meanings for the groups under study. For example, independence meant quite different things for these groups. Hence some of the meanings appeared quite differently for these groups. It was therefore a challenging process to look for meanings in these groups and on an individual level. Table 21 presents an example of the process of defining the themes and main categories as Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2006) suggest. This example is about the factors affecting the motivation to adapt and it serves as an example of the analysing process. However, many times comments on certain issues could have been categorised into many categories. For example, language skills were mentioned on many different occasions.

Table 21. An example of the analysing process

Original comment	“I started to sing in a choir. I got my own Finnish friends which meant a lot to me. I felt alive again.”	“I had been unemployed some time. When I got a permanent job, my motivation increased dramatically. I was independent.”	“I learned Finnish and I enjoyed going to the marketplace alone and not being dependent on anyone else.”
Reduced expression	The meaning of own friends	The importance of a permanent job	To be able to do shopping alone
Sub category	Own social relationships	Own work	Language skills
Upper category	Independence		
Main category (part of it)	Migrant’s experiences of the factors increasing the motivation to adapt		

According to Eskola and Suoranta (1998, 182) typifying the data is a common process in qualitative research after determining the themes: the researcher can make typical stories out of the similarities in the stories. Mäkelä (1990) emphasizes that stories can also show the differences because after the differences have been found, similarities create a richer picture of the whole (Mäkelä, 1990, 45). These typical stories were also made in the present research. The clearest differences were found between the groups: The short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants in their adaptation processes appeared to be very different but instead of two typical stories four typical stories emerged from the data: visitors, hesitant adapters S and L and settlers. That was due to some hesitation during the adaptation process. Sometimes a short-term sojourner became a hesitant adapter if she or he fell in love with a Finn and started to think about Finland in different way. Also among the long-term immigrants there were hesitant adapters because they were uncertain about their future and had thoughts about going somewhere else.

Quantifying (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998, 170) shows how often certain things are mentioned in the interviews. It reflects the relationships between the elements of meanings. It tells what kinds of things are connected together e.g. work and social life, work and professionalism, study and stress or study and friends. In this research this kind of quantifying was not systematic but some obvious connections and the meanings of certain people in the adaptation process will be reported.

Throughout the research, excerpts from the interviews are presented whenever illustrative for the topic. Sometimes the excerpts contain elements from more than one theme. The excerpts are coded as Table 22 presents.

Table 22. Coding of interviewees

	S7/f/RU	L3/m/NG
S/L	S = short-term sojourner	L = long-term immigrant
1 - 10	Tells about the length of stay in Finland; the bigger the number the longer the interviewee has stayed in Finland	Tells about the length of stay in Finland; the bigger the number the longer the interviewee has stayed in Finland
f/m	f = female	m = male
RU/NG	RU = Country code	NG = Country code

The coding system does not show the absolute duration of stay in Finland. The number after S or L shows the order within the group when arranged according to their length of sojourn in Finland; the higher the number the longer the person has been in Finland compared to the other interviewees of the same group. For example, S2 has been a shorter time in Finland than S8. A list of interviewees has been given in Section 4.4. In the following chapters the short-term sojourners' comments will be reported first and the long-term immigrants' comments will be reported second within the separate themes.

Between the short-term sojourners and the long-term immigrants there were quite significant differences but they also shared similar situations and common feelings and meanings. There were differences and similarities in the significant situations and the meanings attached to them between the two different groups but also within the groups. The following section presents the results found in this research.

5. Experiences of intercultural adaptation processes in Finland

5.1 Environmental factors in adaptation process

5.1.1 Pre-arrival knowledge and motivation

When people from different cultures come into a direct contact with each other, the process of intercultural learning and adaptation can begin. However, it requires motivation to put oneself in an uncertain situation. People seem to need a reason for their adaptation. These motivational factors may change during the adaptation process and affect the amount of effort people put their adaptation. The following sections will report the reasons for the changes in the level of motivation. The results are the findings of the two groups studied. The reporting of the analysis is always first about the short-term interviewees and secondly about the long-term interviewees.

The short-term sojourners' pre-arrival knowledge and motivation

For most of the short-term sojourners the main reason for coming to Finland was the desire to study abroad and experience something new. Some of them had seen a film "L'Auberge espagnole" which tells about Erasmus exchange students' experiences in Spain. The film had increased their interest to go somewhere as an exchange student to experience something similar. Half of the short-term interviewees had never lived in a foreign country before coming to Finland. All the short-term interviewees were studying in Finland but a couple of them had been working in Finland before starting to study at the university. Most (7/10) of them were Erasmus exchange students, one was studying on the Erasmus Mundus Programme and two were studying on other degree programmes. One of the interviewees had come to Finland to work but he was studying at the University of Tampere when the interview took place.

Many of the short-term migrants mentioned that they were globally minded people and wanted to see different places in the world. Finland did not have any significance for most of the short-term interviewees and Finland was not necessarily their first choice to experience something exciting. Most (9/10) of them had been considering many countries as a possible country of destination.

“I must say that Finland was not the first choice. I wanted to go somewhere as an Erasmus exchange student to see if the movie about the Erasmus year is true. My university has only two partners who have teaching in English - one in the Netherlands and one in Finland. I didn’t want to go to the Netherlands because it was so close. I started to think that I would go to Finland. It was the only choice.” (S3/f/FR)

“I started to think of going somewhere – not specially Finland – I found information about the possibilities to study in Finland. The information about the free education and TOAS (Tampere Student Housing Foundation) providing housing increased my motivation to go to Finland.” (S4/m/EE)

“Actually, I did not know where I was going to do my exchange year. I had Scandinavian countries and eastern European countries in mind because there was some teaching in English.” (S5/m/DE)

“I wanted to go somewhere for an exchange. It did not matter so much where.” (S7/f/RU)

While thinking of their exchange and possible destination, some of the interviewees had met someone who had been in Finland or met a Finn who told them about Finland. This had increased their interest and made the decision to come to Finland easier. Some of the interviewees happened to see an interesting degree programme at the University of Tampere on the Internet and applied for the programme. One of the interviewees who came to work in Finland had seen an advertisement on the Internet about an opportunity to teach at school in Finland. The person had had other options as well, but one linguistic task in his own country had raised his interest in the Finnish language. Some of the interviewees had noticed that university education is free in Finland and that universities arrange housing for the students. Free education and an interesting degree programme made the decision easier to make and increased motivation to come to Finland. Only for one interviewee was Finland the obvious destination because she had studied Finnish for three years in her home country.

“I took part in a seminar and someone talked about Tampere.” (S5/m/DE)

“Free education and an interesting study programme were the main motivators to come to Finland. The quality of education was an important factor, too. Because of the language, it would have been much easier for me to go to Australia, UK or USA.” (S10/m/IN)

“But I got interested in Finland when I had a task to contrast Finnish and English languages. I became familiar with the phonetics of the language.” (S8/m/US)

“Because I studied Finnish, I wanted to come to Finland. First I planned to stay half a year but now I shall stay for the whole academic year.” (S6/f/CN)

Nearly all the short-term sojourners said that they did not know very much about Finland before coming. They knew the location of Finland and facts about the weather were mentioned in most of the interviews. They knew that the climate is cold but most of them were looking forward to experiencing the real winter weather and snow.

“I did not know a lot about Finland. I knew that the weather is cold.” (S1f/GR)

“I learned something about Finland from Wikipedia to pass the interview and appear motivated. I had not met a Finn before coming to Finland. I tried to learn the language but not seriously.” (S5/m/DE)

A few of the interviewees were in Europe for the first time. One interviewee said that he knew that Finland exists but he knew much more about Sweden because of the Nobel Prize.

“I knew that there is a country called Finland but Finland is not familiar in my home country. Sweden, Germany and France are much better known.” (S10/m/IN)

“I had never even been in Europe.” (S8/m/US)

Many of the short-term interviewees also knew that Finland is a safe place and a welfare state. Some of them mentioned that they knew something about the history of Finland, Sámi people and rock bands. Most of the information acquired before arrival in Finland came through the Internet, tourist guides and books or from people who had been in Finland.

“Everybody thinks that Finland is a quiet and safe country.” (S7/f/RU)

“I read about the history of Finland so I knew something.” (S10/m/IN)

Only one of the short-term interviewees knew a lot about Finland; she knew the language, she had been in Finland for a summer language course and she had been interacting with Finns in different situations in her home country.

“Sometimes I have a feeling that I know more than Finns. I know that it is not true but I knew very much before coming to Finland and I have learned more.” (S6/f/CN)

Generally, the short-term interviewees knew things connected to their studies in Finland. They were satisfied with the information they got about their studies and the way things were organised beforehand.

“I noticed that studies very organized before coming here and all the information was in English.” (S1/f/CR)

“I knew that if I do 20 ECTS in Finland, I have to work less than in my home country. I had a holiday feeling.” (S5/m/DE)

Before coming to Finland about half of the short-term interviewees had met a Finn and some of the interviewees had been in Finland on a short holiday. Two of the interviewees had been in Finland for some months before applying to the university. However, half of the short-term sojourners met their first Finn in Finland.

“I had met a Finnish man earlier but he is not a typical Finn. Finns are much more reserved than he.” (S2/m/US)

“I had seen lots of Finns. Mostly they were drunken tourists. I know that it is a stereotype. Every nation has “problematic” people but it is a small part of the Finnish nation. Drunken people come but you do not want to communicate with them. In Germany I met ten Finns. They were very nice and I enjoyed talking and communicating with them.” (S4/m/EE)

“I had had lots of opportunities to communicate with Finns before I arrived in Finland. My motivation was high when I could be among the Finns.” (S7/f/CN)

A couple of the short-term interviewees had tried to learn Finnish before they arrived. But they reported that they knew very little. However, one of the short-term interviewees could speak Finnish so well that the interview was conducted in Finnish. She also knew a lot about Finland through her friends and her teachers.

“I tried to learn Finnish beforehand but it was not serious.” (S5/m/DE)

“I have visited Finland many times. Finns are very nice people. I can say that because of my own experiences. Internet gave me lots of facts about the University of Tampere.” (S4/m/EE)

“I read something about Finland and started to learn Finnish. I met a Finnish girl who was an Erasmus student and she told me about lots of things about Finland.” (S3/f/FR)

“I have studied Finnish and I knew a lot before I came here.” (S6/f/CN)

Before arriving in Finland the levels of motivation (see Appendix 1) of the short-term interviewees were generally speaking above average. The interviewees reported that they were looking forward to experiencing something very different. Only two interviewees had their lines of motivation below the average level. Both of them reported that they did not have any time to think about the exchange in Finland. One of them reported that she did not have time to become motivated because she was adapting to a third country and trying to complete all the requirements there. The other interviewee reported that she had been very busy and hesitant about her decision before leaving her home country and that had lowered her motivation. Sometimes the long waiting time impaired the amount of motivation.

“Just before arrival I was so busy. I had lots of work. I had stress and my head was empty. I had no time to think, no time to prepare, no time to read. I had only one day to prepare. I did not want to go.” (S3/f/FR)

“I had lots of exams. I knew that I had to finish my Bachelor’s Degree in order to come to Finland.” (S4/m/EE)

“When I was in Norway I had lots of new things around me and no time to think about Finland.” (S2/m/US)

“I was excited about coming but not motivated to learn anything because I was in France as an exchange student just before coming to Finland.” (S1/f/GR)

The short-term interviewees also reported that they had experienced quite a lot of hesitation during the preparation time in their home countries and the line of motivation went up and down but the hesitation did not show in most of the lines. The lines of motivation started to go upwards as the time to go to Finland approached. The positive motivation was not connected to Finland as such. The short-term interviewees were looking forward to new experiences in a foreign country which were mainly connected to the exchange student life abroad and to an international atmosphere.

“I was looking forward to the Erasmus year. I was also looking forward to living in a city. I had a holiday feeling. I had a very positive attitude but it was not necessarily linked to Finland.” (S5/m/DE)

Hence all the short-term sojourners were motivated to come to Finland after the decision to come had been made even if two of them had their levels of motivation below the average. The reasons for coming to Finland were mostly connected to studies. Most of them had looked for some basic information about Finland and a couple of them had learned some expressions in Finnish. However, for the majority of the short-term interviewees the reason was to experience something new and exciting outside their own country – not necessarily in Finland.

Long-term immigrants' pre-arrival knowledge and motivation

For the long-term immigrants the reason for coming to Finland was in most (8/10) cases love. They had met a Finn with whom they fell in love in their home country or in a third country. Because of the work or studies of the Finn they had to start thinking of moving to Finland. Hence Finland was an obvious destination for them.

“I met a Finnish girl in Iceland and followed her to Finland.” (L2/m/NZ)

“I knew something about Finland because my relatives were living in Finland but I had not thought of going to Finland. Then I met my future wife in my home country. She was there on a tourist trip. I fell in love with her.” (L3/m/NG)

“I met my future husband at my friend’s wedding. We didn’t have a common language but we were sitting at the same table the whole evening. Afterwards he wrote and phoned. Later I found out that someone had written the words for him. When we met the second time he proposed. Basically, we did not have a common language. I did not know anything about him. He just seemed like a good person.” (L8/f/RU)

For two of the interviewees the reason for coming to Finland was a workplace in Finland and initially work brought them in Finland. One interviewee who came to Finland to work was curious to see if all the strange stories about Finns were true but he also fell in love with a Finn and because of that and work opportunities in Finland he stayed. The other interviewee who had come to Finland to work, on the other hand, had heard very positive stories about the Finnish countryside and she had fallen in love with Finnish forests from a distance. A good workplace had kept her in Finland. Her husband was also working in Finland.

“I saw an advertisement in a newspaper about a job in Finland. Teachers who had been in Finland told me quite negative things about Finland, like stories about darkness, coldness, and drinking habits, but I became curious and interested.” (L7/m/GB)

“I was in Norway and some people talked about Finland. They praised the lakes and forests in Finland. Those stories I will never forget. I got interested and I thought that one day I would go to Finland.” (L9/f/DE)

The long-term immigrants' pre-arrival knowledge was quite different from that of the short-term interviewees. Most of the long-term interviewees mentioned that they knew quite a lot about Finland before arrival. The sources of information were in many cases different from those of the short-term sojourners. Many of them did not mention the Internet as a source for information, which is understandable because many of the long-term interviewees had lived in Finland for many years and

the Internet was not so widely used at that time. Even if some of the interviewees could have used the Internet, they seemed to get more information from books and mostly from different people – especially from the Finn they fell in love with. However, they noted that their knowledge was mostly on a very general level before arrival.

“I had relatives who lived in Finland and I knew something. But when I met my wife I got lots of new info.” (L3/m/NG)

“I was 12 years old when I met the first Finn. She and her family were very close friends of my mother. It was an essential part of our life because her sons stayed with us. But my motivation to know more increased when I met my boyfriend He taught me many things.” (L1/f/BR)

“I knew Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Sweden was our dream country. About Finland I knew saunas, lakes and Northern Lights. I knew about the Finnish ecosystem because I had met Finnish scientists.” (L6/m/DE)

“I did not have a very flattering image of Finnish people because I saw drunken Finns in my home country. I knew that Finns are tough and that they have survived the wars. But everything was on the surface because I did not know anyone personally. My husband was the first Finn I talked to. Because we did not have a common language, I knew very little about Finland.” (L8/f/RU)

Many of the long-term interviewees obtained information about the Finnish language beforehand and they used Finnish language textbooks to learn Finnish. Some of them took Finnish language courses in their home countries because they were motivated to learn the language before arrival. Most of them said that their Finnish language skills were not good when they arrived and they had to use English or other languages to communicate with the people around them. Hence most of the interviewees were motivated to learn Finnish before arrival or straight after coming to Finland.

“A strange language but so is my own native language, as well. So it did not surprise me.” (L5/f/LT)

“The language is different from Swedish and I knew it would be a challenge.” (L6/m/DE)

“I knew that Finland has two official languages. I decided to study Swedish but it was a big mistake. When we moved away from Helsinki, nobody spoke Swedish.” (L10/f/DE)

None of the long-term immigrants' lines of motivation (see Appendix 2) were below the average level before coming to Finland. Two of the lines of motivation

were on the average level. One of them reported that he had heard negative stories about Finland, but the stories made him curious and interested and did not affect his attitude and motivation in a negative direction. He was interested to find out if the stories were true. He had not met a Finn before coming to Finland. The other one did not have any special expectations about Finland and her motivation was on an average level.

“I met teachers who had been in Finland. They told me negative things about Finland. They said that Finland is dark, cold and depressing. I was curious and interested. I could say that I was quite neutral with my level of motivation.” (L7/m/GB)

All the other long-term interviewees’ lines of motivation were on a high level. They reported that their attitudes and feelings about Finland were positive. Nearly all of them had come to Finland because of falling in love with a Finn. They were looking forward to their life together in Finland. One interviewee, who was already married to a non-Finn, was looking forward to their family life in Finland which was the “dream country” of her husband. Hence Finland was an obvious destination to all the long-term immigrants of the present research.

5.1.2 Environmental considerations

While in Finland, Tampere and other parts of Finland appeared differently to the groups studied. Naturally, there were similar notions about contextual factors but the short-term sojourners seemed to comment much more about Finland per se.

Finland for the short-term sojourners

All the short-term interviewees were living in Tampere at the time of the interviews. Two of them had stayed in other parts of Finland before coming to Tampere. The short-term interviewees saw Tampere as a place to enjoy their time in Finland and experience something new. Most of the short-term sojourners had got accommodation through the Tampere Student Housing Foundation (TOAS) and most of them were living in the same student dormitory or in a student flat normally shared by three people. One of the short-term interviewees hated the dormitory because it was too international and the students mainly spoke English and he did not have opportunities to meet so many Finns. However, most of the interviewees seemed to like the international atmosphere in the dormitory.

“The student dormitory is too international. I don’t meet Finnish students as often as I would like to meet. We (= international students) stick together too much.” (S8/m/US)

“It is very enjoyable to be able to make friends with all the other Erasmus exchange students. I have made new relationships with my roommates.

International students have lots of parties and cultural sharing among the exchange students.” (S4/m/EE)

Tampere has about 210,000 inhabitants and is the third biggest city in Finland. However, it appeared to be too small for some of the interviewees. Those who mentioned the small size complained about the limited number of night clubs or pubs in Tampere. Some of the interviewees also complained about the lack of special food stores or ethnic food shops.

“Tampere is very small. No people in the streets in the evenings. There are not enough entertainments. I don’t know where to go because I have been everywhere already.” (S7/m/RU)

“I cannot find my favourite food in the shops here in Tampere” (S4/m/EE)

On the other hand, many short-term interviewees liked the size of Tampere. They emphasized that one soon learns the places and directions in Tampere and the countryside is close for walking and exploring. After some surprising incidents at the beginning, e.g. buses passing by without stopping, they felt safe and started to feel at home quite soon. Many interviewees mentioned that they had found several activities in Tampere, like an English-speaking theatre group, cinemas and winter swimming. Of course, all the international student parties in Tampere were mentioned many times.

“I am like a local person. I know all the important places. If my friends come to visit me, I know where to take them.” (S2/m/US)

“The first time I took the bus in the wrong direction, but you learn the places very soon.” (S4/m/EE)

“I like to walk in the forest and I love the lakes and quietness.” (S3/f/FR)

Many of the short-term interviewees had been surprised about the honesty of people in Tampere. They gave examples about the coats hanging unattended in the corridor of the university. They said that it would never happen in their own countries. They felt really safe in Finland and in Tampere.

Lapland needs to be mentioned separately because the short-term interviewees mentioned it many times and everyone who had been in Lapland fell in love with it. It was surprising how often Lapland was mentioned by the short-term sojourners. Some of the interviewees knew about Lapland and about the Sámi people before coming to Finland. But after being in Lapland they wanted to learn more. One important part of their Lapland experience was being part of a Finnish family or an international group. They had spent some time in a family or enjoyed the quietness in a cabin. Social relationships during the trip were emphasized most. Among other things they mentioned the exceptional landscape in Lapland. They had felt they

were part of the natural environment. In Lapland they also had found snow, which they had been missing in Tampere.

“I went to Lapland with my Finnish friends. We stayed in the house of my friend’s parents. They didn’t speak very much English but they seemed to be interested to meet foreigners and showed interest in me.” (S1/f/GR)

“I and my international friends made a trip to Lapland. I loved it. The scenery was so nice and calm. It was mystical. I experienced the Lappish feeling and it increased my understanding. The cabin was in an isolated place; so close to natural environment. I saw lots of snow and the Northern lights. It was wonderful. I think that it was the best week in my life so far. ” (S3/f/FR)

Finland for the long-term immigrants

Most (7/10) of the long-term interviewees were living in Tampere or nearby but three of the interviewees were living in the Helsinki region. About half of the long-term interviewees had lived somewhere else in Finland before moving to the Tampere region. The long-term immigrants talked about the size of Tampere much less than the short-term sojourners. On the contrary, the size of Tampere appeared to be very good for the long-term migrants. They said that Tampere offers lots of opportunities for music and theatre and social activities, like choirs, concerts, sports and various societies.

For the long-term immigrants the nice housing areas seemed to be among the most important things in Finland or in Tampere – not the city itself. They emphasized that Finland is a safe place and they felt comfortable and safe where they lived. Nice houses and housing areas were mentioned by both men and women of the long-term interviewees. One interviewee remembered that he found the architecture in Tampere very ugly at the beginning but today he does not see Tampere that way.

“Our housing area is very safe. Once I forgot my keys in the door. They were waiting for me there and nobody had been inside.” (L7/m/GB)

“We have lived in the same place all the time since we came to work in Tampere. I like it very much. The countryside is close and everything is calm.” (L9/f/DE)

“At the beginning nothing struck me positively in Tampere. The buildings were not beautiful. It takes some time to see the beauty of the place.” (L7/m/GB)

As noted above, Finland as a place to adapt did not get any special attention from the long-term interviewees. Even if some of them remembered their first reaction to some of the contextual factors, nowadays they did not notice most of them. Everything was mostly “normal” for them.

5.1.3 Summary of environmental factors in intercultural adaptation

The reason for coming to Finland was one of the clearest factors affecting the amount of motivation to adapt and learn about Finnish culture.

Table 23. Comparisons of reasons for coming and knowledge before arriving in Finland.

Topic	Short-term sojourners	Long-term immigrants
Reason for coming	Studies Excitement New experience	Love Starting family life Work Curiosity
Planned length of stay	Temporary “Only-for-a-short-time” attitude	Permanent “A-permanent-settlement” attitude
Pre-arrival information	Not very much Basic facts, climate	Quite a lot Basic facts, history, society etc.
Source of information before arrival	Internet Guidebooks People who had been in Finland Holiday A Finn (personal contact or observing Finns)	A Finn (personal contact) Many kinds of books People who had been in Finland Holiday
Language skills	Very little/none	Some knowledge A Finnish language course
General attitude and motivation towards Finland	Positive Excited	Very positive Interested

Table 23 gives an overview about the reasons and the amount of knowledge before arriving to Finland. The planned length of stay in Finland had affected their motivation to adapt and it also affected the results very clearly. Most of the short-term interviewees did not have any special interest in Finland before arrival. Yet, their general attitude was positive because they were excited to go somewhere. On the other hand, the long-term interviewees knew quite a lot and were motivated to learn more. Their general attitude was very positive because they were coming to the country of their loved one.

Comments about Finland as a place to stay also divided the two groups from each other. The short-term interviewees commented more about the climate, food, entertainments and honesty of Finnish people. The long-term interviewees commented about e.g. the safe housing areas and permanent work.

5.2 Migrants' experiences of factors affecting motivation to adapt

5.2.1 Factors increasing motivation to adapt

The following sections present the findings of the factors reportedly increasing the motivation to adapt. These factors naturally were not the same for all the interviewees of the groups studied but certain tendencies could be identified. However, individual differences are also mentioned. The reporting is again first about the short-term interviewees' experiences and second about the long-term interviewees' experiences.

Factors increasing motivation for short-term sojourners

This section presents the factors increasing motivation for the short-term sojourners of the present research. These are not in the order of importance, except the first.

Clearly, the strongest factor increasing motivation for the short-term sojourners was interaction with Finns. They liked to talk with Finns and try out their Finnish vocabulary. Most of the interviewees had few - if any - personal contacts with Finns before their arrival. Some of them met the first Finn in Finland. At the beginning they were very motivated to learn Finnish and start communicating with Finns and using Finnish. However, most of the short-term sojourners were disappointed because they could not do this during their time in Finland.

“I liked to learn Finnish. I am a good learner and I enjoyed learning something new. It was “cool” to learn Finnish. Once I was at a soccer game and I was sitting next to a Finn. It was nice to say something in Finnish. I felt welcome.” (S5/m/DE)

“The family members had never met an American but they were very welcoming. I could use my Finnish skills with them because they did not speak English.” (S8/m/US)

The short-term interviewees’ motivation seemed to increase a lot when they started their studies and met other exchange students. They had felt very lonely in a new place but when the studies started they could start to create new social relationships and friendships. Most of the interviewees commented that they had mainly made friends with international students, which may be due to their accommodation - the interviewees lived in the same dormitory as other international students – or the difficulty of creating social relationships with Finns.

“My studies started and I met other international students. I met someone who spoke my own language. I was not alone any more.” (S7/f/RU)

“I am a very sociable person and I need to communicate and I needed people around me. It was so nice to meet new people and my expectations started to be fulfilled. I met people from all over the world. They became my friends.” (S4/m/EE)

Hence most short-term sojourners seemed to identify themselves with other international students. Their feelings of belonging were mostly connected to international student activities. International students went to town together, arranged parties and invited other international students to their parties. They also invited Finns but in many cases they did not come. Most of the short-term sojourners liked the international atmosphere with international students and the opportunity to speak in English.

“We had lots of activities – especially parties. I enjoyed the parties with the international students. It was also good to practice my English skills.” (S7/f/RU)

“International students studied the same things and I met them all the time.” (S4/m/EE)

“I identify myself with international student more than with Finns.” (S5/m/DE)

“I was surprised that I chose French people to be my friends.” S3/f/FR

The highlights of their stay were the visits to “normal” Finnish families. Some of the interviewees had had opportunities to visit the families of their Finnish friends. Seeing family life and taking part in different celebrations were very much appreciated. The interviewees noted that they had learned about Finnish traditions, interaction and e.g. touching between family members during their visits.

“I could spend Christmas with my Finnish friends. Father Christmas gave the presents and we did many nice things. I learned a lot about Finnish Christmas traditions. Earlier I only knew about American Christmas traditions.” (S6/f/CN)

“I spent Christmas with the family and it was really interesting to see the biggest holiday in the family. I was observing and they explained some things. I was part of the celebration.” (S8/m/US)

“My Finnish boyfriend took me to his parents. It was nice to see normal family life. I was surprised that my boyfriend did not kiss his mother even if they had not seen each other for several weeks. It taught me something about the Finnish ways of doing things.” (S1/f/GR)

Some Finnish people had acted as interpreters of Finnish culture for the short-term interviewees. When a Finn had explained some cultural practices to them, they felt that they had also understood their deeper meanings of the culture. They liked that very much. The short-term interviewees mentioned that they had created friendship relations during the intercultural communication courses. In their mind it was due to the amount of interaction and feeling of sharing during the courses but it can be due to more open or curious attitude of the students.

“I had two Finnish people whom I knew before coming to Finland. They explained a lot of things to me. They talked about the culture, everyday life, clothes connected to climate etc.” (S3/f/FR)

“During the intercultural communication courses I could make contacts because we talked so much. It was so easy to speculate about all kinds of issues. We could even discuss quite sensitive topics.” (S4/mEE)

“Intercultural communication courses increased my motivation and helped me to understand Finnish culture because we had lots of interaction during the courses.” (S1/f/GR)

Weather conditions played a role in the level of motivation for the short-term sojourners. The main positive aspect seemed to be the amount of sun. When spring came and the days started to get longer and longer, their motivation increased. The good weather brought Finnish people out onto the terraces and the students could observe them and communicate with them more. They mentioned that Finns became more sociable when they were sitting in the sun. Of course many of the interviewees did not stay in Finland the whole summer but they had experienced and enjoyed some of the summer activities (e.g. sauna and swimming in the lake, drinking beer on a terrace, hiking and enjoying the countryside) in May or in the autumn.

“For me it is easier to learn when the sun is shining.” (S1/f/GR)

“My friends came to see me. The weather was beautiful and the sun was shining. It was so nice to show the places to my friends because everything looked better. We were sitting on the terrace among the Finns.” (S2/m/US)

“When the weather became warmer my motivation improved. I could do many things outside and observe the life around me.” (S9/f/DE)

For many short-term interviewees snow was a big thing because some of them had never been in a cold climate. They knew about the climate in Finland and they were expecting to experience the cold winter with lots of snow and low temperatures. Snow was mentioned in many interviews as a positively motivating factor. They had tried to ski and skate, which were new experiences for some of them. Some of the interviewees had been in Lapland and enjoyed “the real winter” with lots of snow and cold weather. However, the winters in Finland have become milder in recent years and during the time when most of the interviews were made there had been snow only for couple of days. The winter had been very rainy and dark. Hence the time of the interviews may have affected the results.

“When I came back from France I experienced the winter. The lake was frozen and the scenery looked so fascinating. It was so nice. I was like Alice in the Wonderland.” (S3/f/FR)

Sauna and Finland is a combination that all the international visitors normally have to face. For the short-term sojourners sauna was introduced at the beginning during the orientation week. It was strange at first; nudity especially was a big thing. Most of the short-term interviewees learned to love sauna. Sauna was closely connected to social activities and celebrations. The short-term interviewees reported that sauna connected people – at least it connected students. Some of the interviewees had had nice, long discussions with a Finn in a sauna. They commented that Finns had been more open and relaxed in a sauna: even if they all were naked. At the beginning sauna experiences had been very frightening for many of the short-term interviewees because of nudity. When they had overcome it they had got new experiences which in turn opened their eyes to new dimensions of the Finnish character.

“I like sauna. Nudity is not a problem any more. I have had nice, philosophical conversations with a Finn in the sauna.” (S3/f/FR)

“We went to the summer cottage with some Finnish people. We had sauna and walking in the forest. Everything was very relaxed. We had time to discuss.” (S3/f/FR)

The line of motivation made the biggest sudden jump upwards if the person fell in love with a Finn. This happened to some of the short-time sojourners. Motivation to adapt to Finland rose and the interviewees became very motivated to learn more

about Finland. For the short-term interviewees the love relationship changed their attitude about their future. Suddenly Finland became a possible country to live in.

“I fell in love with a Finn. I got very motivated to learn more and adapt. I wanted to know how things are done in Finnish families and what the Finnish traditions are.” (S1/f/GR)

Through the relationships to Finnish man or a woman the short-term sojourners were invited to Finnish families to meet the relatives. Their Finnish contacts became more varied and multifaceted.

“My boyfriend invited me to his home and I saw “normal” family life.” (S1/f/GR)

Some of the interviewees had noted that their positive pre-arrival attitude and all the positive experiences had helped them through strange or difficult moments and turned motivation line upwards. They thought that motivation level was partially due to their own efforts and how they interpreted the situations.

“I had accumulated motivation before arriving and that helped me when I didn’t feel happy. It kept me optimistic through the low motivation points.” (S4/mEE)

One of the short-term interviewees used the Finnish word “sisu”, which means perseverance. It is persistence in some thing undertaken in spite of difficulty or obstacles. When people have perseverance they release their energy steadily as one of the interviewees did – one day at a time.

“I found SISU in myself. I had learned the word in my Finnish class and I started to realise that I had all the characteristics that the Finns have. I started to feel at home.” (S10/m/IN)

“I realised that I had to start to rebuild something new around me to be able to live normally. I could explain to myself that I had to survive two weeks and then everything will improve.” (S4/mEE)

The “feeling at home” comment was mentioned many times as one of the main factors bringing the line of motivation upwards and especially keeping it stable. When the interviewees started to feel that they could manage in everyday situations their motivation increased or stayed stable. They reported that the good feeling came from small things like knowing the cheapest shopping places, understanding some Finnish expressions or knowing the directions. Comments were mostly connected to survival. However, they realised that their own attitude had played an important role in the learning process.

“At the beginning I went to Russia many times but then I got used to life here and I did not want to go so often. I am happy to be here.” (S7/f/RU)

“I had an attitude that I am a traveller. First I was a traveller and then I became a guide. I had to change my attitude in a positive direction. After that I found many nice things because I was looking for them.” (S2/m/US)

They had also noticed some changes in their own thinking and actions which seemed to surprise them. When the short-term interviewees had stayed in Finland for over six months, many of them reported that their attitude towards quietness and being alone changed towards positive direction. These comments were very surprising because nearly everyone had been so annoyed about the silence in Finland at the beginning. Some of them had gone home for Christmas and been annoyed about e.g. the noise in the streets. When they came back they had enjoyed living anonymous life – not being social all the time.

“When I was in France I was thinking of Finland all the time. It was so noisy there. I felt that my home is in Finland. When I came back to Finland I enjoyed the quietness and being alone.” (S3/f/FR)

“I had to go back home but I wanted to stay in Finland. My mood was low but my motivation to stay in Finland was on a high level.” S8/f/DE

“When I went to France for Christmas, it was so noisy there – people, traffic and music. I missed the quietness of Finland. I like the anonymous life here. Nobody disturbs me here.” (S3/f/FR)

Most of the interviewees were satisfied with the studies were arranged and the information they had obtained beforehand. They were happy to find information about the University of Tampere in English in the Internet before their arrival.

“Studies were organised before coming to Finland. Everything was so organised. The information was also often in English. It was good.” (S1/f/GR)

Some of the interviewees said that the studies are much easier and more flexible in Finland than in their home countries. However, there were also opposite comments about the study load. The short-term interviewees were in very different situations compared to each other. Some of them had strict plans for their studies and some of them could choose almost whatever they wanted.

“I knew that 20 ECTS is easier in Finland. I could be like on holiday and enjoy my time in Finland.” (S5/m/DE)

“I like the study system in Finland. I can do my Master’s Degree here in Finland and go for an exchange to other countries and still stay in Finland.” (S9/f/DE)

Many of the short-term interviewees had noted that the relationships between student and teacher were much more informal in Finland than in their home countries. It was much easier for them to approach the teacher and ask questions without any fear of worse results. They also commented about the flexibility of the arrangements if they could not participate in some of the lessons.

Most of the short-term interviewees commented that they had enjoyed their time in Finland. They had adapted to Finnish culture minimally but to the international student culture very much. However, they had started their intercultural awareness processes.

Factors increasing motivation for long-term immigrants

In all cases the long-term interviewees also saw the social relationships as the most important motivator in their adaptation process. Of course, the spouse or a girl/boyfriend had raised the level of motivation to a high level before arrival and kept it there for some time. Eventually, the long-term interviewees wanted to create their own relationships. If they succeeded, their motivation increased. However, they mentioned that Finns do not easily initiate the relationship. On the other hand, they commented that Finns gave them their own privacy and they did not impose their company, which some of the long-term immigrants also liked very much. When they reported about their own interpretations, it was obvious that at the beginning of their stay they used their own frame of reference but gained a deeper understanding in the learning process.

“I was shocked when the people who lived in the same building did not greet me. After a while it did not bother me that they didn’t greet me. Finns have large personal space.” (L5/f/LT)

“I like to be in peace. Maybe I am also a little bit quiet, careful and conservative. I value natural environment and work. These are more typical of Finns than of Norwegians.” (L4/m/NO)

“People leave you alone. I interpreted it at first that they didn’t like me. Then I learned that they respect my privacy.” (L10/f/DE)

All the long-term immigrants mentioned work as one of the most important motivators in their adaptation process. They wanted to find work in their own professional field but at the beginning they accepted almost any work they could get. Many but not all of the long-term interviewees had found a job corresponding to their professional qualifications. Most of them were happy at their work. A couple of interviewees were studying but they were happy with the part-time jobs they had at the moment. Through work they had made their own friends and they had started to feel independent. They reported that work had given them a more stable identity in society, which seemed to be an important factor for their motivation and adaptation process.

“I got a part-time job straight away because I was active. Now I have a good job in Finland but it is not in my field of expertise.” (L8/f/RU)

“Work and studies gave me lots of social contacts. I enjoyed being with academics. Work is a crucial part of someone’s identity. ... I was able to work at home and take care of my children. I was happy to have my own job. Work has been and will be very meaningful in my life.” (L5/f/LT)

“While I was working in the evening school, I met “normal” Finnish people and it was very motivating. At the moment I also have interesting work.” (L7/m/GB)

“The colleagues were very nice and I became good friends with them.” (L1/f/BR)

“I got my own identity through work. I also learned Finnish even if I also managed in English or in Swedish.” (L4/m/NO)

Three of the long-term migrants were studying at the University of Tampere. They were happy about the study place. It had given them the feeling of belonging. They were positive about their future in Finland after finishing their studies even if a couple of them also thought of going back home or to a third country to work.

“My boyfriend can work all over the world and that is why I can think of going back to my home country or to a third country after finishing my studies.” (L1/f/BR)

Most of the long-term migrants had come to Finland because of love. The relatives of the partner played an important role in the adaptation process – especially at the beginning. Relatives widened the scope to Finnish society and in many cases they were the main reason for learning Finnish faster. Relatives were also eager to “teach” the newcomer.

“My wife’s grandmother did not speak any other language than Finnish. So I started to practice my Finnish skills with her.” (L4/m/NO)

“We celebrated Christmas. I had made nice food but I heard that it was not right. I learned how to cook the Finnish Christmas specialities but I learned it the hard way.” (L8/f/RU)

When the interviewees had their own children, they started to feel more anchored in Finnish society. Children gave for many of the long-term immigrants also an opportunity to speak their own language with someone. They said they realised that most probably their children would find their spouses in Finland and this would

keep the interviewee here as well. Through their children they had also met new Finns and learned many issues about Finnish culture.

“My children started to ask about Finnish culture and even if neither of us is a Finn we tried to help them. I had to study Finnish culture to be able to answer. Through my children I also made some Finnish friends.” (L9/f/DE)

“My family is here. My life is here.” (L8/f/RU)

“My children, my family and the house keep me here. Of course we could be anywhere as a family.” (L7/m/GB)

“When my son was born, I wanted to be a family and feel that I belonged somewhere.” (L4/m/NO)

“My children are very creative and they have lots of hobbies. So I meet different kinds of people all the time.” (L5/f/LT)

Some of the interviewees pointed out that the attitude of their own relatives back home, like that of their mother or sister made a big difference. It had been important for them that their own relatives accepted their move to Finland and they did not need to worry about “losing” their own relatives. In most case the relatives seemed to accept the marriage. However, some relatives of the long-term immigrants did not always support the marriage or especially moving away from their home countries.

“My mother had a positive attitude about my marriage to a Finnish man and she supported me in many ways. She wanted me to be happy wherever I was.” (L10/f/DE)

“I felt that the whole society was against my move to Finland. Everyone was blaming me. It took a long time to get a visa. It was also hard for my parents – my father could not keep his job because I moved to Finland. In the end they also moved away from my home country.” (L8/f/RU)

The long-term interviewees reported that they had started to feel comfortable as understanding of Finnish society increased. Understanding had started from everyday activities. They said that it was nice that they did not need to “think all the time” what something meant and how they were supposed to behave.

“I remember the moment when I was able to interpret the Finnish mentality. After that many things became easier.” (L3/m/NG)

“It was nice to be able to manage everyday activities and understand the meanings.” (L10/f/DE)

“I feel comfortable when I know how to behave.” (L1/f/BR)

“I started to understand Finnishness. I gained lots of understanding from Finnish history. Anything new was no longer a threat when I started to understand it. I can take the best parts of my own culture and the best parts of the new culture.” (L4/m/NO)

All the long-term interviewees mentioned Finland as a safe society. They commented that people need not be afraid of other people, authorities or robberies. Even if this had changed in 20 to 30 years, the interviewees felt very safe in Finland. Some of them compared their home countries and Finland in this respect. The feeling of safety had a positive affect on the interviewees’ motivation to adapt and this was also mentioned many times during the interviews. Some of the interviewees reported that people can trust the police and other officials in Finland even if they sometimes did not understand their decisions. They felt that the housing areas are generally speaking very safe in Finland. They liked the neighbourhood where they lived. They felt safe in the streets even in the evenings. However, the main thing was the safety of the housing area – safety for their children.

“I like the location of my house. It is a quiet place but close to the city centre. It is also a safe place. Once I forgot the keys to the door and they were waiting for me when I came back from work.” (L7/m/GB)

“I have nice neighbours and we have lots of activities during the summer.” (L8/f/RU)

“In Finland you don’t need to think of your own safety e.g. that someone could rob you.” L1/m/BR

“Finland is a safe place to live – Tampere especially. Tampere is a safe place even on Friday nights.” (L2/m/NZ)

“We have lived in the same place the whole time we have been living in Tampere.” (L9/f/DE)

An important moment for some of the long-term interviewees had been when they had got the residence permit. For them it was a sign of permission to stay as equal members of society. Many of the long-term immigrants were very active in all kinds of societies and were willing to talk about politics, education and health care systems. They felt happy when they could express their opinions and Finns did not pay attention to their background.

“The residence permit meant a lot to me. It was like official permission to stay.” (L2/m/NZ)

“When I got my residence permit, I knew that I could start thinking of my future.” (L1/f/BR)

“They didn’t realize that I was a foreigner.” (L2/m/NZ)

“I am taken as a person even if I look different. I personally have not experienced racism or negative attitudes.” (L3/m/NG)

“I see some critical things maybe clearer because of my background and I want to talk about them.” (L7/m/GB)

Proficiency in Finnish was mentioned in all the long-term immigrants’ interviews. The role of language was considered very important in the process of adaptation. Even one of the interviewees who was not married to Finn and had been able to use her native language at home, noted that Finnish language competence is the key to society and to social contacts. All the interviewees were motivated right from the outset to learn the language. They wanted to be able to communicate with Finns – especially with the spouse and the relatives of the spouse. They wanted to feel independent in all the situations either social or official communication situation. They had started to learn the language before arriving and even after many years in Finland, they were willing to take Finnish courses to learn better Finnish. The interviewees stated that the language competences gave them an independent feeling and made social contacts more interesting.

“When I met my future wife, I started to participate in the Finnish courses and continued my Finnish studies in Helsinki. I had my work and other projects during the day so I had to take evening classes. Later I didn’t have time to continue my language courses. My Finnish is not on a high level because I use English at work but next year when I retire I will start to learn more Finnish.” (L6/m/DE)

“I learned the language through absorbing, reading the grammar, reading the papers, watching TV and communicating with my relatives.” (L7/m/GB)

“I understand what other people say even if I do not talk.” (L3/m/NG)

The interviewees saw language as a key to society. Finnish language competences had opened doors to deeper meanings of Finnish culture. They had also noted that good language skills were important in working life.

“I would like to be able to read the newspapers more. I read the most interesting stories, like, if the article is about somebody I know. I can follow normal conversation in Finnish but if the topic is unfamiliar to me, I cannot follow. I can also communicate in Finnish but I would not be able to give lectures or speeches in Finnish.” (L1/f/BR)

“I guess that I would have been more successful in my career if I had known the language. Language is needed for communication and access to Finnish

culture. When you know the language you can follow the radio, TV and the newspapers. Then you know what is happening around you.” (L6/m/DE)

“I have started to read Finnish literature in Finnish and it has a huge meaning for me.” (L9/f/DE)

Contacts with Finns had had an important meaning for all the long-term migrants in their adaptation process. The spouse, the relatives, friends and colleagues were the most important people in increasing motivation and helping the learning process. However, they saw all the contacts with Finns as very meaningful. They had quite a lot of international friends but also Finnish friends. Even some of the long-term interviewees would like to have more Finnish friends.

“The first year in Finland I was an exchange student and I was mostly with international students. I also met the friends of my boyfriend. Later I was motivated to be with Finns as much as possible. I didn’t try to meet anyone from my own country. When I got a job, my colleagues became my friends as well.” (L1/f/BR)

“At the beginning it was hard to make friends but now I have a lot. When I took the courses at the University of Tampere, I got to know some of them better. If you make a relationship with a Finn, it is strong.” (L2/m/NZ)

“When you have children, you can get in touch with Finns. The friends of my children also taught me Finnish.” (L10/f/DE)

Many of the long-term interviewees reported that creating friendships relations with Finns had not been an easy task at the beginning. Many of their friendships and other social relationships with Finns had started through their work or hobbies. The interviewees emphasized the meaning of social relationships in difficult times. And of course Finns had taught them many things.

“Hobbies connect the same kind of people. I knew some Finnish people before coming to Finland through my hobby. Throughout these years those contacts have given me the feeling of belonging. I feel that I am accepted and I can talk with them about all kinds of things. They also keep me above the average level in my motivation.” (L4/m/NO)

“Finnish friends became important after one year. My friends are mainly people who have been living abroad because they understand my problems better.” (L5/f/LT)

“The rural milieu gave me many friends. In my mind relationships were more profound there than in the city. We took care of each other’s children. Another important social network was the choir.” (L9/f/DE)

Climate affected the interviewees positively or negatively. The long-term immigrants did not mention the weather as often as the short-term sojourners. As a positively motivating factor the interviewees most often talked about the summers, when the days are long. The cold weather did not bother them. However, they would have liked to have more “real” winters with snow.

*“Finnish light summer nights are something you do not want to miss.”
(L6/m/DE)*

“The weather started to get colder and the winter frost came. I like real winters with snow and frost.” (L7/m/GB)

The importance of the countryside was mentioned more often than nice or bad weather. Comments about the countryside were most often connected to quietness.

“I like the quietness and sense of space.” (L10/f/DE)

“The natural environment and the lakes are important to me.” (L7/m/GB)

*“I like Finnish natural environment. We have travelled a lot in Finland. Lapland is important to me. I love Lapland. I go to Lapland so regularly because life is so different there. Sámi people have influenced me a lot. With them you can share ideas without talking so much and still understand.”
(L9/f/DE)*

Permanent workplace, social relationships with Finns and a safe housing area were among the most important factors which increased motivation to adapt in Finland. Some of the interviewees noted that similar factors would have been important everywhere. However, they noted that for example safety in Finland is on a different level than it is in someone’s home country.

The following section presents the findings connected to the factors which impaired motivation to adapt to Finland.

5.2.2 Factors impairing motivation to adapt

This section presents the factors which impaired motivation to adapt to Finnish culture. When the data was analysed, very obvious differences between the groups were found. On the other hand, some factors were mentioned in both groups. However, even if the interviewees talked about the same issue, they emphasized different aspects in them. The results about impairing motivation to adapt are first from the short-term sojourners and second from the long-term immigrants.

Factors impairing motivation for short-term sojourners

Almost all (9/10) the short-term sojourners felt very alone in Finland at the beginning of their stay and it lowered their amount of motivation to adapt. They felt isolated and lonely. Feeling lonely was a new experience for most of them. They were removed from their normal social networks. They missed their friends and family members – mostly their friends. They noted how important all the friends and activities with them had been. Some of the interviewees missed the opportunity to talk in their own language and some of them were worried if they might lose their friends at home. Some of them felt that this had already happened. Their motivation was on very low level.

“I was all alone. I had nobody to talk to.” (S3/f/FR)

“I was snatched away from my normal life and put into a totally new environment. It was a totally new feeling to me. I did not know anyone. I could not speak in my own language. Of course, I could call home but it was not the same. One week was very hard.” (S4/mEE)

“My parents brought me here. When they left, I was completely alone. I did not know anybody. Two or three days I was writing messages to my friends and I said that I didn’t want to stay here, I wanted to go home.” (S7/f/RU)

Normally the feeling of loneliness for short-term interviewees lasted until the studies began. Via study activities they started to meet new people and made friends. Some of interviewees also had moments of loneliness later during their stay. It was mainly due to language difficulties. They would have liked to speak Finnish to be able to communicate more. They felt socially isolated when they could not communicate their deeper feelings or have “philosophical” discussions with anyone.

“I don’t have so much interaction as I would like to have. I would like to tell about my country and teach them everything about my country. I would like to talk on a mature level. I feel isolated –socially. I feel alone.” (S10/m/IN)

When the short-term interviewees felt lonely they also felt very hesitant about their stay and their motivation seemed to disappear. Many of them had been seriously wondering if they should stay in Finland or not. Feelings of escaping from Finland were quite common. One of the interviewees said that she nearly did not come back to Finland after she went home. However, the short-term interviewees often missed Finland when they visited their home countries. In this case, they most often missed their new international friends.

“The relationship with my “old” friends changed. They did not understand what I had experienced. You have nothing to say. I realised that everything had changed but I didn’t know if I wanted to change everything. But it was too late to change it back.” (S3/f/FR)

“I went home and my mind changed very fast. I decided that I wanted to stay at home and I didn’t want to come back to Finland. My motivation went down. I said that I could live happily there (= in her home country). I had lots of hesitation about what to do.” (S7/f/RU)

“After the break I came back to Finland but all the “old” friends had gone. I was crying because I realised that I was not going to see them here again. I was complaining about the new students and I felt that they were not as good as the “old” ones. But now they are even closer than the previous students.” (S7/f/RU)

Most (7/10) of the interviewees were sad or even angry that they had very few contacts with Finns. Missing social relationships with Finns was one of the major factors which impaired motivation to adapt and made them feel isolated, lonely and depressed. They felt that this experience was too much about Erasmus student life and not about Finland. Even if they enjoyed the international students’ company, they would have liked to have more contacts with Finns.

“You realise really quickly, you are never going to meet any Finn; especially if you live in the student dormitory. You are in Finland and you would like to meet Finns. That was a shock. I would have liked to have more contacts with Finns.” (S8/m/US)

“Finns had their own activities. They didn’t come to the parties and parties were important places to make contacts. The University of Tampere organised many kinds of things but Finns didn’t come.” (S5/m/DE)

“Hardly anyone did anything with a Finn outside the university.” (S5/m/DE)

“Finns are very shy with foreigners.” (S7/f/RU)

Some of the interviewees tried to explain the absence of the Finnish students or their behaviour. They considered Finnish people very shy. They also mentioned that it takes energy to get to know Finnish people. They understood that Finnish people already had their own contacts and that is why it was hard to meet them and create friendships with them.

“I am sad about the Finns I didn’t meet while I was in Finland. People are so shy here in Finland.” (S3/f/FR)

“I had met a Finn before coming to Finland. He was not a typical Finn. Finns are much more reserved than I thought. I also noticed territorialism in the buses. It was uninviting. In my mind they didn’t want anyone to sit next to them.” (S2/m/US)

“Finnish students have their own life. They have their social groups ready. This is why international students are much more open to new relationships. I have very few Finnish contacts. You have to put lots of energy if you want to meet Finnish people. They respect private space so much.” (S2/m/US)

“The day I arrived, I was sitting in the flat with a friend of my tutor. We did not know each other. I was sitting in her place more than an hour and for one hour we had nothing to say. There was no communication. For me it was very strange and it was hard to stay quiet. People are so shy in Finland. (S3/f/FR)

“My peer tutor was quietly standing there when I arrived at the bus station. I went to ask if she was my tutor.” (S10/m/IN)

Some of the interviewees noted that international students also easily stuck together. The students felt comfortable when people around them shared similar experiences. That led to some kind of separation between the groups of international students and Finns. International students had invited the Finns to their parties but most often Finns did not come and if they came, Finns did not invite them to their parties. The following story tells about the feelings and motivation of an exchange student who had been in Finland for six months.

“There is like we-they feeling. International students stick together and we don’t have contacts with Finns – only at the University. Hardly anyone does anything with Finns outside the University. It is very hard to integrate. It is much easier to get to know the exchange students when you are in a new place. It is easier to find international students because they are in the same situation. When you don’t have your own social network, you are more or less on your own. You meet people who are also on their own and who are not integrated into Finnish society. We have difficulties integrating because Finns don’t feel the need to become friends – they have their networks. It is very hard to integrate. I also know that I don’t have motivation to adapt because I will leave soon.” (S5/m/DE)

The interviewees were surprised about the difficulty of meeting Finns and starting interaction. They had noted that Finns very seldom made the initial contact. The interviewees felt that Finns leave people alone. Many of the short-term sojourners would have liked to visit Finnish families and some of them had succeeded.

“We are here to meet people but Finns are here because they just live here. They need a long time to make friends. I need ten minutes to make a friend. (S3/f/FR)

“There are like two separate groups; the Finnish students and the international students. They are like two parallel worlds.” (S4/m/EE)

“If you start to talk to them about all kinds of things and share everything, they start to soften. I ask lots of questions but if I stop they don’t continue. And there are no Finns in the streets in the evenings.” (S7/f/RU)

“To meet the same people was fun but not so interesting on a professional level.” (S1/f/GR)

“I would like to visit normal Finnish families and learn about the normal family life. I would like to talk to older people and not only to young students.” (S10/m/IN)

All the short-term sojourners were studying at the time of the interviews. The line of motivation very often went down when the students had to study hard and they had study stress. They talked about the papers they had to write or the intensive study weeks they had. During those times they did not have any motivation to learn anything about Finland. They felt that their studies took so much energy that they did not have any energy to motivate themselves to learn e.g. the Finnish language. Some interviewees said that they had to study very hard in Finland and do all kinds of projects, much more here in Finland than in their home countries. Sometimes the study stress was not in Finland but in their home universities. Their own professors were expecting them to pass some exams at their home universities where they had to go during their stay in Finland.

“I had an intensive study week and I had long days at the University and many different projects.” (S2/m/US)

“I did not have time to be motivated. I had to study hard.” (S9/f/DE)

“Studying here in Finland has been hard for me – lots of work. In France we have much fewer projects connected to our studies. In France studying is easier.” (S3/f/FR)

“I had chosen too many courses. Finnish language is getting more difficult and you have to remember lots of words.” (S6/f/CN)

Some students complained about the small amount of interaction during the lessons in Finland. They would have liked to have much more interaction during the lessons. They complained about the non-interactive style of the Finnish professors. They felt that the students were wasting their time and it spoiled motivation.

“Many courses were a waste of time because we did not have any interaction during the classes. Generally speaking, the professors were not interactive.” (S2/m/US)

One interviewee reported that her level of motivation dropped when she started to think of her future at home. This stress took energy and the level of motivation dropped at the same time.

“I started to think about my future. I have only one year to study in my home country but I didn’t know what I want to do. I knew that I don’t want to be an interpreter. I was very nervous about my future. In spite of all these thoughts I lost my flat keys. I was very sad. It was not a nice feeling. At that point I wanted to go home. But I found the keys and also I said to myself that I was thinking too much. I decided to extend my studies in Finland and think of my future later. After I had decided to stay longer in Finland my motivation started to go up again.” (S6/f/CN)

The Finnish climate was mentioned many times among the reasons for impaired motivation. Most (7/10) of the short-term interviewees had been in Finland less than a year. They had arrived to Finland either in the end of August or at the beginning of January. If they arrived in the end of August, the Finnish climate was getting darker and darker and the days shorter and shorter all the time. In January the days are very short in Finland. But the daylight increases all the time towards spring. The year when the interviews were made was very mild and there was no snow even in January and without snow Finland is very dark at that time of the year. Nearly all (8/10) the interviewees said something negative about the weather. However, they said that they eventually got used to the weather conditions. The students who came from the neighbouring countries did not comment on the weather so much, which is understandable because they did not see so much difference in the weather.

“I arrived in mid January. It was dark and rainy.” (S1/f/GR)

“Winter climate without snow was a shock. I had been in Italy for a short holiday. When I came back to Finland and was coming from the airport, I had the lowest point in my motivation. I was sitting in the bus and it was raining and everything was grey.” (S2/m/US)

“It was so dark. Cold, dark and rainy. Rain made me very depressed. I wanted to go home.” (S3/f/FR)

“Rainy weather is awful. I miss warmer weather a lot.” (S9/f/DE)

“The climate is not the biggest problem. The only thing is that I have to wear completely different kinds of clothes. I was wondering all the time what I should wear. I still sometimes wonder.” (S10/m/IN)

One of the most obvious factors to impairing the motivation of the short-term sojourners was the temporary nature of their stay in Finland. The interviewees felt that they did not need to adapt because they were leaving the country very soon. The

feeling of temporary nature of their stay seemed to affect a lot to the amount of motivation during the time they spent in Finland.

“All the exchange students have quite a temporary attitude.” (S1/f/GR)

“I don’t need to adapt because I’m leaving anyway.” (S5/m/DE)

“I am preparing to leave. I don’t have any internal motivation to integrate into the culture.” (S2/m/US)

When still at home, the short-term sojourners had had positive intentions to learn a lot about Finland. Motivation seemed to disappear when they could not find the Finns and interact with them. Motivation to learn about Finland also disappeared when they found new friends among the other international students or foreigners living in Finland. It was also quite obvious that they did not want to put a lot of effort into their adaptation because they were in Finland only temporarily. It was closely connected to the amount of effort they wanted to put into learning Finnish.

“You should put a lot of energy into learning the language. I didn’t put too much.” (S2/m/US)

“I realised that I could manage in English and nobody expected me to learn Finnish. I got frustrated because people switched into English.” (S3/f/FR)

The short-term sojourners mentioned food surprisingly many times. They missed their own food and mentioned that many times during the interviews. Very often they complained about the everyday food in Finland. Most of them were missing some basic food from their home countries - food they were used to eating every day, like cheese and bread. They reported that food had caused strong emotional reactions for them.

“I miss cheese. Sometimes I go to Stockmann’s and buy a small piece of French cheese.” (S3/f/FR)

“I miss Russian dumplings.” (S4/m/EE)

“Bread is strange here and it is not the kind I used to eat.” (S5/m/DE)

“When I was back in China for a holiday, I went to eat Chinese or Japanese food in restaurants every day for two weeks. I had been missing them so much.” S6/f/CH

For one of the short-term interviewees the most drastic drops in his motivation line were caused by drunken Finnish people. He said that he drinks alcohol himself but the way the Finns communicate when they are drunk was very different from

his own experiences in his home country. Drunken people were mentioned in many interviews.

“After the soccer game we went to a restaurant to eat. It was horrible because people were so drunk. We wanted to stay alone and eat but they came to us and wanted to dance. When we refused they got mad and started to touch the girls. It was so annoying. It lasted only four hours but it affected my motivation to adapt.” (S5/m/DE)

“In my mind they should not drink so much.” S6/f/CH

One of the interviewees felt disappointed and her motivation dropped because she could not find enough adventures in Tampere. It was especially at the beginning of her stay. One of the complaints was the size of the city. Some students felt that Tampere was too small for them. The size of Tampere or the amount of entertainment available was not among the most often mentioned reasons for lowering motivation but it was touched upon in about half of the interviews.

“I was waiting for an adventure. But I did not find it. My peer tutor showed me everything. The Erasmus experience was not as exciting as I thought. Everything was too easy.” (S3/f/FR)

“Tampere is so small. There is not so much to do. I did not know to what night club to go next. There are so few places and you have been in all of them. I like more entertainments. The city is so quiet and people are not in the streets.” (S7/f/RU)

“Finland is not the most exciting country. But I am here to study.” S8/f/DE

Most of the interviewees enjoyed talking in English but at times they felt that they were not in Finland. They could have gone anywhere and have opportunities to speak in English. A couple of students had had similar experiences in a foreign country. One who had been in Norway referred to his experiences as follows:

“In Norway we were like in a ghetto. I had only international students around me. It was nearly the same in Finland. This is too much Erasmus student life not about the Finnish way of living.” (S2/m/US)

The short-term sojourners said that they would have liked to use Finnish – at least sometimes. In many cases this was not successful because Finns switched into English or spoke Finnish very quickly. Many students said that they did not need Finnish in Tampere.

“I haven’t had a situation where I would have needed Finnish language. Finns can speak English very well.” (S2/m/US)

“I tried to use the Finnish words I knew but they switched to English straight away.” (S9/f/DE)

“If I spoke in Finnish it was not encouraged and people started talking in English” (S1/f/GR)

“I have tried to start the conversation in Finnish but then they start talking in English or they use Finnish and speak very fast.” (S3/f/FR)

“There was my roommate but I was a little bit shy to speak in English.” (S7/f/RU)

“Finnish people speak English and you don’t need to speak Finnish. But sometimes you have to speak Finnish with someone and it is very frustrating when you don’t know the language.” (S9/f/DE)

“I was isolated because I didn’t speak Finnish.” (S10/m/IN)

One of the short-term interviewees said that his motivation dropped straight away when he could not practice his Finnish skills.

“My courses here at the university were taught in English. I was surrounded with international students. It was boring to speak only in English. My motivation dropped because I did not have any interaction with Finns.” (S8/m/US)

The reasons for impairing motivation were multifaceted. The report above is not a complete list of all the factors causing negative motivation in Finland but it has presented most of the factors. Because of the variation in small details in the stories, some issues have been left out.

The following section presents the findings about the factors impairing motivation to adapt for the long-term immigrants.

Factors impairing motivation of long-term immigrants

The level of motivation to adapt to Finland was almost consistently high among most of the long-term immigrants. But there were also issues which impaired their motivation to adapt.

For the long-term immigrants work situation affected a lot their motivation to adapt. If the work situation had been unstable, it had caused severe hesitation about the plans for the future and impaired their motivation to adapt. Even if unemployment did not seem to be very common among the long-term interviewees, some of them had experienced it and some of them had worked part-time. However, among the most often mentioned reasons lowering motivation was a workplace not in the informants’ own professional field.

“I had a part-time job but it was uncertain. I had two children and it was not a nice situation.” (L7/m/GB)

“I was worried about my financial situation because I did not have a permanent job. I did not know what to do. Now I have a permanent job.” (L10/f/DE)

“The unemployment period was a very difficult time for me.” (L5/f/LT)

“I have been working and I am still working in a field which is not my real profession. It is not nice.” (L8/f/RU)

In some situations the long-term interviewees felt that they had been discriminated against when applying for jobs. When applying for higher positions, the interviewees felt that they needed significantly better certificates in order to get the position if a competing applicant was a Finn.

“Finns are the bosses even if they don’t have all the qualifications. If foreigners have to compete for the same jobs, they don’t easily get them. Foreigners have to have three times better qualifications than Finns. It makes me pessimistic.” (L5/f/LT)

“Finding a job which I would like is not easy. I feel that I don’t use my whole capacity. It is frustrating. The Finns have put me to a box and I have to be there. It is very difficult to change jobs.” (L8/f/RU)

Some of the long-term interviewees also reported that they had been very frustrated in the process of getting their previous studies accredited. They commented on the lack of recognition of foreign credentials in Finland. One interviewee had been struggling a lot because her earlier studies were not accepted and she could not find a job in her own profession.

“I had a degree from my own country. It was strange to start again from the beginning. I was just studying for the sake of official agreements. I had to study to be able to work.” L2/m/NG

“I tried to get my certificates accepted. They wanted all kinds of certificates and in the end they didn’t accept them.” (L8/f/RU)

A couple of long-term interviewees commented that the quality of work or what was required was sometimes too much. Sometimes work required lots of travelling and work started to become a burden or a hindrance in the adaptation processes. Work took too much time from the family and caused stress.

“I had to travel so much because of my work that I did not have time for my family or friends. Travelling also took lots of energy and time from the

adaptation process. I was stressed about the travelling. My motivation to adapt to Finland was still high but I did not have time and I could not adapt enough.” (L4/m/NO)

“Work stresses me at times and it affects my motivation.” (L7/m/GB)

Leaving parents, other relatives or friends in their home countries did not initially seem to be among the biggest problems for the long-term immigrants as it had been for the short-term sojourners. Anyway, they did not mention it. This changed as time went by. Some of the sudden drops in the line of motivation appeared when something nice or serious happened to the relatives of the long-term immigrants in their home countries. They felt outsiders from their original culture when they were not able to share the moments of joy or sorrow. They would have liked to comfort someone if she or he was sick. Such moments increased the amount of hesitation about staying in Finland.

“My cousin died and I was very sad. I missed the last days of her life. I started to wonder. Why am I here? My motivation also went down when two of my cousins got married and had children. I would have liked to be there.” (L1/f/BR)

Difficulties, like a serious illness, connected to the long-term interviewees’ own children or other relatives in Finland made them sad and even angry. One of the interviewees had wanted to have her mother living with her in Finland. It was not easy because her mother was allowed to stay in Finland only a couple of months at a time. She would have needed a residence permit to be able to stay but she could not get one.

“The police said that my mother is not a member of the family. They did not let her stay in Finland even if I was the only child and my father was dead.” (L5/f/LT)

“My child fell ill and nobody supported me. I needed support but I did not get it. It was a difficult time in our lives. I was crying and my motivation went up and down all the time. In the morning I wanted to pack the suitcases but during the night the situation changed again. It was quite a long period.” (L9/f/DE)

When the interviewees’ children were growing up and getting married, they started to be worried where the children would settle. If they moved abroad this would affect the interviewees’ motivation because they would like to be close to their children and grandchildren.

All the long-term migrants had been eager to learn Finnish from the beginning. Mastering the language was not an easy task and they had many stories about language difficulties. They felt helpless when they could not speak Finnish. They explained that they were like small children who had to rely on somebody else.

They also felt they were losing their identity. In most cases the person who helped them with language difficulties was their own spouse or boy/girlfriend.

“A slow beginning with the language was a bit frustrating.” (L7/m/GB)

“Language is a challenge. I could not act alone and I needed my wife. I was like a 5-year old child. I felt helpless when I could not speak and express myself. It lasted about three years.” (L4/m/NO)

“I did not manage with the language and I felt I was an outsider. I had my husband and friends but I wanted to be independent. I wanted to be able to manage in the marketplace. I wanted to be a whole person.” (L10/f/DE)

“When I went to see the doctor, only Finnish was spoken and I had to ask my boyfriend to help me with the language.” (L1/f/BR)

“In the meetings they started by speaking English but if there was a more complicated issue to talk about they switched to Finnish and spoke very fast. I could not follow the conversation any more. I was an outsider in the situation.” (L6/m/DE)

One of the obstacles in learning Finnish was that Finns wanted to practice their foreign language skills and did not let the immigrants talk Finnish. They could not use Finnish as much as they would have liked to and they did not develop their Finnish skills quickly enough. This had a negative effect on their motivation.

“My neighbours wanted to speak in English or in German and I could not speak in Finnish. I could not practice my Finnish skills. I had “language depression” because I thought my Finnish did not improve.” (L9/f/DE)

The longer the long-term interviewees had been in Finland the more they wanted to use the language to its full extent and they were frustrated because they could not understand theatre or humour in Finnish. They would have liked to have “philosophical” discussions with Finns and they felt the language barrier was hindering them.

“I could not understand the nuances of the language and I got frustrated. I felt inadequate.” (L10/f/DE)

“Everyone said that I could speak Finnish and they understood me. Yet I had the feeling that I could not express my feelings as deeply as I wished in Finnish.” (L9/f/DE)

“My sons speak Finnish and they have the Helsinki slang. I cannot follow the conversation. It goes over my head. It is sad.” (L6/m/DE)

All except one of the long-term interviewees had in-laws somewhere in Finland. The relatives had had a very important role in their adaptation but some of the interviewees would have liked to have more contact with the relatives.

“Contacts with my new relatives were quite formal. The relationships were not as close as in my own country.” (L5/f/LT)

For the long-term immigrants the spouse’s friends also became the interviewee’s friends. Their own friendships were in most cases created through workplaces or/and studies or/and hobbies. Many interviewees said that it had been very hard to start up friendship relationships with Finns. Some felt that even after 20 years they did not have enough Finnish friends. They complained that Finns were too much oriented to work and not so much towards relationships. They tried to explain the difficulty with a different definition of friendship. However, the long-term immigrants seemed to create friendship relationships with their colleagues who were Finns and international residents. International friends seemed to be more common at the beginning but remained important after many years.

“Finns are by themselves. They do everything alone. If we had a study project together we met, but not afterwards. The relationship was connected to the task. They don’t take you into their society. I have missed spontaneous interaction in Finland.” (L3/m/NG)

“First I was so alone. I only met my colleagues.” (L7/m/GB)

“We moved from one place to another and it affected my relationships with Finns. I had just made some relationships and I had to leave them behind. In rural Finland it was not always easy to find people who were about my age.” (L10/f/DE)

“Friendship may have a different definition for Finns. I thought I had a good friend. One day I needed my friend but she did not find time for me. I think friends should help each other. I was surprised and angry at the same time. Now I know that my real friends are not in Finland – except my children and my husband.” (L8/f/RU)

“My colleagues are my friends. They are mostly foreigner and they may leave the country when they retire. I don’t want to think about that.” (L9/f/DE)

Some of the Finnish communication styles were mentioned. The long-term interviewees had initially been annoyed when people, for example, did not greet them or when they were silent for a long time. Two interviewees commented that Finns were not willing to disagree or express their opinions – especially negative opinions. Some of the long-term interviewees would have liked to have animated conversations – not always consensus.

“They did not look you in the eyes when walking in the housing area. In my opinion they were very impolite.” (L5/f/LT)

“They did not ask you anything. People did not start the conversation. Maybe they thought that it was impolite to ask a foreigner questions.” (L1/f/BR)

“The silence was frightening at the beginning. I was afraid of silence. I had to learn to be silent in Finland.” (L2/m/NZ)

“I miss the discussion culture. They (=Finns) should be more aggressive and more interactive.” (L6/m/DE)

“It is very difficult for Finns to state their opinions. They do not want to say any negative things. For example, they do not take bad things back to the shop. They do not want to give critical comments but they do not want anyone to criticise them either.” (L10/f/DE)

Many of the long-term interviewees had had moments of hesitation about their stay in Finland. Sometimes the line of motivation had wavered and been on a low level quite a long time. There was no exact moment or time period when that moment came but it seemed to come and go. The hesitation about staying in Finland was most often caused by work and study difficulties or health problems in the family. For one of the interviewees the question about staying in Finland was very closely connected to the wellbeing of the whole family.

“My daughter was sick and I expected more of the healthcare systems. My husband and I had lots of things to do, I was exhausted. I wanted to leave and stay at the same time.” (L9/f/DE)

“Things did work the way I thought. I did not get the study place because I arrived too late. I saw the reality and my desires were under threat. I thought that I cannot find an interesting study place in Finland.” (L3/m/NG)

“I was not working in the area of my expertise. I started to think what to do. I got frustrated when I realised that the situation seemed to be stable. I panicked. Is it going to be like this forever?” (L8/f/RU)

“I started to feel that I had had enough hesitation about my stay in Finland. I decided to give life a chance. I applied to the universities in Finland and I decided that if I got in I would stay and if not I would go home. I got in and so I am here.” (L1/f/BR)

Some of the long-term immigrants had gone back to their home countries or to a third country during their stay. They wanted to find out whether they really wanted to live in Finland. Those periods away from Finland were full of hesitation about the final place to stay and their future. However, many of them said that the time away

from Finland affected them positively regarding how they felt about Finland when they came back. They reported that coming to Finland for “a second time” was easier. On the other hand, they also realised that being away from Finland took energy away from their motivation to adapt to Finland. For one of the long-term immigrants it was hard to return and start to teach at the university because the students did not seem to be as motivated to learn in Finland as they were in the third country.

“I was just working and the work was not such fun. Is this really worth staying here? I started to think why I was here and if I wanted to be in Finland forever.” (L1/f/BR)

“I got married, we had children but I was travelling back and forth. Then the questions came. How to manage? What is the future? Where to go? We had to decide where to live. My position was not clear in Germany and it was not clear in Finland. But then I got a position in Finland.” (L6/m/DE)

“What should I do? I had moved a lot in my life and it was a huge personal step for me to commit myself to one country. It was quite stressful to decide. After the decision I had to go and finish my studies in Britain. My motivation level was quite low but not below the average because I knew that I was coming back to Finland. I have lived many years here in Finland and I still think where I belong – here, there or anywhere. Nowadays I am only thinking of going somewhere for a shorter time and coming back. I am a multicultural person.” (L7/m/GB)

“I was very hesitant and I did not know what to do. I went to the UK to work for four months.” (L2/m/NZ)

“We had decided that we were going to stay in Finland. But we went to Switzerland and I did not have the energy to think about Finland. Finland was in my mind but it was not paramount.” (L4/m/NO)

“I went to teach in a foreign county. The students were so motivated to learn. It was a nice experience. It was a bit hard to start teaching in Finland again because the Finnish students are not so motivated.” (L9/f/DE)

One of the long-term interviewees said that when she was feeling hesitant about the place to live she did not even consider that her relationship to a Finn was any impediment to moving away from Finland.

“When I was very low, I didn’t even consider that the relationship could have any effect in my stay or not. I also knew that my boyfriend could easily work anywhere in the world. He has a good profession anywhere in the world.” (L1/f/BR)

Climate was not mentioned as a negative factor in many of the long-term immigrants' interviews. Some of the interviewees did not even mention climate or food in Finland. The comments about the weather or food seemed to be mostly memories of interviewees' early days in Finland

“At the beginning nothing struck me positively. The weather was rainy, the buildings were ugly and my culture shock came with the food not with the people.” (L7/m/GB)

“Sad things happened in my home country. The weather was cold and rainy. . I was very depressed.” (L1/f/BR)

“The hardest time for me was the autumn darkness. But it is hard for Finns as well, I think.” (L2/m/NZ)

“I was disappointed when it was still so cold in March. The food was also so different.” (L10/f/DE)

Finnish drinking habits were mentioned a couple of times. And the comments were not flattering to the Finns.

“I don't want to be arrogant but I would like to say that Finns should learn more about drinking culture. In Finland people drink too much – even academics.” (L6/m/DE)

The long-term immigrants' motivation seemed to impair because of working situation, health problems in the family or frustration with language skills. The following section will summarise the findings of the factors increasing or impairing motivation to adapt to Finland.

5.2.3 Summary of factors increasing and impairing motivation to adapt

This section summons up the main findings of the present research. As noted earlier, the factors mentioned in the previous sections do not contain all the possible factors affecting the adaptation process but the major tendencies and notions experienced by the interviewees of the present research. Table 24 presents a summary of the different factors which increased motivation for the short-term sojourners and the long-term immigrants. The factors are overlapping and they are not mutually exclusive.

Table 24. Factors increasing motivation to adapt

Factor	Motivating issue of the short-term sojourners	Motivating issue of the long-term immigrants
Psycho-motivational factors		
Love	Good feeling Positive attitude Motivation rises	Good feeling My main reason for coming to Finland
Own attitude	I can survive I can manage everyday situations I have a positive attitude	
Understanding	Understanding of some cultural practices	Interpretation is quite accurate Confidence Choice of various cultural practices
Sociocultural factors		
International students	Friends are mostly international students Experiencing international atmosphere Doing lots of activities together The main socialising group Making friends	
Social contacts, Finnish friends	Explaining things Learning about the culture Visiting Finnish families Experiencing traditions	Independence Enhancing their understanding Sharing Fun and continuity Acceptance
Falling in love with a Finn, family	Getting to know a Finn Meeting his or her friends Meeting his or her relatives New visions and goals for the future	The main reason to come to Finland for most My spouse/boyfriend/girlfriend is in Finland My children are here My home and my life is here Acceptance

Finnish relatives		Communication in Finnish Learning Finnish things through them Support
Finnish language	Feeling of sharing New experience I know some phrases and I can use them in shops	Independence Understanding More profound understanding of society and culture
Intercultural communication courses	Opportunities to communicate a lot with Finns Opportunities to change ideas I made friends with Finns Team work in multicultural groups taught me a lot	
Environmental factors		
Summer in Finland	Light nights I can hike in the forest Summer cabin culture Sauna and swimming in the lake	Light nights Warm weather Natural environment is beautiful
"Real" winter	I experience new things Winter swimming Beauty of the snow I can walk in the forest and on the frozen lakes	Beauty of the snow Snow makes the darkness lighter
Lapland	I experience something "exotic" I enjoy snow I was together with my friends	Calm and quiet People are different there
Housing areas		It is so safe in Finland
Studies or work	My main reasons to come to Finland	Independence Friends Professional satisfaction A gateway to society
Organisation of the studies in Finland	Well organised Good and equal relations with teachers	

As noted earlier, the factors mentioned in the report do not include all the possible factors affecting the adaptation process but the major tendencies and notions experienced by the interviewees of the present research were presented. Table 25 presents a summary of the different factors which impaired motivation for the short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants.

Table 25. Factors impairing motivation to adapt

Factor	Impairing motivation for short- term sojourners	Impairing motivation for long-term immigrant
Psycho-motivational factors		
Temporary nature of stay	I do not need to adapt I am leaving soon I am here only temporarily	
Feeling lonely	I do not have anyone to talk to I miss my friends	
Unstable future		Where are we going to settle down? Will this be the same the rest of my life? Can I find a job on my own field?
Stress experiences	I have to study hard I have no time to adapt Lectures are not interactive enough	Unstable situation with my work I cannot use my professional capacities
Sociocultural factors		
No social contacts with Finns "The absent Finns"	Finns do not participate Finns do not approach Finns do not start making contacts Finns are by themselves I cannot practice my Finnish	Too few contacts with Finns Too few Finnish friends Finns do not start making contacts Finns do not even greet you Finns are too much on their own
Finish language skills	I cannot use my skills but I do not care	I am not able to express everything I am dependent on other people Sometimes I feel like an outsider It prevents me reading novels or poems in Finnish

Finnish drinking habits	Finns drink too much They become aggressive	Sometimes Finns drink too much
Friends and own relatives (In the interviewees' original homeland or in a third country)	I mostly miss my friends and parents at times	I mostly miss my own relatives My own children have moved away from Finland I am not able to share joys and sorrows with my relatives
Environmental factors		
Climate	Cold and dark Raining No snow	Spring comes so late Depressing at times
Tampere	Too small Not enough entertainments	
Food	Strange bread I miss my own food	

Many of these motivational factors were connected to social interaction with Finns. The following section presents the findings of the present research connected to opportunities to sociocultural learning in intercultural adaptation process in Finland.

5.3 Migrants' experiences of sociocultural learning and the intercultural adaptation process

5.3.1 Intercultural interaction with Finns

During the interviews it became quite clear that the groups studied had had very different amounts of interaction with Finns. The short-term sojourners had had far fewer opportunities to interact with Finns than the long-term immigrants. The following section presents the findings of the present research. First, it reports the experiences of the short-term interviewees and second, the long-term interviewees.

Short-term sojourners and interaction with Finns

The short-term sojourners' contacts with Finns were mostly very limited and they did not create many social relationships with Finns and friendship relations were very infrequent. Hence they had quite limited opportunities for sociocultural learning in Finnish society. Many of them spent most of their time with other

international students. In some cases the international students who had been longer in Finland might act as “experts” or interpreters of Finnish culture and provided a forum for sociocultural learning. However, this section concentrates to social contacts with Finns.

The short-term interviewees mentioned social contacts with Finns frequently with reference to phases in their motivation lines and the points at which the informants learned most about Finnish culture. Even if the short-term interviewees would have liked to have more contacts with Finns, they were happy about all the opportunities to interact with Finns. Without any contacts to Finns, they would all have felt much more stressed, unhappy and isolated. The short-term interviewees were willing to share what they already knew about Finland and they would have liked to use Finnish much more.

“I think intercultural learning should be both sides. Interaction is the key thing. One can learn a lot in college and get lots of knowledge but one should have opportunities to practice and assimilate. If people can practice then they really know it. One should have opportunities to meet Finnish people regularly and create friendships. I could learn about Finland and I can teach about my country. Interaction with people made me realise that I could not judge anyone by one incident. Certain Finnish practices also became normal practices for me.” (S10/m/IN)

For most of the short-term sojourners the sociocultural learning took place at the university, where they met Finnish students, teachers and administrative personnel. They were disappointed that they could not socialise with Finns so much outside the university. They participated in all kinds of student activities provided by the University of Tampere or City of Tampere. Those activities were reported to be the best opportunities to meet Finns and learn from them because in those occasions the short-term sojourners could talk with Finns. The short-term sojourners were aware how they learned and how they would learn best. They were also aware about their own efforts needed in the process. Many of them tried to learn – especially at the beginning or after falling in love with a Finn.

“Doing activities with the Finnish students helped me to learn about Finland.”(S9/f/DE)

“During the intercultural communication courses, we had lots of interaction. We could discuss about many different topics in many areas of society. I could observe the Finns and follow their state of mind when they commented.” (S1/f/GR)

“I was watching and I tried to learn.” (S7/f/RU)

“First I did not communicate enough. I was mostly observing but at the same time participating – at least a little.” (S4/m/EE)

“I learned a lot through cultural visits. I learned slowly.” (S3/f/FR)

“I learned best when I was sharing time with Finns. It was hard, because they did not come to our parties. I tried to make contact with Finns and I went to the places where I could find Finns.” (S5/m/DE)

Use of Finnish phrases was frequently mentioned as a way to learn more about the language.

“If you try to learn Finnish culture from a book it is useless. If you are with a Finn it is easier and faster to learn. I realised that if I wanted to learn about Finland or the language, I had to spend more time with Finns and not with my compatriots.” (S7/f/RU)

“I wanted to use the Finnish words I knew.” (S2/m/US)

Some of the short-term interviewees had lots of contacts with Finns and reported them as very valuable. Among those important people were Finnish boy/girlfriends if they happened to fall in love with a Finn. Somebody commented that without her sports team she would know much less about Finnish culture and be much more lonely or have far fewer friends of her own. However, the short-term sojourners would have liked to have more contacts with Finns. Many of them reported that they stopped trying to make contacts with Finns because it was so difficult and they thought that it needed too much effort. They explained that their motivation to learn more about Finland dropped. They spent most of the time with other foreigners and started to create relationships with them.

Long-term immigrants and interaction with Finns

The long-term interviewees, on the other hand, had quite a lot of contacts with Finns. For most of them the Finnish contacts came naturally through the man/woman with whom they fell in love. Hence the long-term immigrants seemed to have ample opportunities for sociocultural learning. During their adaptation process they had mostly been surrounded by Finns and they could learn from them. They felt quite included from the beginning of their stay.

“At the beginning I was with international students but I also met the friends of my boy friend.” (L1/f/BR)

“I have had my own Finnish friends from the beginning because of my hobbies. It was nice. And I got more friends through work. But the relatives were very important in my learning process. The grandmother only spoke Finnish and I learned Finnish quicker.” (L4/m/NO)

“Because of the relatives I learned the language and many other things about Finnish culture.” (L8/f/RU)

The long-term interviewees also had much more variety in their social circles with Finns than the short-term sojourners, but on the other hand they were more critical of the quality of their Finnish relationships. The long-term interviewees wanted to be able to talk about their feelings, about all kinds of issues in society. Some of them felt like outsiders and disadvantaged when they were not able to share all kinds of topics with their Finnish friends or colleagues. One good way to learn was to work together with Finns e.g. building a house or making food.

“In my workplace I had nice colleagues who became my friends.” (L1/f/BR)

“I learned a lot when we were living in the country. People share more there and they need each other’s help. Doing everyday things together taught me a lot about the Finnish mentality.” (L10/f/DE)

“When my husband died, I had to take care of new things; banking and housing. I learned a lot and I could participate in many kinds of discussions. It was like moving from the role of a wife to the role of head of the family. When I knew more, I also understood more about society.” (L10/f/DE)

“I had my clubs, organisations and hobbies where I made my own friends.” (L5/f/LT)

The most important people in the long-term immigrants’ lives were their spouses. They had helped the interviewees with many practicalities at the beginning and explained about the Finnish way of doing things. In many cases the interviewees said that after a certain time they wanted to be independent of their spouses and they didn’t want to bother their spouses or boy/girlfriends. Most of the long-term immigrants had learned a lot from their spouses, their own children and their in-laws.

“My boyfriend, his friends and the family members explained many things about Finnish culture.” (L1/f/BR)

“My fiancé was a cultural interpreter for me - every foreigner needs someone who could explain or interpret. We have lots of Finnish friends and I feel equal in interaction.” (L2/m/NZ)

“My wife explained so many things at the beginning. It helped a lot and I started to understand many systems.” (L4/m/NO)

“We did everything together with my wife. We met many people; her friends, relatives and other people. And she explained a lot to me.” (L3/m/NG)

“I have learned from my wife and she has learned from me. It has been a multicultural relationship. We have both changed. It has been a dialogical learning process.” (L7/m/GB)

An interviewee who did not have Finnish relatives had a harder time getting to know Finns and creating relationships. Eventually, relationships came through work or through mixed marriages where one of the partners was a Finn and the other one was of the interviewee’s nationality.

“First I had friends who had some connections to my home country. I made Finnish friends through my work and through my children. Yet I think I do not have many Finnish friends.” (L9/f/DE)

Another interviewee had noted that spouses from the same culture do not normally reach the same level of understanding as in marriages with mixed cultural backgrounds.

“Foreign families who come to Finland will never integrate very well. When people have to use Finnish, they definitely integrate. I would like to give advice to people who come to Finland: Try NOT to make networks which consists only your compatriots.” (L8/f/RU)

Studying together with Finnish students at the university or working with Finnish colleagues had been important situations for learning more. Neighbours and people from their hobbies or societies had also helped the long-term interviewees to learn.

“My fellow students at the University were one source of company. When we had projects together, I learned a lot about group work in Finland. I was sad that the Finnish students didn’t want to continue the contacts.” (L3/m/NG)

“I enjoyed teaching “normal” Finnish adults. When I could no longer continue that work, I felt quite sad. They had been very important “teachers” for me and I learned more about Finnish society.” (L7/m/GB)

“I learned a lot just by doing things together with Finns. We were in the country and many things were done together, like building something, preparing food or coffee for the workers and taking care of children. They were very normal everyday situations but they were very valuable for me if I think about my learning. I slowly learned more hidden things which I did not notice straight away.” (L10/f/DE)

Within the long-term interviewees the notion of mutuality in the learning process was stronger than with the short-term sojourners and this was mentioned in all the interviews.

“Assimilation is not a goal. Adaptation means that one has to be able to change oneself and learn from others. The process has to be mutual.” (L7/m/GB)

“I say that people have to experience different cultures. Surprises are so much fun and it is so interesting to realize the difference. Look what is going on around you. Learning takes place in the relationships, of course. Learning takes place in interaction.” (L1/f/BR)

“In all the relationships I am taken as a person not as a foreigner.” (L3/m/NG)

“I have never felt that I would be in a lower position in the relationships.” (L4/m/NO)

“Adaptation has been the feeling of sharing. I have never been treated badly.” (L8/f/RU)

“Something read is not the same as experienced. I have had lots of experiences with Finns and I have needed them. If I cannot participate I feel isolated. Talking about feelings with a Finn has been the biggest challenge and it has made me feel like an outsider and the relationship has stayed on a superficial level. Generally speaking I feel comfortable and relaxed when I am with the Finns.” (L9/f/DE)

The importance of experiences with the host nationals was mentioned many times during the interviews. The interviewees had straight comments on how their adaptation processes had been affected by their presence or absence. The following section describes in more detail those situations where migrants and Finns could learn together.

5.3.2 The sociocultural learning process and understanding

Sociocultural learning takes place with “experts” of the new culture and many different people may act as “teachers”. However, the dialogical learning model emphasizes learning together even more. It means that ideally both parties involved can learn from each other. The following section presents the findings about sociocultural and dialogical learning in intercultural adaptation process in Finland. The reporting is first about how the short-term interviewees commented about sociocultural learning and second where the long-term interviewees saw the sociocultural learning taking place.

Short-term sojourners and sociocultural learning and understanding

The most valuable learning situations and opportunities for shared understanding for the short-term sojourners included visits to Finnish families. Some of the interviewees were invited to Finnish families and they had an opportunity to participate in celebrations and everyday activities. After the visits they felt that they had shared something with the family members. One of the short-term sojourners knew and understood a lot about Finnish culture because she had studied Finnish language and culture at her home university and she had many Finnish friends. However, she emphasized the family visits as important opportunities for learning.

“I was invited to a Finnish family in Rovaniemi. It was very interesting to meet foreigners (=Finns). They showed interest and seemed to be willing to communicate. Even different age groups mingled. Meeting the Finnish families was very important in my adaptation. To see how Finns lived and ask questions. I even learned how to make Finnish buns (korvapuusti). I learned a lot. I can say that the family visits are very important.” (S1/f/GR)

“I lived in a family. It was a very positive experience. They were very welcoming, generous and nice people. I used Finnish because they didn't know any English. I observed and I interacted with Finns all the time. It was motivating to meet Finns and observe.” (S8/m/US)

“I have lots of Finnish friends and I really enjoyed the visits to their homes. Because I could speak Finnish we could communicate in Finnish and I could ask all kinds of questions and talk about many kinds of things. Because of the language, it was easy for me to participate in the discussions and get to the deeper level. The family members were happy because I spoke Finnish and they explained so many things to me.” S6/f/CH

Most of the short-term sojourners described their understanding of Finnish culture as very limited. In many cases they said that they did not have any understanding of it. In some cases they said that there were no major differences from their home country. They used the expression “I think ...” many times when they commented their understanding.

“I think I can interpret some things the way Finns would interpret it.” (S1/f/GR)

“I don't understand at all. Sometimes I can understand - maybe. There are not many differences. I don't really know many differences. I have one example. People deal differently with titles. One woman has a doctorate but she does not use it. Why? In Germany everyone uses the titles, like doctor.” (S5/m/DE)

“I understand some Finnish styles. It is part of adaptation.” (S8/m/US)

“When I learned more Finnish, I understood more. When I have stayed here longer I understood more but not everything. But somehow I know what the culture looks like.” (S9/f/DE)

The short-term interviewees’ background or their previous experiences in similar places seemed to affect their understanding – they compared their experiences to a third country.

“My experiences in Canada helped me in Finland. I found lots of similarities.” (S1/f/GR)

The more they learned and understood the Finnish ways of doing things the more they seemed to be interested in learning more. The learning process opened their eyes and they started to see more details in Finnish culture.

“The more I found out the more I got interested and the more I wanted to learn.” (S1/f/GR)

The short-term interviewees also noted that the process of understanding would be a long one. Most of them were not ready to put as much effort into learning about Finnish culture as needed. Many of them also commented that they did not need to understand Finnish culture because they were not going to stay for a long time.

“I have observed but I cannot say that I understand. I have been here only half a year. I would need much more time to understand. The process is long – maybe several years. I do not need to understand” (S4/mEE)

The short-term sojourners did not mention identity issues very often. Because they were all temporarily in Finland, their identities were not threatened. The short-term interviewees, especially those who came to Finland for 5 months mentioned that they were internationally oriented people. They did not want to emphasize their national cultural identities. More often they referred to their student identities or age group identities. One of the interviewees was very active in sports and she also mentioned her sports identity. However, some of the short-term interviewees did not want to think about returning to their home countries because they felt that they had changed so much and they could not stand some of the practices in their home countries, which they had earlier found normal.

Knowledge of the Finnish language was among the most mentioned areas. Limited knowledge of Finnish language seemed to be a major impediment to their adaptation process. On the other hand, they had not made much effort to learn Finnish because they could manage in English. However, they were aware of the importance of language in the adaptation and learning process. For one interviewee the Finnish language was not a problem because she knew it very well.

“Knowledge of Finnish is crucial. I know that I did not put much effort into learning the language.” (S2/m/US)

“I would have liked to know more Finnish and have a common language to communicate with Finns. One has to speak the language of the country.” (S1/f/FR)

“I tried to learn the language but not seriously.” (S4/m/EE)

“My knowledge level of Finnish values is very low. I can only guess.” (S2/m/US)

“I needed all the information about Finland. It helped me to see various things. The only thing I need at the moment is the language. Now I have to do learn the language.” (S10/m/IN)

Almost all (9/10) the short-term interviewees noted that their knowledge about Finland and Finnish behavioural practices and values was slight. They would have liked to know more to be able to understand more. However, most of them were aware of their own need and motivation to adapt.

Long-term immigrants and sociocultural learning and understanding

For the long-term interviewees the understanding process seemed to be on a deep level. Many of them said that they understood all the different aspects of Finnish culture quite well.

“Nothing surprises me any more – maybe sometimes. I already know many things. I am not an expert but I know the rules, how to behave. Once I could not read the signs – I even misunderstood everything. Later I saw the reasons for the behaviour and I understood. It was a BIG thing to me. Since then, I have tried to respect all kinds of signs.” (L1/f/BR)

“Theoretically I understand Finns. My children asked about Finnish culture and I had to learn more.” (L9/f/DE)

“I could say that I know quite a lot. I have seen many rituals and etiquette and I know how to behave but I also know the reasons behind the behaviour.” (L2/m/NZ)

The interviewees reflected on the beginning of their stay in Finland when everything was new and a little strange. The moments of understanding were remembered as important even after many years.

“At the beginning I was guessing the meanings a lot. My understanding has grown steadily. I understood the meaning of history as a tool for analysing the present situation.” (L4/m/NO)

“Then I noticed the Finnish mentality.” (L3/m/NG)

The long-term immigrants connected the understanding process to the creation of their new identity. They stressed that they were not Finnish. They had adopted some characteristics of Finnish culture and they recognised that it had affected their way of thinking a little but it was something added with nothing taken away. The long-term immigrants emphasized their personal growth and their bi-cultural or multicultural identity. Most of the long-term immigrants felt confident about fitting into Finnish society and they felt confident in predicting the behaviours and attitudes of Finns. However, some of the long-term interviewees had difficulties with their cultural identities.

“I started to understand what was going on. My original identity receded into the background because I had to build my new identity. New was no longer a threat because I had started to understand it a little.” (L4/m/NO)

“I understand Finnish culture quite well. I can look at my own cultural background through tourist eyeglasses. But I don’t need to be a Finn.” (L10/f/DE)

“When you have a strong sense of your own identity, you are not dependent on outside factors. You don’t want to go against the other culture but you have to live with the differences. I am a multicultural person. But my children are different – they are Finnish.” L6/m/GB

“I am a complete person even if I act differently than before.” (L2/m/NZ)

“When I came to Finland it was quite easy to identify myself here. I was not so proud of my own national identity. In the process I found my cultural identity but I also became a fake Finn.” (L10/f/DE)

“I am a different person in Finnish, in English and in my own language. I speak differently I never feel like a whole person. Only when I read a book alone or speak with my friend to my home country.” (L9/f/DE)

All the long-term interviewees stressed the importance of the Finnish language. They emphasized that language proficiency was the key and a gateway to the culture. They saw language as the first priority in the learning and adaptation process. They emphasized that friendship relations had become much deeper and stronger when they had learned Finnish. They also wanted to follow e.g. Finnish media, theatre and politics. Finnish was mentioned even though the interviewees could have managed in English or in other languages.

“Language learning was the most important thing for me to start to feel part of society.” (L2/m/NZ)

“Knowledge of language and using it was a big thing. Today, I can use Finnish.” (L5/f/LT)

“Finnish language opened a new world to me.” (L9/f/DE)

The long-term immigrants made similar comments to those of the short-term sojourners about their process of understanding. They noted that the process of understanding was long and it was still going on. Most of them had put effort into learning about Finnish culture and Finnish. They commented that their attitude towards the host country was connected to learning. They noted that they had come to Finland with very positive attitudes and expectations and they wanted to succeed. On the other hand, the attitude of the host society towards them was also very important. The long-term interviewees mentioned the host culture attitude in connection with mutual respect.

“I respected different ways of doing things. I am very happy to be here” (L1/f/BR)

“I accepted and respected the Finnish ways of doing things. I wanted to learn new things and I did not want to be isolated from the culture.” (L5/f/LT)

“I wanted to understand the new society. I was open, curious and active. I think both parties have to have those qualities. People need to be tolerant and they need to respect each other.” (L10/f/DE)

“I had a positive attitude before moving to Finland. I was open to move to Finland and I decided to succeed.” (L4/m/NO)

“I was curious and interested in Finland. I did not have negative attitudes.” (L7/m/GB)

“Social competences are important but people need not be afraid of new things. I got positive feedback because I tried to speak in Finnish. They could then continue in English, German or other languages. Finns know many languages and they are flexible.” (L6/m/DE)

The long-term interviewees noted that their motivation and attitude towards learning had changed during their stay in Finland. As the time passed, most of the interviewees thought that they had learned enough even if they noted that they were learning something new all the time.

“I don’t need to make any effort to adapt any more. I have quite a lot of competencies to be able to live here.” (L1/f/BR)

“After so many years I do not care any more. I do not care what other people think about me and my behaviour. I have adapted enough and I know the system in Finland.” (L8/f/RU)

“I have been wondering if I have not tried enough to get into Finnish society.” (L9/f/DE)

Awareness of Finnish ways of living and thinking was mentioned frequently during the interviews. The interviewees pointed out that they had learned to be aware in various situations.

“I learned to be aware of what kinds of things could go wrong. It was important to know how e.g. social status or gender affected things. They were so different in my own country. My country is much more hierarchical.” (S1/f/BR)

“I learned the systems in Finnish society, like laws, rules and habits. I started to understand what was going on around me.” (L10/f/DE)

The long-term immigrants' sociocultural learning opportunities were much more varied than those of the short-term sojourners. They knew that they had had contacts with Finns all the time and they had become sensitive to many issues in Finnish culture. They could interpret and feel with Finns in most of the situations. They did not feel that their identities were in danger because they felt they did not lose anything but gain something in return.

The following section summarises sociocultural learning opportunities and process of understanding for the short-term and long-term interviewees.

5.3.3 Summary of opportunities for sociocultural learning

Table 26 summarizes the important people and their actions for the short-term and long-term interviewees in the adaptation and learning process. Eskola and Suoranta (1998, 172) call this kind of analysis a profiling process. Profiling means that the researcher lists all the actors and describes the content of their actions in the process. Obviously, the interviewees of the present research did not mention all the people who had played a role in their adaptation process - probably only the most important ones. Such profiling was done in this research most of the people mentioned in the interviews. However, in the interviews no specific questions were asked about those people were asked in the interviews. It was also clear that the important people in the long-term migrants' lives were somewhat different from those mentioned by the short-term sojourners but there were also similarities.

Sometimes the effects of intercultural interaction were positive but sometimes negative regarding the level of motivation and sociocultural learning. For the purposes of the present research only positive actions are listed. Hence the table contains comments on the actions of the important people in a positive direction

reported by the interviewees of the present research. Of course, not all the interviewees had contacts to all the important actors mentioned in the table and interviewees may have had different experiences with the people mentioned in the table. Hence the interviewees may have had positive and/or negative experiences with those important actors and this may have caused an increase or decrease in their opportunities for sociocultural learning. Some of the experiences for the long-term interviewees had happened at the beginning of their stay in Finland but they still commented on them.

Table 26. People affecting the migrants' sociocultural learning

Important actor	Short-term sojourner	Long-term immigrant
Spouse Boyfriend Girlfriend	Explains things Takes to meet his/her parents Introduces to his/her friends Contacts with his/her relatives Reason to learn more about Finnish culture Reason to study more Finnish	Explains things Takes to meet his/her parents Introduces to his/her friends Clarifies some cultural meanings Helps with the language Helps with practicalities (official matters) Comforts and loves
Relatives of the spouse, boyfriend or girlfriend	Gives an opportunity to see "real" Finnish life Opportunity to speak Finnish Explain things	Speaks Finnish – opportunities to speak Finnish Invites for visits and celebrations Explains things Helps and comforts
Finnish student	Explains things about Finnish culture Shows places Helps with practicalities Deepens cultural meanings	Explains things Becomes a friend Cooperates if connected to studies
Finnish colleague	Explains things Becomes a friend	Speaks Finnish Explains things Speaks other languages Becomes a friend Shares professional matters
International student	Socialises a lot inside and outside the university Shares the same feelings	

	<p>Invites to parties</p> <p>Participates in parties</p> <p>Talks a lot</p> <p>Becomes a friend</p>	
International colleague		<p>Explains things</p> <p>Shares professional matters</p> <p>Shares the same kinds of things</p> <p>Becomes a friend</p> <p>Speaks other languages</p> <p>Arranges social activities</p>
Finnish friend	<p>Explains things about Finnish culture</p> <p>Shows places</p> <p>Invites home</p> <p>Communicates on a deep level</p> <p>Keeps in contact</p>	<p>Speaks Finnish</p> <p>Speaks other languages</p> <p>Shares many things</p> <p>Explains things</p> <p>Comforts</p> <p>Keeps in contact</p>
International friend	<p>Shares the same feelings</p> <p>Explains things (sometimes)</p>	<p>Shares the same feelings</p> <p>Explains things</p>
Shopkeeper or an "occasional" Finn (e.g. landlord)	<p>Speaks Finnish – opportunities to use Finnish</p>	<p>Speaks Finnish – opportunities to speak Finnish</p> <p>Explains things</p> <p>Helps with practicalities</p> <p>Shares the moment</p>
Own child		<p>Asks about Finnish culture</p> <p>Brings Finnish people home</p>
Teacher	<p>Explains things</p> <p>Comforts</p>	<p>Explains things</p>
Neighbour		<p>Speaks Finnish</p> <p>Speaks other languages</p> <p>Shares some common interests</p> <p>May start social life</p>

5.4 Variations in intercultural adaptation processes

5.4.1 Comparisons of the short-term and long-term migrants' intercultural adaptation processes

As noted earlier, the two groups studied differed quite a lot in their comments about motivating factors and opportunities for sociocultural learning. All the interviewees talked about intercultural adaptation as an ongoing process but however, they reported some ideal outcomes of the process. The short-term interviewees most often said that intercultural adaptation is an interesting, surprising, frustrating, tiring and long process. The following story about intercultural adaptation is a combination of features from the short-term sojourners' interviews.

“Some things are strange and surprising at the beginning but you start to understand them later. It is my obligation to adapt. When I am adapting, I have to learn and get used to the traditions, habits, language, behavioural practices, signs and daily routines in a new country. I cannot stick to my own manners but I have to start doing things the way they are done in a foreign country. I have to try to follow the rules and manage. I am adapted when I am not shocked about the things that happen around me any more. I accept the differences and even start to like them. People have adapted very well if they can say that the new country is their home and they feel like the other people there. I could say that I have adapted the moment when I think that I am really living in this country and I feel comfortable. I know that I am different but it is not a problem. I have also adapted if people don't recognise from my behaviour instantly that I am not one of them. I am not a tourist any more. The adaptation process is long. I would need a much longer time to know and understand everything and I am sure I would never understand everything.”

While talking about the process of intercultural adaptation, many of the short-term sojourners talked about adaptation on an abstract level but most often reflected on their own adaptation experiences. Many of them noted that they had changed some of their practices but they also noted that they had not adapted to Finnish culture but a little to the university culture and the international students' culture. Many of them noted that they would have a long way to go before they would feel adapted to Finland. On the other hand, some of them mentioned that even if everyone has to adapt all the time in some aspects, one can feel comfortable without adapting to the host country.

The long-term immigrants talked about intercultural adaptation as a learning process. They emphasized that people have to be able to change and learn from each other. They had noticed that things were not always the way they looked. During the process they had started to understand the meanings and become familiar with the best and the worst parts of the new culture. They felt that today they can compare these two cultures without strong emotional reactions – they felt that they were more

realistic about different cultural features. The following chapter tells about the process of adaptation. It is a combination of features from the long-term immigrants' interviews.

“The process of adaptation is different across people. I think that when you adapt you understand the rules so well that you don't need to remind yourself about them. You can choose what to do. You don't necessarily need to act the way you see people acting around you but you have to respect them. You repeat certain behavioural practices all the time. They are daily routines and you feel normal about them. You don't think about them any more. There are always lots of small nuances which you do not recognise straight away because they are more hidden. In the process you learn all the time. I would say that you are adapted when new things are no more a threat and you feel comfortable and safe. How you feel is the key thing. You can take best part of your own culture and of a new culture. You cannot only stick to your own cultural patterns. You have to belong to society, being part of it but not completely. Learning the language is always a challenge but it is a very important part of intercultural adaptation because through language you can follow the media, create relationships and enhance your understanding. Through language you can express your personal feelings and thoughts.”

The short-term interviewees, and especially the interviewees who were adapting to a new culture for the first time in their lives, emphasized more their own efforts in the adaptation process and concentrated on various skills. They listed what they should know and what kinds of skills they should have and what they should think about the “new” culture to adapt better.

The long-term interviewees who had been living in Finland more than five years had similar comments about the adaptation process to the short-term interviewees. However, for them the adaptation process was more about belonging somewhere and about being respected. The long-term interviewees mentioned factors which connected to their own attitudes and skills but they talked more often about the need to understand and respect the “new” culture and to be understood and respected by the people around them. Most of the long-term interviewees emphasized mutual respect in the adaptation process. Table 27 includes comments about important aspects of adaptability mentioned in the interviews of the present research.

Table 27. Important aspects of adaptability

Short-term sojourners	Long-term immigrants
be willing to learn new things	be aware that learning takes place in interaction
be able to speak the host language	try to learn the language as soon as possible
accept "strange things"	respect different ways of doing things
be able to manage the daily routines	be sensitive to see what is similar and what is different
learn the traditions	join the culture
be interested	understand the culture
be curious	be open and accepting
know the nonverbal signs	to be able to be silent, be patient with pauses
be willing to state own views	be tough sometimes
be willing to interact, be willing to ask questions	be able to learn from others learn together
be able to do things in many ways	be flexible
feel comfortable in different situations	think that the place is your home
be aware that adaptation is a process	be aware that adaptation is a process
	be aware of everything
	do not try to be perfect
	see yourself through other people
	people need not to assimilate
	keep you own identity

The long-term interviewees noted that both parties should learn from each other but it did not seem to happen easily. They had felt that society did not adapt to them at all or adapted only a little. They mentioned that it had been very important for them to feel accepted and equal in society. They wanted to be "taken as a person" not as a "foreigner" and in most cases this had happened. They stressed that nobody wants to be in an inferior position. Some interviewees commented that they often felt a little rootless.

"I have been accepted and I have had friends all the time. It has been very important in my adaptation." (L4/m/NO)

"Adaptation is like skating on the ice. One cannot get through the ice. They do not let you grow roots. You feel like at home but you always miss something." (L8/f/RU)

The short-term interviewees did not comment about their cultural identity in the adaptation process. On the other hand, the long-term interviewees mentioned identity management in the process of adaptation. They knew that a strong sense of their own identity had been an important factor how they felt in a new culture. They wanted to belong somewhere but they had to modify themselves in the adaptation process so that people accepted them but without losing their own identity. They had realised that people who adapt to a new culture should have a strong sense of their own identity and it should be taken care of all the time. They noticed that they had had quite different phases in their adaptation processes.

The following section presents the interviewees' visualized processes of intercultural adaptation in Finland.

5.4.2 Lines of motivation during the adaptation processes

The adaptation processes were visualised through the lines of motivation. The lines looked different because of the individual life experiences. Figure 29 below is an example of an authentic line of motivation. The graphical illustrations of the short-term sojourners' lines of motivation are in Appendix 1 and the graphical illustrations of the long-term immigrants' lines of motivation are in Appendix 2. Short explanations connected to some of the important moments are given in the figures.

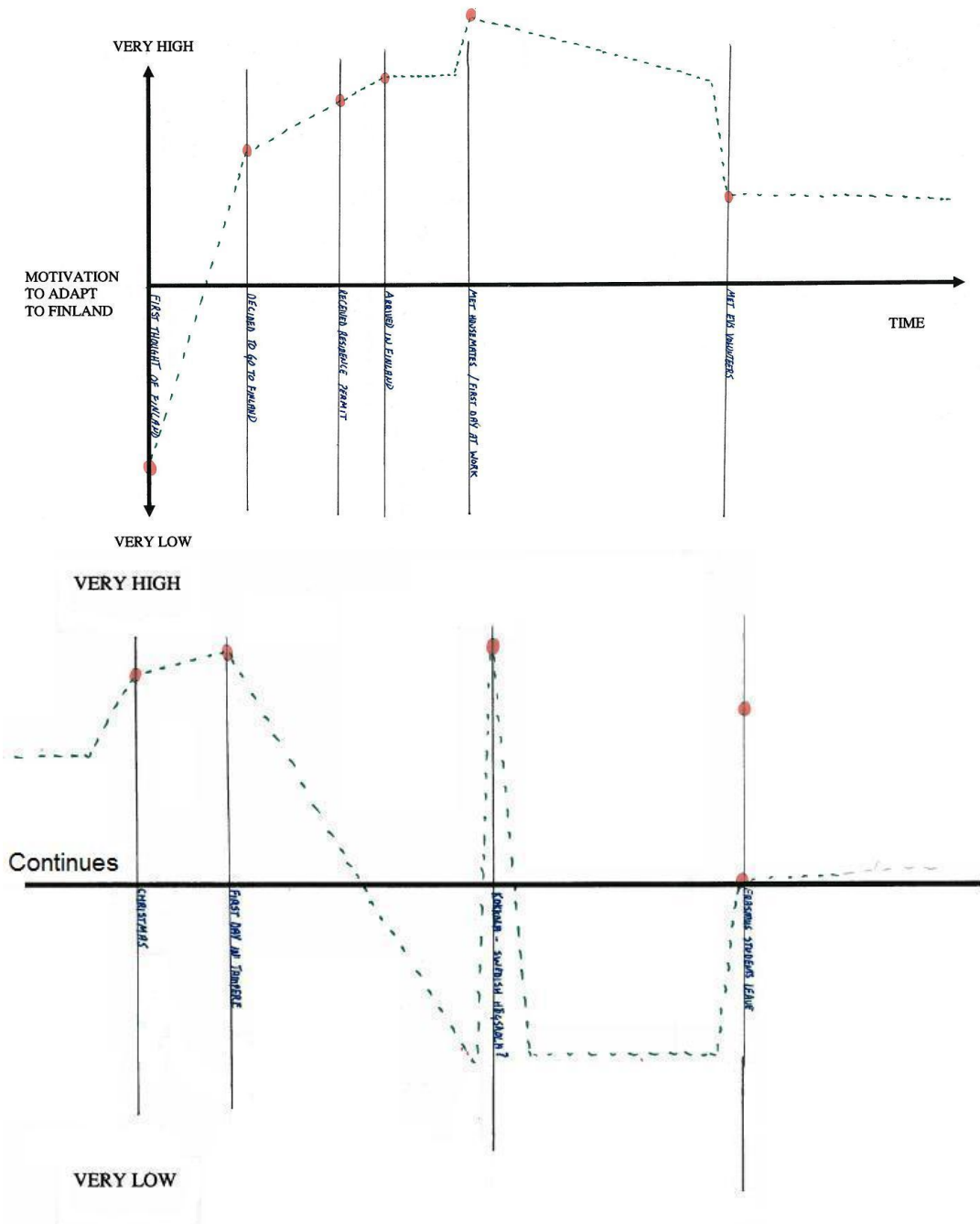


Figure 29. Authentic picture of the line of motivation

Four lines of motivation of the short-term sojourners did not go below the average level of motivation at all, but six lines of motivation went below the average level. The short-time sojourners seemed to have one or two sudden drops and the negative moments were very short; in one of the cases four hours but most often the period of negative motivation lasted from couple of weeks to one month. The short-time sojourners remembered numerous small incidents during their stay in Finland. More detailed information about the reasons for changes in their motivation was given in Chapters 5.1.2 and 5.1.3.

Nearly all (9/10) short-term interviewees' lines of motivation ended above the average and in most cases the lines went upwards. Only one line finished below the average level of motivation. The interviewee reported that study stress always affected his motivation to adapt. He commented that he had less internal motivation to integrate into the culture because he had to complete his studies at the University of Tampere and get along with his own international study group. He also conceded that he did not put much effort into adapting.

The long-term migrants also had sudden drops in their lines of motivation but they seemed to last longer. They also had periods when the curve went up and down for a long time. Figures (in Appendix 2) present the long-term interviewees' lines of motivation.

The lines of motivation did not contain as many details as those of the short-term sojourners. This is understandable because some of the interviewees had been in Finland over 30 years. However, all the lines of motivation contained information about the important moments during their stay in Finland even if some of the incidents had happened many years ago.

The line of motivation of the long-term immigrants was consistently above the average level of motivation in four figures and in six figures it went below the average level. In many cases the lines of motivation seemed to be on the low side of motivation for quite some time. In four lines there are points when the curve goes up and down for a long time. The interviewees reported that those were the times when they had been very hesitant about their future or they had been worried about family members and their future in general. At the time of the interviews the end level of motivation line was above the average in almost all the pictures (9/10). Five of these seemed to stay on a stable level, two of them going upwards and two of them going up and down. One line of motivation went below the average level. She reported about a personal disappointment in her life.

5.4.3 Competences needed in the adaptation process

The interviewees commented on the competencies they had needed themselves in their adaptation process and the competencies they thought people would need when adapting to a new culture and when people from different cultures meet. The short-term sojourners were mostly concerned about the knowledge they should have about the new culture. Some specific skills were mentioned. They pointed out some skills which were needed in the adaptation process. Skills were connected to communication situations like using Finnish, asking questions and observing. They were mentioned several times. Comments about their own attitudes before arrival and during their stay were also made several times and the same kinds of expressions were reiterated during the interview. For example, openness, eagerness and interest were emphasized by most of the interviewees. The short-term sojourners had noticed that their own attitudes had had an important effect in their adaptation process.

“It is important to ask a lot of questions about the Finnish practices.”
(S2/m/US)

“I have tried to use Finnish as often as possible.” (S7/f/RU)

“I observed a lot. Observation was interesting and very important for my learning and understanding.” (S4/m/EE)

“I was curious about new things and willing to learn something new.”
(S1/f/GR)

“To be open was the most important thing to me in the adaptation process.”
(S3/f/FR)

“I think I am a positive person. I think positively and I am interested in new things. If people are interested – not forced – it is a good thing. Then they are happy to do many things.” (S6/f/CN)

“I wanted to accept Finnish values.” (S10/m/IN)

The short-term interviewees mentioned the situations in which they had been tempted to interpret the situation very negatively using stereotypes and prejudices. They had noticed that by avoiding negative attributions they had survived better. Many of them said that stereotypes and especially prejudices should be avoided in intercultural interactions even if it sounded like a cliché.

“I had met a Finnish man and I had stereotypes about them. But my stereotypes were wrong. Finns are much more reserved. I realised that the man was not a typical Finn. I had to explore things in Finland. Try not to say negative things.” (S2/m/US)

“I knew that I would have misunderstandings in Finland. I was frustrated because I could not express myself 100 per cent. I tried not to draw negative conclusions. Do not think that your own culture is the best. Every culture is good. In Finland this is the best culture. My own culture is also good. My eyes have to be bright not coloured.” (S10/m/IN)

In many interviews the short-term sojourners stressed that their own active role had in many situations been crucial to make things happen. They had noticed that if they showed interest first, Finns also started to get interested – but not always.

“I tried to make an effort to learn more about Finnish manners.” (S3/f/FR)

“I tried to get used to all kind of new things.” (S4/m/EE)

“I showed that I was interested. You have to have motivation to speak to people because it will be much harder than speaking in your own language” (S10/m/IN)

They also noted that their general mood had affected the adaptation process. Some of the short-term sojourners commented that overall preparedness to face various kinds of situations had helped them through difficult moments. They also mentioned some strategies for lifting their moods.

“My optimistic mood helped me a lot here.” (S4/m/EE)

“When I was down, I had to apply the same attitude as in travelling. I had to find some positive and interesting things to do.” (S2/m/US)

“I was well prepared mentally before arrival. I had to be receptive” (S10/m/IN)

“I had moments when I was bored but eventually the mood changed in a positive direction again.” (S9/f/DE)

“My mood was so much better when the weather changed to spring and the sun was shining. It was much easier for me to learn.” (S1/f/GR)

The short-term sojourners emphasized their willingness to participate even if it was not easy because Finns did not participate as much as expected. One interviewee stressed that patience was among the most important skills in the intercultural adaptation process.

“If I should give one piece of advice to somebody who is living in a foreign country, I would say: Be patient. Patience is the most important skill. I got frustrated because I could not express myself as well as in my mother tongue. The other person could not understand me as well as if we had been speaking the same language. Everyone needs patience all the time. If you have not been in a situation where you should speak in a foreign language, you don't know that it is hard to speak the foreign language all day and day after day.” (S10/m/IN)

The long-term interviewees had very similar comments about competences needed in the adaptation process. However, they emphasized more respect for cultural differences.

“You have to be aware what is going on around you. You have to respect different ways of doing things.” (L1/f/BR)

“You have to accept and respect their ways of doing things.” (L5/f/LT)

The long-term interviewees had noticed that they had to change their behavioural practices to fit to Finnish culture, but it did not mean losing their old culture. They commented that it could be called sensitivity of seeing themselves in the light of the locals - taking a different perspective.

“You see what is similar and what is different. You see yourself through their eyes and you become aware what could be considered strange.” (L5/f/LT)

They also commented that intercultural competences were social competences – life competences. They said that it was important to be interested in other people and listen to what they had to say. But all the interviewees repeated that both parties should be interested to learn from each other. That was the main competence needed in the adaptation process.

“I wanted to be as open as possible to new ideas. I did not expect many differences but I tried to be prepared to face all kinds of things.” (L6/m/DE)

“I had to respect their way of doing things even if I would have done it differently. (L10/f/DE)

5.4.4 Narratives about intercultural adaptation processes

Two groups were chosen to take part in this research; short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants. When the lines of motivation and the interviews were analysed, there seemed to be three different kinds of feelings about the adaptation process in Finland. In these three groups the motivating factors were slightly different and feelings about remaining in Finland varied. The groups were named as visitors, hesitant adapters and settlers. In fact, there were four different kinds of groups because hesitant adapters group was divided into two sub categories.

Visitors were people who had come to Finland for a limited time – normally for months or couple of years. They had a feeling that they were just passing through. They were planning to return home after the visit to Finland. They mostly looked for new experiences in a foreign country. The visitors of the present research were all from the group of the short-term sojourners.

Hesitant adapters were wavering when thinking about their future. They were not sure where they wanted to stay and they did not know if they were going to stay in Finland. They were mostly considering if they should stay or go. However they had much stronger motivation to learn about Finnish culture than the visitors. Hesitant adapters were found in both groups. Short-term sojourners became hesitant adapters when they fell in love with a Finn while in Finland or when they were given an opportunity to make research in Finland or continue their studies in Finland. Long-term immigrants were hesitant adapters because of work situation and changes in the family.

Settlers were in Finland with the feeling that they were going to live the rest of their life in Finland. They felt that their home was in Finland and they felt comfortable being in Finland. They also wanted to be active members of society. All the settlers were from the long-term immigrants' group.

Figure 30 shows three types of adapting processes of the present research.

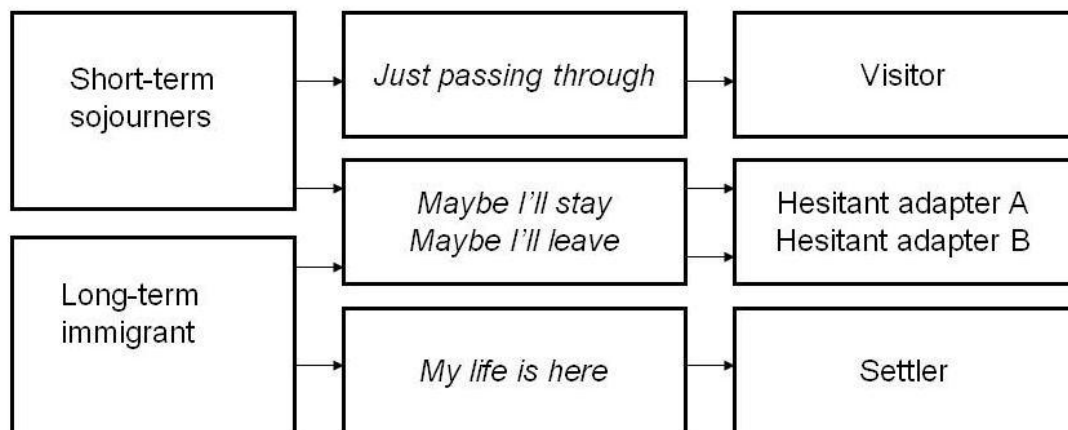


Figure 30. Types of adapting processes

The following section presents the typical stories of these groups. They are a combination of some features mentioned in the interviews, not a single story reported by an interviewee. The members of those different groups may find similarities in some aspects of the story but the story does not necessarily fit anyone's case completely.

1) Visitors (Just passing through)

"I was a university student in my home country and I had been thinking of going somewhere as an exchange student because I was interested in other cultures. I could say that I was a globally minded person. I was thinking of various countries and many of them were possible destinations. The first thought was to go to Sweden or Denmark. When I was looking for opportunities, Finland appeared to be one possible destination. I applied and after some months I got an acceptance letter from Finland. It was wonderful and I felt really happy about it. I started to read about Finland in the Internet and started listening to Finnish music - mainly rock music. I was excited about coming to Finland but at the same time I was also sad about leaving all my friends.

I arrived in Finland at the beginning of January. It was dark and rainy. I was "depressed" and I was not sure where I should go. My tutor came to meet me at the bus station but she was very quiet. She took me to my flat. When I was

sitting in my room, I felt very lonely. I was asking myself why I had come here at all.

The following week I had the orientation course at the university. I met many international students and they seemed to be nice. Some of them became my friends. Many of us were living at the same student dormitory. During the orientation week I learned many practical things for surviving in my studies and in town. I was eager to learn about Finnish culture and meet Finns. I was also eager to learn Finnish even if I had heard that it was a difficult language. I took a survival Finnish course. My motivation to learn about Finland was high and going upwards all the time.

When my studies started I did not have time to think about Finland. After some misunderstandings with practicalities, I learned through trial and error how some things worked in Finland. But I did not have contacts with Finnish students or other Finns or the contacts were very limited. It was strange. On the other hand, I had lots of international student friends and we spent evenings and weekends together. In the student dormitory we had lots of parties - but mostly with international students. I would have liked to have more contact with Finnish students but I did not succeed. They had their own friends and most of them lived in different places.

I learned a little Finnish but I could not practice it with anyone. If I tried to say something in Finnish everyone switched into English straight away. I felt frustrated and quite soon stopped using Finnish. I enjoyed the company of the international students and the international atmosphere and quite easy life. Only at times I had some study stress and during that time I did not have any energy to keep my motivation high enough to adapt to Finnish society. I also felt that I didn't need to adapt because I was soon returning home. I was here only temporarily. On the whole I enjoyed the time here and I learned a lot about myself."

2A) Hesitant adapters (S): Short-term sojourners (Maybe I'll stay, maybe I'll leave)

"I had been in Finland as an Erasmus exchange student. I liked the style of teaching and I wanted to continue my studies in Finland. I had looked for various study programmes in the Internet and I found one which interested me. I applied for a master's degree programme at the University of Tampere. I had to wait quite a long time for the reply from Finland. When the acceptance letter came, my motivation went up sharply. I wanted to know everything about Finland and Tampere. The Internet was a good source of basic information. After the acceptance letter, I also started to hesitate – is this right thing to do? Do I want to leave my family members and friends? But I also knew that this was only temporary for a couple of years.

When I arrived in Tampere and started my studies, I was happy about my decision to come to Finland. I was excited to continue my studies. I met many interesting people – mostly international students. I also started to learn the language and I took all the Finnish courses intended for foreigners. But I could not practice my Finnish. If I wanted to ask something in Finnish in a shop, they did not understand my Finnish and either started to speak Finnish very fast or switched to English. This was the first time in my life when I had any language problems. It was a rather strange feeling. On the other hand, Finnish students spoke English very well. I would have liked to find a part-time job but because of language difficulties I did not find anything. It affected my motivation to adapt. My motivation was quite low and started to go downward. I felt lonely and I did not meet so many Finns as I had expected.

At one of the parties I met a Finnish boy/girl and I fell in love with him/her. The relationship also changed my motivation to adapt to Finland. I wanted to learn more about Finnish traditions and customs. I met the family members of my boyfriend/girlfriend and saw “normal” family life in Finland. It was very interesting to celebrate e.g. Christmas or Easter in a Finnish family and I saw how things were done in Finland. It opened my eyes towards new perspectives and gave me lots of motivation to learn more about Finland. I also wanted to learn the language much more. Maybe I was going to stay in Finland the rest of my life. At the same time I wanted to keep all the doors open to new options”

2B) Hesitant adapters (L): Long-term immigrants (Maybe I’ll stay, maybe I’ll leave)

“I came to Finland to work. I was teaching my native language in various places. I met Finnish people in my classes but socially I was mostly with other foreign teachers or with people who spoke my mother tongue. I would have liked to have more Finnish friends and learn more about Finnish culture. Of course, eventually I learned more and more Finnish and about the Finnish ways of doing things.

One day I met my future wife. We got married. I asked myself many times if I would like to stay in Finland or maybe move somewhere else. Maybe my wife would like to move to my home country or maybe we could move to a third country. We discussed our future a lot. We had lots of open questions. It was not so easy to decide.

However, today we are living in Finland and I continue working. In fact I’m quite satisfied living in Finland. We have children. If they would move away from Finland, it could affect my willingness to stay in Finland. I am hopeful about my future but I am also sometimes hesitant about remaining in Finland.”

3) Settlers (My life is here)

“One day my life changed dramatically. I met a person from Finland and we fell in love with each other. Because of the work situation, I knew that I was going to move to Finland. It was a big surprise to my relatives. I was worried about their reaction but for example my mother said that it was much better that I was happy in Finland than sad in my own country. It helped me a lot when I knew that my parents and grandparents seemed to understand the situation and gave me “permission” to leave and start my life in Finland.

I came to Finland and realised that my spouse’s relatives were also quite surprised. At that time it was not so common to marry a foreigner as it is today. I was eager to adapt to Finland. I had read a lot before coming to Finland so I knew something. We were living in Tampere. At the beginning I was surprised and angry that the neighbours didn’t make any effort to become friends with me – they didn’t even greet me.

I wanted to learn Finnish. When I didn’t understand something, my spouse explained it to me. I got frustrated because I couldn’t speak Finnish and I had to ask somebody to help me in many situations. I would have liked to be able to manage the everyday situations by myself, like shopping alone. I felt like a child. I was dependent on someone and I didn’t like it. I was striving for independence. But what I wanted most was to be able to work. At the beginning I got a part-time job. I enjoyed meeting Finns with the same profession and talking about professional matters. I started to use more Finnish, which improved my Finnish language skills and gave me a feeling of belonging here. Eventually I got a permanent job.

During the years I made Finnish friends and found interesting hobbies for myself. One of the biggest motivations to learn more about Finland and settle down came through my children. It was nice to speak in my native language to the child. Through my children I got new friends and contacts with Finns. Today I have a good overall feeling about being in Finland. I like to live in Finland. I feel that my life is here. I know how things are done here and I feel independent. Naturally, I would have liked to be near my relatives in my home country if someone got sick or someone had a new baby. I visit my home country and they visit me. My family is here in Finland but I have not become a Finn. I need not to be like a Finn. I think I have multiple identities depending on the situation. It is not difficult to belong to society but still have a certain distance from it. I am a multicultural person.”

5.4.5 Summary of features of the different adaptation types

As noted earlier, the stories above do not apply to all the participants of the present research. The collection of various issues is presented in Table 28 which shows the

main differences and similarities between these four typified groups of intercultural adaptation. Some of the main themes which categorised these groups were the reasons for coming to Finland, language skills, social relationships, thoughts about remaining in Finland and connection to society, level of understanding, what or whom they missed most, Finnish media usage and connection to the Finnish natural environment and climate.

Table 28. Summary of various themes between four adapting groups

Theme	Visitor (short-term)	Hesitative adapter (S) (short-term)	Hesitative adapter (L) (long-term)	Settler (long-term)
Why in Finland?	Studies in Finland	Studies or/and works in Finland	Studies or/and works in Finland	Mostly works but may also study in Finland
Language skills and usage	Has taken "survival course" in Finnish	Does not know Finnish very well	Knows quite a lot of Finnish and wants to learn more	Can manage socially and professionally in Finnish
	Not many opportunities to communicate in Finnish	Communicates occasionally in Finnish	Communicates in Finnish as much as possible	Communicates in Finnish every day as normal part of life
Social relationships	Mostly spends time with members of own culture or other international residents	Mostly spends time with members of own culture or other international residents	Mostly spends time with family members, boyfriend/girlfriend and friends.	Mostly spends time with family members/ Finnish friends/ colleagues
	Has lots of international friends	Has many international friends. Some Finnish friends	Has found friends through various activities and hobbies	Has found friends through various activities and hobbies. Lots of Finnish friends.
	Not many opportunities to communicate with Finns	Some opportunities to communicate with Finns because of the new boyfriend	Has opportunities to communicate with Finns in Finnish	Has opportunities to communicate with Finns in Finnish
	Would like to communicate more with Finns	Would like to communicate more with Finns	Meets Finns and communicates with them regularly	Meets Finns and communicates with them regularly

Connection to the natural environment in Finland and climate	Likes to travel in Finland	Likes to travel in Finland	Likes to travel in Finland	Likes to travel in Finland.
	Lapland has a special meaning	Lapland has a special meaning	Lapland has a special meaning	Lapland has a special meaning
	Likes the natural environment in Finland	Likes the natural environment in Finland	Likes the natural environment in Finland	Likes the natural environment in Finland
	Likes spring or summer because of the light	Likes spring or summer because of the light	Likes spring or summer because of the light	Likes spring or summer because of the light
	Likes the snow	Likes the snow	Likes the snow and real winters	Likes the snow and real winters
Thoughts about remaining in Finland and connection to society	Feels that Finland is a stopover	Feels that Finland was a stopover but not any more	Feels that Finland is OK but could go somewhere else	Feels that Finland is home and the place to stay
	Only temporarily in Finland	Hesitant about the future where to stay	Hesitant about the future where to stay	Feels that Finland is home and life is here
Connection to society	No connection to society	No connection to society	Some connections to society. Wants to be active member of society but could go somewhere else	Feels strongly part of society and wants to be an active member of society
Misses most	Mostly misses friends	Mostly misses friends	Misses friends and family members at times. Visits from both sides.	Misses family members and friends and visits them regularly or they visit Finland
Level of understanding	Does not understand the Finnish way of doing things	Some understanding of Finnish ways of doing things	Quite often understands the Finnish ways of doing things	Understands Finnish ways of doing things
	Cannot differentiate the Finnish values	Some understanding off Finnish values	Knows mostly what Finnish people value	Knows what Finnish people value
	Does not understand the deeper meanings	Sometimes understands the deeper meanings	Understands the deeper meanings most of the times	Understands the deeper meanings most of the times
Finnish media usage	Does not read newspapers in Finnish	Does not read newspapers in Finnish	Sometimes reads newspapers in Finnish	Reads Finnish newspapers and books in Finnish

Sometimes these adapting groups changed into a different group during the adaptation process. For example visitors might have become a hesitant adapter or even a settler if their situation changed e.g. from an Erasmus student to a boyfriend or a girlfriend of the Finn and their motivation to adapt increased.

6. Towards a dialogical adaptation model

6.1 Emerging needs and motivation to adapt

6.1.1 Motivation to adapt: an essential precondition

The first goal of the present research was to investigate and compare the factors increasing or impairing motivation to learn and adapt to Finnish society. These motivational factors represented the psychocultural domain in the intercultural adaptation process; measuring the level of motivation at different times in the process. Psychocultural changes were identified through the lines of motivation and in-depth interviews. The research subjects consisted of two different migrant groups who had been in Finland for a different duration. Comparisons were made between short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants.

The interviewees of the present research had come to Finland for different reasons and for different periods of time. All of them had come to Finland voluntarily. The interviewees were either studying in Finland in higher education or were working in Finland. Those who were working had academic degrees. Obvious differences between the groups in their motivational factors were found but there were also differences within the groups.

The following sections discuss the findings of the motivational factors of the present research. These findings concur with Anderson (1994), who claims that intercultural adaptation is a motivated and goal-oriented process. It was obvious that the need to adapt in Finland was very different for the short-term sojourners than for most of the long-term immigrants and thus affected the amount of motivation to adapt.

Effect on motivation of chance arrival among short-term sojourners

The reason for coming to Finland obviously affected the level of motivation to adapt and learn about Finland or to learn Finnish. The reason for coming to Finland had an effect already before arrival but also during the adaptation process. The two groups appeared very different regarding the reasons for coming to Finland.

Most of the short-term sojourners came to study or work. Many of the short-term interviewees did not have any special interest in Finland before arrival and many of them came to Finland by chance. In some cases the University of Tampere was one of the few exchange partners for their university. Some of them had heard about

Finland from someone who had been in Finland and become interested or met a Finn who talked about Finland and showed them information about the universities in Tampere. These findings substitute Taajamo's (2005) findings that recognise that Finland was not the first choice for international students because of the Finnish language or northern location.

However, most of the short-term sojourners wanted to experience something different and exciting in a foreign country - something "international" - and improve their English. They had a relatively high level of motivation to learn some basic things about Finland and to learn a few words of Finnish before arriving to Finland but it faded quite soon after arrival for many of the short-term interviewees. Pearce (1983) calls this kind of motivation "sensation-seeking motivation". Pearce notes that the short-term sojourners who went to a foreign country for a short time were satisfied when they had experienced something exciting and fulfilled their sensation-seeking motivation. Sensation-seeking motivation was not so prominent or the only motivation in the present research for all the short-term sojourners but it seemed to be fairly important for many of them. They wanted to see new places, meet new people, experience "real" winter, learn a little "exotic" language and have international parties.

Only couple of short-term interviewees came for an interesting master's degree programme or to a working experience abroad. For one of the master's degree students Finland without tuition fees was the most important reason for coming. Hence some of the interviewees wanted to improve their future life and gain international working experience (see also Chirkov, Vansteenkiste, Tao & Lynch, 2007). The short-term interviewees who did not have a strong sensation-seeking motivation were more similar to the long-term immigrants. However, even they commented more about some "sensational" or "exotic" things in Finland than the long-term sojourners.

In the present research Finland as an "exotic" country and the amount of information about studies in English in the Internet seemed to play an important role in the decision-making process as also noted in Taajamo's (2005) research. After the decision to come to Finland, some of the short-term interviewees learned some Finnish but even if they did not study Finnish beforehand they were motivated to learn some Finnish after arrival. This motivation was, however, displaced by other motivational factors.

An obvious destination among long-term immigrants

In sharp contrast to short-term sojourners, most of the long-term interviewees came to Finland with a distinct purpose. Finland had become an important country for them and it was an obvious destination for them because most of them had fallen in love with a Finn and their life together was going to continue in Finland because of the spouse's work or studies. They knew many things about Finland before arrival. In most cases they had started to prepare themselves in their home countries. They were familiar with Finnish history and social structures and most of them had studied Finnish language before their arrival. The long-term immigrants wanted to learn and adapt to Finnish society as much as possible and as soon as possible, be

active participants of society, work, learn Finnish and follow the politics. Hence motivation was mostly on a high level and they wanted to learn new things. They commented that it was very important to know as much as possible about a new culture. These findings concur with Dewey (1990), who notes that people perceive and learn about things which are important to them or which interest them. However, the importance and interests changed depending on the situation.

Effect on motivation of planned length of stay

One of the major factors that affected the amount of motivation was the intended length of the interviewees' stay in Finland. Short-term sojourners who had planned to stay in Finland for only a limited time reflected different motivational goals during their stay. Most of them had planned to come to Finland for only a few months or just a couple of years. They felt that they were in Finland only temporarily which seemed to lower the need to adapt and it also explained the low level of motivation in many situations. It seemed to have a major effect on how easily the people gave up if they became frustrated or irritated about new things.

These findings are very similar to Hottola (2004), who notes that temporary nature of stay affects the goal and motivation of a visiting person. People who come to a new country for a short time want to explore new places and spend their time on pleasure and self-discovery. The same phenomenon was seen with most of the short-term sojourners of the present research to a certain extent. The short-term interviewees wanted to experience something new and enjoy their time in Finland. They wanted to have parties and other entertainment. Many of the short-term interviewees said that they did not even need to adapt to Finnish society because they were here only for a limited time. Many of the short-term interviewees commented that they did not put much effort into their adaptation because of the short stay.

Most of the long-term immigrants, on the other hand, had come to live many years or even their lifetime in Finland. The planned length of stay had positively affected their motivation to adapt and it also affected the results very clearly throughout the adaptation process. They did not give up easily if they had difficult times. However, many of them had moments of hesitation about their future and times when they felt sad, hopeless and experienced a loss of energy and wanted to go somewhere else.

Matsumoto and Juang (2008, 288) note that people who are adapting to a new culture often have feelings of loss if something bad happens to their family members or because of stress and disappointments in their lives. In the present research most of the short-term sojourners felt sadness and hopelessness when they were alone in Finland and stress when they had to study hard. For the long-term interviewees depressing feelings were mostly connected to relatives and friends away from Finland or worries about their work or health. Kelly (1955, in Kim, 2001) stated that the most valid criterion for motivation in the adaptation process was how people saw their future in a new country. In the present research the short-term interviewees did not see their future in Finland – except those who fell in love with a Finn while in Finland. Falling in love with a Finn changed many future plans.

The long-term immigrants, on the other hand, had many goals in Finland. Work was in a very central position for them. Most of the long-term interviewees had goals in their working lives and other motivational factors for their stay in Finland. They wanted to become equal participants in Finnish society and be actively involved in political and economic matters in society.

“All needs were present but some needs were more important than others”

The type of information the interviewees wanted during their stay in Finland also seemed to distinguish the two groups from each other. According to Norwood (1999) the information people are seeking reflects the needs of people in different situations. In the present research the short-term sojourners seemed to seek information for survival and how to meet people. The short-term sojourners mostly wanted information on how to cope in everyday situations or how to get to know Finns. The long-term immigrants seemed to seek information about relationship building and personal development. Even if the long-term interviewees were also concerned about their everyday lives, they were much more interested in information on how society functions, how to be safe and how to develop relationships, but especially how to strengthen their own intellectual and professional development.

Alderfer's (1972) ERG theory of needs includes these three types of needs: existence (E), relatedness (R) and growth (G). In the present research these needs seemed to have different importance for the two groups studied. All the interviewees mentioned issues in all categories and it was clear that they had all of these needs, but the need groups seemed to demand different amounts of attention and the two groups also reported differently about the needs which were motivating them or the absence of which caused frustration, anger or depression. The short-term sojourners were more concerned with subsistence or existence needs, like their everyday activities, studying and food, than the long-term immigrants who, on the other hand, were much more concerned the growth needs, like being productive and innovative and achieving their individual potential in Finland.

These findings are in concordance to Alderfer (1972), who also claims that people may have all kinds of needs concurrently and the need does not disappear even if it has been satisfied, as Maslow (1954) suggested. Social relationships (relatedness needs) were very important. If the interviewees could not satisfy their relatedness needs, they felt very frustrated. Figure 31 shows a graphic imaginative representation of the three different need categories among short-term and long-term migrants in Finland. The figure is not an accurate representation of the results but gives an idea of the tendencies in these two adapting groups. The following section gives more information about relatedness needs because it seemed to be very important.

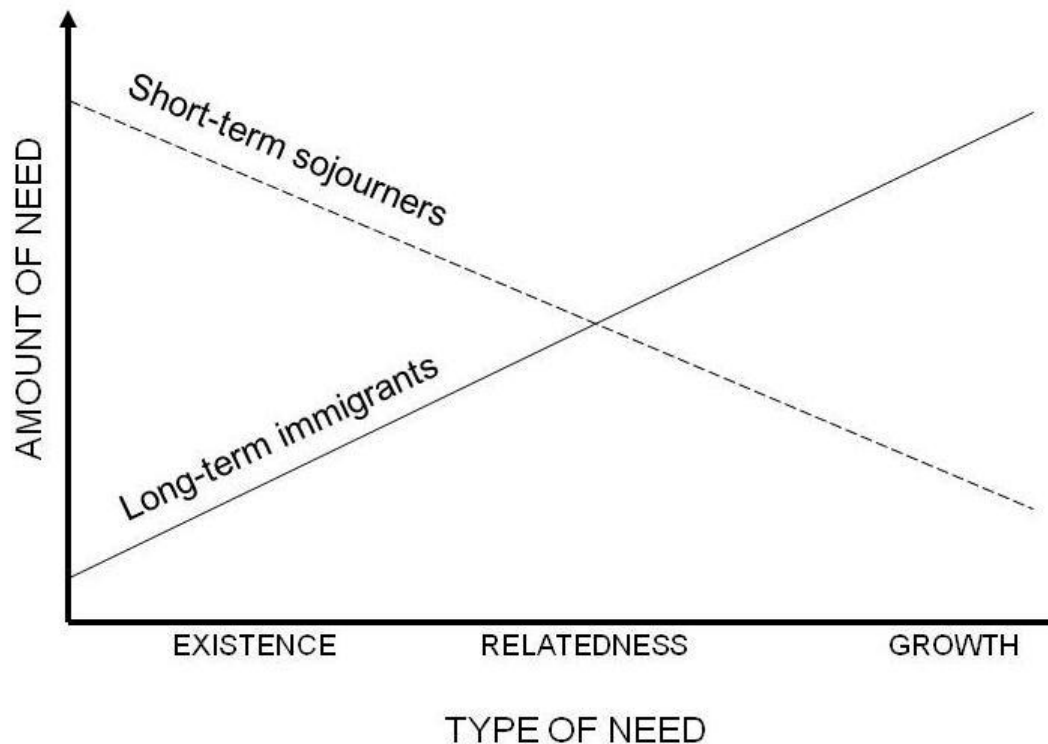


Figure 31. Types of needs; imaginative picture

Social relationships: crucial for both groups

The results of the present research emphasize that the need for social relationships was crucial in both groups. The need to belong to a group fundamentally guided people's expectations and actions and affected the level of motivation most. Both groups commented about the need to meet people and create social relationships. In Alderfer's (1972) ERG theory of needs it is called relatedness need. Both groups seemed to have about the same level of relatedness needs. These notions emerged from the comments of the interviewees and compared to the other need categories. All the interviewees wanted to create social relationships – especially friendship relationships.

The short-term sojourners mostly satisfied their relatedness need through international students and the long-term immigrants through family members, friends and colleagues, many of whom were Finnish. Baumeister and Leary (1995) note that people's need to belong to social groups and the need to be accepted is very powerful. They claim that when people move to a new culture they generally want to start forming social relationships because they miss their family members and friends. However, cultural expectations about relationships may differ quite a lot, for example, how spontaneous or how close the relationships should be in various situations (see e.g. Marsh, 1993; Storti, 2007).

Social relationships: hard to create

Creating new relationships in a new environment can be a challenging task because social networks are not in place (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). The results of the present research confirm these notions. The present research also confirms that need for social relationships is very important to all people, as noted above. It is no wonder that the relationship need category can be found in all the various theories of needs. All the interviewees were motivated to form relationships with Finns but it seemed hard – especially for the short-term interviewees.

Most of the short-term sojourners would have liked to have more spontaneous relationships with Finns to have opportunities to learn from them. Many of the short-term sojourners did not have as much contact with Finns as they would have liked. Most of the short-term sojourners explained that their motivation to learn more about Finland dropped because of very few social contacts with Finns. The short-term interviewees reported they had tried to create contacts with Finns at the beginning but when it did not work, they gave up. The short-term sojourners started to create relationships with international students instead of Finns. They spent most of their free time with other foreigners and started to create relationships with them. Taajamo (2005, 78) also reports that international students in Finland lack friendship relationships with Finns.

The short-term sojourners complained that the Finnish students' willingness to take part to the migrants' daily activities or parties the international students arranged was poor. They reported that it was generally not due to poor English language skills of the Finns because the short-term interviewees generally spoke about good English and other language skills of the Finnish people. According to their experiences, English language skills of the Finnish people should not have affected in intercultural communication situations. Hence poor language skills cannot explain non-participation from interaction with international students. The short-term sojourners also commented that they had not adapted to Finnish culture as much as they expected. They felt frustrated and cheated – like outsiders. They complained: "*Why be in Finland if you cannot communicate with Finns.*" The absence of social relations with host culture members can be crucial in the adaptation process. However, most of the short-term sojourners created numerous social contacts with international students and they found them satisfying.

Most of the long-term immigrants had some social networks with Finns from the beginning of their stay. Most of them automatically got to know Finns via their spouses; relatives and friends of the loved one. Relationships gave them ample motivation to learn more. This follows the findings of Kosik, Kruglanski, Pierro and Manetti (2004), who report that if the immigrant group has close relations with the natives, they have a stronger tendency to adapt to the new culture. Immigrants' motivation to acculturate is connected to the number of social contacts, especially at the beginning of their stay. However, some of the long-term interviewees would have liked to have more Finnish friends. They reported that it was extremely difficult to create friendships with Finns. The interviewee who was not married to a Finn and did not have any Finnish relatives would have liked to have more relationships with Finns.

Even if these comments about social relationships did not apply to all the interviewees in the present study, there was a very clear tendency towards the difficulties reported above.

6.1.2 Individual and group variation in adaptation processes

The present research included twenty interviewees. Ten of them were in Finland on a temporary basis and ten of them more permanently. At the time of the interview the shortest sojourn in Finland was 5 months and the longest was 31 years. It appeared obvious that there were individual differences within both groups but the bigger differences between were greater.

From the lines of motivation one could easily see that some of the interviewees started with quite a low level of motivation and moved slowly towards higher levels. Some of the interviewees started with a high level of motivation and later lost their motivation. Hence, the adaptation processes did not follow the same pattern.

Most of the interviewees also had “ups and downs” during the adaptation processes. Those low points were normally short and lasted for a few days or even hours – especially for the short-term sojourners. However, in many cases they lasted for months. It was interesting to see how some “small” things affected motivation quite drastically. Some interviewees had many “up-and-down” periods manifest in hesitation during their adaptation process. Those periods of hesitation seemed to occur at any time of the process.

These findings clearly showed the complexity of intercultural adaptation and challenge the most common adaptation model, which is called the culture shock model of adaptation (Oberg, 1960). Even if many of the interviewees seemed to experience some kind of stress, the lines of motivation showed that the line of adapting to a culture is not from the honeymoon stage to culture shock and from the bottom towards higher mood levels. The lines of motivation revealed many other phases in the adaptation process, like an even level for a long time and then a sudden drop. Hence the lines of motivation drawings gave a much richer picture of the process. These findings are similar to dialectical adaptation models, like Anderson’s (1994) model.

The reason for coming to Finland and the level of knowledge and understanding before arrival and during their stay seemed to affect the interviewees’ motivation. Knowledge and the process of understanding were in most cases connected to opportunities to interact with Finns. Kim (1995) and Gudykunst and Kim (1997) note that communication has an important part in the process of adapting to a new culture. The two groups differed widely in this aspect. The short-term sojourners did not make as many social connections with Finns as they would have liked and they felt annoyed about it. On the other hand, the long-term immigrants had contacts with Finns on a regular basis – even if some of them would have liked to have more friendship relationships with Finns.

It was also obvious that the motivation level might sometimes have changed drastically during the process. Many factors affected the adaptation process. If there were major changes e.g. in family issues, love relationships, social relationships or

work situation, motivation to adapt may have gone upwards or downwards depending on the situation.

6.1.3 Increased sensitivity during the adaptation process

All kinds of changes in people's lives require some kind of adaptation to the circumstances. When people come into the first hand contact with each other, they become aware of different cultural practices and may be annoyed by some of them. In the present research the interviewees reported that they were challenged and pushed – at least a little – to change. They had realised differences in cultural practices in Finland and they had to start doing some things differently. The interviewees had recognised some changes how they felt about cultural aspects, how much they had learned during the process and what kind of behavioural practices they had applied.

As noted in the theoretical part, this process of increasing intercultural sensitivity has interested many researchers (e.g. Hanvey, 2004; Bennett, 1986) over the years. According to Cushner (2008) the number of intercultural relationships and interest in talking to people from different cultures seems to predict the amount of intercultural sensitivity. Gill (2007) notes that overseas students' adaptation process is a process of intercultural learning which has the potential to increase sensitivity and bring about changes in students themselves, transforming their understanding of the learning experience, self-knowledge, awareness of other people, values and worldview. The reflections of the awareness and sensitivity processes are discussed in the following sections.

Slow increase in sensitivity to Finnish culture

The findings of the present research showed that all the interviewees felt that they had changed during the adaptation process. They reported that they had gained a different perspective on their own culture and they saw things differently. Naturally, they had gained a new understanding of Finnish culture, which they did not have before coming to Finland. They commented that they could not get that information from books or from the Internet. These findings concur with the notions by Kaufmann, Martin and Weaver (1992) who emphasize that during the intercultural adaptation processes all people go through changes in their lives and create an international or a global perspective, which may include changes in people's:

1. perceptions of a host culture
2. perceptions of their home culture and
3. global understanding. (Kaufmann et al. 1992, 53-55.)

Global understanding means an awareness of, interest in and concern for international events and issues (Kaufmann et al. 1992, 53-55). Hanvey (2004) also talks about global perspective as an idealistic state of mind in intercultural issues. Hanvey writes:

“Dispelling the strangeness of the foreign and admitting the humanness of all human creatures is vitally important. But looking at ourselves from outside our own culture is a possibility for those who can also see through the eyes of the foreigner and that have significance for the perspective consciousness. ... the outside eye has special sharpness; if the native for even a moment can achieve the vision of the foreigner he will be rewarded with the degree of self-knowledge not otherwise obtainable.” (Hanvey, 2004, 18-19.)

According to this research, intercultural communication experiences increased the awareness of the issues mentioned above. All the interviewees felt that they had become more aware of some issues in Finnish culture.

Most of the short-term interviewees knew that they still had a long way to go to reach a deeper understanding of the Finnish culture. The duration of stay in Finland had been quite short for the short-term interviewees and they normally did not report huge successes. However, they commented that even a small amount of sensitivity was a step in the right direction. It was as Hanvey (2004) and Bennett (1993) suggest as starting phases for cross-cultural awareness and intercultural sensitivity. The short-term sojourners were happy if they learned to behave according to Finnish standards so that people did not notice that they were like tourists. However, all the short-term interviewees had become aware of the effort or the length of the learning process if they had begun to adapt to Finnish culture. Experiences in Finland had given them an idea towards multicultural man.

On the other hand, the long-term immigrants emphasized the variety of different behavioural options and their own choice in most of the cases. Janet Bennett (1993) calls this stage constructive marginality, which means that people can make conscious choices. Even if some of the long-term immigrants commented that they no longer needed to adapt they also said that they had learned something new throughout the process. At the beginning many things were strange in their minds but started to make more sense in the process. Table 29 shows the major differences between the short-term sojourners' and long-term immigrants' notions when reporting about their feelings during their intercultural adaptation process in Finland or at that time. The characteristics do not apply to all the interviewees in the two groups but the table shows the main tendencies of the comments. Very often both groups mentioned similar issues but emphasized different aspects.

Table 29. Notions about the intercultural adaptation process in Finland

Short-term sojourners' comments about their feelings during the intercultural adaptation process and today.	Long-term immigrant's comments about their feelings during the intercultural adaptation process and today.
I feel strange about many things	I feel normal about most of the things
I have to learn	Both parties should learn
I have to accept the new culture	I have to accept and respect the new culture
I am able to do some things like the hosts	I am able to do many things like the hosts but I can choose what is the best way to do things: the old way, the new way or a mixture
I am no longer a "tourist"	I am an active member of society
I feel quite comfortable	I feel comfortable and safe
I enjoy being in Finland	My life is in Finland
I would like to blend in	I have a strong sense of identity

Learning Finnish for instrumental or integrative purposes

Knowledge of Finnish language was among the most mentioned knowledge areas. All the interviewees stressed the importance of Finnish language. They emphasized that the knowledge of language was the key and a gateway to the culture and they saw the language to be the first priority in the adaptation process. Poor knowledge of Finnish language was seen as a major barrier in their adaptation process and career. Learning the language of the host culture is well noted as a factor of showing interest and need for learning more about the host culture (e.g. Kim, 2001). However, Finnish language learning differentiated the two groups in the present research because they had very different goals in their language learning. The two groups interviewed had very different attitudes towards learning Finnish and a clear difference was found among the reasons.

Short-term sojourners had mostly instrumental motivation (Culhane, 2004) – to manage in everyday situations - to learn Finnish. They wanted to be able to use it in shops or for asking directions and other practical matters. Most of the short-term sojourners in the present research had taken some Finnish courses at the university – in many cases only one course. They did not want to put so much effort into learning Finnish because they could manage in English. These comments concur with Culhane (2004), who states that learners who have a strong instrumental motivation feel that an educational setting is enough to accomplish their linguistic goals in acquiring the host culture language competence and therefore, make less effort to

interact with members who use the host language. Even if the short-term sojourners in the present research had tried to communicate with Finns they had given up and did not put a lot of effort into language learning and communication. They also reported that it was quite confusing for them to communicate - when they had learned to write Finnish, they could not understand when they heard someone speaking the language. This concurs with Anhava (1998), who notes that spoken and written Finnish are very different, increasing the challenges inherent in language learning.

In many studies of second language acquisition, motivation to learn the language is connected to the need to use the language (e.g. Taajamo, 2005; Kurhila, 2003; Suni, 2008). In the present research the short-term sojourners reported that they could manage very well in English and they did not need to learn Finnish. These findings were similar to Taajamo's (2005) research, which reports that Finnish is put aside because international students have found it useless in their studies but on the other hand they feel like outsiders because they are not able to use and understand Finnish. Hence many short-term sojourners did not seem to need Finnish in many situations

All the long-term immigrants also had instrumental motivation to learn Finnish. However, they had strong integrative motivation for learning Finnish. All of them had studied Finnish and they wanted to learn more all the time – even after twenty or thirty years. For the long-term immigrants Finnish language acquisition seemed to be one of the strongest motivators in the adaptation process and they mentioned the importance of language proficiency. Most of them had learned some Finnish in their home countries but when they came to Finland they had felt handicapped and very dependent on people who could help them in everyday situations. They wanted to learn more Finnish to manage everyday situations alone and feel independent. They also wanted to achieve more profound cultural knowledge, to be able to follow the politics and all areas of society and to be able to fully understand the meanings in conversation. Media usage in Finnish was also mentioned.

It was important for the long-term immigrants to feel equal in communication situations and have more opportunities to understand the deeper meanings of the topic. Hence all the long-term immigrants had been motivated to learn the language to become independent members of Finnish society. Many of them noted that learning Finnish took a great deal of energy but it was worth the effort. All the long-term interviewees had put effort into learning Finnish. One of the long-term interviewees mentioned that his sons were using the dialect of the Helsinki region, which added an extra challenge to understanding and confused him even more (see also Anhava, 1998). These findings concur with Culhane (2004), who notes that foreign language learners with integrative motivation - to get to know the people and settle down - are more willing to make efforts to acquire the linguistic and cultural knowledge needed for communication and creation of relationships with members of the host culture. The long-term immigrants noted that later motivation and attitudes to learning Finnish had changed during their stay in Finland and now they wanted to continue learning Finnish to be able to read Finnish books in Finnish and understand all the nuances of the language. As Lehtonen (1993a, 71) reports, language has an important role in intercultural interactions and language skills have

been included to in the models of intercultural competences (Salo-Lee, 2006a; 2006b; 2009).

Even if both groups wanted to manage everyday life situations in Finnish and this seemed to affect the level of motivation quite a lot for both groups, coping in everyday situations seemed to be the main reason for the short-term sojourners to learn Finnish. Most of the short-term sojourners had not made much effort to learn Finnish because they felt that they were in Finland for only a limited time. However, they were aware of the importance of language acquisition in the adaptation and learning process.

Inclusion through language

Language is one of the most powerful means available of identifying people as members of a particular social group and affecting motivation to adapt especially in prolonged contact with the host culture (Graham, 1984). Kim (2006) also emphasizes that language acquisition is one of the major determinants of the immigrant's acculturation process and adaptation motivation. Hoffrén (2000) has studied Finnish immigrants in France and notes that without language skills the immigrants felt isolated and frustrated, even angry, but when the language level was high enough to cope in everyday situations, the deeper cultural acculturation began. The long-term immigrants in the present research emphasized that through language they wanted to signal their willingness to be an equal part of the communication situation and to be able to construct the world around them with the host nationals. The comments of the long-term interviewees about the communication situation with Finns were also more inclusive and concerned dialogical communication (Buber, 1999; Värri, 2004; Holmes, 2005). When learning a new language, the role of an expert (= a person who can use the language) was emphasized (see Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Attitude: a crucial competence factor

The interviewees mentioned important competencies people needed when adapting to a new culture and when people from different cultures were communicating. Both groups mentioned similar competencies people should have to be able to adapt and enjoy the adaptation process. All the interviewees commented about openness and curiosity as important competences. The interviewees also emphasized willingness to participate and make initiatives even if it was not at all easy. The interviewees in the present research emphasized their own attitude and motivation as most important competences - even if the level of motivation was sometimes hard to sustain. All the interviewees mentioned their own attitudes affecting how they felt in Finland. The interviewees emphasized openness, eagerness and interest. They also noted that the attitudes of the host country members were significant. If the host nationals showed interest and communicated with them, it was noticed.

Some of the short-term interviewees reiterated many times patience, tolerance and positive mood to be as the most important skills in the intercultural adaptation process because things did not follow the same procedure as one might have

expected. Many interviewees stressed that their own active role in taking initiatives was crucial in many situations because many of them had noticed that Finns started to communicate if the interviewee had made the first move. The short-term interviewees commented more about their own role in the process and how to manage or survive in the process. They pointed out specific skills connected to communication situations e.g. using Finnish, asking questions and observing. These were mentioned several times. The short-term interviewees commented several times on their own attitudes before arrival and during their stay. They had noticed that their attitude had been an important factor in their adaptation process. They mentioned situations where they had been tempted to interpret the situation very negatively using stereotypes and prejudices. These findings follow the findings of Salo-Lee (1998), Lehtonen (1992; 2001) and Petkova and Lehtonen (2005) who emphasize that stereotyping can hinder intercultural communication situations and cause anxiety. However, the short-term interviewees of the present research had noticed that avoiding negative attributions and negative stereotyping had helped them to survive and maintain their good mood. Many of them said that stereotypes and especially prejudices should be avoided in intercultural interactions even if it sounded like a cliché.

The long-term immigrants had similar comments about the attitude of a newcomer. Attitude towards the host country was mentioned in all the long-term interviews. However, the long-term immigrants commented more about competences on both sides – migrants and host nationals. They wanted to feel equal and included. They also connected their own competences, which could produce valuable outcomes in Finnish society and give them a feeling of using their potential. The interviewees raised the issue often in connection with mutual respect. They emphasized that the host nationals also should have a positive attitude towards sojourners and immigrants and everyone should be treated as equals. The long-term interviewees had felt that this was not always the case. As an example, they reported that in work related issues they had to have much better qualifications than Finns to get a job in their professional field if there was a Finnish candidate. Sometimes not even better qualifications guaranteed the workplace.

The present research did not study the host member attitudes but some of the possible attitudes of the host nationals were reported in Chapter 5. If either migrants or host nationals had no interest in communicating with each other, it meant that interaction was very limited and learning about a new culture was impeded. The following section discusses the sociocultural leaning opportunities, which may reflect some of the attitudes of host nationals or other contextual or cultural factors.

6.2 Sociocultural learning and shared meanings

6.2.1 Sociocultural learning and intercultural adaptation

The second goal of the present research was to find out how the migrant groups learned and especially if they had opportunities to learn in social relationships with Finns. Anderson (1994) has noted that intercultural adaptation and learning processes are reciprocal and interdependent, in which cognitive, social and motivational factors are interrelated. The present research used the framework of social learning theory to find out how much the two groups studied could learn from the members of the Finnish community and share meanings in their adaptation process. Gergen (1985) emphasizes that people learn the same meanings through social relationships and a social theory of learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) concedes that meaning is located in a process of mutual engagement.

The process of adapting to a new cultural context requires learning. The previous chapter (Chapter 6.1) discussed the motivational factors connected to the willingness to learn. This section comments on some cognitive factors in the learning process but concentrates on discussing sociocultural learning opportunities with Finns.

Wenger (1998, 52-56) claims that “living is a constant process of negotiation of meaning”, which means that people are in a “continual process of renewed negotiations” and people have to have opportunities to negotiate the meaning. The intercultural adaptation process is one of the situations where these negotiations about different meanings take place. Even if Wenger (1998, 56) claims that all our actions are social, the present research concentrated to those situations where participation involved interactions with Finns and opportunities to learn about Finnish culture through interaction with Finns. The present research also approached the process of negotiating the meaning from the migrants’ perspective. Hence the results of the present research reflected how the migrants had perceived the mutuality of participation to take place in their adaptation and learning process and the host member perspective is not addressed in the present research.

The situated learning model by Lave and Wenger (1991), notes that people move from the margins or “the periphery” to the centre. When people become active members of a culture, they eventually gain the role of an expert. The interviewees seemed to follow this model. The interviewees reported how their learning took place. They noted that social contacts and interaction had played a crucial part in the process. When they had gained a better understanding of the cultural practices, they had started to feel comfortable or “at home”. Feeling of belonging was mentioned only by the long-term interviewees. The short-term sojourners did not use that expression. Yet they felt comfortable and “no longer tourists”. The process of moving from the periphery to the centre or from outsider to insider status was just starting for the short-term sojourners but it was very far for most of the long-term immigrants. Figure 32 illustrates how an individual moves from the periphery of the community to the centre.

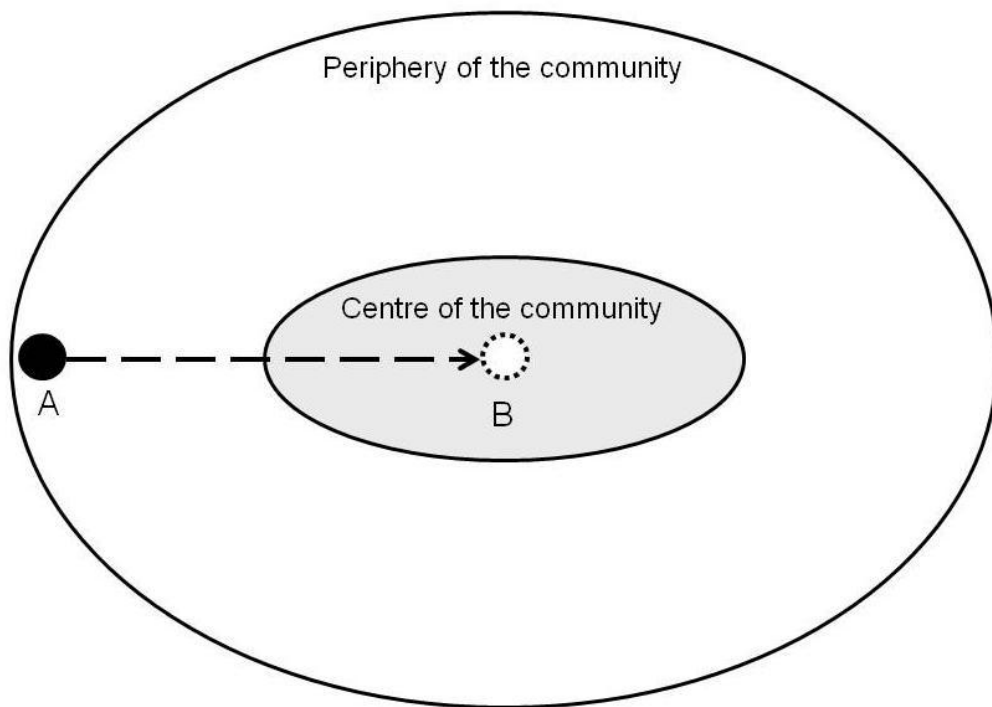


Figure 32. Process from the periphery to the centre

People and interaction were important components in learning about Finland and Finnish cultural meanings. The interviewees of the present research stressed the importance of certain people in their adaptation and learning processes. Those “active agents” could also have been books, videos and computer programmes, as Brown (1992) has noted. However, the interviewees emphasized social interaction and the importance of various people in their learning and adaptation process much more than artefacts.

6.2.2 Social relationships - crucial for learning

As noted earlier, members of both groups had a very strong need to create social relationships with other people. The importance of intercultural communication situations were mentioned in all the interviews. The interviewees of the present research referred frequently to intercultural communication experiences during their adaptation process and their importance for learning was evident. Both groups had some contacts with Finns but the short-term interviewees would have liked to create much more social relationships with Finns. Some long-term interviewees also mentioned that they did not have enough Finnish friends. Many studies of intercultural contact and adaptation have noted that it seems difficult to create and

maintain close relationships with host nationals. In the Finnish context, Taajamo (2005) and Aalto (2003a) report that newcomers have many difficulties in creating social relationships and especially friendship relationships with host nationals.

Negative feeling due to “the absent Finns”

Most of the short-term interviewees were acutely aware of not having many Finnish friends. They reported about “the absent Finns”. They would have liked to spend more time with Finns while they were in Finland but they did not seem to succeed. They had invited Finns to their parties or other events but Finns did not normally participate. After a while they stopped trying to make contacts with Finns because it was so difficult. Taajamo (2005) and Aalto (2003a) have reported similar findings. The short-term interviewees of the present research who were annoyed about Finns not attending their social events, called them “too shy people”, “reserved people” or “people with no energy”. Even if they wanted to interpret the absence of the Finns positively, it seemed to be hard for them to accept that they could not socialise with Finns. This may be partially connected to the phenomenon, which Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1982) and Lehtonen (2001) call “the silent Finn”, who avoids communication situations or whose participation in communication situations is very limited – mostly the university connected to their studies. The majority of the short-term sojourners mentioned the “absent Finns”. However, some of the short-term interviewees had shared philosophical conversations with Finns – especially in a sauna or while studying or doing sports together.

Zimbardo (1981, 240-258) notes that shy people avoid social situations and claims that shyness is connected to the values of society. Kerr (2000) also notes that shyness is connected to cultural values. Kerr (2000, 65-66) reports that cultures value shyness differently in their communication behaviour, for example, in the United States people are expected to be bold and assertive but in Sweden more reserved behaviour is valued. Pörhölä (2000) also notes that Finnish speech culture values more a reserved communication style on many occasions. Petkova and Lehtonen (2005, 70) report that Finnish communication style is seen by Bulgarians as quiet and reserved. Salo-Lee (1993, 84) talks about different politeness strategies, which in Finland are more often ways of leaving someone alone and not disturbing anyone’s privacy. In many cases this strategy was perceived as cold and impersonal also in the present research.

The long-term interviewees, on the other hand, had quite a lot of contacts with Finns. For most of them the Finnish contacts came naturally at the beginning through the man or woman they fell in love with. The relatives of the spouse were mentioned as especially important social contacts at the beginning. Eventually they created their own social and friendship relationships. They commented about situations with Finns where something was done together like building a house or baking. The interviewees who did not have Finnish relatives or friends had a harder time in building relationships. For them, the relationships came mainly through work or via people of their own nationality. Hence the long-term immigrants had good opportunities to learn from Finns and increase their own awareness.

Finnish taciturnity – always surprising

Another clear finding was connected to “non-communicative” Finns. As Puro (2009), Wilkins and Isotalus (2009) and many others have noted that there has been a strong stereotype of Finnish taciturnity. Finnish culture values more reserved behaviour and people do not approach foreign people easily. Talking has a different role in Finnish society (see Sallinen-Kuparinen, 1986). Laine-Sveiby (1991) observes that although Swedes consider themselves silent they found Finns even more silent. Swedes interpret the Finnish quietness as aggressive behaviour. In her research Swedes regretted that they had talked a lot about themselves but Finns had not shared anything (Laine-Sveiby, 1991, 17-18). Vaahterikko-Mejía (2001, 107) also reports that Latin Americans did not seem to understand the Finnish communication style – Finns were too silent.

In this research similar comments were found regarding the communication behaviour of Finns. The short-term interviewees especially were surprised when Finns did not ask questions or continue the conversation in any way even if they had talked a lot about themselves. Hence the findings of earlier studies seemed again to be confirmed. However, some of the short-term sojourners seemed to enjoy the anonymous life. They commented that they did not need to be social all the time because Finns left them alone. Nobody intruded on their private space.

The long-term interviewees also commented about the difficulties of creating social relationships with Finns. However, they had much more contact with Finns on a regular basis because of their work, hobbies and their children. One of the interviewees was disappointed because her Finnish friends did not help her when she needed help. Some of the long-term interviewees also felt that “community spirit” is not very common in Finland. Some long-term interviewees felt that Finns did not share as much as they would have liked and left them alone too often.

Creating social relationships and especially friendship contacts with host nationals was difficult for most of the short-term sojourners and for some of the long-term immigrants. Marsh (1993, 93) reports that the definition of friendship can be different in different cultures and it may take quite a long time to create a friendship relationship in Finland. Listo-Alén (1993) also notes that in the USA international students have only very casual relationships with American students and the relationships are closely connected to studies. She also reports that international students cannot make friendship relationships with American students because Americans do not participate in the occasions arranged for international students. (Listo-Alén, 1993, 163-164.) These findings are surprisingly similar to the findings of this research for the short-term sojourners who reported that Finns did not participate in their parties even if invited. Social relationships were also mostly connected to studies.

Culture of origin affects interpretations

The interviewees’ culture of origin might have affected the interpretations of intercultural communication situations. Yet, cultural differences were not studied systematically. The present research did not make distinctions between the national

cultural backgrounds or gender differences of the interviewees but it was quite clear that people from different parts of the world expected different kind of behaviour (see Puro, 1996b, 37). For example, big differences were connected to shared responsibilities and community building. According to Pietilä (1989, 86-89) Namibian communication style contains lots of “small talk” when meeting someone because it is important for the Namibian community to get to know the person and include new members in the group. In Finland new people were not easily included in the groups easily - except family circles.

Another example of cultural differences mentioned by the short-term sojourners was the limited amount of interaction with students during lectures. If a student was expecting active participation in the information processing during the lectures, it might have been a shock to realise that most of the Finnish professors or lecturers did not make the lectures interactive. Different learning or teaching styles (Felder & Henriques, 1995) might have had a huge impact in experiencing the new culture. Interpretations of the behaviour of Finns were affected by the expectations of an individual with different cultural background. Interviewees’ own expectations also affected other comments and interpretations (see Jain & Kussman, 2000 for Indian patterns).

Understanding needs participation with host nationals

The short-term sojourners revealed very clearly that they did not have enough opportunities to take part in communication situations with Finns, which impaired their opportunities to learn and share their observations and learn about Finnish cultural practices. They also reported that they understood only some meanings of Finnish culture and they were not at all active participants of Finnish society. Only a couple of short-term interviewees followed the Finnish media or were interested in politics in Finland.

During the adaptation process the short-term interviewees had started to see Finnish culture in more realistic terms and they had adapted to some of the practices, even if they felt that it was not a lot. The adaptation process had also changed their perceptions of their own home culture. The short-term interviewees were a little afraid of how they would feel when they returned home. On the other hand, they felt that they would be better prepared to face new challenges in intercultural contact and adaptation in the future. These findings concur with Berry (2009a, 77), who claims that intercultural empathy is worthless unless the participants can discover similarities with reference to difference and differences with reference to similarity and increase their understanding of cultural terms and practices. He continues that this process is only possible if the members of the group are included as active mediators and facilitators within the process. Hence the short-term sojourners would have needed more interaction with Finns to increase their understanding of Finnish culture.

The long-term immigrants reported quite profound understanding of Finnish culture and many of them felt adapted. They reported that they understood much of the meanings of Finnish culture, which they had gained through interaction with Finns – through participation. All the long-term immigrants also commented that

they were active participants in Finnish society. Most of them felt strongly that they could participate and exceed influence in Finnish society and they had ideas and comments about the Finnish political, education and health care systems.

These results are also in concordance with models of intercultural awareness or sensitivity (Hanvey, 1986, 2004; Bennett, 1986; Paige, 1993). Bennett (1986) and Hanvey (1986; 2004) emphasize that in the process of developing intercultural sensitivity or cross-cultural awareness people have to participate and start applying cultural practices of the new culture. Hanvey (1986) especially claims that contact alone does not enhance understanding but a readiness to respect the new ways of doing things and a capacity to participate – be part of the new culture and feel with them. The notion is very similar to dialogical participation where both parties respect each other. He notes that feeling with host nationals is different from understanding how they feel. He continues that being fully aware normally takes time and participation needs reinforcement by rewards which are important to the participant. (Hanvey, 1986.)

6.2.3 Intercultural adaptation - a never-ending process

The interviewees in this research noted that the process of intercultural adaptation is never-ending and always incomplete (see Anderson, 1994). The obstacles or cultural barriers in a new culture require people to learn the meanings of the situation.

Shared meanings illusive

Interpreting cultural practices in a foreign country was a challenging task for the interviewees and deeper cultural meanings might have remained hidden – especially for the short-term sojourners. As noted earlier, Finnish taciturnity could mean many things, as the findings of Carbaugh, Berry and Nurmikari-Berry (2006) and Carbaugh (2009) explain. For example Carbaugh reports that “silence” does not mean the same for Finns and for North Americans and that “quietude” is a “natural way of being” for Finns. Berry, Carbaugh, Innreiter-Moser, Nurmikari-Berry and Oetsch (2009) and Berry, Carbaugh and Nurmikari-Berry (2009) also claim as noted in the present research that foreign students interpreted Finnish communicative practices through their own frame of reference and, for example, quietness was seen as mostly negative – especially at the beginning of their stay. But when discussed more with a Finn they started to see and understand the cultural meanings better. Berry (2009b, 67) adds that locals and newcomers are ‘experts’ in their cultures but sharing the ‘expertise’ would need more effort and opportunities to learn from each other. People should have opportunities to interact with each other.

The short-term sojourners did not have many opportunities for sociocultural learning or dialogue with Finns. Yet, some of them did have and they emphasized how important it had been. As a learning framework for intercultural adaptation to Finnish culture, the social theory of learning did not work so well for the short-term sojourners because they had a limited number of contacts with Finns. When most of the short-term sojourners could not learn from and with Finns as often as they would

have liked, they had many intercultural learning experiences and sociocultural learning with other international students.

Most of the long-term immigrants, however, had regular contacts with Finns. Most of them emphasized respect between communicators in intercultural contacts. They also reported that true understanding and a feeling of shared meanings came through interaction and dialogue. Emphasizing respect and participation substantiates the theory of dialogue (Buber, 1999; Värri, 2004). In community participation, participants shape each other's experiences of meaning and recognise something of themselves in each other (Wenger, 1998, 56). Motivation from both parties, intercultural participation and dialogical communication seemed to be interdependent and important parts of the intercultural adaptation and learning process.

Dialogical understanding – an opportunity to feel together

The process towards shared meanings seemed to take quite a long time. Social constructionism and social theories of learning claim that individual processes of knowledge construction and processes of understanding are connected and interdependent. Social knowledge resides in interaction (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987). However, the interviewees in the present research could not always feel the change of understanding as Gadamer (1999; 2006) describes it. Buber (1999, 104) emphasizes that if communicators have opportunities and willingness to share and learn from each other they can create a “space” between them and deepen their understanding. The groups of the present research had quite different numbers of opportunities for shared knowledge and they reported very different levels of awareness and understanding about the symbolic systems of Finnish culture.

Almost all of the short-term interviewees noted that their knowledge about Finland, about Finnish behavioural practices and values was poor. They would have liked to know more to be able to understand more. They reported that they were just in the beginning. The short-term interviewees' awareness was mostly on the lower levels of Heinonen's (2000) model. The short-term interviewees noted differences between Finnish culture and their own and compared behavioural practices in their own culture and in Finnish culture quite a lot. In most cases the interviewees noted that they did not know or understand the Finnish way of doing things. They did not know or understand many of the Finnish practices and they felt that they could not make a correct interpretation of the situation. Most of the short-term sojourners also noted that their understanding was very limited at the beginning of their stay but all of them had gained more understanding during it. Many of them had become aware that their goal is towards multicultural personhood but most of them did not have enough participation in the Finnish community. Occasionally some of the short-term interviewees could reach the fourth or fifth level of Heinonen's (2000) model because they understood that their own frame of reference did not work. Some of them had also dialogical conversations with Finns – in a sauna or elsewhere.

When Heinonen's model was applied in this research, the short-term sojourners' star would look as in Figure 33. This is an imaginative picture of how well the short-term sojourners could gain an understanding of symbolic systems in Finland through

sociocultural learning. These notions were made from the short-term interviewees' comments during the interviews.

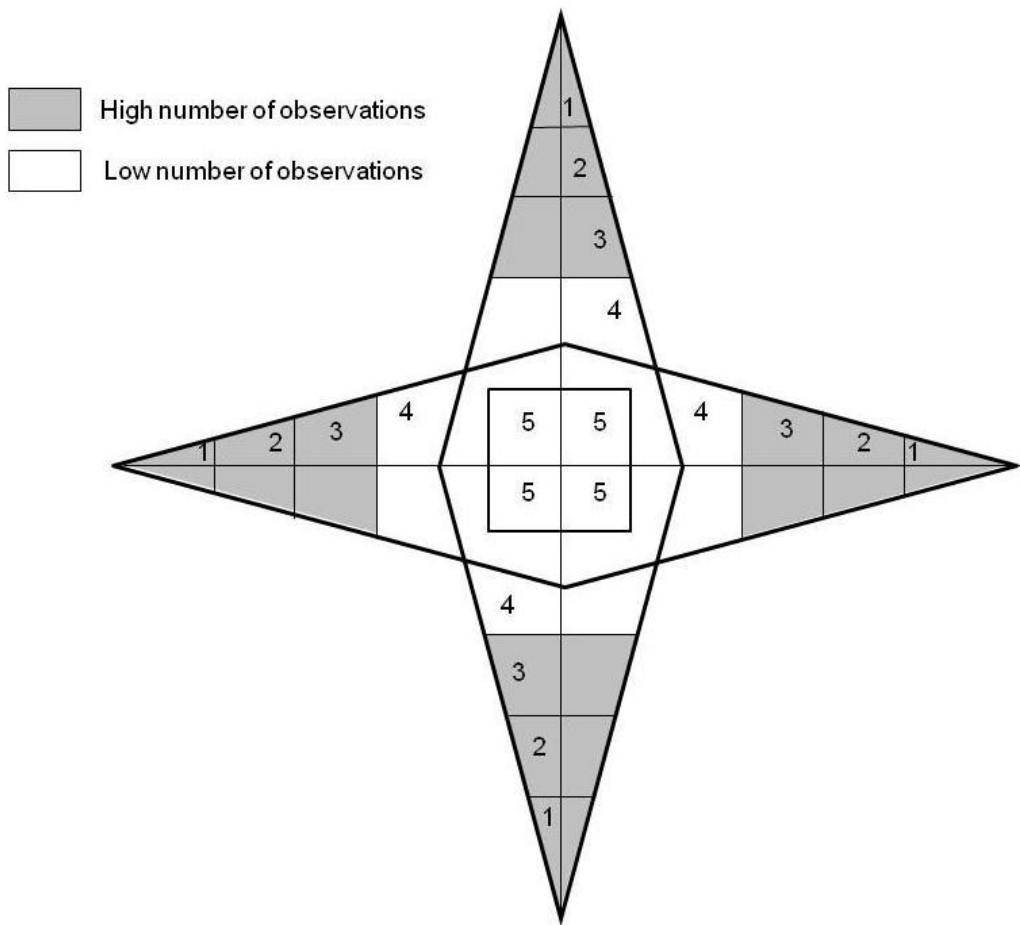


Figure 33. Level of understanding of Finnish culture: imaginative picture for the short-term interviewees

The long-term immigrants commented that they understood the meanings of Finnish cultural practices in most of the situations. Their comments were mostly on the fourth and fifth level in Heinonen's (2000) model. They noted that the spouse and other Finns had been of great importance for their understanding.

Understanding Finnish history had also increased their awareness and understanding of the Finnish mentality. This finding applied to Boski (2002), who notes that knowing the history of the culture increases understanding of the present day. After being able to follow the Finnish media they felt that they could participate more in discussions and social life.

The long-term interviewees most often had interpretations of the situation but they noted that they no longer normally considered the reasons for different behaviour. They were very aware that their own frame of reference was not the only way to interpret. The long-term interviewees also noted, as Heinonen (2000) suggests, that they had become more aware of some features of their own culture but

at the same time they had gained an understanding of Finnish culture. Sometimes they commented that the Finnish way of doing something was better than their “old style”. Such understanding in most of the cases meant a choice of different options, a wider repertoire. These findings concur with Milton Bennett (1993), who notes that people who are at the integration stage in their developmental processes can choose from many cultural frames of reference, which are also constantly renegotiated. They had gained experiences and new ways of thinking which had strengthened their life and identity. Hence people made choices and constructed the identity which suited best in new circumstances as Brewis (2008) also notes.

Hence the long-term immigrants had quite different comments about their understanding of Finnish culture and their star would look quite different from that of the short-term sojourners. Figure 34 shows the long-term immigrants’ understanding of symbolic systems in Finland. It is also an imaginative picture showing the main tendency how well the long-term immigrants could comprehend symbolic systems in Finland through sociocultural learning.

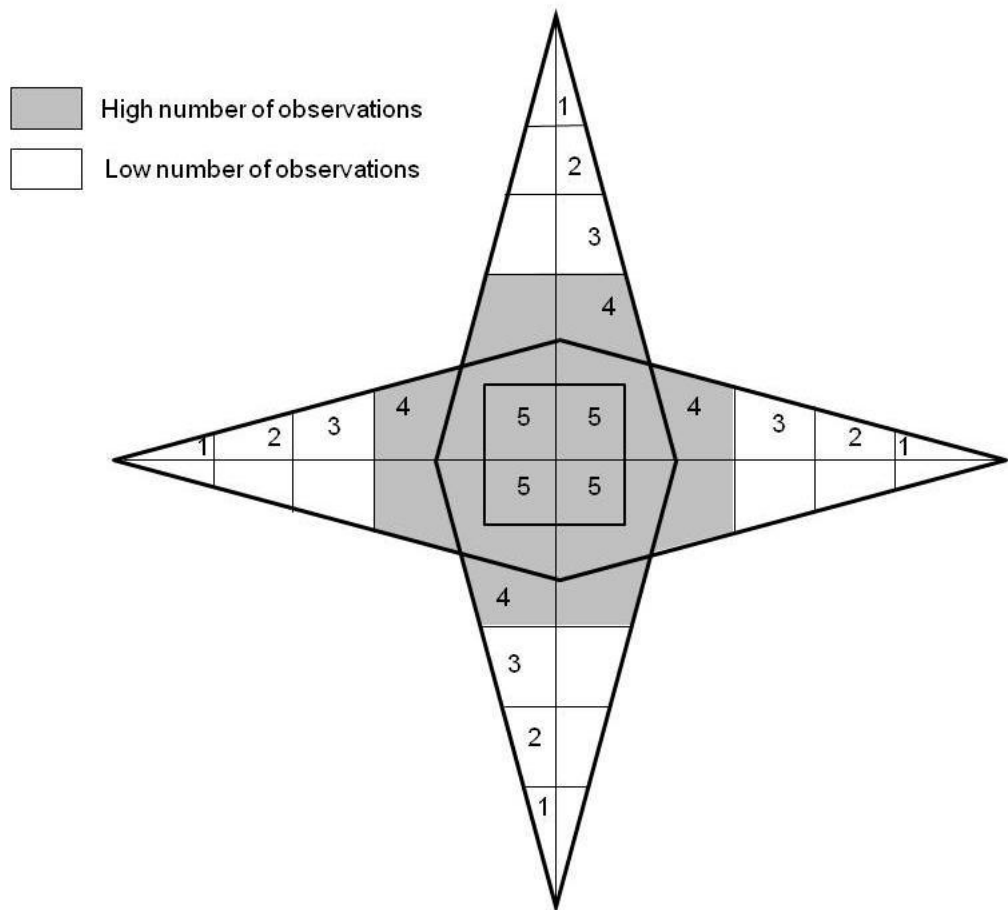


Figure 34. Level of understanding of Finnish culture: imaginative picture for the long-term interviewees

6.3 The model of intercultural adaptation as a dialogical learning process

The present research used two integrative models of intercultural adaptation, namely the communication centred model by Gudykunst and Kim (1997) and the dialectical model of intercultural adaptation by Anderson (1994). These models take into consideration multiple factors affecting the intercultural adaptation process. The first model places communication at the centre and the second model emphasizes the dialectical nature of intercultural adaptation. In dialectical models of intercultural adaptation people and society are dependent on each other.

The main emphasis of the present research was on the dialectical character of intercultural adaptation combining the individual and social factors of the process. As Gudykunst and Kim (1997) claim, communication lies at the heart of adaptation and adaptation motivation. In the present research communication was seen as a crucial part of the intercultural adaptation process and was reported in connection with motivational and sociocultural areas of intercultural adaptation.

The present research claims that the process of adapting to a new culture is a very multifaceted learning process. It is a personal, cyclical and continuous process. On the other hand, it is also very social and requires social interaction. The results of this research indicate that the phases of intercultural adaptation do not follow the same line even if there are some similarities in the notions people form.

The intercultural adaptation process contains many factors affecting the motivation to adapt. Figure 35 presents the model of intercultural adaptation as a dialogical learning process and shows the interconnectedness of the antecedent factors identified in the present research.

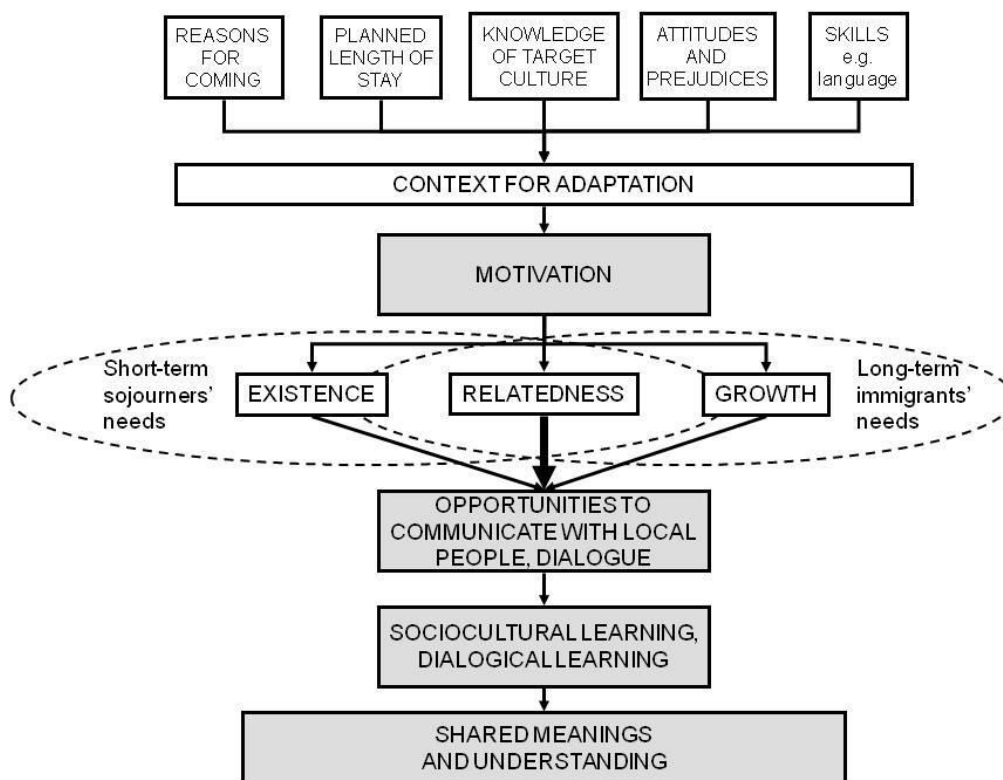


Figure 35. Model of intercultural adaptation as a dialogical learning process

The model emphasizes first the importance of motivational factors in intercultural adaptation. The level of motivation may change dramatically during the whole process and eagerness to adapt may be distorted at any time. Relatedness need is one of the most important need categories but existence and growth needs are present in various quantities.

The model emphasizes secondly the sociocultural learning and dialogue as a crucial part of intercultural adaptation process. The need to relate to others brings people together and provides opportunities for sociocultural learning and dialogue.

Intercultural adaptation processes may be distorted if either of these factors is lacking. If people are not motivated to adapt and learn, the process may end at any time. If there are no opportunities for sociocultural learning and dialogue, it affects the amount and level of knowledge and shared understanding. During the intercultural adaptation process people gain understanding using multiple strategies. Because knowledge is created together, intercultural interaction and dialogue have an important position in this model. Through dialogue people can fulfil their needs for reciprocal and authentic relationships, gain new interpretations and profound understanding. This model emphasizes dialogue as a goal for human interaction whatever the situation and requires active role from both parties – migrants and hosts.

6.4 Assessment and self-evaluation

6.4.1 Reliability and validity of the research

Methodological details are very important in qualitative research reports so that the readers can understand what has been done and judge the quality and usefulness of the research. For evaluating qualitative research, Miles and Huberman (1994, 278-280) propose criteria which includes the following aspects: internal validity (the findings are credible to the people studied), external validity (the conclusions have wider importance and can be transferred to other contexts), reliability (the process of the study is consistent and reasonably stable over time and across researchers and methods), objectivity (relative neutrality and freedom from unacknowledged researcher bias), and application (the pragmatic value of the research). The following sections will discuss these components in the present research.

One of the issues in evaluating research is validity. Elliott, Fischer and Rennie (1999) present a set of guidelines for reviewing qualitative research. They developed seven guidelines to qualitative research: 1) owning one's perspective; 2) situating the sample; 3) grounding the examples; 4) providing credibility checks; 5) achieving coherence; 6) accomplishing general versus specific research tasks and 7) resonating with readers. The present research followed these guidelines as closely as possible. In the following sections these guidelines are discussed in relation to this research.

First, owning one's perspective requires investigators to specify their theoretical orientations and personal anticipations. Throughout the process of conducting the research, researchers have to recognize their values, interests and assumptions that may influence their understanding. In disclosing values and assumptions, readers are able to interpret and understand the researcher's data and interpretations (Puro, 1996b; Elliott et al., 1999). In this research the main perspective was phenomenological, allowing the interviewees to talk about their adaptation processes as freely as possible. The main emphasize was on the learning models of adaptation and motivational aspects of willingness to adapt to a new culture. The researcher's main interest in doing this kind of research was personal experiences of adaptation processes outside Finland and being involved in teaching intercultural issues for multicultural groups.

Second, situating the sample means that the researcher should give an adequate description of research participants and their life circumstances (Elliott et al. 1999). In this research only some basic information about the interviewees was provided because of the sensitivity of the topic and the number of foreign nationals in Finland. In some cases the interviewees could have been recognised if more information had been given. The approximate duration of stay, gender and national culture were provided. The interviewees' educational background was reported and the voluntariness of their stay in Finland was noted.

Third, grounding the examples provides examples from the data to illustrate the analytic procedures and understanding developed based on them. The reader can

evaluate the fit between the data and the researcher's interpretation of the data (Elliott et al., 1999). In this research, the in-depth description of the themes was provided with specific examples and quotations to illustrate each theme.

Fourth, providing credibility checks includes the methods which ensure that the researcher's categories, themes and accounts are accurate (Elliott et al., 1999). In this research the researcher's understanding was checked afterwards with some of the interviewees. They were willing to continue with the process and allowed the researcher to contact them afterwards for clarifications and understanding. Naturally, this does not ensure that all the other interpretations were correct.

Fifth, achieving coherence means that the interpretation should form a framework or structure for the phenomena (Elliott et al., 1999). In this research interpretative phenomenological analysis and theory was used to understand the interviewee's experiences in their adaptation process by grouping similar themes together and trying to take care of the nuances in the data.

Sixth, accomplishing general versus specific research tasks focuses on two areas. First, if the goal is to obtain a general understanding of the phenomenon, the researcher needs to base the understanding on an appropriate range of informants. Second, if the goal is to understand a specific instance or case, then the researcher needs to make a systematic and comprehensive presentation of a case. The researcher needs to address the limitations of extending the findings. (Elliott et al., 1999.) In this research the number of interviewees was limited and did not include all the different migrant groups in Finland. Findings cannot be generalised to other kinds of migrant groups. The findings of this research are not necessarily reproducible.

Finally, resonating with readers means that the material is presented in such a way that the intended audience can judge whether the manuscript accurately represents the subject matter and has improved or expanded their understanding of it (Elliott et al. 1999). The main goal of the research was to achieve a better understanding of the motivational factors affecting the adaptation process and to find out if the groups studied had opportunities for sociocultural learning and to be able to report about them to the readers of this dissertation. Some advice and encouragement during the research process was obtained from various people but also from the writing of Oplatka (2001, who noted that researchers should enjoy doing life-story research because the method can provide much unexpected and enriching data, which the researcher would not obtain using more structured methods. Having had numerous interesting discussions with the interviewees about the adaptation processes hopefully can be heard in the report.

Saturation is one way to measure the validity of the material (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bowen, 2008). Data saturation occurs when the researcher is no longer hearing or seeing new information. In the present research the data was very rich but there was also lots of repetition. The individual stories were very different but some main themes seemed to emerge from the data quite quickly. The short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants pointed out different kinds of themes but some similarities were also found. There were many details in the data and they are not all presented in the research. Some cohesive narratives were made out of the data to show the complexity of the phenomenon.

Patton (2001) states that reliability is a consequence of validity in a qualitative research and it can be reached by using multiple methods or multiple analysts. In order to find out the life-stories of the participants of the research, the data was collected using two main methods. First the interviewees drew a line of motivation during their adaptation process and in-depth interviews were conducted after the drawing. These two methods complemented each other. Drawing the line of motivation had increased the interviewees' awareness of their adaptation process and the lines helped during the in-depth interviews. When the interviewees told about their adaptation process, they used the picture and showed significant points in their adaptation. Their stories mostly followed the linear form and it was much easier to follow the time line and sometimes to go back to certain moments in the line. On the other hand the line of motivation alone, even with lots of explanations written down on the lines, would not have worked so effectively without additional questions and clarifications. The time spent for the drawing the lines and the in-depth interviews was about two hours. In most of the cases it seemed to be enough. The interviewees explained the changes in their motivation lines and looked active even after two hours' participation. They seemed to be very motivated to be part of the research project and many of the interviewees said that the research process had increased their self-understanding and awareness of past occasions and processes. When they for example looked at the line of their adaptation they commented:

“Now I understand some of the things myself. It is interesting to see the whole process.” (L4/m/NO)

When interviewing is used, the researcher has to be aware of his or her own biases. The following section presents some remarks on the role of the researcher in the present research.

6.4.2 Self-assessment

Merleau-Ponty claims that there are no pure and complete observations but all our observations are biased and contextual and they are always connected to oneself, to others and the world (in Värri, 2004, 57). Spivak (1996, 15) also notes that nobody can “speak” for “another” person because the “other” is also the creator of the knowledge.

The researcher and the researched are not separate from each other. The researcher of this research is well aware that the results should be the creations of the interviewees' stories as much as possible but at the same time the researcher is aware that her voice cannot be avoided. Trying out the interpretive method means that the researcher has also been an interpreter between the results and the stories reported.

The expectations of the researcher can easily lead to erroneous conclusions. Boeree (2005) notes that the researcher's biases cannot be avoided completely. In the present research, interviewing was the main method to collect the information about the intercultural adaptation and learning processes in Finland. The researcher

had thought about some main themes but she used open questions as often as possible and let the interviewees talk freely about their adaptation processes and issues they mentioned. The researcher also had to make sure that she understood what the interviewees meant. Minimizing possible misinterpretations, additional questions were asked to clarify certain issues and examples about the learning situations. It is certainly true that all the opportunities to ask additional questions were not used. Some valuable information might have been missed because of that.

The sampling strategy of the research group may have affected the results. The interviewees were chosen because of their experiences in adapting to a new culture. The interviewees were chosen to find out how people with academic degrees experience the adaptation process. The interviewees did not create a homogeneous group of migrants and they did not represent all the migrant groups in Finland. The interviewees came from 14 different nationalities but the sample was not representative because the number of interviewees from different countries was small. The interviewees were in Finland voluntarily and they had academic degree or they were studying towards it. Most of the long-term immigrants had permanent jobs and their lives were stable and secure. The results might have differed significantly for immigrants without education or work; a Jasinskaja-Lahti and Perhoniemi (2007) also note that well-educated immigrants integrate in a reasonably positive manner in Finland. If the immigrants were forced to leave their home countries and come to Finland would certainly have affected the results. The results might be different also depending on where the interviewees lived in Finland – in a big city or in the country.

The researcher knew most of the interviewees on some level. This helped to establish a reliable connection between the researcher and the interviewee but on the other hand it may have affected the narratives reported. The researcher had been a lecturer for most of the short-term interviewees but it did not seem to be the major role disposition in the situation. As Alasuutari (1994, 148) has noted, when the framework changes the role relationship also changes. The researcher was no longer the “teacher” but the “interlocutor” interested in their experiences. The answers could have reflected the expectations or values of the interviewer but it did not seem to be the case. The interviewees were eager to share their experiences and they could discuss both positive and negative experiences, which may have balanced the situation. However, the researcher was aware that the interviewees may have felt uneasy at times. As Takala states (2005), the effects of the interview are not only positive afterwards even if most of the interviewees report positive feelings straight after the interview. Gadamer (1999) emphasizes that the relationship between the researcher and the interviewee should be a truly dialogical relationship. When the interviewees in the present research realised that the researcher was willing to share their experiences and was willing to listen to them, this made them talk freely and a lot of new information was gained through the research process about the interviewees and their experiences. The situation and the interviews might have been different depending on the gender and age of the interviewees and the interviewer (Alasuutari, 1994). Hence the results cannot be generalised.

Language may have played a role in the research process. Mostly two languages were used: English and Finnish. The researcher’s native language is Finnish. Hence

the researcher was not a native speaker of English and most of the interviewees were not either. The researcher's had lived a couple of years in England and in other countries where English was used. She has used English in her work for several years at the university and is familiar with many English accents among her students. However, a common understanding of the terms had to be checked. Therefore some terms were explained at the beginning and during the research procedure. Sometimes many languages were used during the data collection but mainly English and Finnish. Sometimes there were obvious moments of misunderstanding but in face-to-face situation those moments could be seen quite easily. Questions were repeated in different ways or some examples were given to clarify the issue. When Finnish was used, the interviewee sometimes had difficulties in finding the right word but English was used only occasionally in those interviews.

The stories reported by the interviewees are also due to various biases. As Gadamer (2004, 8) notes people easily "make mistakes" when talking about their own experiences in an unfamiliar context. Garfinkel also stresses that the stories interviewees tell do not necessarily show the real world but the way the interviewees have perceived the incidents because people continuously give meanings in the context at certain time (in Heritage, 1996, 39-46). In some cases the interviewees might have given a better or a worse picture of the situation than what it really was. Time spent in Finland also affected the stories. The story is no longer the same after ten years as if reported after ten days. In this research the longest time line was 31 years. One can easily understand that only the most significant and relevant incidents were mentioned and many details were missing compared to the short-term interviewees' experiences, which had happened mostly less than a year ago. Sometimes the interviewees changed their lines of motivation during the interview but mostly the lines stayed as they were drawn. Many of the interviewees said that it was quite easy to talk about their adaptation experiences when they had gone through the process first alone while drawing the line of motivation in peace before the interview. Many of them said that they had become more aware of their motives while doing the drawing (see Fornäs, 1998). Certainly there were also interviewees who were more open than others when describing their lives.

The phenomenon of intercultural adaptation is very multifaceted and elusive. It is obvious that the present research only touches some areas of the phenomenon. The researcher is well aware that the picture about the adaptation process is not complete and the factors presented in the research could be different depending, for example, on the group, time spent in Finland or voluntariness of stay. One of the excuses for not having all the affecting factors was that effort was made to keep the in-depth interviews as open as possible leading to the directions the interviewees wanted and that all the interviews were based on the lines of motivation drawn by the interviewees. Hence there are many factors affecting the amount of motivation to adapt and individual differences are always present. Therefore, there is no intention to generalize the results even if there are also similarities in the adaptation processes.

6.4.3 Suggestions for further research

The present research interviewed people who had come to Finland voluntarily. It is obvious that these results as such cannot be generalised to other migrant groups in Finland even if they might report similar factors. It would be interesting to study migrant groups who have been forced to leave their home countries and move to Finland. The interviewees in the present research were also well-educated or students in higher education. Their situation is certainly different from that of migrants with no education or work. It would be interesting to investigate different migrant groups with the same method and compare the results with the present research. This would give information about the amount of motivation and obstacles in different socio-economic groups.

Most of the short-term sojourners and some of the long-term immigrants had difficulties in getting into Finnish society and creating social relationships with Finns. It would be interesting to know what motivates the host nationals to communicate more with “the newcomers”. It would be interesting to study the adaptation process also from the perspective of the spouses and compare motivational factors within the couple.

In the future more research would be needed to find out the obstacles of mutual or dialogical learning from the perspective of host nationals. It would be interesting to research from Finnish students’ or other Finns’ perspectives and find out what kinds of opportunities they would mention as opportunities for dialogical intercultural learning. It would be important to study more systematically how and where dialogue takes place. Places for meeting and sharing may be missing.

Cultural identity management appeared to be important for the long-term immigrants. They reported that during the process of intercultural adaptation the cultural identity was blurred even if their sense of their own cultural identity seemed to be strong. In the future, identity management would be an interesting area to study further.

The method of drawing the line of motivation connected to the interviews worked very well and it could be applicable for studying motivational factors in different situations. It could be used to collect information about the amount of motivation and motivating factors of employees in merger situations, in multicultural workplaces or teams. The method would certainly bring to the surface the motivating factors and give a clear picture of “critical” points e.g. in the team. It would also be interesting to collect information with the same method from various migrant groups, from the same nationality, same age or same gender and analyse what kinds of factors would increase or impair their motivation to adapt and give more specific information about certain groups.

7. Conclusions

The purpose of the present research was to investigate the process of intercultural adaptation in Finland. The main approach was dialectical, which combined individual and social aspects of adaptation process. The first area of interest was to understand the factors affecting the level of motivation to learn and adapt to Finland. The second area of interest was to find out what kinds of opportunities migrants had for sociocultural and dialogical learning. The results of this research represent the experiences of the people who have adapted to Finland for a shorter or a longer time.

Most of the existing intercultural adaptation models seem to emphasize the outcome of the adaptation process and they often talk about the whole process as linear. The present research is one of the first phenomenological studies to focus on the process as a whole and compare short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants using the same method.

The method of drawing the line of motivation was invented for the present research as an additional tool for in-depth interviews. This was an innovative method which visualised the process of adaptation and helped speakers to focus during the interviews. It worked extremely well and seemed to work with both groups regardless of their length of stay in Finland. Obviously, the amount of information on the lines of motivation was affected by the duration of stay in Finland and was much more detailed for the short-time sojourners.

Several themes emerged from the adaptation experiences. Chapter 5 presented an in-depth description of the results. The results showed the great importance of motivational and sociocultural aspects in the intercultural adaptation process and clear differences were found between the two groups studied. Naturally, there were also individual differences within the groups.

Referring to the two main research questions and the follow-up questions presented in Chapter 4.1, the conclusions below can be drawn. However, they do not apply to all the interviewees in the groups studied.

1. The reason for coming to Finland affected the level of motivation in both groups before arrival. The level of motivation was high for most of the interviewees due to different reasons.

- The short-term sojourners who came on student exchange were looking for an exciting time in Finland and most of them came to Finland by chance. They wanted to experience something new and exotic but their level of motivation was high. Many of them learned only some basic facts about Finland and very little or no Finnish language before arriving.

- The long-term immigrants mainly came to Finland because of love or work. They had mostly very high level of motivation because Finland was the country of their loved one and their own in the future. Many of the long-term immigrants collected a lot of information about Finland and learned some Finnish before arriving.

2. The planned duration of stay increased or impaired motivation

- The short-term sojourners came to Finland for a couple of months or a few years. Moving temporarily to Finland seemed to impair motivation to learn Finnish and adapt. If there were any obstacles their motivation decreased. They felt that they did not need to put very much effort for their language learning because they could manage in English.
- The long-term immigrants come to Finland for many years or for good. Moving more permanently to Finland increased motivation to learn about Finnish culture and language and to become independent members of Finnish society.

3. Differences by group in goals and expectations in Finland

- The short-term sojourners mostly wanted to experience international atmosphere and have a nice time. The most common word for the short-term sojourners was excitement when they talked about their goals and expectations.
- The long-term immigrants wanted to start their life in Finland and find a workplace in their professional field. They wanted to become independent and equal members of Finnish society.

4. Finnish climate affected positively and negatively for both groups but it had a bigger meaning for the short-term sojourners

- Dark and rainy autumn and winter impaired motivation for both groups. However, real winter weather with snow and frost did not seem to bother people – quite the opposite. Climate seemed to have much more importance for the short-term sojourners than the long-term immigrants. All the interviewees liked the Finnish summers with long, light days and nights.

5. Finnish natural environment increased motivation for both groups

- Finnish natural environment was seen as clean and accessible and increased motivation for both groups. Interviewees enjoyed hiking in the forests and swimming in the lakes. Surprisingly often Lapland was mentioned as a

special natural environment. The short-term sojourners commented Finnish natural environment as “exotic”.

6. Friendship and other social relationships with Finns increased the motivation for both groups

- The short-term sojourners could not create relationships with Finns as much as they would have liked to. They talked about the “absent Finns”. They were surprised and sad that Finns did not show up for their parties. They did not know how to approach Finns because they felt that they were reserved. The short-term sojourners considered it hard to make social conversations with Finns. Hence they created social relationships with other international students.
- The long-term immigrants had quite many Finnish friends and numerous social relationships with Finns. Yet, many of the long-term immigrants had lots of social relationships with other international people living in Finland. At the beginning the role of the spouse’s relatives was very important. However, some of the long-term immigrants felt that they would have liked to have more Finnish friends but still they did not talk about the silent Finns.

7. Adaptation was an everchanging, multifaceted and individual process

- The present research did not seem to verify the well known, linear culture shock curve. Instead, the adaptation processes followed more dialectical models of adaptation, emphasizing the everchanging character of adaptation process and interdependence of individual and social factors. The process of adapting to Finland contained variation in the level of motivation for both groups studied. The short-term sojourners seemed to have sudden but relatively short lapses. On the other hand, the long-term immigrants also had some sudden and short lapses in their level of motivation but this was also low for a longer time than among the short-term sojourners.

8. Barriers to sociocultural learning were identified

- The short-term sojourners had in theory many opportunities to meet Finns because they were daily at the university but they seemed to have limited opportunities to communicate with the host nationals, which decreased opportunities for sociocultural learning and learning cultural meanings in dialogue. The short-term sojourners emphasized their own competences in their adaptation process but most of them were not willing to put much effort into learning.
- The long-term immigrants could communicate regularly with Finns, which helped them to learn deeper meanings of Finnish culture. The long-term

immigrants noted that both parties should be actively involved in the learning process. They put a lot of effort into their cultural learning.

9. Identity issues were more important for long-term immigrants

- The short-term sojourners did not talk about their present cultural identity. They mentioned the theme when they talked about their visits home and their observations of their cultures of origin. It seemed as if their cultural identity was not threatened. The adaptation process had changed their perceptions about their own culture and the new culture in some respects.
- The long-term immigrants had a strong sense of cultural identity and they mention it many times. However, the long-term immigrants emphasized that the adaptation process had given them multiple cultural identities, which could be used depending of the situation and a range of possibilities to choose from - the old way, the new way or a mixture of old and new.

10. Learning and understanding involved dialogical communication

- Understanding the meanings of the new culture was achieved mostly through sociocultural learning in interaction with host nationals. The level of symbolic understanding of Finnish culture for most of the short-term sojourners remained low. However, they were aware of their limited understanding and the efforts it would need to increase it.
- Understanding the meanings of the new culture was achieved mostly through sociocultural learning in interaction with host nationals. However, the long-term immigrants followed Finnish media and read Finnish books and they were active in all areas of society. The level of symbolic understanding of Finnish culture was on high level for most of the long-term immigrants.

11. Insider status was achieved through dialogical learning process

- It seemed difficult for the short-term sojourners to feel included in society. In many cases they did not even expect it. If someone fell in love with a Finn, it dramatically started to change their status from an outsider to an insider or move them from the periphery to the centre of the community. It required dialogue between the migrants and the host culture members, which in turn gave opportunities for a dialogical learning process.
- The long-term immigrants felt mostly included in Finnish society. They felt that they were equal members of the society and they were eager to participate in all kinds of activities. They had an insider status but they could shift the perspective quite easily. This was mostly achieved through participation and sociocultural learning.

The present research noted that application of theory and real-life experiences was a valuable combination in investigating the motivational dynamics of intercultural adaptation. Reflecting the adaptation experiences showed that the intercultural adaptation phenomenon was very multifaceted and it was important to use multiply ways to investigate it. However, the results of the present research might have looked different another time for the interviewees. The interviewees' lives were in a constant state of flux and things might have look different after days, months or years. When people were in intercultural communication situations and found new interpretations together, they became more open to new and different ways of understanding and experiencing the world.

The present research clearly agrees with those researchers who claim that intercultural adaptation is a dynamic process with many factors affecting the process. When talking about the process of adaptation, it is very important to talk about the whole process because earlier experiences affect the present moment a lot. Intercultural communication situations with the host culture members seem to play an important role in intercultural adaptation. Hence sociocultural learning models would be a very suitable and beneficial approach in interpreting the intercultural adaptation processes.

The present research helps to broaden the perspective of intercultural adaptation towards the dialogical learning process and combine various theoretical approaches into a new, more dialogical learning model of intercultural adaptation. The present research also suggests that it is important to promote efforts to ensure that newcomers in a foreign country have opportunities to participate fully in the host society. Dialogue as a goal for human interaction is important in deepening the meanings of different individuals and cultures. It requires active, respectful actions from both parties.

8. Epilogue

All cultures are creations of constant interaction with members of other cultural groups and people have adapted to various cultural practices. Obama (2004, 433) writes in his book “Dreams from My Father” what he learned about cultural authenticity and cultural contacts when he visited Kenya. One Kenyan professor had said to Obama:

“I will offer you tea. Kenyans are very boastful about the quality of their tea, you notice. But of course we got the habit from the English. Our ancestors did not drink such a thing. Then there are the spices we used to cook this fish. They originally came from India, or Indonesia. So even in this simple meal, you will find it very difficult to be authentic - although the meal is certainly African.”

I have myself gone through the process of intercultural adaptation in three different countries myself. My experiences have greatly affected who I am and how I see the world around me today. Those experiences made me interested in the topic and that interest gave me strength during the research process. I recently reread my diaries from London, Mtwara and Benghazi. When reading the diaries after many years I noticed that my experiences had been quite different in those countries and I had learned different things in all of them. I also saw the process of learning in my diaries – from facts into meanings and deeper understanding. Hence, the process of growing intercultural sensitivity had started on a low level but will continue throughout my life.

In a multicultural world we have to be prepared to face differences and to be ready to learn from others. I firmly believe that the attitudes and motivations people have towards other people affect how they behave. I also believe that mutual respect between people is crucial in intercultural adaptation and sharing the key to intercultural learning.

I want to finish this dissertation with a metaphor about the intercultural learning process. It was given by one of the interviewees of the present research. To my mind it puts the present research in a nutshell.

*“Intercultural learning is like growing food.
People have to prepare the soil for intercultural learning (motivation)
Then they have to put seeds into the soil (knowledge).
Interaction is the fertilizer, water and nourish (crucial part of growing).
As a result people can eat and relax
(learning and enjoying each other’s company).”*

References

- Aalto, P. 2003a. Ulkomaalaiset tutkinto-opiskelijat Suomen korkeakouluissa. Korkeakoulujen politiikat ja käytännöt. Kansainvälisen henkilövaihdon keskus CIMO. Occasional paper 2a/2003. Helsinki: Centre for International Mobility CIMO.
- Aalto, P. 2003b. Kun opintie vie ulkomaille. Suomalaisten tutkinto-opiskelu ulkomaisissa korkeakouluissa. Helsinki: Centre for International Mobility CIMO.
- Aalto, P. & Garam, I. 2004. Kansainvälinen liikkuvuus yliopistoissa ja ammattikorkeakouluissa 2003. CIMO Publications 2/2004. Helsinki: Center for International Mobility CIMO.
- Aarnio, H. 1999. Dialogia etsimässä. Academic Dissertation. Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 676. Vammala: Vammalan kirjapaino.
- Abbey, N. 2008. Developing 21st Century Teaching and Learning: Dialogic Literacy. New Horizons fro learning. Retrieved 11.8.2008 from <http://www.newhorizons.org/strategies/literacy/abbey.htm>.
- Ackermann, E. 2001. Piaget's Constructivism, Papert's Constructionism: What's the difference? Future of learning group publication. Retrieved 14.8.2008 from http://learning.media.mit.edu/content/publications/EA.Piaget%20_%20Papert.pdf.
- Adler, N. 2001. International Dimensions of Organizational Behavior. 4th Edition. Cincinnati, OH: South-Western College Press.
- Adler, P.S. 1975. The transnational experience: An alternative view of culture shock. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, Volume 15, Issue 4, 13-23.
- Adler, P.S. 1986. Culture Shock and Cross.Cultural Learning Experiences. In L.F. Luce & E.C. Smith (Eds.), *Towards Internationalism. Readings in Cross-Cultural Communication*. Second edition. USA: Newbury House Publishers, A division of Harper-Collins Publishers.
- Alasuutari, P. 1994. Laadullinen tutkimus. 2. uudistettu painos. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Alderfer, C.P. 1972. Existence, relatedness, and growth: Human needs in organizational settings. New York: Free Press.
- Alitolppa-Niitamo, A., Söderling, I. & Fågel, S. 2005. Olemme muuttaneet. Näkökulmia maahanmuuttoon, perheiden kotoutumiseen ja ammatillisen työn käytäntöihin. Helsinki: Väestöliitto.

- Allan, M. 2003. Frontier crossings: Cultural dissonance, intercultural learning and the multicultural personality. *Journal of Research in International Education*. Volume 2, Issue 1, 83-110.
- Anderson, J.A. 1987. *Communication research. Issues and methods*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Anderson, L.E. 1994. A new look at an old construct: Cross-cultural adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 18, Issue 2, 293-328.
- Anderson, R. 2003. Literature and the particularities of dialogue. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. Volume 89, Issue 1, 78-82.
- Anhava, J. 1998. *Maaailman kilet ja kielikunnat*. Tampere: Gaudeamus.
- Applegate, J.L. & Sypher, H.E. 1988. A constructivist theory of communication and culture. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Theories in intercultural Communication*. *International and Intercultural Communication Annual*, Volume XII. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Arasaratnam, L.A. & Doerfel, M.L. 2005. Intercultural communication competence: Identifying key components from multicultural perspectives. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 29, 137-163.
- Argyris, C. 1993. *Knowledge for Action. A guide to overcoming barriers to organizational change*, San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Argyris, C. and Schön, D.A. 1978. *Organizational Learning: A theory of action perspective*. New York: Addison-Wesley.
- Argyris, C. and Schön, D.A. 1996. *Organizational learning II: Theory, method and practice*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Bakhtin, M.M. 1986. *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Trans.by Vern W. McGee. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Baraldi, C. 2006. New Forms of Intercultural Communication in a Globalized World. *International Communication Gazette*, Volume 68, Number 1, 53-69.
- Bauman, Z. 1995. *Life in fragments: essays in postmodern morality*. UK: Blackwell.
- Bauman, Z. 1996. *Postmodernin lumo*. Translated by J. Vainonen. Tampere: Vastapaino.

- Baumeister, R. F. & Leary, M.R. 1995. The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*. Volume 117(3), 497-529.
- Baxter, L. A., 1988. A dialectical perspective of communication strategies in relationship development. In S. Duck. (Ed.) *Handbook of personal relationships*. New York: Wiley.
- Bennett, J.M. 1993. *Cultural Marginality: Identity Issues in Intercultural Training*. In M.R. Paige (Ed.). *Education for the Intercultural Experience*. Second edition. USA: Intercultural Press.
- Bennett, J.M. & Bennett, M.J. 2004. *Developing Intercultural Sensitivity: An Integrative Approach to Global and Domestic Diversity*. In D. Landis, J.M Bennett & M.J. Bennett (Eds.), *Handbook of Intercultural Training*. Third Edition. USA: Sage.
- Bennett, M.J. 1986. A Developmental Approach to Training for Intercultural Sensitivity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Volume 10, Issue 2, 179-196.
- Bennett, M.J. 1993. *Towards Ethnorelativism: A Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity*. In. Paige, M. R. (Ed.). *Education for the Intercultural Experience* (2nd Edition). London: Routledge.
- Bennett, M.J. 1998. *Intercultural Communication: A Current perspective*. In M.J. Bennett, (Ed.). *Basic Concepts of Intercultural Communication*. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press.
- Bereiter, C. & Scardamalia, M. 2005. *Technology and Literacies: From Print Literacy to Dialogic Literacy*. Retrieved 11.8.2008 from <http://ikit.org/fulltext/TechandLit.htm>.
- Berger, C.R. 1979. *Beyond initial interactions: Uncertainty, understanding, and the development of interpersonal relationships*. In H. Giles & St. Clair (Eds.), *Language and social psychology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Berger, P.L. 2001. "Foreword." In R. C. Neville (Ed.). *The Human Condition*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Berger, P.L. & T. Luckmann. 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.
- Berry, J.W. 1980. *Acculturation as varieties of adaptation*. In A. Padilla (Ed.). *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

- Berry, J.W. 1990. Psychology of acculturation: Understanding individuals moving between cultures. In R.W. Brislin (Ed.), *Applied Cross-Cultural Psychology*. Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series, Volume 14. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Berry, J.W. 1997. Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46, 5-68.
- Berry, J.W. 1999. Intercultural relations in plural societies. *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Cadadeinne*. Volume 40 (1), Pages 12-21.
- Berry, J.W. 2001. A psychology of immigration. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57. 615-631.
- Berry, J.W. 2003. Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista, & G. Marín (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement and applied research*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Berry, J.W. 2005. Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 29, Issue 4, 697-712.
- Berry, J.W. 2006. Acculturation. In J.E. Grusec (Ed.), *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*. New York: Guilford Publications, Inc.
- Berry, J.W., Kim, U. & Boski, P. 1987. Psychological acculturation of immigrants. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Cross-Cultural adaptation: Current approaches: International and Intercultural Annual*. Volume 11. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Berry, J.W. & Sam, D. 1997. Acculturation and adaptation. In J.W. Berry, M.H. Segall & C. Kagitcibasi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berry, M., Carbaugh, D. & Nurmikari-Berry, M. 2009. 'Discomfort with silence' in a culture 'comfortable with quietness'. In M. Berry (Ed.). "That's not me". Learning to cope with sensitive cultural issues. Second edition. Digitaldruck.at.
- Berry, M. 2009a. Creation of a third space and a learning opportunity. In M. Berry. "That's not me". Learning to cope with sensitive cultural issues. Second edition. Digitaldruck.at.
- Berry, M. 2009b. Reflecting on a teacher's experience: Learning from students and theory. In M. Berry (Ed.). "That's not me". Learning to cope with sensitive cultural issues. Second edition. Digitaldruck.at.
- Berry, M., Carbaugh, D., Innreiter-Moser, C, Nurmikari-Berry, M. & Oetsch, W. 2009. 'Discomfort with silence' in a culture 'comfortable with quietness'. In M. Berry

- (Ed.). "That's not me". Learning to cope with sensitive cultural issues. Second edition. Digitaldruck.at.
- Bochner, S. 2003. Culture shock due to contact with unfamiliar cultures. In W.J Lonner, D.L. Dinnel, S.A. Hayes & D.N. Sattler (Eds.), *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* (Unit 8, Chapter 7), Center for Cross-Cultural Research, Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington USA. Retrieved 18.4.2008 from <http://www.wvu.edu/~culture>.
- Boeree, C.G. 2005. *Qualitative Methods*. Retrieved 29.12.2008, from <http://webpace.ship.edu/cgboer/genpsyqualmeth.html>.
- Boeree, C.G. 2006. *Carl Jung. Personality Theories*. Retrieved 22.2.2008 from <http://webpace.ship.edu/cgboer/jung.html>.
- Bogdan, R. C. & Biklen, S. K. 1992. *Qualitative research in education: An introduction to theory and methods* (2nd edition). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bohm, D. 1996. *On Dialogue*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Bolten, J. 1999. *Intercultural Business Communication: An Interactive Approach*. In K. Knapp, B.E. Kappel, K. Eubel-Kasper & L. Salo-Lee (Eds.), *Meeting the Intercultural Challenge. Effective Approaches in Research, Education, Training and Business*. Proceedings of the SIETAR Congress 1996, Munich, 28 May – 2 June, 1996. Germany: Verlag Wissenschaft & Praxis.
- Boski, P. 2002. Interactions, research and history embedded in Polish culture: humanism and uncertainty non-avoidance. In W.J Lonner, D.L. Dinnel, S.A. Hayes & D.N. Sattler (Eds.), *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* (Unit 3, Chapter 7), Center for Cross-Cultural Research, Western Washington University.
- Boski, P. 2008. Five meanings of integration in acculturation research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Volume 32, Issue 2, 142-153.
- Bowen, G.A. 2008. *Naturalistic inquiry and the saturation concept: a research note*. *Qualitative Research*, Volume 8, 137-152.
- Brewis, K. 2008. *Stress in the Multi-ethnic Customer Contacts of the Finnish Civil Servants. Developing Critical Pragmatic Intercultural Professionals*. Academic dissertation. Jyväskylä studies in education, psychology and social research 103. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University Printing House.
- Brown, A.L. 1992. Design experiments: Theoretical and methodological challenges in creating complex interventions in classroom settings. *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, Volume 2, Issue 2, 141-178.

- Buber, M. 1970. *I and Thou*. Translated by W. Kaufmann. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Buber, M. 1999. *Minä ja sinä*. (Ich und Du, 1923). Translated by J. Pietilä. Third printing. Juva: WSOY.
- Burbules, N. C. 1993. *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*. New York: Teachers' College Press.
- Burbules, N.C. & Torres, C.A. 2000. Globalization and Education: An Introduction. In N.C. Burbules & C.A. Torres (Eds.), *Globalization and education: Critical perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Burgoon, J.K., Dillman, L.E. and Stern, L.A. 1993. Adaptation in dyadic interaction. Defining and operationalising patterns of reciprocity and compensation. *Communication Theory*, 3, 295-316.
- Burleson, B.R. & Caplan, S.E. 1998. Cognitive complexity. In J.C. McCroskey, J.A. Daly & M.M. Martin (Eds.), *Communication and personality: Trait Perspectives*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press. Retrieved 12.5.2008 from <http://www.ic.arizona.edu/ic/wright/const/bu98b.htm>.
- Burr, V. 2007 (1995). *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. Second Edition. Third reprint. London: Routledge.
- Cai, D. A., & Rodriguez, J.I. 1996-7. Adjusting to Cultural Differences: The Intercultural Adaptation Model. *Intercultural Communication Studies* VI:2 1996-7. Retrieved 3.10.2007 from <http://www.trinity.edu/org/ics/ICS%20Issues/ICS%20VI/ICS-VI-2-%20Cai.pdf>.
- Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary. Dictionaries online. Retrieved 4.4.2009 from <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/define.asp?key=50470&dict=CALD>.
- Carbaugh, D. (Ed.). 1990. *Cultural communication and intercultural contact*.
- Carbaugh, D. 1993. Competence as Cultural Pragmatics. Reflections on Some Soviet and American Encounters. *International and Intercultural Annual*. 17.
- Carbaugh, D. 2009. Coding Personhood through Cultural Terms and Practices: Silence and Quietude as a Finnish natural way of being. In R. Wilkins & P. Isotalus (Eds.), *Speech Culture in Finland*. USA: University Press of America, Inc.
- Carbaugh, D., Berry, M. & Nurmikari-Berry, M. 2006. Coding personhood through cultural terms and practices: silence and quietude as a Finnish "natural way of being". *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, Volume 25, Issue 3, 203-220.

- Carbaugh, D., Boromisza-Habashi, D. and Ge, X., 2006. Dialogue in Cross-Cultural Perspective. Deciphering Communication Codes. In N. Aalto & E. Reuter (Eds.), Aspects of Intercultural Dialogue. Theory. Research. Applications. Köln: SAXA Verlag.
- Casimir, F.L. 1992. Third-culture-building: A paradigm shift for international and intercultural communication. In S. Deetz (Ed.), Communication Yearbook, 16. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Casimir, F.L. 1999. Foundations for the Study of Intercultural Communication based a Third-Culture Model. Intercultural Relations. Volume 23, Number 1. 91-116.
- Chen, G-M. 1989. Relationships of the dimensions of intercultural communication competence. Communication Quarterly, 37, 118-133.
- Chen, G-M. 2008. Towards Transcultural Understanding: A harmony theory of Chinese Communication. China Media Research, 4(4), Pages 1-13.
- Chen, G-M. & Starosta, W.J. 1996. Intercultural Communication Competence: A Synthesis. Communication Yearbook, 19, 353-383.
- Chen, G-M. & Starosta, W.J. 1998. Foundations of intercultural communication. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Chen, G-M. & Starosta, W.J. 1999. A review of the concept of intercultural awareness. Human Communication, 2, 27-54).
- Chen, G.M. & Starosta, W.J. 2000. Intercultural sensitivity. In L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.), Intercultural Communication. A Reader. Ninth Edition. USA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Chirkov, V., Vansteenkiste, M., Tao, R. & Lynch, M. 2007. The role of self-determined motivation and goals for study abroad in the adaptation of international students. International Journal of Intercultural Relations. Volume 31, Issue 2, Pages 199-222.
- CIMO 2009, Foreign degree students at Finnish universities and polytechnics. Retrieved 12.11.2009 from <http://www.cimo.fi/dman/Document.phx?documentId=aq23808132519413&cmd=download>.
- Collier, M. & Thomas, M. 1988. Cultural identity: An interpretive perspective. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), Theories in intercultural communication. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- Conway, F. 2001. *Effective communication*. Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Extension & Station Communications.
- Cooperrider, D.L. 2001. *Positive Image, Positive Action: The Affirmative Basis of Organizing*. (Originally published in D.L Cooperrider, P.F. Sorensen, Jr., T.F Yaeger and D. Whitney (Eds.), *Appreciative Inquiry: An Emerging Direction for Organization Development*. Champaign, IL: Stipes Publishing L.L.C. Retrieved 27.8.2007 from <http://www.stipes.com/aichap2.htm>).
- Cooperrider, D.L. & Srivastva, S. 1987. *Appreciative inquiry in Organizational Life. Research in Organizational Change and Development, Volume 1, 129-169*. Retrieved 27.8.2007 from <http://appreciative-inquiry.org/AI-Life.htm>.
- Corson, D. 1995. *World View, Cultural Values and discourse norms: The Cycle of Cultural Reproduction. Intenational Journal of Intecultural Relations. Volume 19, Number 2, 183-195*.
- Culhane, S.F. 2004. *An Intercultural Interction Model: Acculturation attiyudes in Second Language Acquisition. Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching Volume 1, Number 1, Pages 50-61*. Retrieved 8.6.2009 from <http://e-flt.nus.edu.sg/v1n12004/culhane.htm>.
- Cushner, K. 2008. *International socialization of young people: Obstacles and opportunities. International Journal of Intercultural Relations. Volume 32, Issue 2, 164-173*.
- Dahl, Ø. 2000. *The Problem of Meaning in Intercultural Communication*. In M. Isaksson and F. Røkaas (Eds.), *Conflicting values: An Intercultural Challenge. Selected papers from the 1999 NIC Symposium in Oslo, Norway*. Norwegian School of Management. Norway: Nordberg Hurtigtrykk.
- Dahl, Ø. 2006. *Bridges of Understanding. Perspectives on Intercultural Communication*. In Ø. Dahl, I. Jensen & P. Nynäs (Eds.), *Bridges of Understanding. Perspectives on Intercultural Communicaiton*. Norway: Unipub forlag/Oslo Academic Press.
- Deardorff, D.K. 2006. *Identification and assessment of Intercultural Competence a Student Outcome of Internationalization. Journal of Studies in Internatinal Education. Volume 10, 241-266*.
- Denicolo, P. & Pope, M. 1990. *Adults Learning – Teachers Thinking*. In J. Day, P. Decolo & M. Pope (Eds.), *Insights into teachers' thinking and practice*. London: Falmer Press.

- Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln Y.S. 2005. Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Derwin, B. & Clark, K.D. 1989. Media Development, Volume XXXVI, 2, 5-8.
- Dewey, J. 1990 (1916). *Democracy and Education*. USA: Macmillan Company. Retrieved 12.1.2008 from http://www.pdfbooks.co.za/library/JOHN_DEWEY/JOHN_DEWEY-DEMOCRACY_AND_EDUCATION_mobile.pdf.
- Dewey, J. 1998. *Experience and education*. The 60th Anniversary Edition. New York: Kappa Delta Pi.
- Dick, B. 2006. You want to do an action research thesis? Thesis resource paper. Retrieved 12.1.2006 from www.scu.edu.au/schools/gcm/ar/art/arthesis.html.
- Ekholm, E., Magennis, S. & Salmelin, L. 2005. *Uusi alku. Kirja pakolaisten valinnasta, vastaanotosta ja kotoutumisesta*. Helsinki: Työministeriö.
- Elliott, R., Fischer, C.T., & Rennie, D.L. 1999. Evolving guidelines for publication of qualitative research studies in psychology and related fields. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology*, Volume 38, 215-229.
- Engeström, Y. 1981. *Mielekäs oppiminen ja opetus*. Julkaisusarja B nro 17. Valtion koulutuskeskus. Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus.
- ERG – Clayton P. Alderfer. *Value based management.net*. Retrieved 4.4.2009 from http://www.valuebasedmanagement.net/methods_alderfer_erg_theory.html.
- Eskola, J. and Suoranta, J. 1998. *Johdatus laadulliseen tutkimukseen*. Jyväskylä: Vastapaino.
- Evanoff, R. 2000. The Concept of "Third Cultures" in Intercultural Ethics. *Eubios Journal of Asian and International Bioethics*, Volume 10, 126-129.
- Evanoff, R. 2004. Universalist, relativist, and constructivist approaches to intercultural ethics. *Intercultural Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 28, Issue 4, 439-458.
- Evanoff, R. 2006. Integration in intercultural ethics. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 30, Issue 4, 421-437.
- Felder, R.M. & Henriques, E.R. 1995. Learning and Teaching Styles In Foreign and Second language Education. *Foreign Language Annals*, 28, 1, 21-31.
- Finnish Immigration Service 2009. Retrieved 9.11.2009 from <http://www.migri.fi/netcomm/content.asp?path=2762>.

- Fogel, A. 1993. *Developing through relationship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fornäs, J. 1998. *Kulttuuriteoria. Myöhäismodernin ulottuvuuksia (Cultural Theory and Late Modernity)*. Translated by M. Lehtonen, K. Hazard, V. Blom and J. Herkman. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Forsander, A. 2001. *Etnisten ryhmien kohtaaminen*. In A. Forsander, E. Ekholm & P. Hautaniemi (Eds.), *Monietnisyys, yhteiskunta ja työ*. Helsinki: Palmenia-kustannus.
- Forsander, A. 2002. *Luottamuksen ehdot. Maahanmuuttajat 1990-luvun suomalaisilla työmarkkinoilla*. Väestöntutkimuslaitoksen julkaisusarja D 39/2002. Helsinki: Väestöliitto.
- Fost, R. 2001. *Tolerance as Virtue of Justice*. *Philosophical Explorations* 3: 193-206.
- Fox, C. 1997. *The authenticity of intercultural communication*. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 21, Issue 1, 85-103.
- Free, C. 2005. *Transcultural communication and ethnic comparisons in the experience of services*. *British Journal of General Practice*. Volume 55(514), May 1, Pages 339–340.
- Freeman Dhority, L. 2001. *Living and experiencing dialogue competences*. Interview with Freeman Dhority. *SIETAR Deutschland Newsletter*, 7. Issue 2. 20-21.
- Freire, P. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Seabury Press
- Freire, P. 2004. *Pedagogy of the heart*. New York: Continuum.
- Fries, S. 2010. *Cultural, Multicultural, Cross-cultural, Intercultural: A Moderator's Perspective*. Retrieved 2.4.2010 from <http://www.tesol-france.org/articles/fries.pdf>.
- Furnham, A. 1988. *The adjustment of sojourners*. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Cross-cultural adaptation: Current approaches*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Furnham, A. & Bochner, S. 1983. *Social difficulty in a foreign culture: an empirical analysis of culture shock*. In S. Bochner (Ed.), *Cultures in Contact*. Reprinted. *Studies in Cross-Cultural Interaction*. International Series in Experimental Social Psychology. Volume 1. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Furnham, A. & Bochner, S. 1986. *Culture shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments*. New York: Methuen.
- Gadamer, H-G. 1999. *Truth and Method*. New York: Continuum.

- Gadamer, H-G. 2000. *The Beginning of Philosophy. (Der Anfang der Philosophie, 1996)*. New York: The Continuum Publishing Company.
- Gadamer, H-G., 2004. *Hermeneutiikka. Ymmärtäminen tieteissä ja filosofiassa. (Gesammelte Werke, 2 und 4. Writings from the years 1953-1980)*. Selected and translated by I. Nikander. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Gadamer, H-G. 2006. *A Century of Philosophy. A Conversation with Riccardo Dottori. (Die Lektion des Jahrhunderts: Ein Philosophischer Dialog mit Riccardo Dottori, 2000)*. Translated by Rod Coltman with Sigrid Koepke. New York: The Continuum Publishing Company.
- Gallois, C. 2003. *Reconciliation through Communication in Intercultural Encounters: Potential or Peril?* *Journal of Communication*, Volume 53, Number 1, Pages 5-15.
- Garam, I. 2000. *Kansainvälisyyttä käytännössä. Suomalaisten vaihto-opiskelijoiden kokemuksia ulkomailla opiskelusta. Otus rs julkaisu 18/2000*. Helsinki: Opiskelijajärjestöjen tutkimussäätiö.
- Garam, I. 2002. *Suomalainen korkeakouluopetus ulkomaalaisen opiskelijan silmin. Pedafoorumin tiedotuslehti 9:2, 4-6*.
- Garam, I. 2003. *Advanced and unusual. Finland as seen by international students and trainees. Occasional Paper 1/2003*. Helsinki: Centre for International Mobility CIMO.
- Garam, I. Gennis, S. & Salmelin, L. 2005. *Uusi alku. Kirja pakolaisten valinnasta, vastaanotosta ja kotoutumisesta*. Helsinki: Työministeriö.
- Gardner, R.C. 2002. *Integrative motivation and second language acquisition*. In Z. Dörnyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and second language acquisition. Second Language Teaching & Curriculum Center*. USA: University of Hawai'i.
- Geertz, C. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Geisner, H. 1988. *The Dialogical under Constraints*. In J. Lehtonen (Ed.), *Speech of the Future and the Future of Speech. Proceedings of an International Colloquium held at the University of Jyväskylä, July 26-29, 1987*. *Studia Philologica Jyväskyläensia 21*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopiston moinistuskeskus.
- Gergen, K.J. 1985. *The Social Constructionist Movement in Modern Psychology*. *American Psychologist*, 40 (3)
- Gergen, K.J. 1991. *The Saturated Self. Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life*. New York: Basic Books.

- Gergen, K.J. 1994. Realities and relationships. Soundings in social construction. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Gill, S. 2007. Overseas students' intercultural adaptation as intercultural learning: a transformative framework. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 1469-3623, Volume 37, Issue 2, Pages 167 – 183.
- Glesne, C. & Peshkin, A. 1992. *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction*. New York: Longman.
- Gmelch, G. & Gmelch, S.B. 1997. *The Parish Behind God's Back: The Changing Culture of Rural Barbados*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Golafshani, N. 2003. Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*. Volume 8, Number 4, 597-607. Retrieved 16.6.2008 from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-4/golafshani.pdf>.
- Graham, C.R., 1984. Beyond Integrative Motivation: The Development and Influence of Assimilative motivation. ED 27473, ERIC. Education Resources Information Center. Retrieved 10.6.2009 from http://eric.ed.gov/ERICDocs/data/ericdocs2sql/content_storage_01/0000019b/80/2f/73/b6.pdf.
- Griffin, E. A. 2008. *A First Look at Communication Theory* (3rd edition). : McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
- Grove, C. & Torbiorn. 1993. A New Conceptualization of Intercultural Adjustment and the Goals of Training. In R.M. Paige (Ed.). *Education for the Intercultural Experience*. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press, Inc.
- Grönfors, M. 1982. *Kvalitatiiviset kenttätutkimukset*. Second Edition. Juva: WSOY.
- Guan, S.J. 1995. *Intercultural Communication*. Beijing: Peking University Press.
- Gudykunst, W.B. 1983. Toward a typology of stranger-host relationship. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 7, Issue 4, 401-415.
- Gudykunst, W.B. 1987. Cross-Cultural Comparisons. In C.R. Berger & S.H Chaffee. *Handbook of Communication Science*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Gudykunst, W.B. 1991. *Bridging differences: Effective intergroup communication*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- Gudykunst, W.B. 1995. Anxiety/Uncertainty management (AUM) theory: Current status. In R.L. Wiseman (Ed.), *Intercultural Communication Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gudykunst, W.B. (Ed.). 2005. *Theorizing About Intercultural Communication*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Gudykunst, W.B. & Kim, Y.Y. 1997. *Communicating with Strangers. An Approach to Intercultural Communication*. Third Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Gullahorn, J.T., & Gullahorn, J.E. 1963. An extension of the U-curve hypothesis. *Journal of Social Issues*, Volume 19, Issue 3, 33-47.
- Habermas, J. 1984. *Theory of communicative action: Reason and the rationalization of society*. Volume 1. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. 1994. *The Past as Future*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Habermas, J. 2003. The Relationship between Theory and Practice. In *Truth and Justification*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hajek, C. & Giles, H. 2003. New directions in intercultural communication competence: The process model. In J.O. Greene & B.R. Burlinson (Eds). *Handbook of communication and social interaction skills*. Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Hall, E.T. 1959. *The silent language*. New York: Doubleday.
- Hall, E.T. 1966. *The Hidden Dimension*. New York: Doubleday.
- Hall, E.T. 1976. *Beyond culture*. New York: Doubleday.
- Hall, E.T. 1998. The Power of Hidden Differences. In Bennett, M. (Ed.) *Basic Concepts of Intercultural Communication*. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press.
- Halttunen, K. 2003. Scaffolding Performance in IR Instruction: Exploring Learning Experiences and Performance in Two Learning Environments. *Journal of Information Science*, Volume 29, 375-390. Retrieved 7.3.2008 from <http://jis.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/29/5/375>.
- Hammer, M.R. 1989. Intercultural communication competence. In M.K. Asante & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Handbook of International and intercultural communication*. Newbury Park: Sage.

- Hammer, M.R., Bennett, M.J. & Wiseman, R. 2003. Measuring intercultural sensitivity: The intercultural development inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 27, Issue 4, 421-443.
- Hanks, W. F. 1991. Foreword. In J. Lave & E.Wenger. *Situated learning. Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hansen, R.E. 2000. The Role of Experience Learning: Givin Meaning and Authenticity to the learning Process.. *Journal of Technology Education*. Volume11, Number 2. Retrieved 5.6.2008 from <http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/journals/JTE/v11n2/hansen.html>.
- Hanvey, R.G. 1986. Cross-cultural awareness. In E.C. Smith & L.F. Luce (Eds.), *Towards Internationalism. Readings in Cross-cultural Communication*. USA: Newbury House Publishers.
- Hanvey, R.G. 2004 (1976). *An Attainable Global Perspective*. The American Forum for Global Education. Center for War/Peace Studies. New York.
- Harris, P. & Moran, R. 1979. *Managing cultural differences*. Houston, TX: Gulf.
- Hedge, R.S. 1998. Swinging the trapeze. The negotiation of identity among Asian Indian immigrant women in the United States. In D.V. Tanno & A. González (Eds.), *Communication and identity across cultures*. *International and Intercultural Communication Annual*, Volume 21. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Heikkilä, J. & Heikkilä, K. 2001. *Dialogi – Avain innovatiivisuuteen*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Heinonen, R.E. 2000. *Arvomuisti kehitysyhteistyössä. Kulttuurien kohtaamisen lähtökohtia*. Second edition. Turku: Painotalo Gilliot.
- Heritage, J. 1996. Harold Garfinkel ja etnometodologia. (Garfinkel and *Ethnomethodology*, 1984) Tranlated by I. Arminen, O. Paloposki, A. Peräkylä, S. Vehviläinen and S. Veijola. Jyväskylä: Gummerus.
- Hinnenkamp, V. 1999. The Notion of Misunderstanding in Intercultural Communicaiton. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*. Issue 1, 1-21. Retrieved 9.4.2001 from <http://www.immi.se/intercultural/nr1/hinnenkamp.htm>.
- Hoffrén, H. 2000. *Suomalaiset Ranskassa. Sosiologian Pro gradu –työ*. Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- Hofstede, G. 1980. *Culture's consequences*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. 1997. *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Hofstede, G. & Hofstede, G.J. 2005. *Cultures and organizations. Software of the Mind. Intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival. Revised and Expanded 2nd Edition.* New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Holden, N. 2002. *Cross-Cultural Management: A Knowledge Perspective.* Harlow, England: Financial Times/Prentice Hall.
- Holmes, S. 2005. *Intercultural Communication and Dialogue Competence: An Attempt at Synthesis through useful "Fictions".* Working paper of International Society for Diversity Management e.V. Number 2. Germany. Heidelberg.
- Holsti, O.R. 1969. *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Hoopes, D.S. 1981. *Intercultural communication concepts and the psychology of intercultural experience.* In M.D. Pusch (Ed.). *Multicultural Education: A cross-cultural training approach.* Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- Hottola, P. 2004. *Culture Confusion: Intercultural adaptation in Tourism.* *Annals of Tourism Research.* Volume 31, Issue 2, Pages 447-466.
- Howell, W. 1982. *The empathic communicator.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Huhtanen, K. 2004. *Pianistista soitonopettajaksi. Tarinat naisten kokemusten merkityksellistäjänä.* Academic dissertation. *Studia Musica 22.* Sibelius-Akatemia. Helsinki: Hakapaino.
- Huitt, W. 2004. *Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs.* Educational Psychology Interactive. Valdosta, GA: Valdosta State University. Retrieved 10.6.2009 from <http://chiron.valdosta.edu/whuitt/col/regsys/Maslow.html>.
- Hullett, C.R. & Witte, K. 2001. *Predicting intercultural adaptation and isolation: using the extended parallel process model to test anxiety/uncertainty management theory.* *International Journal of Intercultural Relations.* Volume 25, Issue 2, 125-139.
- Hymes, D. 1979. *On Communicative Competence.* In J. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics.* New York: Penguin.
- Häkli, J. 1999. *Meta Hodos. Johdatus ihmismaantieteeseen.* Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Ilmatieteen laitos. 2010. *Ilman lämpötila.* Retrieved 30.3.2010 from www.fmi.fi/saa/tilastot_4.html.
- Isaacs, W. 1999. *Dialogue and the Art of Thinking Together: A Pioneering Approach to Communication in Business and in Life.* New York: Currency.

- Jaakkola, M. 1995. Suomalaisten kiristyvät ulkomaalaisasenteet. Työministeriö, Työvoimapolitiittinen tutkimus 101. Helsinki: Painatuskeskus.
- Jaakkola, M. 2005. Suomalaisten suhtautuminen maahanmuuttajiin vuosina 1987-2003. Työministeriö, Työpolitiittinen tutkimus 286/2005. Helsinki: Työministeriö.
- Jain, N.C. & Kussman, E.D. 2000. Dominant cultural patterns of Hindus in India. In L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural Communication. A Reader*. Ninth Edition. USA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Jandt, F.E. 1995. *Intercultural Communication – An Introduction*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Jandt, F.E. & Tanno, D.V. 1994. Redefining the “Other” in Multicultural Research. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, Volume 5, Number 1&2.
- Jandt, F.E. & Tanno, D.V. 2004. Decoding Domination, Encoding Self-Determination. *Intercultural Communication Research Process*. In Jandt, F.E. (Ed.), *Intercultural Communication.: A Global Reader*. USA: Sage.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. 2000. Psychological Acculturation and Adaptation among Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland. Academic dissertation. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, Department of Social Psychology.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K. & Perhoniemi, R. 2007. Perceived ethnic discrimination at work and well-being of immigrants in Finland: The moderating role of employment status and work-specific group-level control beliefs. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 31, issue 2, 223-242.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I & Perhoniemi, R. 2007. Maahanmuuttajien kotoutuminen 7 vuoden seurannan valossa. *Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration*. Volume 2, Number 2. 21-34.
- Jensen, I. 1998. *Interkulturel kommunikation I komplekse samfund*. Fredriksberg: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.
- Jensen, I. 2003-2004. The practice of Intercultural Communication – reflections for professionals in cultural meetings. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*. Issue 6, Retrieved 1.5.2006. from <http://www.immi.se/intercultural/nr6/Jensen.pdf>.
- Jensen, I. 2005. Professionalism in intercultural job interviews? In *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, Issue 8, Retrieved 24.10.2007 from <http://www.immi.se/intercultural/nr8/jensen.htm>.

- John-Steiner, V. & Mahn, H. 1996. Sociocultural Approaches to Learning and Development: A Vygotskian Framework. Retrieved 8.5.2009 from <http://webpage.charter.net/smolze1/vygotsky/johnsteiner.html>.
- Jung, E., Hecht, M.L. & Wadsworth, B.C. 2007. The role of identity in international students' psychological well-being in the United States: A model of depression level, identity gaps, discrimination, and acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 31, Issue 4, 605-624.
- Kaikkonen, P. 1994. *Kulttuuri ja vieraan kielen oppiminen*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Kaufmann, N.L., Martin, J.N., Weaver, H. and Weaver, J. 1992. *Students Abroad: Strangers at Home*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- Katriel, T. & Philipsen, G. 1990. "What We Need is Communication": "Communication" as a Cultural Category in Some American Speech. In D. Carbaugh (Ed.), *Cultural Communication and Intercultural Contact*. Hilldale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kegan, R. 1994. In *Over Our Heads: The Mental Demands of Modern Life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kelly, G. 1955. *The psychology of personal constructs*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Kerr, M. 2000. Childhood and adolescent shyness in long-term perspective. In W.R. Crozier. (Ed.), *Shyness. Development, consolidation and change*. Routledge Progress in Psychology. : Routledge.
- Kim, Y.Y. 1977. Communication patterns of foreign immigrants in the process of acculturation. *Human Communication Research*, 4, 66-77.
- Kim, Y.Y. 1978. A Communication approach to the acculturation process: A study of Korean immigrants in Chicago. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 2, Issue 2, 197-224.
- Kim, Y.Y. 1987. Facilitating immigrant adaptation: The role of communication. In T.L. Albrech & M.B. Adelman (Eds.), *Communicating social support*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Kim, Y.Y. 1991. Intercultural communication competence: A systems-theoretic view. In S. Ting-Toomey and F. Korzeny (Eds.), *Cross-cultural interpersonal communication*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Kim, Y.Y. 1995. Cross-cultural adaptation: An integrative theory. In R.L Wiseman (Ed.), *Intercultural communication theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Kim, Y.Y. 2001. *Becoming Intercultural. An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kim, Y.Y. 2002. Adapting to an unfamiliar culture. In W.B. Gudykunst & B. Mody (Eds.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kim, Y.Y. 2005. Adapting to a New Culture. An Integrative Communication Theory. In W.B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing About Intercultural Communication*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
- Kim, Y.Y., 2006. Communication patterns of foreign immigrants in the process of acculturation. *Human Communication Research*. Volume 4, Issue 1, Pages 66-77.
- King, P.M. & Baxter-Magolda, M.B. 2005. A developmental model of intercultural maturity. *Journal of college student development*, Volume 46, Number 6, 571-592.
- Kinnunen, T. 2003. "If I can find a good job after graduation, I may stay". *Ulkomaalaisten tutkinto-opiskelijoiden integroituminen Suomeen*. Occasional Paper 2B/2003. Helsinki: Centre for International Mobility CIMO.
- Kluckhohn, F. & Strodtbeck, F. 1961. *Variations in value orientations*. New York: Row, Peterson.
- Knapp, K. 1998. *Intercultural Communication in EASE*. EASE Strategy Paper Number 4. In *EASE –Erfurt Electronic Studies in English*. Retrieved 3.3.2006 from http://webdoc.gwdg.de/edoc/ia/ease/strategy/knapp/4_st.html.
- Kofman, F. 2003. *Unilateral Control and Mutual Learning*. Axialent. Integral Evolution, Retrieved 11.10.2008 from http://www.axialent.com/uploaded/papers_articles/documentos/unilatera_contro_mu_tua_learning.pdf.
- Koistinen, P. 2002. *Kulttuurien yhteentörmäyksestä sopeutumiseen ja uudenlaiseen ymmärtämiseen. Sosiaali- ja terveysalan opiskelijoiden kokemuksia harjoittelujaksolta virolaisissa hoitokodeissa*. Academic Dissertation. Helsingin yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitos. Tutkimuksia 235. Helsinki.
- Koivukangas, O. & Saarto, A. 2003. *Muuttoliikkeet ja etniset vähemmistöt Suomessa 1999-2004*. Tutkimukset ja tilastot. Työhallinnon julkaisu 343. Työministeriö, Etnisten suhteiden neuvottelukunta. Helsinki 2004. Retrieved 14.4.2009 from http://www.mol.fi/mol/fi/99_pdf/fi/06_tyoministerio/06_julkaisut/07_julkaisu/thj343.pdf.

- Kokkonen, L. 2006a. Pakolaisten interpersonaaliset vuorovaikutussuhteet vieraassa maassa. Puheviestinnän lisensiaatintyö. Viestintäteiteiden laitos. Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- Kokkonen, L. 2006b. Maahanmuuttajien vuorovaikutussuhteet. Vuorovaikutuksen näkökulma sopeutumisprosessiin. In T.R. Välikoski, E. Kostiainen, E. Kyllönen & L. Mikkola (Eds.), Prologi. Puheviestinnän vuosikirja. Jyväskylä: Prologos ry. 42-71.
- Kolb, D. A. 1976. The Learning Style Inventory: Technical Manual, Boston, Ma.: McBer.
- Kolb, D. A. 1984. Experiential Learning. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Kolb, D. A. and Fry, R. 1975. Toward an applied theory of experiential learning. In C. Cooper (Ed.), Theories of Group Process. London: John Wiley.
- Korhonen, V. 2003. Oppijana verkossa. Aikusiopiskelijan oppimiseen suuntautuminen ja oppimiskokemukset verkkopohjaisessa oppimisympäristössä. Academic Dissertation. University of Tampere.
- Korhonen, V. 2005. Työn ja oppimisen verkostot – näkökulmia sosiaalisen pääoman kehkeytymiseen. In E. Poikela (Ed.) Oppiminen ja sosiaalinen pääoma. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Korhonen, V. 2008. Kohti dialogista lukutaitoa – oppimisen yhteisöllisiä tietokäytäntöjä ja suhdeverkostoja tunnistamassa. In E. Sormunen & E. Poikela (Eds.) Informaatio, informaatiolukutaito ja oppiminen. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Kosik, A., Kruglanski, A.W., Pierro, A. and Manetti, L. 2004. The Social Cognition of Immigrants Acculturation: Effects of the Need for Closure and the Reference Group at Entry. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. Volume 86, Issue 6, Pages 796-813.
- Kuhn, A. 1975. Social organization. In B.D. Ruben & J.Y. Kim (Eds.), General systems theory and human communication. Rochelle Park, NJ: Hayden.
- Kurhila, S. 2003. Co-constructing understanding in second language conversation. Academic dissertation. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish.
- Kurki, K. 2009. University of Tampere. Student Mobility 1998-2008.
- Laine-Sveiby, K. 1991. Suomalaisuus strategiana. Juva : WSOY.
- Langer, E.J. 1989. Mindfulness. Reading, MA: Addison–Wesley.

- Langer, E.J. 1997. *The Power of Mindful Learning*. Reading, MA: Addison–Wesley.
- Lakomski, G. 2001. Organizational change, leadership and learning: culture as cognitive process. *The International Journal of Educational Management*, Volume 15, Issue 2, 68-77.
- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. 1991. *Situated learning. Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lazarus, R.S. 1976. *Patterns of adjustment*. 3rd Edition. Toykio: McGraw-Hill.
- Lehtonen, J. 1992. Cultural stereotypes and intercultural communication. Paper presented in The 2nd Euroasia Conference, June 4, 1992. University of Jyväskylä, Finland.
- Lehtonen, J. 1993a. Kansainväliset ja kulttuurienväliset neuvottelut. In J. Lehtonen & S. Kortetjärvi-Nurmi. *Neuvottelujen tulokseen*. Porvoo: WSOY.
- Lehtonen, J. (Ed.), 1993b. *Kulttuurien kohtaaminen. Näkökulmia kulttuurienväliseen kanssakäymiseen*. Jyväskylän yliopisto. Viestintätieteiden laitoksen julkaisuja 9. Jyväskylä: Kopi-Jyvä.
- Lehtonen, J. 1994. National Attitudes as self-protection strategy. In D. Marsh and L. Salo-Lee. *Europe on the move. Fusions or fission? Proceedings 1994 Sietar Europa Symposium*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä/Sietar Europa.
- Lehtonen, J. 2001. Der schweigende Finne – Mythos oder Wirklichkeit? In Jäntti, A. Holtkamp, M. and Vogt, A. (Eds.), *Schweigen in Kommunikation und Kunst. Schriftenreihe des Finnland-Instituts in Deutschland, Band 4*. Berlin: Arno Spitz GmbH.
- Lehtonen, J. 2002. Europäische Perspektiven zur Globalisierung, interkulturellen Kommunikation un zur Postmoderne. In C.M. Schmidt (Ed.), *Wirtschaftsalltag un Interkulturalität. Fachkommunikation als interdisziplinäre Herausforderung. Europäische Kulturen in der Wirtschaftskommunikation*. Wiesbaden: Deutsche Universitäts-Verlag.
- Lehtonen, J.& Sajavaara, K. 1982. The Silent Finn. In M. Saville-Troike and D. Tannen (Eds.), *The Functions of Silence*. Noorwood, NJ: ABLEX.
- Lehtonen, M. & Löytty, O. 2003. Miksi erilaisuus? In M. Lehtonen & O. Löytty (Eds.), *Erilaisuus*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Lehtovaara, J. 1996. Dialogissa – kokonaisena ihmisenä avoimessa yhteydessä toiseen. In J. Lehtovaara & R. Jaatinen (Eds.), *Dialogissa, osa 2 - ihmisenä ihmisyhteisössä*.

- Tampereen yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitoksen julkaisuja. Reports from the Department of Teacher Education in Tampere University. A 8/1996. Tampereen yliopisto: Jäljennepalvelu.
- Leitzinger, A. 2008. Ulkomaalaispolitiikka Suomessa 1812-1972. Academic Dissertation. Helsinki: East-West Books.
- Lewin, K. 1951. *Field Theory in Social Science*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Liebkind, K. 1988. *Me ja muukalaiset*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Liebkind, K. 1994. *Maahanmuuttajat: Kulttuurien kohtaaminen Suomessa*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Liebkind, K., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. & Solheim, E. 2004. Cultural identity, perceived discrimination and parental support as determinants of immigrants' school adjustment: Vietnamese youth in Finland. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, Volume 19, Issue 6, 635-656.
- Lincoln, Y and Guba, E.G. 1985. *Naturalist Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lindqvist, B. 1991. *Drömmar och vardag i exil. Om chilenska flyktinggars kulturella strategier*. Stockholm: Carlssons.
- Linell, P. 1990. The power of dialogue dynamics. In I. Marková & K. Foppa (Eds.) *The Dynamics of Dialogue*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Linell, P. 1998. *Approaching dialogue. Talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Listo-Alén, H-M. 1993. Kulttuurista oppiminen ja kansainvälisempi orientoituminen. Isäntämaan opiskelijoiden mahdollisuuksia hyötyä kansainvälisestä opiskelijavaihdosta. In J. Lehtonen (Ed.), *Kulttuurien kohtaaminen. Näkökulmia kulttuurienväliseen kanssakäymiseen*. Jyväskylän yliopisto. Viestintätieteiden laitoksen julkaisu 9. Jyväskylä: Kopi-Jyvä.
- Lysgaard, S. 1955. Adjustment in a foreign society: Norwegian Fulbright grantees visiting the United States. *International Social Science Bulletin*, 7, 45-51.
- Marsh, D. 1993. The social distance factor in research and commentary on the Finnish intercultural communicator. In J. Lehtonen (Ed.), *Kulttuurien kohtaaminen. Näkökulmia kulttuurienväliseen kanssakäymiseen*. Jyväskylän yliopiston Viestintätieteiden laitoksen julkaisu 9. Jyväskylä: Kopi-Jyvä.

- Martin, J.N. 1993. The Intercultural Reentry of Student Sojourners: Resent Contributions to Theory, Research, and Training. In R.M. Paige (Ed.), Education for the Intercultural Experience. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press, Inc.
- Martin, J.N. & Thomas, T.K. 2000. Intercultural Communication in Contexts. Second Edition. London and Toronto: Mayfield.
- Martin, J.N. & Hammer, M.R. 1989. Behavioral categories of intercultural communication competence: Everyday communicators' perceptions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 13, Issue 3, 303-332.
- Martin, J.N. & T.A Nakayama. 2007. Thinking dialectically about culture and Communication. In M.K. Asante, Y. Miike & J. Yin. *The Global Intercultural Communication Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Maslow, A.H. 1943. A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50, 370-396. Retrieved 2.2.2008 from <http://psychclassics.yorku.ca/Maslow/motivation.htm>.
- Maslow, A.H. 1954. *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper.
- Maslow, A.H., & Lowery, R. 1998. *Toward a psychology of being*. Third Edition. New York: Wiley & Sons.
- Matoba, K. 2003. *Glocal Dialogue Transformation through Transcultural Communication*. FEEM Working Paper Number 74. 2003. Retrieved 23.6.2009 from <http://ssrn.com/abstract=464660>.
- Matsumoto, D., Hirayama, S. & LeRoux, J.A. 2006. Psychological Skills Related to Intercultural Adjustment. In P.T.P. Wong & L.J.Wong (Eds.) *Handbook of Multicultural Perspectives on Stress and Coping*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenium Publishing. 387-408.
- Matsumoto, D. & Juang, L. 2008. *Culture and Psychology*. Fourth edition. United States: Thomson Wadsworth.
- McNamee, S. & Gergen, K.J. 1998. An Invitation to relational responsibility. In S. McNamee & K.J. Gergen (Eds.), *Relational Responsibility: Resources for Sustainable Dialogue*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- MEK 2009. *Rajahaastattelutkimus, Osa 21, Ulkomaiset matkailijat Suomessa talvikaudella 2007-2008 ja kesäkaudella 2008*. MEK A: 163 2009. Matkailun edistämiskeskus.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. 1962. *Phenomenology of Perception*. New York: Humanities Press.

- Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary. Retrieved 5.4.2009 form <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/adaptation>.
- Mezirow, J. 1991. *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mezirow, J. 2000. *Learning as Transformation: Critical Perspectives on a Theory in Progress*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Miller, J.P. & Seller, W. 1990. *Curriculum: perspectives and practice*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman.
- Moon, J.A. 2004. *A Handbook of Reflective and Experiential Learning Theory and Practice*. UK: Routledge.
- Murphy-Lejeune, E. 2002. *Student Mobility and narrative in Europe. The New Strangers*. London: Routledge.
- Murto, H., Kaunisto-Laine, S. & Korhonen V. 2007. Tieto- ja viestintätekniiikan opetuskäytön muodoista yhdessä yliopistoyhteisössä. In V. Korhonen (Ed.), *Muuttuvat oppimisympäristöt yliopistossa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Mäkelä, K. 1990. Kvalitatiivisen aineiston arviointiperusteet. In. Mäkelä, K. (Ed.) *Kvalitatiivisen aineiston analyysi ja tulkinta*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Nerg, R. 2008. *Die Entstehung der Gemeinshaftlichkeit unter Austauschstudierenden. Dargestellt am Beispiel deutschsprachiger Studierender an der Universität Tampere. Pro Gradu -Arbeit. Institut für Sprach- und Translationswissenschaften. Deutsche Sprache un Kultur. Universtität Tampere*.
- Neuliep, J.W. 2000. *Intercultural Communication. A Contextual Approach*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Niiniluoto, I. 1990. *Maailma, minä ja kulttuuri. Emergentin materialismin näkökulma*. Helsinki: Otava.
- Niiniluoto, I. 2002. *Johdatus tieteenfilosofiaan*. Third edition. Keuruu: Otava.
- Niiniluoto, I. & Saarinen, E. 2002. *Filosofia muutoksen tilassa – johdanto nykyajan filosofiaan*. In I.Niiniluoto & E.Saarinen (Eds.), *Nykyajan filosofia*. Juva: WSOY.

- Nikander, P. 2001. Kenneth Gergen. Konstruktionistinen ja postmoderni sosiaalipsykologia. In V. Hänninen, J. Partanen & O-H. Ylijoki (Eds.), *Sosiaalipsykologian suunnannäyttäjät*. Tampere: Vastapaino
- Nisbett, R.E. 2003. *The Geography of Thought. How Asians and Westerners Think Differently ... and Why*. London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.
- Nishida, H. 1985. Japanese intercultural communication competence and cross-cultural adjustment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 9, Issue 2, 247-270.
- Nissilä, S-P. 2006. *Dynamic Dialogue in Learning and Teaching. Towards Transformation in Vocational Teacher Education*. Academic Dissertation. Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 1179. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Noels, K.A. and Clément, R. 1996. Communication Across Cultures: Social Determinants and Acculturative Consequences. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*. Volume 28, Number 3, 214-228. Retrieved 1.5.2006 from http://cpa.ca/cjbsnew/1996/ful_noel&cle.html.
- Norwood, G. 1999. Maslow's hierarchy of needs. *The Truth Vectors*. Part I. Retrieved 12.10.2007 from <http://www.deepermind.com/20maslow.htm>.
- Nuttin, J. 1984. *Motivation, Planning and action. A Relational Theory of Behavior Dynamics*. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Nynäs, P. 2006. Interpretive Models of Enstrangement and Identification, In Ø. Dahl, I. Jensen & P. Nynäs (Eds.), *Bridges of Understanding. Perspectives on Intercultural Communication*. Norway: Unipub forlag/Oslo Academic Press.
- Obama, B. 2007. *Dreams from my father. A Story of Race and Inheritance*. Edinburg: Canongate.
- Oberg, K. 1960. Culture Shock: Adjustments to New Cultural Environments. *Practical Anthropology*, 4, 177-182.
- Outhier, R. 1975. *Matka Pohjan perille 1736-1737. (Journal d'un Voyage au Nord, 1744)*. Translated by M. Itkonen-Kaila. Keuruu : Otava.
- Oplatka, I. 2001. Building a Typology of Self-Renewal: Reflection Upon-Life Story Research. *The Qualitative Report*, Volume 6, Number 4. Retrieved 19.12.2008 from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR6-4/oplatka.html>.
- Paananen, S. (Ed.). 2005. *Maahanmuuttajien elämä Suomessa*. Helsinki: Tilastokeskus.

- Paavola, S., Lipponen, L., & Hakkarainen, K. 2004. Models of Innovative Knowledge Communities and Three Metaphors of Learning. *Review of Educational Research*, 74(4), 557-576.
- Pace, R.W. & Faules, D.F. 1994. *Organizational Communication*. Third Edition. Eaglewood Cliff, NJ : Prentice Hall.
- Paige, R.M. 1990. International Students: Cross-Cultural Psychological Perspectives. In R.W. Brislin (Ed.), *Applied Cross-Cultural Psychology*. Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series, Volume 14. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Paige, R.M. 1993. On the Nature of Intercultural Experiences and Intercultural Education. In. R.M. Paige (Ed.), *Education for the Intercultural Experience*. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press, Inc.
- Paige, R.M., Jacobs-Cassuto, M., Yershova, Y.A. and DeJaeghere, J. 2003. Assessing intercultural sensitivity: an empirical analysis of the Hammer and Bennett Intercultural Development Inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 27, Issue 4, 467-486.
- Pakkanen, M. 2002. Dialogisuus opettajaksi kasvamisen haasteena. In P. Sallila & A. Malinen (Eds.) *Opettajuus muutoksessa*. Helsinki: Kansanvalistusseura.
- Papert, S. 1980. *Mindstorms, Children, Computers and Powerful Ideas*. New York: Basic Books.
- Papert, S. & Harel, I. 1991. Situating Constructionism. In S. Papert & I. Harel. *Consturctionism: Research reports and issues, 1985-1990*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Patton, M.Q. 2001. *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Third edition. Thousand oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pearce, P.L. 1983. Tourists and their hosts: some social and psychological effects of inter-cultural contact. In S. Bochner (Ed.), *Cultures in Contact*. Studies in Cross-Cultural Interaction. Reprinted. International Series in Experimental Social Psychology. Volume 1. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Pedersen, P. 1994. International Students and International Student Advisers. In R.W. Brislin & T. Yoshida (Eds.), *Improving Intercultural Interactions*. Modules for Cross-Cultural Training Programs. Multicultural Aspects of Counselling Series 3. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Perry, W.G. 1970. *Forms fo intellectual and ethical development in the college Years: A scheme*. New York: Holt.

- Peterson, 2004. *Cultural intelligence: A Guide to working with people from other cultures*. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press.
- Petkova, D. & Lehtonen, J. 2005. *National Identities and Images. Bulgarian-Finnish Attitudes and Perceptions*. Publications of the Department of Communication, No 28. Sofia: Vila Agency, Ltd.
- Pietilä, I. 1989. *Namibialaisten puheviestintä. Kvalitatiivinen tutkimus namibialaisten kommunikointiin liittyvistä tavoista ja säännöistä. Puheviestinnän Pro gradu – tutkielma*. Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- Pietilä, I. 2010. *Intercultural adaptation as a shared learning process in the life-course*. In V. Korhonen (Ed.), *Cross-cultural Lifelong Learning*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Pinto, D. 2000. *Intercultural communication. A three-step method for dealing with differences*. Leuven – Apeldoorn: Garant Publishers.
- Pitkänen, J. 2006. *Jännitteet kulttuurien törmätessä, yrityskulttuurin vaikutus muutosprosessissa*. Academic dissertation. Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 1182. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Pitkänen, P. (Ed.). 2005. *Kulttuurien välinen työ*. Helsinki: Edita Publishing Oy.
- Pitts, M.J. 2009. *Identity and the role of expectations, stress, and talk in short-term students sojourner adjustment: An application of the integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation*. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Volume 33, Issue 4, 450-462.
- Popper, K. 1979. *Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach*. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pruitt, D.G. 1994. *Achieving Integrative Agreements in Negotiation*. In G.R. Weaver (Ed.), *Culture, Communication and Conflict*. Needham Heights: Simon and Schuster.
- Puro, J-P. 1996a. *Johdatus puheviestinnän teorioihin*. Tampere: Tammer-paino.
- Puro, J-P. 1996b. *Towards a Phenomenological Theory of Interpersonal Communication*. Academic Dissertation. Jyväskylä Studies in Communication 6. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University Printing House.
- Puro, J-P. 2009. *The Silence in the Finnish Sauna*. In R. Wilkins & P. Isotalus (Eds.), *Speech Culture in Finland*. USA: University Press of America, Inc.

- Pörhölä, M. 2000. Kulttuurin viestintäodotukset ja yleisölle puhuminen. In M. Valo (Ed.), *Nykytietoa puheviestinnän opetuksesta*. Jyväskylän yliopiston viestintätieteiden julkaisuja 20. Jyväskylä: Kopijyvä Oy.
- Redfield, R. Linton, R. & Herskovits, M.J. 1936. Memorandum for the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 38, 149-152.
- Reijonen, M. 2002. Tila ja kulttuurinen identiteetti: Entisen Neuvostoliiton alueelta tulleiden paluumuuttajien kulttuurisen identiteetin muodostuminen Suomessa asutun vuoden aikana. Academic dissertation. Valtiotieteen tiedekunta. Sociologian laitos. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto. Retrieved 14.4.2007 from <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:952-10-0829-6>.
- Ribeau, S.A., Baldwin, J.R. & Hecht, M.L. 2000. An African American communication perspective. In L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural Communication. A Reader*. Ninth Edition. USA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Ricoeur, P. 1976. *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press.
- Ricoeur, P. 1992. *Oneself as Another*. Translated by K. Blamey. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Rodriguez, A. 2002. Culture to Culturing. Re-imagining Our Understanding of Intercultural Relations. *Intercultural Communication*. Issue 5. Retrieved 24.4.2007 from <http://www.immi.se/intercultural/>.
- Roy, A. & Starosta, W.J. 2001. Hans-Georg Gadamer, Language, and Intercultural Communication. *Language and Intercultural Communication*. Volume 1, Number 1.
- Ruben, B.D. 1976. Assessing Intercultural Competency for Intercultural Adaptation. *Group & Organization Management*, Volume 1, Number 3, Pages 334-354.
- Ruben, B.D. 1986. Guidelines for Cross-Cultural Communication Effectiveness. In L.F. Luce & E.C. Smith (Eds.), *Towards Internationalism. Readings in Cross-Cultural Communication*. Second edition. USA: Newbury House Publishers A division of Harper-Collins Publishers.
- Rudmin, F.W. 2003. Catalogue of acculturation constructs: Descriptions of 126 taxonomies, 1918-2003. In W.J. Lonner, D.L. Dinnel, S.A. Hayes & D.N. Sattler (Eds.), *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture (Unit 8, Chapter 8)*. Center for Cross-Cultural Research, western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington USA. Retrieved 18.4.2008 from <http://www.ac.wvu.edu/~culture/rudmin.htm>.

- Salganik, M.J. & Heckathorn, D.D. 2004. "Sampling and Estimation in Hidden Populations Using Respondent-Driven Sampling". *Sociological Methodology* 34: 193–239.
- Sallinen-Kuparinen, A. 1986. Finnish Communication Reticence. Perceptions and Self-reported Behavior. Academic Dissertation. *Studia Philologica Jyväskyläensia* 19. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Sallinen, A. 2000. Suomalainen viestintäkulttuuri eurooppalaisessa kontekstissa. In M. Valo (Ed.), *Nykytietoa puheviestinnän opetuksesta*. Jyväskylä yliopiston viestintätieteiden julkaisuja 20. Jyväskylä: Kopijyvä Oy.
- Salo-Lee, L. 1993. "Teillä on kaunis nappi" - Small talk: tyhjänpuhumista vai mielekästä viestintää? In J. Lehtonen (Ed.), *Kulttuurien kohtaaminen. Näkökulmia kulttuurienväliseen kanssakäymiseen*. Jyväskylän yliopiston Viestintätieteiden laitoksen julkaisuja 9. Jyväskylä: Kopi-Jyvä.
- Salo-Lee, L. 1998. Kieli, kulttuuri ja viestintä. In L. Salo-Lee, R. Malmberg & R. Halinoja. (Eds.), *Me ja muut. Kulttuurienvälinen viestintä*. YLE-Opetuspalvelut. Jyväskylä: Gummerus.
- Salo-Lee, L. 2005. Kohden kulttuurienvälistä kompetenssia. In Varis, T. (Ed.), *Uusrenessanssiajattelu, digitaalinen osaaminen ja monikulttuurisuuteen kasvaminen*. Helsinki: OKKA.
- Salo-Lee, L. 2006a. Intercultural Competence Research: Focuses and Challenges. In Ø. Dahl, I. Jensen & P. Nynäs (Eds.), *Bridges of Understanding. Perspectives on Intercultural Communication*. Norway: Unipub forlag/Oslo Academic Press.
- Salo-Lee, L. 2006b. Intercultural competence in research and practice: Challenges of globalization for intercultural leadership and teamwork. In N. Aalto & E. Reuter (Eds.), *Aspects of Intercultural Dialogue. Theory. Research. Applications*. Köln: SAXA Verlag.
- Salo-Lee, L. 2007. Towards cultural literacy. In T. Kaivola & M. Melén –Paaso (Eds.), *Education for Global Responsibility – Finnish Perspectives*. Publications of the Ministry of Education 31. Helsinki.
- Salo-Lee, L. 2009. Seeing One's Own Culture: A Challenge for Intercultural Communication Competence. In G.U., Bauer (Ed.), *Standorte und Sichtwechsel – Festschrift für Bernd Müller-Jacquier zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*. München: Indiciem-Verlag.
- Sam, D.L. & Oppedal, B. 2002. Acculturation as developmental pathway. In W.J.Lonner, D.L. Dinnel, S.A. Hayes & D.N. Sattler (Eds.) *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture (Unit 8, Chapter 6)*, Center for Cross-Cultural Research,

- Western Washington Universtiy, Bellingham, Washington USA. Retrieved 18.4.2007 from <http://www.edu/~culture>.
- Samovar, L.A. & Porter, R.E. (Eds.), 2000. *Intercultural Communication. A Reader*. Ninth Edition. USA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Sarbaugh, L. 1988. *Intercultural communication*. Second Edition. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Schein, E.H. 1992. *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. Second edition. San Francisco, Ca: Jossey-Bass.
- Schein, E.H. 1993. On Dialogue, Culture, and Organizational Learning. *Organizational Dynamics*, Volume 22, Number 2. 24-39.
- Scollon, R. & S.W. Scollon. 2001. *Intercultural Communication. A Discourse Approach*. Second Edition. UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Senge, P.M. 1990. *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of Learning Organization*. New York: Doubleday.
- Senge, P.M. 1993. Transforming the practice of management. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, Volume 4, Number 1, 4-32.
- Siljanen, T. 2007. "Narratives of Expatriates in the Middle East. Adaptation, Identity and Learning in Non-Profit Organizations". Academic dissertation. *Jyväskylä Studies in Business and Economics* 54. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Smith, J.A. 2005. Semi-structured interviewing and qualitative analysis. In J.A. Smith, R. Harre & L.Van Langenhove (Eds.) *Rethinking methods of psychology*. London: Sage.
- Smith, J.A., Harre, R. & Van Langenhove, L. 2005. Introduction. In J.A. Smith, R. Harre & L.Van Langenhove (Eds.) *Rethinking methods of psychology*. London: Sage.
- Smith, M.K. 2001. David A. Kolb on experiential learning. *The encyclopedia of informal education*. Retrieved 6.10.2008 from <http://www.infed.org/b-explrn.htm>.
- Storti, C. 2007. *Speaking in India. Bridging the Communication Gap When Working with Indians*. Boston: Intercultural Press, A Nicholas Brealey Publishing Company.
- Spitzberg, B.H. 2000. A model of Intercultural communication competence. In L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural Communication. A Reader*. Ninth Edition. USA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

- Spitzberg, B.H. & Cupach, W.R. 1984. *Interpersonal communication competence*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage
- Spitzberg, B.H. & Cupach, W.R. 1989. *Handbook of interpersonal competence research*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Spivak, G.C. 1996. *Maailmasta kolmanteen (Entering the Third World, 1987)*. Translated by Jyrki Vainonen. Jyväskylä: Vastapaino.
- Statistics Finland 2009, Population. Population structure, language. Retrieved 1.1.2009 from http://www.stat.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk_vaesto_en.html.
- Suni, M. 2008. Toista kieltä vuorovaikutuksessa: kielellisten resurssien jakaminen toisen kielen omaksumisen alkuvaiheessa. *Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities* 94. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Säljö, R. 2001. *Oppimiskäytännöt – sosiokulttuurinen näkökulma*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Taajamo, M. 1999. *Ulkomailla opiskelu – kulttuurinen kehitystehtävä*. Koulutuksen tutkimuslaitos. Tutkimuksia 9. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopistopaino.
- Taajamo, M. 2005. *Ulkomaiset opiskelijat Suomessa. Kokemuksia opiskelusta ja oppimisesta, elämästä ja erilaisuudesta*. Academic Dissertation. Koulutuksen tutkimuslaitos. Tutkimuksia 16. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopistopaino.
- Takala, E. 2005. Takana loistava tulevaisuus, edessä tuleva loistavuus? Tutkimushaastattelun haasteiden hahmottelua. In T-R. Välikoski, E. Kostianen, E. Kyllönen and L. Mikkola (Eds.), *Prologi. Puheviestinnän vuosikirja 2005*. Jyväskylä: Prologos ry.
- Taylor, E.W. 1998. *The Theory and Practice of Transformative Learning: A Critical Review*. Information Series Number 374. ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education. Center on Education and Training for Employment, College of Education, the Ohio State University.
- Ting-Toomey, S. 1999. *Communication across cultures*. New York: Guildford Press Company.
- Torbiorn, I. 1982. *Living abroad: Personal adjustment and personal policy in the overseas setting*. New York: Wiley.
- Triandis, H.C. 1983. *Essentials of studying culture*. In D. Landis & R. Brislin (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training*. Volume 1. Elmsford, NY: Pergamon.
- Triandis, H.C. 1995. *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

- Tuomi, J. & Sarajärvi, A. 2006. Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi. 1.-4. Edition. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Vaahterikko-Mejía, P. 2001. Cultural Differences in Ibero-Nordic Communication. Perceptions about Finnish and Colombian Negotiators. Academic Dissertation. Jyväskylä Studies in Communication 14. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University Printing House.
- Valkonen, T. 2003. Puheviestintätaitojen arviointi. Näkökulmia lukiolaisten esiintymis- ja ryhmätaitoihin. Academic dissertation. Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 7. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University Printing House.
- Van Oudenhoven, J.P., Ward, C. & Masgoret, A-M. 2006. Patterns of relations between immigrants and host societies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Volume 30, Issue 4, Pages 637-651.
- Varis, T. 1998. Media- ja viestintäkompetenssi kasvatuksessa. *Tiedotustutkimus* 21, 99-101.
- Vartia, M., Bergholm, B, Giorgiani, T., Rinta-Rasmus, A., Riala, R. & Salminen, S. 2007. Monikulttuurisuus työn arjessa. Työterveyslaitos. Helsinki: Työministeriö.
- Vuorinen, R. 1998. Minän synty ja kehitys: ihmisen psyykinen kehity yli elämänkaaren. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Vygotsky, L.S. 1978. *Mind in Society. The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Edited by M. Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scribner & E. Souberman. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Värri, V-M. 2004. Hyvä kasvatusta – kasvatusta hyvään. Dialogisen kasvatuksen filosofinen tarkastelu erityisesti vanhemmuuden näkökulmasta. Akateeminen väitöskirja. Matemaattisten tieteiden laitos. 5. Painos. Tampere: Tampere University Press – Juvenes Print.
- Wahlbeck, Ö. 2003. Local Integration and the Globalization of Migration: Immigrants in Finland in the 1990s. In A. Forsander & M. Similä (Eds.), *Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Nordic Welfare States*. P. 45-50. Helsinki: Helsinki University, Swedish School of Social Science.
- Ward, C. 2004. Psychological theories of culture contact and their implications for intercultural training. In D. Landis, J. Bennett. & M. Bennett (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training*. Third edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ward, C. 2006. Acculturation, identity and adaptation in dual heritage adolescents. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Volume 30, Number 2, 243-259.

- Ward, C. 2008. Thinking outside the Berry Boxes: New perspective on identity, acculturation and intercultural relations. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Volume 32, Number 2, Pages 105-114.
- Ward, C., Bochner, S. & Furnham, A. 2001. *The Psychology of Culture Shock*. Second Edition. London: Routledge.
- Ward, C. & Kennedy, A. 1999. The measurement of sociocultural adaptation. *International journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 23, Number 4, 659-677.
- Ward, C. & Masgoret, A-M. 2006. An integrative model of attitudes toward immigrant. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Volume 30, Issue 4, Pages 671-682.
- Ward, C., Okura, Y., Kennedy, A. & Kojima, T. 1998. The U-curve on trial: A longitudinal study of psychological and sociocultural adjustment during cross-cultural transition. *International journal of Intercultural Relations*, Volume 22, Number 3, 277-291.
- Weaver, G.R. 1993. Understanding and coping with cross-cultural adjustment stress. In R.M. Paige (Ed.), *Education for the intercultural experience*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- Weaver, G.R. & Mendelson, A. 2008. *America's Mid-Life Crisis. The Future of a Troubled Superpower*. Boston: Intercultural Press, A Nicholas Brealey Publishing Company.
- Wenger, E. 1998. *Communities of practice. Learning, meaning, and identity*. USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiik, R. 1999. Teaching business students intercultural communication: An experiment in skills acquisition. In K. Knapp, B.E. Kappel, K. Eubel-Kasper & L. Salo-Lee (Eds.), *Meeting the Intercultural Challenge. Effective Approaches in Research, Education, Training and Business*. Proceedings of the SIETAR Congress 1996, Munich, 28 May – 2 June, 1996. Germany: Verlag Wissenschaft & Praxis.
- Wilkins, R.J. & Isotalus, P. 2009. Finnish Speech Culture. In R. Wilkins & P. Isotalus (Eds.), *Speech Culture in Finland*. USA: University Press of America, Inc.
- Winkelman, M. 1994. Cultural Shock and Adaptation. *Journal of Counselling and Development*, Volume 73, 121-127.
- Wood, P., Landry, C. & Blomfield, J. 2006. *Cultural diversity in Britain. A Toolkit for Cross-cultural Cooperation*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

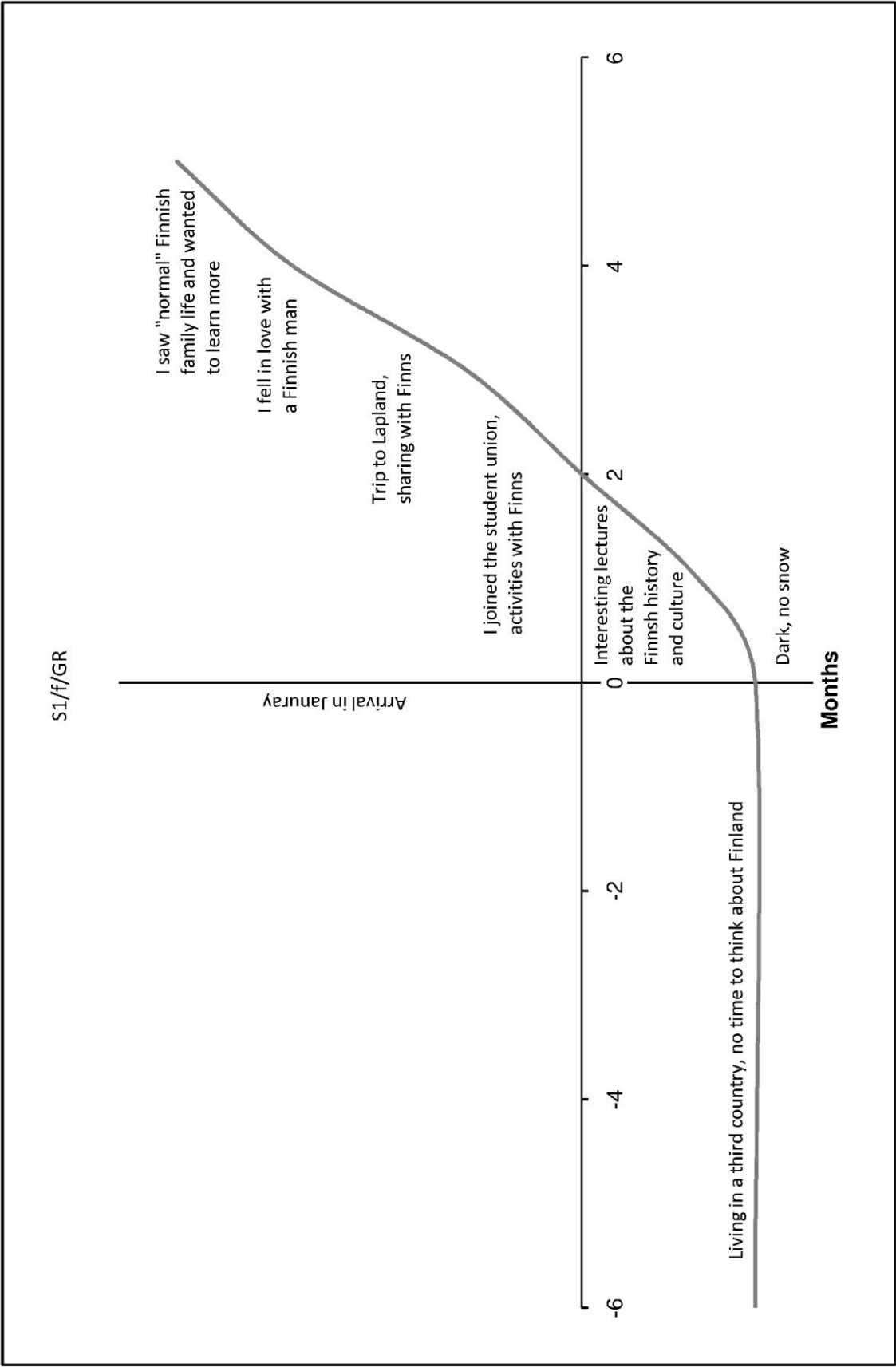
- Woods, D.M. 2004. Women's Acculturation to Canada: Uncertainty's Role. A Doctoral Thesis. The Department of Psychology. Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan.
- Yoshikawa, M.J. 1987. The Double-Swing Model of Intercultural Communication between the East and the West. In D.L. Kincaid (Ed.), *Communication Theory: Eastern and Western perspectives*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Yu, X. 2000. Examining the impact of cultural values and cultural assumptions on motivational factors in the Chinese organizational context: A cross-cultural perspective. In D.R. Heisey (Ed.), *Chinese perspectives in Rhetoric and Communication*. Advances in Communication and Culture series. Volume 1. Stamford: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Zimbardo, P.G. 1981. *Shyness. What it is and what to do about it*. London: Pan Books Ltd.

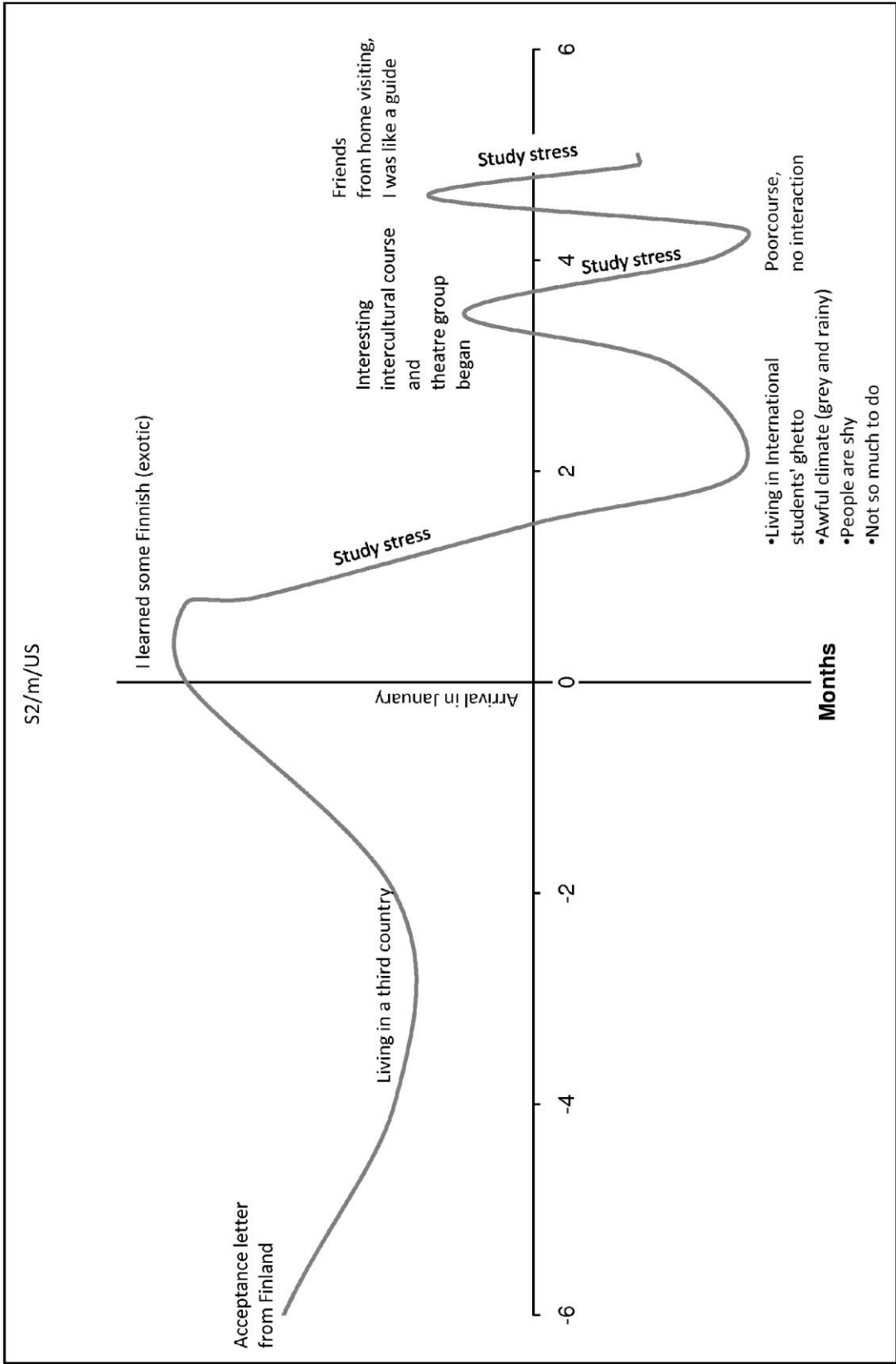
Appendix 1

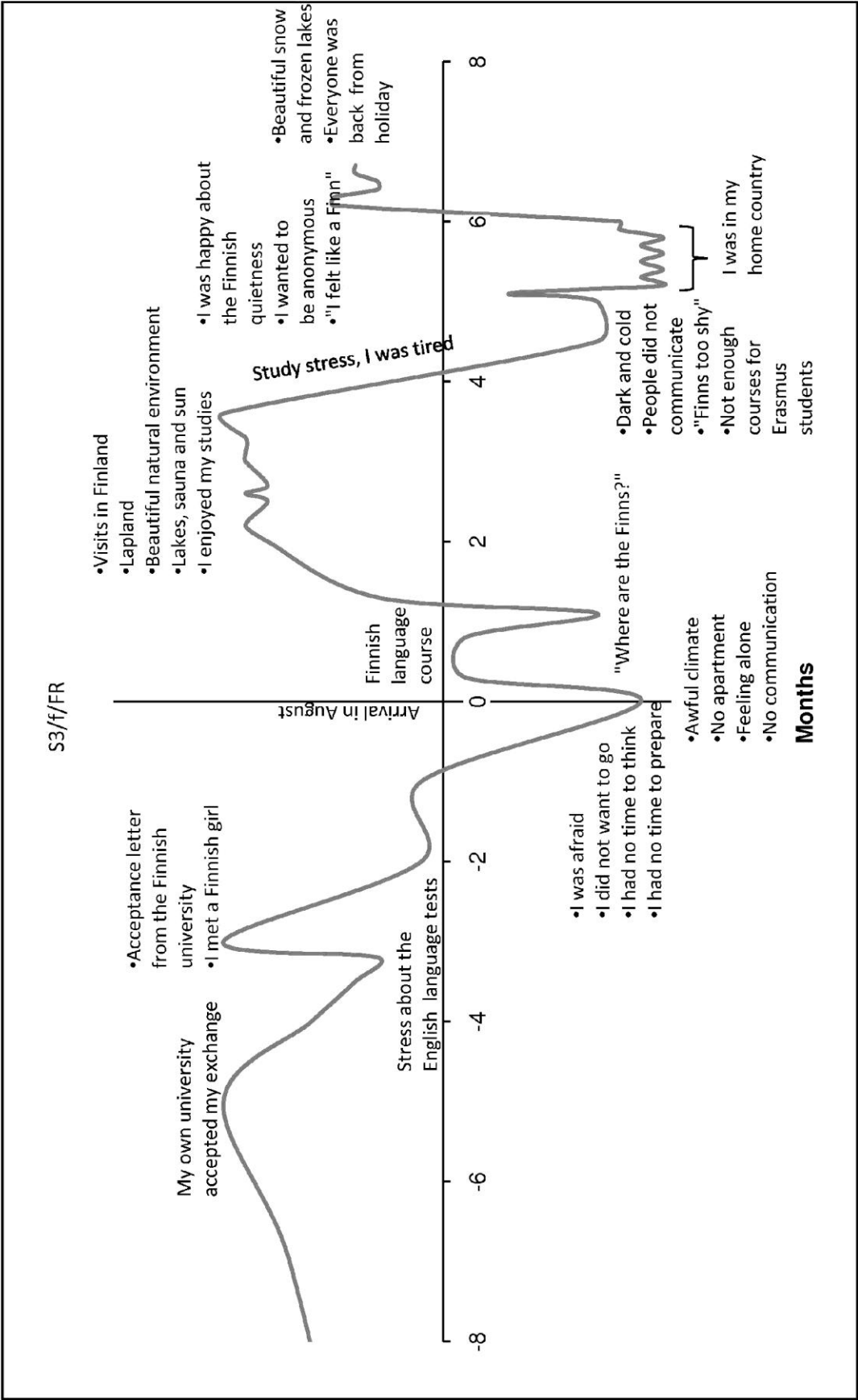
The following pictures are graphic presentations of the short-term sojourners' lines of motivation. The interviewees drew the original pictures in peace and they were used during the in-depth, face-to-face interviews. There are some comments written on the figures but some of the explanations have been omitted because of the sensitivity of the issue. Explanations on the pictures were either written by the interviewee during the drawing process or by the researcher during the interviews.

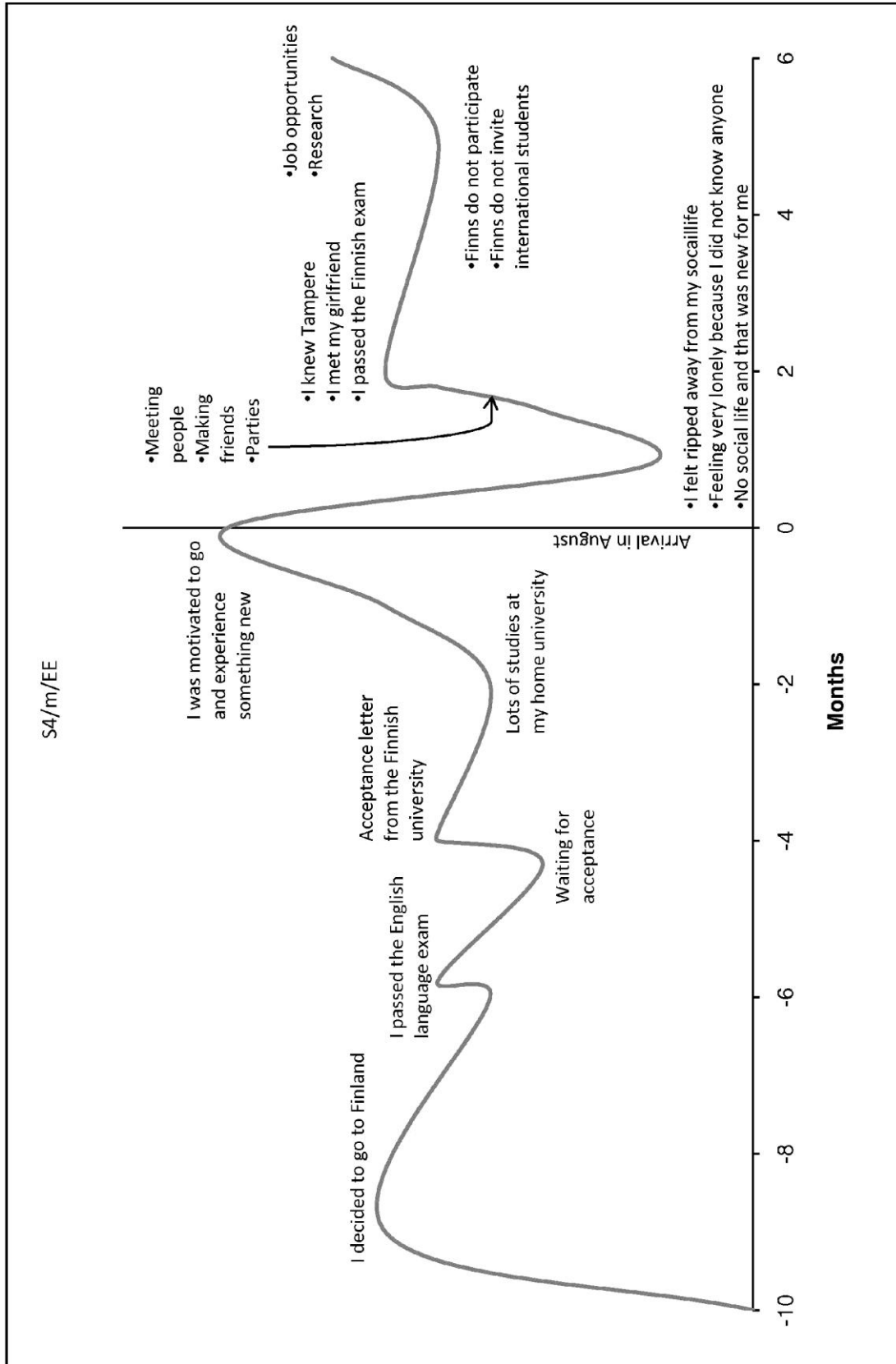
In the short-term sojourners' figures the time line (horizontal line) is given in months but the time line has been divided into different time intervals, depending on the different times the interviewees had been in Finland (from 5 months to 14 months). Similarly, there is no fixed scale for measuring the level of motivation (vertical line). Thus, the lines cannot be compared as such.

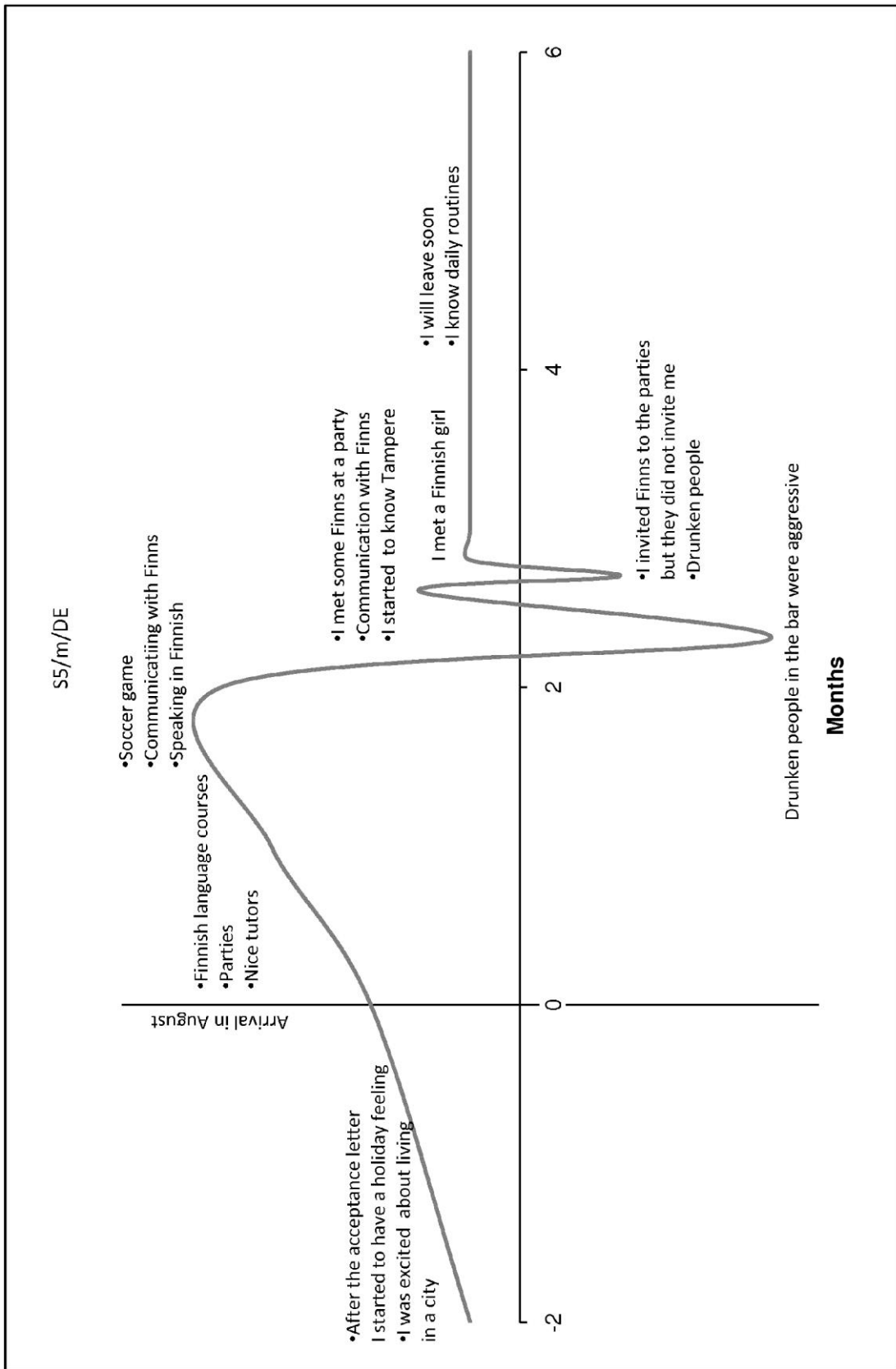
The pictures follow the order from S1 to S10; from the shortest to the longest time in Finland.



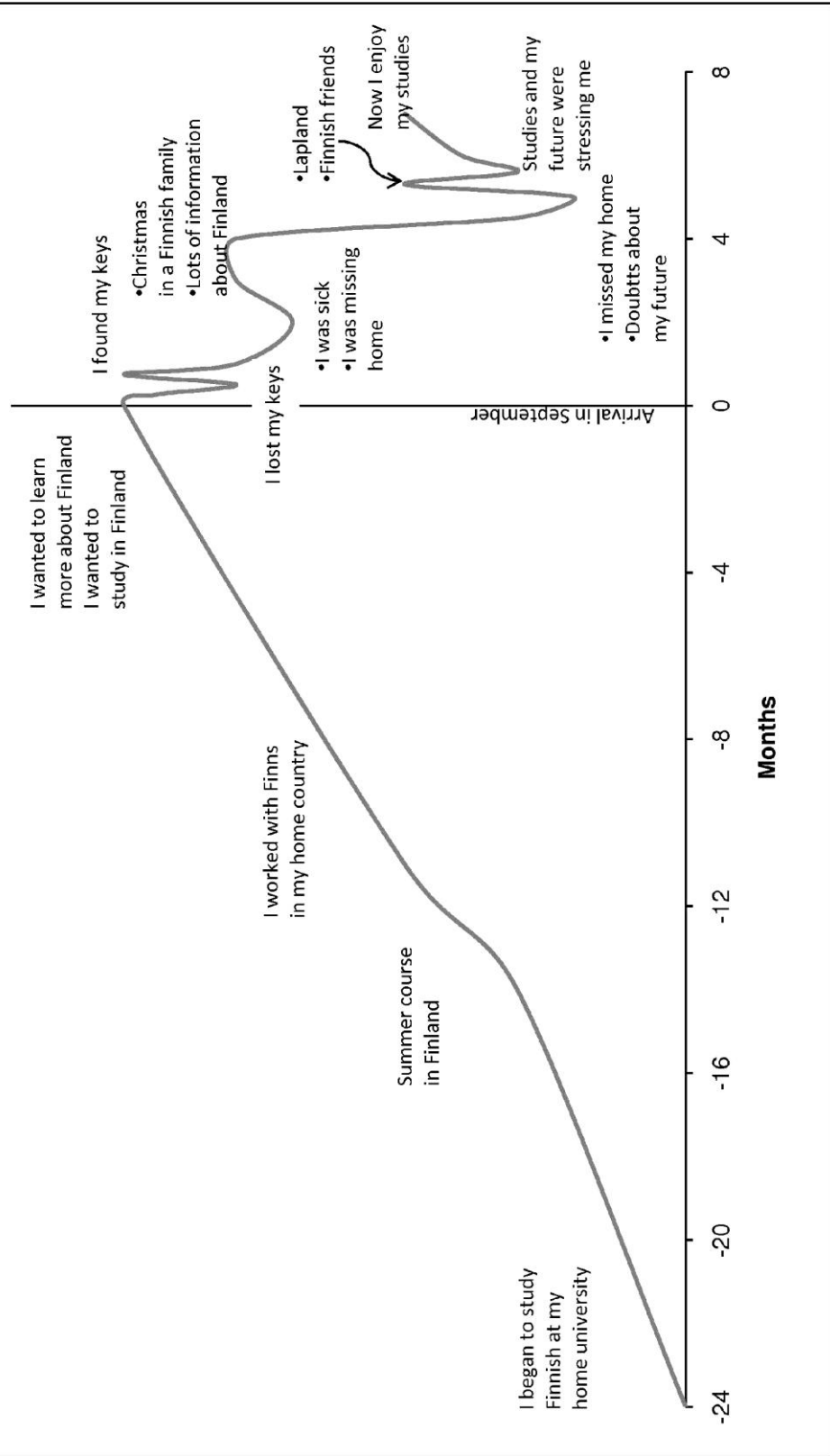




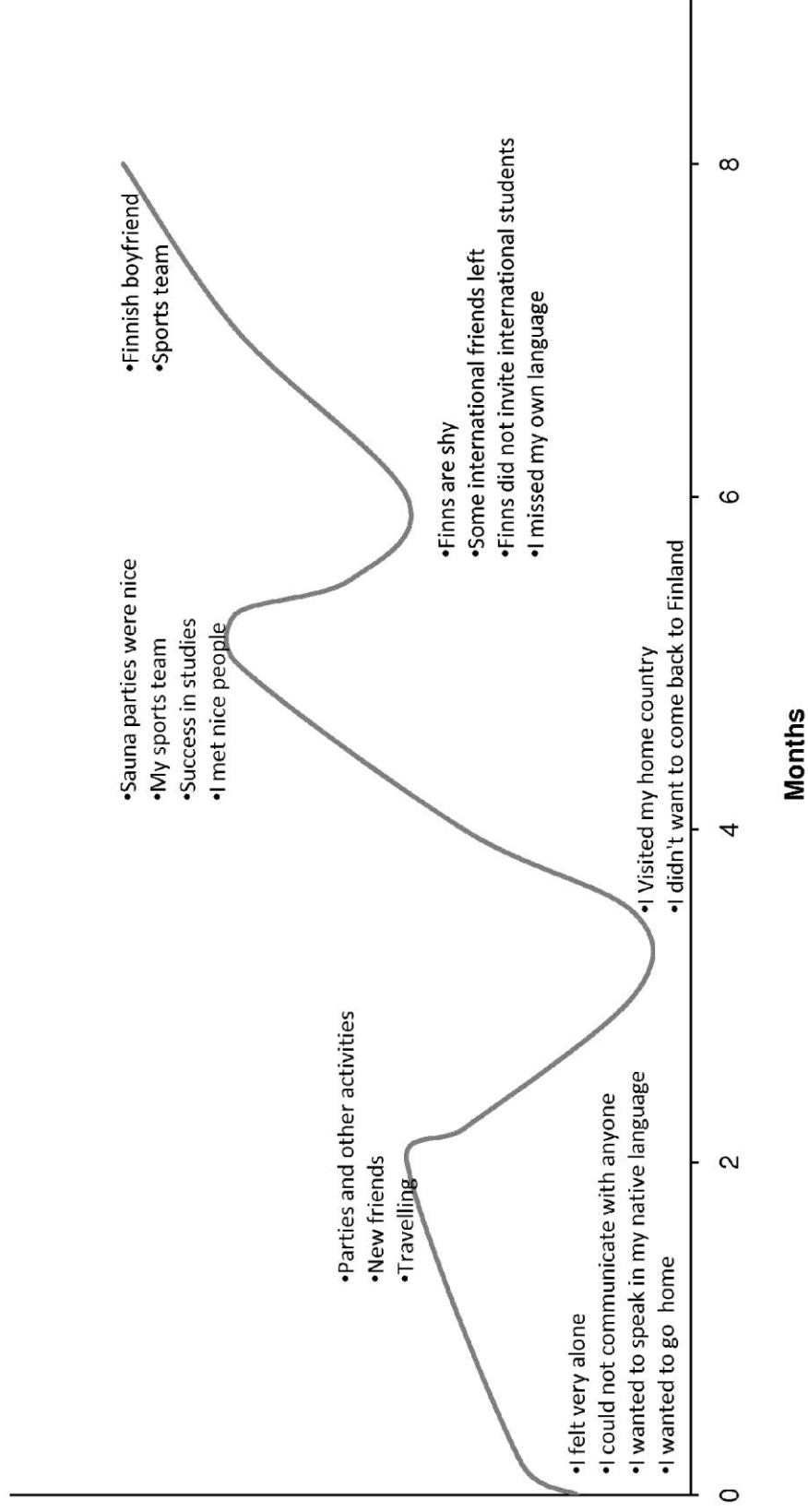


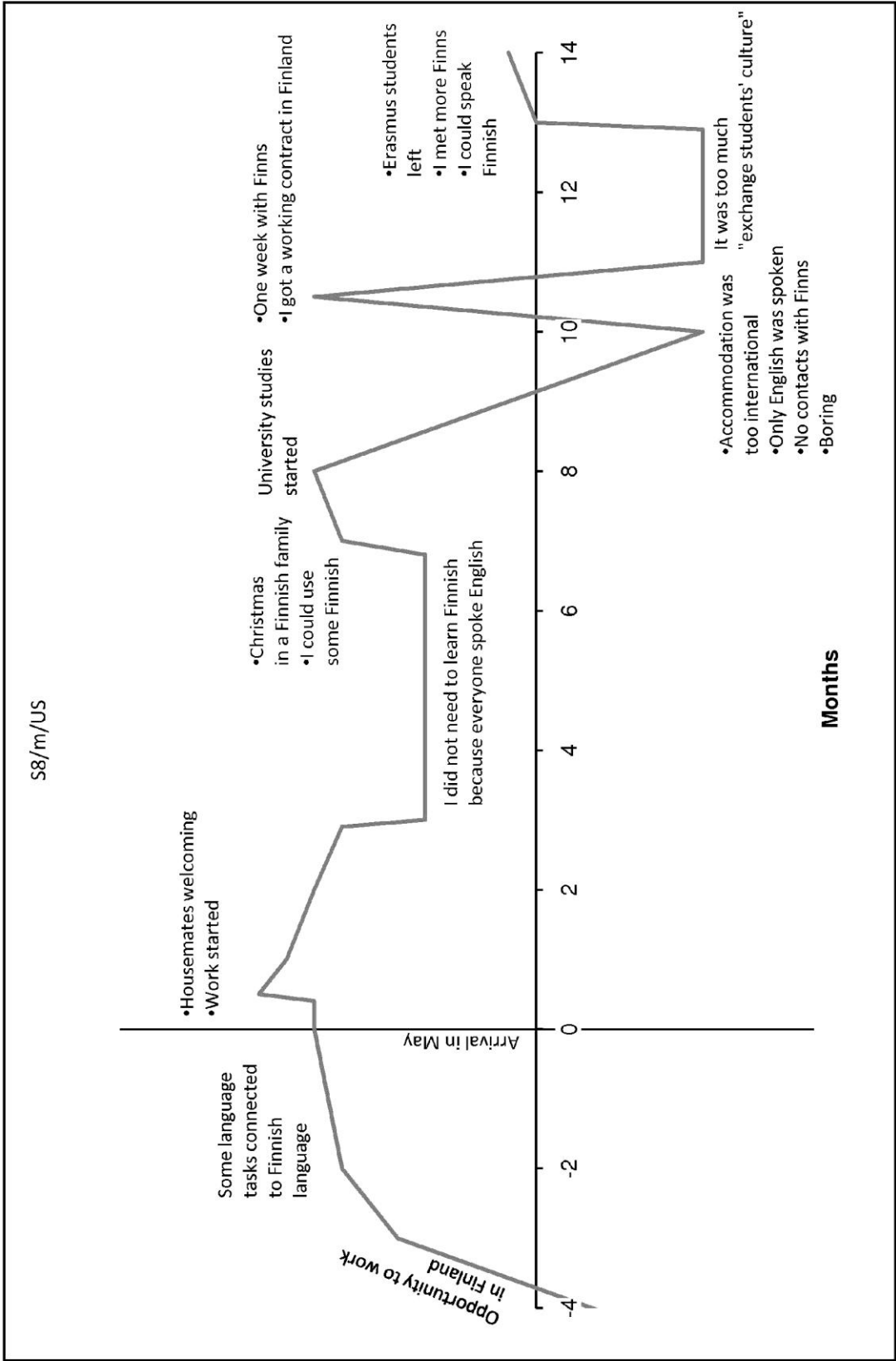


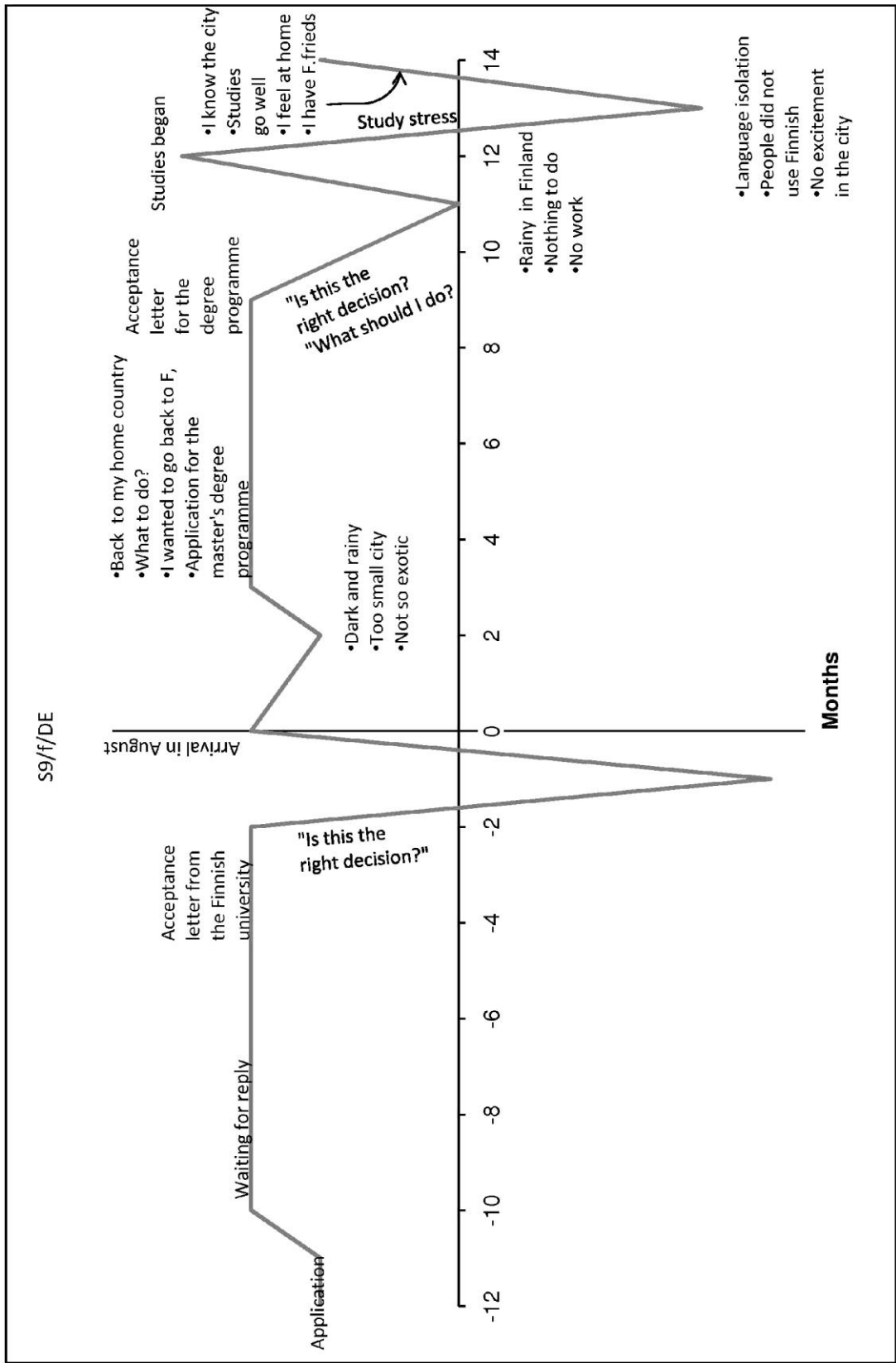
S6/f/CN

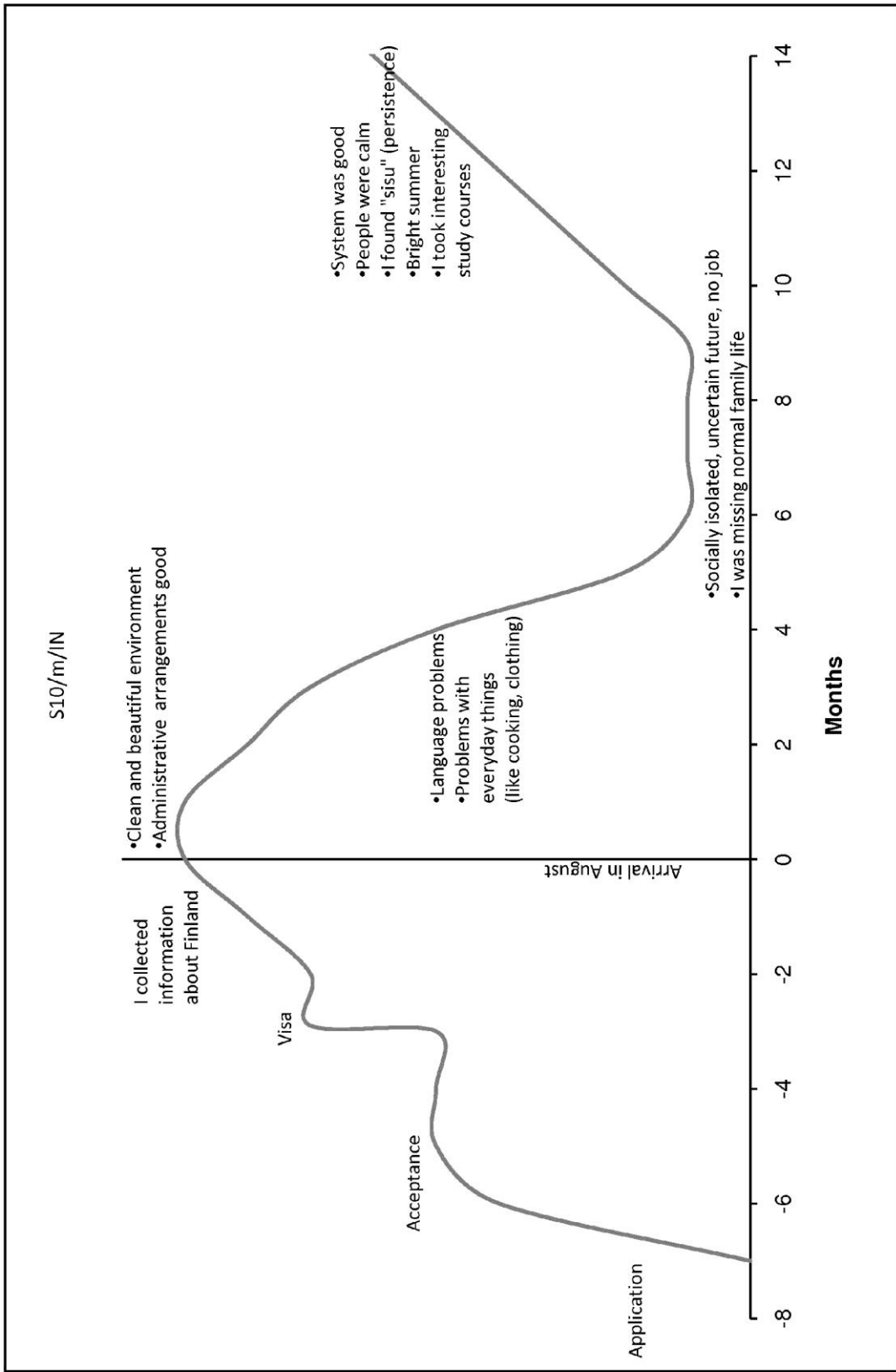


S7/f/RU









Appendix 2

The following pictures are graphic presentations of the long-term immigrants' lines of motivation. The interviewees drew the original pictures in peace and they were used during the in-depth, face-to-face interviews. There are some comments written on the figures but some of the explanations have been omitted because of the sensitivity of the issue. Explanations on the pictures were either written by the interviewee during the drawing process or by the researcher during the interviews.

In the long-term immigrants' figures the time line (horizontal line) is given in years but the time line was divided into either one-year or five-year intervals, depending on the different times the interviewees had been in Finland (from 5 years to 31 years). Similarly, there is no fixed scale for measuring the level of motivation (vertical line). Thus, the lines cannot be compared as such.

The pictures follow the order from L1 to L10; from the shortest to the longest time in Finland.

