

**“If Finland wasn’t multicultural,  
we would eat only potatoes”: A  
comparative analysis on attitudes  
towards multiculturalism between  
students of an international school  
and a non-international Finnish  
school**

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October/2018

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## **Abstract**

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KANNIAINEN, ULRIIKKA: "If Finland wasn't multicultural, we would eat only potatoes": A comparative analysis on attitudes towards multiculturalism between students of an international school and a non-international Finnish school

MA Thesis, 64s., 31 liites.

English, Language specialist path

June 2018

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In this MA thesis, attitudes of 7th graders towards multiculturalism and immigration as well as cultural homogeneity were studied. The purpose of the study was to compare the found attitudes of students of a non-international Finnish school with those of students of an international school, and to discover differences in terms of political correctness (PC). Moreover, the discussion was taken to a societal level, and the implications of political correctness were reflected on. In its composition, this study combined Appraisal theory and critical discourse analysis to form a comprehensive overview on the issue.

The data were collected in the form of essays. The instructions were to freely write about multicultural Turku and to use descriptive language. The data is compiled of the essays of 22 Finnish school students and 13 students of the International school.

The results showed differences in attitudes. The Finnish school students seemed to have more negative and neutral attitudes towards immigration than the international school students. The international school students on the other hand had more strongly expressed positivity towards Finns, whereas the Finnish school students were more eager to criticize Finns. The Finnish school students also had more cases of avoidance when it comes to directly addressing issues of immigration and multiculturalism than the international students.

Based on these results it seems that the Finnish school students have more PC attitudes towards multiculturalism than the international students, who have spent more time in an international environment and therefore possibly have more insight into these issues. Hence the purpose and implications of political correctness is controversial. Whether PC attitudes are destructive when building a society with genuine openness towards immigrants and minimum racism, needs to be further researched. Discussion on the topic on various levels should also be encouraged.

Subject headings: immigration, multiculturalism, attitudes, political correctness, discourse

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## **List of Abbreviations**

Adj.	Adjective
DA	Direct Analysis
N	Noun
PC	Political Correctness/Politically Correct
PoA	Part of Analysis
ProN	Pronoun
TIS	Turku International School

## 1. Introduction

The notion of Political Correctness having been taken too far in today's society is an issue somewhat dealt with in the media in various ways through discussion and opinion pieces. The opinions can at times be quite pungent, for example an article on the Tab titled *No offence, but political correctness has gone too far*, critiques the way all prejudice is being "artificially removed" with PC language, and that in the writer's opinion it is not the right way to accepting peoples' differences. (Bishop, 2017) However, as PC -language has been researched in academic ways before, its possible downsides in larger societal contexts should be given more attention. Polls about people's opinions have been conducted at least in the United States where ethnic backgrounds are famously diverse. For example the Pew Research Center whose poll, conducted in 2016, brought to attention that 59% of Americans think that "too many people are easily offended these days over the language that others use." (Fingerhut, 2016)

Despite the increasingly popular opinion on PC-language (if the polls are to be trusted), an academic take on the issue seems to be still lacking. Political Correctness and its going too far in schools have also been discussed in the media with for example appalled articles on "too PC" school policies that have been applied in various schools (see Ridley 2015). However, students and PC seem not to have been widely researched either.

In this research I will focus on Political Correctness regarding ethnicity and cultural diversity especially, because it is closely linked with the topic of the recent developments and discussion about immigration in Finland and the dynamic political sphere that is present. In addition to this, the world is becoming more and more filled with intercultural connections and encounters due to rapid globalization. This is why research on the topic from different points of view is important.

The aim of the present study is to discover the attitudes of seventh graders towards immigration and multiculturalism and on the other hand also those towards Finns and cultural homogeneity. The data used in this study is essays written by 7<sup>th</sup> graders on the topic of multiculturalism and immigration. The data was gathered from two different schools, an international school and a regular, non-international Finnish school. I will be comparing and contrasting the results of the two schools and discussing

whether the language and attitudes used in the essays may be inspired by a politically correct undertone, and in what ways. Having Critical Discourse Analysis set a basis for this study, I will also take the discussion on a more general and societal level. This means expanding the results from the very narrow scope of 7<sup>th</sup> graders to look at the issues against a wider context. As CDA aims to indicate societal wrongs, it is a beneficial base for this kind of discussion. Therefore the research questions are as follows:

1. Are there differences between the kinds of attitudes the students in the two schools show towards immigrants and multiculturalism vs. Finns and cultural homogeneity?
2. Can the attitudes be said to be motivated by political correctness? In what ways?
3. What can be said about the findings on a societal level? Is political correctness serving its purpose?

I hypothesize that differences in attitudes between the two groups of students will be visible because of the possible differences in the students' upbringing and social environment in which they have grown up. With a difference in how much the two sets of students have spent time in a multicultural environment, there is bound to be a difference in how these issues are seen and discussed. I also do believe that at least some of the results could indicate political correctness, and the hypothesis is that more of these politically correct features will be found in the essays of the Finnish school students. I assume the political correctness will come across as plain positivity and openness towards the subject.

The reason these questions are formulated as they are is that I believe that when people are not familiar and close to difference and diversity they become more politically correct in their language use. This, despite its well-intentioned attempt to be minimally offensive, turns out to make difference and diversity even more alien and less inclusive and welcoming in a true sense. This in its part would paradoxically turn the political correctness into a negative phenomenon and, in fact, create a larger gap between different groups of people. However, this is difficult to prove especially before any concrete results are at hand.

I have chosen to approach the topic of attitudes towards immigration and political correctness linked to it from the point of view of middle schoolers, because their attitudes (learned or not) are the ones that will carry through to being the attitudes of near future adults and backbones of our society. Also, I do believe that adolescents of



this age could be more open and truthful about their opinions and attitudes, and “too much” thinking has not yet made them overanalyzed and “correct”. I am going to compare the attitudes of students that have been in an international environment for a long time, with students of same age who have been in a mostly Finnish schooling system their whole lives because the questions of multiculturalism are bound to receive a different kind of viewpoint from these very different groups of students.

In the next section I will be discussing the political background that is important to be aware of when discussing the topic of attitudes, especially when it comes to the societal level. In section 3 the theoretical background will be presented as well as some of the earlier research that has been done. Section 4 is dedicated to the material and methods and it is followed by the analytical findings where the first research question will be targeted. In section 6 the last two research questions will be discussed. Finally in section 8 conclusions will be provided and possibilities for future research suggested.

## **2. PC Attitudes in the Context of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Finland**

In the introduction I argued that there are arising attitudes against over-emphasized political correctness on the basis of mainstream media and opinion pieces. However, the examples were concentrated on opinions of those living in the UK or America and being subjected to the issues and social phenomena on those sides of the world. The attitudes in Finland, however, are yet to be discussed. It is important to elaborate on the social context here regarding this issue, especially since the approach used in this study, Critical Discourse Analysis, has a strongly context-bound basis. In this section I will open up recent developments in immigration and politics, and hopefully be able to expand on the validations for the importance of this study from that point of view.

### **2.1. PC Attitudes**

First, since the study evolves so much around Political Correctness, it is important to elaborate on the term. In this section I will open up the background of the term, and attempt to give it some definitions. Most importantly, I will elaborate on what is meant by PC –attitudes in this particular study.

From a linguistic point of view it would seem more logical to talk about and refer to “politically correct language”, rather than attitudes. However, with the absence of definitions it would lack credibility to claim terms or utterances in discourse as PC or non-PC. Attitudes, on the other hand, can be discovered in discourse with the help of Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2015) The theory is explained in further detail in the Theoretical background –section. From the analytical findings on the attitudes, it is then possible to discuss whether a politically correct attitude could be revealed based on them.

Political Correctness (PC) on a more general level can be defined as follows:

[T]he attempt to establish norms of speech (or sometimes behavior) that are thought to (a) protect vulnerable, marginalized or historically victimized groups, and which (b) function by shaping public discourse, often by inhibiting speech or other forms of social signaling, and that (c) are supposed to avoid insult and outrage, a lowered sense of self-esteem, or otherwise offending the sensibilities of such groups or their allies. (Moller, 2017: 1)

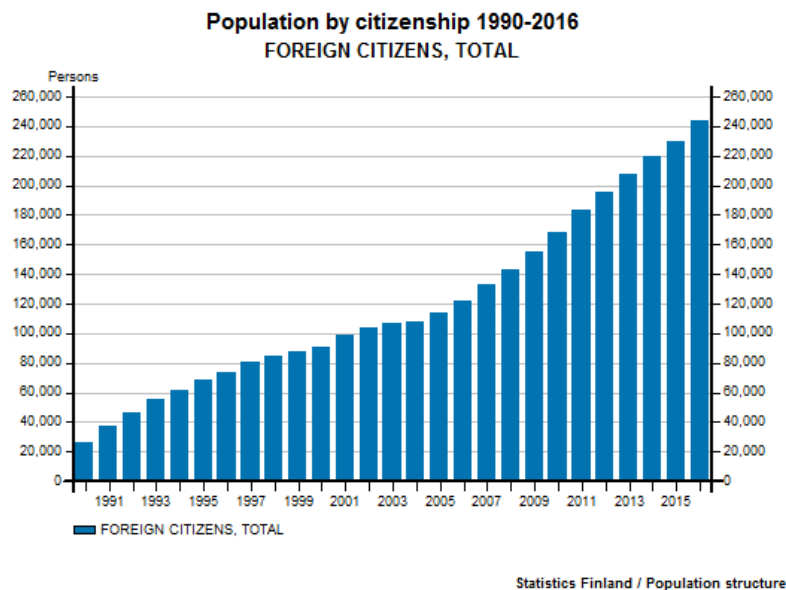
This can mean different ethnic groups, immigrants, different sexual minorities, religious minorities or can extend to any part or level of society where people’s ways of living, thinking and being can differ in any way.

What people experience as offensive, insulting or “non-PC” is, of course, very subjective and can very strongly be based on the societal context, for example. In this study the term *political correctness*, or the adjective *politically correct* refers to attitudes or terminology that may be inspired by the avoidance of insult or offence towards a certain group of people, be it explicit terms or attempts to avoid certain terms. As mentioned before, the notion of *politically correct language* has not been reliably defined or given criteria in academia before, which is why the focus will rather be on attitudes. However, the language used in the essays will be the focus of analysis, which is why the possible arising attitudes have to be derived from the language, and it has to be carefully discussed whether the language used is indeed inspired by politically correct *attitudes*. In conclusion, in this study the notion of political correctness as attitudes and politically correct language will be spoken of somewhat interchangeably, while being aware of the fact that PC language is not clearly defined and cannot be used as such.

## 2.2. Immigrants in Finland

Migration to Finland is not a completely new phenomenon, albeit in comparison to other countries the share of foreigners in the Finnish population has been relatively small. However, in recent years the number of people migrating to Finland has increased massively. In Figure 1 the development and trend of immigration can be seen, starting from 1990 and ending in 2016. It is quite interesting, how the number of immigrants has changed in only 25 years from over 20 000 to over 240 000 people in total. The growth in numbers has been rather steady. However, the sudden increase in the number of immigrants is due to the migrant crisis that the whole of Europe, Finland included, faced in 2015. This will be discussed in more detail in section 2.3

**Figure 1** (Statistics Finland 2017)

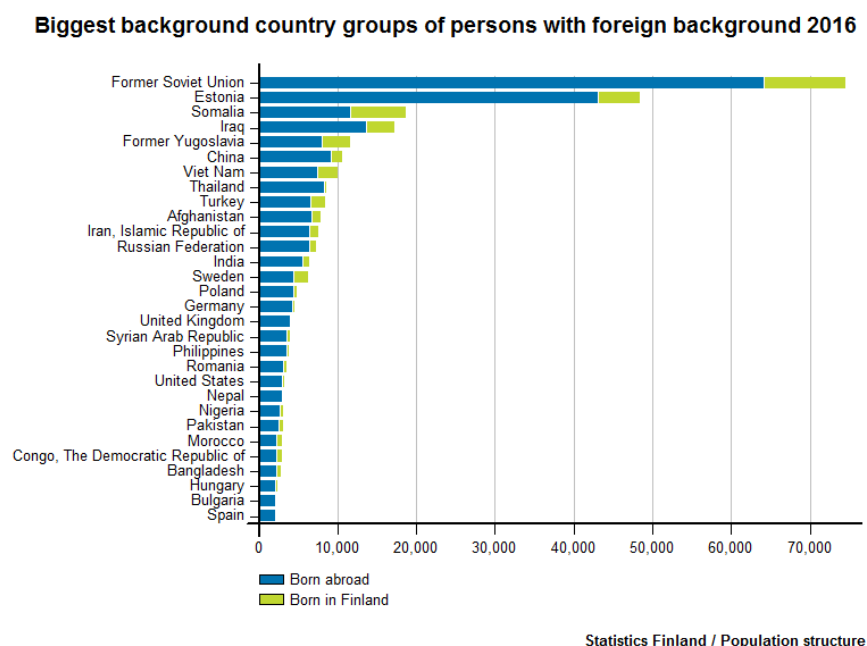


Statistics Finland website provides various statistics on the numbers and shares of for example immigrants, asylum seekers, non-Finnish speakers in Finland etc. The reason for all these kinds of different sets of data is simply that immigrants from other countries than Finland have to be separated from Finnish expatriates who are returning home to Finland. These people would belong in the immigrant –category as well. Furthermore, according to Statistics Finland, before the 1990s Finns were still the largest group of immigrants coming to Finland. (Statistics Finland 2010b). However, for the purposes of this study, which focuses on multiculturalism and the sort of immigration that brings foreigners into the country to create cultural variety, statistics

including Finnish expats are not of interest. For this reason, the category of foreign-language speakers gives a more accurate depiction of the number of immigrants in the sense which is more meaningful for this study. However, while the share of Finnish immigrants was 70% in 1987, in 2010 the trends and statistics have changed considerably; now there are 20000 foreign immigrants coming to Finland yearly, and only less than 10000 Finns (Statistics Finland 2010a).

People immigrate to Finland for various reasons and from all over the world. Figure 2 shows the biggest background country groups of persons with foreign background. The statistics are from 2016. People with a foreign background are “Persons whose both parents or the only known parent were born abroad”. (Statistics Finland 2017). The figure shows the number of people that have come to Finland from different countries, as well as the number of people who have been born in Finland. Those people would then be considered “second generation Finns”.

**Figure 2** (Statistics Finland 2017)



With Former Soviet Union being Finland’s neighboring country it is no surprise that the biggest group of foreign immigrants are originally from there. The second largest group is immigrants from Estonia, which is also very close to Finland. However, the trend does not follow from there on; the third largest group of foreign

immigrants to Finland is Somalis, then Iraqis and so on. The reasons for immigration can be multifold, but wars and conflicts are certainly one of the biggest factors that bring people in especially from the Middle East and Africa.

### 2.3. The Immigration Flow of 2015

In 2015 Europe faced a massive front of immigrants migrating in primarily from the Middle East, Africa and South Asia. The reasons behind the sudden peak in the number of incomers and the resulting “migrant crisis” were the political conflicts and wars especially in Syria and Afghanistan. (Council on Foreign Relations 2015) According to Eurostat, in 2015 there were over 1.2 million first time asylum seekers registered in the EU member states (Eurostat 2016).

The definitions of the terms *migrant*, *asylum seeker* and *refugee* are of importance in this briefing, because the terminology and the lack of knowledge in terms of it is a great issue when it comes to peoples’ attitudes and political opinions, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. Colloquially the terms are often mixed and spoken of without care, but the terms are crucial in terms of the assistance and protection they receive under international law as well. People fleeing their countries from under persecution or conflict and seek international protection under the 1951 Refugee Convention on the Status of Refugees are called asylum seekers. The term refugee on the other hand refers to an asylum seeker whose claim has already been approved. These are the official terms used, but the UN does consider migrants who have left their countries because of wars and conflicts refugees, even if they have not yet received asylum. The term economic migrant, however, refers to a person who primarily leaves his or her country for economic reasons – usually in hopes of better standards of living. These terms have to be distinguished from each other, but the term migrant is used as an umbrella term to refer to any of these three terms. (Council on Foreign Relations 2015)

In 2015, the situation was a little bit more complicated than merely asylum seekers fleeing their war-zoned countries. Europe faced a “mixed-migration” phenomenon in which asylum seekers as well as economic migrants travel together into safer countries. The reality is that these groups were not clear-cut, and the situation within the populations did overlap. This so called “grey area” was worsened by the inconsistent methods of processing the asylum applications that were in use across EU member states. (ibid.)

The flow of immigrants in 2015 affected Finland as well. The number of first time asylum seekers in Finland in 2015 was 32150 which is relatively mid-range in numbers when it comes to the number of applicants per million inhabitants (5876) compared to other EU member states. For example Sweden received 16016 first time applicants per million inhabitants, whereas Croatia only received 34. However, Finland had the greatest increase in percentage of first time asylum seekers (+822%) between the years 2014 and 2015. (Eurostat 2016) This on its part could play a role in the great stir that the sudden flow of immigrants caused in Finland.

The immigration flow of 2015 did evoke a lot of discussion on the topic among Finns. Newspapers reported on the evolving situation and the comment sections in the electrical news articles were filled with comments for and against immigration and even on a personal level, the immigrants. The opinions –section of newspapers also gave space to writings on this topic. For example Helsingin Sanomat published a writing (Kukkamaa 2017, HS) titled (roughly translated from Finnish) *Attitudes speak of values and fears*. This article, though published two years after the peak of immigration, well summarizes the ongoing discussion over the topic.

The writer talks about how the drastic peak in numbers has led Finns to become scared of strangers and compares the situation to the beginning of the 1990s which is when Finland faced a similar situation. He says that the discussion has become impossible to keep civil, since the values seem to be completely opposite. Fear can be a very strong feeling which ultimately comes out as strong opinions and less of a sugarcoated expression in discussion. The writer refers to a study on attitudes commissioned by the Finnish ministry for internal affairs and conducted by Vaasa University (Sisäministeriö 2017) and claims that the most extreme attitudes that are situated on each end of the spectrum are the ones that end up being the loudest in the discussion. He also says that a civil discussion would be impossible if there is only one “truth” that people have, and that the focus should be more on solutions and less on debating. He pleads to the media as well as decision makers and politicians to take a more open attitude on the case which would provide more viewpoints. These kinds of writings are a prime example of the kind of discussion that has been going on in Finland on many levels in the media, unofficial forums, as well as in politics.

## 2.4. Political Atmosphere

A brief explanation about the Finnish political system is important in order to understand and be able to link the issue of immigration with the current political context. Finland is a parliamentary democracy and it has a multiparty political system. The eight largest political parties in Finland are National Coalition Party, The Social Democratic Party of Finland, The Finns, Centre Party, Left Alliance of Finland, The Greens of Finland, The Swedish People's Party and Christian Democrats (European Parliament 2014). The parties can be categorized by putting them on a left-right axis according to their political viewpoints. (Saukkonen 2008a) The criteria by which this can be done is a complex process, which will not be explained here in much detail. However, to put in roughly, the right-wing parties are on the conservative side and the left-wing parties are more liberal in their political emphasis and views. The reasons for how Finnish political parties have come to form and separate from each other lie mostly behind questions of social classes, linguistic and cultural issues between the Finnish- and Swedish –speaking population and the opposing views and statuses of the populations inside and outside cities. Comparing Finnish parties internationally, there are a few special qualities to them. One is the central position of an agrarian party and the relative weakness of a labor party. Another specialty worth mentioning is the strangely strong radicalism from the leftist side that has gained ground. (Saukkonen 2008b)

Although there are many factors that have contributed to the division of political parties in Finland and they can be categorized in different ways, the most important division when it comes to the question of immigration is between the left-wing and the right-wing. This is because right-wing parties, especially the Finns, are considered to represent nationalist social conservatism and the left-wing parties represent a more reformist take on things. (ibid.) The questions that deal with immigration and how Finland should react upon it have definitely divided opinions between the parties.

In the summer of 2010 the major political parties in Finland were interviewed on the parties' views on immigration, asylum seekers and refugees in political terms. The official policies of the parties were surveyed and a report was written based on them. The report was done in collaboration by the Finnish Refugee Council, Finnish Refugee Advice Centre and scholar Arno Tanner (Pakolaiseuvonta 2010). Even though the report is already somewhat outdated, and there have been major events taking place, the information given in the report has not drastically changed and

it does give an idea about the general guidelines each party follows in refugee and immigration –related questions. I will now discuss the policies of the parties regarding the questions, mostly concentrating on the views of the Finns and contrasting them with the views of the Left Alliance of Finland and the Greens of Finland, since they could be said to represent quite opposite views on the matter, and going through all of the parties' views would not serve the purpose of the background section of this study.

The report shows that the Finns clearly would rather limit the number of migrants that would be taken in to solve many of the problems related to the increasing number of asylum seekers. The leftist parties would take a different approach. For example, when asked about how the shortage in slots for asylum seekers in municipalities should be overcome, the Finns claimed that stopping the growth in numbers of asylum seekers would solve the issue. The leftist parties on the other hand would solve the problem with more money into helping the municipalities overcome this problem. However, the rightful usage of this money should be monitored carefully, and a change in attitudes was also mentioned to help the progress forward.

(Pakolaisneuvonta 2010)

Another question asked in the inquest, which clearly brings out the major positions of these parties on this matter, was whether the immigration quota in Finland should be kept in place, removed altogether, increased or decreased from the then current 750 persons. Most of the parties thought the current number was suitable. The Finns had it as their basis that in the taking in of refugees there could be a zero quota. The Left Alliance of Finland would have increased the number to a thousand, while the Greens of Finland would have increased it to the same number as other Scandinavian countries. (ibid.)

When it comes to the cultural questions regarding immigrants, especially in schools, the Finns seemed to emphasize that schools should provide a “normal Finnish education” without any special considerations. Religious and cultural activities should be done outside of schools, albeit spaces for such should be provided. The leftist parties, on the other hand, had a starting point in providing education without any religious fences between people. Giving up confessional teaching of religious studies would help in bringing people together. (ibid.)

The report had many other questions regarding the question of immigration, their social integration and asylum seekers. However, the questions brought up here already bring out the core differences and the nature of the political discussion



that has been and is going on. The Finns have a clear agenda in attempting to limit the number of incoming migrants to solve problems related to it, which is well in line with their nationalist basis in views. The more reformist parties on the other hand have more open views on the subject, which focus more on helping the people in need even if it requires compromising something that has uplifted the standards of Finns.

The recent history and current position of the Finns is also worth discussing in more detail here. The Finns has for long been accused of racism and racist views, most likely because of its nationalist ideology. The Finns was even demanded to make a statement against racism, violence and discrimination, by the media and in political contexts as well. The claim for this statement was inspired by racist outbreaks against immigrants that had taken place around the time of its making, in 2011. In the statement, the Finns as a party disclaimed itself of any kind of racism or discrimination and stated to condemn any sort of behavior that may indicate any of these ideologies (Yleisradio 2011).

For many years since its founding in 1995 (Perussuomalaiset 2018), the Finns had not enjoyed a lot of popularity, which can be seen for example in their advocacy of only 4,1% in 2007 (Tilastokeskus 2011). The Finns were the smallest political party in the parliament until the year 2011. Quite surprisingly in the parliamentary election of 2011 there was a 15% increase in the support of the Finns. They received 19,1% of all of the country's votes, which meant that they became the third most popular party in Finland and received 39 seats in the parliament. In these elections the popularity of the left-wing parties decreased by a few percentages. (ibid.)

In 2017 the Finns held a convention which ended up causing quite a stir and becoming a game-changer for many politicians and voters. The new leadership voted for the Finns seemed to represent the most radical right-wing views especially concerning the immigration –question and multiculturalist ideology (Yleisradio 2017). For multiple political and policy-related reasons which will not be further discussed here, the radical views of the new leadership lead multiple members of the Finns to found and vault over to a new party, which ultimately was named Blue Reform. When it comes to matters of nations coming together and especially the EU, they claim that in their view, “EU must be a union for independent states rather than a federation. The borders cannot be shut but they can be secured and controlled.” They describe themselves as looking into the future, and being a “modern, reform oriented political movement.” (Sininen Tulevaisuus 2018).

According to an article published in March 2018 by a Finnish news media, MTV, the Finns and the Greens of Finland are gaining the most popularity at the moment (MTV 2018). Around the time and in the aftermath of the convention of the Finns, they have gained members by 18%. However, the Greens of Finland have also had an increase in the number of members by 17%. These make the two parties the recently most attractive parties. The statistics on the news article were collected at the parties' offices and the numbers depict the then current situation of January 2018.

Whatever the reasons behind it, the sudden increase particularly in the popularity of these two parties with very opposing views especially on immigration policies, is interesting. It can be established that the population in Finland is starting to divide up increasingly concerning the subject and discussion on the topic is still going on. The political atmosphere is something that surely affects people's opinions, either enforcing their original views or perhaps confusing their thoughts. Whatever the case the continuing discussion and debate on all levels of society makes this topic worth looking into some more.

This section was included to bring insight into the timeliness and importance of the theme of immigration of Finland. The context is crucial since the study looks into politically correct attitudes and the data is based on views on immigration in Finland and multiculturalism. As it can be noted, the subject has been on the surface for quite some time and it can be assumed that it would evoke at least some levels of emotional or attitudinal responses. Even though politically correct attitudes based on language could be researched looking into other topics as well, such as gender equality, this topic is timely and suited the composition of the research at this time and place. This section will be an important support when it comes to discussion section that will follow later.

### **3. Theoretical Background**

The two theories used in the study are Critical Discourse Analysis and Appraisal Theory. The two theories complement each other to create a deeper analysis that can be taken on more than one level. The two theories have been combined in some previous studies as well (e.g Puolamäki 2016 and Fuoli 2015) but not as much as one would think. In this section the theories are explained in detail generally as well as in relation to the present study. In addition the concept of "avoidance speech" is opened up in this

section, since it is relevant in being able to discuss some of the analytical findings. Lastly, previous studies related to the present study are also discussed here.

### 3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach or perspective in the field of discourse studies that focuses on social equality and justice, and seeks to uncover domination and power abuse as well as resistance against these phenomena (van Dijk 2009: 63). It is not so much a method than it is an attitude that can be taken in research, where the researcher would be socio-politically committed to these types of societal issues. CDA is primarily very problem-oriented rather than focused on a certain discipline, which means that a multidisciplinary approach is required (ibid.). The ultimate, concrete aim in a research where CDA may be used could be to uncover actual societal injustices or other related problems in any of its structures and provide tools to resolve it.

The “how” of CDA is a question to be answered, since its non-methodological nature makes its applicability not so straightforward and simple. The key to this is formulating successful research strategies to be able to identify the “patterns of elite dominance or manipulation “in” texts” (van Dijk 1995: 19). Basically, CDA necessitates well-formed theories to reveal the role of discourse in what is being looked at, for example power struggles or resistance against domination. CDA also must be effective and functional in its conclusions, recommendations and implications and not only descriptive (ibid.). In the current study the method combined with this is the Appraisal Theory, which in the current study seeks to reveal attitudes on immigration and multiculturalism.

In the current study the inclusion of CDA makes sense, since the main focus of this study deals with attitudes towards immigration, immigrants and multiculturalism. CDA typically looks into power relations, and there usually has to be a dominant group and a minority involved in a power-struggle situation. In this case they are immigrants as the minority, and Finns as the majority group. However, even though the role of CDA in revealing power abuse and clear power struggles or inequalities that may occur in a society, it is also stated that “[m]uch work in CDA is about the underlying *ideologies* that play a role in the reproduction of or resistance against dominance or inequality” (van Dijk 1995:18). CDA also typically deals with phenomena such as ethnicity, race, language, religion and nationality among other

things. (ibid.) These are the two features and core aims of CDA that mostly come across in the present study, and support the use of it.

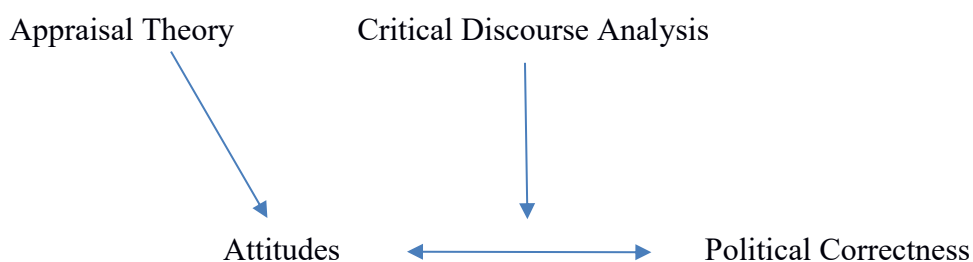
The present study aims to discover attitudes and political correctness when it comes to issues such as immigration. These attitudes can be seen as the “underlying ideologies”, the uncovering of which van Dijk mentions as being one of the tenets of CDA. (ibid.) With CDA also specifically having a focus on immigration –related issues, this approach as a supporting viewpoint in this study is justifiable. However, as previously mentioned, CDA strongly highlights the uncovering of power relations and power-struggles. Even though one can argue that the sides in this possible imbalance would be Finns and immigrants, this study does not focus on this issue. This is why the current study does not fully utilize all the aspects of CDA and therefore does not lean as strongly on it as it could. CDA as a theory is not very specific as to its application, but this is exactly why it suits the purposes of the current study – it provides a solid base for a societal discussion of any form, as long as some of the requirements are met.

Even though the target of the analysis in the present study is not all people, and there will be no analysis comparing the attitudes of immigrants and those of Finns’, taking the point of view of CDA, these issues can be discussed as well. However, CDA as an approach will be included in the analysis as it fits the current study; as a way to steer the discussion into a direction where societal flaws can be pointed out and discussed when it comes to immigration and multiculturalism. There is no “right way” to apply CDA in a research, and in the spirit of its multidisciplinary viewpoint, here CDA is taken as a tool to discuss the results of the study in a more general way than what the results of the analysis would provide by itself.

In the discussion section, where the results of the analysis are discussed in further detail, and reasons behind different phenomena are deliberated, CDA will take the role of guiding the discussion into a more societal direction. This allows the study to take a more meaningful approach, and not leave the ultimate outcomes on the grass roots –level.

The Appraisal theory will be used to analyze the attitudes that come across. Then the relationship between the attitudes that have been found out in the data, and political correctness will be discussed in terms of which affects which and to what extent. And as mentioned, CDA will be the underlying ideological approach within this discussion. Figure 3 shows the structure of the analysis and discussion in terms of the roles of each theory or framework in the composition of the study.

**Figure 3 Composition of the present study**



### 3.2. Appraisal Framework

The Appraisal framework is based on and has extended from the linguistic works of M.A.K Halliday and his colleagues. It has its roots in Systemic Functional Linguistics which assumes language to be a social semiotic system which on its part indicates looking at meaning-making as a social practice, and links it to context. According to the official Appraisal Theory homepage, the Appraisal Framework is an approach that looks into, describes and explains how language is used “to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships” (Appraisal Homepage 2015a).

In more concrete terms, the Appraisal framework looks into how speakers express themselves in passing judgement and how their attitudes and emotive responses come across in their speech either explicitly through utterances or how they may be implicitly expressed in their speech. It also helps analyze intertextual positioning and stance, as mentioned above (Appraisal Homepage 2015b). However, for the purposes of my research the attitude aspect of the framework is the useful one, since I will be looking into the attitudes that come through in the students’ compositions. Hence explaining the way Appraisal framework can be used in that aspect and what it is comprised of will be my main focus here.

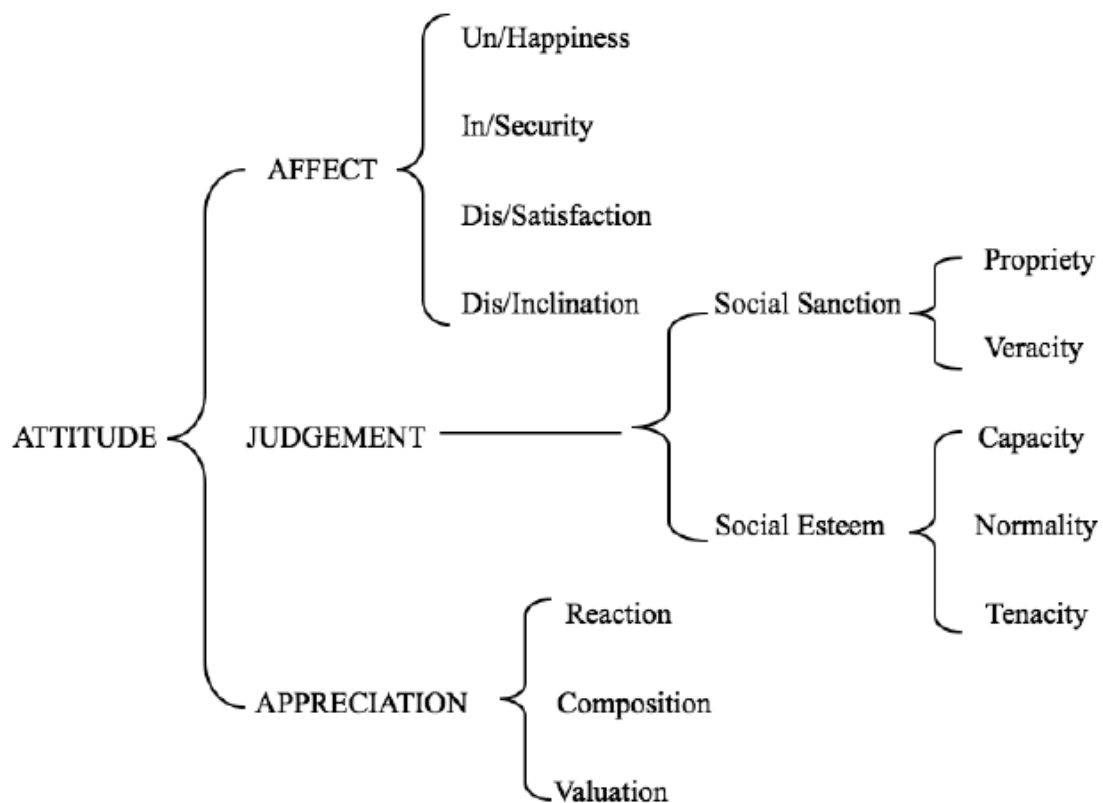
The term attitude in the context of the framework has been defined as “Values by which speakers pass judgements and associate emotional/affectual responses with participants and processes “ (Appraisal Homepage 2015c) The Attitude subcategory of Appraisal theory falls into three other subcategories: affect, judgement and appreciation. Affect deals with the emotional response found in the discourse and normally comes across as statements of mental processes of reaction (*I like ice-cream*) or as attributive relationals of affect (*I’m happy*). Affect can be analyzed as either

positive or negative responses and each meaning falls into a sliding scale of force and intensity from low to high.

Judgement deals with value judgements regarding social values and institutionalized norms. Like affect, it can evaluate human behavior positively and negatively (virtuous vs. immoral) and meanings can be located on a scale of force and intensity. Values can be realized as adverbials, attributes and epithets, nominals and verbs. Judgement on its part is divided into two larger subcategories, and five narrower subcategories fall into these two. The two categories of judgement are social sanction and social esteem. Judgements of social sanction have to do with rules and regulations. Social esteem on the other hand deals with judgements of a person and their positioning within a community. Social sanction can be further divided into two subcategories: veracity (truth) and propriety (ethics). Social esteem divides into three subcategories: normality (custom), capacity and tenacity (resolve). Utterances of judgement can be divided into these subcategories according to what their function is in the discourse at hand. Judgement can be either implicit or explicit.

Appreciation has to do with the evaluation of objects and products, as opposed to human behavior, by reference to aesthetics and other social values in that regard. Humans can also be evaluated from this point of view if they are referred to more as entities rather than participants with certain behavior. As the categories above, values of appreciation also fall into a scale of force and intensity, and they can be either positive or negative. Appreciations can be grouped into three subcategories: reaction, which deals with the impact made, composition, which evaluates the makeup of the object, and valuation which comments the social conventions related to the object. The subsystems of attitude in Appraisal theory are illustrated in Figure 4.

**Figure 4 Subsystems of Attitude in Appraisal Theory (Liu and Thompson 2009, 5)**



In the present study the main features from the attitude subcategory that are taken into the analysis are the main subcategories: affect (authorial and non-authorial), judgement (implicit and explicit) and appreciation (implicit and explicit). Not all of the cases will be analyzed according to force and intensity, but this aspect will be taken into account when discussing the results. These limitations regarding the analysis had to be made because of the scope of the study. The way the Appraisal Theory will be used in practice in the present study will be discussed and demonstrated in more detail in section 4.

### 3.3. Avoidance Speech

One of the biggest observations that was made about the data in the present study was the number of cases in which the students had sought to avoid using words such as “immigrants”. Many different kinds of euphemism were used to avoid certain words. There are full dictionaries of euphemisms in which the most commonly used euphemisms are collected together (see Holder 1988). In the introductory paragraph of his dictionary, Holder explains that the use of euphemisms is often associated with

taboo words. However, what a society or a generation considers taboo in one moment may not be that among the next generation (ibid.).

The term avoidance speech is typically used when referring to the ways in which different terms are used to avoid a certain word because of certain kin relations that may require this sort of behavior. This is a phenomenon met among for example Australian tribes, where a special avoidance speech is in use for example in the presence of a “taboo relative”. (Dixon 1980). From this perspective avoidance speech is a part of socio-linguistic phenomena, since it is related to social aspects and their effects on speech behavior.

A connecting feature between the more commonly known euphemism and avoidance speech is the taboo –aspect. In the current study the term “avoidance” will be used to mean any kind of way in which a certain term or subject is avoided and circled around with other words. As we can see in the definition of avoidance speech as well, the perception of what is taboo is connected to time and place – and prevalent customs. These are aspects the present study will automatically take into account, since they are closely connected with attitudes.

### 3.4. Previous Studies

CDA has previously been used in other studies for example to look into immigration and immigrants and the representation of the subject in media in other countries (see KhosraviNik 2014). This study is similar in how it combines the topic of immigration and CDA. This is not surprising, however, considering the nature of CDA. There is also a study conducted in the University of Murcia very similar to the current one, where CDA is used to discover university students’ attitudes towards immigration (López-Maestre and Scheu Lottgen, 2003).

One of the major findings in this study was “how ideas uncounsciously [*sic*] assumed to be “politically correct”, in fact cover highly racist and xenophobic attitudes to the phenomenon of immigration.” (López-Maestre and Scheu Lottgen, 2003: 209). This study was conducted in the University of Murcia, and it sought to uncover attitudes of a group of students of English philology, based on essays where the students had expressed ideas on immigration. The composition of the study is somewhat different from the current study, and the point of view is naturally different. The current



study aims to compare attitudes two groups of people as well as the way multiculturalism *and* cultural homogeneity are appraised in relation to each other.

The study by Lopéz-Maestre and Scheu Lottgen was conducted in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which means that it could be considered quite outdated at this point in time. Attitudes do change according to time and place and along with changes in society. However, the way people react to change can be hypothesized to be universal. Even if this study conducted in Murcia does not reflect the situation there any more, the results can still be taken into account when looking into the same phenomenon elsewhere. The research problem and results are interesting and they support the problem and hypothesis set out in the present study.

## **4. The Present Study**

In this section I will first present the material selected for this study in more detail. Afterwards I will discuss the Appraisal theory in its use methodologically in the analysis process.

### **4.1. Material**

In this research I have collected data from 7<sup>th</sup> graders from two different schools: Turku International School (TIS) and Puolala Middle school. The data I have collected are essays based on the following essay task:

Immigrants in Finland.

Write about multicultural Turku. You can talk about your friends and family, or things that you see or hear around town (on streets, in shops...). How do you feel about different cultures coming together? Use descriptive language. (200-250 words.)

The forming of the essay task began with the idea that it should give the students freedom to express themselves and bring out any ideas that they may want. However, the topic should steer their answers into a “right” direction and not be too ambiguous and run the risk of having the students write too much off topic. In that case the content would not touch upon the subject at hand, and leave nothing to analyze. I made writing on-topic a criterion for being included in the analysis because despite the

careful formation of the instructions, two out of 24 essays from Puolala School and one out of 14 essays from TIS were not related on the issue of immigration and multiculturalism closely enough, which lead to them be discarded. These essays were either focused on the history of Turku and its culture in that sense, or they were a description of what activities Turku offers. Altogether the total number of words in the data included in the analysis was 7677 words, with the students of Puolala School having produced 5074 words and TIS students, 2603 words.

The essay question was carefully formed to give leeway and a possibility for free writing; the expression “you *can* talk about...” was to allow talking about other things too, the streets and shops were only an example and to give ideas. The question “how do you *feel* about...” was to produce more emotional responses and not so much of rational thoughts. This phrasing was important since Appraisal theory looks into attitudes, and an emotional response would give more to analyze in regards to that. However, not all of the students used emotionally loaded words and expressions when writing about the topic, which on its part gave intriguing results.

The assumption is that the students in the international school will have been in a multicultural environment for a longer time already, perhaps they went to the international primary school as well, or have come from a different country altogether. Their primary language of use in school is English, in which they are taught in every class. Similarly, the assumption with the students at Puolala School is that they have not grown in an especially international environment, but have been surrounded by other Finnish students all their lives. However, to make the study more credible a short questionnaire was included at the end of the task. The questions for the Puolala School students were as follows:

1. Have you ever lived abroad? If so, where?
2. Have you ever been in an international school? If so, for how long?
3. Are you a boy/girl?

For the students at TIS, the second question was modified to be “for how long have you been in an international school?” With these questions included, it is easier to indicate, if there are any major deviations in the results, whether it could be because a student in the international school had just joined school, or if a student in the Finnish school had previously spent a long time in an international environment. I also

included the question of gender just for curiosity and possible interesting results. I collected the essays anonymously, for two reasons; firstly, the name was not needed and I wanted to minimize the possibility of any kind of prejudices making the analysis less reliable. Secondly, I was hoping the knowledge of their names not being revealed to me would lead the students to write more freely. Whether it had an effect or not will never be definitely known, but the end purpose in all is to make the study as reliable as possible.

A possible limitation that I anticipated when deciding to gather the data from an international school and a non-international Finnish school, was language. For the sake of being able to compare the essays reliably I gathered the essays in English, but while English may have been a very familiar language – possibly a mother tongue – to the TIS students, the level of proficiency with the Finnish school students was a question mark. To make sure the gap between the English language skills would be as small as possible, I gathered the essays from the Puolala School English language oriented class. These students have more teaching in English than normal Finnish school students, and the language level could be expected to be higher.

Another way to make sure the foreign language did not become too big of an issue, I allowed the students to use any dictionaries or grammar help they may have needed. I did this to make sure that the students' scope of expressing themselves in written form did not become limited for that reason, at least. This could be allowed since the focus of the study is not on the writing skills or grammar, but rather on the way PC language arose in the discourse.

With that said, looking at the data gathered, it can be concluded that the language did not pose any significant problems for the Puolala School students. Most of the essays were carefully written, and the language was comparatively good. Naturally with 7<sup>th</sup> graders being 12-13 years old, there are grammatical constructions that are not in active use in their writing, which may have limiting consequences when it comes to the writing, expression and therefore also credible analysis. This, however, applies for both the Finnish school students and the international students. For example the passive voice, which could have been an interesting aspect to look at when it comes to immigrants and multiculturalism, did not appear to be frequently used in the essays.

## 4.2. Methods

The methodology in this study has been based on the quality of the data and the interest of the study, the research questions as the main focus. However, some aspects in methodology have been of rising popularity in recent academic researches, one of them being triangulation. Triangulation refers to the use of multiple methodological approaches in one research, in order to make it as valid as possible, or to provide multiple perspectives on a problem (Seale 2010: 102). The said methodological approaches could form a combination of quantitative and qualitative viewpoints, as well as combine micro and macro levels when investigating and discussing a phenomenon. The present study follows the trend, and exploits these different aspects in making the study as comprehensive as possible in its methodology.

Using the UAM CorpusTool as a tool to indicate words and their word counts, and thus creating charts and per milles of the findings for comparison's sake provides a quantitative perspective on the results. On the other hand, analyzing the results with the help of the Appraisal theory leads to qualitative results and essentially brings another viewpoint into the study. The Appraisal theory, as mentioned before, provides a reliable tool for analyzing attitudes, which is why it is a prominent theory in this particular study. In addition to these, taking the discussion on a more societal level with the theoretical background of critical discourse analysis as the basis, the study can be said to have a very literal “triangulation” in its methodologies, with the two different theories and a tool for a quantitative approach used together to bring insight into the study. Critical discourse analysis also brings depth into the discussion, as the results are not only left on a micro level. These methods bring multiple perspectives in the study, which aim to create a more valid set of results and shed a brighter light on the issue as a whole.

To analyze the language use in the essays I will be using the theory of Appraisal which I have already described in detail in section 3. In section 4.2.2 I will elaborate on the use of the framework when it comes to the actual process of analysis.

### 4.2.1. Keyword Analysis and the First Step in the Analysis Process

The first step, however, in the analysis process was to use the UAM CorpusTool to find repeating words, “keywords”, in the body of data, or corpus. The UAM CorpusTool is an environment designed for annotating text corpora. It can be used as a part of linguistic studies or for statistical language processing. It was created by Mick

O'Donnell and it is available for free downloading on the official website of the corpus tool. The tool has many features, including annotating, searching for instances across different levels in corpora, making comparative statistics across subsets, searching your corpus and creating statistics (UAM CorpusTool 2017). In this study, the corpus tool was used in searching for keywords in both sets of corpora (Puolala School essays and Turku International School essays).

First I took a look at the keywords in the Puolala School essays and selected seven of the most popular content words that had most to do with the research questions posed in this study. These words were multicultural (adj.), other (proN, N, adj.), Finnish (adj., N), immigrant (N), foreign (adj.) refugee(s) (N), and Finns (N). There were other words as well, that could have been included in the analysis, but for the sake of the scope of the study I had to subjectively limit the number of keywords to seven, taking into consideration the popularity of the use of the word and the connection of it to the research questions.

After determining the keywords based on the Puolala School essays, I searched the same words in the corpus consisting of Turku International School essays. I gathered all these words and their word counts in a chart.

Having determined the keywords, I started the analytical process. I used the Finder tool in Microsoft Word when going through all of the essays (starting with the International School's essays), and finding each instance where the keyword (starting with "other") appears. While going through the essays, I created charts to analyze and categorize the information better.

In the charts I included the keywords and the necessary information for the analysis to go with them. I made multiple charts to have the information and analytical findings sorted in a meaningful way. The charts differ from each other slightly, depending on what information is valid for each word. The first keyword I focused on was the keyword "other". The instances of this word were taken into account in this analysis only when it referred to a person in the essay. In the chart I included the sentence the word comes in (to provide context), what the word "other" refers to under "reference", what kind of an appraisal there is (affect, judgement, appreciation) and an indication of whether the keyword is being directly appraised (DA) or another part of what is being appraised but still a part of appraisal (PoA). Whether the word is being appraised positively, negatively or neutrally is mentioned and color coded under "attitude".

The second set of keywords (immigrants, Finns, Finnish people) are in a separate chart. In this chart the keyword will be indicated, then the sentence written out, attitude, DA and PoA just like in the first chart. In this chart, however, a description is provided for how the keyword is talked about or what is said about it. This is to put it either more simply or in other words, to make the indication of type of appraisal clearer. An example of such a description can be seen in Figure 3, the latter sentence. The author of the essay has stated *that "I have personally always treaten other countryes people at the same way I treat Finns."* This sentence not being very clear in terms of how the author feels or describes Finns, the sentence has to be put in other words and explained further in the chart.

In the last chart the keywords "foreign" and "multicultural" are analyzed. Here only the instances where the word "multicultural" is *not* in the title of the essay are taken into account. This chart includes the columns for "keyword", "sentence", "attitude", and "appraisal", "DA and PoA" just like the previous chart. This chart, however, also includes the "target noun", which indicates the noun that the adjective modifies. This was added just for clarification and to be easier to see and comment on possible interesting recurrences or other phenomena.

#### 4.2.2. Appraisal Framework in Practice

As mentioned before, the Appraisal theory, while consisting of tools for looking into attitude, intertextual positioning as well as engagement and dialogistic positioning, the focus of this research being solely attitude, only this part of the theory will be put in use.

In the tables where the data was broken down and analyzed, in terms of the Appraisal theory, the columns labelled "appraisal", "DA" (direct appraisal) and "PoA" (part of appraisal) are the most interesting. Also whether the appraisal is positive or negative is of interest. Their contents and the logic behind the determination of which category the keyword belongs to ought to be closely examined and explained in this section. The analysis of whether a word is directly appraised or if it was somehow indirectly praised or if the word was a part on an appraisal in another way was necessary, since not all of the expressions used were straightforward at all. Regarding this, and the other analytical categories in the chart, let us examine a part of the analysis of this study for demonstrative purposes.

**Table 1 Example from Analysis**

KEYWORD	SENTENCE	DESCRIPTION	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
Finnish people	[...]it is really difficult to find friend, because Finnish people are really shy.	really shy	negative	expl. judgement	x	
Finns	I have personally always treaten other countryes people at the same way I treat Finns.	author treats Finns well.	positive	affect (authorial)		x

Table 1 shows a part of the table which analyzed the Turku International School essays. In this chart there are two types of ways the same author (author of essay number 5) has appraised Finnish people and Finns. In the first one, “[...]it is really difficult to find friend, because Finnish people are really shy” the writer simply and directly appraises Finnish people by saying “Finnish people are really shy”. This type of a sentence is easy to categorize for its straightforwardness.

However, choosing whether describing someone as “shy” is positive or negative appraisal can be challenging. Descriptions of someone as for example “angry” or “beautiful” are easy to identify as either negative or positive, since they are words commonly and universally considered similarly as either or. However, even those words could be the opposite of what one would immediately think, since context can vary and change a meaning completely. Some personal qualities, such as shyness, on the other hand can be either positive or negative, depending on cultural context. In cases like this, I took context and other things said by the particular writer into consideration. For example in this case, since the writer first said “it is really difficult to find friend” it set the tone in his/her comment on Finnish peoples’ shyness as somewhat negative. The shyness of Finns in this case has led to something negative – not finding friends. This is why the appraisal has been analyzed as negative. The direct appraisal has been classified as explicit judgement, because “Finnish people are really shy” is classified according to Appraisal framework’s definition of the term ‘Judgement’, which “has been chosen to reference attitudinal evaluation in which human behaviour is negatively or positively assessed by reference to some set of social norms.” (Appraisal Homepage

2015d). In this case the word “shy” has been analyzed as negative direct and explicit judgement of Finnish people.

The second case where the author describes Finns is not quite as clear. The author says “*I have personally always treaten other countryes people at the same way I treat Finns.*”, which on the first glance may not seem like Finns have been appraised at all, let alone in a positive or a negative way. However, in these cases the statement has to be further interpreted. The author talks about “other countries’ people” (in this case immigrants in Finland), and how he or she treats them just like Finns. It could be argued, that the writer treats both of these groups badly, but the more probable interpretation of this rather vague statement is that he or she treats everyone equally well, which means points to a positive attitude.

In the latter sentence the term is classified as “part of appraisal”. The reason behind this is that the term “Finn” is not being directly appraised, but as explained before, the way the author feels about Finns is hidden behind a deeper interpretation of what is being said. However, through putting the sentence in other words it becomes clearer that the author feels positively about Finns, and hence the type of appraisal is analyzed as authorial affect. Authorial affect involves “the writer/speaker indicating how they have responded emotionally to the person, thing, happening or situation being evaluated.” (Appraisal Homepage 2015e) In this situation the author indirectly expresses a positive emotional response to Finns, as well as “other countries’ people”.

A further description of the term authorial affect in Appraisal theory speaks of the author’s aims in using such expressions. By appraising events or people in emotional terms, the author invites the reader to share the emotions or at least to validate the emotional response and make it understandable. The ultimate goal is to have solidarity and sympathy between the author and reader. However, it can be that the invitation to share the emotional response is not accepted by the reader, in which case the affectional value is perceived as strange or inappropriate in other ways. (ibid.) In the case described here, the author clearly seeks sympathy by expressing his or her equal treatment of all people, and positive response to Finns as well as others.



#### 4.2.3. Gathering the Results

After having gone through all of the essays and keywords, and analyzing each instance using the appraisal theory, the data and results was gathered in tables. The number of instances for attitudes (positive, negative, neutral), types of appraisal (affect, judgement, appreciation) and whether the appraisal was direct (DA) or non-direct (PoA) for both schools were put in one table to be able to compare them. These were done separately for each word. The number of essays were different for each school: TIS provided 13 usable essays, and Puolala School 22. This is why the actual number of instances would not be directly comparable to each other; four instances in 13 essays would not be comparable to four instances in 22 essays. This is why the numbers were turned into ages, which made the results relative in each set of data. The mathematical procedure used to turn the numbers into percentages is as follows:

$$X / Y \times 100 = Z$$

Here X is the number of instances, Y is the number of words in each set of data (Puolala School essays or TIS essays) and Z the resulting relative percentage. After calculating the percentages, I transformed the percentages into per milles in order to make the figures more comparable with each other, since the percentages given were often very small figures. The calculations were done using Microsoft Excel. It has to be taken into consideration that these per milles do not represent the distribution of different aspects within the data itself. In other words, for example the figures in the three attitudinal categories will not add up to a 100%, because the figures are not representative of how many “positives” there are compared to the “negatives”. The only use of the per milles is to see how a figure in one set of data (e.g Puolala School) is relative to the figure in the other set (TIS).

One deviation worth mentioning that may have affected the results is the fact that the numbers of instances of a keyword in one set of data may not always be reliably representative of the whole data. This is because if a word has come up for example eight times, it may be either evenly distributed throughout the entire data, or all eight instances may have come up in one essay. In the analysis process I kept note of which essays the utterances were from, but for the sake of protecting the students’ privacy, I removed these notes from the examples in the analysis –section and appendices. I can say, that this particular issue did not produce major credibility – related problems, but since this cannot be proven in this thesis, not much value can be put on it, and it shall not be further discussed in the analysis.

## 5. Analytical Findings

In this section the analytical findings will be presented. Due to the qualitative *and* quantitative nature of the study, both aspects will be presented separately. The logical order for this is to start with the quantitative findings, to give an overall idea of the body of data in its analyzed form, and in this sense start with the “macro analysis”. After this the qualitative aspects will be explained in further detail. The full analysis in the tables is attached as appendices. The findings will be demonstrated with examples out of the full analysis, but for the sake of space, if larger sections are required, they will be indicated and referred to in the appendices.

### 5.1. The quantitative findings

As explained in the methods –section, the analysis started with gathering the expressions involving the keywords in a table, and they were analyzed in terms of the type of appraisal, whether the expression was positive, negative or neutral, and whether the term was appraised in a direct (DA) or an indirect (PoA) way. The results of said analysis were then gathered in a table in terms of numbers, and the figures were turned into percentages (and then into per milles) to achieve a reliable comparison between the two sets of data, Puolala School and Turku International School. The quantity –related findings will be presented in this section, each keyword separately. In this section, the results will only appear in numbers, and the different phenomena will be presented solely in terms of comparison in numbers. Particular expressions will not be presented yet to for example offer explanation for the numerical results. These numbers will only be presented to offer an overall picture of the results, and perhaps to make some general notifications and patterns that may be evident based on numbers only.

However, a few things have to be mentioned beforehand. Firstly, the keywords chosen to be a part of the analysis did not always appear in both sets of data. Whereas the words *other*, *immigrants*, *Finns/Finnish people* and *multicultural* appeared in both, the word *refugee(s)*, did not appear in the TIS essays at all, and the word *foreign* appeared twice in the TIS essays in a neutral context, which did not offer and interesting comparison quantity-wise. Hence these two words are not included in this section. However, their lack of use in the TIS essays offers an interesting finding otherwise, but this phenomenon will be further discussed in later sections.

To sum it up, there are six keywords altogether included in this study. The keyword *other* appeared in the Puolala School essays 45 times, TIS essays 22 times and altogether 67 times. However, only the instances where it was used to refer to people (e.g. “other people”) were taken into account, which reduced the number to 10 in the Puolala School data and 5 in the TIS data. The word *immigrant(s)* appeared in the Puolala School essays 18 times and 14 times in the TIS essays, including all the possible incorrect spellings. The terms *Finns* and *Finnish people/person* grouped together appeared 15 and 14 times in Puolala School essays and TIS essays respectively. The total number of instances of the keyword “Finnish”, which was searched with the UAM CorpusTool, was 40, but similarly as with the word *other* only the instances that refer to people are taken into account. This reduces the number to 16. The term multicultural (or multiculturalism), with all its possible incorrect spellings that may have come up in the data, appeared 47 times in the Puolala School essays and 16 times in the TIS essays. However, if the word appeared in the heading of the essay, it was not taken into analysis. This reduces the number to 29 in the Puolala School essays and 9 in the TIS essays. The keyword *foreign* came across in 16 instances in the Puolala School essays, but only twice in the TIS essays. *Refugees* only appeared in the Puolala School essays eight times. The total number of instances that were taken into analysis is therefore 140.

#### 5.1.1. *Other*

The keyword *other* was only considered in where the word referred to people or a person in any way. Expressions such as “other people” or “others” in the context of humans would be examples of these. The number of these instances was surprisingly low; only ten in the Puolala School essays, and five in the TIS essays altogether. The total number of instances for each school can be found out by simply calculating the attitude aspect – by adding up the numbers of positive, negative and neutral together. All of the expressions in the data have been categorized by these three categories, but not all of them carry any kind of appraisal. Typically an expression categorized as neutral would not include something that could be categorized by affect, judgement of appreciation, which is why the numbers in the chart cannot be directly compared as such; while the total number of *other* -expressions in the TIS essays is five, between the types of appraisal there are only three.

**Table 2** Other

	<b>Puolala</b>	<b>TIS</b>
<b>Positive</b>	2 (0,39‰)	3 (1,15‰)
<b>Negative</b>	1 (0,20‰)	0
<b>Neutral</b>	7 (1,38‰)	2 (0,77‰)
<b>Affect (authorial)</b>	2 (0,39‰)	3 (1,15‰)
<b>Judgement</b>	1 (0,20‰)	0
<b>Appreciation</b>	2 (0,39‰)	0
<b>DA</b>	3 (0,59‰)	0
<b>PoA</b>	2 (0,39‰)	3 (1,15‰)

In Table 2 it can be seen that the Puolala School essays included over double the number of neutral expressions with the keyword *other* in comparison with the TIS essays. TIS on the other hand produced much more positive and affectual expressions related to the word. Another interesting finding here is that the word *other* had induced up to two expressions of appreciation. This differs from the rest of data, as we will later discover that appreciation is not a category that many expressions fall into.

### 5.1.2. *Immigrant(s)*

The keyword *immigrant* or *immigrants* came up in both sets of data quite a lot. This is not surprising, considering the fact that the essay task was titled “Immigrants in Finland”.

**Table 3** Immigrants

	<b>Puolala</b>	<b>TIS</b>
<b>Positive</b>	5 (0,99‰)	3 (1,15‰)
<b>Negative</b>	8 (1,58‰)	4 (1,54‰)
<b>Neutral</b>	7 (1,38‰)	5 (1,92‰)
<b>Affect authorial</b>	5 (0,99‰)	3 (1,15‰)

<b>Affect non-authorial</b>	2 (0,39‰)	1 (0,38‰)
<b>Judgement</b>	3 (0,59‰)	3 (1,15‰)
<b>Appreciation</b>	2 (0,39‰)	2 (0,77‰)
<b>DA</b>	8 (1,58‰)	5 (1,92‰)
<b>PoA</b>	4 (0,79‰)	4 (1,54‰)

The attitudinal responses found were distributed quite evenly among each set of data, and the relative figures between them are very similar. The biggest difference here is the difference of four instances in the negative responses, with the international school essays representing the lower figure. However, relatively in per milles the difference is quite small, only 0,04‰. The differences between the types of affect (authorial vs. non-authorial) are marginal, with both schools clearly offering more authorial affect in response to this keyword.

Both of the schools provided two appreciative responses in number, and the biggest differentiation is found in the judgement –category. The TIS students were more keen to pass judgement than the Puolala School students with the relative figure being significantly higher compared to the Puolala School data.

### 5.1.3. *Finns/Finnish people*

The key words *Finns* or *Finnish people/person* are grouped together in these statistics, because the semantic use of the word is more or less the same, because the possible differences in the usage of these two similar but different terms is of no interest in this study. The statistics regarding these keywords give more varied results than for example for the keyword *immigrant*.

**Table 4** Finns/Finnish people

	<b>Puolala</b>	<b>TIS</b>
<b>Positive</b>	3 (0,59‰)	2 (0,77‰)
<b>Negative</b>	4 (0,79‰)	6 (2,28‰)
<b>Neutral</b>	8 (1,58‰)	6 (2,28‰)

<b>Affect authorial</b>	1 (0,20‰)	1 (0,38‰)
<b>Affect non-authorial</b>	0	0
<b>Judgement</b>	6 (1,17‰)	8 (3,08‰)
<b>Appreciation</b>	0	0
<b>DA</b>	3 (0,59‰)	5 (1,92‰)
<b>PoA</b>	4 (0,79‰)	4 (1,54‰)

The positive and the neutral responses to *Finns* or *Finnish people* are similar in terms of occurrences between the two schools, but the negative responses seem to be relatively and in actual numbers notably higher in the TIS essays than in the Puolala School essays. In both sets of data there are more judgement –related responses than affect, and no appreciation in either one whatsoever. The TIS students seem to have passed judgement over double the amount in relative numbers than the Puolala School students. Whether the judgement is mostly positive or negative is not evident in this table. However, with there being mostly negative responses altogether and mostly judgement –based reactions, it can be said that the negativity here may well be quite prominent.

#### 5.1.4. *Multicultural/Multiculturalism*

The keyword *multicultural* or *multiculturalism* induced very little negative responses. This word appeared directly in the essay task given to the students which of course resulted in the term being used repeatedly in many of the essays which on its part can result in a more diverse distribution and possibly more reliable results.

**Table 5** Multicultural

	<b>Puolala</b>	<b>TIS</b>
<b>Positive</b>	8 (1,58‰)	5 (1,92‰)
<b>Negative</b>	1 (0,20‰)	0
<b>Neutral</b>	16 (3,12‰)	4 (1,54‰)
<b>Affect authorial</b>	8 (1,58‰)	5 (1,92‰)

<b>Affect non-authorial</b>	1 (0,20‰)	0
<b>Judgement</b>	0	0
<b>Appreciation</b>	0	0
<b>DA</b>	7 (1,38‰)	2 (0,77‰)
<b>PoA</b>	2 (0,39‰)	3 (1,15‰)

The positive responses toward the keyword *multicultural* between the two sets of data are quite similar in relative numbers (1,58‰ and 1,92‰). There are no negative responses in the TIS data and only one negative response in the Puolala School data. However, this is rather marginal. The biggest difference is in the neutral attitudinal responses, which in per milles is 3,12‰ in the Puolala School essays and 1,54‰ in the TIS essays. It is important to keep in mind that since the per milles are not in relation to the number of responses within one set of data, these figures show a much bigger difference in that sense. However, it is the only reliable way to compare the results.

The high number of neutral responses can be seen in the low number of appraisals compared to the total number of found keywords. However, authorial affect seemed to be the main type of appraisal, with little relative difference between the two sets of data.

Overall it can be concluded that TIS students had more emotional responses to all of the keywords; the appraisal category of authorial affect is relatively higher in number for TIS than for Puolala School, even though not all of the numerical differences are considerable. There was not much appreciation in any of the keywords – the only two cases were related to the word *other* on Puolala School’s part. When it comes to the attitudes, students of Puolala School seemed to generally resort to neutral responses more than the TIS students, who generally had more instances in the positive –category. Only in the case of *Finns/Finnish people* did the TIS students have more negative responses, in which there is also a significant difference in appraisals of judgement (TIS 3,08‰, Puolala School 1.17‰).

## 5.2. The qualitative findings

After having an overall picture of the results from the quantitative point of view, in this chapter the results will be looked into in more detail and with a more qualitative take.

Here the results will be illustrated with examples from the full analysis. Each analytical finding will not be demonstrated or explained, but the more central findings will be backed up with examples. Similarly with the qualitative chapter, the results will be presented keyword by keyword and with both schools separately under their own subcategories. This way a comparative take on the results will remain, and the differences are easier to see.

### 5.2.1. *Other*

#### 5.2.1.1. Turku International School

The word *other* when referring to a person was used in five cases in the TIS essays. Four of them more or less clearly referred to immigrants and one of them was a more general reference to any other person than the author. Three of the cases that referred to immigrants were in a positive sense, and the appraisal used for these was authorial affect. The neutral ones did not carry any specific type of appraisal, but were more statement-like. All of the ones that carried an appraisal, however, were not directly appraised. In Table 6 one can see the two different types of statements that the TIS students had when referring to this keyword.

**Table 6 Examples from analysis (Tables 6-35)**

SENTENCE	REFERENCE	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
Finland is a safe country and I want to share it with <u>others</u> . (N)	Non-Finns/immigrants	positive	affect (authorial)		x
Its safe, nobody is trying to get me, and when I walk I usually see <u>other (adj.)</u> kids doing the same	Other than the author.	neutral			

Out of the five cases, TIS students had used the word “others” twice as a noun. Even though this can be seen as a classic case of “othering”, both of them can be classified as positive attitude. Hence the negative connotation of “othering” disappears. The use of the word “other”, however, was quite little, which is why not many conclusions can be made based on these solely.



### 5.2.1.2. Puolala School

There were ten of these keywords in the Puolala School material. Seven of them referred to foreigners or immigrants in one way or another. Two of these were positive authorial affect, and the rest were neutral statements. One of the keyword *other* neutrally referred to a classmate, and two to Finns. Out of these two one was clearly a negative and explicit judgement, where the author quite deliberately leaves out the direct mentioning of Finns for some reason, but the implication is quite clear with the juxtaposition of the author him-/herself and “other people”.

**Table 7**

SENTENCE	REFERENCE	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
I don't think there's anything wrong with people of different cultures immigrating to Turku, although some <u>other</u> people might be a bit skeptical.	Finns	negative	expl. judgement	x	

The word choice of “skeptical” as a judgement could be classified as judging the Finns’ immorality or impoliteness toward immigrants. This is of course to judge against the context of 21<sup>st</sup> century Finland, where thoughts of openness and acceptance can be considered as virtuous, at least compared to skepticism towards immigrants.

Another way Finns have been talked about compared to immigrants can be seen in Table 8.

**Table 8**

[...]people yell some mean things to <u>other</u> people that don't necessarily look like them.	immigrants	neutral	appreciation	x	
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Here the “other” refers to immigrants in a neutral way, and the appreciation -category is evident in how their outer appearance has been mentioned. The author has left the word “immigrant” unmentioned, and decided to use description instead. The attitude towards what the word “other” refers to here is quite neutral, especially when taking the context into consideration; in comparison to how the rather

general term “people” (Finns) in this sentence is spoken of, the reference and attitude towards immigrants is gentle. Even though this point here could be discussed when discussing the means of avoidance and their implications, it can also be mentioned here: the author basically accuses Finns of being racist towards immigrants, even though undeniably all of this is said in quite a polite way.

As can be seen from the numerical statistics, the Puolala School students had a neutral approach when using the word “other” in most of the cases. A clearly positive attitude could be seen in two cases, both referring to immigrants, and the one clearly negative statement referred to Finns. The case discussed above also subtly passed negative judgement on Finns while also indirectly passing appreciative appraisal on immigrants. In conclusion it seems that the Puolala School students had less emotional responses here, and more negativity towards Finns.

The use of the word “other” in some ways can be linked to the avoidance –category, since the word seems often to be used instead of the actual content word when referring to people. The main usage of the word was when speaking of “other people”, and only thrice did it appear on its own as “others” – twice in the TIS essays positively, and once in the Puolala School essays neutrally. This naturally makes the relative occurrence bigger in the TIS essays, since there is less material there.

### 5.2.2. *Immigrant(s)*

#### 5.2.2.1. Turku International School

There were 14 occurrences of the word *immigrant* in the TIS essays, but three of these were in the title of the essays (either “Immigrants in Finland” or just “Immigrants”), but carrying no specific meaning or appraisal, they were left out of the analysis. Out of the remaining utterances, there were only three clearly positive reactions, four negative ones and the rest were neutral. Some of the negative utterances were bordering on neutral such as in the example in Table 9.

**Table 9**

immigrants	Some finnish immigrants don't even know the finnish language so they have to learn it by them selves [...]	ignorant, don't know the language	negative	impl. judgement		x
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This statement was classified as implied negative judgement and indirect appraisal, since it does not fill the requirements for direct appraisal. However the word choices of “[...]don’t *even* know the finnish language[...]” indicates a comment about a lack in something that would be a societal norm, in this case the knowledge of the language.

As opposed to this example, one of the cases with negative attitude was quite direct. (Table 10)

**Table 10**

immigrants	The <u>immigrants</u> that come to this country not knowing the ethics, rules or religions of this country are likely to cause problems.	don’t know ethics and rules - don’t fit in. Problematic.	negative	expl. judgement	x	
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Here the negative and explicit judgement is obvious, with the author directly targeting the group of people and assuming that the lack in knowledge about the social norms in the country that they have come to will cause problems. However, these kind of direct accusations were rare in the data in both sets.

When trying to have insight into how these informants are positioned attitudes-wise when it comes to multiculturalism and immigrants, the numerical statistics may give somewhat misleading results. However, these can be caught in this section. Looking at the four results of negative attitude, it has to be taken into account that one of them is not in fact an appraisal of authorial affect, but non-authorial (Table 11).

**Table 11**

immigrants	Finns in Turku(Not all) have this kind of hatred to <u>immigrants</u> just because of this religion or color.	-hated -Different skin color	negative	affect (non-authorial) appreciation		x
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Here the author talks about how Finns hate immigrants, which in effect turns the appraisal of affect into a non-authorial one, and with “hate” being a strong negative feeling the attitude has to be classified as negative. However, as can later be seen when discussing the keyword *Finns*, the Finns will have been appraised negatively because they will have been seen as being hateful which then again would be against social norms in Finland. Following this train of thought, the case here could be flipped around and seen as the author defending immigrants which would then make it a positive authorial affect towards immigrants. However, following the rules of appraisal theory, this is the right way to analyze this case, even though in reality it may slightly stir the quantitative results. In this particular case there is also the appraisal of appreciation present, since the author refers to the “color” of the immigrants. However, this reference is neutral.

The utterances carrying positive attitudes also required some deeper analysis. Two of them were expressions that sought to “normalize” immigrants (e.g. [...] immigrants are just people[...] (13)). Even though the word choice of “just” could be seen as a downplaying one, in this context it needs to be seen as the author seeking to include immigrants in the society. One of the positive expressions carried a compassionate tone (Table 12).

**Table 12**

immigrants	[...] <u>immigrants</u> from countries like Afganistan, who have war and problems with their country, should deserve safety, and a new start.	troubled (have war and problems, deserve safety)	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
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Here initially it could be argued that the attitude is negative, but looking into it more, the author’s wishes for immigrants (“should deserve safety”) are positively charged.

The neutral expressions and attitudes related to this keyword are quite statement-like, as in most of the cases in this study.

### 5.2.2.2. Puolala School

In the Puolala School essays there were 19 cases in which the word *immigrant* was used. Only once did the word appear in the title of the essay which was a case left out of the analysis. With this word the number of positive and negative attitudes combined was surprisingly high compared to the neutral expressions; the overall emotional charge was higher in this than in the other keywords. The positively charged utterances and comments revolved around the presence of immigrants in Turku being a good thing in general in the opinion of the author, and the immigrants deserving to be treated open-mindedly and not being generalized. All of these carried authorial affect. A positive comment of non-authorial affect was passed too (Table 13).

**Table 13**

immigrants	I think Turku is a very good city for <u>immigrants</u> , because they aren't hated [...]	not hated in Turku	positive	affect (non-authorial)	x	
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Here the author speaks in behalf of the people in Turku, and has a positive reaction towards immigrants. Similarly as in the example of Figure 10, this non-authorial affect may slightly change the quantitative results, as the positive attitude may not be the author's own. However, in this case the passive voice ("aren't hated") could well be seen as a word choice where the author includes him-/herself in the people of Turku, who do not hate immigrants.

The statements carrying negative attitudes were quite evenly divided between appraisals of affect and judgement. Two cases of affect were non-authorial (e.g. "Although some people are complaining about immigrants, most people are okay with the fact that [...] (8)) and these cases could be discussed further just like the cases in figures 10 and 12. However, for the sake of space I am inclined to merely conclude that these non-authorial statements are all slightly difficult instances since they do not directly give indication about the author's opinions, and hence statistically they make deviations. However, the statements carrying non-authorial affect are an interesting finding, because the reasoning behind the choice of expression could possibly hold the author's hidden opinions as well. For example the case in Table 14 is the perfect example of this.

**Table 14**

Immigrants	Although I think it's a good thing to have <u>immigrants</u> I also understand the problem some people see in them.	good but possibly problematic	positive negative	Affect (authorial) affect (non-authorial)	x	
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Here there are two different attitudes present and both kinds of affects in one sentence. The author has stated that he/she thinks having immigrants in Finland is good, but also that other people may find it problematic. The author admits to understanding these people, but has clearly softened this by first establishing his/her positive attitude towards the issue. These non-authorial opinions and feelings could be seen as the author's own thoughts, only veiled behind what "some people" think. On the other hand, most probably these vary case by case, and no definite conclusion can be drawn based on these few occurrences. However, it may be a means of avoiding coming across too harsh or opinionated in a negative way, especially when it comes to delicate issues like immigration.

Other negative utterances here were not all so clear. In Table 15 there are two different cases where the negativity is hidden behind statements that initially may seem quite neutral.

**Table 15**

immigrants	[...] most of the cultures come with the <u>immigrants</u> .	a byproduct	negative	affect (authorial)		x
immigrants	Our school has probably boatloads of <u>immigrants</u> [...]	perhaps too many (boatloads=a refugee – allusion?)	negative	affect (authorial)		x

These statements could be seen as containing micro-aggression, which often can come across as a neutral or normal utterance or behavior, but with a closer look can contain passive negativity. As explained in the chart, the first one has an indication of the culture being the good thing arriving here, and the immigrants a necessary evil, "a byproduct" of it. The second one on the other hand has a sly allusion to refugees with the word choice of "boatloads". This of course is a subjective analysis,

but the sentence, however, seems to carry negative connotations. Both of these are categorized as non-direct appraisal.

Other types of negative appraisal could be seen in the form of judgement, where the author talks about how immigrants work in grocery stores and barbers. These, again, may seem like something that could be categorized as neutral, but at the same time carry judgmental assumptions and generalizations about immigrants not working having high-end jobs. These classify as implied judgement that can be reflected against societal norms.

The keyword *immigrant* had much more results compared to the keyword *other*. The first quite interesting and noticeable was in both sets of data, when looking at the titles. The title of the assignment was “immigrants in Finland”, but only three of the TIS students had chosen it as their title and only one of the Puolala School students. A popular title was perhaps a more neutral “Multicultural Turku”. The reasons behind this choice could lie in an attempt to divert the subject to a less controversial direction, and hence indicate a level of political correctness in the writings.

Another observation that can be made here is the way the use of non-authorial affect may hide the author’s true thoughts behind it. Also, the way some statements can initially give quite a neutral picture of the attitude towards what is being said but after a deeper analysis it can be seen that negativity is present, is demonstrated in these examples. As said before, the utterances linked to the word *immigrant* were relatively high in emotional and attitudinal responses at least in Puolala School’s case, which on its part surely already says something about how this word evokes more feelings.

### 5.2.3. Finns/Finnish people

#### 5.2.3.1. Turku International School

In the TIS essays *Finns* or *Finnish people* were explicitly brought up 14 times. Out of these, seven were negatively spoken of and all of them passed either implicit or explicit judgement. There were only two positively charged sentences, and one of them was linked with a negative judgement (Table 16) and the other was not a very direct complement (Table 17).

**Table 16**

Finn	if you manage to break threw a *finns	Finns are hard to approach, but	negative positive	expl. judgement	x	
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	hard shell you will find this freind who you can trust and keep for even a lifetime	they are also faithful friends.				
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Here the author has first judged Finns as being shy and having a “hard shell”, which in fact had come up quite many times in the negative comments (e.g. “[...] many finnish people are very shy [...]” (2)). However, in the same sentence the author had also praised Finns as being great friends, which is undoubtedly a positive comment.

**Table 17**

Finns	I have personally always treaten other countryes people at the same way I treat Finns.	author treats Finns well.	positive	affect (authorial)		x
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In Table 17 the positive appraisal may not be so clear, and perhaps the author had not meant to express any kind of attitudes towards Finns. However, by saying he/she has treated other countries people (i.e. immigrants) the same way as Finns, the underlying assumption and implication is that Finns are being treated well by the author. Hence the positive affect as the final analytical categorization here.

As mentioned before, a few of the negative appraisals towards Finnish people had to do with their shyness. Another type of negativity that came up more than once in the data was the way Finns were presented as passive receivers, and not active influencers. An example of this can be seen in Table 18.

**Table 18**

Finns	They [immigrants] open their own restaurants allowing Finns to experience their culture.	a passive receiver of experiences	negative	impl. judgement		x
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As has been discussed in chapter 5.2.2.1 under the keyword *immigrants*, Finns have also been directly accused of racism, which is quite a direct negative judgement. An example of this is in Figure 11.

Overall the TIS students seemed to have quite strong opinions and generalizations about the way Finns are and even one direct accusation of racism. There were a few neutral expressions as well.

### 5.2.3.2. Puolala School

Quite surprisingly there is only one more occurrence of *Finns* or *Finnish people* in the Puolala School essays than the TIS essays. However, as can be seen in the numerical statistics, the distribution of types of attitudes is rather different; in the Puolala School essays there are mostly neutral expressions, four negatives and three positives. Statistically the TIS students have had more negative things to say about Finns. However, what cannot be seen in the statistics is the depth and harshness of the negativity. In Table 18 there are examples of some of the ways that Finns have been negatively appraised by the Puolala School students.

**Table 19**

Finns	Many <u>Finns</u> have bad and offensive things to say to these people for many reasons, but I think that is wrong and pathetic.	rude, offensive, pathetic	negative	judgement (expl.)	x	
Finnish	I've heard a lot of racist jokes being told to people that aren't Finnish and that is very sad.	immigrants insulted possibly by Finns	negative	judgement (expl.)		x

As we know, in the Appraisal theory meanings can be located on a scale of intensity from high to low. Even though it has not been meaningful to do it for the entire data, here these levels of intensity in the word choices come to matter more. Even a brief comparison between the TIS students' and the Puolala School students' level of aggression when it comes to passing judgement on Finns shows that the Puolala School students have been more brave in their word choices. While TIS students had repeatedly judged Finns as shy, a Puolala School student had used words such as "pathetic" and

described some Finns' actions as "wrong". Finnish people have also been described as not "as loud and positive as people in Spain" (18). Even here the criticism seems to be blunter in comparison to the TIS essays.

The positive reactions towards Finns are not very evident, similarly as in the TIS essays. An example of this can be seen in Table 20.

**Table 20**

Finns	Of course people who come from other countries have different culture than <u>Finns</u> but I don't see it as a bad thing.	other cultures not bad in comparison □ good	positive	judgement (impl.)		x
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The positivity here can be seen when looking into the underlying assumption. In the author's mind the assumption is that the culture of Finns is possibly better than other cultures, and he/she seeks to break that assumption. However, it still leaves the basic attitude toward Finns and the Finnish culture positive. Direct positive appraisals towards Finns were not present in this set of data.

In conclusion, neither of the schools was very keen on appraising Finns positively. As in many of the cases, Puolala School students resorted mostly to neutral expressions. One of the most notable observations that can be made when looking at these two sets of analytical findings is the differences between negative attitudes towards Finns between the two schools. Although statistically there were more negative attitudes in the TIS essays, the Puolala School students had more aggressive word choices when passing judgement towards Finns, which can be argued to weigh more in the scale when comparing the results.

#### 5.2.4. *Multicultural/multiculturalism*

##### 5.2.4.1. Turku International School

In the essays written by the TIS students, there were no negative appraisals of multiculturalism. The nine times it came up were divided between neutral and positive attitudes, six and five times respectively. Some of the positive comments had a reserved tone in them, since they were followed by certain conditions. An example of this can be seen in Table 21.

**Table 21**

KEYWORD	SENTENCE	TARGET N.	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
Multicultural	I want Finland to be multicultural, as long as they respect our manners, culture and people.	Finland	positive	affect (authorial)	x	

In this example, the utterance in itself contains a condition for “them”, which can easily be interpreted as referring to immigrants. It could be argued that the attitude towards multiculturalism is not purely positive, which is true with taking into consideration the conditions that are set by the author. However, focusing on the appraisal that targeted towards the word multicultural, and taking into consideration the force of the expression “*I want*”, the resulting analytical finding is that the appraisal is positive. The expression of *wanting* comes up more than once. The utterance “as long as they respect our manners, culture and people” is discussed when discussing the means of avoidance.

Other positive expressions for this keyword include notions of it being more fun to live in a multicultural society, and of multicultural people getting along well with each other. The neutral expressions were statements such as “Turku is very multicultural”.

#### 5.2.4.2. Puolala School

The Puolala School essays, as expected, had more occurrences of this keyword - 24, to be exact. Only the cases where the word did not occur in the title of the essays were included here. Only one negative appraisal was detected in these 24 utterances, eight positive appraisals and the rest were neutral. However, the one negative appraisal (Table 22) found was a non-authorial one, which similarly with the example in Figure 11 speaks for other Finns, which is why this utterance cannot be said to reflect the author’s views. Here the author passes blame on Finnish people and refers to racist thoughts that some of them might have.

**Table 22**

Multicultural	But I know that there are hundreds and thousands of people living in Finland who think that bonding cultures and the whole <u>multicultural</u> thing is not a good thing [...]	thing, multiculturalism	negative	affect (non-authorial)	x	
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The positive appraisals included defining words such as “amazing”, “good” and verbs of emotional response such as “like” and “love”. As it can be seen the forces of the adjectives vary in the scope of depth in positivity, and these types of appraisal were easy to spot. Some of the positive appraisals used were not as easy to detect. For example in the sentence presented in Table 23 the author presents multiculturalism as something that brings supposedly good things to Finland.

**Table 23**

multicultural	If Finland wasn't <u>multicultural</u> , we would eat only potatoes [...]	Finland	positive	affect (authorial)		x
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This kind of appraisal is not direct, but can be revealed from underneath. The author’s implication here seems to be that only eating potatoes would possibly be monotonous and boring, and multiculturalism makes things more varied. The neutral expressions follow a similar statement-like manner as in the TIS essays.

Unlike the TIS essays, the Puolala School essays also included the noun *multiculturalism* (or other varied spellings). There were four of these instances and they were also analyzed here, as they belong to the same family of words. Two of these were neutral, and two positive. The words of appraisal used here were “great” and “common”. Although the word “common” could also be seen as a neutral or even negative appraisal, the context has to be taken into account here. Just like with all of these subjects (such as immigrants and multiculturalism), integration and neutrality is the aim. This is why calling multiculturalism “common” makes it a positively appraised word.

Many of these statements of multiculturalism are inspired by the original essay question. This could be one of the reasons why this word particularly inspired on one hand so many neutral expressions (“Turku is very multicultural”) and on the other so many clearly positive expressions (“I love to live in a multicultural city”). However,

having the word used so many times when answering the essay question “how do you feel about different cultures coming together” could also alter the results slightly into a more positive direction. The students could subconsciously have a need to have the direct question answered with a directly positive answer. This could indicate some political correctness as well.

#### 5.2.5. Foreign

In this section discussing the analytical results of the two schools in separate sections would not serve the purpose, since the data from the international school only contained two occurrences of this word. Both of these cases were neutral in attitude and no specific appraisal could be detected. The nouns that were modified by the adjective *foreign* in these two cases were “people” and “shops”. Using the word foreign could in some cases be seen as negative, since it clearly makes a distinction between us and them, foreign and familiar. However, the context has to be taken into account and in this case the attitude was quite neutral. The example can be found in Table 24.

**Table 24**

Foreign	more international holidays are celebrated, and more foreign people are moving in [...]	people	neutral
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The Puolala School students on the other hand had used this term 16 times, which can be said to be relatively high in comparison with the TIS students’ use of the word. Most of these did refer to ”people”, other times it was used to modify words like “language”, “restaurants” and “students” and “neighbors”. The last two in this list do refer to humans as well. Only three times was this word used in a clearly positive context, once in a negative and the rest of the expressions seemed to be quite neutral.

One of the cases in which the word was used seemed to have an indirect way of using the word. The example of this is in Table 25.

**Table 25**

foreign	[...]Turku, where a lot of people with <u>foreign</u> backgrounds lives.	backgrounds	neutral
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This expression is neutral, and carries no specific appraisal. However, the expression is interesting because of the way the word *foreign* is used to indirectly refer to people. Instead of simply saying “where a lot of foreign people live” the author has opted to use the adjective *foreign* to modify the word “backgrounds” instead. This and the fact that the author has at all used this phrase instead of simply saying “immigrants” may suggest an attempt to phrase this in a more PC manner.

The positively charged expressions contained words and phrases such as “nice”, “I don’t see it as a problem” and “most people are okay with the fact that [...]”. The last one here would be categorized as having non-authorial appraisal. The one negative appraisal that the keyword *foreign* appeared in can be seen in Table 26.

**Table 26**

foreign	Sometimes it feels a little odd to have many <u>foreign</u> people in the marketplace [...]	people	negative	affect (authorial)	x	
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This utterance is analyzed as negative authorial affect, which is quite direct as well. However, when taking into account the force –aspect of Appraisal theory, the level of negativity can be looked at differently. To be fair, the words “sometimes” and “odd” used in this utterance do not strike as being strongly negative.

The fact that there is such a huge difference between the numbers of occurrences in the two sets of data is already worth looking into. However, the reasons behind this could be any number of things varying from the lack of vocabulary on the TIS students’ part to an actual politically correct choice to not use the word. Another interesting finding is that even though the Puolala School students had used the adjective a fair number of times, most of it was in a neutral context and only one mildly negative affect could be found. This avoidance of strong emotional or judgmental reactions towards either end of the spectrum with this particular word can hardly be a coincidence. The word itself possibly carrying a certain level of emotional charge, the students seem to have used it in very neutral environments. These choices can either be conscious or unconscious.

### 5.2.6. Refugee

The last keyword included in the analysis is the word *refugee*. This word did not appear in the TIS essays at all. However, the word having such loaded connotations especially in the 21<sup>st</sup> century Finland, it carried interest value even though no comparisons could be made between the two schools. Just like with the keyword *foreign* its absence in the TIS essays could stem from a number of reasons. The reasons for this are worth discussing, but it stands to reason to go through the utterances in the Puolala School essays first.

There were eight occurrences of this word in the Puolala School essays. What makes this particularly interesting and deviant from the other keywords that have come up in the Puolala School essays is the fact that only two of the eight cases was neutral in attitude. The rest were divided evenly between positive and negative, three instances in each one. It has to be noted, however, that six of these instances were in the same essay. The word was used by three different authors altogether.

The positively charged sentences contained thoughts of compassion and ideas of how refugees should be treated. An example of such an instance is in Table 27.

**Table 27**

refugees	I think that these <u>refugees</u> should be supported and helped, [...]	should be helped	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
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Open-mindedness towards refugees was also brought up in the positive comments, as well as compassionate remarks about their conditions not being especially good.

In two of the negative appraisals that came up refugees were described as “poor” and as being “beggars”. One of the instances analyzed as negative was a more complicated case. This is in Table 28.

**Table 28**

refugee	I don't really know that should I talk about that <u>refugee</u> -thing.	unknown, unspeakable, inappropriate topic?	negative	affect (authorial)		x
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The reason this particular case was analyzed as negative is explained in the table. At first glance the sentence may appear only to reveal the author's uncertainty

on the topic - perhaps he/she was not sure what to say about it or how to discuss it. However, as the sentence is further analyzed it can be seen as the author being uncertain on the appropriateness of the topic, which gives a clear negative connotation to the utterance.

The most interesting observation when it comes to this keyword is the number of clearly positive or negative charged attitudes it evoked. This in comparison with for example the word *foreign* which was used in mostly neutral contexts, seemed to bring forth a more varied range of emotions or judgement. To be fair, however, the expressions used in both the positive or negative appraisals were not very strong in force and many could in first glance seem quite neutral. This has to be taken into account before jumping into conclusions purely based on the raw analysis itself.

#### 5.2.7. Avoidances

The ways in which the students have avoided using certain words were also looked into, listed and analyzed. This does not fall into the category of “keywords” but it will be discussed here, with both quantitative and qualitative aspects included in one section.

##### 5.2.7.1. Turku International School

The first main observation that can be made is that the TIS students seemed to have significantly less occurrences of avoidance in their essays. While the TIS students had 15 instances, the Puolala School students had 50. Even though the amount of data is different, relatively this is a major difference. In the international school students’ essays the 15 instances were divide between the three attitudes as three negative, eight positive and four neutral. The relation of positive attitudes is clearly higher in comparison to the negative attitudes.

The students had avoided using a direct expression in multiple ways. The expressions could include wordings like “people coming from all over the world” or “all these new people”. Thirteen of these kinds of utterances in the TIS essays were euphemisms for the word “immigrant”, as are both of the previous examples. The last two referred to Finns. One of these was a clear negative appraisal, where the author explicitly accuses Finns of racism. The example can be seen in Table 29.

#### **Table 29**



[...]but some people are sometimes racist[...]	Finns	racist	negative	expl. judgement	x	
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Even though the author has softened the expression with the words “some” and “sometimes”, the judgement is direct and clearly detectable. The other two negative expressions targeted immigrants in a similar way (Table 30).

**Table 30**

I don't mind them bringing some of their own culture with them, as long as they remember we have ours.	immigrants	all immigrants may not be respectful	negative	impl. judgement		x
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In this case the word used to avoid using the word “immigrant” was “they” and its other forms. Usually this word would have been considered a normal personal pronoun, since their use was not in the focus of this study, but in this context the author had solely referred to immigrants as “they”, and had not even mentioned the actual content word. The judgement in this was analyzed as implicit, since it does not directly accuse of disrespectfulness, but nevertheless gives reason to assume that this is a fear of the author's. The other instance of negative attitude towards immigrants appeared in the same essay in a similar way.

Most of the positive appraisals that came up in this set of data were ones that had an indication of immigrants. These were generally quite easy to detect, and contained phrases like “I enjoy watching people from other countries talk to each other”. Some of them also had a comparison between Finns and immigrants saying that immigrants are just as good as Finns. There were also utterances that suggested that immigrants have had a very positive influence on Finns, which ultimately makes their coming here a positively praised thing.

There was one instance, however, where Finns were positively praised. This example can be seen in Table 31.

**Table 31**

[...] most people think that people from other countries and cultures are just as good as the natives are.	Finns immigrants	most Finns are accepting of immigrants	positive positive	affect (non-authorial) impl. judgement		x
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This example contains two different ways of saying “Finns” or “Finnish people” and those euphemisms are first “most people” and then “natives”. For some reason this author has gone through a lot of trouble in the efforts to avoid using the actual content word. The reason Finns are analyzed as being positively appraised here is that firstly Finns are described as being accepting of immigrants (implied judgement) and secondly the adjective used is “good”. The implication is that both immigrants and Finns are good, equally. In the same sentence immigrants are appraised positively as well in a non-authorial way.

#### 5.2.7.2. Puolala School

The 50 cases of avoidance in the Puolala School essays divide surprisingly evenly between the three types of attitudes. As is typical for Puolala School essays, most were neutral expressions (24 cases). The second highest number was in negative appraisals (17) and the rest (11) were positive.

In nine of the cases of avoidance the actual implication was Finns or Finnish people. In all of these Finns were appraised negatively and most of them were rather direct accusations of racism. The rest of these negative cases avoided explicitly saying, “immigrants”, referred to foreign shops or brought up racism as a phenomenon. The way racism was brought up in an indirect way can be seen in the example in Table 32.

**Table 32**

[...] but sometimes they [author’s family] do not feel great some of the negative things that has happened, because of the disagreements between different cultures.	racism?	author’s family condemns racism	negative	affect (non-authorial)	x	
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In this example the author has been rather vague in what he/she has meant by this. However, what “disagreements between different cultures” usually refers to are conflicts possibly between religions or peoples and ultimately racism in some form or another. Whether this is between Finns and immigrants or some other people, is not clear here. The lack of clarity in what the author is saying raises questions and this kind of an indirect way of raising the issue of racism makes one wonder whether it is a topic the author has found difficult to talk about directly.

In a few of the negatively charged cases where the word *immigrant* was avoided the author passed explicit judgement on their behavior and ways of living. An example of such a case can be seen in Table 33.

**Table 33**

Most of people who are from some other culture congest to one place, [...]	immigrants	differing habits	negative	expl. judgement	x	
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A way that Finnish people would be negatively appraised with an indirect utterance came across in this data much like in the example in Table 34.

**Table 34**

I know that many people don't like it, but there's no good reason for that and in my opinion It's just racism.	Finns	Finns are racist	negative	expl. judgement	x	
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In this example the reference to Finns is not direct but the judgement certainly is. In another example Finns were called “uneducated” and hence “scared of new things”. Again, when taking into account the force and degree of the judgement in these two cases, it is clear that Finns are being more harshly judged than immigrants by the Puolala School students especially. This pattern follows through more or less throughout the whole analysis of the means of avoidance.

Some of the neutral expressions carried interesting ways of avoiding the word “immigrant”. One of these cases is in Table 35.

**Table 35**

[...] the different cultures bring with them new kind of food, dance, religion, music and manners.	people, immigrants	cultures=people	neutral
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Here the author has left out the notion of immigrants and actually people altogether, by only talking about “cultures”. The word “cultures” is here used instead of for example “people of other cultures”, which linguistically and semantically would have made more sense; cultures are not something that actively work towards a goal.

The attitude here is analyzed as neutral since the utterance is very statement-like. Furthermore no appraisal is being carried in this sentence. However, there has to be a reason the author has opted for such an expression. There is no way of knowing it for certain, but an expression like this would suggest an attempt to avoid talking about people altogether in efforts to avoid any kind of offence.

Looking solely at the numbers, it stands to reason to assume that this means of avoidance was used to utter clearly negative things without it seeming so harsh or clear. However, this assumption does not fit both schools, as the TIS students actually had positive and neutral appraisals more in this category than negative ones. On the other hand, the Puolala School essays contained significantly more of means of avoidance. It seems like the use of it possibly had more functions than in the TIS essays.

One reason one could resort to using euphemisms is that they do not want to repeat a certain word too many times; the word “immigrant” was used in both sets of data, so it cannot be said to have been avoided altogether.

An author could opt for indirect phrasing to avoid repetition for stylistic reasons (sometimes in essay writing it is encouraged to use synonyms), or because repeating a certain word would feel rude or inappropriate in some contexts. To be fair, for students this age one of the reasons to use a longer expression to refer to for example immigrants may simply be to meet the word count faster. Another reason is to soften the phrasing and instead of criticizing someone using the actual content word, the criticism or judgement is directed towards a euphemism.

I am inclined to believe, that euphemisms used in neutral and positive cases may be ones that solely seek to create linguistic diversity in the essay writing and in the negative cases it may be an attempt to soften the criticism. However, using so many other ways to talk about for example immigrants even if it is in a neutral or positive way may lead to thinking that the authors may find it easier to discuss the topic without directly addressing the issue. This indicates a political correctness of some sort.

## **6. Discussion**

The analytical findings in this study turned out to be different than what was expected. Despite this, they still ended up supporting the hypothesis that was set at the beginning of the study. The research questions were as follows:

- 1) Are there differences between the kinds of attitudes the students in the two schools show towards immigrants and multiculturalism vs. Finns and cultural homogeneity?
- 2) Can the attitudes be said to be motivated by political correctness? How?
- 3) What can be said about it on a societal level? Is political correctness serving its purpose?

The original hypothesis was that the findings would show less political correctness and hence perhaps more negativity when it comes to the topic of immigration in the TIS essays compared to the Puolala School essays. According to this logic it could have been said that the people more used to multiculturalism would have a blunter and more direct way of addressing these issues and perhaps being immigrants themselves would still be liberated from accusations of racism. If the case had been this, overly emphasized political correctness could have been deemed as unnecessary and something that only the people that are not properly familiarized with the topic would resort to. The end result seems to be supported by this study, but in a different way than expected. Let us start the discussion from the first research question posed.

### 6.1. First Research Question

The first research question is answered in depth in the analytical findings –section. Nevertheless, just to recap the results, the most central findings will be repeated here. The quantitative approach to the numbers gave a rough estimate and a general view of the results. However, with so many deviations in them, these numbers cannot be relied upon to make final conclusions. This is why the qualitative approach was of great importance to support and explain the quantitative results.

The research question “are there differences between the kinds of attitudes the students in the two schools show towards immigrants and multiculturalism vs. Finns and cultural homogeneity?” can simply be answered with a yes. There indeed seems to be a difference firstly between the attitudes of one school’s students towards immigration and multiculturalism versus how they take a stand in relation to Finns as well as differences between the two schools. However, this of course needs to be discussed in more detail.

Looking solely at the numbers, the differences are clear in some cases. In general the Puolala School students seemed to resort to neutral expressions. While in numbers the

TIS students seemed to have more negative expressions when it comes to Finns and Finnish people, the force –aspect of appraisal theory has to be taken into account. While the TIS students somewhat negatively may have described Finns as “shy”, the Puolala School students used words such as “pathetic”. The Puolala School students also seemed to have brought up racism more times when talking about Finns and the immigration situation in Finland.

When it comes to immigrants and multiculturalism, the attitudes seemed to be distributed quite similarly between the two schools. However, Puolala School students seemed to have more negatively charged appraisals. However, what has to be noted is that some of the negativity was non-authorial affect, which ultimately turns the case around to being a negative appraisal towards Finns. When it comes to immigrants and Finns, the TIS students were bolder to pass judgement in both cases than the Puolala School students.

While the results that came across in the keyword analysis are interesting, the avoidance cases are perhaps most revealing. As has been discovered, the Puolala Schools students used means of avoidance markedly more times than the TIS students. As explained in section 5.2.7 the reasons for using euphemisms to discuss for example immigration could be multifold and this has to be taken into account. However the sheer volume of avoidance in the Puolala School essays and more specifically the difference in number between the two schools is startling and surely carries some meanings relevant to this particular study.

## 6.2. Second Research Question

To answer the second research question, “can the attitudes be said to be motivated by political correctness and how?”, it has to be noted that all of the conclusions are mere speculation since there is no way to be able to truly know why things have been said the way they have been said and what the writers have been thinking in the process. However, I will attempt to support each speculation with findings from the analysis. When discussing the possible political correctness here, I am also making comparisons between the two schools. However, if something is true in one case for Puolala School data, it is also true for the TIS data.

Generally speaking, the Appraisal Theory seemed to reveal undertones in the utterances. Something that may have seemed like a neutral or even positive

comment may actually have turned out to be an appraisal of negative judgement against someone. This is something that came up mostly in the Puolala School essays. The overall feeling in the essays seemed generally rather positive and accepting of immigrants and multiculturalism, but as it turned out, there were more negative appraisals on their part. This is why my original hypothesis did not quite carry out as expected. The possible political correctness did not manifest itself in overly emphasized positivity, but rather in neutral comments that in the end seemed to hide negativity and judgement. These results are in line with the results in the López-Maestre and Scheu Lottgen -study.

With the Puolala School data having more neutral statement-like expressions and significantly more cases of avoidance than the TIS data, it does seem like there has been an attempt to avoid harm and offence towards immigrants. In fact, the words refugee and immigrants are neutral words as words, and they are used in official texts as they are without any euphemisms. However it seems as if their use is being restricted and avoided in many cases in the data and they evoke feelings (affect) and statements of judgement when used. This would suggest some level of political correctness, especially on Puolala School's side.

With the Puolala School students also passing strong judgement on Finns and rather direct accusations of racism, it also seems like these harsh words towards their "own" people would somehow be meant to be apologetic and this way politically correct. Even though numerically Finns and Finnish people had received more positivity from the Puolala School students, yet again taking into account the force, it is not quite what it seems; while the positivity was there in the Puolala School essays, in the TIS data Finns had, for example, been described as "great friends". This kind of strongly expressed positivity was not found in the Puolala School essays.

Also the smaller number on judgements passed on immigrants or Finns could be an indicator of political correctness on Puolala School's part. In today's society the almost catch phrase-like "don't judge" or "don't generalize" seems to be manifested in these essays. This observation could also link to the high number of neutral expressions in the Puolala School data. Across the entire data it seemed like Puolala School students were somewhat afraid to express any emotion strongly, except for when it came to criticizing Finns.

Overall, similar kind of phenomena that could be classified as being inspired by political correct attitudes came up in both schools. However, these specific features seemed to be accentuated in the Puolala School data, as expected. What was not

expected, however, was the negativity and possible ignorance-based prejudices that came up in the Puolala School data with further investigation. This combined with the political correct expressions creates texts that seem to be rather diplomatic, but in fact hides fear and negativity towards the unknown. Whether this has any implications on a societal level will be discussed next.

### 6.3. Third Research Question

With CDA providing the underlying ideology in this study, this section will be taking the results of the analysis on a societal level, and implications of political correctness will be discussed.

Political correctness as a phenomenon is something that the societal atmosphere requires in today's Finland. This is because the situations are constantly changing and Finland is becoming increasingly more multicultural by the day. However, when political correctness hides prejudices and fear under its perceived appropriateness, does it serve its purpose? Can the use of it backfire and in fact segregate people more than before?

Without saying, it is clear that all forms of racism should be condemned. It is worth contemplating, however, whether speaking of matters using the real terms is racism or just normal communication. For example the word "immigrant", which had been circled around in many cases in the data and not used directly as a term, could slowly become an "inappropriate" or racist term when enough people start avoiding its direct usage. Therefore a central question is how much do words influence attitudes and vice versa? If the usage of a term starts slowly moving from being a neutral to a negatively charged word, will that change meaning and turn the content of the word into something negative and unspeakable? On the other hand, it could also be attitudes that slowly shape language into being more suitable to the current societal situation.

It may be safest to assume that in these cases language and attitudes influence each other and are intertwined in that sense. Whatever the case, however, the implications of emphasized political correctness and politically correct language have to be considered carefully before its usage gets out of hand. As discussed in the background –section, the rise of two very opposite parties has been a trend over the past few years: the Finns, who have quite bluntly been accused of racism, and the reformist Greens of Finland who represent a very liberal political stance when it comes to



immigration. The strong presence of these two opposing ideologies in a society creates tensions and polarization.

As we have noticed in the analysis, a very popular opinion especially among the Puolala School students seemed to be that Finns are racist and deserve criticism, whereas multiculturalism received almost unanimously positive feedback. These ideas can be said to be in line mostly with the more liberal politics, rather than the nationalist ones. Children surely absorb the atmosphere that they have grown into, and without doubt it seems that 7<sup>th</sup> graders already are concerned about these topics, and seek to avoid any kind of offence – in politically correct ways. If anything can be said based on this data and these results, this is the direction the society is taking with a growing population of youth.

While openness towards multiculturalism is considered a virtue, the rejection of all nationalism and almost an apologetic attitude on behalf of one's "own people" may not be necessary. The consequences of this kind of development need to be considered, and even though this study cannot offer reliable conclusions on this issue, I hope to bring this issue to attention. The one thing that should not get toehold is fear and prejudice towards "the unknown". If political correctness is ultimately something that leads to it instead of preventing it because issues cannot be discussed in real terms, the pros of it should be carefully weighed in terms of the cons. In terms of CDA, the question is how to minimize the possibility of immigration –related issues becoming larger segregating conflicts. Perhaps the answer is within changing attitudes rather than artificially changing policies and customs from outside.

## **7. Conclusion**

The present study aimed to discover attitudes towards multiculturalism and immigration among 7<sup>th</sup> graders in two different schools. The attitudes between the two schools were discovered to differentiate on certain aspects: the non-international Finnish school students seemed to be harsher in their judgement towards Finns, whereas the international school students had thoroughly more positive attitudes towards immigrants and Finns. The International school students were also braver to pass judgement on anyone than the Finnish school students. When it comes to avoidance, the Finnish school students had used it considerably more than the international school students to avoid directly addressing an issue or passing judgement.

Through discussion and careful consideration of all aspects, it can be concluded that these findings indicate a higher level of political correctness in the Finnish school students. This is not to say that no political correctness could be detected in the international school students' essays, but perhaps their writing was less influenced by the need to be appropriate. Moreover, the seemingly politically correct features in the writing of the Finnish school students also seemed to hide negative attitudes and prejudices under them.

Following this finding, larger conclusions can be made. Firstly, if the need to be politically correct when it comes to immigration is emphasized among those that are not familiar with the subject and possibly do not even know any immigrants, perhaps the political correctness is not the right approach. Secondly, if the political correctness hides under it fear and prejudices, maybe it would be more beneficial to reduce tiptoeing around these topics and open the discussion to a more honest level. Hence, political correctness can be claimed not to be serving its purpose in its current usage.

This study looked into the attitudes of a very limited group of people. More research considering attitudes and the effect of political correctness in relation to it should be conducted, perhaps looking into different groups of people, or a proper dissection of a population. This point of view has not been much taken in academic research before, which leaves a luscious ground for all kinds of research related to it. Another gap in the field lies within not having proper academic approaches or definitions for politically correct language. It is a fairly new phenomenon largely discussed in the media, but an academic take on it seems to be lacking. More approaches to this would create a sturdier basis and more credibility for research such as what the present study has offered. However, the present study was conducted with the theoretical basis available and the results were as clear as possible.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1. Analysis: Turku International School

#### 1.1 Keyword: Other

SENTENCE	REFERENCE	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
Finland is a safe country and I want to share it with <u>others</u> . (N)	Non-Finns/immigrants	positive	affect (authorial)		x
Its safe, nobody is trying to get me, and when I walk I usually see <u>other (adj.)</u> kids doing the same	Other than the author.	neutral			
We where just shaped into the people who we are now by <u>other (adj.)</u> people and the same is happening to them	People of other cultures/immigrants	neutral			
[...] it's really nice that everyone is treating each other equally and not caring about <u>other (adj.)</u> people's race or religion.	Not self/immigrants	positive	affect (authorial)		x
[...] when people come together and share their background, it can surly change the way we think of <u>others</u> . (N)	People of other cultures/immigrants	positive	affect (authorial)		x

## 1.2 Keyword: Immigrants, Finns and Finnish people

KEYWORD	SENTENCE	DESCRIPTION	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
immigrants	[...] <u>immigrants</u> from countries like Afganistan, who have war and problems with their country, should deserve safety, and a new start.	troubled (have war and problems, deserve safety)	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
immigrants	When I think of the *world " <u>immigrants</u> ", I don't immediately think of people from Afganistan etc. I think of everyone. [...] So I think of a good thing.	part of everyone good	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
immigrants	There are a lot of <u>immigrants</u> in Varissuo, some even when they come to Finland is that they found a workplace here.		neutral			
immigrants	The more of a certain group of <u>immigrants</u> ex. Swedish and Vietnamese people then also they have their own language lessons in Finland.	have own language lessons	neutral	impl. appreciation		x
immigrants	Some finnish immigrants don't even know the finnish language so they have to learn it by them selves [...]	ignorant, don't know the language	negative	impl. judgement		x



immigrants	Some <u>immigrants</u> also don't always learn the language of their country that they are in.	ignorant, won't learn the language	negative	impl. judgement	x	
immigrants	If you come to Finland as an * <u>immigrand</u> I think it is really difficult to find friend [...]		neutral			
immigrants	The <u>immigrants</u> that come to this country not knowing the ethics, rules or religions of this country are likely to cause problems.	don't know ethics and rules - don't fit in. Problematic.	negative	expl. judgement	x	
immigrants	Title: <u>Immigrants</u> in Finland	-	-	-		
immigrants	Title: <u>Immigrants</u> in Finland	-	-	-		
immigrants	Title: <u>Immigrants</u>	-	-	-		
immigrants	<u>Immigrants</u> are just people [...]	just people, normal	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
immigrants	Finns in Turku(Not all) have this kind of hatred to <u>immigrants</u> just because of this religion or color.	hated by Finns	negative	affect (non-authorial)		x
	[...] <u>immigrants</u> just because of this religion or color.	Different skin color	neutral	impl. appreciation		x

immigrants	Most of the restaurants in Turku is owned by Immigrants who introduce different types of foods.	own restaurants	neutral			
Finnish people	[...] many <u>finnish people</u> are very shy [...]	very shy	negative	expl. judgement	x	
Finns	[...] but the people comeing from all around the world have started to rub off onto the <u>finns</u> [...]	passive receiver	negative	impl. judgement		x
Finn	if you manage to break threw a *finns hard shell you will find this freind who you can trust and keep for even a lifetime.	Finns are hard to approach, but they are also faithful friends.	negative positive	expl. judgement	x	
*Finnish (immigrants)	Some <u>finnish immigrants</u> don't even know the finnish language [...]	= immigrants, don't know the language, ignorant	negative	impl. judgement		x
Finnish people	[...]it is really difficult to find friend, because Finnish people are really shy.	really shy	negative	expl. judgement	x	
Finns	I have personally always treaten other countryes people at the same way I treat Finns.	author treats Finns well.	positive	affect (authorial)		x
Finnish person	My mum is Brazilian and my Father is Finnish.		neutral			

Finnish person	I'm half Brazilian and half Finnish.		neutral			
Finnish people	Finland has many people from other cultures like in schools I have Arab, American, Latin, Indian <u>Finnish</u> , Asian, European.	One among others	neutral			
Finns (in Turku)	Finns in Turku(Not all) have this kind of hatred to immigrants just because of this religion or color.	hate immigrants	negative	expl. judgement	x	
Finns	They [immigrants] open their own restaurants allowing Finns to experience their culture.	a passive receiver of experiences	negative	impl. judgement		x
Finnish people	[...] you see that most of the people are not Finnish.		neutral			
Finns	Amongst the Finns the most popular restaurants are American diners and fine Thai restaurants.	like foreign cuisine	neutral	judgement (expl.)	x	
Finnish people	To my knowledge I only have two Finnish friends [...]		neutral			

\*Will not be included in the statistics since this had already been analyzed in the *immigrants* -section

### 1.3 Keyword: Foreign and multicultural

KEYWORD	SENTENCE	TARGET N.	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
foreign	more international holidays are celebrated, and more foreign people are moving in [...]	people	neutral			
foreign	I see many foreign shops around the city center, [...]	shops	neutral			
multicultural	I want Finland to be multicultural, as long as they respect our manners, culture and people.	Finland	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
multicultural	I want Finland/Turku to be multicultural.	Finland/Turku	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
multi-cultural	Turku is a very *multi-cultural city [...]	Turku	neutral			
multicultural	Also in my opinion life is more fun when its more multicultural	life	positive	affect (authorial)		x

multicultural	I think that living in a multicultural society is very nice, but there are quite a lot of problems with these people.	society	positive	affect (authorial)		x
multicultural	Turku is very multicultural [...]	Turku	neutral			
multicultural	It's so wonderful that there are multicultural people getting together and getting along so very well.	people	positive	affect (authorial)		x
multicultural	My family is multicultural.	Author's family	neutral			
multicultural	[...] form what I heard from Finland it's quite multicultural [...]	Finland	neutral			

## Appendix 2. Analysis: Puolala School

### 2.1 Keyword: Other

SENTENCE	REFERENCE	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
I don't think there's anything wrong with people of different cultures immigrating to Turku, although some <u>other</u> people might be a bit skeptical.	Finns	negative	expl. judgement	x	
[...]people yell some mean things to <u>other</u> people that don't necessarily look like them.	immigrants	neutral	appreciation	x	
An <u>other</u> girl in my class lived in Spain for 5 years.	classmate	neutral			
It's helpful to the Russian man and <u>other</u> people who speak that specific language[...]	Russians	neutral			
My friend has a friend who came from another country and has a different culture than <u>others</u> .	Finns	neutral			

Having a rich culture will help us to know about the world a bit better and will help us to understand <u>other</u> people in other countries.	Foreigners	neutral			
Turku is a big city for finns, but not for anyone else in the world (except for the <u>other</u> Scandinavian people).	Scandinavians	neutral			
It is a good thing because then people get new ideas from <u>other</u> people.	Immigrants	positive	affect (authorial)		x
Different religions should come together to create the new ideas and maybe combine things that <u>other</u> people know to your things and it can end up great.	Immigrants	positive	affect (authorial)		x
People shouldn't judge * <u>another</u> people, who maybe have a different skin colour or a different culture.	immigrants	neutral	appreciation	x	

## 2.2 Keyword: Refugee(s), immigrants, Finns, Finnish people, multiculturalism

KEYWORD	SENTENCE	DESCRIPTION	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
refugee	I don't really know that should I talk about that <u>refugee</u> -thing.	unknown, unspeakable, inappropriate topic?	negative	affect (authorial)		x

refugees	There are plenty of <u>refugees</u> especially from the Middle-East.		neutral			
refugees	Sadly some <u>refugees</u> don't have exactly the best conditions when they get "imported".	under privileged, should have it better	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
refugees	These sort of illegally imported <u>refugees</u> are usually very poor.	poor	negative	judgement (expl.)	x	
refugees	That's why you very often see beggars on the streets, and they are usually <u>refugees</u> .	poor, beggars	negative	judgement (expl.)	x	
refugees	I think that these <u>refugees</u> should be supported and helped, [...]	should be helped	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
refugees	[...] everyone should be open-minded to <u>refugees</u> and immigrants.	should be welcomed	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
refugees	There has been a lot of talk surrounding immigrants or <u>refugees</u> and what our reaction towards them should be.	target of discussion	neutral			
immigrants	There are some <u>immigrants</u> in Turku, but I don't think it is a bad thing.	good	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
immigrants	Even though there are not any <u>immigrants</u> in my football team or at my scouts I still know some.		neutral			



immigrants	I think Turku is a very good city for <u>immigrants</u> , because they aren't hated [...]	not hated in Turku	positive	affect (non-authorial)	x	
immigrants	Although some people are complaining about <u>immigrants</u> , most people are okay with the fact that [...]	complained about, a nuisance	negative	affect (non-authorial)		x
immigrants	Although I think it's a good thing to have <u>immigrants</u> I also understand the problem some people see in them.	good but possibly problematic	positive negative	affect (authorial)	x	
immigrants	[...] but we should not generalize it to all <u>immigrants</u> .	should be seen as individuals	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
immigrants	Maybe some <u>immigrants</u> have done crimes, but some Finnish people have also done crimes [...]	some are criminals, just like some Finns	negative	judgement (expl.)	x	
immigrants	In the part of Turku where I live there aren't <u>immigrants</u> which I know of.		neutral			
immigrants	Many foreign students and <u>immigrants</u> have moved to Turku.		neutral			
immigrants	[...] most of the cultures come with the <u>immigrants</u> .	a byproduct	negative	affect (authorial)		x

immigrants	I have friends whom I share hobbies with, whose parents or they themselves have come to Finland as <u>immigrants</u> .		neutral			
immigrants	Our school has probably boatloads of <u>immigrants</u> [...]	perhaps too many (boatloads=a refugee –allusion?)	negative	impl. appreciation		x
immigrants	You see <u>immigrants</u> pretty much everywhere.	everywhere	negative	appreciation (impl.)		x
immigrants	[...] everyone should be open-minded to refugees and <u>immigrants</u> .	should be welcomed	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
immigrants	TITLE: “ <u>immigrants</u> in Finland.”		neutral			
immigrants	In Finland there are lots of <u>immigrants</u> .		neutral			
immigrants	There has been a lot of talk surrounding <u>immigrants</u> or refugees and what our reaction towards them should be.	target of discussion	neutral			
immigrants	There are many <u>immigrants</u> working in grocery stores [...]	not in high-end jobs	negative	judgement (impl.)	x	
immigrants	[...] <u>immigrants</u> are also very popular to see in barber.	not in high-end jobs	negative	judgement (impl.)	x	

Finns	Of course people who come from other countries have different culture than <u>Finns</u> but I don't see it as a bad thing.	other cultures not bad in comparison → good	positive	judgement (impl.)		x
finns	Turku is a big city for <u>finns</u> [...]		neutral			
Finns	Many <u>Finns</u> have bad and offensive things to say to these people for many reasons, but I think that is wrong and pathetic.	rude, offensive, pathetic	negative	judgement (expl.)	x	
finns	[...] and the biggest part of them, I think that they have, like, same religion, they're <u>finns</u> and things like that.		neutral			
finns	We have many people that speak Swedish, but actioally are <u>finns</u> .		neutral			
finn	My friend speaks Swedish althought he's a <u>finn</u> [...]		neutral			
finns	He has also a friends that are <u>finns</u> , but speak Swedish, [...]		neutral			
finnish	He is <u>finnish</u> bu the is in Spain right now.		neutral			
Finnish	Maybe some immigrants have done crimes, but some <u>Finnish</u> people have also done crimes [...]	some are criminals	negative	judgement (expl.)	x	
Finnish	Most of my friends are <u>Finnish</u> .		neutral			

Finnish	In my neighborhood most people are Finnish.		neutral			
Finnish	I've heard a lot of racist jokes being told to people that aren't Finnish and that is very sad.	immigrants insulted possibly by Finns	negative	judgement (expl.)		x
Finnish	[...] because Finnish people aren't as loud and positive as people in Spain.	not positive and outgoing	negative	judgement (expl.)	x	
finnish	[...] I feel just normal when I would see a normal finnish person.	treated normally by author	positive	affect (authorial)		x
Finnish	Thinking of <u>Finnish</u> adults immigrant adults they work very well together.	work well with immigrants	positive	judgement (expl.)		x
multiculturalism	<u>Multiculturalism</u> in Finland has become such a common thing that people don't even think about it.	common, not strange to people	positive	affect (non-authorial)		x
multiculturalism	I go to city centre very seldom, so I haven't experienced that much of * <u>multiculturality</u> of Turku.		neutral			
multiculturalism	Living in a nother country tought me a lot about * <u>multiculturism</u> .		neutral			
multiculturalism	Overall I think * <u>multiculturism</u> is a great thing[...]	great	positive	affect (authorial)	x	

## 2.3 Keyword: foreign, multicultural

KEYWORD	SENTENCE	TARGET N.	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
foreign	[...]Turku, where a lot of people with <u>foreign</u> backgrounds lives.	backgrounds	neutral			
foreign	There are no <u>foreign</u> people in my school class [...]	people	neutral			
foreign	I also see <u>foreign</u> people walking on the streets [...]	people	neutral			
foreign	[...] most people are okay with the fact that there are <u>foreign</u> people and there will be more in the future.	people	positive	affect (non-authorial)		x
foreign	I don't see it as a problem that there are <u>foreign</u> people [...]	people	positive	affect (authorial)		x
foreign	I often see <u>foreign</u> people in the streets of Turku [...]	people	neutral			
foreign	I don't see <u>foreign</u> people that much yet [...]	people	neutral			
foreign	[...] and some <u>foreign</u> languages [..]	languages	neutral			
foreign	Many <u>foreign</u> students and immigrants have moved to Turku.	students and immigrants	neutral			
foreign	[...] it's nice to have <u>foreign</u> students in the university.	students	positive	affect (authorial)	x	

foreign	Sometimes it feels a little odd to have many <u>foreign</u> people in the marketplace [...]	people	negative	affect (authorial)	x	
foreign	[...] speaking <u>foreign</u> language.	language	neutral			
foreign	My only <u>foreign</u> relative is British, [...]	relative	neutral			
foreign	I don't have any <u>foreign</u> neighbours [...]	neighbors	neutral			
foreign	In shops I don't often see <u>foreign</u> people [...]	people	neutral			
foreign	There is many <u>foreign</u> restaurants in Turku, [...]	restaurants	neutral			
multicultural	Turku has always been a <u>multicultural</u> city [...]	Turku	neutral			
multicultural	[...] but you can't find a school without <u>multicultural</u> students.	students	neutral			
multicultural	Even the ones with no visible <u>multicultural</u> contacts, are exposed to different cultures [...]	contacts	neutral			
multicultural	Turku has been multicultural for ages[...]	Turku	neutral			
multicultural	Turku is a very <u>multicultural</u> city.	Turku	neutral			
multicultural	I think it's hard to find a place that isn't <u>multicultural</u> .	place	neutral			
multicultural	If Finland wasn't <u>multicultural</u> , we would eat only potatoes [...]	Finland	positive	affect (authorial)		x

multicultural	I think that Turku is quite <u>multicultural</u> .	Turku	neutral			
multicultural	I like that Turku is <u>multicultural</u> .	Turku	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
multicultural	I don't know any <u>*multicultural</u> people in my family or my friends.	people	neutral			
multicultural	I like the idea of Turku being <u>multicultural</u> , because [...]	Turku	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
multicultural	It would be interesting if Finland was a more popular and <u>*multicultural</u> country and we could see [...]	Finland	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
multicultural	We don't know much about how <u>*multicultural</u> Turku will be in the future [...]	Turku	neutral			
multicultural	I see the rest of my welsh family usually once in two years. There is much more <u>multicultural</u> than in Finland.	Wales vs. Finland	neutral			
multicultural	Turku is more <u>multicultural</u> than it was before.	Turku	neutral			
multicultural	But I know that there are hundreds and thousands of people living in Finland who think that bonding cultures and the whole <u>multicultural</u> thing is not a good thing [...]	thing, multiculturalism	negative	affect (non- authorial)	x	
multicultural	[...]turku isn't as <u>multicultural</u> place as citys like London.	Turku vs. London	neutral			

multicultural	I think that it's amazing that Turku is so <u>multicultural</u> .	Turku	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
multicultural	[...] my final opinion is that I love to live in <u>multicultural</u> city.	city	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
multicultural	Turku is a very <u>multicultural</u> city.	Turku	neutral			
multicultural	Turku is quite multicultural.	Turku	neutral			
multicultural	Finland already is really <u>multicultural</u> but I would like to see more people from different cultures come together.	Finland	positive	affect (authorial)		x
multicultural	It takes no time to find a <u>multicultural</u> leisure activity in Turku.	leisure activity	neutral			
multicultural	I think <u>multicultural</u> is a good thing.	multiculturalism	positive	affect (authorial)	x	
multicultural	Turku is actiolly pretty <u>multicultural</u> .	Turku	neutral			



### Appendix 3. Analysis: Avoidances

Turku International School

SENTENCE (Expression highlighted)	IMPLICATION	DESCRIPTION	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL	DA	PoA
[...]I enjoy watching <b>people from other countries</b> talk to each other[...]	immigrants		<b>positive</b>	affect (authorial)	x	
I want Finland to be multicultural, as long as <b>they</b> respect our manners, culture and people.	immigrants	all immigrants may not be respectful	<b>negative</b>	impl. judgement		x
I don't mind <b>them</b> bringing some of <b>their</b> own culture with them, as long as <b>they</b> remember we have ours.	immigrants	all immigrants may not be respectful	<b>negative</b>	impl. judgement		x

[...]many finnish people are very shy but <b>the people coming from all around the world</b> have started to rub off onto the finns [...]	immigrants	immigrants have positively affected Finns	positive	expl. judgement	x	
[...] its very interesting to see <b>all these new people</b> join this country [...]	immigrants	intriguing	positive	affect (authorial)		x
[...]In some places in Turku there are <b>people who come from other parts of the world to Finland.</b>	immigrants		neutral			
A lot of my friends are <b>not native</b> but I still treat them the exact same way[...]	immigrants	equal to Finns	positive	affect (authorial)		x
more international holidays are celebrated, and more <b>foreign people</b> are moving in [...]	immigrants		neutral			
[...]but <b>some people</b> are sometimes racist[...]	Finns	racist	negative	expl. judgement	x	
[...]I have personally always treaten <b>other countryes people</b> at the same way I treat Finns.	immigrants	equal to Finns	positive	affect (authorial)		x
[...]Turku is very multicultural, there's so many people from different parts of the world.	immigrants		neutral			
[...]I see <b>people from all over the world</b> come to Finland[...]	immigrants		neutral			
My friends are also <b>from different parts of the globe.</b>	immigrants	friends with author	positive			

[...] <b>most people</b> think that people from other countries and cultures are just as good as the <b>natives</b> are.	<b>Finns</b>	most Finns are accepting of immigrants	<b>positive</b>	impl. judgement		x
[...] most people think that <b>people from other countries</b> and cultures are just as good as the natives are.	<b>Immigrants</b>	just as good as Finns	<b>positive</b>	affect (non-authorial)	x	

Puolala School

	SENTENCE (Expression highlighted)	IMPLICATION	DESCRIPTION	ATTITUDE	APPRAISAL		
1	[...] where a lot of <b>people with foreign background</b> lives.	immigrants		<b>neutral</b>			
2	I don't think there's anything wrong with <b>people of different cultures</b> immigrating to Turku [...]	immigrants	author is accepting	<b>positive</b>	affect (authorial)		x
3	[...] although <b>some other people</b> might be a bit sceptical.	Finns	skeptical	<b>negative</b>	expl. judgement	x	
4	There are a lot of <b>people from different cultures</b> in Turku.	immigrants		<b>neutral</b>			

5	[...]in Turku <b>people from different cultures and countries</b> come along quite well.	immigrants	agreeable, get along well	<b>positive</b>	impl. judgement		x
6	[...] <b>people</b> yell some mean things to other people that don't necessarily look like them.	<b>Finns</b>	Finns are racist	<b>negative</b>	<b>impl. judgement</b>		x
	[...] people yell some mean things to <b>other people that don't necessarily look like them.</b>	<b>immigrants</b>		<b>neutral</b>	<b>appreciation</b>	x	
7	It's nice to have own traditions in Finland and <b>different people</b> living here <b>from different cultures</b> but I do not want that all different cultures lose their traditions and habits.	immigrants	author likes multiculturalism	<b>positive</b>	affect (authorial)		x
8	Our family has many <b>friends that are from different cultures.</b>	immigrants		<b>neutral</b>			
9	I think it is good thing that <b>some people from different countries</b> come to Finland [...]	immigrants		<b>positive</b>	affect (authorial)	x	
10	[...] <b>the different cultures</b> bring with them new kind of food, dance, religion, music and manners.	people, immigrants	cultures=people	<b>neutral</b>			
11	The <b>different cultures</b> show example new habits [...]	people, immigrants	cultures=people	<b>neutral</b>			
12	In some events, <b>people from different cultures</b> may do things differently.	immigrants	not in line with customs	<b>negative</b>	expl. judgement	x	

13	Some people do not like that different cultures comes together, because they can be a bit prejudice of the people and cultures that come from other countries [...]	Finns	Finns are racist	negative	expl. judgement	x	
	Some people do not like that different cultures comes together, because they can be a bit prejudice of the people and cultures that come from other countries [...]	Immigrants	immigrants facing prejudice	negative	affect (non-authorial)	x	
14	My friend have a friend who came from another country and has a different culture than others.	Immigrant/foreigner		neutral			
15	[...] but sometimes they [author's family] do not feel great some of the negative things that has happened, because of the disagreements between different cultures.	racism?	author's family condemns racism	negative	affect (non-authorial)	x	
16	[...] I think that cultures coming together is a good thing, but I feel bad too of negative things that has happened.	racism?	author condemns racism	negative	affect (authorial)	x	
17	[...]I have a friend who is from another country [...]	immigrant		neutral			
18	Although some people are complaining about immigrants, [...]	some Finns	racist	negative	expl. judgement	x	
19	[...] I also understand the problem some people see in them.	some Finns	racist	negative	impl. judgement		x
20	[...]because some people that come have done something stupid, [...]	some immigrants		negative	expl. judgement	x	

21	I know that many people don't like it, but there's no good reason for that and in my opinion It's just racism.	Finns	Finns are racist	negative	expl. judgement	x	
	Of course people who come from other countries have different culture than Finns but I don't see it as a bad thing.	immigrants	have strange cultures, but author defends	negative positive	impl. judgement affect (authorial)		x
22	But I know that there are hundreds and thousands of people living in Finland who think that bonding cultures and the whole multicultural thing is not a good thing [...]	Finns	Finns are racist	negative	judgement (expl.)	x	
23	Actually I don't know anyone who has come from another country [...]	immigrants		neutral			
24	[...] but I think that it would be wonderful to know somebody from another country or countries.	immigrants		positive	affect (authorial)	x	
25	Most of people who are from some other culture congest to one place, [...]	immigrants	differing habits	negative	expl. judgement	x	
26	[...] is a street wich is full of people coming from some other culture.	immigrants		neutral			
	I can't say exactly where do they come from but they speak something else than finnish or english for each other.	immigrants	speak different languages	neutral	expl. judgement		

	Only bad thing in <b>their</b> way of living is that they are crossing the road quite wierdly. Somethimes <b>they</b> are running sometimes walking and sometimes <b>they</b> stop in middle of the road to talk each other.	immigrants	differing habits	<b>negative</b>	expl. judgement	x	
27	<b>Some people</b> say that people from other countries are not as good as us.	<b>Finns</b>	Finns are racist.	<b>negative</b>	<b>judgement</b>	x	
	Some people say that <b>people from other countries</b> are not as good as us.	<b>immigrants</b>	Face racism from Finns	<b>negative</b>	<b>affect (non-authorial)</b>	x	
28	[...] <b>people from around the world</b> brings many cultures together.	immigrants		<b>neutral</b>			
29	Some of my friends are <b>from different cultures or countries</b> and that is really nice [...]	immigrants		<b>positive</b>	affect (authorial)	x	
30	In these days I see a lot of <b>many different people from many different countries.</b>	immigrants		<b>neutral</b>			
31	I know some <b>people from other countries</b> but they are not such cultural as some people are.	immigrants	not culturally different, or inclined	<b>neutral</b>	expl. judgement	x	
32	Where I live there are not so many <b>people that have a big cultural difference.</b>	immigrants		<b>neutral</b>			
33	<b>People from many different countries and cultures</b> live here.	immigrants		<b>neutral</b>			

34	I've heard a lot of racist jokes being told to <b>people that aren't Finnish</b> and that is very sad.	immigrants	author feels sorry for immigrants	<b>positive</b>	affect (authorial)		x
35	<b>People</b> aren't educated well enough and they are scared of new things [...]	Finns	uneducated, racist	<b>negative</b>	expl. judgement	x	
36	In Turku, there are numerous <b>small shops and restaurants that are themed around the founders</b> culture.	foreign shops and restaurants		<b>neutral</b>			
37	I can see many of <b>different cultures</b> in public.	people, immigrants		<b>neutral</b>			
38	At my way to school, I always see <b>different kinds of people.</b>	immigrants. different-looking people		<b>neutral</b>	appreciation		x
39	I don't actually know many <b>people from other cultures</b> , but I'd like to.	immigrants		<b>positive</b>	affect (authorial)	x	
40	[...] there moved <b>a family from another culture</b> in our neighbourhood.	immigrant family		<b>neutral</b>			
41	And in my old hobby, my <b>friend</b> in there, she was <b>from a very different culture than I had.</b>	immigrant		<b>neutral</b>			



42	When i walk on the streets or anywhere outside i see <b>different cultured person</b> I feel just normal [...]	immigrant, different- <i>looking</i> person	author sees everyone the same, judges by looks	<b>positive</b>	appreciation, affect (authorial)		x
43	When I walk on the street in the city I see <b>many people from different culturies</b> [...]	immigrants	author judges by looks	<b>neutral</b>	appreciation		x
44	I know a few <b>people from other culturies</b> .	immigrants		<b>neutral</b>			
45	So in Turku we have <b>people from many culturies</b> but I think they are all pretty similar and all get along, and it's good.	immigrants	author sees everyone the same	<b>positive</b>	affect (authorial)		x

## Appendix 4 Finnish Summary

Tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tutkia asenteita monikulttuurisuutta ja maahanmuuttoa sekä suomalaisuutta kohtaan ja vertailla tutkimuksessa esiin tulleita asenteita tavallisen suomalaisen ja kansainvälisen koulun oppilaiden välillä. Tutkimuksessa on myös pohdittu poliittisen korrektiuden vaikutusta asenteisiin ja diskurssiin sekä sen yhteiskunnallisia vaikutuksia laajemminkin. Poliittinen korrektiutus on ollut jonkin verran pinnalla keskusteluissa mediassa, mutta asenteiden, diskurssin ja poliittisen korrektiuden yhteyttä on syytä tutkia enemmän myös akateemisessa kontekstissa. Ylenpalttisessa poliittisessä korrektiudessa voidaan ajatella piilevän sellaisia haittoja, jotka todellisuudessa kumoavat sen alkuperäisen tarkoituksen ja vahvistavat piileviä epäluuloisia ja jopa rasistisia asenteita. Ne, joille maahanmuutto on läheisempi asia, todennäköisesti kokevat vähemmän tarvetta poliittiselle korrektiudelle kuin sellaiset henkilöt, joille asia on vieraampi. Tällöin poliittisen korrektiuden voidaan todeta kumpuavan epävarmuudesta, epätietoudesta ja varovaisuudesta eikä niinkään kohteliaisuudesta. Tämä on tutkimuksen hypoteesi. Tutkimuskysymyksiä on kolme:

1. Millaisia asenteellisia eroja maahanmuuttoa ja suomalaisuutta kohtaan on näiden kahden koulujen välillä?
2. Voiko poliittisen korrektiuden sanoa vaikuttaneen eroihin? Miten?
3. Mitä voidaan sanoa yhteiskunnallisella tasolla? Tekeekö poliittinen korrektiutus tehtävänsä?

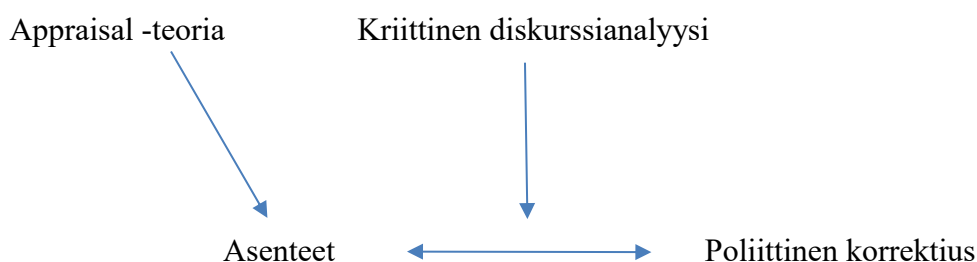
Toiseen tutkimuskysymykseen liittyen täytynee huomauttaa, että poliittisesti korrektiä kieltä ei ole vielä akateemisesti ja luotettavasti määritelty. Tämän vuoksi siihen vastaaminen on subjektiivista. Tämän lisäksi kuten aina diskurssianalyysissä, diskurssin tuottajan todellisia motiiveja ei voida tietää, joten pohdinta tämän suhteen on mahdollisuuksien mukaan perusteltua, mutta todellisuudessa spekulatiivista.

Tutkimuksen aineistona käytettiin kirjoitelmia, joita koulujen seitsemännen luokan oppilaat kirjoittivat. Tehtävänantona oli kirjoittaa omin sanoin ja vapaasti monikulttuurisesta Turusta sekä maahanmuutosta; siitä, mitä oppilaat kokevat ja näkevät päivittäin ja millaisia tunteita se herättää heissä. Analyysiin sisällytettiin 22 suomalaisen koulun esseitä (yhteensä 5074 sanaa) sekä 13 kansainvälisen koulun esseitä (yhteensä 2603 sanaa). Esseet kirjoitettiin englanniksi. Koska suomalaisen

koulun oppilaiden englanninkielen taito ei välttämättä ole yhtä hyvä kuin kansainvälisen koulun oppilaiden, valittiin tutkimukseen suomalaisen koulun englannin kieliluokan oppilaat. Tämän lisäksi kirjoitelmaa laatiessaan sekä kansainvälisen että suomalaisen koulun oppilaat saivat käyttää apuvälineitä, esimerkiksi sanakirjoja, jotta kielelliset seikat eivät muodostuisi esteeksi ilmaisussa.

Tutkimus on kvalitatiivinen ja sitä on kvantifioitu ilmoittavalla frekvenssillä ja promilleosuudet. Tutkimuksen kvalitatiivisessa osuudessa on käytetty kahta teoriaa: kriittistä diskurssianalyysiä sekä Appraisal -teoriaa. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi on pääsääntöisesti enemmän tutkimuksessa käytettävä lähestymistapa kuin suoraan ja yksiselitteisesti sovellettava teoria. Sen funktio tässä tutkimuksessa on ollut tuoda syvyyttä pohdintaosioon ja tuoda analyysin tulokset yhteiskunnalliselle tasolle. Kriittisen diskurssianalyysin eräitä keskeisiä tavoitteita tutkimuksissa on tuoda esiin yhteiskunnallisia epäkohtia, epätasa-arvoa ja valtasuhteita sekä tarjota keinoja niiden ratkaisemiseksi (van Dijk 2009: 63). Kriittistä diskurssianalyysiä voi myös käyttää piilevien asenteiden esiin tuomiseen (van Dijk 1995:18), joka on pääsääntöisesti sen funktio tässä tutkimuksessa. Kriittisen diskurssianalyysin tutkimuskohteiden piiriin kuuluvat juuri muun muassa maahanmuuttoon, kansallisuuksiin ja rotuun liittyvät kysymykset, jonka vuoksi sen käyttö myös tässä tutkimuksessa on perusteltua.

Appraisal -teoria osaltaan taas oli käytössä aineiston kvalitatiivisessa analyysissä. Se on laaja teoria joka tarjoaa työkaluja diskurssianalyysin eri osa-alueisiin. Sen avulla voidaan tutkia sitä, miten diskurssin tuottajat ilmaisevat itseään kun he tekevät arvioita ja sitä miten heidän asenteensa sekä emotionaaliset reaktionsa tulevat esiin eksplisiittisesti tai implisiittisesti diskurssissa. Myös intertekstuaalista positiota voidaan tutkia Appraisal -teorian avulla. (Appraisal Homepage 2015b) Tämän tutkimuksen fokuksessa on kuitenkin asenteet, jonka vuoksi Appraisal -teoriaa on käytetty vain tämän kategorian osalta. Alla oleva kuvaaja kuvaa tutkimuksen rakennetta, teorioiden rooleja sekä suhteutumista toisiinsa.



Analyysin ensimmäisessä vaiheessa aineisto ladattiin UAM CorpuTool –nimiseen ohjelmaan, jonka avulla löydettiin kirjoitelmista seitsemän selkeästi käytetyintä ja aiheeseen liittyvää sanaa. Nämä sanat olivat monikulttuurinen (multicultural), muu (other), suomalainen (Finn, Finnish people), maahanmuuttaja (immigrant), vierasmaalainen (foreign) sekä pakolainen (refugee). Sanat valittiin niiden yleisyyden perusteella molempien koulujen aineistossa sekä sen perustella, kuinka läheisesti ne liittyivät tutkimuskysymyksiin. Appraisal –teorian asenne –kategoria jakaantuu kolmeen eri osa-alueeseen. Jokin ilmaisu voi olla joko emotionaalinen (affect), toimia arvioiva (judgement) tai ulkoista olemusta arvioida (appreciation). Emotionaalinen ilmaus voi olla joko diskurssin tuottajan itse kokema asia, tai jonkun muun tuntemus. Jokainen analyysiin otettu avainsana ja siihen liittyvä ilmaisu on kategorisoitu näiden mukaan, sekä luokiteltu joko positiiviseksi, negatiiviseksi tai neutraaliksi. Appraisal –teorian puitteissa otetaan myös huomioon ilmaisujen vahvuus ja painokkuus. Esimerkiksi adjektiivit ”ujo” ja ”rasistinen” voidaan molemmat luokitella negatiivisiksi, mutta selvää on, että ”rasistinen” on ilmaisultaan vahvempi ja näin ollen sillä on enemmän painoarvoa negatiivisuudessaan. Tätä luokittelua ei tämän tutkimuksen analyysissä tehty joka ilmausta kohden, mutta asia otettiin huomioon pohdinnassa. Avainsanojen lisäksi analyysissä tutkittiin tapoja vältellä sanojen käyttöä (avoidance). Esimerkiksi sanaa ”maahanmuuttaja” välteltiin eri tavoin, ja sen sijaan käytettiin kiertoilmaisuja kuten ”muun maalainen” tai ”muun kulttuurinen”.

Kvalitatiivisen analyysin jälkeen tuloksista tehtiin Microsoft Excel –ohjelman avulla taulukoita, joissa näkyi kummankin aineiston avainsanojen lukumäärät sekä suhteelliset arvot. Suhteelliset arvot oli laskettava, sillä aineistojen suuruudet poikkesivat toisistaan merkittävästi. Suhteelliset arvot laskettiin kunkin aineiston kokonaissanamäärästä, joista ne muutettiin promilleiksi. Näin arvot olivat helpommin vertailtavissa keskenään. Tämä on tutkimuksen kvantitatiivinen osa. Lukumäärien vertailu keskenään kuitenkin antaa vain pintapuolisen ja suuntaa antavan kuvan tuloksista, jonka vuoksi kvalitatiivinen analyysi oli tärkeä tämän tutkimuksen tuloksia tarkasteltaessa.

Jos tarkastellaan pelkkiä kvantitatiivisia havaintoja, erot ovat melko selkeät joissakin tapauksissa. Yleisesti ottaen suomalaisen koulun oppilaat käyttivät enemmän neutraaleja ilmaisuja kirjoitelmissaan kuin kansainvälisen koulun oppilaat. Numeerisesti kansainvälisen koulun oppilaat olivat käyttäneet suomalaisen koulun oppilaisiin verrattuna enemmän negatiivisia ilmaisuja puhuttaessa suomalaisista. Sen sijaan suomalaisen koulun oppilaat olivat käyttäneet selkeästi vahvempia negatiivisia

ilmauksia verrattuna kansainvälisen koulun oppilaisiin. Suomalaisen koulun oppilaat toivat myös esiin kansainvälisen koulun oppilaita enemmän suomalaisten keskuudessa esiintyvää rasismia.

Maahanmuuttajiin ja monikulttuurisuuteen liittyen asenteet olivat päällisin puolin samankaltaisia molempien koulujen oppilailla. Suomalaisen koulun oppilailla tosin vaikutti olevan enemmän negatiivisesti latautuneita ilmaisuja. Huomionarvoista on kuitenkin, että osa näistä negatiivisista ilmaisuista olivat tunteita, joita he kuvailivat muilla suomalaisilla olevan. Tästä siis voi päätellä, että nämä negatiiviset ilmaisut maahanmuuttajia tai monikulttuurisuutta kohtaan ovatkin negatiivisuutta suomalaisia kohtaan. Yleisesti ottaen kansainvälisen koulun oppilaat tekivät toimia arvioivia kommentteja sekä suomalaisia että maahanmuuttajia kohtaan enemmän kuin suomalaisen koulun oppilaat. Suomalaisen koulun oppilaiden kirjoitelmissa tuli myös esiin, että monet näennäisesti neutraalit kommentit peittivät epäluuloisia asenteita maahanmuuttajia kohtaan.

Avainsanojen analyysin tulokset toivat esiin eroja, mutta suurimmat erot näkyivät sanojen välttelytapoja analysoidessa. Suomalaisen koulun oppilaat turvautuivat tapoihin vältellä tiettyjen sanojen käyttöä huomattavasti enemmän kuin kansainvälisen koulun oppilaat. Sanat, joita välteltiin olivat sekä esimerkiksi ”maahanmuuttajat”, että ”suomalaiset”. Asenteet suomalaisen koulun oppilaiden kirjoitelmissa välttelyn suhteen jakautuivat siten, että eniten oli neutraaleja ilmaisuja, toiseksi eniten negatiivisia ja vähiten positiivisia. Vaikka syytä välttelyyn voi olla monia, niiden runsas käyttö todennäköisesti viittaa jonkin tasoiseen poliittiseen korrektiuteen.

Muita poliittiseen korrektiuteen viittaavia elementtejä, jotka vaikuttavat korostuneen suomalaisen koulun oppilaiden kirjoitelmissa, oli neutraalien ilmaisujen määrä monikulttuurisuutta kohtaan sekä suomalaisiin kohdistuva negatiivisuus. Suomalaisen koulun oppilaiden kirjoitelmissa oli varovaisemmin tuotu esiin vahvoja mielipiteitä tai emotionaalisesti latautuneita ilmaisuja kuin kansainvälisen koulun oppilaiden kirjoitelmissa. Tämän voi sanoa olevan poliittista korrektiutta, sillä neutraalien ilmaisujen avulla varmistetaan, ettei kukaan loukkaannu sanomisista. Kuten sanottu, vahvimmin negatiivisesti tässä aineistossa arvosteltiin suomalaisia. Tämän voi sanoa peilaavan poliittisesti korrekteja asenteita, sillä tällöin tavallaan pahoitellaan omaa olemassaoloa ja korotetaan muiden arvoa.

Yhteiskunnallisesti on syytä pohtia sitä, mitä lisäarvoa poliittinen korrektius tuo keskusteluissa. Jos pinnalle liimattu poliittinen korrektius vain peittää piileviä negatiivisia asenteita, eikö silloin keskustelusta puutu avoimuus ja totuudellisuus? Myös kielen ja poliittisesti korrektien asenteiden suhdetta toisiinsa tulisi pohtia. Jos jotakin sanaa, kuten esimerkiksi ”maahanmuuttaja”, toistuvasti vältellään, tuleeko siitä ennen pitkää epäkorrekti sana? Muokkaavatko asenteet siis kieltä, vai kieli asenteita? Pelko tuntemattomasta ei saisi vallata alaa, ja täten avoin, rehellinen keskustelu on tarpeen yhteiskunnassa. Jos turha poliittinen korrektius vie keskustelulta pohjan, sen käyttöä mediassa, politiikassa ja yhteiskunnassa tulisi harkita tarkoin.