Háskólinn á Akureyri
University of Akureyri

The Integration of Immigrants in Iceland

Subjective Indicators of Integration Based on Language, Media Use, and Creative Practice

Doctoral dissertation

Lara Wilhelmine Hoffmann

University of Akureyri
Social Sciences
2022

The Integration of Immigrants in Iceland

Subjective Indicators of Integration Based on Language, Media Use, and Creative Practice

Lara Wilhelmine Hoffmann

Doctoral dissertation

Sociology

Doctoral committee:
Dr. Markus Meckl, main supervisor

Dr. Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir, co-supervisor
Dr. Yvonne Höller, co- supervisor
Dr. Þóroddur Bjarnason, co- supervisor

Háskólinn á Akureyri
University of Akureyri

Háskólinn á Akureyri
Sólborg, Norðurslóð 2
600 Akureyri

ISBN 978-9935-505-04-0
Orcid number 0000-0001-5066-0902

Aðlögun Innflytjenda á Íslandi

Huglægir vísbendingar um aðlögun innflytjenda á Íslandi byggðar á tungumáli, fjölmiðlanotkun og skapandi iðkun

Lara Wilhelmine Hoffmann

Doktorsritgerð

Félagsfræði

Doktorsnefnd:
Dr. Markus Meckl, aðalleiðbeinandi

Dr. Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir, leiðbeinandi
Dr. Yvonne Höller, leiðbeinandi
Dr. Þóroddur Bjarnason, leiðbeinandi

Háskólinn á Akureyri
University of Akureyri

Háskólinn á Akureyri
Sólborg, Norðurslóð 2
600 Akureyri

ISBN 978-9935-505-04-0
Orcid númer 0000-0001-5066-0902

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to thank my supervisor Markus Meckl for the continuous support during the years, the trust in my work, the opportunities given to me, and always being there whenever I had any questions or doubts. Thank you for everything.

I want to thank the members of my doctoral committee Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir, Yvonne Höller, and Þóroddur Bjarnason. Thank you for your support. Your knowledge and research are inspiring, and I count you among my academic role models.

To my co-authors and mentors: Thank you! Pamela Innes, I learned so much from you and your insightfulness and feedback are truly inspiring. Elisabeth Holm, thank you for a beautiful co-writing process across West-Nordic Islands. Þorlákur Axel Jónsson thank you for all your help through the adventures of statistics. Anna Wojtyńska, thanks for our ongoing exchange of ideas and writing the article together with Dögg Sigmarsdóttir and Ewa Marcinek. Randi Stebbins, thank you for your support, writing the article together with Angela Rawlings and thoughtfully proofreading and editing of my introduction chapter. Stéphanie Barillé thank you for your diligent proofreading of our article and our collaborations and co-authorship of articles. My dear friend Anna Valdís Kro, thank you for proofreading of the Icelandic text. Charlotte Wolff thank you for your input and support of my research.

I thank the Centre for Doctoral Studies at the University of Akureyri for their support. I also want to thank my fellow PhD students here at the University of Akureyri, particularly Natalia, Gréta, Fayrouz, and Jóhann. Thank for understanding and sharing the ups-and-downs of the PhD process.

I have much to thank the various academic networks I had to honour to be involved in during the years of my PhD. The researchers I met during my stay at the department of Sociology at the University of Salzburg, particularly Kyoko Shinozaki, for the warm welcome in the department and the valuable feedback on my work and Dženeta Karabegović for teaching an extremely helpful course on methodology and migration studies.

I want to thank the Nordic Summer University for facilitating a space for deep reflections and exchanges of ideas, particularly the old study Circle 1 "Understanding migration" led by Bremen Donovan and Stéphanie Barillé and the new study Circle 5 "Racialization, Whiteness and Politics of Othering in Contemporary Europe" led by Anna Wojtyńska, Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė, and Linda Lapiņa. I further want to extend my thanks to everyone involved in this brilliant organization.

To the strong migrant networks in Iceland that are continuing to do great things. Particularly the writers and creative members of the publishing collective Ós Pressan: You are superstars, keep on doing great things!

I want to thank the students from different countries I had the pleasure to teach in Akureyri, Salzburg, and Reykjavík. Our exchanges about migration and the creative work produced in this thesis were inspiring and it was an honour to learn about these topics together with you.

A huge thank you to all my friends, family, all my loved ones for the continuous support over the years. Thank you for being there and for patiently answering people who were asking what my PhD is about.

Last but not least, this thesis could not have been written without the people that took part in the survey and agreed to be interviewed. Thank you so much for sharing your thoughts about migration in Iceland.

Abstract

This PhD project investigates aspects of immigrants' integration in Iceland based on language use, media use, and creative practice. Traditionally, studies present integration as a linear process focussing on objective measures. Less attention has been paid to the immigrants' subjective perceptions of integration, which provide insights into immigrants' personal evaluations of integration processes. Integration, in this thesis, is understood as a multifaceted process covering social, economic, and political factors and subjective perceptions (life satisfaction and immigrants' trust in the receiving society.)

This thesis aims to answer the research question of how immigrants in Iceland experience integration. Statistical analysis of quantitative data conducted amongst immigrants (N=2139) and Icelanders (N=3395) was combined with qualitative analysis of interviews (N=15). In addition, this thesis incorporates a cross analysis of the research conducted and studies conducted by the article co-authors in Iceland, a comparative approach combining research conducted in Iceland and in the Faroe Islands by a co-author of an article, and an analysis of an artistic event at the Reykjavík City Library.

Immigrants' embeddedness in the receiving society was most relevant for their life satisfaction in the receiving society. The immigrants' linguistic profile was less pertinent, challenging the common notion of language as being key to integration. Immigrants were generally motivated to learn Icelandic, but immigrants also recognized limitations to linguistic integration considering

prevailing language attitudes and a lack of quality courses that are accessible. Immigrants simultaneously participate in multiple online and offline communities. Those who are frequently in contact with their countries of origin through media and social media were less involved in their receiving communities offline but more involved online.

Findings show that integration is a highly contextual, individual experience conditioned by the immigrants' aspirations and capabilities and the framework provided by the receiving society. Immigrants can further experience feelings of belonging and integration in multiple communities simultaneously.

Ágrip

Í þessu doktorsverkefni eru rannsakaðar hliðar á aðlögun innflytjenda á Íslandi út frá tungumáli, fjölmiðlanotkun og skapandi iðkun. Hefð er fyrir því að rannsóknir sýni aðlögun sem línulegt ferli með áherslu á hlutlægar mælingar. Sjaldnar er athyglinni beint að huglægri skynjun innflytjenda á aðlögun, sem gefur innsýn í persónulegt mat og aðstæður þeirra. Í þessari ritgerð merkir samþætting margþætt ferli sem nær yfir félagslega, efnahagslega og pólitíska þætti og huglæga skynjun (lífsánægju og traust á viðtökusamfélaginu).

Þessi ritgerð miðar að því að svara rannsóknarspurningunni Hvernig upplifa innflytjendur á Íslandi aðlögun? Tölfræðileg greining á megindlegum gögnum meðal innflytjenda (N=2139) og Íslendinga (N=3395) er sameinuð eigindlegri greiningu á viðtölum (N=15). Auk þess felur ritgerðin í sér krossgreiningu á rannsóknum sem gerðar hafa verið fyrir þessa ritgerð og rannsóknum gerðum af meðhöfundum á Íslandi, samanburðaraðferð sem sameinar rannsóknir gerðar á Íslandi og í Færeyjum af meðhöfundi og greiningu á listrænum viðburði á Borgarbókasafni í Reykjavík.

Það að upplifa ekki mismunun skipti innflytjendurna mestu máli hvað varðaði ánægju þeirra með lífið í viðtökusamfélaginu og að þeir ílengdust þar. Málauðkenning innflytjendanna skipti minna máli sem er í mótstöðu við hina almennu hugmynd um tungumálið sem lykil að aðlögun. Innflytjendurnir voru almennt hvattir til að læra íslensku, en þau viðurkenndu einnig takmarkanir á aðlögun að tungumálinu með tilliti til ríkjandi viðhorfa til tungumála auk skorts á gæðum og aðgengi að námskeiðum. Innflytjendur taka þátt í mörgum samfélögum á netinu og utan nets samtímis. Þau sem eru oft í sambandi við upprunalönd sín í gegnum fjölmiðla og samfélagsmiðla tóku sjaldnar þátt í

samfélögum augliti til auglitis en oftar á netinu. Niðurstöður sýna að aðlögun er mjög háð samhengi og einstaklingsbundinni reynslu sem er bundin væntingum og getu innflytjandans og umgjörðinni sem móttökusamfélagið veitir. Innflytjendur geta frekar upplifað þá tilfinningu að tilheyra og aðlagast mörgum samfélögum samtímis.

Table of contents

ABSTRACT ..... **I**

ÁGRIP ..... **IV**

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **VI**

LIST OF TABLES ..... **IX**

OVERVIEW OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES ..... **XI**

DECLARATION OF CONTRIBUTION TO THE THESIS ..... **XIII**

1 INTRODUCTION **1**

2 STRUCTURAL OVERVIEW OVER PUBLICATIONS **11**

2.1 ARTICLE I 11
2.2 ARTICLE II 12
2.3 ARTICLE III 13
2.4 ARTICLE IV 14
2.5 ARTICLE V 15

3 SOCIOLOGY OF MIGRATION AND THEORIES OF MIGRANT INTEGRATION: THEORETICAL APPROACH **16**

3.1 IMMIGRANT, MIGRANT AND MIGRATION 16
3.2 PERSPECTIVES ON INTEGRATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES 21
Definition of integration 21
Assimilation theories 21
Transnationalism 23
Acculturation 25
Subjective perceptions of integration 27
3.3 LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION 31
Language courses 34
Language learning in smaller language communities 35
3.4 INTEGRATION AND TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS THROUGH MEDIA 37

4 A BRIEF HISTORY AND THE SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRATION IN ICELAND **40**

5 METHODOLOGY **46**

5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN 46
Qualitative study: Article I and Article III 46
Positionality of the researcher and ethical considerations 47
5.2 DELIMITATION OF THE THESIS FROM THE LARGER RESEARCH PROJET 49
5.3 LIMITATIONS 51

6 LINKS TO OTHER ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES 51

6.1 LINGUISTICS 51
6.1 THE ARTS 52

7 CONCLUSION 57

REFERENCES 65

APPENDIX 84

ARTICLE I ..... **ERROR! BOOKMARK NOT DEFINED.**
ARTICLE II 102
ARTICLE III 122
ARTICLE IV 140
ARTICLE V 141

List of Tables

Table 1: Overview of the data set used in each article.. 44

Overview of Original Articles

This doctoral thesis is based on the following original publications, which will be referred to in the text by their Roman numerals:

I. Hoffmann, L., Innes, P., Wojtyńska, A., & Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2021). Adult immigrants' perspectives on courses in Icelandic as a second language: Structure, content, and inclusion in the receiving society. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2021.1988855

II. Hoffmann, L., Jónsson, Þ. A., & Meckl, M. (2022). Migration and community in an age of Digital Connectivity: A Survey of media use and integration amongst migrants in Iceland. *Nordicom Review, 43*(1), 19–37. https://doi.org/10.2478/nor-2022-0002

III. Hoffmann, L., & Holm, E. (forthcoming). Learning Insular Nordic languages: Comparative perspectives on migrants' experiences learning Faroese and Icelandic. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research, X*(X), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.33134/njmr.474

IV. Hoffmann, L., Höller, Y., Meckl, M. (Under Review). Rethinking integration beyond language? Exploring determinants of immigrants' life satisfaction and trust in institutions in the receiving society. Under review in the journal Acta Sociologica.

V. Wojtyńska, A., Hoffmann, L., Sigmarsdóttir, D., & Marcinek, E. (2022). Intimate engagements with language: Creative practices for inclusive public spaces in Iceland. *Language and Intercultural*

Communication, 22(2), 125–140. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2022.2041654.

All articles are re-printed with the kind permission of the publishers.

Additionally, one peer-reviewed article, two book -chapters, and two reports have been published in the context of this thesis and inform the discussion inof this thesis.

Hoffmann, L. (2020). History and philosophy of migration: Conceptualizing migrant integration from assimilation to transnationalism. In E. Avdi & M. Meckl (Eds.), *REMix: The university as an advocate for responsible education about migration in Europe. A textbook for interdisciplinary migration* (pp. 15–24). University of Akureyri.

Hoffmann, L., Barillé, S., & Meckl, M. (2022). Equality for all? Migration and gender equality in Iceland. In N. Yeasmin, S. Uusiautti, T. Koivurova, & T. Heleniak (Eds.), *The future of the Arctic human population. Migration in the North* (pp. 45–56). Routledge.

Hoffmann, L., Barille, S., & Meckl, M. (2020). Gender-specific challenges in migration to Iceland. In M. Meckl & H. Gunnþórsdóttir (Eds.), *Samfélag Fjölbreytileikans: Samskipti heimamanna og innflytjenda á Íslandi* (pp. 91–100). University of Akureyri.

Hoffmann, L., Bjarnason, Þ., & Meckl, M. (2020). Regional differences in the inclusion of immigrants in Icelandic society. In M. Meckl & H. Gunnþórsdóttir (Eds.), *Samfélag Fjölbreytileikans: Samskipti heimamanna og innflytjenda á Íslandi* (pp. 80–90). University of Akureyri.

Hoffmann, L., Rawlings, A., & Stebbins, R. (2020). Multilingual writing in Iceland: The reception of Ós Pressan and its members

nationally and internationally. *Milli Mála, 12*, 191–220. https://doi.org/10.33112/millimala.12.7https://doi.org/10.33112/millimala.12.7

Declaration of contribution to the thesis

This doctoral thesis is written within the Rannís-project Inclusive Societies? The Integration of Immigrants in Iceland in which the doctoral student was employed. In this project, a survey amongst immigrants in Iceland and local Icelanders was conducted. This thesis draws on this quantitative data. While the study and contents of the survey were planned before the author started in the project, the author had the opportunity to give input on the final version of the questionnaire and was involved in distributing the survey amongst immigrants in Iceland on social media. The collection of data amongst Icelanders was done by RHA – University of Akureyri Research Centre. The data was analysed by the author, the supervisor, and co-authors.

The author implemented a quantitative and qualitative follow-up study on language learning. This thesis draws on the qualitative part of this study. An interview guide was developed by the author. A detailed description of the contribution of the author to the five articles included in this thesis is below.

Article I

The author initiated and developed the structure of the article and conducted a descriptive analysis of the survey data collected in the Inclusive Societies? project. The author collected and analysed the qualitative data from interviews. The co-authors contributed sections based on their own ethnographic studies. The author wrote and edited the article based on the feedback provided by the co-authors, one of whom is a member of the supervisory committee.

Article II

The author initiated this article and developed the outline and structure. Based on the literature review, the author identified variables from the Inclusive Societies? dataset suitable to answer the research question. The analysis of the quantitative survey data was done by the author and the second author, starting with a course in statistics (primarily in SPSS), offered by the second author at the University of Akureyri in Spring 2019. The author wrote and edited the article based on the feedback and suggestions of the co-authors, one of whom is the primary supervisor.

Article III

The author initiated this article and developed the outline and structure. The author analysed the quantitative data conducted in the Inclusive Societies? project and collected and analysed qualitative data on immigrants' experiences with language courses in Iceland. The second author drew on ethnographic data she collected in the Faroe Islands. Both authors contributed sections on their respective case-studies. The article was written collaboratively with co-authors writing equal parts of the article and jointly revising and commenting on each other's writing.

Article IV

The author developed the research question and conducted the literature review. Based on the literature, the author identified variables from the Inclusive Societies? data set relevant to answering the research questions. The data was analysed by the second author and the author of this thesis, by which further knowledge about conducting statistics with R was acquired. In this process, the author built on the knowledge gained during a course taught by the second author of this paper at the University of Akureyri in Summer 2021. The author wrote and edited the article based on the feedback and suggestions of the co-authors, one of whom is the primary supervisor and the other a member of the supervisory committee.

Article V

The first author initiated this article and developed the outline and structure. The author of this thesis and the first author analysed material from a cultural event with immigrants organized by the third and fourth authors.

1 Introduction

One of my first encounters with Icelandic was when I learned that the double-l in *bjalla* was pronounced "dl" in a book I read as a child which luckily included instructions for pronunciation. When I first came to Iceland almost ten years ago, I temporarily stayed at a farm, watched children, did housework, and walked dogs. While getting to know life at the farm and exploring the nature around it, I spent the evenings studying my first words in Icelandic and found comfort in connecting to friends and family abroad. The woman running the farm praised my attempts at Icelandic but insisted that she had no idea how to teach me. "It's just a very difficult language" was her usual way to end our conversations. I left and returned to the country several times, I continued to learn the language, finding ways to connect with native speakers in Iceland and in other places where I lived during that time. Through the language, I connected more and more to the country. However, the process of learning the language often required making impractical decisions, remaining silent instead of using the shared *lingua franca* of English and, paradoxically, experiencing moments of exclusion. The ambiguity of language for integration and belonging in receiving communities and my experience of a digital and non-digital co-presence of different places are some of the issues informing this thesis.

This PhD project investigates aspects of integration amongst immigrants in Iceland. Even though the number of international migrants has not

significantly increased on a global scale, immigrant identities and forms of mobility have become more complex since the beginning of the 20th century (Czaika & de Haas, 2014). Following Bauman (2000 p. 108) modern societies are characterized by liquidity and fluidity associated with an "existential uncertainty rooted in the new fragility or fluidity of social bonds". Migration today is characterised by hypermobility and increased digital connectivity (Diminescu, 2008; Diminescu, 2019), (digital) co-presence of different locations (Madianou & Miller, 2012), transnational immigrant communities (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992) and cultural complexity and superdiversity in receiving communities (Vertovec, 2007). The increased fragmentation and fluidity (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018) of migration networks and a culture of connectivity (Liu et al. 2017) shape immigrants' experiences of integration and belonging. These social changes call for a reconceptualization of the notion of integration to reflect contemporary migrations.

This thesis explores the experiences of adult immigrants in Iceland on integration into the receiving society. The research question of this thesis is: How do immigrants in Iceland experience integration? I understand integration as a multifaceted process covering social, economic, and political factors along with subjective perceptions about, for example, life and trust in the receiving society. The term "immigrant" is primarily used in this introduction, but the term "migrant" is occasionally used as well, particularly in the contexts of terms such as "transmigrants" (Glick-Schiller et al., 1995) or "connected migrants" (Diminescu, 2008; Diminescu, 2019), to reflect contexts where the emphasis is on people's mobility rather than their experiences in receiving societies. The word "immigrant" was used in Article I and Article III, but the word "migrant" was applied in Article II and in Article III. Both terms

are used in Article V. While both terms are often used interchangeably, the term “immigrant” focusses rather on peoples’ movement to a place and their involvement in that place, while “migrant” is more all-encompassing, focussing on people’s movements to different places more generally.

Integration in classical sociology is understood as an important part of assuring the social cohesion of a society (Durkheim, 1933). The term integration continues to be used frequently in research on migration (Esser, 2006; Phillimore, 2012; Rytter, 2019), but studies using the term have been criticised for reducing integration to a one-way process by solely focussing on the immigrants’ experiences and responsibilities (Klarenbeek, 2019; Schinkel, 2018), leading some scholars to advocate for abolishing the term altogether (Rytter, 2019; Wieviorka, 2014). The linear, assimilationist perspective of integration focusses on factors, such as language (Esser, 2006),social (Tselios et al., 2015; Özkan et al.2021), and economic factors (Ballarino & Panichella, 2018). This perspective on integration reduceses it to the immigrants’ (gradual) adaptation to an assumed standard majority culture. While many studies on integration focus on objective indicators of integration, subjective perceptions of integration provide valuable insights into immigrants’ integration, shifting the focus of the analysis towards personal experiences and criteria that the immigrants considered to be important (Amit & Bar-Lev, 20155; Arcand et al., 2020; Paparusso, 2019). Examples of subjective factors that have been used as indicators of integration are satisfaction with life (Amit & Bar-Lev, 20155) and trust in institutions in the receiving society (Arcand et al., 2020).

Furthermore, this thesis applies a relational perspective on integration, considering the interactions between immigrants' capabilities and aspirations and the role of the receiving society (Klarenbeek, 2019). The relational perspective on integration is suitable for understanding integration experiences amongst immigrants as it sees integration as the interaction between the receiving society and the immigrant population and does not limit its discussion to assimilative, linear processes of adaptation that are solely the responsibilities of immigrants. This perspective further enables me to consider immigrants' integration in different contexts and niches (Blommaert, 2013) of the receiving society instead of their involvement in a presumed homogenous standard. If both immigrants' subjective perceptions and the conditions of the receiving society are considered, I concur with Klarenbeek's (2019 p. 905) positive view on integration as a desirable goal to achieve "a society without any social boundaries" between different members.

To analyse integration patterns amongst immigrants in Iceland, this thesis applies a theoretical framework drawing on the social sciences, sociolinguistics, and art and media studies and employs quantitative and qualitative research methods. Immigrants' subjective accounts of integration are discussed by investigating different areas of immigrants' lives, such as the variables most relevant for immigrants' life satisfaction and trust in the receiving society; the role of language in immigrants' experiences in the receiving society, which is frequently discussed as a key requirement for integration (Esser, 2006; Bian, 2017); framework conditions provided by the receiving society in the form of provision of language courses; immigrants' digital bonds through their use of media and social media and integration in online and offline communities; immigrants' integration in cultural grassroots

activities; and provision of hospitable spaces (Harvey, 2018) through creative practice.

This thesis aims to provide an overview of integration experiences, covering several interrelated aspects. The intent my analysis is however not to homogenize the experiences of all immigrants in Iceland but to recognize the diverse political, economic, social, sociolinguistic, and cultural conditions that shape their subjective experiences of integration and identify common themes as well as discrepancies. To analyse immigrants' experiences of integration in Icelandic society, this thesis answers four sub-questions.

Firstly, immigrants' subjective experiences are central to their integration experiences. I analyse moderators of life satisfaction and trust in institutions, asking: 1. What factors are most relevant for immigrants' satisfaction with life in the receiving community and trust in the institutions of the receiving community?

Secondly, learning the local language is often depicted as key to immigrants' integration in receiving societies (Esser, 2006; Krumm, 2013) but immigrants' language learning experiences must be discussed in the context of larger structural conditions. Furthermore, in relation to the first question concerned with life satisfaction and trust in the institutions of the receiving community, looking at the role of language for immigrants' well-being in comparison to other aspects such as economic and social factors is essential for understanding integration experiences. This brings me to my second question: 2. What is the role of the language of the receiving country for integration according to immigrants' own accounts?

Thirdly, in his pivotal text on superdiversity, anthropologist Stephen Vertovec speaks of integration as "meaningful interchanges", arguing that studies of integration add insights on "how they are formed, maintained or broken, and how the state or other agencies might promote them" (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1045). Meaningful interchanges can have a positive effect on life satisfaction and trust of immigrants, thus relating to the first question of this study. Language courses are contact zones, providing a potential space for such meaningful interchanges. In contrast to language schools, grassroots initiatives and cultural events organized by immigrants themselves enable them to engage with integration and language on their own terms rather than in context of the curricula constituting formal language education. Artistic means for example provide valuable insights on immigrants' subjective experiences of integration as well as on their language learning experiences and emotions surrounding the language. The third sub-question included in this thesis is, therefore:

3. What is the contribution of initiatives such as formal language courses and cultural events for immigrants' integration in the receiving society?

Fourthly, in today's world migration and integration experiences must be situated in a nexus of digital and non-digital relations and communities. (Diminescu, 2008, 2020). Online communities can be spaces of comfort and belonging, thus influencing immigrants' well-being and therefore need to be considered as a aspect of immigrants' subjective experiences today. Regarding immigrants' proficiency in the receiving country language as well as their

involvement in local activities and associations, analyses of integration experiences in today's world need to consider the intersection between involvement in immigrants' communities of residence and their contacts to various online and offline communities. I therefore ask:

4. How do immigrants understand the role of media and social media in their integration experiences, and how are immigrants' integration processes in offline and online communities?

Thus, I apply an interdisciplinary lens, looking at the areas of integration that are language, media, and the arts. These three interconnected aspects, taken together, provide an overview of integration experiences of immigrants in Iceland.

As immigration to Iceland has increased significantly in recent years, this PhD project contributes to further understanding current societal changes in Iceland, especially finding answers to questions regarding the Icelandic language and education in Icelandic as a second language (ISL). Most theories of immigrants' integration in receiving societies have been developed in the context of migration to urban areas and integration in larger language communities. This research thus adds to the growing body of literature on international migration to rural areas in Northern Europe and the Arctic (Hedberg & Haandrikman, 2014; Rye & Scott, 2018; Schmauch & Nygren, 2020; Sörensson, 2015; Søholt et al., 2018; Villa, 2019; Uusiautti & Yeasmin, 2019; Yeasmin et al.2021; Yeasmin et al.2022).

This thesis consists of seven chapters and five articles that form the core of it. In addition to those five articles, one additional article, two book chapters and two reports have been published in the context of this thesis. In Chapter

2, I provide a structural overview of the five publications and their main themes, discussing how they relate to the thesis, objectives, and research questions. In Chapter 3, I provide an overview of the theoretical framework and its contribution, discussing theories of migration and the concept of integration in sociology. The subchapters cover definitions of migrant and migration, different theoretical approaches to integration and the relationship between integration, and transnational connections through social media. In Chapter 4, I provide a brief overview over the context of migration to Iceland. Chapter 5 discusses the methods used in this thesis. Chapter 6 discusses how this thesis is linked to other academic fields, providing an overview of its links to linguistics and the arts. In Chapter 7, I discuss the findings of the articles included in this thesis in the context of general discussions on immigrant integration.

To provide a broad perspective on integration as a multifaceted process, I apply a framework where each of the articles included in this study highlight a different aspect of integration. This framework allows me to discuss integration on various levels. These aspects were selected for multiple reasons and are also interrelated.

Firstly, the framework provides insights on the micro level in terms of subjective individual experiences. Secondly, I discuss the meso level, in everyday interactions and experiences of exclusion and inclusion. Thirdly, I discuss the macro level or integration context (Crul & Schneider, 2010) in terms of considering the social and political contexts for participation and integration.

Each article included in this thesis addresses different aspects of immigrants' experiences of integration. The first article focusses on immigrants' perspectives on Icelandic language courses and the role of Icelandic language education in immigrants' integration in receiving communities. The second article presents a survey of immigrants' connections to their countries of origin through social and other media. The third article discusses the immigrants' integration in smaller language communities, providing a comparative perspective of immigrants in Iceland and the Faroe Island. The fourth article provides a quantitative analysis of factors associated with immigrant satisfaction with life in Iceland and trust in institutions in Iceland, reflecting especially on the impact of the different aspects of the immigrants' linguistic profiles on these subjective experiences. The fifth article presents an analysis of an artistic event with immigrants organized at the Reykjavík City Library. Considering subjective perspectives of foreign-born artists and their artistic reflections on their subjective experiences of integration and the conflicted emotions associated with learning the language, this article reflects on the potential of spaces such as public libraries to provide a sense of shared space and community and a counterspace to the hegemonic position of the Icelandic language.

Results show that immigrants' experiences of integration are highly contextual and influenced by the conditions provided by the receiving community, i.e., language course provision and everyday interactions and experiences, along with the immigrants' subjective individual experiences and emotions. Findings indicate that immigrants' everyday experiences and practices on the ground play more significant roles in their experiences of

being integrated in the receiving community than policies and services provided by the community.

This thesis shows that immigrants can be integrated in different niches and communities online and offline and can practice a digital biculturalism that takes places between their country of residence and country of origin, showing that immigrants use different means to become involved in the receiving society. Another major contribution of this research is that it challenges the notion of language as the key to integration, which is prevalent in many studies. The research indicates that, while the language is a central topic in immigrants' everyday experiences, immigrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion are more relevant for their subjective perception of life satisfaction and trust in the receiving society than is the language. The prevailing language attitudes in the receiving society influence immigrants' experiences using the local language and language practices on the ground. For example, protectionist language attitudes can influence immigrants' experiences learning the local language and can pose constraints on the language learning process for learners who are initially motivated to learn the local language.

2. Structural overview over publications

2.1 Article I

Hoffmann, L., Innes, P., Wojtyńska, A., & Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2021). Adult immigrants' perspectives on courses in Icelandic as a second language: Structure, content, and inclusion in the receiving society. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2021.1988855

This article reflected on the impact of formal language education for immigrants' integration and identity in receiving societies. Language courses can contribute to immigrants' integration by giving access to the local society (Amireault, 2019) but are also spaces where societal norms and ideologies are presented (Heinemann, 2018). This article investigates adult immigrants' perspectives on education in Icelandic as a second language (ISL) via a cross-analysis of a survey and ethnographic studies.

This study showed that immigrants in Iceland are generally motivated to learn the language, but many report dissatisfaction with language courses. Practical and structural challenges emerged with teachers being evaluated positively but factors such as curricular utility, mixed-ability classrooms, and the lack of practical utility of the courses for further education posed challenges. Another challenge was a lack of availability of courses in rural areas. This indicates that ISL education does not fulfil the dual purpose declared in the 2007 Icelandic immigration policy of strengthening the position of Icelandic and speeding up immigrants' integration. We make suggestions for further development of ISL education based on the learners' perspectives.

2.2 Article II

Hoffmann, L., Jónsson, Þ. A., & Meckl, M. (2022). Migration and community in an age of Digital Connectivity: A Survey of media use and integration amongst migrants in Iceland. *Nordicom Review, 43*(1), 19–37. https://doi.org/10.2478/nor-2022-0002

We discussed the relationship between immigrants' transnational digital bonds and their integration in receiving communities. Immigrants today can maintain digital bonds with multiple communities through digital technologies, leading Diminescu (2008; 2019) to introduce the concept of connected migrants. This article examined the implications of these digital bonds to countries of origin through social media and other media such as news and current affairs programmes for their integration in receiving communities. The study further differentiated between immigrants' integration in offline and digital communities in the receiving society. We drew on a survey conducted amongst migrants in Iceland (N=2,139) and conducted three regression analyses to identify determinants of immigrants' use of media and their connectedness to communities in their home countries via social media.

Contrary to other studies, we do not find evidence of reactive transnationalism, connections to places of origin due to dissatisfaction with life in the receiving society. Distinct patterns of online and offline integration emerged, with those in frequent contact with their countries of origin being less integrated locally but more integrated in the online communities of the receiving society and using receiving-country media more frequently, enacting a strategy of digital biculturalism.

2.3 Article III

Hoffmann, L., & Holm, E. (forthcoming). Learning insular Nordic languages: Comparative perspectives on migrants' experiences learning Faroese and Icelandic. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research, X*(X), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.33134/njmr.474

This article reflected on how features of places and communities impact migrants' integration in receiving communities. Most studies on migrants' language learning experiences have been conducted in dominant language communities (Norton, 2013), but major and minoritized language communities provide distinctly different environments for new speakers (Woolard, 2016). We discuss migrants' experiences learning Icelandic and Faroese, two small North Germanic languages that are closely related and are spoken in relatively homogenous communities (Jóhannesson et al.2013). This study draws on an online survey and ethnographic interviews conducted in Iceland and qualitative research conducted in the Faroe Islands.

This study contributes to investigating integration patterns amongst immigrants in Iceland, showing that investment in language learning is a highly situated type of activity contingent on personal circumstances and structural conditions. Language ideologies such as purism and authenticity can pose constraints on the language-learning process among learners who are initially motivated to learn the language. Many migrants follow a utilitarian approach to learning and the perceived usefulness of languages influences participants' linguistic choices. Structural challenges such as the lack of opportunities for language learning, were mentioned by learners in both localities investigated in this study.

2.4 Article IV

Hoffmann, L., Höller, Y., Meckl, M. (Under Review). Rethinking integration beyond language? Exploring determinants of immigrants' life satisfaction and trust in institutions in the receiving society.

This study reflected on the role of immigrants' linguistic profiles for their life satisfaction and trust in the institutions of the receiving society in comparison to other factors. We drew on data from a quantitative survey conducted amongst immigrants in Iceland (N=2,139) and local Icelanders (N=3,395) and conducted two regression analyses. We considered economic factors, demographic factors, social factors, receiving country media use, language proficiency in Icelandic or English, and the use of Icelandic. Immigrants' positive or negative experiences in the receiving society were the most relevant predictors of life satisfaction and trust. Icelandic and English skills, demographic characteristics, and the immigrants' economic positions were less pertinent. We reflected on different ways to determine people's levels of integration by using two subjective factors, life satisfaction and trust, as measurements instead of relying on the economic and social factors often applied to measure integration. We explored whether language is a significant factor for life satisfaction and trust in institutions when economic and social factors are considered. We distinguished between different aspects of immigrants' linguistic profiles on their trust and life satisfaction. Our findings challenge the notion that proficiency in the local language is the most significant factor for immigrants' experiences of integration in receiving societies. Instead, feeling socially included and experiencing little discrimination were more relevant factors.

2.5 Article V

Wojtyńska, A., Hoffmann, L., Sigmarsdóttir, D. & Marcinek, E. (2022). Intimate engagements with language: creative practices for inclusive public spaces in Iceland. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 22*(2), 125–140. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2022.2041654

This article investigated integration patterns amongst immigrants in Iceland in two ways. First, the article provided insight into immigrants' emotions towards learning Icelandic by drawing on the accounts of immigrants in Iceland as expressed by immigrant artists. Second, the article provided insight into the role of cultural events and institutions for the integration of immigrants in Iceland. While the event discussed in this article was organized at the Reykjavík public library, the organizers themselves were members of immigrant grassroots organizations. The article adds to research by looking at grassroots organisations and communities that are run by immigrants themselves. The article discussed inclusive public spaces as places of "enacting hospitality" and counter spaces that might challenge and provide a counterweight to the hegemonic position of Icelandic in the context of contemporary public discourse around immigrants in Iceland.

3. Sociology of migration and theories of immigrant integration: Theoretical approach

This chapter provides an overview of relevant concepts and their development in the social sciences. Terms such as “immigrant” or “integration” are commonly used in public discourse and academic contexts, but their meanings have developed in specific contexts and based on specific scholarly traditions. Furthermore, terms such as “immigration” or “integration” carry specific connotations. It is, therefore, essential, for scholars, to reflect on the development of the terms and their connotations. Firstly, I discuss the concepts of “migrant” and “migration” and secondly the term “integration”. The section on integration provides an overview of the term, common definitions, and criticism in general and then considers theories which provide specific frameworks for understanding integration: assimilation, transnationalism, and acculturation, and subjective perspectives on integration which have been foregrounded by scholars more recently. As language is frequently discussed as a key to integration, I specifically focus on linguistic integration in Section 3. After discussing linguistic integration in general, I zoom in on the specific topic of language courses and language learning in smaller language communities. Lastly, to extend the conversation beyond specific locations and towards immigrants’ integration in and bonds to multiple communities, I discuss integration and transnational connections through media.

3.1 Immigrant, migrant and migration

In his 1908 essay “Der Fremde” (The Stranger), Simmel differentiates between the wanderer who comes today and leaves tomorrow and the stranger who comes today and stays tomorrow. The stranger is often not perceived as an individual but primarily in his identity as the stranger (Simmel, 1908). This reveals the challenge of developing the categories of immigrant and migrant and whether these categories are helpful frameworks of analysis of peoples’ experiences without falling into the trap of groupism, and analysing immigrants “as if they were internally homogeneous, externally bounded groups, even unitary collective actors with common purposes” (Brubaker, 2002 p. 164). Following Brubaker, I understand “immigrant” and ‘‘migrant” as categories that have been developed in specific historical, political and social contexts. Immigrants are not a group in

Brubakers's sense which would be characterized by "a mutually interacting, mutually recognizing, mutually oriented, effectively communicating, bounded collectivity with a sense of solidarity, corporate identity and capacity for concerted action" (Brubaker, 2002 p. 169).

Definitions and categorizations of immigrants are ambiguous because they "vary among different data sources, and between datasets and law" and "the use of the term 'migrant' in public debate is extremely loose and often conflates issues of immigration, race/ethnicity, and asylum" (Anderson & Blinder, 2019 p. 2). Immigrants can be defined by country of birth, citizenship, or by their mobility and length of stay in a new place (Anderson & Blinder, 2019). Migrant and immigrant are categories of social analysis as well as vernacular categories developed in everyday public debates, and the words "'immigrant' and 'migrant' (as well as 'foreigner') are commonly used interchangeably in public debate" (Anderson & Blinder, 2019 p. 9). Furthermore, the term "migrant" is, in some studies and everyday language, also used for people who move within a country (Anderson & Blinder, 2019: 3). The term "immigrant" is not neutral descriptive term but instead highly contextual. "The term immigrant is usually applied to people migrating from poorer countries to the more affluent", meaning that "in the European context, 'the immigrant' is frequently visualised as 'non-white', non-Western and low-skilled" while affluent migrants are rather described as "expatriates, mobile professionals or simply as Europeans and North Americans" (Guðjónsdóttir & Loftsdóttir, 2016 p. 2; see also Loftsdóttir, 2016).

The nation-state perspective on migration, defining a migrant as someone moving from country A to country B has dominated migration theories since the 1920s (Scheel & Tazzioli, 2022). Before that time, "in the first systematic analysis of migration" *The Laws of Migration* E.G. Ravenstein "did not differentiate analytically between internal and international migration" (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2003 p. 587). Scheel and Tazzioli (2022 p. 5) write that the modern understanding of the nation state "became hegemonic after the First World War" and that "[p]rocesses of nation-building fostered a new conception of 'the people' along ethnic and/or racial lines which began to replace a 'civic' notion of peoplehood". State-centred understandings of migration for defining migrants have, according to Scheel and Tazzioli (2022), three significant epistemological traps. First, it reduces migrants to "ready-available subjects of research", a category that is seen as given and defined by factors such as citizenship status and based on a binary distinction between foreigner/migrant and native citizens. Secondly, it presents the "national order of things" as natural. Thirdly, it frames "migration as a security issue" (Scheel & Tazzioli, 2022: 6).

Challenging this methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Schiller, 2003) in defining migration, scholars have suggested alternative definitions accounting for immigrants' bonds to different communities. These attempts at redefining migration have been pioneered in the work of Glick-Schiller and colleagues (1995) whose definition of migrants emphasize their transnational bonds that cross national borders. Glick-Schiller et al. (1995) have defined transmigrants as "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state" (p. 48). Similar to ideas of transnationalism, Diminescu (2008) has developed the concept of the "connected migrant" as a new type of migrant, writing that "mobility and connectivity provide a set of variables for defining the 21st-century migrant. Together they act as a vector that ensures and guides the lines of continuity in migrants' lives and in the relationships they have with their environments at home, in the host country or in between" (p. 568).

The concepts of "transmigrants" or "connected migrants" challenge methodological nationalism and its consequences, e.g., the idea of immigrants as the other entering a society, by shifting the view from the ruptures in migration processes towards the continuities and bonds maintained by migrants (Diminescu, 2008). Emphasizing immigrants' inclusion in different (transnational or digital) communities can potentially make the struggles and exclusion faced by immigrants seem less significant than they are. There are definitions of migration that take a different route to challenging methodological nationalism by incorporating the struggles immigrants experience into the definition of migration. Scheel and Tazzioli (2022 p. 3), following the autonomy of migration literature, define a migrant through their shared struggles as "a person who, in order to move to or stay in a desired place, has to struggle against bordering practices and processes of boundary-making that are implicated by the national order of things".

A number of categories of migrants have been developed, such as, forced and voluntary migration or labour and lifestyle migration. These are limited in that they intersect, and all migration is usually based on a "mix of motivations and patterns of movements" (Bakewell, 2021 p. 134). In the case of forced and voluntary migrants, for example, it is "important to look both at the conditions that may have forced the voluntary migrant to move, and the choices made by the forced migrant" (Bakewell, 2021 p. 134). Furthermore, migrants' self-understanding of their motivations for migration might differ from those categories. An example is Persson's (2019) analysis of Dutch and German immigrants in Sweden who understand their migration to rural areas as a way to escape and seek refuge from urbanization, thus challenging the boundaries between forced and lifestyle migration.

Even though the categories “migrant” or “immigrant”, as well as their subcategories, such as, labour migrants, lifestyle migrants, voluntary and forced migrants, etc., are often employed in scholarship without critically reflecting on their origins, overlaps and the heterogeneity within these groups, there are theoretical frameworks aimed at highlighting the heterogeneity within categories. Vertovec (2007) argues that it is necessary to differentiate between integration into different sections of a receiving society and accounts for different axes of differentiation, not just in terms of ethnicity but also considering “additional variables include differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents” (p. 1025). Vertovec (2007) writes that “[t]he interplay of these factors is what is meant here, in summary fashion, by the notion of ‘super-diversity’” (p. 1025). Vertovec’s (2007) theory of superdiversity provides a framework for going beyond ethnicity-focussed approaches to migration, which are often “inappropriate for dealing with individual immigrants’ needs or understanding their dynamics of inclusion or exclusion” (p. 1039).

Theories aiming to understand migrants’ motivations can be broadly grouped under two categories (de Haas, 2021 p. 4): functionalist and historical-structural. Functional theories aim to understand migration as an optimization strategy. Examples are push-pull factors, neo-classical migration theory, and human-capital theory. Historical-structural theories of migration discuss “how powerful elites oppress and exploit poor and vulnerable people” and “how capital seeks to recruit and exploit labour” (de Haas, 2021 p. 4). A third category is the symbolic interactionist perspective, e.g., theories focussed on migrants’ everyday experiences, perceptions and identity, such as transnationalism and superdiversity (de Haas, 2021). In a recently published theory of migration, de Haas (2021) claims that both functionalist and historical-structural theories are limited. “They tend to depict migrants as pawns – pushed and pulled around by global macro forces – or as victims of capitalism who have no choice but to migrate in order to survive” (de Haas, 2021 p. 8). De Haas (2021) redefines migration as “a function of people’s capabilities and aspirations to migrate within given sets of perceived geographical opportunity structures” (p. 2).

This thesis combines the factors discussed above to define immigrants as a category of analysis. I draw on the nation-state theory of migration as I apply the definition of immigrant that is provided by Statistics Iceland to be able to contextualise the findings and differentiate between immigrants and natives in the data. My analysis of the data is informed by the concepts of “transmigrant” and “connected migrant” as I discuss immigrants’ experiences of integration in different communities and their connections to countries of origin in the digital space.

3.2 Perspectives on integration theories in the social sciences

Definition of integration

There is no common understanding and agreed scholarly definition of the term integration (Alencar & Deuze, 2017). The term has been described as a "fuzzy concept" (Grillo, 2011 p. 266), as it has a different meaning in different contexts. In the classic tradition of Durkheimian sociology, there are two key meanings of integration. Firstly, integration can be understood as the overall integration of society to assure its unity and social cohesion. Secondly, it applies to the integration of individuals into society (Durkheim, 1933). Earlier sociological work on integration was concerned with marginalised groups such as "children, women, workers and the colonised", but the term is primarily used today in the context of the integration of immigrants (Wieviorka, 2014 p. 637). Traditional factors that are used to measure integration are social factors (Campomori & Caponio, 2013), political involvement (Penninx, 2005) and economic participation (Brzozowski, 2019).

Esser (2006 p. 8) distinguishes between three types of integration: "the cultural dimension of the acquisition of knowledge and skills, the structural dimension of placement in positions, for example in the educational system or on the labour market, the social dimension of the initiation of contact and social relations and the emotional dimension of identification". Integration is, therefore, a multidimensional process consisting of economic, political, social, and subjective factors. In this section I discuss the perspectives of integration theories by particularly focussing on assimilation theories, transnationalism, and acculturation.

Assimilation theories

The idea of assimilation, that immigrants gradually become, and should become, similar to the receiving society over time, has significantly shaped scholarly and public understanding of integration processes (Alba & Nee, 1997). The classic 'straight line' theory of assimilation provides a generational perspective on immigrant integration and was developed by the Chicago School of Sociology in the mid-20th Century (Alba & Nee, 1997). Assimilation theories have developed a notion of integration as immigrants' journey towards adaptation their countries of residence while gradually leaving the culture of their countries of origin behind. This view presents integration as a linear process inevitably leading to immigrants becoming similar to the culture of the receiving community.

The "touchstone for all subsequent studies of assimilation" (Alba & Nee, 1997 p. 837), was Gordon's model of seven stages of assimilation (Gordon, 1964): cultural or behaviour assimilation, also called acculturation, structural assimilation; marital assimilation; identificational assimilation; attitudes receptional assimilation, or the absence of prejudice; and behaviour receptional assimilation, or the absence of discrimination. The final stage is civic assimilation, or the absence of value and power conflict. This model presents a linear view on integration where "the minority group adopted the core culture, which remained in Gordon's view basically unchanged by this absorption" (Alba & Nee, 1997 p. 830). The focus of assimilation theories is, therefore, on how immigrants undergo processes of integration and change, while leaving behind the question of whether members of the receiving society undergo processes of changes, adaptation and integration.

Classic assimilation theories discuss integration as a linear process of adapting to the receiving society but do not necessarily differentiate between the different experiences of migrants. Segmented assimilation theories focus "on the way in which different groups may follow different paths on different dimensions, depending on the extent of discrimination and exclusion they are subject to, the economic opportunities open to them, and the strength of the ethnic community and its social and economic capital" (Heath & Schneider, 2021 pp. 3-4). Segmented assimilation theories take into consideration the different conditions provided by societies and immigrants' opportunity structures. The process of assimilation is, according to segmented assimilation theories, not a linear process but can result in different outcomes and better or worse positions in the labour market "depending on the characteristics that immigrants and their children bring along and the social context that receives them" (Portes & Zhou, 1993 p. 75). Factors influencing assimilation outcomes are, for example, "parental socioeconomic backgrounds, resources of the coethnic community … and experiences of discrimination" (Portes & Zhou, 1993 p. 96). Portes and Rumbaut (2005) suggest three possible assimilation outcomes in order to account for differences amongst immigrants and different conditions of receiving societies: upward assimilation, downward assimilation, and upward mobility combined with persistent biculturalism. Even though segmented assimilation theories provide a framework for accounting for differences in integration outcomes, much as classic assimilation theories, they focus on immigrants' integration in receiving societies, not considering, for example, immigrants' ties to different communities outside of the receiving society. Consequentially, assimilation theories present immigrant as someone "whose pre-migration culture is useless and even harmful in the new setting" (Castles, 2003 p. 23).

While assimilation theories have been subjected to heavy criticism since the 1960s, mostly in the US and in the contexts of the Civil Rights Movement and minority rights, for their "normative or

ideological applications" (Alba & Nee, 1997 p. 827), there have been attempts to adapt assimilation theories to make them suitable for studying new migration movements. Alba and Nee (1997 p. 827) argue that "as a state-imposed normative program aimed at eradicating minority cultures, assimilation has been justifiably repudiated. But as a social process that occurs spontaneously and often unintendedly in the course of interaction between majority and minority groups, assimilation remains a key concept for the study of intergroup relations". Alba, Jimenéz, and Marrow (2014) describe the process as follows: "the social and cultural distance to the mainstream decreases, and life chances come to closely approximate those held by their peers in the dominant group, who are similar in socio-economic origin, birth cohort, and so forth" (p. 449).

The influence of past assimilation theories prevails today as many modern theories and methods used to study immigrants are shaped by assimilationist ideas, resulting in "looking comparatively at processes of assimilation among particular, ethnically-defined groups measured in terms of changing socio-economic status, spatial concentration/segregation, linguistic change and intermarriage" (Vertovec, 2007 p. 1044). Despite these efforts to argue for the applicability of assimilation theories today, the concept of assimilation remains contested and alternative approaches to integration have been developed that go beyond the focus on the immigrants' gradual process of adjustment to the receiving society and instead highlight immigrants' bonds to different places, such as the theory of transnationalism.

Transnationalism

The theoretical framework of transnationalism challenges the focus on integration and assimilation in migration research. In the 1990s, Glick-Schiller and colleagues (1992) developed the theory of transnationalism as a reaction to prevailing assimilation theories, arguing that the paradigm of assimilation and the focus on immigrant integration into the receiving society in migration research was no longer sufficient (Glick-Schiller, 2018; Glick-Schiller et al., 1992; Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2003). Transnationalism refers to "processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick-Schiller et al.,1992 p. 1). These processes, or activities, can be categorized in economic transnational activities, political transnational activities, and socio-cultural transnational activities (Portes et al. 1999). Portes et al. (1999) have further distinguished between transnationalism from above, initiated by institutional actors, and transnational activities from below, based on grass-roots initiatives. The paradigm of

transnationalism "argues that immigrants redefine but do not break their ties to their country of origin" (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002 p. 766).

Transnationalism challenges conventional expectations of assimilation as it shifts ideas of what successful integration means, indicating that "success does not so much depend on abandoning [the immigrants'] culture and language to embrace those of another society as on preserving their original cultural endowment, while adapting instrumentally to a second" (Portes et al., 1999 p. 227). Transnationalism shifts the focus of analysing migration away from immigrant integration and considers additional aspects of immigrants' lives, e.g., their involvement in different communities through transnational bonds. Recognizing the existence of these transnational bonds leads to questions of how these connections are related to immigrants' involvement in receiving communities. Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002 p. 770) argue that "the transnational interests of the immigrants often assist the process of incorporation".

Glick-Schiller (2018) advocated for incorporating the aspect of temporality in theories of transnationalism, arguing for "a multiscalar conjunctural approach to migration that directly theorises the temporal dimension of mobility regimes and makes it possible to examine their fundamental alterations over time and in space" (p. 201). Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) identify three possible explanations for transnational activities: linear, resource-based, and reactive. Linear transnationalism explains transnationalism as a continuation of ties from the country of origin. Resource-based transnationalism sees transnationalism as based on financial resources, implying that immigrants with more economic resources engage in transnational practices more frequently.Reactive transnationalism sees transnational behaviour as a reaction to negative experiences in the receiving society, such as "frustration with occupational careers or the social status attained in the country of reception" (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002 p. 772). While linear transnationalism is similar to assimilation theories in that immigrants' transnational activities decrease with increased involvement in the receiving society, in resource-based transnational, involvement in the receiving society and transnational connections positively reinforce each other. In the case of negative transnationalism, transnational activities are a reaction to negative experiences, e.g., discrimination, in the receiving society.

Kivisto (2003) suggests a perspective on assimilation and transnationalism that understands the two concepts as interconnected rather than mutually exclusive, arguing that, from the perspective of policy making, the goal should be for immigrants to be supported in becoming integrated in the receiving society. Social policies supporting ethnic diversity can, in this context, be

seen as assimilation strategies as they have the goal of supporting immigrants' integration into receiving societies. The consequence of this perspective on assimilation and transnationalism are policies aimed to support the incorporation of immigrants into the receiving society while ascribing value to ethnic diversity (Kivisto, 2003: 22). This two-way nature of the integration process and the positive effect of immigrants' involvement in both receiving and sending societies is especially emphasized in Berry's (1997) acculturation theory, which understands integration as immigrants being adapted to both their countries of origin and countries of residence and as a "strategy that provides minority-group members with the best [psychological and sociocultural] adaptation" (Bierwiaczonek & Kunst, 2021: 1476).

Acculturation

Berry's (1997) framework of the four acculturation strategies is the most influential theory of acculturation. Acculturation theories were developed in the field of social psychology to investigate the processes of peoples' adaptation and how they "relate to different cultural spheres such as their ethnic heritage culture and the mainstream culture of the society they live in" (Biewiaczonek & Kunst, 2021). While classic assimilation theories primarily focus on immigrants' gradual processes of becoming similar to the receiving society and leaving their culture of origin behind and while transnationalism provides an alternative to the focus on integration or assimilation in migration research, focusing instead on migration networks and peoples' transnational bonds, acculturation theories provide a third perspective on integration. While Berry's (1997) understanding of integration "builds on the idea of integration as a process, arguing that over time both migrant groups and host societies change and new identities emerge" (Phillimore, 2012 p. 2) integration is in the acculturation theory is only one potential outcome and understood as maintaining the culture of one's country of origin and adopting the culture of one's place of residence.

Berry (1997) introduced the following strategies of immigrants' involvement in the receiving society: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. Berry (1997) depicts integration as an immigrant's involvement in both the receiving and sending societies, using biculturalism as another word for integration. Berry (1997) considers the acculturation strategy of integration as the most successful way to adapt to the receiving society and requires efforts from both immigrants and the receiving society. The strategy of assimilation is associated with immigrants' rejecting the culture of their place of origin and adapting the culture of their place of residence. The strategy of separation means that immigrants reject the culture of the receiving society and maintain the culture of their

country of origin. Marginalisation means that immigrants reject their culture of origin and of residence (Berry, 1997). These strategies can be a choice or a result of the expectations and experiences of "structural inequalities or racial hatred" (Phillimore, 2012 p. 2).

The framework provided by Berry (1997) continues to be frequently applied in studies of integration, but limitations in his theory have been acknowledged. Examples for the limitations of this theory include that it provides a simplified view on integration as it only assumes "two possible bases for inclusion/ exclusion", the "ethnic group versus the host society" (Esser, 2006 p. 7). Focussing on the countries of origin and residence means that the potential effects and roles of immigrants' connections to different communities are not considered. Furthermore, Berry's (1997) acculturation framework has been criticized for differentiating too little between different individual perceptions of integration, implying that there is "a unidirectional, monolithic route that all migrants follow" (Phillimore, 2012 p. 2). Another limitation is that acculturation theories provide few answers to the questions of what is meant by society and "at what spatial or ideological level, migrants are integrating into" (Phillimore, 2012 p. 2), thus leading to a lack of consideration for complex individual and cultural attitudes towards integration, which can differ across different receiving contexts (Biewiaczonek & Kunst, 2021; Rudmin, 2003).

The three perspectives on integration presented here, assimilation, transnationalism, and acculturation, leave some questions unanswered, such as, how to consider the subjective experiences of migrants (Phillimore, 2012), how to understand integration in the context of "transnational or transit populations" and "within fluid and super-diverse communities" (Grzymala-Kazlowska & &Phillimore, 2018 p. 180). These have brought scholars to develop more differentiated models of integration considering psychosocial and relational aspects.

This shift towards relational aspects of integration and towards the psychosocial experiences of migration is important as integration, in this context, is seen as mutual adjustments and not a one-sided process. When discussing the factors addressed in this thesis, e.g., language and contacts to the receiving society, immigrants' do not bear the sole responsibility for change and adjustment, but integration is instead seen as a two-way process between the receiving society and the immigrant population which is a suitable framework for understanding the integration of immigrants in Icelandic society discussed in this thesis. However, acculturation theories "rarely asks how migrants experience integration as individuals" (Phillimore, 2012 p. 2), thus providing limited insight into immigrants' subjective perceptions of integration.

Subjective perceptions of integration

In the last two decades, scholars have criticized and questioned traditional concepts of integration as presenting integration as a one-way process and not acknowledging individual subjective variations within integration processes (Phillimore, 2012). The term has been associated with repression (Wieviorka, 2014) and a one-sided focus on the immigrants' responsibility to assimilate to the expectations of the receiving society (Phillimore 2012). Changing migration networks challenge traditional ideas of integration, such as, the assimilationist perspective that assumes that people move to a place with the intention to stay and are met by a homogeneous receiving culture. The expectation of fully integrated immigrants has further been described as an unattainable "ideology, an abstract dream" (Wieviorka, 2014 p. 638) and as a "utopian horizon of the absolute" (Rytter, 2019 p. 682). Another point of criticism is that notions of integration reinforce ideas of the state as a fixed entity within well-defined boundaries and threatening the cultural integrity of the state (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018; Rytter, 2019; Wieviorka, 2014). The conclusions drawn from these critical reflections differ considerably. Some scholars find the term integration unsuitable and argue against its use (Rytter, 2019; Wieviorka, 2014). Others suggest adapting the term integration to reflect the realities of contemporary migrations, considering the relation between receiving communities and immigrants as well as incorporating immigrants' ties to their countries of origin (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2017; Klarenbeek, 2019). These changes in migration movements and "the fact that societies are increasingly complex, diverse and changeable due to migration as well as other factors" have larger societal implications as they pose a challenge to "social cohesion in general" (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018 p. 187).

The changing contexts of migration necessitates a reconceptualization of integration to consider the context of temporary or circular migration, migration in transnational fields, and migration in different receiving contexts. A way to shift the focus of integration research from a linear, assimilationist perspectives is by using subjective measures of integration as a means of analysis (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015; Arcand et al. 2020). Subjective emotional responses are one of the categories that Ager and Strang (2008) highlight in their framework of ten core domains of immigrants' needs: "employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups in the community; and barriers to such connection, particularly stemming from lack of linguistic and cultural competences and from fear and instability" (pp. 184-185). Immigrants' psychosocial needs play an important part in their integration processes. Grzymala-Kazlowska's (2017) speaks of "social anchoring", which she defines

"as the process of finding significant references and grounded points which enable migrants to restore their socio-psychological stability in new life settings and establish their (subjective and objective) footholds in a receiving society" (p. 1134).

Subjective accounts if integration have the advantage of providing insight into immigrants' integration that are "centred on personal judgments and criteria, not on criteria deemed important by others" (Paparusso, 2019 p. 493). Investigating immigrants' subjective and personal experiences of integration and going beyond "traditional statistical indicators of integration" is useful for understanding integration as the shed "light on the diverse and complex ways in which … immigrants confront the challenges of integration, and how subjective and objective factors interplay in that process" (Arcand et al. 2020 p. 763). While subjective indicators of integration are certainly relevant for all groups of immigrants, Amit and Bar-Lev (2015) make the point that those measures are particularly relevant for research on the integration processes of highly skilled migrants, who "face less *[sic]* objective barriers in their integration process" (pp. 947-948).

Subjective factors that have been employed include psychological factors, such as life satisfaction, which can be defined as "an overall assessment of an individual's quality of life according to his/her personal judgment and criteria" (Amit, 2010 p. 516) or trust in the receiving society, which can be defined as "a generalized expectancy held by an individual or a group that the word, promise, verbal, or written statement of another individual or group can be relied on" (Rotter, 1971 p. 444). Life satisfaction is an important component of subjective well-being (Diener et al., 1985), and both life satisfaction and trust are central aspects of immigrants' experiences of integration in the receiving society. Being satisfied with life in the receiving society is associated with a higher sense of national identity and belonging amongst immigrants (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015). Life satisfaction is a good way to assess immigrants' integration, because "immigrants' self-reported life satisfaction appears a way to grasp and explain the mechanism at work in the process of immigrant integration from a subjective perspective that is by asking the immigrants about their experiences" (Paparusso, 2019: 480).

Additionally, a correlation between self-identity and general life satisfaction has been identified (Amit, 2010) and immigrants who indicate higher levels of satisfaction with life in the receiving society are more likely to "intend to naturalize and, because of this fact, are also more likely to want to stay" (Massey & Akresh, 2006: 969). Arcand et al. (2020 p. 749) discuss trust as a "key factor in the integration process". They state that "our basic assumption is that a well-paying job alone is not sufficient to ensure that immigrants feel like full-fledged members of society. We argue

that an individual must also want to actively participate in society or believe that the possibility exists should they wish to do so. This, in turn, requires a sense of trust in the capacity of social institutions to be open, understanding and fair" (Arcand et al., 2020 p. 751). Arcand et al. (2020 p. 754) argue that "trust also plays a key role when immigrants (whether successfully or unsuccessfully) conceive of and implement their strategies of integration into the host society". The relationship between trust in the receiving society and immigrants' integration in receiving societies is, however, complex. Research shows that there is a trust gap between immigrants and members of the receiving community (Wilkes & Wu, 2019). When three types of trust are compared, general trust, trust in specific others, and political trust, studies show that immigrants tend to have less general trust and less trust in specific others than natives, while the relationship is the opposite for political trust, or trust in the government (Wilkes & Wu, 2019). The higher levels of trust in public institutions amongst immigrants when compared to natives has been explained by the frame of reference effect, with immigrants basing their evaluation of public institutions on their prior experiences in their countries of origin (Röder & Mühlau, 2012). Studies show that this initial gap erodes over time and with improved skills in the receiving society as immigrants tend to become more similar to the native population in terms of their perceptions of institutions (Correia, 2010; Michelson, 2003; Röder & Mühlau, 2012).

Incorporating immigrants' psychosocial needs in definitions of integration and considering subjective measures such as life satisfaction and trust in analyses of integration shifts the focus of analysis. Objective measurable parameters of integration are then investigated in the context of immigrants' overall subjective perceptions of their quality of life in the receiving society. According to the relational perspective on integration, immigrants' integration is a desirable goal to achieve "a society without any social boundaries between legitimate and non-legitimate members" (Klarenbeek, 2019 p. 905). Vertovec (2007 p. 1045) speaks of integration as "meaningful interchanges" and "how they are formed, maintained or broken, and how the state or other agencies might promote them".

Research on integration also needs to differentiate between immigrants' integration into different receiving communities and the relationships between communities and immigrants. In contexts with large numbers of immigrants, people "no longer integrate into the majority group, but into a large amalgam of ethnic groups" (Crul, 2016 p. 54). This leads to increasing complexity as there is "no longer a clear majority group into which one is to assimilate or integrate" (Crul, 2016 p. 58). While ideas of assimilation often present the receiving society as monolithic, as Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore (2018 p. 187) write this "raise[s] a general question concerning the nature if social

glue in contemporary receiving societies and internal integration within them: Integration into what?" The question of integration into what is important to ask as it contains questions regarding the (imagined) characteristics of the communities in which migrants are integrating into, and also regarding what immigrants are expected to integrate into. It is, therefore, important to differentiate between different integration contexts (Anderson, 1983; Crul, 2016; Crul & Schneider, 2010).

This thesis reflects these debates around the term integration as the articles included in this thesis, in some ways, apply slightly different definitions of integration. While the term "inclusion in the receiving society" is used in the first article, as I was aware of the criticism of the use of integration, the term integration is used in the other three articles. Article II discusses integration as "the involvement of migrants in different areas of the receiving society, covering social, economic, and political indicators of integration, as well as subjective experiences in the receiving society" (Hoffmann et al., 2022a p. 20). Article III focusses on smaller language communities as places of integration, recognizing that integration through language learning is emphasized as a goal by the governments in both Iceland and The Faroe Islands. The provision of language courses and the contexts provided for language learning are discussed in this article to investigate the role of the context of reception (Hoffmann & Holm, forthcoming). This approach is based on Simpson and Whiteside (2015: 5) claim that "[a]n insight into how governments understand integration can be gained by examining how they invest in the participation of new members of society." Article IV discusses immigrants' subjective experiences of integration. It applies the following definition of integration: "We understand integration in receiving societies as a multidimensional process consisting of economic, political, social, and subjective factors" (Hoffmann et al., under review p. 2) and focusses on two variables which are "two subjective measures of integration: life satisfaction and trust in institutions of the receiving society." Investigating which factors impact life satisfaction and trust, and especially how different aspects of immigrants' linguistic repertoires' impact these factors, is the focus of Article IV (Hoffmann et al., under review). Article V applies a relational perspective on integration, discussing that "Immigrants' integration process in general, and language education in particular, need to be placed within a larger context, including the social positioning of immigrants in the receiving state and their structural incorporation" (Wojtyńska 2022: 127). Immigrants' linguistic integration is a special aspect in the context of immigrants' integration because language is, on the one hand, presented as key and often emphasized as essential for integration, emphasizing the function of language as a tool. On the other hand, language is also an area where social identities and boundaries between different communities are negotiated.

3.3 Linguistic integration

While language is only one aspect of integration, studying immigrants' linguistic integration provides useful insight into the relation between receiving communities and immigrants because language, "whether used consciously or unconsciously, is a key resource for signalling and maintaining implicit boundaries between us and the other" (Jespersen & Hejná, 2021 p. 138). Learning the local language is often depicted as key to immigrants' integration in receiving societies (Esser, 2006; Krumm, 2013). Drawing on Berry's (1997) acculturation framework depicting four possible outcomes of acculturation, Esser (2006) suggested four types of integration and language proficiency: multiple inclusion/ competent bilingualism, segmentation/ monolingual segmentation, assimilation/ monolingual assimilation, and marginality/ limited bilingualism.

While acquisition of the language of the receiving society is a highly individual journey, there are, nevertheless, a few factors that studies have found to be associated with faster and more efficient acquisition of the receiving country language, such as motivation, access, skills and the "costs associated with learning" (Esser, 2006 p. i). Characteristics that have shown to be positively associated with learning the receiving country's language were "voluntary migration, an extended duration of stay, a higher level of educational attainment, greater cultural capital, a high intrinsic cultural value of the language and a high level of intelligence" (Esser, 2006 p. 22). An individual's motivation and will to learn the local language are only two factors influencing an immigrant's acquisition of the receiving country's language. As Norton (2013), who has conducted extensive research on immigrants in Canada, noted, "high levels of motivation did not necessarily translate into good language learning" (Norton 2013 p. 6). Immigrants' language learning experiences have to be discussed in the context of larger structural conditions.

Esser (2006) further argues that language is relevant for both forms of integration in the Durkheimian tradition, the integration of individuals in the labour market and for the system integration of communities to create social cohesion which works against the "dissolution of ethnic fragmentation … and their potentials for ethnic conflicts" (p. 9). The positive effects of language proficiency have been shown in studies showing a positive association between immigrants' language skills and their satisfaction with life in the receiving country (Amit, 2009; Amit & Bar-Lev, 20155; Angelini et al., 2015; Choi et al., 2019). Other studies only find indirect positive associations between skills in the receiving country's language and life satisfaction because of the positive effects of language skills on immigrants' integration into the labour market and social contacts with the receiving society (Pletneva, 2019). At the same time, and showing the complexity of the relationship between language and belonging in receiving communities, when trust in institutions is used as a

measure of integration, immigrants who have a better command of the language of the receiving society tend to have less trust in institutions (Correia, 2010; Michelson, 2003), which Wenzel (2006: 1089) pointedly describes with the sentence "[t]o know us is not to love us".

Linguistic integration is sometimes discussed as a central condition for and a way to gain access to other forms of integration, such as economic and social integration (Bian, 2017; Krumm, 2013). The emphasis on language for immigrants' integration is sometimes phrased positively and encouragingly and seen as a "first and essential step towards social inclusion" (Bian, 2017: 487). At the same time, the focus on language can lead to language becoming a central condition for gaining "allowance to enter or stay" (Krumm, 2013 p. 168) in a receiving community. This puts a lot of pressure on the learner and, ultimately "places the responsibility for learning (or not learning) on the immigrant" (Harvey, 2018 p.8 372), without considering the larger societal context in which linguistic integration takes place. While proficiency in the language of the receiving society can improve an immigrant's position on the labour market (Chiswick & Miller, 2001), "the relation between language and employability is criticised for being too simple and narrowly constructed" (Heikkilä et al., 2022 p. 11). Focussing on language skills and their role in immigrants' social mobility neglects factors such as labour market segmentation and experiences of discrimination (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Language can function as a means of inclusion and exclusion in the labour market, e.g., when it comes as indirect discrimination when "employers demand excessive language competence even though the performance of the job tasks in practice may not require full command of the language (Heikkilä et al., 2022 p. 12).

The extent to which language matters for immigrants' position in the receiving society also depends on factors such as the conditions of the labour market because language is recognized as a more significant deficit in competitive labour markets (Esser, 2006). For example, studies indicate that in times of economic crises (lower economic prosperity) in a country, language skill can become more important for gaining access to the labour market (Wojtyńska & Zielińska, 2010) and a lack of language skills can, when they are not directly relevant to the work, be used as an excuse not to hire immigrants (Heikkilä et al., 2022). While language can enable immigrants to participate in a new society, it can also be a tool for exclusion and a boundary-marker, particularly when languages are used as a symbol of national identities (Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017). Krumm (2013) points out a shift in integration policies and the role of language in integration, writing that "[l]anguage, which had been a means of integrating people, has become a means of restricting migration … this requirement [to learn the language of the receiving society] is strongly connected with civil rights such as family reunion, permits of residence, and access to citizenship" (p. 168).

Furthermore, even immigrants who have acquired the local language might face obstacles due to their accents (Dávila et al.1993: 907) among other things. This emphasises what Blommaert describes as the "monoifocal bias" which can be understood as "integration in the 'majority' social system, integration into 'our' culture and values" (Blommaert, 2013 p. 194). Blommaert writes that "learning 'a language" is never enough" (Blommaert, 2013 p. 195). Immigrants are subjected to pressures to acquire the standard varieties of the national languages of their host societies, and this pressure is driven by a monofocal and generative view of a standard language as the unique instrument for integration. Bourdieu writes that discourse must fulfil the conditions that "it is uttered by a legitimate speaker, i.e. by the appropriate person, as opposed to the imposter [and] […] uttered in a legitimate situation […] and addressed to legitimate receivers" (Bourdieu, 1977: 650). Blommaert (2013) writes that "acquiring that standard language in practice means acquiring one specific and specialized register, suggested to be universally deployable in all and any social environment." (Blommaert, 2013 p. 195).

This is a useful framework for understanding why those recognized as outsiders have difficulty in being accepted as legitimate speakers in receiving communities. Blommaert (2013), drawing on Vertovec's (2007) notion of superdiversity, suggests an alternative perspective on integration understanding the concept as "being capable of making oneself understood in a wide variety of social environments" (p. 194).

Notions of linguistic integration have been challenged as implying that "adult migrants cannot participate in the national society and its economy unless they speak the national language" (Garcíaí, 2017 p. 12). This view neglects the many ways in which immigrants are able to participate in receiving communities without speaking the local language. A consequence for practitioners working with immigrants is that focusing too much on "the language problem" can lead to a lack of attention to "multiple variables that produce and reproduce inequalities" (Piacentini et al., 2019 p. 257).

To reflect on immigrants' experiences learning the language of the receiving society, recent work has investigated the subjective experiences of the language learner, aiming to understand whether language learning is meaningful for learners' lives (Clarke & Hennig, 2013; Harvey, 20182018). These views give agency to speakers and work "against the power differential of languages as controlled by dominant nation states", highlighting the view that "language belongs to the speaker rather than to the nation state" (Garcíaí, 2017 p. 12; see also Flores 2013; Flores & García 20133). Pressure to learn the receiving country's language at all costs can have negative effects on immigrants' life satisfaction and be counterproductive to their integration in receiving communities.

As Esser (2006) writes, “like all too forced assimilation in general, second language acquisition by immigrants can generate stress and tension and is, therefore, associated with certain costs” (p. 17). By emphasizing the subjective individual experiences of the language learning process, studies can highlight “how the experience of being an immigrant and a language learner is unsettling, destabilising, often frightening” (Harvey, 2018 p.2018 372).

The lengthy process of linguistic integration cannot, therefore, be reduced to learners’ personal motivations and the acquisition of one standard variety of the language. Instead, immigrants’ learning processes are shaped by factors such as the conditions provided by the receiving society and individual experiences. Furthermore, learning the receiving country’s language cannot be reduced to the process of learning a standard variety of the language alone, but instead needs to consider that immigrants integrate into different niches of the receiving society and multiple communities and, thus, have to learn different language varieties. Perspectives on integration and language attainment should consider a diversity of migration contexts and differences in the motivations, capabilities, and aspirations of migrants.

Language courses

In the context of linguistic integration, language courses are often established to promote immigrants’ acquisition of the local language. In addition to teaching the language, language courses often also teach about the culture of the country and some countries have implemented specific integration courses on social values and norms (Heinemann, 20188). Language teachers are “often at the forefront of issues dealing with migrants” and “are called upon to alleviate what is seen as the ‘language problem’ caused by population displacement and movement” (García, 2017 p. 15). Through language courses, immigrants can acquire information and knowledge about the culture of the receiving society and gain access to local communities and support. Studies show that immigrants tend to invest in attending language courses with the aim of becoming included in the receiving society in terms of access to the labour market and social contacts (Amireault, 2019; Johnson and Berry, 2014). At the same time, language courses are also contact zones where norms, values, and language ideologies are debated and certain positions are presented in textbooks and by curriculum developers (Canagarajah, 1999; Heinemann, 20188; Shardakova & Pavlenko, 2004). It is, therefore, important to consider immigrants’ experiences with language courses and potential discrepancies between the students’ expectations and the teachers’ goals that can lead to dissatisfaction (Norton, 2001). It is noteworthy that Esser, (2006) finds there is no actual empirical

evidence for the efficiency of state-ordained language courses for integration, which indicates that it is of importance to assess the quality of courses provided and adapt curricula according to what immigrants deem useful.

Students have agency in how they respond and react to the courses offered to them and can perceive the courses as positive and supportive (Tomi, 2001). At other times, immigrants can also show resistance and outright hostility (Canagarajah, 1999; 2015) or non-participation (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). In understanding immigrants' experiences of integration in receiving societies through a relational perspective, language courses are important spaces of encounters where attitudes between immigrants and the receiving country population can be negotiated. The receptions contexts and language attitudes immigrants are confronted with influence their language learning trajectories. Therefore, the specific characteristics of smaller language communities will be discussed in the following section.

Language learning in smaller language communities

As the context of the study is Iceland, which is a small language community, how the specific characteristics of smaller language communities impact the context of reception for learners of the languages must be discussed, a topic that has been researched very little. The definition of small languages is relative, but languages such as Icelandic and Faroese (the context for language learners in Article III) have a relatively small number of speakers as compared to other languages in Europe, even though there are a significant number of languages that have an even smaller number of speakers in the world. Another indication of the relative smallness of Icelandic is that it has been defined as an under-resourced language in comparison to other languages, e.g., regarding the accessibility of language technologies (Nikulásdóttir et al., 2020; Sigurjónsdóttir & Nowenstein, 2021).

Studies have shown that smaller language communities provide distinct environments for immigrants' linguistic integration. One reason may be the language ideologies characteristic of language communities with a smaller number of speakers. Woolard (2016) defines language ideologies as "socially, politically, and morally loaded cultural assumptions about the way that language works in social life and about the role of particular linguistic forms in a given society" (p. 20). Woolard (2016) describes the two main linguistic ideologies as linguistic authenticity, associated with majority languages, and linguistic anonymity, associated with minority languages. The ideology of authenticity assumes that "a language variety is rooted in and directly expresses the essential

nature of a community or a speaker" while anonymity states that "language is a neutral vehicle of communication, belonging to no one in particular and thus equally available to all" (Woolard 2016 p. 20). Describing majority languages such as English as a "neutral vehicle of communication" is, of course, an oversimplification as there is extensive academic work, for example by Canagarajah (1999), discussing how English as a Second Language Education is not neutral but is shaped by contexts of in power and notions of linguistic imperialism. Nevertheless, smaller and larger language communities provide different reception contexts for learners. Native speakers of smaller languages characterised by the ideology of authenticity are not as used to hearing non-native accents in their language as are speakers of larger languages which are taught and learned around the world.

In the context of Iceland, Kristinsson (2018) that's that Icelanders have only recently gotten used to hearing their native language spoken with foreign accents, writing that "Icelandic spoken with a foreign accent is increasingly a part of everyday language experience, for example on Icelandic national broadcast media. Traditionally, native speakers of Icelandic were not accustomed to hearing Icelandic spoken in a foreign accent. This is not the case today" (p. 245).

Iceland can be described as a relatively linguistically intolerant society, which, as Jespersen and Hejná (2021: 153) describe for the case of Danish, is "sceptical of cultural and linguistic variation". Iceland has a strong tradition for linguistic purism and language preservation (Hólmarsdóttir, 2001; Sigurjónsdóttir & Nowenstein, 2021).

The ideology of authenticity is also associated with protectionist views towards a language. In settings characterized by notions of linguistic authenticity, ideas of linguistic otherness due to foreign accents (Jespersen & Hejná, 2021) as constructed by native speakers can pose challenges to learners of the language. Whether or not non-native speakers of a language are recognized as "legitimate speakers" of a language (Bourdieu, 1977 p. 65) depends on the overall linguistic attitude of a community. Being recognized as a legitimate speaker can be particularly challenging in language communities less accustomed to foreign accents.

Another specific characteristic of linguistic integration in a smaller language community has to do with the perceived communicative utility of a language, which determines immigrants' language learning journeys and their motivation to learn the local language (Esser, 2006). Especially in countries where English is widely spoken, such as Iceland and the other Nordic countries, immigrants can use it to be able to deal with situations in everyday life and English can also be sufficient for immigrants' professional success (Heikkilä et al., 2022).

In these settings, immigrants actively negotiate their use of the language and consider the practical utility of the language in the context of where and how they imagine their future to be. A study amongst Syrian refugees in the Icelandic school system showed that some parents who envisioned their future to be outside of Iceland voiced concerns regarding the lack of focus on English in the Icelandic school system (El Hariri et al., 2021).

Studies in different countries have shown that the English skills of immigrants are positively associated with higher income (Chiswick & Repetto, 2001). In Henry's (2016) article on immigrants' use of English and Swedish in everyday interactions in Sweden, it was shown that English was considered of high value, but Swedish was considered to be key to integration in the receiving society. This shows once more the importance of considering both the symbolic and communicative values of the receiving country's language. It is interesting to discuss how immigrants in smaller language communities where English is widely spoken, such as in Iceland (Kristinsson, 2018), negotiate their use of the local language and the lingua franca of English.

Another factor for immigrants' acquisition of the receiving country's language is the availability of "access to opportunities for learning the language" (Esser 2006: 27). As languages from smaller speaking communities are less likely to be taught outside the community, immigrants in smaller language communities are less likely to have attended prior instruction in their countries of origin. Prior instruction has been shown to "positively impacts immigrants' language learning" (Esser, 2006 p. 25). As smaller language communities might not provide the resources and availability of courses as well as the quality of teaching which are provided in larger language communities with extensive experiences in teaching the local language, the lack of availability of resources can negatively impact immigrants' acquisition of the local language.

3.4 Integration and transnational connections through media

Economic and technological globalization provides many opportunities for immigrants to maintain ties to multiple localities, leading to an increased scholarly interest in the consequences of media use on immigrants' community-building, including their integration in receiving societies (Alencar & Deuze, 2017; Mitra & Evansluong, 2019). The concept of the connected migrant developed by Diminescu (2008; 2019) introduces a new type of migrant characterized by hypermobility and flexibility in the labour market who maintains bonds to multiple communities and utilizes the opportunities provided by these connections. Diminescu (2008; 2019) presents a view on migration that focusses on connections and maintained bonds to multiple communities rather than

understanding immigrants as being uprooted from their places of origin. This depiction of immigrants is similar to transnational approaches (Diminescu, 2019; Glick-Schiller et al., 1992). Diminescu (2019) has updated the definition of connected migrants to "a migrant equipped with at least one digitalised device which enables him/ her to instantaneously switch between several lifestyles" (p. 74).

Digital media not only enables connected migrants to stay in touch and form bonds to different communities, but media is also a space for development and expression of hybrid migrant identities (Yin, 2013). Digital media shape immigrants' "decision-making, information-seeking and community-building processes" today (Moran, 2022 p. 1). The growing field of digital migration studies highlights how digital media shape migration networks and terms such as digital diasporas (Ponzanesi, 2020), digital placemaking (Witteborn, 2021), and virtual intimacy (Wilding, 2012) describe the opportunities provided by digital media for immigrants to experience belonging and participate in different communities. Digital communities are not necessarily inclusive and migrants' use and access to digital media must be discussed in terms of both inclusion and exclusion in communities.There is a significant body of research within the field of digital migration studies that discusses digital media as a means of both empowerment and control in the context of forced migration (Moran, 2022; Nedelcu & Soysülen, 2020; Witteborn, 2021). This aspect of information and communication technologies as a means of surveillance is important but goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

Digital connections can provide comfort and connection and help coping with the uncertainties of migration processes and unfamiliar environments (Hofhuis et al., 2019; King-O'Riain, 2015; Moran, 2022). The digital space allows migrants to connect and bond with others sharing similar experiences and can, for example, allow immigrants belonging to a minority group to get to know others sharing similar experiences (Patterson & Leurs, 2019). At the same time, seeking out connections to immigrants' countries of origin could also be because immigrants feel resistance towards their place of residence, e.g.., due to experiences of discrimination (Alghasi, 2009).

Findings regarding the relationship between digital connections and integration in receiving communities differ across studies. Mitra and Evansluong (2019 p. 477) find that frequent connections to countries of origin led to immigrants having "little incentive to establish both online and offline connections with the host country", and Esser (2006) shows that frequent use of media from immigrants' countries of origin had a negative effect on immigrants' acquisition of the language of the receiving society. Other studies, such as one by Alencar and Deuze (2017), find that immigrants who use country-of-origin media frequently follow Berry's (1997) integration strategy and actively participate both in the receiving society and the country of origin. Other studies highlight the positive

impact of digital connections on immigrants' integration in receiving societies. Transnational connections have been shown to have positive effects on immigrants' life satisfaction (Liu et al., 2017) and their integration in receiving societies due to feelings of "digital togetherness" that improves "the process of integration in the host society" (Marino, 2015 p. 5). Furthermore, the digital space allows immigrants to connect to both online and offline communities in the receiving society, indicating the necessity to differentiate between integration in online and offline communities (Mittelstädt & Odag, 2015).

In addition to the ways in which social media facilitate transnational connections, the way immigrants are portrayed in the media influences immigrants' experiences in receiving communities. Research on media portrayals of immigrants from Lithuania (Loftsdóttir, 2017; Loftsdóttir et al., 2017) in Icelandic news media exemplifies how the public discourse shapes immigrants' impressions. In this work, some of the participants did not want to mention their countries of origin in conversations with Icelanders due to perceived negative portrayals of these countries in the news media. All in all, digital migration studies show that digital connections significantly shape immigrants' experiences today. It is, therefore, highly relevant to consider digital connections in research on immigrants' experiences of integration. The theoretical discussion shows that integration is a multifaceted process that covers social, economic, and political indicators of integration along with psychosocial stability in the receiving society. The thesis applies a framework of integration which incorporates economic and social factors, acculturation in the form of language acquisition, and immigrants' subjective experiences and their life satisfaction and trust in the institutions of the receiving country. This thesis considers the framework conditions of the receiving society, e.g. the attitudes of receiving communities, and integration in different niches of the receiving society. Furthermore, this thesis considers immigrants' transnational connections through media for their integration.

4. A brief history and the special characteristics of the migration in Iceland

Large-scale immigration to Iceland is a relatively recent development. The country has historically "been among the world's most homogenous countries" (Jóhannesson et al., 2013 p. 1). The image of Icelandic culture as homogenous is also a result of the fact that, as Loftsdóttir and Skaptadóttir (2020 p. 7) state, "mobility to and from Iceland has often been downplayed". The number of immigrants in Iceland has increased significantly in recent years. In 2000, immigrants, who Statistics Iceland defines as people born abroad with both parent and grandparents born outside of Iceland, comprised 3% of the population of Iceland (Statistics Iceland, 2021). By 2021, this number had grown to 15% (Statistics Iceland, 2021). However, there were noteworthy migration flows before that time. For example, Ellenberger (2019) discussed how transculturation processes shaped Icelandic culture following migration flows between Iceland and Denmark and diverse mobilities between 1890 and 1920. Registers from 1931 show that 1.4% of inhabitants in Iceland at that time were citizens of another country, the largest group from Denmark and the rest from other countries in Europe and North America (Jóhannesson et al., 2013). This was also related to relatives following the emigration movement from Iceland to North America in the 19th century (Jóhannesson et al., 2013). Another example of an earlier migration movement is the migration from Germany to Iceland after the Second World War (Ísberg, 2010; Siegel, 2011).

Factors influencing the recent increase in immigration to Iceland include the economic growth of the country after the economic crisis of 2008, the low unemployment rate, and a stable welfare society (Rúnarsdóttir &Vilhjálmsson, 2015). Iceland became part of the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1994 and the Schengen Agreement in 2001. The new European member states (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) joined the EU in 2004 and could access the Icelandic labour market in 2006. These developments encouraged migration from these countries to countries within the EEA (Loftsdóttir & Skaptadóttir, 2020; Skaptadóttir, 2015). The largest group of immigrants in Iceland at 37% of the total immigrant population is from Poland, followed by immigrants from Lithuania and the Philippines (Statistics Iceland, 2021). People from Asian countries, such as the Philippines and Thailand, increasingly migrated to Iceland in late 1990s and early 2000s, often to work in fisheries (Skaptadóttir, 2015). Access to the Icelandic labour market is prioritised for people from the new EU member states which increased challenges for people from outside the European Economic Area wanting to move to Iceland who are are required a work permit prior to coming to Iceland. Consequentially, those from

outside the EEA, e.g., the Philippines "increasingly indicate uniting with family as a reason for migrating to Iceland" (Skaptadóttir, 2015: 178).

Many immigrants state work as their primary reason for coming to Iceland and one of the factors contributing to increasing migration to Iceland are the higher wages as compared to their countries of origin (Skaptadóttir, 2015). The Icelandic labour market is rather segregated, meaning that immigrants often work with other immigrants (Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017). Sectors in which many immigrants are employed include tourism, fishing, construction, and care work (Júlíusdóttir et al., 2013). There is a relatively small number of refugees (Ragnarsdóttir, 2020). There is, furthermore, a considerable number of immigrants stating that they came to Iceland due to their interest in Icelandic nature and peaceful living (Hoffmann et al., 2020). As in other migration contexts (Persson, 2019), the line between labour and lifestyle immigrants in Iceland is often blurred and motivations to migrate are often a combination of different factors (Karlsdóttir & Jóhannesson, 2016).

The Icelandic government responded to the increasing immigration to Iceland by implementing immigration policies. The two most recent immigration policy documents in Iceland are the immigration policy of 2007 and the Action Plan for Immigrant Matters (Alþingi, 2016; Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007).

The current system of acquiring Icelandic citizenship was inspired by the Danish law on citizenship and has undergone adaptations and revisions since the first law on citizenship was passed in Iceland in 1919 (Jóhannesson et al., 2013). From the 1950s until the mid-1990s, people acquiring Iceland citizenship were required to change their name into an Icelandic name. Jóhannesson et al. (2013) interpret this as the "fear … that an influx of foreigners might endanger long-established Icelandic customs" (p. 6), writing further that this "demonstrated the notion that the granting of citizenship ought to equal near total assimilation and the 'Icelandisation' of the successful applicant" (p. 13). With the 2007 amendment to the citizenship law, the applicant must have passed a language test in Icelandic. This amendment came into force in 2009 (Regulation on Icelandic language tests for persons applying for Icelandic citizenship, 2008). Innes' (2020) discussion of the perception of the Icelandic test for citizenship amongst local Icelanders indicates that this test has been positively received by the local population.

There is a strong link between Icelanders' shared national identity and the Icelandic language (Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017; Þórarinsdóttir, 2010), which is also reflected in public and governmental approaches to immigration. Icelandic integration policies emphasize integration through language learning. The policies state a dual purpose of Icelandic language education to speed "their

[immigrants'] integration into society and strengthening the position of the Icelandic language" (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007 p. 6). The immigration policy from 2007 states that, "[a]s a general rule, Icelandic language education for immigrants should include education about Icelandic society, its values, cultural heritage and the rights and obligations of citizens" (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007 p. 8). In Article V, we reflect on the approach to integration in this policy, saying that "[e]vidently, migrants need to learn Icelandic, not only for pragmatic and communication purposes, but also to comprehend the local culture, which is identified as conducive to becoming fully-fledged members of society. In Article V, we discuss that, "even if the document uses the term 'integration,' the way it promotes learning Icelandic echoes assimilationist logic by recommending the utilisation of language classes to inculcate migrants into the norms and rules of Icelandic society" (Wojtyńska et al., 2022 p. 128). Language courses, both informal and formal, have been established along with structured training in ISL starting in the 1990s and schools for teaching ISL implemented in the 2000s. An overview of the establishment of Icelandic language courses can be found in Innes (2015) and Article I. Those attending courses need to pay a fee that may be refunded by their labour unions. Refugees (Westra & Egilsdóttir, 2019, p. 11) and those receiving unemployment benefits can apply for grants for Icelandic language courses (Directorate of Labour, 2020).

The tradition of transnational communities is not as anchored in Iceland as in other places with significant third or fourth generations of immigrants (Article III). With migration to Iceland being a recent development, issues around the second generation of immigrants in Iceland, such as, heritage language preservation and transnational bonds, have only recently been discussed in more depth, but there is now a growing body of research on immigrants' experiences in the Icelandic school system (El Hariri et al., 2020; Emilsson Peskova, 2021; Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2018).

Scholarly disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, economics, education, social work, occupational therapy, and disability studies have investigated topics related to migration to Iceland in recent years. The topic that has been investigated in much detail in recent years with regards to immigrants in Iceland is their experience in the labour market (Kristjánsdóttir & Christiansen, 2019; Wojtyńska & Skaptadóttir, 2019; Tryggvadóttir, 2019; Wojtyńska, 2019). Studies on immigrants in Iceland apply intersectional approaches to understanding the overlap of different aspects of immigrants' identities and how these factors shape their lives in Iceland, considering factors such as gender (Júlíusdóttir et al., 2013), sexual orientation (Sólveigar-Guðmundsdóttir, 2018), race (Pio et al, 2021; Loftsdóttir, 2017), religion (Nouh et al., 2022), forced migration (Ingvarsson et al., 2016), disability (Egilson et al., 2020), and class (Wojtynska & Skaptadóttir, 2019).

A study on immigrants' social and political integration found that there was room to improve immigrants' levels of integration but that factors such as "income, education, paid employment status" played "a larger role in social and political status than foreign nationality" (Einarsdóttir et al., 2018 p. 1). Only a few studies investigate the subjective factors of immigrants' integration, but studies have indicated that the factors such as an immigrant's position on the labour market, their acculturation in the receiving society and social contact to Icelanders enhanced immigrants' life satisfaction (Barillé & Meckl, 2017).

There is no study that compares the life satisfaction of adult immigrants in Iceland, but in a study amongst Polish and Asian immigrants and native youth, immigrant youth reported lower life satisfaction. Rúnarsdóttir and Vilhjálmsson (2015) explain this with immigrants being in a lower socioeconomic position and experiencing less support than native Icelanders.

Studies on native Icelanders' perspectives on immigrants provide useful insight into the context of reception, which is important if integration is understood from a relational perspective. Ólafsdóttir (2021) finds that, in comparison to other European countries, Icelanders and Swedes were the most welcoming to "more immigrants with a similar or different racial/ethnic background and immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe" (Ólafsdóttir, 2021: 229). On the other hand, the rapid increase in migration to Iceland has also received negative responses and Skaptadóttir and Loftsdóttir (2016) show in their analysis of the public discourse about immigrants and tourists in Iceland that "a moral panic can be discerned in some of the discussions, where these changes have been depicted as happening too fast and out of control" (p. 18). Negative portrayals of immigrants in Icelandic news media were highlighted in Ólafs and Zielińska's (2010) study of Icelandic news media reports from 2006 to 2010, finding that "one third of the coverage [about immigrants] was in relation to crime and police matters" (p.77).

The economic status of the receiving country further impacts the context of reception, public attitudes towards immigrants and the provision of services for immigrants, and therefore influences their experiences of integration. Ólafsdóttir (2021) argues that the positive attitudes towards immigrants in Iceland she identifies in her study "may be related to the historically low levels of unemployment in Iceland, and the fact that the immigrants who come here to work are not seen as a threat to the labour market position of Icelanders" (p. 229). A study by Wojtyńska and Zielińska (2010) about Polish migrants in Iceland facing the economic crisis indicated that respondents were more worried about their job security and position on the labour market after the crisis "especially

because employers have become more demanding, making basic knowledge of Icelandic obligatory" (p. 7).

Innes' (2015) analysis of Icelandic language courses after the economic crash in Iceland indicates that language schools faced cutbacks and limitations after the financial crisis. Innes (2015) argues that concerns about immigration by the Icelandic public made implementing the cuts in governmental support for learners of Icelandic easier. "Cutting financial support for programs and institutions working with immigrants was one realm where the government could institute change immediately with little worry of public outcry, partly because people had voiced concerns since the mid-1990s about rising immigrant population numbers and their effect on Icelandic society" (Innes, 2015 p. 187). This created a potentially vulnerable situation for immigrants as the lived reality of reception and experiences of integration may change depending on the economic context.

A study amongst in-migrants, people who have migrated to a specific locality in a country from other regions, and locals in North Iceland shows that those who had lived in the capital area or abroad were more tolerant towards immigrants than those who had not (Bjarnason et al., 2020). Bjarnason et al. (2020) argue that this can be explained in two ways. "Individuals who are exposed to more cultural diversity develop more tolerance towards such diversity", or "the experience of having been an in-migrant in an unfamiliar domestic or foreign community leads to increased sympathy towards immigrants in one's own home community" (Bjarnason et al., 2020 p. 1828). Notably, a study by Ólafsdóttir (2021) indicates that attitudes towards immigrants in Iceland have become more positive over time and differences in attitudes amongst different groups of Icelanders exist. Those with more education are generally more supportive than those with less education, those which are older less supportive than those who are younger and those who identify with the right in politics are less supportive than those who identify with the left (Ólafsdóttir, 2021). A study by Valdimarsdóttir et al. (2020) indicates that "about 44% of the public believe that the risk of terrorism will increase if Iceland accepts more immigrants from Muslim majority countries" (p. 1). This study further found that those who were informed about the fact that research "finds no link between the number of Muslim immigrants and the risk of terrorism" had more positive attitudes towards Muslim immigrants (p. 1).

To understand integration experiences amongst immigrants in Iceland, insights about the context of reception are important if, as in this thesis, a relational perspective on integration is applied. In comparison to other European countries, integration policies and provision of language courses have been implemented relatively recently and the Icelandic as a Second Language

education system is less standardized than in the other Nordic countries. Studies on native Icelanders' attitudes towards immigrants show that they have, in international comparison, rather positive attitudes towards immigrants. This provides a receiving country context where the public opinion towards immigrants is generally rather positive but happens simultaneously with concerns about the future of the language and local culture in light of increasing globalization.

5. Methodology

5.1 Research design

This thesis employs a mixed-method design drawing on a large-scale quantitative survey in fall of 2018 amongst immigrants (N= 2139) and Icelanders (N=3395), conducted as part of the Inclusive Societies? project. The data collection and data analysis are presented in detail in Article II and Article IV and is thus not presented in detail here. The qualitative research in the form of form of interviews (N=15) is briefly described in Article I and Article III but is described in more details below, followed by ethical and methodological considerations.

Qualitative study: Article I and Article III

This part of the research was an explorative study on immigrants' opinions about Icelandic language courses. This study was a follow-up study of the quantitative study described above which showed that about 60% of participants reported to be rather or very dissatisfied with the Icelandic language courses they attended. The aim of this study was the evaluation of language courses from the learners' perspectives.

Semi-structured Interviews were conducted with 15 immigrants living in Iceland in 2021. The length of the interviews was 30-120 minutes. Participants were recruited through snowball sampling with the aim to reach a rather broad group of people who have moved to Iceland and were willing to share their experiences of the Icelandic language, both those who had attended formal language training in Icelandic and those who hadn't. A choice was made to initially rely on the author's contacts to the immigrant community in Iceland for recruiting participants. If a call for participants would be distributed people who are already very interested in the language might have been more likely to agree to participate, whereas the aim was to talk to participants with diverse approaches to the language and experiences with studying, or not actively studying Icelandic. An interview guide was developed prior to the interviews and followed during the interview process. Participants were able to choose if they wanted to be interviewed in person in a place of their choice or online. Most chose to be interviewed online as they were conducted at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic. 3 of the interviews were conducted in Cafés.

The purpose and topic of the study was explained to participants when contacting them and at the beginning of the interviews. Participants were asked whether they agreed to be recorded prior to starting the recording. After starting the recording, participants were asked orally for consent to

participate in the interview and again informed of the confidentiality and anonymity of the research. During the interviews, questions of ongoing consent to participating in the interview were revisited when appropriate, for example by asking whether the interviewee was alright to continue the interview in certain situations and offering to take a break, for example in the case of interviews conducted online where they were interrupted during the interview.

14 interviews were conducted in English and one in German. English was an additional language for most participants as well as the researcher. All participants were proficient in English, thus not directly voicing the experiences of learners' who didn't speak English, which is a limitation of this study. However, their reflections on the composition of the courses, sometimes acting as translators and mediators for those with lower English proficiency, provided useful insights which, in cross-analysis with the data conducted by the co-authors, provided insights on the experiences of learners who are not proficient in English.

The interviews were transcribed verbatim to reproduce all spoken sounds. Eight of the interviews were transcribed by the author and an additional 7 by students who were also asked to follow the same procedure (verbatim transcription to reproduce all spoken sounds). The data was analysed using thematic analysis which involved finding themes recurring in the data (Braun and Clarke's, 2012). The codes and themes were based on a combination of inductive and deductive approach to the data analysis, with some concepts being derived from the interview data and others being derived from a prior explorative study of social media discourses amongst immigrants in Iceland, conducted by the author as well as the studies conducted by the co-authors. In conversations between the authors, common themes were identified across the datasets.

Participants came from the following regions: Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Asia, South America, and North America. The participant who had been in Iceland the longest had been living in Iceland around 20 years while the participant that had been the shortest had been there for about a year. The youngest participant was in their 20s, the oldest in their 40s. The sample was almost equally divided between participants based inside (N=7) and outside the Capital Region (N=8). Most interviewees had a University degree (N=14), and most were female (N=11).

Positionality of the researcher and ethical considerations

The author of this thesis occupies a "third position" in migration research, neither an insider nor outsider (Carling et al., 2014). This position is in a way reminiscent of Simmel's stranger (1908). I'm in way an insider in the immigrant community in Iceland, an immigrant to Iceland myself but also

"insider by proxy" which means "being an immigrant researcher, but from another migrant group than the one being studied" (Carling et al., 2014, p. 51). This position provides access to information, helped forming a connection with the participants through my involvement in immigrant communities and potentially created trust. However, it also comes with the necessity to be careful not to generalize all migrant experiences or apply my own experiences to them or fall into the trap of groupism (Brubaker, 2002).

There are specific challenges of conducting ethics in small island research and navigating multiple relations in a country with a small population. As Hayfield (2022, p. 234) writes "high levels of familiarity, a lack of anonymity, multiple roles and social transparency are likely to intensify due to being small and islanded" and these multiple relations need to be carefully navigated as "social navigation in small island/islanded communities with multiple relations requires people to be socially perceptive" (Hayfield, 2022: 238). By recruiting participants through snowball sampling, already building on contacts to the migrant network, I tried to include participants who already have a certain level of trust. Characteristics of smaller communities are "interconnected", "interdependence", and "intimacy" (Hayfield, 2022: 237).

Hayfield (2022) differentiates between external and internal confidentiality. The "external confidentiality ensures that identities are kept private to external others, the wider community or international audiences, while internal confidentiality implies that insiders who hold sufficient knowledge can identify internal others through research texts" (Hayfield, 2022: 241). To ensure internal confidentiality, and only very few information about participants were provided in the publications. I aimed to be attentive to the standpoint of others, for example being perceptive in cases when participants did not want to continue the interview and asking whether participants wanted to continue the research in situation where this question appeared to be appropriate. I reflected on future encounters and relations with the participants and especially with regards to potential sensitive topics. However, my general approach to interviewing was to aim to keep the focus on the practical experiences of learners of Icelanders and their experiences with Icelandic language courses, teaching methods, and their practical recommendations for improvements, highlighting the practical applicability and usefulness of the data collected, with the last question being for example "What would you recommend to an immigrant in Iceland who wants to learn Icelandic?"

Only providing limited information about participants also comes with certain limitations to the discussion of the data. It would for example be insightful to discuss the interaction between the linguistic distance between immigrants' native language and Icelandic and the composition of the

place in which they reside in Iceland. This research could provide insights on how low numbers of immigrants can make up for the challenges posed by linguistic distances between languages for learners. To depict these language experiences adequately, it would be necessary to provide information on immigrants' native language as well as their place of residence, which would most likely mean that they could be recognized. For this reason, the decision was made not to discuss immigrants' backgrounds in depths.

5.2 Delimitation of the research from the larger research project

This PhD project was part of the larger research project titled Inclusive Societies? and funded by Rannís – The Icelandic Centre for Research. The aim of the larger project was to map out an integration overview of the immigrant population of Iceland and to compare integration patterns at the regional level, particularly the level of municipalities, in order to better understand the overall integration of immigrants in Iceland. Another aim of this study was to discuss the interaction between the attitudes of the receiving country towards immigrants and immigrants' experiences in the receiving society, understanding integration as the relationship between the immigrant population and the receiving society. This thesis drew on the data collected in the Inclusive Societies? project and focussed on specific aspects of the larger research study, especially using the data on immigrants' language skills, satisfaction with Icelandic language course, and their use of media collected in the Inclusive Societies? survey. I drew on additional qualitative interview data. Through collaborations with co-authors, the data collected in the Inclusive Societies? project was compared and cross analysed with other studies in Iceland and in the Faroe Islands. Furthermore, Article V analyses creative work from an event at the Reykjavík City Library, thus adding an additional perspective to this dissertation.

5.3 Limitations

One of the limitations of this study is that it uses an availability sample that and not a random sample drawn from a known population. The survey was distributed through language schools, social media, and in selected municipalities, through assistants based in these localities who got in contact with immigrants living in these municipalities and asked them to take part. Distributing the survey through these means has the disadvantage that this kind of sampling strategy specifically targets people who are in some way connected to immigrant communities in Iceland and wish to become integrated by, for example, attending language courses. The challenges arising through this method

of sampling is that it cannot be considered fully representative of the total immigrant population of Iceland, e.g. hard-to-reach populations such as the context of circular migration, those who are undocumented and people with limited digital literacy who also do not happen to be attending a language course at the time the survey was conducted or were located in one of the areas where an assistant reached out to immigrants were underrepresented. Women and highly educated participants were overly represented in both the quantitative and the qualitative study. For the purpose of answering the research questions in this thesis, this sampling technique is actually an advantage because participants in our survey are connected to Icelandic society and wish to be involved in the receiving society.

Follow-up studies applying sampling techniques that specifically target hard-to-reach members of the participant population would be helpful in providing further insights into immigrants' relationships to the receiving society and their media use. Another limitation is that the quantitative data only provides limited possibilities to differentiate between groups of immigrants. Even though it is difficult to speak of a migrant community or a common migrant experience, indeed focussing on the commonalities of specific groups of immigrants can be understood as groupism (Brubaker, 2002), the methodological approach of using a larger sample including different groups of immigrants enabled me to observe specific integration patterns amongst immigrants in Iceland along with identity diversification amongst immigrants in Iceland. In addition, the qualitative data provided insightful information on differences between groups.

6. Links to other academic disciplines

This thesis uses an interdisciplinary approach drawing on research from the social sciences, linguistics, and the arts. In this section, I discuss the relation of this thesis to other disciplines.

6.1 Linguistics

This thesis draws on research in sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and linguistic anthropology. I consider language learning and language ideologies as important factors for immigrants' experiences and discuss the factors shaping immigrants' linguistic inclusion and their attitudes towards the receiving country language. The key assumptions provided by this field of research are that language learning and teaching are not neutral and that these processes cannot be reduced to the cognitive process of acquiring languages but are instead highly contextual, carry ideologies, and are "always embedded in concrete social, historical, and individual biographical situations, and that is heavily emotionally charged" (Krumm, 2013 p. 167; see also Canagarajah, 1999). Language is more than just a means of communication but rather a powerful tool that speakers can use to "position themselves and others, draw social boundaries, and lay claim to particular identities and knowledge during conversations" (Jespersen & Hejná, 2021 p. 137). In many ways, language learning is tied to learners' identities and imagined communities (Norton & Toohey, 2011). By taking a stance, speakers use certain linguistic features or speech styles to signal "belonging to prestigious speech communities, but also of excluding others from those same communities" (Jespersen & Hejná, 2021 p. 137). Pavlenko and Norton (2007) discuss the relationship between learners' membership in imagined communities and their learning trajectories, indicating that this influenced their "agency, motivation, investment, and resistance" (p. 669) in language learning.

Research in linguistics shows that there are complex emotions associated with language learning, indicating that, "[a]lthough bilingualism is often an advantage, it may also come with a social and psychological baggage of complex emotions in which negative feelings (e.g. shame, disappointment, frustration, stress and anxiety) predominate, particularly in the immigrant context" (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018 p. 174). The emotions associated with learning a receiving country language can, furthermore, be both positive and negative, e.g., "language pride and language panic, linguistic insecurity, tension, conflict, ambiguities, anxiety" (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018: 175). Sevinç and Dewaele (2018) propose the term majority language anxiety to refer to "language anxiety

experienced by immigrant or minority community members in the language of the majority of the population in a national context" (p. 176).

In light of the conflicting emotions associated with learning a foreign language, the context and support provided by receiving communities matters. As Krumm (2013 p. 165) writes: "The use of languages in a migration context is not determined by migrants alone. There is a high social pressure to use certain languages in specific contexts." The opportunities for learning and using the language of the receiving society are, therefore, highly relevant for immigrants' inclusion into receiving societies. Relevant examples are the "structures of society which either support or hinder such initiatives; this may lead to desperation or fear and make migrants speechless" (Krumm, 2013 p. 167). While Krumm's (2013) analysis focusses on the negative impact that a lack of support and linguistic discrimination has on immigrants' self-esteem, the work of Norton (2001) has been influential in understanding immigrants' agency in responding to the language ideologies they are confronted with and making decisions accordingly. One of the consequences of hostile language attitudes or dissatisfaction with language course can be immigrants' refusal to participate in language-learning activities (Norton, 2001).

6.2 The arts

Linguist and anthropologist Phipps (2013 p. 100) strikingly writes that she "need[s] the help of the poets" to develop tools to depict and make palpable the "intimate contexts of family broken up, unmoored, split apart in the tossing and turbulence and flotsam and jetsam which create myriad forms of migration and mobility" (Phipps, 2013 p. 99). An emerging body of literature discusses the relationship between the arts and creative practice and migration (Harvey et al., 2022; Jefferyer et al., 2019). Creative practice offers a special opportunity to raise and negotiate issues of integration and participation and to explore the understandings and connections among groups across and beyond languages and cultures (Damery & Mescoly, 2019; Harvey et al., 2022; Jefferyr et al., 2020; Otte, 2019). Artistic expression by immigrants can further give voice to marginalised communities and hybrid, transnational, and multilingual identities "which opens up possibilities for radical solidarity not merely with others in whom we recognise sameness, but for solidarity with the very difference of others" (Harvey et al., 2022 p. 104; see also: Yildiz, 2011; Rúnarsdóttir, 2020).

The work of Bishop' (2006; see also Bishop, 2010) has been especially influential in theorising participatory art and in advancing understanding of what she has called the "social turn" in the arts,

the increased “artistic interest in collectivity, collaboration, and direct engagement with specific social constituencies” (Bishop, 2006 p. 178). Critically reflecting on Bourrieud’s (1998)

theory of relational aesthetics that primarily understands relational art as any art that produces interactions between people, Bishop (2004) ask “[i]f relational art produces human relations, then the next logical question to ask is what types of relations are being produced, for whom, and why?” (p. 65).

A few of the participatory art works discussed by Bishop address issues of migration. For the work “Persons Paid to Have their Hair Dyed Blond” by Santiago Sierra at the 2001 Venice Biennale, the artist “invited illegal street vendors, most of whom came from southern Italy or were immigrants from Senegal, China, and Bangladesh, to have their hair dyed blond in return for 120,000 lire” (Bishop, 2004 p. 73). By increasing the visibility of otherwise marginalized people in the public space and inviting them to sell their products in his prestigious space of the Venice Biennale, Sierra highlighted processes of exclusion and inclusion. Bishop (2004) argues that this work did not “achieve a harmonious reconciliation between the two systems, but sustained the tension between them” (p. 73). Two years later, at the Venice Biennale 2003, processes of migration and boundary-making were once again the focus of Sierra’s work. Immigration officers were placed at the entrance of the Spanish Pavillion, allowing only visitors with Spanish passports to enter the building “whose interior contained nothing but gray [*sic*] paint peeling from the walls, left over from the previous year’s exhibition” (Bishop, 2004: 73). The two artworks described above demonstrate how participatory art can reflect on human relations, boundary-making, and processes of exclusion and inclusion.

While Bishop (2004) stresses that the participatory artworks she discusses do not aim to solve social issues, art provides an opportunity to change peoples’ feelings of belonging to certain social groups. Bishop herself, facing Sierra’s 2001 work, was confronted with her “own anxieties of feeling 'included’ in the Biennale” (Bishop, 2004 p. 73). This account of Bishop shows how art can evoke negative feelings of non-belonging. Artistic projects can also enhance social cohesion. Otte (2019), drawing on Robert D. Putman’s concept of bonding and bridging social capital, applies quantitative and qualitative empirical methods to find that artistic projects can support bonding and bridging between different groups and identify a “correlation between confirmative art and bonding cohesive behavior on the one hand and challenging art and bridging cohesive behavior on the other” (Otte, 2019: abstract).

Damery and Mescoly (2019) emphasize the benefits of creative and cultural projects initiated by immigrants or involving immigrants for social integration. They write that “art offers

opportunities for migrants to actively participate in the sociocultural and political environment in which they reside and to claim various forms of official and unofficial belonging whether it occurs through visibility or invisibility" (Damery & Mescoly, 2019 p. 1). Damery and Mescoly (2019) juxtapose the work of a collective of undocumented migrants called "La Voix des sans papiers de Liège" and undocumented and refugee artists joining musical groups. The first example, the work of the collective, explicitly aims to address issues around migration, whereas migrant identities are not foregrounded in the second example. In both cases, art is a "space of agency" (Damery & Mescoly, 2019 p. 1).

Artistic and creative spaces can, therefore, function as counterspaces for migrants and refugees (Hassanli et al., 2020). Counterspaces can be defined as "safe spaces that support marginalized individuals at the periphery of a dominant culture" (Cruz et al., 2021 p. ???). Discussing the interaction between research and performance, Harvey (2018) highlights the potential of artistic performance to provide hospitable spaces to "(potentially) stimulate intercultural learning by raising awareness of the individual language and communicative practices" (p. 373). Bradley et al. (2018) discuss the opportunities for using arts-based methods to develop translanguing spaces.

Boersma (2020) discusses the potential of museums to act as facilitators of integration. Based on different projects at museums in Berlin, she shows how participative projects involving migrants and locals can serve the goal of integration as a two-way process. At the same time, she points out the limitations of such initiatives, e.g., when separation and boundaries between migrants and locals are reinforced rather than emphasizing social integration.

While it is possible to enable participation and social integration of different groups through creative and artistic projects, one of the challenges that is often mentioned by researchers is that the impact of such initiatives is difficult to measure (Boersma, 2020, Rúnarsdóttir, 2020). Furthermore, creative engagement with migrants has "limits in overcoming unequal power dynamics, conveying experiences of migration and effecting long-term change in a context in which discourse on migration is dominated by short-term political decision-making, and punitive policies force migrants into precarious forms of existence" (Jefferyr et al., 2019 p. 4). Despite these limitations, creative projects can be a way to communicate research findings to a larger audience and provide an alternative, and perhaps in some ways more accessible, trajectory to traditional academic publishing (Harvey, 2018).

In Iceland, several initiatives have been developed in recent years which serve as forms of creative engagements with migration. Such projects are found both on the level of governmental

institutions (Kjartansdóttir, 2020; Rúnarsdóttir, 2020) and on the level of grassroot initiatives (Hoffmann et al., 2020; Wojtyńska et al., 2022). A few selected examples, far from a comprehensive list, will be mentioned here. Examples from the field of literature are the literary collective and small publisher Ós Pressan, which challences common perceptions of Icelandic literature as "literature written by Icelanders in Icelandic" through publishing a multilingual journal (Hoffmann et al., 2020: 192). The literary journal *Tímarit Máls og Menningar* has also "dealt directly with what it meant to be an Icelandic author" (Hoffmann et al., 2020: 192). Noteworthy literary publications in recent years are *Pólífónía af Erlendum Uppruna* (2021), which has been described as the birth of migration literature in Iceland (Björnsdóttir, 2021), and the publication of the collection of poetry titled *Ísland Pólerað* (2021) by polish-born author Ewa Marcinek by the renowned Icelandic publishing house JPV Útgáfa. In Ísland Pólerað, Marcinek writes about the immigrant experience, among other things. Publications like this contribute to reconceptualizing what counts as Icelandic literature (Hoffmann et al., 2020).

There have also been efforts to address immigrant issues in the context of museums. The exhibition "Making of an Exhibition. Iceland in the World, the World in Iceland" (2016) was curated by the National Museum of Iceland in collaboration with the department of Anthropology at the University of Iceland. It was framed "as a contribution to the social discourse and a forum for discussion and thoughts on the various related subjects, including racism, tolerance and what it entails living in an interconnected world" (Rúnarsdóttir, 2020 p. 93). Another example is Kjartansdóttir's (2020) discussion of the exhibition "The Long Apartment Block in Upper-Breiðholt" at the National Museum of Iceland in 2018. This exhibition focussed "on the cultural and personal identities of a diverse group of individuals … who all live in the same apartment building in the Upper-Breiðholt area in Iceland and share the experience of moving to Iceland from another country" (Kjartansdóttir, 2020 pp. 124–125). In her research on visitors' engagement with the exhibition, Kjartansdóttir (2020) finds that responses to the exhibition evoked "quite diverse, and sometimes conflicting, emotions among the mixed group of participants as well as feelings of both sameness and otherness" (p. 127). In Kjartansdóttir's (2020) analysis, it is clear that the exhibition informed visitors thoughts about migration. Some visitors "felt that the exhibition changed their preconceived ideas about immigrants in Iceland while for others it affirmed their preconceptions" (Kjartansdóttir, 2020 p. 126).

While migration issues are increasingly present in the Icelandic arts, in his research on the Icelandic policy, Sigurjónsson (2020; 2021) emphasizes that, despite the strong emphasis on participation in the Icelandic Cultural Policy from 2013, there is no mention of immigrants and their

contribution to the Icelandic cultural field in this document. Sigurjónsson (2020) points out that the Icelandic Cultural Policy does not use the opportunity to mention the importance of the stream of foreign artists' coming to Iceland or the participation of immigrants in Icelandic cultural events in the chapter about Icelandic in an international context. Furthermore, he argues that the Icelandic cultural policy sees Icelandic as a given and as essential for entering the Icelandic cultural field, not considering that some of the actors and participants in the cultural field might speak other languages than Icelandic as a first language. *"Íslenskan er hið gefna, það sem skilgreinir hvað er inni og hvað er fyrir utan, og ekki er gert ráð fyrir þeim möguleika að Íslendingar, borgarar, almenningur, börn, listamenn eða aðrir geti átt sér annað móðurmál en íslensku."* In English, "Icelandic is the given, that defines what is inside and what is outside, and there is no possibility that Icelanders, citizens, the general public, children, artists or others can have a mother tongue other than Icelandic." (Sigurjónsson, 2020 p. 107).

7. Conclusion

This research reported on in this dissertation set out to identify immigrants' experiences of integration in the receiving society based on an analysis of a case study of adult immigrants in Iceland. While traditionally, objective, and easily measurable economic and social factors are applied as indicators of integration, in this thesis, integration is understood as a multifaceted process covering social, economic, and political factors. I follow recent studies in integration research that refer to immigrants' subjective experiences as indicators of integration, which enable me to highlight aspects relevant to immigrants' integration according to their own accounts.

Finding the terms to describe immigrants' experiences was part of the research process, which is reflected in the articles constituting this thesis. Being aware of the critique of the term "integration" (Rytter, 20199; Wieviorka, 2014), the term "inclusion" was used in the first article. As I continued to reflect on the terms, I decided to follow studies that advocate for a redefinition, or broader definition, of integration instead of abandoning it. This, I understand integration as immigrants' subjective experiences (Arcand et al., 2020; Paparusso, 2019). Article II considers multiple factors of integration, both objective and subjective (Hoffmann et al., 2022a), and Article IV applies a perspective on immigrant integration that focusses on subjective accounts of immigrants' emotions in response to the receiving society, particularly the aspect of language, shifting the perspective towards factors important according to immigrants' own accounts (Wojtyńska et al., 2022). .

Article II highlights how the findings differ depending on the measures used as indicators of integration (Hoffmann et al., 2022a). When social factors such as frequency of visits to Icelanders and participation in associations and activities are used as measures of integration, immigrants who are highly digitally connected to their countries of origin are less integrated in receiving communities as seen by lower levels of social contacts to Icelanders. In contrast, when immigrants' contact to Icelanders online and their use of Icelandic media are used as indicators of integration, those who are more digitally connected to their countries of origin are also more integrated in receiving communities. However, when subjective experiences in the receiving society, such as immigrants' opinion about the public discourse about immigrants in Iceland, their trust in institutions in Iceland, their experiences of discrimination, and their satisfaction with life in Iceland are used, these factors indicate no difference between highly connected and less connected immigrants. When the political factor of voting in municipal elections is considered, the findings indicate that integration was associated with less contact to people's countries of origin.

Language emerges as a central theme in in the qualitative studies incorporated in this dissertation. This was the case both when I asked immigrants explicitly about language, such as in the interviews conducted by me, and in cases where language was not explicitly addressed by the interviewer, and in some of the ethnographic research conducted by the co-authors of the first article. Immigrants' language learning processes or interactions with the Icelandic speaking community is a significant part of their everyday life in Iceland. Immigrants are generally motivated to learn the language. Article I and II indicate that sixty percent agree or strongly agree with the statement that immigrants moving to their municipality in Iceland must learn Icelandic and many take steps to learn the language, with 82% of participants having attended an Icelandic language course (Hoffmann et al., 2021; Hoffmann et al., 2022a). The findings of Article III depict language learning as a highly situated activity which is influenced by the learners' individual circumstances and the conditions provided by the receiving society (Hoffmann et al., forthcoming). The complex, individual journeys and often conflicting emotions involved in the process of language learning (Krumm, 2013; Norton, 2013; Phipps, 2013; Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018) are not the focus of current discourse about language and migration in Iceland, which frames language as being key to integration and societal participation (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007; Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017). A consequence of this focus is that responsibility for integration and language learning is primarily placed on immigrants.

While some learners of Icelandic gave positive accounts of their learning process, such as a woman who said ,"I cannot say that I have negative experience. I have quite the opposite actually." (Hoffmann & Holm, forthcoming p. 12), challenges entering the Icelandic speaking community also emerged. When looked at through a relational lens with integration as a two-way process, there are few efforts to encourage the linguistic tolerance (Jørgensen & Quist, 2001) of Icelandic native speakers, and it is not mentioned explicitly in policy documents (Alþingi, 2016; Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007). The necessity of such efforts is, however, shown in the accounts of the learners' themselves who can feel discouraged, demotivated and excluded (Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017). This can be seen in one account of a learner who tells of how a negative experience discouraged her from using the language for a significant amount of time, saying that "there was this woman who said that I speak Icelandic like a child. ... So that's why it took me 7 years to speak Icelandic" (Hoffmann & Holm, forthcoming p. 13). One can say that this person experienced majority language anxiety (Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018) due to linguistic discrimination. Another example demonstrating the necessity of efforts increasing the linguistic tolerance of native speakers came in 2019 when two different petrol station chains set up signs to ask native Icelandic speaking customers to show foreign

workers “patience and goodwill” (Fontaine, 2019 para. 3). This example demonstrates the necessity for adaptation and patience towards learners of Icelandic and demonstrates the reality of multilingualism in workplaces in Iceland, particularly in sectors that employ many immigrants (Napierała & Wojtyńska, 2016).

An expression of the necessity of grassroots initiatives such as the creative practice presented in Article V enable space for visibility of Icelandic with an accent. An example is the work of artist Sonja Kovačević who braided braided together the pages of two books one-by-one, a book on learning Iceland and a book on the ethics of migration. This work demonstrates in a pointed and visual way what sociolinguistics such as Krumm (2013) have expressed in academic language: that ethical responsibilities and considerations in context of immigrants’ processes of language learning need to be intertwined (Wojtyńska et al., 2022). This event aimed to create an inclusive space for sharing common experiences and indicates the importance of hospitable counterspaces (Cruz et al, 2021; Hassanli et al., 2020, Harvey, 2018) to highlight the emotional, subjective experiences of integration and language learning. Similarly, work such as the initiatives of the multilingual publishing collective Ós Pressan show that “[i]“n a country that rightly prides itself on its literary past and present, participating in literature production is a way of claiming social space, printed, virtual, and physical, for immigrants and other marginalized people” (Hoffmann et al., 2020 p. 211). This is beneficial to the integration process. Krumm (2013) describes it as a necessity for integration “to construct communicative processes not only as functional information transfer, but also to see them as situations which have to create a feeling of safety and trust for migrants” (p. 171).

Prior studies highlight how both the communicative and symbolic value of the language informs immigrants’ language choices (Henry, 20166). Article I and III show that most immigrants express a communicative, utilitarian perspective towards learning the language, emphasizing the usefulness of the language for better job prospects and to communicate with friends and family members (Hoffmann et al., 2021; Hoffmann & Holm, forthcoming). While there is traditionally a strong connection between the Icelandic language and Icelandic national identity (Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017), learners of Icelandic in most cases do not describe learning the language to develop a new identity or as a symbol of identification with the receiving community (Hoffmann et al., 2021). There is, therefore, a discrepancy between immigrants’ utilitarian perspectives towards the language and language ideologies that see language as a marker of national identity and “rooted in and directly expressing the essential nature of a community or a speaker” (Woolard, 2016: 20).

As Sigurjónsson's (2020) analysis of the Icelandic cultural policy shows, the Icelandic language is framed as a prerequisite of societal membership, indicating that the prevailing language ideologies have implications for different sectors and different areas of immigrants' lives. This shows how "people—and organizations—*do things* with categories. This includes limiting access to scarce resources or particular domains of activity by excluding categorically distinguished outsiders" (Brubaker, 2002 p. 169). This is also reflected in immigrants' accounts of participating in the Icelandic speaking community, with some mentioning a sense of linguistic gatekeeping and that the dominant language ideologies may be intimidating for learners, for example when the grammar is being depicted as especially difficult and inaccessible for learners. One participant described the difference between representations of the language and its actual level of difficulty as follows: "We create a mountain of a language … But I think people should, you have to separate, umm, fear of climbing the mountain from the actual facts" (Article III).

This shows the importance of the reception by the receiving community in immigrants' integration processes and the attitudes and categories immigrants are confronted with. Considering Simpson and Whiteside's (2015) claim that the governments' views about integration can be determined by their investment in the participation of new members, it is noteworthy that, in Iceland and the Faroe Island,s there is a strong focus on assuring the future of the language in the digital age, while less attention has been paid to developing the two insular Nordic languagesasadditional languages as is discussed in ArticleIII (Hoffmann & Holm, forthcoming).

The specific conditions of smaller language communities shape immigrants' perspectives on integration through language ideologies, such as attitudes of authenticity, which can pose obstacles to immigrants' integration (Woolard, 2016; Article III). The culture and language attitudes in Iceland are shaped by ideas of linguistic and cultural homogeneity and purism (Bade, 2019). This leads to the question under what conditions non-native speakers of Icelandic are considered "legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1977 p. 650). Some accounts of learners show that they recognized the limitations of acquiring the receiving country language for societal membership, indicating that factors in addition to language were also relevant for achieving membership in the receiving society. One learner stated that, "[p]ersonally, I don't believe that you can be part of society without the language, but I also know that the language wouldn't make you part of society, especially not in Iceland" (Hoffmann et al., 2021 p. 10*)*. This brings to mind Blommaert's (2013) statement that "learning 'a language' is never enough" because of the pressure on immigrants' to acquire not only a language but the standard variety of a language, based on "a monofocal and generative view of 'standard' as the unique instrument for integration" (p. 195).

Language is, therefore, a significant part of immigrants' everyday experiences of integration in Icelandic society. The participant cited above described language as what Simpson and Whiteside (2015) have described as a *sine qua non*, an essential condition, of integration. However, while some see language as a prerequisite for integration (Bian, 2017; Tip et al., 2019), framing language as a basic requirement for involvement in society can hinder other forms of experiencing belonging and becoming involved in society (Wojtyńska et al., 2022). This can also mean that other forms of societal involvement, such as participation in the labour market or local associations and activities, are understood as secondary and not constituent of societal membership if the immigrant is not also a legitimate member of the Icelandic speaking community. Other factors that can facilitate immigrants feeling welcome in a new society are not considered in this framework. The strong emphasis on language in policy documents and the public discourse echoes an argument echoesby Krumm (2013). "One could say that the whole complex process of integration has been reduced to one element, a certain mastery of the host country's language" (Krumm, 2013 p. 168). Furthermore, a distinction has to be drawn between plurilingualism and pluriculturalism as is discussed in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages stating that "good knowledge of the culture of a community but a poor knowledge of its language, or poor knowledge of a community whose dominant language is nevertheless well mastered" (Council of Europe. Common European Framework of Reference for Languages 2000: 122). Cultural differences, such as for example fitting societal expectations of parental roles, have been reported by immigrants to impact their feeling of integration in the receiving society (Hoffmann et al., 2022b).

Considering the strong assumptions and implications about immigrants' language learning processes, it is of interest to shift the perspective towards the role of subjective experiences for integration and to investigate what role language plays for immigrants' satisfaction with life in the receiving society. The analysis of different aspects of immigrants' linguistic repertoires of self-reported Icelandic skills, use of Icelandic, and self-reported English skills shows that immigrants' linguistic repertoires were not associated with immigrants' life satisfaction and trust in institutions In Iceland (Hoffmann et al., under review). The findings of this research challenge the idea that proficiency in the language of the receiving country leads to more satisfaction with life and that language is a basic requirement for integration (Bian, 2017; Tip et al., 2019). Factors associated with immigrants' satisfaction with life and trust in institutions of the receiving society were their social connections to Icelanders and experiences of discrimination. The findings discussed in Article V challenge the notion of language as being key to integration, which is prevalent in many studies. It is noteworthy that both Icelandic skills and knowledge of the *lingua franca* of English were not

associated with immigrants' life satisfaction and trust in institutions because English skills could be assumed to play a role in immigrants' experiences in Icelandic society as the language is widely spoken in Iceland and increasingly used in workplaces in Iceland (Napierała & Wojtynska, 2016).

Article IV shows that, instead of language as a marker of integration, findings show that immigrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in the receiving society were more relevant predictors of their life satisfaction and trust than their linguistic repertoire (Hoffmann et al., under review). Not experiencing discrimination is a highly significant predictor of immigrants' life satisfactions and trust in the institutions of the receiving society. This confirms studies indicating the strong relationship between life satisfaction and feelings of belonging in receiving communities (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015). Indeed, prior studies have shown that perceived discrimination was negatively associated with immigrants' satisfaction with life in the receiving society and intentions to stay (Özkan et al., 2021).

Comparing life satisfaction and trust in institutions amongst immigrants in Iceland, the findings of Article IV indicate that immigrants report lower satisfaction with life in Iceland and lower levels of trust than native Icelanders (Hoffmann et al., under review). The finding that immigrants' report lower levels of trust in institutions than Icelanders' is particularly noteworthy because it stands in contrast to many international studies that show that immigrants report higher levels of trust in institutions than natives (Correia, 2010; Michelson, 2003). This finding could possibly be explained by the high levels of life satisfaction and trust in institutions in Iceland, meaning that, when immigrants' use their countries of origin as a frame of reference, they indicate lower levels of life satisfaction and trust in institutions. Article IV further indicates that an improved economic position was not associated with higher levels of life satisfaction (Hoffmann et al., under review). The findings regarding levels of trust in the institutions in the receiving society confirm prior research indicating that those who consume Icelandic media more express lower levels of trust in institutions in Iceland (Hoffmann et al., under review), which has previously been found by Ólafs and Zielinska (2010). The negative association between knowledge about the receiving society and trust in institutions has previously been found in other contexts as well (Correia, 2010; Michelson, 2003; Röder & Mühlau, 2012) and was described so pointedly by Wenzel (2006) with the sentence "To know us is not to love us" (p. 1089). This also confirms studies indicating a positive relationship between a longer length of stay in the receiving society and lower levels of trust in institutions (Röder & Mühlau, 2012; Wilkes, & Wu, 2019).

The findings Article II show immigrants' parallel integration in multiple communities (Hoffmann et al., 2022a). The findings show that immigrantsi are integrated in multiple online and

offline communities. Staying in touch with their countries of origin through media and social media is a part of the daily lives of immigrants, with 51% consuming news media from their countries of origin daily or almost daily, 49 % connecting to their countries of origin through social media daily or almost daily, and 34 % connecting with people from their countries of origin living in Iceland daily or almost daily. Drawing on Berry's (1997) framework of integration as biculturalism, an immigrant maintaining ties to their places of origin and place of residence means that immigrants practice a type of digital biculturalism (Hoffmann et al., 2022a). The analysis shows that frequent interactions with immigrants' place of origin online was associated with active involvement in online communities in the immigrants' place of residence, but with less involvement in offline activities in the receiving communities in terms of participation in clubs and activities and visiting and being visited by Icelanders (Hoffmann et al., 2022a).

Furthermore, social anchoring can also be experienced in the context of online communities which can also provide the benefits of a "sense of shared space, rituals of shared practices, and exchanges of social support" (Baym, 2010 p. 86). This indicates that two distinct spheres of integration through offline and online spaces need to be distinguished. For some immigrants who use social media and other media particularly actively, this can be the main space of connecting and building community. As Miller (2021 p. 89) writes, "social media can effectively become the primary 'home' for an individual". The findings in Article II further indicate that immigrants' bonds to their countries of origin through media use are not a sign of reactive transnationalism (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002) due to negative experiences in the receiving society (Hoffmann et al., 2022a)). This indicates that immigrants can experience integration in different communities at the same time. This brings to mind Blommaert (2013 p. 194) who writes that "'[b]eing integrated,' we can see, means being capable of making oneself understood in a wide variety of social environments."

This study shows that immigrants' transnational activities through media and their integration in receiving communities can positively reinforce each other, at least regarding activities in the digital space. This analysis thus confirms prior finding that "the process of incorporation does not weaken transnational participation, at least not in the first generation" (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002 p. 789).

Trust in institutions and interactions with spaces such as language schools are significant for immigrants' life satisfaction, as studies indicate that positive experiences with institutions enhance peoples' life satisfaction (Berggren & Bjørnskov, 2020). The importance of feeling included and belonging was also relevant in the context of Icelandic language courses, which can function as

contact zones (Canagarajah, 1999; Heinemann, 20188; Shardakova & Pavlenko, 2004). The findings of Article I indicate that immigrants expressed dissatisfaction with the quality and availability of courses when discussing the impact of formal language education on their acquisition of the local language (Hoffmann et al., 2021). Article I and IV show that there were practical obstacles, such as a lack of the practical utility of class knowledge and the lack of availability of courses in rural areas (Hoffmann et al., 2021, Hoffmann & Holm, forthcoming). This indicates that "government responses to the language learning needs of adult migrants do not match the actual needs on the ground" (Hoffmann & Holm, fortcoming p. 3).

The Icelandic as a Second Language education programme is less standardized than similar programmes in the other Nordic countries. This lack of standardization was perceived negatively by participants. One example of this was a perceived lack of evaluations of learners at the start or the end of courses. Another challenge was mixed classrooms where students from diverse backgrounds and with different levels of proficiency in Icelandic and English were learning together. Immigrants who did not speak English and those who were illiterate faced special challenges, indicating the need to diversify ISL education to adapt to different types of learners. These students were described as burdensome by some learners (Hoffmann et al., 2021).

Rural areas of Iceland also lacked available courses as is shown in Article I and III (Hoffmann et al., 2021; Hoffmann & Holm, forthcoming). Overall, the dissatisfaction with language courses, some learners' questioning the quality of teachers' professional training, and a lack of the practical applicability of the curriculum indicate that the learners do not perceive the courses as empowering. This indicates the importance of acknowledging multiple axes of differentiation amongst immigrants in Iceland, approaching language education for immigrants through the lens of superdiversity as has been suggested by Blommaert (2013) and Vertovec (2007). In contrast to the other Nordic Countries, Iceland has not developed a coordinated, state-governed program for teaching Icelandic as a Second Language. While this could potentially be associated with more freedom for teachers to tailor their courses to the needs of specific classes, the results of the analysis presented in this thesis indicate that this is not the case. Overall, the quality and availability of language courses don't always meet learners' expectations which potentially lead to a lack of "meaningful interchanges" (Vertovec, 2007: 1045) which form an important part of integration processes. The findings show integration as a highly contextual, individual experience conditioned by immigrants' aspirations and capabilities and the framework provided by the receiving society. Immigrants can further experience feelings of belonging in multiple communities simultaneously indicating integration in multiple places.

References

Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 21*(2), 166–191. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016

Alba, R., Jiménez, T. R., & Marrow, H. B. (2014). Mexican Americans as a paradigm for contemporary intra-group heterogeneity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 37*(3), 446–466. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.786111

Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review, 31*(4), 826–874. https://doi:10.1177/019791839703100403

Alencar, A., & Deuze, M. (2017). News for assimilation or integration? Examining the functions of news in shaping acculturation experiences of immigrants in the Netherlands and Spain. *European Journal of Communication, 32*(2), 151–166. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117689993

Alghasi, S. (2009). Iranian-Norwegian media consumption. *Nordicom Review, 30*(1), 67–82. https://doi.org/10.1515/nor-2017-0139

Alþingi. (2016). Framkvæmdaáætlun í málefnum innflytjenda 2016–2019 [Immigration Action Plan 2016–2019]. *Þingskjal* 1285–765. https://www.althingi.is/altext/145/s/1285.html

Amit, K. (2010). Determinants of life satisfaction among immigrants from Western Countries and from the FSU in Israel. *Social Indicators Research, 96*(3), 515–534. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40649333

Amit, K. & Bar-Lev, S. (2015). Immigrants' sense of belonging to the host country: the role of life satisfaction, language proficiency, and religious motives. *Social Indicators Research 124*(3), 947–961. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-014-0823-3

Amireault, V. (2019). Integration process and identity redefinition of Chinese adult learners of French as a second language in Quebec. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 19*(6), 365–378. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2019.1676159

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities.* Verso.

Anderson, B., & Blinder, S. (2019). *Who counts as a migrant? Definitions and their consequences* (Briefing 6th revision). The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford. https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Briefing-Who-Counts-as-a-Migrant-Definitions-and-their-Consequences.pdf

Angelini, V., Casi, L., & Corazzini, L. (2015). Life satisfaction of immigrants: does cultural assimilation matter? *Journal of Population Economics 28*(3), 817—844. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-015-0552-1

Arcand, S., Facal, J. and Armony, V. (2020). Understanding the integration process through the concept of trust: a case study of Latin American professionals in Québec. *Journal of International Migration and Integration 22*(2), 749–767. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-020-00765-2

Bade, S. (2019). Evaluations of foreign accent in a purist speech community. In J.A. Villena-Ponsoda, F. Diaz Montesinos, A.M. Avila-Munoz, & M.V. Castro (eds.), *Language variation-European perspectives VII: Selected papers from the Ninth International Conference on Language Variation in Europe* (pp. 53–70). John Benjamins.

Bakewell, O. (2021). Unsettling the boundaries between forced and voluntary migration. In E. Carmel, K. Lenner, & R. Paul (eds.), *Handbook on the Governance and Politics of Migration* (pp. 124-136). Elgar Handbooks in Migration.

Ballarino, G., & Panichella, N. (2018). The occupational integration of migrant women in Western European Labour Markets. *Acta Sociologica, 61*(2), 126–142. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699317723441

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Polity Press.

Barillé, S. & Meckl, M. (2017). Immigrants' experiences of happiness and well-being in Northern Iceland. *Nordicum-Mediterraneum, 12*(1). https://doi.org/10.33112/nm.12.1.3.

Baym, N.K. (2010). *Personal connections in the digital age.* Polity.

Berggren, N., & Bjørnskov, C. (2020). Institutions and life satisfaction. In K. Zimmermann (Eds.) *Handbook of Labor, Human Resources and Population Economics* (pp. 1–48). Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57365-6_192-1

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology, 46*(1), 5–34. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x

Bian, C. The potential of transnational language policy to promote social inclusion of immigrants: An analysis and evaluation of the European Union's INCLUDE project. *Int Rev Educ 63*(1), 475–494 (2017). https://doi.org/10.1007/s11159-017-9655-

Bierwiaczonek, K., & Kunst, J. R. (2021). Revisiting the integration hypothesis: Correlational and longitudinal meta-analyses demonstrate the limited role of acculturation for

cross-cultural adaptation. *Psychological Science, 32*(9), 1476–1493. https://doi.org/10.1177/09567976211006432

Bishop, C. (2004). Antagonism and relational aesthetics. *October*, *110*(1), 51–79. https://doi.org/10.1162/0162287042379810

Bishop, C. (2006). The social turn: collaborations and its discontents. *Artforum 44*(6), 178–183. https://www.artforum.com/print/200602/the-social-turn-collaboration-and-its-discontents-10274

Bishop, C. (2010). *Participation*. Whitechapel.

Bjarnason, T., Stevenson, C., Shuttleworth, I., & Meckl, M. (2020). Spatial mobility and tolerance towards immigrants: The case of Northern Iceland. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 43*(10), 1813–1832, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1667003

Björnsdóttir, S. (2021, December). *Pólífónía af erlendum uppruna*. Bókmenntaborgin. https://bokmenntaborgin.is/bokmenntavefur/bokmenntaumfjollun/polifonia-af-erlendum-uppruna-0/

Blommaert, J. (2013). Citizenship, language, and superdiversity: towards complexity. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 12*(3), 193–196. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2013.797276

Boersma, S. (2020). Facilitators of integration? The potential role of museums in integration as a two-way process. *Museological Review, 24*(1), 114–123. https://le.ac.uk/~/media/uol/docs/academic-departments/museum-studies/museological-review/mr-issues-24.pdf?la=en

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information, 16*(6), 645–668. https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847701600601

Bradley, J., Moore, E., Simpson, J., & Atkinson, L. (2018). Translanguaging spaces and creative activity: theorising collaborative art-based learning. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 18*(1), 54–73. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2017.1401120

Braun, V., and Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic Analysis. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K. J. Sher (Eds.), APA Handbook of Research Methods in Psychology, Vol. 2: Research Designs: Quantitative, Qualitative, Neuropsychological, and Biological (pp. 57-71). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Brubaker, R. (2002). Ethnicity without groups. *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv für Soziologie, 43*(2), 163–189. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003975602001066

Brzozowski, J. (2019). Entrepreneurship and economic integration of immigrants: A critical review of literature. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation Management, 23*(6), 584–604. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJEIM.2019.102803

Campomori, F., & Caponio, T. (2013). Competing frames of immigrant integration in the EU: Geographies of social inclusion in Italian regions. *Policy Studies, 34*(2), 162–179. https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2013.767586

Canagarajah, A. S. (1999). *Resisting linguistic imperialism in English language teaching.* Oxford University Press.

Castles, S. (2003). Towards a sociology of forced migration and social transformation. *Sociology, 37*(1), 13–34. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038503037001384

Chiswick, B.R., & Miller, P.W. (2001). A model of destination-language acquisition: Application to male immigrants in Canada. *Demography 38*(1), 391–409. https://doi.org/10.1353/dem.2001.0025

Choi, I., Choi, H., Lim, J., Jung, S., Kim, J., & Kim, J. (2019). Predictors of life satisfaction among multicultural African families in South Korea. *Journal of Psychology in Africa 29*(1), 7–12. https://doi.org/10.1080/14330237.2019.1569301

Clarke, M., & Hennig, B. (2013). Motivation as ethical self-formation. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 45*(1), 77–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2012.715386

Council of Europe. (2000). *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.

Correia, M. E. (2010). Determinants of attitudes toward police of Latino immigrants and non-immigrants. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 38*(1), 99–107. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2009.11.012

Crul, M. (2016). Super-diversity vs. assimilation: How complex diversity in majority–minority cities challenges the assumptions of assimilation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 42*(1), 54–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2015.1061425

Crul, M., & Schneider, J. (2010). Comparative integration context theory: Participation and belonging in new diverse European cities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 33*(7), 1249–1268. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419871003624068

Cruz, E. P., Sriwattanakomen, N., Hammer, J., & Kaufman, G. (2021). Counterspace games for BIWOC stem students. *Extended Abstracts of the 2021 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, 453*, 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1145/3411763.3451811

Czaika, M., & de Haas, H. (2014). The globalization of migration: Has the world become more migratory? *International Migration Review, 48*(2), 283–323. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12095

Damery, S., & Mescoli, E. (2019). Harnessing visibility and invisibility through arts practices: Ethnographic case studies with migrant performers in Belgium. *Arts, 8*(2), 11–17. https://doi.org/10.3390/arts8020049

Dávila, A., Bohara, A.K., & Sáenz, R. (1991). Accent penalties and the earnings of Mexican American men. *Social Science Quarterly, 74*(1), 902–916. https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/shri_publications/2/

De Haas, H. (2021). A theory of migration: The aspirations-capabilities framework. *Comparative Migration Studies, 9*(1), 1–35. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-020-00210-4

Diener, E., Emmons, R.A., Larsen, R.J. & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale, *Journal of Personality Assessment, 49*(1), 71–75. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4901_13

Diminescu, D. (2008). The connected migrant: An epistemological manifesto. *Social Science Information, 47*(4), 565–579. https://doi.org/10.1177/0539018408096447

Diminescu, D. (2019). Researching the connected migrant. In K. Smets, K. Leurs, M. Georgiou, S. Witteborn & R. Gajjala (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Media and Migration* (pp. 77–78). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526476982.n12

Directorate of Labour. (2020). *Studies and courses.* https://vinnumalastofnun.is/en/counselling-studies-and-courses/icelandic-courses

Durkheim, E. (1933). *The division of labor in society* (2nd ed.). The free press of Glencoe.

Egilson, S. Þ., Ottósdóttir, G., & Skaptadóttir, U.D. (2020). The intersection of childhood disability and migration in family lives. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research, 22*(1), 25–34. https://doi.org/10.16993/sjdr.689

Einarsdóttir, Þ., Heijstra, T. M., & Guðbjörg, L. R. (2018). The politics of diversity: Social and political integration of immigrants in Iceland. *Stjórnmál ogo Stjórnsýsla, 14*(1), 131–148. https://doi.org/10.13177/irpa.a.2018.14.1.6

El Hariri, K., Gunnþórsdóttir, H., Meckl, M. (2020). Syrian students at the Arctic Circle in Iceland. In N. Yeasmin, W. Hasanat, J. Brzozowski & S. Kirchner (Eds.), *Immigration in the Circumpolar North: Integration and Resilience* (pp. 17–37). Routledge.

Ellenberger, Í. (2019). Transculturation, contact zones and gender on the periphery. An example from Iceland 1890–1920. *Women's History Review 28*(7), 1078–1095. https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2019.1603267

Emilsson Peskova, R. (August 2021). School experience of plurilingual children: A multiple case study from Iceland. [PhD thesis]. University of Iceland. https://opinvisindi.is/handle/20.500.11815/2648

Esser, H. (2006). *Migration, Sprache und integration*. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).

Flores, N. (2013). The unexamined relationship between neoliberalism and plurilingualism: A cautionary tale. *TESOL Quarterly, 47*(3), 500–520. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.114

Flores, N., & García, O. (2013). Linguistic third spaces in education: Teachers' translanguaging across the bilingual continuum. In D. Little, C. Leung, & P. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Managing diversity in education* (pp. 243—256). Multilingual Matters.

Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in Education. *Harvard Educational Review, 85*(2), 149–171. https://doi.org/10.17763/0017-8055.85.2.149

Fontaine, A.S. (2019, May 28). Icelanders asked to show foreign workers "patience and goodwill". The Reykjavík Grapevine. https://grapevine.is/news/2019/05/28/icelanders-asked-to-show-foreign-workers-patience-and-goodwill

García, O. (2017). Problematizing linguistic integration of migrants: The role of translanguaging and language teachers. In J. Beacco, H. Krumm, D. Little & P. Thalgott (Eds.), *The Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants / L'intégration linguistique des migrants adults: Some lessons from research / Les enseignements de la recherche* (pp. 11–26). De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110477498-005

Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 645*(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33484.x

Glick-Schiller, N. (2018). Theorising transnational migration in our times: A multiscalar temporal perspective. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research, 8*(4), 201–212. https://doi.org/10.2478/njmr-2018-0032

Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc, C. S. (1995). From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological Quarterly, 68*(1), 48–63. https://doi.org/10.2307/3317464

Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life the role of Race, religion and national origins*. Oxford University Press.

Grillo, R. (2011). Danes and others. In K. F. Olwig & K. Pærregaard (Eds.), *The question of integration: Immigration, exclusion and the Danish welfare state,* 266–276. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. (2018). From connecting to social anchoring: adaptation and 'settlement' of Polish migrants in the UK, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44*(2), 252-269. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341713

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A., & Phillimore, J. (2018). Introduction: rethinking integration. new perspectives on adaptation and settlement in the era of super-diversity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44*(2), 179–196. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2017.1341706

Gunnþórsdóttir, H., Barillé, S., & Meckl, M. (2018). The education of students with immigrant background in Iceland: Parents' and teachers' voices. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 63*(4), 605–616. https://doi.org/10.1080/00313831.2017.1415966

Guðjónsdóttir, G., & Loftsdóttir, K. (2016). Being a desirable migrant: Perception and racialisation of Icelandic migrants in Norway. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 43*(5), 791–808. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2016.1199268

Harris, J. & Todaro, M., 1970. Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis. *American Economic Association, 60*(1), 126–142.

Harvey, L. (2018). Adapting intercultural research for performance: Enacting hospitality in interdisciplinary collaboration and public engagement. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, *17*(4), 371–387. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022217722338

Harvey, L., Tordzro, G., & Bradley, J. (2022). Beyond and besides language: Intercultural Communication and Creative Practice. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 22*(2), 103–110. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2022.2049114

Hassanli, N., Walters, T., & Friedmann, R. (2020). Can cultural festivals function as counterspaces for migrants and refugees? The case of the New Beginnings Festival in Sydney. *Leisure Studies, 39*(2), 165–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2019.1666296

Hayfield, E. A. (2022). Ethics in small island research: Reflexively navigating multiple relations. Shima: *The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures, 16*(2). https://doi.org/10.21463/shima.164

Heath, A. F., & Schneider, S. L. (2021). Dimensions of migrant integration in Western Europe. *Frontiers in Sociology, 6*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2021.510987

Hedberg, C., & Haandrikman, K. (2014). Repopulation of the Swedish countryside: Globalisation by International Migration. *Journal of Rural Studies, 34*, 128–138. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2014.01.005

Heikkilä, E., Vanhanen, S., & Linnatsalo, S. (2022). Is language the key to work? Integration of immigrants and dynamics of the labour markets in Turku, Southwest Finland. In N. Yeasmin, S. Uusiautti, T. Koivurova, & T. Heleniak (Eds.), *The future of the Arctic human population. Migration in the North* (pp. 11–25). Routledge.

Heinemann, A. M. (2018). The making of 'good citizens': German courses for migrants and refugees. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 49*(2), 177–195. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2018.1453115

Henry, A. M. (2016). Swedish or English? Migrants' experiences of the exchangeability of language resources. *International journal of bilingual education and bilingualism, 19*(4), 442–463. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2015.1008979

Hoffmann, L., Barillé, S., & Meckl, M. (2020). Gender specific challenges in migration to Iceland. In M. Meckl & H. Gunnþórsdóttir (Eds.), *Samfélag fjölbreytileikans: Samskipti heimamanna og innflytjenda á Íslandi* (pp. 111–123). University of Akureyri.

Hoffmann, L., Barillé, S., & Meckl, M. (2022b). Equality for all? Migration and gender equality in Iceland. In N. Yeasmin, S. Uusiautti, T. Koivurova, & T. Heleniak (Eds.), *The future of the Arctic human population. Migration in the North* (pp. 45–56). Routledge.

Hoffmann, L., Höller, Y., Meckl, M. (under review). Rethinking integration beyond language? Exploring determinants of immigrants' life satisfaction and trust in institutions in the receiving society.

Hoffmann, L., & Holm, E. (forthcoming). Learning insular Nordic languages: Comparative perspectives on migrants' experiences learning Faroese and Icelandic. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research, X*(X), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.33134/njmr.474

Hoffmann, L., Innes, P., Wojtyńska, A., & Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2021). Adult immigrants' perspectives on courses in Icelandic as a second language: Structure, content, and inclusion in the receiving society. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2021.1988855

Hoffmann, L., Jónsson, Þ. A., & Meckl, M. (2022). Migration and community in an age of digital connectivity: A survey of media use and integration amongst migrants in Iceland. *Nordicom Review, 43*(1), 19–37. https://doi.org/10.2478/nor-2022-0002

Hoffmann, L., Rawlings, A., & Stebbins, R. (2020). Multilingual writing in Iceland: The reception of Ós Pressan and its members nationally and internationally. *Milli Mála, 12*, 191–220. https://doi.org/10.33112/millimala.12.7

Hofhuis, J., Hanke, K., & Rutten, T. (2019). Social network sites and acculturation of international sojourners in the Netherlands: The mediating role of psychological alienation and online social support. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 69*, 120–130. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.02.002

Holm, A.E. (2021) New times in the Faroe Islands. New Speakers of Faroese and the sociolinguistics of labour market inclusion: Challenges and opportunities. [Unpublished PhD thesis]. Heriot-Watt University.

Ingvarsson, L., Egilson, S. T., & Skaptadóttiró, U. D. (2016). "I want a normal life like everyone else": Daily Life of asylum seekers in Iceland. *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy, 23*(6), 416–424. https://doi.org/10.3109/11038128.2016.1144787

Innes, P. (2015). Icelandic language schools after the crash. In E. P. Durrenberger & G. Pálsson (Eds.), *Gambling debt: Iceland's rise and fall in the global economy* (pp. 187–199). University of Colorado Press. https://rafhladan.is/bitstream/handle/10802/9053/9781607323358.pdf?sequence=1

Innes, P. (2020). Icelanders' opinions on the role of the state in teaching Icelandic to foreigners. In L. Siragusa & J. K. Ferguson (Eds.), *Responsibility and language practices in place* (pp. 175–194). Studia Fennica Anthropologica. https://doi.org/10.21435/sfa.5

Ísberg, R. N. (2010). *Migration and cultural transmission: Making a home in Iceland* [Unpublished PhD thesis]. University of London.

Itzigsohn, J., & Saucedo, S. G. (2002). Immigrant incorporation and sociocultural transnationalism. *International Migration Review, 36*(3), 766–798. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2002.tb00104.x

Jørgensen, J. N., & Quist, P. (2001). Native speakers' judgements of second language Danish. *Language Awareness, 10*(1), 41–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658410108667024

Jóhannesson, G.T.H., Pétursson, G.T., & Björnsson, T. (2013). *Eudo citizenship observatory country report: Iceland.* EUDO Citizenship Observatory Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/19617/RSCAS_EUDO_CIT_CR_2013_08.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y

Jeffery, L., Palladino, M., Rotter, R., & Woolley, A. (2019). Creative engagement with migration. *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture*, *10*(1), 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1386/cjmc.10.1.3_1

Jespersen, A.B. & Hejná, M. (2021). Second language learners of Danish as the linguistic other. *Otherness: Essays and Studies, 8*(3), 128–161.

Júlíusdóttir, M., Skaptadóttir, U. D., & Karlsdóttir, A. (2013). Gendered migration in turbulent times in Iceland. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography, 67*(5), 266–275. https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2013.847483

Karlsdóttir, A., & Jóhannesson, G. (2016). Tourists as migrants/migrants as entrepreneurs – the agency of the visitor's eye. In D. Rancew- Sikora & U. D. Skaptadóttir (Eds.), *Mobility to the edges of Europe: The case of Iceland and Poland* (pp. 38-65). Scholar Publishing House.

King-O'Riain, R. C. (20155). Emotional streaming and transconnectivity: Skype and emotion practices in transnational families in Ireland. *Global Networks, 15*(2), 256–273. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12072

Kivisto, P. (2003). Social Spaces, transnational immigrant communities, and the politics of Incorporation. *Ethnicities, 3*(1), 5–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796803003001786

Kjartansdóttir, K. (2020). Visitor engagement with the temporary photography exhibition The Long Apartment Block in Upper-Breiðholt at the National Museum of Iceland *Museological Review 24*(1), 124–134. https://le.ac.uk/-/media/uol/docs/academic-departments/museum-studies/museological-review/mr-issues-24.pdf

Klarenbeek, L. M. (2019). Reconceptualising 'integration as a two-way process.' *Migration Studies, 9*(3), 902–921. https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnz033

Kristinsson, A. (2018). National language policy and planning in Iceland—Aims and institutional activities. In G. Stickel (Eds.), *National language institutions and national languages* (pp. 243–249). Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Kristjánsdóttir, E. & Christiansen, Þ. (2019). „Hana langar ekki að missa mig": Upplifun háskólamenntaðra innflytjenda frá Filippseyjum af samskiptum og aðlögun á íslenskum vinnumarkaði. *Íslenska þjóðfélagið, 10*(2), 48–62. https://thjodfelagid.is/index.php/Th/article/view/207

Krumm, H. J. (2013). Multilingualism and identity: What linguistic biographies of migrants can tell us. In P. Siemund, I. Gogolin, M. E. Schulz, & J. Davydova (Eds.), *Multilingualism and language diversity in urban areas: Acquisition, identities, space, education* (pp. 165–176). John Benjamins.

Liu, Y., Zhang, F., Wu, F., Liu, Y., & Li, Z. (2017). The subjective wellbeing of migrants in Guangzhou, China: The impacts of the social and physical environment. *Cities, 60*, 333–342. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.10.008

Loftsdóttir, K.Loftsdóttir, K. (2015). International Development and the globally concerned European subject. *Interventions, 18*(2), 234–250. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801x.2015.1106967

Loftsdóttir, K. (2017). Being "the damned foreigner": affective national sentiments and racialization of Lithuanians in Iceland. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research, 7*(2), 70–78. https://doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2017-0012

Loftsdóttir, K., Kjartansdóttir, K., & Lund, K. A. (2017). Trapped in clichés: Masculinity, films and tourism in Iceland. *Gender, Place & Culture, 24*(9), 1225–1242. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369x.2017.1372383

Loftsdóttir, K., & Skaptadóttir, U.D. (2021). Mobility and Transnational Iceland: Current Transformations and Global Entanglements. In K. Loftsdóttir, U. D. Skaptadóttir, & S.B. Hafsteinsson (Eds.), *Mobility and Transnational Iceland: Current Transformations and Global Entanglements* (pp. 7–-22). University of Iceland Press.

Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2012). *Migration and new media: Transnational families and polymedia*. Routledge.

Marino, S. (2015). Making space, making place: Digital Togetherness and the redefinition of migrant identities online. *Social Media + Society, 1*(2), 205630511562247. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115622479

Massey, D. S., & Akresh, I. R. (2006). Immigrant intentions and mobility in a global economy: The attitudes and behavior of recently arrived U.S. immigrants. *Social Science Quarterly, 87*(1), 954–971. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2006.00410.x

Michelson, M. R. (2003). The corrosive effect of acculturation: How Mexican Americans lose political trust. *Social Science Quarterly, 84*(4), 918–933. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.0038-4941.2003.08404017.x

Miller, D. (2021). The anthropology of social media. In H. Geismar, & H. Knox (EdsE.), *Digital anthropology* (pp. 85-100). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003087885

Ministry of Social Affairs. (2007). Government policy on the integration of immigrants. https://www.government.is media/velferdarraduneyti-media/ media/acrobat-enskar_sidur/ stefna_integration_of_immigrants.pdf

Mittelstädt, A., & Odag, Ö. (2015). Social media use and social integration of ethnic minorities in Germany: A new interdisciplinary framework. *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications, 2*(1), 21–32. https://doi.org/10.30958/ajmmc.2.1.2

Mitra, A., & Evansluong, Q. (2019). Narratives of integration: Liminality in migrant acculturation through social media. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change, 145*, 474–480. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2019.01.011

Moran, C. (2022). The 'connected migrant': A scoping review. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies, 135485652210904*. https://doi.org/10.1177/13548565221090480

Napierała, J., & Wojtyńska, A. (2016). Trapped in migrants' sectors? Polish women in the Icelandic labour market. *International Migration, 55*(1), 128–141. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12295

Nedelcu, M., & Soysüren, I. (2020). Precarious migrants, migration regimes and digital technologies: The empowerment-control nexus.ecn *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 48*(8), 1821–1837. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2020.1796263

Nikulásdóttir, A. B., Guðnason, J., Ingason, A. K., Loftsson, H., Rögnvaldsson, E., Sigurðsson, E. F., & Steingrímsson, S. (2020). Language technology programme for Icelandic 2019-2023. *arXiv preprint* arXiv:2003.09244.

Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities and the language classroom. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 159—171). Pearson Education.

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2011). Identity, language learning, and social change. Language Teaching, 44(4), 412-446. https://doi:10.1017/S0261444811000309

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (2nd ed.).Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783090563

Nouh, F., Hjálmsdóttir, A.S., & Meckl, M. (2022). Arab muslim immigrant women in Iceland: Immigration experiences and future expectations. *Nordicum-Mediterraneum, 17*(3). https://doi.org/10.33112/nm.17.1.1

Ólafsdóttir, S. (2021). How welcomingw are Icelanders? Attitudes toward immigrationi over timet and in the European contextc. In K. Loftsdóttir, U. D. Skaptadóttir, & S.B. Hafsteinsson (EdsE.), *Mobility and Transnational Iceland: Current Transformations and Global Entanglements* (pp. 229—246). University of Iceland Press.

Ólafs, H., & Zielińska, M. (2010). I started to feel worse when I understood more: Polish immigrants and the Icelandic media. *Þjóðarspegillinn 2010*, 76–85

Otte, H. (2019). Bonding or bridging? on art participation and social cohesion in a rural region of the Netherlands. *Poetics, 76*, 101355. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2019.02.006

Özkan, Z., Ergün, N., & Çakal, H. (2021). Positive versus negative contact and refugees' intentions to migrate: The mediating role of perceived discrimination, life satisfaction and identification with the host society among Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology 31*(4), 438–451. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2508

Paparusso, A. (2019). Studying immigrant integration through self-reported life satisfaction in the country of residence. *Applied Research in Quality of Life, 14*(2), 479–505. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-018-9624-1

Patterson, J., & Leurs, K. (2019). We live here, and we are queer!: Young gay connected migrants' transnational ties and integration in the Netherlands. *Media and Communication, 7*(1), 90–101. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v7i1.1686

Pavlenko, A., & Norton, B. (2007). Imagined communities, identity, and English language learning. In J. Cummins, && C. Davison (Eds), *Springer International Handbooks of Education: Vol. 15. International Handbook of English Language Teaching* (pp. 669–680). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-46301-8_43

Penninx, R. (2005). Integration of migrants: Economic, social, cultural and political dimensions. In M. Macura, A.L. Haug, & W. MacDonald (Eds.), *The new demographic regime: Population challenges and policy responses* (pp. 137—152). United Nations.

Persson, L. (2019). Lifestyle migrants or "environmental refugees"?—resisting urban risks. *Population, Space and Place, 25*(7), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2254

Phillimore, J. (2012). Implementing integration in the UK: Lessons for integration theory, policy and practice. *Policy & Politics, 40*(4), 525–545. https://doi.org/10.1332/030557312x643795

Phipps, A. (2013). Unmoored: Language pain, porosity, and poisonwood. *Critical*p*Critical Multilingualism Studies, 2*(11), 96–118. https://cms.arizona.edu/index.php/multilingual/article/view/20

Piacentini, T., O'Donnell, C., Phipps, A., Jackson, I., & Stack, N. (2019). Moving beyond the 'language problem': Developing an understanding of the intersections of health, language and immigration status in interpreter-mediated health encounters. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 19*(3), 256–271. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2018.1486409

Pio, E., Kristjánsdóttir, E. S., & Christiansen, T. H. (2021). Glass hearts?! Successful visible ethnic minority women migrants at work in Iceland and New Zealand. *Journal of Management & Organization*, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1017/jmo.2021.30

Pletneva, I. E. (2019). The role of labour market integration, language proficiency and inter-ethnic contacts in shaping life satisfaction among immigrants in the Netherlands. *RUDN Journal of Economics, 27*(2), 326–337. https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-2329-2019-27-2-326-337

Ponzanesi, S. (2020). Digital diasporas: Postcoloniality, media and affect. *Interventions, 22*(8), 977–993. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801x.2020.1718537

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22*(2), 217–237. https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329468

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2005). Introduction: The second generation and the children of immigrants: longitudinal study. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 28*(6), 983–999. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870500224109

Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 530*(1), 74–96. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716293530001006

Ragnarsdóttir, H. (2020). Refugee families in Iceland: Opportunities and challenges in schools and society. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being, 15*(2), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1080/17482631.2020.1764294

Regulation on Icelandic language tests for persons applying for Icelandic citizenship, No. 1129/2008 (2008). https://www.government.is/publications/legislation/lex/2017/12/21/Regulation-No.-1129-2008-on-Icelandic-language-tests-for-persons-applying-for-Icelandic-citizenship/

Röder, A., & Mühlau, P. (2012). Low expectations or different evaluations: What explains immigrants'' high levels of trust in host-country institutions? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 38*(5), 777–792. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2012.667986

Rotter, J. B. (1971). Generalized expectancies for interpersonal trust. *American Psychologist, 26*(5), 443–452. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0031464

Rudmin, F. W. (2003). Critical History of the Acculturation Psychology of Assimilation, Separation, Integration, and Marginalization. *Review of General Psychology, 7*(1), 3–37. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.7.1.3

Rúnarsdóttir, A. L. (2020). Making of an exhibition. Iceland in the world, the world in Iceland. *Nordisk Museologi, 29*(2), 82–95. https://doi.org/10.5617/nm.8444

Rúnarsdottirú, E. M., & Vilhjálmssoná, R. (2015). Ethnic differences in youth well-being: The role of sociodemographic background and social support. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health, 43*(6), 580–587. https://doi.org/10.1177/1403494815588644

Rye, J. F., & Scott, S. (2018). International Labour Migration and food production in rural Europe: A review of the evidence. *Sociologia Ruralis, 58*(4), 928–952. https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12208

Rytter, M. (20199). Writing against integration: Danish imaginaries of culture, race and belonging. *Ethnos, 84*(4), 678–697. https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2018.1458745

Scheel, S., & Tazzioli, M. (2022). Who is a migrant? abandoning the nation-state point of view in the study of migration. *Migration Politics, 1*(1). https://doi.org/10.21468/migpol.1.1.002

Schinkel, W. (2018). Against 'immigrant integration': For an end to neocolonial knowledge production. *Comparative Migration Studies, 6*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0095-1

Schmauch, U., & Nygren, K. G. (2020). Committed to integration: Local media representations of refugee integration work in northern Sweden. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research, 10*(3), 15–26. https://doi.org/10.33134/njmr.326

Sevinç, Y., & Dewaele, J. M. (2018). Heritage language anxiety and majority language anxiety among Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 22*(2), 159–179. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006916661635

Shardakova, M., & Pavlenko, A. (2004). Identity options in Russian textbooks. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 3*(1), 25–46. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327701jlie0301_2

Sigurjónsdóttir, S., & Nowenstein, I. (2021). Language acquisition in the digital age: L2 English input effects on children's L1 Icelandic. *Second Language Research, 37*(4), 697–723. https://doi.org/10.1177/02676583211005505

Sigurjónsson, N. (2020). Menningarstefna, þátttaka og innflytjendur. *Skírnir 194*(1), 89–112.

Sigurjónsson, N. (2021). The politicalaesthetics of participation: A critical reading of Iceland's national cultural policy. *Nordisk Kulturpolitisk Tidsskrift, 24*(2), 190–203. https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.2000-8325-2021-02-07

Siegel, A. (2011). *Frauen Fische Fjorde. Deutsche Einwanderinnen in Island*. Bucher Verlag Hohenems.

Simmel, G. (1908). *Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*. Verlag von Duncker && Humblot.

Simpson, J. & Whiteside, A. (2015). *Adult language education and migration: Challenging agendas in policy and practice*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315718361

Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2015). What happened to the migrant workers? In E. Durrenberger, & G. Palsson (Eds.), *Gambling debt: Iceland's rise and fall in the global economy* (pp. 175–186). University Press of Colorado.

Skaptadóttir, U. D. Loftsdóttir, K. (2016). The tourist and the migrant worker: Different perceptions of mobility in Iceland. In D. Rancew- Sikora & U. D. Skaptadóttir (Eds.), *Mobility to the edges of Europe: The case of Iceland and Poland* (pp. 17-37). Scholar Publishing House.

Skaptadóttir, U.D., & Innes, P. (2017). Immigrant experiences of learning Icelandic and connecting with the speaking community. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research, 7*(1), 20–27. https://doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2017-0001

Sörensson, E. (2015). "When your child gets easy money, it feels good being a mom": Thai migrations and wild-berry picking in northern Sweden as a form of social reproduction. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research, 5*(4), 207–214. https://doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2015-0026

Søholt, S., Stenbacka, S., & Nørgaard, H. (2018). Conditioned receptiveness: Nordic rural elite perceptions of immigrant contributions to local resilience. *Journal of Rural Studies, 64*, 220–229. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2018.05.004

Sólveigar-Guðmundsdóttir, L. (2018). Exclusionary moments: Queer desires and migrants' sense of (un)belonging. *Emotion, Space and Society, 28*, 32–38. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2018.06.003

Statistics Iceland (2021). *Immigrants 15.5% of the population of Iceland*. Statistics Iceland. https://statice.is/publications/news-archive/inhabitants/population-by-origin-1-january-2021

Tselios, V., Noback, I., van Dijk, J., & McCann, P. (2014). Integration of immigrants, bridging social capital, ethnicity, and locality. *Journal of Regional Science, 55*(3), 416–441. https://doi.org/10.1111/jors.12160

Tryggvadóttir, H. (2019). Aðgengi hælisleitenda að íslenskum vinnumarkaði. *Íslenska þjóðfélagið*, *10*(2), 113–128. https://thjodfelagid.is/index.php/Th/article/view/156

Uusiautti, S., & Yeasmin, N. (2019). *Human Migration in the Arctic: The Past, Present, and Future*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Valdimarsdóttir, M., & Jónsdóttir, G. A. (2020). Attitudes towards refugees and Muslim immigrants in Iceland: The perceived link to terrorism. *Veftímaritið Stjórnmál Og Stjórnsýsla, 16*(2), 217–242. https://doi.org/10.13177/irpa.a.2020.16.2.7

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30*(6), 1024–1054. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465

Villa, M. (2019). Local ambivalence to diverse mobilities – the case of a Norwegian rural village. *Sociologia Ruralis, 59*(4), 701–717. https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12263

Wenzel, J.P, (2006). Acculturation effects on trust in national and local government among Mexican Americans. *Social Science Quarterly 87*(5),1073–1087. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2006.00416.x

Westra, P., & Egilsdóttir, S. (2019). *The access to education for refugees in Iceland.* Red Cross.Wieviorka, M. (2014) A critique of integration, *Identities, 21*(6), 633–641. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2013.828615

Wilding, R. (2012). Mediating culture in transnational spaces: an example of young people from refugee backgrounds. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies 26*(3), 501–511. https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2012.665843

Wilkes, R., & Wu, C. (2019). Immigration, discrimination, and trust: A simply complex relationship. *Frontiers in Sociology, 4*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2019.00032

Wimmer, A., & Schiller, N. G. (2003). Methodological nationalism, the social sciences, and the study of migration: An essay in historical epistemology. *International Migration Review, 37*(3). 576–610. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00151.x

Witteborn, S. (2021). Digital placemaking and the datafication of forced migrants. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies, 27*(3), 637–648. https://doi.org/10.1177/13548565211003876

Wojtyńska, A., Hoffmann, L., Sigmarsdóttir, D. & Marcinek, E. (2022). Intimate engagements with language: creative practices for inclusive public spaces in Iceland. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 22*(2), 125–140. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2022.2041654

Wojtyńska, A., & Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2019). Reproduction of marginality: The labour market position of unemployed foreign citizens during economic recession in Iceland. *Migration Studies*, *9*(3), 702–720. https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnz037

Wojtyńska, A. & Zielińska, M. (2010). Polish migrants in Iceland facing the financial crisis. *Þjóðarspegillinn 2010*. 1–11. https://skemman.is/handle/1946/6771.

Woolard, K. A. (2016). *Singular and plural: Ideologies of linguistic authority in 21st Century Catalonia*. Oxford University Press.

Yeasmin, N., Hasanat, W., Brzozowski, J., & Kirchner, S. (Eds.). (2021). *Immigration in the Circumpolar North: Integration and Resilience*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429344275

Yeasmin, N., Uusiautti, S., Koivurova, T., & Heleniak, T. (Eds.). (2022). *The Future of the Arctic Human Population: Migration in the North* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003185024

Yin, H. (2013). Chinese-language cyberspace, Homeland Media and Ethnic Media: A contested space for being Chinese. *New Media & Society, 17*(4), 556–572. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813505363

Yildiz, Y. (2011). *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition.* Fordham University Press.

Zahl-Thanem, A., & Haugen, M. S. (2019). Attitudes toward immigrants in rural Norway. A rural-urban comparison. *Sociologia Ruralis, 59*(4), 685–700. https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12251

Þórarinsdóttir, H. (2010). Íslenskutrúboðið. Er málleg þjóðernishyggja veraldleg trúarbrögð á Íslandi? *Glíman, 7*, 169–1

Article I

Journal of Language, Identity & Education

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/hlie20

Adult Immigrants' Perspectives on Courses in Icelandic as a Second Language: Structure, Content, and Inclusion in the Receiving Society

Lara Hoffmann, Pamela Innes, Anna Wojtyńska & Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir

To cite this article: Lara Hoffmann, Pamela Innes, Anna Wojtyńska & Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir (2021): Adult Immigrants' Perspectives on Courses in Icelandic as a Second Language: Structure, Content, and Inclusion in the Receiving Society, Journal of Language, Identity & Education, DOI: 10.1080/15348458.2021.1988855

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2021.1988855

Published online: 10 Dec 2021.

JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE, IDENTITY & EDUCATION
https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2021.1988855

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Adult Immigrants' Perspectives on Courses in Icelandic as a Second Language: Structure, Content, and Inclusion in the Receiving Society

Lara Hoffmann [a], Pamela Innes [b], Anna Wojtyńska [c], and Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir [c]

[a]University of Akureyri; [b]University of Wyoming; [c]University of Iceland

ABSTRACT

This article aims at a further understanding on the role of formal language education in immigrants' inclusion and identity redefinition in a new society. We analyze adult immigrants' perspectives on education in Icelandic as a second language (ISL) by conducting a cross-analysis of a survey and various ethnographic studies. Many immigrants in Iceland report dissatisfaction with language courses and prefer to have courses better tailored to their practical daily needs. Teachers are evaluated positively, but curricular utility, concerns about in-class evaluations, unevenly prepared student cohorts, lack of opportunity to use class knowledge in further education, and a lack of availability of courses in rural areas are mentioned as challenges. This indicates that ISL education does not fulfil its "dual purpose" declared in the 2007 Icelandic immigration policy: Strengthening the position of Icelandic and speeding up immigrants' integration. We make suggestions for further development of ISL education based on learners' perspectives.

KEYWORDS

Icelandic; identity; inclusion; migration; second language learning

Acquisition of the receiving country's language is often described as a central step in immigrants' inclusion in a new community (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2017) and attending language courses is a common way to accomplish this goal (Amireault, 2019; Reichenberg & Berhanu, 2018). Therefore, quality, availability, and organization of second language education play a vital role in immigrants' inclusion and identity redefinition in a new society. Language courses are places where learners add new facets to their identities by building relationships with their instructors and fellow students and engaging in course activities (Colliander et al., 2018). It is thus important to examine what immigrants expect from courses and how language training can efficiently respond to learners' needs. In order to further understand the role of language courses in immigrants' everyday lives in a new society, we analyze their opinions about Icelandic as a second language (ISL) teaching.

The rapid increase of immigration to Iceland in recent years creates a need for ISL courses. Iceland thus provides an interesting case to study the role of formal language education in a language community that has for a long time been considered homogeneous and purist but is undergoing social changes at present (Bade, 2019). ISL training is mentioned as an important aspect of immigrants' integration in the two most recent migration policy documents in Iceland: the immigration policy of 2007 and the Action Plan for Immigrant Matters (Alþingi, 2016; Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007). According to the Icelandic immigration policy, Icelandic language education serves a dual purpose of "speeding up their [immigrants'] integration into society and strengthening the position of the Icelandic language" (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007, p. 6). In comparison to the other Nordic countries, the ISL education system is less systematized and there is less governmental oversight on formal language training in Iceland (Innes, 2015). This leads to significant differences and little

CONTACT Lara Hoffmann laraw@unak.is Department of Social Sciences, University of Akureyri, Norðurslóð 2, Akureyri 600, Iceland.

standardization in teaching methods between different language schools and teachers in Iceland (Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2016). This approach to language teaching gives agency to the schools and individual teachers, enabling them to adapt their teaching to the classes, giving them "more independence from the *de jure* policy than is found elsewhere" (Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2016, p. 68). At the same time, little standardization also results in relatively few uniform training opportunities for language teachers (Innes, 2015; Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2016).

We examine whether the relatively recent history of ISL, little influence of the government, and little standardization between courses and language schools compared to other Nordic countries seem to have some influence on learners' views. We analyze immigrants' perspectives on language courses in Iceland by employing a cross-analysis of four studies, one quantitative and three qualitative, conducted among immigrants in Iceland. We begin with an overview of the literature on learners' perspectives on language courses for adult immigrants and review the history and structure of education in ISL. We then describe our methods. Following this, we identify themes in adult immigrants' attitudes to formal language training in rural and urban Iceland and analyze disparities and similarities in these data that speak to these themes. In the conclusion, we make suggestions for further development of ISL education based on learners' perspectives.

Immigrants' perspectives on the role of language courses in their involvement in the receiving society

Language courses can support immigrants' inclusion in society by improving their language skills, equipping them with knowledge about local culture and society, and providing access to social networks and emotional support. A growing body of literature discusses language courses for adult immigrants as contact zones where societal norms, values, and ideological stances concerning the language being taught are presented and negotiated (Casey, 2014; Heinemann, 2017; Shardakova & Pavlenko, 2004). Learners' identities are shaped through relations with teachers, learners and other participants (Colliander et al., 2018, p. 308). Language courses play an important role in helping immigrants become included in the receiving society. Amireault (2019) finds that Chinese immigrants in Quebec perceive French courses as a first step toward their linguistic and professional integration. In a study on immigrants' perception of English language courses in the North Highlands of Scotland, Johnson and Berry (2014, p. 92) find that "learners come to invest in ESOL as a way of creating a new identity that provides a comfortable fit with their new life." However, in order to achieve these goals, it matters how courses are structured and organized, and how they enable relationships between different participants to develop (Colliander et al., 2018, p. 308). Therefore, it is important to analyze immigrants' perspectives about and satisfaction with courses.

Learners' evaluation of the efficiency of courses depends on the adequate interplay of several components and sufficient tailoring of teaching to specific needs of the students. The curriculum is one factor influencing immigrants' perceptions of courses. Within language schools, learners encounter characterizations of roles, activities, and social positions that textbook writers, curriculum developers, and teachers find to be appropriate for them (Canagarajah, 1999; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Shardakova & Pavlenko, 2004). The teacher also is an important factor in immigrants' perception of language courses. Reichenberg and Berhanu's (2018, p. 287) analysis of learners' perception of Swedish language courses shows that the teacher is a significant predictor of immigrants' satisfaction with courses and "the more engaged, humorous and nice the teachers were the more satisfied the students were with their language learning."

Based on these factors, learners form their opinions on language courses. Norton suggests that discrepancies between a student's expected scenario for the course and the teacher's curriculum goals can lead to dissatisfaction of students with the language courses (Norton, 2001). Students have agency in how they respond and react to the courses offered to them and can perceive the courses as positive and supportive (Tomi, 2001) but at other times also show resistance and outright hostility (Canagarajah, 1999, 2015), or non-participation (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). Ultimately, the learner

develops new facets to their identity, new ranges of behaviors and ways of thinking, and expanded knowledge from which they can draw as they gain new experiences and process new ideas (Kramsch, 2009, 2013).

While language acquisition is commonly seen as an important factor improving immigrants' position in the receiving society, it is not the only factor that determines immigrants' inclusion. Their position on the labor market and other factors, such as discrimination, play a part in immigrants' inclusion in receiving societies and affect various groups of immigrants differently (Heinemann, 2018; Hellgren, 2018). This article explores the role language courses play in the inclusion of immigrants in the receiving society, according to their own accounts.

We examine this by identifying themes in immigrants' attitudes toward language learning and formal language training in Iceland. To further shed light on our question we investigate whether immigrants find that language courses lead to increased involvement in the receiving society, as stated in the curricular guidelines developed by the Ministry of Science, Education and Culture. Previous work exploring how successful Icelandic language classes are in giving students tools to help them connect with Icelanders shows that there is variation in this, depending upon where learners take courses and how easy it is for them to operationalize new knowledge in real-world interactions (Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017). Except for Skaptadóttir and Innes (2017) and a small number of learners' perspectives in a report on the curricular guidelines (Menntamálaráðuneyti, , 2015a), learners' evaluations of Icelandic language courses remain largely unexplored.

We assess whether the students believe that the courses help them to develop personal, social, and workplace skills, whether these are outcomes they desire from language courses, and whether there are areas for further development. We investigate whether language courses fulfil immigrants' expectations and determine what insights arise as a result of using a cross-analysis approach to these questions. In essence, we give voice to immigrants and discuss their reflections, which may in turn help to improve the courses offered in Iceland.

The context: Courses in Icelandic as a second language in Iceland

In 2020 about 15.2% of Iceland's inhabitants were immigrants,[1] whereas twenty years earlier, the number amounted to just 3% (Statistics Iceland, 2020). The majority of immigrants came from European countries and 37% of all immigrants came from Poland (Statistics Iceland, 2020). Informal conversational courses in Icelandic were offered from the 1980s onwards, for example, organized privately in people's homes (Innes, 2015, p. 188), and continue to exist today. More structured training in ISL began in the 1990s with companies providing classes for their employees and the Adult Education Centre (*Námsflokkarnir*) offering Icelandic courses. Schools for teaching ISL have existed since the 2000s. At that point, no official program or curriculum had been established. There were no formal requirements for teachers of ISL, so teachers had different educational backgrounds and professional experiences, were paid per course taught, and most teachers neither worked in this profession full-time nor had training in adult language education strategies (Innes, 2020). This continues to be the case, although recently steps were taken to improve teacher training, such as a Master's degree in Second Language Teaching, which was established in 2016 (University of Iceland, 2016).

Some governmental attempts to standardize teaching Icelandic were undertaken in response to introducing language learning as a condition for permanent residence and citizenship. Curricular guidelines for ISL were adopted in 2008 and 2012 (Menntamálaráðuneyti, 2008, 2012). From the beginning, the Ministry expected these two documents to guide course content in order to prepare students to become active participants in Iceland's democratic society. This was to be achieved by having schools concern themselves with students' development of personal, social, and workplace skills (Menntamálaráðuneyti, 2008, p. 3). However, studies showed that teachers only loosely followed the recommendations, and some teachers were unaware of the guidelines altogether (Innes, 2020; Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2016).

In Iceland, language schools are funded by a combination of private funding and government grants. The criteria for language schools to receive government support is that courses have to be recognized by the Directorate of Education. In the application for grants, the focus is on the number of students and the length of the courses. In general, 10 participants must be enrolled, but exceptions are made for courses in sparsely populated regions of Iceland (Menntamálaráðuneyti, , 2015b; Rannís, 2015).

Language learning is a condition for permanent residence permits and for citizenship since 2007. The requirements differ for permanent residency and citizenship. Anyone from outside the European Economic Area seeking permanent residency must complete 150 hours of formal Icelandic training before applying. Those seeking citizenship must take a language test. The level of proficiency required to pass the test is equivalent to an estimated 240 hours of language training (Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2016), meeting the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages levels A1–A2 (CEFR, 2001). A study of native Icelandic speakers indicates that they perceive the language test as a recognition of "language as an important component of Icelandic identity and citizenship" (Innes, 2020, p. 183).

Students in Iceland must pay language course fees in full before attending courses and then may receive full or partial refunds from their labour unions. Figures from 2019, show about 90% of the Icelandic population to be members of a labour union (Statistics Iceland, 2019). A few of the unions require their members to pay into the union for three or six months before they can apply for refunds. This means that members attending ISL courses in the first months after arriving in Iceland cannot get refunds through these unions. Some labour unions, such as Efling, one of the largest labour unions in Iceland and with a high membership of foreign nationals, make an exception from this rule for language courses (Efling, 2020). Quota refugees get courses for free as part of the orientation program for one year. Refugees who apply for international protection and get refugee status in Iceland can apply for grants that cover three Icelandic courses from the municipal social services (Westra & Egilsdóttir, 2019, p. 11). Those receiving unemployment benefits also can apply for a grant from the directorate of labour (Directorate of Labour, 2020).

To conclude, policies and curricular guidelines have increasingly focused on the topic of immigrant integration and Icelandic as a second language education in recent years. However, in contrast to the other Nordic nations, Iceland has not created a coordinated, state-governed program. This has allowed instructors more freedom to tailor their teaching to the needs of particular groups of students (Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2016), which would seem to have the potential to lead to high levels of learner satisfaction. This study is a first step in testing this assumption.

Methods

This study uses a cross-analysis of data collected through quantitative and qualitative research in Iceland. Cross-analysis involves looking across studies for similarities to be found within the cases in each (Hill et al., 1997; Ladany et al., 2012). Each of the authors reviews their materials, looking for core ideas, which we then examine collectively so as to develop thematic categories encompassing several core ideas. This procedure is followed multiple times, during which we hone each theme to ensure that it is directly applicable to the core ideas within it and that it is meaningful, given our data sets and research goal (Hill et al., 1997; Ladany et al., 2012).

Quantitative data were collected in a survey (N = 2,139) conducted in 2018 among immigrants in Iceland in the form of an online questionnaire using convenience and snowball sampling. The questionnaire was distributed via language schools, on social media platforms (e.g., Facebook) and in certain regions of Iceland through local assistants who distributed the survey to immigrants. A more detailed description of this study and the sample characteristics is presented in Meckl and Gunnþórsdóttir (2020). The first author analyzed these data. Immigrants' attitude towards the importance of learning Icelandic was measured according to their agreement or disagreement with the statement, "Immigrants moving to our municipality have to learn Icelandic," measured on a 5-point Likert-scale from 1 (Agree strongly) to 5 (Disagree strongly). Immigrants' satisfaction with language courses was measured with

the question, "If you have taken Icelandic courses, how satisfied were you overall with them?" Answers were measured on a five-point Likert-scale from 1 (very satisfied) to 5 (very dissatisfied). Immigrants' satisfaction with the availability of language courses was measured with the question, "How satisfied are you with the following: Where you live? Access to language courses," measured on a 4-point Likert scale from 1 (very satisfied) to 4 (not satisfied at all). Immigrants' frequency of use of Icelandic was measured with the question: "How likely or unlikely is it that you would use Icelandic for the following? (a) Shopping, (b) Informal discussions with friends, (c) Discussing matters of work, (d) When visiting a doctor, (e) When I'm at home with my family." These data were analyzed with descriptive statistics investigating frequencies. We further conducted a significance test in order to investigate differences in satisfaction with availability of language courses in rural and urban regions.

The qualitative data discussed here result from three studies conducted by the first three authors in various parts of Iceland, both in rural and urban areas. The fourth author's various qualitative studies also informed the analysis. Only the first author's project had as its aim evaluation of language courses from the learners' perspectives. However, such insights were offered with some frequency over the course of the other two qualitative studies. Knowledge of Icelandic was one of the predominant themes arising from the analysis of the interviews and ISL courses were commonly discussed by participants in the second and third authors' research. Standard ethnographic methodologies were used in all three studies, including individual interviews, focus group discussions, and participant-observation.

The first qualitative study, conducted by the first author, had as its aim to gain insight on immigrants' perspectives on Icelandic language courses for adult immigrants in Iceland. The first author conducted semi-structured interviews with learners of Icelandic in spring 2021. In total, ten individuals took part: eight women and two men. Three of the participants were from Asia, one of the participants was from Western Europe, one of the participants was from South America, two of the participants were from North America, and five of the participants were from Eastern Europe. Participants were living in different regions of Iceland and had attended language courses in different regions. The interviews took between 30 and 90 minutes and were conducted in English. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the qualitative data.

The second of the qualitative studies, conducted by the second author, had as its focus the views of language-school teachers and administrators on their ability to achieve the goals desired by the 2008 and 2012 curricular guidelines and those desired by their adult students. Participant-observation was carried out in four schools and three courses conducted by independent teachers in Reykjavík and neighboring communities in the spring of 2013 and again in 2016–17. During these periods some students from courses in each school were interviewed to gather information about student preparedness, attitudes, and engagement. Approximately 50 interviews were conducted with students, of which 23 were pertinent to the questions raised in this paper. Interviewees whose responses were considered here came from a range of countries, with thirteen from Eastern Europe, six from Asia, two from North America, one from South America, and one from southern Europe.

In the third qualitative study, conducted by the third author, interviews were held with immigrants from Eastern European countries in two coastal towns outside the capital region in September 2017 and April 2018 as part of the project, "Explaining regional differences in adaptation and satisfaction among immigrant population in Iceland." In total, 24 individuals took part in the study: 11 men and 13 women. The interviewees had been living in Iceland for various lengths of time, from a few months to several years.

Immigrants' attitudes towards aspects of Icelandic language classes

The themes identified from the interview and quantitative data that are examined here concern learners' attitudes toward their courses and components of them. In general, immigrants consider it important to learn the local language. In the survey, 70% of immigrants agree (Likert-scale of *Agree strongly* and *Somewhat agree*) with the statement, "Immigrants moving to our municipality have to learn Icelandic" (see Figure 1).

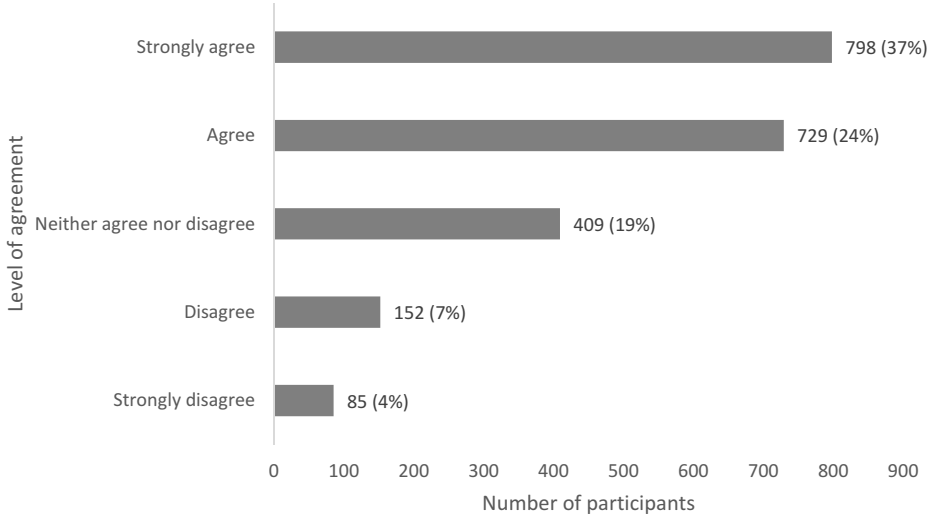

Figure 1. Responses to the statement, "Immigrants moving to our municipality have to learn Icelandic."

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the high percentage who agree with the aforementioned statement, the quantitative study shows that about 82% of the respondents had taken at least one course in Icelandic. Interestingly, 66% indicate that they had attended only one course (Figure 2).

Of those who answered that they had taken at least one course in ISL (N = 1,754), we find that there is a significant percentage of people from EU and Schengen countries (Figure 3). People from EU and Schengen countries are not required to attend courses, indicating that many immigrants attend courses for reasons other than it being a requirement for permanent residence. This finding is supported by our qualitative data.

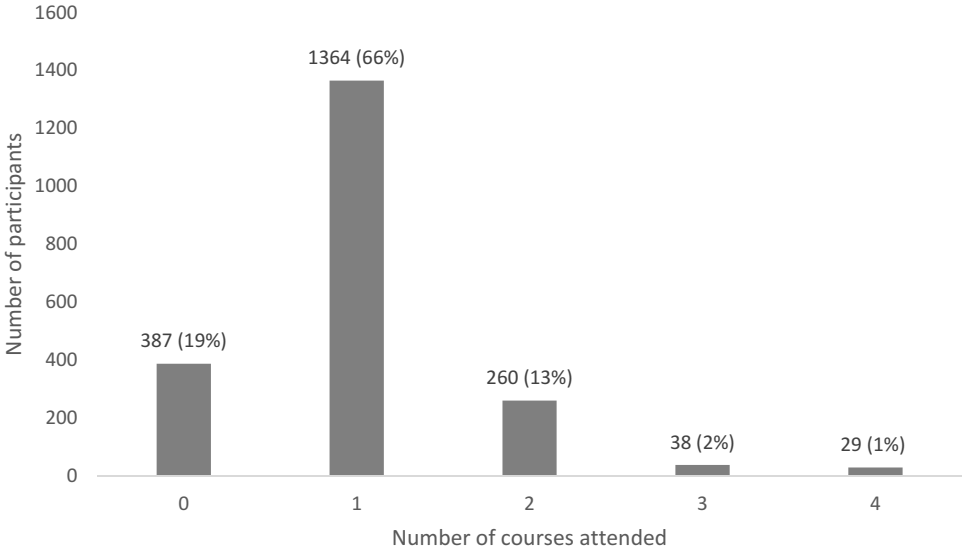

Figure 2. Number of courses attended.

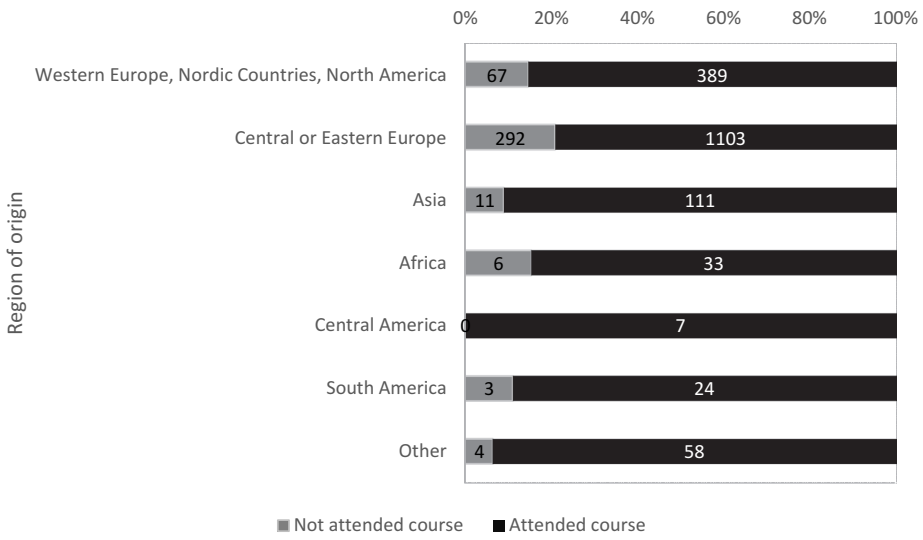

Figure 3. Course attendance by region of origin.

In light of these results, it is noteworthy that a considerable percentage of immigrants express dissatisfaction with language courses. In the sample of participants who had attended an Icelandic class (N = 1,754), 60% of immigrants state that they are *rather* or *very dissatisfied* with the courses (Figure 4).

The findings of the quantitative study caused us to examine the qualitative materials for elements of the courses described by interviewees either positively or negatively. Exploring immigrants' perspectives on Icelandic language, we realized that a number of specific themes were frequently the targets of their evaluation of courses. These themes, arranged below, begin with those that were most often described as areas of dissatisfaction and end with those that interviewees found to be most satisfying. Five main themes emerged within our data: a) concerns with availability of classes, b) unequally prepared students, c) difficulty in determining progress and obtaining further education, d) inclusion in the speaking community, and e) the role of the teacher.

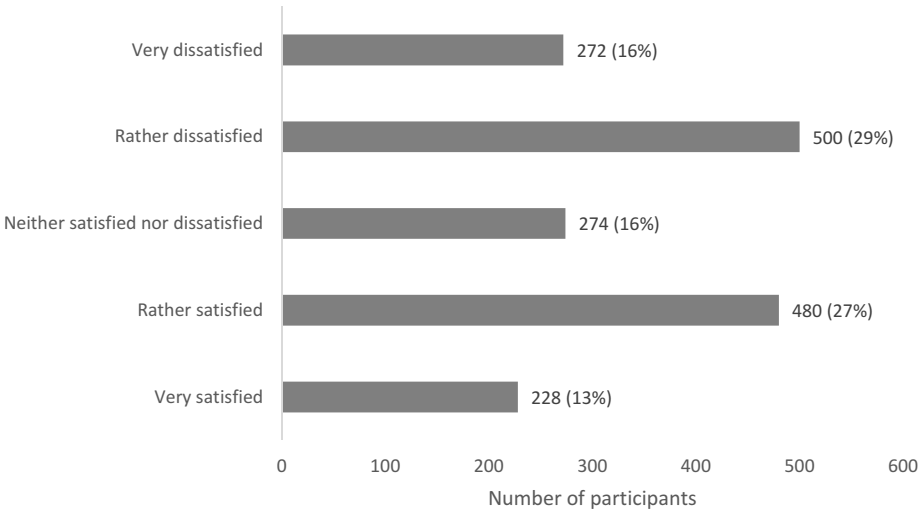

Figure 4. Satisfaction with Icelandic courses.

Concerns with availability of classes

One of the most commonly cited items identified as a shortcoming of the courses was the availability of classes. Cases where interviewees found the times and locations of courses to provide grounds for negative evaluations of the courses were identified in the data through either direct reference to such issues or through discussion about transportation, tiredness, or child-care issues having affected the respondent's satisfaction. A Mann-Whitney U test showed that there was a significant difference (W = 4063585, p-value < 2.2e-16) between satisfaction with availability of courses among those living in rural and urban Iceland. Those living in rural Iceland were less satisfied with access to language courses than those living in urban Iceland (Figure 5).

The fact that there are fewer courses offered in the rural areas and public transportation between towns and villages in rural Iceland is limited may explain the dissatisfaction. Some language schools serve large areas, requiring some students to commute to courses, which may not always be possible, especially in the wintertime. Thus, arranging transportation to the classes held in another town within the same municipality can be a problem. This is particularly challenging for those who do not have a car.

The challenge to access language courses is, however, not limited to rural areas. When asked about her reasons for not attending courses in an interview, a woman living in an urban area stated, "Yes basically for me transportation, I was biking and walking, and it was difficult to find courses. And the busses are really bad in Reykjavík [the capital of Iceland]."

Further, many of those interviewed by the second author pointed to problems with the times and places where classes were held. Each of these individuals were employed and had to either get permission from employers to attend classes during the workday or attend after they got off work. Every one of these interviewees spoke about tiredness or concern about what they would encounter when they got to work as items negatively affecting their progress and all thought that their school should find a way to better accommodate working students. One of them said, "The classes I see are during the daytime, when I am working. Why they [schools] cannot hold more classes at night, or weekends, when I could come without asking permission from my boss?" This shows that, even though the students were motivated, they encountered practical challenges when attending courses.

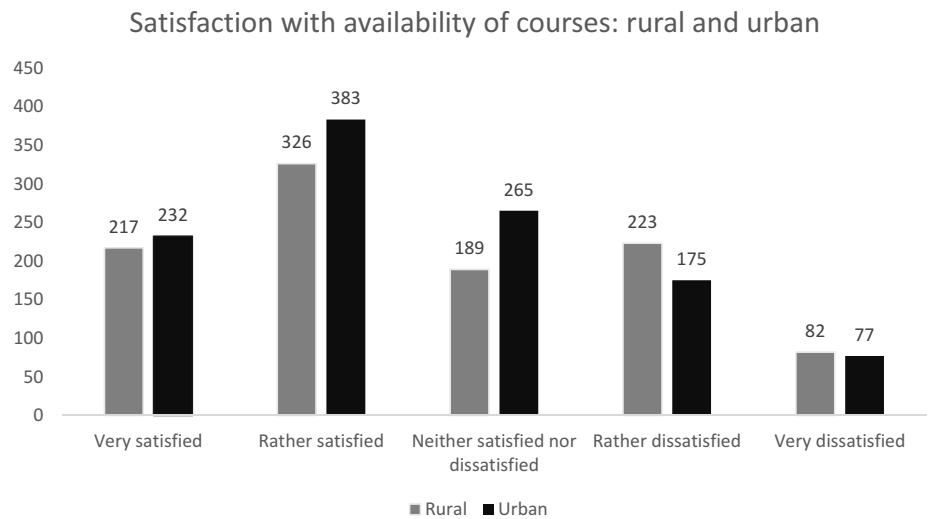

Figure 5. Satisfaction with availability of courses: Rural and urban residents.

Unequally prepared students

Frequently, in different parts of the country, immigrants complained about a limited number of courses. In some cases, the challenges to offer courses, especially in rural areas, had an impact on the composition of student cohorts. Placement of students in classes has been identified previously as an area of concern from the perspective of teachers and school administrators (Innes, 2015; Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2016). In the second author's data, many ISL attendees expressed frustration at having to take the same level of course repeatedly because they had reached the highest level offered in their location and either needed further hours for government purposes or wanted to continue honing their language skills.

Learners interviewed by each of the authors of this article voiced disappointment with the range of abilities of fellow students in their classes. As one participant from the Philippines stated,

> Yes, my classmates, we are from different countries and different levels of education. [. . .] For some Thais that could not write it's very difficult for them to do the writing exercises. It's easier for those who are higher educated to follow lessons which are more advanced.

In a course observed by the second author, in which one female student was illiterate, learners felt cheated by the amount of time and effort that the teacher took to explain texts to her. They also felt their entire class had not progressed as much as they might have because some activities, like line-by-line reading exercises, were discontinued once her illiteracy became evident. The opposite was also true, such as in the studies conducted by the first and third authors who found that some learners complained that the teacher was going too fast through the material. As has been discussed in Innes (2015), schools and individual teachers are concerned with accommodating all those who desire entry to language classes and attempt to sort students into courses with others at a similar level of skill. Fiscal and manpower limitations have prohibited most schools from instituting a rigorous or standardized form of evaluation prior to class placement, however.

Difficulty in determining progress and obtaining further education

Critical comments about evaluation methods and whether learners gain access to further educational opportunities are common in the interviews, which caused us to identify these as two further themes on the negative end of the evaluation spectrum. The majority of participants in our studies were disturbed by the focus in schools on the hours of attendance rather than testing language achievement of students, and even teachers have voiced concern about this (Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017, p. 79). The participants desired course-end tests with grades clearly marked, allowing them to determine what they got right and wrong. Three of them identified this as a means through which they could focus on grammatical and lexical problem areas. Still others suggested it would be helpful for schools to include entry- and exit-tests for each course as a means of allowing students to chart their progress. One even said that such a test might be helpful for those working, as they could present both sets of test results to their employers, demonstrating that their courses have been effective.

Participants in our studies also pointed out that completion of 150 hours of ISL coursework is insufficient to be able to attend any educational program in Icelandic and our studies showed that many immigrants were dissatisfied with lack of more advanced courses (Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017). ISL courses taken at continuing education centers or to satisfy the permanent residency requirements do not open the gateway to higher education. Participants also complained that taking language courses did not prepare them to take continuing education classes in other subjects that could enhance their job or promotion opportunities. Two interviewees taking classes as part of their unemployment benefit schemes noted that they were ineligible to take career development classes because their language skills were deemed inadequate, despite having taken Icelandic courses at the second and third levels, respectively.

Inclusion in the speaking community

As Skaptadóttir and Innes (2017) reveal, successful access to the speaking community depends on the learners' willingness to extend themselves and upon the kind of response they get from their interlocutors. Immigrants in Iceland often work and live with other immigrants and often have limited possibility to practice their Icelandic, which can further discourage them from learning (Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017). In the survey we find that 30% of immigrants indicate that they are highly or rather unlikely to use Icelandic at work, and that 36% of immigrants are highly or rather unlikely to use Icelandic to talk to friends (Figure 6).

Most immigrants report that they attend language courses because they wish to become included in Icelandic society while at the same time recognizing the limitations of language to lead to inclusion. One participant from Russia stated, "Personally, I don't believe that you can be part of society without the language, but I also know that the language wouldn't make you part of society, especially not in Iceland." This participant also mentioned speaking Icelandic at work, at the doctor´s office, and in many relevant situations in daily life, sometimes only speaking Icelandic for an entire day. This shows that there are still limits to inclusion for immigrants, experienced even by fluent speakers. Linguistic homogeneity and purity, which have been identified as central characteristics of the Icelandic community, create obstacles for non-native speakers (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson, 2010; Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2016; Kristinsson, 2018; Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017).

When asked in the quantitative questionnaire whether the courses support immigrants' participation in the speaking community, immigrant learners' replies showed a more even split between those who felt disappointed and those satisfied by the amount that their courses promoted access to Icelandic society. In the qualitative studies, several participants answered that the exercises and the courses in general did not increase their interactions with Icelanders, though some emphasized their own responsibility to apply the skills used in class.

One participant mentioned that the course had not significantly improved her Icelandic but that this was mainly her fault because she did not use the language enough outside of the classroom. She said, "For me the most important thing for language is practice, of course. And, when you're just attending the course hoping the teacher will put the knowledge into your head [. . .] you will never get the results." Activities that drive students to utilize their newly learned skills in real-world interactions with Icelanders were applauded by many of the interviewees. As one woman taking an introductory course put it,

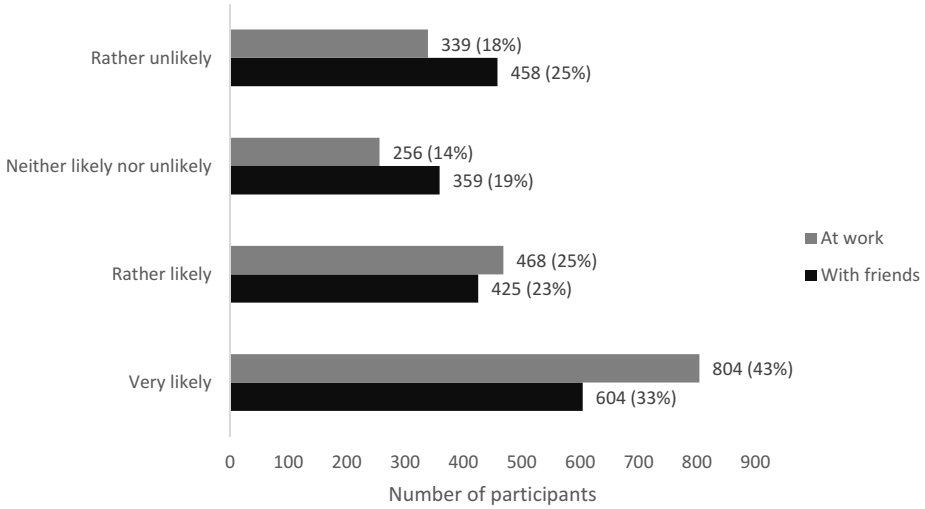

Figure 6. Reported likelihood of using Icelandic in different situations.

> It was a simple talk, to ask a shop keeper, "where is the bread?" but it made me ask. I would not have done this before. I was so happy when he understood me and took me to the bakery section of the store!

This respondent later said that she followed each of the speaking exercises thereafter and enjoyed the positive responses she got from Icelanders.

In the second author's study, almost half of the interviewees complained about a lack of practical applicability of the content learned in the language courses and the vocabulary and grammar they were learning. A woman from southern Europe found it to be of little help to her at work and in social interactions, saying,

> I know food and how to cook, so do not have to talk about that with people, I just do it. And why do I have to know about so many rooms in the house? When am I ever going to describe all rooms to someone? It is stupid.

Others also were concerned that the grammatical forms they were learning were used so infrequently in their lives as to be useless. Dissatisfaction with learning about Icelandic songs and history, instead of learning phrases that could be used practically, was mentioned by two people interviewed in the ethnographic research done by the first author.

The role of the teacher

As might be expected, the teacher is a central factor in immigrants' perspectives on language courses. For the most part, learners expressed favorable opinions about their instructors, finding them to be dedicated, interesting, and informative. Students reported satisfaction when teachers used different strategies, such as a woman from the Philippines who had attended about five Icelandic courses and had observed differences in teaching practices. She stated,

> Some teachers they are using different strategies. It was effective as in it was less boring, the course. But for those who mainly use worksheets and just repeated books and very, very, how do you call it, predictable exercises they use over and over again it's a little bit dull to attend the same exercises over and over again. But for teachers who use different exercises it was more interesting.

In other interviews with students, the teacher's willingness to skip or modify vocabulary building exercises that students deemed unimportant or not applicable to their circumstances were appreciated, as in this statement from a Polish learner:

> When we got to talking about cars and taking them to the shop, [. . .] she asked how many of us have a car? Nobody had one, so she skipped that. From there we talked about how to call 112 and ask for help for anything, any kind of accident. That, we would use.

In both the Filipina and Polish students' statements, the teacher's willingness to vary the activities and offer novel forms of practice were appreciated.

For some, like this student from Vietnam, a teacher's particular focus on exercises promoting pronunciation processes was valued. The student said, "She really helped us, all of us, to get the sounds just right. Other teachers just passed me along, but she listened and taught me to say the words correctly." This learner and others from Asian countries identified pronunciation difficulties as the biggest problem for them in holding conversations with Icelanders. Among immigrants from Asian countries, teachers who utilized various types of pronunciation drills and exercises were rated highly and their courses were thought to be very satisfactory.

Those who reported having teachers who did not vary their methods said they were often bored and did not pay attention when asked to participate in the activities. One learner said, "My class played the same kind of game over and over. It was like [teacher] knew about this one and used it a lot. By the third week, I knew to expect we would use it again." In saying that the teacher "knew about this one," it appears that the learner expected there were other exercises available that the teacher was either unaware of or chose not to use. This statement also makes an implied critique of the school as well, for not having shown other options to the teacher, who was evaluated positively otherwise.

While there many positive accounts about the teachers, some of our interlocutors questioned the quality of their professional training. A woman from southern Europe living in North Iceland described her teacher as "very nice but not a good teacher," indicating that even though she responded positively to the teacher, she did not find the teaching effective. A Polish woman living in a small fishing town portrayed her teacher as lacking professional training and critiqued the teacher's reliance on English in this statement:

> The course was not very interesting. Because, first of all, it was taught in English all the time by this woman, I say "a woman," because she was not even a teacher, but a normal woman. And instead using Icelandic, she was talking English all the time. And others were asking in English. So I was asking a friend by my side to translate for me. So why was I attending?

Since the woman quoted did not know English it made her uncomfortably dependent on fellow students, which made her doubtful about the utility of attending. In the classes observed directly by the second author, students came from a diverse set of national, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds. Teachers in these courses often used English when explaining advanced or difficult content, rather than offering guidance in Icelandic. Some students appreciated such code-switching, while others did not, showing this to be a case where specific needs of students were not necessarily met by the training provided.

Discussion and conclusion

In this article, we took the perspectives of adult immigrants in Iceland who have taken ISL courses as the focus of our analysis in order to explore the role of formal language education in adult immigrants' lives in a new society. Approaching these topics through a cross-analysis of different studies conducted by the authors helped us to identify themes in immigrants' attitudes towards learning and using Icelandic. The quantitative research showed that notions of dissatisfaction with the quality and the availability of courses were widespread within the immigrant population in Iceland, while the qualitative data provided a more nuanced picture of immigrants' perspectives on language courses.

Language is not only a central aspect of Icelandic culture and identity, but language learning plays a central role in the everyday lives of many immigrants in Iceland. Language issues emerge as a central theme in all qualitative studies for this article and the quantitative survey indicates that immigrants are generally motivated to attend courses and consider learning Icelandic important. In immigrants' accounts of learning Icelandic, the language is not explicitly described as a way to develop a new identity as comments remains largely at a pragmatic level. Language is, however, recognized as a tool to become included in the receiving society. The outcomes that most immigrants desire from language courses are participation in society, becoming included, and improving their employment opportunities. This utilitarian relationship to the language of the receiving country is observed in prior studies conducted in other places (Amireault, 2019; Johnson & Berry, 2014).

This approach to language learning also becomes evident in immigrants' feedback on the courses where they frequently prefer to have courses better tailored to their daily needs and more focused on practical content. And even though language is seen as a way to become included in Icelandic society, some immigrants voice doubt about the extent to which learning the language provides access to the local community and leads to a sense of belonging. Observations like these indicate that even after learning the language, non-native speakers still face challenges to feeling themselves a part of Icelandic society, for example, by being recognized as non-native due to a foreign accent (Bade, 2019).

As expected, our study shows significant differences across language courses in Iceland, demonstrating little standardization of courses because the ISL education system is not systematized and there is little governmental oversight on formal language training in Iceland. This allows instructors more freedom to tailor their teaching to the needs of particular groups of students (Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2016). Our assumption that this might lead to high levels of learners' satisfaction has to be answered negatively due to the high levels of dissatisfaction with the courses among students. From the perspective of the learners, the lack of standardization seems to lead to a perceived lack of structure as exemplified by

a lack of evaluations at the start or the end of courses. Learners complain about the lack of evaluation at the start of courses, finding that students of different levels of proficiency learning together can lead to challenges. Learners also state that they wished to receive a certificate at the end of their studies that stated their level of Icelandic that they could use in job applications, demonstrating once more the utilitarian approach to language learning followed by many immigrants.

The curriculum has a significant impact on learners' perceptions, with students appreciating tasks that they perceive as being applicable to their everyday lives. However, the overall dissatisfaction with language courses and the themes associated with negative evaluations indicate that many of the participants do not perceive the courses they attended as empowering and efficacious. Challenges that are not confined to the classroom also emerge from the data in that many respondents feel difficulty in accessing the Icelandic speaking community and struggling to develop a new identity in the new language. A perceived inability to speak about topics important for everyday activity, in conjunction with a sense that the courses do not facilitate connections with Icelandic speakers, diminishes the potential for courses to empower learners. This supports Heinemann's finding that courses that do not adequately meet students' expectations can be perceived as patronizing and constraining rather than empowering (Heinemann, 2018).

Teachers are generally perceived positively but some immigrants question whether their professional training is sufficient. We find that teachers who use a variety of activities and focus on content and routines that students feel are useful to them are rated highly, while those who repeatedly use similar exercises tend to be rated more negatively. This is in line with the findings of Reichenberg and Berhanu (2018) who find that characteristics of teachers matter statistically and suggest that positive feelings toward the teacher seem to cancel out negative aspects of the courses. While participants' views on their teachers are often quite positive, we do not find evidence that the high regard given to teachers outweighs disappointments in other areas and our study indicates that additional knowledge and training in teaching Icelandic to foreigners is needed. The working conditions of teachers of Icelandic as a second language can be mentioned as an additional challenge, with most teachers not working full-time in the profession and being paid by course (Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2016). Such conditions appear to neither provide enough incentives nor opportunities for teachers to improve their teaching skills.

In addition to general opportunities for more training in Icelandic as a second language, there seems to be a particular need to improve teaching for specific groups of students. Comments from classmates of illiterate students, for instance, portray them as burdensome and as lowering the learning potential of the class. Their statements align with Colliander et al.'s (2018) discussion of the importance of offering appropriate language courses for illiterate students and the implications of illiteracy on learners' identities in the Swedish context. Another group facing challenges are learners who do not speak English. These individuals wish to develop identities as Icelandic language speakers but are impeded by some teachers' reliance on English as a language through which explanations are offered. The diversity and heterogeneity among immigrants wanting to learn Icelandic requires that ISL courses be made suitable for different groups of learners and that more training opportunities be provided for teachers.

Our findings show that the courses do not always fulfil immigrants' expectations in terms of availability and quality. In this, then, the current organization of the courses does not seem to meet the statements made in the migration policy from 2007 nor the Action Plan to improve quality of and access to language courses. Based on our analysis, we offer some recommendations for language courses in Iceland: Continued development and refinement of curriculum; critical evaluation of courses; and inclusion of methods for assessing student learning in classes. Another aspect that should be improved from the perspective of the learners is the accessibility of courses in rural areas. The current method of funding and overseeing language schools would need to be changed in order to accomplish all of these improvements. Most schools run without guaranteed yearly support and are reliant on student fees to meet their budgets. Alienating some percentage of learners who are dismayed by their test results, for instance, could create difficulties in smaller schools. Related to this, but also applicable to the question of increasing courses in rural areas, the threshold for funding courses could be lowered. The question of which institution(s) should be

responsible for assessing curriculum and its implementation also arises. Dialogue between the Ministry of Science, Education and Culture and the many language schools and teachers will be required to determine this and will take some time, but learners are likely to be highly supportive of such measures.

Note

1. Statistics Iceland defines *immigrants* as "a person born abroad with both parents foreign born and all grandparents foreign born" (Statistics Iceland, 2020).

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank The Icelandic Research Fund (Rannís) for funding the Inclusive Societies project. We thank the two anonymous reviewers whose comments helped us improve and clarify this manuscript. We also offer thanks to those who discussed this paper with us at the Nordic Summer University and various conferences.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by the Rannís - Icelandic Centre for Research [184903-051]; Icelandic Development Fund for Immigration Affairs [FRN20010221]; and University of Akureyri Research Fund [R2012].

About the authors

Lara Hoffmann is a PhD Candidate in social sciences at the University of Akureyri, Iceland. Her main research interest focuses on migration and inclusion, particularly language learning of immigrants and rural-urban differences in the inclusion of immigrants.

Pamela Innes is an Associate Professor in anthropology examining the relationship between language and culture, particularly within immigrant communities in Iceland. Currently, she is collaborating with colleagues from the University of Iceland on publications and research in rural Icelandic communities.

Anna Wojtyńska holds a PhD in Anthropology from the University of Iceland. She is currently a postdoctoral researcher in two projects: "Inclusive societies: The integration of immigrants in Iceland" and "Integration in rural areas in Iceland."

Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir is a professor of anthropology at the University of Iceland. Her primary research interests include mobility, transnationalism, and gender. She has conducted research on immigration to Iceland and her current research is on migration to rural Iceland.

ORCID

Lara Hoffmann http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5066-0902
Pamela Innes http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0202-0980
Anna Wojtyńska http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4840-0540
Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8350-3898

References

Alþingi. (2016). Framkvæmdaáætlun í málefnum innflytjenda 2016–2019 [Immigration Action Plan 2016–2019]. *Þingskjal 1285–765*. https://www.althingi.is/altext/145/s/1285.html

Amireault, V. (2019). Integration process and identity redefinition of Chinese adult learners of French as a second language in Quebec. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *19*(6), 365–378. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2019.1676159

Bade, S. (2019). Evaluations of foreign accent in a purist speech community: The case of Iceland. In J.-A. Villena-Ponsoda, F. Montesinos, A.-M. Ávila-Muñoz, and M. Vida-Castro (Eds.), *Language variation—European perspectives VII: Selected papers from the Ninth International Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 9), Malaga* (pp. 54–70). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Canagarajah, A. S. (1999). *Resisting linguistic imperialism in English language teaching*. Oxford University Press.

Canagarajah, A. S. (2015). "Blessed in my own way": Pedagogical affordances for dialogical voice construction in multilingual student writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, *27*(1), 122–139. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jslw.2014.09.001

Casey, S. (2014). Learning Danish(ness): Constructing cultural difference in Danish language classes in Denmark. *Nordicum-Mediterraneum*, *9*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.33112/nm.9.1.5

CEFR. (2001). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. Cambridge University Press.

Colliander, H., Ahn, S., & Per Andersson, P. (2018). Actions and conceptions: Exploring initial literacy teaching practice for adults. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *17*(5), 306–319. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2018.1465344

Directorate of Labour. (2020). *Studies and courses*. https://vinnumalastofnun.is/en/counselling-studies-and-courses/icelandic-courses

Efling. (2020). *Grants for individuals*. https://www.efling.is/fraedslumal/educational-grants-for-individuals/grants-for-individuals-the-state-nursing-homes-reykjavik-city-kopavogur-and-seltjarnarnes/?lang=en

Fejes, A., & Dahlstedt, M. (2017). Popular education, migration and a discourse of inclusion. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *49*(2), 214–227. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2018.1463656

Heinemann, A. M. B. (2017). The making of "good citizens": German courses for migrants and refugees. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *49*(2), 177–195. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2018.1453115

Heinemann, A. M. B. (2018). Alles unter Kontrolle?—Der Deutschkurs in der Erwachsenenbildung [Everything under control? —The German course in adult education]. *Zeitschrift für Weiterbildungsforschung*, *41*(1), 79–92. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40955-018-0106-8

Hellgren, Z. (2018). Class, race—and place: Immigrants' self-perceptions on inclusion, belonging and opportunities in Stockholm and Barcelona. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *42*(12), 2084–2102. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2018.1532095

Hill, C. E., Thompson, B. J., & Williams, E. N. (1997). A guide to conducting consensual qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *25*(4), 517–572. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000097254001

Hilmarsson-Dunn, A., & Kristinsson, A. P. (2010). The language situation in Iceland. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *11*(3), 207–276. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2010.538008

Innes, P., & Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2016). Icelandic for adult foreigners: Effects of imposing an Icelandic language test. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *18*(1), 68–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2016.1168689

Innes, P. (2015). Icelandic language schools after the crash. In E. P. Durrenberger & G. Pálsson (Eds.), *Gambling debt: Iceland's rise and fall in the global economy* (pp. 187–199). University of Colorado Press.

Innes, P. (2020). Icelanders' opinions on the role of the state in teaching Icelandic to foreigners. In L. Siragusa & J. K. Ferguson (Eds.), *Responsibility and language practices in place* (pp. 175–194). Studia Fennica Anthropologica. https://doi.org/10.21435/sfa.5

Johnson, T., & Berry, S. (2014). Beyond the ESOL classroom. In D. Mallows (Ed.), *Language issues in migration and integration: Perspectives from teachers and learners* (pp. 79–94). British Council.

Kramsch, C. (2013). Culture in foreign language teaching. *Iranian Journal of Language Teaching Research*, *1*(1), 57–78. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1127430.pdf .

Kramsch, C. (2009). Third culture and language education. In L. Wei & V. Cook (Eds.), *Contemporary applied linguistics: Language teaching and learning* (Vol. 1, pp. 233–254). Bloomsbury.

Kristinsson, A. (2018). National language policy and planning in Iceland—Aims and institutional activities. In G. Stickel (Ed.), *National language institutions and national languages* (pp. 243–249). Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Ladany, N., Thompson, B. J., & Hill, C. E. (2012). Cross-analysis. In C. E. Hill (Ed.), *Consensual qualitative research* (pp. 117–134). American Psychological Association.

Meckl, M., and Gunnþórsdóttir, H. (Eds.). (2020). *Samfélag fjölbreytileikans: Samskipti heimamanna og innflytjenda á Íslandi* [The society of diversity: Communication between locals and immigrants in Iceland]. University of Akureyri. https://opinvisindi.is/bitstream/handle/20.500.11815/2402/samfelfjolbr_stakar_corrected%2020.01.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Menntamálaráðuneyti. (2008). *Námskrá: Íslenska fyrir útlendinga—Grunnnám* [Curriculum: Icelandic for Foreigners — Undergraduate Studies].

Menntamálaráðuneyti. (2012). *Íslenska fyrir útlendinga framhaldsnámskrá* [Icelandic for foreigners graduate curriculum].
Menntamálaráðuneyti. (2015a). *Úttekt á íslenskukennslu fyrir útlendinga* [Evaluation of Icelandic language teaching for foreigners]. https://www.stjornarradid.is/media/menntamalaraduneyti-media/media/ritogskyrslur/utt_islkennsl_utlend_2015.pdf
Menntamálaráðuneyti. (2015b). *Reglur um úthlutun styrkja til íslenskukennslu fyrir útlendinga* [Rules on the allocation of grants for teaching Icelandic to foreigners].
Ministry of Social Affairs. (2007). *Government policy on the integration of immigrants*. https://www.government.is/media/velferdarraduneyti-media/media/acrobat-enskar_sidur/stefna_integration_of_immigrants.pdf
Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities, and the language classroom. In M. P. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning* (pp. 159–171). Pearson Education.
Pavlenko, A., & Lantolf, J. P. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In J. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 155–178). Oxford University Press.
Pavlenko, A., & Norton, B. (2007). Imagined communities, identity, and English language learning. In J. Cummins & C. Davison (Eds.), *International handbook of English language teaching* (pp. 669–680). Springer.
Rannís. (2015). *Reglur um úthlutun styrkja til Íslenskukennslu fyrir útlendinga* [Rules on the allocation of grants for teaching Icelandic to foreigners]. https://www.rannis.is/media/islenskukennsla/Reglur-um-uthl.-styrkja-til-isl.kennslu-utlendinga_2015.pdf
Reichenberg, M., & Berhanu, G. (2018). Overcoming language barriers to citizenship: Predictors of adult immigrant satisfaction with language training programme in Sweden. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, *14*(3), 279–289. https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197918809575
Shardakova, M., & Pavlenko, A. (2004). Identity options in Russian textbooks. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, *3*(1), 25–46. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327701jlie0301_2
Skaptadóttir, U. D., & Innes, P. (2017). Immigrant experiences of learning Icelandic and connecting with the speaking community. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *7*(1), 20–27. http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2017-0001
Statistics Iceland. (2019). *Membership in labour unions 2003–2019*. https://px.hagstofa.is/pxis/pxweb/is/Samfelag/Samfelag__vinnumarkadur__vinnumarkadsrannsokn__3_arstolur/VIN01007.px
Statistics Iceland. (2020). *Immigrants and persons with foreign background 2020*. https://www.statice.is/publications/news-archive/inhabitants/immigrants-and-persons-with-foreign-background-2020/
Tomi, L. M. (2001). Critical analysis of American representations of Russians. *Pragmatics*, *11*(3), 263–283. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.11.3.02tom
University of Iceland. (2016). *Second language studies, MA, 120 ECTS. Course catalog*. https://ugla.hi.is/kennsluskra/index.php?tab=nam&chapter=namsleid&id=820180_20166&kennsluar=2016
Westra, P., & Egilsdóttir, S. (2019). *The access to education for refugees in Iceland*. Red Cross.

Article II

Migration and community in an age of digital connectivity

A survey of media use and integration amongst migrants in Iceland

Lara Hoffmann,[I] Þorlákur Axel Jónsson,[II] & Markus Meckl[I]

[I] Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Akureyri, Iceland
[II] Faculty of Education, University of Akureyri, Iceland

Abstract
Information and communication technologies enable migrants to maintain bonds with multiple communities. Little is known about the association between migrants' connections to their country of origin and different integration practices in online and offline communities in the receiving society. We draw on a survey conducted amongst migrants in Iceland (N = 2,139) and conduct three regression analyses to identify determinants of migrants' use of media and social media from their country of origin. Contrary to other studies, we do not find evidence of reactive transnationalism (i.e., migrants seeking out connections to their places of origin due to dissatisfaction with life in the receiving society) as a response to negative attitudes towards the receiving society. We identify distinct patterns of online and offline integration: Migrants with frequent contact with their countries of origin are less integrated locally in terms of offline activities. However, they are more integrated in digital communities of the receiving society, and use receiving-country media more frequently, thus following a strategy of digital biculturalism.

Keywords: migrant media use, digital biculturalism, digital connectivity, online and offline migrant integration, survey

Introduction

A rich body of scholarship has highlighted how information and communication technologies enable migrants to maintain ties with different communities (Diminescu, 2008; Licoppe, 2004; Smets et al., 2019). *In Touch*, a 2018 documentary directed by Paweł Ziemilski, explores virtual connections between Polish migrants in Iceland and their relatives in Poland. Juxtaposing and layering recordings of virtual conversations and images filmed in Poland and Iceland, the documentary visualises the subjects' virtual co-presence in multiple locations through digital media.

Hoffmann, L., Jónsson, Þ. A., & Meckl, M. (2022). Migration and community in an age of digital connectivity: A survey of media use and integration amongst migrants in Iceland. *Nordicom Review*, *43*(1), 19–37. https://doi.org/10.2478/nor-2022-0002

We examine the implications of migrants' connections to their countries of origin through social and other media (news and current affairs programmes) for their integration in receiving communities. We understand integration as the involvement of migrants in different areas in the receiving society, covering social, economic, and political indicators of integration, as well as subjective experiences in the receiving society. We further ask whether migrants' use of media from their country of origin is associated with their integration both in offline and digital communities in the receiving society, or whether there are discrepancies between the two. Prior studies show that frequent connections to places of origin through media have a positive effect on migrants' social integration in receiving societies (Alencar & Deuze, 2017; Licoppe, 2004). At the same time, migrants who use media from their countries of origin more often perceive more discrimination and more negative perspectives about migrants in the receiving society (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002). The important role of media in facilitating migrants' bonds with different communities calls for a reconceptualisation of integration practices, as there is little research that scrutinises migrants' integration practices in both online and offline communities (Mittelstädt & Odag, 2015).

We analyse quantitative data derived from a survey conducted amongst migrants in Iceland in 2018 (N = 2,139). A study on Iceland is well-suited for scrutinising digital connectivity of migrants, because the country is situated remotely in the North Atlantic and highly digitalised. Digital connectivity is particularly relevant for people moving to remote destinations, because they have fewer opportunities to maintain contact in other ways, such as through return visits (Dziekońska, 2021).

We begin by introducing the theoretical background and discuss prior findings on social media and media use amongst migrants. We then contextualise Iceland as our case study and describe the method and results of the quantitative analysis. Finally, we discuss the implications of our findings.

Theoretical background on digital connectivity and integration

Connected migrants

Earlier research on migration and media was mainly focused on the representation of migrants in the media, but more recently, scholars have investigated the use of media amongst migrants (Rydin & Sjöberg, 2008). Diminescu's (2008) concept of connected migrants describes a new type of migrant who, due to technological advancements, is able to maintain digital bonds across national borders. Recently, Diminescu (2019: 74) has redefined her definition of connected migrant as "a migrant equipped with at least one digitalised device which enables him/her to instantaneously switch between several lifestyles". The concept of connected migrants follows transnational perspectives because it challenges earlier depictions of migrants as uprooted from their places of origin (Diminescu, 2019; Glick-Schiller et al., 1992). Instead, connected migrants are characterised by belonging to multiple networks, holding allegiances to several locations and cultures, and having hypermobility and flexibility on the labour market (Diminescu, 2008). Social media (Hofhuis et al., 2019; Yin, 2013) and news and current affairs programmes (Alencar & Deuze, 2017; Vidal, 2018) are often discussed in the literature in this context of changing migration networks through increased digital

connectivity. Home country media and "ethnic" media that specifically targets migrants and provides them with information and news from their host country can strengthen migrants' connections to their place of origin and facilitate the development of new hybrid migrant identities (Yin, 2013).

This increased digital connectivity has far-reaching implications for migration experiences as it gives "a presence to the 'absent'" (Kernalegenn & Van Haute, 2020: 3), for example, in transnational party politics which continue to influence governance in migrants' countries of origin (Kernalegenn & Van Haute, 2020; Østergaard-Nielsen & Ciornei, 2018) or new forms of transnational parenting and family relations facilitated by digital media (Madianou & Miller, 2011). These digital communities provide a sense of belonging through "the sense of shared space, rituals of shared practices, and exchange of social support" (Baym, 2010: 86). For many migrants, participation in multiple online and offline communities is an inherent part of their everyday lived realities. Leurs and Ponzanesi (2018), drawing on Diminescu's work, described this as cosmopolitanism.

The concepts of connected and cosmopolitan migrants emphasise the positive aspects of digital connectivity, representing (new forms of) media as compensation for loss of communication through migration. However, increased digital connectivity should more precisely be understood as changing, rather than only improving, migrants' bonds with different communities. Digital communities provide different barriers to integration, and social media "can be as much about cutting people off as including them in" (Miller, 2021: 89). Furthermore, information and communication technologies can be both empowering and used as a means of surveillance, which has been described as the "empowerment-control nexus" by Nedelcu and Soysüren (2020). Increased connectivity of migrants thus provides challenges as well as opportunities for migrants' connections to different communities, including the receiving society.

Digital connectivity and integration in the receiving society

Increased digital connectivity impacts migrants' integration in receiving societies. While there is no common understanding of integration (Alencar & Deuze, 2017), it is often understood as having a better position on the labour market and being socially and politically involved in the receiving society. More recently, subjective experiences of migrants – such as life satisfaction, the "overall assessment of an individual's quality of life according to his/her personal judgment and criteria" (Amit, 2009: 516), or trust in the receiving society (Arcand et al., 2020) – have been considered as measures of integration.

The most influential model for understanding immigrants' integration in receiving societies is Berry's (1997) acculturation theory, which introduced the following strategies: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. Integration (or biculturalism), involving a hybrid of both receiving and sending society, is the strategy that is most associated with successful adaption in a receiving society; assimilation rejects the culture of one's place of origin to adopt that of the receiving society; separation renounces any adoption of the culture of the receiving society; and marginalisation rejects both cultures (Berry, 1997). Berry's approach remains the most robust framework for explaining migrants' acculturation, although limitations in his theory have been acknowledged, especially the lack of consideration for more com-

plex individual and cultural attitudes towards integration, as was discussed in detail by Bierwiaczonek and Kunst (2021) and Rudmin (2003). Recent publications have drawn on Berry's framework to advance understanding of the relationship between migrants' use of media and their integration in receiving societies (Alencar & Deuze, 2017; Mitra & Evansluong, 2019).

A study on news consumption amongst migrants to the Netherlands and Spain indicated that migrants who use country-of-origin media frequently follow Berry's integration strategy and actively participate both in the receiving society and the country of origin (Alencar & Deuze, 2017). Another study on Italian migrants in London indicated that "digital togetherness of migrants in the digital space is considerably improving the process of integration in the host society" (Marino, 2015: 5). A possible explanation for the link between transnational connectivity and strong commitment to local communities has been provided by Licoppe (2004), who claimed that high frequencies of digital connectivity to migrants' countries of origin multiplies feelings of connectedness to both places.

While studies indicate positive links between migrants' social integration in the receiving society and their digital connectivity, there are indicators that migrants who use more media from their countries of origin feel resistance towards their place of residence, as shown in a study on media consumption amongst Iranian migrants in Norway (Alghasi, 2009). Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) coined the term "reactive transnationalism" to describe migrants seeking out connections to their places of origin due to dissatisfaction with life in the receiving society.

The relationship between life satisfaction – which has been considered a factor of integration in recent years (Amit, 2009) – and migrants' use of media remains understudied, but some studies indicate that a "culture of connectivity" and having access to communities across national borders has positive effects on migrants' life satisfaction in the receiving society (Liu et al., 2017). Migrants' connections to their countries of origin can, therefore, be a strategy to cope with being in an unfamiliar culture and environment (Hofhuis et al., 2019; King-O'Riain, 2015).

Given the distinct characteristics of online communities, it is of interest to differentiate between integration in online and offline communities of the receiving society. Mitra and Evansluong (2019: 477) find that the opportunity to maintain constant ties to countries of origin can also lead to migrants having "little incentive to establish both online and offline connections with the host country". Highlighting distinct practices of media use amongst migrants, Mittelstädt and Odag (2015) suggested a framework for integration that distinguishes between offline and online integration as distinct practices of integration in the receiving society. We aim to advance the understanding of the association between migrants' contacts with their countries of origin and their integration in receiving societies with a study conducted amongst a sample of migrants in a destination country.

The Icelandic context

Iceland is an island nation of 360,000 inhabitants located in the Atlantic Ocean, with mainland Europe (Norway) being 970 kilometres away and mainland North America being 2,070 kilometres away. Iceland has the highest number of Internet users per

capita in the Nordic countries (Europe Internet Stats, 2021), and Facebook is the most popular social media platform and very positively received amongst Icelanders (EMC Rannsóknir, 2019; Guðmundsson, 2019). According to a survey amongst 929 Icelanders (aged 18 and older) conducted by Gallup in 2018, the percentage of Facebook users in Iceland is 93 per cent, the highest in the Nordic countries (MMR, 2018).

The number of migrants in Iceland has increased rapidly in recent years. In September 2020, about 15 per cent of inhabitants in Iceland were migrants, whereas in 2000, migrants comprised only about 3 per cent of the country's population. We follow Statistics Iceland (2020: para. 2) in defining a migrant as "a person born abroad with both parents foreign born and all grandparents foreign born".

The Icelandic migrant population is largely driven by labour migration, with many migrants working in the tourism, fishing, and construction industries and care work (Júlíusdóttir et al., 2013). There is a relatively small number of refugees (Ragnarsdóttir, 2020). The largest group of migrants in Iceland (37%) is from Poland (20,477), followed by those from Lithuania (3,277) and the Philippines (2,085) (Statistics Iceland, 2020). Poland's and Lithuania's EU memberships in 2004 encouraged migration from these countries to countries within the EEA (Skaptadóttir, 2015). People from Asian countries, such as the Philippines and Thailand, increasingly migrated to Iceland during the economic boom of the 2000s, often to work in fisheries (Skaptadóttir, 2015).

Access to the Icelandic labour market is prioritised for migrants from the new EU member states. Consequentially, migrants from the Philippines "increasingly indicate uniting with family as a reason for migrating to Iceland" (Skaptadóttir, 2015: 178). Dziekońska (2021: 145) discussed the case of circular migrants from Poland and how their intention to stay in Iceland temporarily – even though they often stayed longer than intended – "stopped them from entering into close relationships with individuals from the host society". Dziekońska (2021: 145) added that they surround themselves with Polish customs and culture "also by means of electronic media and transnational communication with family and friends in the homeland". Migrants from the Philippines maintain ties to their country of origin, particularly through remittances, and mention that connections through digital media are an important factor in ensuring the continuation of these ties (Skaptadóttir, 2019).

The considerable geographical distance between Iceland and mainland Europe and North America affects the way migrants connect to their countries of origin, as frequent return visits are more challenging compared with migrants located closer to their place of origin (Dziekońska, 2021). This geographical separation is reflected in the media use of migrants who maintain ties with their families abroad. A comparative study amongst Polish migrants in Iceland and Austria indicated that migrants in Iceland use computer hardware more often than those in Austria, who use telephones more frequently (Krzyżowski, 2015). The same study showed that migrants in Iceland communicate with their elderly parents more frequently than those in Austria, demonstrating that migrants in Iceland compensated for their absence and infrequency of visits with more frequent communication (Krzyżowski, 2015).

Another study showed that Polish migrants in Iceland who perceive the discourse on migrants more negatively are drawn to Polish-language media (Ólafs & Zielińska, 2010). This could indicate that such migrants resort to reactive transnationalism when

confronted with negative portrayals, turning to media from their country of origin rather than Icelandic media. Studies analysing Icelandic media reports between 2006–2010 indicated that "one third of the coverage [about migrants] in Iceland was in relation to crime and police matters" (Ólafs & Zielińska, 2010: 77). Loftsdóttir discussed negative portrayals of Lithuanians in Icelandic media and in the popular Icelandic crime television series *Trapped* (Loftsdóttir, 2017; Lóftsdóttir et al., 2017). Some of Loftsdóttir's interlocutors decided not to disclose their country of origin to Icelanders due to the negative public discourse in Iceland about migrants from specific countries (Loftsdóttir, 2017), demonstrating the power of the media on migrants' integration and trust. The increase of migration to Iceland has encouraged the emergence of different types of ethnic media, particularly Polish-language media, such as a Polish version of the Icelandic national broadcaster RÚV, or the news media Iceland News Polska.

Based on research on migrants' integration in receiving societies, we examine how migrants' practices of news consumption and social media consumption relate to their integration in the receiving country. Scholarship demonstrates that media use can be associated both with more effective integration of migrants and with migrants' withdrawal from interactions in receiving countries. We aim to supplement the number of smaller-scale, often qualitative studies conducted amongst specific groups of migrants with a study on data collected amongst a large number of migrants in a destination country, in order to investigate the factors driving migrants' media use overall. Having observed that frequent connections to countries of origin are often associated with more integration in the receiving society, our first hypothesis is based on the expectation that migrants who have frequent contact with their countries of origin will also be socially integrated in their place of residence:

> Hypothesis 1 (H1): Migrants who are in more contact to their countries of origin through social media and other media are more socially integrated in the receiving society.

We also query the association between migrants' contact to countries of origin through social and other media and their attitudes towards life in the receiving society. Our second hypothesis is therefore based on the expectation of finding evidence of reactive transnationalism in our study, with migrants who are more dissatisfied with life in the receiving society being less connected abroad:

> Hypothesis 2 (H2): Migrants who are in more contact to countries of origin through media and other media express more negative attitudes towards institutions and the public discourse about migration in the receiving society.

As studies have shown that connections to migrants' countries of origin have positive effects on their well-being, our third hypothesis is based on our expectation of a positive association between frequent connections to country of origin and migrants' life satisfaction:

> Hypothesis 3 (H3): Migrants who use more media from country of origin are more satisfied with life in the receiving society.

Method

The research presented in this article drew on empirical data derived from a quantitative study conducted in 2018. A survey ($N = 2,139$) was carried out in the form of an online questionnaire amongst migrants in Iceland. The study used convenience and snowball sampling. The University of Akureyri Research Centre (RHA) distributed the survey – available in Icelandic, English, Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Arabic, Russian, and Thai – via language schools, social media platforms and, in selected areas, through local assistants who were well-connected to migrant communities in these regions. Participants received written information on the purpose of the study, confidentiality, and anonymity of the data collected. Personal details, such as names, were not collected. Due to the small population of Iceland, additional measures were taken to protect participants' identities, and instead of collecting information on countries of origin, information of world regions of origin was collected.

Measures

The background variables included were gender, age, world region of origin, time of residence in Iceland, intended time of residence in Iceland, and level of education (see Table 1). We included standard demographic questions in order to gain insight into how factors such as gender, age, and geographic and educational background are associated with media use and to be able to differentiate between different groups of migrants. This approach was justified because media use is "reflecting power differences derived from the intersection of gender, race, class, generation, and geopolitical relationships, within specific social, political and emotional contexts" (Nedelcu & Soysüren, 2020: 4). Intended length of stay in Iceland was included to differentiate between short-term and long-term migrants, as it may affect their motivation to connect to the receiving society (Dziekońska, 2021). Participants could choose between the following world regions: Western Europe, Nordic Countries, or North America; Central or Eastern Europe; Asia; Africa; Central America; South America; and Other. Due to the low number of participants from the latter five regions, these categories were merged into one for our analysis ("Other").

Table 1 *Background information of survey respondents*

Variable	Category	Percentage
Gender	Female	66.5
Age	18–25 years	12.5
	26–40 years	58.5
	41–66 years	29.0
World region of origin	Western Europe, Nordic Countries, or North America	21.9
	Central or Eastern Europe	65.3
	Other	12.7
Time of residence in Iceland	< 1 year	9.5
	1–2 years	21.2
	3–5 years	22.2
	6–10 years	18.6
	11–20 years	24.3
	20+ years	4.2
Intended time of residence	< 1 year	5.3
	1–2 years	9.8
	3–5 years	16.6
	6–10 years	11.1
	11–20 years	8.9
	20+ years	48.2
Education	Primary school	4.0
	Vocational training	12.2
	Matriculation exam	30.7
	University degree	48.7
	Other	4.5

Media and social media use were measured with three questions. Questions 1 and 3 measure what has been termed "home country media use" (Vidal, 2018; Yin, 2013). Question 2 measures "ethnic media use" (Yin, 2013), meaning migrants' connections to other migrants from their place of origin residing in the same country.

1. When you use social media, how often do you follow or communicate with the following types of people? – People from my home country
2. When you use social media, how often do you follow or communicate with the following types of people? – People from my own country that live in Iceland
3. How often do you follow news or current affairs programmes in the media of your country of origin?

Frequencies of these questions were measured on a 5-point scale from 1 (never or almost never) to 5 (every day or almost daily). We coded responses to each question dichotomously, where 1 meant daily or almost daily and 2 meant less than daily or almost daily (see Table 2).

Table 2 *Country-of-origin social media contact and media use by migrants in Iceland*

Question	Daily or almost daily	Less than daily or almost daily
Social media contact with people from country of origin (%)	49.4	50.6
Social media contact with people from country of origin living in Iceland (%)	33.6	66.4
Use of media from country of origin (%)	50.8	49.2

We operationalised integration based on several variables (see Table 3) covering social, economic, and political factors that are commonly used to measure integration. We further included life satisfaction and trust in institutions of the receiving society as subjective measures of integration in the receiving society (Amit, 2009; Arcand et al., 2020). As research indicates that migrants perceiving the public discourse about migrants and migration in the receiving society more negatively tend to seek out more connections to their countries of origin through media (Alghasi, 2009; Ólafs & Zielińska, 2010), we also included migrants' opinion about the public discourse on migrants in Iceland. We investigate migrants' monthly income before tax – < ISK 200,000 (EUR 1,370); ISK 200,000–399,000 (EUR 2,733); ISK 400,000–599,000 (EUR 4,102); ISK 600,000–899,000 (EUR 6,157); ISK 900,000–1,199,000 (EUR 8,212); and ISK 1,200,000+ – knowing that the medium monthly income in Iceland is ISK 416,000 before tax at the time this survey was conducted (Statistics Iceland, 2018). We further asked whether migrants voted in the municipal elections of 2018 (with possible answers being "yes", "no", "did not have the right to vote", "did not know there were elections", or "did not know I could vote in this election") and whether they took part in clubs and activities ("took part" or "did not take part"). Social contact with Icelanders was measured by combining two questions measured on a scale from 1 (never) to 4 (many times): "Have you a.) Invited Icelandic friends to your home? b.) Been invited by Icelandic friends to their home?"

Migrants' social media contact with Icelanders was measured by asking the following question: "When you use social media, how often do you follow or communicate with the following types of people? – Icelanders and other people I have met in Iceland". We further investigated migrants' use of media from their countries of origin by asking the following question: "How often do you follow news or current affairs programmes in the media of your country of origin?" Frequencies of these questions were measured on a 5-point scale from 1 (never or almost never) to 5 (every day or almost daily). We further investigated migrants' experiences of discrimination in Iceland. This was measured by asking the following questions that were combined into one variable:

> Have you experienced any of the following incidents in Iceland? a.) People have made fun of my accent, b.) I have been treated in an unfriendly manner in a shop or supermarket, c.) I have not been hired for a job because of my background, d.) I have been paid less than my Icelandic co-workers for the same kind of work.

Trust in institutions in Iceland was measured with the following questions that were combined into one variable and measured on a scale from 1 (a lot of trust) to 5 (no trust at all):

> How much trust do you have in the following institutions in Iceland? a.) The police, b.) Parliament [Alþingi], c.) Job centres (the directorate of labour), d.) Schools in Iceland, e.) The health care system.

We further investigated migrants' opinions about current discussions about migrants and migration in Iceland with the following question measured on a 5-point scale from 1 (too positive) to 5 (too negative): "In your opinion is the public discussion in Iceland about migrants…". The variable for life satisfaction in Iceland was measured with the following question measured on a 5-point scale from 1 (very unsatisfied) to 5 (very satisfied): "On the whole, how satisfied are you with living in your municipality?"

Table 3 *Factors of integration for migrants in Iceland*

Variable	Category	Percentage
Income (%)	< ISK 200,000	10.2
	ISK 200,000–399,000	47.9
	ISK 400,000–599,999	29.2
	ISK 600,000–899,000	10.3
	ISK 900,000–1,119,000	1.4
	ISK 1,200,000+	.9
Vote in municipal elections: did not vote (%)	–	77.6
Participation in clubs and activities: does not participate (%)	–	71.3
Social contact with Icelanders (continuous 0–6, mean as % of max value)	–	56.5
Social media contact with Icelanders (%)	Less than daily or almost daily	64.8
	Daily or almost daily	35.2
Use of Icelandic media (%)	Less than daily or almost daily	68.7
	Daily or almost daily	31.3
Experiences of discrimination (continuous 0–24, mean as % of max value)	–	27.2
Trust in institutions in Iceland (continuous 0–20, mean as % of max value)	–	58.5
Opinion about public discussion on migrants in Iceland (%)	Too positive	5.4
	Somehow too positive	19.7
	Neither too positive nor too negative	48.1
	Somehow negative	23.3
	Too negative	3.6
Overall satisfaction with life in municipality (%)	Unsatisfied or neutral	31.1
	Satisfied	68.9

Analytic approach

To explore determinants of digital connectivity, we performed three binomial logistics regression analyses (method enter) for the following dependent variables: social media contact with people from respondents' country of origin; social media contact with

people from respondents' country of origin living in Iceland; and use of media from respondents' country of origin. To correct for multiple comparisons calculating *p*-values, we used the Bonferroni-Dunn correction. In the multiple comparisons in the regression analyses, we divided the alpha level of .05 by the number of comparisons being made and therefore report only on significance below the relevant threshold.

Results

Tables 1–3 provide descriptive statistics for the following background variables: use of media and social media, and integration in the receiving society. Almost half of all respondents (49%) reported connecting with people from their country of origin on social media daily or almost daily. A third of respondents (34%) reported connecting with people from their countries of origin living in Iceland daily or almost daily. Slightly over half of all respondents (51%) reported using media from their countries of origin daily or almost daily. About two-thirds of the respondents (65%) were born in Central or Eastern Europe (73% of these answered in Polish); about one-fifth (22%) in Western Europe, Nordic Countries, or North America (73% of these answered in English); and 13 per cent in Asia, Africa, Central America, South America, or other countries (61% answered in English).

Social media contact with people from country of origin

The results of the regression analyses for migrants' social media contact with people from their country of origin are shown in Table A1 (see the Appendix). Female migrants were in more contact with people from their country of origin. Those who had been in Iceland for a short time only were likely to be in more contact with their place of origin through social media than those who had been there longer. Those who were actively participating in clubs and activities in Iceland were less likely to maintain frequent online contact with people from their countries of origin. More contact with people from countries of origin online was associated with less social contact with Icelanders offline, but with more contact with Icelanders on social media. The other factors in the regression model were not significant predictors.

Social media contact with people from country of origin living in Iceland

The results of the regression analyses for migrants' social media contact with people from their country of origin living in Iceland are shown in Table A2 (see the Appendix). Migrants from Central or Eastern Europe and the heterogenous group "Other" were in more frequent contact with people from their countries of origin living in Iceland than those from Western Europe, Nordic Countries, or North America. Those who had been in Iceland for less than 11–20 years had less contact with people from their countries of origin living in Iceland. Migrants who completed an apprenticeship were more likely to be in contact with people from their countries of origin than those who have a university education. Those who voted in municipal elections had less contact with people from their countries of origin living in Iceland. Those who were in frequent contact with Icelanders had less contact with people from their countries of origin living in Iceland on social media. Frequent contact with Icelanders online was associated with frequent contact with people from migrants' countries of origin online. The other factors in the regression model were not significant predictors.

Use of media from country of origin

The results of the regression analyses for migrants' use of country-of-origin media are shown in Table A3 (see the Appendix). Female migrants used media from their country of origin less frequently, while younger migrants used media from their countries of origin more frequently. Migrants who had been in Iceland 11–20 years were more likely to use media from their countries of origin than those who had been in Iceland for shorter time or for more than 20 years. Participants who intended to stay in Iceland for a shorter time consumed media from their countries of origin more frequently than those intending to stay more than 20 years. Those who actively participated in clubs and activities in Iceland were less likely to use media from their countries of origin. Those who consumed media from their countries of origin more frequently had less contact with Icelanders offline but used Icelandic media more frequently. The other factors in the regression model were not significant predictors.

Migrants' digital connectivity to countries of origin and integration in receiving societies

Prior studies emphasise the positive effect of migrants' use of media from their countries of origin on their integration in receiving societies (Alencar & Deuze, 2017; Licoppe, 2004). Our findings provide a more nuanced perspective on migrants' integration in communities across national borders. On the one hand, when the social factors "inviting Icelanders to your home and being invited by Icelanders to their home" and "participation in clubs and activities" are used as indicators for integration, those with more frequent contact with people from their country of origin are less integrated. On the other hand, we find that highly connected migrants are also more connected to the receiving society through media. Almost half of migrants in Iceland use social media and other media daily or almost daily to connect to their countries of origin, 30 per cent of which are with people from their country of origin living in Iceland.

Our research partially confirms H1, that migrants who engage with their countries of origin through media and social media are also integrated in the receiving societies, thus practicing the integration strategy in Berry's model (Alencar & Deuze, 2017). However, it is noteworthy that we only find evidence of this form of biculturalism with regards to media use, and not regarding other factors of integration. Drawing on Berry's (1997) model, this strategy is a form of digital biculturalism. Mitra and Evansluong (2019: 477) argue that migrants who are highly connected to their countries of origin "have little incentive to establish both online and offline connections with the host country". Our findings indicate that this is the case for offline interactions, in which migrants with frequent contact to their countries of origin tend to participate less, but not for online activities. The practice of digital biculturalism and less integration in offline activities of the receiving society is in accordance with Miller's (2021: 89) findings that "social media can effectively become the primary 'home' for an individual".

The fact that migrants who are more connected to their countries of origin tend to be less involved in receiving societies could be explained by reactive transnationalism. Prior studies abroad (Alghasi, 2009); Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002) and in Iceland (Loftsdóttir, 2017; Ólafs & Zielińska, 2010) indicated that migrants with more negative attitudes towards the receiving society seek out connections with their countries of origin. We

therefore expected to find evidence of reactive transnationalism in our study (H2); however, our findings do not support this conclusion. Migrants with frequent contact with their countries of origin do not differ from other migrants in their opinion about the local discourse on migrants in Iceland, level of trust in institutions in the receiving society, and experiences of discrimination.

Due to evidence that migrants' connections abroad have a positive impact on their life satisfaction, we expected those with more connections abroad to express higher life satisfaction (H3). Our findings do not support this hypothesis, as we do not find an association between life satisfaction and migrants' media use. A possible explanation for this finding is that both online and offline communities can provide the benefits of sharing space and social support with other members of digital communities (Baym, 2010). Thus, being a member of digital communities seems to be sufficient, or the primary way of socialising, for some digitally connected cosmopolitan migrants. This might be explained by Licoppe's (2004) statement that digital connectivity to both places multiplies feelings of connectedness.

We also investigated other areas of integration, finding that economic integration was not associated with migrants' media use and that political integration (voting) was associated with less contact with people from migrants' countries of origin living in Iceland. This could indicate a segregation strategy in terms of political involvement, where migrants who are in more contact with other people from their country of origin are less integrated in the receiving community, politically speaking. Our study has implications for studies on migrant integration in the digital age because we identify offline and online integration as two distinct spheres of integration. Online integration in the receiving society might be considered as an additional, distinct factor used to measure social integration in receiving communities.

A few demographic factors were associated with migrants' use of media from their country of origin. Overall, we find those factors were not relevant in explaining migrants' connections abroad in comparison with other factors. We find that those intending to stay for a shorter time consume news and current affairs programmes from their countries of origin less but have more contact with their countries of origin. This is in line with the result that younger migrants used media from their country of origin more frequently, indicating that migrants have fewer contacts through social and other media to their countries of origin over time.

We identify differences in media use with regards to gender. Women are in more frequent contact with their country of origin through social media but consume news and current affairs programmes from their country of origin less frequently. This can be explained by different preferences for media use or different types of migration, with men being more likely to move for work and women for family reasons (Skaptadóttir, 2015).

Migrants from Western Europe, Nordic Countries, and North America are less likely to be in contact with people from their countries of origin living in Iceland. This can be explained by the size of the group of migrants from these regions, giving access to a larger group of migrants from the same place of origin, and the availability of social media groups and ethnic media targeting, for example, Polish migrants in Iceland. Furthermore, migration from Central and Eastern Europe is often circular labour migration, rather than migration because of family reasons where a network in Iceland already exists. Another possible explanation might be that discrimination experienced

by migrants who are not from Western Europe, Nordic Countries, or North America (Lóftsdóttir, 2017; Lóftsdóttir et al., 2017) results in migrants being more inclined to seek out the community and comfort provided by ethnic media and by people from the same country of origin.

The results from this study conducted in Iceland is unique to some degree because of Iceland's remote location and high digitalisation, resulting in migrants having fewer options for maintaining contact with people from their countries of origin (Krzyżowski, 2015). Furthermore, with migration being a relatively recent development in Iceland, the number of second-generation migrants is relatively small, and the tradition of transnational migrant communities is not as anchored as in other European places with third or fourth generations of migrants.

Basing our study on data collected amongst a large number of migrants in a destination country allows us to demonstrate the factors that drive migrants' media use overall. We can thus supplement the number of smaller-scale, often qualitative studies conducted amongst specific groups of migrants. However, limitations of our study need to be acknowledged. We only focus on two types of media (social media and news and current affairs programmes). Further research could differentiate between types of media (e.g., different platforms, including print media). Furthermore, future research could expand this topic by including use of media from other locations, which would reflect the realities of migrants who maintain transnational bonds in multiple places. Another limitation is that the question about social media contact with migrants' countries of origin does not specify whether the people connected with are *in* the country of origin. Future studies could differentiate between contact with people or groups located in countries of origin and those located in other countries. Since we used convenience and snowball sampling, we received a higher response rate amongst educated migrants who were more willing to share their experiences. Studies targeting hard-to-reach members of the population specifically, for example, circular migrants (Dziekońska, 2021), might add further insights into migrants' relationship to the receiving society and their media use.

Conclusion

Information and communication technologies enable migrants to maintain bonds with multiple localities. This is exemplified in our study, because half the participants use social and other media from their countries of origin daily or almost daily. We distinguish two distinct spheres of migrant integration through offline and online spaces. Drawing on Berry's (1997) integration strategy, we conclude that highly connected migrants engage in a form of digital biculturalism: They maintain active bonds with both receiving and sending societies through media. They tend to be less integrated in terms of offline activities, such as inviting Icelanders to their home or being invited by Icelanders to their homes, indicating that social and other media is the primary way of creating bonds with the country of origin and receiving society for some migrants. Our study thus has implications for studies on migrant integration, as our findings indicate the importance of distinguishing between integration in offline and online communities to adequately reflect how migrants form communities and a sense of belonging in the digital age.

Acknowledgements

A sincere thank you to Stéphanie Barillé for her diligent proofreading of this manuscript and thoughtful comments. We also thank those who discussed our manuscript with us at various conferences, especially the participants of the study circle "Understanding Migration" at the Nordic Summer University. This work was supported by Rannís, the Icelandic Centre for Research (grant number 184903-051).

References

Alencar, A., & Deuze, M. (2017). News for assimilation or integration? Examining the functions of news in shaping acculturation experiences of immigrants in the Netherlands and Spain. *European Journal of Communication*, *32*(2), 151–166. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117689993

Alghasi, S. (2009). Iranian-Norwegian media consumption: Identity and positioning. *Nordicom Review*, *30*(1), 67–82. https://doi.org/10.1515/nor-2017-0139

Amit, K. (2009). Determinants of life satisfaction among immigrants from western countries and from the FSU in Israel. *Social Indicators Research*, *96*, 515–534. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-009-9490-1

Arcand S., Facal, J., & Armony, V. (2020). Understanding the integration process through the concept of trust: A case study of Latin American professionals in Québec. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *22*(2), 749–767. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-020-00765-2

Baym, N. K. (2010). *Personal connections in the digital age*. Polity.

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, *46*(1), 5–34. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x

Bierwiaczonek, K., & Kunst, J. R. (2021). Revisiting the integration hypothesis: Correlational and longitudinal meta-analyses demonstrate the limited role of acculturation for cross-cultural adaptation. *Psychological Science*, *32*(9), 1476–1493. https://doi.org/10.1177/09567976211006432

Diminescu, D. (2008). The connected migrant: An epistemological manifesto. *Social Science Information*, *47*(4), 565–579. https://doi.org/10.1177/0539018408096447

Diminescu, D. (2019). Researching the connected migrant. In K. Smets, K. Leurs, M. Georgiou, S. Witteborn, & R. Gajjala (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of media and migration* (pp. 74–78). Sage. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781526476982

Dziekońska, M. (2021). 'This is a country to earn and return': Polish migrants' circular migration to Iceland. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *11*(2), 142–155. https://doi.org/10.33134/njmr.414

EMC Rannsóknir [EMC Research]. (2019, August 31). *Jákvæð viðhorf landsmanna til Facebook* [*Positive attitude of Icelanders towards Facebook*]. https://emcrannsoknir.is/nidurstodur

Europe Internet Stats. (2021). *Internet stats and Facebook usage in Europe 2021 mid-year statistics*. https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats4.htm

Glick-Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, *645*, 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33484

Guðmundsson, B. (2019). Logics of the Icelandic hybrid media system. *Nordicom Review*, *40*(1), 43–59. https://doi.org/10.2478/nor-2019-0001

Hofhuis, J., Hanke, K., & Rutten, T. (2019). Social network sites and acculturation of international sojourners in the Netherlands: The mediating role of psychological alienation and online social support. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *69*, 120–130. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.02.002

Itzigsohn, J., & Saucedo, S. G. (2002). Immigrant incorporation and sociocultural transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, *36*(3), 766–798. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2002.tb00104.x

Júlíusdóttir, M., Skaptadóttir, U. D., & Karlsdóttir, A. (2013). Gendered migration in turbulent times in Iceland. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift – Norwegian Journal of Geography*, *67*(5), 266–275. https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2013.847483

Kernalegenn, T., & Van Haute, E. (2020). Introduction: Why study political parties abroad? Diasporas as new arenas for party politics. In T. Kernalegenn, & É. van Haute (Eds.), *Political parties abroad: A new arena for party politics* (pp. 1–18). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003015086

King-O'Rian, R. (2015). Emotional streaming and transconnectivity: Skype and emotion practices in transnational families in Ireland. *Global Networks*, *15*(2), 256–273. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12072

Krzyżowski, Ł. (2015). Social remittances and modifications of Polish intergenerational care cultures: Polish migrants in Austria and Iceland and their elderly parents. *Studia Socjologiczne*, *217*(2), 97–118.

Leurs, K., & Ponzanesi, S. (2018). Connected migrants: Encapsulation and cosmopolitanization. *Popular Communication*, *16*(1), 4–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2017.1418359

Licoppe, C. (2004). 'Connected' presence: The emergence of a new repertoire for managing social relationships in a changing communication technoscape. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *22*(1), 135–156. https://doi.org/10.1068/d323t

Liu, Y., Zhang, F., Wu, F., Liu, Y., & Li, Z. (2017). The subjective wellbeing of migrants in Guangzhou, China: The impacts of the social and physical environment. *Cities*, *60* (A), 333–342. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.10.008

Loftsdóttir, K. (2017). Being "The damned foreigner": Affective national sentiments and racialization of Lithuanians in Iceland. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *7*(2), 70–78. https://doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2017-0012

Loftsdóttir, K., Kjartansdóttir, K., & Lund, K. A. (2017). Trapped in clichés: Masculinity, films and tourism in Iceland. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *24*(9), 1225–1242. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369x.2017.1372383

Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2011). *Migration and new media: Transnational families and polymedia*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203154236

Marino, S. (2015). Making space, making place: Digital Togetherness and the redefinition of migrant identities online. *Social Media + Society*, *1*(2), 205630511562247. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115622479

Miller, D. (2021). The anthropology of social media. In H. Geismar, & H. Knox (Eds.), *Digital anthropology* (pp. 85–100). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003087885

Mitra, A., & Evansluong, Q. (2019). Narratives of integration: Liminality in migrant acculturation through social media. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, *145*, 474–480. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2019.01.011

Mittelstädt, A., & Odag, Ö. (2015). Social media use and social integration of ethnic minorities in Germany: A new interdisciplinary framework. *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications*, *2*(1), 21–32. https://doi.org/10.30958/ajmmc.2.1.2

MMR. (2018, June 29). *Facebook trónir á toppnum* [*Facebook reigns supreme*]. MMR market and media research. https://mmr.is/frettir/birtar-nieurstoeeur/689/

Nedelcu, M., & Soysüren, I. (2020). Precarious migrants, migration regimes and digital technologies: The empowerment-control nexus. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2020.1796263

Ólafs, H., & Zielińska, M. (2010). I started to feel worse when I understood more: Polish immigrants and the Icelandic media. Þjóðarspegil*linn 2010*, 76–85.

Østergaard-Nielsen, E., & Ciornei, I. (2018). Political parties and the transnational mobilisation of the emigrant vote. *West European Politics*, *42*(3), 618–644. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2018.1528105

Ragnarsdóttir, H. (2020). Refugee families in Iceland: opportunities and challenges in schools and society. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being*, *15*(2), 1764294. https://doi.org/10.1080/17482631.2020.1764294

Rudmin, F. W. (2003). Critical history of the acculturation psychology of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. *Review of General Psychology*, *7*(1), 3–37. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.7.1.3

Rydin, I., & Sjöberg, M. (2008). Introduction: Establishing the context of the book. In I. Rydin, & M. Sjöberg (Eds.), *Mediated crossroads: Identity, youth culture and ethnicity* (pp. 9–16). Nordicom, University of Gothenburg. http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:norden:org:diva-10028

Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2015). What happened to the migrant workers? In E. Durrenberger, & G. Palsson (Eds.), *Gambling debt: Iceland's rise and fall in the global economy* (pp. 175–186). University Press of Colorado.

Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2019). Transnational practices and migrant capital: The case of Filipino women in Iceland. *Social Inclusion*, *7*(4), 211–220. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v7i4.2320

Smets, K., Leurs, K., Georgiou, M., Witteborn, S., & Gajjala, R. (2019). Editorial introduction – Media and migration: Research encounters. In K. Smets, K. Leurs, M. Georgiou, S. Witteborn, & R. Gajjala (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of media and migration* (pp. xlv–xii). Sage. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781526476982

Statistics Iceland. (2018, August 24). *Total income the same as in 2007*. https://statice.is/publications/news-archive/wages-and-income/tekjur-2017-skattframtol/

Statistics Iceland. (2020, September 16). *Immigrants and persons with foreign background 2020*. https://www.statice.is/publications/news-archive/inhabitants/immigrants-and-persons-with-foreign-background-2020

Vidal, X. M. (2018). Latino immigrant home-country media use and participation in U.S. politics. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *40*(1), 37–56. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986317751899

Yin, H. (2013). Chinese-language cyberspace, homeland media and ethnic media: A contested space for being Chinese. *New Media & Society*, *17*(4), 556–572. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813505363

Appendix

Table A1 *Binomial logistic regression (enter) of social media contact with people from country of origin*

Variable	Category	B (SE)	OR	95% CI
Gender: Female*	–	.33 (.13)	1.38	1.08–1.78
Age (reference: 41–66 years)	18–25 years	.00 (.21)	1.00	.66–1.52
	26–40 years	-.21 (.14)	.81	.61–1.07
World region of origin (reference: Western Europe, Nordic Countries, or North America)				
	Central or Eastern Europe	-.05 (.15)	.95	.71–1.27
	Other	.17 (.21)	1.18	.79–1.77
Length of residence in Iceland (reference: 11–20 years)	< 1 year**	.83 (.25)	2.30	1.42–3.77
	1–2 years	.44 (.20)	1.55	1.05–2.30
	3–5 years	.30 (.19)	1.35	.94–1.95
	6–10 years	.04 (.18)	1.05	.74–1.47
	20+ years	-.32 (.31)	.73	.39–1.34
Intended length of residence (reference: 20+ years)	< 1 year	.24 (.26)	1.27	.76–2.14
	1–2 years	.29 (.21)	1.33	.88–2.01
	3–5 years	.10 (.17)	1.10	.79–1.54
	6–10 years	.20 (.19)	1.22	.84–1.77
	11–20 years	-.09 (.20)	.91	.62–1.35
Education (reference: University degree)	Primary school	-.67 (.32)	.51	.28–.96
	Vocational training	.24 (.19)	1.27	.87–1.85
	Matriculation exam	-.12 (.14)	.87	.68–1.16
	Other exam	.22 (.28)	1.24	.72–2.14
Income (reference: ISK 200,000–399,000)	< ISK 200,000	-.22 (.20)	.80	.54–1.20
	ISK 400,000–599,000	-.04 (.13)	.96	.74–1.24
	ISK 600,000–899,000	-.23 (.20)	.79	.54–1.17
	ISK 900,000–1,199,000	.28 (.51)	1.32	.49–3.55
	ISK 1,200,000+	-.98 (.74)	.38	.09–1.60
Vote in municipal elections (reference: voted)	–	-.05 (.17)	.95	.68–1.32
Participation in clubs and activities (reference: participating)**	–	-.38 (.13)	.69	.53–.89
Social contact with Icelanders***	–	-.14 (.03)	.87	.82–.93
Social contact with Icelanders on social media (reference: almost daily)***	–	1.64 (.13)	5.18	4.01–6.69
Use of Icelandic media (reference: almost daily)	–	.09 (.13)	1.09	.85–1.41
Experiences of discrimination	–	.02 (.01)	1.00	.98–1.03
Trust in institutions in Iceland	–	.03 (.01)	1.00	.98–1.03
Opinion on discussion on migrants (reference: too negative)	Too positive	-.28 (.39)	.75	.35–1.61
	Somehow too positive	-.25 (.33)	.78	.40–1.49
	Neither nor	-.28 (.31)	.75	.41–1.39
	Somehow negative	-.33 (.32)	.93	.39–1.20
Satisfaction with life in municipality (reference: satisfied)	–	-.07 (.13)	.93	.72–1.20
Intercept	–	-.06 (.48)	.95	
Model χ^2 (*df*)***	–	259.5 (36)		
R^2 (Nagelkerke)	–	.20		
R^2 (Cox and Snell)	–	.15		

Comments: Reference category: using social media to connect to country of origin daily or almost daily. B = unstandardised regression coefficient; SE = standard error; OR = odds ratio; CI = confidence interval for OR.
*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Table A2 *Binomial logistic regression (enter) of social media contact with people from country of origin living in Iceland*

Variable	Category	B (SE)	OR	95% CI
Gender (reference: female)	–	.17 (.14)	1.18	.90–1.56
Age (reference: 41–66 years)	18–25 years	.15 (.23)	1.16	.74–1.80
	26–40 years	-.07 (.15)	.93	.69–1.26
World region of origin (reference: Western Europe, Nordic Countries, or North America)	Central or Eastern Europe***	.95 (.17)	2.59	.71–2.97
	Other**	.62 (.24)	1.87	1.85–3.63
Length of residence in Iceland (reference: 11–20 years)	< 1 year	-.64 (.27)	.53	0.31–.89
	1–2 years***	-.82 (.22)	.44	.29–.68
	3–5 years**	-.57 (.20)	.57	.38–.84
	6–10 years	-.37 (.18)	.69	.48–1.00
	20+ years	-.30 (.35)	.74	.38–1.47
Intended length of residence (reference: 20+ years)	< 1 year	-.22 (.29)	.81	.45–1.43
	1–2 years	-.31 (.24)	.74	.46–1.75
	3–5 years	.27 (.19)	1.31	.91–1.89
	6–10 years	-.16 (.21)	.85	.56–1.30
	11–20 years	-.17 (.21)	1.18	.78–1.79
Education (reference: University degree)	Primary school	.06 (.33)	1.06	.56–2.03
	Vocational training**	.63 (.20)	1.88	1.26–2.80
	Matriculation exam	.14 (.15)	1.15	.86–1.53
	Other exam	-.25 (.33)	0.78	.41–1.49
Income (reference: ISK 200,000–399,000)	< ISK 200,000	-.46 (.20)	0.63	.40–.97
	ISK 400,000–599,000	-.24 (.14)	0.79	.60–1.05
	ISK 600,000–899,000	-.19 (.21)	0.83	.55–1.26
	ISK 900,000–1,199,000	.54 (.51)	1.71	.63–4.62
	ISK 1,200,000+	-20.41 (.74)	.00	.00
Vote in municipal elections (reference: voted)*	–	-.39 (.18)	.68	.47–.97
Participation in clubs and activities (reference: participating)	–	-.15 (.14)	.86	.65–1.15
Social contact with Icelanders***	–	-.17 (.04)	.85	.79–.90
Social contact with Icelanders on social media (reference: almost daily)***	–	2.06 (.14)	7.83	5.93–10.3
Use of Icelandic media (reference: almost daily)	–	-.08 (.14)	.92	.69–1.21
Experiences of discrimination	–	-.01 (.02)	.99	.96–1.02
Trust in institutions in Iceland	–	-.01 (.02)	.99	.96–1.02
Opinion on discussion on migrants (reference: too negative)	Too positive	.20 (.42)	1.22	0.53–2.78
	Somehow too positive	-.09 (.37)	.92	0.45–1.90
	Neither nor	-.06 (.35)	.95	0.48–1.87
	Somehow negative	-.09 (.35)	.91	0.46–1.81
Satisfaction with life in municipality (reference: satisfied)	–	-.04 (.14)	.96	0.72–1.27
Intercept	–	-.87 (.53)	.42	
Model χ^2 (*df*)***	–	331.7 (36)		
R^2 (Nagelkerke)	–	.26		
R^2 (Cox and Snell)	–	.19		

Comments: Reference category: using social media to connect with people from country of origin living in Iceland daily or almost daily. B = unstandardised regression coefficient; SE = standard error; OR = odds ratio; CI = confidence interval for OR.
*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Table A3 *Binomial logistic regression (enter) of use of media from country of origin*

Variable	Category	B (SE)	OR	95% CI
Gender: female**	–	-.29 (.13)	.75	.58–.95
Age (reference: 41–66 years)	18–25 years***	-1.01 (.21)	.37	.24–.55
	26–40 years***	-.62 (.14)	.54	.41–.71
World region of origin (reference: Western Europe, Nordic Countries, or North America)	Central or Eastern Europe	-.12 (.15)	.89	.67–1.18
	Other	-.35 (.21)	.71	.47–1.06
Length of residence in Iceland (reference: 11–20 years)	< 1 year**	-.81 (.25)	.45	.27–.73
	1–2 years***	-.96 (.20)	.39	.26–.57
	3–5 years**	-.63 (.19)	.53	.37–.77
	6–10 years**	-.53 (.17)	.59	.42–.83
	20+ years**	-.87 (.31)	.42	.23–.76
Intended length of residence (reference: 20+ years)	< 1 year	.51 (.26)	1.67	1.01–2.76
	1–2 years	.38 (.21)	1.47	.98–2.20
	3–5 years**	.58 (.17)	1.79	1.28–2.50
	6–10 years**	.52 (.19)	1.68	1.15–2.44
	11–20 years	.20 (.20)	1.22	.83–1.80
Education (reference: University degree)	Primary school	-.10 (.30)	.90	.50–1.63
	Vocational training	-.04 (.19)	.96	.66–1.40
	Matriculation exam	-.10 (.14)	.90	.69–1.18
	Other exam	-.50 (.28)	.61	.35–1.05
Income (reference: ISK 200,000–399,000)	< ISK 200,000	.02 (.20)	1.02	.69–1.52
	ISK 400,000–599,000	.05 (.13)	1.05	.82–1.36
	ISK 600,000–899,000	-.06 (.19)	.94	.64–1.37
	ISK 900,000–1,199,000	.16 (.47)	1.18	.47–2.97
	ISK 1,200,000+	-.21 (.69)	.81	.21–3.11
Vote in municipal elections (reference: voted)	–	-.32 (.17)	.73	.53–1.01
Participation in clubs and activities (reference: participating)***	–	-.47 (.13)	.63	.49–.81
Social contact with Icelanders***	–	-.12 (.03)	.89	.83–.94
Social contact with Icelanders on social media (reference: almost daily)	–	.10 (.12)	1.02	.87–1.4
Use of Icelandic media (reference: almost daily)***	–	1.11 (.13)	3.03	2.34–3.93
Experiences of discrimination	–	.02 (.01)	1.02	.99–1.05
Trust in institutions in Iceland	–	-.02 (.01)	.98	.95–1.01
Opinion on discussion on migrants (reference: too negative)	Too positive	-.15 (.38)	0.86	.41–1.81
	Somehow too positive	.18 (.33)	1.19	.63–2.26
	Neither nor	-.14 (.31)	.87	.48–1.60
	Somehow negative	-.25 (.31)	.78	.43–1.44
Satisfaction with life in municipality (reference: satisfied)	–	-.01 (.13)	.99	.77–1.28
Intercept***	–	1.71 (.48)	5.53	
Model χ^2 (*df*)***	–	223.6 (36)		
R^2 (Nagelkerke)	–	.17		
R^2 (Cox and Snell)	–	.13		

Comments: Reference category: using media from country of origin daily or almost daily. B = unstandardised regression coefficient; SE = standard error; OR = odds ratio; CI = confidence interval for OR.
*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Article III

Learning Insular Nordic Languages: Comparative Perspectives on Migrants' Experiences Learning Faroese and Icelandic

NJMR NORDIC JOURNAL OF MIGRATION RESEARCH

SPECIAL ISSUE ARTICLE

HUP HELSINKI UNIVERSITY PRESS

LARA HOFFMANN

ANNA-ELISABETH HOLM

*Author affiliations can be found in the back matter of this article

ABSTRACT

This article explores migrants' language learning experiences in two small language communities in the West Nordic Region. We provide a comparative perspective based on an online survey and ethnographic interviews conducted in Iceland and qualitative research conducted in the Faroe Islands. A major finding from this study is that investment in language learning is a highly situated type of activity, which is contingent on personal circumstances, and on structural conditions. Prevailing language ideologies, such as purism and authenticity, can pose constraints on the language learning process among learners who are initially motivated to learn the language. Results show that many migrants follow a utilitarian approach to learning and perceived usefulness of languages influences participants' linguistic choices. A lack of opportunities for language learning has been mentioned by learners in both places we investigate.

CORRESPONDING AUTHOR:
Lara Hoffmann
University in Akureyri, Akureyri, IS
laraw@unak.is

KEYWORDS:
Language learning; Migration; Rural superdiversity; Inclusion; Iceland; The Faroe Islands

TO CITE THIS ARTICLE:
Hoffmann, L and Holm, AE. 2022. Learning Insular Nordic Languages: Comparative Perspectives on Migrants' Experiences Learning Faroese and Icelandic. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, X(X): pp. 1–17. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/njmr.474

DOI: 10.33134/njmr.474

INTRODUCTION

What is it like to move to an island in the North Atlantic Ocean and become acquainted with a language spoken by a relatively small community? Language skills are often perceived as key to social inclusion of migrants in receiving societies (Duchêne, Moyer & Roberts 2013; Esser 2006), but little investigation has been done on how features of places and communities impact language learning. Notably, most studies on migrants' language learning experiences have been conducted in dominant language communities (Esser 2006; Norton 2013), but major and minoritised[1] language communities provide distinctly different environments for new speakers (Woolard 2016). We, therefore, wish to explore the dynamics of migrants' language learning experiences in two small North Atlantic communities. We discuss migrants' experiences learning Icelandic and Faroese, two small[2] North Germanic languages that are closely related, but not mutually intelligible.

Iceland and the Faroe Islands are situated in the Northern European periphery and are neighbours in the West Nordic Region. The unprecedented social and demographic changes taking place due to the intensification of transnational population flows (Blommaert 2010; Duchêne, Moyer & Roberts 2013) are increasingly more visible in these European peripheries, especially since the turn of the 21st century. There is a higher percentage of immigrants in Iceland (15%) than in the Faroe Islands (4%).[3] People move for similar reasons to both countries: The vast majority of immigrants in Iceland give work as their main reason, while following a spouse and family reasons come second (Hoffmann, Barillé & Meckl 2020). Most migrants to the Faroe Islands come on work permits or through family reunification schemes (Uttanríkis-og vinnumálaráðið 2019).

In both contexts, acquiring the state language (Icelandic) and sub-state language (Faroese) has been foregrounded as essential to integration, social cohesion and labour market participation (Government Policy on the Integration of Immigrants 2007; Uttanríkis-og vinnumálaráðið 2019). However, while language is used as a gatekeeping mechanism for integration, studies in both countries show that government responses to the language learning needs of adult migrants do not match the actual needs on the ground. In relation to this reality, Simpson and Whiteside (2015: 5) have argued that '[a]n insight into how governments understand integration can be gained by examining how they invest in the participation of new members of society.'

In terms of linguistic context, Icelandic and the Faroese are closely related, but there is an additional layer of complexity in Faroe Islands due to the region's bilingual situation comprising two small languages, Faroese and Danish (Holm, O'Rourke & Danson 2019). This creates extra challenges for language learners and for policy making. Another difference is that Icelandic has had a long written tradition, while

1 Costa, De Korne & Lane (2018: 8) note that the term minoritised 'reflects the understanding that minority status is neither inherent nor fixed'. This applies in particular to the Faroese context where the current status of the language was an outcome of concerted language revitalisation efforts (Holm 2003, 2021). Thus, historically, Faroese is a minoritised language as it shares particular kinds of constraints with several minority language contexts.

2 Smallness is, of course, a relative concept. Our use of the term refers to the small number of speakers of Faroese and Icelandic (compared to dominant languages).

3 Migrants who have gained Faroese (i.e., Danish) citizenship are not included in this figure (Statistics Faroe Islands, p.c. 13 April 2021).

DOI: 10.33134/njmr.474

there was no written language or standardised orthography of Faroese until a century and a half ago.

In examining the experiences of migrants learning Icelandic and Faroese, respectively, we draw on quantitative and qualitative studies in Iceland conducted by the first author, and on a qualitative study carried out in the Faroes by the second author. We contribute to research on migrants' inclusion into small (language) communities. This paper comprises the theoretical background on migrants' inclusion into smaller language communities, an overview of the Icelandic and Faroese contexts, the data collection methods, a discussion of themes emerging from our analysis and concluding remarks.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: MIGRANTS' INCLUSION INTO SMALL LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES

Language skills are often perceived as central to migrants' incorporation in receiving societies (Esser 2006). In public discourses, learning the dominant language of the destination country is even seen as a *sine qua non* of integration and social cohesion (Simpson & Whiteside 2015), but the processes whereby adults learn new languages and become legitimate speakers of these languages are complex. Piller argues that language learning is a highly underestimated endeavour and claims that 'the ultimate outcome of second-language learning efforts is not purely an act of willpower or a result of the learner's personal choices' (Piller 2016: 49). In her research on migrant women in Canada, Norton also questions dominant assumptions about language learning being a matter of motivation, and notes that 'high levels of motivation did not necessarily translate into good language learning' (Norton 2013: 6).

The relation between language learning and social inclusion in the receiving society is complex and is influenced by various factors, such as attitudes of the receiving society, conditions for language learning and access to resources in the target language. It is, therefore, important to consider the local context of migrants' language learning experiences. The characteristics of small and ideologically contested minoritised language communities pose specific environments for language learning. We understand language ideologies as 'socially, politically, and morally loaded cultural assumptions about the way that language works in social life and about the role of particular linguistic forms in a given society' (Woolard 2016: 20).

According to Woolard, the two main linguistic ideologies are authenticity and anonymity. Authenticity is typically associated with minority languages whereas anonymity is typically associated with majority languages. The ideology of authenticity assumes that 'a language variety is rooted in and directly expresses the essential nature of a community or a speaker', whereas the ideology of anonymity claims that 'language is a neutral vehicle of communication, belonging to no one in particular and thus equally available to all' (Woolard 2016: 20). Ideologies of linguistic authenticity can be a hindrance to new learners, because the idea of a language belonging to a specific group makes it harder for new speakers to become included into this language community. A recent study on migrants in two small countries, Andorra and Luxembourg, shows how societal configurations of languages in smaller communities influence the lived experiences of migrants. Language policies in these places are informed by strategic ambiguity and whilst the *de jure* policy acknowledges certain languages as 'official', the reality on the ground is far more flexible and negotiated in everyday interactions by migrants (Hawkey & Horner 2021).

DOI: 10.33134/njmr.474

In terms of understanding changing demographics and increasing linguistic diversity in the wake of globalisation, Vertovec's (2007) account of superdiversity in the UK is a way to explain this phenomenon. Although explicitly relating to urban contexts, the concept is apt in explaining the recent changes taking place in the West Nordic Region. Inspired by Vertovec's concept, the adapted use of the notion of 'rural superdiversity' (Holm 2021; Pöyhönen & Simpson 2020) is suitable to explain recent changes observed in the context of small, rural and peripheral communities.

Along with increasing rural superdiversity, expectations to learn the local language are a major theme found across several studies conducted in rural areas (Søholt, Stenbacke & Nørgaard 2018; Villa 2019). A comparative study in Norway finds that inhabitants of rural Norway consider migrants' language skills more important than their urban counterparts do (Zahl-Thanem & Haugen 2019). Despite these high expectations to learn local languages, studies show that there are discrepancies between adult migrants' language learning needs, at different competence levels, and opportunities to learn the language (see, e.g., Simpson & Whiteside 2015, for similar discussions in the UK and beyond; Norton 2013; Holm 2021). Migrants in smaller communities face 'difficulties in accessing opportunities for both formal and informal language learning' (Holm 2021; Flynn & Kay 2017: 62) and the quality of language courses in small and rural communities in Iceland has been criticised by some migrants (Hoffmann et al. 2021; Kristjánsdóttir & Skaptadóttir 2018).

This literature review shows that it is important to consider the local context of migrants' inclusion in local language communities, and that smaller language communities provide distinct environments for language learning. With this study, we aim to advance insights on language learning in smaller language communities.

CONTEXTS: LANGUAGE AND IMMIGRATION IN ICELAND AND THE FAROE ISLANDS

ICELAND

Icelandic is the official language of Iceland, an island just south of the Arctic Circle with a population of 364,000 inhabitants and an area of 103,000 km^2, making it the least densely populated country in Europe. Iceland was part of the Danish Kingdom and gained independence in 1944. Icelandic is a North Germanic language and, while the language has developed over centuries, the changes are relatively small when compared to other Germanic languages and speakers of modern Icelandic 'can still read the ancient language of the sagas' (Hilmarsson-Dunn 2006: 296). Iceland 'has a strong tradition for language planning, preservation and prescriptivism' (Sigurjónsdóttir & Nowenstein 2021: 703). Discourses around language purism are frequent in Icelandic society and efforts to assure continuity of the Icelandic language come from both official bodies and grassroots initiatives (Hólmarsdóttir 2001). Recent developments, such as increased digitisation, have raised new questions and concerns regarding the future of Icelandic and led to the efforts to support the accessibility of the language in a digital age (Sigurjónsdóttir & Nowenstein 2021).

Policy documents such as the 2007 Government Policy on the Integration of Immigrants (Iceland; Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007) and the Action Plan for Immigrants 2016–2019 (Framkvæmdaáætlun í málefnum innflytjenda 2015) describe language as essential for migrants' integration in the receiving society and emphasises the

importance of improving both quality and access to education in Icelandic as a second language.[4] Since 2003, language education in Icelandic for migrants has been directly linked with national immigration policies, and consequently has particular implications for those migrants seeking permanent residency or citizenship. The Menntamálaráðuneyti has developed curricular guidelines for Icelandic as a second language (Menntamálaráðuneyti 2008, 2012). In 2003, language learning became a condition for permanent residence permits and in 2007, for citizenship. Anyone seeking permanent residency must complete 150 hours of formal Icelandic training. From 2009, language tests have been administered to applicants for citizenship. The level of proficiency required to pass the test is equivalent to an estimated 240 hours of language training (Innes & Skaptadóttir 2016).

With increasing migration to Iceland, both formal and informal ways of Icelandic language teaching have been implemented recently. Today, Icelandic is for the most part taught at lifelong learning centres, funded by a combination of private and government funding. There are also university-level courses. There are no formal requirements for teachers of Icelandic as an additional language, so teachers have different backgrounds and experiences, although there is a master's degree in teaching Icelandic as an additional language.

Students need to pay a fee for Icelandic language courses, but can receive refunds from their labour unions. About 90% of the Icelandic population are members of a labour union (Statistics Iceland 2019). Refugees (Westra & Egilsdóttir 2019: 11) and people receiving unemployment benefits can apply for grants for Icelandic language courses (Directorate of Labour 2020).

THE FAROE ISLANDS

Faroese is the first language of the vast majority of the population in the Faroe Islands, a small North Atlantic archipelago situated about halfway between Iceland, Norway and Scotland, with a total area of 1,399 square kilometres and a population just over 53,000. According to the 2011 Census, Faroese is the first language of 93.8% of the inhabitants (Statistics Faroe Islands); they are bilingual in Faroese and Danish, and many have added English to their linguistic repertoire.

With no written language or standardised orthography until a century and a half ago, today, Faroese is considered to be a fully-fledged national language (Holm 2021). As these islands have been subordinate to the Danish crown for many centuries, there is a long history of asymmetrical power relations in sociopolitical terms regarding status and usage of Faroese and Danish (Petersen 2010; Weyhe 2015). Since the end of World War II, the Faroese language has played a key role in the nation-building process. This change in the status of the language was the outcome of concerted language revitalisation efforts (Petersen 2010). With the Home Rule Act of 1948, the Faroe Islands became a self-governing polity within the kingdom of Denmark. The Home Rule Act stipulates that Faroese is the principal language, but also states that Danish and Faroese enjoy equal status (Petersen 2010).

4 'Second Language' is the common term used in both the Faroes and Iceland. Second in this respect is commonly understood as the main or official language in the receiving society (Svendsen 2021). However, we argue that the term 'second' does not capture the 'experiences of multilinguals who have had contact with three or more languages in their lifetimes' (Block 2003:5). 'Additional Language' recognises learners' multilingual repertoires.

From being an institutionally marginalised language, Faroese has become the main public language. While the early years of language planning and corpus development were characterised by purism (Jacobsen 2021) and a focus on terminology development with Faroese neologisms instead of loanwords, there has been a certain shift in language policy and planning since the end of the 20th century. Despite opposing views and contradictory language ideologies among the local population, continuous investment in revitalisation measures has been key in terms of the sustainability of Faroese. A current challenge for the Faroese language community is the limited availability of digital resources in the local language (Holm 2021).

The number of newcomers of non-Nordic origin is on the increase in the Faroe Islands. In 2020, about 4% of the current population were migrants while this figure was 0.8 in 1996 (Kringvarp Føroya 2020). A typical scenario is that migrants move into relatively low-paid, unskilled work in fish factories or in cleaning positions. There are also gendered patterns of migration, including a new trend toward female marriage migration from Asia (Ísfeld 2019).

In 2021, a Postgraduate Diploma in Faroese as an Additional Language was launched at the University of the Faroe Islands, aimed at providing competence development to those who teach Faroese as an additional language to different target groups. Language classes in Faroese for newcomers are offered by different evening schools across the islands (Útlendingastovan 2016). The vast majority of these courses, which are free of charge, are short beginners' courses that run once or twice a week in the evenings. However, intensive language classes, taught in the daytime, were first offered in 2014 in the capital, Tórshavn, and since 2020, the Ministry of Education (UMMR 2021) introduced a new curriculum for these intensive daytime classes for adults who are based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Uttanríkis-og mentamálaráðið 2021).

METHOD

RESEARCH IN ICELAND

Quantitative and qualitative research has been conducted amongst migrants in Iceland. The quantitative data were collected in the form of a survey (N = 2139) in 2018. The sampling was convenience and snowball sampling. Respondents for the online questionnaire were recruited through language schools and social media. The qualitative part of this research is based on 10 semi-structured interviews conducted in 2021 to gain further insight into language learning processes. The interviews lasted from about 30 to 120 minutes, and were in English, the interviewees' chosen language. Participants, seven women and three men, were recruited through snowball sampling. They came from different regions of origin (Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Asia, South America and North America) and were based in different regions of Iceland and in both rural and urban areas.

RESEARCH IN THE FAROE ISLANDS

A recent qualitative study comprising interviews with 29 migrants, most of whom were working in fish processing and cleaning, was carried out in the Faroes by the second author in the period 2016–2019. They came from 15 different countries (Africa, Asia, Eastern and Western Europe, North America). Research participants were either recruited through workplace supervisors or through direct contact between

the researcher and migrant workers during periods of fieldwork undertaken in three different blue-collar workplaces: two fish processing plants and a cleaning company. Most interviews, which lasted from about 30–90 minutes, were in English, the interviewees' chosen language. A few were in Faroese or by drawing on both Faroese and English. Follow-up interviews were conducted with focal participants. Interviews were conducted both in interviewees' workplace and in participants' homes. Part of the second author's ethnographic fieldwork involved taking up work in a fish factory, making workplace observations, writing fieldnotes and thus spending extended time in the workplace with some of the workers participating in the study. The aim of this workplace ethnography was to get a better understanding of the actual interactional realities of people's daily lives in this type of blue-collar workplace setting, that is to focus in-depth on a small number of people, on their practices and their lived experiences, and on their "conceptual worlds" (Geertz 1973).

LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ICELAND AND THE FAROE ISLANDS

When analysing language learning experiences among migrants in Iceland and the Faroe Islands, we identified several themes that cover different stages of the language learning process in order to reflect on the overall experience of being a learner in a small language community. As often the case with qualitative research, we aim not to make generalisations through our data (McCarty 2015), but we aim to identify commonalities between these two places. The limitation of our respective studies is that we use different methods to research migrants' perspectives on language learning, comprising a survey and interviews in Iceland, and interviews and workplace observations in the Faroe Islands. However, we were able to identify commonalities and shared themes, highlighting similarities across contexts. Our findings call for further research on the specific impact of context in language learning and particularly on the context smaller minoritised language communities provide for language learning. Our positions as researchers further allow us to explore the subject from various perspectives. We bring together insider perspectives from migrant communities and the receiving society. The first author has learned Icelandic as an adult migrant while the second author is a native speaker of Faroese. These positions provide us with a broad perspective on dynamics of learning languages in a smaller community and the two-way process of inclusion.

MOTIVATIONS FOR LANGUAGE LEARNING

About 82% of participants in the quantitative survey conducted in Iceland had taken a course, suggesting a general interest among migrants in attending formal language education and in learning Icelandic. The qualitative data reflected these findings, with many interviewees stating that they considered it important to learn Icelandic. The same was true for the Faroe Islands where most participants expressed interest in acquiring Faroese. Migrants were motivated to learn the language as a means to improve one's employment opportunities and to become included in local communities. Several participants mentioned learning Icelandic to communicate with their spouses' families. A woman who learned Icelandic while working in fish processing in a small village in North Iceland stated: '*during these courses, it helped with my Icelandic and so I was able to speak to the people in the community. And, speaking to the people in the community is the way I learned more Icelandic than*

DOI: 10.33134/njmr.474

through the courses.' This statement demonstrates that inclusion in the local community grants entrance to the local language and vice versa. This echoes Norton and Toohey's statement: 'It is through language that a learner gains access to, or is denied access to, powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak' (Norton & Toohey 2011: 417). Through language, several of the participants perceived that they could be heard in the speaking community. We find that learners made linguistic choices based on local contexts, for example, based on the possibility to use English in daily interactions. In Iceland, migrants living in rural places remote from the capital region were especially motivated to learn the language. One participant stated that: '*I feel like in Reykjavik [...] I don't have to use Icelandic, but here in the Westfjords sometimes I feel like I have less of a choice [...] their English is not so good here.*'

In addition to inclusion in local communities, employment opportunities were one of the major motivations to learn the local languages. When asked whether they thought attending courses had improved their employment opportunities, seven of the participants in the qualitative study agreed with this statement and two others claimed that improving their Icelandic skills would improve their employment opportunities in the country. However, the impact of language on employment opportunities was highly dependent on the area of work. A participant employed in a highly specialised sector mentioned that Icelandic language skills did not affect his job opportunities in Iceland. This shows how individual and societal conditions, for example, area of work and economic condition of the country, affect to what extent learning the local language is needed for social mobility (Wojtyńska, Skaptadóttir & Ólafs 2011).

Learners were well aware that the smaller languages Icelandic and Faroese have limited practical utility value outside of Iceland and the Faroes, respectively, which informed their linguistic choices. As one participant in Iceland stated: '*It's not like something that you can pick up and go with into the world*'. Accordingly, migrants' perception of their opportunities to stay in Iceland and the Faroes informed their choice to invest in the language. One participant who had initially studied Icelandic stated that she and her spouse decided to move away from Iceland due to limited opportunities for further development of their careers and they stopped investing in learning the language and primarily used English, which she considered sufficient for daily life in Iceland. In the Faroese study, English was also emphasised as having an important role; it was widely used as a lingua franca and even as a 'tool' in the process of learning Faroese. While reasons for potential non-investment in language learning were not investigated, there was evidence in the Faroese study that showed that structural conditions impacted migrants' language learning investment. One of the fish factory workers, who had to apply for a new work permit every year for seven consecutive years before having the legal right to apply for a permanent residence permit, recounted how he chose to invest in learning English rather than in Faroese in case he did not succeed in being permitted to stay. This indicates that migrants' legal status, insecure and precarious conditions are not without significance in relation to language learning motivation and investment.

We found that while migrants in Iceland and the Faroe Islands were motivated to learn the local language, they experienced constraints on their language learning. Constraints comprised highly situated, and even emotional barriers that appeared to be linked to migrants' lived realities in language marginal jobs, physical exhaustion caused by this type of work, limited exposure to the target language, limited access

DOI: 10.33134/njmr.474

to language courses that matched learners' needs, and the lack of an infrastructure in place which could support migrants both in their language learning endeavour and in utilising their un(der)used capabilities and resources. This brings to mind Busch's (2017) notion of 'Spracherleben', referring to the lived experience of language, focusing on the emotional and bodily experiences of language learning that are observed in contexts of migration and relocation (Busch 2017; Kramsch 2009; Pavlenko 2005). As one of the interviewees in the Faroes said: '*it takes a lot of energy to constantly motivate oneself*'. Some participants mentioned being shy or feeling nervous when trying to communicate in Faroese, which suggests links with bodily experiences of language learning (Busch 2017; Kramsch 2009; Netto et al. 2019). The emotional and self-based aspects of language learning played a key role in understanding the language learning journey. Some learners in Iceland expressed frustration and resignation when trying to learn the language, finding it hard to find a space to practice the basics of the language. As one learner in Iceland stated: '*it would be nice to have like some sort of speaking groups for the very fucking beginners*'.

Interviewees' motivation to invest in language learning came to the fore in a wide range of ways; for example, in conversations in which they charted out 'preferred futures' (Pennycook 2001: 8). Such preferred futures involved jobs commensurate with their qualifications and where they could improve their Faroese and demonstrate their professional skills. In contrast to her own preferred future, a well-educated blue-collar worker stated that in terms of language learning, working in a fish factory was '*A kind of dead-end street because you don't get to speak the language*'; thus, clearly indexing how she understood her possibilities for future employment and language development if remaining in this type of job.

Other forms of motivation were demonstrated in a few cases where migrants in the Faroes – at different periods – had taken time off work in order to attend a full-time intensive language course and consequently had to forego their income while studying. While, on the one hand, consciously investing in language learning, these interviewees, independent of each other, pointed out a factor that they experienced as highly de-motivating: that the same class comprised students with limited literacy skills and students with advanced literacy skills. This 'one-size-fits-all' approach, one participant argued, was not a viable way of spending limited resources. They felt that this factor affected their language learning investment in a negative way, that the 'returns' for their investment weren't as high as hoped for. As argued by Norton Peirce (1995: 17), 'if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources'. Added to this, one participant recounted that she was highly motivated to learn Faroese, but as she had to function as the translator for a fellow student who did not understand English, the teacher's auxiliary language, she felt she did not derive much benefit from the course in terms of the time spent on it and the associated loss of income. While expressing high motivation to begin with, what actually happened in the classroom was perceived as holding back her own learning. This lived experience resonates with Norton's (2013: 3) findings when she says that 'a learner may be a highly motivated language learner, but may nevertheless have little investment in the language practices of a given classroom or community'. Sometimes, challenging emotional situations can arise in the classroom that aren't necessarily connected to the language itself, such as in the case of one participant in Iceland who shared the following experience: '*I mean it's not about the course but there was some creepy guy who was spoiling the atmosphere*'.

DOI: 10.33134/njmr.474

One of the participants narrated that her motivation for taking a break from her job as a fish factory worker in order to focus full-time on an intensive language course was '*in order to fit in*'. Another one expressed the following as one of many reasons for why she wanted to improve her fluency in Faroese: '*I didn't want to be one of those ladies that have lived here for decades and don't speak Faroese*', thus consciously positioning herself as someone motivated to learn the local language in contrast to some of her fellow factory workers who have not acquired Faroese. Yet another fish factory worker, who claimed to aspire to become more fluent in Faroese as her dream was to study nursing, said about attending language classes in the evenings after long hours of work in the factory that '*It is too tiring. I am interested to learn but it is just so tiring. No time*'. When she later learned that most learning materials for the nursing programme at the University of the Faroes are in Danish, she exclaimed '*but Danish as well, is like Oh My God! I could not. […] that is a second barrier also*', thus highlighting the additional or dual language learning barriers that are specific in the Faroese context.

Although participants in the Faroese study were a highly diverse group, their language learning narratives index many shared challenges. For example, several of the interviews showed that 'investing in a new language in the context of migration may be contradictory, in a state of flux, involving both resistance, desired incentives, contradictory emotions and ad hoc opportunities' (Holm 2021). This is in line with Norton's (2013) finding where she contends that motivation is no guarantee for successful language learning.

Migrants to Iceland and the Faroes need a job in order to learn the local language and to sustain themselves, but the only jobs available to newcomers who do not know the local language are often the type where opportunities for language learning range from being literally non-existent to limited. Thus, the lack of fluency in the target language combined with limited language learning opportunities become the main barriers to accessing skilled jobs. As stated by a well-educated woman with master's level qualifications who worked as a cleaner in the Faroes: '*Employers could use us, but they don't*'. In her cleaning job, which she had had for more than six years when first interviewed, exposure to language, she recounted, ranged from limited to none. This calls for proactive policy initiatives, in both contexts, both in relation to formal language learning provision and labour market access and participation.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE LANGUAGE LEARNING JOURNEY

In the quantitative survey conducted among migrants in Iceland, 60% said that they were very dissatisfied or rather dissatisfied with Icelandic language courses, indicating that they did not think that the Icelandic language courses they attended were sufficient in meeting their needs to learn the language. We further found that 58% of participants were rather satisfied with their access to Icelandic language courses and those living in the capital area of Iceland were the most satisfied with the availability of Icelandic language courses. In the qualitative research of the first author, several participants stated that they learned Icelandic primarily outside of the language classroom when interacting with native speakers. This is in line with prior findings showing that immigrants often experience formal Icelandic language education as insufficient, which is discussed in detail in (Hoffmann et al. 2021).

In most cases, participants in the Faroes Islands expressed interest in acquiring Faroese, but their narratives comprised lengthy, complex and challenging language learning journeys, showing that investment in language learning is a highly situated

DOI: 10.33134/njmr.474

type of activity, which is contingent on personal circumstances, and on workplace and structural conditions. Therefore, we argue that the complex factors that shape migrants' investment in language learning need to be considered. Several of the workers who the second author met at random in a fish factory, some with good qualifications, were still at a very basic level in terms of acquisition of Faroese, even after many years in the islands. This raises questions that relate to the shaping of migrant workers' identities and language learning in such sites. Most of those who had acquired Faroese described language learning as a challenging and lengthy process. As one of the fish factory workers reflected: '*there isn't a professional way to learn Faroese [...] like Faroese as a foreign language. [...] There's just the beginner's course*'. This was echoed by another fish-factory worker, who concluded that '*when I come again in the evening school, also the same class again with the beginner, so again stuck in the same [...] like beginner Faroese, so that is why I think [...] I don't improve*'. Expressions like being 'stuck' and claiming that 'I don't improve' index this woman's awareness of the constraints on her agency as a language learner (Kramsch 2009; Miller 2014; Netto et al. 2019; Norton 2013).

It was notable that about two thirds of the interviewees in the Faroese study had some form of higher or tertiary education. What these educated blue-collar workers of migrant origin had in common was that (1) in the factory context, they were not perceived as having any identity other than that of fish factory worker; (2) they had not been able to utilize their educational qualifications in the course of many years in the islands; (3) they experienced identity disruption, that is, the loss of professional identities, and faced the long-term implications of deskilling due to downward occupational mobility; and (4) they felt stuck in blue-collar work. There was also evidence showing that the conditions for language learning, settlement and employment, and the constraints, can prove to be insuperable, even for those who were best placed to exercise agency in defining their futures, who were most committed to learning the local language. On this note, an interviewee dismally concluded that '*if they [employers] don't know you, or your family, or if you don't have the right connections, they're not going to employ you*'. Learners' agency may thus be conceived of as context-dependent (Miller 2014), that is, the situated conditions may either constrain or enable a learner's language development. Also, there may be clashes between a learner's agency and his or her desire to learn and practice a target language, especially in linguistic contexts that are characterised by ideologies that inhibit a person's possibility to act or to take action.

As Icelandic and Faroese are closely related but not mutually comprehensible, it is crucial to investigate people's impressions of these languages, their difficulty and aesthetic aspects. When interviewing people in Iceland, two of the respondents indicated that they found the language beautiful. One participant who according to her own account hadn't started learning Icelandic yet explicitly mentioned that she found it interesting that Icelandic was such an old language, and this made her more interested in learning the language. Although Icelandic language learners commented on the aesthetics of the language and for some it seemed to have an impact on the language learning process, as has also been shown by Kramsch (2009), this aspect did not surface in the Faroese study. Added to this, several participants referred to Icelandic as difficult and almost impossible to learn. Similar perceptions of the complexity of the language came into view in the Faroes. One participant claimed the common discourse of Icelandic being difficult would be a hindrance to learning it.

'*We create a mountain of a language [...] But I think people should, you have to separate, umm, fear of climbing the mountain from the actual facts.*'

DOI: 10.33134/njmr.474

What this learner described are underlying images and ideologies of the language, showing how narratives about languages shape learners' experiences and the efforts made to maintain especially Icelandic linguistic purism makes people interested in the language but poses challenges when they are actually trying to use and speak the language. Linguistic authenticity is, in smaller language communities, 'a quality that contributes to language survival under conditions of subordination' but 'can become a limiting factor when acquisition and use by a larger population is a goal' (Woolard 2016: 21). This means that language ideologies that were beneficial in the context of those smaller communities can pose a hindrance to newcomers wanting to learn the language and lead to less investment and lower motivation amongst learners.

PARTICIPATION IN THE SPEAKING COMMUNITY

The Faroese and Icelandic nations have undergone far-reaching processes of change as a result of globalisation, increased mobility, transnational flows, new technologies and a changing political and economic landscape (Blommaert 2010; Simpson & Whiteside 2015). In the wake of globalisation, more languages are spoken in these small communities. Migrants actively negotiate the use of different languages based on the perceived utility value of these languages: what Bourdieu refers to as linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991). In Bourdieu's understanding of capital, linguistic resources are unequally distributed and therefore play a role in the (re)production of social hierarchies (Darvin & Norton 2015: 44). We found that navigating the complexity of the sociolinguistic landscapes of these smaller languages communities entails numerous challenges for learners. Smaller language communities provide a specific context for language learning, as has for example been recognised by Woolard (2016). Migrants in both places were generally happy to share their experiences learning these languages and, while many expressed challenges and also negative experiences in the learning communities, there were also accounts of learners whose interaction with the speaking community had been very positive, such as a migrant in Iceland who stated: '*I cannot say that I have negative experience. I have quite the opposite actually. I often get praised for my Icelandic, but I think it's not good. At work they are all supporting*'.

Some participants reported challenges when connecting to the Icelandic speaking community and identified a sense of gatekeeping amongst the members of the receiving society. In both contexts, migrants expressed discouragement due to being spoken to in English when trying to practice the local languages. One participant in Iceland reported an incident where she was told she spoke Icelandic like a child leading her to not use the language for several years after this experience: '*there was this woman who said that I speak Icelandic like a child. […] So that's why it took me 7 years to speak Icelandic.*' In the words of Norton and Toohey, this participant was 'actively resisting practices in which they occupied unequal relations of power vis-à-vis' (2011: 421).

Another participant in Iceland mentioned patronising behaviour, which was meant not to actually help people improve learning the language but rather expressing the position as native speakers: '*I mean you always encounter that person that is trying to correct you but more into a patronizing way you know sort of looking down, not correcting you because they want you to improve but correcting you because they want to express their superiority in the language*'. Iceland and especially the Faroe Islands share particular kinds of constraints with other small languages, which is mainly due to the small number of speakers and lack of resources in the language. Interestingly, much effort (relatively speaking) has been put into cultivating and developing Faroese into a modern language that can be used for all purposes in

society; likewise, much effort is put into developing Icelandic for use in an increasing digitised world. At the same time, little attention has been paid to developing Faroese and Icelandic as additional languages to learn for those who have not acquired Faroese or Icelandic through family transmission. As we show in this section, lack of investment in developing provision for Icelandic and Faroese as additional languages has implications for migrants' language learning and labour market access and participation. This also shows how experiences in the speaking community can negatively affect the linguistic self-esteem of learners, which has shown to be an important factor in learners' experiences (Noels et al. 1996).

The ideology of authenticity, often observed in minoritised language contexts (Woolard 2016), makes it harder for migrants to enter the prospective speaking communities as it is associated with native speaker ideologies such as those of linguistic authority and authenticity (Woolard 2016). An increased emphasis is called for on meeting the actual need of migrants on the ground to accompany the demographic changes in the two West Nordic Island communities discussed in this case study. Proactive initiatives are needed. Therefore, we argue that by addressing migrants' lived experiences, and thus recognising disadvantage and discrimination on the basis of language, Faroese and Icelandic authorities have opportunities to create conditions that are conducive to the creation of more inclusive societies.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have discussed language learning experiences of migrants in the context of smaller communities based on comparative studies conducted in Iceland and the Faroe Islands. Context-specific characteristics of these small and minoritised languages have shaped linguistic ideologies that affect learners of the languages. We find that migrants' experiences in both places are similar. Newcomers are generally motivated to learn Faroese or Icelandic but tend to follow a utilitarian approach to language learning. Perceived usefulness of languages influences people's language choices, negotiating for example whether learning English or the local language is more useful.

Participants in both contexts encounter ideologies prevalent in smaller language communities, such as notions of linguistic authenticity and purism. Such ideologies are significant as they shape migrants' experiences in receiving societies and can create unequal power relations between native and new speakers. This creates clashes between learners' agency and their desire to acquire and practice a target language. Some of our examples show that linguistic gatekeeping can lead to low linguistic self-esteem or loss of motivation to continue learning the language. This may pose constraints on the language learning process among learners who are initially motivated to learn the language.

A major finding from our study is that investment in language learning is a highly situated type of activity, which is contingent on personal circumstances, and on workplace and structural conditions. These findings have implications for the inclusion of migrants and research on migration as we highlight the multiplicity of factors shaping the language learning experience and how linguistic contexts can either foster or pose obstacles to the learning experience.

With both North Germanic languages currently investing in developing the languages for use in an increasingly digitised and globalised world, less attention has been paid

to developing Faroese and Icelandic as additional languages. The lack of opportunities for language education have been mentioned by learners in both places, but this issue is especially prevalent in the Faroes. Formal adult migrant language education is further developed in Iceland than in the Faroe Islands and more collaboration between those teaching and planning language provision in these two places might be beneficial to migrants in both contexts within the West Nordic Region.

While each language learning journey is individual, knowledge about commonalities found in this comparative study can help understand the experiences of migrants in smaller language communities in a context of 'rural superdiversity' (Pöyhönen & Simpson 2020). As most research on migration is undertaken in urban contexts and the body of research on migration to small islands, peripheral and rural areas is limited and remains a neglected research topic, this study contributes to advance understanding of migrants' language learning experiences in peripheral contexts.

FUNDING INFORMATION

This work was supported by Rannís, the Icelandic Centre for Research [grant number 184903–051], The University of Akureyri Research Fund [grant number R2012] and the Icelandic Development Fund for Immigration Affairs [grant number FRN20010221]. The Faroese study was supported through the James Watt Scholarship scheme (Heriot-Watt University) and the Faroese Research Council [grant number 0229].

COMPETING INTERESTS

The authors have no competing interests to declare.

AUTHOR INFORMATION

Lara Wilhelmine Hoffmann is a PhD Candidate in Social Sciences at the University of Akureyri, Iceland. Her main research interest focuses on migration and inclusion, particularly language learning of immigrants and rural-urban differences in the inclusion of immigrants. She holds an MA in Art Studies from the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. She is also active in the field of art and literature, e.g. as an editorial board member of the publishing collective Ós Pressan.

Anna-Elisabeth Holm is an employee at the University of the Faroe Islands. She holds a PhD in Sociolinguistics (Heriot-Watt University), and MA degrees in Language Studies (Lancaster University) and in English Language & Literature (Copenhagen University). Her PhD thesis focused on the experiences of adult migrants in becoming speakers of Faroese and the challenges they faced regarding labour market access and participation. Her research interests are mainly within the field of sociolinguistics, focusing in particular on language learning in small, rural, minoritized and bilingual language contexts, the dynamics of multilingualism in the periphery, language policy, and adult migrant language education.

AUTHOR AFFILIATIONS

Lara Hoffmann orcid.org/0000-0001-5066-0902
University in Akureyri, Akureyri, IS

Anna-Elisabeth Holm
University of the Faroe Islands, Tórshavn, FO

REFERENCES

Alþingi. 2016. *Framkvæmdaáætlun í málefnum innflytjenda 2016–2019* [Immigration Action Plan 2016–2019]. Þingskjal 1285–765. https://www.althingi.is/altext/145/s/1285.html

Blommaert, J. 2010. *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge: University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511845307

Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Busch, B. 2017. Expanding the notion of the linguistic repertoire: On the concept of Spracherleben. The lived experience of language. *Applied Linguistics*, 38(3): 340–358. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amv030

Costa, J, Lane, P and **De Korne, H.** 2018. Standardising Minority Languages: Reinventing Peripheral Languages in the 21st Century. In: Lane, P, Costa, J and De Korne, H (eds.), *Standardizing Minority Languages: Competing Ideologies of Authority and Authenticity in the Global Periphery*, 1–23. New York: Routledge.

Darvin, R and **Norton, B.** 2015. Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35: 36–56. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190514000191

Directorate of Labour. 2020. *Studies and courses*. https://vinnumalastofnun.is/en/counselling-studies-and-courses/icelandic-courses

Duchêne, A, Moyer, M and **Roberts, C.** (eds.) 2013. *Language, migration and social inequalities*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783091010

Esser, H. 2006. *Migration, Sprache und integration*. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).

Flynn, M and **Kay, R.** 2017. Migrants' experiences of material and emotional security in rural Scotland: Implications for longer-term settlement. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 52: 56–65. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.03.010

Geertz, C. 1973. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York City: Basic Books.

Hawkey, J and **Horner, K.** 2021. Officiality and strategic ambiguity in language policy: Exploring migrant experiences in Andorra and Luxembourg. *Language Policy*. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-021-09602-3

Hilmarsson-Dunn, AM. 2006. Protectionist language policies in the face of the forces of English: The case of Iceland. *Language Policy*, 5(3): 295–314. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-006-9027-2

Hoffmann, L, Barillé, S and **Meckl, M.** 2020. Gender specific challenges in migration to Iceland. In: Meckl, M and Gunnþórsdóttir, H (eds.), *Samfélag fjölbreytileikans: Samskipti heimamanna og innflytjenda á Íslandi*. Akureyri: University of Akureyri, pp. 111–123.

Hoffmann, L, Innes, P, Wojtyńska, A and **Skaptadóttir, UD.** 2021. Adult immigrants' perspectives on courses in Icelandic as a second language: Structure, content, and inclusion in the receiving society. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2021.1988855

Holm, AE. 2021. New Times in the Faroe Islands, New Speakers of Faroese and the Sociolinguistics of Labour Market Inclusion: Challenges and Opportunities. Unpublished PhD thesis, Heriot-Watt University.

Holm, AE, O'Rourke, B and **Danson, M.** 2019. 'Employers could use us, but they don't' Voices from blue-collar workplaces in a northern periphery. *Language Policy*, 19: 389–416. DOI: https://doi:10.1007/s10993-019-09513-4

Innes, P and **Skaptadóttir, UD.** 2016. Icelandic for adult foreigners: Effects of imposing an Icelandic language test. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 18(1): 68–86. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2016.1168689

Ísfeld, RP. 2019. Marriage migrants to the Faroe Islands: An analysis of the life-world of non-western women married to the Faroe Islands. Thesis (PhD), Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag.

Jacobsen, JL. 2021. *Føroysk purisma: Føroysk orð ella orð í føroyskum?* Tórshavn: Fróðskapur, Faroe University Press.

Kramsch, C. 2009. *The multilingual subject: What foreign language learners say about their experience and why it matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Menntamálaráðuneyti. 2008. Námskrá: Íslenska fyrir útlendinga—Grunnnám [Curriculum: Icelandic for Foreigners—Undergraduate Studies].

Menntamálaráðuneyti. 2012. Íslenska fyrir útlendinga framhaldsnámskrá [Icelandic for foreigners graduate curriculum].

McCarty, TL. 2015. Ethnography in Language Planning and Policy Research. In: Hult, FM and Johnson, DC (eds.), *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A Practical Guide*, 81–93. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118340349.ch8

Miller, ER. 2014. *The language of adult immigrants: Agency in the making*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783092055

Ministry of Social Affairs. 2007. *Government policy on the integration of immigrants*. https://www.government.is/media/velferdarraduneyti-media/media/acrobat-enskar_sidur/stefna_integration_of_immigrants.pdf

Netto, G, Hudson, M, Kamenou-Aigbekaen, N and **Sosenko, F.** 2019. Dominant language acquisition in destination countries: Structure, agency and reflexivity. *Sociology*, 53(5): 843–860. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038519826021

Noels, KA, Pon, G and **Clement, R.** 1996. Language, identity, and adjustment. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 15(3): 177–195. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X960153003

Norton, B. 2013. *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation*. 2nd ed. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783090563

Norton, B and **Toohey, K.** 2011. State of the art article: Identity, language learning and social change. *Language Teaching*, 44(4): 412–446. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444811000309

Norton Peirce, B. 1995. Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29(1): 9–31. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/3587803

Pavlenko, A. 2005. *Emotions and multilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511584305

Pennycook, A. 2001. *Critical applied linguistics: A critical introduction*. Abington: Routledge. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781410600790

Petersen, HP. 2010. *The dynamics of Faroese-Danish language contact*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Piller, I. 2016. *Linguistic diversity and social justice: An introduction to applied sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199937240.001.0001

Pöyhönen, S and **Simpson, J.** 2020. Contesting language policy for asylum seekers in the Northern periphery: The story of Tailor F. *Language Policy*, 20: 261–285. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-020-09554-0

Sigurjónsdóttir, S and **Nowenstein, I.** 2021. Language acquisition in the digital age: L2 English input effects on children's L1 Icelandic. *Second Language Research*, 37(4): 697–723. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/02676583211005505

Simpson, J and **Whiteside, A.** 2015. *Adult language education and migration: Challenging agendas in policy and practice*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315718361

Søholt, S, Stenbacke, S and **Nørgaard, H.** 2018. Conditioned receptiveness: Nordic rural elite perceptions of immigrant contributions to local resilience. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 64: 220–229. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2018.05.004

Svendsen, BA. 2021. *Flerspråklighet: Til begeistring og besvær*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Uttanríkis-og mentamálaráðið. 2021. Lunnar lagdir undir 'Føroyskt sum annaðmál'. *Kringvarp Føroya*, 05 February. Available at https://www.ummr.fo/fo/kunning/tidindi/lunnar-lagdir-undir-foroyskt-sum-annadmal/ [Last accessed 6 May 2021].

Uttanríkis-og vinnumálaráðið. 2019. *Integrasjón í Føroyum: Støðulýsing av integrasjónsøkinum í Føroyum*. Tórshavn, Faroe Islands: Uttanríkis- og vinnumálaráðið.

Vertovec, S. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6): 1024–1054. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465

Villa, M. 2019. Local ambivalence to diverse mobilities: The case of a Norwegian rural village. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 59(4): 701–717. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12263

Westra, P and **Egilsdóttir, SE.** 2019. *The access to education for refugees in Iceland*. Reykjavík, Iceland: Red Cross Iceland.

Weyhe, E. 2015. Færøsk gennem to hundrede år. In: Sandøy, H (ed.), *Talemål etter 1800. Norsk i jamføring med andre nordiske språk*, 409–432. Oslo: Novus Forlag.

Wojtyńska, A, Skaptadóttir, UD and **Ólafs, H.** 2011. *The participation of immigrants in civil society and labour market in the economic recession: Report from the research project*, Reykjavík, Iceland: Faculty of Social Science and Human Sciences, University of Iceland.

Woolard, KA. 2016. *Singular and plural: Ideologies of linguistic authority in 21st century catalonia*. New York: Oxford University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190258610.003.0002

Zahl-Thanem, A and **Haugen, MS.** 2019. Attitudes toward immigrants in rural Norway: A rural-urban comparison. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 59(4): 685–700. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12251

TO CITE THIS ARTICLE:
Hoffmann, L and Holm, AE. 2022. Learning Insular Nordic Languages: Comparative Perspectives on Migrants' Experiences Learning Faroese and Icelandic. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, X(X), pp. 1–17. DOI: https://doi.org/10.33134/njmr.474

Submitted: 17 May 2021
Accepted: 20 February 2022
Published: XX Month 20XX

Nordic Journal of Migration Research is a peer-reviewed open access journal published by Helsinki University Press.

HUP HELSINKI UNIVERSITY PRESS NMR NORDIC MIGRATION RESEARCH

Article IV

[under review]

Article V

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Language and Intercultural Communication

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rmli20

Intimate engagements with language: creative practices for inclusive public spaces in Iceland

Anna Wojtyńska, Lara Hoffmann, Dögg Sigmarsdóttir & Ewa Marcinek

To cite this article: Anna Wojtyńska, Lara Hoffmann, Dögg Sigmarsdóttir & Ewa Marcinek (2022) Intimate engagements with language: creative practices for inclusive public spaces in Iceland, Language and Intercultural Communication, 22:2, 125-140, DOI: 10.1080/14708477.2022.2041654

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2022.2041654

LANGUAGE AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
2022, VOL. 22, NO. 2, 125–140
https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2022.2041654

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Intimate engagements with language: creative practices for inclusive public spaces in Iceland

Anna Wojtyńska [a], Lara Hoffmann [b], Dögg Sigmarsdóttir[c] and Ewa Marcinek[d]

[a]School of Social Sciences, University of Iceland, Reykjavík, Iceland; [b]Department of Social Sciences, University of Akureyri, Akureyri, Iceland; [c]Reykjavík City Library, Reykjavík, Iceland; [d]Independent, artist

ABSTRACT

The article discusses an artistic event "Emotions Icelandic Awakes" organized by the Reykjavik City Library as part of the national celebrations for Icelandic Language Day. It examines the potential of affording genuine attention to language as a matter of emotional inquiry for the process of intercultural exchange. We reflect on the role of public institutions in providing an inclusive space that facilitates intercultural communication and where agency and language ownership is discursively determined by the participants. We consider inclusive public spaces as places of 'enacting hospitality' and counterspaces that may help to deconstruct the hegemonic position of Icelandic language in contemporary public discourse regarding immigrants in Iceland.

Greinin fjallar um viðburð Borgarbókasafnsins "Tilfinningar sem tungan vekur" í tilefni af degi íslenskrar tungu. Viðburðurinn er dæmi um skapandi aðferð til að draga fram tilfinningalegar víddir tungumáls og varpa ljósi á tungumálið sem viðfangsefni fjölmenningarlegra samskipta. Skoðað er hlutverk opinberra stofnana í að skapa opinn vettvang sem gefur færi á tjáningu ólíkra radda til að stuðla að samskiptum, þar sem þátttakendur sjálfir skilgreina orðræðuna um að tilheyra samfélagi. Við rýnum í opin almenningsrými með jafnan aðgang allra og sem mögulegt er að endurskilgreina, sem rými mótvægis er varpa ljósi á ríkjandi valdamisræmi og ráðandi orðræðu um aðlögun innflytjenda á Íslandi og tengsl við hreintungustefnu.

KEYWORDS

Public spaces; inclusion; linguistic integration; immigrants; artistic methods; Iceland

LEITARORÐ

Náin sambönd við tungumál: Skapandi aðferðir fyrir opnari almenningsrýmum í Reykjavík

Introduction

'Can you break up with a language? I never want to talk you again, but you are always in my mind. How are the first encounters with the Icelandic language? Loving and warm or cold and difficult? Soft or hard? Was it love at first sight? Is studying Icelandic a stormy relationship with a language?'

With these provocative questions, the Reykjavík City Library invited Icelandic learners and immigrants living in Iceland for a participatory event as part of the annual celebration of *Dagur íslenskrar tungu* (Icelandic Language Day) in November 2019. The event was organised in collaboration with Ós Pressan, a non-profit literary collective that publishes an annual multilingual literary journal. It was proceeded by a survey conducted in language schools and consisted of two artistic performances (one based on movement and dance in the library space and one delivered as a manifesto utilising books as artistic objects), three readings (one poetry reading and two short stories), and an exhibition in the main hall of Reykjavík City Library. The organisers' main

CONTACT Anna Wojtyńska annawo@hi.is School of Social Sciences, University of Iceland, Sæmundargata 2, 102 Reykjavík, Iceland

purpose was to challenge dominant pragmatic approaches in Icelandic public discourse that perceive language as a mere tool of communication and an essential element of migrants' integration. Instead, by giving voice to foreign-born[1] artists, the event emphasised diverse and occasionally conflicting emotions involved in the process of language learning as well as aesthetic aspects of Icelandic and embodied linguistic practices.

In this article, we discuss this event as an example of creative practice that applies literary and artistic methods to articulate symbolic and affective dimensions of language, language acquisition, and the development of multilingual subjectivity (Kramsch, 2009). We present the societal context and underlying assumptions informing the event, outline its implementation and analyse texts performed by invited foreign-born artists in order to reflect on the potential of affording genuine attention to language as a matter of emotional inquiry for the process of intercultural exchange and mutual understanding. Finally, we put special emphasis on the role of public institutions, such as the Reykjavík City Library, in providing inclusive spaces that enable the expression of diverse voices and experiences where agency and language ownership is discursively determined by the participants (Bradley et al., 2018; Damery & Mescoli, 2019; Jeffery et al., 2019). We consider inclusive public spaces as places of 'enacting hospitality' (Harvey, 2018) and counterspaces, deconstructing the hegemonic position of Icelandic language in contemporary public discourse with regard to immigrants in Iceland, largely informed by linguistic purism (Þórarinsdóttir, 2010). In this way, we contribute to this special issue by discussing artistic intervention facilitated by the City Library as a means of intercultural dialogue beyond the national construction of standard language and example of powerful attempt at social justice.

The article is a collaborative work by two academics (first and second author), both of whom share the experience of being migrants in Iceland and both engaged in different community projects; a practitioner and (at that time of the event) manager of multicultural projects at the Reykjavík City Library (third author); and a writer of Polish-origin, cultural animator, and one of the founders of the literary collective Ós Pressan (fourth author). The latter two authors were also the initiators and facilitators of the event discussed in this paper.

Migration and linguistic integration

There is a common belief that learning the local language in a new country is key to integration. It is typically expected that linguistic integration enables the social and economic inclusion of immigrants, allows for their cultural belonging, and secures the social cohesion of the receiving state. Although knowing the host country's language can indeed facilitate migrants' social participation and enlarge their employment options (Chiswick & Miller, 2001), such views somehow imply that successful integration firmly relies on migrants' linguistic competence. However, many studies show that improved language skills rarely ensure migrants' social mobility which is rather conditioned by labour market segmentation and discrimination often experienced by ethnic minorities (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Simultaneously, understating the integration process as reduced to language acquisition may give a false impression that migrants are entirely responsible for their social and economic marginalisation. This assumption further suggests that improved language skills primarily benefit migrants themselves, supposedly helping them to access the local community and enabling their socio-economic advancement. In this sense, the host country's language tends to embody a *happy object* which, according to Sara Ahmed (2010), is an object accumulating positive affective value, perceived as essentially good and one which promises happiness in return for loyalty.

Such perspectives on integration and language attainment hardly consider the diverse migration contexts, motivations, predispositions, and aspirations of migrants, as well as personal dimensions of language learning (Clarke & Hennig, 2013). Contemporary migrations predominantly originate in global inequalities, even if voluntary, they are frequently driven by perceived economic necessity or actuated by demands of capitalism. In fact, conceptualised as static linguistic objects, national

languages maintain powerful tools of differentiation and discrimination, serving as gatekeepers and a means to control migration (Wodak & Boukala, 2015), while stigmatising fluid linguistic practices emerging in multicultural settings. At the same time, international mobility and growing ethnic diversity challenges typically assumed isomorphism between place, nation, and culture, further questioning the hegemony of national languages. Consequently, sociolinguists increasingly advocate reframing language as appropriated by speakers in order to give recognition to plural modes of communication (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007) and so to democratise language education and the process of immigrants' integration (García, 2017).

Hans-Jurgen Krumm (2013) argues, 'language acquisition cannot be analysed as a cognitive process alone, but language acquisition is always embedded in concrete social, historical, and individual biographical situations and that is heavily emotionally charged' (p. 167). Immigrants' integration process in general, and language education in particular, need to be placed within a larger context, including the social positioning of immigrants in the receiving state and their structural incorporation. In the following section, we outline the linguistic ideologies in Iceland as reflected in the integration policy regarding immigrants in order to demonstrate how the local language environment affects immigrants' attitudes towards Icelandic.

The linguistic environment in Iceland

In Iceland, where language played an important role in the country's struggle for independence and the process of constructing distinctive national identity in the nineteenth century (Hálfdánarson, 2001; Sigurðsson, 1996), speaking Icelandic is closely intertwined with social and cultural membership (Skaptadóttir, 2007). Nationalist discourses inform prevailing protective language policies formulated around the notion of purity. The overall objective of governmental language planning has been to resist any changes and cultivate an established standardised form of Icelandic, typically presented as relatively consistent with its medieval form. This is implemented for instance by directives on correct pronunciation and prevention of the adoption of loanwords (Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2006; Leonard & Árnason, 2011). Appointed committees create lists with Icelandic translations of specialised and present-day words, such as computer terminology. Furthermore, the official language policy recommends that usage of Icelandic should be actively promoted in all spheres of public and cultural life (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson, 2010; Menntamálaráðuneyti, 2008). Anthropologist Hallfríður Þórarinsdóttir (2010) argued that the ideology of linguistic purism in Iceland bears characteristics of secular religion and serves as a powerful social control tool. Any forms of grammatical, lexical, or phonetic alterations from the standardised traditional corpus are disregarded as impurity or contamination. Furthermore, non-standard speech results in stigmatisation of the speaker and operates as the primary basis for class division in Icelandic society. 'The idea of linguistic pollution,' observed Gísli Pálsson (1989), 'becomes one of the means by which inequalities are justified and reproduced' (p. 135).

Since the Icelandic language is perceived as an intrinsic and critical element of Icelandic identity, its maintenance becomes vital for the endurance of the nation (Hálfdanarson, 2005), compelling authorities to ensure that an unbroken or uncorrupted linguistic tradition is passed on to future generations. Constituting a small speaking community of less than 300,000 'native' speakers (Statistics Iceland, 2020), many Icelanders see their language as endangered by processes of globalisation and expanding foreign[2] influences, especially due to the widespread prevalence of English (Rögnvaldsson, 2016; Þórarinsdóttir, 2011). Likewise, the growing number of immigrants living in Iceland (amounting to 15% of the total population in 2020) has been frequently framed as a threat to the future of the Icelandic language (Íslensk málnefnd, 2018; Menntamálaráðuneyti, 2008). Especially, the growing number of immigrants in frontline service jobs not speaking Icelandic causes strong public concerns.

Accordingly, the integration policy directed to immigrants puts great emphasis on linguistic integration. The Government Policy on the Integration of Immigrants issued by the Ministry of

Social Affairs in 2007 explicitly states that '[k]nowledge of the Icelandic language is the key to Icelandic society and can be a deciding factor in the successful integration of immigrants into Icelandic society' (Ministry of Social Affairs 2007, p. 2). The document instructs, that '[a]s a general rule, Icelandic language education for immigrants should include education about Icelandic society, its values, cultural heritage and the rights and obligations of citizens (2007, p. 8).' Evidently, migrants need to learn Icelandic, not only for pragmatic and communication purposes, but also in order to comprehend the local culture, which is identified as conducive to becoming fully-fledged members of society. Even if the document uses the term 'integration,' the way it promotes learning Icelandic echoes assimilationist logic by recommending the utilisation of language classes to inculcate migrants into the norms and rules of Icelandic society.

Moreover, recognising language skills as a 'deciding factor' implies that mastering Icelandic will result in socio-economic advancement, while simultaneously, insufficient competence will preclude the social inclusion of immigrants. The 2018 resolution of the Language Committee, which consulted authorities on issues relating to the Icelandic language, pinpointed that a lack of Icelandic skills has a negative effect on quality of life and leads to the segmentation of society and to discrimination (Íslensk málnefnd, 2018). Besides implying that linguistic competence directly corresponds with immigrants' well-being, this statement frames immigrants as responsible for economic polarisation and social inequalities, in a covert way. Yet, assuming linguistic integration as a prerequisite for social inclusion neglects common evidence that increased social participation and embodied knowledge actually strengthens motivations to learn the language and helps to improve language skills. Consequently, conditioning social inclusion on the learning of Icelandic, instead of working as a means of integration, renders Icelandic language as an instrument of exclusion.

The Government Policy on the Integration of Immigrants further states:

> It is the policy of the Icelandic government—approved by the entire nation—to protect the Icelandic language. It is the **shared property**[3] of the Icelandic nation and contains its history, culture and self-awareness […] Governmental support of Icelandic language education for immigrants serves the **dual purpose** of speeding up their integration into society and strengthening the position of the Icelandic language. (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007, p. 6)

This passage demonstrates that the linguistic integration of immigrants pertains to official language policy, focused on preservation and enhancement of the Icelandic language as a national heritage. Teaching Icelandic to immigrants is then one way to ensure language continuity.

The emphasis on preserving the language and language purity puts a lot of pressure on immigrants – not only to learn, but also to speak a standard version of the language. Relative linguistic homogeneity in Iceland and a lack of regional dialects pose challenges to learners speaking Icelandic with an accent. A study by Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir and Pamela Innes (2017) indicated that many immigrants have been subjected to unfriendly responses to their incorrect, or incomplete Icelandic. One of their interlocutors of Asian origin commented, '[I]f you don't speak perfect Icelandic, it is worse than your skin colour' (Skaptadóttir & Innes, 2017, p. 25). During her research, Stefanie Bade (2019) observed considerable hostility among the native population towards Icelandic spoken with foreign accents, especially towards those categorised as Eastern European or with Asian accents. The way immigrants speak Icelandic immediately discloses their foreign origin, and may trigger certain ethnic stereotypes affecting attitude towards the speaker.

Given the pervasive ethnic segregation of the labour market and concomitant ethnic segmentation of Icelandic society, speaking with a foreign accent tends to determine one's social position. In this way, Icelandic reproduces social boundaries between migrants and the local population. It has also been used to control access into the country. When migration to Iceland intensified in the 2000s, compulsory training and language tests were applied, constraining possibilities for legal residence (Innes & Skaptadóttir, 2017). Moreover, Icelandic has been commonly used to regulate,

position, and stipulate opportunities in the labour market (Wojtyńska & Skaptadóttir, 2021a) as well as access to welfare assistance (Wojtyńska & Skaptadóttir, 2021b). Inevitably, the multiple forms of discrimination that migrants face in Iceland, coupled with the entrenched linguistic nationalism, affect migrants' attitudes and emotions towards learning Icelandic. The most recent statement of the Language Committee (Íslensk málnefnd, 2020) acknowledges the negative effect of the dominant public discourse on the learning motivations of immigrants. The Language Committee indicates its wish to promote non-judgmental attitudes towards those learning the Icelandic language, yet does not specify how to achieve it.

Finally, the Government Policy on the Integration of Immigrants underlines that Icelandic is 'the shared property of the Icelandic nation' (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007, p. 6). Although this statement leaves the question open over whom is considered to belong within the Icelandic nation, it seems to imply that only Icelanders have the authority to determine correct usage of Icelandic. In order to challenge the regulating position of Icelandic manifested in the purity doctrine, this article's co-authors Dögg Sigmarsdóttir and Ewa Marcinek (later referred to as Dögg and Ewa) aimed for a public event at the Reykjavík City Library that would accommodate diverse voices of immigrants and share manifold experiences related to being a speaker of Icelandic as an additional language.

Inclusive public spaces

The Reykjavík City Library constitutes a public institution designed as an indoor urban open space accessible to everyone (Sigmarsdóttir, 2020). For the last few years, the Library has been actively taking steps to incorporate the growing diversity of Icelandic society in order to become an inclusive space that welcomes multiple voices and critical engagements. With its current policy, the Library is conceptualised as a place to experiment that aims to co-create a social space with users (Reykjavík City Library's Policy 2021–2024, n.d.). By including different people in the process, it hopes to make the Library a relevant space to the broader public and become a place where everyone can access and share knowledge, learn something new, gather or just socialise and seek refuge from the hustle and bustle of daily life. The Library invites users to guide the curation of knowledge, its sharing and cultural programming in order to better represent the society (Reykjavík City Library's Policy 2021–2024, n.d., p. 4). Furthermore, since immigrants' access to public spaces and their visibility is largely structured by their inferior position and socio-economic inequalities, the Library aspires to create a democratic platform that attempts to include marginalised narratives and facilitate intercultural communication and dialogue. In this sense, it wants to provide 'spaces of engagement' that carry the potential of transformative work (Bradley et al., 2020). By inviting disempowered groups, the Library also allows counterspaces to form, which are spaces of expression and enactment of oppositional politics (Hershokovitz, 1993).

The recent projects undertaken by the City Library frequently apply creative methods as a conducive to enabling communication beyond languages.[4] Artistic forms of communication, including narrative methods and fiction-based research have the potential to stimulate empathy, self-awareness, and social reflection (Leavy, 2015), further facilitating social bonding and bridging cohesive behaviour between and within different groups (Otte, 2019). Artistic and participatory projects in spaces such as a library, which are open to the public and free, can therefore be suitable places to bring together migrants and the majority population. Creative projects and art and literature can offer empowering spaces where migrants can participate in society on more equal terms, express their stance, contest simplified imaginaries about migration and mobile subjects, reclaim their agency, and advocate for change (Jeffery et al., 2019). As Damery and Mescoli (2019) argue, 'art offers opportunities for migrants to actively participate in the socio-cultural and political environment in which they reside and to claim various forms of official and unofficial belonging whether it occurs through visibility or invisibility' (p. 1).

'Can you break up with a language?'

The event 'Tilfinningar sem tungan vekur/Emotions Icelandic awakes' was organised in November 2019 as part of the national celebrations for Icelandic Language Day. Icelandic Language Day has been annually commemorated since 1996 on the birthday of the nation's beloved Romantic poet Jónas Hallgrímsson, who was active in the promotion and development of Icelandic nationalism and an influential figure in the Icelandic Independence Movement in the nineteenth century. The primary rationale behind the Day is to honour the Icelandic language and acknowledge its value for Icelandic identity. It aims to underpin the importance of preserving the language, promote its widespread usage, and rouse Icelanders' national pride.

The focus of the event organised at the Library was inspired by Jónas Hallgrímsson's ode to Icelandic language titled 'Ásta' – a female name shortened from Ástríður, meaning 'one loved by gods.' In this poem, Hallgrímsson describes his intimate relationship with the Icelandic language as loving and warm, tender and soft, consisting of words that give pleasure. Personified and depicted as dear to gods, Icelandic commands respect, simultaneously boosting self-confidence and self-regard of those speaking it. The poem inspired subsequent generations of Icelanders that perceived their language as a source of their distinctiveness, and a meaningful constituent of national identity. Accordingly, Dögg and Ewa intended to recognise the emotions that Icelandic awakes in those learning it as an additional language in order to unsettle these implicit normative and barely contested approaches to Icelandic.

Prior to the event, Dögg contacted selected language schools in the capital region that provide classes in Icelandic for adults, including the course 'Vocabulary' for first- and second-year students in the Bachelor's programme 'Icelandic as a second language' at the University of Iceland. In order to provoke individuals to explore their personal relationship with and feelings towards Icelandic, teachers were asked to conduct exercises during their classes and collect words that students loved, hated, found impossible to pronounce, as well as listing the first words they learned and would never forget. Some of the participants were beginners, while others had already acquired advanced language skills in Icelandic. In total, around 200 people contributed to the project and 150–350 words per category were collected. Additionally, an online survey was circulated via social media. Beside questions similar to those distributed in schools, respondents were asked to explain the reasons for their feelings as well as share anecdotes related to learning Icelandic, for instance about experiences of misusing Icelandic words or phrases.

The exercise exemplified an attempt at creative inquiry about the language. Students were invited to look at words separately from the larger linguistic structure and communication affordance, to explore their acoustics and visual impact, turning them into objects of aesthetic gaze. For instance, one survey participant commented, 'the first time I **saw** Icelandic I was amazed by the letter ð' [our emphasis]. Another person recalled,

> I miss the sound that Icelandic had, when I was not able to understand a word of it. To me it always sounded like a magical tongue, the sound of the waves or the melody of the leaves. Now that I understand it, it has lost the magical properties it had and I would give a lot to be able to hear it once more the way I did.

The students were also asked to modify, recombine, and affectively appropriate the Icelandic words into their own linguistic repertoire. While encouraging sensual reflections and a playful approach to language, the exercise opened up to linguistic agency, empowering students of Icelandic to actively engage with the language and so it allowed for more fluid language practices in line with assumptions of translanguaging (García, 2017).

Gathered material comprised the groundwork for the final output, which was the event at the Library. The words collected among the language students and in the online survey were written down on the Post-it notes and displayed at the event venue's main hall of the Reykjavík City Library. Each category of words was assigned to different colours of Post-its: pink for loved words, orange for difficult words, green for hated words, and yellow for words that one learned

Figure 1. Expert from the exhibition at the Library (photo: Dögg Sigmarsdóttir).

first and will never forget. The notes were then placed randomly on windows and walls in the Library space, forming a colourful collage representing different emotions accompanying learning process (see Figure 1).

Selected foreign-born artists living in Iceland were invited to the event. Three of them were involved in the Ós Pressan collective and two were members of Reykjavík Ensemble, a multilingual theatre company. All had moved to Iceland as adults and were based in the capital region. While all were proficient in English, they also had some competency in Icelandic and experience of learning Icelandic in both formal and informal settings. Prior to the event, they received the collected words and anecdotes as possible material with which to work. In what follows, we present each contribution and discuss the main issues raised by them as they represent different, intimate ways of engaging with the Icelandic language.[5]

While most of the artists chose a verbal form of expression, Juliette Louste – born in France, a performing artist, dancer, choreographer and producer working with local theatres and theatre projects – decided to translate language into movement. As a highly emotional, universal and embodied way of expression, dance carries the potential to transcend the boundaries of national languages. During the breaks between the readings, Juliette danced around the people gathered in the Library (see Figure 2). The performance was improvised. It started with Juliette coming down the stairs of the Library and stepping on a bench in front of the Post-its with Icelandic words written on them. She picked up random notes, read them out aloud and communicated them through movement. To engage with the audience, Juliette handed over some of the Post-its to those attending, disassembling part of the display.

Her performance expressed the energy and sound of the language by turning attention away from the meanings of the words and towards the rhythm and the melody of Icelandic. This mirrors the common experience of new immigrants, who are first exposed to the aesthetic and acoustic elements of the language; an experience some even miss once they have reached greater competency, as the survey participant quoted above. Dancing with the words, Juliette also accentuated the embodied communication practices – the use of the body to express oneself on the one hand

Figure 2. Dance performance by Juliette Louste (photo: Dögg Sigmarsdóttir).

and the physical impact of the spoken words on the other; both also reflected by the next performing artist.

Elena Ilkova**,** a translingual writer born in North Macedonia, read a short story written in English, but occasionally interspersed with Icelandic. It predominantly illustrated the ups and downs of the learning process and its impact on self-image and personal development. In a humorous manner, Elena brought attention to the conflicting emotions accompanying the beginner student, including constant confusion, hesitation, and self-doubt. The story opens with a short exchange between Kasia, a fictional Polish girl, and her Icelandic neighbour, after a sudden noise in Kasia's apartment caused by broken glass. To communicate what happened, Kasia combined simple Icelandic, onomatopoeic words, and bodily expressions. 'This was how she talked nowadays. Hands and legs. Head and eyes,' the narrator explained.

Even if ephemeral and limited, the conversation made Kasia happy and proud since, for the first time, she 'chitchatted with a neighbour entirely in Icelandic.' Encouraged by this positive experience, she decided to describe her encounter for her Icelandic class assignment. While cleaning up broken glass, Kasia suddenly realised that she had confused two Icelandic words: *hreinsa* (to clean) with *hringja* (to call), which made her run to consult a dictionary. Despite this slightly depressing setback that she chose to see as yet another lesson, Kasia started to draft her homework. She wrote, 'Í dag var gaman. Rosalega gaman' (*Today was fun. Very fun*). As the story unfolds, we witness Kasia writing something, consulting the dictionary, checking Google, erasing what she wrote, and starting all over again. Eventually, she concludes in self-doubt, as the narrator comments, 'She wouldn't be sure in her Icelandic, she wasn't sure in her English, and she doubted big-time her Polish.'

The initial joy and enthusiasm of learning, gradually transformed into discomfort felt quite physical, as the author described how 'Kasia exhaled loudly all the pain that the effort to understand this sentence even in English filled in her chest.' Shortly after, Kasia felt frustrated and desperate enough to exclaim, 'Ég hata að læra tungumál … ' (*I hate to learn language*) as the narrator commented, 'Damned, she hated herself.' At the end, resigned and subdued, Kasia modified her essay into a short and simple statement: 'Með öðrum orðum: þessi dagur var venjulegur dag' (*In other words: this day was usual*). 'It wasn't,' observed the narrator, 'but she didn't have enough language to describe it.'

With this ending, Elena evokes a quite common experience among language learners in adjusting (or reducing) the content of the message to available and familiar vocabulary. Not able to find the correct words or to write them in the correct form to describe a real event, Elena's protagonist was forced to retreat to simple and safe statements, which made her feel that in Icelandic, she and her life are presented as dull and deprived from any entertainment. That linguistic impotence renders her a different person from whom she considers herself to be.

Rather than speaking in one's native language, which may feel transparent and intuitive, practicing an additional language – especially for the beginner – is associated with endless thinking and re-thinking, self-questioning, and checking the correct usage of words. The persistent awareness of the language makes it feel like a tangible entity, an actual and acute obstacle. The annoying inability to express oneself clearly affects one's identity and self-respect. The failure to understand, which manifests in Kasia's physical chest pain, evokes Alison Phipps' (2013) discussion of unmooring languages linked to movement, which likely entails loss of stability, loss of certainty, safety, and security. As apparent in Elena's story, migrants' relationships with the language of the receiving society can be troubling and loaded with complex emotions, including anxiety, despair, and shame (cf. Sevinç & Dewaele, 2018).

The feeling of helplessness and powerlessness following one's inability to communicate fully also appeared in one of the poems read by Ewa Marcinek (already introduced as one of the facilitators of the event and co-author of this article):

> I will always remember my first conversation in Icelandic.
>
> In a supermarket.
>
> "Viltu poka?" Would you like a bag?
>
> "Já, takk."
>
> In my mother tongue *poka* sounds like *show me*.
>
> Viltu poka? Would you like to show me who you are?
>
> Please believe me, I would if I knew how.

Ewa's mother tongue is Polish. She is fluent in English and an intermediate in Icelandic. In her poetry, increasingly written in English, Ewa often appropriates words from Icelandic and plays with their overlapping meanings to create new meanings and open new interpretations. In this poem, the pronunciation of the Icelandic word *poka* (bag) reminded her of Polish *poka* (show me) – a colloquial form of the verb *pokazać* (to show). Finding this correlation triggered a sense of yearning for being able to express oneself sufficiently, the contestation that one has no words to show one's authentic self. Similar to Elena's story, Ewa refers to the condition of being mute due to lack of adequate vocabulary, but perhaps also alludes to the condition of feeling silenced by not being heard (and possible lack of will to listen exhibited by the Icelandic majority), and hence the disempowering capacity of the language. The poem also demonstrates that for bi- or multilingual subjects, languages do not constitute separate code systems but are entangled, enabling speakers to move across semiotic boundaries (cf. García, 2017; Kramsch, 2009).

In another poem, Ewa observes:

> Sometimes I feel like a three-tongued monster, a forked soul. Each tongue has its own life, own stories to tell, own chances to grab. Each tongue stretches and reaches out searching for something more.

Challenged by living in a multilingual environment, inclined to use different languages in different situations in her daily life, Ewa aligns her experience with a split identity, represented by separate tongues that seem to become independent from her consciousness, taking control over her ego. Each language constitutes a distinct individual, depending on socio-linguistic circumstances. While 'within

a homogeneous cultural group, languages express implicit values and beliefs that form a coherent reality' (Aden & Eschenauer, 2020, p. 104), in the multicultural landscape, one could say that the reality becomes ambiguous and confusing. Consequently, Ewa calls herself a 'monster', that, in a sense, normalises monolingualism while simultaneously shows the inconspicuous repercussions that language acquisition has on the perception of self and its power to control the person.

Mazen Maarouf, a Palestinian writer from Lebanon and an Icelandic citizen, also reflected on vague implications of multilingual subjectivity. He shared a very personal – though auto-fictional – account from one of his language classes. One day, his teacher greeted him with the name 'Máni' (meaning moon in Icelandic), which he recognised as an Icelandic version of Mazen's name. Although well-intended by the teacher, the word *máni* caused the protagonist anxiety and discomfort:

> I did not tell the teacher that it was not the first time I heard the word *máni*. I knew the word before I got to Iceland. Of course, in Lebanon and Lebanese dialect, *máni* did not mean "moon," but when you say to somebody *máni*, it means he cannot refuse a request from him.

Then Mazen recalled the story of a janitor in his hometown. The janitor was an immigrant and was commonly asked to do different jobs by families living in the building. In one instance, he was accused of a crime he did not commit, but due to his inferior position was unable to defend himself. Therefore, hearing the word again immediately brought back distressful memories for Mazen, so he could not appreciate the new name assigned by the teacher.

Like Ewa's poem, quoted earlier, the story demonstrates that linguistic codes do not form separate, independent systems but can be mutually reinforced. Some words mean and feel differently to language students from how they do to native speakers; they can elicit distant connections and memories. Moreover, Mazen's account imperceptibly and subtly unveils the language position beside its simple communicative (understood as verbal exchange) role, and its concealed capability to imply and reproduce social hierarchies as manifested by unequal power relations between the teacher and the student, first and additional language speaker, local and migrant. It persuasively demonstrates the power of words, especially the power of naming (cf. Bourdieu, 1991). In the seemingly innocent act of Icelandicising Mazen's name, the teacher attempted to accommodate Mazen within the Icelandic community, but simultaneously (even if unintentionally) neglected his autonomy, distinctiveness, and past. In this sense, the teacher enacted what Pierre Bourdieu referred to as 'a symbolic act of imposition' (1991, p. 239). The story provides us with a more general metaphor for the social position of a migrant subject who often finds him/herself disempowered, disenfranchised, compliant, and silenced, not allowed to resist, which was also the focus of the final performance of the event.

The closing lecture, or rather manifesto, was delivered by Sonja Kovačević – born in Austria, a performing artist and activist working independently as well as with local art and theatre collectives. She started her performance by asking Ewa to put together two books – one about learning Icelandic grammar and the other about the ethics of migration – by braiding their pages one by one.

Sonja opened her talk with a quote from Ludwig Wittgenstein – 'Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent' – again bringing the apparent correlation between linguistic and social inarticulateness, also referenced by previous speakers. However, more than other artists, Sonja emphasised the impact that Icelandic linguistic nationalism, guided by a purity principle, has on the situation of migrants in Iceland in a broader social context. By referring to Wittgenstein's language games, she identifies herself as a player against a personified Icelandic language:

> I noticed that for me my social status is not being defined by how much I can play with the words within the Icelandic language, but it is defined by the Icelandic language itself. A stamp of approval of belonging or a constant reminder of just not being part of the game.
>
> Who is in charge. Is it me or is it the language?
>
> Am I playing with the Icelandic language, or am I playing against it?

> Is it through the language that I can define myself, mould my thoughts, shape the world? Or is it my non capacity to speak the language through which the language shapes me, addresses me a space, gives me a job and a social circle?
>
> The Icelandic language is a very ancient language, being threatened by its own extinction.
>
> Is the language defending itself against me?
>
> Is the language coming out to get me? Assign me jobs that push me to the margins of society?
>
> Or am I just being lazy, unable to mount the hill, unwilling to spend countless hours learning grammar?
>
> Where is the fine line between not trying hard enough and never being good enough?

In her performance, Sonja highlights the othering power of Icelandic ideologies. Typically, Icelandic has been used to determine who belongs to a nation and who does not (Skaptadóttir, 2007). In Sonja's experience, her skills in Icelandic are irrelevant compared with the fact she is not a native speaker, which automatically marginalises her and determines her social position, her job opportunities, and her social network. This contestation renders Sonja helpless in face of the unfair power granted by and ascribed to language, which in consequence – instead of being a communication tool and connecting people – assumes the role of assailant. Sonja also notes that the shared fear of Icelandic as an endangered language turns migrants into imagined enemies.

Sonja concludes with a question, 'Who is going to win this language game?' and asks a few volunteers from the audience to pull apart the two books she had previously asked Ewa to entangle. As expected, it proved impossible, underscoring Sonja's postulation that teaching a host language to migrants must not be separated from ethical considerations. When trying to disassemble the books, participants formed a circle and tried to drag the books in different directions, inevitably making them laugh. When faced with this task, the laughter posed a playful contrast to the heaviness and seriousness of the content of Sonja's performance. It was also a way to engage and unite the audience in a symbolic act of resistance to the dominant ideology and teaching approaches (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Event participants trying to disentangle books (photo: Dögg Sigmarsdóttir).

Discussion: towards hospitable public spaces

The participative event discussed in this article, organised by the Reykjavík City Library for the annual celebration of Icelandic Language Day, represents a form of community work and an example of creative engagement with growing ethnic diversity in Iceland. Through collaboration with foreign-born artists, it channelled immigrant voices, otherwise almost invisible, in public debate about immigrants' inclusion, preoccupied instead with the issues of linguistic integration, teaching Icelandic and the provision of language courses; hence largely reducing integration to the process of language acquisition. Differently, the event focused on the affecting, social and ideological aspects of language, besides being a mere tool of communication. Although language and language practices were the main focus of the event and the artistic inquiry, it engaged with larger issues of immigrants' positionality and social equality, as well as attempted to counter against social discrimination.

The artistic performances included in the event reflected on distinctive yet interconnected aspects of being an immigrant in Iceland and learning Icelandic. They demonstrated conflicting emotions related to the process of language acquisition and its impact on the subjective self, that tend to be omitted in current discussions about education of Icelandic as an additional language. The invited artists provided an embodied and affective contextualisation of migration experiences and diverse learning trajectories, exposing silent dynamics of language and power. They showed how language and language ideologies reflect and reproduce inequalities and reinforce migrants' inferior social positions, and also how Icelandic can be exercised as a means of exclusion. Conceptualising Icelandic as a prerequisite for integration, may particularly impede the possibility of other forms of communication and participation in the society. The presented texts brought attention to the role of the host society in the language-learning process, which goes beyond the perspective of the individual learners. Although the artists who took part in the event did not object to learning Icelandic, they contested the decisive role of language in determining their social positions, opportunities, and rights in Iceland. As the public discourse about migrants' integration has been largely overshadowed by Icelanders' fears of the deterioration or vanishing of the national language, due to growing ethnic and linguistic diversity and the expanding presence and ubiquity of English; like many migrants in Iceland, the artists found themselves in an uncomfortable position between policies of linguistic purity and the struggle for recognition of their own identity.

These, often very personal artistic interventions, afforded the capacity to engage the audience and inspire their sense of empathy and rapport, demonstrating the potential for developing mutual understanding and intercultural dialogue. The experiences of linguistic xenophobia, imposing practices, and unquestioned, normative approaches to Icelandic language acquisition were shared by a large part of the audience, mobilising a sense of community. This was additionally strengthened by the occasionally occurring laughter and playfulness of some of the performances. Besides making the event enjoyable and captivating, it created bonds within the group of Icelandic and foreign origin participants. Moreover, self-reflecting jokes about incidents of misunderstandings allowed to distance oneself to experienced discrimination, transferring humour into a nonviolent form of resistance. Recent work on counterspaces has highlighted the importance of playful interactions, and of employing humour and laughter as a peaceful fight against oppression (Cruz et al., 2021). Likewise, Anne Pomerantz and Nancy Bell (2011) argued that humour can serve as a safe house for language students and constitute 'a rich resource for the construction of spaces in which students can [..] critique institutional/instructional norms, and engage in more complex and creative acts of language use' (p. 149).

Hence, the artistic inquiry became a means to connect people across nationalities and languages and assemble temporary spaces of resistance to combat linguistic hostility and ethnolinguistic nationalism in Iceland. It raised questions – even if occasionally uncomfortable for the native majority – about the status and future role of the Icelandic language in an increasingly multicultural society. The event worked towards destabilising the entrenched position of national languages,

often constructed as a static linguistic object (and part of national heritage), independent of the speaking community as has been already abundantly debated among sociolinguists who emphasise approaches to languages as appropriated by its speakers (García, 2017; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). By problematising the hegemony of Icelandic, the event opened for a more plural mode of communication and advocated acknowledgement and embrace of emerging multilingual spaces and fluid forms of linguistic practice. By inviting foreign-born writers, the organisers contributed to breaking away from the monolingual paradigm of Icelandic literature, supporting their struggle to receive adequate professional recognition (Hoffmann et al., 2020; cf. Yildiz, 2013). Moreover, the discussion undertaken by the event unsettles institutionalised formal language education in Iceland, often perceived as unsatisfactory by students (Hoffmann et al., 2021). Yet, we are aware that despite the potential for bringing marginalised voices to the ongoing debate in Iceland, the art-based participatory project may have limited public resonance and visibility (Harvey, 2018). However, in spite of spatial and social limitations of art to reach a broader audience and have a substantial effect on policy makers, it still has empowering capacity and facilitate intercultural encounters and communication.

With the intensive migration to Iceland in recent years and rapidly growing migrant population, the Reykjavik City Library intends to establish a democratic platform that connects diverse groups of citizens. The event discussed in this article is an example of an activity implemented by the Library in accordance with its current policy to co-create social space with users on their own terms (Reykjavík City Library's Policy 2021–2024, n.d, p. 3). While indisputably the Library – a state run institution – was the host of the event, the approach and method were negotiated earlier between Dögg and Ewa, who represented the independent multilingual literary collective Ós Pressan. They posed questions (introduced at the very beginning of the article) to engage artists and the audience, but did not impose, predict, or project the responses. Each artist had freedom to decide the format and content of their performances, which in a sense, entrusted them with the power as hosts. Therefore, we suggest that the event emerged as a form of enacting hospitality, as conceptualised by Lou Harvey (2018), creating conditions for encounter and dialogue across ethnic and linguistic differences.

Conclusion

The article discussed how an art-based participatory event – which focused on the emotions and intimate engagement with language acquisition by adult migrants – can serve as a tool to open inclusive public space for intercultural dialogue. While learning the host country's language can clearly contribute to migrants' inclusion, we wish to recognise and acknowledge that there are multiple ways to participate in society, especially in the context of increasing ethnic and linguistic diversity. Many contemporary migrants pursue transnational lives stretched between different localities, continuing their social embeddedness in communities from where they originate. Taken together, these factors challenge the assumed indispensability of host country languages for the mobile subject. Moreover, immigrants' integration, including linguistic acquisition cannot be discussed apart from the larger social context and inherent inequalities produced by the current economic relations and transnational labour market, where language ideologies tend to be employed as one of the controlling mechanisms.

Notes

1. By 'foreign-born,' we mean persons that were born outside Iceland and without any Icelandic background, although we are aware that referring to individuals/artists as 'foreign' may be polarizing and reproduce social boundaries.
2. The term 'foreign' implies something alien, strange and not belonging, hence it can be both normative and arbitrary. When talking about 'foreign influences' on the Icelandic language, we mean these linguistic

practices that are typically recognized as non-standard Icelandic. The same applies to the expression 'foreign accent,' used later in this article.
3. Our emphasis is in bold.
4. See: https://borgarbokasafn.is/en/get-know-our-participatory-projects
5. We refer to the texts as they were performed and shared with us by the artists after the event. None of them were published so far, except: the shorter version of Elena Ilkova essay was published recently in Ós Pressan Journal, 5/2021; poems presented by Ewa Marcinek translated into Icelandic were included in Tímarit Máls og Menningar, 3/2016 and will come out in English in Ós Pressan Journal, 6/2022.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This article is part of the output from the project Inclusive Societies: The Integration of Immigrants in Iceland, financed by Rannís – Icelandic Research Fund [grant number 184903-051]. The work was also supported by the Reykjavik City Library and the Mobilities and Transnational Iceland project of excellence.

Notes on contributors

Anna Wojtyńska is a postdoctoral researcher at School of Social Sciences, University of Iceland. She holds a master degree from Warsaw University and doctoral degree from University of Iceland. Her research focus is on Polish migrants in Iceland with emphasis on migrants' transnational practices and their participation in the labour market. She is currently working on two projects: 'Inclusive societies?' and 'How integration looks like in rural locations?'

Lara Wilhelmine Hoffmann is a PhD student at the Unversity of Akureyri in the research project 'Inclusive Societies? The Integration of Immigrants in Iceland'. Her work concentrates around the participation of immigrants in Iceland, focusing especially on languages, media use, and the arts. She holds an MA in Art Studies from the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. She is also active in the field of art and literature, e.g. as an editorial board member of the publishing collective 'Ós Pressan.'

Dögg Sigmarsdóttir is a project manager for civic participation at the Reykjavik City Library. She holds a MA in political philosophy and law. The focus of her projects is on citizenship practice, participative methods, inclusion and migration.

Ewa Marcinek is educated in culture studies, creative writing and visual art, passionate about words and stories. One of the founding authors of Ós Pressan, a non-profit publishing group and writing collective. A poet at The Poetry Brothel Reykjavik. A creative writing teacher in various community projects. A writer and theatre producer at Rekjavík Ensemble.

ORCID

Anna Wojtyńska http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4840-0540
Lara Hoffmann http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5066-0902

References

Aden, J., & Eschenauer, S. (2020). Translanguaging: An enactive-performative approach to language education. In E. Moore, J. Bradley, & J. Simpson (Eds.), *Translanguaging as transformation. The collaborative construction of new linguistic realities* (pp. 102–117). Multilingual Matters.

Ahmed, S. (2010). Happy object. In M. Gregg & G. J. Seigworth (Eds.), *The affect Theory reader* (pp. 29–51). Duke University Press.

Bade, S. (2019). Evaluations of foreign accent in a purist speech community. In J.-A. Villena-Ponsoda, F. Diaz-Montesinos, A.-M. Avila-Munoz, & M. V. Castro (Eds.), *Language variation-European perspectives VII: Selected papers from the Ninth International Conference on Language Variation in Europe* (pp. 53–70). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Harvard University Press.

Bradley, J., Moore, E., & Simpson, J. (2020). Introduction. In E. Moore, J. Bradley, & J. Simpson (Eds.), *Translanguaging as transformation. The collaborative construction of new linguistic realities* (pp. 102–117). Multilingual Matters.

Bradley, J., Moore, E., Simpson, J., & Atkinson, L. (2018). Translanguaging spaces and creative activity: Theorising collaborative art-based learning. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *18*(1), 54–73. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2017.1401120

Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (2001). A model of destination-language acquisition: Application to male immigrants in Canada. *Demography*, *38*(3), 391–409. https://doi.org/10.1353/dem.2001.0025

Clarke, M., & Hennig, B. (2013). Motivation as ethical self-formation. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, *45*(1), 77–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2012.715386

Cruz, E. P., Sriwattanakomen, N., Hammer, J., & Kaufman, G. (2021). Counterspace games for BIWOC stem students. *Extended Abstracts of the 2021 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, *453*, 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1145/3411763.3451811

Damery, S., & Mescoli, E. (2019). Harnessing visibility and invisibility through arts practices: Ethnographic case studies with migrant performers in Belgium. *Arts*, *8*(2), 49. https://doi.org/10.3390/arts8020049

Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review*, *85*(2), 149–171. https://doi.org/10.17763/0017-8055.85.2.149

García, O. (2017). Problematizing linguistic integration of migrants: The role of translanguaging and language teachers. In J. C. Beacco, H. J. Krumm, D. Little, & P. Thalgott (Eds.), *The linguistic integration of adult migrants* (pp. 11–26). Walter de Gruyter.

Harvey, L. (2018). Adapting intercultural research for performance: Enacting hospitality in interdisciplinary collaboration and public engagement. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, *17*(4), 371–387. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022217722338

Hálfdanarson, G. (2005). From linguistic patriotism to cultural nationalism: Language and identity in Iceland. In A. K. Isaacs (Ed.), *Languages and identities in historical perspective* (pp. 55–67). Edizioni Plus.

Hálfdánarson, G. (2001). *Íslenska þjóðríkið: Uppruni og endamörk*. Hið Íslenska bókmenntafélag & Reykjavíkur Akademian.

Hershokovitz, L. (1993). Tiananmen square and the politics of place. *Political Geography*, *12*(5), 395–420. https://doi.org/10.1016/0962-6298(93)90010-5

Hilmarsson-Dunn, A. (2006). Protectionist language policies in the face of the forces of English: The case of Iceland. *Language Policy*, *5*(3), 295–314. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-006-9027-2

Hilmarsson-Dunn, A., & Kristinsson, A. P. (2010). The language situation in Iceland. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *11*(3), 207–276. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2010.538008

Hoffmann, L., Innes, P., Wojtyńska, A., & Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2021). Adult immigrants' perspectives on courses in Icelandic as a second language: Structure, content, and inclusion in the receiving society. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2021.1988855

Hoffmann, L., Rawlings, A., & Stebbins, R. (2020). Multilingual writing in Iceland: The reception of Ós Pressan and its members nationally and internationally. *Milli Mála*, *12*, 191–220. https://doi.org/10.33112/millimala.12.7

Innes, P., & Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2017). Icelandic for adult foreigners: Effects of imposing an Icelandic language test. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *18*(1), 68–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2016.1168689

Íslensk málnefnd [Icelandic Language Committee]. (2018). *Ályktun um stöðu íslenskrar tungu*. http://www.islenskan.is/images/Alyktanir-pdf/Alyktun-IM-2018.pdf

Íslensk málnefnd [Icelandic Language Committee]. (2020). *Ályktun um stöðu íslenskrar tungu*. https://islenskan.is/images/Alyktanir-pdf/alyktun2020.pdf

Jeffery, L., Palladino, M., Rotter, R., & Woolley, A. (2019). Creative engagement with migration. *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture*, *10*(1), 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1386/cjmc.10.1.3_1

Kramsch, C. (2009). *The multilingual subject*. Oxford University Press.

Krumm, H. J. (2013). Multilingualism and identity: What linguistic biographies of migrants can tell us. In P. Siemund, I. Gogolin, M. E. Schulz, & J. Davydova (Eds.), *Multilingualism and language diversity in urban areas: Acquisition, identities, space, education* (pp. 165–176). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Leavy, P. (2015). *Method meets art: Arts-based research practice*. Guilford Publications.

Leonard, S. P., & Árnason, K. (2011). Language ideology and standardisation in Iceland. In K. Tore & N. Coupland (Eds.), *Standard languages and language standards in a changing Europe* (pp. 91–96). Novus Press.

Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (2007). *Disinventing and reconstituting languages. Bilingual education and Bilingualism 62 (Series)*. Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Menntamálaráðuneyti [Ministry of Education]. (2008). Íslenska til alls: Tillögur Íslenskrar málnefndar að íslenskri málstefnu. https://islenskan.is/images/Islenska_til_alls.pdf

Ministry of Social Affairs. (2007). *Government policy on the integration of immigrants*. http://www.velferdarraduneyti.is/media/acrobat-enskar_sidur/stefna_integration_of_immigrants.pdf

Otte, H. (2019). Bonding or bridging? On art participation and social cohesion in a rural region of the Netherlands. *Poetics*, *76*, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2019.02.006

Pálsson, G. (1989). Language and society: The ethnolinguistics of Icelanders. In E. P. Durrenberger & G. Pálsson (Eds.), *The anthropology of Iceland* (pp. 121–175). The University of Iowa Press.
Phipps, A. (2013). Unmoored: Language pain, porosity, and poisonwood. *Critical Multilingualism Studies*, *1*(2), 96–118.
Pomerantz, A., & Bell, N. D. (2011). Humor as safe house in the foreign language classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, *95*, 148–161. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01274.x
Reykjavík City Library's Policy 2021-2024. (n.d.). *Open space for all*. https://borgarbokasafn.is/sites/default/files/files/page/english_stefna2021-24_vefur-minni.pdf
Rögnvaldsson, E. (2016). Um utanaðkomandi aðstæður íslenskrar málþróunar. *Skírnir*, 17–31. https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11815/2015
Sevinç, Y., & Dewaele, J. M. (2018). Heritage language anxiety and majority language anxiety among Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, *22*(2), 159–179. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006916661635
Sigmarsdóttir, D. (2020). The exploration process. In D. Sigmarsdóttir & H. Gromny (Eds.), *Inclusive public spaces* (pp. 11–13). Reykjavík City Library/Culture House.
Sigurðsson, G. (1996). Icelandic national identity: From romanticism to tourism. In P. J. Anttonen (Ed.), *Making Europe in Nordic contexts* (pp. 41–76). Nordic Institute of Folklore.
Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2007). Ólíkar raddir. Afstaða innflytjenda til íslenskrar tungu. *Ritið*, *7*(1), 47–63.
Skaptadóttir, U. D., & Innes, P. (2017). Immigrant experiences of learning Icelandic and connecting with the speaking community. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *7*(1), 20–27. https://doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2017-0001
Statistics Iceland. (2020). *Population born abroad by background, sex, age and country of origin 1996–2020*.
Þórarinsdóttir, H. (2010). Íslenskutrúboðið. Er málleg þjóðernishyggja veraldleg trúarbrögð á Íslandi? *Glíman*, *7*, 169–199.
Þórarinsdóttir, H. (2011). The use of English in Iceland: Convenience or a cultural threat? A Lingua Franca or Lingua detrimental? In S. R. Ísleifsson (Ed.), *Iceland and images of the north* (pp. 373–404). Presses de l'Université du Québec.
Wodak, R., & Boukala, S. (2015). European identities and the revival of nationalism in the European Union: A discourse historical approach. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *14*(1), 87–109. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.14.1.05wod
Wojtyńska, A., & Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2021a). Reproduction of marginality: The labour market position of unemployed foreign citizens during economic recession in Iceland. *Migration Studies*, *9*(3), 702–720. https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnz037
Wojtyńska, A., & Skaptadóttir, U. D. (2021b). Im)mobility patterns among Polish unemployed migrants in Iceland navigating different welfare regimes. In O. Ryndyk, B. Suter, & G. Odden (Eds.), *Migration to and from welfare states: Lived experiences of the welfare-migration nexus in a globalized world* (pp. 161–176). Springer.
Yildiz, Y. (2013). *Beyond the mother tongue: The post monolingual condition*. Fordham University Press.

Attachments

Inclusive Societies? Questionnaire

Iceland has seen its foreign population double over the past two decades. In order to be able to assess and, if necessary, to improve the situation of immigrants living in Iceland, we need to have a good overview of their situation, and that is why we are conducting this survey. The survey is done by a small research group from the University of Akureyri, in collaboration with the University of Iceland and international partners. You are not obliged in any way to participate in this survey. We encourage you to answer all questions. However, if you feel you are not able to answer a particular question, just skip it. The survey is strictly anonymous and we ask you not to write your name on the questionnaire or in any other way to let the answers identify yourself. We estimate that it should not take you more than 15 minutes to go through the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your participation.
Q1 What is your gender?
Male
Female
Q2 How old are you?
67 years or older
41-66 years
26-40 years
18-25 years
Q3 What is the postcode where you currently live?
Please write the number. If you do not know the postcode, please indicate the name of the town in which you live.
Q4 Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination?
Yes – Then ask Q5
No – Then skip to Q6
Q5 Which one?
Roman Catholic
Protestant
Orthodox
Other Christian denomination
Jewish

Islam
Buddhism
Hinduism
Other
Q6 In what geographical region were you born?
Western Europe, Nordic countries or Northern America
Central or Eastern Europe
Asia
Africa
Central America
South America
Other
Q7 How long have you lived in… Mark one for each line.
Q7a Iceland?
Q7b The municipality where you live now?
I have never lived elsewhere
Less than one year
1-2 years
3-5 years
6-10 years
11-20 years
More than 20 years
Q8 How long do you intend to stay in… Mark one for each line.
Q8a Iceland?
Q8b The municipality where you live now?
Less than one year
1-2 years
3-5 years
6-10 years
11-20 years
More than 20 years
Q9 Have you experienced any of the following incidents in Iceland? Mark one item in each line.
Q9a People have made fun of my accent
Q9b I have been treated in an unfriendly manner in a shop or supermarket
I have not been hired for a job because of my background
I have been paid less than my Icelandic co-workers for the same kind of work
Very Frequently

Frequently
Occasionally
Rarely
Very Rarely
Never
Q10 In your opinion is the public discussion in Iceland about immigrants
Too positive
Somehow too positive
Neither nor
Somehow negative
Too negative
Q11 How much trust do you have in the following institutions in Iceland? Mark one item in each line.
The police
Parliament (Alþingi)
Job centres (The directorate of labour or “Vinnumálastofnun”)
The labour unions
Schools in Iceland
The health care system
A lot of trust
Rather much trust
Neither much nor little trust
Very little trust
No trust at all
Q12 Have any children related to you attended Icelandic schools?
Yes – Then ask Q13
No – Then skip to Q14
Q13 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Icelandic schools? Mark one item in each line.
Students should get more homework
Students should get more teaching in arts and crafts
Students should get more teaching in maths and science
Students of foreign origin should get more support in learning Icelandic
Students get enough support from the school
Strongly agree
Somewhat agree
Somewhat disagree
Strongly disagree
Things are good as they are

Q14 Do you agree or disagree that an Icelandic matriculation exam (stúdentspróf) is a good preparation for studying at university?
Agree strongly
Somewhat agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Somewhat disagree
Disagree strongly
Do not know
Do not wish to answer
Q15 How satisfied would you be if your children would aim for the following in the future Mark one item in each line.
Q15a To complete a university education
Q15b To learn a trade (e.g. carpenter, electrician, hairdresser)
Very satisfied
Rather satisfied
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
Rather dissatisfied
Very dissatisfied
Q16 How satisfied are you with the following where you live? Mark one item in each line.
Q16a Your employment opportunities
Q16b Access to language courses
Q16c Access to cultural activities
Q16d Access to sports and recreational activities
Q16e Access to religious services
Q16f Access to health services
Very satisfied
Rather satisfied
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
Rather dissatisfied
Very dissatisfied
Q17 What are the main reasons you came to Iceland? (You can select up to three in order of importance).
My Icelandic partner
My non-Icelandic partner
My family
I came as a refugee
Because of Work
I am studying in Iceland

Because of Icelandic nature
Because of the health-care system
Because of the education system
Because I like the remoteness and the peaceful way of life
Because of safety and security
Other reason
Q18 And what would you say are the main reasons you are staying in Iceland? (You can select up to three in order of importance).
My Icelandic partner
My non-Icelandic partner
My family
I came as a refugee
Because of Work
I am studying in Iceland
Because of Icelandic nature
Because of the health-care system
Because of the education system
Because I like the remoteness and the peaceful way of life
Because of safety and security
Other reason
Q19 Do you know the occupation of the following people? Mark one item in each line.
Q19a Katrín Jakobsdóttir
Q19b Björk Guðmundsdóttir
Q19c Guðni Th. Jóhannesson
Q19d Halldór Laxness
Q19e Gylfi Sigurðsson
Q19f Páll Óskar Hjálmtýsson
Never heard of him/her
I have heard of him/her but I don't know what he/she does
I know who he/she is and what he/she does
Q20 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about immigrants who come to live in your municipality? Mark one item in each line
Q20a Immigrants moving to our municipality have to learn Icelandic
Q20b Immigrants moving to our municipality have to take up local customs and values
Q20c Immigrants should talk Icelandic to their children
Q20d Immigrants moving to our municipality have made a positive impact
Agree strongly
Somewhat agree

Neither agree nor disagree
Somewhat disagree
Disagree strongly
Q21 How likely or unlikely is it that you would use Icelandic for the following? Mark one item in each line.
Q21a Shopping
Q21b Informal conversation with friends
Q21c Discussing matters at work
Q21d When visiting a doctor
Q21e When I'm at home with my family
Very unlikely
Rather unlikely
Neither likely nor unlikely
Rather likely
Very likely
Q22 How many Icelandic courses (if any) have you taken? Please write the number.
Q23 If you have taken Icelandic courses, how satisfied were you overall with them?
Very dissatisfied
Rather dissatisfied
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
Rather Satisfied
Very satisfied
I have not taken any Icelandic courses
Q24 What is your approximate total income per month on average before tax?
Less than 200.000 ISK
200.000–399.000 ISK
400.000–599.000 ISK
600.000–899.000 ISK
900.000–1.199.000 ISK
Q25 What is your highest educational level achieved?
Primary school
Vocational training (e.g carpenter, electrician, coo, etc.)
Matriculation exam (which would allow you to go to university)
University degree
Other
Don't know
Q26 Are you currently employed or not?
I work full time – Then answer Q27

I work part time – Then answer Q27
I am not working – Then skip to Q29
I am on parental leave – Then skip to Q29
Q27 What type of work do you do?
In the fishing industry
In construction
In cleaning
In tourism
In health care
In education
Other
Q28 Could you please indicate how well your qualifications fit with the kind of work you do?
My qualifications fit very well with the kind of work I do
My qualifications fit rather well with the kind of work I do
My qualifications fit rather poorly with the kind of work I do
My qualifications fit very poorly with the kind of work I do
I don't know
Q29 Do any of the following live in your household? Mark one item in each line.
My Icelandic partner or spouse
My foreign partner or spouse
Children under the age of 18
Parent(s)
Others
No
Yes
Q30 How would you describe your proficiency in using the following languages? Mark one item in each line.
Q30a Icelandic
Q30b English
Q30c Another language
Don't speak it
Rather poor
Neither poor nor good
Rather good
Fluent
Q31 In your household, who usually takes care of the following? Mark one item in each line.

Q31a Cooking
Q31b Cleaning
Q31c Laundry
Q31d Family finances
Q31e Looking after children
Q31f Small household repairs
Only me
More me
Me and my partner equally
More my partner
Only my partner
Does not apply
Q32 How strongly do you agree or disagree to the following statements? Mark one for each statement.
Q32a Men should be prepared to cut down on their paid work for the sake of his family
Q32b Both parents should share the parental leave equally
Q32c Family ought to be a person's main priority in life
Q32d Mothers alone should be allowed to take the whole 9 months of parental leave provided by the state (without sharing it with fathers)
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly
Q33 Have you participated in any of the following elections in Iceland? Mark one item in each line.
Q33a The municipal elections of May 2018
Q33b The parliamentary elections of October 2017
Yes
No
Did not have the right to vote
Did not know there were elections
Did not know I could vote in this election
Q34 Are you an active member of any of the following clubs, organisations or associations? Mark all that apply
No, I am not an active member of any clubs, organisations or associations
A sports club (íþróttafélag)
A youth association (ungmennafélag)
A choir

A women's club (kvenfélag)
A search- and rescue team (björgunarsveit)
A red-cross association
A service organisation or club (e.g. Kiwanis, Rotary)
A political party (stjórnnmálaflokkur)
Another club/organisation/association and it is…
Q35 How often do you follow news or current affairs programmes in… Mark one item in each line.
Q35a Icelandic media
Q35b The media of your country of origin?
Every day or almost every day
Once or twice a week
Once or twice every two weeks
Once a month
Never or almost never
Q36 My use of use social media, (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat or other) is best described by saying…
I either post or check it more than 5 times a day
I either post or check it once or twice a day
I post or check it every other day
I post or check it once a week or less
I don't use or hardly ever use social media
Q37 When you use social media, how often do you follow or communicate with the following types of people? Mark one item in each line.
Q37a People from my home country
Q37b People from my own country that live in Iceland
Q37c Immigrants from different countries that live in Iceland
Q37d Icelanders and other people I have met in Iceland
Every day or almost every day
Once or twice a week
Once or twice every two weeks
Once a month
Never or almost never
Q38 Have you ever … Mark one item in each line.
Q38a Invited Icelandic friends to your home?
Q38b Been invited by Icelandic friends to their home?
Never
Once or twice

A few times
Many times
Q39 On the whole, how satisfied are you with living in your municipality?
Very dissatisfied
Rather dissatisfied
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
Rather Satisfied
Very satisfied
Thank you very much for your participation in this survey.

Interview guide

First of all, thank you for taking part in this interview!

[mention that the interview will be recorded]

Tell me a about yourself and your story with the Icelandic language.

Q1 Have you attended any form of formal Icelandic education? Courses? University?

Q2 Which courses have you attended and how many?

Q3 Where in Iceland did you attend these courses?

Q4 Why did you attend Icelandic courses?

Q5 Why did you chose this particular course?

Q6 Would you say you were generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the course you attended?

Q7 Which aspects did you find good?

Q8 Which aspects could have been improved?

Q9 Can you tell me about the teachers of the course, like whether they seemed to be educated in language teaching? Was their teaching strategy effective for you - why or why not?

Q10 What are your thoughts about the teaching material?

Q11 What are your thoughts about class time was used and the activities undertaken in the classes?

Q12 What are your thoughts about how you received feedback and evaluation on your exercises and class work?"

Q13 When you think back to the courses you attended, how would you describe your feelings and thoughts in these courses? (Did you sometimes feel stressed? Did you sometimes feel bored? Were you sometimes excited to attend? Did you sometimes enjoy being in class?)

Q14 Are you satisfied with the availability of courses in Iceland?

Q15 What are your thoughts on the number and range of skills/preparedness of the students? Or maybe you're asking about how much of the information was new and how much was review of previous class levels? How would you describe the group of students?

Q16 What are your thoughts about the costs of courses? (Do you want to share how you financed these courses?)

Q17 Do you feel that the course helped you to enter Icelandic society/ feel included in Icelandic society.

Q18 Do you feel that the courses have improved your employment opportunities in Iceland?

Q19 Do you feel that the courses have helped you to make friends?

Q20 Have you acquired information about Icelandic society through attending Icelandic courses?

Q21 How would you describe your level of Icelandic?

Q22 How frequently do you use Icelandic?