



LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN THE ENGLISH CLASSROOM IN FINLAND



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Abstract

English: This study takes a superficial look at English as it is taught to the linguistically diverse classroom and how linguistically diverse students are supported and their language repertoires utilized. This is done by interviewing an English teacher who teaches in an International Baccalaureate school and by comparing the results to the author's previous studies on the subject. The previous studies take place in a mainstream Finnish school and in another International Baccalaureate school, and were conducted by observation and supplemented with informal discussions with the teachers. Comparing a mainstream Finnish school and IB schools allows for a more comprehensive understanding of effective teaching practices and those needing further development. The findings indicate a need for the improvement of the national core curriculum to take linguistically diverse students into account, and of teaching materials.

Finnish: Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan englannin opetusta monikieliselle luokalle ja sitä, miten monikielisiä oppilaita tuetaan ja heidän kieliosaamistaan hyödynnetään. Tutkimus suoritettiin haastattelemalla International Baccalaureate-linjalla opettavaa englannin opettajaa ja vertailemalla tuloksia edellisiin tutkimuksiin. Edelliset tutkimukset suoritettiin suomenkielisessä peruskoulussa sekä International Baccalaureate-koulussa ja niissä käytettiin luokkahuoneen havainnointia ja keskustelua opettajien kanssa tutkimusmetodeina. Vertailemalla suomenkielistä koulua ja International Baccalaureate-koulua saadaan kokonaisvaltainen kuva toimivista ja kehittämistä vaativista opetuskäytännöistä. Tulokset osoittavat, että perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet vaativat täydennystä ja parantamista ottaakseen huomioon monikieliset oppilaat, ja että opetusmateriaaleissa on parantamisen varaa.

Keywords: English language teaching, linguistic diversity, foreign language education, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), code-switching, translanguaging

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1 Introduction

Everyone has the right to equal education in Finland. There are close to 40,000 new immigrants arriving in Finland every year (European Migration Network, Finnish Immigration Service, 2021). With the increase of immigration to Finland, there has naturally been an increase in linguistically diverse students in basic education. In 2006, there were 11,013 students studying native languages other than Finnish, Swedish, or sign language in Finnish basic education (Finnish National Board of Education, 2006). By 2020 the figure had doubled to 22,041 students (Finnish National Board of Education, 2021). However, less than half of linguistically diverse students study their own native languages (Finnish National Board of Education, 2017b, p. 31), which means that the number of linguistically diverse students is much higher. While immigration is a relatively new phenomenon in Finland, multilingualism is not. Finland has a long history of Finnish-Swedish bilingualism, as well as speakers of Russian and Estonian, for example. The languages taught the most as native languages in 2020 include Russian, Arabic, Somalian, Estonian, and English (Finnish National Board of Education, 2021). In addition, there are many Finns who do not fit the definition of an immigrant but who speak more than one language at home or who have been expatriates and have returned to Finland. Of second-generation immigrants, people with at least one immigrant parent, 40% have Finnish or Swedish as their official native language. The Finnish system does not allow people to report more than one native language (Finnish National Board of Education, 2017b, pp. 11–12). With the prevalence of linguistic diversity growing, it is increasingly relevant and important to consider how to design and execute educational practices in a way that is fair to every student, regardless of their linguistic background.

In this thesis, I perform a thematic analysis on an interview with the intention to study how English is taught to linguistically diverse classrooms in secondary school (grades 7–9; ages 12–16). This interview is of a teacher who teaches English according to the Middle Years Programme (MYP) curriculum in an International Baccalaureate (IB) school, which uses English as its main language of education. A thematic analysis consists of coding subjects that come up most or that have the most weight in the interview and assigning them as themes or sub-themes in order to gain a fuller understanding of them. In the discussion portion, I compare the results to my previous studies conducted in two sixth-grade mainstream classrooms in a Finnish-speaking school (Mamane, 2017) and in another English-speaking IB secondary school (Mamane, 2019). Both of these previous studies were conducted by observing English-language classes and having informal discussions with the teachers, while the current study involves a more in-depth interview of the teacher. In all of these studies, the goal has been to examine how students' existing English language skills and their

linguistic diversity are supported in English education, and whether their own native languages are used to enhance the teaching, as well as finding out if the students must be proficient in any other languages in order to effectively partake in the lessons. I consider how having linguistically diverse students has been taken into consideration in teaching and materials. By studying the practices and teaching in an IB school, I am able to compare the results with my findings from the mainstream Finnish school and discover the benefits and disadvantages of both types of schools and styles of education. While assessment, academic achievement, culture, and teacher training concerning linguistic diversity are also important factors to consider, they cannot be studied within the scope of this research and are therefore largely excluded, with only minimal discussion on assessment and teacher training.

Research questions related to this are whether Finnish is used in teaching and translation, whether there are any different language options offered to the students for completing and understanding exercises, what the resources of the teacher are, etc., and finally, what the Finnish National Board of Education sets as guidelines for teaching linguistically diverse students. I examine the current, 2014, national core curriculum and the requirements and suggestions set forth by the Finnish National Board of Education (2016a), with special attention paid to the guidelines set for teaching a linguistically diverse group of students, as well as those concerning teaching foreign languages. I compare the data to previous research on the subject, to the Finnish National Board of Education's suggestions and rules considering teaching plurilingual students, and to two of my own small-scale studies (Mamane, 2017, 2019). This study aims to collect information to further the improvement of English language education of linguistically diverse students.

I will begin this thesis by describing the research material I use to collect data. I will refer to the studies as IB school A (this study), IB school B (Mamane, 2019), and mainstream Finnish school (Mamane, 2017), the first two of which are international schools that use English as their main language of education and use the IB Middle Years Programme curriculum in addition to the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014 (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a) and any local curricula, and the last of which follows only a local curriculum and the national core curriculum, with education in Finnish. I will also give a brief overview of the most relevant terms used in the literature and in this thesis.

In the theoretical and methodological framework, I will provide a brief overview of the education system in Finland, particularly as it pertains to the education of multilingual students and particularly in the English classroom. This includes instructions and guidelines on teaching multilingual students, students of immigrant origins, language education, and support provided to

students with limited knowledge of Finnish. I will then further explore the existing research on the topic, first by examining studies on multilingual education that specifically take place in Finland, and then by discussing other studies that cover such subjects as language as a non-monolingual phenomenon, code-switching, multilingual education, and the assessment of multilingual students.

In the next section, I will present the results from the interview I conducted for this study and perform a thematic analysis of them. A thematic analysis allows for the most important subjects within the interview to be highlighted in order to further discuss and study them. The main themes emerging from the interview are language use, materials, and support. Within language use, I discuss the sub-themes of English varieties, including English as a native and second language and accents, curriculum used in the classes, and the use of Finnish and other languages. Materials, meanwhile, covers the sub-themes of textbooks, literature, grammar, and digital resources, while the theme of support includes individualization and in-class support, languages, and motivation.

In the discussion, I will then examine the results of the thematic analysis in relation to the previous studies and literature concerning the subject, particularly comparing the results to that of my previous research (Mamane, 2017, 2019). In order to better conceptualize the themes, I have divided the discussion into sections discussing language use, materials, and support, similar to how they are organized in the analysis.

Finally, I will discuss the findings in relation to the broader picture and further research that could be conducted on the subject, which includes areas surrounding assessment, teacher training, and culture.

2 Description of the Research Material and Methods

This study consists of a single in-depth interview as a qualitative thematic analysis. The interview is of an English teacher working in an International Baccalaureate school teaching the Middle Years Programme. While my previous research was conducted as ethnographic studies consisting of classroom observations and informal discussions with the teachers, an interview was chosen for this study due to the prevalent COVID-19 situation to gain a fuller understanding of classroom practices without misrepresentation due to the pandemic and associated circumstances and practices. While the pandemic is reflected in the teacher's comments, the teacher is able to identify the changes in practices and therefore provide a more comparable picture of the classroom situation to previous studies. Studying the practices in an International Baccalaureate school was chosen in order to compare the situation to my previous study (Mamane, 2017) and because an international school would have more linguistically diverse students, and therefore be more prepared to teach them.

The interview took place on a video conferencing platform and was recorded in order to avoid falsification caused by misremembering. The interview was conducted entirely in English, which means that no translation is necessary. The teacher's answers to the questions are lengthy and comprise of many subjects, with the questions only leading the replies. For this reason, personal judgement has been used to divide the answers into segments that correspond to specific themes or coding.

This study was conducted by taking a deductive approach to the thematic analysis of the data, the interview. This is a qualitative approach with the intention to discover a detailed account of the proceedings and practices involved in the teaching of English by a single teacher. The purpose of thematic analysis is to identify patterns, themes, in a data set. A deductive, or theoretical, approach to the analysis means that before performing the analysis, there was a pre-determined set of themes that was expected to be found in the interview, informed by personal experience and previous research into the subject. The personal experience involved in this particular study includes being a linguistically diverse student in mainstream Finnish schools myself as well as teaching and observing teacher training of English to linguistically diverse classrooms. Previous research includes both personal studies (Mamane, 2017, 2019) and reading other literature on the subject before conducting the interview. The questions for the interview were formulated and posed with these themes from the personal experience and previous research in mind. In addition, the themes have been identified semantically, by examining the themes that are explicitly stated. After a transcription of the interview was made, it was coded and divided into themes and sub-themes based on the frequency of mentions. However, while the frequency of the themes discussed was

counted and taken into account in the analysis, their weight or importance as relayed by the teacher was simultaneously heeded, as well as the relevance for the subject studied in this thesis. However, using an inductive method is not completely discounted, allowing for themes and sub-themes to be highlighted that were not expected to appear, such as the sub-theme of motivation in section 4.3 Support. The thematic analysis was performed using the guidelines presented by Braun and Clarke (2006).

In the discussion, the data is compared to the data from previous studies that I have conducted on teaching English to linguistically diverse students (Mamane, 2017 [mainstream Finnish school], 2019 [IB school B]), where a combination of observations and discussions were conducted to gather the data. Observation allows for insight into classroom situations without bias from the teacher or the students, while interviews and discussions allow for a deepened understanding of what goes on behind what can be visible in an everyday classroom setting.

Research questions that were considered for the interview and for the analysis and discussion include what languages have been utilized in the classroom and materials, what materials are used, the support linguistically diverse students receive, and how teaching reflects what the national curriculum dictates should be done when teaching linguistically diverse students. In addition, there is a superficial examination of teacher training concerning linguistically diverse students and assessment.

2.1 Ethics

Because the data used in this study involves underage children and the personal experience and career of an individual, there are certain ethical concerns to consider. To protect the anonymity of everyone involved, the names of students or teachers are not published. Neither students nor the teachers are described in any way that would make recognizing them possible. The students and teachers are described with gender-neutral pronouns to protect the privacy of the individuals and to avoid misgendering. The schools' names and any identifying characteristics are omitted.

The participant has been provided with a privacy notice concerning the processing of personal data in the project. A video recording has been made of the interview to ensure objectivity and avoid falsification by poor memory. This recording has been deleted upon the publishing of this research paper. The participant has been notified of the possibility to withdraw consent of the usage of their personal data and participation at any time. No personal data has been transferred to third parties.

All personal data collected is confidential. The participant has voluntarily given their consent to participate in the study and is aware of its purpose.

Although there has been an attempt to conduct the interview as objectively as possible, some subjectivity may be expected. The teacher's answers in their personal interview are also subjective, and do not represent the thoughts of the school or the author. Subjectivity may also be expected in the coding of the themes found in the interview and in their analysis. While there has been an attempt to include all relevant previous literature and a thorough analysis, the scope of this paper is not sufficient to provide an extensive overview of the realities of teaching linguistically diverse students, and should only be taken as a starting point or foundation for further research.

2.2 Key terms

Native language/mother tongue and monolingualism

In this study, "native language" is used to refer to a language that is learned from birth. While I do not use the term "mother tongue," it may be used interchangeably with "native language" in other literature referenced in this study. While "monolingualism" can mean only knowing one language, in this context, it is used to refer to someone who is native in only one language, as "true" monolingualism is rare if non-existent in Finland.

Multilingualism/plurilingualism and language minority students

Multilingual(ism) and plurilingual(ism) are used in this paper interchangeably, and mean being able to speak more than one language. Although Finnish students who have grown up with only Finnish used in the home can also be multilingual, they are referred to as native Finnish speakers, while students consistently exposed to more than one language growing up and in a non-school setting are referred to as multilingual, linguistically diverse, or as language minority students. This is because the native Finnish speakers are (most likely) not trying to learn another language for the purpose of using it as another native language or as a language to be used in daily life, while language minority students must know more than one language proficiently enough to use them in a variety of settings. Bilingualism traditionally refers to the use of two languages, but "in much of the specialized literature, [bilingual and multilingual education] are subsumed under the term bilingual education" (UNESCO, 2003, p. 17). The same applies to bilingualism and multilingualism in general.

According to the Finnish National Board of Education (2005, 2008), the defining features of an immigrant student are that the student has either moved to Finland or has been born in Finland to immigrant parents. As Dervin, Paatela-Nieminen, Kuoppala, and Riitaoja (2012) state, “A first look at the Finnish context suggests some kind of failure of multicultural education, especially as education policies on the multicultural relate exclusively to immigration and international cooperation” (p. 2). For the purposes of this paper, multicultural education as a term has its problems as well, as not all multilingual students are necessarily multicultural. Similarly, not all immigrant students are multilingual and vice versa. For this reason, I prefer to use the term multilingual, but it should be noted that the authors in the theoretical and methodological framework portion may use the terms *multilingual*, *plurilingual*, *bilingual*, *multicultural*, and *immigrant education* or *children of immigrants* interchangeably.

Translanguaging

The idea that language is not a clear-cut and distinct concept that ends at the border of a country has a few different names; namely, translanguaging and multilingualism. Language as a non-monolingual concept means that rather than language being monolingual, confined to only one language and set of structures, it is a moving, evolving concept, drawing from various different languages, accents, and situations, and varies according to the situation and social group a speaker is in. Translanguaging means “the ability of multilingual students to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system” (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 401). Translanguaging draws from the linguistic resources and structures of multiple languages. “In ‘translanguaging,’ the input (reading or listening) tends to be in one language, and the output (speaking or writing) in the other language, and this is systematically varied” (Baker, 2006, p. 297).

Code-switching

Code-switching occurs when a person uses more than one language in the same utterance or text. According to Corcoll López and González-Davies (2016), it is considered to be a bilingual language skill, utilized when two or more speakers share the same languages. This may be used when one language has a better word or phrase to describe something, or when the speakers call to mind a concept faster in one language over the other, for example: “Bilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life often require different languages” (Grosjean, 2010, p. 29).

EFL, ESL, L1, L2, and L3

All of the above terms refer to language learners. EFL means English as a Foreign Language, meaning studying or teaching English in a country where it is not an official or national language or as/to a person who is not native in English. English as a Second Language (ESL), meanwhile, is taught in countries where English is the official or national language, to students who are expected to speak it alongside their primary native language. L1, L2, and L3 all refer to the order in which languages are learned. L1 is a person's native language, the language learned from birth. L2 is the second language to be learned, which in Finland is often English, but can also be another language or the other national language (Finnish or Swedish). In students whose L1 is not Finnish or Swedish, the L2 must be one of the official national languages. L3 is the third language to be learned, often called a foreign language. In Finland, these languages are qualified as "native language" (äidinkieli), A-language (L2), B1-language (L3), and B2-language (L4, additional foreign language).

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

English as a Lingua Franca means viewing or teaching English as the de facto international language of communication. In much of the research concerning language teaching, English as a Lingua Franca refers to English being taught not from the point of view of native speakers in places such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, etc., but as an international language of communication.

3 Theoretical Framework

This section provides a selection of background history, guidelines for multilingual education in Finland, and previous studies conducted both in Finland and internationally in the fields of multilingual education, English education, code-switching, and translanguaging, etc. Because there have been a limited number of studies conducted about teaching linguistically diverse students in the English classroom in Finland specifically, the subject areas have been expanded to include studies conducted in other countries as well as studies conducted of English as a Second Language (ESL) students in countries where English is spoken as a native language.

3.1 Education in Finland

Children in Finland usually start their educational paths in preschool, attended by students aged 5–7. This is followed by compulsory basic education and voluntary additional education. The Finnish education system divides basic comprehensive education into two levels: primary and secondary education, with grades 1–6 (children ages 6–13) in primary education, and grades 7–9 (ages 12–16) in secondary education. Students may then choose to move on to upper secondary education (high school) or a vocational school. This study mainly focuses on secondary school education.

3.1.1 Curriculums

The national core curriculum, designed by the Finnish National Board of Education, sets regulations for schools to follow, but each municipality and individual school also makes their own personal curriculums to follow, based on the national curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 10). The current national core curriculum in use is the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014 (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a).

Schools and cities must respond to changes to the national core curriculum and adjust their own curriculums accordingly (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 11). In addition to the regulations set by the national core curriculum, a local curriculum takes into consideration the possibilities of a curriculum for preparatory instruction for basic education, a cultural education plan, etc., and is “adopted separately for education given in the Finnish, Swedish and Sámi languages and in other languages, where needed” (p. 10). The curriculum does not specify whether the instruction needs to be subject-based or integrative; this is at the discretion of the schools themselves (p. 10).

While the local curriculum for the school relevant to this study has been consulted, it is not referenced in order to maintain the privacy of the students and school involved. The school follows Finland's 2014 national core curriculum for basic education (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a), the International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme (IB MYP) curriculum, as well as a local curriculum. The IB schools in this study use English as their main language of instruction in all subject areas except other languages. Of the previous studies on the subject, in addition to any local curriculums, the mainstream school in Mamane (2017) uses only the national core curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a) and IB school B in Mamane (2019) uses both the national core curriculum and the International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme curriculum. Because this thesis considers education in Finland specifically and the IB curriculum must be applied within the parameters of the national curriculum, I will only examine the national core curriculum for basic education in this paper.

According to the national core curriculum, the purpose of setting regulations for basic education is to “ensure the equality and high quality of education and to create favourable conditions for the pupils’ growth, development and learning” (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 9). According to the Finnish Constitution and the Non-Discrimination Act, “nobody may be discriminated against on the basis of gender, age, ethnic or national origin, nationality, language, religion, belief, opinion, sexual orientation, health disability or other personal characteristics” (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 14).

3.1.2 Students of immigrant origins and multilingualism

Due to the brief history of immigration in Finland and the constantly changing immigration landscape, literature and guidelines on the subject of the education of children of immigrants become outdated very quickly. For example, it was not until the current, 2014, core curriculum that immigrant students were mentioned in the Finnish national core curriculum at all.

In the current National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014, students of varying cultures and backgrounds are considered more closely. According to the curriculum, basic education is based on a diverse Finnish cultural heritage, and it supports the construction of students’ own cultural identity and their growth into active participants in their own culture and community, as well as interest in other cultures (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 16). Although culture and globalisation are highlighted in the 2014 national core curriculum, students of immigrant origins are not specifically mentioned in it at all, and multilingual students have been given only a half a page mention (pp. 87–88). The following passage gives an example as to how the instruction needs to

take the multilingual students into consideration: “In the instruction of other plurilingual pupils, the particular goal is supporting the pupils’ plurilingualism and the development of their identity and self-confidence. . . . The pupils’ backgrounds and initial situations, including their mother tongue and culture and the length of their stay in Finland, are taken into account in the instruction” (p. 91). This can easily be applied to English language education, as the instruction already focuses on language and culture. Multilingual students are not mentioned specifically in the objectives of instruction of English, but much of what is mentioned earlier in the national core curriculum applies here, as well. In addition to applying to just multilingual students, the curriculum urges promoting bilingualism and multilingualism to all of the students and to broaden students’ understanding and appreciation of cultures and languages, in order to raise the linguistic awareness and the metalinguistic skills of the students (p. 90).

The curriculum states that using the students’ own native languages supports the students’ learning, as it makes the content of the subjects clearer and lets them discuss the contents in their own native languages (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, pp. 91–92). Students and their parents are encouraged to use their own languages in education, such as in multilingual teaching situations: “School work may include multilingual teaching situations where the teachers and pupils use all languages they know. The knowledge that the pupils and their guardians and communities have of the nature, ways of living, history, languages and cultures in their own linguistic and cultural areas are drawn upon in the instruction” (p. 90). The national core curriculum specifies that “teaching and learning support the plurilingualism of pupils by utilising all languages, including those used by pupils in their leisure time” (p. 307).

In a pamphlet about the role of students’ native languages, the Finnish National Board of Education (2016b) states that multilingual children have a broader understanding of languages than monolingual children, and that being multilingual benefits the developing brain. Benefits of being multilingual include being more adaptable, the improved ability to separate essential information from non-essential information, and being more aware of their knowledge. Languages can be mixed and alternated depending on the situation and community. Multilingual students are encouraged to use the languages in their repertoires in different subject areas (p. 4).

Most recently, the National Board of Education has published a report into foreign-language students (students whose native language is not Finnish, Swedish, or Sámi) in basic and secondary education in the 2010s (Finnish National Board of Education, 2017b). According to the report, 5.7% of all students in basic education speak a foreign language as their native language. Important to

note is that this number does not account for students with more than one native language whose official native language is listed as Finnish, Swedish, or Sámi.

3.1.3 English education regulations

The National Board of Education (2016a) sets rules and guidelines for the English curriculum in both primary school (grades 1–6) and in secondary school (grades 7–9). This section only covers the portion for secondary school, as that is what is studied in this thesis.

The current national curriculum in use, the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014, cites the Basic Education Act when referring to the language of instruction, which it says must either be Finnish or Swedish. However, it makes no reference to language studies having to be taught using a national language. The curriculum points out that “instruction may be given in another language, provided that this does not risk the achievement of the objectives set out in the core curriculum,” (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 90). This suggests that teaching can take place in other national languages such as Sámi or Finnish Sign Language, or in other languages, such as English.

Students in basic education choose an A1 (advanced) language and a B1 (intermediate) language to study. One of these languages is the second national language (Finnish or Swedish) in addition to the one they are studying as their native language. Often the choice of which language to study is automatically determined by the choices the students’ schools offer. Students often start studying their A1 language, which in mainstream schools is most commonly English, in the 1st grade, and continue until their final year of basic education. The B1 language is most commonly Swedish in Finnish-speaking areas, but can also be Finnish or another language, depending on where the students live and what languages they have studied as their A1 language. The national core curriculum only describes an A language syllabus for English, as it is rare that English is studied as a B1 language. If there is a need to study English as the B1 language, the syllabus is made locally instead of nationally.

The national core curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a) emphasizes that English is the language of global communication. It states that “the pupils construct their perception of the multilingualism and parallel use of languages in the world as well as linguistic rights. They also study the development of English as a lingua franca. . . . The pupils acquire information about some varieties of English” (p. 376). According to the curriculum, students are “provided with opportunities for practising international communication” (p. 377). This would signal that the students are directed at international channels to practice their English and encouraged to seek them

out on their own. English seems to be promoted as a language of international communication, a lingua franca, rather than as a foreign language, despite it being listed under the heading “Foreign languages” in the curriculum. Language learning “provides material for the formation and appreciation of a plurilingual and multicultural identity” (p. 374). The curriculum states that in order to achieve the objectives of plurilingual education, cooperation between teachers is needed (p. 377). This indicates that plurilingualism takes place between subjects, not within one subject, such as English.

According to Kalliokoski et al. (2015), rather than focus on grammar, the new 2014 core curriculum emphasizes language awareness. This means awareness of the structures, meanings, variation, usage, and norms of language, as well as the relationship language has with cultures, identities, and other languages. Central to teaching language awareness, the authors state, is teaching that language is varied and situationally tied; we must avoid thinking about a “good,” “correct,” and “pure” language; instead, the most important criteria to consider in making linguistic choices is how suitable they are for the situation, user, and objective (p. 40). In foreign languages, most challenging for student understanding are foreign words or phrases, rather than grammatical structures, the authors state. Although none of these things are explicitly stated in the national core curriculum except for the objective to introduce students to language awareness, as the chapter by Kalliokoski et al. appears in a handbook on language published by the National Board of Education, it can be assumed that these are objectives set by the National Board of Education. However, it is an oversight on the part of the National Board of Education not to include this information directly in the national core curriculum.

3.1.4 Support

Often, linguistically diverse students need extra support in their studies. This is achieved by using several different methods. If the child is not proficient in Finnish, they may attend preparatory classes in order to be able to take part in the regular education with their Finnish-speaking peers. 17% of all linguistically diverse students attend these preparatory classes, but local municipalities are not required to organize preparatory classes if they do not see a need for it (Finnish National Board of Education, 2017b, p. 31). Students are also able to take part in flexible basic education if the need arises, which includes drawing up an individual educational plan (IEP) that takes the students’ learning needs into individualized account.

There are a few resources that outline the goals and set guidelines for the preparatory classes. Although outdated as a new core curriculum has been since published, the 2005 publication

“Maahanmuuttajaoppilaiden opetus perusopetuksessa” [Teaching immigrant students in basic education] sets out some guidelines for integrating multilingual and immigrant students into the mainstream classroom. It states that teaching English (and other foreign languages) can be supported by using the students’ own native languages, creating teaching groups consisting of students with a shared native language, and by acquiring teaching material in the students’ own languages (Finnish National Board of Education, 2005, p. 52). If the student has taken part in a preparatory class in order to join the mainstream class, the publication suggests evaluating the English-language skills of the student and placing them in the English class even before some of the other classes requiring more knowledge in Finnish (pp. 52, 55, 56).

A newer guide, published in 2015, outlines the guidelines for preparatory education leading to comprehensive basic education (Finnish National Board of Education, 2015). The guide states that the students’ Finnish or Swedish as a second language studies are the basis for all other studies (p. 3). It encourages the use of the students’ own native languages to support the students’ studies and integration into society. Meanwhile, a pamphlet on preparatory education (Finnish National Board of Education, 2017a) states that because many students in preparatory classes can already speak English, they can attend the mainstream classes. It states that these classes also teach the students Finnish in reverse (p. 6).

The National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014 (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a) only offers a very short section for the guidance, differentiation, and support of students studying English in grades 7–9. This section highlights the need for abundant practice in communication, encouraging students to study other languages offered by the school, and support for students with learning difficulties in languages (p. 377). Meanwhile, in the section for the operating culture of comprehensive basic education, the curriculum describes differentiation as the “pedagogical point of departure for all instruction” (p. 32).

3.2 Research of Multilingual Education in Finland

I have conducted two previous studies on teaching multilingual students English in Finland. In “Teaching English in a multilingual classroom” (Mamane, 2017), I observed two sixth-grade English classes in a mainstream Finnish primary school. Because this was a Finnish-speaking school, students whose Finnish was not strong enough to participate in the mainstream classes were first placed into preparatory classes. As the students from preparatory classes are slowly integrated into the mainstream classes by placing them in classes that may be easier to understand without a

good knowledge of Finnish, like English classes, there were some students from these preparatory classes in the classes I observed. There was one advanced native English speaker in the classes, and they were provided with an individual project to work on, with less instruction than the rest of the class received, and were somewhat removed from classroom activities, isolating the student. The students were eager to help one another with instructions or exercises: In fact, the teacher specifically assigned seating based on students' skills and social circles to promote the ability to help one another.

While the classes were mostly held in English, grammar was taught in Finnish and the translations provided for the whole class were in Finnish. Individual students with linguistically diverse backgrounds were sometimes provided tablets to look up translations in their native languages. However, the teacher felt concerned about the lack of materials, resources, and time to provide proper solutions to linguistically diverse students. A good knowledge of Finnish was crucial in order to follow along the lessons. In the classes, English was taught as a foreign language spoken by native speakers rather than as an international or lingua franca language. Specifically, the textbooks used Received Pronunciation (RP) as the accent for students to learn and British English (BrE) for the spelling and grammatical rules taught, but also featured chapters on Australia and the United States. No languages other than Finnish and English were used in the classroom, and students' own languages were not used to enhance teaching, unless students themselves pointed out a similarity between a language they knew and English.

These classes primarily used a textbook aimed at Finnish students learning English as a foreign language. Students had access to a physical copy of this textbook, while the teacher utilized the digital textbook in class. In this textbook, all grammar rules and translations are provided in Finnish. Multilingual learners are not considered in the textbook series at all. The teacher provides tablets with dictionary apps installed to linguistically diverse students whose Finnish is not strong enough to follow along, and uses Google Translate to translate the Finnish in exams into the native languages of students whose Finnish is not strong enough. Students with a weaker understanding of Finnish are also provided with different versions of assignments and tests, according to the teacher. The advanced student was provided with an English-only textbook to work from, but at the time of observation, was working on an individual presentation based on a trip they had made with their family to a location that speaks English natively.

Meanwhile, in Mamane (2019), I observed a seventh-grade and an eighth-grade English classroom in an English-speaking International Baccalaureate school following the Middle Years Program, in addition to having a brief conversation with the teacher. Both classrooms consisted of twenty to

twenty-five students, the majority of whom spoke Finnish as their native language, but with a minimum of five students in each class who did not speak Finnish as their native language. About half of the students had spent a long period of time abroad. Before class, the majority of the students spoke Finnish to their peers, although some spoke English. There were instances where a classmate spoke to another in one language, and the classmate replied in the other. Students engaged in code-switching in cases where they did not recall a word fast enough in the language they were speaking, in order to maintain fluency; some even engaged in it in class. The classes were held entirely in English, and during class, if a student spoke to another in Finnish, they were reminded to speak in English. All of the English spoken was at an advanced, native-like level of fluency. Most students spoke with an American accent, while the teacher spoke with another accent; this was due to several of the students spending extended periods of time in the United States. Most of the books, both textbooks and literature, inside the classroom were in English. In group activities, in groups comprised of purely native Finnish speakers, some spoke mostly in Finnish, but if there were students whose native language was something else, the students were very attentive to their peers and spoke in English. The teacher relayed that Finnish is also used in classes in order for the students to be active participants in the Finnish language community. This means offering translation exercises in both students' native languages and in Finnish. The teacher expressed their dissatisfaction with the heavy emphasis on grammar in Finnish mainstream English-language education, highlighting the importance of fluency and comprehensibility of communication instead. Students were assumed to learn the same way as native English speakers do, by listening and conversing.

According to the teacher, the materials in use were ones the teacher made or compiled themselves, digital materials, and literature. The classroom featured a few textbooks, but these were only used for reference. Neither of the classes I observed were using any textbooks; the instruction was based on other books and materials provided by the teacher, and the exercises the students took part in were based on what they had learned. No particular accent was highlighted in any of the materials. Part of the school philosophy, according to the teacher, is to avoid teacher-centric classes, and this could be seen during the observation. The teacher provided instructions at the beginning of class, and the rest of the class was spent working on individual projects. When they needed help with something, students primarily depended on one another, asking their classmates, and if there were still questions, they would ask the teacher. Students considered how to solve each problem they came across together.

In 2014, in another study or experiment concerning multilingualism, the city of Espoo launched the Agora project, funded together with the European Union Home Affairs Funds. The “Making multilingualism and different worldviews visible in school” project took place from January 2014 to June 2015. The basic idea was that certain language-aware teaching methods promote multiliteracy, which is one of the objectives of transversal competence in the new 2014 national core curriculum. It had three portions: Language-aware secondary school teaching and multiliteracy, language-aware team teaching in primary school, and the steps to a dialogue on worldviews. Nine schools in Espoo took part in the portion concerning language-aware secondary school teaching and multiliteracy, with sixty-six teachers taking part from all subject areas. This project did not exclusively focus on language education, but instead promoted multiliteracy in all subject areas, especially by combining some subjects for specific class projects. While the project heads do not extensively go into the results of the project, it seems as though they considered it a success, and are hopeful that the time and resources could be found in the future to enact similar teaching methods. Notable is that the primary school portion utilized many languages in the teaching, and that multilingual students felt more acknowledged in their language repertoires and even monolingually-raised Finnish students felt more encouraged to share about their lives in other languages (Voipio-Huovinen & Kuukka, 2015). The primary school portion had four goals: to develop and support pupils’ and teachers’ linguistic awareness; to develop linguistically aware instruction; to support the development of multiliteracies among pupils; and to provide experience in simultaneous teaching across language and culture borders (Voipio-Huovinen, Kuukka, & Sawchuk-Vehkavuori, 2015). On a scale of 1–5, with 1 being the lowest and 5 the highest, 39.4% of teachers gave a 5 when asked if pupils’ interest in different languages increased, 36.4% answered 4, 15.2% answered 3, 9.1% answered 2, and none answered 1. However, most of the data compiled and presented focuses on teaching methods and teacher collaboration rather than results concerning the students, so it is difficult to glean an accurate understanding of the effects of the study.

Meanwhile, in a study concerning the education of students from immigrant backgrounds in English language classrooms, Illman and Pietilä (2018) asked students from one school and teachers from several schools around Finland fill out questionnaires. The questionnaires focused on whether the students’ multilingual backgrounds were taken into consideration in English classes, and if so, how. The study also wanted to know if the teachers were provided with training for teaching multilingual students, how the learning process could be supported, and if the students’ multilingual backgrounds provided them any advantages or disadvantages to learning English. The authors assert that “children with immigrant backgrounds usually face a situation in which they have to learn the

target language (English) through another language (Finnish) which is not their L1 and which they may not master very well” (Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 237).

To combat the monolingual bias, “the constant measuring of L2 competence against monolingual norms” (Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 238), the authors advocate for the usage of translanguaging—activities involving the use of more than one language—and multilingual methods in the language classroom. This means taking “into account all the languages a learner knows” and concentrating on “what multilingual learners can do with their languages” (ibid.). This can include translanguaging, using more than one language in learning activities, which includes pedagogically based code-switching (PBCS) and translation for other learning contexts (TOLC) (see Corcoll López & González-Davies, 2016, in the next section), as well as a focus on multilingualism (FM), another approach to translanguaging that emphasizes the softening of boundaries between languages. The study found that the majority of students who answered the questionnaires had never been asked to use their L1 in the teaching. The language used in English language classes most often, other than English, is Finnish: “The use of the majority language of the community, i.e., Finnish, seems to prevail in English classes” (Illman & Pietilä, 2018, pp. 241–242). This is an important note, as “when asked whether [the students] understood the Finnish words in their English textbooks . . . 27 per cent of all students and 58 per cent of those who had immigrated to Finland as young children replied ‘sometimes’ or ‘never’” (p. 242). However, “all in all, the students seem to have managed relatively well in their English studies even without their teacher engaging them in translanguaging activities” (ibid.).

The majority of teachers (66%), meanwhile, had not received any training for teaching children with multilingual backgrounds. Some of the teachers mentioned that weak Finnish skills contributed to the challenges multilingual students faced. Finnish is often used in English classes in Finland, “in accordance with curricular guidelines (Finnish National Board of Education 2014) which state that the language of the community can be used when dealing with demanding issues such as certain grammatical phenomena, even though the use of the target language is encouraged whenever possible” (Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 242). While this can greatly benefit students who are good at or native in Finnish, it puts those with weaker Finnish language skills at a disadvantage.

Multilingualism was found to help with pronunciation, vocabulary, and speaking, and “comparing the vocabularies of English and the students’ L1s was, according to the teachers, a common strategy in the classroom,” but students felt that “most of them had not had a chance to use their L1 in English classes at all” (p. 243). Additionally, teachers did not find that learning materials and English textbooks took students from different linguistic backgrounds into account. “According to

them, exercises, tests, and glossaries were usually in Finnish. This raises the question whether immigrant learners can be treated fairly in testing situations if tests that are provided in teachers' materials require a good knowledge of Finnish" (p. 243).

The authors conclude that the teachers "still seemed to teach foreign languages mostly through Finnish, which challenges multilingual children of immigrant background, as they have to learn a new foreign language through their L2, Finnish, in which they are not always fluent" (Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 244). They suggest that "teachers would do well to maintain the presence of all the various languages in classroom activities, e.g., by having the students write words in three languages," adding that "this would enable the target words to be linked to the mother tongue and thus strengthen the students' vocabulary skills in both English and the community language" (p. 245).

In a study on teaching English to multilingual students in Finnish primary schools, Raisa Harju-Autti (2013, 2014) interviews eight English teachers. Harju-Autti notes that while in Finnish language education, students are divided into groups based on language skills (Finnish as a native language and Finnish as a second language), no such division is made in any other subject matter. Harju-Autti makes the same observation others have made about English education in Finland, that there is a lack of material available for teachers concerning teaching multilingual students, and that English education in Finland exclusively uses student textbooks that provide translations and instructions in Finnish and English, disadvantaging students who are not native in Finnish. Grammar, especially, is taught through Finnish. However, she does make the observation that at its best, using materials and teaching in Finnish and English can strengthen learning both languages side by side, which is in line with what the Finnish National Board of Education (2017a) presents. Other issues cited by the teachers in the study about teaching in a multilingual classroom include the lack of economic resources and special needs assistants, as well as having the time to be inclusive of all students, including the quieter ones, and a lack of knowledge in the students' native languages. None of the teachers mention utilizing the students' own languages in teaching. In her study, Harju-Autti finds that the teachers who had received their teacher training in Finland had not been taught about teaching multilingual students. Meanwhile, the teacher trained in the United Kingdom had received training in teaching multilingual students, but explains that they have to create all of their own materials. In fact, most of the suggestions the teachers make for how to further develop multilingual education have to do with an increase of materials suitable for multilingual students, materials that are not tied to having to be good at Finnish; in addition, they hope that these materials would be of good quality. However, when asked, the teachers replied that

they did not utilize any monolingual physical or virtual materials, and that they taught primarily in Finnish, but also in English. Harju-Autti concludes that while none of the teachers interviewed thought that the solution to teaching English in a multilingual classroom was to teach monolingually in English, that this solution could nonetheless be an equalizer, with none of the students at a disadvantage due to their poor Finnish skills. In comments to her 2013 article, one teacher mentions that having multilingual students in a class encourages the whole class to use English more both in class and in international settings, while a teacher at a language center in a university suggests studying the basics of all of the languages spoken in the classroom.

In another study interviewing language teachers, Anne Pitkänen-Huhta and Katja Mäntylä (2014) set out to find how classroom practices, interaction, and teaching could utilize the language repertoire of multilingual and multicultural students in a way that benefits all of the students. The authors state that currently, Finnish is usually used as a tool for helping to teach foreign languages, disadvantaging multilingual students not fluent in it. Studies on second language acquisition (SLA) and English as a foreign language (EFL), according to them, fall back to the norm of monolingualism, and therefore the objective of the learning is to speak like a native, instead of learning to use English as a lingua franca in a dynamic, creative, and flexible way. Meanwhile, in reality, students do not use English monolingually, but engage in practices of code-switching, code mixing, and translanguaging (p. 94). Because language is not a monolingual concept or used monolingually outside the classroom, all of the languages of the students and the relationships between these languages should be taken into consideration in teaching, the authors state. The teachers that the authors sent questionnaires to come from wide backgrounds in teaching, from primary school to upper secondary school. Like the teachers in other studies, none of these teachers felt that they had received adequate, if any, training in teaching multilingual students, and none at all in teaching multilingual students languages. The authors find that the lack of a shared language could become a resource in the classroom, as it forces the class to become more creative in their communication, rather than using traditional textbooks and Finnish as crutches. Comparing language backgrounds and structures benefits even native Finnish-speaking students, as they are also not a completely homogenous group, the authors state (p. 100). However, although breaking language boundaries could be hugely beneficial, in practice, it can be hard to do, especially due to the strict pre-existing ideas about language boundaries and structures.

Meanwhile, in their article “Experiences of Finnish teachers working with immigrant students” (2014), Sinkkonen and Kyttälä state that “Finnish teacher education programmes are not sufficiently equipped to enable the development of adequate skills to deal with multicultural issues”

(p. 170). Because immigrant students are placed in a year-long preparatory class before joining a mainstream or special education class in Finland, which the authors deem to often be insufficient, their research is aimed at teachers working with these immigrant students in order to find existing practices that can be used to effectively teach multicultural students. This was done by conducting interviews of nine Finnish-language teachers working with immigrant students. The teachers in the study agree that the most important function of the one-year preparatory classes is integrating students into Finnish society, rather than perfectly learning the Finnish language: “When they come without any Finnish language skills, the aim of the preparatory classes is to integrate pupils into our society. The head master said to me that my job was to teach them from February to May and not to stress myself if they didn’t learn to read in Finnish or something like that” (Teacher 8 quoted in Sinkkonen & Kyttälä, 2014, p. 176). Meanwhile, Sinkkonen and Kyttälä find that insufficient Finnish or Swedish language skills are one of the key problems in education. While much of the study cannot be used in this paper due to the teaching being conducted in Finnish language classes, the students’ (presumed) L2, an important note that the teachers interviewed made was that “it is important to give the students the possibility to learn by wandering around and comparing the differences and similarities in customs and habits of their own culture with Finnish culture” (Sinkkonen & Kyttälä, 2014, p. 176). This concept can easily be brought over to cover the teaching of any language foreign to a student, in the case of this study, English. Sinkkonen and Kyttälä also find that the teachers preferred to use the same materials for all students to enable an easier transition and integration for immigrant students, but that they had to modify the material in order to suit them. “In my opinion, the children must have some experience of regular education materials as this facilitates integration into regular groups when the time comes. It would be quite a shock if everything here was overly easy and we only used materials made specifically for them. It wouldn’t be fair and could be disastrous when they move to bigger educational groups” (Teacher 8 quoted in Sinkkonen & Kyttälä, 2014, p. 177).

In a book compiled at the University of Oulu in 2002, Isosaari and Vaajoensuu write about the challenges of teacher education concerning the teaching of immigrants. The book is quite old—one of the terms the authors use of immigrants is considered quite derogatory today—so it should be taken with a grain of salt, but some of the observations made even twenty years ago still hold true, indicating that there has been little to no improvement since. Isosaari and Vaajoensuu state that the basic assumption should be that each teacher will face and teach immigrant students in their careers. They note that while efforts have been made to include multicultural education in teacher training, it is insufficient. In many teacher training programs, only a week of multicultural training is included

in teacher trainees' entire studies. The authors also mention a lack of teaching materials for immigrant students, which has been a consistent theme throughout this research. Both the insufficient teacher training regarding multilingual students and lack of or inadequate materials are mentioned several times by the teachers in the above studies (Harju-Autti 2013, 2014; Illman & Pietilä, 2018; Pitkänen-Huhta & Mäntylä, 2014; Sinkkonen & Kyttälä, 2014).

3.3 Education of Linguistically Diverse Children

Every immigrant who permanently resides in Finland and is between the ages of 7 to 17 has the same right to basic education as Finnish nationals do (Finnish National Board of Education, 2008, p. 18). The main goal set out by the Finnish National Board of Education is to integrate the students into society, and thus teach them Finnish as a priority. However, the students also have the right to study and retain their own language and culture. In 2021, there were 22,041 students studying languages other than Finnish or Swedish in basic education in Finland (Finnish National Board of Education, 2021). Unfortunately, there seems to be no data on how many multilingual students are taught in Finland that would include students who are studying Finnish or Swedish as a native language.

There are many studies on teaching multilingual students English, although the majority of them have been conducted in countries where English is a national or official language. More recent studies seem to agree that language should be taught in a multilingual, rather than a monolingual, manner. This means recognizing that language transcends borders and set structures, that it is fluid and used in a variety of situations, by a variety of people. Most of the following studies agree that in order to effectively learn languages (and other subjects), students' own native languages must be incorporated into teaching.

Teaching students their own native language is very important, according to the Finnish National Board of Education (2008). Not only is it a way to preserve students' cultural identity, but it also promotes the students' ability to express themselves, maintain social relationships, and build their own identities (p. 24). When considering the education of multilingual students, an important thing to consider is if the language used at home is something other than Finnish, and what level of proficiency both the parents/guardians and the children themselves possess in Finnish. If the children are first-generation immigrants themselves or are returning expatriates or dual citizens, then what they have studied so far in their country of origin also needs to be taken into

consideration, as there can be significant differences in the levels of education and in the subject matters studied.

UNESCO also takes a stance on multilingual education in a position paper published in 2003. The paper states that if the language of instruction is not a child's native language, it imposes a major obstacle to learning and that "research has shown that learners learn best in their mother tongue as a prelude to and complement of bilingual education approaches" (2003, p. 7). UNESCO promotes additive bilingualism: "In regions where the language of the learner is not the official or national language of the country, bilingual and multilingual education can make mother tongue instruction possible while providing at the same time the acquisition of languages used in larger areas of the country and the world" (pp. 17–18).

A notable Finnish article on multilingualism is Dufva, Suni, Aro, and Salo's 2011 article, where the authors argue that language teaching needs to be more functional and teach multilingualism, rather than teaching language as a single monolingual entity. The authors claim that language is multilingual in the sense that it changes over time and depends on the situation in which it is used, and so people cannot be monolingual to begin with. They argue against languages being viewed as separate entities that stop at the border of a country, and that this view is encouraged by giving language a grammar, an "abstract, decontextual set of (grammatical) rules" (Dufva et al., 2011, p. 110). This formalist stand, where language is studied as primarily linguistic forms and structures, as a grammar, leads to a written language bias in language education, according to the authors. The authors consider national languages and their grammars to be problematic, as they suggest that one variety of a language, one way of speaking, is better than other ways. Elevating one variety over others has historically been done to give countries a language shared by all of its citizens, but has resulted in the development of grammars and dictionaries, and these grammars "started to be regarded as the very object of learning" (p. 111). "Knowing" a grammatical rule, being able to produce a grammatical utterance, is not the same, according to the authors, as knowing the formula to said rule. A native speaker can produce a sentence using the appropriate or "correct" grammar but may be unable to explain how they formed the sentence or why it is correct. Furthermore, the authors claim, one cannot reach full proficiency of a language by learning its grammar, as "the proficiency of any speaker consists of a personal repertoire of certain registers, varieties, dialects and modality-specific usages" (p. 112). The authors criticize teaching grammar because it is inadequate in teaching students how to act and speak in a socially and culturally acceptable manner. They argue that instead, a communication-based learning module should be used to teach language because grammar does not contain enough socially and culturally (semantic and pragmatic) relevant

aspects for learners in its materials and learning methods. Although meaning and function (functionalism) are more important for most learners, language teaching often focuses on formalism and evaluating performance in terms of formal accuracy, the authors state. The authors instead argue for a dialogical perspective in language teaching, which stresses that language is fluid, changing, dynamic; that language is a multilingual phenomenon, as are most language communities. In fact, the authors state, “people do not learn ‘a’ language (in the sense of a unified code),” but a “variety of ways to understand and to use the linguistic, or more largely, *semiotic* resources around them,” even when it pertains to their own native language(s) (pp. 115–116). Therefore, “in a deeply functional classroom, language is not the object of teaching as such but also, and primarily, a tool for meaning-making” (p. 119). The creation of national languages has led to prescriptive grammars and dictionaries, and learning grammar and vocabulary is an archaic and structuralist approach to language. Society must accept that language is more fluid and based on situational usage, that multilingualism is the default characteristic of language.

The situation in Sweden is very similar to Finland concerning foreign language learning and multilingual learners. In her degree project at Karlstads Universitet, Maureen Lugoloobi-Nalunga (2013) studies the impact that code-switching into students’ native languages has on L2 development in Sweden, specifically in the multilingual classroom. She states, “each individual learner develops English through another L2, Swedish, which is a completely new language to these learners” who have recently migrated to and lived in Sweden for a very short period (p. 2), noting that often these immigrant students share neither Swedish nor a common native language with each other or the mainstream classroom environment. In order to gather the data for her research, Lugoloobi-Nalunga uses a combination of classroom observations, a questionnaire, and teacher interviews. From the interviews, Lugoloobi-Nalunga finds that in the classroom, the teachers discouraged the use of all other languages than English and Swedish, which was utilized if students needed some extra help understanding. The author notes that this was in line with neither the Swedish national syllabus nor the school’s policy. She observes that “many grammar books have Swedish instructions and therefore it appears to be natural for teachers to code-switch into Swedish when teaching grammar” (p. 21). While code-switching to Swedish was viewed positively by the teachers, they had “a completely negative view of code-switching into students’ mother tongues” (p. 22). The author also observed code-switching between English and Swedish during the classroom observations. She notes some negative attitudes of code-switching to students’ native languages expressed by other students. Conversely, a group of boys expressed their displeasure of the amount of Swedish used in the English classroom, afraid that they would not learn English as

expected. They did admit to using their own native languages in class, as “they thought code-switching to their mother tongue helps them to ease communication between themselves, while helping each other out to develop their L2” (p. 26). Another group of students managed to utilize their native language to help explain the concept of a word to the other students. Lugolobi-Nalunga concludes that “teachers need to understand that code-switching is a form of collaboration in a heterogeneous L2 classroom which allows students to ‘own’ their learning processes through the language they master” (p. 30).

In another article that discusses code-switching and translanguaging as educational tools, Corcoll López and González-Davies explore Pedagogically Based Code-switching (PBCS) and Translation for Other Learning Contexts (TOLC). Historically, code-switching has been discouraged in language education, the authors write, because of the belief “that keeping languages compartmentalized would help learning, and that allowing their simultaneous presence would only bring interference (negative transfer), a lack of interest on the part of the students to use the foreign language, or a reduction in the exposure to the foreign language” (p. 68). However, the authors write, studies show that there is no evidence of linguistic interference or linguistic fusion or confusion. They consider translation, meanwhile, to be a process and product of communication, “an informed change of linguistic or cultural code applied consciously to an explicit primary source text” (p. 69). Pedagogically Based Code-switching “enables students to work with several languages simultaneously” and fosters “students’ ability to *notice* language/s characteristics, thus initiating metalinguistic thought and sensitizing students towards language similarities, differences, and connections” (p. 70). The authors review two studies, one on PBCS conducted by Corcoll, and another on TOLC, conducted by González-Davies. Corcoll found that by using PBCS in the English classroom, there was an improvement of socio-affective aspects such as motivation and classroom atmosphere, and development of language awareness among students. However, she found no significant improvement of oral comprehension and vocabulary acquisition and production. González-Davies’ TOLC study, meanwhile, showed that “translation can improve accuracy, certainty, speed of acquisition, and resourcing skills” (p. 72); it had an optimal contribution in all aspects—reading and writing, listening and speaking, grammar, vocabulary, and even solving problems around cultural references. Interestingly, “it was used by the students as a *last resort* after applying other language learning strategies such as guessing through context” (ibid., my emphasis). When dealing with extremely different or highly similar grammatical structures, lexis, or conceptual frameworks, however, there may be some interference, the authors note. The authors conclude that

for efficient language learning, a move from “target language only” to “target language mainly” is necessary.

In an English as a second language context, Jim Cummins studies the use of heritage languages in the United States in his article, “A Proposal for Action: Strategies for Recognizing Heritage Language Competence as a Learning Resource within the Mainstream Classroom” (2005). He suggests that implementing students’ heritage languages could “become a resource for learning English rather than being viewed as either irrelevant or an impediment” (p. 587). He explains that “in the United States context, the term *heritage language* refers to the languages of immigrant, refugee, and indigenous groups” (p. 586). Important to note is that while Cummins uses this term, it does not accurately reflect the reality of language use in Finland because even the monolingually-raised Finnish population is so linguistically diverse that it is not an apt term. Although this article approaches the matter of bilingual education from the point of view of the United States, and therefore not all of the initial assumptions hold true for Finnish or other European classrooms, the main idea of the utilization of students’ native and additional languages can be applied in Europe as well. Cummins highlights cognate relationships, for example: “Failure to draw students’ attention to cognate relationships across languages is perhaps the most obvious limitation of monolingual instructional assumptions” (p. 588). He claims that a teacher in the regular classroom does not necessarily need to know other languages with cognates in English because most of the English words derived from Latin and Greek are easily identifiable. Another way to utilize students’ own languages is bilingual media, according to Cummins. He presents examples such as creating movies, CDs, and Web pages, and exploring computer translation programs to “develop both language awareness and editing skills” (p. 589). He does, however, admit that there are some limitations to the translation programs, i.e., the accuracy of the translations. However, “the computer translation will usually be sufficiently comprehensible to permit teachers and peers to figure out the gist” (p. 589). As the last example of encouraging bilingualism in the classroom, Cummins mentions sister class projects, which is what the Agora project (Voipio-Huovinen & Kuukka, 2015) and the national core curriculum encourage (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 52), for example, although in these, the concept is called multidisciplinary learning modules. Nancy Hornberger (2005) expands on Cummins’ ideas in the same journal Cummins’ article is published in, stating, “bi/multilinguals’ learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing languages (in two+ languages), rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices” (p. 607).

Meanwhile, in her article “Culturally responsive teaching in special education for ethnically diverse students: setting the stage” (2002), Geneva Gay promotes culturally responsive teaching, advocating for culturally responsive climates and a multicultural curriculum and instruction. “Common sense, professional experiences, and research findings tell us that students learn better content that is familiar, has high interest appeal, is challenging, and is presented in ways that are linked directly to their prior knowledge and ways of knowing” (2002, p. 624). She states that culturally responsive teaching, in every subject area, should include information about the histories, cultures, contributions, experiences, etc. of different ethnically and culturally diverse groups. Gay writes, “most of the instruction that is currently occurring in schools is shaped by and centered in Eurocentric cultural values and points of reference” (p. 625).

Translanguaging and the use of students’ native languages is also important in the context of assessment and tests. Elana Shohamy (2011) examines the assessment of multilingual students in her “Assessing Multilingual Competencies: Adopting Construct Valid Assessment Policies” study. Between 1999 and 2003, Elena Shohamy, along with T. Levin and B. Spolsky, conducted a study on the Hebrew language proficiency of immigrant students from the former USSR and Ethiopia, comparing them with native Hebrew speakers from Israel. In Shohamy (2011), the author discusses the downsides of their research, along with other research concerning monolingual assessment: The intention of monolingual assessment is to compare students, but the problem is that when these students come from diverse backgrounds, some of which are multilingual, assessment is used to compare groups of incomparable conditions. “Carrying out these tests in a language that the immigrants have not yet acquired is likely to yield lower scores, which will lead to wrong conclusions regarding their true levels of academic achievement” (p. 419). “The use of a dominant national language as the means of demonstrating the academic achievements on tests is an example of buying into research designs that fit national language ideologies of one nation, one language, and hence mask the real trait that is the target of the measurement” (ibid.), Shohamy states.

Shohamy claims that while multilingual teaching and learning is evolving and continually discussed, there is a disconnect between teaching and assessment, that multilingualism is “completely overlooked in the assessment field that continues to view language as a monolingual, homogenous, and often still native-like construct” (2011, p. 419). Equally, the students participating in assessment are not monolingual and homogenous. Tests, first and foremost, according to Shohamy, serve national language ideologies, policies, and priorities. She notes that currently, there are no calls made in favor of multilingual tests despite the diverse makeup of classrooms. “As long as . . . national tests will require nonnatives (i.e., immigrant students) to be like natives and to be

measured on monolingual tests in the dominant language, these students will not be able to achieve valid scores” (p. 422). In fact, Shohamy states, even years after migrating to a new country, immigrant students continue to rely on their existing language knowledge to process new academic knowledge. Therefore, in academic assessment, a permanent change must be made for test accommodations “to reflect the wealth of factors that play a role in academic processing” (p. 425). However, this could be skewed too much in the other direction, Shohamy notes, since not all monolinguals can perform well in bilingual tests. She asks whether separate tests need to be adopted for bilingual and monolingual students.

4 Analysis

For this study, I interviewed a teacher who teaches English in an International Baccalaureate school. This was the teacher’s third year of teaching Middle Years Programme (MYP) English literature, and the teacher had previously taught ESL (English as a second language) students another subject. The MYP in Finland is composed of grades 7 to 9, with the students being 13 to 16 years old. According to the teacher, the classrooms are very linguistically diverse, with students from Japan, India, Korea, S. America, N. America, Australia, Europe, and around 40% native Finnish students: “So it is linguistically diverse, is a good way to put it.”

In this section, I identify and highlight themes that come up in the interview conducted for this research as a thematic analysis. A thematic analysis allows for the most important themes in a data set to be highlighted and discussed. There are many criteria for highlighting such themes; this thesis takes a deductive approach, with a preconceived idea of the themes that would emerge from the interview and are most relevant based on previous research. The research questions for the study, largely based on previous research on multilingual education, include language use in the classroom, language of classroom instruction and materials, and students’ ability to use their own native languages or other languages in class, including in translation exercises and grammar instruction. The main themes that emerged from the interview were language use, materials, and support. The following table shows the themes and subthemes that emerged from the interview:

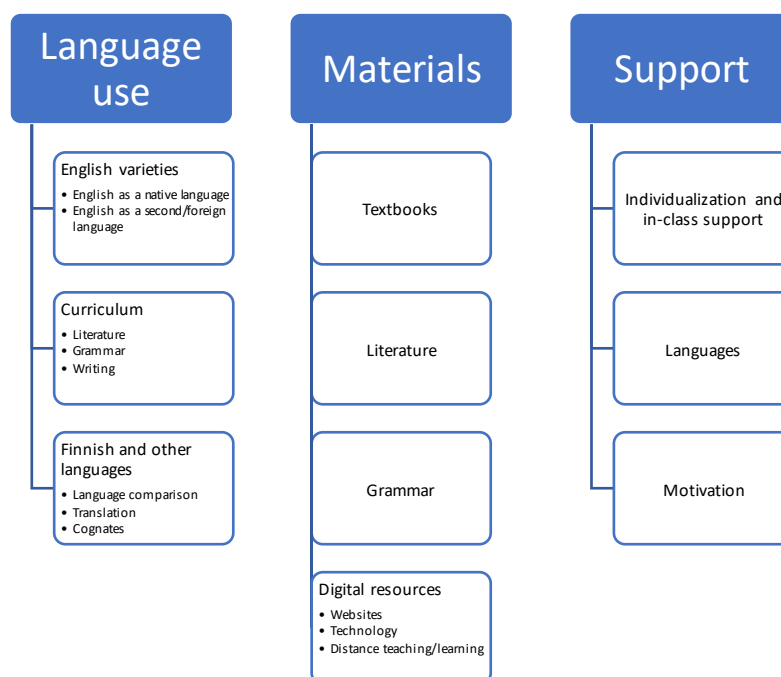


Table 1: Themes and sub-themes found in the data

Many of the themes and subthemes are overlapping, such as ones concerning language and literature.

4.1 Language use

In this section, I will review and analyze the teacher's comments that relate to language use. This includes English varieties used in the classroom, how the curriculum is set up, and the use of languages other than English in teaching.

One of the bigger themes that can be found in the interview relating to language use is varieties of English, more specifically, how English is taught: as a second or foreign language, or as a native language. The teacher often emphasizes that English is taught at the school as a native language, in four separate instances (examples 1–4). In addition, two instances show why there could be a preference for teaching it as a native language (examples 5 and 7).

- (1) We'd be like reading a book or reading through short stories and poetry, and analyzing them, finding themes, things that you'd find in probably more of a native language arts classroom that you'd find in the States.
- (2) And because the school that I teach in teaches English as a native language, as a mother tongue . . .
- (3) We teach it as a mother tongue language . . .
- (4) I hope that in the future, English will no longer be considered an *S2* language but also a mother tongue language . . . [In reference to how English is viewed by the city; *Italics* by the author—here the teacher is referring to Finnish as a second language, which instead of an L2 language is called *S2* in Finland, while English as a second language would remain an L2 language]
- (5) For example, if I have a student who doesn't know how to write a sentence, for example, doesn't really know how to—well, I wouldn't have that because like most of them are native speakers . . .
- (6) It's an international school so it's uh, a lot of our students come from, you know, from multilingual/multicultural backgrounds, as they've come here from you know, different countries, and English is usually their um, the language of instruction that they've been taught in and they wanna make sure that they can come back to an English-speaking school, and as Finland, Finnish is a rather challenging language.

- (7) I really tried to go into the, like some of the Finnish books, novels and such, that have been translated into English, you can tell that the person who translated them was not a native English speaker, due to the sentence structure, which can be really confusing if you don't really know how to, how to put things together.

Example (5) demonstrates that most of the students in the classes are native English speakers, while example (6) shows a preference for not including Finnish in the language education due to the international nature of the students. However, while 60% of the students do have other native languages than Finnish, the rest do speak Finnish natively, "There are about 40% that are from Finland and then I would say 60% are definitely other language speakers." The last remark, in example (7), shows a preference for native English education due to the confusion the teacher experiences when reading books translated from Finnish to English by a non-native translator.

These comments are in contrast to how the teacher feels about English being taught as a second language (L2) in traditional mainstream Finnish schools.

- (8) We don't use the, the textbooks that teach English as second language, which by the way are all written in Finnish with just a little bit of English tossed in there. I disagree a little bit with the way that English might have been taught as an S2 [L2, see note above in example (4)] language.
- (9) Yeah it's definitely different than how it's taught in the public schools.

This dissatisfaction with how English is taught in mainstream Finnish classrooms leads to the desire for the complete reformation of how English is taught: The teacher expresses a hope that in the future, English will be considered an official native language in teaching rather than just an L2 language, which would mean an increase in English lessons every week from the two that are currently offered to four, as is awarded the official languages, Finnish and Swedish.

- (10) I hope that in the future, English will no longer be considered an [L2] language but also a mother tongue language, in which case I will get more classes than just twice a week with, you know, grades seven and eight, whereas the Finnish language, as they get them for four days a week, so we'll see what happens.

However, in the same way that English is taught as a foreign L2 language in Finnish schools, which is to say as a foreign language spoken ultimately by native speakers rather than as a lingua franca, the emphasis on English as a native language in this International Baccalaureate school is equally limiting as it does not adequately take different native and non-native varieties of English into

account. Additionally, linguistically diverse students are again at a disadvantage when only one variety of English is recognized as the correct one to use, whereas they may have studied or learned another variety before studying in Finland.

Teaching English as a native language necessitates a curriculum different to the ones in use by mainstream Finnish schools. This is the second sub-theme under language use: curriculum. The different, native-like, curriculum that is half composed of language learning and half of literature learning is mentioned twice (examples 11–12), while also introducing the literature portion of it more specifically:

- (11) In order to reach all of students, we do half of the time as grammar and literacy developments and the other half as literature based, so we'd be like reading a book or reading through short stories and poetry, and analyzing them, finding themes, things that you'd find in probably more of a native language arts classroom that you'd find in the States. So I break it apart into language learning and literature learning.
- (12) We teach [English] as a mother tongue language and you know that's why I break it up into the learning the grammar and the basics of how to write, how to speak, and everything for students who might need it, and then a literature-based part of it, where we go into Shakespeare, we go into, um, you know, like Fahrenheit 451, Nineteen Eighty-four, Life of Pi, The Giver, Animal Farm, you know, so we talk about those different types of books so I can show them how, also, it connects . . .

Half of the curriculum is literature-based. The focus on literature, specifically, is what makes this curriculum so different from the ones used in mainstream English classes. The literature the teacher lists as using in example (12) is all written by native speakers, most commonly North American writers. Furthermore, every author is a white cis man. This preference for writers native in English is further explained by the confusion the teacher felt upon reading translated works in example (7). However, even within the parameters of studying only natively English-speaking authors, the literature selection described is limited as it does not include women, people of color, gender and sexuality minorities, or even representatives from other countries where English is spoken natively, for example. This is a fault in the native language arts classes in the United States where the curriculum is copied from.

The other half of the curriculum is language learning, more exactly, grammar and literacy development. There are three mentions of how the grammar curriculum is made by the teacher themselves and composed of various grammar resources, most notably those found online. Because

of the overlap with the theme of materials, two of the mentions, examples (25) and (26), are discussed in section 4.2. The teacher explains why grammar is relevant to the students and why they teach grammar to such an extent as to dedicate half of the curriculum to it in example (13): It ties in with the entirety of both the literacy development and the literature learning portions of the syllabus.

- (13) Like I wanna make sure that they can see how it applies to their writing, how it applies to their reading, like, what is the point of us learning grammar in the first place, you know, in an English classroom, and you know . . . I show them that it's, it's a formulaic development, kind of like algebra is in mathematics, and you know, the more that you understand how a sentence structure develops, the better you're able to write, and the better, the more fluency you have when it comes to reading.

Fluency, sounding native, is highlighted in examples (13), (15), and (7). The reference to students' native languages in example (15) together with the teacher's experience with translated Finnish books in example (7) implies that grammar is also taught as if to native speakers to avoid instances where the sentence structure sounds foreign, that it is important to know how to keep the different sentence structures between languages separate. The teacher uses a lot of comparison with students' native languages to highlight differences in grammar structures.

- (14) . . . say that I have a student who doesn't understand like verb agreements or something of that nature or doesn't know how to really understand passive voice, for example. We'd go through it bit by bit and I just—I'd break it down for them and scaffold it really to, to better suit their individuality for, for learning. Like, for example, I had a student who is, who is, [their] native language is Finnish and [they're] finding that the sentence structure in English is very different than the sentence structure in Finnish. And so what we do is we go through: "OK what is the sentence in Finnish, what would this look like? OK, where's the verb? Where's the noun? Where's the object? OK, so how do we put it into English, the English sentence structure, which is subject-verb-object? How do we pull that together?"
(Pronouns changed to gender-neutral ones to maintain anonymity.)

This comparison of sentence structures can also be helpful to students (see section 5.1 for discussion on this). This comparison, however, may only apply to Finnish and other languages that the teacher is familiar with due to the challenges the teacher mentions in recognizing or knowing a student's native language in example (18). Nonetheless, grammar is stressed as important to

students' native languages as well, as both a motivator to learn English grammar and as a teaching tool:

- (15) I wanna make sure that they understand that grammar is important not only in their English language learning, but also, how it applies to their, their native language as well.

Teaching grammar also supports the students learning to write essays in the literacy development portion, for example, the process of which is shown below in example (16).

- (16) OK for grade 9, I have them write a research paper about an invention that was invented before 1950, and so they have to understand how to research, they have to understand how to write with MLA formatting, they have to understand what a thesis statement is, how do you write it, how do you write an introduction, how do you write body paragraphs, and write topic sentences for those body paragraphs, and so we go through it bit by bit by bit, I mean this particular, like, unit that I've planned out is approximately 2 1/2 months of going through that.

In this and in much of the rest of the language learning portion of the curriculum, the teaching is quite similar to that of mainstream Finnish schools. Both feature grammar education and learning to write and speak English. The difference here is merely that of how in-depth the language lessons go.

The last sub-theme within language use is Finnish and other languages. The subject of the interview was teaching linguistically diverse students, and the amount of times languages are referenced reflect this. Finnish and other languages are referenced in thirteen examples. In response to whether other languages are used in the classroom, the teacher responds, "I love having fun with languages and seeing where there are differences, where there are similarities, and if there are similarities—well how do they apply to our language, and are there other words that have that same kind of base or that same suffix and what do they mean?" This is reflected in the practices the teacher encourages the students to take part in if they have a native language other than English. If any student is unsure about any of the vocabulary, they are encouraged to look it up in another language,

- (17) Well, a lot of my students do speak Finnish so I encourage them that if there is a word that's a little bit unsure of what it is in English then I asked them to look back

to a dictionary in Finnish or you know, online on their phones, to see what the coordination would be with a different language.

This emphasis on Finnish specifically here and in examples (14) and (21) suggests that Finnish speakers form the biggest language user group in addition to English speakers. However, without knowing how many of the remaining 60% of students' whose native language is not Finnish speak languages other than English natively, it is difficult to discuss their language use. Even the teacher recognizes the difficulty in identifying students' native languages:

(18) A lot of my students do come in as English being their second or third language, and sometimes it's challenging to figure out which language they have as their native tongue, so I just encourage them: "Anytime there's a word that's different or that you haven't come across before, look it up in your own native language and see what it is."

The teacher does, however, stress how important working with students' native languages is,

(19) Going through and working with the student's native language and comparing it to English is what really helps the student understand how to use English better because then they can understand the comparisons and differences between that and their native language.

While there is a difference in how Finnish and other languages the teacher is familiar with are treated in the classroom, there is a conscious effort to include other native languages in the teaching, as seen above in examples (18) and (19).

In addition to encouraging students to use translation tools, the teacher utilizes cognates in their teaching in order to show how the languages are similar or to make the words easier to remember. An example the teacher provided was the word "hand sanitizer," which in Finnish translates to "käsesi": The teacher was able to show the students that while the words themselves are very different, the sources are the same—*käsi* corresponds to hand, and sanitizer to *desi*, or *desinfiointiaine*, disinfectant.

(20) And if there's any cognates, you know, that's really cool, and then from there I can teach the class a little bit more about oh, this is how it's based in like Latin or something like that, and in Latin it comes from this prefix or this suffix and, you know, how does it look like another Indo-European language, or what does it look like in Finnish, is there a break in the Finnish word.

- (21) Like maybe it's like hand sanitizer or something like that, and we look at it you know and it's like oh there's käsi—oh käsi means hand, OK and so that's where it comes from, you know. So we just break apart words and we have fun with it when it comes to vocabulary learning.

Utilizing Latin and other Indo-European languages to highlight cognates is the only instance where the teacher discusses languages other than Finnish in teacher-led teaching, whereas the students are encouraged to look up words themselves for other languages they may speak.

4.2 Materials

The next major theme is that of materials. Within materials, there are four sub-themes: textbooks, literature, grammar, and digital resources. Teaching materials was highlighted as a major theme due to the differences in materials used between International Baccalaureate and mainstream Finnish schools. For example, all English textbooks made for Finnish students are taught in Finnish, with a little English thrown in, according to the teacher, something they disagree with.

- (22) There are no normal Finnish textbooks for English—literature, to put it that way. And because the school that I teach in teaches English as a native language, as a mother tongue, that means that we don't use the, the textbooks that teach English as second language, which by the way are all written in Finnish with just a little bit of English tossed in there. I disagree a little bit with the way that English might have been taught as an [L2] language.

In fact, none of the materials used in the International Baccalaureate classroom come from Finnish textbooks. While the textbooks teach native English, they teach English as a second language, and there are none that teach English like it is taught to natives. Additionally, there are no Finnish textbooks that teach English literature. While textbooks themselves are mentioned only in example (22), because of the complete rejection of Finnish English as a Foreign Language textbooks, all of the other sub-themes within materials are built upon the sub-theme of textbooks. Without the rejection of the textbooks, there would be less reliance on external materials.

There are five instances of mentions of materials concerning literature in the interview. Much of the sub-theme of literature pertaining to materials has been discussed in section 4.1 above. In example (1), we see that the materials include books, short stories, and poetry. The books include those listed

in example (12). Digital resources are utilized for both discussing books and poetry. In example (36) below, we see that physical books are also available for students to read.

- (23) One of the things I do for ninth grade is we do a poetry unit, in which we analyze poetry, but at the same time then for their project I want them to create a Google Sites place where then they have their own poetry and that they've analyzed a couple of poems. So it's like a digital poetic magazine, you know, for them.
- (24) One of the things that I did with Fahrenheit 451 in talking about the different themes, especially of technology and how it rules our lives, you know . . .

The use of technology to supplement the teaching of literature, which has traditionally been studied using physical media, is significant. Although there is no mention of digital copies or availability of the literature itself, using digital versions would allow for a more seamless reading experience for linguistically diverse students, as digital copies often incorporate dictionaries or translation services. However, there are some accessibility concerns concerning students with limited technological resources, discussed below.

The next sub-theme is grammar. Grammar-related materials are mentioned in two utterances. The teacher uses different curriculums for grammar-based development, and often finds these online. Because of the ongoing COVID-19 situation, the teacher has to make sure that the material can be taught using distance learning as well as face-to-face. Because of this and the fact that all of the grammar resources listed by the teacher have been obtained online, it is difficult to separate the sub-themes of grammar and digital resources from one another, and therefore they will be discussed together.

As the teacher does not find any of the Finnish grammar books satisfactory, they use a variety of digital resources to teach grammar, including various grammar websites. In response to whether the teacher uses books meant for native speakers to teach grammar, they reply,

- (25) No I've um . . . what I did was, I found different curriculums that I really liked using for grammar-based development, you know, there's quite a few out there, especially online, and goodness knows what is gonna be happening this year, so I found a lot of material that that can be distance taught as well as stuff that can be taught face-to-face. One of the, the greatest, one of the better websites is noredink.com and it's really great to help with students' development of grammar, grammar learning. The basic thing that I want to make sure is that, with grammar learning, it's not just "here's a worksheet," you know, do it . . .

They later specify,

- (26) So basically, to put it succinctly, I developed my own grammar curriculum through piecemeal findings that I find through like Teachers Pay Teachers, through noredink.com, through other various grammar sites. New York Times also has a really great, like, like, what is it called?—like copyediting quiz?—and we go through that sometimes in class and go, “Oh OK, what’s wrong with this sentence?”

While the teacher does not use physical books meant for native speakers, all of the grammar resources mentioned—Teachers Pay Teachers, noredink.com, and the New York Times—are websites based in the United States, using American English and grammar.

In addition to in examples (23), (25), and (26), digital resources are discussed in four more instances (examples 27–30).

- (27) I love using online resources. Google Classroom has been amazing, especially with distance teaching and everything like that, and writing essays, you know, it’s really easy to go through and help students understand any corrections or anything that might need to get changed, and grading has been really easy through that, that particular site. And I also, one of the things that I enjoy doing is helping students develop their own type of, like, information technology skills.
- (28) So we do that [in reference to the digital poetic magazine in (23)] and, but I’m always looking forward to including more information literacy techniques into my classroom, you know, it’s, especially during these interesting times, you know, you also have to think about the, you know, what is it called, the balance between how much time do you want them to be on the screen versus how much time do you want them to be not. I think that’s something that us teachers really gotta figure out how to balance out, especially if this school year is going to be as interesting as last school year was.
- (29) I definitely would like to collaborate more with other teachers in terms of how are they using information literacy in their—or information technology literacy—in their classrooms.
- (30) And that’s something that I saw with my some of my students last year was that some of my students had, you know, enough, like, computer power to be able to do things within a day or so and then some students who had only the phone as their technology to be able to . . . you know, like, it’s different when you have the ability

to view the assignments with the teacher and learn the assignment on your own, so you have two screens, but those who only had a phone, you know, like, they weren't able to . . . what's the word? Not cooperate, but to come in, into the classroom, you know, like, for example, one of the things that I did with Fahrenheit 451 in talking about the different themes, especially of technology and how it rules our lives, you know, like, we did a Jamboard, you know, where I projected it, well, not projected it, but, like, it was part of the, the Google Meet, like everyone could see what everyone else was writing, but if you only had a phone, you couldn't go to the Jamboard and participate—that's the word I was looking for, participate—and so you had to watch only what other people were writing . . . so it's a lack of voice as well when it comes to a lack of technology.

Different websites used in teaching and for lesson planning are referred to in examples (23), (25), (26), (27), and (30). As can be seen in the discussion concerning literature (above), the use of websites in teaching can benefit linguistically diverse students due to the ease of simultaneously using translation tools that is made possible by the use of technology and reading software. Google is highlighted as a significant tool used in teaching, as the teacher discusses using Google Sites in example (23), Google Classroom in example (27), and Jamboard and Google Meet in example (30).

The subjects of technology and distance learning/teaching are entwined because of the heavy use of technology in distance learning. Distance learning is specifically mentioned in examples (25), (27), (28), (30), while physical technology is discussed in examples (28) and (30). In addition, according to the teacher in example (30), students discuss the reliance on technology in class.

Because of the reliance on technology, information technology skills and literacy are important, according to the teacher; they are discussed in (27), (28), and (29). An important aspect to today's language learning is teaching the students digital literacy and helping them to develop their own types of information technology skills. Multidisciplinary collaboration between other teachers on the use of information literacy technology in the classroom is an important and still-developing aspect of using digital resources, the teacher states.

Accessibility is raised as a concern in example (30). For students without easy access to multiple digital devices, learning could become hindered, as the teacher points out. Although not a given, differences in linguistic diversity could be a factor in differences in material wealth—for example, some students may be refugees. Screen time is another factor that may have cultural, and therefore

linguistic, significance, as students from some cultures may be more expected to help at home or more discouraged from using technology as those from others.

4.3 Support

The last major theme is support. There are eleven different instances of support mentioned in the interview. Sub-themes within this are individualization and in-class support, languages, and motivation.

- (31) And because I have students who are sometimes, maybe need a little bit more help with their proficiency in English, I do set aside time to meet with students either one-on-one or in small groups to help develop their English language skills a little bit better, so they can succeed in class if that's the case.

Individualization, especially, is an important sub-theme. Of the eleven times support is talked about, seven involve individualization. In comparison, working with students in small groups is only discussed four times, twice in reference to more advanced learners in examples (36) and (37), and twice when discussing support more generally, in examples (31) and (35). The teacher also collaborates with the special education department and works within the students' Individual Educational Plans (IEPs). These are not necessarily language-related or specific educational plans or needs, but as can be seen above in example (31), language is also taken into account for students who need more help with language in particular.

- (32) And a lot of my students, I do work with the special ed department to make sure that if there are any students who do have what we call . . . IEPs or specialized or individualized instruction requirements and you know, I wanna make sure I meet their needs, I wanna make sure that they are successful at least in my class you know . . .
- (33) . . . it's very individualized so, like, I work with students if they're having trouble with a certain assignment or something like that then we go through piece meal bit by bit what can they do to be successful in the assignments, you know . . .
- (34) . . . so I do include in there like conversation time with the students where I can just sit down, they'll be working and I can work with individual students . . .

While the teacher stresses that small groups and individualized instruction is important, they also acknowledge that it can be difficult to work with students individually in a class setting because

there can be so many students in a class. Instead, they strive to provide individualized instruction outside of class,

- (35) So that's why it's really helpful to do the small groups or to do the individualized instruction, because to be honest with you I do have class sizes of like twenty-seven, almost thirty students, and it can be challenging to really work individually with them in a class setting when you have so many other students kind of, you know. So yeah, so I do a lot of individual instruction outside of the classroom.

Native English speakers and advanced learners are also taken into consideration in providing support to students, but with more of an emphasis on small groups on their part.

- (36) And if students are native and they're looking for a bit more of a challenge, then I do—I have a small library of books that I give to the students to help develop their literacy skills a little bit more, and then we talk about them in small groups.
- (37) So I do work with advanced learners as well in small groups as well as those who need a little bit more assistance.

While language is also a sub-theme of support, the use of Finnish and other languages is already extensively discussed in section 4.1 Language use, particularly pertaining to examples (14), (17), and (18). In examples (17) and (18), students are instructed to look up vocabulary in a demonstration of self-directed learning. In example (14), the teacher provides individualized learning to the student. However, due to being unfamiliar with all students' native languages (see example 18), they are unable to provide such specific support to all students who may need it. The only specific teacher-guided example given of individualized or small-group language support involves grammar (see example 14). The other specific mentions of individualization are of encouraging students to look up vocabulary in their own languages on their own. This suggests that grammar is what linguistically diverse students find most challenging in English class, although the data is not extensive enough to draw any definite conclusions of this.

The last sub-theme is one that is not as obvious when it comes to support: motivation. However, it is discussed twice by the teacher and is therefore worth highlighting. Motivating and encouraging students to persevere even when they find the subject demoralizing or may be struggling, especially for those students who require more individualized language support, is important.

- (38) . . . and, and then also, you know, I know that students who find, who find a subject difficult, can also find it demoralizing as well. And I want to make sure that students,

you know, “it might be challenging but hey, you’re going to have fun, you’re gonna be able to, you might not get it yet, but you are going to get it by the end of the school year.”

- (39) And working with students who do have those more individualized needs also allows them to see you as an individual and go, “hey, OK my teacher cares about me, OK, you know, I might not, this might not be my favorite subject, but at least, you know, I know that I will be supported and I will learn something from it.”

5 Discussion

In this section, I will examine my findings from the study, compare them with those found in my previous studies (Mamane 2017, 2019), and discuss them based on previous literature on the subject and current guidelines for education, especially in the English classroom, set by the Finnish National Board of Education. To easily differentiate between the studies and schools, I have used the following names to refer to the corresponding studies: The school that the teacher interviewed for this study works for is referred to as IB school A; the Mamane (2019) study concerns IB school B; and the sixth-grade primary school classes in the Finnish-speaking school in Mamane (2017) take place in the mainstream Finnish school.

While the previous studies are not directly comparable to the interview I have conducted for this research because of the difference in the data collection method, as the previous studies were conducted as classroom observations rather than as interviews, both studies did include an informal conversation with the teacher, and all concern the same subject. However, it is important to note that because the latest study has not been conducted as a classroom observation, there may be differences in biases (teacher vs. students vs. researcher) and age groups. The studies conducted in International Baccalaureate schools have taken place in secondary school, while the study of the mainstream classroom took place in primary school, although the students in the primary school were only a year younger (sixth-graders) than some of the students the teachers in the secondary schools teach.

In this section, I will examine language use in the classroom, beginning with a discussion on English taught as a second or foreign language, as a native language, and as a lingua franca or an international language of communication, as well as the accents and varieties that are taught. I will then consider multilingual methods of teaching and learning, including translanguaging and code-switching, and the use of students' native languages in teaching. I will consider what languages are used in the classroom, and whether a good knowledge of Finnish is required of students in order to effectively take part in class and maximize learning—whether the students are treated equally in terms of language knowledge and acquisition. I will finally consider grammar education in the English classroom before proceeding to discuss materials used in each of the schools.

In the section examining materials, I will focus on the inaccessibility of materials that consider linguistically diverse students, highlighting the use of Finnish in the textbooks made in Finland for English classes. I will discuss the differentiation or individualization of materials for students with different linguistic repertoires or language proficiencies, before moving forward to consider how

literature is taught in the English classroom and how technology is taken advantage of to promote language education.

Finally, I will consider support provided for linguistically diverse students, including individualization, special education including preparatory classes, multidisciplinary learning modules, and motivation.

5.1 Language use

The national core curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, pp. 376–377) emphasizes that English is the language of global communication and should be used as a *lingua franca*. This is echoed by Ranta (2010), according to whom viewing English as a “foreign language (EFL) as spoken by the native speakers (NS) in the ‘target language cultures’” (p. 157) contributes to a monolingual bias, and instead encourages “teaching English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) with emphasis on the global role of English as a vehicular language between speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds” (ibid.). However, this has not been reflected in the practices of or materials used by the interviewed teacher or the observed classrooms. The varieties of English taught in the classrooms in this study and in Mamane (2017) are native varieties, with only IB school B (Mamane, 2019) being a slight exception: While English was also taught in a native variety here (as the teacher was a native speaker), the school did not highlight that it was the correct one to use either in its materials or in the teaching. While most of the students spoke in an American accent in IB school B, no accent, vocabulary, or spelling was preferred over another. All of the sources for materials listed by the teacher in IB school A use American English, and the classes are taught to students in the same way they are taught to students in countries that speak English natively, with particular mention of English classes in the United States. The disadvantage of a curriculum such as the one at IB school A, which focuses on native-like English education such as is taught in the United States, for example, is that native English curriculums are known to have problems with representing linguistic, cultural, and ethnic diversity. The school systems are built on Eurocentric values and highlight a rather limited worldview (Gay, 2002, p. 625). Additionally, the preference in IB school A for American English over British English and Received Pronunciation is notable as British English and Received Pronunciation are the standard taught in most mainstream Finnish schools. The preference for American English may be a reflection of its rising status as the most recognizable variety of English in international communication. Meanwhile, the mainstream Finnish school used the British English and Received Pronunciation taught in the Finnish English-

language textbooks. This preference is largely dictated by the matriculation exams students take in upper secondary school (Ranta, 2010, p. 166), which in turn most likely prefer British English over other varieties because it is a native variety spoken in Europe. This shows a preference on an institutional level for teaching English as a foreign language that is spoken by native speakers rather than as a language of international communication or lingua franca, one that is not in line with the guidelines outlined in the National core curriculum. This is problematic as upon graduating, students are nevertheless expected to primarily use English in international communication, rather than to converse with native speakers (Ranta, 2010, pp. 168–169). No evidence of opportunities for practicing international communication, as underlined by the national core curriculum, was observed in any of the classrooms or discussed by the teacher in the interview; however, due to the limited scope of this study, it cannot be said that international communication is not promoted or practiced at all, only that the specific classes observed did not take part in it and that the teachers did not mention it. Teaching English as the lingua franca was absent from the observations, conversations and interview as well; the teacher in IB school A particularly stated that English is taught as a native language, and the materials in the mainstream Finnish school taught English spoken as national Englishes, most heavily British English. Teaching particular varieties of English over others also disadvantages linguistically diverse students who may have previously studied in another country and learned a different variety or followed different practices there. Taking advantage of a linguistically diverse classroom and their knowledge and abilities would benefit all learners; as Illman and Pietilä state, “language teaching should not aim at anything as unrealistic as native-like competence, but rather strive to produce proficient language users who are able to utilize all the languages they know” (2018, p. 239).

This last sentiment, encouraging students to utilize all the languages they know, was absent from all of the classes studied. Because studies on English as a foreign language spoken by native speakers fall back to the norm of monolingualism, according to Pitkänen-Huhta and Mäntylä (2014, p. 94), the objective of learning is to speak like a native. However, they observe, students do not use English monolingually, but instead engage in code-switching and translanguaging. Code-switching and translanguaging as engaged by students were particularly observed in Mamane (2019). Because language is not used monolingually outside the classroom, neither should it be taught monolingually, according to them. Dufva et al. (2011) also state that nobody actually uses language monolingually due to its changing nature and because it is used differently in different places and situations. This is echoed by Kalliokoski et al. (2015), who state that language is varied and situationally tied. Cummins (2005) and Hornberger (2005) agree: Hornberger states that

monolingual assumptions and practices constrain and inhibit the maximization of multilinguals' learning. While English is not usually taught monolingually in Finland, but rather bilingually by utilizing Finnish, the sentiment remains the same for students who have other native languages than Finnish. In fact, utilizing many languages in teaching can validate linguistically diverse students' identities and encourage all students to use different languages to communicate (Voipio-Huovinen & Kuukka, 2015). Even UNESCO (2003) advocates for multilingual education, explaining that learners learn best in their native languages. Meanwhile, Corcoll López and González-Davies (2016) advocate for a shift from "target language only" to "target language mainly."

What does "target language mainly" look like? To promote teaching students in a multilingual or multifaceted manner, studies encourage using translanguaging and code-switching (Corcoll López & González-Davies 2016; Illman & Pietilä, 2018; Lugolobi-Nalunga, 2013; Pitkänen-Huhta & Mäntylä, 2014). This would be beneficial to all students, not just those who are linguistically diverse in languages other than Finnish. Translanguaging, using many languages in activities, can be observed to a degree in all of the classrooms studied; however, in the mainstream Finnish school, it could only be seen with Finnish and English in translation exercises. The IB schools utilized it for other languages, in translation exercises in students' own native languages and Finnish in IB school B, and as comparisons of cognates and grammatical structures in IB school A. While not used as a learning tool, some students in IB school B naturally used translanguaging in spoken communication with one another, with one student speaking in one language and the other replying in another. However, this form of translanguaging was not accepted in the classroom, and the students were reminded to speak English only if they spoke Finnish. González-Davies found that translanguaging was used as a last resort by students after using other learning strategies first (Corcoll López & González-Davies, 2016, p. 72). This was not observed in IB school B, but as only two classes were observed, a more in-depth study concerning this would be necessary. Regardless, translanguaging is shown to benefit all aspects of language learning, from reading and writing to grammar and vocabulary (ibid.). As a way to introduce translanguaging to the classroom, Illman and Pietilä (2018, p. 245) suggest using all languages present in the classroom in classroom activities by, for example, having students write words in three languages.

The 2014 national core curriculum briefly mentions the goal of supporting students' plurilingualism by taking into account their native languages and culture (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 91). This is not expanded on in the core curriculum nor can it be seen in extensive practice in any of the schools in this study. There are attempts to utilize students' native languages in teaching, but not consistently, and only as tools for comparison. No evidence could be observed of

the students' culture being taken into account in any of the schools' English classes nor of pupils' knowledge of "the nature, ways of living, history, languages and cultures" (p. 90) of their linguistic and cultural areas being drawn upon—something that appears to be a big deficiency in all of the schools, as learning about the English language and the culture surrounding it in other countries it is used could be an asset in teaching English as an international language of communication. The teachers, like in Harju-Autti (2013, 2014; see also Cummins, 2005) and in the mainstream Finnish school (Mamane, 2019), feel they lack the resources to conduct multilingual teaching, especially for students with native languages that are less taught in Finland as foreign languages. The teacher in this study also highlighted the difficulty they had in recognizing students' native languages, which could contribute to a lack of using them in teaching. While the core curriculum urges the promotion of bilingualism and multilingualism to raise linguistic awareness and metalinguistic skills (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 90), in reality, this is only seen as Finnish-English bilingual education. Any use of other languages or multilingual education is seen very minimally, and usually only when the students themselves identify similarities between the languages. Several studies address the problem of the lack of knowledge in students' native languages. Pitkänen-Huhta and Mäntylä (2014) suggest that a lack of a shared language could be a resource, inspiring creativity in communication. In Cummins (2005), the author asserts that a teacher does not need to know all the languages with cognates in English as most English words derived from Latin and Greek can be easily identified. The teacher in IB school A effectively teaches in the way Cummins suggests, highlighting cognates in languages familiar to the teacher. However, all of the schools could benefit from utilizing students' native languages as Illman and Pietilä (2018, p. 245) suggest, in translation exercises, for example.

Because no observation was conducted of IB school A, no comment can be made of code-switching in the classroom. However, while actively discouraged by the teacher, code-switching was observed in IB school B (Mamane, 2019) in abundance. Rather than hinder the students, code-switching seemed to allow them to continue their conversations uninterrupted. As Corcoll López and González-Davies (2016) illustrate, no evidence was evident of linguistic interference or confusion in the students who code-switched. Corcoll's observation that code-switching improved motivation and classroom atmosphere could also be observed in IB school B, and the Agora project (Voipio-Huovinen & Kuukka, 2015) demonstrated that in fact, code-switching and the use of many languages encouraged students to communicate in English more freely.

In all of the classes studied, the only two languages in active use were English and Finnish. While this is to be expected in English classes in Finland, the lack of other languages used is notable.

While the objective of the Finnish school system is to raise students to be active and productive members of Finnish society, which naturally includes speaking Finnish, in the multilingual language classroom setting, the use of only Finnish as a language of reference can be problematic. Lugoloobi-Nalunga (2013) observes a similar situation in Sweden as can be seen in Finland: Of other languages, only Swedish is utilized in teaching English, with the teachers discouraging the use of other languages, something that was not dictated by either the national syllabus or the school's policy. Of the schools studied, only IB school B was observed to discourage students from using other languages than English to communicate with one another, but as no observation was made of IB school A and all studies are of individual classes, this may or may not be true in all cases. In the IB schools, on rare occasions, students are asked to compare English vocabulary with other languages, but only when the teachers themselves know of cognates or similarities between different languages. The assumption and expectation, seen in the mainstream Finnish school, and to a degree, in the IB schools, that English classes will teach students Finnish in reverse (Finnish National Board of Education, 2017a, p. 6) is very problematic, as Illman and Pietilä (2018, p. 237) note; students not native in Finnish have to learn the target language through another language foreign to them. Indeed, according to Shohamy (2011), immigrant students continue to use their existing language knowledge in the acquisition of new academic knowledge years after migrating. This adds a component to the language learning of linguistically diverse students not fluent in Finnish that the Finnish-speaking students do not have to consider, further burdening the linguistically diverse students. Teaching English through Finnish may not be discrimination according to the Finnish Constitution and Non-Discrimination Act (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 14) per se, but it disadvantages linguistically diverse students not fluent in Finnish to such a degree that their learning and assessment outcomes could be severely affected (see Shohamy, 2011). While the IB schools may not put multilingual students at a disadvantage compared to Finnish-native students, they still fail to adequately take into account the various languages of the students.

This reliance on Finnish in English and foreign language classes is especially troubling when one considers that while the teachers in the Sinkkonen and Kyttälä study (2014) agreed that the aim of Finnish preparatory classes is to integrate students into Finnish society, rather than learn the Finnish language perfectly, by the time they enter into the mainstream classroom, they are expected to be able to keep up with native Finnish speakers. This is the case even in English as a Foreign Language classes, where Finnish is used by teachers as a reference language, the language of translation, grammar, and quite often, instruction. This puts students who are not as familiar with

Finnish at a disadvantage, especially if they are not offered alternatives for using their own native languages or other known languages.

As the IB schools' language of education is English, not Finnish, students participating in regular class do not need to take part in preparatory classes. However, some students in the mainstream Finnish school (Mamane, 2017) had attended preparatory classes. These preparatory classes have a problem of objectives: Is the objective to learn Finnish or to be integrated into Finnish society and culture? While the Finnish National Board of Education (2015) states that the function of these preparatory classes is to learn Finnish or Swedish, the teachers in Sinkkonen and Kyttälä (2014), for example, found that the most important function is integration into Finnish society. If in reality, students are more encouraged to integrate into Finnish society than they are to learn the Finnish language, then teaching other languages through Finnish is especially questionable.

Using Finnish to teach English can be seen most profoundly in grammar education. According to Kalliokoski et al. (2015), grammar education has given way to language awareness in the 2014 national core curriculum. However, this transition is not explicitly stated in the national core curriculum, and indeed, grammar education could be seen in the mainstream Finnish school and in IB school A as very important parts of English education. In the mainstream Finnish school (Mamane, 2017), English grammar is taught from a Finnish perspective and in Finnish, while in IB School A, the teacher teaches it in English but utilizes Finnish as a comparative tool to highlight the differences in grammars; both are conducted in a very formalist manner. As Dufva et al. (2011) state, this is problematic as it elevates one variety of English over others. However, Pitkänen-Huhta and Mäntylä find that comparing language backgrounds and structures benefits all students (2014, p. 100), which speaks for the comparison of Finnish and English grammars used in IB school A. Meanwhile, the classes in IB school B (Mamane, 2019) were taught in an exemplary manner, with less of a focus on grammar, and more of a focus on fluency, conversation, and comprehensibility. No decrease in the actual usage of grammatical rules was noticeable in the students, and the students' vocabulary and communication were rich and developed. It is important to note that the decreased focus on teaching grammatical rules does not mean the absence of grammar education altogether. However, by allowing students to intuitively learn grammar in a native-like manner, the teacher was following the guidelines set in the national core curriculum to teach language awareness rather than a specific grammar (Kalliokoski et al., 2015). With their language use, the students demonstrated that Dufva et al. (2011) are correct in their claim that one does not need to know the formula to a grammatical rule in order to produce a grammatical utterance. Instead of teaching grammar, Dufva et al. propose teaching English as a communication-based learning

module to highlight socially and culturally relevant aspects of language-learning. This would be in line with the teaching of language awareness that Kalliokoski et al. (2015) say that the core curriculum promotes. Furthermore, teaching a specific set of grammatical rules promotes a written language bias, while much of international communication is spoken. Rather than the emphasis being on effective communication, teaching a specific grammar teaches students to be perfectionists in their language use and devalues other grammars, even ones used by native speakers, such as African American Vernacular English (AAVE) or Singapore English (SE), for example. As Pitkänen-Huhta and Mäntylä (2014) observe, breaking these language boundaries is a difficult task due to pre-existing and persevering ideas about language boundaries and structures; nonetheless, it is one that would be immensely beneficial especially to linguistically diverse students, but also to monolingual students.

5.2 Materials

In this section, I will discuss the materials used in English education. I will begin the discussion on textbooks. The use of textbooks was the most notable difference in English education between International Baccalaureate and mainstream Finnish schools, and this was also an issue flagged in the theoretical framework as problematic. I will then continue on to examine supplementary materials based on individualization and another difference in International Baccalaureate and mainstream Finnish schools, teaching literature. Finally, I will discuss technology, from its many beneficial features to problems concerning accessibility.

Both of the IB school teachers highlighted the insufficiency of English textbooks made in Finland, as they are made for students studying English as a foreign language, and more importantly, are inaccessible to linguistically diverse students not fluent in Finnish. Furthermore, the teacher from IB school B pointed out that they are too heavy on teaching grammar, and both agreed on a lack of literature taught. Because there are no textbooks made in Finland targeted at more advanced learners or ones that do not rely on the use of Finnish to explain grammatical rules or provide translations, both IB school teachers have had to rely on making their own materials and using what is available to them from a variety of different sources. As making and finding suitable materials is very time consuming, a resource that studies have found teachers are lacking in (Harju-Autti, 2013, 2014), there is a need for books that are suitable for learners from all linguistic backgrounds, not just those native in Finnish. While books that do not rely on Finnish may not be practical for non-language classes, they are necessary in language classes, as having to learn a foreign or second

language through another language that is foreign to students puts them at a disadvantage. Like the grammar books in Lugoloobi-Nalunga (2013, p. 21), which provide Swedish grammar instructions, English textbooks made for learners in Finland provide Finnish-only instructions, denoting a natural switch by the teachers into teaching grammar through Finnish. This can be seen in the grammar lessons in the mainstream Finnish school (Mamane, 2017). Illman and Pietilä (2018) observe that this is, in fact, encouraged by the Finnish National Board of Education, which states that “the language of the community can be used when dealing with demanding issues such as certain grammatical phenomena” (p. 242). Harju-Autti (2013, 2014) also notes that English textbooks in Finland provide translations and instructions in Finnish. These same observations were made by all of the teachers in both the mainstream school and in both of the IB schools. It is for this reason that the mainstream Finnish school taught English grammar in Finnish, while neither IB school used materials designed for Finnish learners at all. A lack of economic resources, as cited by Harju-Autti, could also be the reason that the mainstream Finnish school and other Finnish-language schools prefer to continue to use textbooks made in Finland with Finnish-only translations and grammar instructions. The teachers in Harju-Autti suggest increasing materials suitable for multilingual students. Almost a decade later, there is still an acute need for the development of multilingual teaching materials targeted towards English-language learners in Finland. This need is repeated by both the teacher in this study and by those in my previous studies (Mamane, 2017, 2019).

While the Finnish National Board of Education (2005, p. 52) encourages teachers to acquire teaching material in students’ own languages, in their study, Sinkkonen and Kyttälä (2014) find that teachers prefer to use the same materials for all students, only making modifications as needed. The same finding was made in both of the IB schools and the mainstream school, with one exception: In the mainstream school, the advanced English learner was provided their own English-only textbook. No such provision was made for students with other language repertoires or skill levels. In Sinkkonen and Kyttälä (2014), the use of the same materials for all students was highlighted as an important aspect to the integration of immigrant students into the mainstream classrooms. In order to maintain the value from using the same materials for all students for integration purposes without disadvantaging linguistically diverse students, the materials should be inclusive of all linguistic backgrounds. This means that they should either be monolingually English, or much preferably, they should utilize or give the option for students and teachers to utilize many languages, not just Finnish.

A notable difference in the materials used in the IB schools and the mainstream Finnish school is that the IB schools teach English literature to students, while the mainstream school does not. This

could be explained by the difference in perception between teaching English as a foreign language, as is done in the mainstream school, and teaching it as an international language in IB school B and as a native language in IB school A. It is notable that all of the literature taught in IB school A, at least that listed by the teacher, is written by native English speakers. Similar literacy curricula can be seen throughout native English language classrooms around the world, but especially in the United States. This detail demonstrates that while the teaching style is very different between the mainstream school and IB school A, the attitude towards English is largely the same: They view English language education as teaching a language spoken by natives, rather than as an international language of communication. Moreover, all of the titles listed, and most of the titles in English literature classes in countries that teach a similar curriculum aimed at native English speakers, are written by white cis men. Teaching a curriculum based on native language arts classes portrays a skewed image of people, literature, and language users that is American- and Eurocentric and not mindful of the thoughts and experiences of women, people of color, people with different sexual and gender identities, or people from different cultural backgrounds—or even of those from other countries that speak English natively due to colonization, for example. Meanwhile, the teacher in IB school B described a unit where the students read a book that did not use any personal pronouns and the class discussed their perceptions and gender biases. Teaching gender diversity is in line with the national core curriculum, as is teaching cultural competence (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 19). However, due to the limited scope of this research as well as the Mamane (2019) study, it is impossible to obtain a thorough idea of the literature units. Teaching literature in English classes promotes the multiliteracy advocated for in the core curriculum and encourages students to identify with people from different backgrounds and situations, but it should be done in a manner that represents all voices equally. This would provide students role models that they can identify with and relate to, benefiting all students but especially those who may feel like outsiders or different, such as linguistically diverse students. However, as the national core curriculum highlights English as a language of international communication, literature does not necessarily need to be taught to such an extent in mainstream Finnish schools as it is in IB schools.

While the IB schools and the mainstream Finnish school differ in almost all other aspects in the materials they use, there is one important similarity: The use of technology is highlighted and present in all of the classrooms. All of the teachers mention using tablets for translation purposes for students not native in Finnish or English. In addition, all teachers utilize computers and digital resources in their teaching. The projects in the IB schools, specifically, rely heavily on technology, as students are tasked with creating their own web pages. In all of the schools, personal tablets or

computers are available for students to use during class for classwork. The textbook in the mainstream school was taught using the digital version, while the students followed along from a physical copy. The IB schools did not use textbooks, but taught the language portion of their classes primarily using technology as well. It must be noted that while the previous studies (Mamane, 2017, 2019) use technology a lot, the situation in IB school A is entirely different as technology keeps developing and, more importantly, schools have had to heavily rely on technology in distance education and hybrid lessons due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, the use of technology in this school may be more advanced than it was in the other schools during the time that the studies were conducted.

The use of technology is an interesting and ever-more-present factor in teaching—however, it has its problems, the biggest of which is a lack of economic resources by both the school and by students and their families themselves. This was particularly highlighted by the teacher in IB school A, who observed a difference in time to complete assignments and ability to fully take part in lessons during distance-only learning during the pandemic for students with less technology available to them. Unless all students are provided with equal technological resources, it should not be exclusively relied on. However, as technology is already in such heavy use, it could be easily utilized for multilingual purposes. As early as 2005, Cummins (2005) advocated for the use of technology to develop language awareness. However, his observation that the accuracy of translations in translation programs is a limitation still holds true, which makes the use of translation software in all of the schools studied somewhat questionable, as they are primarily offered to students with weaker Finnish skills rather than to all students. As the teachers are unable to verify the accuracy of the translations if they themselves do not speak the source or target language, this creates an unfair disadvantage to students not native in Finnish. Cummins observes that the translations do, however, get the gist across. While the gist may be good enough in the classroom during regular lessons, as concepts can then be further expanded on and explained, it is not an acceptable outcome during assessment. Therefore, assessment using translation exercises should be re-considered.

5.3 Support

In this section, I will examine the theme of support. This theme, the support provided to students with different linguistic backgrounds, arose in conversation with the teachers in IB school A and in the mainstream Finnish school. In the mainstream school, many of the linguistically diverse

students attended class after or while attending preparatory classes. While attending English class with the students that the linguistically diverse students will join in the regular classroom is a natural and rational move, these students are then disadvantaged when they are expected to not only know, but to learn Finnish through these English classes (see section 5.1).

In her research, Harju-Autti (2014) finds that teachers cite a lack of special needs assistants and time dedicated to be inclusive of students with different needs and levels of understanding. This is mirrored in the schools studied: No special needs assistants were present in any of the English classes observed in IB school B or the mainstream Finnish school. The teacher in IB school A discusses being supported by the special education department, especially with students with Individual Educational Plans; however, both the teacher in IB school A and the one in the mainstream Finnish school remark on the lack of time to provide students with good support and inclusivity, especially during class time. Often, the students are left to rely on each other. Students could be seen supporting each other in IB school B and in the mainstream Finnish school. While learning to rely on their peers is an important skill and fosters collaboration and social skills, there are times when the help of another student is not sufficient for a student's needs. While limited, the teacher's time in IB school A for providing support to students of different learning levels is spent on going through assignments step-by-step, breaking issues down, and scaffolding. Due to time constraints, it is easier to provide support to students in groups rather than one-on-one. While this may be effective in IB schools due to their high attendance rates by different groups of linguistically diverse students, it is not necessarily feasible or effective in smaller schools or schools with a smaller number of linguistically diverse students.

As a way to encourage bilingualism in the classroom, Cummins (2005) recommends sister class projects, also encouraged by the national core curriculum; although by the name of multidisciplinary learning modules. These multidisciplinary learning modules are, in fact, in use in both of the IB schools, although there were none ongoing at the time of observation of IB school B and they and teacher collaboration, especially concerning information technology literacy, were only briefly mentioned by the teacher in IB school A. However, the Agora project (Voipio-Huovinen & Kuukka, 2015) exemplified how effective this method of teaching is, with the majority of teachers who took part in the project of the opinion that it increased students' interest in different languages, and therefore, the subject warrants a more thorough investigation. This is further highlighted by the national core curriculum's recommendation for cooperation between teachers in order to achieve the objectives of plurilingual education.

Another way to encourage bilingualism or language learning in general is motivating the students, as was revealed in the interview of the teacher in IB school A. Curiously, motivation was not discussed in the other schools or in any of the literature concerning linguistic diversity. This may be because motivation is not a topic exclusive to linguistic diversity; however, a motivated student and one that feels like their teacher cares about them is more likely to take part in classroom activities and share their linguistic repertoire or feel that they have something to contribute. For this reason, motivation may be a subject that warrants further discussion and research in future research and teaching projects.

6 Conclusion

In this thesis, I have examined the Finnish education system as it pertains to English language education and the education of linguistically diverse students. In order to do so, in addition to discussing previous research on the subject, I have conducted an interview with a teacher who teaches at an International Baccalaureate school in Finland and performed a thematic analysis on the contents of the interview in order to highlight the most relevant and important subjects that arose. In addition, I have compared the results with the results of my previous studies (Mamane, 2017, 2019). All of the schools examined have had a significant number of linguistically diverse students in attendance, and the IB schools specialize in teaching multilingual students or from a multilingual point of view.

In Mamane (2017), I found that English classes should be held primarily in English, without depending on only Finnish to teach grammar and translations. Harju-Autti (2014) also suggests teaching English monolingually in order to make the teaching equal to students with different Finnish skills. However, based on the current research, I argue that in fact, English should be taught using all of the language resources available to the teacher and students. The teacher does not have to be fluent or even have a working knowledge of each of the languages in the students' language repertoires in order to utilize them. From both the research and the data, it is evident that enabling and encouraging translanguaging and code-switching is one of the most powerful and effective tools in language education. They promote a better and more equal understanding of the target language, but are under-utilized in all of the schools examined for this study; when they are utilized, it is mostly with Finnish rather than any other native languages. Finnish is used in grammar education, translation exercises, and instruction in mainstream Finnish schools, including in Mamane (2017), to the detriment of linguistically diverse students not native in Finnish, a practice that is encouraged by the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014 (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a) but that is shown to be ineffective and even hinders the language studies of linguistically diverse students (Illman & Pietilä, 2018). This is an even more acute problem for students who simultaneously take part in preparatory classes and in English language classes with the rest of their peers. While multilingualism and translanguaging may sometimes be used in the classroom, in their study, Illman and Pietilä (2018) found that most students did not feel that they had a chance to use their L1s in English classes at all. Therefore, future further studies on students' experiences concerning multilingual teaching are warranted.

Many of the findings in the study reflect a discrepancy in the national core curriculum between its stated objective for English language education and how it is described, together with the reality of

teaching it. While the national core curriculum states that the “status of the English language as the language of global communication” must be taken into account (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016a, p. 377), it is nonetheless listed as a foreign language. Because of this, and despite the curriculum’s call for studying English as a lingua franca, it is taught as if students must speak it like natives in the mainstream school and in IB school A, rather than as a language of international communication. Because teaching English as a foreign language promotes monolingualism at the expense of linguistically diverse students and contrary to more recent findings concerning the fluidity of language, there is a need for the clarification of the objectives set in the national core curriculum and for the lingua franca status of English to be reflected in the classroom.

This monolingual bias can also be seen in grammar education, specifically in the schools that teach English as either a foreign language or as a native language; in both instances, the language studied is one spoken by native speakers, rather than as a lingua franca. Teaching students that a specific set of grammatical rules is more correct than others discredits the varieties of English that are not taught and decreases the value of English as primarily a language of communication. However, the biggest problem with grammar education in connection to teaching linguistically diverse students is that in the mainstream Finnish classroom, it is usually taught through Finnish, which is a second or foreign language to many linguistically diverse students. A more communication-based approach may be beneficial to both linguistically diverse and monolingual Finnish-speaking students.

The guidelines set in the 2014 national core curriculum are also insufficient concerning the education of linguistically diverse, multilingual, or immigrant students. Immigrant students are not mentioned at all despite being a growing demographic in the classroom, and multilingual students are barely considered, not even specifically mentioned in the section concerning English language education. While the curriculum advocates for the promotion of bilingualism and plurilingualism, it does not give specific objectives or instructions, which may be a contributing factor for why plurilingualism is so absent in the classroom.

Plurilingualism is also noticeably absent from Finnish English-language textbooks. The textbooks are too reliant on Finnish and encourage teachers to teach certain subjects in Finnish. As teachers have demonstrated a desire to use the same learning materials for all students, a complete overhaul of the textbooks designed for English education in Finland is necessary in order to be inclusive of linguistically diverse students. Making the learning materials more equal and accessible to all students would also remove some of the inequalities brought on by only providing some of the multilingual students tablets for translating English into their own native languages.

The Finnish education system could benefit from some kind of hybrid between English as a Foreign Language education in the national mainstream classroom and the more native-like English education in IB classrooms. However, the most important findings in this paper are the need for renewed English textbooks that incorporate translanguaging and code-switching and approach language from a multilingual, dynamic point of view, and for an attitudinal change from teaching English as a foreign or native language to teaching it as a *lingua franca*, as a language of international communication. A completely native-like competency is not necessary for most English learners in Finland.

The three most significant aspects of teaching linguistically diverse students that have not been sufficiently discussed within this paper due to limitations on scope concern assessment, culture, and teacher training. While there has been a light discussion on assessment in this paper, it is impossible to gain a comprehensive understanding of the subject without direct observation of and feedback from both the teachers and students. Without being able to see the assessment situations themselves or ask both the students and teachers for their experiences with it, it is difficult to get a reliable understanding of the practices surrounding the subject. Therefore, while I have briefly touched on assessment in the literature and in conversations with the teachers in Mamane (2017) and Mamane (2019), a much more thorough examination of the subject is necessary.

Assessment was raised as an issue by the teachers in IB school B and in the mainstream Finnish school. As Illman and Pietilä (2018, p. 243) find in their study and I found in Mamane (2017), assessment materials are often in Finnish or require a very strong knowledge of Finnish. In order to provide students fairer assessment, accommodations such as providing tablets with translation tools have been granted to students with weaker proficiency in Finnish. However, as Shohamy notes, the general policy is that accommodations are needed only on a temporary basis “until the ultimate goal of perfect monolingualism is reached” (Shohamy, 2011, p. 425). Shohamy writes, “one context in which multilingual tests are recognized is in test accommodations. This context allows for immigrant students to obtain assistance in performing on academic tests in their L1, such as with the aid of a dictionary, translation of vocabulary items, and translations in the body of text” (2011, p. 425). This is indeed the context in which multilingual tests have been conducted in Finland as well, based on my research. Accommodations must not be made on a temporary basis, but as an integral component of language teaching of multilingual students—and not just linguistically diverse students, but as a component of language teaching of monolingual students as well. Ideally, as one does not need to be familiar with the national language of the place that they are residing in in order to learn English, English as an international language or as a *lingua franca* should be taught

to all students with accommodations made for the native languages of each student, without a single assumed language, such as Finnish. However, in a national context, this is probably unlikely. Due to the inequality created by providing assessment that requires the knowledge of a national language such as Finnish, the validity of the tests is also questionable, according to Shohamy; these tests do not provide a correct understanding of linguistically diverse students' true levels of academic achievement.

Another question to ask is whether another language is needed for the assessment of a student's English language skills at all. While in teaching, it is to the students' benefit to be able to compare words, cultures, and situations in their own native languages, is this necessary for assessment, when the students are supposed to have already learned the language needed on the tests? I cannot accurately answer this question, as more research would be needed to assess this; however, I would suggest that if the aim of English education is truly competence in international communication, this does not need to be proved by reference to another language, and certainly not to one in which some students are not native.

While there is a need for discussion on the monolingual use of national languages in the school context in general, there is certainly no need for a national language (i.e., Finnish) to be used exclusively alongside a foreign (or lingua franca) language in language education. It is to the students' detriment to have to go through another language foreign to them in order to learn a third language, not to be able to use their own native languages as frames of reference instead.

The other two subjects of concern and warranting future research are culture and teacher training. Culture is such an extensive subject that it cannot be examined within the parameters of this paper. Additional questions include whether tying in students' own cultures and cultural knowledge enhance their understanding of culture associated with the English language, which cultures should be taught in English language classes, and whether culture is something to be taught at all (see Dervin & Hahl, 2015; Mamane, 2017). The last subject warranting further study concerns teacher training. How much and if the teachers received specific training pertaining to teaching linguistically diverse students was not a research question for these studies. However, based on the literature, teacher training must be improved to include teaching students from multilingual and multicultural backgrounds. In their studies, Illman and Pietilä (2018), Isosaari and Vaajoensuu (2002), Pitkänen-Huhta and Mäntylä (2014), and Sinkkonen and Kyttälä (2014) all found teacher training to be lacking or insufficient. While Isosaari and Vaajoensuu note that in most teacher training programs, there is a week of multicultural training, this is not necessarily true for subject

teachers. As subject teachers do not study education as their majors, many aspects of teacher training meant for primary school teachers are cut out.

Due to the limited scope of this and my other (Mamane, 2017, 2019) studies and because the subject is still relatively new and unstudied in the Finnish context, there is a need for more extensive studies on the English education of linguistically diverse students. Because all of the schools studied in this paper have had a large number of multilingual students, further research on the realities of teaching English to linguistically diverse students should be conducted in schools that have only a few multilingual students. While a conscious choice was made to conduct an interview in order to be able to compare the results with previous studies, future studies should focus on students as well, as the COVID-19 pandemic has ensured a permanent change in classroom practices, especially concerning the use of technology to aid teaching.

7 References

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