Dissertations in Education, Humanities, and Theology

UNIVERSITY OF
EASTERN FINLAND

JOANNE JALKANEN

**WHY ENGLISH? SCHOOL CHOICE AS SOCIOLINGUISTIC
PRACTICE IN FINNISH PRIMARY EDUCATION**

WHY ENGLISH?
SCHOOL CHOICE AS SOCIOLINGUISTIC
PRACTICE IN FINNISH PRIMARY
EDUCATION

Joanne Jalkanen

WHY ENGLISH?
SCHOOL CHOICE AS SOCIOLINGUISTIC PRACTICE IN FINNISH PRIMARY EDUCATION

ABSTRACT

This monograph investigates English-medium education as a type of school choice and a distinctive form of sociolinguistic practice in the specific local context of Finnish basic education. It examines English and Content Integrated Learning (ECIL) as a specific form of school choice, or social practice that promotes a specific register of English, and investigates who the choosers of this particular form of schooling are in terms of their socioeconomic background, and what motivates their choice in terms of discourse and ideology, since parents are an underexplored group of stakeholders who, at least in the Finnish context, have been active in desiring and lobbying for the creation of bilingual programmes. One specific local context is presented as a small-scale ethnography study to elucidate the activities of parents as a community of practice. School choice in Finland is an interesting phenomenon because basic education is publicly funded and there are very few private schools. Moreover, most Finnish parents still appear to favour the traditional 'civic duty' approach of their child attending the local neighbourhood school over a 'parentocracy' or 'consumer' school choice discourse approach.

This study used a cross-sectional survey design for which a 40-item survey instrument was devised with both quantitative and qualitative components. This facilitated the generation of both a holistic understanding of the phenomenon and a causal explanation for the parental choice of medium of education. The survey was exploratory, and the target population was identified non-randomly through parents' connections with the ECIL schools. Parents from 24 schools from across Finland participated, and total population sampling was used. The primary inclusion criteria were Finnish nationality and Finnish as a mother tongue. The survey questionnaire was electronically administered between April and August 2013, and generated 914 responses. Organisation of the data set resulted in a target group of 812 respondents, of whom 535 were parents of children in English-medium programmes (the Enkku Group), and 277 were parents of children in the regular mainstream programme or other programmes at the same schools (the Non-Enkku Group).

The results of the study show that a parent who is more highly educated, has a higher-level occupation and a higher income is more likely to choose ECIL as a form of schooling for his or her child. Generally, the Enkku Group parents tended to be from more advantageous socioeconomic backgrounds. Enkku Group parents believe that ECIL affords children the possibility to develop even better English skills than through regular mainstream education alone, and that English will broaden the worldview of the child and afford him or her greater access to the wider world, tolerance and

acceptance of difference. Future potential opportunities are seen as enhanced and increased, since proficiency in English provides the children with the opportunity to become broad-minded, confident, cosmopolitan communicators in the contact zone, with all the advantages this may ultimately bring. Learning English at school and improved English skills, nevertheless, do not appear to be held as synonymous with bilingualism. The Non-Enkku Group appear to be more traditional and less internationally-minded, since they place greater emphasis on the local school and education in Finnish. Moreover, they may take the stance that good levels of English can be acquired almost as a matter of course in Finland, thus, they want to invest in something else for their child.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä monografiatutkimus käsittelee suomalaisen peruskoulun englanninkielistä koulutusta kouluvalinnan ja sosiolingvistisen toiminnan lähtökohdista. Tutkimuksessa englannin kielen ja sisällön yhdistävä opetus (ECIL) nähdään tiettynä kouluvalintana tai sosiaalisena toimena, jossa kehitetään tiettyä englannin kielen rekisteriä. Millaisista sosioekonomisista taustoista tulevat henkilöt, jotka ovat valinneet tämän koulutusmuodon lapsilleen, ja mikä motivoi heidän valintaansa diskurssin ja ideologian suhteen? Vanhemmat ovat varsin vähän tutkittu peruskoulutuksen sidosryhmä, jotka kuitenkin varsinkin suomalaisessa kontekstissa ovat aktiivisesti toivoneet ja pyrkineet vaikuttamaan kaksikielisten ohjelmien puolesta. Eräs erityinen paikalliskonteksti esitetään pienimuotoisena etnografiatutkimuksena, jossa on tarkoituksena selvittää vanhempien toimintaa käytäntöyhteisönä. Kouluvalinta on Suomessa mielenkiintoinen ilmiö, koska peruskoulutus on rahoitettu julkisin varoin ja Suomessa on hyvin vähän yksityiskouluja. Samoin suomalaiset vanhemmat näyttävät vieläkin suosivan perinteistä ajatusta 'kansalaisvelvollisuudesta' laittaa lapsi lähikouluun sen sijaan, että lähestyisivät kouluvalintaa 'vanhempainvallan ideologian' tai 'kuluttajan' näkökulmista.

Tässä tutkimuksessa käytettiin poikkileikkauskyselyä, johon laadittiin 40-kohtainen kyselymittari sekä kvantitatiivisista että kvalitatiivisista osista. Tämä auttoi hahmottamaan sekä holistisen käsityksen ilmiöstä sekä kausaalisen selityksen vanhempien kouluvalinnan syistä. Kysely oli eksploratiivinen, ja edustava otos kohdeväestöstä tunnistettiin vanhempien ja ECIL-koulujen yhteydestä. Tutkimukseen osallistui vanhempia 24 koulusta Suomessa ja heihin käytettiin kokonaisväestöotantaa. Ensisijaiset valintakriteerit olivat Suomen kansalaisuus sekä suomi äidinkielenä. Kysely suoritettiin sähköisesti huhtikuun ja elokuun 2013 välillä ja vastauksia saatiin 914. Aineiston jaottelu valintakriteerien kautta tuotti 812 vanhemman kohderyhmän, joista 535 oli englanninkielisessä koulutuksessa olevien lasten vanhempia (Enkku-ryhmä) ja 277 vanhemmalla lapsi tai lapset olivat samoissa kouluissa suomenkielisessä koulutuksessa tai muissa ohjelmissa (ei-Enkku-ryhmä).

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että korkeasti koulutetut, korkeamman tason ammateissa olevat ja keskitasoa enemmän ansaitsevat vanhemmat valitsevat todennäköisemmin englanninkielisen ECIL-koulutuksen lapselleen. Yleisesti ottaen Enkku-ryhmän vanhemmat tulivat siis paremmista sosioekonomisista taustoista. Enkku-ryhmän vanhemmat uskoivat myös, että ECIL-koulutus mahdollistaa lapsille paremman englannin kielen kehityksen kuin peruskoulutus ja että englannin kieli laajentaa lasten maailmankuvaa sekä kehittää suvaitsevuutta ja erilaisuuden

hyväksymistä. Lasten tulevaisuuden mahdollisuuksien nähtiin olevan parempia sekä lasten nähtiin hyötyvän siitä, että englannin kielen taito edistää heidän kehitystään avaramielisiksi, itsevarmoiksi ja kosmopoliittisiksi viestijöiksi. Englannin oppiminen koulussa ja parempi englannin kielen taito eivät kuitenkaan näytä olevan synonyymejä kaksikielisyydestä. Ei-Enkku-ryhmän vanhemmat taas näyttivät olevan ajatusmaailmaltaan perinteisempiä ja vähemmän kansainvälisiä, ja he painottivat enemmän lähikoulun ja suomenkielisen koulutuksen merkitystä. Samoin ei-Enkku-vanhemmat kokivat, että englannin kielen voi oppia Suomessa hyvin myös muuten ja he halusivat painottaa muita asioita lastensa koulutuksessa.

Avainsanat: kouluvalinta, peruskouluopetus Suomessa, kaksikielinen opetus, englanti

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

MAIN ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

A1	The first foreign language taught at the primary level in Finnish schools (obligatory)
A2	The second foreign language taught at the primary level in Finnish schools (optional)
AL	Academic Language
CBI	Content-based Instruction
CBLT	Content-based Language Instruction
CCK	Cross Cultural Kids
CEIL	Content and English Integrated Learning
CEFR	Common European Framework for Languages
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
COE	Council of Europe
CPH	Critical Period Hypothesis
ECIL	English and Content Integrated Learning
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EU	European Union
FIS	Finnish International School
FIS-STEPS	Finnish International School – Sharing Tools for Public Education
GN	Global Nomads
IB	International Baccalaureate
ibid.	In the same place [in the work cited]
IBO	International Baccalaureate Organization
IS	International School
L1	First Language or Mother Tongue
L2	Second or Foreign Language
MBE	Mainstream Bilingual Education
op. cit.	The work cited
RQ	Research Question
SE	Standard English
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TCK	Third Culture Kids

1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   ORIENTATION

With the spread of Neoliberal discourse and the institutionalisation of education in the latter half of the twentieth century, the focus of education has changed worldwide, moving towards an embracing of market values, resulting in more forms of school choice, competition, and parents as consumers (Smala, Bergas Paz & Lingard 2013; Forsey, Davies & Walford 2008; Harvey 2005). Choice can constitute an expression of will and rationality, or a demonstration of power, but it is, nevertheless, a social act; reflective of the society in which it occurs and the specific tastes and propensities of groups within that society and, as such, it is never an entirely individual undertaking (van Zanten 2009). With the commodification[1] of education, and parents as choosers, schooling has, nonetheless, come to represent a form of positional goods that parents may choose and use for distinction (Bourdieu 2010; Smala *et al.* 2013, p. 376). This has meant that school choice tends to be an especially middle-class or bourgeois phenomenon, and is inherently unequal, as some groups have more or better access to it (Kosunen 2016; Poikolainen 2011).

This monograph investigates English-medium education as a type of school choice and a distinctive form of sociolinguistic practice in the specific local context of Finnish basic education. It takes English and Content Integrated Learning (ECIL) as a specific form of school choice, or social practice that promotes a specific register of English, and investigates who the choosers of this particular form of schooling are in terms of their socioeconomic background, and what motivates their choice in terms of discourse and ideology. ECIL is used to indicate a programme offering some form of English-medium bilingual education, and ranges from programmes with many hours of education in English to those with only a few hours. ECIL is a highly specific, and sometimes, even controversial type of school choice (Leppänen, Pitkänen-Huhta, Nikula, Kytölä, Törmäkangas, Nissinen, Kääntä, Virkkula, Laitinen, Pahta, Koskela, Lähdesmäki, & Jousmäki 2011, pp. 80–90), hence, it is necessary to investigate why parents in Finland continue to desire it for their children.

I have chosen to coin the acronym ECIL for the purpose of this study. Those familiar with the more common CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) may wonder why. The Finnish National Board of Education has chosen not to refer to CLIL at all in the new National Core Curriculum, preferring the terms large-scale and small-scale (language-enriched) bilingual education (FNBE 2016, pp. 95–97). Moreover, it has been my observation that, in Finland, researchers tend to use the term CLIL as a blanket term, to refer generally to bilingual education that involves the teaching of language through content or the teaching of content through a second language. Local authorities, schools, and teachers, on the other hand, seem to make use of a variety of terms, such as mainstream bilingual education, English-medium

---

[1] The understanding of commodity here draws on the work of Agha (2011, p. 22) in which commodities are held as "cultural forms through which images of diverse social phenomena become manifest in perceivable activities through which culture is transformed in social history", and which hold social indexical value.

education, language enhanced learning, or language shower[2] (Virtala 2002). A case in point is the survey by Kangasvieri, Miettinen, Palviainen, Saarinen & Ala-Vähälä (2011, p. 55), who found that only 15% of local authorities (N=27) referred to their bilingual programmes as specifically CLIL. CLIL will be used at times, particularly when drawing on earlier research. At such times, unless otherwise stated, the reader may also understand CLIL as general and not necessarily related to English specifically. It should, however, be made clear at the outset, that the study is not concerned with examining actual language production or classroom discourse, nor is it concerned with explaining specific pedagogy or learning outcomes. The focus is a social practice; the choice of a specific form of education, made by parents for their child or children, which is guided by ideologies and discourses concerning the current global language of international communication.

Finland is a bilingual country with a relatively small population. At the end of 2015, the official population of Finland was given as 5,487,308, of whom 49.2% were men and 50.8% women (OSF 2016a). According to Official Statistics of Finland (*ibid.*), Finnish is the language spoken by some 88.7 per cent of the population, while only 5.3 per cent are Swedish-speaking[3]. The target group of the study are Finnish-speaking Finnish parents. This is because Finnish-speaking Finns constitute the ethnic and linguistic majority, and are, thus, representative of a language community (Silverstein 1996) with a strong monolingual and mono-cultural self-image (Blommaert, Leppänen & Spotti 2012; Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005; Pöyhönen & Luukka 2007) grounded in the strong national identity of a relatively homogenous and young nation state (Blommaert *et al.* 2012, p. 10). Moreover, they also constitute an epistemic community holding shared true beliefs (Knowledge) as justified and ratified through the knowledge criteria of the epistemic institutions of Finnish society[4] (van Dijk 2013). Through this shared cultural knowledge, the group can also be considered as a cultural or discourse community, and as such, it may be assumed that they share relatively homogeneous values[5], as evaluative and motivational systems, in terms of ideal goals to be striven towards, and which are employed in diverse social practices and contexts (van Dijk 1998, pp. 74–77).

Some Finnish parents today continue to want, or need, their children to be educated through the medium of English in primary education in Finland. English is not one of Finland's official languages, but it is the foreign language that is most desired, needed, studied, and used by Finns (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, 2009a). This makes these parents' choice of education especially interesting, as they are substituting one language of instruction (Finnish), associated with a strong monoglot ideology, with another one (English). Moreover, by exercising choice, they would appear to be less traditional and

---

[2] Language shower is a play on words from the Finnish term for immersion 'language bath'. It is used to indicate a small amount of contact with the target language, for example, perhaps one 45-minute lesson a week, or less.

[3] Numerically the Swedish-speaking population constitutes a minority, and the number of foreign-language speakers (6% of the population) has overtaken the number of mother-tongue-Swedish speakers (OSF 2016a.). Despite the declining numbers, legally, however, mother-tongue-Swedish speakers are not considered as a minority group, and the Swedish language was accorded equal status with Finnish by the Constitution Act of Finland of 1919 (CAF 1919, section 14).

[4] It is acknowledged that many different epistemic communities can exist which have different forms of knowledge as defined by the particular epistemic criteria of a given community or society, and that what is held as knowledge in one may be seen as false belief in another.

[5] Some differences will exist, and some people may even reject the values of their culture, but by and large, very few people from the same culture will have value systems that differ greatly (van Dijk 1998, p. 74).

more parentocracy[6]/consumer-oriented than many other Finnish parents (Poikolainen 2011, pp. 136–140). Given that English is the most available foreign language in Finland generally (Leppänen *et al.* 2009a, 2011), but this group of parents are strategically choosing even more, over and above their first language, and the choice that they are making for their children has implications not only for families, but also for Finnish society and Finland as an actor on the global stage (van Zanten 2009; Kosunen 2016, p. 16), factors influencing this type of school choice deserve to be investigated.

With the change of law in 1990, parents were able to request education through the medium of English at the primary level. The survey by Nikula and Marsh (1996) shows that 80% of primary schools in their survey offered CLIL in English. Of these, 80% listed teacher interest as a reason for beginning CLIL education, 58% to develop language skills, and 40% parental wishes. The 2005 survey by Lehti, Järvinen, and Suomela-Salmi (2006, p. 299) showed that the number of primary schools offering CLIL had dropped significantly (c. 50%), but that those that had continued with it had better established, consolidated programmes. English continued to be the most popular language. The Lehti *et al.* study also showed a significant drop in teacher interest (48%), while developing language proficiency remained the same. Similarly, there was only a minor decrease regarding parental wishes (38%). This highlights that parents have long been interested in ECIL programmes, and such programmes are valued over and above regular English foreign language instruction.

The impetus for the extensive spread of CLIL, or in this instance ECIL in Finland, might best be understood by the lay theories/beliefs that construct it (Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer & Smit 2013, p. 280). People hold 'ideological constructed representations' of language and linguistic difference which guide how they act and which can be indexical of social identities and used to account for linguistic indices (Irvine & Gal 2009, p. 403). Much of the CLIL research on beliefs, however, has tended to focus on teachers and learners (Nikula 2010; Hüttner *et al.* 2013; Llinares 2015, p. 61; Bovellan 2014), leaving parents as an underexplored group of stakeholders who, at least in the Finnish context, have been active in desiring and lobbying for the creation of bilingual programmes (Nikula & Marsh 1996, p. 48; Lehti *et al.* 2006, p. 300; Rasinen 2006, p. 161). Previous research has shown that, generally, parents believe that bilingual education will provide their child with improved language skills, that is, better than regular foreign language programmes, or that it will later afford their child an advantage in the labour market (Bovellan 2014, p. 22; Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares 2013, p. 71; Rajander 2010, pp. 244–246; Smala, *et al.* 2013, pp. 373–374; Hüttner *et al.* 2013; Li 2002).

English-medium education exists as a form of school choice at all levels of education in Finland, but this study is concerned with the primary level and the transition from pre-school to primary education (cf. Jalkanen 2009; Copp-Jinkerson 2012). Some studies have investigated parents' attitudes towards ECIL at the primary level (Rajander 2010; Rasinen 2006), but they concern individual schools, and have relatively low numbers of parent respondents. To my knowledge, the parental perspective of ECIL has not been cohesively researched, taking into account a range of contexts across Finland. This study takes a novel perspective from the interface of social sciences, linguistics, and educational science, and, using a cross-sectional survey, addresses this gap in the research. By widening the range of participants to parents of children in more

---

[6] Parentocracy ideology, in contrast to a meritocracy, is one in which the education of a child is dependent on the desires and affluence of the parents, rather than the on the merits of the child (Brown 1990). In a meritocracy, an individual's success depends upon his or her skills and ability (Härkönen 2010, p. 52).

ECIL primary schools from all over Finland, this study generates knowledge that contributes to the existing body of information and research on school choice and ECIL in Finland, from a sociolinguistic perspective[7]. The study also generates a broad overview of the field of ECIL in Finland today, adding to previous survey research in the field, but providing comprehensive information from the parental perspective from the four mainland major regions of Finland. As such, the knowledge generated in the course of this monograph constitutes a broad national canvas against which existing and future research could be set or compared, both locally and internationally. Thus, it makes an important contribution to the field. Moreover, it is important for local education providers to remain in contact with parents as constituents, and better understand what drives their motivation, which, ultimately, provides a background for a better level of collaboration.

Selecting an ECIL programme or school at the outset of a child's educational career constitutes the choice of an educational pathway that can set a child on a particular linguistic and social trajectory (Kosunen 2016, p. 5; van Zanten 2009), through social spaces that are not just local but, given the function of English as a global *lingua franca*, are also translocal[8] (Blommaert 2010). It is evident that parents who desire ECIL value English and want more English instruction for their children than that afforded by regular mainstream education and, as discussed above, they have been instrumental in the inception of ECIL programmes (Jalkanen 1999). Hence, as a group of practice, they have been willing to lobby local education authorities to negotiate for and create a further type of sociolinguistic context of English in the form of ECIL programmes (*ibid.*, Jalkanen 2007). Fundamentally, the idea of context here draws on the work of van Dijk (2008, p. x), in that the context is not merely a static part of the background to the study, but also representative of a participant construct; devised and maintained by agents as members of a particular group of practice aiming towards a particular register of English.

The survey data alone are not able to illustrate this dynamic part of the phenomenon of ECIL explicitly to the reader. To address this, and to provide an example of a context model (see Figure 2.4), in Chapter Three, the study presents a specific context of ECIL, Case Kuopio, as a separate historical ethnographical component, illustrating the role of parents in its inception, and explicating the history of and reasoning for the controlled access to the programme. Figure 4.1 in Chapter Four shows the relation of this ethnographical study to the survey study. As a separate background component, the ethnographical study provides one specific local illustrative example of how parents have come together as an ECIL community of practice, and demonstrates how their endeavours and collaboration with educational authorities have resulted in a consolidated ECIL programme. The added value for the reader is the disclosure of a specific Finnish ECIL context and a concrete example of one existing form of school choice. Moreover, the ethnography is, in many ways, an auto-ethnography, describing my own ECIL context, and as such, provides the background to what generated my own interest in the field of ECIL and the motivation for this study.

---

[7] Although the approach taken is sociolinguistic, it can also be described as drawing upon linguistic anthropology, which according to Hymes (2010, p. 571), "... can be defined as the study of language in an anthropological context".

[8] Here translocal comprises the ideological image of English as mobile, with the values ascribed to English as a global thing (Blommaert personal correspondence December 2015).

1.2   THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

All parents in the ECIL schools were invited to participate in this study so that there would be two groups for comparison. The first group comprises parents who stated that their child is being educated through the medium of English in an enriched English-medium programme, hereafter referred to as the Enkku Group. The second group comprises those parents who stated that their child is not being educated through the medium of English, hereafter referred to as the Non-Enkku Group. The Finnish term 'Enkku' is a soubriquet for English that is used across Finland. It is used here because it is succinct, uncontrived, and relevant to the specific Finnish context. It is, therefore, free of some of the more global implications that may be attached to use of the term 'English' *per se*. Drawing on the background information presented above, four research questions were generated to guide this study.

Research Question 1: What guides Finnish-speaking Finns to choose an English and Content Integrated Learning (ECIL) programme for their children?

Research Question 2: How do the attitudes of the other group of survey respondents compare with those of parents in this study who chose an English and Content Integrated Learning programme for their children?

Research Question 3: How do the socioeconomic backgrounds of the two groups of parent respondents compare?

Research Question 4: What is the role of the chosen socioeconomic status (SES) indicators (Place of Residence; Occupational Grouping/Employment Status; Level of Education; and Average Monthly Household Income) in the choice of English-medium education at the primary level?

These research questions (RQs) do not function in isolation; rather they have a dynamic connection which is presented in Figure 1.1.
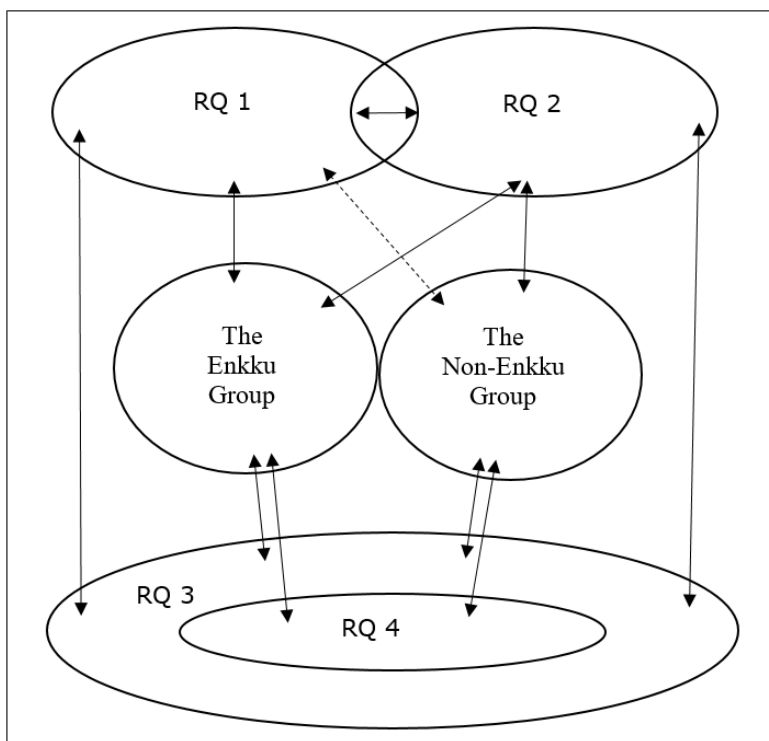
Figure 1.1. The Dynamics of the Research Questions

RQ 1 is the cornerstone of the study survey in that it is the phenomenon to be investigated in terms of why parents make this type of school choice for their child/children and what motivates the choice. Rajander (2010, pp. 244–246) and Rasinen (2006, p. 94) identified some reasons given by parents concerning their choice of ECIL. RQ1 of this study seeks to build upon these results by broadening the parental field to include parents from across Finland, and examining their beliefs ideologically. The broken line arrow between this research question and the Non-Enkku Group is to indicate that there may be parents in the Non-Enkku Group who may have considered ECIL for their children. RQ 2 provides a point of contrast and comparison between the two groups of parents in terms of their attitudes to and constructions of English and English-medium education in Finland, which are held as representative of ideologies and discourses. The function of this is to investigate and ascertain how similar or dissimilar the beliefs of the two groups are. Previous research has tended to focus on Enkku parents, RQ 2 of this study, thus, seeks to address a potential gap by including the attitudes and beliefs of other parents from ECIL schools, whose children are not learning through the medium of English.

In the figure, the two parent groups are placed together and touching to represent that they are not mutually exclusive. They each constitute the linguistic majority and epistemic community, and their children attend the same schools. There are several potential areas of overlap between the groups as there may be parents who have a child in each group, and additionally, that there may be parents among the Non-Enkku Group who may have had a child in an ECIL programme but who is no longer

in that programme. Moreover, there may be Non-Enkku parents who would have chosen ECIL, but, for whatever reason, their child was unable to secure a place in the ECIL programme. In the figure, however, they are presented as touching but not overlapping to signify that the two groups were treated separately in the study, as two hypothetical social groups or communities of practice. Moreover, in the survey, respondents could not belong to both groups. The potential overlap, however, is acknowledged by the double arrow between RQ 1 and RQ 2.

Research Question 3 is relevant to both groups, given that previous research repeatedly shows school choice in general to be representative of a middle-class socioeconomic background (e.g. Kosunen 2016, p. 23; Kosunen & Seppänen 2015, p. 330). Previous research, however, has tended to concentrate on school choice at the transition from primary to lower secondary school. This study contributes to existing research by providing empirical evidence from the pre-primary to primary level transition, and concerning one specific form of school choice. RQ 3 has some effect on factors concerned with RQ 1 and RQ 2. RQ 4 expands this by taking four specific SES indicators from the background variables, and examines if the odds for parents to choose English-medium education is related to their place of residence, occupational grouping/employment status, level of education, and monthly household income. This is based on the findings of previous Finnish and international research that parents who choose English medium education tend to be from more advantageous socioeconomic backgrounds, and examines these indicators in a Finnish context (de Mejía 2002, p. 45; Rajander 2010, p. 116).

The following chapter introduces the key background concepts relevant to this study. Chapter Three discusses specific sociolinguistic contexts of English in Finland, while Chapter Four outlines the study design and methods. The survey is also evaluated in the methodology chapter, rather than in the final chapter. The study results are presented in Chapter Five, while Chapter Six comprises a discussion of main points according to the research questions, and the conclusions.

2   CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

2.1   DISCOURSE, VOICE, AND IDEOLOGIES

Discourse[9] involves the social construction of reality through language in the form of communicative units (text and talk) as part of social and cultural practices or communicative events (Paltridge 2012, p. 7; van Dijk 1998, p. 191). Discourse is not confined to actual language production with actors as mere speakers and hearers, but should also be considered as 'language-in-action' and, therefore, as all forms of meaningful behaviour or semiosis concerned with how language is used socially, culturally, and historically by actors as social members of collectivities (Blommaert 2005, p. 2; Gee 2015, pp. 178–179; Fairclough 2015, p. 7; Räisänen, 2013, p. 68; van Dijk 1998, p. 6; Bakhtin 1981, pp. 276–278). Moreover, discourses also comprise values and ways of thinking and knowing, as well as tacit theories about status, worth, normality, and assets in society and who should have them (van Dijk 1998, p. 6; Paltridge 2012, p. 10; Gee 2015, pp. 4–5); as such they are inherently indexical (Silverstein 2003). In this study, discourse is used in two specific ways; choice of ECIL as a form of semiotic behaviour and social practice, and the questionnaire responses as communicative units of language.

To elucidate what motivates the choice of ECIL by Enkku Group parents, this study draws on Discourse, Voice, and Ideology because school choice can be an ideological issue (Kosunen & Seppänen 2015, p. 330), and these concepts are useful in explaining the constructed representations of language, based on shared beliefs, that guide and shape people's behaviour (e.g. choice of school) and ways of being in the world (Gee 2015; Fairclough 2015; Blommaert 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010; van Dijk 1998, 2005, 2006; Bakhtin 1981, 1986). When social agents use language, they make use of existing discourse to portray socially-situated (indexical) identities that constitute how they represent and conceive of themselves and the world around them (Paltridge 2012, p. 9; Räisänen 2013, p. 68; Bakhtin 1981, pp. 276–278, 1986, p. 81, 92). Figure 2.2 presents the main points from each, and although Discourse, Voice, and Ideology are presented separately, they should be understood as dynamically interconnected and contiguous. This is represented by the arrows: discourse is a locus for ideology, ideology is represented discursively, and the norms of having voice are relevant to each.

---

[9] Discourse is used interchangeably with discourses. Use of Discourse (with a capital) refers specifically to Gee (2015).
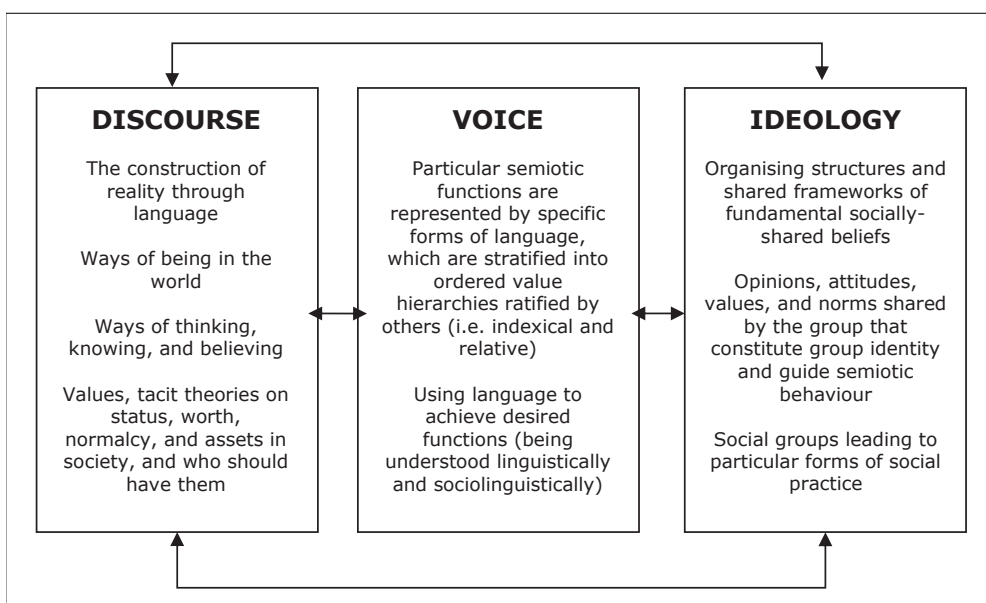
Figure 2.1. Discourse, Voice, and Ideology (drawing on the work of Gee 2015; Blommaert 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010; van Dijk 1998, 2005, 2006; Bakhtin 1981, 1986)

Discourses, therefore, can function to differentiate agents and groups in society (Gee 2015, p. 4). Gee refers to discourses as Discourses (with a capital D), and distinguishes between primary and secondary Discourses. Primary Discourses refer to how people acquire their first language and sense of self (ways of using language, thinking, believing, acting) in order to be everyday people as part of their primary socialisation (*op. cit.*, pp. 171–175). Secondary Discourses are additional discourses acquired and absorbed in more public spheres as part of processes of secondary or additional socialisation, and which involve new allegiances, practices, and ways of thinking and using language (*ibid.*; cf. Agha 2004, p. 26). A Finnish child learning through the medium of English rather than their first language, Finnish, would acquire English as a secondary Discourse. Any social agent may comprise many different, and possibly also conflicting, Discourses that shape his or her social identity (Gee 2015, p. 4). As such, discourses are ways of "being in the world" that are used by social agents to signal the adoption of a socially meaningful role signifying membership of a specific social group in a particular social niche, which is understandable to and understood by other social actors (*op. cit.*, pp. 178–179).

The concept of voice (having it or not having it) is also part of such Discourse. As stated above, at any time, various registers and genres of language co-exist in socio-cultural life ("socio-ideological life / verbal-ideological life"), that are associated with different periods, age groups and social groups; each with its own distinguishing features that are recognised by the group and other social groups and stratified according to value beliefs (Bakhtin 1981, pp. 291–292). Here, voice is concerned with how language operates in society, and how social actors successfully accomplish functions through language to be heard by and in society (Blommaert 2005, pp. 68–71). It is concerned with the capacity of a social agent to make himself or herself understood, that is, to be understandable and understood linguistically and sociolinguistically,

and for that to be ratified by others (Agha 2004, p. 26). Moreover, voice involves the semiotic behaviour of social agents as governed by orders of indexicality (*op. cit.*, p. 69; Blommaert 2010, p. 6) that are regulated by institutions, in the broad sense, that function as the authority that sets the criteria for what a social agent must do or be to have voice (Blommaert 2005, pp. 171–172). These norm-regulating institutions vary in the range of influence that they exert; some have a narrower range of influence (the home or peer groups), and some a broader influence, such as the church or schools (*ibid.*). Ideological processes can also be envisioned in similar terms (Blommaert 2005, p. 173). A Finnish child who has been educated through the medium of English has access to more English at the school level, and thus, potentially, has the opportunity to develop the skills to function in a wide range of situations through English.

Discourses have been identified as a locus for ideologies, with a special status in their reproduction, especially in conjunction with power (van Dijk 1998, p. 6, 191; Blommaert 2005, p. 158; Gee 2015, p. 179). By examining the 'discursive manifestations' of ideologies, we can better understand how ideologies are created, acquired, constructed, transformed, and replicated by social group members (van Dijk 1998, p. 6). Ideology constitutes a complex and convoluted concept, which derives from Antoine Destutt de Tracy's original *idéologie* or 'science of ideas' (1801), and has diverse philosophical traditions, understandings, and approaches (Blommaert 2005, p. 161; Fairclough 2015, pp. 106–111; Gee 2015, pp. 8–9). Traditional or classical conceptions of ideology define ideology in terms of economy or power, concerned with production and the reproduction of social determination in the best interests of the dominant economic class, or, for example, as something negative, such as 'false consciousness' (Marx & Engels 1845), or in terms of coercion and hegemony, accepted as common sense by dominated groups (Gramsci 1929) – these but the tip of the iceberg. For the purpose of this study, a more pragmatic framework was sought that would be closer to the micro grassroots contexts and, thus, useful in explaining the discursive and ideological belief systems pertaining to a particular group (the Enkku Group) which guide the behaviour of that group, motivating the choice of the global *lingua franca* as the language of education for a child rather than the Finnish first language, and which can be compared and contrasted to another social group (the Non-Enkku Group).

As this study deals with school choice as a sociolinguistic practice, it is concerned particularly with political and language ideologies at both the macro and micro social levels. As such, ideologies are "understood as processes that require material reality and institutional structures and practices of power and authority" (Blommaert 2005, p. 163). Neoliberalism, Consumerism, Parentocracy, and the Hegemony of English, for example, are manifest at the macro-social level, at the level of Finnish society and the global level through institutional social structures (Patomäki 2007, pp. 11–14; Silvennoinen, Kalalahti & Varjo 2015, p. 39; Kosunen & Seppänen 2015, p. 330; Hakulinen, Kalliokoski, Kankaanpää, Kanner, Koskenniemi, Lautinen, Maamies & Nuolijärvi 2009, p. 76). Capital letters are used to indicate that they are being considered at this level, and thus, represent the common-sense understandings and normalised practice of the whole fabric of society, and are not attributed to any one particular group (Blommaert 2005, p. 159). Ideology is accepted as able to "cover processes and practices at several levels of consciousness, of different scope and scale, and with different effects" (*op. cit.*, pp. 171–172). This is pertinent to language ideologies, which can also cover varying levels and processes, ranging from micro-level practices involving interactive communication (registers, voice) to macro-level processes including the role and place that language has in the culture and civilisation

of a society (Seargeant 2009, p. 349). The latter is particularly relevant to the role of English in Finland.

An ideology may be the product of a comprehensive and explicit framework, or the less-organised, shared beliefs of social groups (van Dijk 1998, pp. 171–172). At the micro-social level, ideologies are manifest in terms of various kinds of local social practice, more specifically in this case, as motives guiding a particular choice of school. This micro-level notion of ideology concerns the relations between cognition, society, and discourse (van Dijk 1998, p. 6), and sees ideologies primarily as systems of 'fundamental' or 'axiomatic' beliefs (van Dijk 2006, p. 116, 1998, p. 32) that are acquired over time, may decline, and are shared by a social group, hence are not personal or individual, and which, as socially-shared mental representations, also involve a cognitive component (van Dijk 1998, p. 126). Similarly, Gee refers to such beliefs as 'master myths', involving shared assumptions which are grounded in ideas and theories that are held as the norm and shared by a social group as a simplified framework ('cultural model' or 'figured world') for making sense of the world (Gee 2015, pp. 114–124).

The latter part of the twentieth century saw the development of more inclusive, less pejorative notions of ideology (van Dijk 1998, p. 3), however, ideologies are generally a product of social competition and the conflicts of interests between social groups, when groups develop and defend their ideology and use it to represent their group identity and their way of doing things as the right way (*op. cit.*, pp. 71–73; Fairclough 2015, p. 64; Seargeant 2009, p. 348; Woolard 1998, pp. 6–7). Moreover, the specific –ism 'Linguicism' exists in certain contexts, which can be explained as "ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language..." (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988, p. 13; Phillipson 1992, p. 47). Despite this, not all ideologies derive from power struggles and conflicts between groups. Figure 2.3 draws on van Dijk 1998; Blommaert 2005; and Fairclough 2015, and presents the notions of ideology in use in this study.
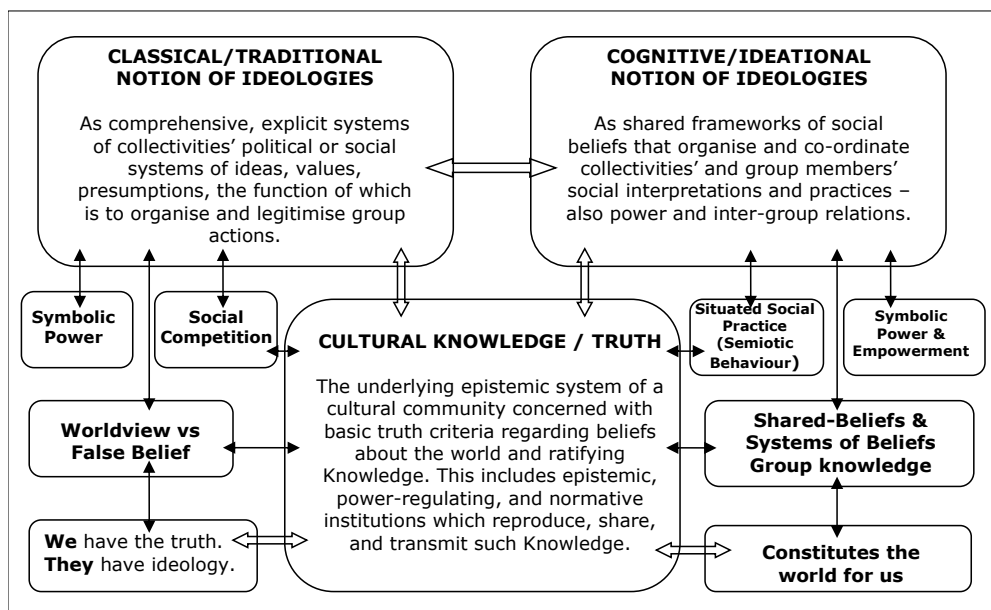
Figure 2.2. Notions of Ideologies in this Study (van Dijk 1998; Blommaert 2005; and Fairclough 2015)

Ideologies function as the organising structures of beliefs, including attitudes concerning the social group's identity or interests, based on membership and the norms, values, activities, position, relations, goals and resources of the social groups (van Dijk 1998, p. 69–73), which social agents use to make themselves understandable and understood when positioning themselves socially through language (Blommaert 2005, p.172). The section concerning 'Symbolic Power and Empowerment' refers to ideologies, such as feminism or anti-racism, which are inherently emancipating rather than dominating, thus, not all ideologies are necessarily negative (van Dijk 1998). At the macro-social level, the classical notion of ideology holds belief as opposed to ratified Knowledge, hence, as 'false belief', while at the micro-social level, according to the cognitive/ideational notion of ideology, belief may be construed as knowledge shared by a group, but not as ratified Knowledge generated by epistemic institutions. Furthermore, the micro-social level of ideology concerns beliefs as opinions, attitudes, values and norms shared by the group. The section Cultural Knowledge refers to the generation of so-called reliable Knowledge. This is Knowledge that has been justified or ratified according to the epistemic criteria of the epistemic/cultural community which, in this instance, is Finnish society, and also comprises the criteria for having voice. Cultural Knowledge is shared by all community members, and is reproduced and disseminated by epistemic/normative institutions, such as schools, churches and other civil society institutions, the media, and so on (van Dijk 1998, p. 39, 2013; Blommaert 2005, p. 162, 172). Since ideologies are beliefs[10], either in terms of 'false belief' or 'shared beliefs', they do not constitute ratified Knowledge *per se*, and

---

[10] Beliefs can be held as properties of thinking, the building blocks of the mind, with knowledge as one category thereof (van Dijk 1998, pp. 18–19).

different epistemic or cultural communities may have different types of Knowledge (*ibid.*). Hence, Knowledge or Cultural Knowledge is referred to with a capital letter to distinguish it from Group knowledge, which refers to the shared beliefs of a group that represent unquestioned knowledge to members of a specific social group based on that group's own criteria (van Dijk 1998, p. 38).

In terms of this survey study, by 1991, Neoliberal Ideology had already gained a foothold in Finland (Patomäki 2007, p. 55). This macro-level activity became integrated into Finnish epistemic institutions, and paved the way for the changes in the provision of education discussed in Section 2.5, which enabled the development of classes of special emphasis that constitute the majority of school choice in Finland (Rinne 2000; Kosunen 2016). The number of ECIL programmes increased greatly during the 1990s, and parental wishes accounted for the inception of programmes 40% of the time (Nikula & Marsh 1996). This shows that, at the micro level, social groups or communities of practice exist who have strong positive beliefs linked to their children being educated through the medium of English (utopian ideologies concerning English). In addition to these groups, other groups exist who do not hold such favourable beliefs concerning English (dystopian ideologies of English). Both types of group exist in a society with shared macro-level Ideologies and epistemic institutions, but hold different shared-beliefs as group knowledge and ideologies, which guide their behaviour and the choices they make.

This study is concerned with ascertaining the socially-shared beliefs of the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups concerning English-medium education in Finnish primary education through the expressed personal beliefs and attitudes of members of each social group. Such beliefs are referred to as salient beliefs. The idea of salient belief draws upon the work of Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) on predicting social behaviour. A social agent can hold a number of beliefs about a certain concept, however, he or she can only manage five to nine at a given time, which constitute the "immediate determinates" of his or her attitude towards the concept in question (*op. cit.*, p. 63); in this case, English. Beliefs can be personal (stored in the personal or episodic memory) or social (stored in the social or semantic memory), but given that most of a person's knowledge about the world is socially and culturally constructed, ideologies can be held as socially-shared beliefs (van Dijk 1998, p. 29; Gee 2015, pp. 114–124). In terms of language ideologies specifically, this may comprise what social group members consider as truths about language and discourse, or what they hold to be "morally good" or "aesthetically pleasing" (Kroskrity 2004, p. 501). Personal beliefs may affect the shared belief, but remain personal beliefs, hence not shared knowledge (van Dijk 1998, p. 32).

Whether personal or shared socially, all beliefs are grounded in, and ground, the theories that people hold (Gee 2015, p. 20). They can be more or less overt or tacit (*op. cit.*, pp. 20–22). Overt beliefs are those that have been researched and are based on primary theories and primary generalisations from diverse sources, while tacit beliefs are the opposite; not given great consideration consciously, possibly include hearsay and based on non-primary theories and non-primary generalisations (Gee 2015, pp. 20–22). Personal and social belief can each be further categorised as either particular or general, with specific collective experience as a particular type of social belief in the form of historical knowledge (van Dijk 1998, p. 29–32). Historical knowledge concerns a collective experience of a group or culture that has "a shared representation in social memory" (*op. cit.*, p. 32). Van Dijk cites the Holocaust as a prototype of such historical knowledge. Table 2.1 draws on van Dijk's work and presents how beliefs

can be construed in terms of personal versus social, particular versus general, and factual versus evaluative.

Table 2.1. The Different Types of Beliefs in this Study (van Dijk 1998)

Personal/Episodic Belief	Socially-shared Epistemic Belief (Cultural Community)	Socially-shared Belief (Social Group)
Particular (Context-bound)	Particular (Context-bound)	Particular (Context-bound)
General (Context-free/Abstract)	General (Context-free/Abstract)	General (Context-free/Abstract)
-	Historical knowledge Specific Collective Experiences	Historical knowledge Specific Collective Experiences
Factual Beliefs What the social agent knows (Episteme)	Factual Beliefs Cultural Knowledge / truth (Episteme)	Factual Beliefs Group knowledge (Episteme)
Salient (Evaluative) Beliefs What the social agent thinks about something; based on values/norms (Opinion/Doxa)	Evaluative Beliefs Fundamental Social Values (Opinion/Doxa)	Evaluative Beliefs Social group opinions/attitudes; based on values/norms (Opinion/Doxa)

According to van Dijk, values can be held as another form of social belief essential in the construction of ideologies (van Dijk 1998, p. 74). Values are based in the "cultural common ground" (*ibid.*) of a society, and have a fundamental evaluative function of the culture in general. The evaluative beliefs of the social group can also be understood as the opinions of the group which constitute the ideology, hence, also as attitudes (*op. cit.*, p. 33). When ideologies are held as socially shared, the socially-shared belief can be assumed by group members to be known to other members of the group (*op. cit.*, p. 31). This, however, inevitably involves some form of abstraction, and all members of a particular social group are not held as having a homogenous version[11] of the ideology in question, but rather that these will vary among group members (*op. cit.*, p. 30, 79). Some group members will have a highly-detailed version of the ideology while others will have cruder versions, and these will be manifested in empirical research as individual differences (Gee 2015, p. 21; Kroskrity 2004, p. 505). Figure 2.4 draws together the discussion above and, using van Dijk's model of a theory of ideology (1998, p. 87) combined with elements of Blommaert's model of voice (2005, p. 158, p. 171), presents a framework for the discourse of ECIL as a form of social practice in primary education in Finland.

---

[11] Here version is to be understood as a social representation, pertaining to the social memory, and distinct from how an ideology may be used in a specific context (van Dijk 1998, p. 79).

Figure 2.3. A Conceptual Framework for Understanding the Discourse of ECIL as a Form of Social Practice in Primary Education in Finland (adapted from van Dijk 1998, p. 87, and drawing on Blommaert 2005, p. 158, p. 171)
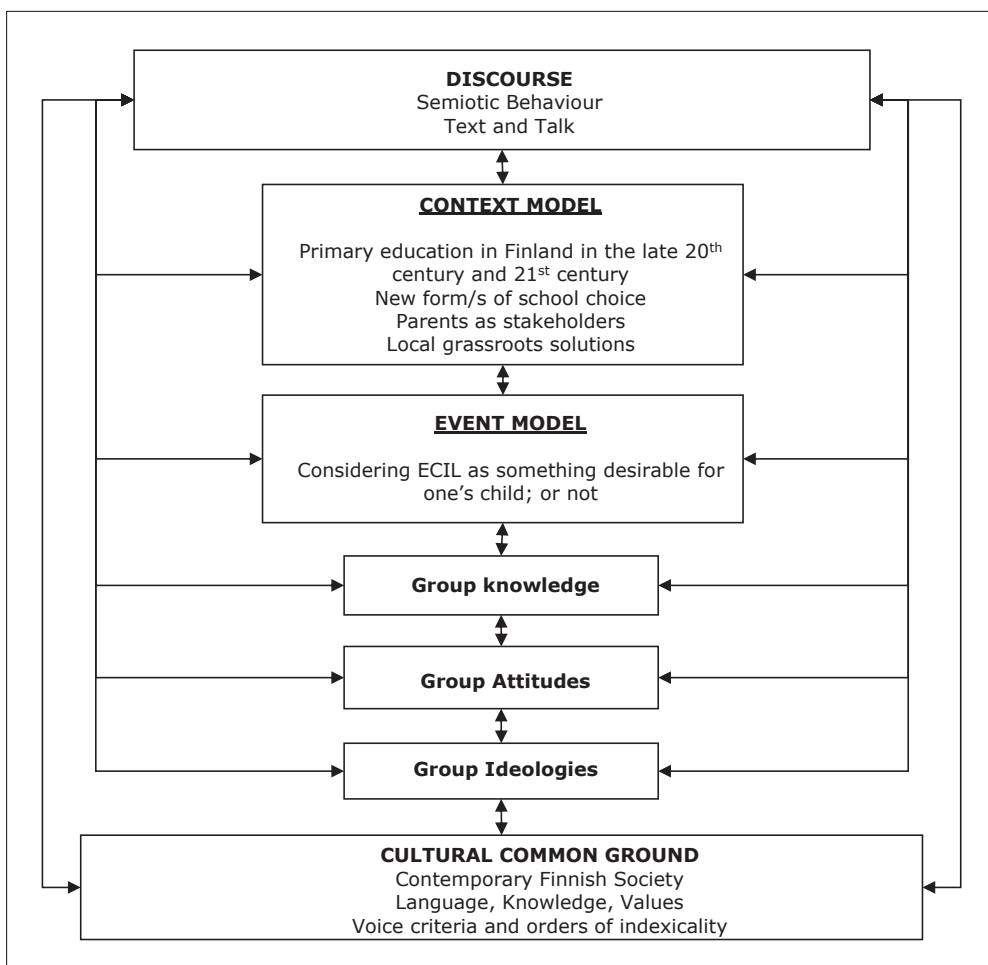
Here, ideology is not simply a worldview, it is "the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group" (van Dijk 2005, p. 729); it is the mental dimension of a social group – "the social mind in its social (political, cultural) context" – as realised in and through the actions of the group (van Dijk 1998, p. 7). An event model is an episodic model created in the mind of the social actor, which is based on the subjective social representation of an event or episode, that relates ideologies to discourse, and can be used in the interpretation of discourse (van Dijk 1998, pp. 79–81). In this instance, how each social actor experiences and represents English-medium education in Finnish primary education, leading to shared beliefs, ideology, and discourse. Case Kuopio in Section 3.4 provides one concrete example of a context model. Group knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies are what this study aims to ascertain concerning two social groups; the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups.

A distinction is made between 'cultural communities' that share general beliefs (Knowledge, norms, values) but not ideologies, and 'social groups' who share ideologies which are connected to their aims and interests (van Dijk 2006, pp. 119–120). In this instance, all the respondents belong to the same cultural community of Finnish-speaking Finns, but they are representative of two different social groups in terms of school choice for their child. Hence, ideologies are not seen as pertaining only to a dominant group, but as pertaining to any forms of social group for which the ideology defines the identity of that group, and which may or may not be valued or accepted by other such social groups (*ibid.*). These social groups are also referred to as ideological groups and communities of discourse or communities of practice in terms of a collectivity of social agents whose shared ideology and the social practices deriving from it defines them somehow (van Dijk 2006, p. 120). The concept of community of practice was coined by Lave and Wenger (1991). It constitutes a social system concerned with the social nature of learning and involves the negotiation of meaning in social contexts, leading to identification or "dis-identification" with the community (Wenger 2010, pp. 1–3). From a sociolinguistic perspective, a community of practice is similar to a speech community, but the former involves the sharing of a common undertaking (Morgan 2004, p. 15). This mutual endeavour affects how members construct their social world in terms of how they view themselves and other communities of practice, and can create boundaries of practice (Wenger 2010, p. 3–4).

Parents who choose ECIL for their children can be said to constitute a specific community of practice (Wenger 2010; Schneider 2014) within Finnish society, and as such, also an ideological group. It is written into the law in Finland that schooling is to be realised in collaboration with the home (i.e. parents) (FNBE 2014, p. 35; FNBE, 2016, p. 37; Law 628 1998). Parents are not part of the grassroots learning community in school *per se*, but through their children's experiences, and collaboration with schools, they are committed major stakeholders and actors in the domain (Nikula 2007, p. 208; Rasinen 2006, p. 161; Buchberger 2002, p. 8). It can, therefore, be argued that these parents have a shared endeavour and beliefs in a particular form of learning involving a distinctive linguistic practice that deviates from the norm in terms of the language used. Moreover, through this choice, they are often (but not always) breaking with a very strong Finnish tradition; that of the local neighbourhood school[12], which has its origins in the late nineteenth century (Johnsson 1895, p. 138; Soininen 1931). This is especially relevant in the Finnish context because it is considered that all schools should be good enough (FNBE 2014, p. 15; Grubb, Jahr, Neumüller & Field 2005, p. 17; Simola 2001, p. 293) and, generally, this is held to be true, and parents tend to be satisfied with local schools (Poikolainen 2011, pp. 140–141).

2.2   THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE

Language is an inextricable part of ideology (Gee 2015, p. 5). Traditionally, the ideologies associated with languages have been concerned with language as a pure, bounded, measurable entity, artefact, or virtual object that can be delineated and

---

[12] It must be clarified that I am not using 'local school' as a homogenous term, and it is understood that there will be diversity among all schools. In some instances, for parents choosing an ECIL programme, the ECIL school is the local neighbourhood school.

reproduced through its codification and denotational[13] use (Silverstein 2015, p. 8; Blommaert 2006, 2008, p. 292, 2010, p. 4; Blommaert, Creve & Willaert 2006, pp. 37–39; Agha 2007a, p. 229; Reagan 2004, p. 42). These artefacts (glossonyms such as English or Finnish) are associated with a particular group – a people or a nation – and were instrumental in the nineteenth century development of the European nation states and people within those states (Auer 2007, pp. 1–2; Pennycook 2007b, p. 96; Gal & Irvine 1995). This ethnolinguistic assumption, or ideology of one language per nation, is representative of the modernist language ideology (similarly referred to as Herderian or Humboldtian ideology) in which the nation (or Volk) and national identity and culture are expressed by and inherent in the national language / mother tongue, and this is held as a natural state of affairs (Blommaert *et al.* 2012, p. 4; Seargeant 2009; Auer 2007, p. 2; Silverstein 2003b, p. 532; Gumperz 1996, p. 362; Bauman & Briggs 2003).

In general, Finns constitute a good example of a nation with a strong monolingual and mono-cultural self-image guided by a modernist language ideology (Blommaert *et al.* 2012; Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005; Pöyhönen & Luukka 2007). The Finnish ethno-nationalist ideology has its origins in the work of philosopher and Fennoman, Johan Vilhelm Snellman (Snellman 2005), who was a key proponent of Finnish as a national language (Snellman 1844, translated in Blommaert *et al.* 2012, p. 11; Salo 2012, p. 28; Mantila 2005, p. 301). Such ideologies, although anachronistic, do still exist, because people believe in them, and they continue to have a negative impact on certain social groups, particularly on immigrants (Hogan-Brun, Mar-Molinero & Stevenson 2009). Finns generally do not seem to consider English a threat to the national languages and culture (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 91). Although "well-educated younger Finns" may not necessarily consider Finnish language as part of their identity (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003, p. 10), and better educated Finns may associate Finnishness with "less favourable characteristics" (Rajander 2010, p. 349), conversely, in general, Finns do very strongly tend to consider the Finnish national language as integral to their cultural identity (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 159). Perhaps the strongest representation, in the Finnish context, is the labelling of Finnish language instruction as 'mother tongue'[14] (*äidinkieli*, in Finnish) for all in a *de facto* multilingual society (MERCATOR 2013, p. 6; Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 17, 63), irrespective of what the individual's first language actually is, which is an example of what Gogolin (2002, p. 41) terms the "monolingual habitus" of nation states[15]. This makes parents' choice of English as a language of instruction for their children even more interesting, as it signals a break with the strong modernist language ideology.

Nation states are polities that have standardised languages (Silverstein 1996, 2015). This means that their glossonym has been allocated a conventional system of writing

---

[13] To quote Silverstein (2015, p. 8), "Denotation [...] is the linguistically mediated practice of representing or describing the universe, referring to entities and modally predication states-of-affairs as, by degree, true or false, about such entities".

[14] Based on the European Community High Level Group on Multilingualism's final report in 2007, as a concept, mother tongue may no longer be valid, and it may be more appropriate to refer to a person's first language or languages (Nikula *et al.* 2012, p. 51).

[15] I must make it clear here that I am not suggesting that all pupils at school learn Finnish as a mother tongue, because they do not, and immigrants are given Finnish as a second language instruction (Hakulinen, Kalliokoski, Kankaanpää, Kanner, Koskenniemi, Laitinen, Maamies, & Nuolijärvi 2009, pp. 85–94). My point is that the term 'mother tongue' is used to refer to the subject of 'Finnish' as a language, rather than just 'Finnish'. As a point of contrast, when I was at school in both England and Scotland, we had a subject called 'English' for our first language, not 'mother tongue'.

and a prescribed normative grammar that are accepted by language community members as the denotational norm, which is then enforced and propagated by social institutions (Silverstein 1996, p. 286, 2000, p. 121, 2015, pp. 8–9; Blommaert *et al.* 2006, pp. 37–39). In addition to the significant role it plays politically and culturally in the development of the ideology of nationhood, the propagation of a national language is also important economically for the nation state in terms of improved communication, since everyone will know or be aware of the standard variety, even if it is not the register that they use (Fairclough 2015, p. 84). Standardisation is not always synonymous with "standard" (Silverstein 1996, p. 286). Within the ideology of (monoglot) standard language, one form of the standardised language is perceived as being 'The Standard' and is held as better, or more prestigious, than those forms perceived as 'non-standard' or dialects (Silverstein 1996; Blommaert *et al.* 2006, p. 37; Blommaert 2016, p. 4)[16]. It comprises those varieties or registers that are often referred to as norms, against which other varieties are allocated stratified and ordered indexical meaning and functions in terms of appropriateness, normality, and so on, and their users socially stratified according to how similar or dissimilar their register is to The Standard (Blommaert 2010, p. 6, 2005, p. 73; Silverstein 2000, p. 122).

The Standard, therefore, is held as the most desirous register of the language; the one that language community members should aspire to in order to be the 'best' users of the language (Silverstein 1996, 2000; Blommaert 2016). It is the register considered by social elites as 'correct' language; the one associated with literacy[17] in that glossonym, signifying intelligence and education (Blommaert 2010, p. 46; Blommaert *et al.* 2006, p. 37; Gee 2015, p. 19), and is often indexical of middle-classness and a particular educational background. Moreover, the Standard is often considered as neutral and even accent-less (Blommaert *et al.* 2006, p. 38). 'Accent', however, can be seen as an imprecise, ideologically-grounded or 'folk' concept, which refers to patterns of sound connected to social identities that are indexically situated (Agha 2003, p. 232). Basing his argument on the work of Roland Barthes, Pennycook (2007b, p. 96) purports that "languages are the products of social actors, and particular versions of languages, such as standard languages, are the very particular construction of overt political activity". Leppänen and Pahta (2012) have also observed this phenomenon in the Finnish context with regard to English. Finns who have acquired their English skills through contact with popular culture, rather than learning it formally at school, are held as somehow inferior, and their use of English unsophisticated if it is not to the so-called native-speaker standard (*ibid.*).

The ideology of believing that one speaks a particular language (or Language with a capital L) that has a particular indexically-superior register is a fundamental component of belonging to a language community (Silverstein 1996, 1998, 2000, 2015; Blommaert 2016). A clear distinction can be made between language community (as described above) and speech community (Silverstein 1996, 1998, 2000, 2015). All of the respondents in this survey study belong to the same Finnish language community, which is guided by a strong monolingual modernist ideology. Whereas a language community is associated with prescriptivism (Hinnenkamp 2005, p. 64; Straaijer 2016,

---

[16] It is acknowledged that there are other ways of defining 'standard', especially concerning Standard English and ideology regarding this, for example, Bex and Watts 1999.

[17] Literacy is understood, not merely as reading of a written text, but as a social or sociocognitive practice in which the text must be understood in some form of context (Gee 2015).

p. 234) and allegiance to a specific glossonym, or Language associated with a nation state (Agha & Frog 2015, p. 16), a speech community is more diverse and may be plurilingual, comprising members of more than one language community (Silverstein 1998, p. 407). For a long time, in sociolinguistics, the speech community was said to constitute the analytical point of departure in the pursuit of revealing connections between linguistic and social forces (Gumperz 1996, p. 362). Speech community pertained to a group of speakers that could be said to have a mutual comprehension of the symbolic and ideological system of communication constituted by language within their society and culture (Morgan 2004, p. 3). A speech community comes into existence once a group of social agents establish "a pattern of shared indexicalities" in practice (Blommaert & Backus 2013, p. 14; Blommaert 2005, p. 215).

An individual can belong to more than one speech community, but speech community membership entails specific knowledge concerning how choice of language and register and discourse represent, for example, social relationships and identity locally (Morgan 2004, p. 4). Hence, speech community is a more general and broader term that can refer to groups of individuals belonging together at various levels of society and representing a variety of language ideologies. Discourse is important in the identification of a speech community; how it circulates and how the values and beliefs inherent in it are implemented by community members (Morgan 2004, p. 5). The Enkku and Non-Enkku groups are representative of this; they both stem from the same language community but have differing beliefs that lead to the choice or non-choice of ECIL for their children; hence, they belong to different speech communities. Ultimately community of practice was the concept chosen to differentiate between them since the difference concerned the use of language as determined through the practice of school choice.

Although the essentialist ideologies of national languages still exist (Blommaert & Rampton 2011, p. 4), research in recent years has shown that language can no longer be defined politically in terms of nations or nation states, because international mobility and globalisation have resulted in social convergence and the heterogenisation of countries (Bruthiaux 2003; Pennycook 2003, 2007a, 2007b; Blommaert 2006, p. 238, 2010; Blommaert *et al.* 2012; Sewell 2013; Schmitz 2014; Silverstein 2015). The more recent focus is on language as a social construct (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p. 2; Pennycook 2007b, pp. 96–100; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller 2011, p. 27) emphasising the linguistic and cultural diversity that exits in speech communities, referred to as super-diversity[18] (Vertovec 2007; Blommaert & Backus 2013; Blommaert 2015). Increased mobility and immigration have resulted in changes to social environments in that one can no longer expect to encounter one specific language, ethnicity, or culture in a given place, but rather a range of these, with the result that a person can no longer be allocated a particular identity associated with one place (Blommaert & Backus 2013, p. 14; Blommaert 2010, pp. 6–9; Vertovec 2007, p. 1025). This has been a major factor in the rise of English as a vehicle for international communication, resulting in mutual intelligibility and common standards (Graddol 2001, p. 27; Jenkins 2009, p. 200). Moreover, the increased mobility of Finnish workers (and parents) has lead them to seek the international *lingua franca* for the education of their children (Marsh *et al.* 2007; Jalkanen 1999).

---

[18] It is acknowledged that although the term super-diversity is now being used to describe speech communities whose language repertoires, because of globalization and mobility, are now so diverse that they do not conform to traditional ideas of language, the phenomenon itself is not novel and existed in speech communities prior to globalization (cf. Flores & Lewis 2016, p. 106).

There has been a paradigm shift away from language as an abstract entity towards defining language in terms of how it is used in real situations by, among, and across social groups, which reflects diversity and multilingualism (Blommaert & Rampton 2011, p. 1; Blommaert & Backus 2013, p.13). The ideological focus of operation has moved from that of "on language in society" to "in language in society", focusing not on language as an entity, but on beliefs that people hold about language practices (Blommaert 2016, pp. 3–4). Officially, Finland is a bilingual country, and yet, there are a great deal more than just two languages that exist within its geographical boundaries; at the grassroots level, Finland is a *de facto* multilingual society (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 17). Pennycook (2010, p. 84) offers us the term 'metrolingualism' to refer to how people from various backgrounds negotiate identities through language, where identity is not prescribed or assumed through language, culture, or geographic location (see also Pennycook & Otsuji 2015). Metrolingualism is particularly relevant in the late-modern age of globalisation, as social actors communicate in real contexts and across virtual spaces using various forms of technology that are rapidly changing and developing (Räisänen 2013, p. 22).

People's knowledge of language is anchored in the socio-geographical space in which they act or are active, and influenced by this, as they engage in practices (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005, p. 205). Hence, language can be seen as a "laminated object" (Blommaert 2016, p. 4) comprising different practices that are ordered by beliefs about language behaviour, and rather than focusing on speech communities, sociolinguists are now concerned with the idea of linguistic repertoire (Blommaert & Rampton 2011, p. 4). The term 'repertoire' is a key term in sociolinguistics that derives from the work of Gumperz and Hymes (1972/1986 – also cited in Blommaert and Backus 2013, p. 11) and has come to mean all the language knowledge resources (linguistic, cultural, and social) related to any glossonyms, that a social agent has and knows how and why to use and understand in real sociocultural contexts in order to communicate smoothly, both orally and through written text (Blommaert 2010, p. 4, 102; Hornberger & Link 2012, p. 267; Blommaert & Backus 2013, pp. 11–15; Räisänen 2013, p. 22). A person's repertoire comprises different styles, and genres, and is linked to his or her own individual biography, changing as he or she matures and learns new or unlearns old forms of language resources (Blommaert & Backus 2013, pp. 11–15). Language can be learned or acquired (highly) formally or (highly) informally, including what Blommaert and Backus (2013, p. 12) refer to as "ephemeral encounters with language".

Social agents employ the linguistic resources available to them to function and make themselves understood in sociocultural contexts, or domains, drawing on whichever resources are most relevant to a given social situation (Leppänen & Nikula 2007, pp. 337–338; Kääntä, Jauni, Leppänen, Peuronen & Paakkinen 2013, p. 355). Enregisterment can be defined as the sociohistorical process by which social actors reflexively assign pragmatic values to ways of using language (conduct, relationships, representations); these are known as registers, and are not static, but change over time through how they are used by social actors (Agha 2003, p. 231, 2004, p. 23, 37, 2007b, p. 1–3; Agha & Frog 2015, p. 17; Räisänen 2013, pp. 73–79). This is affected by the voice criteria referred to above; equal value is not accorded to every way of speaking or using language (Blommaert 2005, p. 75, 2008). In a similar vein, Gee (2015, pp. 101–102) discusses 'social languages' as different varieties or registers of a glossonym, and purports that there are two things to be accomplished when we use language (especially orally); making clear who we are and what we are doing. The who and

what are means of recognition and enactment (*op. cit.*, p. 171), and are linked with orders of indexicality. Who we are varies with the context and the same speech can mean different things depending on the context (*op. cit.*, pp. 101–102). Hence, a social actor's linguistic resources comprise knowledge of one or more so-called glossonyms and a range of different registers associated with them, each of which will carry a different semiotic meaning, function, and value depending on the context, and which may gradually change over time.

Given how widespread English is in Finnish society, it is possible for someone in Finland to acquire a variety of registers of English (Leppänen *et al.* 2009a, 2011; Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008; Leppänen, Pitkänen-Huhta, Piirainen-Marsh, Nikula & Peuronen 2009b). Despite this, Enkku parents are seeking to increase and broaden the linguistic resources of their children (Jalkanen 1999, 2007) and this exposes the children to an even wider range of English registers than that provided by Finnish society in general. Moreover, given the school context, the Enkku Group parents are choosing a specific register of English for their children, one that is associated with a highly-formal domain (the classroom) and especially embodies academic language (AL) (Snow & Uccelli 2009, p. 112). Academic language is the language of the classroom, associated with literacy and cognitive ability in a particular glossonym, and is crucial for success at school (*ibid.*; Cummins 2008). Generally, given that parents often state better language skills as a reason for choice of a CLIL programme (e.g. Nikula *et al.* 2013, p. 71), AL stands out as a potentially higher indexical register. Thus, its use as the language of instruction might lead to it being perceived as more like the 'real thing' (or standard) in terms of authenticity (Schneider 2014, p. 114) over informal learning of what I shall term 'popular' English (picking up English from television, social media, and the like) and mainstream compulsory English as a foreign language. 'Popular' English also includes the register of "Tankerous English" (Laitinen, Peuronen & Copp-Jinkerson 2010) which derives from the Finnish 'tankeroenglanti' and refers to badly pronounced English (i.e. English pronounced with a strong Finnish accent).

All forms of ECIL are bilingual education, and the primary aim of true bilingual education is for pupils to learn to be able to function across cultures (García 2009, p. 7). In addition, research has shown that pupils in ECIL programmes are actively involved in negotiating meaning and using the language translingually[19] to construct knowledge, which results in enhanced oral skills (e.g. Coyle, Hood, & Marsh 2010, loc. 154; Leppänen & Nikula 2007, p. 351–355; Kääntä *et al.* 2013, p. 355). Thus, the children's social interaction competence in English becomes more developed and as does their ability to use it reflexively (relating language choice to social acts, and placing groups and individuals within social hierarchies) (Agha 2004, p. 23; Irvine & Gal 2009, p. 403).

School choice may also be a means of representing an identity (Kosunen 2016, p. 11). In western societies, English is generally considered as a language of prestige, pleasure, and success, and this is also the case in Finland, although not always, and the effects of English on Finnish society have also been portrayed negatively (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 16; Nikula 2007, p. 208; Phillipson 2003, pp. 6–7; Pennycook 1994, p. 13). As a cultural resource, English has the potential to constitute social hierarchies, in terms of knowledge of English (Leppänen *et al.* 2009a, 2011; Hakulinen *et al.* 2009,

---

[19] Slipping between their two codes and using different languages for different functions, for example, reading a text in Finnish and discussing it in English.

p. 72). Moreover, internationally, the assumption does exist that parents who wish their children to be educated through the medium of a language other than their first language (especially English) tend to be those who are more urban, international, or in higher social classes, or who have a higher or better socioeconomic background or expectations (e.g. de Mejía 2002, p. 45; Graddol 2006, p. 20, 38, 50; Leppänen *et al.* 2009a, p. 153, 2011, p. 166; Rajander 2010). This is also representative of using languages to "construct identity positions that relate to political, social and economic discourses from different geographical scales" (Schneider 2014, p. 132).

Moving on from this, and in keeping with the idea of school choice as a commodity (Agha 2011), choosing ECIL can also be seen as a form of social stylistic practice (Hebdige 1984; Rajander 2010, p. 242) in which individuals are positioning themselves with respect to the social world through their shared ideological interpretations of that world (Eckert 2008, p. 456). Here the 'style' is the process of having a child educated through the global *lingua franca* rather than a domestic language of the local society. Stylistic practice involves combining the individual's resources with other resources to create something greater (*ibid.*). Leppänen *et al.* (2011, p. 91) found that "English is associated with trendsetting, and … seen as something that modern people should be proficient in". Parental interest and desires have been instrumental in the inception of ECIL programmes around Finland since the change in legislation in the 1990s (Nikula & Marsh 1996; Lehti *et al.* 2006), and even earlier (Jalkanen 1999). Enkku parents are choosing to expose their children to a secondary Discourse (ECIL) and incorporate it into the child's primary Discourse (Finnish), which is an important factor in shaping the child's identity and worldview, which Gee (2015, pp. 171–175) terms 'early borrowing'[20]. In this way, macro-social level variables (English as a global language) have been, and are, adjusted to construct indexical social meanings/semioses (Silverstein 2003, p. 193; Räisänen 2013, p. 49) at the local Finnish level. The survey study investigates what guides this choice, and what such indexical social meanings might entail.

2.3   ON LINGUALISM

This survey study is concerned with English-medium education as a form of school choice and sociolinguistic practice in Finnish primary education. Given that English is not the first language of the majority of pupils in ECIL programmes, it becomes important to understand what the various forms of lingualism actually entail. They are multifaceted concepts, and it has been my observation as a teacher in Finland that they are often misunderstood (Jalkanen 1999). Lingualism refers to the perpetual processes of linguistic practice, in its broadest forms, that a social agent engages in (Adamek 2004, p. 4; Ndhlovu 2015, p. 406). Nevertheless, concepts such as 'monolingual', 'bilingual', 'multilingual', and 'plurilingual' are constructions that are still often understood based on the idea of glossonyms as entities, and involve particular ways of thinking about language that are linked with language policy (Makoni & Pennycook 2007, pp. 28–29). Finland has officially been a bilingual country (Finnish/Swedish) since

---

[20] "Early borrowing functions not primarily to give children certain skills, but, rather, to give them certain values, attitudes, motivation, ways of interacting and perspectives, all of which are more important than mere skills for successful later entry into specific secondary Discourses 'for real' (skills follow from such matters)." Gee 2015, p. 175.

1922 (Law 148 1922; Salo 2012)[21]. Bilingualism at this national level of organisation is known as 'societal bilingualism', which refers to the official language situation in Finnish society, and can be contrasted with 'individual bilingualism', which is that which occurs at the individual or immediate family level (Sebba 2011, p. 445). A further distinction can be made between 'official bilingualism' as in the official recognition of Finnish and Swedish as the languages leading to bilingualism in Finland and '*de facto* bilingualism*'*, the actual languages used and in use by social actors in Finnish society (Clyne 1997, p. 301). Political discourse in Finland has tended to focus on the country's official bilingualism and range of foreign languages, rather than multilingualism *per se* (Nikula, Saarinen, Pöyhönen & Kangasvieri 2012, p. 44, 59). This differentiation is reflected in the National Core Curriculum, for example, in restricting the use of immersion to education in Finnish and Swedish, and using bilingual education for any other languages (FNBE 2016, pp. 93–97). Allocating languages different labels in this way, so that they can be stratified into hierarchies and controlled, is based on language ideologies (Nikula *et al.* 2012, p. 42; Makoni & Mashiri 2007).

A monolingual is someone who only has access to a single linguistic code through which he or she communicates (Ellis 2006, p. 176), while the concept 'bilingual' is used extensively to describe someone or something who has or is concerned with two linguistic codes. Bilingual is not a homogenous term. There is a mistaken (lay) tendency for bilingual to be associated with equally fluent competence in both languages (*ibid.*), leading, all too often, to bilingualism seen in terms of double or multi monolingualism, in which the two languages are kept separate, and proficiency in the standard national language is considered advantageous (Gumperz 1996, p. 362; Ndhlovu 2015, p. 400).

The monolingual mindset (Clyne 2008) involves the ideology of access to only a single language as normal, while having access to two or more codes is held as deviant (Ndhlovu 2015, p. 400). In cases in which an individual has two or more languages, these are kept as separate, and a mixing of skills between the two languages should never occur[22]. Nonetheless, a bilingual is more than just the sum of two monolinguals (Grosjean 1985; Hornberger & Link 2012, p. 268; García 2009, p. 41). Therefore, in a truly bilingual context in education, pupils will mix languages as they do tasks (Hornberger & Link 2012, pp. 267–268). Translanguaging refers to the various language-in-action, discursive practices that bilinguals employ to make meaning (also academically) drawing simultaneously on their total linguistic repertoire, rather than keeping their languages separate (García 2009, p. 45, 113; Blair 2016, p. 110; García & Sylvan 2011, p. 389). This could include, for example, reading a text in one's first language and presenting something about it in a second language. What makes translanguaging particularly engaging is that it derives from a bilingual position and autochthonous knowledge (García & Sylvan 2011, p. 389). If bilinguals can slip between their languages, and mix and match the codes they use to different tasks, this suggests that the two languages are not constructed as two entirely separate entities (Flores & Lewis 2016, p. 101).

Bilingual is not always restricted to the use of only two languages, but sometimes is used as an umbrella term that also includes multi- or plurilingualism (Baetens

---

[21] The Sámi and the Roma have the right to maintain and develop their own languages (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005, pp. 137–140; Blommaert *et al.* 2012, p. 11). Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005 present the Language Situation in Finland, including national and minority languages.

[22] Grammont's principle in immersion is an example of this. Immersion teachers should be bilingual, but have only one linguistic role (Jalkanen 2009, p. 104).

Beardsmore 1986, p. 3). Multilingual focuses on the languages, thus one could describe a country or society as being multilingual, in terms of a variety of languages being present in a given territory (COE 2001, Beacco & Byram 2003, p. 8). Finland joined the European Union (EU) in 1995, and its language policy is guided by EU directives. With regard to foreign language teaching and learning, the EU is aiming for its citizens to be plurilingual and pluricultural, which focuses on the individual speakers and their proficiency in several languages, combined with their experiences of the cultures in which the languages are spoken (Beacco & Byram 2003, p. 8, 34; COE 2011). The implications of plurilingualism include those of linguistic tolerance, and democratic citizenship in terms of citizens being better able to participate in European public and political life, as well as in their home countries (Beacco & Byram 2003, p. 35). This appears to be the "warm and fuzzy understanding of multilingualism" alluded to by Nikula *et al.* (2012, p. 42). García (2009, p. 54) uses the term "dynamic bilingualism" in much the same way to reflect the multiple contexts and functions within the phenomenon.

Whatever form bilingualism (or multilingualism) may take, it is always related to the politics and ideologies of the society in which it occurs (Baker 2011, p. 374). Within bilingualism, language can be considered as a problem, a right, or a resource (*op. cit.*, p. 375). While bilingualism is generally promoted as inclusive, empowering, and advantageous, it can also be held as problematic and a threat to social cohesion, which creates tension between societal and individual bilingualism (Nikula *et al.* 2012, pp. 42–48, 62; Blommaert *et al.* 2012, p. 1). At the macro level, Finnish language policy promotes plurilingualism, but not all languages are accorded the same status (*op. cit.*, p. 51). Many immigrants may be bilingual, but their first language does not have prestige status, and is either largely disregarded by society (invisible) (*op. cit.*, p. 57, 62) or seen as an impediment or obstacle rather than an asset (Blair 2016, p. 110). Moreover, there are many different types of bilinguals and not all groups of bilinguals have acquired or learned their languages in the same way or attained the same levels of proficiency or competence in the two languages (Baetens Beardsmore 1986; García 2009; Baker 2011), and individuals understand and give meaning to the concept in differing ways.

Bilingualism has different dimensions based on, for example, ability, domains of use, balance between the two languages, age, development, culture, and context (Baker 2011, pp. 3–5). A natural (or primary) bilingual is someone who picks up two languages through their personal circumstances with no formal instruction (Baetens Beardsmore 1986, p. 8). A heritage bilingual is someone who has a majority society language and an additional home language that is not one of the official languages of the society (Pascual y. Cabo & Rothman 2012, p. 450). Passive bilingualism is when a person understands speech and writing, but cannot use the language productively (Baetens Beardsmore 1986, p. 16; Baker 2011, p. 3). A productive bilingual can use two languages (not necessarily with the same level of proficiency), as is the aim of foreign language learning at school (Baetens Beardsmore 1986, p. 19; Baker 2011, p. 3). Unfortunately, this is not always the outcome, and often foreign language learners are reluctant or afraid to use their language skills, or do not have the opportunity to do so in real life, which renders them incipient bilinguals (*op. cit.*, p. 21) that have one strong language, their first language (Baker 2011, p. 3). Subtractive bilingualism [L1 + L2 = L1 < L2] is when someone has a first language that is a minority language and he or she is required to put it aside in favour of the majority host community language (Baker 2011, p. 3; García & Sylvan 2011, p. 387). Conversely, additive bilingualism

[L1 + L2 = L1 + L2] involves nurturing both languages (usually through some form of instruction in both languages, as in immersion) and the aim is for the individual to be able to function more or less equally in both languages (García & Sylvan 2011, p. 387; Jalkanen 2009, p. 99). A final bilingual group is elite (or prestigious) bilinguals, associated with the middle and upper classes, who voluntarily or freely choose to become bilingual, or their parents make that choice for them, and who, generally, have good experiences (Baker 2011, p. 4; García 2009, p. 112, 125).

The concept of 'semilingualism' is often raised in conjunction with bilingualism in the Finnish context. Semilingualism was bandied around in the 1990s with the rise of CLIL and other forms of English-medium education (Jalkanen 1999; Peltoniemi Ojala 1999), but is perhaps less evident nowadays. The concept was subject to a great deal of academic criticism and should have been laid to rest, but it still raises its head from time to time (Hinnenkamp 2005, p. 64). The terms 'semilingualism' and 'double semilingualism' are usually used only in connection with minority groups. They derive from Nils-Erik Hansegård's 1968 publication *'Tvåspråkighet eller halvspråkighet?*[23]' and were used with regard to Finnish immigrants in Sweden who had a poor knowledge of, and poor competence in both Finnish and Swedish. Basically, semilingualism is when an individual is held as not being competent in either of his or her two languages. The implication is perhaps clear, but the term remains an ambiguous notion, which Hinnenkamp refers to as "a passe-partout-concept for all kinds of linguistic deficiencies, applied only though, to bilinguals from migrant backgrounds" (Hinnenkamp 2005, p. 62–65). Nevertheless, it is still occasionally mentioned in connection with bilingual education when fears are expressed that children will not gain proficiency in either language (García 2009, p. 56). The concept, nonetheless, remains a political one, in which a child becomes the scapegoat of the school system and society – the fault cannot be that of the system, so it must be projected on to the child (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, pp. 248–263).

To bring this to the grassroots level of Finnish society, during their compulsory school years, Finnish students will study at least two obligatory foreign or second languages in addition to their first language (FNBE 2016, p. 212)[24]. Nowadays, this means that they will have Finnish, Swedish, and, most likely, English. Learning the other national language in addition to one's first language became compulsory in Finland in the 1970s when basic education came to be; thus, Finnish-speaking students would study Swedish and vice versa (Laurén 2000, p. 46). As this is the case, any Finn who attended school after this, should not refer to himself/herself as monolingual, since they have had formal access to both of the country's official languages. From August 2016, with the new curriculum, Swedish will now be introduced at the primary level (FNBE 2016, p. 211). According to the new national core curriculum, the task of foreign language teaching is to provide students with the opportunity to develop their awareness of "multi-layered linguistic and cultural identities that they and others have", to promote plurilingualism and to utilise all of the pupil's languages (*op. cit.*, p. 211). Therefore, in terms of educational policy, it may be said that Finland is complying very well with the various European Union initiatives (e.g. Bologna,

---

[23] Bilingualism or Semilingualism.

[24] "In grades 3–6, all pupils receive instruction of mother tongue and at least two other languages; a core A1 language and a B1 language, and possible also an A2 language, which is an optional syllabus of the A language" (FNBE 2014, p. 212).

Lisbon) to increase the language skills[25] and internationalism of its population (Beacco 2007).

Not only do Finns have formal-learning access to a number of foreign languages, they also have good informal access to other languages through informal media such as television (films and series, for example, are subtitled and not dubbed). Hence, it could be said that, for this reason also, Finns are representative of a plurilingual nation. Despite the wide choice of types of bilingualism, many Finns still categorise themselves as monolingual (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 48, 162; Nikula *et al.* 2012, p. 42). This reflects the paradox between the discourse on multi-/plurilingualism and the language ideology associated with nation states discussed above. While multilingualism is the dominant discourse in European nation states, the nation state polities continue to consider themselves in terms of a national language, and thereby as essentially monolingual (Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2009, p. 5) which, in the Finnish context, is reflected in how citizens consider themselves lingually.

2.4   BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The Finnish National Board of Education has chosen to classify programmes in which English is the medium of education as broad or narrow bilingual education rather, than specifically as CLIL (FNBE 2016, pp. 93–97). This study is concerned with the phenomenon of ECIL in its broadest form as bilingual education, and what parents' beliefs about such education are that lead to its selection as a form of school choice. The terminology in the field is very fuzzy (Kangasvieri *et al.* 2011, p. 18); all the programmes in this study are forms of bilingual education, however, they could equally fit under CLIL, and some are even immersion. There is no full consensus in the field as to what CLIL, Content-based Instruction (CBI), and immersion definitively are and are not, but since they are all forms of bilingual education, that is what is relevant here. I refer to them as ECIL to avoid preconceptions that people have about specific forms of bilingual education, and to highlight the combination of English and content. Nonetheless, the relationship between CLIL, CBI, and immersion, and their various nuances, are presented and discussed in Appendix 1 for the reader. Although the final paragraphs of this chapter mention CLIL specifically, to avoid unnecessary confusion, the reader may understand ECIL.

The concept bilingual education refers to education through the medium of more than one language (García 2009, pp. 5–6). While bilingual education remains a complex phenomenon (Cazden & Snow 1990, p. 9; Baker 2011, p. 207), it is not a new one, and dates back to antiquity (García 2009, p. 13). Already in the late twentieth century, Fishman[26] (1982, p. 22) stated that bilingual education was "a world-wide, massive, ancient, and highly diversified undertaking". This has gained momentum, especially in Europe, through the European Union and its directives on language education (COE 2011). Bilingual education differs from foreign language teaching in its goals and

---

[25] This is discussed extensively in Pöyhönen and Luukka's 2007 final report of the National Project on Finnish Language Education Policies Project (KIEPO): Language Education towards the Future (Pöyhönen & Luukka 2007, especially Sajavaara, Luukka & Pöyhönen 2007).

[26] Fishman is credited with making a significant contribution to the field of bilingualism and bilingual education in the last century (Baker & Prys Jones 1998). It was his philosophy that bilingual education is for all, regardless of socioeconomic background (García 2009; Fishman 1976).

pedagogical objectives. García (2009) has compiled the main differences into a table, which is also useful in this study, for understanding how English-medium education differs from foreign language education *per se* (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Differences between Bilingual and Foreign Language Education (From García 2009, p. 7)

	Bilingual Education	Foreign or Second- Language Education
Overarching Goal	Educate meaningfully and some type of bilingualism	Competence in additional language
Academic Goal	Educate bilingually and be able to function across cultures	Learn an additional language and become familiar with an additional culture
Language Use	Languages used as media of instruction	Additional language taught as a subject
Instructional Use of Language	Uses some form of two or more languages	Uses target language mostly
Pedagogical Emphasis	Integration of language and content	Explicit language instruction

It is important to examine the differences between the goals of the two forms of education. Unless it is subtractive, that is, submersing pupils in a host community language to the detriment of their first language, bilingual education aims at some form of functional bilingualism, not just competence in the language, although what this actually means remains opaque, and we have seen that there is diversity in how this is understood among different individuals and societies. The academic goal refers to functioning across cultures, which appears to refer to having voice in the different cultures, that is, that students in bilingual education must also learn the forms of language that correspond to various functions, and their values, as opposed to learning words and sentences 'in a vacuum' so to speak. Education, in general, propagates standard varieties of glossonyms, hence, both forms of education will be concerned with standard varieties.

Bilingual education is not merely concerned with education, but also has a function within language planning, politics, economics, and pedagogy (Baker 2011, p. 208). Therefore, the types of bilingual education implemented in a country will vary depending on the aims of the programmes (*ibid.*). Models are generally used to explain the phenomena of bilingual education, but they cannot reflect the dynamic activity of the grassroots phenomenon of what takes place in schools (García 2009, p. 113; Baker 2011). In Finland, all forms of ECIL are held as promoting some form of beneficial bilingualism (Hakulinen *et al.* 2009, p. 73). Fishman (1982, p. 28) emphasised that bilingual education involved the link between language and ethnicity, and identified three basic models of bilingual education (also de Mejía 2002, pp. 43–44) associated with it that respectively attempted to counteract it, foster it, or transcend it without damaging it. These models are useful in understanding the origins of current bilingual education programmes.

1) The Transitional (Compensatory) Model. This model aims at integrating minority language speakers into the target language group, assimilating them into the culture and society. This could also be referred to as subtractive bilingualism since the first language is not supported.
2) The Language Maintenance Oriented Model. This model attempts to maintain or foster the minority first language and culture, thus promoting cultural democracy, although a potential conflict between the school and the group cultures may remain.
3) The Enrichment Model. According to Fishman, this is the model that "with its ancient patrimony of elitist practices, has waited longest for its own explicit social theory of language and ethnicity" (Fishman 1982, p. 8). He states that it is continued by 'fancy private schools', church schools and European Schools all over the world. In many instances, the first language and the target language are 'co-present' in the classroom. He also closes by saying,

> *... enrichment bilingual education programs cater primarily to the most advantaged and thus find everything they are trying to do strongly and positively reinforced by the social contexts in which they function" (Fishman 1982, p. 26).*

Typologies of bilingual education today derive from Fishman's models. Baker (2011, pp. 208–219) refers to forms of bilingual education, but here, forms can also be understood as models. Table 2.3 presents Fishman's (1982) original models compared with current models of bilingual education using Baker's (2011) categories, and which help the reader to understand them in terms of types of bilingualism that they aspire to.

Table 2.3. Comparing Fishman's Original Models of Bilingual Education with Current Forms of Bilingual Education (Fishman 1982, pp. 26–28; Baker 2011, pp. 208–219)

Fishman's Models of Bilingual Education	Baker's Forms of Bilingual Education
The Transitional Model	Monolingual Forms of Education for Bilinguals
The Language Maintenance Oriented Model	Weak Forms of Bilingual Education for Bilinguals
The Enrichment Model	Strong Forms of Bilingual Education for Bilingualism and Biliteracy

'Immersion' and 'Mainstream Bilingual Education' come under Strong Forms of Bilingual Education for Bilingualism and Biliteracy, while 'Submersion' programmes come under Monolingual Forms of Education for Bilinguals. Conversely, 'Mainstream with Foreign Language Teaching is categorised under Weak Forms of Bilingual Education for Bilinguals. (Baker 2011, pp. 209–210). CLIL is typically associated with developing literacy in the target language (Llinares & Morton 2010, p. 47).

Bilingual education can be classified as elective (optional) or obligatory (enforced) depending on the socio-cultural context (García 2009, p. 63). It can also be represented as subtractive, leading to monolingualism in an L2; additive (enhancing an individual's repertoire of languages); recursive (whereby the L1 and L2 have existed together in some form since the outset, and bilingualism is seen as a flow); or dynamic (responding to the ever-changing multilingual contexts of an interlocutor in diverse speech acts) (*op. cit.*, pp. 51–55). Given that this study is concerned with Finnish-speaking parents of children in ECIL programmes, the concept of elective Enrichment Bilingual Education is the

one that is relevant in this case[27]. Nowadays, the term Enrichment Bilingual Education refers to situations in which children from majority language groups are adding another (second) language to their repertoires, as is largely the case in ECIL in Finland (Baker 2011, p. 207; García 2009, p. 52; Cummins 2000, p. 23). It can be associated with the group of elite or prestige bilinguals discussed above, and aims for additive bilingualism.

Finland invested a great deal of resources and attention on the teaching and learning of foreign languages in the 1970s (Marsh, Järvinen & Haataja 2007, p. 63). This can be attributed to the difference between Finnish and Indo-European languages, and the investment was done for educational and economic reasons; since the Finnish language is typologically different from the majority of other European languages, with the result that more focus is needed for teaching these other European languages in order for people to learn them successfully (*ibid.*). This linguistic difference is what also makes Finnish appear as difficult for non-Finns to learn. Finnish people are aware that very few non-Finns will be motivated or able to learn Finnish, so Finns must learn foreign languages; especially English (Jalkanen 1999). For this reason, in particular, Finns have become interested in their children learning foreign languages at an early age through immersion or other bilingual programmes (*ibid.*).

In Finland, an amendment was made, in 1991, to Section 25 of the existing Legislation on Basic Education of 1983, stating that it was possible to provide education in a language other than the official language of the school (Law 261 1991). During the 1990s in Finland, there was a significant increase in the amount of instruction given in languages other than the students' first language (Nikula & Marsh 1996). Nowadays, students studying through the medium of a language other than their first language should be able to follow instructions in the target language and also reach the same level of language proficiency in Finnish[28] as peers who have been in mainstream programmes (FNBE 2016, p. 96). The target language of the programme and the first language are to be taught in balance and supported by the school and the home (*op. cit.*, p. 94). The programme can last for the duration of basic education or only for some of it. Despite the terminology adopted by the Finnish National Board of Education in the new curriculum, there are a variety of names for bilingual programmes or teaching through the medium of other languages in Finland; ranging from immersion and CLIL through language shower to early English/German, and so on (Virtala 2002).

CLIL was a proactive response to globalisation and economic and social convergence, and an attempt to increase the amount of exposure to the target language since traditional foreign language teaching was not producing the desired or required outcomes (Coyle *et al.* 2010). Moreover, the European Commission had been active in drawing attention to the potential of various forms of bilingual education (Coyle 2007, p. 544). CLIL is concerned with teaching that is a balance between content and language, reflected in metaphors like "two for the price of one" and "the added value of CLIL", which paint CLIL in a very positive light (Bonnet 2012, p. 66; Bovellan 2014, pp. 24–27). Slogans such as these, and the rosy connotations they carry with them have become accepted as truths in CLIL discourse, and have come under severe criticism, including worries that content will not be learned because of insufficient language skills (Bovellan 2014, p. 27–28).

---

[27]   Not all students in ECIL programmes in Finland, however, are from the Finnish language majority group, and classes are certainly not homogenous.

[28]   In cases when the pupil's first language is Finnish.

Modernisation and internationalisation also had a major role in the increased popularity of CLIL in Finland (Marsh *et al.* 2007, p. 66). Indeed, CLIL is held as an aid to preparing children for internationalisation (Lasagabaster 2008, p. 32). Finland was a fertile context for the acceptance and inception of CLIL education[29], and English is by far the dominant language (see e.g. Bovellan 2014)[30]. CLIL has also been understood as a way to approach the European Union directives, requiring EU citizens to know two languages other than their first language (MT+2), without overburdening the student or the resources, and which produces good results quickly (Lorenzo, Casal, & Moore 2010; Coyle *et al.* 2010; Baker 2011, p. 246; Marsh 2003). In this capacity, it has the role of a political ideology (Baker 2011, p. 245). Moreover, Marsh (2013, p. 23) has identified the use of English in higher education as the factor that impacted most on the idea of introducing CLIL, specifically in English, into Finnish mainstream education.

The relevance here is that both primary and secondary education through the medium of English are held as preparation for higher education. Marsh lists five types of reason for this; cultural, environmental, linguistic, subject-based, and learning-based (*ibid.*). Of these, he purports that "integration and cultural diversity" dominate because of the word 'culture', which "is understood to underpin all aspects of human communication" (Marsh 2013, p. 23). Inherent in this is the idea that CLIL education contributes towards intercultural awareness and understanding, and an idea of internationalisation over and above that which regular foreign language teaching is able to achieve.

Generally, people believe that younger learners profit more from programmes such as immersion and CLIL because they reflect naturalistic learning (Lasagabaster 2008, p. 32). This is another factor that has been very relevant in the inception and spread of English-medium teaching across Finland; namely the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) (Jalkanen 2009). Briefly, there exists a general assumption that, with regard to the acquisition of languages, younger learners perform better than older ones. The CPH suggests that children can attain native-like levels of language proficiency[31] if the second language acquisition takes place before the end of a so-called critical period (Ellis 2008; Birdsong 2006; Jalkanen 2009; Kalisa 2014) This period is sometimes referred to as a 'window of opportunity' or a sensitive period that is said to end at puberty. Some researchers argue that the window closes as early as the age of four or five years, which is related to the idea that the brain begins to lose its plasticity after puberty (Jalkanen 2009). It seems to be generally agreed that very young children do seem to pick up the phonemes of the second language with ease, especially in naturalistic learning situations (Ellis 2008).

Naturalistic learning is the key term, and this type of instruction tends to support the CPH, since the children are placed in situations in which they are actively

---

[29] See Sylvén 2013 for the situation in Sweden, where the experiences of CLIL have not been as successful as in Finland.

[30] Given the standing of English as the global *lingua franca*, there appears to be a tendency to associate the term CLIL with English programmes alone. This is also the case in Finland, even though CLIL can relate to any second or foreign language through which content is taught (also Marsh 2013, p. 135). Indeed, in Finland today, CLIL in various other languages exist, Swedish and Russian, and a healthy network of German CLIL, or rather CLILiG (CLIL in German) fostered by Kim Haataja of Tampere University. Information about this can be found in German or Finnish at: http://rule.uta.fi/en/cliligfinnland/clilig-finnland/

[31] What native-like-competence actually is remains unclear; perhaps it would be better to say that the children have repertoires in English closer to the standard variety.

involved in using the language in meaningful situations, it is easier to make the input comprehensible (Ellis 2008; Jalkanen 2009; Birdsong 1999, 2006). In Finland, this phenomenon is reflected in the amount of English language early childhood institutions that exist today, and those that existed before the arrival of CLIL *per se*. Several such institutions that began in the late 1960s or early 1970s are still around today, such as the English Kindergarten of Kuopio or the English Playschool in Pori. English language early childhood institutions began as private forms of day-care and were run by parent committees[32].

Perhaps one of the most exciting facets of any form of bilingual education today is the research linking bilingualism with enhanced cognitive ability. Learning through the medium of another language helps to broaden "the conceptual mapping resources" of the child and leads them to a "more sophisticated level of learning in general" (Marsh 2005, p. 8, 2013). Research has shown that bilinguals of all ages have enhanced executive control and are able to outperform monolinguals in situations involving the use of selection or conflict resolution (Bialystock 2011, p. 229; Barac & Bialystock 2011). How they do so is not yet fully understood, but it is thought to be based in their ability to manage two languages at once and cope with having to make the right selection and choice of register in communication situations (*op. cit.* pp. 229–231). Bilinguals also have better metalinguistic awareness (Poulin-Dubois, Blaye, Coutya & Bialystock 2011, p. 199; Cummins 2000; p. 23) and better working memory skills (Morales, Calvo & Bialystock 2013, p. 199). The cognitive advantages that bilingualism appears to bring have even led to the claim that bilingual education may well be the key to learning in the twenty-first century (García 2009, p. 5; Marsh 2013, pp. 129– 38).

2.5 SCHOOL CHOICE AS A MARKET PRACTICE IN FINNISH BASIC EDUCATION

Primary education, also known as elementary education, is the first part of compulsory basic education in Finland, which comprises a 9-year programme for all children, free of cost and public, i.e., run by society (see Antikainen 2010, p. 533). Finnish basic education is relatively young compared with its European counterparts, as it was not until 1921 that it was made compulsory (Law 101/1921; Simola, Rinne, Varjo & Kauko 2013, p. 618; Varjo 2011, p. 89). Primary education is used rather than comprehensive education since, in many instances, the schools in the study are physically and administratively only the primary part of the comprehensive school. Figure 2.4 presents the structure of the Finnish basic education system, of which primary education constitutes Grades One to Six.

---

[32] This is knowledge based on my own experiences of working as an immersion teacher at the English Kindergarten of Kuopio 1990–1994 and 2002–2007. The kindergarten was part of a network of foreign language kindergartens from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. Unfortunately, this study came too late to track down the written documentation despite contacting the former head teacher of the English Kindergarten of Kuopio and former parent committee members.
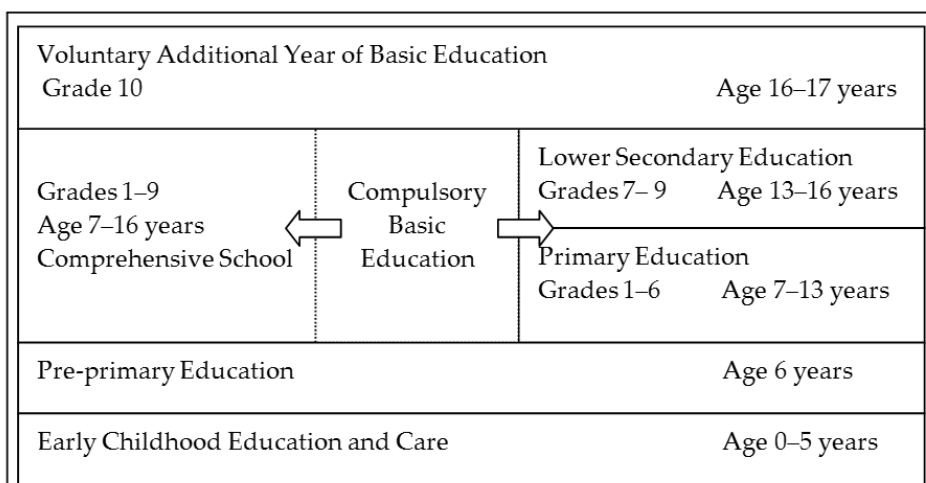
Figure 2.4. The Structure of the Finnish Basic Education System (adapted from Education in Finland 2014, p. 2)

Essentially, a child in Finland will begin compulsory primary education in the August of the calendar year in which he or she turns seven years old (Education in Finland 2014, p. 15). Pre-primary (pre-school) education is the year prior to this. Primary education begins with Grade One and lasts for the next six years, generally ending the calendar year that the child turns 13 years of age. Lower secondary education follows primary education, and lasts for the next three years (Grades Seven through to Nine). Completion of lower secondary education means completion of the compulsory years of basic education, after which pupils may choose to attend upper secondary education or some form of vocational education. (Law 476/1983)

As this study is concerned with ECIL, it may be useful to compare potential ECIL streams with the mainstream. It is possible for a child in Finland to attend an English language early childhood institution and have access to English at the day-care or kindergarten level and also pre-primary (pre-school) level. This varies among municipalities and may be dependent on the number of places available. ECIL programmes are available from Grade One of primary education and through to the end of lower secondary (Grade Nine). Access to many of these programmes is through some form of test or assessment (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula & Smit 2010, p 282; Jalkanen 2009). The title 'immersion' is reserved for programmes working with the two national languages, Finnish and Swedish (FNBE 2016, p. 93).

Programmes with English as the target language come under two different titles depending on the amount of instruction given through the medium of English. Broad bilingual education[33] means that 25 per cent or more of the education is through the medium of English, while 'language-enriched education' or narrow bilingual education refers to programmes in which less than 25 per cent of the education is through English (*op. cit.*, pp. 95–97). Some schools offer early English programmes (discussed in Section 3.3), which may span the pre-school year and Grades One and

[33] The actual text in the English version uses the terms 'large-scale' and 'small-scale' bilingual education. I prefer 'broad' and 'narrow'.

Two of primary education and would also come under the heading of language-enriched education. Given that English is usually introduced as the first compulsory foreign language in Grade Three (age 9–10, depending on when their birthday occurs), children in ECIL programmes do have significantly more access to the language. It must be understood that ECIL programme is not used as a homogenous term, and that there is great diversity among the programmes offered in various schools and across Finland under the titles used by the Finnish National Board of Education.

The new Finnish National Core Curriculum begins by stating that 'the steering mechanisms of basic education are to ensure educational equality'[34] (FNBE 2016, p. 9), and the tenets of basic education in Finland are human rights, equality, and democracy (*op. cit.*, p. 19). Hence, they can be held as societal values concerning education in Finland. The Finnish education system is flexible: it is centrally steered but implemented locally, meaning that the Finnish National Board of Education issues a National Core Curriculum (FNBE 2014, 2016[35]), which provides general principles and guidelines. The actual implementation is decided at the municipal level, which is also responsible for the provision of education. These guidelines are further refined to suit the individual needs of schools, hence, schools and teachers in Finland enjoy a relative amount of autonomy (Simola *et al.* 2013, p. 619). The National Core Curriculum is revised and updated roughly every ten years (Education in Finland 2014, p. 16).

In general, Finland cannot be accused of having unequal education, and certainly all the structures are in place to avoid educational disadvantage. Basic education in Finland is free; thus, provided by society for no extra cost. Traditionally, schools do not choose their students, nor are students channelled into different schools according to ability, or streamed. There is no national testing, since this is held as expensive and something that can create negative side effects; the idea is rather that "thematic, focused and sample based research is sufficient for controlling school performance" (Simola *et al.* 2013, p. 622). The majority of schools are public schools funded by the local municipality and the State that follow the National Core Curriculum. The general ideology is that all schools should be good schools (Hargreaves, Gábor & Pont 2008, p. 86), so there is no need for elite schools.

Hargreaves *et al.* (2008, p. 81) report that "Finland performs well not by creating geniuses but by lifting up each child from the bottom". This idea has been further developed, and is reflected in the three-tier support system, implemented in 2010, to ensure that each child receives the individual support needed to successfully complete basic education (FNBE 2014, pp. 61–76). Moreover, in theory, access to further education is a possibility for everyone, meaning that there are no 'dead ends' in Finnish education, and therefore, there is no hierarchy of elitist schools that ensure passage to a particular upper secondary school or university (Kosunen 2012, p. 14; Niemi 2012, p. 25). This is further highlighted by the low number of private schools[36] in Finland (Kosunen 2016, 2014; Varjo & Kalalahti 2011; Kumpulainen 2011). Despite these best efforts, education has not fulfilled expectations as the "great equalizer" (Antikainen 2006,

---

[34] My translation of the Finnish text.

[35] The writing of this study covers the time of transition from the 2004 curriculum to the 2014 curriculum, implemented in August 2016; hence references are made to both versions. In the case of 2014, this refers to the Finnish version, while 2016 refers to the English version of the new National Core Curriculum.

[36] According to Kosunen (2016, p. 4), 3% of schools in Finland are private, although MERCATOR (2013, p. 11) give the figure as approximately 2%.

pp. 232–233), although when compared with other school systems, the Nordic model of comprehensive education is a "producer of low social inequalities" (Antikainen 2006, 2007). As such, public education in Finland can generally be considered as contributing to reducing differences in society.

Although there are some exceptions, children in Finland generally attend the closest local or neighbourhood school, according to "the Nordic one-school-for-all ideology" (Kosunen & Seppänen 2015, p. 330). Some school choice does, nevertheless, exist in Finland. This has its roots in the 1990s, which were a time of deregulation and decentralisation for education in Finland (Simola *et al.* 2013, p. 619; Ahonen 2012; Ahonen 2003, p. 159; Rinne 2000), during which a shift occurred in the relationship between the State and the municipalities. State funding was no longer given based on accrued costs, but rather per individual, hence, municipalities became the organisers of education and also actors in its provision (Law 705/1992; Law 365/1995; Varjo & Kalalahti 2011, p. 9; Simola *et al.* 2013, p. 619). Indeed, school inspections were abrogated in the early 1990s (Education in Finland 2014, p. 13). A new middle class of ambitious professionals, who were increasingly wealthy, arose (Ahonen 2003, p. 159). There was a move away from the Keynesian welfare state, the cornerstone of which had been social justice (Simola *et al.* 2013, p. 615; Rinne 2000, p. 136) and the idea that the State should aid citizens to achieve a decent standard of living by providing services to counterbalance social and economic inequalities.

Society had adopted increasingly Neoliberal ideals (individuality, autonomy, competition, risk taking, and creativity), and was moving away from the welfare state and its ideology towards a third wave, Parentocracy ideology, according to which parents could choose the type of education for their child that represented their own values (Rinne 2000; Kosunen 2012, 2014). The purpose of education became to ensure the competence of the individual in the market place. The criticism levied against basic education was that the focus on social equality had resulted in the suppression of individuality (Sahlberg 2011, p. 122).

In 1998, a new Basic Education Act (Law 628/1998) was passed which resulted in a fundamental change in policy concerning the local neighbourhood school (Kalalahti & Varjo 2012, p. 39, 49). Schools became service providers, and were in competition with each other, as parents could choose which school in the municipality to send their child to (Simola *et al.* 2013, p. 615, 624). Pupils with health issues or other relevant issues would be guaranteed a place at their local school, as would those children with a sibling already at the local school (Law 628/1998, section 6; Varjo & Kalalahti 2011, p. 16). Other pupils would be allocated a place at a school in their local area with the aim of ensuring that they had the shortest school trip possible (*ibid.*). Schools were encouraged to construct profiles (Varjo & Kalalahti 2011, p. 10; Poikolainen 2011, p. 134; Ylönen 2009) or specialise in different areas, leading to local municipal models of selection and various opportunities for parental choice (Silvennoinen *et al.* 2015, p. 38), albeit largely in urban areas (Räty, Kasanen, & Laine 2009; Kosunen 2014).

The outcome of this has been classes with special emphasis (*painotetun opetuksen ryhmät*, in Finnish) in subjects such as languages, music, sport, and dance (e.g. Seppänen, Rinne & Sairanen 2012), which are exempt from the idea of the local neighbourhood school, and are the main way in which parents can exercise a form of school choice (Varjo, Kalalahti & Silvennoinen 2014, p. 21; Kalalahti & Varjo 2012, p. 49). Many such programmes are subject to school selection criteria, which is likely to result in forms of inequality (Rinne, Järvinen, Tikkanen & Aro 2012, p. 465). Even in the case of parents opting for a special emphasis class, it is not clear whether they

are actively seeking something better for their child or simply trying to avoid a local school that they perceive as less desirable for some reason (Kosunen 2014). Moreover, school choice can be representative of the specific undertakings of elite groups, but it may also be related to middle class social descent anxiety (relative risk aversion), or lower class ambition for upward social mobility (Varjo *et al.* 2014, p. 41).

School choice in Finland is, therefore, a particularly interesting phenomenon, and even more so because, unlike in many other countries, there are very few private schools (Kosunen 2016, p. 4). Education is also publicly funded, which calls into question whether Finland can be said to have a school market *per se* since parents do not pay schools directly (*ibid.*). Nowadays, Finnish education is generally held as producing good results, hence, despite the desire for classes of special emphasis, research has shown that parents appear to be satisfied with the Finnish educational system and have rejected ability streaming systems (Varjo *et al.* 2014, p. 22). Moreover, most parents today do not seem to be too concerned about school choice; seemingly favouring the traditional 'civic duty' approach of their child attending the local neighbourhood school over a 'parentocracy' or 'consumer' school choice discourse approach (Poikolainen 2011, pp. 136–140; Räty 2013, p. 222). Nevertheless, the selection of a specific form of school or educational programme for one's child, in Finland, in the 2010s, has been identified as a largely urban phenomenon, and one that is associated with parents representative of the upper social classes in Finnish society (Kosunen 2016; Kosunen & Seppänen 2015; Kalalahti, Silvennoinen, & Varjo 2015; Silvennoinen *et al.* 2015; Varjo *et al.* 2014; Seppänen *et al.* 2012; Rajander 2010). Additionally, most research on school choice in Finland has concentrated on the transition from primary school to lower secondary school in larger cities, and has focused on classes of special emphasis or specialised bilingual streams in general (Kosunen 2016; Silvennoinen *et al.* 2015; Varjo *et al.* 2014; Seppänen *et al.* 2012). Finnish debate on school choice in basic education has accentuated the disparity between social justice and individual rights with regard to the mechanisms of selection (Kosunen 2016, p. 1).

3 SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXTS OF ENGLISH IN FINLAND

3.1 ENGLISH IN SOCIAL DOMAINS AND INFORMAL LEARNING CONTEXTS

The histories of the United Kingdom and the United States of America sowed the seeds for the distribution of the English language, and the modern world of globalisation and mobility, coupled with technological and media advances, has proven a fertile bed for the propagation of the language internationally (Seargeant & Swann 2012; Ostler 2010; Graddol 2006; Crystal 1997; Phillipson 1992). The twentieth century saw the rise of English in Finland. This was facilitated by the urbanisation and modernisation of the country in the 1960s, after which, English overtook the other national language, Swedish. Finnish society became more Westernised in the 1970s, and Finns had greater exposure to English through popular culture; television programmes that were subtitled rather than dubbed, music, and advertising. The 1990s was the decade that saw the rise of English-medium education and the founding of International Schools and English-medium programmes in basic education (Marsh *et al.* 2007). Finland joined the European Union in 1995, and Finns began to travel more, with many realising the benefit of English as a *lingua franca*. English also became even more important for international communication. It was used more in university education, and increasingly became the language of science, and even the work place. Globalisation further strengthened the position of English at the turn of the century. (Leppänen & Nikula 2012, p. 118; Leppänen *et al.* 2009a, 2011, p. 17–20; Leppänen & Nikula 2008).

Kachru and Smith (2008, p. 178) summarise the general status of English and the status quo today:

> *"In the era of globalization and rapid diffusion of knowledge, all the nations are aware of the need to prepare their citizens to perform in ways that would ensure their prosperity and eminence in the world. In order to be competitive, they have to be able to function well in multinational industrial enterprises, international trade, diplomacy, and scientific-technological areas of expertise. They have to be innovative and contribute to the knowledgebase of the world. In order to achieve these goals, they need to be able to utilize the most widely used medium, English."*

This is especially relevant to Finland since the Finnish language belongs to the Finno-Ugric languages and, as such, is unfamiliar for the majority of people who are not Finns, and a difficult language to learn (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003, pp. 5–6). Therefore, adopting English as an international language of communication facilitates internationalisation and contact with the wider world (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 85).

Society in Finland has generally been appreciative of and open to Anglo-American culture and ways of life (Leppänen 2007, p. 150; Leppänen & Nikula 2007, p. 339), and English, nowadays, is closer to a second language rather than a purely foreign language in Finland (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008, pp. 34–37; Leppänen & Nikula

2007, p. 355). Finnish language policy does not use the term immersion for bilingual programmes in English (FNBE 2016). One reason for this is the idea that, to qualify as an immersion language, a language must be either an official or a minority language of the country, and used actively in the society outside of institutions (Hakulinen *et al.* 2009, p. 72). This is linked with political ideology on official languages. At the *de facto* multilingual grassroots level, English does exist as a minority language, although native speakers of English constitute a fairly insignificant minority group in Finland (15 570 people), coming fourth in the list of groups of foreign language speakers after Russian, Estonian and Somali (OSF 2014a). More importantly, to suggest that English may not be in active use in general Finnish society would surely be erroneous, since there is a great deal of evidence to suggest otherwise.

English is highly visible in Finnish society in general, particularly in urban settings, however, use of English in signage, for example, also occurs in rural contexts and landscapes (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, pp. 66–70; Laitinen 2014, p. 56, 63, 74). Finns are actually less likely to experience English in institutional contexts, but English is widely encountered in commercial contexts and on the streets (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 88; Laitinen 2014, p. 56). It has even been suggested that in the domains of higher education, youth culture, research, and business, particularly, English might be displacing the national languages (Leppänen & Nikula 2012, 2007, p. 340; Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003). Two recurrent dividing factors occur in general public discourse concerning English in Finland, which are also relevant to education through the medium of English. In their extreme forms these are: (1) the utopian view – the idea of the English language as a *sine qua non* in terms of progress and empowerment; and (2) the dystopian view – the idea of English as pernicious to the domestic language and culture (Leppänen & Pahta 2012, p. 146; Leppänen & Nikula 2012, 2007, p. 339; Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 16; Virtala 2002).

The idea of English, in general, as self-evidently beneficial is a common view globally (e.g. Crystal 1997), but English never occurs independently of a particular socio-cultural or sociolinguistic context. The so-called inherent value of English is often held as obvious and unchallenged, and policies are built around it without taking specific "sociolinguistic realities" into account (Seargeant and Erling 2011, pp. 3–4). Furthermore, by default, if knowing English is seen as inherently increasing benefit, then not knowing English must be seen as detrimental, and non-speakers of English are missing out (Tollefson 2000). Moreover, this would suggest that there must be an ultimate ceiling to the amount of inherent benefit knowing English can bring; as the relevance of knowing English increases, the relative value of knowing English is likely to decrease in the relation to the number of people who know it (Grin 2001, p. 75; Marsh *et al.* 2007, p. 75). Pennycook (1994, p. 3; 2007a, 2007b, p. 100) especially criticises the way that English has been marketed as something "natural, neutral, and beneficial". "Natural" in the sense that it has occurred in the absence of any undisguised political actions; "neutral" in the sense of an absence of connection with issues social, political, or economic; and "beneficial" in the sense that anyone who knows English must have a better life because of this (*ibid.*).

Finns generally tend to have a positive and pragmatic attitude to English, and do not feel that it is a threat to their first language and culture (Leppänen *et al.* 2011). English may even be considered as a basic skill in Finland (Graddol 2006, p. 72). Nowadays, tertiary education is increasingly turning to English as a transnational language of instruction (Marsh 2013), and the role of English in international business has increased, with it now also being used as an intra-corporate language (Leppänen *et*

al. 2009a, 2011). Moreover, English has become a popular resource in youth language, in particular, as an integral part of young people's everyday language repertoires and lives, locally and translocally (Leppänen 2007, p. 150, 167; Leppänen & Nikula 2007, p. 362; Leppänen *et al.* 2009b). Having a positive attitude to English is not restricted to those pupils in ECIL programmes, and young people generally use English outside of school and in their leisure time, and consider it as important and an investment for the future (Jalkanen 2014).

Ultimately, English is now so widespread in Finland that, in some instances, it is starting to be purported that the amount of contact that an average young Finnish person has with English in informal learning situations is enough to develop English *lingua franca* skills, so language learning resources could be directed towards other languages (Salo 2012, p. 33; Leppänen & Pahta 2012, p. 159; Hakulinen *et al.* 2009, p. 83; Leppänen & Nikula 2008). Even the new National Core Curriculum refers to this (FNBE 2014, p. 219, 2016, p. 236), stating that many students increasingly use English in their free time, and this knowledge must also be incorporated into the planning of lessons. Despite this, Leppänen and colleagues (2011, p. 16) found that only 16% of their respondents (N=1495) felt that they had acquired fluent proficiency in English outside formal education.

English is also regularly made use of in advertising, Information Technology, and the media (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008, p. 34; Leppänen & Nikula 2007, p. 367). Moreover, not only is English commonly used in a variety of contexts, locally and translocally, specific local uses have developed, so use of English has become 'glocalised' (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008, pp. 34–37; Leppänen *et al.* 2011; Kääntä *et al.* 2013, p. 341). English is often selected as a language of communication in social domains, such as the Internet, games, media, and everyday contexts (Leppänen & Nikula 2007, p. 356). What is particularly relevant in Finland is that this choice of register is locally motivated and derives from group membership, lifestyle choices, or involvement in various leisure time activities that involve an element of English at some level, rather than any form of inter-ethnic need for communication (*ibid.*). So, English is not taking over Finnish society, rather Finns are taking English as an extra linguistic resource and putting it to use in their own social functions (to signify group membership and identities) in various social domains (*op. cit.*, p. 368). Finns make use of English in meaning making, cultural production, and identity building in various settings, particularly information and communication technology and popular culture media contexts, for example, various forms of social media (social networking sites, applications, blogs), games, television, cinema, radio, and so on (Leppänen 2007; Leppänen & Pahta 2012; Kääntä *et al.* 2013; Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh 2009).

Leppänen and Pahta (2012, p. 148) made a study of negative, "alarmist" ideologies of Finns towards English, as found in the Finnish press from 1995 to 2007. They introduce a lively debate which portrays English in the roles of "malicious attacker and corruptive seducer" (*op. cit.*, p. 165). English has been held as dangerous to national identity and social equality; an intruder that creates "linguistic homelessness" (*op. cit.*, p. 149); a destructive natural force; and a violent actor that could, at worst, "kill the Finnish language" (*op. cit.*, p. 151). English is also seen as creating social differentiation. Finns' use of English is held as lacking sophistication if it is not to native-speaker standard, or if English is used for profanity or to affect a state of being international. Ultimately, those who have acquired their English skills through contact with popular culture, or in Preisler's (2003) term 'from below', rather than learning it formally at school, 'from above', are held as a sub-class. They have no right to English because of

their lack of ambition and their rendering of the language to commonplace matters, while those proficient in English are held as a "new, privileged elite" (Leppänen & Pahta 2012, p. 159). In the 21st century, it appears that English remains a source of vexation for many Finns, in the form of a threat to their Nordic heritage. Children are a group at risk that may be seduced by the idea of CLIL or immersion education, and, ultimately, in addition to losing their national identity, may also fail to develop their linguistic and cognitive skills (*op. cit.*, pp. 159–160). In terms of dystopian ideologies, English is a series of excesses: too straightforward, too favoured, and altogether too seductive.

In their survey, Leppänen *et al.* (2011, p. 83) found that, on the subject of English, Finns were divided into two distinct groups with regard to age (older people were less likely to know English) and education (more highly educated people tended to have a more favourable attitude to English). In general, Finns find English a positive means for international communication, and feel that it is a greater threat to other languages rather than to the Finnish mother tongue (*op. cit.*, p. 85, 91). Younger and more urban Finns placed greater importance on English (*op. cit.*, p. 88). One interesting finding was that two thirds of their respondents (N=1495) stated that they believed people lacking English skills would become excluded in some areas of life (*op. cit.*, p. 152,156), while many felt that English skills were a necessity for full participation in Finnish society (*op. cit.*, p. 157). Certainly, one is aware of the wealth of English that one can encounter in all parts of Finnish society; on signs, on walls, in shops and restaurants, on the radio, and particularly, on the television; perhaps even more so than in many other countries (Rasinen 2006, p. 99).

3.2 ENGLISH AS A FIRST COMPULSORY FOREIGN LANGUAGE (A1) OR OPTIONAL ADDITIONAL FOREIGN LANGUAGE (A2)

The 1970s saw a concentrated emphasis on language learning in general in Finland, which was followed by a focus on finding ways to internationalise education in the 1980s (Marsh *et al.* 2007, p. 54). Today, a child in Finland usually begins his or her first formal foreign language study in Grade Three (the year he or she turns 10 years of age). These languages are referred to as A-languages[37]. The first compulsory foreign language (A1) is a core subject and studied by all (Law 422/2012). Despite initiatives to curb it[38], English remains the most popular foreign language for Finnish children to study in addition to it generally being the most popular and best known foreign language (OSF 2013a, Leppänen *et al.* 2009a, 2011; Pöyhönen & Luukka 2007; Kantelinen & Pollari 2008; Taavitsainen & Pahta 2008, p. 31; Hakulinen *et al.* 2009, p. 80). As Finland is a bilingual country, Finnish and Swedish may also be A1 languages.

The A1 language begins in Grade Three, at the latest, unless otherwise stated (Ministry of Education and Culture 2012, p. 36; Law 422/2012). A new revision to the division of lesson hours in language education was implemented in August 2016, in

---

[37] B-languages also exist, but their only relevance in the primary context are the two hours a week of compulsory Swedish that has begun in August 2016, hence they are not addressed in any more detail here.

[38] Such as the Kimmoke Development Project and the Language Fair Project to increase awareness of and interest in other languages. Both are mentioned below.

accordance with the new curriculum. The A1 language remains a core subject, and the number of lesson hours devoted to it remains the same, except that one A1 language hour has been taken from the secondary level and moved to the primary level (Law 422/2012, p. 4). According to the Government Decree concerning the division of hours for foreign language teaching, a minimum of nine hours a week are devoted to the A1 language in the course of Grades Three to Six (Law 422/2012, p. 4). The school decides how to implement the number of hours. This means that, for example, students may have two lessons[39] a week of their A1 language for four years and, in the case of Finnish-speaking pupils, two hours of compulsory B1 Swedish in Grade Six.

This is the type of English that the majority of young people in Finland are exposed to at primary school. To date, the focus of the A1 programme has been to enable the student to communicate well in the foreign language in a range of concrete and familiar situations, primarily orally, but gradually also with written text, and for students to develop good habits with regard to language learning (FNBE 2004, p. 93, see also Hildén & Kantelinen 2012). A further important feature is for students to become aware of the differences between different languages and cultures, but also to develop an understanding that they are all equal (*ibid.*). The new curriculum aims to guide students to appreciate different languages and cultures, and to promote plurilingualism (FNBE 2014, p. 86). A further aim is to increase students' linguistic awareness and metalinguistic proficiency (*ibid.*).

In Finland, the idea of taking a voluntary A2 language is introduced in Grade Three to be started some time in Grade Four or then in Grade Five at the latest (Hämäläinen, Väisänen & Latomaa 2007, p. 58). The children will have some experience of their first foreign language and what learning a foreign language entails. The A2 languages are a way to diversify the languages that children in Finland learn. With regard to their A2 languages, the children are aiming for the same levels of proficiency as for the A1 language. These students will have two lessons a week of A2 language instruction (or three if they start in Grade Five), making their school week a little longer (2 hours) than that of their peers (Hämäläinen *et al.* 2007). The languages on offer will vary from school to school, and often the local authority may require a certain number of students to ensure the formation of a group for that language. In some instances, children take English as an A2 language, for example, if they are in a Swedish- or German-medium programme. Table 3.1 presents the level of skills considered as good knowledge, represented by a number 8, on the school report that a pupil could attain by the end of Grade Six for A languages.

Table 3.1. Evolving Language Proficiency Levels in Foreign Language Learning for Finnish Pupils by the End of Grade Six (adapted from FNBE 2016, p. 239–244)

	Interaction Skills	Text Interpretation Skills	Text Production Skills
English	A2.1	A2.1	A2.1
Other Languages	A1.3	A1.3	A1.2

---

[39] At the primary education level in Finland, the duration of a lesson is 60 minutes, comprising a minimum of 45 minutes teaching and a break of at least ten minutes.

These grades are based on the Finnish application of the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Language Learning, Teaching and Assessment (CEFR). Broadly, Proficiency Level A1 is that of limited communication in the most familiar situations, and Proficiency Level A2 that of basic needs for immediate social interaction and brief narration[40]. The standard of good skills for English is slightly higher than that of good skills in other languages, which reflects its common use in Finnish society. The CEFR provides a common basis across the EU to be used in the development of all aspects of language learning and teaching, from language learners' objectives, descriptions of cultural contexts to providing a rubric of proficiency levels (COE 2001, p. 1). The main function of the CEFR is to promote and aid mobility across the European Union states by making qualifications in the various states more recognisable and acceptable to other states (*ibid.*).

For decades, English has dominated foreign language teaching in Finland (Leppänen *et al.* 2011). Despite various policies over this time to diversify the situation, attempts have achieved only limited success (Sajavaara, Luukka & Pöyhönen 2007, p. 32; Hämäläinen *et al.* 2007, p. 64). Even in 2008, Kantelinen and Pollari (2008, p. 15) still commented that the dominance of English is one of the problems of language education in Finland. One recent initiative to address this 'imbalance' was the *Kielitivoli* Project (Language Fair), which was designed to rekindle interest in other languages so that children would be more diverse in their choice of A2 language. The Language Fair project ran for two terms; the first Language Fair began in 2009 and the second at the turn of 2011–2012 (Tuokko, Takala, Koikkalainen & Mustaparta 2012). The aim of the project was to provide more primary school children with the opportunity to study foreign languages other than English. A further aim was to increase collaboration between schools and municipalities and to make parents more aware of the importance of having good language skills (Tuokko *et al.* 2012). In general, however, Finnish parents realise the importance of language skills and are interested in their children learning languages other than English. English, nevertheless, remains the dominant language, given its global status (Kumpulainen 2011, p. 49).

3.3 ENGLISH AND CONTENT INTEGRATED LEARNING (ECIL) PROGRAMMES AND SCHOOLS

According to the Basic Education Act (Law 628/1998, Section 10), in Finland, instruction may be given in a language other than the usual language of instruction of the school (FNBE 2016, p. 93). In such instances, the target language is usually the same as the A1 language, and the number of hours allotted to mother tongue and literature can be combined with those of the target language and redistributed (Law 422/2012, Section 8; FNBE 2016, p. 93). As an example, first graders have seven hours of mother tongue (Finnish) and literature; in a bilingual programme, one or two of those hours can be allocated to the target language, leaving less for mother tongue. This may fuel the argument discussed earlier, about the dystopian versus the utopian view of English with regard to the first language. Instruction in another language, however, must not

---

[40] It is not felt necessary to expand upon these grades in this study. The reader can discover exactly what each level entails from the following links. http://www.oph.fi/download/47674_core_curricula_basic_education_5.pdf (p. 20) in English http://www.oph.fi/download/111628_KIELITAIDON_TASOJEN_KUVAUSASTEIKKO.pdf in Finnish

hinder the pupil's progress, and they should know concepts in their first language at the same level as their peers (*op. cit.*, p. 94) and be able to continue to further levels of education with instruction in Finnish.

The very popularity and spread of English mainstream bilingual education in Finland speaks of the esteem in which English is held in general. The subject of relevance here is the beliefs held by Finnish parents about the phenomenon of ECIL as a type of bilingual education that guide them to select it as a form of school choice for their children; not individual programmes or actual classroom practice. The field of ECIL in this study refers to Finnish institutions of primary education (all schools offering some form of ECIL from Grade One to Grade Six; municipal schools, international schools, and private schools). The term ECIL concerns what the National Core Curriculum refers to as either broad or narrow bilingual education (FNBE 2014, p. 89, 2016, p. 91). The domain comprises Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), Content and English Integrated Learning (CEIL – a specific form of CLIL), immersion, Content-Based Language Teaching (CBLT; also known as Content-Based Instruction CBI) and other forms of English-medium education used in Finland at the primary level, such as language classes, language enhanced learning, early English, and language shower. I have chosen the term ECIL to refer to the phenomenon of pupils being exposed to more English than they would be through taking English only as a compulsory or optional foreign language in mainstream Finnish primary education, and to avoid being caught up in nuances and differences between interpretations of the types of programme, since there is no definitive consensus. Although use of ECIL implies some form of homogeneity, this is only in relation to the language of instruction; it is understood that all schools are individual, and the programmes that they offer differ because methodologies are diverse (Coyle *et al.* 2010, loc. 530). I attempt to address the phenomenon at its broadest, by incorporating all and any forms of using English to teach content.

With regard to primary education in Finland, which is the context of this study, a trend seems to appear. In the 1960s, there seem to have been only two schools providing education through the medium of English (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005), both of which still exist today and are fee-paying schools. Calculations based on the results of Nikula and Marsh (1996) show that, in the 1990s, around a hundred publicly-funded, mainstream primary schools provided some form of CLIL education, ranging from a few hours to whole subjects. Lehti *et al.*'s 2005 survey showed that, since then, the number of publicly-funded, mainstream primary schools offering CLIL education had dropped, but that the CLIL programmes on offer were more established and consolidated. The Kangasvieri *et al.* (2011) survey was slightly different, since it focused on the municipality, which meant that data on private kindergartens with CLIL programmes, for example, was not available. Many schools had been working to develop their programmes largely in isolation, which may have been a factor in the decrease in number of schools offering CLIL.

This study can also contribute some numbers to the situation today. Three private schools were identified that require parents to pay some form of school fees. The other schools were all public programmes of bilingual education, thus, provided at no extra cost to the parents, and include the schools that participated in this study. At the time of searching, in 2013, there were 2576 comprehensive schools in Finland (OSF 2013b). Of those, 2370 were schools with Grades 1–6 (*ibid.*). Forty potential schools

were identified that offered English-medium programmes[41]. This represents 1.7% of primary schools in the country, and serves to highlight the relative exiguity of English-medium education in Finland. Table 3.2 presents the broad forms of schools and the types of ECIL identified, including schools that did not participate in the survey.

Table 3.2. ECIL Programmes in Finnish Primary Education

ECIL PROGRAMMES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION IN FINLAND		
Fee-paying and/or Private Schools		
Type of School	**Type of Programme**	**Curriculum Followed**
International School	International Baccalaureate World School	International Baccalaureate Organisation Curricula
National Language School	Bilingual Education	Finnish National Core Curriculum SAT and Cambridge Examinations
European Schooling	European Schools	European Schools European Baccalaureate
Schools Maintained by the Local Municipality (Free)		
International School	Bilingual Education CLIL International	Finnish National Core Curriculum / International Baccalaureate Organisation Curricula
Finnish International School	Bilingual Education CLIL International	Finnish National Core Curriculum
Mainstream Finnish Primary School	Bilingual Programme (requiring some previous knowledge of English)	Finnish National Core Curriculum
Mainstream Finnish Primary School	Bilingual Programme (requiring no previous knowledge of English)	Finnish National Core Curriculum
Mainstream Finnish Primary School	CLIL	Finnish National Core Curriculum
Mainstream Finnish Primary School	English Classes CLIL	Finnish National Core Curriculum
Mainstream Finnish Primary School	Language Enhanced/Based Content Instruction	Finnish National Core Curriculum
Mainstream Finnish Primary School	Early English or Language Shower	School's Own Curriculum

This information was compiled from the literature review, my own knowledge and contacts in the field, and supplemented with information from extensive internet searches using key words such as 'English bilingual education in Finland', 'English-medium teaching in Finland', English CLIL education in Finland', 'International schools in Finland' and their Finnish equivalents. Of course, the situation can vary and change from year to year, and the types of the programme are still diverse (cf. Kangasvieri *et al.* 2011, p. 18). In 2016, while investigating the processes of student

---

[41] This had dropped to 39 in 2016, as one school reported that they did not have English-medium education.

selection to ECIL schools, one principal informed that they did not have ECIL, which brought the number of schools to thirty-nine. These 39 schools represent 23 Finnish municipalities all of which are urban municipalities (*kaupunkimaiset kunnat*, in Finnish), bar one, which is semi-urban (*taajaan asuttu kunta*) (OSF 2016b). Based on this, we may conclude that ECIL in Finland is very much an urban phenomenon. This supports findings on school choice in general (e.g. Kosunen 2016) and findings on ECIL in Finland (e.g. Leppänen *et al.* 2011). The types of programme have been grouped into larger categories. They are all offering classes of special emphasis in English. There is some overlap in the terminology in that an international school may well have an immersion[42] or CLIL programme and a bilingual programme is also a CLIL programme.

International Schools (IS) and Finnish International Schools (FIS) are clear concepts, and are largely the same. Traditionally, international schools have provided education for expatriate families around the world, however, a growing market of customers for such schools now comes from wealthy local populations (Zilber 2009, loc. 108). It is, however, important to note that almost all the international schools in Finland are non-private organisations funded by their local municipality in the same way as any other school. Hence, they do not fit the general international idea of international schools as private education chosen by more affluent parents (see de Mejía 2002 and Baker 2011, p. 247). Nonetheless, the local or host population is interested in this form of education, as shown in the coining of the specific acronym FIS. The acronym FIS reflects that the school functions like an international school, but is specific to the Finnish situation and uses the Finnish National Core Curriculum rather than that of the International Baccalaureate.

A phenomenon associated with international schools in general is that of Third Culture Kids (TCKs) also known as Global Nomads (GNs). These are children who travel with their parents because of their parents' work and, as a result, may spend a large amount of their developmental years in cultures outside of that or those of their parents, resulting in them not having a so-called 'home' culture (Zilber 2009, loc. 255). These students account for around 20% of international school pupils in general (*op. cit.*, loc. 108). Some Finnish pupils attending ECIL programmes may have been in this position earlier and continue with their international education in Finland. Generally, local or host population children who attend international schools constitute the majority, and can be referred to as Cross Cultural Kids (CCKs), as they become part of the multicultural experience offered through their school. This is also relevant to other types of ECIL schools which fulfil the function of providing education to children of international visiting parents (Jalkanen 1999, 2007). Zilber (2009, loc. 272) describes the phenomenon with a good metaphor, "When you enrol your child in an international school, you are sending them abroad without an airline ticket or a passport". Despite this, Finnish children educated in Finland retain the important contact with their own culture and language because after school they come home to spend the rest of their time in the same Finnish society as everyone else.

In 2007, Marsh and colleagues (p. 74) reported that "the majority of schools do not use any specific selection procedures other than open enrolment". This is no longer the case. Attending an ECIL programme is voluntary, but places are limited,

---

[42] However, none of the schools that participated in this study used the term immersion to describe their English-medium programme.

and there are different selection routes or intake criteria (Dalton-Puffer *et al.* 2010, p. 282). Today, the majority of schools (17 out of 23 municipalities) have some form of aptitude test for entrance to their programmes[43]. In some cases, schools require pupils to have good skills in Finnish, in others, they require pupils to have a certain level of proficiency in English or both languages. The tests are usually conducted when the pupils apply for Grade one, but occasionally, pupils are assessed for entry into pre-school or during the pre-school year. Some schools have no testing (5 out of 23 municipalities). Selection may be based on a report from the pre-school teacher and an application made by parents, or pupils may be accepted to a language shower programme if they have been in English day-care, if they have an English-speaking parent (or other language), if they have lived abroad for a longer period, or have a sibling in the programme. Use of selection processes (gatekeeping) means that ECIL might be held as being in conflict with the Finnish educational philosophy of equity (Wewer 2014, p. 70; Nikula 2007, p. 208, 2005, pp. 30–31; Rajander 2010, pp. 177–198; Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005, p. 216), although no more so than other classes of special emphasis that have aptitude tests. It could also, however, be argued that all families have the right to educate their children in and through English, and have the right to apply for a place; in this respect, ECIL is not unequal. Schools do accept pupils from other catchment areas, but in such instances, the parents are responsible for meeting the costs of transportation (Law 628/1998, Section 32).

Some municipalities offer the opportunity for students to begin learning a foreign language already in Grades One or Two in the course of their regular curriculum. This depends upon the school, but is a phenomenon that has become increasingly popular across Finland, especially with regard to English. It is known as '*varhennettu*' English, which translates as early English in the sense of 'English brought forward' or 'language shower' (*kielisuihku*, in Finnish). Pupils may have one lesson a week, during which they sing songs or become familiar with vocabulary and phrases in the language, and the culture of the countries in which the language is spoken. In instances of such early foreign language learning, the focus is on the skills of listening comprehension, repetition and speaking through doing and play, and with little use of the written text (FNBE 2004, p. 92).

To provide an example, in the City of Kuopio, out of 40 schools that provide basic education (Grades 1–9); there are five primary schools that offered some form of early English during the school year 2014–2015 (E. Bovellan 2015, pers. comm. 22 April)[44]. This was a continuation from a trial that took place in the academic year 2012 to 2013, in which the same five schools offered early English: two schools offered one lesson a week to children in Grades One and Two, and the other schools offered one lesson a week to children in Grade Two. The experiences were positive all round (City of Kuopio Minutes 4/2013). One of the schools had already been implementing early English for many years. This is becoming even more popular with the advent of the new curriculum and the optional subjects which are intended to "deepen and expand the pupils' competence according to their personal choices" (FNBE 2016, p. 99). Some schools have decided to use the lesson hours allotted to optional subjects for early English or English showers. The City of Jyväskylä has also implemented extensive

---

[43] This is based on personal communications with schools and from school and municipal web pages.

[44] Based on an interview with Eveliina Bovellan, Co-ordinator for Foreign Language Teaching in Basic Education at the City of Kuopio.

language shower programmes, in 2016, in pre-school and early primary, and in a range of languages – not just in English, with training for teachers (Sievänen 2016, pp. 14–15).

Nowadays, schools that offer ECIL programmes are aware that they need to work together as a network in order to be able to provide the best forms of English bilingual education in accordance with the guidelines of the Finnish National Board of Education. The Finnish International Schools – Sharing Tools for English Public Schools (FIS-STEPS) national network project was developed in 2011 to bring together like schools with the aim of developing and improving instruction through the medium of English in Finland. The project was started in 2011, and is funded by the Finnish National Board of Education and is co-ordinated by the City of Tampere. There are five partners: The City of Tampere, the City of Espoo, the City of Kuopio, the City of Vantaa and Turku International School. According to their website, the "FIS-STEPS network aims at stabilizing and strengthening nationwide cooperation in order to enable the unification of practices, instruction and working patterns in CLIL teaching." (FIS-STEPS 2014.)

Internationalisation in Finland, the increasing number of foreign workers and students at universities in Finland, foreign enterprises, and the increased popularity and demand for English-medium instruction among Finnish families have all contributed to the increased need for English-medium instruction (Katajamäki 2014, p. 1). CLIL appears to be the term favoured over bilingual education. One of the project's main aims is to make the English CLIL instruction and evaluation of students across Finland as equal as possible in the sense of achieving coherence in CLIL teaching and ensuring educational equality (FIS-STEPS 2014; Katajamäki 2014, pp. 2, 3). To this end, the project has been working on an appendix to the annual report for at least Grades Six and Nine[45]. Other aims of the project are to pool, develop and disseminate material on English CLIL in Finland.

English-medium education has been very popular in Finland for several decades now. Leppänen *et al.* (2011, p. 89) found that most of their respondents (almost 90%, N=1495) were favourably disposed to Finnish children being educated through the medium of English. The most positive attitudes were in urban rather than rural contexts (*ibid.*; Lehti *et al.* 2006). Not all studies, however, have found such strongly positive attitudes. Virtala (2002, pp. 92–125), for example, studied public discourse on mainstream bilingual education in Finland, seeking to elucidate the arguments of its proponents and opponents using various public documents that existed prior to her study. Her study dealt with mainstream bilingual education in general, but given that English is the dominant language of such education in Finland, her findings are relevant here. According to her study, the implied positive impact of mainstream bilingual education (MBE) on students included the strong language skills accrued, opportunities for international mobility, cultural and professional skills. The implied negative impact included weakness in mother tongue skills and comprehension of concepts, poor learning results, and MBE seen as a fashion trend or a shortcut to internationalism. One major implied negative social impact was that MBE is not managed, and results in an imbalance or inequality of education, or extra costs. Essentially, English is held as bringing benefits, but at the potential risk of less proficiency in the mother tongue. Again, this is representative of the utopian and dystopian views of English that exist.

---

[45] For information on the appendix see https://fissteps.wordpress.com/assessment/ (in English) and https://hyvatkaytannot.oph.fi/kaytanto/1913/

3.4 CASE KUOPIO

3.4.1 Early Total Immersion at the English Kindergarten of Kuopio

The English Kindergarten of Kuopio was founded in 1969, and is among the oldest and largest English language kindergartens in Finland (Jalkanen 2009, p. 100). It was founded to provide Finnish children with the opportunity to receive naturalistic early English second language instruction from native speakers (*ibid.*). From 1985 to 2007, the kindergarten had the same head teacher, who was interested in the field of early foreign language learning and developing the kindergarten and pre-school programme. During this same period, the kindergarten employed professional teachers, who had English as their first language, and was prepared to pay them accordingly in order to have quality teaching. The kindergarten employed teachers from the United Kingdom, largely because of the head teacher's connection with the UK, and the ease of interviewing candidates from there. Teachers often did not stay for more than a year or two, but some teachers did stay for longer. This stability, together with qualified staff, paved the way for the development of the programme in the 1980s and 1990s. The year 1991 was an important one, as it was the year of the inception of the early total immersion programme according to the Canadian model (Jalkanen 2009, p. 100). In 1992, the kindergarten was able to have full use of the building in which it operated, which resulted in the separation of pre-school-age children into a specific pre-school group (Sallinen 1992).

Immediately prior to the inception of the immersion programme, the system was such that each class had an English native-speaker teacher and a Finnish assistant. As well as helping with the children, the assistant's task was to translate what the teacher said, especially during activities when the whole class was together (Jalkanen 1999). This system was deficient in two major ways. Primarily, it was not conducive to learning English. As can only be expected, the majority of the children waited for the translation in Finnish rather than listening to the English (Jalkanen 2009, p. 100). Secondly, the system demanded a great deal from the assistant, and could even result in her being regarded as a higher authority than the teacher because of the knowledge and use of the children's mother tongue (*ibid.*). The subject of early total immersion according to the Canadian model had been researched and discussed at this time, by the teachers and the parent committee, and it was felt that it could provide a solution to the above-mentioned problem as it would ensure that the children were exposed to as much English as possible during their time at the kindergarten, and would not undermine the teacher's authority (*ibid.*). This was not done to replace the Finnish mother tongue, because the main classroom language for peer interaction remained Finnish; interaction with the teaching staff was through English. Moreover, the chairman and committee were aware of the promising results generated by immersion in Canada; namely the good oral language skills acquired from learning the language through immersion and at an early age.

In the early days, admission to the kindergarten occurred on a 'first-come-first-served' basis, and parents could apply to enrol their child at any time, to start in the year in which he or she would be four years old (Jalkanen 1999). There was no catchment area, and children came from all over Kuopio, and sometimes also from neighbouring municipalities. Often parents would enrol their child years in advance (Sallinen 1992), and there were even telephone calls from expectant mothers. In 1992, there were

around 150 pupils, all half-day pupils, spread among two pre-school groups and four kindergarten groups (*ibid.*). Children from bilingual families (English-Finnish) for whom the English language support provided by the school played an essential role in the development of the child's other mother tongue were guaranteed a place (Jalkanen 1999). Bilingual pupils were the exception, and the majority of children had Finnish as their first language. Exceptions were also made for children who had lived abroad through their parents' work, had learned English and wished to maintain it, or for children who in the near future would go abroad with their parents, and for whom a knowledge of English would be useful or essential (*ibid.*). The late 1980s and early 1990s was the time when the promising results from Canadian immersion were being discussed in Finland, leading to the boom in immersion and later CLIL programmes. Immersion, with its naturalistic learning and the idea of the critical period hypothesis (CPH), seems to have played a greater role in the development of the English Kindergarten of Kuopio than CLIL *per se*, and globalisation and mobility did have a function, albeit rather small scale. The focus was perhaps more on acquiring good English skills at an early age.

The management of the school was the responsibility of the head teacher, while financial matters and administration were supervised by a voluntary committee comprising eight parents of children attending the establishment. Elections for the committee members and chairman were held at the Annual General Meeting each spring, and the committee met once a term (Jalkanen 1999). The age range for the children used to be three to seven years, but when the immersion programme was implemented, the starting age was changed to four years, as it was felt that since most normal indigenous children have established their first language by the age of 3½ to four years, four-year-olds would be better prepared to cope in the second language environment (Jalkanen 2009, p.100). Their first language would be developed enough to enable them to process visual/aural input in English using concepts and structures that already exist through their experiences in Finnish (*ibid.*). The state provided no finance for the establishment, whose status then was similar to that of a private school. The municipality provided some funding, but the monthly fees paid by the parents constituted the greater part of the school's finance. This might be challenged as being elitist, however, the kindergarten was, and still is, a non-profit organisation, and the fee was for a part-time kindergarten place. The prices were kept as low as possible to make the service available to more. In August 1992, the fees were 400 Finnish Marks[46], and covered the staff salaries and cleaning – other activities were based on parents' activity and volunteer work (Sallinen 1992).

Up until August 2002, the English Kindergarten of Kuopio offered only half-day immersion and had morning and afternoon groups (Jalkanen 2009, p. 100). From 1991, there were six groups of about 20 children; three attended in the morning, three in the afternoon, each for three hours. This was because the premises were not suited to full-day day-care or providing a hot meal. This half-day system, and the organisation of transport it required, was perhaps the biggest obstacle for parents, because it meant that a parent would have to have another form of day care for the other half of the day, and be able to fetch or bring their child in the middle of day. In August 2002, the pre-school moved premises to operate on a different site because of a lack of premises big enough to hold both parts (Jalkanen 2009, p.101). This heralded a major

---

[46] There were 6 Marks to a Euro when the currency changed, so this would be around 67 Euros.

change as it meant that full-day immersion could be offered, giving children even more access to English. The kindergarten later also changed sites, and was able to offer full-day immersion from August 2003 (*ibid.*). During this period, the English Kindergarten came under the day-care system of the City of Kuopio. This meant that the organisation was then bound by the same rules and regulations as Finnish day-care centres concerning staffing ratios, safety regulations, and so on. Each class had, and still has, a teacher and two qualified nursery nurses in accordance with Finnish law, that is, one qualified member of staff per every seven children (*ibid.*). Moreover, the fees were means tested and supported by the Social Insurance Institution of Finland (KELA, in Finnish). This meant that the immersion programme should not be any more expensive for a family than any other form of day-care in terms of the fees.

Nowadays, the English Kindergarten has 80 children, 31 of whom are pre-schoolers, in four groups that operate on two sites. The majority of children are in full day-care. The kindergarten has a manager instead of a head teacher, and there is still a volunteer parent committee of four to eight members responsible for the administration. Children enrol in the same manner as earlier, and parents still do this early on. The kindergarten's website is a good medium for marketing, but information about the kindergarten seems to spread best via word of mouth among parents. The programme is still total early immersion, but the teachers do not always have English as their first language. This is because it is difficult to recruit teachers with all of the necessary skills; they must be qualified kindergarten teachers in Finland, and then have adequate English skills to teach through the medium of English. There are no strict language requirements as there are for teachers at the primary level who must have a minimum of 80 university credits (op) in English or an official certificate of language proficiency at level 5 (Hakulinen *et al.* 2009, p. 72). At present, the English Kindergarten has one English native-speaker teacher and four Finnish native-speaker teachers. The assistants of the past are now qualified nursery nurses with good English skills; one is an English native speaker and the other six are Finnish native speakers. Most parents seem to value the immersion, but the kindergarten manager stresses that this type of programme emphasises the role of parents in supporting and developing the Finnish mother tongue.

The English Kindergarten is still a private institution, but it runs on the same principles as other day-care institutions in the City of Kuopio, and as such, it is subject to the same rules and regulations. In addition, the municipality supports the parents through a means-tested 'service voucher' (*palveluseteli*, in Finnish) of at least 555 Euros to assist with fees. The fees of the English Kindergarten are currently 915 Euros per month for full day-care; 70 Euros higher than regular day-care. Thus, a family who would have free municipal day-care could still send their child to the English Kindergarten if they could afford the extra 70 Euros per month. Moreover, the City of Kuopio is not the only municipality to provide a service voucher for parents who would like their child to attend the English Kindergarten, the neighbouring municipalities of Siilinjärvi, Leppävirta, and Lapinlahti also support parents with a service voucher if they make this choice.

The current kindergarten manager and chairman believe that parents choose the English Kindergarten for a variety of reasons (Interview August 30th 2016). In general, parents are pleased with the good level of care that the children receive, including those with special health or learning needs, and the English is also important. The international aspect is very important, as is learning English from an early age, and the majority of parents enrol their child at the kindergarten with the school's bilingual

programme in mind. The introduction of assessment when enrolling for a place in the primary school's bilingual programme was initially a shock and a disappointment to parents, but collaboration between the school and the kindergarten, together with time, has perhaps helped to lessen the stress of having a child assessed. Both the English Kindergarten manager and chairman have children in either the English Kindergarten or Rajala bilingual programme, and when asked about their own reasons for this, they stressed the importance of the international aspect. They stated that the world is becoming increasing international. Earlier Finns were limited by thinking only in terms of Finland and things Finnish, but the younger generation is now borderless, and can think globally in terms of working abroad in Europe or further afield. Of course, as the manager acknowledged, the English Kindergarten's immersion programme and the following bilingual path are not the best route for all children, and attending regular mainstream is just as good.

3.4.2 ECIL at Rajala Primary School – the Bilingual Programme (Finnish–English)

Rajala School (Rajala) is a primary school for Finnish grades 1–6 (ages 7 to 13 years). The school was inaugurated in 1971, which makes it slightly younger than the English Kindergarten of Kuopio. In the academic year 2016–2017, the school had 392 pupils, of whom 125 were in the bilingual stream. The school employs a teaching staff of approximately 30 people, and aims to offer a positive milieu for growth, consisting of respect for others, honesty, good manners, responsibility for one's own work, strong self-esteem, active interaction, and the desire to learn. It also aims to provide pupils with a versatile basic education, comprising skills in interaction and the acquisition of knowledge, as well as the ability to work independently. In addition to the current bilingual programme, the school also offers music classes of special emphasis from Grade Three onwards; one class for each grade. [47]

In Finland, English is not usually introduced as a foreign language until Grade Three (age c.10 years). Prior to the Rajala programme, the only continuation for former pupils of the English Kindergarten was an after-school club, one hour once a week. In 1991, parents felt that their children may be at risk of losing their English or not achieving their potential in that language with the usual English foreign language programme (Jalkanen 1999). In some instances, it was felt that when English was begun as a subject, it would not be challenging enough for those children who had had two or three years of immersion teaching, and that they would lose interest (*ibid*.). Parents wanted their children to have the opportunity to continue their education using English as the medium of instruction at primary school (*ibid*.). Rather than any form of grand master plan for the future, the impetus behind this development appears to have been a collection of individuals interested in and committed to some form of education through the medium of English for Finnish children in different parts of Finland. Kuopio was a small town with its own connections to Europe and other parts of the world. The time was ripe and the right people were there at the right time. Rajala already differed from most primary schools in that it had two English subject

---

[47] This paragraph has been adapted from Jalkanen 1999, 2007, 2009 and is also the text sometimes used on the Rajala School web site with my permission.

teachers (*englannin lehtorit*, in Finnish), so this was the school that representatives of the parent committee of the English Kindergarten chose to approach. The progress of internationalisation began to accelerate, and in the words of the former chairman of the English kindergarten, "And in a way, certain people understood that it's now time to act."[48]

Permission was granted by the Educational Committee for Rajala School to develop an English-medium programme for children who already had a knowledge of English; initially this was for a two-year trial period (Jalkanen 2007). Through this programme, a non-specified amount of instruction in English for pupils who had attended the English Pre-school of Kuopio was to be provided in the form of a so-called English class (*ibid.*). No extra funding was given, and it has been up to the school head to find ways to maintain the project. The class was also intended to meet the potential needs of the university by providing instruction in English for the children of visiting professors. Children who had learned English abroad, and wished to maintain their language proficiency could be enrolled, and in certain instances, also those children who needed to learn English because of an impending period of residence abroad (Jalkanen 1999). The kindergarten committee members were already convinced of the benefits of early immersion, and did not feel that English would be a threat to the Finnish mother tongue. Nonetheless, the inception of the programme was not problem free, and the kindergarten former chairman felt that perhaps the background information provided to the school had not been deep enough initially to quell the suspicions of some of the teachers. Another obstacle that was discussed was the issue that such a programme is inherently unequal, and thus at odds with the Finnish ethos of education, since one group of children had access to a form of education that the others did not. Despite this, the former principal remembers that the majority of Non-Enkku parents have related to the English classes rather neutrally.

The municipal department responsible for primary education in Kuopio took the stance that English forms part of the regular curriculum, and should, therefore, be available to all (Jalkanen 2007). For this reason, there was to be no testing for admittance into the English classes, even in instances when the numbers were too great for just one class, and too small for two classes (*ibid.*). There were no clear selection criteria or gatekeeping. In the early days, most emphasis was placed on the mother tongue; additive bilingualism was not the aim. One reason for the neutral reaction of Non-Enkku parents could be that the children in the regular mainstream Grades One and Two also had a one-hour-a-week[49] orientation class in English. This has been the case since at least the early 2000s, and has developed into the school's current early English programme. Children in Grades One and Two have a total number of 20 hours of education per week (Rajala 2016a Section 3.1), so the one hour a week of enhanced English equates to 5 per cent of the programme in which the lesson is used as a "form of pre-language teaching primer" for the English A1 language in Grade Three (Coyle *et al.* 2010, loc. 346). Despite the small number of teaching hours, the amount of contact with English is comparable to a CLIL framework of partial instruction through the vehicular language (*op. cit.*, loc. 310). Hence, this type of programme could also be included under ECIL.

---

[48] Interview with former kindergarten chairman, Monday 22nd August 2016.

[49] At the primary education level in Finland, the duration of a lesson is 60 minutes, comprising a minimum of 45 minutes teaching and a break of at least ten minutes.

Rajala was allowed to continue its programme after the trial period, and with the increasing awareness of CLIL, combined with the school's participation in the national Kimmoke Development Project on the diversification of language teaching, from 1996 to 2000 (FNBE 1999), the trial developed into a CLIL-type programme, and finally into its current form of bilingual education programme (Finnish-English). Up until August 2013, there was no set curriculum for the English-medium teaching (City of Kuopio Decision 2013). The amount of English, and the subjects taught were left to the discretion of the individual class teacher, depending on his or her own proficiency in English. Work on a set curriculum began in the school year 2011 to 2012. The school got a new principal in August 2012, who felt that it had been easier to become familiar with the programme through this curriculum work. Many things are now structured and better thought out, such as assessment; the curriculum is also a formal document that everyone is familiar with, hence decisions are made based on clear rules and not subject to one person's thinking. In August 2013, the first version of the current curriculum was taken into use (City of Kuopio Decision 2013), and in August 2016, the finalised curriculum and division of lesson hours for the bilingual programme was approved by the City of Kuopio's school office and taken into use (City of Kuopio Minutes 3/2016).

There are six classes in the bilingual stream; one in each grade. The subjects that are taught in English are English, mathematics, environmental studies and science, Evangelical Lutheran religious education, history and social studies. Art, sport, and handwork may also be taught in English, but this depends on who is teaching the subject and varies from year to year. Special education and support teaching are giving primarily in Finnish. This differs from the regular mainstream in that Law 422 Section 8 has been applied to combine and redistribute the Finnish and English hours so that at least half of the amount are allocated to Finnish (Law 422/2012). The extra hour allocated by the City of Kuopio in Grades One to Three has been allocated to English, and the hours for optional subjects in Grades Five and Six are allocated to English in accordance with the bilingual programme. Each of the classes in the bilingual stream has one hour of English literature taught by a native-speaker teacher. It is important to provide formal instruction of English, and provide pupils with the opportunity to develop their literacy skills in that language since they are studying other subjects through English. Table 3.3 presents the division of hours for Grades One to Six for the school year 2016–2017.

Table 3.3. Division of Hours for the Rajala School Bilingual Education Programme (Finnish–English) for the School Year 2016–2017 (adapted from the proposal document to the City of Kuopio)

SUBJECT	GRADE					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Finnish	5	5	5	4	5	4
A1 English	3*	3*	3*	3*	4*	3*
B1 Swedish						2
Maths	3*	3*	3*	4*	4*	4*
Environmental Studies/Science Subjects	2*	2*	2*	2*	3*	3*
Religious Education (Ev. Lutheran) ***	1*	1*	2*	1*	1*	1*
History and Social Studies				1*	2*	2*
Music	1**	1**	1	1	1	1
Art	1*	1*	1**	2**	1**	1**
Handwork	2	2	2	2	2	2
Sport	2	2	3	2	2	2
Optional Subject			1	2		
A2 (French, German, Russian)				2	2	2
TOTAL	20	20	23	24/26	25/27	25/27

* in English / ** in English where possible / *** Orthodox religious education and ethics are taught in Finnish

At the time of writing, in its basic education programme, the City of Kuopio offers classes of special emphasis in physical education; sport; music; dance, visual arts; and mathematics and science subjects; access to these classes is through an aptitude test (City of Kuopio Minutes 5/2015). Rajala School's bilingual education programme (Finnish-English) is not considered a class of special emphasis, and goes under the title of broad bilingual education as specified by the Finnish National Core Curriculum (FNBE 2016; City of Kuopio Minutes 3/2016). Kuopio also has a German-medium programme, with a German kindergarten and a primary programme, but this operates on a much smaller scale than the English bilingual programme.

Rajala School employs both English and Finnish native-speaker teachers. All teachers must be qualified teachers and qualified to teach through the medium of English – no preference is given to the teacher's first language. All of the classes do have access to lessons with the native English speakers, who are not qualified to teach the Finnish mother tongue, and instead, teach a range of grades and subjects, such as English literature, science, history, and so on. Further to the instruction given through the medium of English, the children also receive formal instruction in English as a foreign language from a qualified language teacher. At one point, the same curriculum as the rest of the school was followed, except that the bilingual stream pupils began a year ahead of the mainstream and music classes. This was ended in 2010, because at the end of Grade Six (the end of primary education), pupils receive a leaving certificate. The grades on the certificate should be comparable across Finland

(FNBE 2016). Hence, the students are now evaluated based on the regular A1 English curriculum, the same as peers across Finland, and from 2012, an extra appendix for all grades was introduced for English skills over and above the A1 curriculum (Rajala 2016a). Table 3.4 below provides a comparison of the criteria for 'good' proficiency between the mainstream English programmes (English as a foreign language) and the bilingual stream at the end of primary school.

Table 3.4. Language Proficiency Levels for English for Pupils by the End of Grade Six (adapted from FNBE 2016, p. 239–244 and targets for Rajala School in collaboration with the Finnish International School of Tampere, FISTA)

	Interaction Skills	Text Interpretation Skills	Text Production Skills
Mainstream English	A2.1	A2.1	A2.1
Bilingual Stream	B2.1	B2.1	B1.2+

These grades are based on the Finnish application of the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Language Learning, Teaching and Assessment (CEFR). Broadly, Proficiency Level A2 is that of basic needs for immediate social interaction and brief narration, while Proficiency Level B1 is concerned with dealing with everyday life and Level B2 is managing regular interaction with native speakers. These can be compared with the proficiency levels for the regular A1 English programme presented in Table 3.1.

In 2010, a decision had been made to make the studying of an optional additional foreign (A2) language compulsory for pupils in Rajala's bilingual programme (City of Kuopio Minutes 7/2013). The reasoning behind this was that pupils were learning English naturalistically and, therefore, were not having the experience of learning a foreign language the 'traditional' way and developing formal language learning skills. This decision was changed from being compulsory to a recommendation, to take effect in 2014. One reason for this change was that the curriculum was changing in 2016, after which, compulsory Swedish would be taught in Grade Six. It was felt that it was not right for one group to have to study three compulsory foreign languages at primary school, which might result in a pupil being overburdened (City of Kuopio Minutes 7/2013).

Perhaps the most significant change to the transition from the English Kindergarten and Pre-school of Kuopio to Rajala School over the years was the decision that was made in 2012, concerning the implementation of a language proficiency assessment for access to the bilingual programme (City of Kuopio Minutes 2012). As stated above, children from the English Kindergarten had been allowed to begin school at Rajala without any assessment, and the programme was not open to other children, unless they fulfilled the criteria discussed. The inequality of this was known, and had been discussed, and moreover, other organisations had also begun to offer English day-care and activities in Kuopio. Now, the City of Kuopio wished to make access to the bilingual programme more equal and open to anyone who would like to try, hence, from 2014, Rajala was to assess pupils' English proficiency skills, and 24 pupils would be selected to begin in the programme in Grade One (*ibid.*). Now pupils could apply

from anywhere, and would be selected based on an aptitude test (*ibid.*). An English-language proficiency assessment tool had been developed in 2006 – the Kuopio Assessment Tool for English – KATE (Jalkanen 2007, 2009), and presented to the Educational Committee of the City of Kuopio by the headmaster of Rajala primary school at a meeting on the 26th of November, 2006. The Educational Committee decided to accept KATE as an official tool to measure the English language proficiency of children aged six to seven years[50]. This assessment tool was updated and revised and implemented in 2014, according to the City of Kuopio's decision.

Applications to the programme and the assessments are in January (Rajala 2016b). Pupils wishing to apply for the bilingual programme should have some English proficiency since many of the subjects are taught through the medium of English (*ibid.*). This does not mean that they have to be fluent, rather that they should have the ability to cope in situations in which they may not understand every word and be able to learn new things through English (City of Kuopio Minutes 2012). This has proven to be rather a difficult and uncomfortable process for parents, who feel that it is not fair to test children so young, and that the actual assessment situation is so stressful for the children that the assessors cannot get a true impression of the children's skills. Parents have complained in the few cases when it was felt that the bilingual programme did not serve the best interests of a particular child. In such cases, the response has been that the school has made the correct decision and has the right to use assessment in this form of student selection. As the programme is a bilingual programme, pupils should also have Finnish proficiency (Rajala 2016b). Monolingual English pupils may be admitted to the programme if they are staying in Finland for a period of less than two years (*ibid.*). Should a pupil accepted to the bilingual programme remain in Kuopio after the initial two years, at the beginning of the third year at school, he or she will automatically be transferred to one of the city's Preliminary Schooling in Preparation for Basic Education at School in Finland Programmes to learn Finnish (*ibid.*; Law 628/1998; City of Kuopio Decision 2012).

Finally, because most of the children in the bilingual stream are not from the local catchment area, and have to travel to school, in some cases, with a longer journey, the principal has promised that the school day for first and second graders will begin at 8 o'clock whenever possible[51]. This has generated timetabling difficulties at times. The English Kindergarten has offered to help by providing a one-hour morning club at Rajala two days a week, in English, for these children so that their school day can begin at 9 o'clock, but parents can still bring them to school for 8 o'clock. Perhaps the biggest obstacle to the programme has been with regard to the number of students. In recent years, the number of students admitted to the programme has not been enough to make the programme fully viable financially. This means that in the future, Rajala School will have to find ways of marketing the programme to encourage a larger cohort of applicants who will have the right skills. The principal thinks that there might be potential future pupils in families who have English in some form, but who are not necessarily aware of the opportunity to attend school in English. This is a project for the future.

---

[50] This decision is recorded in the minutes of this meeting under the section "Yläkoulujen opetussuunnitelman painotusopetus" (Listan asianumero 8 § 89. Asianumero: 4435 / 312 / 2006).

[51] In Finland, a child's school day can begin at different times on different days. Adults' work days generally start around 8 o'clock.

4   THE STUDY DESIGN AND METHODS

4.1   OVERVIEW

Steered by the four research questions (Section 1.2), this study examines what guides the behaviour of a particular group within contemporary Finnish society, with regard to a specific context field and phenomenon. Figure 4.1 outlines the study design.

```
                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │  Literature Review  │
                        └─────────────────────┘
```

| Development of the main survey instrument questionnaire | Identification of various forms of ECIL in Finnish primary schools |

| Quantitative Components | Qualitative Components | Background questionnaire for school principals for use in the interpretation of results | Case Kuopio An illustrative context of parental involvement in a particular programme spanning pre-primary and primary education |

| Responses |

| Research Questions 1–4 |

| Analysis and Interpretation of Results |

| Discussion and Conclusions |

Figure 4.1. The Study Design

Following the review of a corpus of relevant literature for the background section on school choice in Finland, English in Finland and in the world, bilingual education, English-medium education in Finland, ideologies, and discourses (Chapters Two and Three), the survey design was devised and implemented. Schools with an ECIL programme were identified and approached to participate in the survey research.

This was discussed in more detail in Section 3.3. A specific historical ethnography, Case Kuopio, was added to provide more in-depth information on one specific grassroots context model (cf. Figure 2.5 in Chapter Two), and presented in Section 3.4. A background questionnaire was also devised and sent to the principals of the ECIL schools to gather background data on the schools and the numbers of pupils. The principals' questionnaire is discussed in Section 4.3 below.

The survey research involved a cross-sectional survey design for which a 40-item survey instrument, with 6 attitudinal variables, 3 open-ended qualitative questions, and a final item for free comments, was devised, based on the National Survey questionnaire used by Leppänen and colleagues (2011, appendices) in their national survey on English in Finland. The attitudes and beliefs concerning English and English-medium education in Finland of respondent parents who chose an ECIL programme for their children (the Enkku Group) were investigated from a sociolinguistic perspective. Here, attitude is understood as a social agent's "general feeling of favourableness or unfavourableness for a particular concept" (Ajzen & Fishbein 1980, p. 54). In addition, the attitudes and beliefs concerning English and English-medium education in Finland of respondent parents whose children attended other programmes at ECIL schools (the Non-Enkku Group) were also investigated. The attitudes and beliefs of both groups were then compared to ascertain what might be held as Enkku Group ideologies, shared ideologies, and Non-Enkku Group ideologies, to elucidate the groups as different or similar social groups and specific communities of practice. An additional function was to examine the socioeconomic background of both groups, since previous research has shown that school choice in Finland is associated with parents with a higher socioeconomic status (e.g. Kosunen 2016; Kalalahti *et al.* 2015; Rajander 2010). Previous research, however, has tended to focus on the transition from primary to secondary school, therefore, through the survey, this study generates extensive empirical data on the socioeconomic background of parents at the primary level, including the transition from pre-primary to primary.

The ontology of the study subscribes to subtle realism (Ormston, Spencer, Barnard & Snape 2014, p. 5), in that it is held that an external reality does exist, but meaning is derived from it and given to it via the social interaction of a group, and is particular to that group and the collective interpretation of the group members, based on what they perceive. Here, the external reality can be seen in terms of society (Berger & Luckmann 1991, p. 79), while social order is produced through the interactions and activities of people. It must be constantly reaffirmed or reinterpreted by the members, and is, therefore, a dynamic continual process that both constructs and is constructed by the group. It is accepted that there must be multiple perceptions of realities dependent on group membership. Thus, knowledge is also constructed socially, and the idea of knowledge is that knowledge is what the group knows, rather than what the individual knows. People attribute a meaning to something because that is the habit which they have acquired from the society in which they live, dependent on their place in that society. There is no single, purely objective, constructed meaning made by the researcher, and all knowledge can be held as relative (Blaikie 2014). Social groups and speech communities construct their own 'Englishes' based on their beliefs representative of their own sociolinguistic and socio-cultural contexts. In this sense, the epistemology of the study is interpretivist or more specifically, constructivist.

It might be difficult to reconcile the idea of subtle realism in terms of ontology with a constructivist epistemology. The application of an idealism approach to ontology was not taken in this instance. There must be some form of external objective reality,

because if reality only exists through subjective human interpretation, then I could claim that the world did not exist before I was born. I know this to be untrue, as I also know that things exist about which I have no knowledge. The world exists independently of individuals in terms of the institutions of society (epistemic institutions) that guide the socialisation processes for each society, and set and transmit the epistemic criteria (see Berger & Luckmann 1991, pp. 76–79 on the institutionalised world). This study is concerned with ideologies as beliefs that are constructed and shared by a group. It is held that the world (natural and social) does exist independently of these beliefs, but the beliefs construe the world as understood by the group (van Dijk 1998, p. 25). The view of multiple social reality or realities lends credence to the knowledge that social participants have of their world, which is especially relevant to this study. While the respondents are held as belonging to the same epistemic community and, hence, as sharing justified beliefs according to the epistemic criteria of Finnish society, they also share fundamental ideological beliefs within their social groups or communities of practice, which are abstracted from each social agent's subjective representations of the world[52].

4.2 THE LITERATURE REVIEW

In the first phase, a corpus of literature was examined qualitatively, based on the four research questions (Section 2.1). The Double Hermeneutic Circle Framework based on the work of Boell and Cecez-Kecmanovic (2014) was used. Boell and Cecez-Kecmanovic (2014, p. 260) state that gaining a deep understanding of a phenomenon is neither a linear process nor a routine task. It is a dynamic intellectual process of development that continues throughout the study, leading to a deeper and broader understanding of what is studied. During this process, relevant parts of text were identified from the publications in the corpus, which were then classified and given significance as themes. This was done using thematic analysis, which is a method that can be used in the identification of patterns in data (Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 79). Using a building blocks approach, each of the themes was treated as a separate entity, and searched for separately using key terms in both English and Finnish. Unlike in meta-analysis or systematic review, the aim was to include as many background publications as necessary, rather than seeking to establish criteria for the exclusion of material. This process was repeated until a pattern in the themes could be discerned, meaning that regular themes could be found from the literature and no new themes were forthcoming, that is, saturation had been reached.

Ultimately, the themes identified from the literature data that were relevant to the phenomenon of ECIL in Finnish primary education were: The Construction of English in Finland; Quantity of English; Benefits and Prospects from having English Skills; ECIL Programmes and Equality; Middle-classness. The themes were then examined from the point of view of potential macro ideologies inherent in them relevant to this context. The five themes were instrumental in the operationalisation of variables for the survey instrument. The themes are represented below along with the main macro level ideologies that they represent. Many of the macro ideologies identified represent

---

[52] van Dijk refers to such subjective representations as mental models which combine text, context and generic abstract knowledge about the world (van Dijk 2013).

the main ideologies already discussed in the background chapters. Other ideologies that are not represented in the main background chapters are discussed in more detail.

1. **The Construction of English in Finland**

   This theme concerns the phenomenon of English as a global language of communication (Kachru & Smith 2008, p. 178), and the general construction of English in Finland as discussed in Section 3.1. Regarding macro ideologies, this theme encompasses the utopian and dystopian views of English in terms of Modernist Language Ideology, Prescriptivism, Metrolingualism, and forms of Bilingualism (see Chapter Two). Moreover, given that English is the current common language of international communication, the theme is also concerned with Internationalism and Globalisation.

2. **Quantity of English**

   This theme refers to the phenomenon of some pupils having access to more English than prescribed by the A1 Curriculum at school (FNBE 2016), in terms of being educated through the medium of English instead of merely learning English as a foreign language. This may range from having some activities in English to learning core subjects, like maths and science, through English. The theme concerns the ideology of the potential Hegemony of English as the dominant foreign language of instruction (e.g. Nikula & Marsh 1996; Kantelinen & Pollari 2008; Leppänen *et al.* 2011). It is acknowledged that Finns have access to a great deal of English in society in general, so this applies to the idea of having access to more English, and different registers of English, than those afforded by social domains in Finland as discussed in Section 3.1.

3. **Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills**

   This theme is concerned with the desirability of mainstream bilingual education and ECIL. Since English is held as an educational value in terms of its role as a global language, and given the perceived importance of English skills, in general, the category comprises any future social and international benefits that knowledge of and skills in English may bring (e.g. Pennycook 1994, p. 14; Graddol 2006, p. 102; Nikula 2007, p. 208; Marsh *et al.* 2007, p. 75). Perhaps one of the most obvious benefits is some form of bilingualism, and the enhanced language and cognitive skills associated with this, which are discussed in Section 2.5.

   Moreover, the exposing of children to the acquisition of skills in the secondary Discourse of English is an example of Gee's concept of "early borrowing" (Gee 2015, p. 175). Here, the idea is not to give the children particular skills, but to introduce them to perspectives, values, and so on, which prepare them for later re-entry into the secondary Discourse (*ibid.*). If we consider English, exposure to English at an early age will result in a certain amount of proficiency, but will also provide a different worldview and way of thinking about English (perhaps even some form of identity in English) that help to prepare the child to acquire meta skills later, such as using English for study or in the work place. In this way, the macro-social level variable of English as the international language of communication can be adjusted to construct indexical social meanings/semioses at the micro level of Finnish society (Silverstein 2003, p. 193; Räisänen 2013, p. 49), and is linked with additive bilingualism.

Since the prospects from having skills in English are not limited to Finland, the theme is also concerned with Internationalism, and Globalisation. As such, a further ideology represented by this category is that of Cosmopolitism. Fundamentally, a cosmopolitan is a citizen of the world, but this can cover a variety of different views, both positive and negative (Kleingeld & Brown 2014). Cosmopolitanism can be held as a middle way between ethnocentric nation state ideologies, discussed in Section 2.3, and multicultural particularism, which sees multiculturalism in its extreme form, and values cultural difference, considering a common culture for people as something undesirable or impossible (Vertovec & Cohen 2002, p. 1; Parens 1994, p. 169). In this study, Cosmopolitanism is understood positively, as global citizenship, over and above national citizenship, which involves tolerance of other people and cultures, and is concerned with issues both at the local and global levels (cf. Dower & Williams 2002; Young and Commins 2002; Walker 2006). As such, this study comprehends cosmopolitanism as describing "socio-cultural processes or individual behaviours, values or dispositions manifesting a capacity to engage cultural multiplicity" (Vertovec & Cohen 2002, p. 1). In many respects, it is also linked to the ideas of mobility and global interdependence (Rajander 2010, p. 345).

4. **ECIL Programmes and Equality**

This theme is relevant to the idea of local neighbourhood school versus special school, hence, school choice. It also comprises the exiguity of ECIL programmes and access, thus, is also related to Educational Equality, in terms of not all pupils who desire more English have access to it. Applying for a place in an English-medium programme is voluntary, but in most instances, there is some form of student selection (gatekeeping), which may mean that ECIL could be held as being in conflict with the Finnish educational philosophy of equality (Wewer 2014, p. 70; Nikula 2007, p. 208; Rajander 2010, pp. 177–198; Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005, p. 216), although no more so than other classes of special emphasis that have aptitude tests. Furthermore, the majority of parents in Finland still choose to send their children to the local school, hence, Enkku parents could be seen as less traditional than those parents (Kosunen & Seppänen 2015, p. 330; Poikolainen 2011, pp. 136–140). As such, the theme comprises the ideologies of the Nordic-one-school-for-all and Educational Consumerism associated with Neoliberal values.

This theme is also linked to the ideology of ECIL deriving from elitist forms of bilingual education and, in some cases, only being available for those with enough money to pay for them, although this is less applicable to Finland because of the exiguity of private schools (Kosunen 2016, p. 4; MERCATOR 2013, p. 11; de Mejía 2002). With regard to Educational Consumerism, education can be seen in the form of commodities, and school choice as practice with indexical value, deriving from cultural forms representative of social phenomena (Agha 2011, p. 22), for example, forms of school choice, such as CLIL, representative of the drive in Finland to improve language education aiming for increased internationalisation, which is valued socially, and which has an impact on society in general. Nonetheless, despite the use of Consumerism, the overwhelming majority of parents do not pay for ECIL in primary education in Finland, although they may be required to pay a little extra for pre-primary ECIL (see Section 3.4), so in this context, it is largely a question of consumerism as in having a choice of where to apply; access cannot be bought.

Given the inequality of access to ECIL, this theme is also concerned with 'equality of opportunity', which is generally interpreted in two main ways in Western societies (Roemer 1998, p. 1). The first concerns the idea that society should even out social inequalities so that all have the opportunity to fulfil their potential; what Roemer refers to as the "level-the-playing-field principle" (*ibid.*). This can also be seen as 'formal equality of opportunity' which refers to equality of treatment, regardless of arbitrary personal characteristics, such as gender or race (Kalalahti & Varjo 2012, p. 41, 44). Finland meets the criteria of this rather well, especially in terms of the three-tier support system (FNBE 2014, pp. 61–76). In most instances, however, acceptance to an ECIL programme depends on passing some form of test or assessment that requires a certain level of skills in the first and/or the target language (see Section 3.3). This appears more relevant to the idea of 'fair equality of opportunity', which according to Sachs (2011, p. 235) can be understood as, "Opportunity should be equal among the equally talented". This is relevant to the second interpretation of 'equality of opportunity', also known as the non-discrimination principle, which concerns the eligibility of an individual in terms of attributes that that meet the requirements for the performing of functions in a given position, and derives from the "level-the-playing-field principle" (Roemer 1998, p. 1). According to this principle, ECIL is not unequal since all have the right to apply for it. As such, this theme is also concerned with the ideology of Meritocracy, in which education and further opportunities are based on aptitude and ability, and which has never promised equality, only the fairer distribution of inequalities (Brown 1990, p. 69).

5. **Middle-Classness**

English, English bilingual education, and school choice, in general, have all been identified as somehow linked with middle-classness, (Kosunen 2016, p. 3; Silvennoinen *et al.* 2015, p. 48; Varjo *et al.* 2014, p. 23; Seppänen *et al.* 2012; Rajander 2010, p. 116; Graddol 2006, p. 50; Ahonen 2003, p. 203; de Mejía 2002, p. 45; Kosunen & Seppänen 2015; Kalalahti *et al.* 2015). But what does 'middle-classness' mean in the Finnish context? In post-1945 Finnish society, in accordance with the ideology and discourse of the Nordic welfare state, attempts were made to decrease social differences by making education available to all at no cost, and evening out differences in the level of salaries (Tolonen 2008, p. 233). The aim was to undo the old class systems and facilitate social mobility, which resulted in a rise in so-called 'middle-class' values in society in general (Kolbe 2010, p. 8; Kivimäki 2008, p. 5). This was not unique to Finland (Erola 2010), although Finland has perhaps been more successful in levelling inequalities through its education system than many other countries (Antikainen 2006, p. 233), especially as concerns gender equality (Tolonen 2008, p. 234). Despite these best efforts, the recession in the 1990s, resulted in the redistribution of income, work, and education, and Finnish society, while relatively equal in terms of opportunity, remains diverse socioeconomically (Kivimäki 2008, pp. 4–5). So much so, the idea of social class in Finland today is very complex, and there has been much discussion on whether it is even appropriate or relevant to use the concept in the context of Finland (Kivimäki 2008, p. 5, 2012, pp. 52–53).

The use of 'middle-classness' here is ideological rather than seeking to classify parents into potential rigid social categories. It may be understood as comprising

rather neo-liberal values, such as individual autonomy, freedom of choice, activity and progress (Kivimäki 2008, p. 8). From the point of view of a child's education, ideologically, middle-classness can be considered in terms of advantage in the educational market, with middle-class parents more likely to engage in strategies to maximise their children's education to ensure the best kind of future for them (Barett deWiele & Edgerton 2016, p. 195, 198). Rajander (2010, p. 241) also reported that some teachers at the ECIL school she was studying associated elitism with what they identified as powerful, socioeconomically well-off, demanding parents with high expectations of the programme and the school. This also appears to fit the idea of concerted cultivation, in which 'good parents' are invested in the future of their child, and school choice can be held as one part thereof (Davies & Aurini 2008, p. 57; Lareau 2003). Ball (2006, p. 273) sums up the phenomenon of middle-classness thus:

> *"Middle-class ontologies are founded upon incompleteness, they are about becoming, about the development of self, about making something of yourself, realising yourself, realising your potential. This is an essential feature of the liberal identity – the unfinished. These parents envisage certain sorts of futures for their children of both a worldly sort and of the person, of character. They see themselves as having the responsibility to make particular features possible or available through their actions and planning in the here and now."*

This theme, therefore, is concerned with the ideology of Parentocracy. The original idea of parentocracy was that of a child's education dependent on the wealth and wishes of the parents (Brown 1990, p. 66). Since the coining of the term in 1990, parentocracy has not taken over from meritocracy; if it had we would have independent education, and the municipalities would not be the local providers of education (*op. cit.*, pp. 74–75). Nowadays, the ideology of parentocracy involves the idea of empowerment; of parents as able to be active in school choice and "the processes of education" (Barett deWiele & Edgerton 2016, p. 192), utilising their social, cultural, and financial resources (*op. cit.*, p. 190). Parentocracy exists in Finland as the various forms of classes of special emphasis or programmes that parents can choose between in public basic education, and the role of parents in them. In recent decades, the pace of social change has become more rapid, and is increasingly concerned with the interconnectedness of people and countries around the world (Robinson 2007, p. 127). This has contributed to the actions of middle class parents, who are more likely to take an active role in the education of their child, rather than leaving it to chance in the open competition of the meritocracy market (Barett deWiele & Edgerton 2016, p. 192). Nonetheless, parental involvement is not a homogenous concept (*op. cit.,* pp. 192–193).

These themes were instrumental in the operationalisation of the attitudinal variables that were used in the survey questionnaire, Questions 16, 17, 20 and 21, and which are discussed in more detail in Section 4.4.3 below. Devising questionnaire components to investigate how parents construct English, in terms of their axiomatic beliefs about it, facilitates the abstraction of the groups of parents' shared beliefs and ideologies about English (van Dijk 2006, p. 116, 1998, p. 32). Such an investigation will yield more empirical evidence about what each community of practice considers as truths about English, or what they consider as "morally good" or "aesthetically pleasing" (Kroskrity 2004, p. 501), contributing to the 'master myths' and ideological theories

they associate with the language (Gee 2015, p. 20, pp. 114–124). This adds to previous research discussed in Section 3.1, and may help to define the shared ideologies the groups hold as individual communities of practice, or what may be understood as Cultural Knowledge shared by all members of the Finnish epistemic community. The same holds for ECIL. Parents' beliefs about English and ECIL open a window into how they construct the event model of considering ECIL as something desirable for their child, or not, and which group ideologies, attitudes, and knowledge impact on this (van Dijk 1998, p. 87). Moreover, the perceived importance of the child having voice in English and what kind of voice (in terms of the range and scope of registers he or she has access to) is relevant to the ideology of parentocracy and school choice in general (Blommaert 2005, p. 158, p. 171).

4.3   THE PRINCIPALS' QUESTIONNAIRE

In addition to the main survey instrument questionnaire, a second questionnaire was devised to be sent to the principals of the schools. It is presented in Appendix Five. The questionnaire was created electronically using the University of Eastern Finland's eLomake programme, a browser-based application that allows the researcher to create e-surveys and handles the survey responses. This questionnaire was on a much smaller scale than the actual survey instrument, and comprised 11 questions. It was designed to provide some background information about the school: its name; location; the type of school; the number of students; how the questionnaire was distributed to the parents; the number of parents it was distributed to; the type of enriched English-medium programme on offer; the type of curriculum used; and funding.

This background questionnaire was sent to the principals of the 24 participating schools by email in April 2013, and two reminders were sent by email; one after two weeks and the second after four weeks. It was necessary to send paper reminders by post to five schools in August. The data that was generated electronically through the eLomake was transferred to the IBM SPSS statistics 23 programme, which was used for all of the data analyses. The data from the four returned paper responses were entered manually to the created data file. Data from one school are incomplete. This is noted in the presentation of the results in Chapter Five.

Since there was no register of respondents, the background questionnaire to the principals was to be the source for calculating the number of potential respondents. In hindsight, this questionnaire should have been designed to ascertain this more clearly. Question Seven asked for a breakdown of the numbers of parents in each particular programme that the school had sent the link to. Some did not fill this in, but had stated the number of students in the school for Question Four. These two questions were used to calculate the respondent percentage, and in the case of the school that did not respond to the background questionnaire, the number of students for that year was requested via a telephone call to the school secretary.

The school data is presented in Section 5.1. Descriptive Statistics were the only statistical analyses performed on this data set. Frequencies and percentages were computed for the distribution of schools by major region, and the participant percentage computed for each major region. The distribution of types of enriched English-medium programmes were presented as valid percentages of frequencies, and types of curricula in use in the participating schools and the relevant Descriptive Statistics discussed.

4.4 INSTRUMENTATION OF THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Survey research is an important tool for examining social phenomena (Vehkalahti 2008, p. 11). A previous survey instrument questionnaire from a national survey on English in Finland (Leppänen *et al.* 2009a, 2011) was modified, and qualitative strands added, for use in this quantitative survey. Hereafter, for the purpose of ease of reading, the Leppänen *et al.* 2011 survey shall be referred to as the National Survey. The National Survey generated a great deal of data about the attitudes of Finns generally towards English, hence their findings constituted a general canvas of Finnish society against which the findings of this study of a particular context and group of Finns could be compared. This survey questionnaire was created electronically using the University of Eastern Finland's eLomake programme, which is a browser-based application that allows the researcher to create e-surveys and handles the survey responses. The data were then transferred to the IBM SPSS statistics 23 programme, which was used for all of the data analyses. The English translation of the questionnaire is presented in Appendix Four. The language of the questionnaire was Finnish since the target group was Finnish-speaking Finns[53]. The questionnaire instrument comprised 40-items in total, including 6 attitudinal variables, 3 open-ended qualitative questions, and a final item for free comments.

4.4.1 Background Variables

The Background Information section of the questionnaire comprised six background questions to ask respondents their gender, age, nationality, marital status, current place of residence, and the type of environment in which they spent their childhood or youth. Questions One and Two were taken directly from the National Survey questionnaire. Question Three on nationality was added, and this was one of the variables for inclusion in the target population. Question Four on marital status, and Question Five on place of residence were also added. In Question Five of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to give the municipality in which they lived. This variable was re-coded, as a new SPSS variable, from the municipalities into the major regions for the analysis. This was to bring this data into line with the data from the schools, for which the variable 'major region' was chosen because it constituted the regional unit that gave a better distribution of schools into groupings. Question Six asked respondents to state the size and type of environment in which they had spent their childhood. Questions Five and Six were used to ascertain how urban respondents might be said to be in terms of the population density of the major regions in which they resided. Urban is understood in the sense of living in a city and also having the characteristics of city life, for example, in terms of sophistication, conveyed by this.

4.4.2 Variables on Languages in the Respondents' Lives

The second section 'Languages in Your Life' comprised seven questions to ask

---

[53] All responses are held as interesting, but in this instance, the aim was to have a target group representative of the linguistic majority.

respondents about their first language and that of other members of their family, whether they consider themselves monolingual, bilingual or plurilingual. Questions Seven to Ten were taken from the National Survey questionnaire. The respondents' first language or mother tongue was the second variable for inclusion in the target population. In Question Ten, if respondents considered themselves bilingual or plurilingual, they were asked to give background factors that had affected this. Respondents were also asked the language in which they had received their basic education. Finally, they were asked how often they travelled abroad and if they had spent a period of three consecutive months abroad. These questions were all the same as National Survey questions to enable comparison with their study. Question Thirteen in this survey on a residence of three consecutive months abroad was a question requiring only a yes or no answer, whereas Leppänen *et al.* had a second part to the question in the form of a table for respondents to add more details. That was not considered necessary for the purpose of this survey. The function of this section relates to how international the respondents may be said to be in terms of how lingual they consider themselves, the range of first languages in the family, frequency of travel and having spent a longer period of time abroad.

4.4.3 Variables on How the Respondents Relate to English

This section, 'How You Relate to English', comprised 11 questions, and was concerned with the respondents' attitudes to English and to issues concerning Finnish children being educated through the medium of English. Questions 15 and 19 were qualitative components in which the respondents were asked to list positive or negative factors that concerned their personal relationship with English and with the idea of Finnish children being educated through the medium of English. In this way, the respondents could themselves list their salient beliefs about these two issues in their own words. Question 22b was another qualitative component, in which the parents were asked their own specific reason for the choice of their child's school.

Question 14 is the first of the six attitude variables in the questionnaire, and is referred to as *'Personal Importance of English'*. It was formed as a statement "English is personally important to me", and a five-point Likert-scaled item, also known as a Likert-type item (Boone & Boone 2012)[54], was used to measure the respondents' levels of agreement or disagreement with it. The levels were: Totally Disagree; Disagree Somewhat; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree Somewhat; Totally Agree. This question was based on a similar question in the National Survey, but which was worded differently, Q13 'How important is English to you personally?' (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 65), but used a similar five-point Likert-scaled item (Very positive; Moderately positive; Moderately negative; Very negative; No opinion). The function of the variable was to generate data on how important English is to the respondents for comparison between the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups, which could then be compared to the frequencies of the National Survey responses.

---

[54] I use the term Likert-scaled item to refer to individual statements with which respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement. I use the term Likert Scale to refer to the summative scale, comprising various numbers of Likert-scaled items (see also Boone & Boone 2012).

Question 15 was the first of the qualitative components of the questionnaire. It is one form of operationalising the literature review theme 'The Construction of English in Finland', and also elaborates on Question 14. The function of this component is to ascertain the salient beliefs of parents concerning what they perceived as English, in terms of how they related to it personally. Since salient beliefs are the ones uppermost in the mind of the person, here they are held as being a form of axiomatic belief. For this reason, respondents were asked to list up to six factors in their own words that, in their opinion, were concerned with how they related to English personally. They were also asked to mark if the factor was positive or negative in how they related it with English. The function of this data is to provide more detailed information for the fuller understanding of the statistical data and group comparisons. Moreover, this data was collated into themes representative of the shared beliefs of the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups (see Figure 2.4 and Table 2.1) in the form of context-bound group knowledge, and then further divided into instrumental and affective salient beliefs (Sutton, French, Hennings, Mitchell, Wareham, Griffin, Hardeman & Kinmonth 2003, p. 236).

Question 16 was the second of the attitude variables, and is referred to summatively as *'The Importance of English to Finns'*. Question 16 was a modified version of Leppänen and colleagues' Question 19 on the Importance of English in Finland. Respondents were asked to rate a series of eight Likert-scaled items based on how much they disagreed or agreed with each statement concerning its significance for Finns in general. A five-point Likert Scale was used to measure the respondents' levels of agreement or disagreement with each item. The options were: Totally Disagree; Disagree Somewhat; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree Somewhat; Totally Agree. Each statement constituted one Likert-scaled item, and collectively they constituted a summative Likert Scale. The eight Likert-scaled items were:
   (a) English is the language of progress;
   (b) The spread of English in Finland poses no threat to the Finnish language;
   (c) Skills in English should become universal in Finland;
   (d) A Finn can be international without knowing English;
   (e) A Finn can be successful without knowing English;
   (f) Finnish is a more useful language for a Finn than English;
   (g) Too much value is placed on having proficiency in English;
   (h) English enriches Finnish.

16(a) English is the language of progress
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review themes 'The Construction of English in Finland' and 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. It did not feature in Question 19 of the National Survey. If English is seen as comprising the elements of better social status, prospects or mobility, then English should be seen as the language facilitating these, hence the language of progress. Inherent in this is also the idea of English facilitating progress more or better than the Finnish mother tongue alone.

16(b) The spread of English in Finland poses no threat to the Finnish language
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review theme 'The Construction of English in Finland'. It also derives from the National Survey 19(d) 'The spread of English in Finland is a threat to our own languages'. In this survey, the item is concerned with the dystopian versus the utopian views of English as discussed in

Chapter Three. Disagreement with the statement can be representative of modernist language ideology.

16(c) Skills in English should become universal in Finland

This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review theme 'Quantity of English', and both its components; more English and the potential Hegemony of English. This item also derives from a collation of the National Survey items 19(a)' Young people must know English'; 19(b) 'People of working age must know English'; and 19(c) 'Elderly people must know English'. The statement is driven by the idea of English as a basic skill in Finland, and how widespread it should be. It also refers to the findings of Leppänen *et al.* (2011) that two thirds of their respondents (N=1495) believed that people without English skills would become excluded in some areas of life (2011, p. 152,156), many felt that English skills were a necessity for full participation in Finnish society (*op. cit.*, p. 157). Moreover, at the global level, English has also become a form of basic skill, especially in globalised economies (Graddol 2006, p. 72).

16(d) A Finn can be international without knowing English

This Likert-scaled item derives from both 'The Construction of English in Finland' and 'Quantity of English'. It also derives from the National Survey 19(g) 'Finns can be international without knowing English'. The statement is concerned with the idea that English is the international language of communication. Inherent in the statement is the idea that a Finn cannot be truly international without English, and that other languages do not confer the idea of being international as much as English does, reflecting the Hegemony of English. Since many ECIL programmes were implemented to facilitate Finland's internationalisation, disagreement with this item supports the reasoning for this.

16(e) A Finn can be successful without knowing English

This Likert-scaled item derives from both 'The Construction of English in Finland' and 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. It did not feature in Question 19 of the National Survey. Inherent in this statement is the idea of whether the respondents feel that English is intrinsic to success in Finland. Given the strong adherence of Finns to the Finnish ethno-nationalist ideology (Blommaert *et al.* 2012, p. 11; Salo 2012, p. 28; Mantila 2005, p. 301) discussed in Section 2.4, one would expect Finns to agree with this statement, because if not, it might suggest that English has replaced / is replacing Finnish as an indicator of success in Finnish society.

16(f) Finnish is a more useful language for a Finn than English

This Likert-scaled item derives from 'The Construction of English in Finland' and 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. 'More useful' is not elaborated on for the respondents. The item also derives from the National Survey 19(j) 'For Finns, the mother tongue is more useful than English'. This variable supported the previous one. Positive responses to 16(e) should generate positive responses to this variable. It is also concerned with the idea of English taking over in various domains in Finnish society as discussed in Section 3.1.

16(g) Too much value is placed on having proficiency in English

This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review themes 'Quantity of English' and 'The Construction of English'. This item also derives from the National Survey

19(m) 'English skills are overrated'. It is directly linked to the findings of the National Survey mentioned above, namely that many Finns believed that in order to be able to function fully in Finnish society, and not be excluded in some way, Finns should have English skills (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 152,156, 157). As such, disagreement with this variable would suggest that English skills are not overrated in Finland.

16(h) English enriches Finnish
This Likert-scaled item derives from 'The Construction of English in Finland'. Inherent in this statement was the idea of whether English could be conceived of as enriching to the Finnish mother tongue rather than the frequently cited negative impacts (for example, Leppänen & Pahta 2012). This item also derived from the National Survey 19(l) 'The English language enriches our native languages'. It concerns the monoglot ideology of language as discussed in Section 2.3, and the utopian and dystopian views of English.

Question 17 was the third of the attitude variables, and is referred to summatively as *'The idea of English-medium education as privileged'*. There was no question in the National Survey on this theme. It derives from the literature review themes 'ECIL Programmes and Equality' and 'Middle-classness', and was devised specifically for this survey. In part, it also derives from Rajander's ethnographic study (Rajander 2010) in which she addresses the teachers' perspectives on the idea of English-medium programmes in Finland being elitist. Teachers at the school of her study tended to play down or deny the idea of the programme being elitist, however, Rajander (2010, p. 241) writes that they did associate elitism with what they identified as powerful, socioeconomically well off, demanding parents with high expectations of the programme and the school.

English-medium programmes in Finland are not available for everyone who might want them, which means that only a limited number of pupils can be accepted to programmes (see Section 3.3). This leads to situations in which most children must take tests or assessments to gain access to the programme, or places are given out on the basis of a lottery. As a result, despite the best intentions of basic education, some children have access to a form of education that is not equal, equitable, or egalitarian, in that it quite simply is not there for all who may wish it. As such, the idea of this attitude variable was to ascertain the attitudes of respondents about schools offering English-medium education in Finland.

Respondents were asked to rate a series of six Likert-scaled items statements based on how much they disagreed or agreed with the statement. A five-point Likert Scale was used to measure the respondents' levels of agreement or disagreement with each item. The options were: Totally Disagree; Disagree Somewhat; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree Somewhat; Totally Agree. Each statement constituted one Likert-scaled item, and collectively they constituted a summative Likert Scale. The six Likert-scaled items were:
   (a) Schools that offer education through the medium of English are only for the rich;
   (b) A Finnish child should get his or her education only through the medium of Finnish;
   (c) The local school is always the best school for a child;
   (d) Foreigners should not teach Finnish children;
   (e) Schools that offer education through the medium of English serve an elite;
   (f) In Finland, if a child is learning through the medium of English, this brings the family greater status.

17(a) Schools that offer education through the medium of English are only for the rich
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review theme 'ECIL Programmes and Equality'. All of the schools in the study offer some form of English-medium education, and they are all municipal schools that do not charge fees. This statement, however, is linked to the ideology of mainstream bilingual education deriving from elitist forms of bilingual education and only being available for those with enough money to pay for them. The reasoning is to see if an ideal of having more money than average is inherent in the ideology of having a child educated through the medium of English. Moreover, this variable also derives from the English language early childhood institutions, such as day-care centres or kindergartens, which may be private and for which parents may be required to pay something extra, over and above what they would for regular Finnish day-care.

17(b) A Finnish child should get their education only through the medium of Finnish
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review theme 'The Construction of English in Finland'. This statement is directly linked to the monoglot ideologies of nation states discussed in Chapter Two. Inherent in this statement is the idea that the Finnish mother tongue may suffer if a child is educated through the medium of English. As such, it is also related to the dystopian ideologies of English in Finnish society, hence, is a direct criticism of education through the medium of another language, irrespective of the language of instruction.

17(c) The local school is always the best school for a child
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review theme 'ECIL Programmes and Equality of School'. It refers to the Finnish ethos of basic education in that children usually attend schools that are in their local neighbourhood rather than having to travel further afield, and "the Nordic one-school-for-all ideology" (Poikolainen 2011; Kosunen & Seppänen 2015, p. 330). The original idea of the local neighbourhood school was that education was to be accessible to everyone, and not burdening children with having to travel great distances. Inherent in this statement is also the idea that for many, although certainly not all, the school offering the English-medium programme is not the local school. Thus, parents may have to make special arrangements for their child and pay for transport if it is not the local school (Law 628/1998, Section 32). Disagreement with this statement is the type of response that adds value to the English-medium school. Moreover, the statement is neutral in the sense that it is not referring to the actual physical local school, which is not a homogenous concept, but rather the ideology of the local school in Finland.

17(d) Foreigners should not teach Finnish children
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review theme 'The Construction of English in Finland'. Inherent in this statement is the idea that if a foreigner is teaching children in Finland, it is usually through the medium of English, or if it is in Finnish, then the Finnish may not be to native-speaker standards. In both instances, the meaning is that a foreigner teaching Finnish children may be detrimental to the Finnish mother tongue or culture. Moreover, this item might also be related to the belief that English native-speaker-teachers might be held in greater esteem as their English register could be held as closer to the Standard. Such a stance, however, would have to be supported by items in Question 19 in the respondents' own words.

17(e) Schools that offer education through the medium of English serve an elite

This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review themes 'ECIL Programmes and Equality' and 'Middle-classness'. The statement was included to discover how much the respondents felt that English-medium education in Finland is associated with elitism. The Finnish word used in the questionnaire was '*parhaimmisto*', rather than the more Anglophone '*eliitti*'. This statement operationalises what Rajander (2010, p. 241) reported about the teachers' observations discussed above and investigates respondents' agreement or disagreement with it.

17(f) In Finland, if a child is learning through the medium of English, this brings the family greater status

This Likert-scaled item derives from literature review themes 'The Construction of English in Finland' and 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English'. It is concerned with the idea of English as connected with prestige and eminence (Kachru & Smith 2008, p. 178; Nikula 2007, p. 208; Pennycook 1994, p.13). The statement did not specify if the status was inherent or implied, this was left to the respondent. It concerns the utopian ideologies of English in Finnish society. Moreover, the form of bilingualism represented by ECIL programmes in Finland is enriched or prestige bilingualism (see Section 2.5). This item also derives from the comments of a teacher in Rajander's study concerning her impression that parents may feel that acceptance of their child to a bilingual programme as something bringing status and glamour (Rajander 2010, p. 271). Therefore, if English brings prestige, and a child is accepted to an ECIL programme, does the idea of prestige automatically transfer to the family?

Question 18 is the fourth of the six attitude variables in the questionnaire, and is the attitude variable referred to summatively as '***Attitude to Finnish Children Being Educated through the Medium of English***'. This five-point Likert-scaled item asked the respondents to rate how they related to the idea that some Finnish children are being educated through the medium of English. The options were: Extremely Negatively; Somewhat Negatively; Neither Negatively nor Positively; Somewhat Positively; Extremely Positively. This question was based on a similar question in the National Survey, but which was worded differently, Q16 'What is your opinion about the fact that some Finnish children attend English-speaking schools in Finland?' (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 74), but used a similar five-point Likert-scaled item (Very positive; Moderately positive; Moderately negative; Very negative; No opinion). The function of the variable was to generate data on how agreeable the Enkku and Non-Enkku Group respondents were with the idea of Finnish children being educated in ECIL programmes. It could be expected that the Enkku group would all relate to this question extremely positively, since they have chosen to have their children educated through English, so the Non-Enkku responses would be of particular interest in how they might compare.

Question 19 is the second of the qualitative components of the questionnaire. It is concerned with elaborating how the respondent personally related to the phenomenon of Finnish children being educated through the medium of English, and thus was relevant to all of the literature review themes: 'The Construction of English in Finland'; 'Quantity of English'; 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'; 'ECIL Programmes and Equality'; and 'Middle-classness'. The function of this component is to ascertain the salient beliefs of parents concerning Finnish children being

educated through the medium of English, and uses the same principles as Question 15. Respondents were asked to list up to six factors in their own words that, in their opinion, described their attitudes concerning Finnish children being educated through English. They were also asked to mark if the factor was positive or negative in how they related it with the concept. The function of this data is to provide more detailed information for the fuller understanding of the statistical data and group comparisons. Moreover, this data was collated into themes representative of the shared beliefs of the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups (see Figure 2.4 and Table 2.1) in the form of context-bound group knowledge, and then divided into instrumental and affective salient beliefs (Sutton *et al.* 2003, p. 236).

Question 20 is the fifth of the six attitude variables in the questionnaire, and is referred to summatively as *'Non-Enkku Parents in Terms of Basic Enkku Values'*. It was devised specifically for this survey. Since the survey is concerned with the beliefs of social groups as ideologies based on shared axiomatic beliefs, this variable was developed to explore and test how much certain specific fundamental beliefs could be associated with each social group. Beliefs and values are collectively constructed, and are used to define social group membership, hence, also attitudes towards social groups. The name "Non-Enkku Parents in Terms of Basic Enkku Values" refers to this – how much do respondents feel that parents whose children are not in ECIL programmes share certain axiomatic beliefs about having a child in ECIL education, which many parents whose children are in ECIL already have? No assumptions are made, and the idea is to explore how much the beliefs might be common to both social groups and, thus, not exclusively Enkku values, in which case they would be values based in the common cultural ground, and shared at the level of cultural community rather than social group (see Section 2.3).

The seven Likert-scaled items in Question 20 are all beliefs associated with groups of Enkku parents in the form of reasons for their choice of school[55] (Rajander 2010, pp. 244–246; Jalkanen 1999). Since they are already understood here as fundamental beliefs associated with the social group of Enkku parents who choose ECIL, the motivation was to investigate how much they could also be associated with Non-Enkku parents; to explore if the two groups do think differently, or if, indeed, their beliefs concerning those items could be similar. A five-point Likert Scale was used to measure the respondents' levels of agreement or disagreement with each item. The options were: Totally Disagree; Disagree Somewhat; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree Somewhat; Totally Agree. Each statement constituted one Likert-scaled item, and collectively they constituted a summative Likert Scale. The seven Likert-scaled items were "A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish":

(a) values education through the medium of English in Finland;
(b) believes that a child can simultaneously acquire two languages;
(c) believes that having proficiency in English will afford their child more opportunities in general than knowing Finnish only;
(d) believes that having proficiency in English will have an effect on their child getting a study place in Finland;

(e) thinks that the best jobs in Finland go first to those who have good English proficiency;

(f) wants their child to become a global citizen;

(g) thinks that when a child learns English at a young age, he or she learns it better than he or she would learning it only as a foreign language at school.

20(a) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish values education through the medium of English in Finland

This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review themes 'The Construction of English in Finland' 'Quantity of English'. It draws on the utopian versus the dystopian views of English in Finland, and access to a greater amount of English and different registers of English afforded by the school environment (see Section 2.4). It should be self-evident that Enkku parents value English-medium education, since they chose it, and the aim is to examine how much the respondents believe that Non-Enkku parents also value English-medium Education. An important point here is in the wording of the statement, respondents are asked to rate agreement with their favourableness towards the phenomenon of English-medium education; it is not directly related to their own children or preferred form of school choice.

20(b) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish believes that a child can simultaneously acquire two languages

This Likert-scaled item also derives from the literature review themes 'The Construction of English in Finland' and 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. In addition, it derives from parents' comments on wanting as much instruction in English as possible, even total early immersion (Jalkanen 1999), which validates that Enkku parents believe in bilingualism. As such, the item is concerned with The Finnish ethno-nationalist ideology, and whether or not learning in an additional language might be pernicious to the Finnish mother tongue. In addition, it comprises common misconceptions about bilingual education and its potential controversiality (Cummins 2000, p 169). The statement makes no mention of English *per se*, so, it is relevant to the general phenomenon of bilingualism rather than specifically English-Finnish bilingualism (see Sections 2.4 and 2.5).

20(c) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish believes that having proficiency in English will afford their child more opportunities in general than knowing Finnish only

This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review themes 'The Construction of English in Finland' and 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. The item also derives from Rajander's finding that bilingual classes were held as preparing children to cope in an increasingly interdependent world, and would positively affect their study and career opportunities (Rajander 2010, pp. 244–246). This statement is not limited to only English through English-medium programmes, but involves the general construction of English as facilitating opportunities and more or greater opportunities than through the mother tongue alone. Therefore, the function of this statement was to ascertain how much parents who do not choose English-medium programmes construct English in terms of opportunities, in general. This item also relates to many of the items in Question Sixteen.

20(d) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish believes that having proficiency in English will have an effect on their child getting a study place in Finland
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review themes 'Quantity of English' and 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. It also derives from Rajander's finding (Rajander 2010, pp. 244–246) on enhanced study prospects as a reason for ECIL. This statement is relative to the function of English as the gatekeeper to higher education referred to in the literature (Graddol 2006; Pennycook 1994; Marsh 2013). This is very much a current phenomenon in Finland, and there has been an increase in the number of university courses offered in English. Therefore, the function of this statement was to ascertain how much parents who do not choose English-medium programmes are held as being aware of or concerned about this phenomenon.

20(e) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish thinks that the best jobs in Finland go first to those who have good English proficiency
This Likert-scaled item also derives from the literature review themes 'Quantity of English' and 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. It also derives from Rajander's finding (Rajander 2010, pp. 244–246) on enhanced career prospects as a reason for ECIL. English has been identified as essential in certain domains of Finnish society, particularly research and business (Leppänen & Nikula 2012; Leppänen & Nikula 2007, p. 340; Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003), so this variable is representative of that.

20(f) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish wants their child to become a global citizen
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review themes 'The Construction of English in Finland' and 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. Inherent in this statement is the idea that a parent who opts to have their child educated through the medium of English does so because of the global aspect. The statement does not elucidate on what 'a global citizen' might be or mean. The idea of the global citizen, as it is used here, means someone who considers his or herself as a citizen of the world; hence, a cosmopolitan as discussed in Section 4.2.

20(g) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish thinks that when a child learns English at a young age, they learn it better than they would learning it only as a foreign language at school
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review themes 'Quantity of English' and 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. This statement is concerned with the principles of programmes, such as early total immersion, and the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) (cf. Birdsong 2006, 1999). It involves the idea that children learn languages better when they are exposed to them at an early age and naturalistically. The variable also derives from the comments made and discussed in Case Kuopio (see Section 3.4.1).

Question 21 is the last of the six attitude variables in the questionnaire, and is referred to summatively as ***'Enkku Parents in Terms of Intense Enkku Values'***. It was devised specifically for this survey, and follows the same main principles as Question 20 in terms of being concerned with specific fundamental beliefs and their association with social group identity. Question 20 was to explore if the two social groups in this study shared similar basic beliefs associated with Enkku parents. The function of

this question was, in the case that what this study terms 'basic Enkku values' are not exclusively Enkku, but relate to the common cultural ground of Finnish society, what then might be beliefs and values axiomatic to the Enkku Group? To examine this, the question expanded on some interesting aspects associated with ECIL education and parents, identified in the literature review, that could be seen as intense beliefs or values.

Some of these, for example, were linked with the idea that school choice in general is the exception rather than the norm in Finland (Poikolainen 2011), and that parents choosing schools beyond their catchment areas incur the costs of transportation (Law 628/1998, Section 32). Moreover, Rajander's study also raised the issue of elitism in conjunction with a specific ECIL context (Rajander 2010, pp. 240–241). This was in terms of elitism associated with teachers' perceptions of affluent, dynamic, demanding parents eager for bilingual education to enhance their children's opportunities in life (*ibid.*). Such parents appear to fit the profile for concerted cultivation parents (Davies & Aurini 2008), who are primarily concerned with procuring what they perceive as a better education for their children to ensure opportunities for the future. Many items can be operationalised in terms of the status of English as a global language and the construction of English as facilitating upward mobility. The idea with Question 21 was to take these, and investigate how much respondents felt that these intense values represented the social group of Enkku parents *per se*, if at all.

The seven Likert-scaled items in Question 21 are based on these, coupled with my own experiences of the field. Again, the idea was not to assume that these are indeed Enkku parents' beliefs, but rather to investigate how much respondents felt that these intense beliefs might be associated with parents who choose ECIL for their children as a social group. It could even be argued that these values are in some way representative of school choice in general, and not limited to ECIL. A five-point Likert Scale was used to measure the respondents' levels of agreement or disagreement with each item. The options were: Totally Disagree; Disagree Somewhat; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree Somewhat; Totally Agree. Each statement constituted one Likert-scaled item, and collectively they constituted a summative Likert Scale. The seven Likert-scaled items were "A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English":

(a) wants something better than the local school;
(b) would be prepared to move elsewhere to ensure their child a place at an English medium school;
(c) believes that a child is better able to look after his or her parents in their old age if he or she has attended an English-medium school;
(d) would be prepared to do whatever it took to ensure that their child passed the entrance test to an English-medium school;
(e) chooses and English-medium school for their child because their friend's children attend an English-medium school;
(f) would be prepared to transport their child to school further afield;
(g) believes that their child's future is assured if he or she gets a place at an English medium school.

<u>21(a) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English wants something better than the local school</u>
This Likert-scaled item derives from all of the literature review themes 'The Construction of English in Finland'; 'Quantity of English'; 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'; 'ECIL Programmes and Equality of School'; and Middle-

classness. It is directly related to the ideologies of the Nordic-one-school-for-all, Meritocracy, and Parentocracy. Rajander (2010, p. 248) writes of the phenomenon of parents choosing ECIL so that their children would meet those of like-minded parents, i.e., parents seeking to invest in their children. This statement makes the presumption that the ECIL school is not the local school, and therefore, reflects the idea of school selection for something different or better. Nonetheless, it must be reiterated that local school is not a homogenous concept, and for some families, the ECIL school and the local school are one and the same.

21(b) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English would be prepared to move elsewhere to ensure their child a place at an English-medium school
This Likert-scaled item also derives from all of the literature review themes. This statement takes into account the relative scarcity of ECIL programmes, and the fact that some children may have to make a longer journey to school. This places responsibilities on parents, not only concerning transport matters, but also given that school in Finland can begin and end at different times on different days, where do the children go before and after school (see Section 3.4.2)? This item also derives from the phenomenon of moving house to be closer to the ECIL school mentioned by Rajander (2010, p. 250).

21(c) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English believes that a child is better able to look after his or her parents in their old age if he or she has attended an English-medium school
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review theme 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. This statement comprises the elements of social prestige and economic advancement so often associated with English and referred to in the literature. It is designed to reflect the idea of the investment made by parents in the education of their children in terms of a form of return, i.e. financial security, and also embodies the idea purported by Rajander (2010, p. 219) of how parents' choice of school can be guided by the wish "to move into more desirable spaces" in terms of upward social mobility.

21(d) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English would be prepared to do whatever it took to ensure that their child passed the entrance test to an English-medium school
Again, this Likert-scaled item derives from all of the literature review themes. This statement takes into account the idea of parents' willingness to utilize their own financial, cultural, and social resources to create opportunities for their children (Lareau 1987; Rajander 2010), for example, preparing or coaching children for the test. It also derives from a situation described in Rajander's study, in which a parent objected aggressively about their child's rejection to the bilingual class in question (Rajander 2010, p. 239). It is directly related to the ideology of Parentocracy and concerted cultivation parents (see Section 4.2).

21(e) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English chooses an English-medium school for their child because their friend's children attend an English-medium school
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review theme 'The Construction of English in Finland'. Bilingual programmes have been described as places where

parents encounter like-minded parents (Rajander 2010), and in Case Kuopio (Section 3.4), word of mouth works well as a means of advertising English Kindergarten. This statement is based on the work of Ajzen and Fischbein (1980, p. 57) and concerns the idea of subjective norms, that is, the idea that important people in one's network of friends and acquaintances hold something as important, with the result that one also feels that one should hold it as important, or do the same thing.

21(f) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English would be prepared to transport their child to school further afield
This Likert-scaled item derives from all of the literature review themes. This statement takes into account that for many, the English-medium school is not the local school, and that some children may have to make a longer journey to school. This places responsibilities on parents concerning transport matters, because, according to the Basic Education Act, parents choosing schools beyond their catchment areas incur the costs of transportation (Law 628/1998, Section 32). This item also derives from one of the findings in Jalkanen 1999 (p. 26), in which four families stated that they would not continue with bilingual education at the primary level because of the distance of their home from the primary school, and the long school journey.

21(g) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English believes that their child's future is assured if he or she gets a place at an English-medium school
This Likert-scaled item derives from the literature review theme 'Benefits and Prospects from Having English Skills'. Like Statement 21(c), this statement also comprises the elements of social prestige and economic advancement so often associated with English and referred to in the literature. It differs from 21(c) in that it is not reflective of the any kind of investment made by parents, but rather focuses on the opportunities afforded by English to the child. Increased opportunities afforded in general by the ECIL programme was a factor parents in Rajander's study chose ECIL for their children (Rajander 2010, pp. 244–246).

Question 22 was in three parts, (a), (b), and (c). 22(a) asked respondents to state if their children were currently being educated through English; had been previously but were no longer in ECIL education; or not being educated through the medium of English. 22(b) asked the parents to give the reason for their choice of school and some extra information about the school. It specified that, if their child attended an English-medium school, they were to give reasons for this choice, and if their child did not, they were to give reasons for that particular choice. The aim was to ascertain what guided the Enkku parents in choosing to have their child educated through the medium of English. In the case of Non-Enkku parents, the aim was to illuminate why they did not choose the English-medium stream. Finally, 22(c) was for respondents whose children were or had been in some form of ECIL, and they were asked to specify how much instruction was through the medium of English. The options were: 100% in English; several hours of English a week; a few hours of English a week; early English.

4.4.4 Variables on the Respondents' Education, Profession, and Household

This fourth and final section of the questionnaire addresses issues related with the third and fourth research questions, and comprised 6 questions with an A and B

component. The A component asked about the respondents' education and profession, while the B component asked about the education and profession of the respondent's spouse or partner, if this category was relevant to them. Basically, **Question 23** asked the respondents their basic education, and that of their spouse or partner. **Question 24** concerned their level of education, and similarly, that of their spouse or partner. **Question 25** asked in what field they had gained their educational qualification, and similarly, the field of their spouse or partner's education. **Questions 26** asked respondents to state their occupational grouping/employment status, and that of their spouse or partner. **Question 27** asked their area or industry of work, as well as that of their spouse or partner. **Question 28** asked their type of employer, in terms of the state, municipality, state enterprise or private, and that of their spouse or partner. Questions 23–28 with their categories are reported in more detail in Chapter Five with the discussion of the results.

Moreover, with regard to this section of the questionnaire, as it is usually presumed better to use questions that have already been tested (cf. Statistics Finland 2007, p. 74), Questions 23, 24, 26, 28 derived from publications cited by the University of Tampere's KvantiMOTV website on sociodemographic variables in social research. The original publications are listed below[56]. It should be noted, however, that the original publications were not accessed in full, nor was the actual electronic data for those publications ever accessed – hence they do not feature in the references section *per se*. The categories in Questions 26 are also somewhat comparable with the class positions used by Erikson and Goldthorpe (2002), but also allow for those no longer in working life. Questions 25 and 27 use the official classifications from Statistics Finland.

The final two questions concerned the respondent's household: **Question 29** about the structure of the household and the final **Question 30** with A and B components to enquire about income. The concept household is used instead of dwelling unit, as this survey, although computer assisted, functions in the same way as a postal survey would (Statistics Finland 2007, p. 48).

As previously mentioned, school choice in Finland has been shown to be indicative of parents with a higher socioeconomic background (e.g. Kosunen 2016, who used educational level, occupational status, and income). Moreover, Bruton (2011, p. 529) has challenged the egalitarian nature of CLIL education, stating that some students may be subjected to prejudice through it, and drawing on the overt or covert selection of students to underpin his argument. He criticises CLIL authors when they state that

---

[56] Q23:http://www.fsd.uta.fi/menetelmaopetus/taustamuuttujat/tilastoluokitukset_koulutus_ammatti.html
Q24: Melin, Harri & Blom, Raimo & Pyöriä, Pasi: Information Society, Information Work and Changes in the Occupational Structure 2000. Tietoyhteiskunta, tietotyö ja ammattirakenteen muutos 2000 [elektroninen aineisto]. FSD1177, versio 1.1 (2012-04-11). Tampere: Yhteiskuntatieteellinen tietoarkisto [jakaja], 2012. q24.
Q25: http://www.stat.fi/meta/luokitukset/koulutusala/001-2011/index_en.html
Q26: Kiljunen, Pentti: Finnish Science Barometer 2001. Tiedebarometri 2001 [elektroninen aineisto]. FSD1181, versio 1.0 (2002-01-11). Lempäälä: Yhdyskuntatutkimus [aineistonkeruu], 2001. Helsinki: Tieteen tiedotus ry [tuottaja], 2001. Tampere: Yhteiskuntatieteellinen tietoarkisto [jakaja], 2002.
Q27: Standard Industrial Classification 2002 (Economic Classifications)
http://www.stat.fi/meta/luokitukset/toimiala/001-2002/index_en.html
Q28: ISSP 2003: National Identity II: Finnish Data. ISSP 2003: kansallinen identiteetti II: Suomen aineisto [elektroninen aineisto]. FSD0121, versio 2.0 (2010-04-15). Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto. Sosiologian ja sosiaalipsykologian laitos & Tampere: Yhteiskuntatieteellinen tietoarkisto & Helsinki: Tilastokeskus [tuottajat], 2003. Tampere: Yhteiskuntatieteellinen tietoarkisto [jakaja], 2010.

CLIL programmes are available to everyone, when it is acknowledged that students who tend to choose such programmes have a more fortunate socioeconomic background (*op. cit.*, p. 529). Thus, it was relevant to investigate the parents' socioeconomic background, and to compare the two groups of parent respondents (the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups), hence, diverse socioeconomic background data was requested.

The idea was to generate information on the socioeconomic background of parents at the primary level that could be compared with findings of studies concerning groups of parents at higher levels of education, thus filling a gap in the field. Various studies on school choice (Silvennoinen *et al.* 2015; Kosunen 2014, p. 450; Varjo *et al.* 2014, p. 38) made use of level of education, occupational status and income as socioeconomic background variables in their analyses on school choice. These studies have tended to concentrate on the transition from primary to lower secondary education. Using the questions in this section, this study generates extensive empirical data on the socioeconomic background of parents at the primary level. Since previous research has generally shown school choice to be indicative of parents with higher socioeconomic status, it is expected that this will also be the case here.

In the course of this study, "socioeconomic status" also become apparent as a rather common factor in the background literature.

> *"… elite or prestigious bilingual education may be taken as forming part of an enrichment model and may be defined as the whole range of programmes that provide bilingual education to highly educated, higher socio-economic status, usually majority-language-speaking groups." (de Mejía 2002, p. 45)*

> *"School choice preferences have been connected to the educational level and socioeconomic status of mothers in particular." (Rajander 2010, p. 116)*

The function of the fourth research question, therefore, is to take specific SES indicators and examine how much they may explain the type of school choice. The concept socioeconomic status (SES) is not a universal one; historically it has been used to locate the position of families within social hierarchies or stratified systems in terms of their access to different forms of societal values (occupation, education, income, power, information and so on) (Bornstein & Bradley 2012, p. 2). The original index for defining SES derives from the work of Hollingshead in the 1970s, who used education, occupation, sex and marital status as the four factors in his index (Hollingshead 2011, pp. 22–23). Economic status is often held as the factor in stratification, into high, middle, or low, or even into social classes, but this is a one-sided view (Bornstein & Bradley 2012, p. 2). Another SES indicator frequently used in research concerning children is maternal education (Rajander 2010, p. 116; Ensminger & Fothergill 2012, p. 24).

SES was favoured over social class because Finnish society is constructed socioeconomically (Niemelä & Saari 2013a, 2013b, p. 11). The SES indicators were chosen by examining existing Finnish research on the underprivileged[57], and on school choice, and identifying the SES indicators in use there. The SES indicators used here were based on that research. According to Niemelä & Saari (2013a, 2013b), there are differences in terms of how rigidly hierarchies are perceived, and how much

---

[57] It seemed appropriate to use this research, since school choice and ECIL are a form of privilege.

mobility there is between the levels. They state that socioeconomic differentiation occurs in terms of 'physical or regional distance' concerning place of residence (*ibid.*). Kainulainen & Saari (2013, p. 24) state that Nordic research traditionally connects the state of being underprivileged with factors external to the individual, such as labour market status, job sector, low income, level of education, age, gender, state of health and home background. Ultimately, a multidimensional view using four SES indicators was employed: Place of Residence; Occupational Grouping/Employment Status; Level of Education; and Average Monthly Household Income, and their role in the choice of ECIL examined.

The final component of the questionnaire was a free one worded **"If there is anything else you would like to say"**. This was for respondents to give feedback on the questionnaire, or comment on something that had occurred to them or was not dealt with in the survey questionnaire.

4.5   THE SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

Fundamentally, this survey was exploratory, and as such, its function was to reach as many Finnish parents of children in ECIL programmes and schools across as much of Finland as possible. This is the main reason that a survey was chosen over a more ethnographical approach. The participants, therefore, were identified through their connection with the ECIL schools, and the aim was to generate as large a group of respondents as possible. Hence, the target population was chosen non-randomly, and total population sampling was used. The primary inclusion criteria for the study were that a respondent be a Finnish-speaking Finn, which was ascertained from the background section of the survey instrument, with a child in a primary school with an ECIL programme. If a respondent had marked both nationality and first language as Finnish, they were held to be a Finnish-speaking Finn also referred to as Finnish or Finns (as opposed to Finland Swedes who would have Swedish as their first language).

Thus, the target population of respondents comprises the Finnish-speaking parents of children who attend ECIL primary schools. These parents constitute the Enkku Group, the choosers of ECIL for their child or children. Several of the primary schools in the study have both ECIL and regular Finnish mainstream programmes. A minority of schools also had a German-medium or Swedish-medium programme. Some schools also had classes of special emphasis, such as music. Thus, the study also includes parents of children who attend the English-medium school but who are not in the ECIL programme, the Non-Enkku Group or non-choosers of ECIL for their child or children. All parents were invited to participate in this study so that there would be two communities of practice / social groups for comparison both representative of the larger language community and epistemic community of Finnish society.

4.6   SURVEY PROCEDURES

This section is relevant to the survey part of this study. The procedures used with the principals' questionnaire were already presented in Section 4.3, and those used in the historical ethnography, Case Kuopio, are presented in Section 4.8, below.

4.6.1 Data Collection

In total, 39 potential schools offering some form of enriched English-medium education were identified in Finland[58]. These are all schools who have consolidated ECIL programmes, i.e., they have been running for some time. The number of schools offering ECIL can change at any time, depending on decisions made at the municipal level, and also at the school level. This was the maximum number of schools that I was able to identify using my extensive insider knowledge and network connections, as well as Internet searches. It could be that some ECIL schools exist of which I am unaware, but, to the best of my knowledge, at least, the majority were identified.

Each school was approached to participate in the study through an email message to the principal in March 2013. Where necessary, this was followed up with a further email, and then with a telephone call. Some of the principals stated that their schools were already the subject of various studies, such as Master's theses or larger research projects, and for that reason, would not participate in this study. Others stated that their administrative resources were already over-taxed and did not wish to take on an extra project. None of the private schools participated in the study. One gave the grounds that the school rules do not allow them to participate in research projects. Twenty-four schools agreed to participate in the survey, all of which were public[59] schools. This means that the parent respondents are all representative of school choice in Finland that is public rather than private. The school participation percentage was 62 per cent.

For the actual data-gathering, a letter to the parents was sent to the principals of the 24 schools in the research, to be administered to the parents electronically. The letter included the link to the survey instrument in eLomake. Administration of the survey questionnaire electronically was held as the best way to ensure the maximum number of respondents, since it did not involve having to mail responses manually. It was also done to avoid having to create a register, thus being ethically stronger, since the researcher did not have access to the names and addresses of potential respondents. The letter was sent in three rounds to parents using either regular email or the WILMA or HELMI online student administration data systems that schools in Finland use for collaboration between the school and homes. Two weeks after the first letter had been sent, a first reminder was sent; and two weeks after that, a second reminder was sent. The data were collected between April and August 2013. The first round of letters was sent on April 1st 2013, but not all of the schools were able to send them out at the same time. The eLomake was open for respondents until the end of August 2013 because of the summer months in between.

The eLomake survey questionnaire generated a total of 914 responses between April and August 2013. All of the data was collected electronically using the eLomake browser-based application and then transferred electronically to the IBM SPSS statistics 23 programme, which was used for all of the data analyses. This process minimised the potential for human error.

---

[58] Originally, 40 schools were identified, but this dropped to 39, when one school principal informed that the school no longer offered any form of ECIL.

[59] In the sense of free and provided by society, in the Finnish case, by the local municipality.

4.6.2 Data Analysis

The interpretation of the results draws on both the quantitative and the qualitative components. The former is to provide measurable results, and the latter to provide information for the fuller understanding of the statistical data. With the exception of the Pearson chi-squared tests for independence for Questions 9, 15, and 19, all statistical procedures were computed using IBM SPSS Statistics 23. The Pearson chi-squared independence tests were computed as 2x2 contingency tables using an online calculator for frequency data cross-classified according to two categorical variables, each with two levels or subcategories[60]. The missing data in this study was dealt with according to the principal of Exclude Cases Pairwise in SPSS (Pallant 2010, p. 211), in which cases are excluded only if they are missing the data for a specific analysis. Otherwise, they are included in analyses for which they have the relevant information. When reporting the significance of statistical analyses as *p* values, the significance threshold was set as .05 according to the 95% confidence criterion; hence .05 is statistically significant[61]. Wherever appropriate, the frequencies and percentages of similar items from the National Survey are also presented and compared to the results of this survey.

Descriptive Statistics were computed for all of the quantitative variables in the questionnaire. These were presented as frequencies and percentages in tables or bar charts, and the groups compared. For the nominal variables, these were generally the only statistics computed. For the age of the respondents, however, an Independent-samples t-test was also computed to compare the distribution of ages. Moreover, Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed to assess the relationship between the respondents' collective determination of their 'lingualism', so not divided by group, and school choice, how often they travel abroad, and to their having spent a 3-month residence abroad to support the descriptive data. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were also computed to assess the relationship between the respondents' collective determination of their frequency of travel, not divided by group, and school choice; and the relationship between the respondents' collective determination of having spent a 3-month residence abroad (outside Finland) and school choice.

In addition to the Descriptive Statistics, Inferential Statistics were also computed for the Likert-scaled items and Likert scales. Respondents' average scores for the Likert-scales in Questions 16, 17, 20, and 21 were computed and entered as new variables in the data set. Drawing on the conclusions of De Winter and Dodou (2012), Likert-scaled items Questions 14 and 18, and the Likert scales were treated as nominal scales, and Independent-samples t-tests computed. For Question 16, items 16(d), 16(e), 16(f), and 16(g) were recoded, and the aggregate analysis of the Likert scale computed using the new variables. To compensate for the imbalance in the size of the two groups (Enkku N=535; Non-Enkku N=277), a sample group was created from the Enkku Group so that it would be the same size as the Non-Enkku Group (n=277). All of the independent samples t-tests referred to for the attitudinal variables were conducted with the sample group. The results differed only slightly to the original results run with the actual group size, hence were not found to be of significant benefit in the analyses. The

---

[60] http://vassarstats.net/tab2x2.html

[61] *P* values shown in the computations as .000 have been rounded to *p* < .001 when reporting the probability.

differences could be due to the sample and its composition. Therefore, only the actual group data and results are presented.

The effect size of the Independent-samples t-tests was calculated using the University of Colorado's online effect size calculator[62] using means and standard deviations. "Effect size is simply a way of quantifying the size of the difference between two groups," (Coe 2002). For the t-tests in this study, effect size is reported in the analyses as Cohen's *d* and also as *r*. To understand this, with regard to Cohen's *d*, 0.2 would be a small effect size, 0.5 medium, and 0.8 large (Cohen 1988).[63] In the case of effect size *r*, 0.1 would be a small effect, 0.3 medium, and 0.5 large (*ibid.*). The effect size provides an indication of the practical significance of the finding; if it is small, it indicates that there is a real effect, but it can only be seen through rigorous investigation, so is not very substantial (Walker 2008).

Cronbach's Alpha was used to test the reliability (internal consistency) of the four attitudinal questions that had multiple items designed to measure the same construct (Questions 16, 17, 20 and 21), taking into account any reverse-phrased items, and using the recoded versions. Generally, a Cronbach's Alpha value (α) of .70 to .80 is held as being indicative of good internal consistency, less than .50 is unacceptable (George & Mallory 2003, p. 231). None of the attitudinal questions generated an internal consistency that was unacceptable, but in some instances, it could have been stronger.

Question 16, "Significance of English to Finns", had 8 items, and appeared to have internal consistency that is approaching acceptable, yet slightly questionable, α = .67. All items seem to be worthy of retention. Question 17, "The Idea of English-medium Education as Privileged", had 6 items and generated a value of α = .59, suggesting that the internal consistency appears questionable, almost poor. This was investigated. Item 17c "The Local School is Always the Best School for the Child" generated the lowest value (α = .49). However, removal of this item would have raised the α to .60, only slightly higher, so it may be that the items in the construct were too heterogeneous. Even if they are perhaps not entirely measuring the same construct, when considered separately, they provide interesting data on respondent attitudes. If this study were to be replicated, attention would have to be paid to the items in Question 17 to increase the internal consistency. Question 20, "Non-Enkku Parents in Terms of Basic Enkku Values", had 7 items and appeared to have good internal consistency, α = .83. All items seem to be worthy of retention. Question 21, "Enkku Parents in Terms of Extreme Enkku Values", had 7 items and appeared to have acceptable internal consistency, α = .74. All items seem to be worthy of retention.

Drawing on many of the principles of thematic analysis, an exploratory approach was taken with the three qualitative strands of the questionnaire (Questions 15, 19 and 22b), with the aim of examining the content rather than seeking to confirm a specific hypothesis (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey 2011, pp. 208–209). This meant that before attempting any form of analysis, the primary data were examined inductively, and codes (implicit and explicit ideas, opinions, topics and so on that occur in the data) identified to reflect themes related to attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies (*op.cit.*, p. 216). The data were already available from the survey data corpus in SPSS in the

---

[62] Available at http://www.uccs.edu/~lbecker/

[63] The reader is referred to Rosenthal 1994, for more in-depth information on *r* and *d* and the differences between them. It is sufficient for the purpose of this study to understand that they are both a measure of effect size.

respondents' own words. Assigning the codes to themes was done manually by either colour coding each code or marking it with a symbol representative of the theme, and repeated several times for rigour. The process was facilitated, especially for Question 15, because the responses tended to be one-word answers.

Following this, the codes were computed into SPSS as a separate data set. This was printed out and the codes verified using the original data, and if appropriate or necessary, the codes were changed. This allowed for control of using the same code for the same type of phrase. The working language of the data was Finnish, and they were not translated until the themes, which were recorded in English[64]. Rather than stopping once a point of saturation had been reached, all of the responses were coded in order to be able to record numerically the number of hits each theme received. This was a time-consuming process, but rewarding, since working with their own words, rather than numerical data, allowed me the feeling of having made contact with the respondents as social agents. Descriptive statistics were then computed for the qualitative components and presented as various tables and figures. Given the sheer amount of data that was generated, only what were held as the most interesting or relevant to the research questions are presented.

Chi-square tests for independence were computed for the beliefs identified in Questions 15 and 19, as mentioned above. These were computed as 2 by 2 contingency tables, which are presented in Appendix Three. It was possible to calculate the chi-square values for all the beliefs in Questions 15 and 19, except for the last belief in Question 19, Miscellaneous positive beliefs concerning ECIL, because this violated the minimum expected cell frequency assumption and generated an expected cell frequency less than 5 (4.5). Both the Pearson Chi-Square value and the Yates' Correction for Continuity are reported in the contingency tables in the appendix, but only the Yates Chi-Square value is reported in Chapter Five. The Phi coefficient for effect size was also calculated, and may be interpreted according to Cohen's (1988) criteria of .10 as small effect; .30 as medium effect; and .50 as large effect (Pallant 2010, p. 220). Similar tests were computed for Question Nine on lingualism and Question 30 concerning respondents' average monthly income.

To address Research Question Four, binary logistic regression was performed using the statistical package SPSS to assess the impact of a number of factors on the odds ratio of respondents' reporting that they had chosen to have their children educated through the medium of English. The model comprised four independent variables as predictors: Place of Residence; Occupational Grouping/Employment Status; Level of Education; and Average Monthly Household Income (see Section 4.4.4). The model presents how much these predictor variables predict the odds of school choice, both individually and jointly. The odds of an event occurring should not be confused with the term 'probability', as the definition of odds is given as the probability of an event occurring divided by the probability of the event not occurring (Field 2009, pp. 270–271).

---

[64] This is indicative of my own particular bilingualism and a good example of translanguaging. English is the language of the monograph, and I am more comfortable writing in English than Finnish.

$$\text{odds} = \frac{P(\text{event})}{P(\text{no event})}$$

$$P(\text{event } Y) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-(b_0 + b_1 X_1)}}$$

$$P(\text{no event } Y) = 1 - P(\text{event } Y)$$

(Field 2009, p. 271).

Following this, the same calculation is made after the predictor variable has changed by one unit. Once the odds before and after a unit change have been obtained, the proportionate change in odds, or odds ratio, can be calculated using the following equation:

$$\Delta\text{odds} = \frac{\text{odds after a unit change in the predictor}}{\text{original odds}}$$

(Field 2009, p. 271)

The outcome variable was coded 1 for parents who chose to have their children educated through the medium of English and O for parents who did not choose English-medium education. The variable Place of Residence was transformed from regions in Finland to major regions. No respondents were from the Åland region; hence it does not feature in the model. The categories in the variable Occupational Group were collapsed from the questionnaire categories to: Employee; Junior White-collar Worker; Senior White-collar Worker; Executive/Management in a Company; Entrepreneur or Private Practitioner; and Other. The categories for the variable Level of Education were transformed from the questionnaire categories to: No Further Education/Vocational Qualification; Lowest Level Tertiary Education; Lower-degree Tertiary Education; Higher-degree Tertiary Education; and Doctorate or Equivalent Level Tertiary Education. The first two categories of the final variable, Average Monthly Household Income, were collapsed into each other; otherwise the categories remained as for the questionnaire.

4.7 EVALUATING THE SURVEY

The survey was concerned with investigating a specific population within Finnish society; hence the target population was chosen non-randomly. Total population sampling was used. This is justified because the population shares an uncommon characteristic[65], and the aim of the research was to gain a deeper understanding of their beliefs and attitudes. It was felt that use of another form of sampling might result in the oversight of issues beneficial to a better understanding of the phenomenon, particularly as concerns the qualitative strands. It is recognised, however, that by focusing on ECIL primary schools, this study is limited in that it precludes the majority of regular mainstream Finnish schools who have no enriched English-medium

---

[65] Children who attend a Finnish primary school which offers a form of ECIL.

programme. The parents of children attending such schools are not represented in this study. In addition, as the schools are in urban municipalities, the phenomenon of ECIL addressed by this study is an urban one, thus, rural areas are not represented. Moreover, given that the majority of respondents in both groups are female, the results of this study cannot be generalised to the whole population of Finland, but this was never the intention. The study explores this phenomenon and generates information about specific social groups, namely, to identify attitudes and beliefs that could be said to lead to the choice of an ECIL programme and to contrast these with similar or dissimilar beliefs among Non-Enkku parents. The domination of female responses correlates with many previous research findings indicating the prevalence of mothers as a dynamic force in organising the educational activities of their children (Rajander 2010, p. 57, 116; Reay 2004, 2005a and 2005b).

During the course of developing the survey instrument, the questionnaire was tested by various groups. Once a working model had been achieved, it was disseminated to a group of teachers, parents, and people involved in the field. Following this, after modification, it was presented to two research seminar groups; social sciences and applied education. After this, it was refined into the format that was disseminated to the parents of the participating schools. The eLomake survey questionnaire generated a total of 914 responses between April and August 2013. Not all of the responses were relevant to this target population, and the data had to be organised appropriately.

The primary inclusion criteria for a Finnish-speaking Finn were Finnish nationality and Finnish as a mother tongue. In the organisation of the data set, 47 responses did not meet these criteria and were deleted from the target data set. Moreover, it became apparent from the data (birth year of child), that the parents of children in Grades Seven, Eight and Nine had responded to the questionnaire. Some of the schools were comprehensive schools comprising Grades One to Nine. Although these responses are equally interesting, they are not directly relevant to this study, which is concerned only with primary Grades One to Six, and were deleted from the data set (35 responses). In addition, to retain the integrity of the data set, a further 14 responses were deleted because the child's year of birth had not been given, so it could not be certain that the child in question was not from the lower secondary level. Finally, empty or near empty responses (4 responses) were deleted, as were identical duplicate responses (2 responses). This left a target population comprising 812 respondents of whom 535 represented parents of children in enriched English-medium programmes (the Enkku Group) and 277 respondents representing parents of children in the regular mainstream programme or other programmes at the same schools (the Non-Enkku Group).

Calculation of the actual respondent percentage proved to be problematic, and given the type of sampling employed, gives a misleading impression. This was an aspect of the research process that would have to be reconsidered if someone wanted to replicate the study. Because the information on the number of pupils was dependent on the principals' questionnaire, when some of the principals did not give the actual number of parents in Questions Seven, but stated an approximate number of pupils, it became impossible to calculate a total number. Moreover, the choice of using the WILMA or equivalent platforms for the electronic administration of the questionnaire meant that the exact number of potential respondents could not be calculated. To elucidate, a child may have one, two, three, or four parents or other guardians,

and each of these adults may have their own WILMA account[66]. Therefore, if one is counting the number of pupils, this is not representative of the number of potential parent/guardian respondents. This should have been taken into consideration, but it did not become apparent until the process had begun. The choice of electronic administration was done in order to avoid having a register of parent names and addresses, which might not have been possible to obtain. In this way, the respondent anonymity was better protected.

Nevertheless, allowing for one household response per pupil, the questionnaire reached an approximate total of 8213 parents, of whom 914 responded (812 of whom were in the target group); these figures yield a respondent percentage of 11 per cent. Of the 8213 parents, 3742 were Enkku parents, the remaining 4471 were Non-Enkku parents. This gives us a target population approximate Enkku parent response rate of 14%, and an approximate Non-Enkku response rate of 6%. The low percentages suggest that the results cannot be generalised, and yet, 812 respondents is a good sample size, and large enough for generating reliable data in the survey. It must also be stressed that the survey did not seek to generate 8213 responses, because such an inordinate number would have been far too large, and would have required sampling to around the size of the actual number of responses. As such, perhaps a more representative figure is the total school participation figure of 62%, and the figure for public (in the Finnish sense of not private) school participation of 67%, since all of the mainland major regions in Finland are represented.

It is a well-known phenomenon, currently, that there is a fatigue among respondents with regard to questionnaires and surveys in general. This is referred to by Vehkalahti (2008, p. 48), who attributes it to the continual increase in the number of questionnaires sent to people, and states that it has impacted negatively on the number of responses that questionnaires generate. The majority of parents at the schools were of children not in the English-medium programmes, therefore, the subject of the research may have been of less interest to them. In addition, April is close to the end of the school year, thus, parents may have been fatigued with school matters. Moreover, the format of the eLomake was not ideal in that the font was too small and respondents had to scroll pages sideways to see the full tables sometimes. Unfortunately, this is something beyond the researcher's control as there is one template for all, which is controlled by on outside authority. Moreover, electronic surveys may be likely to generate less responses than those administered on paper (Tuomainen 2015, p. 56). It may also be that the electronic format was not suitable for some of the respondents who may not have had the necessary computer skills, or may have preferred to respond to a paper questionnaire.

It is more reliable to attempt to replicate an existing study using a survey instrument that has already been tested (Metsämuuronen 2001), however, in this case, no equivalent study or questionnaire was found. Nevertheless, Leppänen and colleagues (2009a, 2011) had conducted a nationwide survey of Finns' attitudes towards English in 2007, and their questionnaire had points of contact with this study. Some of the questions were taken from their questionnaire and used or adapted in this study. The reason for this was twofold: replication of elements of their study with a specific population of Finns would be interesting in the comparison of results,

---

[66] I do not think that it is even possible to obtain information on who has this type of account and how many accounts relate to each pupil.

and the questions would be valid as they had already been tried and tested. Their data was collected from a random sample of Finns aged 15–79 years from the Finnish population database of Statistics Finland using stratified sampling which was also organised to be representative regionally. This study constitutes a survey using many of the same or similar constructs, but with a particular population, and thus, aims for a form of parallel reliability in terms of comparison of results. This survey often did generate similar results to the Leppänen *et al.* national survey, which are discussed in the next chapter.

With regard to the Likert-scaled items and Likert scales, it does not appear that the respondents have used the central tendency bias to avoid voicing strong opinions, however, Questions 20 and 21 were slightly problematic. It was difficult to operationalise the constructs, and ultimately, the items were worded such as to guard against the principal of social desirability (in which participants respond in a way they think is socially acceptable). This, however, had the effect of asking respondents to comment on themselves as a member of either the Enkku Group or Non-Enkku Group, and also to comment on the values of the other group, respectively. Some of the respondents were uncomfortable doing so and stated this in the final section for free comments. Informant bias may somehow explain this. Informant bias is concerned with how people construct an image of who they think the researcher is and what they think the researcher wants them to say, and this ultimately affects how they do respond (Mercer 2007, p. 8).

Questions 15 and 19 had rather a high number of empty responses, suggesting some kind of respondent fatigue. There were 102 completely empty responses in Question 15: 48 Enkku parents and 54 Non-Enkku parents. For Question 19, there were 108 completely empty responses: 44 Enkku parents and 64 Non-Enkku parents. Given the difference in group sizes, the Non-Enkku empty response rate is rather high. This suggests, that perhaps, this item was not personally of interest to them. Nonetheless, the respondents in both groups who answered this question seem to have given it their attention, which is shown by the distribution of the number of factors that they had in their answers, and the high number of five and six-factor responses (see Chapter Five).

Question 22a was the variable that denoted whether a parent was considered as an Enkku Group parent or a Non-Enkku Group parent, based on whether their child was being educated through the medium of English or not. The question asked, 'Is/are your child/children being educated through the medium of English (in Finnish, *Käykö/ käyvätkö lapsesi koulua englannin kielellä*)? The questionnaire language was Finnish. It appears from the some of the responses of the Non-Enkku group to Question 22b that there are differences in the interpretation of how much English constitutes education in that language, since some parents state that their child is not in the English class, but is in another form of English CLIL programme. The difference in interpretation appears to be linked to the idea that the school offers these weaker CLIL programmes as a matter of course, hence, they are not seen, or are not, a form of school choice *per se*. Some respondents appear to believe that all of the education should be in English to qualify as English-medium education. This is an interesting phenomenon, since it highlights the fuzziness of terminology concerning bilingual education in Finland *per se*, and the lack of consensus on key terminology.

In terms of the reliability and validity of the survey study, it has been my aim to report all parts of the research process as honestly and transparently as possible. This was the first time that I had worked so extensively with statistics, and where necessary, I turned to people more experienced than myself for advice and aid. Having been

through the process, I now understand better what is required in survey research, and there are things that I would take steps to do better, for example the internal consistency of the variables and the number of respondents. With regard to the qualitative components, in particular, at all points in the process, I tried to aim for what Ormston *et al.* (2014, p. 22) term 'empathic neutrality' in the conduct of research, and avoid any obvious, conscious or systematic researcher bias, especially through my close contact with the field. They (and I) recognise that this aspiration can never fully be attained because the research is influenced by the researcher – hence there can be "no completely 'neutral' or 'objective' knowledge" (*ibid.*). The researcher must be reflexive about her role in the research and the effect that her beliefs and biases may have on the research process (Ormston *et al.* 2014, p. 25), and this I discuss in more detail in Section 4.8 below.

In sum, the survey questionnaire was a good methodological approach for reaching a large number of respondents and, using pre-constituted items based on ideologies discussed in the background chapters, measuring their attitudes to English, and to ECIL in Finnish primary education. However, as with all research methodologies, a survey questionnaire has its own limitations; the items are rather inflexible. With this in mind, the four qualitative components were added, and not delimited beforehand, to offer the respondents a slightly freer opportunity to voice their own beliefs and attitudes about English and Finnish children being educated through the medium of English. As the aim was to reach as many parents as possible and to generate data that would allow generalisation, freer interviews were not a valid option in this instance. Moreover, the data generated by the survey questionnaire did not address the dynamic nature of parents coming together and working as a community of practice to provide an impetus for the inception and development of ECIL programmes. To address this, the ethnography study was added, and is discussed below.

4.8   THE CASE KUOPIO HISTORICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

The reason for adding Case Kuopio was to provide a small-scale in-depth historical ethnography of one school-choice context to this study[67]. Context is an active part of the background (van Dijk 2008, p. x), and my aim is to elaborate on the dynamic construction of this particular context to provide more in-depth knowledge of how it developed as a social construct. When deciding whether or not to engage in a particular behaviour, people are usually not controlled by overpowering desires or unconscious motives, rather they are rational beings that make systematic use of the information available to them (Ajzen & Fischbein 1980, p. 5). The surveys conducted by Nikula and Marsh (1996), Lehti *et al.* (2006) and Kangasvieri *et al.* (2011) do not explicate exactly what guided the parental interest and what their involvement was, hence, I sought to add a component to this study that would be illustrative of specific parental activity in this context. Even after more than 20 years of development, CLIL remains a grassroots endeavour, and schools have the luxury of being able to offer the type of programme that suits local actors' needs best (Hüttner *et al.* 2013, p. 271). All ECIL programmes will differ depending on their municipality, history, and factors

---

[67] Small-scale because the survey constitutes the major part of the research. Seeking to do a larger ethnographic study, would result in something similar to Silja Rajander's (2010) work, and hence, has already been done.

such as availability of teachers, teachers' level of proficiency, the amount of time allocated to ECIL, assessment, and so on (Coyle *et al.* 2010).

In contrast to the more general data generated by the questionnaire, the ethnography provided more in-detail information about a specific local context, as one background against which the survey data could be set. The ethnographic study generates extra value for the reader in terms of elucidating a different dimension of ECIL; parents acting together as a community of practice. For example, it provides information specific to the gatekeeping process, thus elucidating the fourth theme discussed in Section 4.2, namely ECIL Programmes and Equality. Together, the two components of this monograph provide the reader with a multi-dimensional view of the phenomenon of ECIL in Finnish primary education.

"An ethnography is written representation of a culture" (Van Maanen 2011, p. 1) or selected aspects thereof. The cohesive task of the case study is the examination of people's lived experience in a specific time and context, relevant to the development and current situation of a long-standing ECIL programme, and making explicit the connections between the social, cultural and historical aspects (Ormston *et al.* 2014, pp. 13–22; Taavitsainen & Nikula 2008). If we consider this in terms of the who and what of school choice, while the results sections focus on the who, this section elaborates one of the 'whats'; one specific context model (see Figure 2.5). This context is particularly interesting because the school is a regular Finnish primary school and not, for example, an international school, nor has it, to my knowledge at the time of writing, been documented by anyone else. Case Kuopio is ethnography because it describes social agents active in a natural context, not one that I have created (Atkinson & Hammersley 2007, p. 3), linked with the broader context of ECIL in Finland. The data collection was largely unstructured, and involved what was available, supplemented by semi-structured interviews. Moreover, Case Kuopio tells my story. A range of data, both current and historical is used, and observations and participation come from my own roles in the process; mostly as a social actor right at the grassroots level, as a teacher and a mother, and also as a researcher.

I am, perhaps, better placed than most to know what has occurred over the years and from a variety of perspectives. My reason for coming to Finland was to work as a teacher at the English Kindergarten of Kuopio, which I did from 1990 to 1994, and was hence, one of the teachers involved in implementing the immersion programme. I later went to work at the University of Kuopio and to study language teaching and English with the Institute of Education (London) and Joensuu University. In 2002, I returned to the English Kindergarten and was one of the teachers that implemented the full-day pre-school programme. In 2006–2007, I developed the Kuopio Assessment Tool for English (KATE) as part of my studies with the University of Joensuu, in collaboration with colleagues both at the English Kindergarten and Rajala School. In 2007, I moved from the English Kindergarten to Rajala School to work with the bilingual stream classes there. I have been involved in assessments, developing the fixed curriculum and the English Literature curriculum, and implementing the appendix to the report card systems. Since 2014, I have also been involved in the KATE assessments for student enrolment. Moreover, my own two children attended the English Kindergarten (2004–2007) and Rajala School (2006–2013), and I have run various teacher training courses for teachers of foreign languages to young learners from all over Finland. I am an ECIL teacher and gatekeeper, and yet, I have also been an Enkku parent, but not eligible for the target population of this study. Given my intimate relationship with this context, I have much to be reflexive about concerning

my role in it and this study in general.

Reflexivity involves the researcher examining her position or positions within the research, since no researcher comes as a tabula rasa to the research situation, but rather comes with her own socio-historical-cultural identity, and a set of positions or statuses, and, thus, is never purely insider or outsider (Merton 1972, p. 22; Atkinson & Hammersley 2007, pp. 14–15). As such, it is important to consider this and how it might influence the interpretation of data. In view of the above, I am very much an insider to Case Kuopio, and indeed to the whole field of ECIL. Being an insider can be advantageous in that the researcher has a deeper understanding of the culture and context that is being studied, the interaction is not contrived, and there is often an existing relationship which can promote ease of confidence, although if this leads to a loss of objectivity, it can become a shortcoming (Unluer 2012, p. 1; Bonner & Tolhurst 2002).

Case Kuopio draws on previous studies that I have conducted concerning the English Kindergarten of Kuopio and Rajala School (Jalkanen 1999, 2007, 2009). Moreover, the data comprises informal semi-structured interviews with the kindergarten head teacher, and the two other kindergarten teachers in April 1999, the school principal, the native-speaker teacher, one English language teacher, and a group discussion with some of the class teachers at Rajala in May 1999; a 1992-newspaper article about the kindergarten's expansion (Sallinen 1992); various minutes and decisions by the City of Kuopio; and informal interviews in August and September 2016 with key actors in this context – a former kindergarten chairman, the kindergarten manager, the current kindergarten chairman, the former school principal, and the current school principal.

In 1999, to increase the reliability of my written texts, they were sent to the interviewees for their comments in accordance with the principles of respondent validation, in which research evidence is taken back to the participants for validation that the interpretation of the data is that which they intended (Lewis, Ritchie, Ormston & Morrell 2014, p. 358). In 2016, one of the interviews was conducted in Finnish and the other three were in English. The headings/questions that guided the informal semi-structured interviews are presented in Appendix Two. All of the interviews were audio-recorded. The recording of the Finnish interview was lost due to a technical error; but fortunately, I had made notes throughout the interview. A different recording device was used for the remaining three interviews, and these were transcribed. To increase the reliability of the case text, it was sent to all those who had participated. Again, respondent validation was used, and the interviewees were asked to read Case Kuopio carefully and, if necessary, to comment. The text was also sent to the Director of Education and the Basic Education Manager of the City of Kuopio for their comments. Minor errors were corrected.

I knew all but one of the interviewees rather well before the interviews, having worked with them in different capacities. Given the impersonal nature of what we were discussing, it is unlikely that they would have distorted the information in view of our continued relationships, and thus I feel that my insider status was not a shortcoming; it perhaps facilitated matters in that I was already aware of many of the matters that were raised. Nonetheless, I was aware at all times that I was not writing an auto-ethnography, and tried my best to represent the information as it was given to me, and not to impose my personal interpretation on it. It is at the discretion of the reader as to whether or not I have been successful in this.

4.9   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study adheres to all ethical principles as stipulated by the National Advisory Board on Research Ethics (NABoRE 2009), and the principles of autonomy, non-maleficence, beneficence, justice and fidelity. The subjects of this study are all in their majority. The study does not involve any intervention in the physical integrity of research subjects. Furthermore, the study does not expose research subjects to strong stimuli, nor is it expected that it would in any way cause any mental harm, long-term or otherwise. The study adheres to the principle of informed consent. The aim was not to create a register, and therefore, at no point were the names and contact information of any of the subjects made directly available to the researcher. For this reason, assenting to respond to the questionnaire was held as the indication of given consent to participate in the study.

The appropriate research permits were obtained from the schools and/or school offices. All data will be handled confidentially, protecting the identity and privacy of the respondents. Since the survey instrument questionnaire does concern indirect identifiers, such as year of birth, a data-file was made. At no time are the names of the participating schools mentioned. This is deliberate, and is done to protect the anonymity of the respondents. A school may have been identifiable by naming the town in which it was situated. To avoid this, the place of residence of the respondents (asked in Question Five of the survey instrument) was re-coded into the major regions of Finland[68], rather than left as the actual municipalities.

---

[68]   In accordance with Statistics Finland (Huomo & Väänänen 2013).

5   SURVEY FINDINGS AND RESULTS

5.1   THE SCHOOLS IN THE STUDY

Twenty-four schools from all over Finland consented to participate in this research. They are representative of all the major regions in mainland Finland (Helsinki-Uusimaa; Southern Finland, Western Finland, and Northern and Eastern Finland). The only major region that is not represented is Åland, number five.
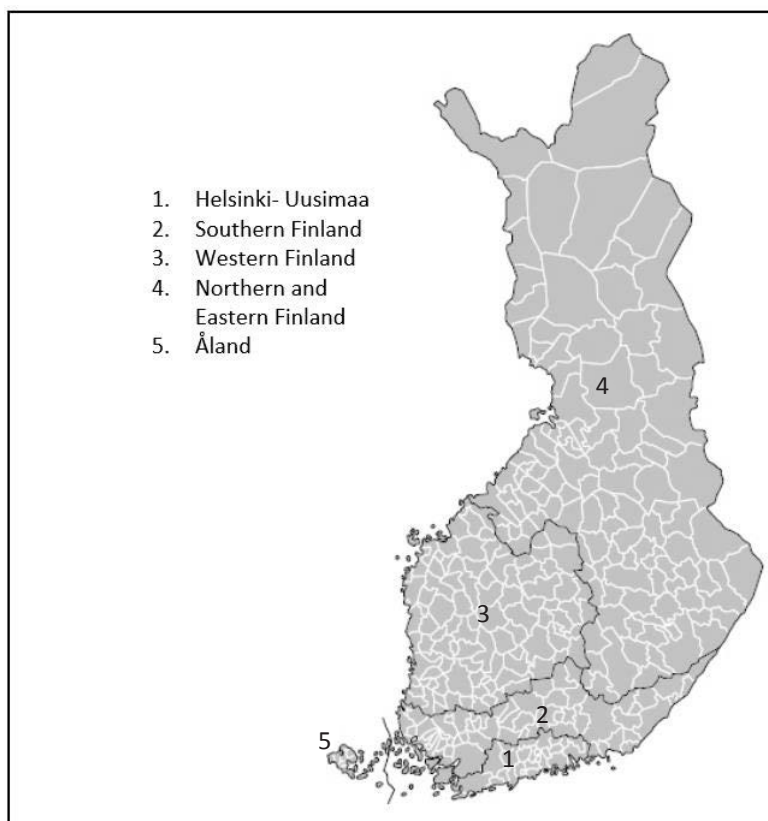
Figure 5.1. Major Regions in Finland (Huomo & Väänänen 2015)

Major regions were chosen because they constituted the regional unit that gave a better distribution of schools into groupings. A total of 39 schools were identified that offered a form of ECIL education, and of those 24 consented to participate in this survey. Table 5.1 presents the numbers of schools identified according to major region, and the number of participant schools per major region, along with the participant percentage for each major region.

Table 5.1. The Distribution of Identified and Participating Schools by Major Region

Major Region	No. of Schools Identified	No. of Schools that Participated	Participation Rate
Helsinki-Uusimaa	16	8	50%
Southern Finland	10	9	90%
Western Finland	6	2	33%
Northern and Eastern Finland	7	5	71%
Åland	0	0	0%
Total	39	24	NA

The best participation rate for schools was from Southern Finland, and the lowest from Western Finland. Reasons why some schools chose not to participate are given in Section 4.5. To put the major regions into perspective, in 2011, according to the statistics for mainland Finland, Helsinki-Uusimaa was the most densely populated major region in Finland with 170 residents per square kilometre, about ten times the amount for the whole country (17.8 residents/km²) (PSL 2012, p. 8). The Helsinki-Uusimaa region, as its name suggests comprises the capital city, Helsinki. It is also the region in which over a quarter of the population lives (HURC 2016). In second place came Southern Finland with 36.5 residents/km², then Western Finland with 23.4 residents/km² and lastly, Northern and Eastern Finland with 6.4 residents per square kilometre (PSL 2012, p. 8). Hence, Northern and Eastern Finland are rather well represented in terms of number of schools.

In terms of municipalities, the participant schools are all representative of urban municipalities. Of these 24 schools, the data from one school are incomplete. The school is still included in the study because parents of pupils at the school participated in the survey; it is only the background data about the school that is missing. All of the schools (including the non-respondent one) are run by their local municipality, and as such, are non-fee-paying. Furthermore, all of their funding comes from their local municipality. These schools are allocated the same funding as any other mainstream municipal school, and do not receive any extra funding for the enriched English-medium programmes that they provide. Sixteen of the schools are primary schools (*alakoulut*, in Finnish), separate from the lower secondary part, and seven are comprehensive schools that combine both the primary and lower secondary parts (*yhtenäiskoulut*). Two also mentioned that they were public schools, in the Finnish sense of not private. The principals were also asked about the type of enriched English-medium programmes in their schools and the type of curriculum in use. Principals were able to choose more than one option for each of these questions. Each item that the principals marked was calculated as one hit or data item, and a total of 29 hits was obtained for the type of programme, and 28 hits for type of curriculum. Figure 5.2 presents the valid percentages of frequencies.
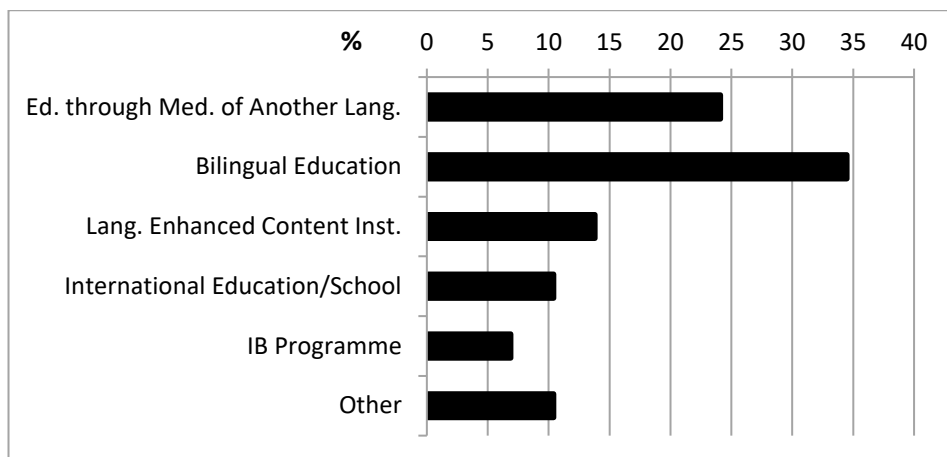
Figure 5.2. The Distribution of Types of Enriched English-medium Programmes in the Participating Schools (N=29)

For the type of enriched English-medium programme offered (Figure 5.2), the categories are: Education through the Medium of Another Language; Bilingual Education; Language Enhanced/Based Content Instruction; International Education/School; International Baccalaureate Programme; Other; and Missing. The category 'Other' includes: English is used in all subjects except Finnish; CLIL teaching (Specialised English classes); and Language Class Teaching (CLIL). It is clear that the majority of schools are providing either education through the medium of English (30% of the schools who responded) or Bilingual Education (44% of schools who responded) in which the two languages are Finnish and English. Three schools stated that they were an international school or had international education, while two stated that they had an International Baccalaureate programme. Four schools stated that they used Language Enhanced/Based Content Instruction.

For the type of curricula used, the majority of schools follow the Finnish National Core Curriculum (FNBE 2004) (91% of schools who responded), while only 9% (n=2) follow the International Baccalaureate Curricula (IBO 2007). In addition, five schools (22%) also stated that the enriched English-medium classes also have their own local curriculum, either completely or in part. These curricula differ to the mainstream curriculum in that they may be concerned with immersion or CLIL, or the children being required to take a further language (A2). None of the schools make any use of the other curricula.

From these results, one can see that the schools, with the exception of those who use the IB programmes, are just like regular mainstream Finnish schools except that some, or most, of the teaching is done through the medium of English. The same curriculum is followed, although in some instances this has been adapted to consider the specialised nature of the programme. The IB schools only differ in the curriculum that they follow and the type of teaching associated with that. As all of the schools are municipal schools, they are subject to the same rules and regulations from the Finnish National Board of Education and the Finnish Ministry of Education. Their pupils also have the same rights to the three-stage support system as their peers. Most importantly, parents do not have to pay to have their children educated through the

medium of English. In this respect, the programmes are certainly not elitist. When one considers access to the programmes, however, the schools can only offer a limited number of places – they are working to the same constraints on finance and resources as all of the other schools – and therefore, it is certain that there are not enough places for all who would desire them. This was mentioned by some of the parent respondents.

5.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE TARGET POPULATION

The primary inclusion criteria to the target population were Finnish nationality and Finnish as a mother tongue. The mean age of the parents, at the time of response, was 43 years (n=811) for both groups[69]. Respondents were asked to give their year of birth, which was then recoded into a new SPSS variable using strata (see Table 5.1), bringing it into line with that used in the Leppänen *et al.* 2011 survey. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the distribution of ages between the Enkku and the Non-Enkku Groups. There was no significant difference in scores for Enkku (M = 42.88, SD = 5.67) and Non-Enkku (M = 42.68, SD = 6.26), t (513) = .47, p = .64, hence the distribution of ages is similar between the groups. The percentages and frequencies for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups are presented in Table 5.2.

If the age distribution of the population of this survey is compared with that of Leppänen *et al.* 2011 (p. 41), what we see, unsurprisingly, is that this population is representative of parents with school-age children – 99% of the target population are aged 25 to 64 years, compared with 72.6% in the National Survey. In this survey, there are no respondents that are under 25 years of age, while the National Survey had 15.5% that were between 15 and 24 years. There is only one representative in each of the Enkku and Non-Enkku groups who is 65 years or older, but the National Survey had 11.9% of respondents in their 65 to 79 age group.

Table 5.2. The Age Distribution among the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Age in Years	Enkku Frequency	Enkku Percent	Non-Enkku Frequency	Non-Enkku Percent
24 or Younger	0	0	0	0
25–34	25	4.7	21	7.6
35–44	290	54.3	143	51.6
45–54	207	38.8	104	37.5
55–64	11	2.1	8	2.9
65 or Older	1	0.2	1	0.4
Information Missing	1		0	
Total	535	100	277	100

[69] To provide a point of comparison with the total population of Finland, in December 2015, the average age of a male in Finland was 40.9 years, and a female, 43.6 years (OSF 2016c). In this study, the average age of male respondents was 44.7 years, and the average for female respondents was 42.3 years.

The National Survey respondents were approximately 50% male and female equally. In this survey, more than three quarters of all respondents were female. Almost 77% of the respondents in the target Enkku Group were female. The female response rate was marginally greater in the Non-Enkku Group (78% versus 77%). Conversely the percentage of male respondents was marginally greater in the Enkku Group (23% versus 22%). The response rate was 99.3% for the Enkku Group and 99.6% for the Non-Enkku Group. Table 5.3 presents the distributions for gender for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups.

Table 5.3. The Gender Distribution among the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Gender	Enkku Frequency	Enkku Percent	Non-Enkku Frequency	Non-Enkku Percent
Female	409	76.4	216	78.0
Male	122	22.8	60	21.6
Information Missing	4	0.7	1	0.4
Total	535	100	277	100

Respondents were also asked to state their marital status. A greater percentage of Enkku respondents were married or cohabiting (87.1% versus 79.4%), while a greater percentage of Non-Enkku parents were divorced (14.1% versus 8.8%). The distributions are presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4. The Distribution of Marital Status among the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Status	Enkku Frequency	Enkku Percent	Non-Enkku Frequency	Non-Enkku Percent
Single	17	3.2	14	5.1
Married	408	76.3	184	66.4
Cohabiting	58	10.8	36	13.0
Divorced	47	8.8	39	14.1
Widowed	2	0.4	1	0.4
Other	3	0.6	3	1.1
Total	535	100	277	100

In Question Five of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to give the municipality in which they lived. The only region that is not represented in this study is Åland. Schools with enriched English-medium programmes are predominantly (n=26) in the southern part of Finland (Helsinki-Uusimaa and Southern Finland). Table 5.5 presents the distributions for the region of residence for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups.

Table 5.5. The Distribution of Region of Residence among the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Region	Enkku Frequency	Enkku Percent	Non-Enkku Frequency	Non-Enkku Percent
Helsinki-Uusimaa	145	27.1	120	43.3
Southern Finland	171	32.0	92	33.2
Western Finland	121	22.6	28	10.1
Northern and Eastern Finland	98	18.3	37	13.4
Åland	0	0	0	0
Total	535	100	277	100

The greatest percentage of Enkku respondents came from Southern Finland, while the greatest percentage of Non-Enkku respondents was from Helsinki-Uusimaa. Nevertheless, both of these regions are in the south of Finland. Almost 76% of Non-Enkku respondents are from densely populated regions in the south of Finland. The Enkku responses are more spread out, but mostly from the regions in the south of Finland (59%). This reflects the greater interest in and relevance of the topic of study for the Enkku Group.

The questionnaire also asked respondents to state in which type of environment they had spent their childhood and youth. Table 5.6 presents the distributions for the type of place in which respondents spent their childhood for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups.

Table 5.6. The Distribution of Type of Place Childhood was Spent among the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Childhood Residence	Enkku Frequency	Enkku Percent	Non-Enkku Frequency	Non-Enkku Percent
The Greater Helsinki Area	73	13.7	42	15.2
City of Over 100 000 inhabitants	76	14.3	25	9.0
City of 50 000–100 000 inhabitants	95	17.9	52	18.8
Smaller Town or City	132	24.8	83	30.0
Rural Town or Village	90	16.9	42	15.2
Other Rural Area	61	11.5	30	10.8
Somewhere Else	5	0.9	3	1.1
Information Missing	3	0	0	
Total	535	100	277	100

More Enkku respondents have lived in several places, but with regard to residences abroad, the groups are the same. This survey instrument used the same categories

as the National Survey questionnaire, but Leppänen and colleagues reported the results using different categories. To compare the two populations, 42.8% of National Survey respondents live in a city of over 50,000 inhabitants, compared with 45% in this study; 21.5% in a city of less than 50,000 compared with 26.5% in this study; 17% of their respondents lived in a rural centre compared with 16.3%; and 18.7% in the countryside, compared with 11.2%.

Less than one per cent of all respondents (5 Enkku/3 Non-Enkku) used option seven, the 'Somewhere Else' category as their only place of residence. Of these responses, half concerned a residence somewhere else in Finland or a different sized town or city in Finland (2 Enkku/ 2 Non-Enkku), while the other half referred to a residence or multiple residences abroad (3 Enkku/1 Non-Enkku). In addition, however, the option of 'Somewhere Else' was also used by 43 other respondents (26 Enkku/17 Non-Enkku) who had already stated the place in which they had spent most of their childhood, as an additional place of residence. Of these respondents, 77% stated a different place or different sized town in Finland (21 Enkku / 1 Non-Enkku), while 23% referred to a residence or multiple residences abroad (5 Enkku / 5 Non-Enkku).

5.3   LANGUAGES IN THE LIVES OF THE RESPONDENTS

Questions Seven to Thirteen were included in the questionnaire to ascertain the role of languages in the lives of the respondents. Respondents were asked to state their mother tongue in Question Seven. They were further asked about the mother tongues of family members. Question Nine required the respondents to state whether they felt that they were monolingual, bilingual, or plurilingual. Respondents who rated themselves as bilingual or plurilingual were further invited to comment on factors that had contributed to this in Question Ten. Questions 12 and 13 inquired into time the respondents had spent abroad. Question 11 asked specifically about the language in which respondents had received their basic education.

5.3.1 The Mother Tongue/Tongues of Family Members

In the Enkku Group, 87% reported that all their family members had the same mother tongue. In the Non-Enkku Group, the figure was 93 per cent. The corresponding figure from the findings of Leppänen *et al.* (2009a, 2011, p. 47) was 92 per cent. The response rate was 99.1% (Enkku Group) and 99.7% (Non-Enkku Group). Tables 5.7 and 5.8 show the breakdown of Life Partners and Children with a mother tongue other than Finnish for both groups.

Table 5.7. Life Partners with a Mother Tongue Other than Finnish in the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Life Partner's Mother Tongue	Enkku Frequency	Enkku Percent	Non-Enkku Frequency	Non-Enkku Percent
Albanian	1	2.2	0	0
Arabic	5	10.9	0	0
Chinese	2	4.4	0	0
English	21	45.7	1	14.3
French	1	2.2	0	0
German	0	0	2	28.6
Greek	1	2.2	0	0
Igbo	1	2.2	0	0
Japanese	1	2.2	0	0
Kurdish/Turkish	0	0	1	14.3
Marathi	1	2.2	0	0
Polish	1	2.2	0	0
Portuguese	0	0	1	14.3
Russian	3	6.5	1	14.3
Spanish	2	4.4	0	0
Swedish	1	2.2	1	14.3
Tagalog	1	2.2	0	0
Thai	1	2.2	0	0
Turkish	1	2.2	0	0
Vietnamese	1	2.2	0	0
Visayan	1	2.2	0	0

English is the most represented language in the Enkku Group (46%), but not in the Non-Enkku Group. The stated family members were grouped into five categories: Life Partner, Children, Parents, Siblings and Unspecified. The category 'Life Partner' comprises spouse, ex-spouse, partner, and ex-partner. The category 'Children' comprises the respondent's own children and those of his or her life partner. 'Siblings' comprises full, step or half siblings.[70] Twelve per cent of the Enkku respondents stated that not all family members had the same mother tongue. For the Non-Enkku respondents, the figure is six per cent.

[70] To allow for comparison, each component has been calculated as a percentage of the cases for its particular group.

Table 5.8. Children with a Mother Tongue Other than Finnish in the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Children's Mother Tongue	Enkku Frequency	Enkku Percent	Non-Enkku Frequency	Non-Enkku Percent
Arabic	1	3.7	0	0
English	16	59.3	0	0
Bilingual Finnish/ English	5	18.5	1	33.3
Chinese	1	3.7	0	0
German	0	0	1	33.3
Bilingual Finnish/ Portuguese	0	0	1	33.3
Bilingual Finnish/ Russian	1	3.7	0	0
Spanish	1	3.7	0	0
Swedish	1	3.7	0	0
Bilingual Finnish/ Swedish	1	3.7	0	0
Total	27	100	3	100

Again, English is the most represented languages for the Enkku Group, but not for the Non-Enkku Group. With regard to parents and siblings, two respondents/cases in the Enkku group reported having a parent whose mother tongue was other than Finnish (Swedish and Spanish), and similarly, four respondents/cases in the Non-Enkku group reporting having a parent whose mother tongue was other than Finnish (English x 2, Swedish, and Tigrigna). The category of 'unspecified family member with a mother tongue other than Finnish' generated five cases in the Enkku group, all English. For the Non-Enkku group, this category generated five cases: English x 2, Tagalog, Russian, and Swedish.

5.3.2 Monolingual, Bilingual, or Plurilingual

In Question Nine, respondents were asked to state whether they felt that they were monolingual, bilingual or plurilingual. No guidelines were given, and this was left to the individual discretion of the respondent. In order to retain the possibility for comparison with the National Survey (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 48), this question was also in two parts. Those who felt they were bilingual or plurilingual were asked, in Question 10, to state what factors had had an impact on how they saw themselves. The same categories were given to choose from: Parents, Relationship, Residence Abroad, Education, Work, Hobbies, Friends, Travel or Other. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 present the distributions for Questions Nine and Ten.

It is apparent from Figure 5.3 below that the Non-Enkku Group's results closely follow those of the National Survey. Of the Enkku group respondents who answered this question, 70% stated that they were monolingual, 20% bilingual, and 10% plurilingual. For the Non-Enkku group respondents who answered this question, 83% stated they were monolingual, 10% bilingual, 7% plurilingual. Considerably less

members of the Enkku Group rate themselves as monolingual (70% as compared with the Non-Enkku 83% and the National Survey 84%). Twice as many members of the Enkku Group consider themselves to be bilingual. Slightly more members of the Enkku group feel that they are plurilingual than the other groups (10% compared with the Non-Enkku 10% and the National Survey 7 per cent). The response rate was 99.4% for the Enkku Group and 99.6% for the Non-Enkku Group.
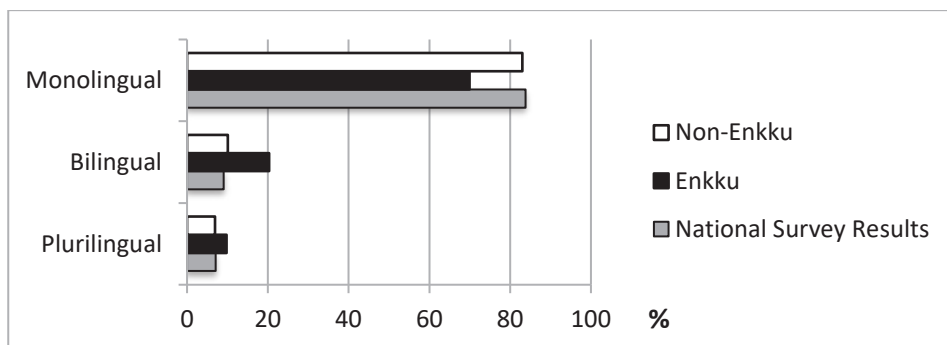
Figure 5.3. The Distribution of Monolinguals, Bilinguals, and Plurilinguals among the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups, Compared with the National Survey Results

Given the general propensity of Finns to claim monolingualism, which is indicative of modernist language ideologies, this was investigated further. A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and how respondents rated themselves lingually (either monolingual or bi-/plurilingual), X^2 (1, n = 808) = 15.55, p < .0001, phi = +.14, with the Enkku Group respondents more likely than the Non-Enkku Group respondents to claim to be bi-/plurilingual. The effect size, however, was small. Hence, despite the large percentage of Enkku respondents who state that they are monolingual, this group is still significantly more likely than the Non-Enkku Group to state that they are bi-/multilingual.

This was further investigated to see if there were any differences between the genders in how the respondents rated themselves lingually. Any respondents with unspecified gender (3 Enkku and 1 Non-Enkku) were excluded from these tests. A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between gender in the Enkku Group and how respondents rated themselves lingually (either monolingual or bi-/plurilingual), X^2 (1, n = 528) = 3.31, p = .07, phi = -.08. Conversely, a Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the gender in the Non-Enkku Group and how respondents rated themselves lingually (either monolingual or bi-/plurilingual), X^2 (1, n = 275) = 4.14, p = .04, phi = -.13, with male respondents in the Non-Enkku Group significantly more likely to say they were bi-/plurilingual than female Non-Enkku Group members.

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed to assess the relationship between the respondents' collective determination of their 'lingualism', so not divided by group, and school choice, how often they travel abroad, and to their having spent a 3-month residence abroad. There was a negative correlation

between how respondents rate their lingualism and school choice, *r* = -.119, which is also significant at *p* = .001, hence choice of school does not predict how respondents rated their lingualism. There was also a significant, negative correlation between how respondents rate their lingualism and how often they travel abroad, *r* = -.169, *p* < .001, and to their having spent a 3-month residence abroad (outside Finland), *r* = -.260, *p* < .001. This tells us that increases in either travel abroad or residence abroad cannot predict increases in how respondents rate their lingualism. Conversely, there is a significant, positive correlation between respondents' determination of their 'lingualism' and whether or not all members of the family have the same mother tongue, with a coefficient of *r* = .310, which is also significant at *p* < .001. Hence, a range of mother tongues within a family was related with increased lingualism.

Bilinguals and plurilinguals should have moved on to Question 10 to state factors that had affected their being bilingual or plurilingual. The percentages are presented in Figure 5.4.
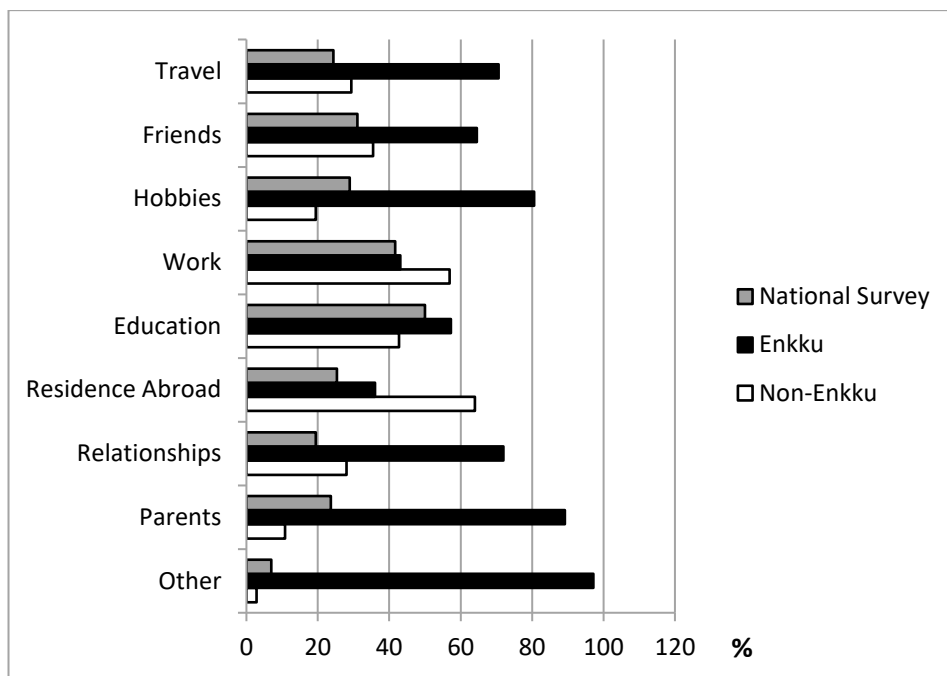
Figure 5.4. The Distribution of Factors Linked to Respondents' Bilingualism or Plurilingualism in the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups, Compared with the National Survey Results

Approximately 26% of the total respondents responded to this question. The responses are presented as percentages of this (n = 211/212), and contrasted with the percentage results of the National Survey (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 48). The percentage of national survey respondents was approximately 16% (n ≈ 239).

If we compare the groups, Enkku Group respondents have the largest percentage of responses in all categories, except for work and residence abroad, which are the two categories that generated the greatest percentage for the Non-Enkku Group. 'Parents'

have been an important factor in the Enkku Group, with almost four times as many stating this as respondents in the National Survey. 'Other' was the largest category for the Enkku Group respondents within this group, and comprised children's bilingualism or attendance at an English kindergarten and English class, child's birth in an English-speaking country, other family relationships, study abroad, own work, or love of languages for the Enkku Group. For the Non-Enkku Group respondents, these comprised other family relationships or work. Thus, the Enkku respondents who rate themselves as either bilingual or multilingual generally have more factors that have contributed to the type of lingualism than either the Non-Enkku or National Survey respondents.

5.3.3 The Language of Basic Education

In Question 11, respondents were requested to state the language or languages in which they had received their basic education. The choices were English, Finnish, Swedish, Sámi/Lapp, Estonian, Russian, or Other. These choices are different to those in the National Survey. They were chosen here because they are the languages of most interest, in that they represent the national languages of Finland and those of significant linguistic minorities in Finland. Respondents were able to choose one or more languages. Question 11 generated 574 response hits for the Enkku Group and 301 response hits for the Non-Enkku Group. The distributions of the frequencies for both groups are presented as percentages of the respective total hits in Figure 5.5, which shows that there is no great difference between the two groups, and the majority of the respondents have had their basic education in their mother tongue, Finnish (91% Enkku / 90% Non-Enkku). The corresponding figure for Finnish in the National Survey was over 98% (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 49).
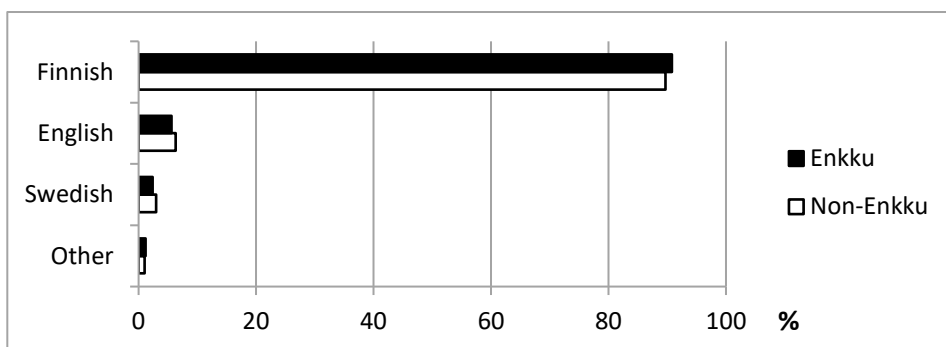
Figure 5.5. The Distribution of Language of Basic Education for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

None of the respondents had had any basic education in Sámi/Lapp, Estonian, or Russian. The Non-Enkku's percentage of hits for being educated through English appears marginally greater than that of the Enkku (6.31% versus 5.6%). The same applies for Swedish (2.99% versus 2.4%). The Enkku Group generated 7 hits for the 'Other' category. The other languages comprised French (4 hits) and German (3 hits).

Correspondingly, the Non-Enkku Group generated 3 hits for this category: German (2 hits) and Italian (1 hit). Therefore, there is no statistical evidence to suggest that parents want to have their children educated in English because they themselves were educated through the medium of English.

5.3.4 Frequency of Travel

Question 12 asked respondents to state how often they travel abroad, whether for business or leisure. This was done using the same categories as for the National Survey. The purpose was to explore the respondents' internationalism based on contact with foreign countries. Figure 5.6 shows that the Enkku Group respondents (52%) travel several times a year more often than the Non-Enkku Group (39%) or the National Survey Results (33 per cent). Moreover, a greater number of members of the Enkku Group travel at least once a month (9%) than the Non-Enkku Group (5%) or the National Survey Results (6 per cent). Furthermore, the Enkku Group members are less likely never to have travelled (0.4%) compared with the Non-Enkku Group (3.6%) and the National Survey Result (6.2 per cent).
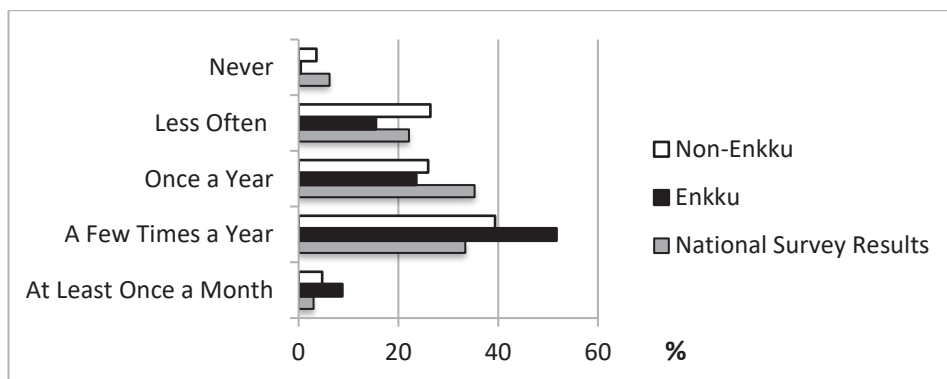
Figure 5.6. The Distribution of Frequency of Travel for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups, Compared with the National Survey Results

To explore how much travel might be said to influence the choice of ECIL, a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients was computed to assess the relationship between the respondents' collective determination of their frequency of travel, not divided by group, and school choice. There was slight positive correlation, with a coefficient of $r = .193$, which is also significant at $p < .001$. Hence, increases in the frequency of travel can be slightly related to choice of school.

Finally, Question 13 asked the respondents if they had spent a period of three continual months abroad or not. This question was adapted from the National Survey, but it was not relevant to gather data on which countries and reason for the stay. Of the Enkku Group, 59% (n = 314) responded that they had spent a continuous period of three months abroad, as compared with 32% (n = 87) of the Non-Enkku Group. The response rate was 99.8% for the Enkku Group and 99.6% for the Non-Enkku Group.

The corresponding figure for the National Survey was 88%, (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 51). A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients was computed to assess the relationship between the respondents' collective determination of having spent a 3-month residence abroad (outside Finland) and school choice. There was slight positive correlation, with a coefficient of $r = .259$, which is also significant at $p < .001$. Hence, increases in a residence abroad of three or more consecutive months can also be slightly related to choice of school.

5.4 SUMMARY OF BACKGROUND AND LANGUAGE FACTORS

The mean age (43 years) and the distribution of ages are similar between the Enkku and the Non-Enkku Groups, and for both groups the majority of respondents were female. The distribution of marital status was different, with more Enkku Group respondents either married or cohabiting. With regard to how urban the groups may be said to be, there was no major difference between the groups concerning their place of childhood residence. The majority of respondents in both groups are from the south of Finland, which has the greater density of ECIL schools, but the majority of Enkku respondents were from the region Southern Finland, while the greatest number of Non-Enkku respondents were from Helsinki-Uusimaa (see Figure 5.1). Both regions can be considered metropolitan in terms of the density of population and proximity to the capital city, suggesting that the majority of respondents in each group are urban, with an urban lifestyle.

In terms of how international the groups may be said to be, Enkku Group rated themselves slightly more as bilingual or multilingual and this was affected by having family members with first languages other than Finnish. Language of education was similar between the groups with a slightly greater percentage of Non-Enkku respondents reporting that they were educated in English (6.3% versus 5.6%). The Enkku Group also travel more than the Non-Enkku Group and are more likely to have travelled. Moreover, the percentage of Enkku Group respondents who had spent a period of three months or more abroad was almost twice that of the Non-Enkku Group respondents. Hence, the Enkku Group tends to be more international than the Non-Enkku Group based on these variables. Moreover, increased travel and a residence abroad of at least three months are slightly related to choice of ECIL.

5.5 HOW THE RESPONDENTS RELATE TO ENGLISH

Questions 14 to 21 were concerned with the respondents' attitudes to English and to issues concerning Finnish children being educated through the medium of English. This section comprises all six attitudinal variables: **Question 14,** *(1) Personal Importance of English;* **Question 16,** *(2) Significance of English to Finns;* **Question 17,** *(3) The Idea of English-medium Education as Privileged;* **Question 18,** *(4) Attitude to Finnish Children Being Educated through the Medium of English;* **Question 20,** *(5) Non-Enkku Parents in terms of Basic Enkku Values;* and **Question 21,** *(6) Enkku Parents in terms of Intense Enkku values*.

Questions 15 and 19 were qualitative components in which the respondents were asked to list positive or negative factors that concerned their personal relationship with English and with the idea of Finnish children being educated through the medium of

English. In this way, the respondents could themselves list their salient beliefs about these two issues in their own words. These reflect how the respondents in each group construct English. The operationalisation of all of these variables is discussed in detail in Section 4.4.3.

5.5.1 Personal Importance of English

Question 14 asked the respondents to rate how important English is to them. The question was formed as a statement "English is personally important to me" and the respondents had to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with this statement. The options were: Totally Disagree; Disagree Somewhat; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree Somewhat; Totally Agree. The National Survey question that this was based on was worded differently, "How important is English to you personally?" (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 65). Nevertheless, the categories (very important, moderately important, no opinion, not very important, not important at all) are still comparable, hence their results were included in Figure 5.7 for comparison. A greater number of Enkku respondents totally agree with this statement (67%) than Non-Enkku respondents (52%). The category of Agree Somewhat generated a 23% response from the Enkku Group, compared with 34% in the Non-Enkku Group. The percentages for Totally disagree are identical between the groups (3.2%). The percentages for Neither Disagree nor Agree and Disagree Somewhat are slightly higher in the Non-Enkku Group. The response rate was 99.6% for the Enkku Group and 100% for the Non-Enkku Group. The distribution of percentages is presented in Figure 5.7.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare attitudes to the personal importance of English in the Enkku and Non-Enkku Group. A significant difference in attitude was observed, t (808) = 3.15, p = .002, with those in the Enkku group holding more positive attitudes (M = 4.49, SD = 0.93) than those in the Non-Enkku group (M = 4.27, SD = 0.99). The calculated effect size was small, Cohen's d = 0.23, Effect-size r = 0.11, suggesting low practical significance. Hence, the significant p, could have been affected by the size of the sample, and English is important to both groups, but slightly more important to the Enkku Group.
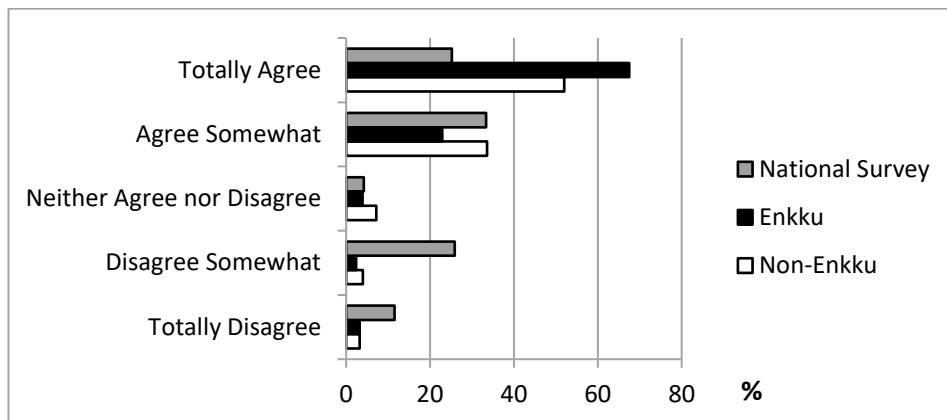
Figure 5.7. The Distribution of Personal Importance of English between the Enkku and the Non-Enkku Groups, Compared with the National Survey Results

What we also see when we compare the results with those of the National Survey is that for both the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups, respondents hold English as very important more than the National Survey respondents, Finns in general.

5.5.2 Salient Beliefs about English

For Question 15 respondents were asked to list up to six factors in their own words that, in their opinion, were concerned with how they related to English personally. They were also asked to mark if the factor was positive or negative in how they related it with English. Each respondent could list a total of six factors, giving a potential maximum of 4872 responses for this item. The total number of actual responses generated by the item was 2474 (1745 Enkku and 729 Non-Enkku), giving a response rate of 51% of the total possible number of responses. There were 102 completely empty responses: 48 Enkku parents and 54 Non-Enkku parents. Removing the empty responses from the total, 710 respondents answered this component: 487 Enkku respondents as compared with 223 Non-Enkku respondents. Table 5.9 presents the distribution of the responses for the respondent groups between the six possible factors by actual response. Table 5.10 presents the distribution of responses by theme for Question 15, also shown as percentages of female and male responses. Figure 5.8 presents the distribution of the number of factors in respondents' responses as a percentage of the total number of respondents for each group.

Table 5.9. The Distribution of Responses to Question 15 between the Six Possible Factors as Frequencies (%) of Actual Responses

	Enkku Group	Non-Enkku Group	TOTAL
One Factor	487 (27.9%)	223 (30.6%)	710 (28.7%)
Two Factors	448 (25.7%)	190 (26.1%)	638 (25.8%)
Three Factors	366 (21%)	148 (20.3%)	514 (20.8%)
Four Factors	240 (13.8%)	92 (12.6%)	332 (13.4%)
Five Factors	132 (7.6%)	48 (6.6%)	180 (7.3%)
Six Factors	72 (4.1%)	28 (3.8%)	100 (4%)
TOTAL	1745 (100%)	729 (100%)	2474 (100%)

Table 5.10. The Distribution of Responses by Theme for Question 15

THEME	Number of Enkku Responses	% of Responses Female (F), Male (M), or Unspecified (?)	Enkku Responses as a % of the Total Enkku Responses	Number of Non-Enkku Responses	% of Responses Female (F) or Male (M)	Non-Enkku Responses as a % of the Total Non-Enkku Responses
1. English is the international language of communication	307	F = 80, M =20	17.6	143	F = 78 M =22	19.6
2. English is a prominent language in the work domain	190	F = 72, M = 27, ? = 1	10.9	86	F = 72 M = 28	11.8
3. English facilitates a wider/better range of knowledge	176	F = 76, M = 24	10.1	86	F = 76 M = 24	11.8
4. Negative affective beliefs about English	170	F = 76, M = 23.5, ? = 0.5	9.7	63	F = 89 M = 11	8.6
5. English is a language for socialising and networking	143	F = 81, M = 18, ? = 1	8.2	44	F = 75 M = 25	6.0
6. Positive affective beliefs about English	128	F = 87.5, M = 12, ? = 0.5	7.3	63	F = 87 M = 13	8.6
7. English is a language that brings benefits and opportunities	113	F = 80, M = 20	6.5	25	F = 80 M = 20	3.4
8. English facilitates a wider worldview	95	F = 85, M = 15	5.4	25	F = 84 M = 16	3.4
9. English is the language of popular culture in Finland	91	F = 65, M = 34, ? = 1	5.2	57	F = 81 M = 19	7.8
10. English facilitates travel in many/most countries	83	F = 77, M = 23	4.8	56	F = 79 M = 21	7.7
11. English is linked to one's children	67	F = 82, M = 16, ? = 2	3.8	12	F = 92 M = 8	1.7
12. English facilitates wider cultural awareness	66	F = 86, M = 14	3.8	21	F = 67 M = 33	2.9
13. Family connection with English	47	F = 81, M = 19	2.7	18	F = 89 M = 11	2.5
14. English carries meaning for me through a residence abroad	35	F = 89, M = 11	2.0	6	F = 67 M = 33	0.8
15. English may be detrimental to Finnish	17	F = 94, M = 6	1.0	9	F = 56 M = 44	1.2
16. English is taking over from other languages and this is not good	17	F = 77, M = 23	1.0	15	F = 60 M = 40	2.1
TOTAL	1745	NA	100	729	NA	100
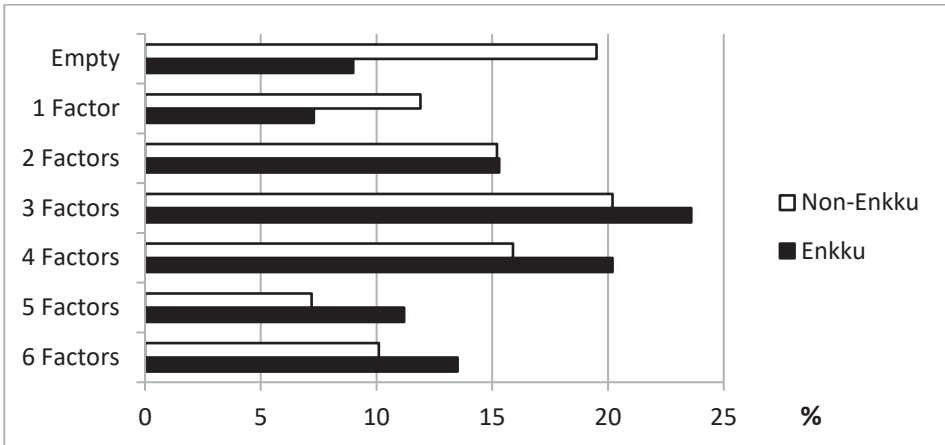
Figure 5.8. Response Distribution in Terms of Number of Factors for Question 15 for Total Response

The Non-Enkku Group had considerably the highest percentage of non-response. The majority in each group have responded to Question 15 by listing three factors, while the Enkku Group generated the least number of 1-factor responses. A surprisingly good percentage in each group have responded by listing five or six factors. The respondents were also asked to rate their factors as positive or negative, the reason for this was to facilitate the understanding of the direction of one word responses. The majority of responses for both groups were positive (in total 87%), which shows that, in general, the respondents see English in a favourable light irrespective of group. The negative responses (13%) were largely concerned with own negative experiences concerning own English language learning in terms of own language skills and experiences of English language teaching at school. Less than 1% of the responses were such that the respondent had not marked it with either a plus or a minus.
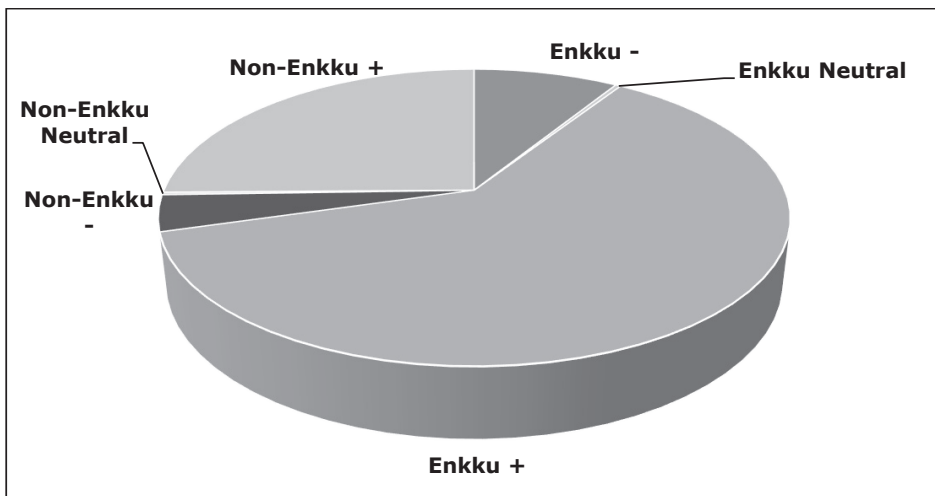
Figure 5.9. Breakdown of the Responses to Question 15 by Group as Percentages in Terms of Positive, Negative, or Neutral

If language ideologies are representative of how a specific group perceives language and discourse, and how they construct the language based on their particular social experience (Kroskrity 2010, pp. 195–199), it is imperative to examine how the respondents in this particular context construct English. The responses were analysed thematically into codes, and then collated into themes representative of different types of salient beliefs associated with English (these are discussed in more detail in Chapter Six). The responses were coded into 56 codes, which were then grouped into 16 different themes, each representing a salient or axiomatic belief[71] were generated from the data concerning how respondents construct English. The themes are presented in more detail below. Respondent quotations are in Finnish, verbatim from the data, followed by my translation into English. Hence, any spelling mistakes or punctuation errors in the Finnish version are the respondents' and not mine.

1. English is the international language of communication
   Primarily, English is held as a widespread general language of communication globally. It is the language that respondents believe that one needs in order to communicate with people from all over the world. One can manage abroad; understand and be understood. English is also seen as a language that is very prevalent in Finland; it is everywhere and one can encounter it on an almost daily basis. English is also a means to bridge gaps in communication when information is not available in the mother tongue, especially with regard to instructions and manuals.

   Enkku respondent: "*Englantia kuulee kaikkialla*" [*You hear English everywhere*.]

   Non-Enkku respondent: "*Hyvä yleiskieli: käytössä useissa maissa*" [*A good general language: used in many countries*.]

   A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English is the international language of communication, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 1.28, p = .26, phi = +.02. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Non-Enkku Group reported this more often than the Enkku Group.

2. English is a prominent language in the work domain
   For many of the respondents, English is a major language in their places of work. In some cases, English is the main language and is used most of the time, for others it is used occasionally; in meetings, for example.

   Enkku Respondent: "*Suureksi osaksi työssäni käyttämä kieli*" [*The language I use at work most of the time.*]

   Non-Enkku Respondent: "*Käytän työssäni englantia*" [*I use English at work.*]

---

[71] Salient and axiomatic beliefs are held as synonymous. See Section 4.4.3.

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English is a prominent language in the work domain, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = .34, p = .56, phi = +.01. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Non-Enkku Group reported this more often than the Enkku Group.

Given that many respondents stated that they used English at work on a regular basis, coupled with the high monolingual response, this belief was further investigated to see if these were the respondents who had rated themselves as bilingual or plurilingual in Question Nine. This was not the case, as Table 5.11 shows. The table presents the frequencies by gender of respondents who listed this as one of their salient beliefs and the percentage in brackets is that of total Enkku (n = 186) or Non-Enkku (n = 83) respondents who listed this as one of their salient beliefs.

Table 5.11. The Lingualism of Respondents Who Believe that English is Prominent in the Work Domain by Gender

	Enkku Female %	Enkku Male %	Enkku Unspecified %	Non-Enkku Female %	Non-Enkku Male %	Total No. of Respondents
Monolingual	49.5	18.3	1.1	59.1	24.1	197
Bilingual	14.5	7.0	-	7.2	3.6	49
Plurilingual	7.0	2.1	-	4.8	1.2	22
Missing	0.5	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL		100		100		269

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and stated lingualism for the belief that English is a prominent language in the work domain, X^2 (1, n = 268) = 5.72, p = .02, phi = +.15, with the Enkku Group respondents more likely to state that they were bi-/plurilingual than the Non-Enkku Group respondents. Despite this, the majority in both groups still rated themselves as monolingual.

3. <u>English facilitates a wider/better range of knowledge</u>
   This belief is constructed as English in terms of literature and articles, media, and as the language of computers and information technology, research, and study. In more detail, this concerns reading books in English, scientific articles and study material in English, access to knowledge and information through the media in English and through the Internet, social media and other computer functions.

   Enkku Respondent: "*Pystyn seuraaman englanninkielisiä tiedotteita* (*lehdet, tv, www, yms*) [*I can follow English news releases* (*newspapers, television, www, etc.*)]

   Non-Enkku Respondent: "*Seuraan jonkin verran kansainvälisiä keskustelufoorumeita ja hankin muuta englanninkielistä informaatiota netistä*" [*I follow international discussion forums to some extent and get other English information from the Net*]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English facilitates a wider or better range of knowledge, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 1.41, p = .24, phi = +.03. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Non-Enkku Group reported this more often than the Enkku Group.

4. <u>Negative affective beliefs about English</u>
These were beliefs that respondents stated about English linked with their own experiences of the language in terms of negative aspects on how they perceived their education concerning English, their own English proficiency, ease of learning the language and so on.

> Enkku Respondent: "*olisi ollut hyvä jos jo koulussa olisi kiinnitetty enemmän huomiota oikeaoppiseen ääntämiseen*" [*It would have been good if they had paid more attention to correct pronunciation already at school*]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: "*jännitän puhua puhelimessa englanniksi*" [*I'm nervous about speaking in English on the phone*]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and holding negative beliefs about English, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = .61, p = .44, phi = -.02. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Enkku Group reported this more often than the Non-Enkku Group.

5. <u>English is a language for socialising and networking</u>
English is constructed as a means of making and maintaining connections with friends, and as something used in one's spare time for socializing with foreigners, both locally and internationally. This belief supports some of the previous findings discussed in Section 3.1, that English is very much in use in social domains in Finland, and is present as a grassroots language that Finns use to construct their own identities and maintain relationships.

> Enkku Respondent: "*Monien ystävien kanssa yhteinen kieli*" [*A common language with many friends.*]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: "*Sosiaalisten suhteiden mahdollistaja*" [*Enables social relationships*]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English is a language for socialising and networking, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 3.13, p = .08, phi = -.04. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Enkku Group reported this more often than the Non-Enkku Group.

6. Positive affective beliefs about English
   These were beliefs that respondents stated about English linked with their own experiences of the language in terms of positive aspects on how they perceived their education concerning English, their own English proficiency, ease of learning the language and so on.

   > Enkku Respondent: *"Pidin sen opiskelusta koulussa ja yliopistossa"* [I enjoyed studying it at school and at university.]

   > Non-Enkku Respondent: *"On kiva osata muutakin kieltä kuin Suomea"* [It's nice to be able to speak another language, not just Finnish.]

   A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and holding positive beliefs about English, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 1.06, p = .30, *phi* = +.02. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Non-Enkku Group reported this more often than the Enkku Group.

7. English is a language that brings benefits and opportunities
   This belief is relevant to the construction that knowing English carries some form or forms of extra benefit: increased job or career prospects; the opportunity to learn new things; diversity; self-confidence and independence; and opportunities for study.

   > Enkku-Respondent: *"vaihtoehtoja enemmän"* [more options]

   > Non-Enkku Respondent: *"jatkuvan oppimisen mahdollisuus"* [opportunity for continual learning]

   A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English is a language that brings benefits and opportunities, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 8.49, p = .004, *phi* = -.06, with the Enkku Group respondents more likely than the Non-Enkku Group respondents to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. The effect size, however, is very small.

8. English facilitates a wider worldview
   This is the belief of English in terms of internationalism and cosmopolitanism. Inherent in it is that English signifies a wider worldview than would be gained just through Finnish alone.

   > Enkku Respondent: *"täysvaltainen maailmankansalaisuus"* [full world citizenship]

   > Non-Enkku Respondent: *"laajentaa maailmankuvaa"* [broadens the worldview]

   A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that

English facilitates a wider worldview, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 4.1, p = .04, *phi* = -.04, with Enkku Group respondents more likely than Non-Enkku respondents to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. The effect size, however, is very small.

9. English is the language of popular culture in Finland
This belief concerns the construction of English through popular culture in Finland; such as English pertaining to entertainment, including television, cinema, theatre, music, and hobbies. Moreover, it also concerns popular culture in terms of food, and even graffiti.

> Enkku Respondent: *"Tajuaa tv-sarjojen vitsit"* [You get the jokes in TV series.]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"englannin valta-asema tv:ssä"*[72] [The dominance of English on the TV.]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English is the language of popular culture in Finland, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 5.74, p = .02, *phi* = +.05, with the Non-Enkku Group respondents more likely than the Enkku Group respondents to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. The effect size, however, was very small.

10. English facilitates travel in many/most countries
This belief is connected with the reassurance that having English skills brings when respondents are travelling. Being able to use English gives a feeling of being better able to cope and of being more in control, therefore making travelling more enjoyable.

> Enkku Respondent: *"ulkomailla mahdollistaa itsenäisen matkustamisen ym. toiminnot"* [When abroad, it allows you to travel independently and other functions]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"matkailun helppous"* [the ease of travel]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English facilitates travel in many or most countries, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 7.76, p = .005, *phi* = +.06, with the Non-Enkku Group respondents more likely than the Enkku Group respondents to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. The effect size, however, was very small.

11. English is linked to one's children
This belief comprises aspects linked to respondents' comments specific to their children, from offering the children the opportunity to study at an English-medium school to being able to help children with their school work and homework. It also comprises being a good example to one's child and

---

[72] This was marked with a +, so is held as being a good thing.

providing the child with opportunities, or even using English with a child's friends.

> Enkku Respondent: *"tytär opiskelee englannin kielellä"* [*daughter is studying in English*]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"haluan olla esimerkkinä lapsilleni"* [*I want to be an example to my children.*]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English is linked with one's children, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 7.31, p = .007, *phi* = -.06, with the Enkku Group respondents more likely than the Non-Enkku Group respondents to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. The effect size, however, was very small.

12. <u>English facilitates wider cultural awareness</u>
English provides the means of accessing or connecting with what Pratt (1991) terms the contact zone, a place in which "people from different historical and geographical spaces encounter each other" (Pennycook 2007a, p. 45). This belief sees English as enriching in the sense of culture (also multiculturalism/pluriculturalism) and all-round education (*yleissivistys*, in Finnish). It also concerns interculturalism (transcending cultural barriers and better intercultural understanding through the means of English) and how the respondents relate to Anglo-American culture.

> Enkku Respondent: *"kielen ja kulttuurin jakaminen lapsille -> asenteiden ja maailmankatsomuksen avartaminen"* [*Sharing the language and culture with children leads to the broadening of attitudes and worldview.*]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"uusien kulttuurien ymmärtäminen syvenee"* [*The understanding of new cultures deepens.*]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English facilitates wider cultural awareness, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = .98, p = .32, *phi* = -.02. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Enkku Group reported this more often than the Non-Enkku Group.

13. <u>Family connection with English</u>
As its name would suggest, this belief concerns having family members with whom respondents use English. These may range from immediate family members, such as spouse and children, to extended family members.

> Enkku Respondent: *"Perheen yhteinen kieli"* [*the family's common language*]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"Siskon mies ja poika puhuvat ensisijaisesti englantia"* [*My sister's husband and son speak English primarily.*]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and having a family connection with English, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = .03, p = .86, phi = -.01. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English.

14. English carries meaning for me through a residence abroad
Again, this belief is apparent from the label and concerns respondents having lived abroad.

> Enkku Respondent: *"olen asunut 3 v. USA:ssa ja englannin kieli liittyy muistoihin noista mukavista ajoista"* [I lived in the USA for 3 years and English is linked with memories from those happy times]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"englannin 'oppiminen' kunnolla siellä asuessani"* [learning English properly while I lived there]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English carries meaning for the respondent through a residence abroad, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 3.72, p = .05, phi = -.04, with the Enkku Group respondents more likely than the Non-Enkku Group respondents to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. The effect size, however, was very small.

15. English may be detrimental to Finnish
The majority of responses linked with this belief were all negative, and hence, it concerns the dystopian view of English as pernicious to Finnish. The comments are not strongly in this direction, but rather wonder what the effect of English is on Finnish, and some express worries on the mixing of Finnish and English (Finnglish).

> Enkku Respondent: *"suomen kielen köyhtyminen"* [the impoverishment of the Finnish language]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"käytetään englannin kieltä suomen kielen seassa"* [People use English mixed in with Finnish.]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English may be detrimental to Finnish, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = .31, p = .72, phi = +.01. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English.

16. English is taking over from other languages and this is not good
This was another negative belief and concerns the hegemony of English and how English is displacing other 'smaller' languages.

> Enkku Respondent: *"Englannin asema on usein jo niin hallitseva, että se jättää varjoonsa muut kielet (tieteessä suomeksi julkaisemisen)"* [English has such a

dominant position that it leaves other languages in its shadow (scientific publishing in Finnish)]

Non-Enkku Respondent: *"Kansallisten kielten ja kulttuurien jääminen englannin kielen varjoon"* [National languages and cultures are left in the shadow of English]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that English is taking over from other languages and this is not a good thing, X^2 (1, n = 2474) = 3.92, *p* = .05, *phi* = +.04, with the Non-Enkku Group respondents more likely than the Enkku Group respondents to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. The effect size, however, was very small.

These salient beliefs can be divided into two groups; beliefs that are inherently[73] instrumental beliefs and those that are affective beliefs. Thus, the instrumental beliefs about English are: (1) English is the international language of communication; (2) English is a prominent language in the work domain; (3) English facilitates a wider/better range of knowledge; (5) English is a language for socialising and networking; (7) English is a language with benefits and opportunities; (8) English facilitates a wider worldview; (9) English is the language of popular culture in Finland; (10) English facilitates travel in many/most countries; (12) English facilitates wider cultural awareness; (15) English may be detrimental to Finnish, and (16) English is taking over from other languages and this is not good. The inherently affective beliefs are: (4) Negative affective beliefs about English; (6) Positive affective beliefs about English; (11) English is linked to one's children; (13) Family Connection with English; and (14) English carries meaning for me through a residence abroad.

The instrumental beliefs are overwhelmingly positive, with only (15) and, (16) negative, and less than ten other responses marked as negative. For the affective beliefs, (4) is negative, while (6), (13), and (14) are positive. Most of the beliefs are understandable from the title, but (4) Negative affective beliefs about English and (6) Positive beliefs about English each contain several different codes. These are presented in Figures 5.10 and 5.11 as percentages of the actual number of responses for that theme, so the actual numbers are very small from the point of view of the total actual population.

---

[73]   I use 'inherently' to show that this is the major trend in the responses and similarly acknowledge that there may be a minority of comments that were in some way affective in the same category.

ENKKU GROUP NON-ENKKU GROUP
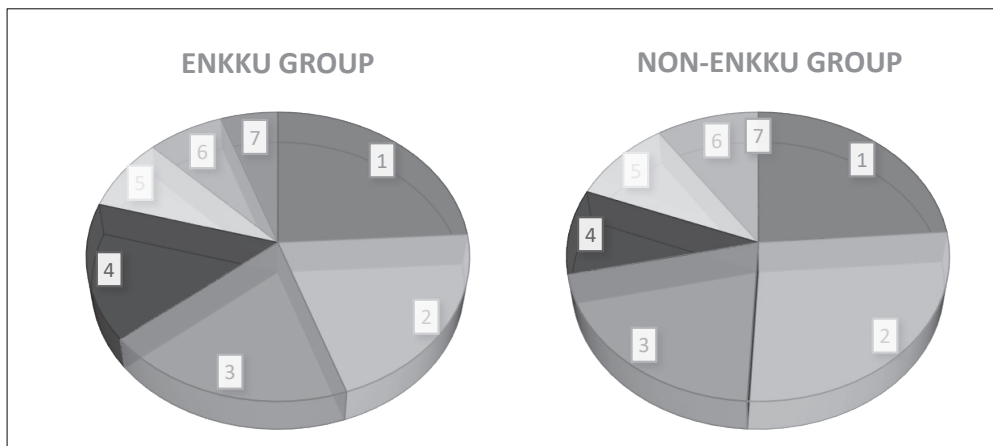
1 = Difficulties with learning the language
3 = Language education and teachers
5 = Miscellaneous
7 = External expectations on proficiency

2 = Dissatisfaction with own skills
4 = Too few opportunities to use the language
6 = Confidence using the language

Figure 5.10. Enkku and Non-Enkku Negative Affective Beliefs Concerning English

Both groups make a number of comments about the difficulties of learning English. These could be concerned with learning difficulties that the respondents had or with different aspects of the language, such as grammar. For the Enkku Group, this category generated the greatest response (24%). The Non-Enkku Group are most negative about their own language skills (27%). This theme contained comments that they should be better at English or that their pronunciation skills were not good enough. This was the second in ranking for the Enkku Group at 21 per cent. Many Enkku respondents were more concerned than Non-Enkku respondents about not having enough opportunities to use their language skills and were worried that they may deteriorate (15% versus 9.5%). This theme also contained some responses referring to not having had access to English in one's youth or never having had the chance to live abroad. A fifth of the respondents in each group of those who replied to Question 15 criticised the type of English education and teaching that they had had (19.4% Enkku and 20.6% Non-Enkku). A common complaint was that previous teaching had focused too much on perfection in the language to the detriment of the pupil's learning and confidence in the language. Non-Enkku Group respondents had more confidence issues or a higher threshold about using English, while the Enkku Group commented on unrealistic expectations of their proficiency by other people (0% in the Non-Enkku Group). The positive affective beliefs are presented in Figure 5.11 below as a point of contrast.

ENKKU GROUP   NON-ENKKU GROUP
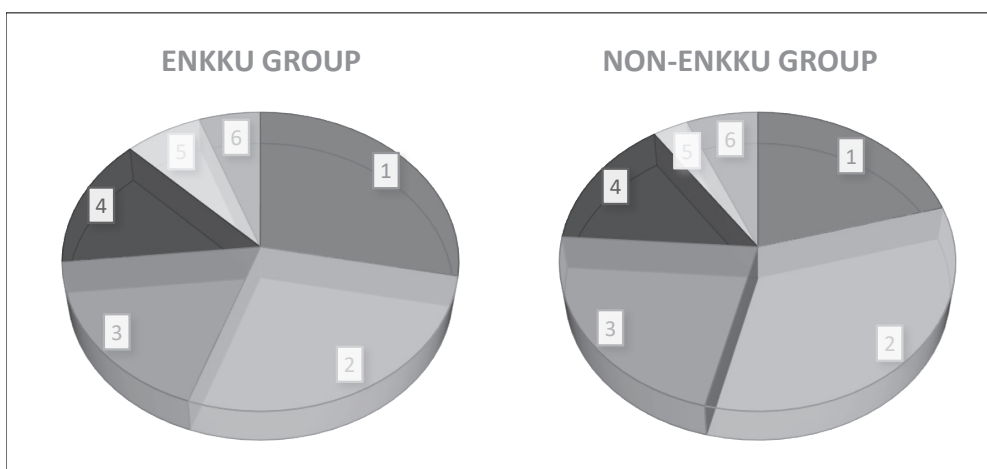
1 = Fondness of /interest in the language   2 = Easy to learn and use
3 = Good skills /learned it for a long time   4 = Miscellaneous
5 = Positive experiences in the language   6 = Inspiring teachers

Figure 5.11. Enkku and Non-Enkku Positive Affective Beliefs Concerning English

The Enkku Group respondents have a greater percentage of comments related to having a fondness for English (28% versus 20%), while the greatest number of Non-Enkku respondents state that English is an easy language to learn and use (33% versus 27%). Approximately a fifth of respondents in each group stated that they had good skills in English or long experience of it (educated in English or English was the first language they studied); 18% Enkku and 22% Non-Enkku. Twice as many Enkku respondents reported having had positive experiences with English, sometimes positive learning experiences as an adult after poor teaching at school, or experiences using the language in practice.

In sum, the two groups hold the same salient beliefs about English, but with different nuances. The Enkku Group respondents were more likely to believe that English brings opportunities and benefits, facilitates a wider worldview, is linked to their children, and has personal significance for them through a residence abroad than the Non-Enkku Group. On the other hand, the Non-Enkku Group were more likely to consider English as the language of popular culture in Finland and as facilitating travel. Moreover, this group also believed more strongly that English is taking over from other languages, which is not a good thing. There were no statistically significant differences between the two groups concerning the beliefs that English is the international language of communication, English is a prominent language in the work domain, it facilitates a wider or better range of knowledge, is a language for socialising and networking, facilitates a wider cultural awareness or may be detrimental to Finnish. In addition, no significant difference was found for holding negative or positive beliefs about English or having a family connection with the language.

5.5.3 The Significance of English to Finns

Question 16 was the second of the attitude variables, and is referred to as *'Significance of English to Finns'*. In Question 15, respondents had been asked to list the personal relevance of English for them. Now, respondents were asked to rate a series of 8 statements based on how much they disagreed or agreed on the statement with regard to its significance for Finns in general. The options were: Totally Disagree; Disagree Somewhat; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree Somewhat; Totally Agree. The missing data that are reported are random missing data. None of the respondents in either group left the whole item unanswered. Each statement constituted one Likert-scaled item, and collectively they constituted a summative Likert Scale. The eight Likert-scaled items were:

    (a) English is the language of progress;
    (b) The spread of English in Finland poses no threat to the Finnish language;
    (c) Skills in English should become universal in Finland;
    (d) A Finn can be international without knowing English;
    (e) A Finn can be successful without knowing English;
    (f) Finnish is a more useful language for a Finn than English;
    (g) Too much value is placed on having proficiency in English;
    (h) English enriches Finnish.

16(a) 'English is the language of progress'
The respondents were mainly in accord with this statement irrespective of group. The totals for some form of agreement with the statement were Enkku 71% and Non-Enkku 68%; with the Enkku Group generating slightly more responses in total agreement. With regard to disagreement, 7% of Enkku respondents either disagreed somewhat or totally disagreed. The corresponding figure for the Non-Enkku Group was also seven per cent. This statement generated the second greatest number of respondents taking a neutral stance, neither agreeing nor disagreeing. The response rates were 99.4% for the Enkku Group and 99.6% for the Non-Enkku Group. According to these results, it can be seen that both groups largely consider that English is the language of progress for Finns in general.
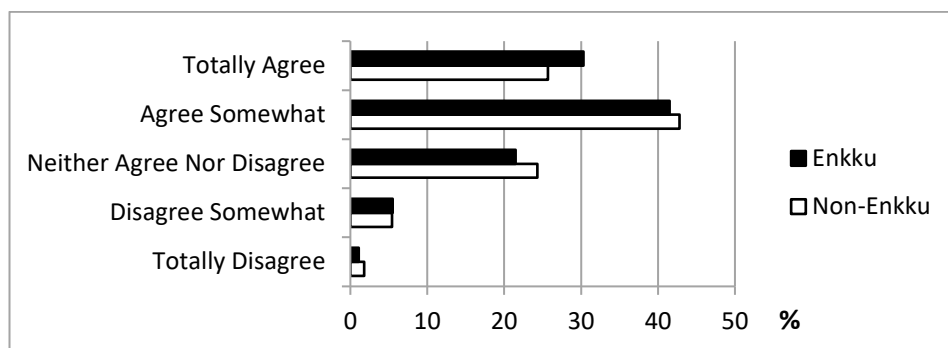
Figure 5.12. Distributions for the Question 16 Likert-scaled Item (a) 'English is the language of progress' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

16(b) 'The spread of English poses no threat to the Finnish language'
The respondents also mainly agreed with this statement. This supports the findings of the National Survey by Leppänen *et al.* (2011, p. 91) in which they discovered that Finns did not feel that English was a threat to the Finnish domestic languages. Their item 19(d) 'The spread of English in Finland is a threat to our own languages' generated an agreement percentage of 17.8% (*op. cit.* p. 80), which is greater than the percentages of those who disagreed with this item in this survey.

This item generated the greatest level of agreement from the Enkku Group, with 81% totally agreeing or agreeing somewhat with the statement. The corresponding figure for the Non-Enkku group was only slightly less, at 80 per cent. With regard to disagreement, 12% of Enkku respondents and 15% of Non-Enkku respondents either disagreed somewhat or totally disagreed. This statement generated the least number of respondents taking a neutral stance, with only 6% and 5% respectively neither agreeing nor disagreeing.
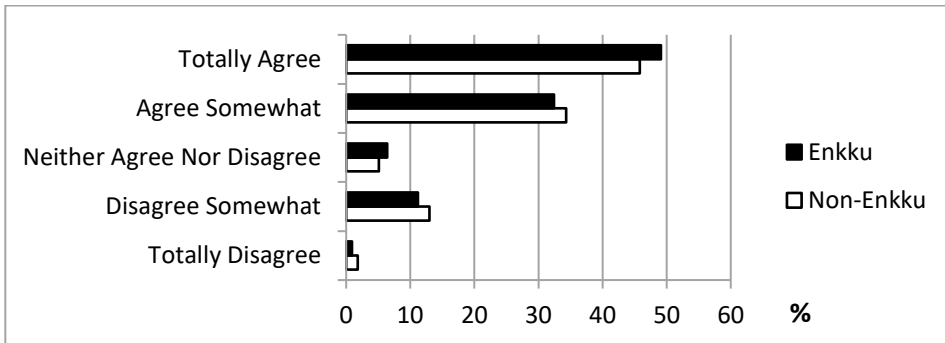
Figure 5.13. Distributions for the Question 16 Likert-scaled Item (b) 'The spread of English poses no threat to the Finnish language' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

The response rates were 99.8% for the Enkku Group and 100% for the Non-Enkku Group. Thus, both groups feel that Finns in general do not consider the spread of English as threatening to the Finnish mother tongue, which echoes the finding of the National Survey (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 85, 91).

16(c) 'Skills in English should become universal in Finland'
The trend of mainly agreeing with the statement continued for this item, which generated 79% of responses either agreeing totally or somewhat with it from the Enkku Group, and 77% from the Non-Enkku Group. Slightly more of the Enkku Group agreed totally. The percentages of disagreement were 4% for the Enkku Group and 8% from the Non-Enkku Group. Thus, it can be seen that both groups feel that English proficiency and skills in English should become universal in Finland for Finns in general. The respondents in this study would appear to be in agreement with that and not discomforted by it, echoing the result of the National Survey (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 91).
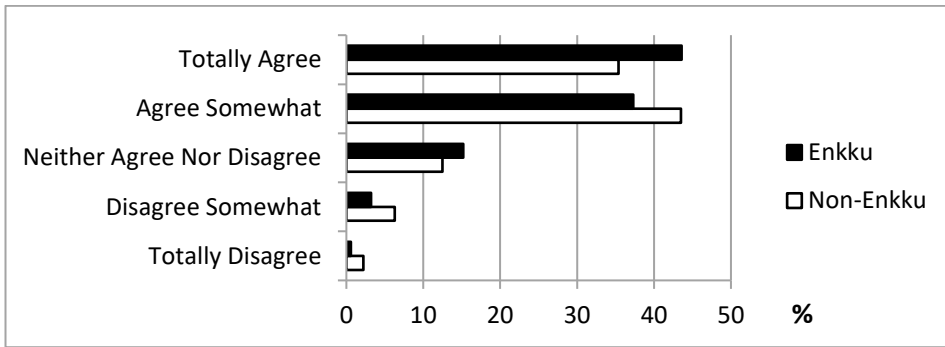
Figure 5.14. Distributions for the Question 16 Likert-scaled Item (c) 'Skills in English should become universal in Finland' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

This variable, however, was the one that generated the greatest number of missing data. The response rates were 98% for both groups. It may be that this was an uncomfortable statement for respondents to consider in terms of Finns in general. A further point of consideration in the number of missing respondents is that respondents may already consider English to be universal in Finland and, thus, held the statement as irrelevant.

16(d) 'A Finn can be international without knowing English'
The National Survey found that English was important regarding being international, but the agreement percentage (49.8%) to their item 19(g) 'Finns can be international without knowing English' was higher than the respondent groups in this survey (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 80, 91). The Enkku Group generated 65% of responses that either totally or somewhat disagreed with the statement. The corresponding figure for the Non-Enkku group was 66 per cent. The Enkku Group generated a slightly greater percentage of total disagreement (24% versus 19 per cent). The figures for agreement were 27% for both the Enkku Group and the Non-Enkku Group. The response rates were 99.8% for the Enkku Group and 99.3% for the Non-Enkku Group.
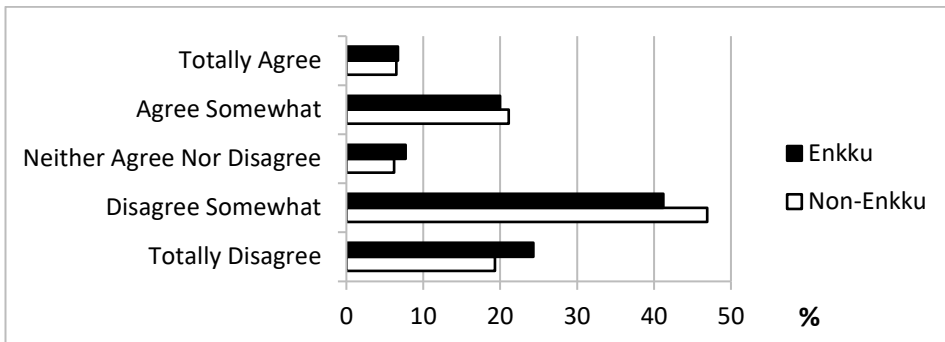
Figure 5.15. Distributions for the Question 16 Likert-scaled item (d) 'A Finn can be international without knowing English' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

16(e) 'A Finn can be successful without knowing English'
The results show that 35% of the Enkku respondents and 33% of the Non-Enkku respondents actually totally disagreed or somewhat disagreed with the statement. This is indicative of how important English has become in Finland, and how integrated it already is in society. For a third of the respondents in each group, in general, success for a Finn includes having knowledge of English. Approximately half of the respondents in each group agreed somewhat or totally with the statement. The response rates were 99.4% for the Enkku Group and 98.6% for the Non-Enkku Group.
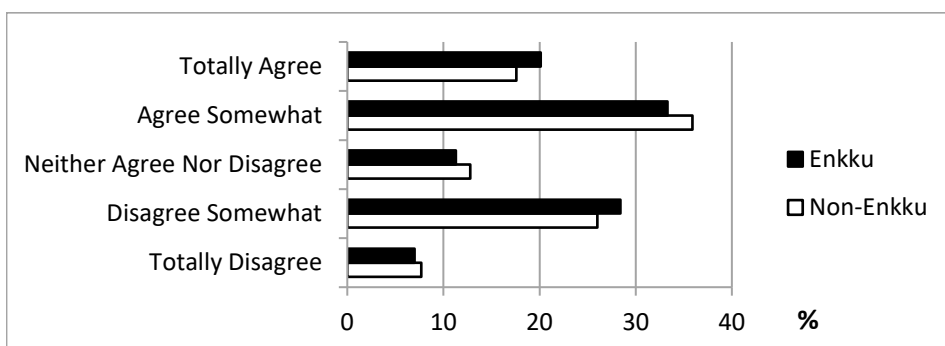
Figure 5.16. Distributions for the Question 16 Likert-scaled Item (e) 'A Finn can be successful without knowing English' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

16(f) 'Finnish is a more useful language for a Finn than English'
The expected result would be for Finns to agree with this statement. The results, however, show that only 61% of the Enkku Group agreed in some way with the statement. The corresponding figure for the Non-Enkku group was slightly greater at 64 per cent. This item corresponded with the National Survey item 19(j) 'For Finns, the mother tongue is more useful than English', which generated an agreement percentage of 80.8% (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 80), greater than either of the groups in this survey. This statement generated the third greatest number of respondents neither agreeing nor disagreeing (22% for both groups). The number of respondents disagreeing with the statement is of particular interest (18% for the Enkku Group and 13% for the Non-Enkku Group). The response rates were 99.6% (Enkku Group) and 100% (Non-Enkku Group).
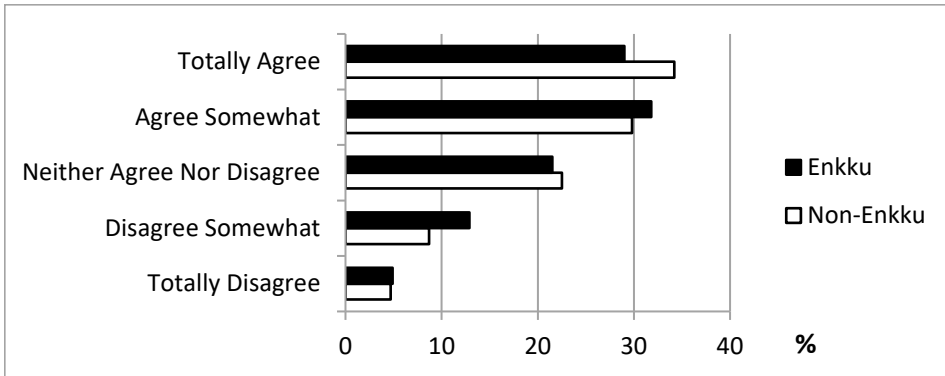
Figure 5.17. Distributions for the Question 16 Likert-scaled Item (f) 'Finnish is a more useful language for a Finn than English' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

16(g) 'Too much value is placed on having proficiency in English'

The percentage of respondents that disagreed either totally or somewhat with this statement from the Enkku Group was 79%. The corresponding figure for the Non-Enkku Group was 75%. It can be seen that both groups feel that Finns having English proficiency is not overrated; hence English proficiency is rightly valued in Finnish society. Nine per cent of the Enkku Group disagreed in some way with this, and the figure was the same for the Non-Enkku Group. The response rates were 99.8% for the Enkku Group and 99.6% for the Non-Enkku Group. A smaller percentage of respondents in this study agreed with the statement than agreed with the National Surveys item 19(m) 'English skills are overrated', which generated an agreement percentage of 34% (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 80).
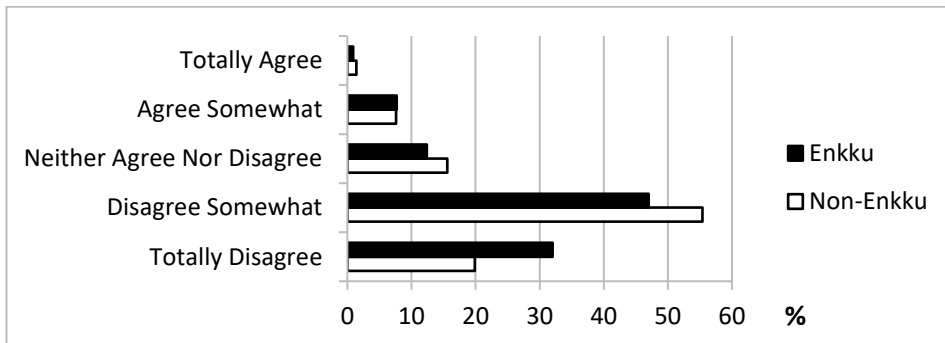
Figure 5.18. Distributions for the Question 16 Likert-scaled Item (g) 'Too much value is placed on having proficiency in English' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

16(h) 'English enriches Finnish'

This statement generated the greatest number of respondents taking a neutral stance, neither agreeing nor disagreeing (28% for the Enkku Group and 27% for the Non-Enkku Group). Forty-two per cent of Enkku respondents agree in some way with this statement, as compared with 41% of Non-Enkku respondents. These figures are greater than those who disagree; 29% Enkku and 32% Non-Enkku. The National

Survey's item 19 (l) the English language enriches our native tongues generated and agreement percentage of 52.7% (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 80).
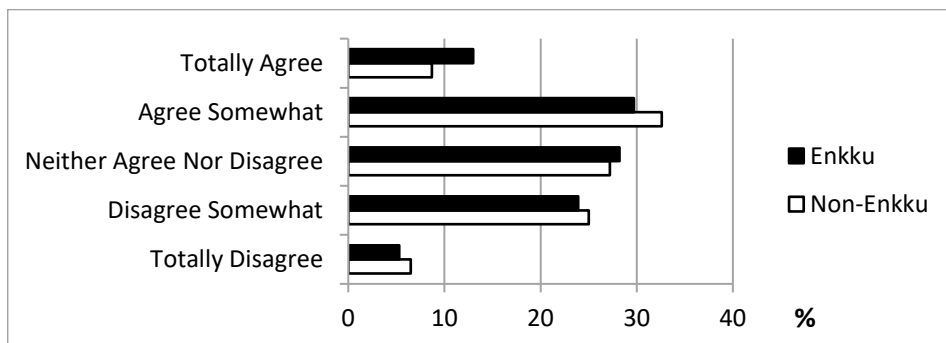
Figure 5.19. Distributions for the Question 16 Likert-scaled Item (h) 'English enriches Finnish' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

It would appear that the respondents in this study generally do not regard English as a destructive force acting on their mother tongue, and that many see it as enriching. This also echoes the results of Statement 16(b).

5.5.4 Summary of the Importance of English to Finns

When we examine the above variables in terms of percentages of agreement or disagreement, it appears, at first hand, that the Enkku Group and Non-Enkku Group hold similar attitudes. In general, most respondents in each group agreed that English is the language of progress. Moreover, in accordance with the National Survey findings, neither group holds English as constituting a threat to Finnish, and two fifths of each group feel that English even enriches Finnish. This is slightly less than the National Survey (52%). The majority of both groups agrees that English skills should become universal in Finland, which shows that English is generally held as a form of social or linguistic capital. This also correlates with the National Survey finding (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 91). The value of English is not overrated, and about two thirds of each group hold English as important in a Finn being international, more than the National Survey agreement rate of 50 per cent. While English is held as a language of progress, it is not a prerequisite for success in Finland, with only slightly more than half of each group agreeing with this. Finnish is still considered by the greatest number of Enkku and Non-Enkku respondents as more useful for Finns than English.

   The construct was to measure the significance of English to Finns. The internal consistency of the construct was approaching acceptable, yet slightly questionable, α = .67. An Independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare attitudes to the significance of English to Finns in the Enkku and Non-Enkku Group Statements, taking into account the recoded variables 16(d), 16(e), 16(f), and 16(g). Despite the apparent similarity of the percentages, nonetheless, a significant difference in attitude was observed, t (810) = 2.07, p = .039, with those in the Enkku group holding more positive attitudes (M = 3.52, SD = 0.59) than those in the Non-Enkku group (M = 3.42,

SD = 0.59). The calculated effect size, however, was small, Cohen's d = 0.17, r = 0.08, suggesting low practical significance. Based on these findings, we can see that English is significant to both groups, but slightly more so for the Enkku Group.

5.5.5 The Idea of English-medium Education as Privileged

Question 17 was the third of the attitude variables, and is referred to as *'The idea of English-medium education as privileged'*. Respondents were asked to rate a series of six statements based on how much they disagreed or agreed with the statement. The options were: Totally Disagree; Disagree Somewhat; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree Somewhat; Totally Agree. Each statement constituted one Likert-scaled item, and collectively they constituted a summative Likert Scale. The six Likert-scaled items were:

- (a) Schools that offer education through the medium of English are only for the rich;
- (b) A Finnish child should get his or her education only through the medium of Finnish;
- (c) The local school is always the best school for a child;
- (d) Foreigners should not teach Finnish children;
- (e) Schools that offer education through the medium of English serve an elite;
- (f) In Finland, if a child is learning through the medium of English, this brings the family greater status.

17(a) 'Schools that offer education through the medium of English are only for the rich' This Likert-scaled item could have been problematic for the Enkku Group in that, essentially, they were being asked to rate statements that, by default, were somehow relevant to themselves as a group, despite the more egalitarian system in Finland. Two respondents in the Enkku Group declined to answer this question, so two of the missing data in the Enkku Groups refer consistently to the same two respondents.
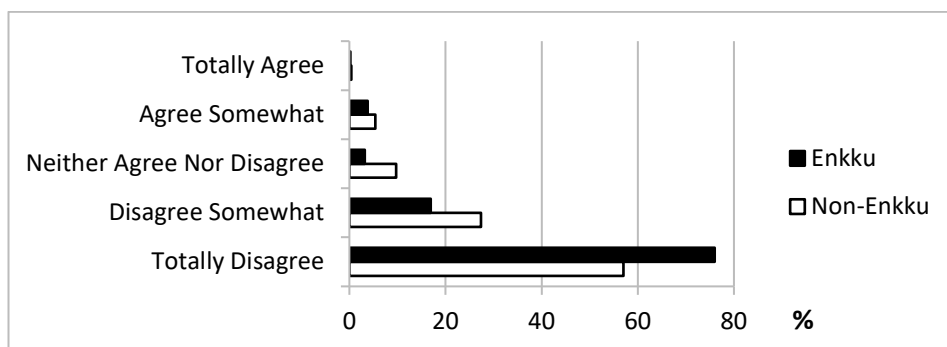
Figure 5.20. Distributions for the Question 17 Likert-scaled Item (a) 'Schools that offer education through the medium of English are only for the rich' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Only 4% of the Enkku Group agreed to some degree with this statement. The majority of the Enkku Group, 93%, disagreed. The corresponding figures for the Non-Enkku Group were 6% in agreement and 88% in disagreement. Therefore, according to the results generated by these groups of respondents, one does not have to be rich to have one's child educated through the medium of English. The response rates were 99.6% for the Enkku Group and 100% for the Non-Enkku Group.

17(b) 'A Finnish child should get their education only through the medium of Finnish'
Only two per cent of the Enkku Group and 5% of the Non-Enkku Group agreed with this Likert-scaled item. The rate of neutral responses was 3% and 7% respectively. Of the Enkku Group, 95% were in disagreement with the statement, and the corresponding figure for the Non-Enkku Group was 88 per cent.
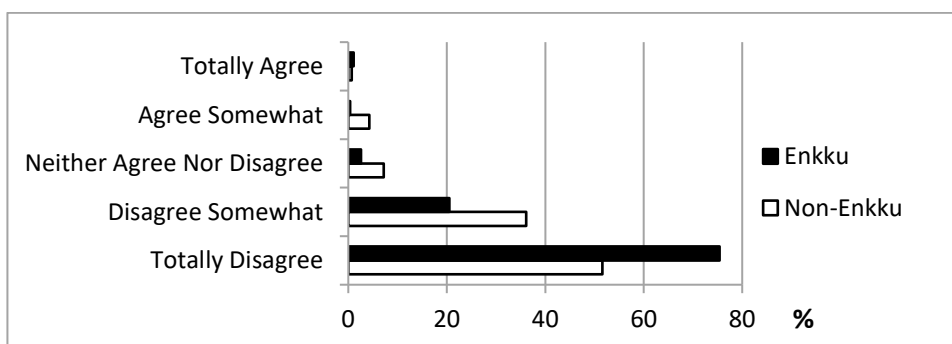
Figure 5.21. Distributions for the Question 17 Likert-scaled Item (b) 'A Finnish child should get his or her education only through the medium of Finnish' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

This shows that the respondents are comfortable with Finnish children being educated through the medium of other languages, and do not feel that they must be educated through the medium of Finnish alone. The response rates were 99.4% for the Enkku Group and 100% for the Non-Enkku Group.

17(c) 'The local school is always the best school for a child'
This Likert-scaled item generated differing responses for the two groups although the trends remained similar. The response rates were 99.6% for the Enkku Group and 100% for the Non-Enkku Group. The Enkku Group responded that 15% were in some sort of agreement, 11% took a neutral stance and 73% disagreed. The 11% of the neither agree nor disagree group may contain those Enkku respondents for whom the English-medium school is the local school.
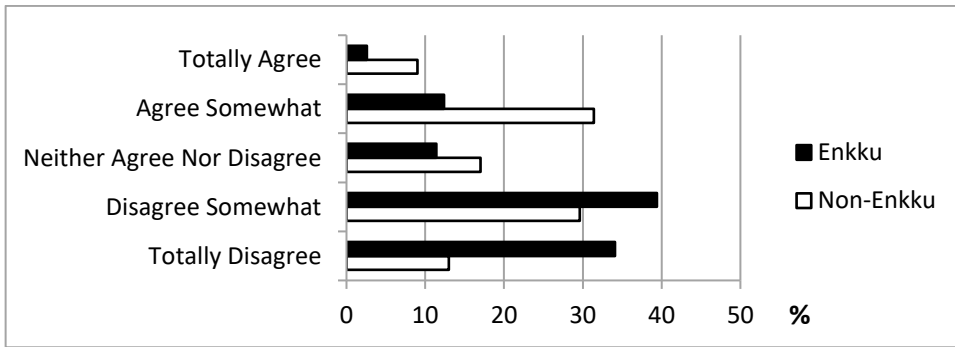
Figure 5.22. Distributions for the Question 17 Likert-scaled Item (c) 'The 'local school is always the best school for a child' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

The figures for the Non-Enkku Group show a greater amount of agreement with 40% either agreeing totally or somewhat. The figure for a neutral response is rather high at 17%, while 42% disagreed. These results show that the respondents do not consider that a local school is necessarily the best school. They were not asked to specify why, but this seems to hint at differentiation between schools in Finland despite the common curriculum.

17(d) 'Foreigners should not teach Finnish children'
The response rates for this Likert-scaled item were 99.4% for the Enkku Group and 100% for the Non-Enkku Group. The results show that neither group seems to have problems relating to foreign teachers teaching Finnish children.
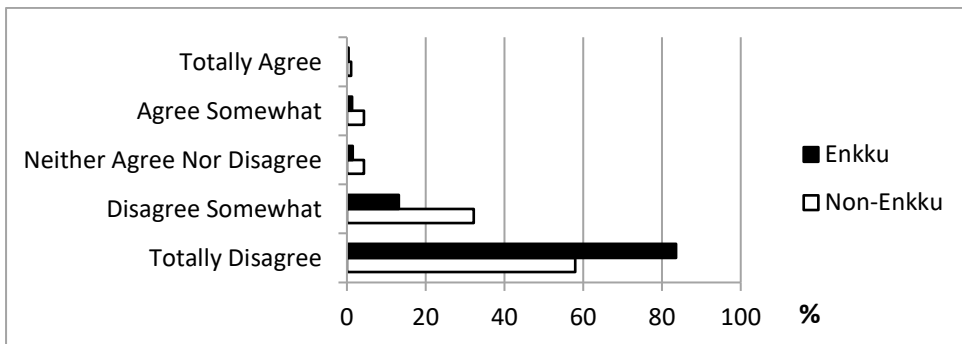
Figure 5.23. Distributions for the Question 17 Likert-scaled Item (d) 'Foreigners should not teach Finnish children' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

The figures for disagreement were high for both the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups; 96% and 87% respectively. The Enkku Group had a higher instance of total disagreement, with 83 per cent. Data were missing from 3 Enkku respondents and 1 Non-Enkku respondent.

17(e) 'Schools that offer education through the medium of English serve an elite'
The response rates for this Likert-scaled item were 99% for the Enkku Group and 99.6% for the Non-Enkku Group. The majority of respondents in both groups disagree with this statement; 81% for both groups, although the Enkku Group had a greater percentage of total disagreement, 52% as compared with 42 per cent.
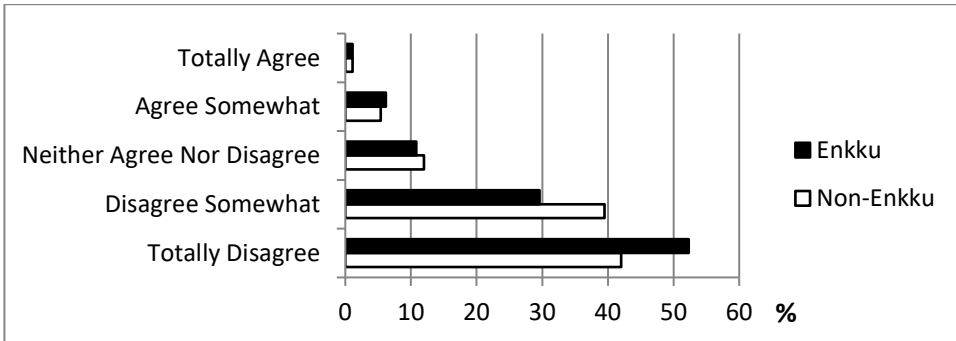
Figure 5.24. Distributions for the Question 17 Likert-scaled Item (e) 'Schools that offer education through the medium of English serve an elite' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Eleven per cent of the Enkku Group and 12% of the Non-Enkku Group remained neutral. There are some respondents in each group that agree in some way with the statement, 7% in both groups. This shows that only a minority of respondents in each group feel that English-medium education does, in some way, serve an elite, the majority disagrees. What is of interest is that parents in both groups have the same trends.

17(f) 'In Finland, if a child is learning through the medium of English, this brings the family greater status'
Approximately a fifth of respondents in each group took a neutral stance to this Likert-scaled item. The response rate was 99.3% for both groups. The majority of respondents in both groups disagreed with this statement; 59% Enkku and 55% Non-Enkku. The Enkku Group generated the greatest rate of responses in total disagreement, 34 per cent. Nevertheless, approximately a fifth of respondents in each group did agree with the statement, 20% Enkku and 22% Non-Enkku. There were two missing responses from the Enkku group.
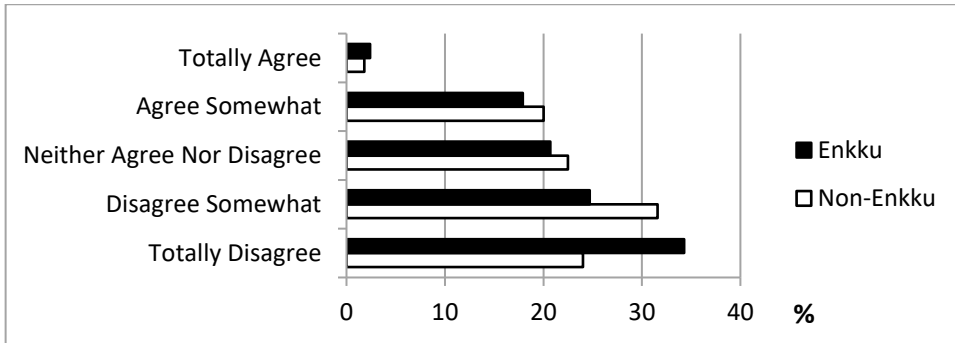
Figure 5.25. Distributions for the Question 17 Likert-scaled Item (f) 'In Finland, if a child is learning through the medium of English, this brings the family greater status' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

In sum, the general opinion of both groups is that Finnish children can be educated through the medium of English, and by foreign teachers. Schools offering ECIL programmes do not serve an elite, and are not only for the rich. Having a child in an ECIL programme does not confer special status on the family. The construct was to measure the idea of English-medium education as privileged. The internal consistency of the construct was questionable, α = .59. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare attitudes to the idea of English-medium education as privileged in the Enkku and Non-Enkku group. A significant difference in attitude was observed, t (502.15) = -8.69, p <.001, with those in the Enkku group holding more positive attitudes (M = 1.67, SD = 0.49) than those in the Non-Enkku group (M = 2.02, SD = 0.56). The calculated effect size was between medium and large, Cohen's d = -0.67, Effect-size r = -0.32, suggesting moderate to high practical significance. The direction of the Groups' attitudes seems to be similar, however, Enkku Group parents had stronger responses, suggesting that the differences concern whether or not one agrees or agrees strongly, or disagrees or disagrees strongly.

5.5.6 Salient Beliefs about Finnish Children Being Educated through English

Question 18 asked the respondents to rate how they related to the idea that some Finnish children are being educated through the medium of English. The options were: Extremely Negatively; Somewhat Negatively; Neither Negatively nor Positively; Somewhat Positively; Extremely Positively. This is the fourth of the six attitude variables in the questionnaire, and is the attitude variable referred to as *'Attitude to Finnish Children Being Educated through the Medium of English'*.

It could be expected that the Enkku group would all relate to this question extremely positively, since they have chosen to have their children educated through English. Data were missing from 4 Enkku respondents. Perhaps they felt that the question was perhaps not relevant to them since they had chosen to have their children educated in English. Almost twice as many Enkku respondents as Non-Enkku respondents did report that they related to this extremely positively. Although the majority of the Enkku respondents (94%) reported that they relate positively to Finnish children being educated through the medium of English, 6% of the group reported that they related to this somewhat negatively or were neutral about it. Of the Non-Enkku Group, 81%

related somehow positively to Finnish children being educated through English, 18% were neutral and less than 2% were somewhat negative. No one related to this phenomenon extremely negatively. The results show that the respondents generally relate positively to Finnish children being educated through the medium of English. The response rates were 99.3% for the Enkku Group and 100% for the Non-Enkku Group. There were four missing responses from the Enkku group.
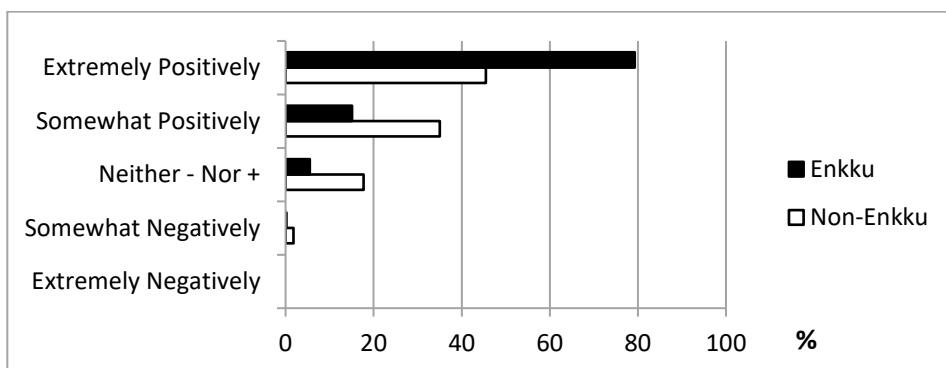
Figure 5.26. The Distribution of How Respondents Relate to Finnish Children Being Educated through the Medium of English for the Enkku and the Non-Enkku Groups

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare attitudes to Finnish children being educated through the medium of English in the Enkku and non-Enkku group. A significant difference in attitude was observed, $t(420.24) = 9.09$, $p < .001$, with those in the Enkku group holding more positive attitudes ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 0.56$) than those in the Non-Enkku group ($M = 4.24$, $SD = 0.81$). The calculated effect size was between medium and large, Cohen's $d = 0.7$, Effect-size $r = 0.33$, suggesting moderate to high practical significance. Again the general trend of the responses follows the same direction, with Enkku Group parents again showing stronger agreement more often in the form of relating to the statement extremely positively.

Following this, Question 19 was the second of the qualitative components of the questionnaire. It was concerned with elaborating upon how the respondent personally related to the phenomenon of Finnish children being educated through the medium of English. Respondents were asked to list up to six factors in their own words that, in their opinion, were concerned with the idea of a Finnish child receiving their primary school education through the medium of English. They were also asked to mark if the factor was positive or negative in how they related it with the phenomenon. Each respondent could list a total of six factors, giving a potential maximum of 4872 responses for this item. The total number of actual responses generated by the item was 2498 (1873 Enkku and 625 Non-Enkku), giving a response rate of 51.3% of the total possible number of responses. There were 108 completely empty responses: 44 Enkku parents and 64 Non-Enkku parents. Removing these from the total, 705 respondents answered this component: 491 Enkku respondents as compared with 213 Non-Enkku respondents. Table 5.12 presents the distribution of responses by theme for Question 19, also shown as percentages of female and male responses. Table 5.13 presents the distribution of the responses for the respondent groups between the six possible factors by actual response. Figure 5.27 presents the distribution of the number of factors in respondents' responses as a percentage of the total number of respondents for each group.

Table 5.12. The Distribution of Responses by Theme for Question 19

THEME	Number of Enkku Responses	% of Responses Female (F), Male (M), or Unspecified (?)	Enkku Responses as a % of the Total Enkku Responses	Number of Non-Enkku Responses	% of Responses Female (F), Male (M), or Unspecified (?)	Non-Enkku Responses as a % of the Total Non-Enkku Responses
1. ECIL facilitates the development of language proficiency and children's self-confidence	546	F = 82, M =17, ? = 1	29.2	177	F = 83, M =17	28.3
2. ECIL increases children's openness to new cultures and tolerance	237	F = 86, M = 14	12.7	46	F = 72, M = 28	7.4
3. ECIL may have negative consequences	207	F = 82.5, M = 17, ? = 0.5	11.0	102	F = 75, M = 25	16.3
4. ECIL broadens children's worldview, allowing them to be more international	190	F = 75.2, M = 23.2, ? = 1.6	10.1	62	F = 81, M = 19	10.0
5. ECIL affords children future opportunities	190	F = 78, M = 20.5, ? = 1.6	10.1	74	F = 81, M = 19	11.8
6. ECIL enhances children's mobility prospects	99	F = 81, M = 18, ? = 1	5.3	23	F = 65, M = 35	3.7
7. Children learn languages best at an early age	77	F = 84, M = 16	4.1	30	F = 100, M = 0	4.8
8. ECIL allows children to develop better international communication skills	69	F = 77, M = 22, ? = 1	3.7	19	F = 89.5, M = 10.5	3.0
9. Miscellaneous negative beliefs concerning ECIL	62	F = 79, M = 21	3.3	34	F = 77, M = 23	5.4
10 Miscellaneous positive affective beliefs specific to ECIL schools	51	F = 77, M = 23	2.7	7	F = 76.5, M = 23.5	1.1
11. Often ECIL schools are not the local school and this can be problematic	41	F = 73, M = 27	2.2	8	F = 75 , M = 25	1.3
12. ECIL affects the whole family	30	F = 80, M = 20	1.6	16	F = 81, M = 19	2.5
13. ECIL allows children to develop skills useful in Information Technology and popular culture	26	F = 62, M = 38	1.4	6	F = 66.7, M = 33.3	1.0
14. Teachers' qualifications are important in ECIL	22	F = 86, M = 14	1.2	5	F = 100, M = 0	0.8
15. Learning through the medium of another language enhances other skills	17	F = 65, M = 29, ? = 6	0.9	7	F = 86, M = 14	1.1
16. Miscellaneous positive beliefs concerning ECIL	9	F = 44, M = 56	0.5	9	F = 66.7, M = 33.3	1.4
TOTAL	**1873**	**NA**	**100**	**625**	**NA**	**100**

Table 5.13. The Distribution of Responses to Question 19 between the Six Possible Factors as Frequencies (%) of Actual Responses

Enkku Group	Non-Enkku Group	TOTAL	
One Factor	491 (26.2%)	213 (34.1%)	704 (28.2%)
Two Factors	457 (24.4%)	174 (27.8%)	631 (25.3%)
Three Factors	384 (20.5%)	118 (18.9%)	502 (20.1%)
Four Factors	271 (14.5%)	67 (10.7%)	338 (13.5%)
Five Factors	171 (9.1%)	33 (5.3%)	204 (8.2%)
Six Factors	99 (5.3%)	20 (3.2%)	119 (4.8%)
TOTAL	1873 (100%)	625 (100%)	2498 (100%)
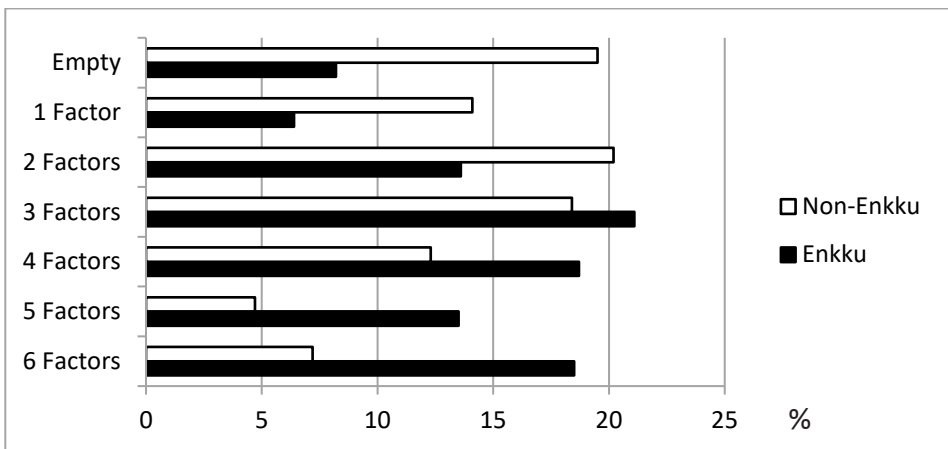
Figure 5.27. Response Distribution in Terms of Number of Factors for Question 19 for Total Response

Again, the Non-Enkku Group had considerably the highest percentage of non-response. The majority in each group have responded to Question 19 by listing three factors, while the Enkku Group generated the least number of 1-factor responses. A surprisingly good percentage in the Enkku Group have responded by listing five or six factors, although this has dropped for the Non-Enkku Group compared with Question Fifteen. The respondents were also asked to rate their factors as positive or negative, the reason for this was to facilitate the understanding of the direction of one word responses. These are presented in Figure 5.28.
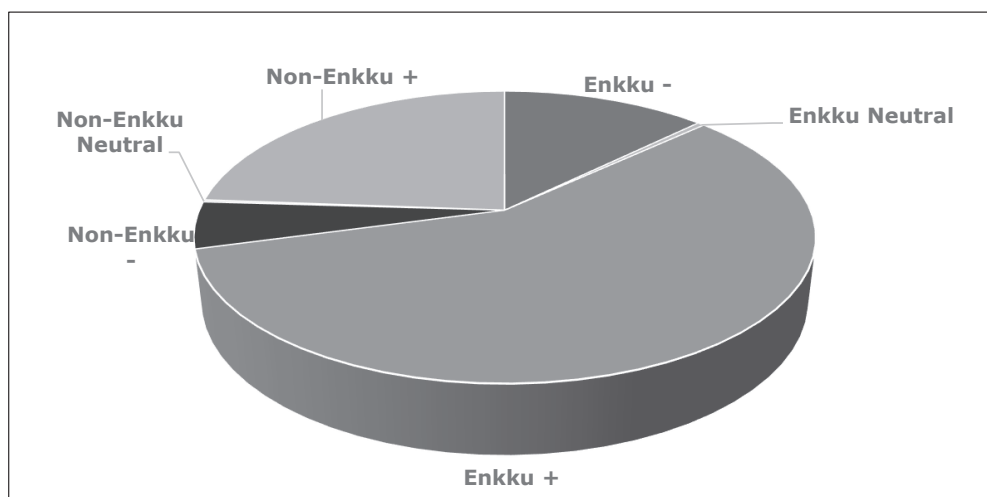
Figure 5.28. Breakdown of the Responses to Question 19 by Group as Percentages in Terms of Positive, Negative, or Neutral

The majority of responses for both groups were positive (in total 80%), which shows that, in general, the respondents see the phenomenon of Finnish children being educated through the medium of English in a favourable light irrespective of group. The negative responses (20%) were largely concerned with negative impact on the mother tongue and the learning of other subjects, pressure or overburdening and general negative impact on the child. Question 19 generated slightly more negative responses than Question 15. Less than 1% of the responses were such that the respondent had not marked it with either a plus or a minus.

As with Question 15, the responses were analysed thematically into 73 codes, and then collated into 16 themes representative of different types of salient beliefs associated with English-medium education (ECIL) presented in Table 5.12 above. The themes are presented in more detail below. Respondent quotations are in Finnish, verbatim from the data, followed by my translation into English. Hence, any spelling mistakes or punctuation errors in the Finnish version are the respondents' and not mine.

1. ECIL facilitates the development of language proficiency and children's self-confidence
   This theme is concerned with the belief of education through the medium of English as generating linguistic capital, such as better fluency and pronunciation, and English as being beneficial to the later learning of a further language or languages. A further dimension of this theme is that of the confidence and increased self-esteem that knowing English is perceived as bringing to the children in terms of their willingness and ability to actively use the language. Interestingly, despite this being the theme that generated the greatest number of Enkku Group responses, the specific terms 'multilingual/-ism' and 'bilingual/-ism' were not frequently used by the Enkku Group. Bilingualism was mentioned by 20 respondents, pluri-/multilingualism by 5 respondents, bilingual education by 2 respondents, and bilingual families by one respondent: in total 1.5% of the total hits for this item.

Enkku Respondent: *"rohkaistuu käyttämään puhuessakin toista kieltä (mikä on suomalaiselle todella iso asia!)"* [Encouragement to use another language when speaking (which is a really big thing for Finns!)]

Non-Enkku Respondent: *"kun osaa itse, ei ole toisten käännösten varassa"* [When you know it yourself, you're not dependent on someone else's translation.]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that ECIL facilitates the development of language proficiency and children's self-confidence, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = .12, *p* = .73, *phi* = -.01. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Enkku Group reported this more often than the Non-Enkku Group.

2. <u>ECIL increases children's openness to new cultures and tolerance</u>
This theme is concerned with the belief that ECIL education is the key to tolerance and multiculturalism. It also embraces the belief of a school class comprising a variety of children from different countries and cultures, which is seen as enriching. This type of education is held as leading to acceptance of diversity and anti-racism.

Enkku Respondent: *"ymmärryksen ja suvaitsevaisuuden lisääntyminen eri kieliin/ kulttuureihin"* [increased understanding and tolerance of different languages/cultures]

Non-Enkku Respondent: *"maailman rauha"* [world peace]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that ECIL increases children's openness to new cultures and tolerance, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = 12.55, *p* < .001, *phi* = -.07, with the Enkku Group respondents more likely to think this than the Non-Enkku Group respondents. The effect size, however, was very small.

3. <u>ECIL may have negative consequences</u>
This theme is a compilation of a variety of different beliefs, too few in number to generate a separate theme. It involves the belief that being educated through the medium of a language other than that of the mother tongue poses a greater challenge to children. This can be through the implied extra effort required from the children, and that the learning experience may not be the most enjoyable one for them, especially those with weaker linguistic competence. This theme also involves the belief or speculation about the potential risk that learning through the medium of English may be to the children's mother tongue and culture. This is seen as a continuum of damage, through having a lack of academic skills in the mother tongue, and a diminished vocabulary and terminology, to being semilingual or not having a language through which to express emotions. Another factor was that of learning difficulties; learning difficulties not being apparent at the beginning of the programme, and how they come to light and may be dealt with in the course of education. Moreover, a further dimension involves beliefs or speculation on the potential impact that learning through the medium of English may have on other subjects. The main worry seems to be that children may be lacking terminology for subjects, in particular, maths and science, and potential difficulties that may

be incurred by transferring to a mainstream programme, especially in terms of decreased terminology in the mother tongue.

> Enkku Respondent: *"Jotkut termit saattavat jäädä vieraiksi suomen kielellä, esim. matematiikassa. Todennäköisesti ne kuitenkin aikanaan oppii, eli on väliaikaista."* [Some terms may remain foreign in Finnish, e.g. in maths. Probably they will learn them in time, so it is temporary.]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"Arvostaako lapsi yhtä paljon omaa kieltä, jos käy koulunsa englannin kielellä? Toivottavasti.* [Does the child value his own language as much if he is educated in English? I hope so.]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that ECIL may have negative consequences, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = 11.52, *p* = .001, *phi* = +.07, with the Non-Enkku Group respondents more likely to think this than the Enkku Group respondents. The effect size, however, was very small.

4. <u>ECIL broadens children's worldview, allowing them to be more international</u>
   This theme encompasses the belief that children who learn through the medium of English are more international and have access to wider knowledge and a broader worldview through the medium of English.

> Enkku Respondent: *"maailmankansalaiseksi kasvaminen"* [growing up to be a global citizen]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"kansainvälisyyskasvatus etenee"* [education for internationalism moves forward]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that ECIL broadens children's worldviews, allowing them to be more international, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = .01, *p* = .92, *phi* = 0. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Enkku Group reported this more often than the Non-Enkku Group.

5. <u>ECIL affords children future opportunities</u>
   This theme involves the belief that ECIL is enriching and a privilege. It is beneficial to the child later in terms of having increased or better future opportunities to find a place of study, job or profession. In a small number of cases, the theme also includes the specific opportunity of being able to attend an International Baccalaureate upper secondary school (Lukio).

> Enkku Respondent: *"Opiskelumahdollisuudet tulevaisuudessa"* [Study opportunities in the future]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"satsaus tulevaisuuteen"* [investment for the future]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated

no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that ECIL affords children future opportunities, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = 1.25, p = .26, *phi* = +.02. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Enkku Group reported this more often than the Non-Enkku Group.

6. <u>ECIL enhances children's mobility prospects</u>
This theme concerns the belief that children who have learned through the medium of English will be better able to move abroad; either later in life or through the foreign job placement of a parent. It includes the ease that such children encounter when travelling in general.

> Enkku Respondent: *"lapsi voi asua helpommin myön [myös] Suomen ulkopuolella"* [*The child can also live outside Finland more easily.*]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"Lapsetkin matkustelevat ja on hyvä että osaavat Englantia"* [*Children travel, too, and it's good that they can speak English*]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that ECIL enhances children's mobility prospects, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = 2.27, *p* = .13, *phi* = -.03. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Enkku Group reported this more often than the Non-Enkku Group.

7. <u>Children learn languages best at an early age</u>
This theme is relevant to the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) – and this was explicitly referred to by some parents – and involves the belief that when children are exposed to a language at an early age, they learn it better and more easily than they would later in life. The CPH suggests that children are able to attain native-like levels of language proficiency if the second language acquisition takes place before the end of a so-called critical period, which has also been referred to as a 'window of opportunity'. The theme also comprised the idea of learning through the medium of play.

> Enkku Respondent: *"lapset eivät pelkää uutta kieltä kun se aloitetaan jo varhain, eikä vasta kolmannella luokalla"* [*children are not afraid of a new language when they begin it early, instead of waiting until third grade*]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"Kieli syötetään sisään kun ns. kieli-ikkuna on auki"* [*You feed in the language when the so-called language-window is open*]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that children learn languages best at an early age, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = .39, *p* = .53, *phi* = +.02. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Enkku Group reported this more often than the Non-Enkku Group.

8. <u>ECIL allows children to develop better international communication skills</u>
Inherent in this theme is the belief of the children being able to use English more effectively as a language of communication with people from other countries. It comprises the belief that they are better than their parents are/were, and of them having increased access to people from other countries through the nature of their education and their class. A further dimension is that their circle of friends is enhanced by this, in that they have, or may have, friends from a variety of countries.

> Enkku Respondent: *"voi itse tutustua muun maalaiseen omalla hyvällä kielitaidolla jutellen"* [*One can get to know people from other countries by chatting and using one's own good language skills.*]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"yhteinen kieli muualta muuttaneiden kanssa"* [*a common language with people who've moved from elsewhere*]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that ECIL allows children to develop better international communication skills, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = .4, p = .53, *phi* = -.02. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English.

9. <u>Miscellaneous negative beliefs concerning ECIL</u>
This theme concerns a variety of beliefs, both instrumental and affective. It concerns the belief that there are not enough places in English-medium programmes for all those would like to attend them. It also comprises the belief that testing is unfair in that the brightest children are those who get the places. Furthermore, it is concerned with the lottery of places and the reality that one sibling may be fortunate to be allotted a place, while other siblings are not. There is a belief that standards may differ between English-medium schools and mainstream education, in terms of children being evaluated by different standards. This negative theme also comprises a range of phenomena, such as stigmatisation, potential exclusion, being overly proud or 'snobby', or the group becoming a clique. It is also concerned with the potential lack of options for continuing education.

In addition, this theme comprises the issue of learning material at English-medium schools: relevant teaching material and the resources to procure it are difficult to come by; translations may be inferior in language and not relevant to Finland; and using a combination of Finnish material and English teaching may be confusing. Moreover, it comprises the belief that the learning of a language is or should not be the main aim of education. The goal of education is the teaching of subjects as laid out in the National Core Curricula, and concepts should be learned rather than the language. The idea also exists that a child must be a good learner to succeed in an English-medium programme, or also that a good learner will succeed in such a programme. Conversely, it involves the belief that English-medium education brings no greater benefit than regular mainstream education, and that English-medium education may be a fashion or a fad. Given the range of beliefs under this theme, we can see that they are perhaps personal beliefs, rather than shared group beliefs.

Enkku Respondent: *"jotkut muut ihmiset voivat kokea englanninkielisellä luokalla olemisen eliitistisenä"* [some other people may find being in an English-medium class to be elitist]

Non-Enkku Respondent: *"Kaikkia asioita ei voi opettaa englannin kielellä."* [You can't teach everything in English.]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and holding negative beliefs about ECIL, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = 5.19, *p* = .02, *phi* = +.05, with the Non-Enkku Group respondents more likely to think this than the Enkku Group respondents. The effect size, however, was very small.

10. <u>Miscellaneous positive affective beliefs specific to ECIL schools</u>
This theme comprised random comments that respondents made about the nature of the ECIL programme in terms of the type of programme or school. Another factor was friends.

Enkku Respondent: *"koulurauha"* [peace at school]

Non-Enkku Respondent: *"Opiskelu on monipuolisempaa"* [the studies are more versatile]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant association between the type of school choice and holding positive beliefs about ECIL, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = 4.63, *p* = .03, *phi* = -.05, with the Enkku Group respondents more likely to think this than the Non-Enkku Group respondents. The effect size, however, was very small.

11. <u>Often ECIL schools are not the local school and this can be problematic</u>
This theme was directly related to the Finnish ideology of pupils attending their local school. It comprised the belief that when the English-medium school is not the local neighbourhood school, this can constitute a longer school journey for the child. It also comprised the belief or reality that parents had to organise the journey to and from school themselves, i.e. there is no support from the municipality. Linked to this is the effect that being at school elsewhere can have on relationships with peers in the local neighbourhood. In many instances, friends may live elsewhere and at worst, children may have little contact with peers close to home.

Enkku Respondent: *"Koulut sijaitsevat kaukana, kaikille ei mahdollisuutta hakea ja kaikissa kunnissa ei ole mahdollisuutta. Jouduimme muuttamaan toiselle paikkakunnalle"* [The schools are far away, not everyone can go and fetch and there isn't this opportunity in every municipality. We had to move to another municipality]

Non-Enkku Respondent: *"jonkun verran turhaa pienen koululaisen kuljettelua"* [a bit of pointless transportation of little school children]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated

no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that when ECIL schools are not the local school, this can create problems, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = 1.57, p = .21, phi = -.03. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Enkku Group reported this more often than the Non-Enkku Group.

12. ECIL affects the whole family
This theme involved comments concerning parents' involvement in the ECIL programme, and the impact that learning through the medium can have on the family. This theme deals with both positive and negative aspects. The positive comments (0.4%) comprise the idea of education through the medium of English as something the family wants. It also includes parents helping their child and, themselves, being able to learn from the experience. The negative comments (0.5%) comprise the idea of parents having a greater burden and being unable to aid their child. This theme also comprised a family connection with English.

> Enkku Respondent: *"Vanhemmat eivät välttämättä osaa auttaa läksyissä"* [Parents can't necessarily help with homework]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"vanhempien kauaskantoista näkemystä"* [parents' far-reaching view]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that ECIL affects the whole family, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = 1.88, p = .17, phi = +.03. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English. However, the Non-Enkku Group reported this more often than the Enkku Group.

13. ECIL allows children to develop skills useful in Information Technology and popular culture
Some respondents specifically mentioned the belief that children who had attended an ECIL programme would have greater ease of finding information through their English schooling. In addition, their English skills would be useful in other areas of popular culture, such as hobbies. Moreover, English encountered in popular culture can also enhance studies.

> Enkku Respondent: *"tv, musiikki yms. tukevat opiskelua"* [Television, music, etc., support studies]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"pystyy nopeammin seuraamaan ulkomaisia ohjelmia"* [One can follow foreign programmes more quickly.]

A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that ECIL allows children to develop skills useful in Information Technology and popular culture, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = .38, p = .54, phi = -.02. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English.

14. Teachers' qualifications are important in ECIL
    This theme involved beliefs concerning the perceived difficulty in finding teachers who are truly qualified to work in English-medium programmes. It encompasses the belief that native-speaker teachers are viewed in a positive light, and also comprises the negative perceptions of native Finnish teachers' weaker English language skills. Respondents do not state that the Finnish teachers are inferior to English native-speaker teachers, rather they stress that the English language skills of all the teachers should be excellent and native speaker like, irrespective of nationality.

    > Enkku Respondent: *"Tulee varmistaa, että huolimatta opettajan kansalaisuudesta heidän englannin kielen lausuminen ja kielioppi ovat korkealla tasolla"* [You should make sure that, no matter what the nationality of the teacher is, their pronunciation and grammar are of a high level]

    > Non-Enkku Respondent: *"opettajien pätevyyden toteaminen"* [making sure teachers are qualified]

    A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that teachers' qualifications are important in ECIL, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = .31, p = .58, *phi* = -.02. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English.

15. Learning through the medium of another language enhances other skills
    This theme involved beliefs that learning through the medium of another language is cognitively enriching and enhances children's creativity and general thinking and expression skills in both Finnish and English.

    > Enkku Respondent: *"kaksikielisyys monipuolistaa ajattelua"* [Bilingualism diversifies thinking.]

    > Non-Enkku Respondent: *"Kognitiiviset taidot"* [Cognitive skills]

    A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and the belief that learning through the medium of another language enhances other skills, X^2 (1, n = 2498) = .05, p = .82, *phi* = +.01. Thus, neither group was more likely than the other to report this as one of their salient beliefs about English.

16. Miscellaneous positive beliefs concerning ECIL
    This theme is concerned with the belief that ECIL poses a positive challenge, especially for bright children. In addition, it comprises the element of friends at the English-medium school, the idea of diversity within the classroom and of keeping the same friends throughout school. Moreover, it is believed that the naturalistic learning of English is a positive phenomenon, and better than regular traditional language learning. Implicit is also the idea that Finnish will be learned in any case through exposure to it in the environment. A further dimension of this theme is that some children move to Finland from abroad who only have English

as their mother tongue, and for whom ECIL provides their first experiences of the Finnish school system. In all of these instances, being educated through the medium of English is held as important and necessary. Finally, the theme involves a collection of positive comments that do not fit into any of the categories above or form an independent theme. In many instances, they reflect a specific personal opinion of the respondent, hence, they are affective. Given the range of beliefs under this theme, we can see that they are perhaps personal beliefs, rather than shared group beliefs.

> Enkku Respondent: *"Kaupunki näkee kannattavaksi tällaisen toiminnan"* [The city sees this kind of activity as worthwhile]

> Non-Enkku Respondent: *"Ideana hyvä"* [As an idea, it's good]

It was not possible to calculate a Chi-square test for independence in this instance because the assumption of the minimum expected cell frequency was violated since an expected cell frequency less than 5 (4.5) was generated.

These salient beliefs can be divided into two groups; beliefs that are inherently[74] instrumental beliefs and those that are affective beliefs. Thus, the instrumental beliefs about English are: (1) ECIL facilitates the development of language proficiency and children's self-confidence; (2) ECIL increases children's openness to new cultures and tolerance; (4) ECIL broadens children's worldview, allowing them to be more international; (5) ECIL affords children future opportunities; (6) ECIL enhances children's mobility prospects; (7) Children learn languages best at an early age; (8) ECIL allows children to develop better international communication skills; (11) Often ECIL schools are not the local school and this can be problematic; (13) ECIL allows children to develop skills useful in Information Technology and popular culture; (14) Teachers' Qualifications are important in ECIL; and (15) Learning through the medium of another language enhances other skills. The inherently affective beliefs are: (3) ECIL may have negative consequences; (9) Miscellaneous negative beliefs about ECIL; (10) Miscellaneous positive beliefs specific to ECIL schools; (12) ECIL affects the whole family; and (16) Miscellaneous positive beliefs concerning ECIL.

As with Question 15, the instrumental beliefs are overwhelmingly positive, except for (11) which is largely negative, and (7) which comprises a mixture of positive and negative beliefs. The affective beliefs are more negative (3), (9) and, (16), while (10) is positive, and (12) is a mixture of positive and negative. Given the nature of (3) ECIL may have negative consequences, and the large number of responses in this category, it is examined more closely at the level of codes. These are presented in Figure 5.29 as percentages of the actual number of responses for that theme, so the actual numbers are very small from the point of view of the total actual population.

---

[74] I use 'inherently' to show that this is the major trend in the responses and similarly acknowledge that there may be a minority of comments that were in some way affective in the same category.

ENKKU GROUP

NON-ENKKU GROUP
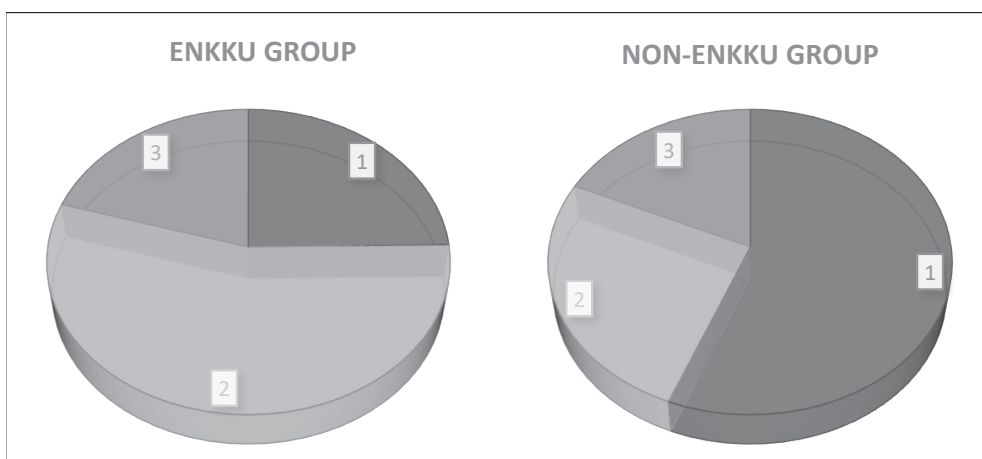
1 = Negative impact on mother tongue and culture   2 = Negative impact on other subjects
3 = Overburdening the child

Figure 5.29. Enkku and Non-Enkku Negative Beliefs Concerning ECIL

There was a slightly greater percentage of Non-Enkku responses for this theme (16% versus 11%) and the distribution of responses varies between the two groups. Enkku Group respondents are more likely to worry about the fact that learning through a language than the other tongue may impact on other subjects, depending on the language skills of the child. They are less concerned about the potential impact of ECIL on the mother tongue. The Non-Enkku Group worries more about a potential damaging impact on the mother tongue and culture, and less about a potential negative impact on other subjects. The responses in both groups were often phrased in a questioning way, hence, the respondents were not stating that, for example, ECIL does damage the mother tongue, but instead, were wondering if it might have a negative impact. These beliefs are discussed further in the following chapter as part of the discussion pertaining to the research questions.

In sum, the two groups hold the same salient beliefs about Finnish children being educated through the medium of English, but with different nuances. The Enkku Group respondents were more likely to believe that ECIL increases children's openness to new cultures and tolerance, or to hold some form of positive belief specific to ECIL schools. On the other hand, the Non-Enkku Group respondents were more likely to believe that ECIL may have negative consequences, or to hold some form of negative belief concerning ECIL. There was no significant difference between the two groups as concerns the beliefs that ECIL facilitates the development of language proficiency and children's self-confidence, or that it broadens children's worldviews, allowing them to be more international, affords them future opportunities, enhances their mobility prospects, allows them to develop better international communication skills, or allows them to develop skills useful in Information Technology and popular culture. Moreover, there was no significant difference between the groups concerning the importance of teachers' qualifications, or the beliefs that ECIL affects the whole family, that children learn languages best at an early age, that learning through the

medium of another language enhances other skills, or that when the ECIL school is not the local school this causes problems.

5.5.7 Beliefs about Finnish Parents' Choice of School for their Children

Given that Finnish society is held as equitable, and Finns are generally taught tolerance and to respect difference, these questions could have been the most 'uncomfortable' ones for the respondents; Question 20 for Enkku respondents and Question 21 for Non-Enkku respondents. Indeed, these two questions generated more missing data than any of the other questions. Three respondents declined to answer Questions 20 and 21 at all (one Enkku respondent and two Non-Enkku respondents). Of the Enkku Group, 8 respondents answered Question 21 but did not comment on Question 20, two answered Question 20 but not Question 21. For the Non-Enkku Group, seven respondents answered Question 20 but not Question 21. There were one or two comments in the Free Comments section that the respondents had felt uncomfortable commenting on the values of the other group of parents. The rest of the missing data were random. A further factor that showed that respondents may have been generally uncomfortable with these questions was the high percentage of responses in the category 'Neither Agree nor Disagree'.

   Question 20 is the fifth of the six attitude variables in the questionnaire, and is the attitude variable referred to summatively as *'Non-Enkku Parents in Terms of Basic Enkku Values'* (see Section 4.4.3). Respondents were asked to rate a series of six statements based on how much they disagreed or agreed with the statement. The options were: Totally Disagree; Disagree Somewhat; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree Somewhat; Totally Agree. The statements were "A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish…". Each statement constituted one Likert-scaled item, and collectively they constituted a summative Likert Scale. The eight Likert-scaled items were:
   (a) values education through the medium of English in Finland;
   (b) believes that a child can simultaneously acquire two languages;
   (c) believes that having proficiency in English will afford their child more opportunities in general than knowing Finnish only;
   (d) believes that having proficiency in English will have an effect on their child getting a study place in Finland;
   (e) thinks that the best jobs in Finland go first to those who have good English proficiency;
   (f) wants their child to become a global citizen;
   (g) thinks that when a child learns English at a young age, he or she learns it better than he or she would learning it only as a foreign language at school.

20(a) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish values education through the medium of English in Finland'
The response rates for this Likert-scaled item were 98% for the Enkku Group and 99% for the Non-Enkku Group. The majority of respondents in both groups agree that Non-Enkku parents do value ECIL, with Non-Enkku parents more in agreement (74.1% versus 63.4%). Less than ten per cent in each group disagree with this statement.

Figure 5.30. Distributions for the Question 20 Likert-scaled Item (a) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish values education through the medium of English in Finland' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

According to these results, valuing English-medium education is not exclusively an Enkku Group value, and can therefore, be attributed to the common cultural ground of Finnish society in general.

20(b) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish believes that a child can simultaneously acquire two languages'
The response rates were 97.8% for the Enkku Group and 98.6% for the Non-Enkku Group. As for the previous item, the majority of responses are in agreement with this statement, with Non-Enkku parents in stronger agreement (86.6% versus 70.6%). Based on these results, the fundamental principle of bilingualism, which accepts that a child can acquire two languages simultaneously, is another value that is not exclusively that of the Enkku Group.

Figure 5.31. Distributions for the Question 20 Likert-scaled Item (b) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish believes that a child can simultaneously acquire two languages' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

20(c) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish believes that having proficiency in English will afford their child more opportunities in general than knowing Finnish only'

The responses for this Likert-scaled item follow the trend of the previous two items. The response rates for this item were 97.4% for the Enkku Group and 98.9% for the Non-Enkku Group.

Figure 5.32. Distributions for the Question 20 Likert-scaled Item (c) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish believes that having proficiency in English will afford their child more opportunities in general than knowing Finnish only' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

The majority of respondents in both groups are in agreement, with the Non-Enkku parents in stronger agreement (90.5% versus 75.4%).

Once more, this is another value that is not exclusive to Enkku parents. Non-Enkku parents also generally, consider that having proficiency in English will afford their children more opportunities in general than only knowledge of Finnish.

20(d) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish believes that having proficiency in English will have an effect on their child getting a study place in Finland'
There is slightly more disagreement with this item than for the previous three, but with the majority of respondents still in agreement (64.4% of Non-Enkku parents agreed somehow). Less than half of the Enkku Group respondents agreed with this and over 30 per cent 'sat on the fence'. Moreover, this statement generated the largest amount of missing data in the Enkku group (17). Nevertheless, the strong identification of Non-Enkku parents with this item, shows that it is a factor for many of them and, hence, cannot be exclusively considered an Enkku Group value. The response rates were 96.8% for the Enkku Group and 97.5% for the Non-Enkku Group.

Figure 5.33. Distributions for the Question 20 Likert-scaled Item (d)'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish believes that having proficiency in English will have an effect on their child getting a study place in Finland' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

20(e) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish thinks that the best jobs in Finland go first to those who have good English proficiency'
This appears to be a less general belief among Non-Enkku respondents, but, nevertheless, approximately half of the Non-Enkku respondents agreed with it. The response rates were 97.6% for the Enkku Group and 97.8% for the Non-Enkku Group. Slightly more than a quarter of Enkku respondents and just under a quarter of Non-Enkku respondents disagreed. The percentages of disagreement were also higher for this item than many of the others in the Likert scale.
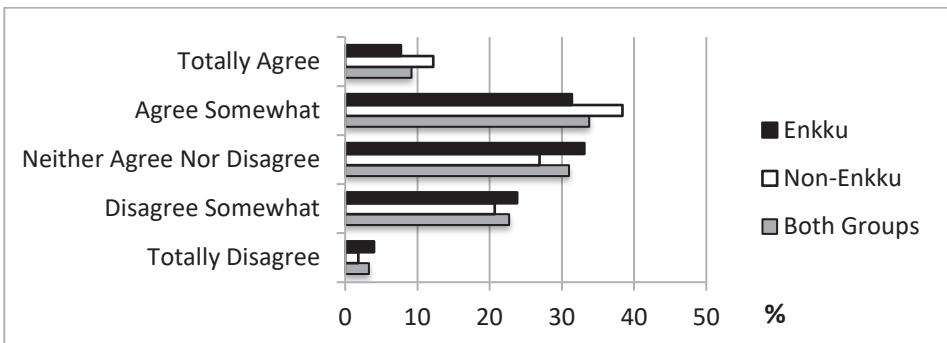
Figure 5.34. Distributions for the Question 20 Likert-scaled Item (e) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish thinks that the best jobs in Finland go first to those who have good English proficiency' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Even among the Non-Enkku Group, there is a belief that English proficiency is a factor in obtaining a good job in Finland, which also suggests that this is not an exclusively Enkku value either.

20(f) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish wants their child to become a global citizen'
This was an interesting item. The response rates were 97.6% for the Enkku Group and 97.5% for the Non-Enkku Group. The majority of respondents abstained from agreeing or disagreeing with the statement. In general, there is less agreement than for the previous items (49.6 % Non-Enkku versus 35.8 Enkku).
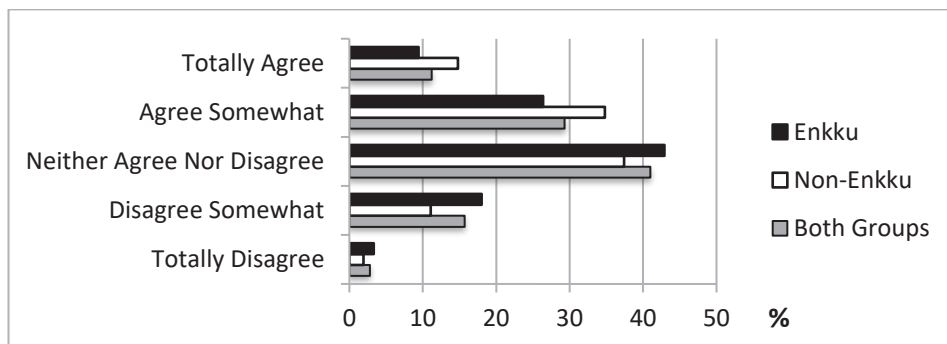
Figure 5.35. Distributions for the Question 20 Likert-scaled Item (f) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish wants their child to become a global citizen' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Given that the agreement responses are still higher than the disagreement responses, this value can also be attributed to Non-Enkku parents, but is perhaps less important to them than values represented by the previous items. This item generated the greatest amount of 'Neither Agree nor Disagree' responses for both groups (Non-Enkku 40% and Enkku 42 per cent). Nevertheless, 48% of the Non-Enkku Group were in agreement with the statement, and 35% of the Enkku Group. The high percentages of neutral responses are interesting, especially because the global factor and the idea of a pluralistic world and culture are major factors in how both groups construct English and English-medium education.

20(g) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish thinks that when a child learns English at a young age, they learn it better than they would learning it only as a foreign language at school'
This item again generated a majority of agreement, with 69.7% of Non-Enkku Group respondents agreeing somehow and 66.8% of Enkku respondents doing the same. The response rates were 97.4% for the Enkku Group and 98.9% for the Non-Enkku Group. This shows that many Non-Enkku parents also believe that languages are best learned at an early age, in accordance with the principles of the CPH.
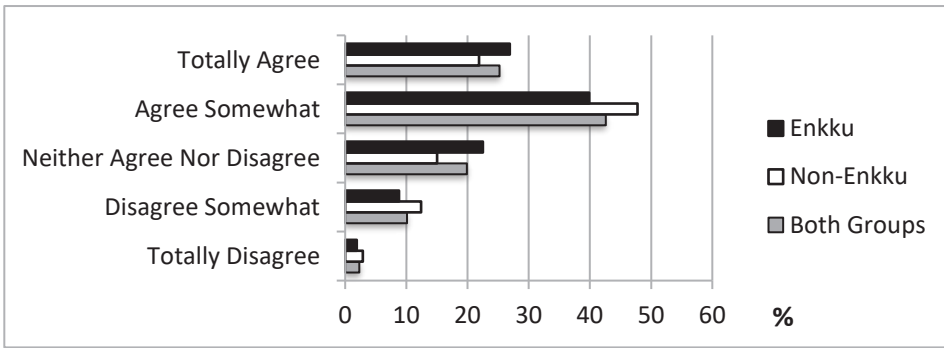
Figure 5.36. Distributions for the Question 20 Likert-scaled Item (g) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish thinks that when a child learns English at a young age, he or she learns it better than he or she would learning it only as a foreign language at school' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

This construct was designed to explore how much certain values that might be held as typically Enkku values (i.e. held by parents who have children in an ECIL programme) were held as also being shared by Non-Enkku parents. The results from Question 20 show that, according to the respondents in this study, the basic values associated with parents who choose English-medium education for their children (basic Enkku values) are not exclusive to Enkku parents. The results above show that all of these so-called 'basic Enkku values' are also held by Non-Enkku parents, some more than others. Non-Enkku parents generally do feel that proficiency in English is important for job and study opportunities. They do share similar beliefs about bilingualism and the CPH. Cosmopolitanism is the value that, perhaps for them, is not so important. These results help to illustrate values that are part of the common cultural ground in Finland, at least as concerns the respondents in this study.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare attitudes to how much it was felt that Non-Enkku parents may hold basic Enkku values in the Enkku and Non-Enkku group. A significant difference in attitude was observed, $t(618.50) = -4.87$, $p < .001$, with those in the Enkku group holding more positive attitudes ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 0.68$) than those in the Non-Enkku group ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 0.61$). The calculated effect size was between small and medium, Cohen's $d = -0.36$, Effect-size $r = -0.17$ suggesting low to moderate practical significance. There were nine missing responses from the Enkku Group and two missing responses from the Non-Enkku Group. This could, in part, be explained by the respondents' response to this question. The Enkku Group respondents may have been uncomfortable commenting on the values of the other group. This was commented upon in the free comment section at the end of the questionnaire.

Question 21 is the last of the six attitude variables in the questionnaire, and is the attitude variable referred to summatively as **'Enkku Parents in Terms of Intense Enkku Values'**. It was devised specifically for this survey. Respondents were asked to rate a series of six statements based on how much they disagreed or agreed on the statement with regard to its significance. The options were: Totally Disagree; Disagree Somewhat; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree Somewhat; Totally Agree. The statements were "A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English …".

Each statement constituted one Likert-scaled item, and collectively they constituted a summative Likert Scale. The eight Likert-scaled items were:

(a) wants something better than the local school;
(b) would be prepared to move elsewhere to ensure their child a place at an English-medium school;
(c) believes that a child is better able to look after his or her parents in their old age if he or she has attended an English-medium school;
(d) would be prepared to do whatever it took to ensure that their child passed the entrance test to an English-medium school;
(e) chooses and English-medium school for their child because their friend's children attend an English-medium school;
(f) would be prepared to transport their child to school further afield;
(g) believes that their child's future is assured if he or she gets a place at an English-medium school.

21(a) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English wants something better than the local school'

The response rates for this Likert-scaled item were 99.3% for the Enkku Group and 95.7% for the Non-Enkku Group. It appears that the majority are in agreement with the statement, with slightly more agreement in the Non-Enkku Group (55% versus 49.7%)
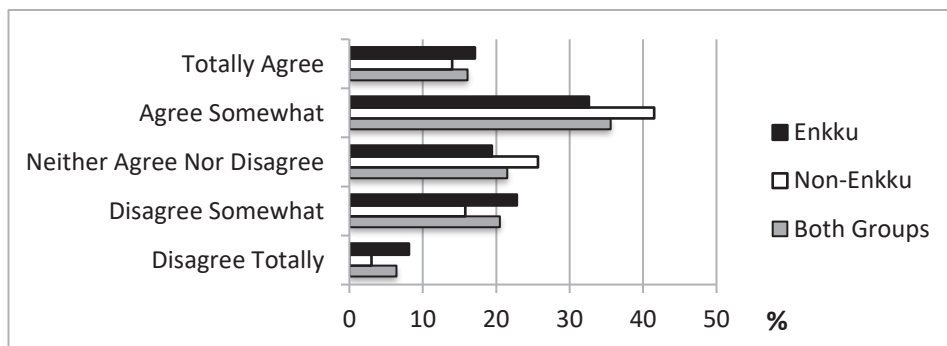
Figure 5.37. Distributions for the Question 21 Likert-scaled Item (a) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English wants something better than the local school' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

Based on the results, wanting something better than the local school is a value that is generally associated with Enkku Group parents by the respondents, although about a third of respondents disagreed.

21(b) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English would be prepared to move elsewhere to ensure their child a place at an English-medium school'

This Likert-scaled item generated the greatest amount of missing data from the Non-Enkku Group (14) jointly with statement (g). The response rates were 99.4% for the Enkku Group and 95% for the Non-Enkku Group. What is interesting is that around a quarter of respondents do agree with the statement, so it would not be unheard of for someone to move for that reason.
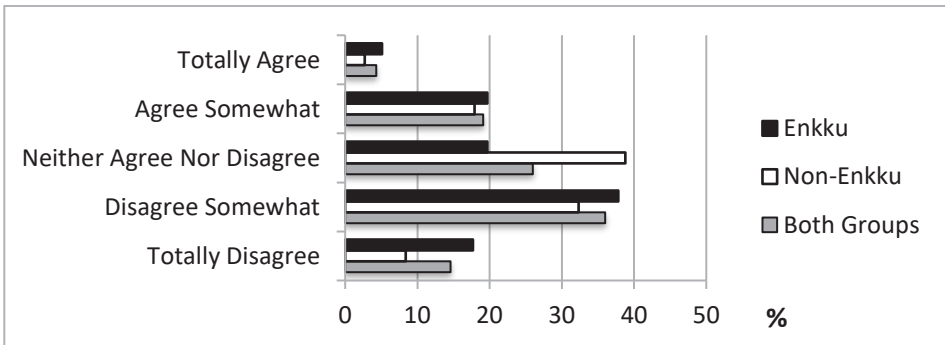
Figure 5.38. Distributions for the Question 21 Likert-scaled Item (b) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English would be prepared to move elsewhere to ensure their child a place at an English-medium school' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

21(c) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English believes that a child is better able to look after his or her parents in their old age if he or she has attended an English-medium school'

The response rates for this item were 99.4% for the Enkku Group and 96% for the Non-Enkku Group. It was difficult to operationalise this into an item that would have relevance in Finnish society. The function of the variable was to imply a return on an investment made. I am not sure that this variable has been entirely successful, but nevertheless a minority were in agreement. The majority disagreed (76.5% Enkku and 66.9% Non-Enkku), which appears to show that expectation of some form of material or financial return on the investment in their child is not a value associated with Enkku Group parents in Finland by either of the respondent groups.
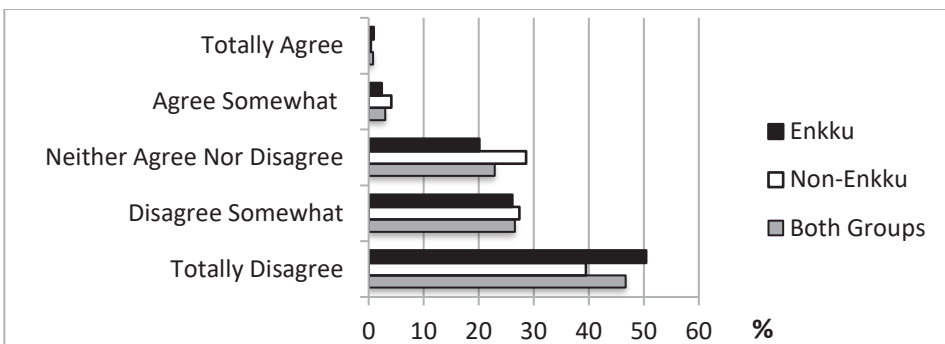
Figure 5.39. Distributions for the Question 21 Likert-scaled Item (c) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English believes that a child is better able to look after his or her parents in their old age if he or she has attended an English-medium school' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

21(d) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English would be prepared to do whatever it took to ensure that their child passed the entrance test to an English-medium school'

The response rates were 98.3% for the Enkku Group and 96% for the Non-Enkku Group. About a tenth of respondents agreed with this (9.5% Enkku and 11.3% Non-Enkku). One might expect the Enkku respondents to disagree, as 74.1% do, but this disagreement is also supported by Non-Enkku respondents at 63.1 per cent.
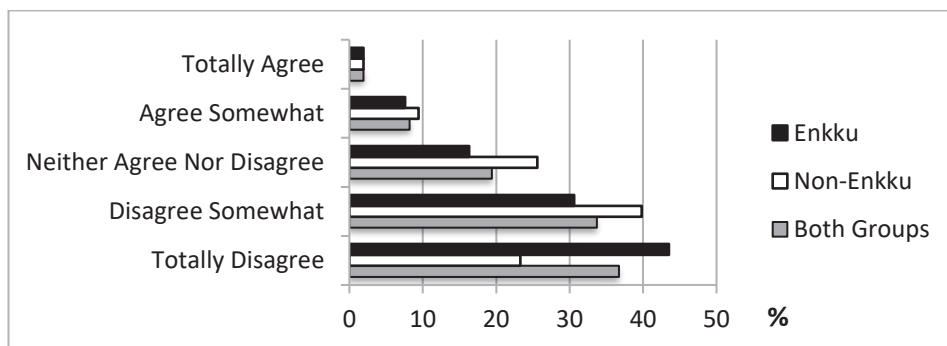
Figure 5.40. Distributions for the Question 21 Likert-scaled Item (d) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English would be prepared to do whatever it took to ensure that their child passed the entrance test to an English-medium school' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

21(e) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English chooses an English-medium school for their child because their friend's children attend an English-medium school'

The Non-Enkku respondents were twice as likely to agree with this item (25.2% versus 12.6%), however, in general, the agreement was low. The response rates were 99% for the Enkku Group and 96% for the Non-Enkku Group. In general, the Enkku parents do not choose an ECIL school because this is a subjective norm and a belief shared with friends.
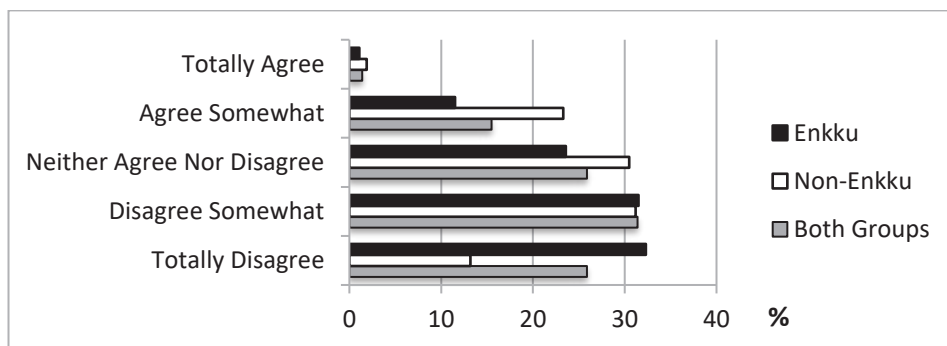
Figure 5.41. Distributions for the Question 21 Likert-scaled Item (e) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English chooses an English-medium school for their child because their friend's children attend an English-medium school' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

21(f) A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English would be prepared to transport their child to school further afield

The response rates for this item were 99% for the Enkku Group and 95.7% for the Non-Enkku Group. Based on the high agreement rates from both groups (71.7% Non-Enkku and 78.7% Enkku), this item could be considered more as a general value associated with parents who choose ECIL by both groups of respondents.
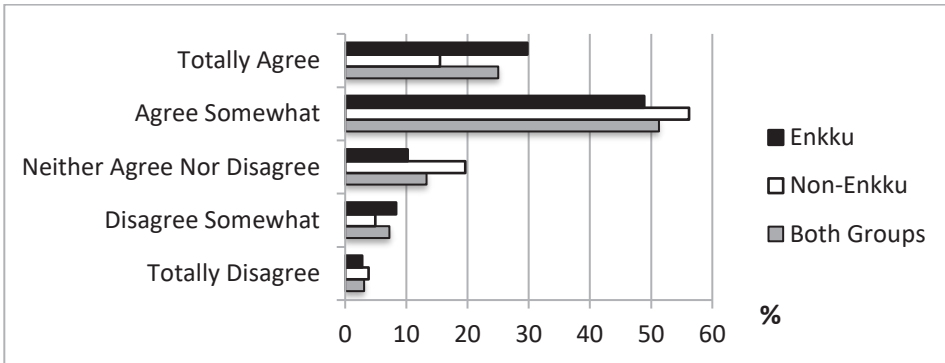
Figure 5.42. Distributions for the Question 21 Likert-scaled Item (f) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English would be prepared to transport their child to school further afield' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

21(g) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English believes that their child's future is assured if he or she gets a place at an English-medium school'

The responses for this Likert-scaled item are collected around the centre and less likely to be totally agree or totally disagree. Over a third of all respondents abstained from commenting on this item. Slightly more than a third disagreed and just under a third disagreed. The response rates were 98.9% for the Enkku Group and 95% for the Non-Enkku Group.
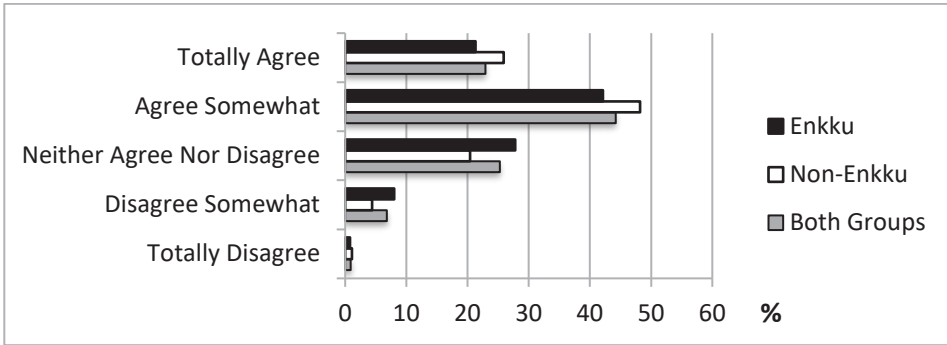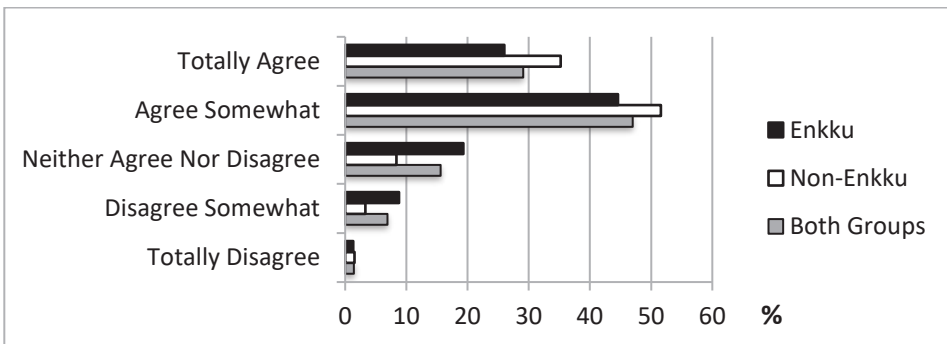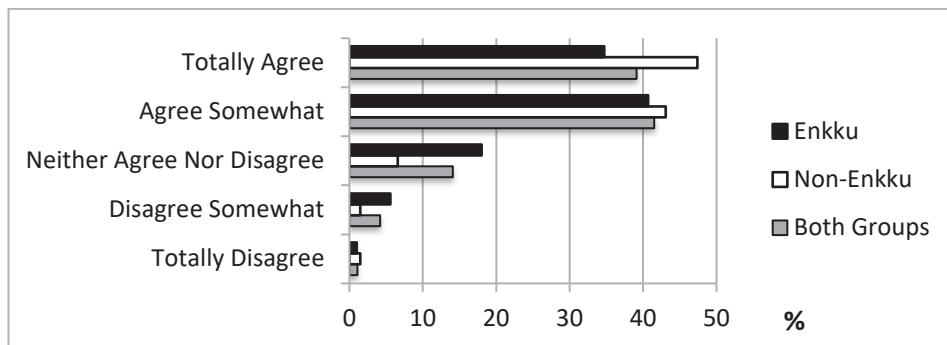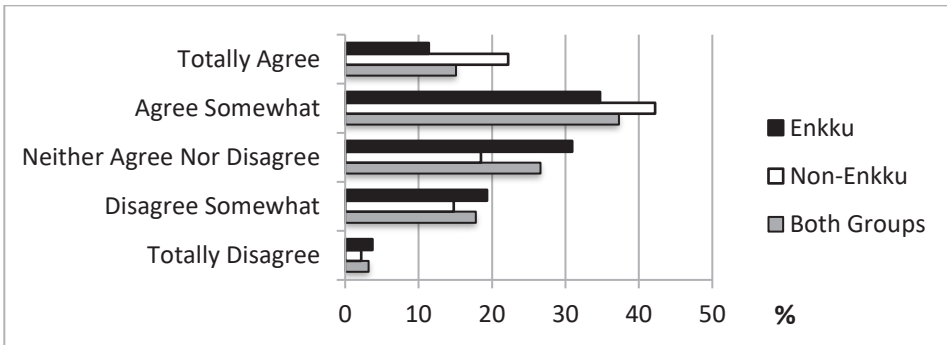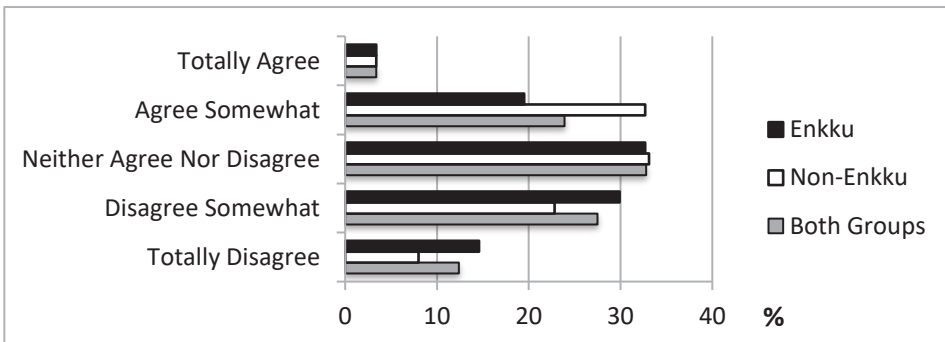

Figure 5.43. Distributions for the Question 21 Likert-scaled Item (g) 'A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English believes that their child's future is assured if he or she gets a place at an English-medium school' for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

The results from Question 21 show that, according to the respondents in this study, parents who choose to have their children educated through the medium of English generally do not display these so-called intense Enkku values. The results show that there is no clear pattern, but that the greatest number of responses for both groups was in agreement that parents who choose to have their children educated in English are seeking something better than the local school and are prepared to transport their child. Based on the responses from both the Enkku and the Non-Enkku Groups, it seems that these two are values that can generally be held as values associated with parents who choose ECIL for their children.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare attitudes to how much it was felt that Enkku parents may hold extreme Enkku values in the Enkku and non-Enkku group. A significant difference in attitude was observed, t (797) = -4.65, p <.001, with those in the Enkku group holding more positive attitudes (M = 2.62, SD = 0.66) than those in the Non-Enkku group (M = 2.85, SD = 0.61). The calculated response size was between small and medium, Cohen's d = -0.35, suggesting low to moderate practical significance. Hence, there was only a slight difference between Enkku respondent and Non-Enkku respondent rate of agreement on these items. There were three missing responses from the Enkku group and ten missing responses from the Non-Enkku group. This could in part be explained by the respondents' response to this question. The Non-Enkku Group respondents may have been uncomfortable commenting on the values of the other group. This was commented upon in the free comment section at the end of the questionnaire.

5.5.8 Reasons for Actual School Choice

Question 22 was in three parts: the first to ascertain whether the children were currently in English-medium education or not; the second for parents to explain their choice; and the third for those in English-medium education to explain the type of programme. The first part had three options: (1) yes, currently; (2) not now but earlier; and (3) no. Eight respondents reported that their child had been in an English-medium programme at one point but was no longer there. This question was also one of the inclusion criteria for participation in the study, and as such the variables were re-coded into (1) yes, currently and (2) not now and no. Thus, the Enkku Group with 535 respondents and the Non-Enkku Group with 277 respondents were formed.

Question 22b of the questionnaire asked the parents to give reason for their choice of school and some extra information about the school. It specified that if their child attended an English-medium school they were to give reasons for this choice, and if their child did not, they were to give reasons for that particular choice. The aim was to ascertain what guided the Enkku parents in choosing to have their child educated through the medium of English. In the case of Non-Enkku parents, the aim was to illuminate why they did not choose the English-medium stream.

The two groups are dealt with separately, beginning with the Enkku Group. Seven per cent (39) of Enkku parents declined to answer this question at all. The remaining 496 Enkku-parents' responses were analysed qualitatively for recurring themes in the data. Of these responses, 11% did not specifically answer the question of why the parents had chosen the type of school they had. Generally, in many instances, the response ended because the number of characters allowed in the E-lomake form had run out. This may be one reason why the responses lacked the relevant information. In

hindsight, it might have been better to have had a larger amount of space for parents to write their responses in. Nevertheless, the remaining 442 responses generated 701 hits and 10 themes to answer the question satisfactorily. The frequencies relevant to each theme have been calculated as a percentage of the 701 responses for Table 5.14.

Table 5.14. The Distribution of School Choice Themes for the Enkku Group

	Frequency	Percent
1. Linguistic Capital	177	25.25
2. Connection with Abroad	118	16.83
3. Early Access to English	100	14.27
4. English as a Home Language	75	10.7
5. The School was the Local Neighbourhood School	53	7.56
6. International Capital	51	7.28
7. Extra Challenges for a Bright Child	40	5.70
8. Wanting Something Better than the Local Neighbourhood School	36	5.14
9. Child's Own Interest/Desire	35	4.99
10. Sibling Experience or Recommended by Others	16	2.28
TOTAL	**701**	**100**

1. Linguistic Capital

Inherent in this theme is the idea of language proficiency in English for the child as a form of future benefit. English is held as largely unavoidable. Learning through English is seen as more natural and leading to better, faster, or more native-like proficiency. For many, the child's having good proficiency in English is held as the key to a better future or life in terms of increased employment opportunities. A further dimension of this theme, in part, is to afford the children the opportunity to develop better language skills than their parents.

"... suomen kieli ei yksin riitä, englantia tarvitaan työelämässä ja opinnoissa - hyvä kielitaito ja englanninkielentaito edellytys työelämässä menestymiseen ja vaativimmissa tai kansainvälisissä tehtävissä …"

[Finnish alone is not enough, you need English in working life and in studies – good language skills and good English skills are a prerequisite for success in working life and in more challenging or international tasks…]

2. Connection with Abroad

This theme deals with the child's connection with a foreign country, that is, outside of Finland. In many instances the children have lived abroad with their parents, and in some instances, the children were born abroad. Some of the children had attended school or day-care in English in the country of residence. In most instances, the country of residence was an English-speaking one. Some parents wanted to boost their children's English language proficiency because of a potential move abroad in connection with a parent's job.

"Lapset oppivat englantia asuessamme Australiassa, kun he olivat pieniä. Halusin, että kielitaito säilyisi. Lisäksi koen, että englanti yhtenä maailmankielistä on suomalaisille tärkeä, koska meidän kieltämme ei osaa kukaan."

[The children learned English when we lived in Australia, when they were little. I wanted them to keep their language skills. In addition, I feel that, as one of the global languages, English is important for Finns, because no one can speak our language.]

3. **Early Access to English**

This theme concerns children who began learning English at an early age at day-care or, at the latest, in their pre-school year. Day-care implies that the children must have been at least four years old, and pre-school is the year in which they turn six years of age. The theme comprises the idea of basic education through the medium of English as a natural continuation from day-care and pre-school. In some instances, it implies that the same children are together for the duration of basic education in the same class. A further dimension of this theme is the explicit statement of the belief that one learns a language better or with greater ease as a child. It encompasses the idea of the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) – although no parent quoted this explicitly – whereby the general assumption exists that younger learners perform better than older ones. The CPH suggests that children are able to attain native-like levels of language proficiency if the second language acquisition takes place before the end of a so-called critical period, which has also been referred to as a 'window of opportunity'.

"Halusin, että lapseni saa pienestä pitäen englannin kielistä opetusta (on ollut myös englannin kielisessä päiväkodissa). Uskon että se aktivoi aivoja positiivisella tavalla ja kaksikielisyys tulee luontaisella tavalla, kun sen on pienestä pitäen opetellut..."

[I wanted my child to have English teaching from an early age (has also been in English day-care). I believe that it activates the brain in a positive way and bilingualism comes in a natural way when they have learned it from an early age…]

4. **English as a Home Language**

This theme concerns children for whom English is a home language. It may be one of the child's mother tongues. It also comprises the idea of one of the parents being English speaking or a child adopted from another country and English as a means of maintaining contact with the child's country of origin. This theme also pertains to families returning from abroad and whose children do not have the necessary proficiency in Finnish to cope with being educated through that language. They either manage better in English or English is seen as a means to facilitate adaptation to life in Finnish.

"Lapseni käy koulua kaksikielisellä linjalla, sillä lasten isän äidinkieli on englanti ja koemme tärkeänä tukea myös heidän englannin kielen kehitystä mahdollisimman varhain/ paljon."

[My child is in the bilingual stream because the father's first language is English and we feel that it is also important to support the development of their English language as early/much as possible.]

5. **The School was the Local Neighbourhood School**

For some, the school providing the English-medium education was the local school for the children. Parents felt that it would be foolish not to take advantage of the opportunity. Some parents specified that had the school been further afield, they would not have been prepared to transport their child there.

> *"Lapseni käyvät koulua englannin kielellä, ensisijassa koska koulu on lähikoulumme ja heidän yleiset oppimisvalmiutensa ovat hyvät ja toiseksi koska olisi mielestäni haaskausta jättää käyttämättä mahdollisuus saada hyvä englannin kielen taito ..."*

> *[My children go to school in English, primarily because the school is our local school, and they have good readiness for learning, and secondly, in my opinion, it would be a waste not to take the opportunity to get good English language skills…]*

6. **International Capital**

This theme comprises the idea of English bringing an international dimension to the lives of the children, as opposed to merely language skills, as a form of future benefit. The theme encompasses the ideas of tolerance of difference, multiculturalism and being able to communicate with people of different nationalities. It also includes socialisation and respect for others at an international level. The parents feel that their children will be more international individuals with access to the broader world and not restricted to just Finland.

> *"Lapsemme käyvät englanninkielistä koulua koska haluamme tarjota heille monikulttuurisen kouluympäristön. Tahdomme, että he suhtautuvat erilaisuuteen suvaitsevasti ja kansainvälisyyteen positiivisesti..."*

> *[Our children attend an English-medium school because we want to offer them a multicultural school environment. We want them to be tolerant of difference and see internationalism in a positive light...]*

7. **Extra Challenges for a Bright Child**

This theme deals with parents seeking more challenges for their child. Parents reported that their child was bright, or linguistically gifted, or could read and write and count before school. In such instances, they felt that the first two years of school would not be challenging enough in a regular Finnish mainstream programme, but that learning through the medium of English would provide the child with extra stimulation to keep their motivation for learning on track.

> *"... lapseni osasi jo kouluun mennessä lukea, kirjoittaa sekä laskea. Ilman kielen tuomaa haastetta, hänen olisi ollut vaikea motivoitua kouluun."*

> *[… my child could already read, write, and count when he/she went to school. Without the challenges posed by the language, it would have been difficult to get him/her motivated about school.]*

8. **Wanting Something Better than the Local Neighbourhood School**

This theme comprises the idea of parents wanted something more or better than what is provided by the local school. In some instances, the English classes are

perceived as being calmer and more motivated because the students had to first pass an entrance test or assessment. In some instances, the English-medium school had been chosen as a conscious alternative to the local school because of perceived negative aspects of the local school.

> *"Lähikoulun rakennus oli niin jäätävän huono, etten halunnut lapsia sinne ja niinpä tie kulki engl kiel eskariin"*

> *[The local school building was just so awful that I didn't want my children there and so the road lead to the English pre-school]*

9. Child's Own Interest/Desire

This theme concerns the child's own interest in English-medium learning.

> *" Hän itse halusi. Piti tärkeänä oppia mahdollisimman paljon englantia ja aikaisin..."*

> *[He/she wanted it himself/herself. He/she thought that it was important to learn as much English as possible and early on...]*

10. Sibling Experience or Recommended by Others

In some cases, a child had had a sibling or siblings that had attended the English-medium school, making it a natural assumption that they would also attend. It also comprises the idea of choosing the English-medium school because friends are also going, or because it was recommended by family or friends.

> *"Ystävien suosittelemana kävi englanninkielisen päiväkodin. Sen jälkeen halusi itse kansainväliseen kouluun koska kaveritkin menivät sinne."*

> *[Went to an English day-care centre because friends recommended it. Afterwards wanted to go to the international school himself/herself because friends were going there.]*

Not all the children from the same families attended the same school. One factor for this was that some children expressed a particular desire to attend the English-medium school, while their siblings did not. Other reasons were that siblings had not been successful in the entrance exam or had not been lucky in the lottery for a place, or that they had had learning issues and moved to a programme more beneficial for them. In addition, it may have been the case that parents were not aware of the opportunity for English-medium education with their eldest child or that the English-medium education only became available later.

Moving on to the Non-Enkku group, a third of the 277 Non-Enkku parents declined to answer this question at all. This may be because the choice of mainstream Finnish education for Finnish children is the norm, and therefore, does not require further explanation. The remaining 186 Non-Enkku-parents' responses were analysed qualitatively for recurring themes in the data. The responses generated 242 hits and 10 themes to answer the question satisfactorily. The frequencies relevant to each theme have been calculated as a percentage of the 242 responses for Table 5.15.

Table 5.15. The Distribution of School Choice Themes for the Non-Enkku Group

	Frequency	Percent
1. Unequal Access to English-medium Programmes	68	28.1
2. Finnish is the Best Medium of Instruction for Finnish Children	30	12.4
3. Desiring the Local Neighbourhood School	29	12.0
4. Other Specialised Programmes	24	10.
5. 'Weak' forms of English CLIL Programmes or Early English Programmes	23	9.5
6. Not Overburdening the Child	18	7.4
7. The Regular A1 English Programme is Enough	17	7.0
8. Lack of Desire for an English-medium Programme	17	7.0
9. English Can Be Learned Anyway	12	5.0
10. Changing Programmes	4	1.6
TOTAL	**242**	**100**

An interesting result here is that 63 (23%) Non-Enkku Group parents who responded to Question 22b mentioned the unequal access to English-medium programmes, which suggests that they might also have liked to have had ECIL for their children.

1. **Unequal Access to English-medium Programmes**

This theme involves the idea that not every child is able to have a place in an English-medium programme. It comprises a range of reasons; the programme not being available when the child was of an age to apply for it (15 hits); a child's lack of prior knowledge of English through not having attended an English day-care centre or equivalent (8 hits); not having passed the entrance test or been accepted to the English programme (21 hits); not being lucky in the lottery to gain a place (4 hits); there being no programme in the local area or neighbourhood (15 hits); or the 'English school' was not the local neighbourhood school, and involved travelling a distance to the school (5 hits). For a minority of comments, it was implied that this would probably still have not affected the choice of school.

"Hän ei päässyt kieliluokalle, koska arpaonni ei suosinut. Pärjäsi hienosti testeissä, mutta hakijat arvottiin suuren kysynnän vuoksi."

[He/she did not get into the English-medium class because we were not lucky in the lottery. He/she did great in the test, but because there were so many applicants, they had a draw.]

2. **Finnish is the best Medium of Instruction for Finnish Children**

This theme is self-explanatory and is concerned with parents' views that it is more important for Finnish children to learn through the medium of their mother tongue. Things are learned more easily, or better, and a strong mother tongue is also a good basis for further language learning. Finnish is the best language for Finnish identity. The idea that English is less important than Finnish, or of little

general importance, is also inherent in the theme. It is perhaps best summed up in the words of one respondent: "Why should you have to give grounds for a child being educated in their mother tongue?"

"Suomen kielen taito syvällisesti kasvattaa suomalaista identiteettiä. Kansainvälistymistä voi tehdä myöhemmin muillakin keinoin."

[Finnish language skills build the Finnish identity. You can become international later in other ways.]

3. **Desiring the Local Neighbourhood School**
In many instances, the children were attending their local neighbourhood school, and parents were satisfied with this in terms of a short distance for the child to travel between home and school, and thus, a safer experience. Moreover, the child would also have access to friends in their immediate neighbourhood. The idea of sending their child to be educated through the medium of English may not even have been something that these parents would even have considered.

"Halusin omien lasteni käyvän lähikoulua lyhyiden koulumatkojen sekä kavereiden vuoksi - lapselle on tärkeää saada käydä samaa koulua ystäviensä kanssa ja tämä tukee hänen sosiaalisia suhteitaan..."

[I wanted my own children to go to the local school because of the short travelling distance and their friends – it is important for a child to be in the same school as their friends and that supports their social relationships...]

4. **Other Specialised Programmes**
In several instances, parents stated that English was not the preferred specialised programme for their child. Many of the schools offered other streams such as German, science, or music. Children were not allowed to have more than one speciality, and for these children, English was not a priority.

"Valitsimme heille kaikille kuitenkin taide- tai medialinjan (alakoulu) sekä science-linjan, joka vielä paremmin tuntui vastaavan heidän ja koko perheen suuntautumista ja elämäntapaa."

[We chose the art and media programme for them all (in primary), as well as the science programme, which fit their orientations and life style, and the family's even better.]

5. **'Weak' forms of English CLIL programmes or Early English Programmes**
Some of the children in the so-called Non-Enkku group were actually in classes receiving more English than laid out in the National Core Curriculum. Parents said that the extra English was in the form of an hour a week in Grades one and two, or some subject lessons being taught or partially taught in English. These programmes appear to be part of the school programme and not a form of school choice *per se*.

"Molemmat lapset 1.luokasta saakka oppineet englantia. Sattuu olemaan lähikoulumme."

[Both children have learned English from Grade One. It happened to be our local school.]

6. **Not Overburdening the Child**

   This theme deals with the idea that regular Finnish mainstream education provides enough of a challenge for children without burdening them with the extra task of learning a foreign language. Parents wish their child to have the best possible start to life at school. It comprises the idea of children with learning difficulties and the sufficient challenge that they have to cope and succeed at school.

   "Ei turhia paineita, koulu itsessään hyvin vaativaa, vaikka olisi lahjakaskin oppija."

   [No unnecessary pressure; school itself is demanding even for a gifted child.]

7. **The Regular A1 English Programme is Enough**

   As the title suggests, this theme concerns the idea that children in Finland will gain a sufficient knowledge of English from the regular mainstream English as a foreign language instruction. It also comprises the idea of children in Finland being able to be good at English despite not having been in an English-medium programme, and also some discontent or mistrust of such programmes.

   "Mielestäni normaali, opetussuunnitelman mukainen englanninkielen opetus on riittävä lapselleni."

   [In my opinion, regular English instruction according to the national curriculum is enough for my child.]

8. **English Can Be Learned Anyway**

   This theme deals with the idea that children in Finland can learn English in non-formal learning situations, such as through computer games, the Internet, or movies. It also comprises the idea that English can be learned later.

   "Ei käy, koska oppii englannin kielen helposti muutenkin (media-tv+netti ...)"

   [Doesn't attend because is learning English easily anyway (media, television, Internet...)]

9. **Lack of Desire for an English-medium Programme**

   This theme comprises the idea that the children themselves expressed that they had no desire to be in an English-medium class or programme. This theme reflects the idea that some parents had no desire for their child to be in an English-medium programme. This may have been because they felt that English was not necessary, or its being a 'non-issue' for them.

   "En ole kokenut olevan tarvetta lasteni käymiseen englanninkielisessä opetuksessa. Äidinkieli on suomi ja vieraita kieliä opiskellaan ja opitaan kiitettävästi Suomessa."

   [I have never felt the need to put my child in English-medium education. Mother tongue is Finnish and foreign languages can be learned excellently in Finland.]

10. **Changing from an English-medium Programme to Mainstream Finnish**

    This is another self-explanatory theme concerning children who spent some time in an English-medium programme but then changed to the regular Finnish

mainstream programme, or those in mainstream who will begin in an English medium programme. This may have been through circumstance or through some kind of learning issue or disability.

"Lapsemme aloittaa syksyllä englanninkielipainotteisella luokalla."

[Our child will start in an English-medium class in the autumn.]

One of the themes from the Non-Enkku parents involves weak forms of Content-and-Language-Integrated-Learning programmes or Early English. Nine per cent of Non-Enkku parents informed that their child had early English or other weak form of CLIL during the school week. Some schools that have enriched English-medium programmes offer all of their students early English or some form of extra access to English (as in Case Kuopio, Section 3.4). Early English, for example, involves one or two hours a week from grades one or two in which the students are introduced to English. Often these lessons take the form of naturalistic learning in which the children learn basic concepts through play and songs. Early English is not restricted to schools that offer enriched English-medium programmes. Teachers at regular mainstream pre-schools and primary schools are being encouraged to offer early English programmes. It also highlights that there may be differences in how parents interpret English-medium education and the amount of education that must be in English. These responses suggest that for some parents, unless all or most of the education is in English, they do not consider it as English-medium education, but something else, which they refer to as CLIL, immersion, language shower. Moreover, three respondents commented that a middle-way type of English education, using both English and Finnish would, in their opinion, be ideal.

The variety of English-medium programmes on offer and the lack of consensus referred to above are why the third part of the question was added initially for Enkku parents, but in hindsight, the Early English also applies to Non-Enkku parents, some of whom did respond. One factor that became apparent in the course of conducting this study is that there is no full consensus on the terminology of what English-medium education and its equivalents in Finnish are. For some, it can only mean that all of the education is in English, as in an international school. Parents also made distinctions between English classes and classes with enriched English. Hence, it is important to note that the groupings of Enkku and Non-Enkku derive from how the parents categorised themselves according to how they answered Questions 22a. They were not assigned into groups by the researcher.

The function of this Question 22c was to ascertain the amount of English the children in the English-medium programmes were receiving. In my expectation, numerically, the maximum number of respondents for this part of the question should have been 543 (535 Enkku parents plus the 8 whose children changed from the English-medium programme to another programme). In fact, 567 respondents (104%) answered this part of the question. This led to an examination of the actual respondents from the data. The breakdown of actual respondents for this question was Enkku = 531 and Non-Enkku = 36 respondents. Of the 36 Non-Enkku respondents, seven were parents whose children had been in an English-medium programme but transferred to another programme. Of these seven, three children had been in a programme with a hundred percent English, three with several hours of English a week, and one with a few hours of English. A further 29 Non-Enkku parents had responded to this question: four

for several hours English, 11 for a few hours English and 14 for Early English. This relates to the theme identified from the Non-Enkku respondents' reasons for choice of school 'Weak' forms of English CLIL programmes or Early English Programmes. Figure 5.52 below presents the distribution for the amount of English for the 531 Enkku respondents who answered.

1 = All teaching in English
3 = A few hours teaching in English a week

2 = Several hours teaching in English a week
4 = Early English
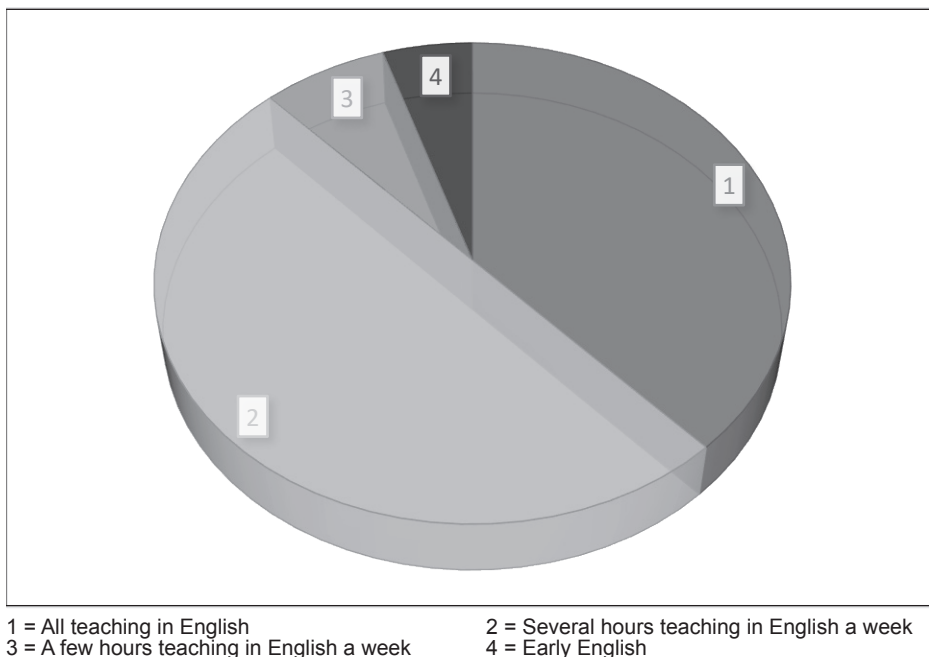
Figure 5.44. The Distribution of Amount of English for Enkku Group Children in ECIL

Thirty-eight per cent of Enkku respondents said their child was in an English-only programme. This is somewhat confusing since the Finnish National Board of Education prescribes that, "When organising bilingual education, it should be ensured that all pupils can achieve eligibility for upper secondary education and training during basic education" (FNBE 2016, p. 96), which suggests that the Finnish first language should be taught, and in Finnish. This is, nonetheless, supported by the comments of several parents, who stated that their children had been born abroad, and were unable to cope with school in Finnish because of weak Finnish language skills. In such instances, I believe that the children attended international schools. The majority of children in English-medium programmes, however, are not in programmes with a hundred percent English instruction, rather they are in some other form of bilingual education. This shows that the ECIL is not only a phenomenon for pupils who have a concrete and personal connection with abroad, or who have English as their first language, but that the phenomenon is mostly relevant to regular Finnish children of regular Finnish families, whose first language is usually Finnish.

5.6   Respondents' Education, Professional Background, and Income

This section addresses issues related with the third research question and comprised 6 questions with an A and B component. The A component asked about the respondents' education and profession, while the B component asked about the education and profession of the respondent's spouse. The final two questions concerned the respondent's household: one question about the structure of the household and the final question with A and B components to enquire about income. The idea was to generate information that could be used to ascertain if Enkku parents could be said to be more 'middle-class' or of a better socioeconomic status than the Non-Enkku parents.

For Question 23, respondents were asked to state the type of basic education they and their spouse/partner (if relevant) had. The response rates were 99.4% Enkku (n = 533) and 99.6% Non-Enkku (n = 276). The majority of respondents in each group have completed the sixth form / matriculation exam, which is one of the routes into university education in Finland (85% Enkku versus 74% Non-Enkku). Slightly more Enkku than Non-Enkku respondents have matriculated from the sixth form, and slightly more of the Non-Enkku Group respondents stated that they had completed basic education only (24% versus 15% in the Enkku Group). None of the Enkku Group respondents had pre-1970 basic education, but 2% of the Non-Enkku Group listed this as their education. The distributions are presented in Figure 5.53. while Table 5.16 presents the frequencies of the groups split according to gender (n = 809).
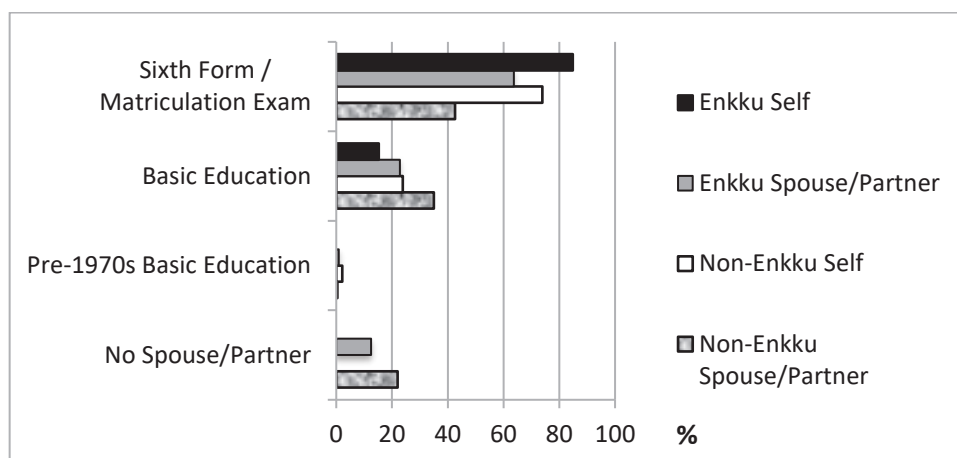
Figure 5.45. The Distribution of Basic Education for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups for Self and Spouse/Partner

Table 5.16. Frequencies of Basic Education for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups by Gender (% of Own Group)

	Enkku Female (n = 409)	Enkku Male (n = 122)	Enkku Unspecified (n = 4)	Non-Enkku Female (n = 216)	Non-Enkku Male (n = 60)	Non-Enkku Unspecified (n = 1)
Sixth Form/ Matriculation Exam	347 (85)	101 (83)	4 (100)	160 (74)	43 (72)	1 (100)
Basic Education	60 (15)	21 (17)	-	54 (25)	12 (20)	-
Pre-1970 Basic Education	-	-	-	2 (1)	4 (7)	-
TOTAL	**407 (99.5)**	**122 (100)**	**4 (100)**	**216 (100)**	**59 (98)**	**1 (100)**

These results show that a greater percentage of the Enkku Group parents have a higher form of basic education than the Non-Enkku parents for both females and males.

For Question 24, respondents were asked to state the level of education they and their spouse/partner (if relevant) had. The response rates were 98.9% Enkku (n = 529) and 99.6% Non-Enkku (n = 276). The most common level of education for respondents in both groups was a university master's degree, with 40% of the total Enkku Group and 28% of the total Non-Enkku Group in this category. This shows that a greater number of Enkku parents have a higher education than the Non-Enkku parents, which is also reflected in the percentage of respondents who have a doctorate; 9% of the total Enkku Group versus 4% of the total Non-Enkku Group. Conversely, the Enkku Group has a slightly higher incidence of parents who have no further education, although this is very small for both groups; slightly more than 1% for the total Enkku Group and slightly under 1% for the Non-Enkku Group. Figure 5.46 presents the distributions calculated as a percentage of those who responded, while Table 5.16 presents the figures for those with a doctorate, a university master's degree, and no further education divided by gender and as percentages of their own group.
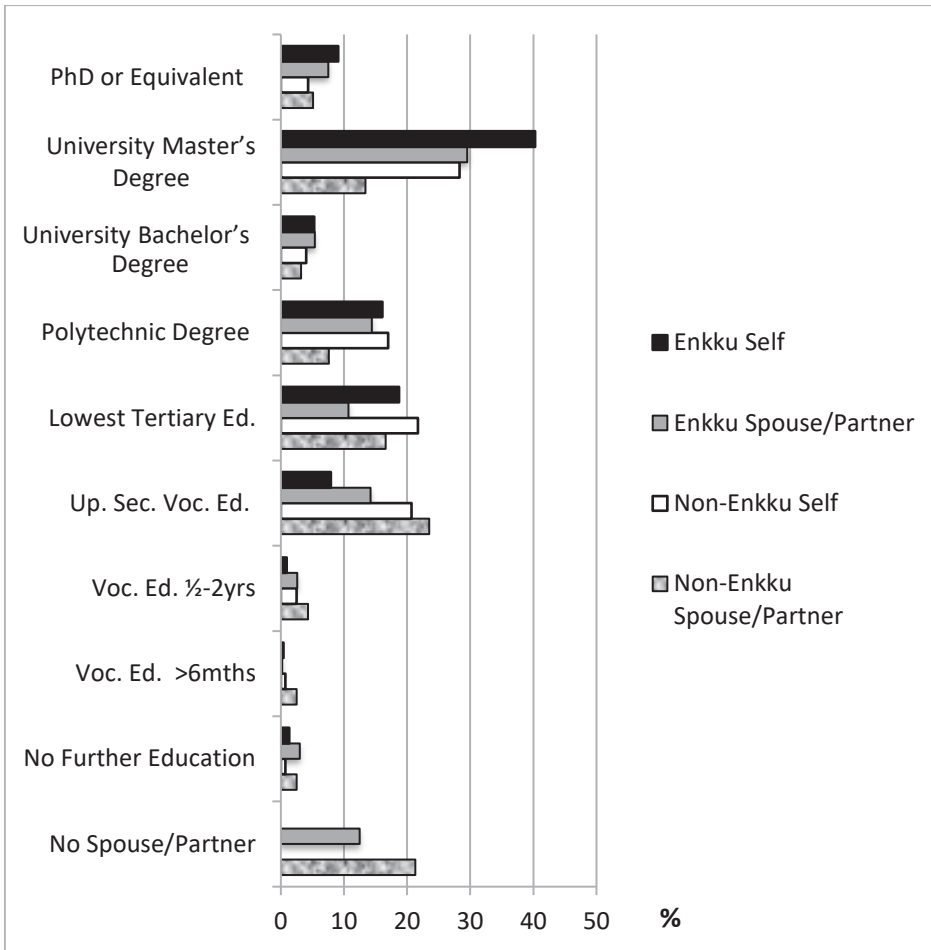
Figure 5.46. The Distribution of Level of Education for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups for Self and Spouse/Partner

Table 5.17. Frequencies of Doctorate and University Master's Degree Level of Education and No Further Education for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups by Gender (% of Own Group)

	Enkku Female (n = 409)	Enkku Male (n = 122)	Enkku Unspecified(n = 4)	Non-Enkku Female (n = 216)	Non-Enkku Male (n = 60)	Non-Enkku Unspecified (n = 1)
Doctorate Level Education	29 (7)	18 (15)	1 (25)	7 (3)	5 (8)	-
University Master's Degree	160 (39)	51 (42)	-	61 (28)	16 (27)	1 (100)
No Further Education	6 (2)	1 (1)	-	1 (1)	1 (2)	-
TOTAL	195 (48)	70 (58)	1 (25)	69 (32)	22 (37)	1 (100)

184

These results show that a greater percentage of the Enkku Group parents have a doctorate or university master's degree than the Non-Enkku parents for both females and males. The greatest percentage of doctorates occurred in the group of Enkku male parents. This shows that either Enkku male parents are highly educated, or that the male Enkku parents that responded to this survey were the ones with a high level of education.

For Question 25, respondents were asked to classify and state the field of education they and their spouse/partner (if relevant) had. The distributions are presented in Figures 5.47. The response rates were 97.6% Enkku and 98.6% Non-Enkku.
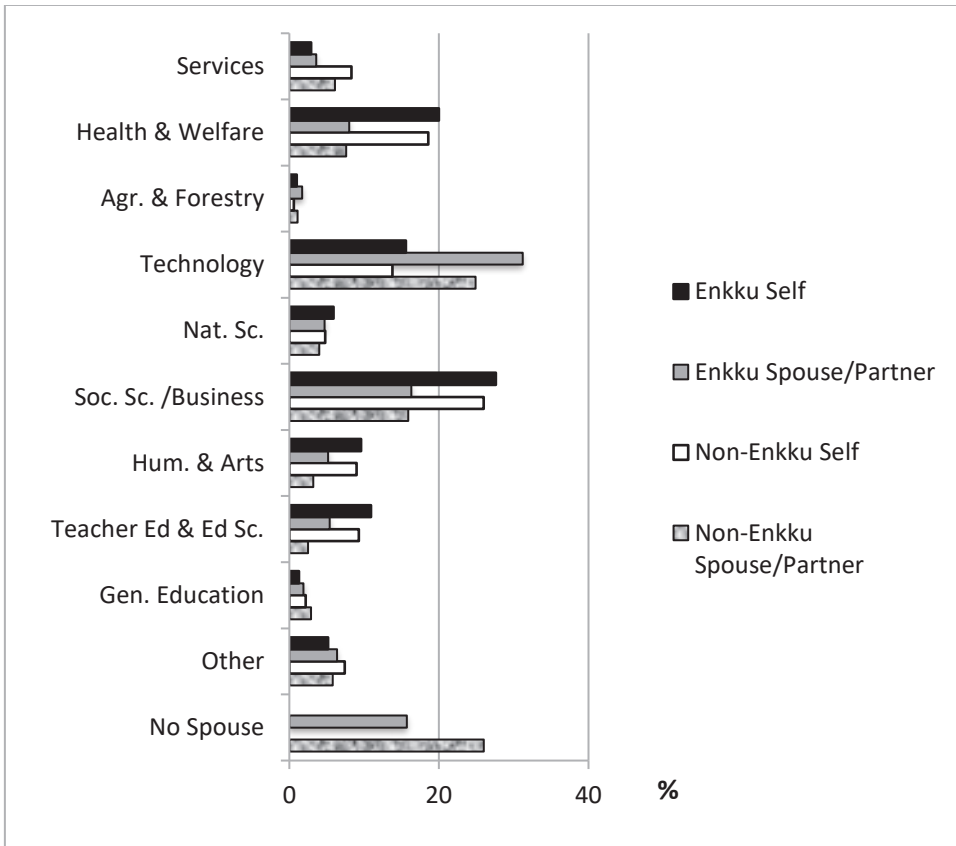
Figure 5.47. The Distribution of Classification and Field of Education for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups for Self and Spouse/Partner

The field with the greatest number of Enkku respondents was Social Sciences and Business, and for Enkku life partners[75], Technology. Interestingly, this was the same for Non-Enkku respondents and Non-Enkku life partners. More Non-Enkku respondents had more than one field of education, see Figure 5.48 below. The 'other' category in Figure 5.47 comprised: law, theology, medicine, aviation, sports, defence, industry,

---

[75] For ease of reading, 'spouse or partner' shall be referred to as life partner.

security, financial intermediation, communications, artisan/artist, police, commerce, chiropractor, beautician, travel and tourism, laboratory technician, librarian, and unspecified.
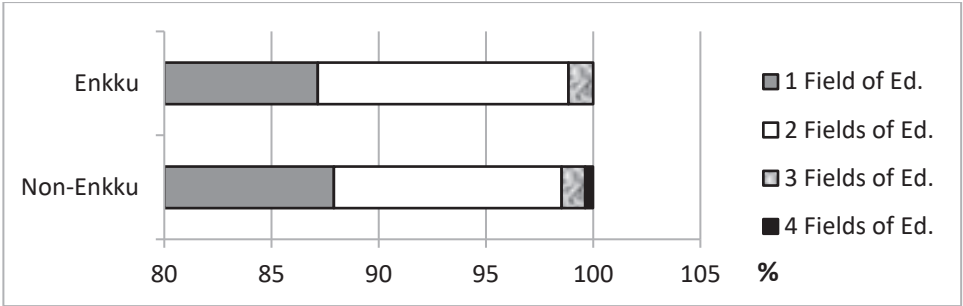
Figure 5.48. The Distribution of Number of Fields of Education for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups for Self
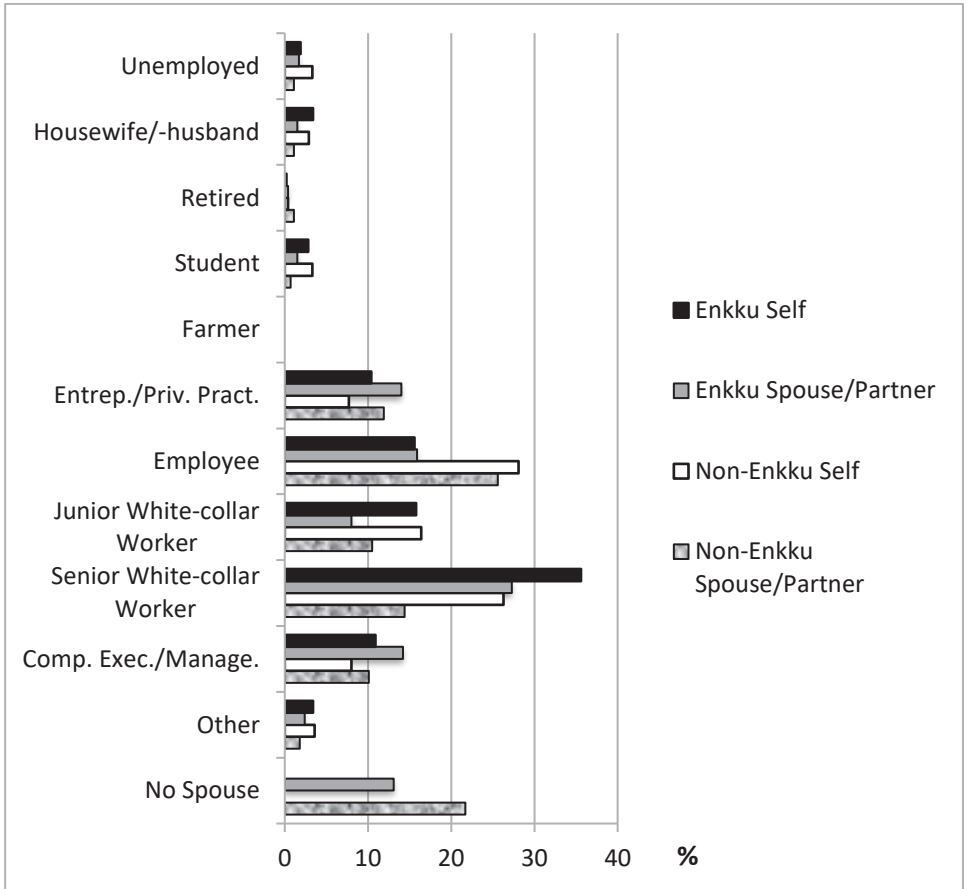
Figure 5.49. Distribution of Types of Occupational Grouping/Employment Status for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups for Self and Spouse/Partner

For Question 26, respondents were asked to state their occupational grouping/ employment status and that of their spouse/partner (if relevant). The response rates were 99.3% Enkku (n = 531) and 98.9% Non-Enkku (n = 274). The distributions are presented in Figure 5.49 above as percentages of those that responded to this item. The five occupational groupings that generated the greatest number of responses (company executive/manager; senior white-collar worker; junior white-collar worker; employee; and entrepreneur/private practitioner) were further examined by gender, and are presented in Table 5.18.

The greatest percentage of Enkku Group respondents stated that they were senior white-collar workers (35% of the total Enkku Group), followed by employee and junior white collar worker with 16% each. The greatest percentage of the Non-Enkku Group stated that they were employees (28% of the total Non-Enkku Group) with senior white collar workers a close second (26%). There were no farmers in either group, which adds credence to the idea of English-medium programmes being a largely urban phenomenon.

Table 5.18. Frequencies of the Five Top Occupational Groupings/Employment Statuses for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups by Gender (% of Own Group)

	Enkku Female (n = 409)	Enkku Male (n = 122)	Enkku Unspecified (n = 4)	Non-Enkku Female (n = 216)	Non-Enkku Male (n = 60)	Non-Enkku Unspecified (n = 1)
Company Manager/ Executive	32 (8)	25 (20)	1 (25)	17 (8)	5 (8)	-
Senior White-collar Worker	140 (34)	49 (40)	-	47 (22)	24 (40)	1 (100)
Junior White-collar Worker	71 (17)	12 (10)	1 (25)	36 (17)	9 (15)	-
Employee	72 (18)	11 (9)	-	69 (32)	8 (13)	-
Entrepreneur/ Private Practitioner	37 (9)	17 (14)	1 (25)	15 (7)	6 (10)	-
TOTAL	**352 (86)**	**114 (93)**	**3 (75)**	**184 (86)**	**52 (86)**	**1 (100)**

These results show that the group with the greatest incidence of the highest level of occupation is the Enkku male parents (20% are company managers or executives). This was also the group that generated the greatest response percentage for these five categories (93%). Enkku female parents generated the same percentages in this category as both the Non-Enkku female and male parents (8%). Following this, male parents in general had the next greatest percentages for the next level of occupation, 'senior white-collar worker'. Enkku female parents had a higher incidence of 'senior white collar-worker' than Non-Enkku female parents. Non-Enkku female parents had the highest percentage for the category of 'employee'. Enkku male parents had a higher incidence of 'entrepreneur/private practitioner than the other groups.

Eighteen of the Enkku Group chose the 'Other' option but 25 Enkku respondents filled it out. The professional groups that they mentioned included: expert; teaching; research; one group and own business; one group but currently unemployed; police;

civil servant; shift manager; sales representative; long-term Illness; working and studying. Ten of the Non-Enkku Group chose this option, but 12 filled it out. The professional groups that the Non-Enkku Group listed included: expert; teaching; research; freelancer; artist; trainer; theatre and media workers; working and studying; one group and own business; sick pension; and a previous business.

In Question 27, respondents were asked to state which area or industry they and their spouse/partner (if relevant) had worked in last. There were 17 different areas or industries and the English translations are those used by Statistics Finland. The areas are: (1) Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security; (2) Extra-territorial Organisations and Bodies; (3) Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities; (4) Education; (5) Transport, Storage and Communication; (6) Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting and Fishing; (7) Hotels and Restaurants; (8) Mining and Quarrying; (9) Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities; (10) Financial Intermediation; (11) Construction; (12) Electricity, Gas and Water; (13) Manufacturing; (14) Health and Social Work; (15) Wholesale and Retail Trade; Repair of Motor Vehicles, Motorcycles and Personal and Household Goods; (16) Private Households Employing Domestic Staff and Undifferentiated Production Activities of Households for Own Use; and (17) Other. The response rates were 99% Enkku and 97.5% Non-Enkku.

The majority of Enkku responses were in Health and Social Work (21%), followed by Education (17%). For the Enkku spouse/partner, the greatest number of responses was in Manufacturing (17%), followed by Other (11%). For the Non-Enkku Group the majority of responses were also in Health and Social Work (21%), followed by Education (15%). For the Non-Enkku spouse/partner, the greatest number of responses was also in Manufacturing (13%), followed jointly by Health and Social Work and Other (10%). These are presented in Figure 5.50 below.

Key to Figure 5.50
Area 1   Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security
Area 2   Extra-territorial Organisations and Bodies
Area 3   Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities
Area 4   Education
Area 5   Transport, Storage and Communication
Area 6   Agriculture
Area 7   Hotels and Restaurants
Area 8   Mining and Quarrying
Area 9   Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities
Area 10   Financial Intermediation
Area 11   Construction
Area 12   Electricity, Gas and Water
Area 13   Manufacturing
Area 14   Health and Social Work
Area 15   Wholesale and Retail Trade
Area 16   Private Households Employing Domestic Staff and Undifferentiated
            Production of Activities of Households for Own Use
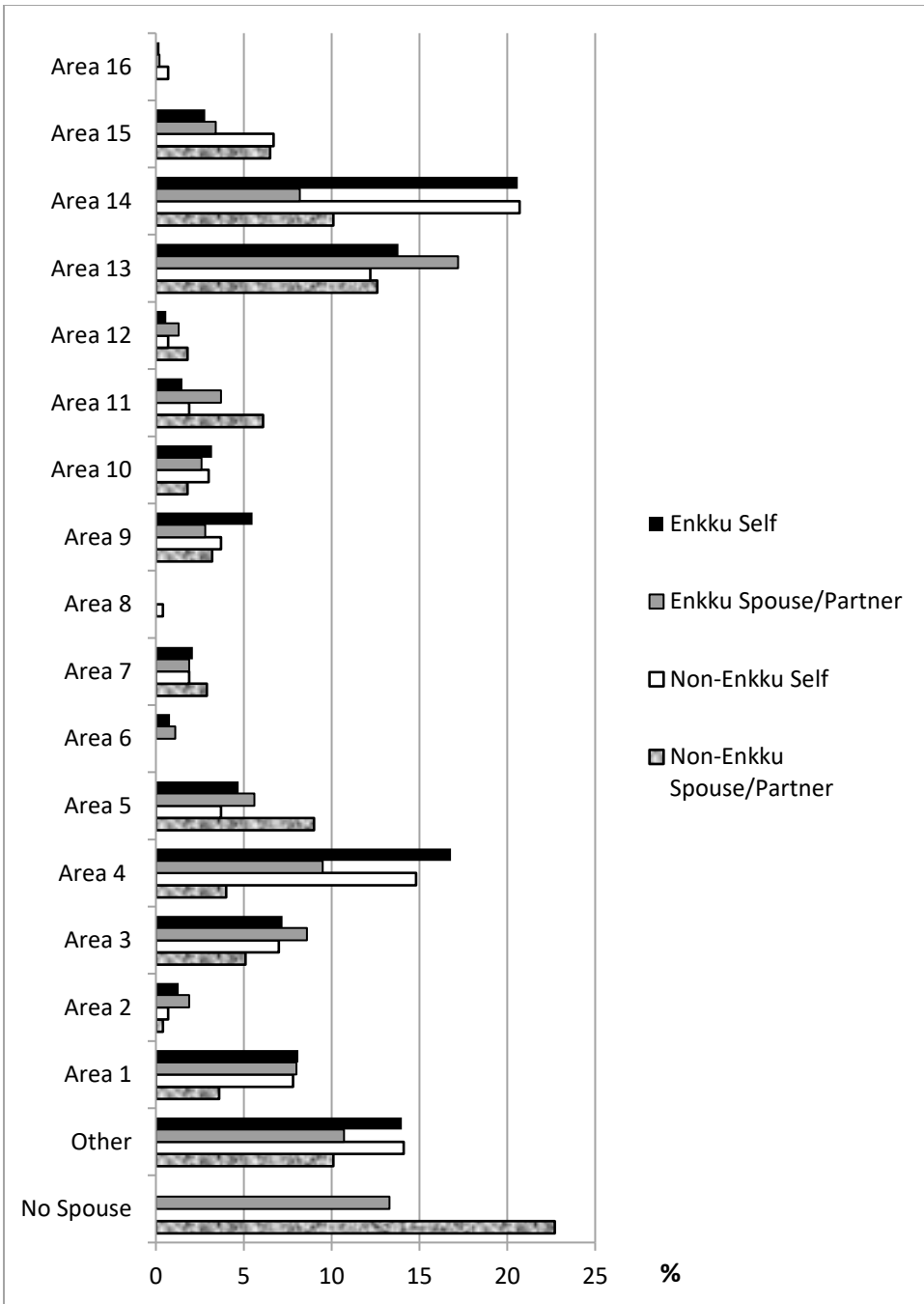
Figure 5.50. The Distribution of Types of Area/Industry Respondents Last Worked in for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups for Self and Spouse/Partner

If respondents chose area 17 (Other), they were asked to specify what. For the Enkku Group, 73 respondents chose 'Other'. Four of these left the area unspecified. Moreover, three Enkku respondents had used the 'Other' option to provide information on a second area or more specification about their area. For the Non-Enkku Group, the corresponding figure was 38 who chose 'Other', and four of these left it unspecified. Although some of the 'Other' responses may have been relevant to the areas discussed above, the respondents themselves were evidently not satisfied with the area grouping. The respondents' answers were grouped into twelve larger areas and presented as distributions in Figure 5.51 below. The Other Areas were: (a) ICT/Technology/Telecommunications; (b) University/Research; (c) Media and Communication; (d) Art and Culture; (e) Advertising and Marketing; (f) Aviation; (g) Business (also Sales and Acquisitions); (h) Biotechnology and Medicine; (i) Organisations and Foundations; (j) Miscellaneous Services; (k) Miscellaneous Fields.
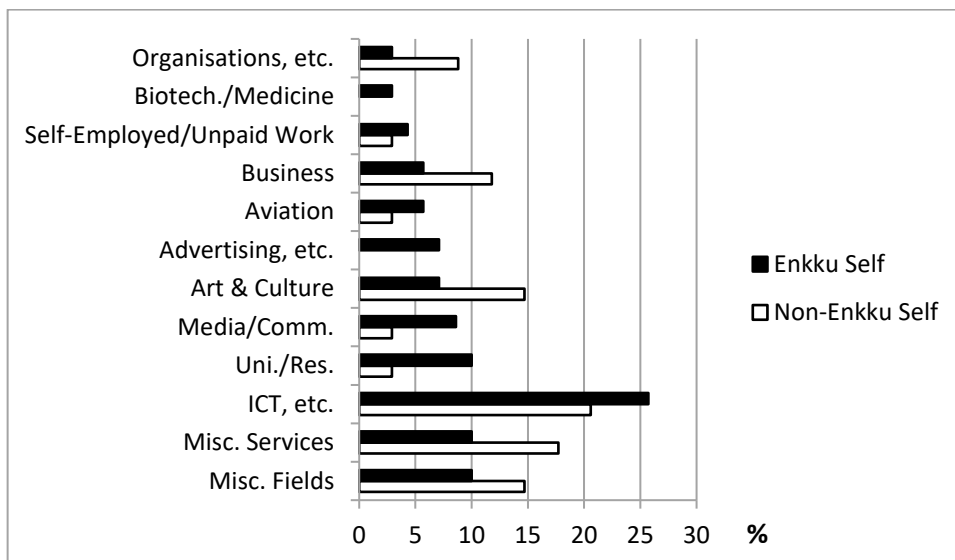
Figure 5.51. The Distribution of 'Other Areas/Industries' Respondents Last Worked in for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups for Self

For Question 28, respondents were asked to state the type of employer they and their spouse/partner (if relevant) had. The categories were: a private (or own enterprise); a public enterprise; a municipality or Association of Municipalities; the State; or other. The response rates were 96.8% Enkku (n = 518) and 95% Non-Enkku (n = 263). The distributions are presented in Figure 5.52 below, while Table 5.19 presents the figures for the distributions of employer divided by gender and as percentages of their own group.
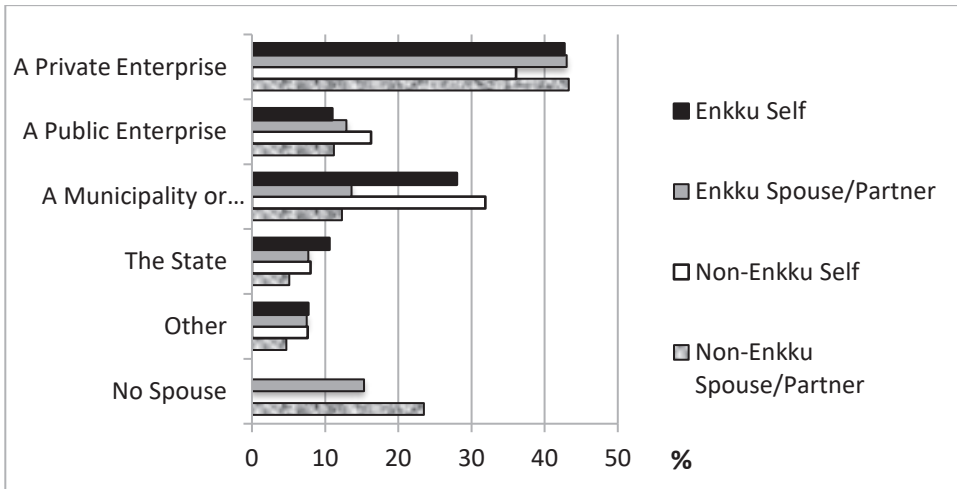
Figure 5.52. The Distribution of Employer for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups for Self and Spouse/Partner

Table 5.19. Frequencies of the Distribution of Employer for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups by Gender (% of Own Group)

	Enkku Female (n = 409)	Enkku Male (n = 122)	Enkku Unspecified (n = 4)	Non-Enkku Female (n = 216)	Non-Enkku Male (n = 60)	Non-Enkku Unspecified (n = 1)
The State	40 (10)	15 (12)	-	11 (5)	10 (17)	-
Municipality/ Association of Municipalities	131 (32)	14 (12)	-	78 (36)	6 (10)	-
Public Enterprise	45 (11)	12 (10)	-	31 (15)	11 (18)	1 (100)
Private or Own Enterprise	148 (36)	70 (57)	3 (75)	65 (30)	30 (50)	-
Other	30 (7)	9 (7)	1 (25)	20 (9)	-	-
TOTAL	394 (96)	120 (98)	4 (100)	205 (95)	57 (95)	1 (100)

In the Enkku Group, for both male and female parents, the greatest percentage of respondents are employed in a private or own business. This is also the case for Non-Enkku male parents, however, the greatest percentage of Non-Enkku female parents are employed in the municipal sector.

For Question 29, respondents were asked to state how many adults and children there were in their households. The response rates were 100% for both groups. For the Enkku Group, 87% live in households with two adults and one to six children; with a further one per cent in households with three or four adults. Twelve per cent live in households with one adult and one to five children. For the Non-Enkku Group, 79% live in households with two adults and one to seven children; with a further 0.4% in

households with four adults. Twenty per cent live in households with one adult and one to seven children.

For Question 30, respondents were asked to state their average brute income (before tax) and that of their household. The response rates were 100% for both groups. The average salary for 2013 was 3,284 Euros per month (OSF 2014b). The median monthly salary for those in full-time employment in 2013 was 2,928 Euros (*ibid.*). Ninety-five to 104 per cent of the median was calculated to give a middle-range brute income salary bracket[76] of 2,781.60 Euros to 3,045.12 Euros per month. The individual average brute income of respondents was then examined by gender and compared with this middle-range bracket to investigate the level of their income as compared with the population of Finland. The distribution of average income for the self and household for both groups are presented in Figure 5.53, and the distributions of income for the two groups by gender are presented in Table 5.20.
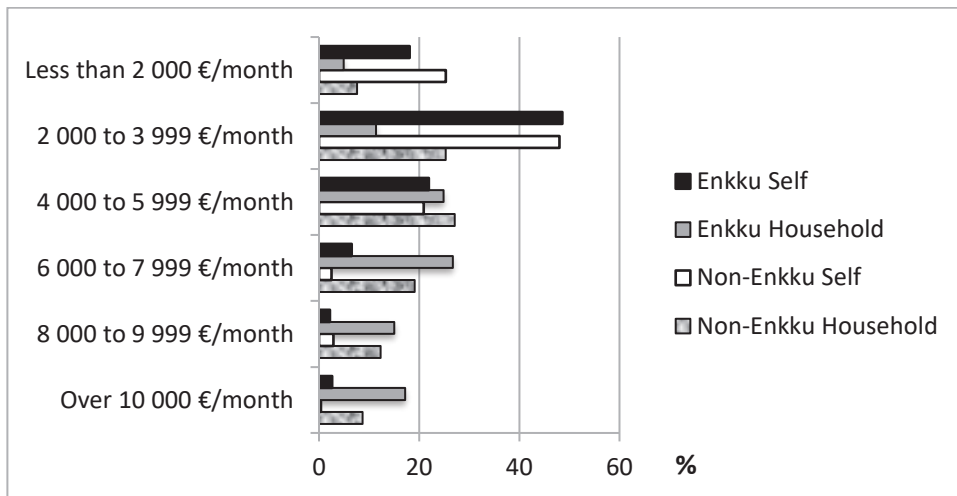
Figure 5.53. The Distribution of Average Income for Self and Household for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups

---

[76] This could also be considered as a 'middle-class' salary bracket.

Table 5.20. Frequencies of the Distribution of Average Brute Income Strata for Self for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups by Gender (% of Own Group)

	Enkku Female (n = 409)	Enkku Male (n = 122)	Enkku Unspecified (n = 4)	Non-Enkku Female (n = 216)	Non-Enkku Male (n = 60)	Non-Enkku Unspecified (n = 1)
Over 10 000 €/month	1 (0.3)	12 (9.8)	1 (25)	-	1 (1.7)	-
8 000 to 9 999 €/month	3 (0.7)	9 (7.4)	-	4 (1.9)	4 (6.7)	-
6 000 to 7 999 €/month	27 (6.6)	7 (5.7)	1 (25)	6 (2.8)	1 (1.7)	-
4 000 to 5 999 €/month	72 (17.6)	45 (37.0)	-	34 (15.7)	24 (40.0)	-
2 000 to 3 999 €/month	219 (53.6)	39 (32.0)	2 (50)	110 (50.9)	22 (36.7)	1 (100)
Less than 2 000 €/month	87 (21.2)	10 (8.2)	-	62 (28.7)	8 (13.3)	-
TOTAL	409 (100)	122 (100.1)	4 (100)	216 (100)	60 (100.1)	1 (100)

These results show that 21% of Enkku female parents and 8% of Enkku male parents earned less than the median salary or middle-range salary bracket in 2013 (18% of the total Enkku Group). For the Non-Enkku Group the respective percentages were higher, 29% and 13% (25% of the total Non-Enkku Group). The greatest percentage of salaries were in the stratum of 2,000 to 3,999 Euros per month. The middle-range salary bracket, based on the median salary for 2013 was in the middle of the stratum, so we may understand this stratum as being the closest to average earnings, since it also comprises the average monthly salary amount for 2013. This being so, the salary strata for earnings of 4,000 Euros per month can be held as higher incomes, with the final stratum of more than 10,000 Euros per month very high earnings.

Enkku male parents have the highest incidence of high earnings. There is also a greater incidence of Non-Enkku female parent earnings in the second highest salary stratum (8,000 to 9,999 Euros per month) than for the Enkku female parents. Conversely, Enkku female parents have a greater incidence of salaries in the 6,000 to 7,999 Euros per month stratum. A Chi-square test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated no significant association between the type of school choice and average brute income as divided into two categories (≤ 3999 Euros per month and ≥ 4000 Euros per month), X^2 (1, n = 812) = 3.37, p = .07, *phi* = -.07. In sum, neither group was more likely than the other to be in a higher earning bracket. Nevertheless, in this instance, more Enkku Group parents had higher salaries than the median salary in 2013 than Non-Enkku parents did (33% versus 27% respectively) with Enkku male parents in this survey having the greatest incidence of the highest salaries.

To address the fourth research question, binary logistic regression was performed using the statistical package SPSS to assess the impact of several factors on the odds ratio of respondents' reporting that they had chosen to have their children educated through the medium of English. The model comprised four independent variables as predictors: Place of Residence; Occupational Grouping/Employment Status; Level of Education; and Average Monthly Household Income. The model presents how much these predictor variables predict the odds of school choice, both individually

and jointly. The odds of an event occurring should not be confused with the term 'probability', as the definition of odds is given as the probability of an event occurring divided by the probability of the event not occurring (Field 2009, pp. 270–271).

Each of the individual models explained some of the variance. The individual model for Place of Residence was statistically significant $x^2(3, N=812) = 34.20$, $p < .001$. This model explained between 4.1% (Cox & Snell R square) and 5.7% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in school choice. The individual model for Level of Education was also statistically significant $x^2(4, N=805) = 36.18$, $p < .001$. This model explained between 4.4% (Cox & Snell R square) and 6.1% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in school choice. The individual model for Occupational Grouping/Employment Status was also statistically significant $x^2(5, N=805) = 22.01$, $p = .001$. This model explained between 2.7% (Cox & Snell R square) and 3.7% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in school choice. The individual model for Average Monthly Household Income was also statistically significant $x^2(4, N=812) = 37.62$, $p < .001$. This model explained between 4.5% (Cox & Snell R square) and 6.3% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in school choice.

The full model containing all predictors was statistically significant $x^2(16, N=800) = 101.31$, $p < .001$, indicating that the model was able to distinguish between respondents who reported that their child was or was not being educated through the medium of English. The model provided a better fit to the data by generating an improvement over the intercept-only (null) model (Peng & So 2002). The model as a whole explained between 11.9% (Cox & Snell R square) and 16.4% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in school choice, and correctly classified 71.7% of cases (Pallant 2010, p. 179). The Aldrich and Nelson pseudo-variance was pseudo R2 = 0.112 = 11.2%. This was calculated using:

$$R^2 = X^2 / (X^2 + N)$$

(Pampel 2000)

The result implied that the odds for parents to choose English-medium education for their children were related to their place of residence, occupational grouping/employment status, level of education and average monthly household income, as demonstrated in Table 5.21.

Table 5.21. The Logistic Regression Model

Predictor	Individual Models		Model I		Model II		Model III	
	OR	P	OR	P	OR	P	OR	P
Uusimaa	**1.000**	.000	**1.000**	.000	**1.000**	.000	**1.000**	.000
Southern Finland	1.538	.016	1.772	.002	1.841	.001	1.965	.001
Western Finland	3.576	.000	4.267	.000	4.350	.000	4.741	.000
Northern and Eastern Finland	2.192	.001	2.419	.000	2.252	.001	2.232	.001
Employee	**1.000**	.001	1.000	.000	1.000	.062	**1.000**	.255
Junior White-collar Worker	1.732	.024	2.078	.004	1.727	.038	1.677	.054
Senior White-collar Worker	2.435	.000	2.738	.000	1.770	.019	1.562	.074
Executive/Management in a Company	2.446	.003	3.159	.000	1.993	.038	1.525	.228
Entrepreneur or Private Practitioner	2.430	.003	2.740	.001	2.086	.022	1.956	.039
Other Group	1.555	.091	1.404	.209	1.111	.707	1.203	.522
No Further Education / Vocational Qualification	**1.000**	.000			1.000	.001	**1.000**	.030
Lowest Level Tertiary Education	2.004	.004			1.840	.018	1.602	.074
Lower-degree Level Tertiary Education	2.366	.000			2.036	.006	1.824	.024
Higher-degree Level Tertiary Education	3.316	.000			2.812	.000	2.283	.002
Doctorate or Equivalent Level Tertiary Education	4.857	.000			3.465	.003	2.549	.028
Household Income up to 3999€/Month	**1.000**	.000					**1.000**	.001
Household Income 4000€ 5999€/Month	1.855	.003					1.957	.003
Household Income 6000€ 7999€/Month	2.822	.000					2.438	.000
Household Income 8000€ 9999€/Month	2.461	.000					2.174	.006
Household Income Over 10000€/Month	4.010	.000					3.263	.000
N			**805**		**800**		**800**	

Controlling for other factors in the model, the odds of reporting the choice to have a child educated through the medium of English were greater for those in the other mainland regions of Finland than for those living in Helsinki Uusimaa; with the greatest odds for those living in Western Finland. In addition, the odds of choosing to have a child educated through the medium of English increased with the hierarchy of

occupational grouping/employment status. The category of Entrepreneurs and Private Practitioners generated the greatest odds ratio for this predictor controlling for other factors in the model. The odds of choosing English-medium education also increased according to level of education (especially those with Doctorate or Equivalent Level Tertiary Education) and average household monthly income; with those with the largest average monthly household income generating the greatest odds. This means that a parent who is more highly educated, has a better occupation and a higher income is more likely to choose ECIL as a form of schooling for his or her child.

6   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1   FACTORS GUIDING THE ENKKU GROUP PARENTS' SCHOOL CHOICE FOR THEIR CHILDREN

English and English-medium education are highly valued by the Enkku Group. The survey results show that, generally, the Enkku Group respondents construct their axiomatic or salient beliefs about English and ECIL largely according to the utopian idea of English as a facilitator of progress and bringer of potential benefits and opportunities, rather than the dystopian idea of English as pernicious to Finnish (van Dijk 2006, p. 116, 1998, p. 32; Ajzen and Fishbein 1980, p. 63). They do not see English as a threat to the Finnish mother tongue, and around half of them even feel that English enriches Finnish. These results are in line with those of the National Survey by Leppänen *et al.* (2011). They show that the perceived symbolic capital that ECIL brings outweighs any concerns about deficits to the first language and culture that not being educated through Finnish may bring. Nonetheless, Enkku Group parents are not blind to the possible 'dangers' of ECIL, and its potential negative effects were mentioned (see Chapter Five).

The socio-cultural and historical conditions in Finland over the last century have legitimized the place of English in Finnish society, and its function as a world language has resulted in its dominance of foreign language teaching and learning (Leppänen & Nikula 2012, p. 118; Leppänen *et al.*, 2011, p. 17–20; Leppänen & Nikula 2008, pp. 10–12). Thus, English is manifest in Finnish society at many levels, and is available to everyone through social domains and the education system (see Chapter Three). The result of this is that ideologically, English can be held as a general value pertaining to the common cultural ground of Finnish society (van Dijk 1998, p. 87), and as a form of shared Cultural Knowledge, given that it is disseminated by epistemic and normative institutions in Finland (*op. cit.*, p. 39; Blommaert 2005, p. 162, 172), in addition to its use among various speech communities in Finland. Despite this, the Enkku Group respondents have also been subject to modernist language ideologies, and the ethnolinguistic assumption that Finns speak only Finnish, as represented by the high number of respondents that consider themselves monolingual. This appears to be a general phenomenon in Finland, since, in the National Survey by Leppänen *et al.* (2011), most respondents also labelled themselves as monolingual.

In this Finnish context, those parents who seek ECIL for their children predominantly consider themselves as monolingual, even though, given their ages, most of them will have studied Swedish. Most Finns have also studied English (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 93), and many Enkku respondents in this survey said that they use English frequently in their place of work. The Finnish tendency to label oneself as monolingual, identified by Leppänen *et al.* 2011, and supported by the findings of this study, is representative of the strong modernist language ideology discussed in Section 2.2, and could be linked to specific language policies, which, as previous research has shown, do influence the ways in which constructs such as 'monolingual' and 'bilingual' are understood (Makoni & Pennycook 2007, pp. 28–29), and to societal bilingualism in Finland. Swedish is Finland's other official language, and unless one considers oneself fluent in Swedish, one cannot be officially bilingual.

It may also be that individual bilingualism is less appreciated since it has no official status. Moreover, if respondents subscribe to the lay idea of bilingualism, according to which, one must have very high proficiency in the target language to be bilingual, the threshold for bilingualism is set very high. Consequently, respondents may lack the confidence in their own language skills to acknowledge their bilingualism. For some respondents, their perceived monolingualism may be linked with their negative affective beliefs concerning English (Section 5.5.2, Figure 5.10), which included, for example, difficulties with learning the language, dissatisfaction with one's own skills, and poor language education and teachers.

The main actual reason the Enkku Group parents chose to have their children educated through the medium of English was the belief that ECIL affords their children an even better form of linguistic capital. This supports the findings of other studies, both in Finland and abroad that, generally, parents believe that ECIL will provide their child with even better language proficiency than that afforded through regular foreign language programmes (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares 2013, p. 71; Rajander 2010, pp. 244–246; Smala *et al.* 2013, pp. 373–374; Hüttner & Smit 2014, p. 165; Hüttner *et al.* 2013, p. 270). This is the ethos that has been at the heart of CLIL education since its inception (Coyle *et al.* 2010; Marsh *et al.* 2007), and appears to be the greatest ideology and master myth contributing to how Enkku Group parents construct their event model of considering ECIL as something desirable for their child (van Dijk 1998, p. 87). This notwithstanding, an interesting finding of this study was that Enkku Group parents do not overtly appear to consider this enhanced linguistic capital in terms of 'bilingualism' *per se*, but rather as 'increased language proficiency and confidence'. This emerges through the somewhat infrequent use of the specific terms 'pluri-/multilingual/-ism' and 'bilingual/-ism'. The relatively limited use of these terms appears to show that the Enkku Group parents are not overtly seeking the label of bilingual for their children when they choose an ECIL programme. As concerns increased language proficiency, parents generally feel that not only will their children have more English, but that the English skills will be better in terms of fluency and native-likeness. Moreover, as a form of language learning, ECIL is perceived as a means to increase the self-confidence of children and their ability to learn further languages.

The desire for more native-like skills is representative of standard language ideologies (discussed in Section 2.4), since it is doubtful that parents would be seeking anything less than a prestigious form of English for their child in the domain of education. Moreover, some seek programmes for their children at an early age, in compliance with the ideology of the Critical Period Hypothesis, which suggests that children can attain native-like levels of language proficiency if the second language acquisition takes place before the end of a so-called window of opportunity (Ellis 2008; Birdsong 2006; Jalkanen 2009; Kalisa 2014). The English Kindergarten of Kuopio presented in the ethnography study in Section 3.4 is a case in point. Native-speaker-likeness can also be associated with the idea of the monolingual mindset discussed in Section 2.5. It can be described as an ideological stance which defines inclusion in or exclusion from a social collectivity, and sets the level of proficiency as comparable with that of the first language, becoming a "second monolingual way of being" (Creagh 2014, p. 2). One of the limitations of the survey questionnaire was that there was no room for negotiation of what a parent might understand by native-speaker-like skills.

Discourse is the social construction of reality through language by actors as social members of collectivities, hence, the importance of linguistic capital and the desire

for registers of English over and above what is available in the social domain or EFL programmes are representative of increasing a child's voice in English, since he or she will acquire knowledge on ways in which the language functions in different contexts and at different levels sociolinguistically (Blommaert 2005, pp. 68–71; Gee 2015, pp. 178–179; Fairclough 2015, p. 7; Räisänen, 2013, p. 68; van Dijk 1998, p. 6; Bakhtin 1981, pp. 276–278). Not only will children in ECIL programmes have access to a wider range of speech communities involving English in the Finnish context or translocally, they may also potentially have access to English language communities, and greater ease of being involved with users of the glossonym English at the same level as native speakers (Silverstein 1996, 1998, 2000, 2015). Thus, English can and does become a secondary Discourse or way of "being in the world" used to shape identity and to signal the adoption of a socially meaningful role signifying membership of a specific social group in a particular social niche, which is understandable to and understood by other social actors (Gee 2015, pp. 178–179). In this way, English represents a way to create a broad international or translocal identity in addition to the local Finnish cultural one.

This translates further into the stylistic practice of ECIL in the context of primary education (Hebdige 1984; Rajander 2010, p. 242), which is inherently more international than mainstream basic education. All ECIL programmes in Finland subscribe to Fishman's model of enrichment bilingual education, in that they promote additive bilingualism and are designed to increase the language proficiency of pupils as an optional form of education (Fishman 1982, pp. 26–28). They also come under both the weak and strong forms of bilingual education according to Baker (2011, pp. 208–219), depending on how much English the programme offers. In such education, not only are communicative skills in English (speaking and listening) developed (Coyle *et al.* 2010, loc. 154; Leppänen & Nikula 2007, p. 351–355; Kääntä *et al.* 2013, p. 355), the educational domain also facilitates the development of more academic registers. CLIL is typically associated with developing literacy in the target language (Llinares & Morton 2010, p. 47), and biliteracy, in some form, is the aim of strong forms of bilingual education (Baker 2011, pp. 209–210). For children whose first language is not English, being educated through the medium of English means that their existing repertoires of English, accrued through contact with it daily in everyday life, are further supplemented, and not just from encounters with learning English as a foreign language, but also with formal academic repertoires, leading to literacy in the language. Literacy is not just the ability to be able to read (or write) a text, but to be able to read a text in a variety of ways and ascribe meanings to that text, based on the context in which it occurs (see Gee 2015), and this increases the potential for having voice. Ideologically, English is perceived and interpreted as an important part of the world by Enkku parents (Eckert 2008, p. 456). Thus, their children having voice in English, rather than just English skills or 'Tankerous English', is a factor in the realisation of perceived future opportunities that English may bring in terms of mobility and increased study or work prospects, since the children have access to indexically superior, hence more advantageous, forms of English. Advance notwithstanding, in Finland, schools offering English are generally not held as a status symbol, something for the rich, or as serving an elite. In effect, the contrary appears to be the case, with Enkku Group parents holding beliefs about English and ECIL as international capital, comprising tolerance, multiculturalism, and connections with people from other countries.

As we can see, there is no one single factor that contributes to, or guides, a parent's choice of ECIL for their child, rather there is a combination of many different factors covering a range of ideologies and beliefs, as discussed above. What becomes clear, is that, for Enkku Group parents, English is very much connected with their children. Finnish Enkku parents are less likely to see English-medium education as elitist, and more inclined to consider it in terms of increased tolerance of cultural diversity and difference. Moreover, attaining a broader worldview is held as a particularly important aspect, which learning through the medium of English affords. English has personal significance to them, and this significance extends to the greater international or global context. They construct English and ECIL in terms of instrumental beliefs representative of discourses reflecting metrolingualism, internationalism, cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and meritocracy. The hegemony of English is constructed mostly positively in terms of English as the language of popular culture in Finland, which is also representative of globalisation and the global mass media culture. These findings conform with and support the results of previous research, both national and international, in that this group of respondents also have a pragmatic and positive approach to English, and feel that ECIL will afford their children more opportunities (Leppänen *et al.* 2009a, 2011; Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares 2013, p. 71; Rajander 2010, pp. 244–246; Smala, *et al.* 2013, pp. 373–374; Hüttner *et al.* 2013; Li 2002).

In choosing a special type of schooling for their children, Enkku Group parents are already showing that they are less bound by the Nordic-one-school-for-all ideology and the Finnish tradition of the local neighbourhood school than many other parents. They are not necessarily more parentocratic than the Non-Enkku Group parents in this, but the special emphases they seek from education are an enhanced English repertoire and cosmopolitanism through English, but not bilingualism *per se*. Parents may simply be avoiding the term 'bilingualism' given the Finnish linguistic psyche and the scope of interpretation for bilingualism, or they may subscribe to the monolingual mindset. I find this doubtful since many criticised the type of teaching that they themselves had, stating that it was too fixated on grammar; a classic factor of the monolingual mindset.

This leads to the conclusion that the wide range and scope of the concept of bilingualism, as discussed in Section 2.3, may not be fully understood or appreciated in Finland. Given the exiguity with which bilingualism *per se* was mentioned, it could be said that, in this Finnish context, bilingualism may not necessarily be associated with the learning of a language at school, which would be a form of societal bilingualism (see Section 2.3), and Enkku parents may be more inclined to perceive of bilingualism as something linked with, for example, family background (individual bilingualism), given that this was a factor related to how they perceived their own 'lingualness' (Section 5.3). Moreover, based on the study findings, it also appears to be that improved language skills and bilingualism are not necessarily synonymous for the Enkku Group.

Many Enkku Group parents appear to desire English as a secondary Discourse for the increased international aspect that they feel it will bring to their children's connection with the world and tolerance of difference. The tolerance and broader worldview afforded by English and ECIL appear to be another major master myth in their shared framework for understanding the world (Gee 2015), in addition to English as linguistic capital. Fundamentally, ECIL is constructed as affording children the possibility to develop even better English skills than through regular mainstream education alone. These skills are considered as advantageous within the

Finnish context (the local space), but, more importantly, also have an impact in the international context (the translocal space). Future potential opportunities are seen as enhanced and increased, since proficiency in English provides the children with the opportunity to become broad-minded, confident, cosmopolitan communicators in the contact zone, with all the advantages this may eventually bring. Ultimately, this is how discourse, voice, and ideology come together for the Enkku Group regarding the choice of ECIL for their children.

6.2   COMPARISON WITH THE NON-ENKKU GROUP

The other survey respondent group comprises those parents who stated that their children were not being educated through the medium of English; the Non-Enkku Group. This group was invited to complete the survey instrument questionnaire to provide a contrast to the Enkku Group. The Non-Enkku parents were also a heterogeneous group, comprising parents of children in regular Finnish mainstream education and other classes of special emphasis. More importantly, it also comprised parents of former English-medium pupils or pupils soon to be in ECIL; parents who might have liked a place in an English-medium programme for their child; and parents of children in early English or weak CLIL programmes. This shows that the Non-Enkku Group in this study is not 'purely' Non-Enkku, but that there are several areas of overlap. When asked about the reasoning behind their choice of school (that is, why they had not chosen English-medium education), over a fifth stated that access to the ECIL programme had somehow been denied (not passing a test, not having prior English skills, or not being lucky in the lottery, see Section 5.5.8), or was otherwise inaccessible (distance). Many of these parents, but not all, seem to have wished for or been favourable towards ECIL education for their child. If this is so, the demand for English-medium education outweighs what is on offer, and the programmes do not necessarily cater for all who would be interested.

English carries legitimate symbolic capital also for the Non-Enkku Group in similar, but not identical, ways to the Enkku Group. Furthermore, Non-Enkku parents appear to share the same beliefs about English and ECIL as the Enkku Group, but with different emphases, and nuances. This shows that the Non-Enkku Group respondents also construct their beliefs about English largely according to the utopian rather than the dystopian idea of English. The Non-Enkku Group also appear to be in accord with the basic Enkku values in Question 20, such as the belief that a child can simultaneously acquire two languages, suggesting that these are value beliefs associated with the common cultural ground of Finnish society according to van Dijk's model (see Figure 2.3, van Dijk 1998).

The majority of respondents in each group were themselves educated through the medium of Finnish. The Enkku Group, however, related significantly more positively to Finnish children being educated through the medium of English. Nevertheless, most of the Non-Enkku Group also relate positively to ECIL. As with the Enkku Group, the majority disagree that schools offering English are for the rich or serve an elite, or that having a child in an English-medium programme brings greater status for the family. The Enkku Group respondents were significantly more likely to believe that ECIL increases children's openness to new cultures and tolerance, or to hold some form of positive belief specific to ECIL schools. On the other hand, the Non-Enkku Group respondents were more likely to believe that ECIL may have negative

consequences, or to hold some form of negative belief concerning ECIL.

The Enkku Group respondents also related significantly more positively to the significance of English to Finns in general. They appear to be more internationally minded than Non-Enkku Group members. The Enkku Group were slightly less likely to have all family members with the same mother tongue, and had a wider distribution of mother tongues than the Non-Enkku Group. Moreover, the Enkku Group respondents were more likely to have travelled and to travel more often. More of the Enkku Group had also spent a period of three consecutive months abroad, thus, were slightly more affected by a residence abroad regarding how they define themselves lingually and in their choice of school.

The Non-Enkku Group appear to be even more subject to modernist language ideologies, and the ethnolinguistic assumption that Finns speak only Finnish than the Enkku Group. The Non-Enkku Group generated a similar percentage of monolinguals to respondents in the National Survey (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 48). This means that, despite the majority of Enkku Group parents labelling themselves as monolingual, when compared with other groups of Finns, they are still significantly more likely than other groups to say that they are bilingual or plurilingual. A greater percentage of Non-Enkku respondents stated that they were dissatisfied with their own English skills, but more Enkku respondents stated a lack of confidence using English in their negative affective beliefs concerning English, which may be a factor in why they consider themselves monolingual and see ECIL as giving their children confidence in their language skills. For those Enkku respondents who stated that they were either bilingual or multilingual, 'Other', 'Parents', and 'Friends' are the categories that have had the greatest impact on their perception of their linguistic diversity. The 'Other' category for the Enkku Group comprised their children's bilingualism or attendance at an English kindergarten and English class, child's birth in an English-speaking country, other family relationships, study abroad, own work, or love of languages. This supports the strong connection between one's children and English held by many Enkku Group respondents. For the Non-Enkku Group the most prevalent factors were 'Residence Abroad' and 'Work'.

It has become clear that although there are some differences between the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups, their construction of beliefs about English and about Finnish children being educated through the medium of English are remarkably similar. As mentioned above, this suggests that these beliefs may derive from the common cultural ground of Finnish society, rather than being shared social beliefs pertaining to specific communities of practice (van Dijk 1998). One potential reason for the similarity may be that the parents all have a child or children who attend schools which offer some form of ECIL. For this reason, it may be that Non-Enkku parents place similar value on English and ECIL without desiring it for their child. One valid reason for some of the shared values can be found in the actual reasons for school choice and the overlap between the two groups (inequality of access to ECIL programmes; children in weak forms of CLIL; changing programmes). Regarding Non-Enkku parents whose children are in weak forms of CLIL, early English, or what they call 'English clubs', perhaps the greatest difference between them and actual Enkku Group parents may be that the schools appear to offer these weak forms of CLIL as a matter of course, but the Enkku parents have chosen a specific type of school choice.

Figure 6.1 presents the main factors from the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups concerning beliefs guiding their type of school choice as specific communities of practice, and common cultural beliefs deriving from shared discourse and epistemic

community membership (van Dijk 1998). It must be remembered that the beliefs in the Enkku and Non-Enkku Group categories are not exclusive to those groups, but rather are beliefs that were significantly more prevalent in those groups. To some extent all the beliefs deriving from Questions 15 and 19 are shared by both groups. The reasons for school choice were exclusive to the respective groups.

Enkku Group Beliefs

- English is a language that brings opportunities and benefits.
- English facilitates a wider worldview.
- English is linked to one's children.
- English has personal significance through a residence abroad.
- ECIL increases children's openness to new cultures and tolerance.
- Miscellaneous positive beliefs specific to ECIL schools
- Linguistic capital
- Connection with abroad
- Early access to English

Non-Enkku Group Beliefs

- English is the language of popular culture in Finland.
- English facilitates travel in many/most countries.
- English is taking over from other languages and this is not good.
- ECIL may have negative consequences.
- Miscellaneous negative beliefs about ECIL
- Unequal access to English-medium programmes
- Finnish is the best medium of instruction for Finnish children.
- Desiring the local neighbourhood school

Common Cultural Beliefs

- English is the international language of communication.
- English is a prominant language in the work domain.
- English facilitates a wider/better range of knowledge.
- Negative affective beliefs about English
- ECIL facilitates the development of language proficiency and children's self-confidence.
- ECIL broadens children's worldview, allowing them to be more international
- ECIL affords children future opportunities.
- ECIL enhances children's mobility prospects.

Figure 6.1. Summary of Main Enkku and Non-Enkku Group Beliefs Guiding School Choice, and Main Shared Beliefs

The Non-Enkku Group is significantly more likely than Enkku Group parents to construct English as the language of popular culture in Finland, and as facilitating travel. Conversely, they are significantly less likely to construct English as a language that brings opportunities and benefits, and as facilitating a wider worldview and broader cultural awareness. Moreover, the Non-Enkku Group also believed significantly more strongly that English is taking over from other languages, which is not a good thing. As concerns actual reasons for school choice, the Non-Enkku Group are more likely to consider Finnish as the best medium of instruction for Finnish children, because it is logical for children to be educated in their first language and culture. Moreover, they want their child to attend the local neighbourhood school so that he or she has a short journey to school and access to friends in the local neighbourhood.

The Non-Enkku Group, however, is also affected by the ideology of parentocracy, the difference being that English is not the most important specialisation for Non-Enkku parents. Many of their children are in other specialised programmes or classes of special emphasis, particularly music or another language. Some parents mentioned that it was not possible to have two specialities or to combine music and English. For many parents, the regular A1 EFL language programmes were held as being entirely sufficient to develop good English skills in Finland, or they believe that English can be acquired anyway through media such as television or computer games. Other Non-Enkku parents expressed that they did not want to overburden their child, even a bright one, and for that reason, were satisfied with the regular programme and did not desire ECIL. Finally, either the child or the parent had simply not wanted ECIL, or ECIL had been a non-issue.

As the above discussion shows, there were no purely Enkku or Non-Enkku ideologies, but this could have been because of the overlap between the two groups. Nonetheless, parents in the Non-Enkku community of practice in this study appear to be more traditional and less internationally-minded than the Enkku Group parents, since they place greater emphasis on the local school and education in Finnish. In other respects, however, many are equally parentocracy-oriented, but less interested in English. Herein lies, perhaps, the greatest contrast between the groups. The ideology that appears most strongly for the Enkku community of practice, after English as linguistic capital, is cosmopolitanism, and the belief that English will broaden the worldview of the child and afford him or her greater or easier access to the wider world as well as tolerance and acceptance of difference. This could be said to be a higher indexical value associated with English by the Enkku Group. The Non-Enkku community of practice appears less concerned with this. Moreover, they may take the stance that good levels of English can be acquired almost as a matter of course in Finland, thus, want to invest in something else for their child. Nevertheless, despite the actual type of schooling of their child, most Non-Enkku Group respondents do value English and are supportive of the idea of Finnish children being educated through the medium of English.

6.3   SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS

As stated above, in Finland, all forms of ECIL are concerned with enrichment and additive bilingual education. Enrichment bilingual education is generally associated with children of families with fortunate socioeconomic backgrounds (Fishman 1982; de Mejía 2002; García 2009; Baker 2011), as is school choice in Finland in the transaction from primary school to lower secondary education (e.g. Kosunen 2016; Silvennoinen *et al.* 2015). Thus, the third and fourth research questions were concerned with comparing the socioeconomic backgrounds of respondents in the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups already at the primary level of education, and investigating the role of specific socioeconomic status indicators (Place of Residence; Occupational Grouping/Employment Status; Level of Education; and Average Monthly Household Income) in the choice of English-medium education at the primary level.

Most of the respondents in both groups lived in households with two adults and one to seven children. Concerning basic education, Enkku Group parents had a higher form of basic education than the Non-Enkku parents for both females and males, with greater percentages of those who had matriculated from the sixth form. The

most common level of education for respondents in both groups was a university master's degree, with a higher percentage of Enkku Group respondents stating this. The field with the greatest number of Enkku respondents was that of Social Sciences and Business, and for Enkku spouse or partners, Technology. Interestingly, this was the same for Non-Enkku respondents and Non-Enkku life partners. More Non-Enkku respondents had more than one field of education. A higher percentage of Enkku respondents also stated that they had a doctorate or equivalent, with the greatest percentage of doctorates occurring in the group of Enkku male parents. Conversely, the Enkku Group has a slightly higher incidence of parents who have no further education, although this is very small for both groups. Based on these results, it appears that a higher number of Enkku respondents had a higher education than the Non-Enkku respondents.

When asked about their type of occupational grouping/employment status, the greatest percentage of Enkku Group respondents stated that they were senior white-collar workers, and the greatest percentage of the Non-Enkku Group stated that they were employees. The results show that the group with the greatest incidence of the highest level of occupation was the Enkku male parents. Enkku male parents were the group that generated the greatest response percentage for the categories 'company executive/manager'; 'senior white-collar worker'; 'junior white-collar worker'; 'employee'; and 'entrepreneur/private practitioner'. Enkku female parents had a higher incidence of 'senior white collar-worker' than Non-Enkku female parents. Non-Enkku female parents had the highest percentage for the category of 'employee'. Thus, Enkku Group parents also appeared to have greater incidences of people in higher occupational groupings than the Non-Enkku Group. In the Enkku Group, for both male and female parents, the greatest percentage of respondents were employed in a private or own business. Moreover, the category of entrepreneurs and private practitioners generated the greatest odds ratio for occupational grouping/ employment status controlling for other factors in the logistic regression model, showing that entrepreneurs are significantly more likely to choose ECIL for their children. This category was also the one with the greatest percentage of Non-Enkku male parents, however, the greatest percentage of Non-Enkku female parents were employed in the municipal sector.

A minority of Enkku female and male parents earned less than the median salary or middle-range salary bracket in 2013 (18% of the total Enkku Group). For the Non-Enkku Group the respective percentages were higher, (25% of the total Non-Enkku Group). The greatest percentage of individual salaries for both groups were in the middle-range stratum of 2,000 to 3,999 Euros per month, which is the stratum that comprised both the median salary and the average salary for 2013 (see Section 5.6). In sum, more Enkku Group parents had higher salaries than the median salary in 2013 than Non-Enkku parents did, with Enkku male parents having the greatest incidence of the highest salaries. Nevertheless, when the salaries were divided into two groups, one comprising salaries above the middle range stratum, the other comprising salaries below and including the middle range stratum, there was no significant difference between these for the Enkku and Non-Enkku Groups.

In the investigation of the role of the four socioeconomic status indicators, the odds of choosing English-medium education increased according to level of education (especially those with Doctorate or Equivalent Level Tertiary Education) and average household monthly income; with those with the largest average monthly household income generating the greatest odds. Thus, a parent who is more highly educated, has

a higher-level occupation and a higher income is more likely to choose ECIL as a form of schooling for his or her child. This finding somehow complements a major finding by the National Survey (Leppänen *et al.* 2011, p. 166) that people who use English actively and who are proficient in it tend to be young/younger, with a high social status, high level of education, and an urban and international lifestyle (*op. cit.*, p. 166). The only difference here is that the parents were not asked to rate their own English proficiency. In any case, it adds more evidence and another dimension to the idea of English associated with a more advantageous socioeconomic background and urban and international lifestyle. Hence, as a social group, it appears that Enkku Group parents tend to have a high social status, high level of education, as well as an urban and international lifestyle, which, as we can see from the discussion in Section 6.1, do affect the ideologies, norms, and values that they have as a particular community of practice (van Dijk 1998, pp. 69–73).

In sum, the results from this study on the socioeconomic background of the respondents appear to show that, in general, the Enkku Group parents who responded to this survey tended to have slightly, but not significantly, more advantageous socioeconomic backgrounds than those in the Non-Enkku Group. ECIL schools are all schools that offer one or more options for classes of special emphasis, which are already associated with 'middle or upper-class parents' (Kosunen 2016), so one would expect the majority of parents, in general, to be from more advantageous backgrounds. This would explain, for example, the lack of statistical significance in salaries. Not all Enkku Group parents fit this category, but it does support previous findings about school choice being associated with parents from more advantageous socioeconomic backgrounds, and provides information from the level of primary education.

6.4   PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

During the process of this study, a major realisation has been just how small-scale and specialised English-medium education is in Finland. To me, it has been my whole life in this country, and yet, it touches only a small part of the population. This survey was exploratory, and now that the exploration has been made, and several interesting conclusions found, it would be time to take these findings back to the parents in terms of an interview, devised to address the findings in more detail and closer proximity. This would also greatly increase the validity of the findings or allow them to be modified accordingly. It would be interesting, for example, to take the finding of ECIL as promoting internationalism and cosmopolitanism, and examine if there is a difference between the beliefs of parents of children at so-called international schools and those of children at schools providing other forms of English-medium education. Moreover, according to Zilber (2009), children of host culture families at international schools are an understudied group, and in the Finnish context, this could be extended to children at ECIL schools. There is much to be examined at the level of pupils to investigate if and how being educated through the medium of English facilitates the ideology of a wider worldview and increased tolerance, and what impact it has on children's identity as members of the Finnish language community (van Dijk 1998; Blommaert 2005).

Given the number of parents who said that their child did not gain access to the English-medium programme, and comments made by other Non-Enkku parents, I am particularly interested in the weak forms of CLIL or equivalents. The Kuopio

experience of early English seems to have been positive, and, according to a small study I conducted, the pupils who were not in the ECIL programme were positive about English, and felt that they too had had more English (Jalkanen 2014). The Non-Enkku parents' responses appear to support this finding, since the programmes they referred to were seen in a positive light and as a way of having more English without putting their first language, Finnish, at risk. It would be interesting to study these programmes in more detail and to see how they compare with the school choice forms of ECIL. If they are indeed a comfortable form of bilingual education, promoting translanguaging, it would be important to assess how they fit into the bigger picture alongside the English A1 programme and ECIL programmes. Moreover, it would be useful to investigate what parents really understand about bilingual education and how this is different to education promoting double or multi-monolingualism (Gumperz 1996; Ndhlovu 2015).

A further relevant area of investigation concerns the roles of the English language early childhood institutions that exist across Finland today. The ethnography study in Section 3.4. presents an example of one of the oldest English kindergartens in Finland, and in the 1980s and 1990s, there were many such institutions across Finland. Their role in allowing parents to come together and form concrete communities of practice has had a huge impact on the development of CLIL and ECIL programmes and deserves further investigation. It would be relevant to examine how many exist today and how their programmes work. These institutions are providing naturalistic instruction in English that begins at an early age and, thus, exploits the perceived benefits of the CPH. It may be that these institutions have an impact on the types of English-medium programmes offered at schools; especially those that are not international schools *per se*. In my own experience of ECIL, the fact that there is an English kindergarten, which feeds children who generally have relatively good proficiency in English to the primary programme, means that the starting level at primary school is high. More extensive research into parental decisions to send their child to English-medium day-care may be fruitful in elucidating why English is so important to them. More importantly, whether the decisions were rhizomic (impulsive) or hierarchical (planned carefully) would make an interesting topic of investigation.

The reluctance of Finns to rate themselves as bilingual or plurilingual would also make a fascinating area of further research. Given the findings of the National Survey, I would suggest that the label of monolingualism in the Finnish context is not synonymous with lack of language skills. If individual language repertoires (Blommaert & Backus 2013) could be collected and assessed in terms of the various forms of bilingualism or plurilingualism that exist, the results could be compared with how people rated themselves. What is of interest is the effect that the ideologies have on society and membership of social collectivities (van Dijk 1998; Blommaert 2005).

It is recognised that this study is limited in that it precludes most of the regular mainstream Finnish schools who have no enriched English-medium programme. The parents of children attending such schools were not represented in this study. This makes them a group of particular interest for further research, especially because the Non-Enkku Group of respondents in this survey appeared not to be entirely Non-Enkku, given the areas of overlap discussed above, which may have exaggerated the importance of English and the utopian beliefs about it. For this reason, it would be important to gather more data to be able to ascertain if most Non-Enkku parents share these beliefs or if they are only relevant to the group in this study. Another group of parents of interest is those in rural areas. ECIL is a largely urban phenomenon because

it is offered in urban municipalities, and it is more concentrated in the more densely populated south of Finland. There seems to be an almost complete lack of ECIL in rural areas, for which there could be a range of reasons. Quite simply, it may not be held as important, or it could be that smaller rural municipalities are more traditional or do not have the resources (financial or human) to implement and sustain a programme. Not all Finnish parents want ECIL for their children, but, as shown by the Non-Enkku responses to Question 22b of this survey, not all who would like it have access to it. It would be interesting to give these particular groups of parents a voice, to examine their constructions of English and English-medium education, and to compare them with the groups of parents in this study.

In sum, this survey study, together with its small-scale ethnographical component, has generated data that has elucidated the general beliefs of parents whose children attend an ECIL school in Finnish primary education, leading to either the choice of an ECIL programme or not. The data is robust and representative of all the mainland major regions in Finland. The ethnography study has complemented the survey data by providing detailed information of one context against which the survey data can be set. As such, this study makes a useful contribution to the field of ECIL in Finland by painting a broad canvas of parental attitudes and beliefs in this context which can be used in comparison with other groups of Finns or other educational contexts. Moreover, the study also has implications for further comparative international research and elucidation upon the phenomenon of Finnish ECIL at the international level. This is of particular interest given the general ideology of Finnish education that all schools should be good schools, and the relative exiguity of school choice *per se*, which may provide a strong contrast to many other countries.

REFERENCES⁷⁷

Adamek, P. M. (2004): 'Habitus of Household Lingualism'. TESL E-Journal, Vol. 8, No. 1. Online. Retrieved 17.3.2016. http://tesl-ej.org/ej29/al.html

Agha, A. (2003): 'The Social Life of Cultural Value'. Language and Communication. Vol. 23, pp. 231–273.

Agha, A. (2004): 'Registers of Language'. In Duranti A. (Ed.) A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 23–45.

Agha, A. (2007a): 'The Object Called "Language" and the Subject of Linguistics'. Journal of English Linguistics, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 217–235.

Agha, A. (2007b): Language and Social Relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Agha, A. (2011): 'Commodity Registers'. Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 22–53.

Agha, A. & Frog (2015): 'An Introduction to Registers of Communication'. In Agha, A. & Frog (Eds.) Registers of Communication. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, SKS, pp. 13–26.

Ahonen, S. (2003): Yhteinen koulu. Tasa-arvoa vai tasapäisyyttä [A Common School. Equality or Uniformity.] Tampere: Vastapaino.

Ahonen, S. (2012): 'Changing Conceptions of Equality in Education – A Look at the Basic School in Finland during the 1900s'. In Kivirauma, J., Jauhiainen, A., Seppänen, P. and Kaunisto T. (Eds.): Koulutuksen yhteiskunnallinen ymmärrys. Social Perspectives on Education. Finnish Educational Research Association. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Ajzen, I. and Fishbein M. (1980): Understanding Attitudes and Predicting Social Behavior. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Antikainen, A. (2006): 'In Search of the Nordic Model of Education'. Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 50, No. 3, pp. 229–243.

Antikainen, A. (2010): 'The Capitalist State and Education: The Case of Restructuring the Nordic Model'. Current Sociology, Vol. 58, No. 4, pp. 530–550.

Atkinson, A. and Hammersley, M. (2007): Ethnography: Principles in Practice. Third Edition. London and New York: Routledge.

Auer, P. (2007): 'Introduction'. In Auer, P. (Ed.): Style and Social Identities: Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 1–24.

Baetens Beardsmore, H. (1986): Bilingualism: Basic Principles. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baetens Beardsmore, H. (2009): 'Language Promotions by European Supra-national Institutions. In García, O. Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 197–217.

Baker, C. and Prys Jones, S. (1998): Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education. Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2011): Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism. Fifth Edition. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bakhtin, M.M. (1981): The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays. Edited by Holquist, M. Translated by Emerson, C. and Holquist, M. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M.M. (1986): Speech Genres, and Other Late Essays. Edited by Emerson, C. and Holquist, M. Translated by McGee, V.W. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Ball, S. J. (2006): Education Policy and Social Class: The Selected Works of Stephen J. Ball. London: Routledge.

Barac, R. and Bialystock E. (2011): 'Cognitive Development of Bilingual Children'. Language Teaching, Vol. 44, No. 01, pp. 36–54.

Barett deWiele, C.E. and Edgerton, J.D. (2016): 'Parentocracy Revisited: Still a Relevant Concept for Understanding Middle Class Educational Advantage?' Interchange, Vol. 47, pp. 189–210.

Bauman, R. and Briggs, C. (2003): Voices of Modernity: Language Ideology and the Politics of Inequality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---

77   This list of references follows the English alphabet. For this reason, any Finnish names with the Finnish letters 'ä' or 'ö' may not be in the expected place for the Finnish reader. Here, they have been treated as equal to 'a' or 'o' and indexed accordingly.

Beacco, J-C. and Byram M. (2003) Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe. From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education. Version Draft 1. Language Policy Division. Council of Europe. Online. Retrieved 17.3.2014. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/FullGuide_EN.pdf

Beacco, J-C. (2007) Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe. From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education. Main Version. Language Policy Division. Council of Europe. Online. Retrieved 8.6.2015. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Guide_niveau3_EN.asp#TopOfPage

Berger, P.L. and Luckmann T. (1991): The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Penguin Books.

Bex, T. and Watts, R.J. (1999): Standard English: The Widening Debate. Oxon: Routledge.

Bialystock, E. (2011): 'Reshaping the Mind: The Benefits of Bilingualism'. Canadian Journal of Experimental Psychology, Vol. 65, No. 4, pp. 229–235.

Birdsong, D. (1999): Second Language Acquisition and the Critical Period Hypothesis. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Birdsong, D. (2006): 'Age and Second Language Acquisition and Processing: A Selective Overview'. Language Learning, Vol. 56, pp. 9–49.

Björklund, S. (1997): 'Immersion in Finland in the 1990s'. In Johnson, R. K. and Swain M. (Eds.): Immersion Education: International Perspectives. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 85–101.

Blaikie, N. (2014): Approaches to Social Enquiry. Second Edition. Cambridge: Polity.

Blair, A. (2016): 'Academic Uses of Language (Re)defined: A Case of Emergent Bilinguals Engaging in Languages and Literacies in and Outside of School'. Linguistics and Education, Vol. 35, pp. 109–119.

Blommaert, J. (2005): Discourse: A Critical Introduction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2006): 'How Legitimate is my Voice: A Rejoinder'. Target (Amsterdam), Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 163–176.

Blommaert, J. (2008): Grassroots Literacy: Writing, Identity and Voice in Central Africa. Oxon: Routledge.

Blommaert, J. (2010): The Sociolinguistics of Globalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2015): 'Pierre Bourdieu and Language in Society. Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies'. Paper 153. Draft of a paper to appear in Östman, J-O. and Verschueren J. (Eds.) Handbook of Pragmatics. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Blommaert, J. (2016): 'Superdiversity and the Neoliberal Conspiracy'. Online. Accessed May 2016. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/22789072/Superdiversity_and_the_neoliberal_conspiracy

Blommaert, J., Collins, J. and Slembrouck S. (2005): 'Spaces of Multilingualism'. Language and Communication, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 197–216.

Blommaert, J., Creve, L., and Willaert, E., (2006): 'On Being Declared Illiterate: Language-ideological Disqualification in Dutch Classes for Immigrants in Belgium'. Language and Communication, Vol. 26, pp. 34–54.

Blommaert, J. and Rampton, B. (2011): 'Language and Superdiversity'. Diversities. Vol. 13, No.2, pp. 1–22.

Blommaert, J. and Backus, A. (2013): 'Superdiverse Repertoires and the Individual'. In de Saint-Georges, I. and Weber, J-J. (Eds.) Multilingualism and Multimodality: Current Challenges for Educational Studies. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. pp. 11–32.

Blommaert, J., Leppänen, S., and Spotti, M. (2012): 'Endangering Multilingualism'. In Blommaert, J., Leppänen, S., Pahta, P. and Räisänen, T. (Eds.): Dangerous Multilingualism: Northern Perspectives on Order, Purity and Normality. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 1–24.

Boell, S. K. and Cecez-Kecmanovic D. (2014): 'A Hermeneutic Approach for Conducting Literature Reviews and Literature Searches'. Communications of the Associations for Information Systems, Vol. 34, Article 12, pp. 257–286. Online. Retrieved 2.7.2014. http://aisel.aisnet.org/cais/vol34/iss1/12

Bonner, A. and Tolhurst, G. (2002): Insider-outsider Perspectives of Participant Observation. Nurse Researcher, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 7–19.

Bonnet, A. (2012): 'Towards and Evidence Base for CLIL. How to Integrate Qualitative and Quantitative as well as Process, Product and Participant Perspectives in CLIL Research'. International CLIL Research Journal, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 66–78.

Boone, H.N. and Boone D.A. (2012): 'Analysing Likert Data'. Journal of Extension, Vol. 50, No. 2. Online. Retrieved September 2016. http://www.joe.org/joe/2012april/tt2.php

Bornstein, M.H. and Bradley, R.H. (2012): 'Introduction'. In Bornstein, M.H. and Bradley R.H. (Eds.) Socioeconomic Status, Parenting, and Child Development. New York: Psychology Press, pp. 1–12.

Bourdieu, P. (2010): Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Trans. R. Nice. London: Routledge Classics.

Bovellan, E. (2014): Teachers' Beliefs about Leaning and Language as Reflected in their view of Teaching Materials for Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Braun, V. and Clarke V. (2006): 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology'. Qualitative Research in Psychology, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 77–101.

Brown, P. (1990): The "Third Wave": Education and the Ideology of Parentocracy. British Journal of Sociological Education. Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 65–85.

Bruthiaux, P. (2003): 'Squaring the Circles: Issues in Modeling English Worldwide'. International Journal of Applied Linguists, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 159–178.

Bruton, A. (2011): 'Is CLIL so Beneficial, or Just Selective? Re-evaluating Some of the Research'. Elsevier Ltd. SciVerse ScienceDirect, System 39, pp. 523–532.

Bruton, A. (2015): 'CLIL: Detail Matters in the Whole Picture. More than a Reply to J. Hüttner and U. Smit (2014)'. ScienceDirect. System. Vol. 53, pp. 119–128. Online. Retrieved 24.3.2016. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2015.07.005

Buchberger, I. (2002): A Multilingual Ideology in a Monolingual Country: Language Education in Finland. Online. Retrieved 6.6.2011. http://www.atriumlinguarum.org/contenido/BUCHBERGER.pdf

CAF (1919): The Constitution Act of Finland of 17th July 1919. Online. Retrieved 02.06.2015. http://www.servat.unibe.ch/icl/fi01000_.html

Cazden, C. B. and Snow, C. E. (Eds.) (1990): English Plus: Issues in Bilingual Education. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 508. London: SAGE Publications.

Cenoz, J., Genesee F. and Gorter, D. (2014): 'Critical Analysis of CLIL: Taking Stock and Looking Forward'. Oxford University Press. Applied Linguistics, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 243–262.

City of Kuopio Decision (2012): Suomenkielisen perusopetukseen valmistavan opetuksen opetussuunnitelman vahvistaminen [Ratification of the Curriculum to learn Finnish in the Preliminary Schooling Programme in Preparation for Basic Education at School in Finland.] Asianro 2586311/2012 §70.

City of Kuopio Minutes (2012): Rajalan ja Hatsalan klassillisen koulujen englanninkielisen opetuksen oppilaaksioton perusteet 8.8.2014 alkaen [Access to the English-medium Programmes at Rajala School and Hatsala School from 1.8.2014]. Asianro 3741/311/2012 §115

City of Kuopio Decision (2013): Perusopetuksen kaksikielisen (suomi–englanti) opetuksen opetussuunnitelma [Basic Education Bilingual Education (Finnish–English) Curriculum.] Asianro 6165/2013 Muut asiat §13

City of Kuopio Minutes 4 (2013): Selvitys varhennetun englannin kielen opetuskokeilusta [An Account of the Trial of Early English Education.] Asianro 4544/12.00.001/2013 §33. Online. Retrieved 3.6.2015. Available at: http://publish.istekkipalvelut.fi/kokous/2013230573-8.HTM

City of Kuopio Minutes 7 (2013): Kaksikielisen opetuksen opetussuunnitelman muuttaminen [Changing the Bilingual Education Curriculum.] Asianro 7438/12.00.01/2013 §55. Online. Available at: http://publish.istekkipalvelut.fi/kokous/2013244034-6.PDF

City of Kuopio Minutes 5 (2015): Kuopion perusopetuksen painotusopetuksen toteuttamisen periaatteet 1.8.2016 alkaen [Principles of Implementation for the City of Kuopio's Classes of Special Emphasis from 1.8.2016.] Asianro 4332/12.00.01.00/2015. Online. Retrieved 18.8.2016. Available at: http://docplayer.fi/11287071-Kuopion-kaupunki-poytakirja-5-2015-1-22-kasvun-ja-oppimisen-lautakunta-vuorikatu-27-2-kerroksen-lautakuntien-kokoushuone.html

City of Kuopio Minutes 3 (2016): Kuopion kaupungin perusopetuksen kaksikielisen opetuksen tuntijako 1.8.2016 alkaen [The Division of Lesson Hours for the City of Kuopio's Bilingual Education from 1.8.2016.] Asianro 2146/12.00.01.00/2016 §16. Online. Retrieved 18.8.2016. Available at: http://publish.istekkipalvelut.fi/kokous/2016346052.PDF

City of Kuopio (2016): Kuopio in Brief. Online. Retrieved 16.03.2016. Available at: https://www.kuopio.fi/web/information-about-kuopio/population

Clyne, M. (1997): 'Multilingualism'. In Coulmas, F. (Ed.) The Handbook of Sociolinguistics. Oxford and Malden: Blackwell. pp. 301–314.

Clyne, M. (2008): 'The Monolingual Mindset as an Impediment to the Development of Plurilingual Potential in Australia'. Sociolinguistic Studies, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 347–365.

COE (Council of Europe) (2001): Common European Framework for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Online. Retrieved 23.11.2013. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf

COE (Council of Europe) (2011): European Language Portfolio. Education and Languages. Council of Europe. Online. Retrieved 2.6.2015. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/elp/

Coe, R. (2002): 'It's the Effect Size, Stupid: What Effect Size is and Why it is Important'. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the British Educational Research Association. Online. Retrieved August 2016. http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/00002182.htm

Cohen, J. (1988): Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences. Second Edition. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Copp Jinkerson, A. (2012): Socialization, Language Choice and Belonging: Language Norms in a First and Second Grade English Medium Class. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Coyle, D. (2007): 'Content and Language Integrated Learning: Towards a Connected Research Agenda for CLIL Pedagogies'. The International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism. Vol. 10., No. 5, pp. 543–562.

Coyle, D., Hood, P., and Marsh, D. (2010): CLIL: Content and Language Integrated Learning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Creagh, S. (2014): 'Multiple Ways of Speaking Back to the Monolingual Mindset'. Review Essay of The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and Bilingual Education edited by Stephen May, New York Routledge. Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education. Online. Retrieved 24.11.2016. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2016.1163861

Crystal, D. (1997): English as a Global Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cummins, J. (2000): Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (2008): 'BICS and CALP: Empirical and Theoretical Status of the Distinction'. In Street, B. and Hornberger, N.H. (Eds.) Encyclopedia of Language and Education. Volume Two, Literacy. 2nd Edition. New York: Springer.

Cummins, J. (2013): 'Bilingual Education and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL): Research and its Classroom Implications'. Padres y Maestros No. 349, pp. 6–10. Online. Retrieved 15.2.2015. https://revistas.upcomillas.es/index.php/padresymaestros/article/viewFile/6-10/803

Dalton-Puffer, C. (2008): 'Outcomes and Processes in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL): Current Research from Europe'. In Delanoy, W. and Volkmann, L. (Eds.) Future Perspectives for English Language Teaching. Carl Winter, pp. 139–157.

Dalton-Puffer, C. (2011): 'Content-and-Language Integrated Learning: From Practice to Principles?' Cambridge University Press. Annual Review of Applied Linguistics 31, pp. 182–204.

Dalton-Puffer, C., Nikula, T. and Smit, U. (2010): 'Language use and language learning in CLIL. Current findings and contentious issues'. In Dalton-Puffer, C., Nikula, T. & Smit, U. Language Use and Language Learning in CLIL Classrooms, pp. 279-291.

Dalton-Puffer, C. and Smit, U. (2013): 'Thinking Allowed. Content and Language Learning: A Research Agenda'. Language Teaching. Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 545–559.

Dalton-Puffer, C., Llinares, A., Lorenzo, F. and Nikula T. (2014): '"You Can Stand Under my Umbrella": Immersion, CLIL and Bilingual Education. A Response to Cenoz, Genesee & Gorter (2013)'. Applied Linguistics, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 213-218.

Dalton-Puffer, C. and Nikula, T. (2014): 'Content and Language Integrated Learning'. The Language Learning Journal. Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 117–122.

Davies, S. Aurini J. D. (2008): 'School Choice as Concerted Cultivation'. In Forsey, M., Davies, S. and Walford G. (Eds.): The Globalisation of School Choice? Oxford Studies in Comparative Education. Oxford: Symposium Books.

de Mejía, A-M. (2002): Power, Prestige and Bilingualism: International Perspectives on Elite Bilingual Education. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Destutt de Tracy, A (1801): Projet d'éléments d'idéologie. Paris : Didot.

De Winter, J.C.F. and Dodou, D. (2012): 'Five-Point Likert Items: T-Test Versus Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon'. Practical Assessment Research & Evaluation, Vol. 15, No. 11, pp. 1–16. Online. Retrieved June 2015. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266212127_Five-Point_Likert_Items_t_test_versus_Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon

Dower, N. and Williams J. (Eds.) (2002): Global Citizenship: A Critical Introduction. New York: Routledge.

Eckert, P. (2008): 'Variation and the Indexical Field'. Journal of Sociolinguistics, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 453 – 476.

Education in Finland (2014): Finnish Education in a Nutshell. Ministry of Education and Culture, Finnish National Board of Education, CIMO. Online. Retrieved 23.3.2014. http://www.minedu.fi/export/sites/default/OPM/Julkaisut/2013/liitteet/Finnish_education_in_a_nuttshell.pdf

Ellis, E. (2006): 'Monolingualism: The Unmarked Case'. Estudios de Sociolingüística, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp 173–196.

Ellis, R. (2008): The Study of Second Language Acquisition. Second Edition. Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Ensminger, M.E. and Fothergill, K.E. (2012): 'A Decade of Measuring SES: What it Tells Us and Where to Go from Here'. In Bornstein, M.H. and Bradley R.H. (Eds.) Socioeconomic Status, Parenting, and Child Development. New York: Psychology Press, pp. 13–28.

Erikson, R. and Goldthorpe J. H. (2002): 'Intergenerational Inequality: A Sociological Perspective'. Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 31–44.

Erola, J. (Ed.) (2010): Luokaton Suomi? Yhteiskuntaluokat 2000-luvun Suomessa [A Classless Finland? Social Classes in Finland in the 2000s.] Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press.

Fairclough, N. (2015): Language and Power. Third Edition. Oxon: Routledge.

Field, A. (2009): Discovering Statistics Using SPSS. London: SAGE Publications.

Fishman, J. A. (1976): Bilingual Education: An International Sociological Perspective. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Fishman, J. A. (1982): 'Sociolinguistic Foundations of Bilingual Education'. Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 1–35.

FIS-STEPS (2014): The Finnish International Schools – Sharing Tools for English Public Schools (FIS-STEPS) Network Project Blog Site. Online. Retrieved 12.8.2014. https://fissteps.wordpress.com/about/

Flores, N. and Lewis, M. (2016): 'From Truncated to Sociopolitical Emergence: A Critique of Super-diversity in Sociolinguistics'. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, Vol. 241, pp. 97– 24.

FNBE (1999): Kimmoke-Indikaattorit: Tilastoja kieltenopetuksesta perusopetuksessa ja lukiossa. Raportti 2 [Kimmoke-indicators: Statistics on Language Teaching in Basic Education and Upper-secondary Education]. Finnish National Board of Education. Helsinki.

FNBE (2004): Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet [National Curriculum for Basic Education]. Finnish National Board of Education. Online. Retrieved in September 2013. http://www.oph.fi/download/139848_pops_web.pdf

FNBE (2014): Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet [National Curriculum for Basic Education]. Finnish National Board of Education. Helsinki. Also online. Retrieved 12.5.2015. http://www.oph.fi/download/163777_perusopetuksen_opetussuunnitelman_perusteet_2014.pdf

FNBE (2016): National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014. Finnish National Board of Education. Helsinki.

Forsey, M., Davies, S. and Walford, G. (2008): 'The Globalisation of School Choice? An Introduction to Key Issues and Concerns'. In Forsey, M., Davies, S. and Walford G. (Eds.): The Globalisation of School Choice? Oxford Studies in Comparative Education. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Gal, S. and Irvine, J.T. (1995): 'The Boundaries of Languages and Disciplines: How Ideologies Construct'. Social Research 62, pp. 967–1001.

García, O. (2009): Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

García, O. and Sylvan, C.E. (2011): 'Pedagogies and Practices in Multilingual Classrooms: Singularities in Pluralities'. The Modern Languages Journal, Vol. 95, pp. 385–400.

Gee, J.P. (2015): Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses. Fifth Edition. Oxon: Routledge.

George, D. and Mallery P. (2003): SPSS for Windows Step by Step: A Simple Guide and Reference. 11.0 update. Fourth Edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Gierlinger, E.M. (2016): 'Go for CLIL, But Take it with a Pinch of SALT'. Key Note Speech STEPS (Sharing Tools for English Public Schools) 8. Seinäjoki, Finland. Online https://clilingmesoftly.files.wordpress.com/2016/11/go-for-clil_talk_public.pdf

Gogolin, (2 002): 'Linguistic and Cultural Diversity in Europe: A Challenge for Educational Research and Practice'. European Educational Research Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 123–138.

Graddol, D. (2001): 'English in the Future'. In Burns, A. & Coffin, C. (Eds.): Analysing English in a Global Context. A Reader. London and New York in association with the Macquarie University and The Open University: Routledge. pp. 26–37.

Graddol, D. (2006): English Next: Why Global English May Mean the End of 'English as a Foreign Language'. The British Council. The English Company (UK) Ltd.

Gramsci, A. (1929): '"Hegemony"'. In Szeman, I. and Kaposy T. (Eds.): Cultural Theory: An Anthology. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 188–203.

Grin, F. (2001): 'English as Economic Value: Facts and Fallacies'. World Englishes, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 65–78.

Grosjean, F. (1985): 'The Bilingual as a Competent but Specific Speaker-hearer'. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Vol. 6, pp. 467–477.

Grubb, N., Jahr, H. M., Neumüller, J. and Field, S. (2005): Equity in Education Thematic Review: Finland Country Note. OECD Report. Online. Retrieved September 2013. http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/36376641.pdf

Gumperz, J.J. and Hymes, D. (1972/1986): Directions in sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication. London: Blackwell.

Gumperz, J.J. (1996): 'Introduction to Part IV'. In Gumperz, J.J. and Levinson, S. Rethinking Linguistic Relativity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hakulinen, A., Kalliokoski, J., Kankaanpää, S., Kanner, A., Koskenniemi, K., Laitinen, L., Maamies, S. and Nuolijärvi, P. (2009): Suomen kielen tulevaisuus: Kielipoliittinen toimintaohjelma [The Future of the Finnish Language: Language Policy Agenda.] Helsinki: Research Institute for the Languages of Finland.

Hämäläinen, L., Väisänen, T. and Latomaa, S. (2007): 'Perus- ja toisen asteen kielikoulutus: peruskielitaidosta monikielisyyteen' [Primary and Secondary Level Language Education: From Basic Language Proficiency to Multilingualism]. In Pöyhönen, S. and Luukka, M-R. (Eds.) (2007): Kohti tulevaisuuden kielikoulutusta: kielikoulutuspoliittisen projektin loppuraportti [Towards the Future: The Final Report of the National Project on Finnish Language Education Policies Towards the Future]. Centre for Applied Language Studies. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, pp. 57–121.

Hansegård, N-E. (1968): Tvåspråkighet eller halvspråkighet? [Bilingualism or Semilingualism]. Stockholm

Hargreaves, A., Gábor, H. and Pont, B. (2008): 'The Finnish Approach to System Leadership'. In Hopkins, D., Nusche, D. and Pont, B. (Eds.): Improving School Leadership, Volume 2: Cases Studies on System Leadership, OECD Publishing, pp. 70–101.

Härkönen, J. (2010): 'Sosiaalinen periytyvyys ja sosiaalinen liikkuvuus' [Social Heritage and Social Mobility]. In Erola, J. (Ed.): Luokaton Suomi? Yhteiskuntaluokat 2000-luvun Suomessa [A Classless Finland? Social Classes in Finland in the 2000s]. Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press, pp. 51–66.

Harvey, D. (2005): A Brief History of Neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hebdige, D. (1984): Subculture: The Meaning of Style. New York: Methuen.

Helminen, L. and Katajamäki, M. (2015): An Introduction to Teaching in Finland for International Staff. The Finnish International Schools – Sharing Tools for English Public Schools (FIS-STEPS) Network Project. Online. Retrieved 9.6.2015. https://fissteps.files.wordpress.com/2014/06/introduction_international_teachers.pdf

Hennink, M., Hutter, I. and Bailey, A. (2011): Qualitative Research Methods. London: SAGE Publications.

Hildén, R. and Kantelinen, R. (2012): 'Language Education: Foreign Languages'. In Niemi, H., Toom, A. and Kallioniemi, A. (Eds.): The Miracle of Education: The Principles and Practices of Teaching and Learning in Finnish Schools. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, pp. 161–167.

Hinnenkamp, V. (2005): 'Semilingualism, Double Monolingualism and Blurred Genres – on (Not) Speaking a Legitimate Language.' Journal of Social Science in Education, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 57–90.

Hogan-Brun, G., Bar-Molinero, C. and Stevenson, P. (2009): 'Testing Regimes: Introducing Cross-national Perspectives on Language, Migration and Citizenship'. In Hogan-Brun, G., Mar-Molinero, C., and Stevenson, P. (Eds.) Discourses on Language and Integrations. Critical Perspectives on Language Testing Regimes in Europe. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp. 1–14.

Hollingshead, A. (2011): 'Four Factor Index of Social Status'. In Smith, P. (Ed.) Yale Journal of Sociology. Newhaven: Yale University, pp. 21–52.

Hornberger, N.H. and Link, H. (2012): 'Translanguaging and Transnational Literacies in Multilingual Classrooms: a Biliteracy Lens.' International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, Vol.15, No. 3, pp. 261–278.

Huomo, M. and Väänänen A. (2015): Municipalities and Regional Divisions Based on Municipalities. A Handbook. Helsinki: Statistics Finland. Online. http://www.stat.fi/tup/julkaisut/tiedostot/julkaisuluettelo/yksk28_201500_2015_13520_net.pdf

HURC (2016): Helsinki-Uusimaa Regional Council. Helsinki-Uusimaa Region. On-line. Retrieved 11.9.2016. http://www.uudenmaanliitto.fi/en/helsinki-uusimaa_region

Hüttner, J, Dalton-Puffer, C. & Smit, U. (2013): 'The Power of Beliefs: Lay Theories and their Influence on the Implementation of CLIL Programmes'. International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism. Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 267–284.

Hüttner, J. and Smit, U. (2014): 'CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning): The Bigger Picture. A Response to: A. Bruton 2013. System 41, 587–497'. Elsevier Ltd. SciVerse ScienceDirect, System 44, pp. 160–167.

Hymes, D. (2010): 'A Perspective for Linguistic Anthropology'. Journal of Sociolinguistics, Vol. 14, No. 5, pp. 569–580.

IBO (2007): Primary Years Programme. Making the PYP Happen: A Curriculum Framework for International Primary Education. International Baccalaureate Organization.

Irvine, J.T. and Gal, S. (2009): 'Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation'. In Duranti, A. (Ed.) Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader. Second Edition. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 402–434.

Jalkanen, J. (1999): Moving on from an Early Total Immersion English Kindergarten (Finland) – A Case Study Towards the Specification of Research Issues. Master's Thesis. London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Jalkanen, J. (2007): Introducing KATE: The Kuopio Assessment Tool for English. Master's Thesis. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.

Jalkanen, J. (2009): 'Language Proficiency and Age Appropriate Methodology at the English Kindergarten of Kuopio'. In Niklov, M. (Ed.) The Age Factor and Early Language Learning. SOLA Studies on Language Acquisition 40. Berlin: Mouton du Gruyter, pp. 97–117.

Jalkanen, J. (2014): Experiences of English at a Finnish Primary School. Presentation at the THINK CLIL Conference, 28th August 2014, Venice, Italy.

Jenkins, J. (2009): 'English as a *Lingua Franca*: Interpretations and Attitudes'. World Englishes, Vol. 28, pp. 200–207.

Johnson, R. K. and Swain M. (1997): Immersion Education: International Perspectives. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johnsson, M. (later Soininen, M.) (1895): Kasvatusopillisia Luennoita I– X [Pedagogical Lectures I–X]. Helsinki: Otava.

Jørgensen, J.N., Karrebæk, M.S., Madsen, L.M., & Møller, J.S. (2011): 'Polylanguaging in Superdiversity'. Diversities. Vol. 13, No.2. pp. 23–39.

Kääntä, L., Jauni, H., Leppänen, S., Peuronen, S., and Paakkinen, T. (2013): 'Learning English Through Social Interaction: The Case of Big Brother 2006, Finland'. The Modern Language Journal, Vol. 97, No. 2, pp. 340–359.

Kachru, Y. and Smith, L. E. (2008): Cultures, Contexts, and World Englishes. ESL and Applied Linguistics Series. New York and London: Routledge.

Kainulainen, S. and Saari, J. (2013): 'Koettu huono-osaisuus Suomessa' [Perceived Deprivation in Finland]. In Niemelä, M. and Saari, J. (Eds.): Huono-osaisten hyvinvointi Suomessa [The Welfare of the Disadvantaged in Finland]. Helsinki: Kelantutkimusosasto. pp. 22–43.

Kalalahti, M. and Varjo, J. (2012): 'Tasa-arvo ja oikeudenmukaisuus perusopetukseen sijoittumisessa ja valikoitumisessa' [Equality and Justice in Placement and Selection in Basic Education]. Kasvatus & Aika, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 39–55.

Kalalahti, M., Silvennoinen, H. and Varjo, J (2015): 'Luokittunut kouluvalinta ja mahdollisuuksien tasa-arvo' [Classified School Choice and Equality of Opportuntites]. In Seppänen, P., Kalalahti, M., Rinne R. (Eds.) Lohkoutuva peruskoulu – Perheiden kouluvalinnat, yhteiskuntaluokat ja koulutuspolitiikka [Diversifying Basic Education – Families' School Choices, Social Classes and Education Policy]. Research in Education Sciences 68. Jyväskylä: Finnish Educational Research Association. pp. 371–399.

Kalisa, P. (2014): 'Being Bilingual in Early Ages: Is it Advantageous? Language Circle'. Journal of Language and Literature, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 99–104.

Kangasvieri, T., Miettinen, E., Palviainen, H., Saarinen, T. and Ala-Vähälä, T. (2011): Selvitys kotimaisten kielten kielikylpyopetuksen ja vieraskielisen opetuksen tilanteesta Suomessa. Kuntatason tarkastelu. [An Account of Immersion in Domestic Languages and the State of Foreign Language Instruction in Finland. Examination at the Municipal (Local Authority) Level]. Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Kantelinen, R. and Pollari, P. (2008): 'Foreign Language Education at the Primary Level in Finland'. In Kantelinen, R., Sokka-Meaney, E. L. and Pogosian V. (Eds.) Seminar Papers on Early Foreign Language Education. Bulletins of the Faculty of Education. N:o6. Joensuu: University of Joensuu. pp. 10–22.

Katajamäki, Miikka (2014): FIS-STEPS –verkostohanke – kohti yhtenäisempää vieraskielistä opetusta [The Finnish International Schools – Sharing Tools for English Public Schools (FIS-STEPS) Network Project: Towards more Cohesive Mainstream Bilingual Education in English]. Kieli ja Yhteiskunta [Language and Society] Online. Retrieved 26.3.2014. http://www.kieliverkosto.fi/article/fis-steps-verkostohanke-kohti-yhtenaisempaa-vieraskielista-opetusta/

Kivimäki, S. (2008): 'Kadonnutta luokkaa etsimässä' [In Search of the Lost Class]. Kulttuurintutkimus, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 3–18.

Kivimäki, S. (2012): Kuinka tämän tuntisi omaksi maakseen: Suomalaisuuden kulttuurisia järjestyksiä [How could I recognize this country – the cultural orders of Finnishness]. Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto.

Kleingeld, P, and Brown, E. (2014): 'Cosmopolitanism'. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy Online. Retrieved September 2016. http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/cosmopolitanism/

Kolbe, L. (2010): 'Esipuhe' [Foreword]. In Erola, J. (Ed.): Luokaton Suomi? Yhteiskuntaluokat 2000-luvun Suomessa [A Classless Finland? Social Classes in Finland in the 2000s]. Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press. pp. 5–9.

Kosunen, S. (2012): '"Meillä on siis kouluja, joista ne tulee: siis Suomen eliitti"- keskiluokan lasten kouluvalinnat pois lähikoulusta' [So We Do Have Schools Where They Come From: the Finnish Elite That Is – Middle-class Children's Choices of School Away from the Local School]. Kasvatus: the Finnish Journal of Education, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 7–19.

Kosunen, S. (2014): 'Reputation and Parental Logics of Action in Local School Choice Space in Finland'. Journal of Education Policy. Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 443–466. DOI: 10.1080/02680939.2013.844859

Kosunen, S. (2016): Families and the Social Space of School Choice in Finland. University of Helsinki. Institute of Behavioural Sciences. Helsinki: Unigrafia.

Kosunen, S. and Seppänen, P. (2015): 'The Transmission of Capital and a Feel for the Game: Upper-class School Choice in Finland'. Acta Sociologia, Vol. 58, No. 4. pp. 329–342.

Kroskrity, P.V. (2004): 'Language Ideologies'. In Duranti A. (Ed.) A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 496–517.

Kroskrity, P.V. (2010): 'Language Ideologies – Evolving Perspectives'. In Jaspers, J., Östman, J-O. and Verschueren, J. (Eds.): Society and Language Use. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 192–211.

Kumpulainen, T. (Ed.) (2011): Koulutuksen määrälliset indikaattorit. Koulutuksen seurantaraportit 2010: 4. [Quantitative Indicators of Education. Education Follow-up Reports.] Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education.

Laitinen, M., Peuronen, S. and Copp-Jinkerson, A. (2010): "Tankerous English": Searching for Norms and Normativity in Public Online Discussions on English Used by Present-day Finns. Presentation at NAES_FINSSE 2010, University of Oulu.

Laitinen, M. (2014): '630 Kilometres by Bicycle: Observations of English in Urban and Rural Finland'. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 228. pp. 55–77.

Lambert, W. E. & Tucker G. R. (1972): Bilingual Education of Children. The St Lambert Experiment. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Lareau, A. (1987): 'Social Class Differences in Family-School Relationships: The Importance of Cultural Capital'. Sociology of Education, Vol. 60, No. 2, pp. 73–85.

Lareau, A. (2003): Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lasagabaster, D. (2008): 'Foreign Language Competence in Content and Language Integrated Courses'. The Open Applied Linguistics Journal, Vol. 1, pp. 31–42.

Lasagabaster, D, and Sierra, J. M. (2010): 'Immersion and CLIL in English: More Differences than Similarities'. ELT Journal, Vol. 64, pp. 367–375.

Latomaa, S. and Nuolijärvi, P. (2005): 'The Language Situation in Finland'. In Kaplan, R. B. and R. B. Baldauf Jr. (Eds.): Language Planning and Policy. Europe. Vol.1: Hungary, Finland and Sweden. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp. 125–232.

Laurén, C. (2000): Kielten taitajaksi – kielikypy käytännössä [Becoming a Language Expert – Immersion in Practice]. Jyväskylä: Atena Kustannus Ltd.

Lave, J. and Wenger E. (1991): Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Law 101 (1921): Laki oppivelvollisuudesta L 15.4.1921/101 [The Compulsory School Attendance Act]. Online. Retrieved 7.4.2016. https://www.eduskunta.fi/pdf/saadokset/101-1921.pdf http://www.perfar.eu/policies/compulsory-school-attendance-act-1011921

Law 148 (1922): The Language Act. Online. Retrieved 4.6.2015. http://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/1922/en19220148.pdf

Law 476 (1983): Peruskoululaki L27.5.1983/476 [Comprehensive Education Act]. Online. Retrieved in September 2016. http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/1983/19830476

Law 261 (1991): Laki peruskoululain muuttamisesta L 8.2.1991/261. [Amendment to the Basic Education Act.] Online. Retrieved in August 2012. http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/1991/19910261

Law 705 (1992): Laki opetus- ja kulttuuritoimen rahoituksesta L 3.8.1992/705 [The Act on Central Government Transfers to Local Government]. Online. Retrieved 7.4.2016. http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/1992/19920705

Law 365 (1995): Kuntalaki L 17.3.1995/365 [The Local Government Act]. Online. Retrieved 7.4.2016. http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/1995/19950365.

Law 628 (1998): Perusopetuslaki L 21.8.1998/628 [Basic Education Act]. Online. Retrieved 11.3.2014. http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1998/19980628

Law 422 (2012): Valtioneuvoston asetus perusopetuslaissa tarkoitetun opetuksen valtakunnallisista tavoitteista ja perusopetuksen tuntijaosta L 28.06.2012/422 [Government Decree on the Basic Education Act on the national objectives of education and the division of hours within basic education. Statute Book of Finland.]. Online. Retrieved 1.6.2015. http://www.edilex.fi/saadoskokoelma/20120422.pdf http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2012/20120422

Lehti, L., Järvinen, H-M. and Suomela-Salmi, E. (2006): 'Kartoitus vieraskielisen opetuksen tarjonnasta peruskouluissa ja lukioissa' [A Survey of Mainstream Bilingual Education in Comprehensive and Upper-secondary Schools]. In Pietilä, P., Lintunen, P. and Järvinen, H-M. (Eds.) Kielenoppija tänään – Language Learners of Today. AFinLAn vuosikirja 2006. Jyväskylä: Suomen soveltavan kielitieteen yhdistyksen AFinLAn julkaisuja 64, pp. 293–313.

Leppänen, S. (2007): 'Youth Language in Media Contexts: Insights into the Functions of English in Finland.' World Englishes, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 149–169.

Leppänen, S. and Nikula, T. (2007): 'Diverse Uses of English in Finnish Society: Discourse-pragmatic Insights into Media, Educational and Business Contexts'. Multilingua, Vol. 26, pp. 333–380.

Leppänen, S. and Nikula, T. (2008): 'Introduction'. In Leppänen, S., Nikula, T. and Kääntä, L. (Eds.): Kolmas kotimainen: Lähikuvia englannin käytöstä Suomessa. [The Third Domestic Language: Close-ups on the Use of English in Finland.] Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Leppänen, S., Pitkänen-Huhta, A., Nikula, T., Kytölä, S., Törmäkangas, T., Nissinen, K., Kääntä, L., Virkkula, T., Laitinen, M., Pahta, P., Koskela, H., Lähdesmäki, S., and Jousmäki, H. (2009a): Kansallinen kyselytutkimus englanninkielestä Suomessa: Käyttö, merkitys ja asenteet. [National Survey on the English language in Finland: Uses, Meaning and Attitudes] Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Leppänen, S., Pitkänen-Huhta, A., Piirainen-Marsh, A., Nikula, T., and Peuronen, S. (2009b): 'Young People's Translocal New Media Uses: A Multiperspective Analysis of Language Choice and Heteroglossia'. Journal of Computer-mediated Communication, Vol. 14, pp. 1080–1107.

Leppänen, S. and Piirainen-Marsh, A. (2009): 'Language Policy in the Making: An Analysis of Bilingual Gaming Activities'. Language Policy, Vol. 8, pp. 261–284.

Leppänen, S., Pitkänen-Huhta, A., Nikula, T., Kytölä, S., Törmäkangas, T., Nissinen, K., Kääntä, L., Virkkula, T., Laitinen, M., Pahta, P., Koskela, H., Lähdesmäki, S., and Jousmäki, H. (2011): National Survey on the English Language in Finland: Uses, Meanings and Attitudes. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Leppänen, S. and Pahta, P. (2012): 'Finnish Culture and Language Endangered: Language Ideological Debates on English in the Finnish Press from 1995 to 2007'. In Blommaert, J., Leppänen, S., Pahta, P. and Räisänen, T. (Eds.): Dangerous Multilingualism: Northern Perspectives on Order, Purity and Normality. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 142–175.

Leppänen, S. and Nikula, T (2012): 'English in Finnish Society'. In Seargeant, P. and Swann, J (Eds.) English in the World: History, Diversity, Change. London: Routledge, pp. 188-196.

Lewis, J., Ritchie, J., Ormston, R. and Morrell, G. (2014): 'Generalising from Qualitative Research'. In Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., McNaughton Nicholls, C. and Ormston, R. (Eds.): Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 347–366.

Li, D.C.S. (2002): 'Hong Kong Parents' preferences for English-medium Education: Passive victims of Imperialism or Active Agents of Pragmatism'. In Kirkpatrick, A. (Ed.) Englishes in Asia: communication, Identity, Power and Education. Melbourne: Language Australia. pp. 29–62.

Llinares, A. and Morton, T. 2010. 'Historical Explanations as Situated Practice in Content and Language Integrated Learning'. Classroom Discourse, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 46–65.

Llinares, A. and Lyster, R. (2014): 'The Influence of Context on Patters of Corrective Feedback and Learner Uptake: A Comparison of CLIL and Immersion Classrooms'. The Language Learning Journal, Vol. 42, No.2, pp. 181–194. DOI: 10.1080/09571736.2014.889509

Llinares, A. (2015): 'Integration in CLIL: A Proposal to Inform Research and Successful Pedagogy'. Language, Culture and Curriculum, Vol. 28, No. 1. pp. 58–73.

Lorenzo, F. (2007): 'The Sociolinguistics of CLIL: Language Planning and Language Change in 21st Century Europe'. RESLA, Vol. 1, pp. 27–38.

Lorenzo, F., Casal, S. and Moore, P. (2010): 'The Effects of Content and Language Integrated Learning in European Education: Key Findings from the Andalusian Sections Evaluation Project'. Applied Linguistics, Vol. 31, pp. 418–442.

Makoni, S. and Pennycook, A. (Eds.) (2007): Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Makoni, S. and Mashiri, P. (2007): 'Critical Historiography: Does Language Planning in Africa Need a Construct of Language as Part of its Theoretical Apparatus?' In Makoni, S. and Pennycook, A. (Eds.) (2007): Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp. 62–89.

Mantila, H. (2005): 'Suomi kansalliskielenä' [Finnish as a National Language]. In Johansson, M. and Pyykkö, R (Eds.): Monikielinen Eurooppa – kielipolitiikka ja käytäntöä [A Multilingual Europe – Language Policy and Practice]. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Marsh, D. (2003): The Relevance and Potential of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) for Achieving MT+2 in Europe. European Language Council Bulletin. Online. Retrieved in September 2012. http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/elc/bulletin/9/en/marsh.html

Marsh, D. (2005): Using Languages to Learn and Learning to Use Languages: the Future Doesn't Just Happen, it is Shaped and Modelled by Our Actions. Online. Retrieved in November 2008. http://www.tieclil.org/html/products/pdf/%201%20UK.pdf

Marsh, D., Järvinen, H-M. and Haataja, K. (2007): Windows on CLIL. Finland. Online. Retrieved in March 2014. http://archive.ecml.at/mtp2/clilmatrix/DOCS/Windows/Windows%20on%20CLIL%20Finland.pdf

Marsh, D. (2013): The CLIL Trajectory: Educational Innovation for the 21st Century iGeneration. Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba.

Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1845): '"The German Ideology"'. In Szeman, I. and Kaposy T. (Eds.): Cultural Theory: An Anthology. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 161–171.

MERCATOR (2013): Swedish: The Swedish Language in Education in Finland. Second Edition. Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning. Online. Retrieved in September 2016. http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED565356.pdf

Mercer, J. (2007): 'The Challenges of Insider Research in Educational Institutions: Wielding a Double-edged Sword and Resolving Delicate Dilemmas. Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp.1–17.

Merton, R.K. (1972): 'Insiders and Outsiders; a Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge'. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 78, pp. 9–47.

Met, M. (1998): 'Curriculum Decision-making in Content-based Language Teaching'. In Cenoz, J. and Genesee, F. (Eds.) Beyond Bilingualism Multilingualism and Multilingual Education. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, Ltd. pp. 35–63.

Metsämuuronen, J. (2001): Metodologian perusteet ihmistieteissä [Fundamental Methodology in Human Sciences]. Helsinki: International Methelp Ltd.

Ministry of Education and Culture (2012): Education and Research 2011–2016: A Development Plan. Department for Education and Science Policy.

Morales, J., Calvo, A. and Bialystock, E., (2013): 'Working Memory Development in Monolingual and Bilingual Children'. Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, Vol. 114, pp. 187–202.

Morgan, M. (2004): 'Speech Community'. In Duranti A. (Ed.) A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 3–22.

Mustaparta, A-K. (2013): Vieraskielisen opetuksen linjauksia uudessa opetussuunnitelmatyössä [Curriculum Reform in Finnish General Education: Basic Outlines of the Process and Reform of CLIL and Immersion Education.] Slides from the FIS-STEPS seminar in Kuopio 2013.

NABoRE (2009): National Advisory Board on Research Ethics. Ethical Principles of Research in the Humanities and Social and Behavioural Sciences and Proposals for Ethical Review. Helsinki.

Ndhlovu, F. (2015): Ignored Lingualism: Another Resource for Overcoming the Monolingual Mindset in Language Education Policy. Australian Journal of Linguistics, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 398–414.

Niemelä, M. and Saari, J. (Eds.) (2013a): Huono-osaisten hyvinvointi Suomessa [The Welfare of the Badly-off in Finland]. Helsinki: Kelantutkimusosasto.

Niemelä, M. and Saari, J. (2013b): Suomalaisen yhteiskunnan notkelmat [The Depressions of Finnish Society]. In Niemelä, M. and Saari, J. (Eds.): Huono-osaisten hyvinvointi Suomessa [The Welfare of the Badly-off in Finland]. Helsinki: Kelantutkimusosasto. pp. 6–21.

Niemi, H. (2012): 'The Societal Factors Contributing to Education and Schooling in Finland'. In Niemi, H., Toom, A. and Kallioniemi, A. (Eds.): The Miracle of Education: The Principles and Practices of Teaching and Learning in Finnish Schools. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. pp. 19–38.

Nikula, T. and Marsh, D. (1996): Kartoitus vieraskielisen opetuksen tarjonnasta peruskouluissa ja lukioissa [A Survey of Foreign Language Programmes in Basic and Upper Secondary Education]. Opetushallitus. Helskinki: Hakapaino Oy.

Nikula, T. (2005): 'English as an Object and Tool of Study in Classrooms: Interactional Effects and Pragmatic Implications'. Linguistics and Education, Vol. 16, pp. 27–58.

Nikula, T. (2007): 'Speaking English in Finnish Content-based Classrooms'. World Englishes, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 206–223.

Nikula, T. (2010): 'Effects of CLIL on a teacher's classroom language use'. In Dalton-Puffer, C., T. Nikula and U. Smit: Language Use and Language Learning in CLIL Classrooms. pp. 105–123.

Nikula, T., Saarinen, T., Pöyhönen, S., and Kangasvieri, T. (2012): 'Linguistic Diversity as a Problem and a Resource – Multilingualism in European and Finnish Policy Documents'. In Blommaert, J., Leppänen, S., Pahta, P. and Räisänen, T. (Eds.): Dangerous Multilingualism: Northern Perspectives on Order, Purity and Normality. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 41–66.

Nikula, Dalton-Puffer & Llinares (2013): 'CLIL Classroom Discourse: Research from Europe'. Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education. Vol. 1, No. 1. pp. 70–100.

Ormston, R., Spencer, L., Barnard, M. and Snape, D. (2014): 'The Foundations of Qualitative Research'. In Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., McNaughton Nicholls, C. and Ormston, R. (Eds.): Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 1–25.

OSF (2013a): Subject choices of students [e-publication]. Official Statistics of Finland. ISSN=1799-1056. Subject choices of comprehensive school pupils 2013. Helsinki: Statistics Finland. Online. Retrieved 1.4.2015. http://www.stat.fi/til/ava/2013/02/ava_2013_02_2014-05-23_tie_001_en.html

OSF (2013b): Providers of education and educational institutions [e-publication]. Official Statistics of Finland. ISSN=1799-5825. 2013. Helsinki: Statistics Finland. Online. Retrieved 4.8.2014. http://www.stat.fi/til/kjarj/2013/kjarj_2013_2014-02-13_tie_001_en.html

OSF (2014a): Population structure [e-publication]. Official Statistics of Finland. ISSN=1797-5395. Helsinki: Statistics Finland. Retrieved 4.8.2014. http://www.stat.fi/til/vaerak/index_en.html

OSF (2014b): Palkkarakenne [Salary Structure] [e-publication] Official Statistics of Finland. ISSN=1799-0076. 2013. Helsinki: Statistics Finland. Online. Retrieved 20.10.2016 http://www.stat.fi/til/pra/2013/pra_2013_2014-10-14_tie_001_fi.html

OSF (2016a): Population structure [e-publication]. Official Statistics of Finland. ISSN=1797-5395. Helsinki: Statistics Finland. Online. Retrieved 26.4.2016. http://www.stat.fi/til/vaerak/index_en.html.

OSF (2016b): Tilastollinen kuntaryhmitys 2016 [Statistical Municipal Grouping] Official Statistics of Finland. Online. Retrieved 01.09.2016. http://www.tilastokeskus.fi/meta/luokitukset/kunta/001-2016/kunta_kr.html

OSF (2016c): Age structure of population on 31 December 2015. Official Statistics of Finland. Online. Retrieved 11.9.2016. http://www.stat.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk_vaesto_en.html

Ostler, N. (2010): The Last *Lingua Franca*. English until the Return of Babel. London: The Penguin Group.

Pallant, J. (2010): SPSS Survival Manual: A Step by Step Guide to Data Analysis Using SPSS. Fourth Edition. Open University Press. McGraw-Hill Education. Berkshire: Allen & Unwin Book Publishers.

Paltridge, B. (2012): Discourse Analysis: An Introduction. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Pampel, F. C. (2000): Logistic Regression: A Primer. SAGE University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 07–132. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Parens, J. (1994): 'Multiculturalism and the Problem of Particularism'. American Political Science Review, Vol. 88, No. 1, pp. 169–181.

Pascual y. Cabo, D. and Rothman, J. (2012): 'The (Il)Logical Problem of Heritage Speaker Bilingualism and Incomplete Acquisition'. Applied Linguistics, Vol. 33, No. 4, pp. 450–455.

Patomäki, H. (2007): Uusliberalismi Suomessa: lyhyt historia ja tulevaisuuden vaihtoehdot [Neoliberalism in Finland: A Short History and Future Options]. Third Edition. Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.

Peltoniemi Ojala, M. (1999): 'Kosmopoliitteja vai Kielipuolia?' [Cosmopolitans or Semilinguals?]. Suomen Kuvalehti, pp. 42–46.

Peng, C-Y. J. and So, T-S. H. (2002): 'Logistic Regression Analysis and Reporting: A Primer'. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Understanding Statistics, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 31–70. Online. Retrieved January 2015. http://www.indiana.edu/~jopeng51/teaching-logistic.pdf

Pennycook, A. (1994): The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language. Essex: Pearson Education.

Pennycook, A. (2003): 'Beyond Homogeny and Heterogeny: English as a Global and Worldly Language'. In Mair, C. (Ed.): The Politics of English as a World Language. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. pp. 3–17.

Pennycook, A. (2007a): Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows. Oxon: Routledge.

Pennycook, A. (2007b): 'The Myth of English as an International Language'. In Makoni, S. and Pennycook, A. (Eds.) Disinventing and Reconstituting Language. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd. pp. 90–115.

Pennycook, A. (2010): Language as a Local Practice. London: Routledge.

Pennycook, A. and Otsuji, E. (2015): Metrolingualism: Language in the City. Oxon: Routledge.

Pérez-Cañado, M. L. (2012): 'CLIL Research in Europe: Past, Present and Future'. International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, Vol. 15, No.3, pp. 315–341. DOI: 10.1080/13670050.2011.630064

Phillipson, R. (1992): Linguistic Imperialism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Phillipson, R. (2003): English-only Europe? Challenging Language Policy. London: Routledge.

Poikolainen, J. (2011): '"Miksi valitaa jo peruskouluvaiheessa?" – Vanhempien kouluvalintastrategiat' [Why Choose Already in Basic Education? – Parents School Choice Strategies]. The Finnish Education Journal Kasvatus, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 131–143.

Poulin-Dubois, D., Blaye, A., Coutya, J. and Bialystock, E. (2011): 'Effects of Bilingualism on Toddlers' Executive Functioning'. Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, Vol. 108, pp. 567–579.

Pöyhönen, S. and Luukka, M-R. (Eds.) (2007): Kohti tulevaisuuden kielikoulutusta: kielikoulutuspoliittisen projektin loppuraportti. [Towards the Future: The Final Report of the National Project on Finnish Language Education Policies]. Centre for Applied Language Studies. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Pratt, M. L. (1991): 'Arts of the Contact Zone'. Modern Language Association. Profession 91, pp. 33–40. Online. Retrieved 19.4.2015. https://livelongday.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/pratt_arts_of_the_contact_zone.pdf

Priesler, B. (2003): 'English in Danish and the Danes' English'. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 159, pp. 109–126.

PSL (2012): Tilastotietoja suuralue- ja maakuntajaolla (NUTS2 ja NUTS3) [Statistical Data on Major Regions and Provinces]. Pohjois-Savon Liitto. Online. Retrieved 19.09.2016. http://psl.ip-finland.com/fi/psl/liitetiedostot/edunajaminen/ita_pohjois/suuralue_ja_maakuntatilastoja_2012.pdf

Räisänen, T. (2013): Professional Communicative Repertoires and Trajectories of Socialization in to Global Working Life. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Rajala (2016a): The Bilingual Education Curriculum for Basic Education in the City of Kuopio [In Finnish]. Online. Available at: https://peda.net/kuopio/p/rajala/oppiminen/oo

Rajala (2016b): Rajala School in English. Online. Available at: https://peda.net/kuopio/p/rajala/%2A%2A%2A%2A%2A3

Rajander, S. (2010): School and Choice: An Ethnography of a Primary School with Bilingual Classes. Research in Educational Science 50. Finnish Educational Research Association.

Rasinen, T. (2006): Näkökulmia vieraskieliseen perusopetukseen: Koulun kehittämishankkeesta koulun toimintakulttuuriksi [Perspectives on Basic Education in a Foreign Language: From a School Development Project to a School's Mode of Operations]. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Räty, H., Kasanen, K. and Laine, N. (2009): 'Parents' Participation in Their Child's Schooling'. Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 53, No. 3, pp. 277–293.

Räty, H. (2013): 'Intention in School Choice among Finnish Parents'. Educational Studies, Vol. 39, No. 2. pp. 219–222.

Reagan, T. (2004): 'Objectification, positivism and language studies: A reconsideration'. Critical Inquiry in Language Studies: An International Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 41–60.

Reay, D. (2004): 'Gendering Bourdieu's Concepts of Capitals? Emotional Capital, Women and Social Class'. The Sociological Review, Vol. 52, No. 2, pp. 57–74.

Reay, D. (2005a): 'Beyond Consciousness? The Landscape of Social Class'. Sociology, Vol. 39, No. 5, pp. 911–928.

Reay, D. (2005b): 'Doing the Dirty Work of Social Class? Mothers' Work in Support of their Children's Schooling'. The Sociological Review, Vol. 53, No. 2, pp. 104–116.

Rinne, R. (2000): 'The Globalisation of Education: Finnish Education on the Doorstep of the New EU Millennium'. Educational Review, Vol. 52, No. 2, pp. 131–142.

Rinne, R., Järvinen, T., Tikkanen, J. & Aro, M. (2012): 'Koulutuspolitiikan muutos ja koulun asema Euroopassa – Kahdeksan maan rehtorien näkemys [Change in Education Policy and the Postition of the School in Europe – The View of Principals in Eight Countries]'. Kasvatus. Vol. 43, No. 5. pp. 460–475.

Robinson, W. I. (2007): 'Theories of Globalization'. In Ritzer, G. (Ed.): The Blackwell Companion to Globalization. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 125–143.

Roemer, J.E. (1998): Equality of Opportunity. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Rosenthal, R. (1994): 'Parametric Measures of Effect Size'. In Cooper, H. and Hedges, L.V. (Eds.) The Handbook of Research Synthesis. New York: Russel Sage Foundation, pp. 232–245.

Sachs, B. (2011): 'The Limits of Fair Equality of Opportunity'. Philos Stud, Vol 160, pp. 323–343.

Sahlberg, P. (2011): Finnish Lessons: What Can the World Learn from Educational Change in Finland? New York: Teachers College Press. Columbia University.

Sajavaara, K., Luukka, M-R. and Pöyhönen, S. (2007): Kielikoulutuspolitiikka Suomessa: lähtökohtia, ongelmia ja tulevaisuuden haasteita [Language Education Policy in Finland: Starting Points, Problems and Future Challenges]. In Pöyhönen, S. and Luukka, M-R. (Eds.): Kohti tulevaisuuden kielikoulutusta: kielikoulutuspoliittisen projektin loppuraportti. Towards the Future: The Final Report of the National Project on Finnish Language Education Policies]. Centre for Applied Language Studies. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä. pp. 13–42.

Sallinen, E. (1992): 'Englantilainen leikkikoulu laajenee Kuopiossa'[The English Kindergarten in Kuopio Expands.] Savon Sanomat Newspaper. August 1992.

Salo, O-P. (2012): 'Finland's Official Bilingualism – A Bed of Roses or of Procrustes?' In Blommaert, J., Leppänen, S., Pahta, P. and Räisänen, T. (Eds.): Dangerous Multilingualism: Northern Perspectives on Order, Purity and Normality. Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 25–40.

Schneider, B. (2014): '"Oh boy, ¿hablas español?" – Salsa and the Multiple Value of Authenticity in Late Capitalism'. In Lacoste, V., Leimgruber, J. and Breyer, T. (Eds.) Indexing Authenticity. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH. pp. 113–135.

Seargeant, P. (2009): 'Language Ideology, Language Theory, and the Regulation of Linguistic Behaviour'. Language Sciences Vol. 31, pp. 345–359.

Seargeant, P. and Erling, E. J. (2011): 'The Discourse of 'English as a language for international development': Policy Assumptions and Practical Challenges'. In Coleman, H. (Ed.) Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language. British Council Ltd.

Seargeant, P. and Swann, J. (2012): English in the World: History, Diversity, Change. London: Routledge.

Sebba, M. (2011): 'Societal Bilingualism'. In Wodak, R., Johnstone, B., and Kerswill, P. (Eds.) The SAGE Handbook of Sociolinguistics. London: SAGE. pp. 445–459.

Seppänen, P., Rinne, R. and Sairanen, V. (2012): Suomalaisen yhtenäiskoulun eriytyvät koulutiet: Oppilasvalikointi perusopetuksessa, esimerkkinä Turun koulumarkkinat [The Differentiating Pathways of the Finnish Comprehensive School: The Turku School Markets as an Example of Student Selection in Basic Education.] Yhteiskuntapolitiikka, Vol. 77, No. 1, pp. 16–33.

Sievänen, J. (2016): 'Koulutusta kielisuihkutukseen'. [From Education to Language Shower]. Tempus, Vol. 4, pp.14–15.

Silvennoinen H., Kalalahti, M. and Varjo, J. (2015): 'Why Fix Something that is not Broken? The Implementation of School Choice Policy and Parental Attitudes towards Equality and Uniformity of Comprehensive School System in Finland'. Athens Journal of Education, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 37–51.

Silverstein, M. (1996): 'Monoglot "standard" in America: Standardisation and Metaphors of Linguistic Hegemony'. In Brenneis, D. and Macaulay, R. (Eds.) The Matrix of Language. Boulder: Westview. pp. 284–306.

Silverstein, M. (1998): Contemporary Transformations of Local Linguistic Communities. Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 27. pp. 401–426.

Silverstein, M. (2000): 'Whorfianism and the Linguistic Imagination of Nationality'. In Kroskrity, P.V. (Ed.) Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Silverstein, M. (2003a): Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life. Language and Communication, Vol. 23. pp. 193–229.

Silverstein, M. (2003b): 'The Whens and Wheres – as well as Hows – of Ethnolinguistic Recognition'. Public Culture, Vol. 15, No. 3. pp. 531–557.

Silverstein, M. (2015): 'How Language Communities Intersect: Is "Superdiversity" an Incremental or Transformative Condition?' Language and Communication, Vol. 44, pp. 7–18.

Simola, H. (2001): 'Koulupolitiikka ja erinomaisuuden eetos' [School Policy and the Ethos of Excellence]. The Finnish Journal of Education Research, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 290–297.

Simola, H., Rinne, R., Varjo, J. & Kauko, J. (2013): 'The Paradox of the Education Race: How to Win the Ranking Game by Sailing to Headwind'. Journal of Education Policy. Vol. 28, No. 5. pp. 612–633.

Simola, H. (2015): The Finnish Education Mystery: Historical and Sociological Essays on Schooling in Finland. Oxon: Routledge.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1981): Bilingualism or Not. The Education of Minorities. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, Ltd.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1988): 'Multilingualism and the Education of Minority Children'. In Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Cummins, J. (Eds.) Minority Education. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Smala S., Bergas Paz, J. and Lingard, B. (2013): Languages, Cultural Capital and School Choice: Distinction and Second-language Immersion Programmes. British Journal of Sociology of Education. Vol 34, No. 3. pp. 373–391.

Snellman, J.V. (1844): Det enda nödvändiga icke blott för den inhemska litteraturen. [The Only Thing Necessary, Not Only for the Domestic Literature. Saimaa, 24 June 1844. Online. Accessed February 2016. available at: http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti

Snellman, J.V. (2005): Kootut teokset 1–24 [Collected Papers 1–24]. Helsinki: Edita Prima Oy. Online. Retrieved 8.6.2015.] http://www.snellman200.fi/kootut_teokset/osat/osa1.jsp

Snow, C.E. and Uccelli, P. (2009): 'The Challenges of Academic Language'. In Olson, D.R. and Torrance, N. (Eds.) The Cambridge Handbook of Literacy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 112–133.

Soininen, M. (1931): Opetusoppi I [Didactics I]. Fourth Edition. Helsinki: Otava.

Statistics Finland (2007): Quality Guidelines for Official Statistics. Second Revised Edition. Helsinki: Statistics Finland.

Straaijer, R. (2016): 'Attitudes to Prescriptivism: An Introduction'. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Vol. 37, No. 3. pp. 233–242.

Suni, M. and Latomaa, S. (2012): 'Dealing with Increasing Linguistic Diversity in Schools – the Finnish Example'. In Blommaert, J., Leppänen, S., Pahta, P. and Räisänen, T. (Eds.): Dangerous Multilingualism: Northern Perspectives on Order, Purity and Normality. Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 67–95.

Sutton, S., French, D.P., Hennings, S.J., Mitchell, J., Wareham, N.J., Griffin, S., Hardeman, W. and Kinmonth, A.L. (2003): 'Eliciting Salient Beliefs on the Theory of Planned Behaviours: The Effect of Question Wording'. Current Psychology: Developmental, Learning, Personality, Social, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 234–251.

Swain, M. and Lapkin, S. (1982): Evaluating Bilingual Education: A Canadian Case Study. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Swain, M. and Lapkin, S. (2005): 'The Evolving Sociopolitical Context of Immersion Education in Canada: Some Implications for Program Development'. International Journal of Applied Linguistics, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 169–186.

Swain, M. (2006): 'Languaging, Agency and Collaboration in Advanced Second Language Proficiency'. In Byrnes, H. (Ed.): Advanced Language Learning: The Contribution of Halliday and Vygotsky. London: Continuum.

Sylvén, L.K. (2013): 'CLIL in Sweden – Why Does it not Work? A Metaperspective on CLIL across Contexts in Europe'. International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism. Vol. 16, No. 3. pp. 301–320.

Taavitsainen, I. and Pahta, P. (2003): 'English in Finland: Globalisation, Language Awareness and Questions of Identity'. English Today, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 3–15.

Taavitsainen, I. and Pahta, P. (2008): 'From Global Language to Local Meanings: English in Finnish Public Discourse'. English Today 95, Vol. 24, No. 3. pp. 25–38.

Tedick, D.J. and Cammarata, L. (2012): 'Content and Language Integration in K–12 Contexts: Student Outcomes Teacher Practices, and Stakeholder Perspectives. Foreign Language Annals Vol. 45, No. S1, pp. S28-S53.

Tollefson, J. W. (2000): 'Policy and Ideology in the Spread of English'. In Hall, J. K. and Eggington, W. G. (Eds.) The Sociopolitics of English Language Teaching. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp. 7–21.

Tolonen, T. (2008): 'Success, Coping and Social Exclusion in Transitions of Young Finns'. Journal of Youth Studies, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 233–249.

Tuokko, E., Takala, S., Koikkalainen, P. and Mustaparta, A-K. (2012): Kielitivoli! Perusopetuksen vieraiden kielten opetuksen kehittämishankkeessa 2009–2011 koettua: tuloksia ja toimintatapoja [The Language Fair: Experiences from the Development Project in Foreign Language Teaching in Basic Education 2009–2011: Results and Ways of Working]. Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education.

Tuomainen, S. (2015): Recognition and Student Perceptions of Non-formal and Informal Learning of English for Specific Purposes in a University. Joensuu: University of Eastern Finland Publications.

Unluer, S. (2012): 'Being an Insider Researcher While Conduction Case Study Research'. The Qualitative Report, Vol. 17, No. 58, pp. 1–14.

van Dijk, T.A. (1998): Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach. London: SAGE Publications.

van Dijk, T.A. (2005): 'Politics, Ideology, and Discourse'. In Wodak, R. (Ed.) Volume on Politics and Language. Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics. Elsevier. pp. 728–740.

van Dijk, T.A. (2006): 'Ideology and Discourse Analysis'. Journal of Political Ideologies, Vol. 11, No. 2. pp. 115–140.

van Dijk, T.A. (2008): Discourse and Context: A Sociocognitive Approach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

van Dijk, T.A. (2013): 'Discourse and Knowledge'. Lecture at the European University of St Petersburg. Online. Accessed 25.4.2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sxfc-WJRKEM

Van Maanen, J. (2011): Tales of the Field: on Writing Ethnography. Second Edition. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

van Zanten, A. (2009): Choisir son école: stratégies familiales et médiations locales [Choosing One's School: Family Strategies and Local Mediations]. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. Kindle Version

Varjo, J. (2011): 'Koulupiirien valtiollinen regulaatio /deregulaatio koulutuksen ohjausmekanismeina' [State Regulation / Deregulation of School Districts as Guiding Mechanisms of Education]. Kasvatus & Aika, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 79–113.

Varjo, J. and Kalalahti, M. (2011): 'Koulumarkkinoiden institutionaalisen tilan rakentuminen' [The Construction of Institutional Space in School Markets]. The Finnish Journal of Urban Studies, Vol. 49, No. 4, pp. 8–25.

Varjo, J., Kalalahti, M. and Silvennoinen, H. (2014): 'Families, School Choice, and Democratic Iterations on the Right to Education and Freedom of Education in Finnish Municipalities'. Journal of School Choice: International Research and Reform, Vol. 8, No.1, pp. 20–48.

Vehkalahti, K. (2008): Kyselytutkimuksen mittarit ja menetelmät [The Measures and Methods of Survey Research]. Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Tammi.

Vertovec, S. (2007): 'Super-diversity and its Implications'. Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 30, No. 6, pp. 1024–1054.

Vertovec, S. and Cohen, R. (2002): 'Introduction: Conceiving Cosmopolitanism'. In Vertovec, S. and Cohen R (Eds.) Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1–24.

Virtala, A-L. (2002): Vieraskielisestä opetuksesta käyty julkinen keskustelu Suomessa – Argumentointi vieraskielisen opetuksen puolesta ja sitä vastaan [Public Discussion about Bilingual Education in Finland – Arguments for and Against Bilingual Education]. Licentiate Thesis. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Walker, G. (2006): Educating the Global Citizen. Suffolk: John Catt Educational Ltd.

Walker, I. (2008): Statistics for Psychology: Making Sense of Our World through Analysis. University of Bath. Online. Retrieved August 2016. http://staff.bath.ac.uk/pssiw/stats2/page2/page14/page14.html

Wenger, E. (2010) 'Communities of practice and social learning systems: the career of a concept'. In Blackmore, C. (Ed.) Social Learning Systems and communities of practice. Springer Verlag and the Open University.

Wewer, T. (2014): Assessment of Young Learners' English Proficiency in Bilingual Content Instruction CLIL. University of Turku. Turku: Painosalama.

Woolard, K. A. (1998): 'Introduction: Language Ideology as a Field of Enquiry'. In Schieffelin, B. B., Woolard, K. A. and Kroskrity, P. V. (Eds.) Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory. Oxford Studies in Anthropological Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 3–47.

Ylönen, A. (2009): Specialisation within the Finnish Comprehensive School System. Reasons and Outcomes for Equity and Equality of Opportunity. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr Müller.

Young, M. and Commins, E. (2002): Global Citizenship: The Handbook for Primary Teaching. Cambridge: Chris Kington Publishing, Oxfam.

Zilber, E. (2009): Third Culture Kids – The Children of Educators in International Schools. Melton: John Catt Educational Ltd. Kindle Version.

APPENDIX 1

ON IMMERSION, CONTENT AND LANGUAGE INTEGRATED LEARNING, CONTENT-BASED INSTRUCTION AND CONTENT-BASED LANGUAGE TEACHING

There is a debate ongoing in the field of bilingual education about the similarities and dissimilarities between immersion and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), and the relation of these both to Content-based Instruction (CBI) also known as Content-based Language Teaching (CBLT) (Bruton 2015; Bovellan 2014 pp. 20–21; Dalton-Puffer & Nikula 2014, p. 117; Dalton-Puffer, Llinares, Lorenzo & Nikula 2014; Cenoz, Genesee & Gorter 2014; Tedick & Cammarata 2012; Dalton-Puffer 2011; Lasagabaster & Sierra 2010). The terminology in the field is very fuzzy and there is no definitive consensus. For example, some researchers consider immersion as a form of CLIL while others do not (Tedick & Cammarata 2012, p. S29). Thus, it is left to the discretion of the reader as to whether they can be considered as one and the same, similar, or separate entities. Moreover, this debate may somehow explain why the Finnish National Board of Education has chosen to refer to ECIL programmes in terms of bilingual education (FNBE 2014, 2016), rather than using the term CLIL *per se*. It also explains the coining of ECIL for the purpose of this study.

Immersion, as it is understood here, has its roots in Canada, where several immersion programmes were implemented in the 1960s and early 1970s, and is a form of additive bilingual programme (Cenoz *et al.* 2014). Content-based instruction (CBI) is an approach in which subjects are taught to pupils through the medium of a target language, which they are learning as a further language (Tedick & Cammarata 2012, p. S28). CBI is often associated with immersion, but some argue that this type of approach has existed for millennia (*op. cit.*, p. S29). Moreover, CBI may be held as sharing certain basic theoretical and philosophical starting points with CLIL (Tedick & Cammarata 2012, p. S29). CLIL and immersion may, thus, be considered as forms of CBI or CBLT (Llinares & Lyster 2014, p. 181). Conversely, some CLIL advocates have argued that CLIL is fundamentally different from CBI (or CBLT), since it comprises a stronger integration of language and content and has received government support (Tedick & Cammarata 2012, p. S29). In addition, while CLIL may be held as deriving from Canadian immersion and bilingual teaching models from North America, it can also be understood as the European name for bilingual education (Pérez-Cañado 2012, p. 316; Wewer 2014, p. 44; Lorenzo 2007, p. 28), and is another form of additive bilingual programme (Cenoz *et al.* 2014). It appears to me that differing views and interpretations may result in unnecessary and unhelpful obfuscation, since in the words of Dalton-Puffer (2011, p. 183):

> *"In fact, whether a concrete program is referred to as immersion or CLIL often depends as much on its cultural and political frame of reference as on the actual characteristics of the program".*

In my opinion, Content-based Language Teaching may, perhaps, be a more neutral term. It represents a very broad field, encompassing immersion programmes, CLIL programmes, other bilingual programmes and language-medium programmes. The field is perhaps best seen as a continuum, as it can involve anything from a 20-minute or so 'language shower' involving songs or games, to the majority of subjects taught in the target language and may be content driven or language driven (Met 1998, p. 41), as demonstrated in Figure 1.

Content Driven					Language Driven
Total immersion	Partial immersion	Subject courses	Subject courses plus language classes/ instruction	Language classes based on thematic units	Language classes with frequent use of content for language practice

Figure 1. Content-based Language Teaching: A Continuum of Content and Language Integration. Adapted from Met (1998, p. 41) also in Jalkanen 2007

Typically, CLIL could be any of the categories depending on the number of hours in the target language (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010). Certainly, Figure 1 demonstrates all the potential forms of ECIL, which is the subject of this study. Moreover, a current development in CLIL is the focus on language as an integral part of content, and not as something separate that needs to be integrated, which has led to the acknowledgement that the acronym CLIL may indeed not be the best one to describe what happens in the classroom (Gierlinger 2016).

Immersion Education

Perhaps the most well-known and documented of these is the St Lambert Experiment, later known as the St Lambert programme, whereby monolingual English-speaking children received their instruction in French only from kindergarten (age five years) onwards (Lambert & Tucker 1972). Today, immersion is a form of bilingual education, and has been implemented in many other bilingual countries, such as Finland and Spain. It is also common to have immersion programmes in languages other than the official languages of a particular country, such as English immersion in Finland. (Baker 2011, Jalkanen 2009.) According to the Finnish National Board of Education, (FNBE 2016, p. 90), 'immersion' *per se* is restricted to the two national languages, although the document does acknowledge that programmes in other languages may follow the principles of immersion[78], but are discussed under the heading of 'other bilingual education' (FNBE 2016, *op. cit.*, p. 93).

Immersion education is a popular method for teaching young children a second or foreign language (L2) (Johnson & Swain 1997; Swain & Lapkin 1982). Children's metalinguistic skills have not yet developed, so they see language as a means of making

---

[78] Case Kuopio in Section 3.4 presents a total early immersion programme in Finland in which the target language was, and still is, English. I would argue that a Finnish child, especially in Eastern Finland, is likely to have more contact with English outside of school than they would with Swedish.

sense of their world rather than as an object that can be studied (Jalkanen 1999). Immersion is naturalistic language learning in which the new language is 'acquired' rather than formally studied in terms of grammar and vocabulary (*op. cit.*). This means that children work with it in meaningful and communicative situations that resemble how they learn their first language (L1). The aim of immersion programmes is additive bilingualism, in which the first language and home culture are supported, so an immersion student should become as proficient in his or her first language as a monolingual peer would (Johnson & Swain 1997; Swain & Lapkin 1982, 2005). The purpose is for students to achieve a high enough level of proficiency in the L2 that they can function as comfortably in it as they could in their first language in a range of situations; from everyday life situations to study and work environments (Johnson & Swain 1997; Swain & Lapkin 1982, 2005).

According to Baker (2011), immersion education is an umbrella term. It can also be considered as a continuum in that it is a collection of different forms of immersion which vary in the age at which the children enter the programme, and also in the percentage of time spent in immersion. Broadly, immersion programmes can be divided into total versus partial immersion and early versus delayed immersion. There are four typical types of immersion bilingual education programmes: Early total immersion bilingual education; Early partial immersion bilingual education; Delayed immersion bilingual education; and Late immersion bilingual education (Baker 2011, pp. 239–244). Immersion programmes are always an alternative option to the regular education programmes provided. Johnson and Swain (1997, pp. 6–8) outlined eight core features of a prototypical immersion programme: (1) the L2 is the medium of instruction; (2) the curriculum used in the L2 immersion programme parallels that of the monolingual students; (3) there is overt support for the L1; (4) the programme aims for additive bilingualism; (5) the exposure to the L2 is largely confined to the classroom; (6) students entering the programme have a similar and usually limited level of language proficiency in the L2; (7) the teachers are bilingual in the L1 and L2; and (8) the classroom culture is that of the local L1 community. These criteria were later reviewed to see how relevant they remained (Swain & Lapkin 2005). No change was discerned for (2), (4), and (7). The term 'L2' was changed to immersion language for (1), (5), and (6). The only major changes were to (3) and (8), which became "(3) overt support needs to be given to all home languages and (8) the classroom culture needs to recognise the cultures of the multiple immigrant communities to which the students belong" (*op. cit.*, p. 172) respectively.

Language immersion exists in Finland because of parental interest and determination (Laurén 2000). The first Canadian-like Swedish immersion (Språkbad) programme for Finnish-speaking students in Finland was implemented in 1987 in Vaasa (Björklund 1997; Laurén 2000)[79]. Since then, the University of Vaasa has conducted research into immersion, and has developed a personal development programme for immersion teachers in Finland. Programmes in other languages were not far behind, especially English. It will be interesting to see how immersion fares in the future since current research into bilingual education seems to be discovering that students perform better

---

[79] I visited Karlstad University in 2014 to give a talk to colleagues at the Department of Education there. Very proudly, I displayed my knowledge of the 'Swedish' term for immersion. My friend ultimately asked me why I kept repeating the term *språkbad*, what I meant, and why I did not use immersion. It turns out that this is not used in Sweden, only in Finland – it is the Finnish-Swedish translation of the Finnish '*kielikylpy'* which means language bath, hence immersion.

in the target language when they are allowed to make use of their first languages. An example of this is Merrill Swain's research on students' use of languaging (Swain 2006). It may be that bilingual programmes involving some form of CLIL become more popular than pure immersion ones as they also make use of the first language.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) Programmes and CLIL in Finland

The term Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) was adopted in 1996 as a generic umbrella term to refer to methodologies concerned with dual-focused education in which a language other than the student's first language is used to teach subject content (Coyle *et al.* 2010; Marsh, Coyle, Kitanova, Maljers, Wolf, & Zielonka 2006, p. 5). It is accepted that CLIL programmes are diverse and are products deriving from their individual contexts; hence they cannot automatically be transposed to other contexts (Hüttner & Smit 2014; Pérez-Cañado 2012; Lasagabaster 2008). CLIL was a proactive response to globalisation and economic and social convergence, and an attempt to increase the amount of exposure to the target language since traditional foreign language teaching was not producing the desired or required outcomes (Coyle *et al.* 2010). Finland[80] was a fertile context for the acceptance and inception of CLIL education, and English is by far the dominant language (see e.g. Bovellan 2014). CLIL differs from immersion in that it often refers to a bilingual programme in which less than 50% of the programme is taught through the medium of the target language for at least one year (Cummins 2013, pp. 6–7), although there are schools in Finland that offer more than 50% of the curriculum through the target language (Bovellan 2014, p. 26; Kangasvieri *et al.* 2011). It is worthy of note that the Finnish National Board of Education has chosen not to make use of the term CLIL in its treatment of various forms of bilingual education in Finnish primary and lower secondary education (FNBE 2016, pp. 89–94), which may or may not be indicative of the debate mentioned above. Certainly, the terminology was the subject of debate and discussion, and CLIL was one of the options on the list (Mustaparta 2013, slide 28). It could simply be the case that CLIL is an English acronym, and the Finnish equivalent would be long if written out in full and people would not understand or relate to a Finnish acronym.

Three basic elements combined are purported to form the background to CLIL in Finland: the egalitarian philosophy behind the flexible Finnish steering system that enabled the distribution of CLIL in mainstream education; the educational perspective of promoting language learning to suit a diverse range of learning needs and styles; and a drive towards action (Marsh *et al.* 2007, p. 66). CLIL in Finland has been described as a grassroots phenomenon, involving interest from both parents and teachers (Nikula 2005, Lorenzo 2007, p. 31; Dalton-Puffer 2011, p. 184, 2008, p. 39; Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer, & Smit 2013, p. 271); factors that contributed to its rapid spread. At the same time, CLIL also inspired interest at the academic and administrative levels (Marsh *et al.* 2007, p. 65). Modernisation and internationalisation also had a role in the increased popularity of CLIL in Finland. Indeed, CLIL is held as an aid to preparing children for internationalisation (Lasagabaster 2008, p. 32). Many Finns had worked abroad,

---

[80] See Sylvén 2013 for the situation in Sweden, where the experience of CLIL have not been as successful as in Finland.

and their children had been educated through the medium of English at international schools. English was seen as necessary in terms of the mobility of the family; for children in order to be educated abroad and also as a skill to be maintained upon return home to Finland.

CLIL has also been understood as a way to approach the European Union directives, requiring EU citizens to know two languages other than their first language (MT+2), without overburdening the student or the resources, and which produces good results quickly (Lorenzo, Casal, & Moore 2010, Coyle *et al.* 2010, Baker 2011, p. 246; Marsh 2003). In this capacity, it has the role of a political ideology (Baker 2011, p. 245). Small-scale long-term exposure to the language has had positive results, and early introduction to the language is held as advantageous (Marsh 2003, 2013). Early exposure refers to ages 4 to 12 years, which corresponds with Finnish primary school, pre-primary education and one year of kindergarten education. Moreover, no evidence has been found to suggest that exposure to the CLIL language is in any way disadvantageous to the first language (Marsh 2003). Teachers do not need to be native speakers and the aim is functional proficiency in the target language (*ibid.*, García 2009, p. 130; Baetens Beardsmore 2009, p. 210). In the words of Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013, p. 546), "CLIL can be seen as a foreign language enrichment measure packaged into content teaching".

APPENDIX 2

THEMED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR CASE KUOPIO INTERVIEWS

Themed Interview Questions for the Former Rajala School Principal (Wednesday 17th August 2016)

1. ORIGINS AND INCEPTION OF THE PROGRAMME
   a. Where did the original idea to have an English-medium programme at Rajala School come from?
   b. Why was such a programme needed/wanted?
   c. What were your initial thoughts?
   d. Reaction from school staff?
2. PROGRAMME CONTENT
   a. What exactly were the parents' expectations/requirements/desires?
   b. What type of programme did they want?
   c. Was this achieved or did you compromise somehow?
   d. Did any tensions arise with regard to Finnish versus English?
   e. When did the school begin to offer early English to the non-Enkku classes and why?
3. ACCESS TO THE PROGRAMME
   a. What were the requirements for entry into the programme and did this change with time?
   b. Did anyone ever complain about the requirements?
   c. Was there ever any mention of inequality?
4. PARENTAL FEEDBACK
   a. Enkku parents
   b. Non-Enkku parents
5. PROGRAMME FUNDING AND MANAGEMENT
   a. Pros
   b. Cons
6. GENERAL
   a. Any other matters

Themed Interview Questions for the Former Kindergarten Chairman (Monday 22nd August 2016)

1. ORIGINS AND EARLY DAYS OF THE ENGLISH KINDERGARTEN OF KUOPIO
    a. What can you tell me about when you were chairman of the English Kindergarten?
        i. How long were you chairman?
        ii. Why did you want to send your children there?
        iii. How was the administration set up?
    b. Why do you think that the English Kindergarten was so popular in the 1980s and 1990s?
    c. Had parents heard of immersion/CLIL then, or what were the ideologies discourses generally guiding parents' choice?
    d. Parents had to pay fees then, in your opinion, might this have excluded some families?
2. INCEPTION OF THE PROGRAMME AT RAJALA SCHOOL
    a. Where did the original idea to have an English-medium programme at Rajala School come from?
    b. Why was such a programme needed/wanted?
    c. Was it guided by any changes in legislation?
    d. How would you describe your collaboration with the City of Kuopio Rajala School?
    e. What would you have done if the City of Kuopio had not been favourable to the idea?
3. PROGRAMME CONTENT
    a. What were your expectations/requirements/desires as parents (What type of programme did you want)?
    b. Was this achieved or did you compromise somehow?
    c. How satisfied were parents?
    d. Were parents, at any time, concerned about any negative effect more English might have on Finnish?
4. GENERAL
    a. Any other matters
    b. Any other parental concerns/feedback

Themed Interview Questions for the Current Kindergarten Chairman and Head
(Tuesday 30th August 2016)

1. ENGLISH KINDERGARTEN OF KUOPIO CURRENT SITUATION
    a. How is the administration set up?
    b. Reasons for parents choosing Enkku?
    c. Importance of immersion nowadays – is the early total immersion programme accepted without any problems?
        i. Parents
        ii. City of Kuopio
        iii. Other collaboration actors
    d. Policy on employing teachers – language requirements?
    e. Fees – might anyone be excluded
    f. Full day versus half day
    g. How involved are parents with the actual operations of the school?
    h. How satisfied are parents?
2. COLLABORATION WITH RAJALA SCHOOL
    a. Do the majority of parents still want their child to continue in the bilingual programme at Rajala School?
    b. How has the City of Kuopio's decision to introduce an entrance assessment affected things?
    c. How would you describe your collaboration with the Rajala School?
    d. Any other points.
3. PERSONAL EXPERIENCES
    a. Why did you choose this particular school route for your children?
    b. Beliefs about English and English-medium education?
4. GENERAL
    a. Any other matters
    b. Any other parental concerns/feedback

Themed Interview Questions for the Current Rajala School Principal (Thursday September 1st 2016)

1. BEGINNINGS
   a. When did you become head of Rajala School?
   b. What were your impressions of the bilingual programme before you started?
   c. What have been your impressions of the programme since?
   d. What vision do you have for the future?
2. ACCESS TO THE PROGRAMME
   a. I know what the entry requirements are, does anyone ever complain about them?
   b. Is there ever any mention of inequality?
   c. What are your experiences of the assessment for pupils wishing to enroll for the bilingual programme?
   d. What role do you think the early English plays in equality?
3. PARENTAL FEEDBACK
   a. Enkku parents
   b. Non-Enkku parents
4. PROGRAMME FUNDING AND MANAGEMENT
   a. Pros
   b. Cons
5. GENERAL
   a. Any other matters
   b. Other forms of parental feedback

APPENDIX 3

TABLES FOR INFERENTIAL STATISTICS

Correlations for 'Lingualness' and Travel

		Type of School Choice	Family Members and Mother Tongue	Monolingual. Bilingual or Plurilingual?	Frequency of Travel Abroad	Residence of 3 Months or More Abroad
Type of School Choice	Pearson Correlation	1	-.093**	-.119**	.193**	.259**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.008	.001	.000	.000
	N	812	805	808	811	810
Family Members and Mother Tongue	Pearson Correlation	-.093**	1	.310**	-.054	-.195**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008		.000	.124	.000
	N	805	805	801	804	803
Monolingual. Bilingual or Plurilingual?	Pearson Correlation	-.119**	.310**	1	-.169**	-.260**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000		.000	.000
	N	808	801	808	807	806
Frequency of Travel Abroad	Pearson Correlation	.193**	-.054	-.169**	1	.252**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.124	.000		.000
	N	811	804	807	811	810
Residence of 3 Months or More Abroad	Pearson Correlation	.259**	-.195**	-.260**	.252**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	
	N	810	803	806	810	810

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Independent Samples Test for Attitudinal Variables

| | | Levene's Test for Equality of Variances | | t-test for Equality of Means | | | | | | | |
| | | F | Sig. | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | Std. Error Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
									Lower	Upper
Personal Importance of English	Equal variances assumed	2.380	.123	3.145	808	.002	.221	.070	.083	.359
	Equal variances not assumed			3.084	529.521	.002	.221	.072	.080	.361
Significance of English to Finns	Equal variances assumed	.276	.600	2.066	810	.039	.09074	.04391	.00454	.17694
	Equal variances not assumed			2.065	557.427	.039	.09074	.04394	.00443	.17706
The Idea of English-medium Education as Elitist	Equal variances assumed	5.555	.019	-9.041	808	.000	-.34657	.03833	-.42182	-.27133
	Equal variances not assumed			-8.693	502.146	.000	-.34657	.03987	-.42490	-.26825
Non-Enkku Parents in terms of Basic Enkku Values	Equal variances assumed	4.521	.034	-4.682	799	.000	-.22934	.04899	-.32550	-.13318
	Equal variances not assumed			-4.865	618.503	.000	-.22934	.04714	-.32192	-.13676
Enkku Parents in terms of Extreme Enkku Values	Equal variances assumed	1.527	.217	-4.646	797	.000	-.22385	.04819	-.31843	-.12926
	Equal variances not assumed			-4.748	565.049	.000	-.22385	.04714	-.31645	-.13125
Attitude to Finnish Children Being Educated through the Medium of English	Equal variances assumed	87.912	.000	10.138	806	.000	.493	.049	.397	.588
	Equal variances not assumed			9.094	420.236	.000	.493	.054	.386	.599

Group Statistics for the Attitudinal Variables

	school_type_RC	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Personal Importance of English	1.00	533	4.49	.927	.040
	2.00	277	4.27	.987	.059
Significance of English to Finns	1.00	535	3.5146	.59285	.02563
	2.00	277	3.4239	.59405	.03569
The Idea of English-medium Education as Elitist	1.00	533	1.6714	.49419	.02141
	2.00	277	2.0179	.55976	.03363
Non-Enkku Parents in terms of Basic Enkku Values	1.00	526	3.5875	.68435	.02984
	2.00	275	3.8169	.60523	.03650
Enkku Parents in terms of Extreme Enkku Values	1.00	532	2.6218	.65615	.02845
	2.00	267	2.8456	.61427	.03759
Attitude to Finnish Children Being Educated through the Medium of English	1.00	531	4.73	.562	.024
	2.00	277	4.24	.805	.048

Group Statistics for Factors Affecting 'Lingualness'

	school_type_RC	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Parents	1.00	163	.09	.290	.023
	2.00	49	.16	.373	.053
Relationship	1.00	163	.26	.439	.034
	2.00	48	.35	.483	.070
Residence Abroad	1.00	163	.68	.468	.037
	2.00	48	.50	.505	.073
Education	1.00	163	.42	.496	.039
	2.00	48	.44	.501	.072
Work	1.00	163	.56	.497	.039
	2.00	48	.58	.498	.072
Hobbies	1.00	163	.17	.373	.029
	2.00	48	.29	.459	.066
Friends	1.00	163	.34	.476	.037
	2.00	48	.40	.494	.071
Travel	1.00	163	.29	.454	.036
	2.00	48	.31	.468	.068
Other	1.00	163	.02	.155	.012
	2.00	49	.04	.200	.029

Independent Samples Test for Factors Affecting 'Lingualness'

| | | Levene's Test for Equality of Variances | | t-test for Equality of Means | | | | | | |
| | | F | Sig. | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | Std. Error Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
									Lower	Upper
Parents	Equal variances assumed	7.359	.007	-1.406	210	.161	-.071	.051	-.171	.029
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.229	66.329	.224	-.071	.058	-.187	.045
Relationship	Equal variances assumed	5.267	.023	-1.308	209	.192	-.096	.074	-.242	.049
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.241	71.354	.219	-.096	.078	-.252	.059
Residence Abroad	Equal variances assumed	7.168	.008	2.314	209	.022	.181	.078	.027	.335
	Equal variances not assumed			2.218	72.352	.030	.181	.082	.018	.344
Education	Equal variances assumed	.108	.743	-.174	209	.862	-.014	.082	-.175	.147
	Equal variances not assumed			-.173	76.117	.863	-.014	.082	-.178	.149
Work	Equal variances assumed	.245	.621	-.232	209	.817	-.019	.082	-.180	.142
	Equal variances not assumed			-.231	76.716	.818	-.019	.082	-.182	.144
Hobbies	Equal variances assumed	12.292	.001	-1.948	209	.053	-.126	.065	-.254	.002
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.739	66.290	.087	-.126	.072	-.271	.019
Friends	Equal variances assumed	1.404	.237	-.663	209	.508	-.052	.079	-.208	.103
	Equal variances not assumed			-.649	74.616	.518	-.052	.081	-.213	.108
Travel	Equal variances assumed	.387	.534	-.321	209	.748	-.024	.075	-.172	.124
	Equal variances not assumed			-.316	74.986	.753	-.024	.076	-.176	.128
Other	Equal variances assumed	1.423	.234	-.600	210	.549	-.016	.027	-.070	.037
	Equal variances not assumed			-.524	66.322	.602	-.016	.031	-.078	.046

Group Statistics for Distribution of Age

	school_type_RC	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Frequency of Travel	1.00	534	42.88	5.666	.245
	2.00	277	42.68	6.256	.376

Independent Samples Test for Distribution of Age

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Differenc e	Std. Error Differenc e	Lower	Upper
Frequency of Travel — Equal variances assumed	2.557	.110	.480	809	.631	.209	.435	-.645	1.063
Equal variances not assumed			.465	512.816	.642	.209	.449	-.673	1.090

Question 9 Lingualism

Do you rate yourself as monolingual or bi-/plurilingual?

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Monolingual	**Bi-/plurilingual**	**Total**
Enkku Group	372 (395.71)	160 (136.29)	532
Non-Enkku Group	229 (205.29)	47 (70.71)	276
Total	601	207	80
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	15.55	16.23	
P	<.0001	<.0001	
df	1		
Phi	+0.14		

Question 9 Lingualism

Do you rate yourself as monolingual or bi-/plurilingual?

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Monolingual	**Bi-/plurilingual**	**Total**
Female Enkku	293 (284.44)	114 (125.56)	407
Male Enkku	76 (84.56)	45 (36.44)	121
Total	369	159	528
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	3.31	3.74	
P	.07	.05	
df	1		
Phi	-0.08		

Question 9 Lingualism

Do you rate yourself as monolingual or bi-/plurilingual?

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Monolingual	**Bi-/plurilingual**	**Total**
Female Non-Enkku	184 (178.25)	31 (36.75)	215
Male Non-Enkku	44 (49.75)	16 (10.25)	60
Total	228	47	275
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	4.14	4.97	
P	.04	.03	
df	1		
Phi	-0.13		

Question 15 Belief 1

English is the international language of communication

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	Did not occur	Total
Enkku Group	307 (317.4)	1438 (1427.6)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	143 (132.6)	586 (596.4)	729
Total	450	2024	2474
Chi-square			
	Yates	Pearson	
	1.28	1.41	
P	.258	.235	
df	1		
Phi	+.02		

Question 15 Belief 2

English is a prominent language in the work domain

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	Did not occur	Total
Enkku Group	190 (194.67)	1555 (1550.33)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	86 (81.33)	643 (647.67)	729
Total	276	2198	2474
Chi-square			
	Yates	Pearson	
	.34	.43	
P	.560	.512	
df	1		
Phi	+.01		

Question 15 Belief 2 by Lingualism and No. of Respondents

English is a prominent language in the work domain

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Monolingual	Bi-/plurilingual	Total
Enkku Group	128 (135.99)	57 (49.01)	185
Non-Enkku Group	69 (61.01)	14 (21.99)	83
Total	197	71	268
Chi-square			
	Yates	Pearson	
	5.03	5.72	
P	.03	.02	
df	1		
Phi	+0.15		

Question 15 Belief 3

English facilitates a wider/better range of knowledge

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	Did not occur	Total
Enkku Group	176 (184.8)	1569 (1560.2)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	86 (77.2)	643 (651.8)	729
Total	262	2212	2474
Chi-square			

	Yates	Pearson	
	1.41	1.59	
P	.235	.207	
df	1		
Phi	+0.03		

Question 15 Belief 4

Negative affective beliefs about English

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	Did not occur	Total
Enkku Group	170 (164.34)	1575 (1580.66)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	63 (68.66)	666 (660.34)	729
Total	233	2241	2474
Chi-square			

	ates	Pearson	
	.61	.73	
P	.435	.393	
df	1		
Phi	-0.02		

Question 15 Belief 5

English is a language for socialising and networking

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	Did not occur	Total
Enkku Group	143 (131.9)	1602 (1613.1)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	44 (55.1)	685 (673.9)	729
Total	187	2287	2474
Chi-square			

	Yates	Pearson	
	3.13	3.43	
P	.077	.064	
df	1		
Phi	-0.04		

Question 15 Belief 6

Positive affective beliefs about English

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	128 (134.72)	1617 (1610.28)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	63 (56.28)	666 (672.72)	729
Total	191	2283	2474
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	1.06	1.23	
P	.303	.267	
df	1		
Phi	+0.02		

Question 15 Belief 7

English is a language that brings benefits and opportunities

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	113 (97.34)	1632 (1647.66)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	25 (40.66)	704 (688.34)	729
Total	138	2336	2474
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	8.49	9.06	
P	.004	.003	
df	1		
Phi	-0.06		

Question 15 Belief 8

English facilitates a wider worldview

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	95 (84.64)	1650 (1660.36)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	25 (35.36)	704 (693.64)	729
Total	120	2354	2474
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	4.1	4.52	
P	.043	.034	
df	1		
Phi	-0.04		

Question 15 Belief 9

English is the language of popular culture in Finland

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	91 (104.39)	1654 (1640.61)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	57 (43.61)	672 (685.39)	729
Total	148	2326	2474
Chi-square			

	Yates	**Pearson**
	5.74	6.2
P	.017	.013
df	1	
Phi	+0.05	

Question 15 Belief 10

English facilitates travel in many/most countries

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	Did not occur	Total
Enkku Group	83 (98.04)	1662 (1646.96)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	56 (40.96)	673 (688.04)	729
Total	139	2335	2474
Chi-square			

	Yates	**Pearson**
	7.76	8.3
P	.005	.004
df	1	
Phi	+0.06	

Question 15 Belief 11

English is linked to one's children

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	67 (55.72)	1678 (1689.28)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	12 (23.28)	717 (705.72)	729
Total	79	2395	2474
Chi-square			

	Yates	**Pearson**
	7.31	8.00
P	.007	.005
df	1	
Phi	-0.06	

Question 15 Belief 12

English facilitates wider cultural awareness

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	66 (61.36)	1679 (1683.64)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	21 (25.64)	708 (703.36)	729
Total	87	2387	2474
Chi-square			

	Yates	**Pearson**	
	.98	1.23	
P	.322	.267	
df	1		
Phi	-0.02		

Question 15 Belief 13

Family connections with English

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	47 (45.85)	1698 (1699.15)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	18 (19.15)	711 (709.85)	729
Total	65	2409	2474
Chi-square			

	Yates	**Pearson**	
	.03	.10	
P	.862	.751	
df	1		
Phi	-0.01		

Question 15 Belief 14

English carries meaning for me through a residence abroad

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	35 (28.92)	1710 (1716.08)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	6 (12.08)	723 (716.92)	729
Total	41	2433	2474
Chi-square			

	Yates	**Pearson**	
	3.72	4.41	
P	.054	.036	
df	1		
Phi	-0.04		

Question 15 Belief 15

English may be detrimental to Finnish

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	17 (18.34)	1728 (1726.66)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	9 (7.66)	720 (721.34)	729
Total	26	2448	2474
Chi-square			

	Yates	**Pearson**
	.13	.34
P	.718	.560
df	1	
Phi	+0.01	

Question 15 Belief 16

English is taking over from other languages and this is not good

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	17 (22.57)	1728 (1722.43)	1745
Non-Enkku Group	15 (9.43)	714 (719.57)	729
Total	32	2442	2474
Chi-square			

	Yates	**Pearson**
	3.92	4.73
P	.048	.030
df	1	
Phi	+0.04	

Question 19 Belief 1

ECIL facilitates the development of language proficiency and children's self-confidence

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	546 (542.11)	1327 (1330.89)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	177 (180.89)	448 (444.11)	625
Total	723	1775	2498
Chi-square			

	Yates	**Pearson**
	.12	.16
P	.729	.689
df	1	
Phi	-0.01	

Question 19 Belief 2

ECIL increases children's openness to new cultures and tolerance

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	237 (212.19)	1636 (1660.81)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	46 (70.81)	579 (554.19)	625
Total	283	2215	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	12.55	13.07	
P	.000	.000	
df	1		
Phi	-0.07		

Question 19 Belief 3

ECIL may have negative consequences

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Tota**
Enkku Group	207 (231.69)	1666 (1641.31)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	102 (77.31)	523 (547.69)	625
Total	309	2189	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	11.52	12.0	
P	.001	.001	
df	1		
Phi	+0.07		

Question 19 Belief 4

ECIL broadens children's worldview, allowing them to be more international

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	190 (188.95)	1683 (1684.05)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	62 (63.05)	563 (561.95)	625
Total	252	2246	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	.01	.03	
P	.92	.863	
df	1		
Phi	0		

Question 19 Belief 5

ECIL affords children future opportunities

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	190 (197.95)	1683 (1675.05)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	74 (66.05)	551 (558.95)	625
Total	264	2234	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	1.25	1.43	
P	.264	.232	
df	1		
Phi	+0.02		

Question 19 Belief 6

ECIL enhances children's mobility prospects

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	99 (91.48)	1774 (1781.52)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	23 (30.52)	602 (594.48)	625
Total	122	2376	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	2.27	2.6	
P	.132	.107	
df	1		
Phi	-0.03		

Question 19 Belief 7

Children learn languages best at an early age

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	77 (80.23)	1796 (1792.77)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	30 (26.77)	595 (598.23)	625
Total	107	2391	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	.39	.54	
P	.532	.462	
df	1		
Phi	+0.01		

Question 19 Belief 8

ECIL allows children to develop better international communication skills

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	Did not occur	Total
Enkku Group	69 (65.98)	1804 (1807.02)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	19 (22.02)	606 (602.98)	625
Total	88	2410	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	Pearson	
	.40	.57	
P	.527	.450	
df	1		
Phi	-0.02		

Question 19 Belief 9

Miscellaneous negative beliefs concerning ECIL

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	Did not occur	Total
Enkku Group	62 (71.98)	1811 (1801.02)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	34 (24.02)	591 (600.98)	625
Total	96	2402	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	Pearson	
	5.19	5.75	
P	.023	.017	
df	1		
Phi	+0.05		

Question 19 Belief 10

Miscellaneous positive affective beliefs specific to ECIL schools

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	Did not occur	Total
Enkku Group	51 (43.49)	1822 (1829.51)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	7 (14.51)	618 (610.49)	625
Total	58	2440	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	Pearson	
	4.63	5.31	
P	.031	.021	
df	1		
Phi	-0.05		

Question 19 Belief 11

Often ECIL schools are not the local school and this can be problematic

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	41 (36.74)	1832 (1836.26)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	8 (12.26)	617 (612.74)	625
Total	49	2449	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	1.57	2.01	
P	.210	.156	
df	1		
Phi	-0.03		

Question 19 Belief 12

ECIL affects the whole family

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	30 (34.49)	1843 (1838.51)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	16 (11.51)	609 (613.49)	625
Total	46	2452	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	1.88	2.38	
P	.170	.123	
df	1		
Phi	+0.03		

Question 19 Belief 13

ECIL allows children to develop skills useful in Information Technology and popular culture

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	26 (23.99)	1847 (1849.01)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	6 (8.01)	619 (616.99)	625
Total	32	2466	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	.38	.68	
P	.538	.410	
df	1		
Phi	-0.02		

Question 19 Belief 14

Teachers' qualifications are important in ECIL

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	22 (20.24)	1851 (1852.76)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	5 (6.76)	620 (618.24)	625
Total	27	2471	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	.31	.62	
P	.578	.431	
df	1		
Phi	-0.02		

Question 19 Belief 15

Learning through the medium of another language enhances other skills

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	Did not occur	Total
Enkku Group	17 (18)	1856 (1855)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	7 (6)	618 (619)	625
Total	24	2474	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	Pearson	
	.05	.22	
P	.823	.639	
df	1		
Phi	+0.01		

Question 19 Belief 16

Miscellaneous positive beliefs concerning ECIL

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	Occurred	**Did not occur**	**Total**
Enkku Group	9 (13.5)	1864 (1859.5)	1873
Non-Enkku Group	9 (4.5)	616 (620.5)	625
Total	18	2480	2498
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	-	-	
P	-	-	
df	1		
Phi	+0.05		

Question 30

Average Brute Income

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES (EXPECTED FREQUENCIES PER NULL HYPOTHESIS)			
	≥ 4000 €/month	**≤ 3999 €/month**	**Total**
Enkku Group	178 (166.03)	357 (368.97)	535
Non-Enkku Group	74 (85.97)	203 (191.03)	277
Total	252	560	812
Chi-square			
	Yates	**Pearson**	
	3.37	3.67	
P	.07	.06	
df	1		
Phi	-0.07		

APPENDIX 4

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. **I am**
    - 1 Female
    - 2 Male

2. **Year born**
    - 19_____

3. **Nationality**
    - 1 Finnish
    - 2 Other
      - What?_____

4. **Are you currently**
    - 1 Single
    - 2 Married
    - 3 Cohabiting
    - 4 Divorced
    - 5 Widowed
    - 6 Other

5. **Your current place of residence**
    - 1 Uusimaa
    - 2 Varsinais-Suomi
    - 3 Satakunta
    - 4 Kanta-Häme
    - 5 Pirkanmaa
    - 6 Päijät-Häme
    - 7 Kymenlaakso
    - 8 South Karelia
    - 9 Etelä-Savo
    - 10 Pohjois-Savo
    - 11 North Karelia
    - 12 Central Finland
    - 13 South Ostrobothnia
    - 14 Ostrobothnia
    - 15 Central Ostrobothnia
    - 16 North Ostrobothnia
    - 17 Kainuu
    - 18 Lapland
    - 19 Åland

6. In which type of environment did you spend your childhood and youth?
    1   In the Greater Helsinki area (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, Kauniainen)
    2   In another city with more than 100 000 inhabitants (Tampere, Turku, Oulu)
    3   A town/city with 50 000 – 100 000 inhabitants
    4   In a smaller town/city
    5   In a rural town or village
    6   Another rural area
    7   Somewhere else
        Where? _____

LANGUAGES IN YOUR LIFE

7. What is your mother tongue?
    1   Finnish
    2   Swedish
    3   Sámi (Lapp)
    4   Something else
        What? _____

8. Do all the members of your family have the same mother tongue as you?
    1   Yes
    2   No
        Who? _____
        Which language? _____

9. Do you consider yourself:
    1   Monolingual
    2   Bilingual
    3   Multilingual

10. If you consider yourself as bilingual or multilingual, what are the background factors that have affected that? You may choose several options.
    1   Parents
    2   Relationship
    3   Residence Abroad
    4   Education
    5   Work
    6   Hobbies
    7   Friends
    8   Travel
    9   Something else, what? _____

11. **In which language did you receive your basic education? You may choose several options.**
    1 English
    2 Finnish
    3 Swedish
    4 Sámi (Lapp)
    5 Estonian
    6 Russian
    7 Other, what? _____

12. **How often do you travel abroad (both leisure and business)?**
    1 At least once a month
    2 Several times a year
    3 Once a year
    4 Less than once a year
    5 Never

13. **Have you ever lived abroad for a period of three consecutive months or longer?**
    1 No
    2 Yes

HOW YOU RELATE TO ENGLISH

14. **Personally, English is an important language to me?**
    1 Disagree completely
    2 Disagree somewhat
    3 Neither disagree nor agree
    4 Agree somewhat
    5 Agree completely

15. **List positive/negative factors that, in your opinion, concern your personal relationship with the English language.**

	Factor	+	-
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

16. **The following are a series of statements that concern the significance of English to Finns.**
    How much do you agree or disagree with them?

	1 Totally disagree	2 Disagree somewhat	3 Neither disagree nor agree	4 Agree somewhat	5 Totally agree
a. English is the language of progress.					
b. The spread of English in Finland poses no threat to the Finnish language.					
c. Skills in English should become universal in Finland.					
d. A Finn can be international without knowing English.					
e. A Finn can be successful without knowing English.					
f. Finnish is a more useful language for a Finn than English.					
g. Too much value is placed on having proficiency in English.					
h. English enriches Finnish.					

17. **The following are a series of statements that concern <u>schools offering education through the medium of English in Finland</u>.** How much do you agree or disagree with them?

	1 Totally disagree	2 Disagree somewhat	3 Neither disagree nor agree	4 Agree somewhat	5 Totally agree
a. Schools that offer education through the medium of English are only for the rich.					
b. A Finnish child should get their education only through the medium of Finnish.					
c. The local school is always the best school for a child.					
d. Foreigners should not teach Finnish children.					
e. Schools that offer education through the medium of English serve an elite.					
f. In Finland, if a child is learning through the medium of English, this brings the family greater status.					

18. **How do you relate to the idea that some Finnish children in Finland are being educated through the medium of English?**
    1   Extremely negatively
    2   Somewhat negatively
    3   Neither negatively nor positively
    4   Somewhat positively
    5   Extremely positively

19. **List positive/negative factors that, in your opinion, concern the idea of a Finnish child receiving their primary school education through the medium of English.**

	Factor	**+**	**-**
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

20 **The following are a series of statements that concern <u>Finnish parents in Finland and their children's school education</u>.** How much do you agree or disagree with them?

A Finnish parent whose child attends school in Finnish:	1 Totally disagree	2 Disagree somewhat	3 Neither disagree nor agree	4 Agree somewhat	5 Totally agree
a. values education through the medium of English in Finland.					
b. believes that a child can simultaneously acquire two languages.					
c. believes that having proficiency in English will afford their child more opportunities in general than just knowing Finnish.					
d. believes that having proficiency in English will have an effect on their child getting a study place in Finland.					
e. thinks that the best jobs in Finland go first to those who have good English proficiency in English.					
f. wants their child to become a global citizen.					
g. thinks that when a child learns English at a young age, they learn it better than they would be just learning it as a foreign language at school.					

21. The following are a series of statements that concern Finnish parents in Finland and their children's school education. How much do you agree or disagree with them?

A Finnish parent whose child attends school in English:	1 Totally disagree	2 Disagree somewhat	3 Neither disagree nor agree	4 Agree somewhat	5 Totally agree
a. wants something better than the local school.					
b. would be prepared to move elsewhere to ensure their child a place at an English-medium school.					
c. believes that a child is better able to look after his or her parents in their old age if he or she has attended an English-medium school.					
d. would be prepared to do whatever it took to ensure that their child passed the entrance test to an English-medium school.					
e. chooses an English-medium school for their child because their friend's children attend an English-medium school.					
f. would be prepared to transport their child to school further afield.					
g. believes that their child's future is assured if he or she gets a place at an English-medium school.					

22a. Is/Are your child/children being educated through the medium of English?
    1 Yes, currently
    2 Not now, but they did earlier
    3 No

22b. Give reasons for this and provide some extra information about the school. So, if your child attends an English-medium school, why, and if your child does not, then why not?

22c. If your child attends or has attended an English-medium school, then what kind of English education did he or she receive?
    1 100% in English
    2 several hours of English a week
    3 a few hours of English a week
    4 early English

Finally, some background questions about you and your household (if you are married or cohabiting, the questions also concern your spouse or partner).

EDUCATION AND PROFESSION

23a. Your basic education
1 Pre-1970s Basic Education
2 Basic Education or Middle School
3 Sixth Form and/or Matriculation Exam

23b. If you are married or cohabiting, your spouse or partner's basic education.
0 Not relevant to me
1 Pre-1970s Basic Education
2 Basic Education or Middle School
3 Sixth Form and/or Matriculation Exam

24a. Educational Level
1 No Further Education
2 Vocational Training or Equivalent (less than 6 months)
3 Vocational Training or Equivalent (6 months – 2 years)
4 Upper Secondary Level Vocational Qualification (e.g. vocational school or business school)
5 Lowest Level Tertiary Education (e.g. technician engineer, diploma in business and administration and diploma in nursing)
6 University of Applied Sciences (Polytechnic) Degree / Lower-degree Level Tertiary Education
7 University Bachelor's Degree / Lower-degree Level Tertiary Education
8 University Master's Degree / Higher-degree Level Tertiary Education
9 Doctorate or Equivalent Level Tertiary Education (licentiate, doctorate)

24b. If you are married or cohabiting, your spouse or partner's educational level.
0 Not relevant to me
1 No Further Education
2 Vocational Training or Equivalent (less than 6 months)
3 Vocational Training or Equivalent (6 months – 2 years)
4 Upper Secondary Level Vocational Qualification (e.g. vocational school or business school)
5 Lowest Level Tertiary Education
(e.g. technician engineer, diploma in business and administration and diploma in nursing)
6 University of Applied Sciences (Polytechnic) Qualification / Lower-degree Level Tertiary Education
7 University Bachelor's Degree / Lower-degree Level Tertiary Education
8 University Master's Degree / Higher-degree Level Tertiary Education
9 Doctorate or Equivalent Level Tertiary Education (licentiate, doctorate)

25a. Classification of Education. In what field is your qualification?
     1 General Education
     2 Teacher Education and Educational Science
     3 Humanities and Arts
     4 Social Sciences or Business
     5 Natural Sciences
     6 Technology
     7 Agriculture and Forestry
     8 Health and Welfare
     9 Services
    10 Other or Unknown
       What? _____

25b. If you are married or cohabiting, in what field is your spouse or partner's education?
     0 Not relevant to me
     1 General Education
     2 Teacher Education and Educational Science
     3 Humanities and Arts
     4 Social Sciences or Business
     5 Natural Sciences
     6 Technology
     7 Agriculture and Forestry
     8 Health and Welfare
     9 Services
    10 Other or Unknown

26a. What is your occupational grouping/employment status?
     1 Executive/Management in a Company
     2 Senior White-collar Worker
     3 Junior White-collar Worker
     4 Employee
     5 Entrepreneur or Private Practitioner
     6 Farmer
     7 Student
     8 Retired
     9 Housewife or house husband
    10 Unemployed
    11 Other
       What?

26b. If you are married or cohabiting, what is your spouse or partner's occupational grouping/employment status?

    0 Not relevant to me
    1 Executive/Management in a Company
    2 Senior White-collar Worker
    3 Junior White-collar Worker
    4 Employee
    5 Entrepreneur or Private Practitioner
    6 Farmer
    7 Student
    8 Retired
    9 Housewife or house husband
    10 Unemployed
    11 Other

27a. Which area/industry do you work in or did you last work in?

    1 Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security
    2 Extra-territorial Organisations and Bodies
    3 Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities
    4 Education
    5 Transport, Storage and Communication
    6 Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing
    7 Hotels and Restaurants
    8 Mining and Quarrying
    9 Other Community, Social and Personal Service activities
    10 Financial Intermediation
    11 Construction
    12 Electricity, Gas and Water
    13 Manufacturing
    14 Health and Social Work
    15 Wholesale and Retail Trade; Repair of Motor Vehicles, Motorcycles and Personal and Household Goods
    16 Private Households Employing Domestic Staff and Undifferentiated Production Activities of Households for Own Use
    17 Other
        What? _____

27b. If you are married or cohabiting, which area/industry does/did your spouse or partner work in?
    0 Not relevant to me
    1 Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security
    2 Extra-territorial Organisations and Bodies
    3 Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities
    4 Education
    5 Transport, Storage and Communication
    6 Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing
    7 Hotels and Restaurants
    8 Mining and Quarrying
    9 Other Community, Social and Personal Service activities
    10 Financial Intermediation
    11 Construction
    12 Electricity, Gas and Water
    13 Manufacturing
    14 Health and Social Work
    15 Wholesale and Retail Trade; Repair of Motor Vehicles, Motorcycles and Personal and Household Goods
    16 Private Households Employing Domestic Staff and Undifferentiated Production Activities of Households for Own Use
    17 Other

28a. Is your employer the state, municipality, state enterprise or private?
    1 The State
    2 A Municipality or Association of Municipalities
    3 A public enterprise
    4 A private (or own) enterprise
    5 Other

28b. If you are married or cohabiting, who is your spouse or partner's employer?
    0 Not relevant to me
    1 The State
    2 A Municipality or Association of Municipalities
    3 A public enterprise
    4 A private (or own) enterprise
    5 Other

YOUR HOUSEHOLD

29 Your household comprises

_____ adults   _____ children

Children's year of birth: _____

30a. What is the average income of your household before tax (brute income) including any social benefits?
   1   Less than 2000 €/month
   2   2000 – 3999 €/month
   3   4000 – 5999 €/month
   4   6000 – 7999 €/month
   5   8000 – 9999 €/month
   6   Over 10 000 €/month

30b. What is your average income before tax (brute income)?
   1   Less than 2000 €/month
   2   2000 – 3999 €/month
   3   4000 – 5999 €/month
   4   6000 – 7999 €/month
   5   8000 – 9999 €/month
   6   Over 10 000 €/month

Thank you for participating!

If there is anything else you would like to say:

APPENDIX 5

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE TO SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

1. Name of school:_____

2. Municipality in which the school is situated: _____

3. The school is:
    1   Grades 1 to 6 (Alakoulu)
    2   Grades 1 to 9 (Yhtenäiskoulu)
    3   Private
    4   Public
    5   A state school
    6   Other. If other, please specify what.

4. Total number of pupils: _____

5. Distribution of pupils:
    Pupils in an English-medium programme   _____
    Pupils in regular mainstream Finnish programmes   _____
    Pupils in a Swedish-medium programme   _____
    Pupils in other programmes   _____
    If other programmes, please specify what.

6. The survey instrument questionnaire to parents was distributed:
    1   By Email
    2   Through the WILMA online student administration data system
    3   Through the HELMI online student administration data system

7. Distribution of survey instrument dissemination:
    Number of parents of pupils in the English-medium programme   _____
    Number of parents of pupils in regular mainstream Finnish programmes_____
    Number of parents of pupils in the Swedish-medium programme   _____
    Number of parents of pupils in the other programmes   _____
    Total number of parents   _____

8. In addition to the A-languages, what kinds of English-medium programme(s) are offered?
    1   Education through the medium of another language (MBE) (vieraskielinen opetus)
    2   Bilingual education (kaksikielinen opetus)
    3   Language enhanced content instruction (kielirikasteinen opetus)
    4   International education / school
    5   IB Programme

6   Other. If other, please specify what.

9. What curriculum does your school utilize in the English-medium classes of special emphasis?
    1   The Finnish National Core Curriculum
    2   The IB Curricula
    3   The British National Curriculum
    4   The American National Curriculum
    5   Other. If other, please specify what.

10. Who finances the education at your school? _____

11. Are there any important issues that you would like to add here?

Thank you! If necessary, may I contact you again? If yes, please add your contact details:

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN FINLAND DISSERTATIONS IN EDUCATION, HUMANITIES, AND THEOLOGY

1. Taru Viinikainen. *Taipuuko "akrobaatti Aleksandra"? Nimikekonstruktio ja nimikkeen taipuminen lehtikielessä 1900-luvulta 2000-luvulle.* 2010.
2. Pekka Metso. *Divine Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas.* 2010.
3. Pekka Kilpeläinen. *In Search of a Postcategorical Utopia. James Baldwin and the Politics of 'Race' and Sexuality.* 2010.
4. Leena Vartiainen. *Yhteisöllinen käsityö. Verkostoja, taitoja ja yhteisiä elämyksiä.* 2010.
5. Alexandra Simon-López. *Hypersurrealism. Surrealist Literary Hypertexts.* 2010.
6. Merja Sagulin. *Jälkiä ajan hiekassa. Kontekstuaalinen tutkimus Daniel Defoen Robinson Crusoen suomenkielisten adaptaatioiden aatteellisista ja kirjallisista traditioista sekä subjektikäsityksistä.* 2010.
7. Pirkko Pollari. *Vapaan sivistystyön kieltenopettajien pedagogiset ratkaisut ja käytänteet teknologiaa hyödyntävässä vieraiden kielten opetuksessa.* 2010.
8. Ulla Piela. *Kansanparannuksen kerrotut merkitykset Pohjois-Karjalassa 1800- ja 1900-luvuilla.* 2010.
9. Lea Meriläinen. *Language Transfer in the Written English of Finnish Students. 2010.*
10. *Kati Aho-Mustonen. Group Psychoeducation for Forensic Long-term Patients with Schizophrenia.* 2011.
11. Anne-Maria Nupponen. *»Savon murre» savolaiskorvin. Kansa murteen havainnoijana.* 2011.
12. Teemu Valtonen. *An Insight into Collaborative Learning with ICT: Teachers' and Students' Perspectives.* 2011.
13. Teemu Kakkuri. *Evankelinen liike kirkossa ja yhteiskunnassa 1944-1963. Aktiivinen uudistusliike ja konservatiivinen sopeutuja.* 2011.
14. Riitta Kärkkäinen. *Doing Better? Children's and Their Parents' and Teachers' Perceptions of the Malleability of the Child's Academic Competences.* 2011.
15. Jouko Kiiski. *Suomalainen avioero 2000-luvun alussa. Miksi avioliitto puretaan, miten ero koetaan ja miten siitä selviydytään.* 2011.
16. Liisa Timonen. *Kansainvälisty tai väisty? Tapaustutkimus kansainvälisyysosaamisen ja kulttuurienvälisen oppimisen merkityksenannoista oppijan, opettajan ja korkeakoulutoimijan pedagogisen suhteen rajaamissa kohtaamisen tiloissa.* 2011.
17. Matti Vänttinen. *Oikeasti hyvä numero. Oppilaiden arvioinnin totuudet ja totuustuotanto rinnakkaiskoulusta yhtenäiskouluun.* 2011.
18. Merja Ylönen. *Aikuiset opin poluilla. Oppimistukikeskuksen asiakkaiden opiskelukokemuksista ja kouluttautumishalukkuudelle merkityksellisistä tekijöistä.* 2011.
19. Kirsi Pankarinkangas. *Leskien keski-iässä tai myöhemmällä iällä solmimat uudet avioliitot. Seurantatutkimus.* 2011.
20. Olavi Leino. *Oppisopimusopiskelijan oppimisen henkilökohtaistaminen ja oppimismahdollisuudet työpaikalla.* 2011.
21. Kristiina Abdallah. *Translators in Production Networks. Reflections on Agency, Quality and Ethics.* 2012.
22. Riina Kokkonen. *Mittarissa lapsen keho ja vanhemmuus – tervettä lasta sekä "hyvää" ja "huonoa" vanhemmuutta koskevia tulkintoja nyky-Suomessa.* 2012.
23. Ari Sivenius. *Aikuislukion eetos opettajien merkityksenantojen valossa.* 2012.
24. Kamal Sbiri. *Voices from the Margin. Rethinking History, Identity, and Belonging in the Contemporary North African Anglophone Novel.* 2012.
25. Ville Sassi. *Uudenlaisen pahan unohdettu historia. Arvohistoriallinen tutkimus 1980-luvun suomalaisen romaanin pahan tematiikasta ja "pahan koulukunta" –vuosikymmenmääritteen*

muodostumisesta kirjallisuusjärjestelmässä. 2012.

26. Merja Hyytiäinen. *Integroiden, segregoiden ja osallistaen. Kolmen vaikeasti kehitysvammaisen oppilaan opiskelu yleisopetuksessa ja koulupolku esiopetuksesta toiselle asteelle.* 2012.
27. Hanna Mikkola. *"Tänään työ on kauneus on ruumis on laihuus." Feministinen luenta syömishäiriöiden ja naissukupuolen kytköksistä suomalaisissa syömishäiriöromaaneissa.* 2012.
28. Aino Äikäs. *Toiselta asteelta eteenpäin. Narratiivinen tutkimus vaikeavammaisen nuoren aikuisen koulutuksesta ja työllistymisestä.* 2012.
29. Maija Korhonen. *Yrittäjyyttä ja yrittäjämäisyyttä kaikille? Uusliberalistinen hallinta, koulutettavuus ja sosiaaliset erot peruskoulun yrittäjyyskasvatuksessa.* 2012.
30. Päivikki Ronkainen. *Yhteinen tehtävä. Muutoksen avaama kehittämispyrkimys opettajayhteisössä.* 2012.
31. Kalevi Paldanius. *Eläinlääkärin ammatti-identiteetti, asiakasvuorovaikutuksen jännitteiden hallinta ja kliinisen päättelyn yhteenkietoutuminen sekapraktiikassa.* 2012.
32. Kari Korolainen. *Koristelun kuvailu. Kategorisoinnin analyysi.* 2012.
33. Maija Metsämäki. *Influencing through Language. Studies in L2 Debate.* 2012.
34. Pål Lauritzen. *Conceptual and Procedural Knowledge of Mathematical Functions.* 2012.
35. Eeva Raunistola-Juutinen. *Äiti ja nunna – Kirkkojen maailmanneuvoston naisten vuosikymmenen ortodoksiset naiskuvat.* 2012.
36. Marja-Liisa Kakkonen. *Learning Entrepreneurial Competences in an International Undergraduate Degree Programme. A Follow-Up Study.* 2012.
37. Outi Sipilä. *Esiliina aikansa kehyksissä – moniaikaista tekstiilikulttuuria ja repre-sentaatioita kodista, perheestä, puhtaudesta ja käsityöstä 1900-luvun alkupuolen Suomessa.* 2012.
38. Seija Jeskanen. *Piina vai pelastus? Portfolio aineenopettajaopiskelijoiden ammatillisen kehittymisen välineenä.* 2012.
39. Reijo Virolainen. *Evankeliumin asialla - Kurt Frörin käsitys evankelisesta kasvatuksesta ja opetuksesta Saksassa 1930-luvulta 1970-luvulle.* 2013.
40. Katarzyna Szal. *Finnish Literature in Poland, Polish Literature in Finland – Com-parative Reception Study from a Hermeneutic Perspective.* 2013.
41. Eeva-Liisa Ahtiainen. *Kansainvälistymisen ja laadunvarmistuksen yhteys ammatti-korkeakoulun asiakirjateksteissä. Tapaustutkimus.* 2013.
42. Jorma Pitkänen. *Fides Directa – Fides Reflexa. Jonas Laguksen käsitys vanhurskauttavasta uskosta.* 2013.
43. Riitta Rajasuu. *Kuopiossa, Oulussa ja Turussa vuosina 1725–1744 ja 1825–1844 syntyneiden kastenimet.* 2013.
44. Irina Karvonen. *Pyhän Aleksanteri Syväriläisen koulukunta – 1500-luvun luostarihistoriaa vai 1800-luvun venäläiskansallista tulkintaa?* 2013.
45. Meri Kytö. *Kotiin kuuluvaa. Yksityisen ja yhteisen kaupunkiäänitilan risteymät.* 2013.
46. Jörg Weber. *Die Idee von der Mystagogie Jesu im geistigen Menschen: Einführung in die »christliche Theosophie« des Corpus Areopagiticum.* 2013.
47. Tuija, Lukin. *Motivaatio matematiikan opiskelussa – seurantatutkimus motivaatiotekijöistä ja niiden välisistä yhteyksistä yläkoulun aikana.* 2013.
48. Virpi Kaukio. *Sateenkaari lätäkössä. Kuvitellun ja kerrotun ympäristöestetiikka.* 2013.
49. Susanna Pöntinen. *Tieto- ja viestintäteknologian opetuskäytön kulttuurin diskursiivinen muotoutuminen luokanopettajaopiskelijoiden puheessa.* 2013.
50. Maria Takala-Roszczenko. *The 'Latin' within the 'Greek': The Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the Context of Ruthenian Eastern Rite Liturgical Evolution in the 16th–18th Centuries.* 2013
51. Erkki Nieminen. *Henki vastaan alkoholi: AA-toiminnan synty ja kehitys Lahdessa 1950-1995.* 2014.
52. Jani Kaasinen. *Perinnerakentaminen käsitteenä ja osana teknologiakasvatusta - opettajaopiskelijoiden käsitykset, käsitysten jäsentyneisyys ja muutos perinnerakentamisen opintojakson aikana.* 2014.

53. Gerson Lameck Mgaya. *Spiritual gifts: A sociorhetorical interpretation of 1 cor 12–14.* 2014.
54. Pauli Kallio. *Esimiehen muuttuvat identiteetit: Narratiivinen tutkimus keskijohdon identiteeteistä ja samastumisesta organisaatiomurroksessa.* 2014.
55. Sirpa Tokola-Kemppi. *Psykoanalyyttisen psykoterapian merkityksiä kirjailijahaastattelujen valossa.* 2014.
56. Dhuana Affleck. *How does Dialogical Self Theory appear in the light of Cognitive Analytic Therapy? Two approaches to the self.* 2014.
57. Teemu Ratinen. *Torjuttu Jumalan lahja. Yksilön kamppailu häpeällistä seksuaalisuutta vastaan.* 2014.
58. Päivi Löfman. *Tapaustutkimus itseohjautuvuudesta sairaanhoitajakoulutuksen eri vaiheissa.* 2014.
59. Päivi Kujamäki. *Yhteisenä tavoitteena opetuksen eheyttäminen. Osallistava toimintatutkimus luokanopettajille.* 2014.
60. Henriikka Vartiainen. *Principles for Design-Oriented Pedagogy for Learning from and with Museum Objects.* 2014.
61. Päivi Kaakkunen. *Lukudiplomin avulla lukemaan houkutteleminen yläkoulussa. Lukudiplomin kehittämistutkimus perusopetuksen vuosiluokilla 7.–9.* 2014.
62. Jari Kukkonen. *Scaffolding inquiry in science education by means of computer supported collaborative learning: pupils' and teacher students' experiences.* 2015.
63. Petteri Nieminen. *Unified theory of creationism — Argumentation, experiential thinking and emerging doctrine.* 2015.
64. Esa Asikainen. *"Me olemme postipaketteja": tutkimus Helsingin vammaiskuljetuksista vuosina 2002–2007.* 2015.
65. Anna Logrén. *Taiteilijapuheen moniäänisyys. Tutkimus mediavälitteisen ja (kuva)taiteilijalähtöisen taiteilijapuheen muotoutumisesta.* 2015.
66. Päivi Virkki. *Varhaiskasvatus toimijuuden ja osallisuuden edistäjänä.* 2015.
67. Terhi Nevalainen. *Pinkit piikkikorot. Chick lit -kirjallisuuden postfeministiset sisällöt ja lukijat niiden merkityksellistäjinä.* 2015.
68. Soile Tikkanen. *Development of an empathic stance. Dialogical sequence analysis (DSA) of a single case during clinical child neurological assessment procedures.* 2015.
69. Erja Laakkonen. *Aikuisuuden kulttuuriset kuvat 25–35-vuotiaiden naisten haastattelupuheissa ja naistenlehtiteksteissä.* 2015.
70. Wu Enqin. *What Does Design Expose? A Comparative Study of Finnish Modern Furniture and Chinese Ming-style Furniture.* 2015.
71. Vuokko Malinen. *Uuspari, uusperheen parisuhde ja koulutuksellisen intervention mahdollisuudet sen tukemiseen.* 2015.
72. Juhana Venäläinen. *Yhteisen talous: tutkimus jälkiteollisen kapitalismin kulttuurisesta sommittumasta.* 2015.
73. Johanna Hokkanen. *Kotien lääkekasvatus.* 2015.
74. Eveline Omagano Anyolo. *Implementing Education for Sustainable Development in Namibian Schools.* 2015.
75. Satu Tuomainen. *Recognition and Student Perceptions of Non-formal and Informal Learning of English for Specific Purposes in a University Context.* 2015.
76. Jari Ruotsalainen. *Iholle kaiverrettu: Tatuoimisen kulttuurinen murros Suomessa.* 2015.
77. Sanna Hillberg. *Relativization in Scottish standard English: a corpus-based study on newspaper language.* 2015.
78. Virpi Turunen. *Pellavalangan neulonta kotineulekoneella.* 2015.
79. Emilia Valkonen: *Me myymme ja markkinoimme kursseja Markkinaorientaation piirteet kansalaisopistoissa.* 2015
80. Petri Haapa. *Suomalaisen peruskoulun rehtori koulun tietokonepohjaisen hallinto-ohjelman*

käyttäjänä. 2016.

81. Helena Valkeapää: *Maahanmuuttaja-afgaanien kotitalouden toiminta ja akkulturaatio.* 2016.

82. Airi Hakkarainen. *Matematiikan ja lukemisen vaikeuksien yhteys toisen asteen koulutuspolkuun ja jatko-opintoihin tai työelämään sijoittumiseen.* 2016.

83. Maria Kok. *Varjon kieliopillistuminen: itse-sanan paradigman rakenne ja merkityksenkehitys itäisessä itämerensuomessa.* 2016.

84. Päivi Vesala. *Koulupihan merkitys alakoulun oppilaille. Lapsen ja ympäristön vastavuoroisen suhteen analyysi.* 2016.

85. Izabela Czerniak. *Anglo-Scandinavian Language Contacts and Word Order Change in Early English.* 2016.

86. Serja Turunen. *Matkalla musiikkiin. Fenomenologinen tutkimus peruskoulun 3.–4.-luokkalaisten taidemusiikin kuuntelukokemuksista koulun musiikkikasvatuskontekstissa.* 2016.

87. Minna Parkko. *Stailaaminen: työtehtävät, osaaminen ja sijoittuminen,* 2016.

88. Kaisa Pihlainen. *Merkityksellisyyttä, vastuullisuutta ja uuden luomista. Erityistä tukea tarvitsevan lapsen ja vanhemman toiminnasta teknologiakerhossa.* 2016.

89. Peppi Sievers. *Uskonnollisten ja hengellisten kysymysten käsittely suomalaisissa psykoterapioissa.* 2016.

90. Matti Mäkelä. *Kun häpeästä tuli kunniaa ja provokaatio. Näkökulmia tabuja rikkovaan taiteeseen.* 2016.

91. Minna Kumpulainen. *Learning translation. An empirical study into the acquisition of interlingual text production skills.* 2016.

92. Mustapha Kharoua. *Traumatic Realism in Diasporic African Writing.* 2016.

93. Merja Suomi. *Metamorphoses of a Text within the Stalinist Context. Kornei Chukovskii s A High Art in the 1930s.* 2016.

94. Vesa Korhonen. *High support need and minimally verbal children with autism: exploration of technology-based research methodology and the case of attending to eyes.* 2016.

95. Kati Turkama. *Difficulty of the Translation of Primary and Complex Metaphors: an Experimental Study.* 2017.

96. Arja-Irene Tiainen. *Sairaanhoitajaopiskelijoiden harjoittelun ohjaajien ohjausorientaatio ja sen muutokset 1999–2010.* 2017.

97. Tiina Kirvesniemi. *Tieto ja tiedon luominen päiväkodin henkilöstön kokemana.* 2017.

98. Päivi Ruotsalainen. *Interventiotutkimus oppilaiden motoristen taitojen ja lukutaidon kehittymisestä sekä niiden välisistä yhteyksistä ensimmäisen kouluvuoden aikana.* 2016.

99. Tuomas Järvenpää. *Roots Reggae from Cape Town to Helsinki – an Ethnographic Study of Local Belonging and Cosmopolitan Imagination in Rastafarian Reggae Music.* 2017.

100. Helena Tuomela. *Soittavat nuoret koulussa. Tapaustutkimus musiikkipainotteista koulua käyvien 6.–9.-luokkalaisten musiikkiaineiden opiskelumotivaatioon ja soittajaidentiteettiin liittyvistä arvostuksista.* 2017.

101. Anne Lindblom. *Stepping out of the shadows of colonialism to the beat of the drum. The meaning of music for five First Nations children with autism in British Columbia, Canada.* 2017.

102. Olga Rouhe. *Kieliopin rakenne-erojen vaikutus suomi–venäjä-simultaanitulkkauksen sujuvuuteen.* 2017.

103. Василий Буйлов. *Идиостиль Андрея Платонова: интертекстуально-концептуальный и лингвопереводоведческий аспекты (анализ на материале повести «Котлован»).* 2017.

 104. Joanne Jalkanen. *Why English? School Choice as Sociolinguistic Practice in Finnish Primary Education.* 2017.

JOANNE JALKANEN

This monograph investigates English-medium education as a type of school choice and a distinctive form of sociolinguistic practice in the specific local context of Finnish basic education. It examines English and Content Integrated Learning (ECIL) as a specific form of school choice, or social practice that promotes a specific register of English, and investigates who the choosers of this particular form of schooling are in terms of their socioeconomic background, and what motivates their choice in terms of discourse and ideology, since parents are an underexplored group of stakeholders who, at least in the Finnish context, have been active in desiring and lobbying for the creation of bilingual programmes.

UNIVERSITY OF
EASTERN FINLAND

uef.fi