

Perceptions, Attitudes and Uses of English

- a comparative study of Finnish Students in the International
Baccalaureate Diploma Programme and the Finnish Upper
Secondary School System

Tiina Kolehmainen 180823

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract				
<p>In Finland, it is possible to complete an upper secondary education in both Finnish and English. There are 16 schools in 13 cities that offer the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme, where the language of instruction is English. In 2012, 378 students graduated from the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme and 548 new students entered the Programme. While this number is still small, it is steadily increasing. The aim was to discover what kind of differences in perceptions, attitudes and uses of English there possibly exists between Finnish students studying in the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme and in the Finnish Upper Secondary School System. The research questions were divided into five categories: (1) use of English (for what and why do Finnish students use English?), (2) language skills (how would they assess their English skills? Do they strive towards native-like competence?), (3) importance of English (how important is English for them now and in the future?), (4) effects on identity (does their use of English affect their cultural identity? Do they feel more Finnish or international?) and (5) differences between the groups of students (are the two groups homogenous or are there differences?).</p> <p>My hypothesis is that the IBDP students are more interested in English, have more positive attitudes towards it and that they use it more and in more varied contexts. In addition, the IBDP students will most likely assess their language skills to be better than the upper secondary students because they are more comfortable using English. They are also more likely to work towards a native-like competence. It is also presumed that the upper secondary school students relate more with the Finnish culture, whereas the IBDP students will have a more international identity, partly due to their education, in which internationality is emphasized. The data was gathered from 10 different schools using an online questionnaire and consisted of 270 completed questionnaires; 153 (56.7%) from students in the upper secondary school and 117 (43.3%) from the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme students.</p> <p>The results show that there are statistically very highly significant differences between the two groups of students and between genders in multiple areas including uses of English, self-assessed English language skills and language attitudes. The IBDP students are more comfortable using English and even assess themselves as being as fluent in English as in their mother tongue. They assessed their language skills to be better in all areas (reading, writing, speaking and listening comprehension). In addition, the IBDP students assessed themselves as bi- or multilinguals significantly more often. All participants value language skills and the majority thinks good language skills are very important. The English language has an important role in the life of the majority of all participants, but in particular the IBDP students assess its importance to be significant. The IBDP students also aim towards native-like competence. That the USS students relate more with the Finnish culture and the IBDP students with a more international one was also proven accurate.</p>				
Avainsanat – Keywords International Baccalaureate, Finnish upper secondary school, language attitudes, use of English, language skills, language perceptions				

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract				
<p>Suomessa on mahdollista suorittaa lukiotason opinnot sekä suomeksi että englanniksi. Suomessa on 16 koulua, 13 eri kaupungissa, jotka tarjoavat International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme:a (ns. IB-lukiota), jonka opetuskieli on englanti. Vuonna 2012 378 opiskelijaa valmistui IB-lukiosta ja 548 uutta opiskelijaa aloitti opiskelun. Vaikka tämä määrä on pieni, opiskelijoiden määrä kasvaa vuosi vuodelta. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus oli selvittää millaisia eroja on kahden eri lukion (kansallisen lukion ja IB-lukion) opiskelijoiden englannin kielen käytössä sekä heidän käsityksissään ja asenteissaan englannin kieltä kohtaan. Tutkimuskysymykset oli jaettu viiteen kategoriaan: (1) englannin kielen käyttö (mihin tarkoituksiin ja miksi suomalaiset lukio-opiskelijat käyttävät englantia?), (2) kielitaidot (kuinka he arvioivat englannin kielen taitojaan? Pyrkivätkö he syntyperäisen puhujan tasolle?), (3) englannin kielen merkitys (kuinka tärkeää englanti on heille nyt ja tulevaisuudessa?), (4) vaikutus identiteettiin (vaikuttaako englannin kielen käyttäminen heidän kulttuurilliseen identiteettiinsä? Tuntevatko he olevansa enemmän suomalaisia vai kansainvälisiä?) ja (5) ryhmien väliset erot (ovatko kahden eri koulun opiskelijat yksi homogeeninen ryhmä vai löytyykö niiden väliltä merkittäviä eroja?).</p> <p>Hypoteesini on, että IB-lukiolaiset ovat kiinnostuneempia englannin kielestä, heidän asenteensa ovat positiivisempia sitä kohtaan ja he käyttävät sitä useammin ja vaihtelevimmissa konteksteissa. Lisäksi IB-lukiolaiset oletettavasti arvioivat kielitaitonsa paremmaksi kuin lukiolaiset, koska heille englannin käyttäminen on luontevampaa. IB-lukiolaiset myös todennäköisesti tavoittelevat syntyperäistason useammin. Oletetaan myös, että lukiolaiset samaistuvat paremmin suomalaiseen kulttuuriin, kun taas IB-lukiolaiset kokevat olevansa kansainvälisempiä, mikä osittain johtuu heidän opinnoistaan, joissa korostetaan kansainvälisyyttä. Tutkimusmateriaali koostuu 270 internetkyselyvastauksesta, jotka saatiin 10 eri koulusta. 153 (56.7%) vastaajista on kansallisen lukion ja 117 (43.3%) IB-lukion opiskelijoita.</p> <p>Tulokset osoittavat, että sekä ryhmien että sukupuolten välillä on tilastollisesti erittäin merkittäviä eroja monilla eri alueilla, kuten englannin käytössä, arvioiduissa englannin kielen taidoissa ja kieliasenteissa. IB-lukiolaisille englannin kielen käyttäminen on luontevampaa ja he jopa arvioivat puhuvansa englantia yhtä sujuvasti kuin äidinkieltään. IB-lukiolaiset myös arvioivat kielitaitonsa erittäin merkittävästi paremmiksi joka osa-alueella (lukeminen, kirjoittaminen, puhuminen ja kuullunymmärtäminen). He myös kokivat olevansa kaksikielisiä erittäin merkittävästi useammin. Kaikki opiskelijat arvostavat kielitaitoa ja merkittävä enemmistö pitävää hyvää kielitaitoa erittäin tärkeänä. Englannilla on merkittävä rooli enemmistön elämässä, mutta etenkin IB-läisten, joille englanti oli vielä erittäin merkittävästi tärkeämpää. IB-lukiolaiset myös tavoittelevat syntyperäistason. Todistettiin myös, että lukiolaiset samaistuvat paremmin suomalaiseen kulttuuriin, kun taas IB-lukiolaiset kokevat olevansa kansainvälisempiä.</p>				
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1. INTRODUCTION

In Finland, it is possible to attend upper secondary education in both Finnish and English. In 2012, 378 students completed the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP) (the equivalent of the Finnish upper secondary school) where the language of instruction is English, and 548 students entered the IBDP the same year (Official Statistics of Finland, 2013a). While this number is still small, it is steadily increasing. But as a group, the IBDP students have been quite neglected in Finnish research. Although English has no official status, it is very important, especially for the younger Finns. Officially, Finland has two official languages, Finnish and Swedish, but in most areas of life and for the majority of Finns, English is the second most commonly used language. The younger Finns use English almost daily when listening to music, surfing the Internet or watching films or TV, for example.

The *National Survey on the English Language in Finland* (Leppänen *et al.* 2011) found significant differences with both the uses of and attitudes towards English between the younger, more urban and higher-educated people and the older, rural and less educated people. The younger people use English more and have a more positive attitude towards it. The so-called younger groups in this survey were from 15 to 24 and 25 to 44 years old. During their lifetime, the English speaking media and popular culture have permeated Finland and this can clearly be seen in the survey results. The older generations who have had less exposure are more skeptical and have a less positive attitude towards the English language. Clearly, this highlights the change in both the uses and attitudes towards the English language as the younger generations can be seen as the predictors of the status of English in Finland in the future. It can be argued that the way, for example, Finnish students use English is

predictive of the overall situation for the future. Whereas, for example, the above mentioned *National Survey on the English Language in Finland* (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011) focused on Finnish society as a whole, this thesis has a more specific focus as it only focuses on the 16 to 19 age group and examines the similarities and differences between the students of the two different upper secondary school systems.

The more specific research questions have been divided into the following five categories:

1. *Use of English*: for what and why do Finnish students use English?
2. *Language skills*: how would they assess their English skills? Do they strive towards native-like competence?
3. *Importance of English*: how important is English for them now and in the future?
4. *Effects on identity*: does their use of English affect their cultural identity? Do they feel more Finnish or international?
5. *Differences between the groups*: are the two groups homogenous or are there differences?

The hypothesis is that the IBDP students are more interested in English, have more positive attitudes towards it and that they use it more and in more varied contexts. In addition, the IBDP students will most likely assess their language skills to be better than the upper secondary students because they are more comfortable using English. They might, on the other hand, be harder on themselves because they have had so much practice which could show as an undervaluing their skills. They are also more likely to work towards a native-like competence. It is also presumed that the upper secondary school students relate more with the Finnish culture, whereas the IBDP students will have a more international identity, partly due to their education, in which internationality is emphasized.

The first chapter consists of my theoretical framework, which includes an overall view of English as a global language and as a part of youth culture. Also, a short history of English in Finland will follow with a description of the language situation in Finland today. The theoretical framework will be completed with a presentation of theories and previous research on language attitudes. In the second chapter, the two different school types, the Finnish upper secondary school system and the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme, will be introduced and discussed in detail before moving onto the specifics of this study consisting of the methodology in chapter 4 and results in the following chapter. Lastly, my discussion and conclusion will sum up the findings.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework consists of a discussion on the status and uses of English first on a global scale, secondly as a part of youth culture and thirdly its history and current position in Finland. All these aspects help to understand the position English holds in Finland today, and especially the reasons why it is an important part of the lives of most Finns, particularly so teenagers. This theory section is concluded with a presentation of theory and research on language attitudes.

2.1. English as a Global Language

After the Second World War, English has gained a special status among languages, and is therefore often referred to as a world language or a global language. Crystal (1997) describes a global language as a language that has developed a special role that is recognized in every country. To achieve this status a language must gain more than a mother tongue status. It must be taken up by other countries as well and given a special status, since "no language has ever been spoken by a mother tongue majority in more than a few countries" (Crystal, 1997: 4). Crystal (ibid.) names two ways of achieving this: making the language an official language (*e.g.* language of government, education, media and law) or a priority in a country's foreign-language teaching, even though it has no official status. In the first case English acts as a sort of second language since it is only a complement to a person's mother tongue. This is the case in over 70 countries, such as, Ghana, Nigeria, India and Singapore. The second case applies to Finland and the other Nordic countries, for example, and over 100 countries in total. In these countries, English is the language children are most likely to be taught at school. There are

many reasons such as "historical tradition, political expediency and the desire for commercial, cultural and technological contact" for choosing a particular language to be favored over others (Crystal, 1997: 5). Crystal (1997:7) explains what makes a global language:

"Without a strong power-base, of whatever kind, no language can make progress as an international medium of communication. Language has no independent existence, living in some sort of mystical space apart from the people who speak it. Language exists only in the brains and mouths and ears and hands and eyes of its users. When they succeed, on the international stage, their language succeeds. When they fail, their language fails."

This quote highlights, how the speakers of a language and especially their economic, technological and cultural power affects what language becomes internationally powerful. This can be seen in the way how different languages have held this position over the course of history. For example, Greek, Arabic, French and Latin, during the Roman Empire, have all held similar status English has today. Crystal (ibid.) emphasizes that, for example, it is neither the grammar, structural properties, size of the vocabulary nor any other linguistic features that affect which language becomes a global one. A language may have features that make it internationally appealing, like the familiar vocabulary of English due to borrowing words over centuries from languages it has been in contact with, but the key element is the power of its speakers. Especially, at first their political and military power to achieve and later economic to maintain and expand its status (Crystal, 1997).

A lingua franca, a common language, is needed especially in situations where speakers of many different mother tongues need to interact with each other (Crystal, 1997). One form of a common language is a simplified language which mixes elements from different languages, called a *pidgin*, that is created usually for trading purposes. Some pidgins still exist today and act as lingua francas. For example, West African Pidgin English is still used on the West African coast. Another form of lingua franca is an indigenous language, usually that of the more powerful ethnic group, that rises above the others. Usually the other groups then learn this language and become bilingual to varying degrees. Most often, like with English in most

countries, the lingua franca is accepted from outside of the community, because of its political, economic, cultural or religious influence. Many lingua francas extend over smaller geographical areas and between only a few ethnical groups, especially previously in history. Jenkins (2007: 1) explains that "[i]n essence, lingua franca is a contact language used among people who do not share a first language, and is commonly understood to mean a second (or subsequent) language of its speakers". Some scholars (*e.g.* Firth, 1996 and House, 1999) exclude the native speakers of English from their definition of English as a lingua franca and rather define ELF interactions as being "between members of two or more different linguacultures in English, for none whom English is the mother tongue" (House, 1996: 74). For the purposes of this study, the more broader definition given by Jenkins (2007) will be used as it highlights the role of English in communication between speakers from different mother tongue backgrounds without exclusions.

Although the need for an international lingua franca did not really exist before the twentieth century, it would seem to be a logical and natural development arising from the new language contact situations. During the twentieth century people have become more mobile, both physically and electronically, which has arguably lead to the emergence of English as a lingua franca (Crystal, 1997). While, there is 400 to 500 million people in the world who speak it as their first language (Sergeant, 2012), there is substantially more non-native speakers of English than native speakers (House, 2003). Also, English holds this position even though it does not have the most native speakers. But when you add the people who speak it as a second language, and those who use it as a foreign language, it becomes the most spoken language in the world (Sergeant, 2012). Thus, in the majority of interactions in which English is used, it is used between people who do not share a common language. When you take into account the range of functions it is used for and the significance of the domains in which it

operates, the current position of English is well justified (House, 2003). It is used as a lingua franca in, for example, conferences, business meetings and political gatherings (Jenkins, 2007).

However, there are some concerns about the development of English into a lingua franca and one language gaining such a powerful status in general. The most prominent ones are questions of linguistic power, linguistic complacency and language death. The first describes the creation of an elite, more powerful monolingual, linguistic group that is dismissive in their attitudes towards other languages (Crystal, 1997). The presence of a global language can also make people lazy to learn other languages, or may reduce their opportunity to do so. Probably the biggest concern is that English will make all the other languages unnecessary, or at least aid the disappearance of smaller minority languages. This fear has been raised also in Finland and some genuinely believe that English will corrupt and at some point might even wipeout Finnish completely (*e.g.* Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003).

However, Crystal (1997) explains that language death is a phenomenon that has been known throughout linguistic history and exists independently of the emergence of a global language. The survival of minority languages is largely dependent on the situation inside the country and the relationship between the majority and minority groups rather than on the position of English as a global language. Actually, it has had quite an opposite effect in stimulating a stronger response in support of the local language than might otherwise have occurred (*ibid.*). On the other hand, language is such a huge component of a person's and community's identity that they will not be too willing to give it up by switching to another language. This can be described by making a distinction between languages for communication and languages for identification (House, 2003). Whereas English as a lingua franca can be regarded as a

language for communication, that is "a useful instrument for making oneself understood in international encounters" (House, 2003: 559), languages for identifications are "main determinants of identity, which means holding a stake in the collective linguistic-cultural capital that defines the L1 group and its members" (ibid.). Therefore, one's native language has a very different and special function. House (2006) even argues that the use of a lingua franca may become a means of ensuring and promoting diversity, as non-native speakers are developing their own discourse strategies, speech act modifications, genres and communication styles. House (2006: 87) describes this as a "de-owning" of the English language; "a process which leads to an increasing diversification of English through acculturation and nativisation processes". English is no longer shaped only by its native speakers. Non-native speakers are taking a more active role as not only users of English, but also as modifiers.

2.2. English as a Part of Youth Language

Youth language can be defined in several ways (see for example Leppänen, 2007), as "[y]outh is a flexible and contestable social category that can be variously reproduced in different social and cultural contexts" (Leppänen, 2007). Leppänen (2007: 151) continues

"youth language is not taken as a register or style which is shared by a social or physiological group, labeled as "youth." Instead, it is seen as a set of communicative and semiotic resources with which, within a normative social and cultural framework, youth identities, practices, and cultures are constructed and negotiated in specific interactional and sociocultural contexts, and whereby the "youth" can be differentiated from the "child" and the "adult"."

Therefore, as touched upon in the previous chapter, the ways in which language is used can be seen as social and cultural representations of one's identity. Youth language usually involves more creativity, imagination, play and freedom than is expected from adults, for example.

Young people are not afraid to make language fit their needs and it is most of all an important tool for self-expression. Youth cultures are "complex and multidimensional", since they "have not only a geographic and temporal dimension, but social and political dimensions as well" (Leppänen, 2007: 152). For example, in Finnish youth cultures "English - pervasive in the media and popular cultures - and the native language are negotiated within the context of the everyday lives of the young" (ibid.). This manifests, for example, in language mixing and the use of English for many different functions.

Youth language is present in several different domains, for example, the internet, popular music, TV and movies. Today, many mobile phones have connection to the internet giving people access to it almost anytime and anywhere. Especially young people are very technologically advanced and have access to and knowledge about the newest computers, mobile phones and other electronic devices (Ratia & Suhr, 2004). Mobile phones and computers have a significant role in many areas of their lives and an important tool in communication. English, on the other hand, has been the lingua franca of the internet since its conception. This is largely due to the fact that it was developed in the United States, and therefore the terms and structures are in English (Summala, 2004). The most visited pages on the internet and most of the entertainment (*e.g.* games and chat rooms) are in English in order to attract as many visitors as possible. Almost all new services and products are first published on the internet in English and the versions in other languages are only published later if the English version receives enough users. Therefore, a good working knowledge of English is without a doubt necessary for the effective use of the internet. Of course, there are, for example, translators on search engines that translate pages into the users mother tongue, but in the case of Finnish they might be of little assistance as they often produce quite intangible language.

The quality of language on the internet varies quite greatly. For example, news sites and other sites that provide well edited material contain language of high quality, but as a contrast, there is also a lot of raw material that has not undergone editing or spell and fact checking and can be of a very poor quality (Summala, 2004). On the other hand, e-mails, chat rooms and social media have created a special type of language for quick and precise communication utilizing, for example, abbreviations such as *LOL* 'laughing out loud', *SUL* 'see you later' or *IDK* 'I don't know'. In addition, emoticons (pictorial representations of facial expressions) play an important role in this type of communication. Code-switching is also a common element in internet language as many of the abbreviations, for example, are used alongside Finnish when Finnish teenagers chat with each other. It is not uncommon to see utterances such as "*IDK anyway oon siellä about vartissa*" [I don't know, anyway, I'll be there in fifteen minutes]. This type of language is also present in text messages and other types of instant messaging one can perform on their mobile phone. It makes communication faster, easier and more diverse. Finnish teenagers use English especially when there is no corresponding word for something in Finnish or if something is said "better" in English, meaning more accurately or more easily (Ratia & Suhr, 2004). Also, greetings and wishes such as *hello*, *congrats*, *enjoy*, pet names like *darling*, *honey*, *baby*, and expressions of love written in different ways (*ILY*, *ai <3 juu*) are used (ibid.).

On other hand, English provides the possibility to express one's message in less characters, which is especially important in text messaging and more currently on Twitter, where there is a limitation of 140 characters per tweet. Finnish has a lot of inflections and word endings which increase the length of words and, in general, Finnish words tend to be longer than English ones (Ratia & Suhr, 2004.). English words can be written in many ways. They have abbreviations like *u* for *you* and *c* for *see* or they can be written in "Finnish" like they are

pronounced. All in all, Ratia & Suhr (2004) found that although English has several functions in Finnish teenagers' text messages, they use English relatively little and mostly for certain purposes.

English has also permeated other areas of popular culture. Not only has British and American popular music had a significant impact on the Finns, they have inspired the Finns to make their own. Since the 1960s, Finnish groups have made music in English, but until the 1970s it was more customary to translate English popular songs into Finnish (Honkapohja, 2004). Today, many bands perform in English and bands such as HIM, The Rasmus, Sunrise Avenue and Nightwish have gained some success also outside of Finland. IFPI Finland (The Finnish National Group of IFPI) is the national trade association representing 23 record companies in Finland. They publish the official charts of most sold albums, singles and music DVD's. For example, in August, including weeks 27 to 31, over half of the albums in the top40 and singles in the top20 were by foreign musicians and even some of the Finnish musicians in the charts during that time, such as Anna Abreu, make their music in English (IFPI, online).

2.3. A Brief History of English in Finland

The English language has acquired quite a unique role and status in Finland through a variety of historical, political, economic, social and cultural processes (Leppänen & Nikula, 2007). Learning foreign languages has always been important in Finland because of its location both geographically and politically (between Russia and Sweden), but also because of its official bilingualism and the limited usefulness of its national languages in international contexts (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi, 2002). Several different languages have been and are still studied in

Finland, but their popularity has varied over time. German and Russian are the more traditional foreign languages, but towards the end of the 20th century English began to gain ground and eventually has become the most popular foreign language in Finland. The spread of English in Finland was closely tied to, for example, the modernization, urbanization and globalization of Finland. These were some of the factors that led to changes in business, trade and working life, as well as language education (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011). The real boost for English in Finland began in the 1960s when Finland gradually started to associate itself more with the western, Anglo-American world and, in doing so, distanced itself from the former rulers, Sweden and Russia (Leppänen & Nikula, 2007). According to Leppänen *et al.* (2011: 17) the "Finnish society became more open to European and American values, politics and culture - with the English language as a symbol of modern westernisation". Before this English was regarded as a foreign language used primarily to communicate with foreigners. More people studied, for example, German, whose popularity decreased significantly after World War Two and was replaced by English during the next couple of decades.

Anglicisms in popular culture (*e.g.* music, dancing, films) started to become observable already in the 1940s (Battarbee, 2002), but exposure to English started to increase when American pop and rock music and films gradually reached Finland (Leppänen *et al.* 2011). The English media became more prominent in Finland in the 1960s and has had a strong presence ever since. For example, while English films and TV series were dubbed in Finnish for the first few years, from the 1960s onwards they have been subtitled in Finnish instead (*ibid*). Anglo-American films and TV series also started to gain more airtime. Since the establishment of the comprehensive school system in the 1970s, it has been obligatory to study the two official languages (Finnish and Swedish) and one foreign language (Takala & Havola, 1984), which in most cases is English. Therefore, by the 1980s English had become a

language almost everyone studied, at least at some point. Also, in the 1980s immigration to Finland began to increase (including returnees, refugees, students and foreign citizens married to Finns, for example) (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi, 2002).

During this time, the Finnish economy was also recovering, which increased the need to be proficient in English, which was the language of international business and commerce. Finns also began to travel abroad more often (Heinonen, 2008), which increased both their motivation and the need to study English. During the 1990s, the role of English was further strengthened by political and economic internationalization (*e.g.* joining the EU in 1995) (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011) and also by the rapid increase of high technology (mobile phones and the Internet) (Battarbee, 2002). Education in English also increased and is available from first grade up to universities. For example, the first International Baccalaureate school (in Helsinki) was authorized in 1990 and the first class graduated in 1993. In the 2000s, English became more and more dominant as the language of, for example, science and business. For example, some Finnish companies have adopted English as the language of their internal communication (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003).

2.4. The Language Situation in Finland Today

While Finland is officially a bilingual country, the majority of the Finnish-speaking Finns manage with just Finnish and most of the Swedish-speaking Finns are proficient in Finnish also. "Hence, unlike the situation in many other bi/multilingual countries where different linguistic groups have needed a vehicular language to communicate with one another and to participate fully in society, Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns have had no need

for such an additional language" (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011: 17). This is one of the reasons why English did not and has not gained greater status in Finland. According to the Official Statistics of Finland (OFS, 2012a), at the end of 2012, Finnish was the native language of 94 percent of Finnish citizens and almost 90 percent of the whole population of Finland, including foreign citizens. Only about 5.4 percent of Finnish citizens had Swedish as their native language. There are a few monolingual Swedish speaking areas (Ostrobothnia and Åland) where Finnish speakers are a minority, instead most Swedish speaking Finns live in bilingual communities that are mostly located in the Helsinki metropolitan area and along the western and southern coast. While this paints a very monolingual picture, nearly every tenth person aged 25 to 34 living permanently in Finland at the end of 2012 was of foreign origin. In total, 5.2 percent of the total population are of foreign origin and of these 59 percent are of European origin (OFS, 2013b). There are 148 different languages spoken as native languages in Finland (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

The *Strategy for the National Languages of Finland* (Ministry of Justice, 2013) also acknowledges the fact that most Finnish speaking Finns live in Finnish-speaking areas and therefore have few natural contacts with Swedish. This might, in part help, to explain why a majority of Finns feel that English is more useful than Swedish (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011: 90-91). Finnish speaking Finns encounter English in many fields of their everyday lives. For example, most Finns listen to English-language music and also English speech in subtitled TV programs or films, and therefore English enters the lives and homes of Finns most often through electronic media, popular culture and music (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011: 125). Finns most typically use English to search for information, but they also use it to, for example, communicate with people with whom they have no other common language, to learn English or simply for the fun of English (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011: 127).

The *National Survey on the English Language in Finland* (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011) showed that the Finns' overall attitudes towards English are quite positive and they do not think that English poses a threat to the Finnish language or culture. Instead, Leppänen *et al.* (*ibid*) reported that the participants viewed the knowledge of English as an essential resource in the increasingly multicultural and global world; 90 percent felt that skills in English enhance mutual understanding on a global scale. English was seen as something up-to-date people should know and that modern people should be proficient in. Interestingly, whereas English was not viewed as a threat to Finnish language and culture, it was seen to endanger and displace other languages. Thus, Finns seem to have a higher trust and confidence in their own languages. Leppänen *et al.* (2011) also found that English is a part of Finns' lives in different ways. The younger use English in school, for freetime activities and with friends, whereas the older people mostly need it for work tasks. Therefore, it is not surprising that younger and more urban participants estimated English as more important to themselves personally. Also, almost all of the young respondents agreed that young people should know English, which highlights the central role of English in their lives. The young respondents also felt that Finnish society should also function in English and not only in the domestic languages. The older age groups do not assess English so positively or agree about its necessity in Finnish society. The same divide was visible between the urban and rural, and the highly-educated versus less educated respondents.

English language and culture have also become an important part of young people's identity. The *National Survey on the English Language in Finland* (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011) highlighted that English is already a part of their daily life. They read, write, speak and listen to English more actively than older people. The difference was most significant in the productive side of language use, meaning writing and speaking English. In the youngest group (15-24), 41

percent felt that using English was as natural as using their mother tongue, whereas only seven percent of the oldest age group (over 65) felt the same. It was also significantly more important for the youngest group to sound fluent when they used English. They also use English whenever they have the opportunity to, whereas the older groups only use it when they have to. The younger age groups use English especially more on the Internet for reading websites, playing games and chatting in English.

Opinions about the presence of English in Finland are still quite varied. Although it has a quite established role in the everyday lives of many Finns, concerns have also been raised. For example, there are sections of the Finnish population whose proficiency in English is limited or even non-existent, and the increased importance of English could lead to a new kind of a linguistic divide, marginalizing a part of the population and increasing social and economic inequality (Leppänen & Nikula, 2007). Some scholars are worrying about the preservation of Finnish and fear that Finns may be in danger of losing their language (*e.g.* Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003). This is evident in some studies (*e.g.* Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003) which suggest that within particular domains and settings, such as youth culture, higher education, research and business, Finnish is losing to English. Similar research has been conducted in Denmark (Preisler, 2003). Similar to Finland, the Danish media has largely been blamed for the impact of English on the Danish language. However, Preisler (*ibid.*) explains that Danish children and adolescents, quite like their Finnish peers, take part in English-language-oriented activities (*e.g.* watching English language cartoons, listening to music, code-switching in discussions about movies and computer games) that are linked to Anglo-American subcultures. As Preisler (2003:122) states " [t]he learning of English from below is based on a desire to symbolize subcultural identity and peer-group solidarity". Clearly, mere exposure does not explain the youth's use of English, but it is rather a question of self-

expression and group identity. Leppänen (2007: 150) states that the way a young person uses English reflects the type of a person they are and want to be with "particular allegiances, values, and lifestyles". Lifestyles and popular culture have become increasingly translocal in nature and are no longer exclusively locally or nationally based, but can be connected to global networks by English as a shared language (ibid.) Also, Leiwo (2000) calls for more positive visions for the linguistic development in Finland as there is no evidence for a language shift taking place in Finnish speaking families.

As a foreign language English is highly prestigious in Denmark, but still they feel that code-switching to English is not acceptable in situations where Danish would do as well (Preisler, 2003). Code-switching is a quite common phenomenon in Finnish also (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003). Code-switching could be defined as the "alternating use of two or more "codes" within one conversational episode" (Auer, 1999: 1). Code-switching usually occurs in bilingual speech communities, and is related to and indicative of group membership. It is especially common in youth language, as discussed earlier, but also clearly noticeable in the speech of many professionals in, for example, IT-jargon. English catch-phrases, fillers, hesitation markers (*So what? Who knows? OK, about*), acronyms (*LOL, BFF, BTW*) and even words (*e.g. selfie*) are part of many people's and especially young people's everyday vocabulary. Quite recently this type of language has started to appear in newspaper language (ibid.). For example, many job titles are in English and appear in job advertisements. This is not surprising, taking into account that practically all young people who have access to TV, movies, internet or popular music cannot help being exposed to English on a daily basis (Leppänen, 2007). Leppänen (2007: 151) states that "[a]s a result, in many Finnish youth language contexts English is now an everyday resource that speakers and writers can use alongside with, instead of, or mixed with Finnish for particular purposes".

In spite of the spread of English into the lives and speech of Finns, until recently there has been little extensive research on English in Finland (Leppänen & Nikula, 2007). Early research focused, for example, on the study of anglicisms and was aimed at identifying English elements adopted into Finnish and their possible effects on the Finnish language system (*e.g.* Sajavaara *et al.*, 1978; Sajavaara 1983). During the last few years the research has been more varied. For example, there has been extensive research on the use of English in Finnish working life (see for example Louhiala-Salminen, 1999; Huhta, 1999 and Sajavaara, 2000) and youth language (Ratia & Suhr, 2004; Leppänen, 2007). Penttinen (2002) studied the teaching and learning needs of polytechnic students. In addition, the language proficiency of different groups have been studied in greater detail (*e.g.* Huhta, 1999; Elsinen, 2000 and Penttinen, 2002).

For example, Elsinen (2000) studied Finnish University students enrolled at language courses at the language center of University of Joensuu (today part of University of Eastern Finland). She studied how the students understood the concept of language skills and their concept of themselves as language learners. The students were also asked to describe their experience of using foreign languages, assess their own language skills and estimate how much they needed language skills in different sectors of their lives. The students evaluated the importance of language skills as great, irrespective of the context. Since their language contacts appeared to have been short in duration and random, Elsinen concluded that internationalism is not a part of the students' everyday lives. The majority of the students stated they had studied three languages, but said they have command of only two. Study and work were the sectors when they needed language skills and English was the language they felt they needed the most and were the most proficient in. The students stated they need English almost equally in all three sectors: study, work and personal life. About a quarter of the students had "a language self-

concept with a negative basic tone" meaning they assessed their skills as weak or for some other reason had a negative view about language learning.

2.5. Language Attitudes

In this subchapter, the definitions of the concepts *attitude* and *language attitude* will be discussed. The second part will introduce previous research on language attitudes.

2.5.1 Definition of Attitude and Language Attitude

Language attitude research arises from social psychology, from which the theoretical and methodological concepts have been adapted from. Attitudes are a very natural phenomenon, we all have plenty of them, but at the same time they are quite complicated (Eiser, 1986). In everyday life the terms opinion, idea, conception, belief and attitude are used quite interchangeably, and they might refer to objects, ideas or people. There is no single definition for attitude, but most of the researchers agree that they are subjective experiences, involve evaluations of different kinds of attitude objects, and are related to behavior (Eiser, 1986: 11-13). According to the mentalist view, attitudes are a convenient and efficient way of explaining consistent patterns in behavior. They are unobservable, relatively stable and can only be "inferred from the direction and persistence of external behavior" (Baker, 1992: 10). This could be done by having participants fill out a questionnaire, for example. Ajzen's (1988: 4) traditional definition of an attitude is "a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event" or, in the case of language attitudes, to varieties of a single language, different languages or their speakers (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998).

Furthermore, attitudes consist of three components; affect (*e.g.* verbal statements about evaluative feelings and preferences), cognition (*e.g.* verbal statements of opinions, thoughts and beliefs) and behavior (overt actions and predispositions to act in a specific way) (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998). Each component manifests in a different way. These three components form an internal unit in the human mind, which has formed when a certain type of stimulus has been present (Baker, 1992). Persons, situations, social issues and other attitude objects can work as such stimuli. When applied to language attitudes, the attitude object is, for example, a variety of language or the speaker of a language, which generates thoughts and feelings in people and possibly makes them behave in a certain way (Kalaja, 1999). For example, a student who has a positive attitude towards English, could say that it is an important world language which provides more work opportunities in the future (cognitive component). The affective component could be that he/she loves English because it is the most beautiful language they know. The behavioral component, on the other hand, could be that they write short stories or poetry in English.

Other theorists do not believe in the three component model, because they think that affect is not a part of attitude, while others think that the behavior component should be excluded, because people can have attitudes about behavior too (see *e.g.* Gardner, 1985 & Oskamp, 1991). On the other hand, many, for example, Ajzen (1988) consider behavior to be an important part of attitudes. This has led to a debate over the degree to which a person's attitude and behavior have a direct relationship. According to Baker (1992: 10) "attitude is a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior".

Baker (1992: 12) explains:

"For example, a favourable attitude to maths or language learning may be a vital input in maths or language achievement. In this sense, attitude is a predisposing factor, affecting the outcomes of education. Attitude can also be an outcome in itself. After a reading programme or a language learning course, the teacher may hope for a favourable attitude to reading or the language learnt."

In essence, a positive attitude towards language learning might be the reason one attends language teaching and does well, or a positive attitude might be the result of doing well or otherwise liking the language (or the teacher, for example). In addition, this demonstrates how attitudes and behavior can be linked.

From a social constructionist point of view, the focus is shifted from an individual to a more socially constructed society, where language is seen as a means of constructing the social world rather than a simple reflection of what goes on in a person's mind (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998). Social constructionists brought on the idea that mental entities and processes, such as attitudes, are taken for properties of discourse and that these constructions are constructed out of the linguistic resources available in the society. Essentially, according to the social constructionist view, attitudes are social and context-dependent in nature (ibid.). Thus, they can be part of the public debate about languages and the speakers of those languages (Kalaja, 1999). Under this point of view, attitudes are not stable, but can change depending on the situation. All in all, according to their simplest definition, attitudes are positive or negative evaluations of something or someone.

Language attitudes, then, are attitudes precisely about language. Usually they are attitudes towards different languages, language varieties or the speakers of a language, but they can also concern language variation, speech styles, dialect, language learning, language lessons and language preference (Baker, 1992). Furthermore, language attitudes have been divided into two components: an instrumental orientation and integrative orientation (Baker, 1992). Instrumental orientation is connected with the need for achievement, and is mostly viewed as self-oriented and individualistic. On the other hand, the integrative orientation, is mostly social and interpersonal, and connected with the need for affiliation. A student with the

instrumental motivation would want to learn English in order to advance in their career or for other personal gain, while a student with integrative motivation might want to identify with other speakers of English or gain friends (ibid.).

2.5.2. Previous Research on Language Attitudes

Researching attitudes is useful for linguistics, because as Baker (1992: 10) states "the status, value and importance of a language is most often and mostly easily (though imperfectly) measured by attitudes to that language". According to Baker (1992: 9) "[a] survey of attitudes provides an indicator of current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires". He continues by stating "[a]ttitude surveys provide social indicators of changing beliefs and the chances of success in policy implementation (ibid.)." Language attitude studies have their roots in studies using the matched guise technique (MGT), where samples from one speaker using different "guises" (*i.e.* different speech styles, dialects or accents) are altered to sound as multiple speakers. The aim is to study the underlying attitudes people have towards different linguistic cues. In other words, the participants are not assessing the speaker, but the speakers language variety and are in fact providing a social evaluation of those language varieties (Jenkins, 2007). Many of these studies, however, neglected the influence of message content and had reliability and validity problems. Later, for example, the congruence between the message and the speech style has been studied in this area. In EFL research this brings up the issue of "hierarchy of correctness" (Jenkins, 2007). Jenkins (ibid.) describes how many non-native speakers view that they are not taken seriously by native English speakers purely because of their speech patterns and often particularly because of their accent.

Language attitudes, especially, are social at heart and a language and its speakers closely connected in people's minds. Therefore, some languages are viewed positively because their speakers are valued in the society, and vice versa (Kalaja, 1999). Another major theme in language attitude studies has been the effects of power and especially social power on language attitudes. This means that the socially more powerful groups' language is often the more prestigious one, and the use of the language, dialect or accent of the minority group reduces their opportunities for success as a whole. Both of these areas highlight the almost seemingly innate tendency of ranking languages, dialects and accents into some sort of hierarchical order. Usually the standard varieties (such as American or British English) are more highly evaluated than non-standard (for example, African varieties of English). Still, language attitudes have been found to be sensitive to the context in which those attitudes are evaluated. Also, identity seems to play an important part. For example, Jenkins (2007: 71) refers to Bourhis *et al.* (1973) who found that "the English of bilingual speakers in South Wales was evaluated more favourably relative to the English of RP-accented speakers than previously, and that this change coincided with a period when the sense of Welsh identity in the area had strengthened". Historically, British English has been the standard and model for Finnish learners of English also, which has made the Finnish accent less favorable and in many contexts even something to be ashamed of. Today, the focus is starting to be more on communication and getting one's message across rather than trying to emulate RP speakers perfectly.

Adolphs (2005) studied mostly Asian participants' non-native speaker attitudes to native speaker Englishes in a longitudinal study. The students were studying on an intensive pre-session English language course at Nottingham University (in the United Kingdom). Adolphs conducted interviews over a six-month period and analyzed the participants' use of

the terms native speaker/native speakers and how their use of the term changed over time. The findings were that the students' attitudes shifted over time from positive to less positive towards native speaker English. Adolphs attributed this to the fact that the variety the students heard spoken around them did not match the "standard" variety, and particularly the accent, they were used to in their earlier education. Instead, they were hearing local varieties and through interacting with other international students they became more aware of the need to understand English in international communication. This led the students to re-define their language learning goals towards a greater focus on mutual intelligibility. However, they still did not let go of the native speaker norms, but rather several appeared even in the later interviews to want to speak "standard" native speaker English with a non-regional native speaker accent.

Hyrkstedt and Kalaja (1998) performed an analysis on Finnish University students' responses to a letter-to-the-editor that argued against the use of English in Finland. The study was a qualitative analysis of attitudes towards English by providing a systematic interpretative reading of the texts. The original letter-to-the-editor was written and provided by the researchers and the participants could choose whether their responses agreed or disagreed with the opinions in the original letter. The study was social constructionist in nature as it aimed and according to Hyrkstedt and Kalaja succeeded in proving that language attitudes are constructed in discourse, in this case, either as agreement or disagreement with the argumentation in the letter, and in the ways of arguing for their point of view. Secondly, they found that the students could make use of more than one "interpretative repertoire" to justify their arguments of positive and/or negative attitude(s). In other words, they could both agree and disagree in the same response, which showed that attitudes are not stable.

Härmälä *et al.* (2014) published a report for the Finnish National Board of Education of the Finnish pupils' learning results of A-level English at the end of basic education (ninth grade). It was based on the largest language learning result assessment project in Finland to date. They studied the language skills as well as the pupils' perceptions about studying the English language and the language itself. In all language skills (listening and reading comprehension, written and spoken language) the pupils achieved good, some even excellent results. Spoken and written language were the best areas, followed by listening and reading comprehension. The pupils expressed mostly positive opinions on their language skills. The pupils planning to attend upper secondary school consistently achieved higher results than their peers who had applied to vocational education or training. There were some gender differences, also. The boys entering upper secondary school had the best results, with good or excellent performance in all skills, whereas the girls with plans to attend vocational education had the weakest results. Overall interest in the English language (using it outside school) and the perceived usefulness of it were other factors affecting the results. Most students took part in language use based in receiving (*e.g.* watching movies and video clips, listening to music). Language use based on producing language was less common, but included writing blogs or using Facebook. Only one fourth wrote short texts, such as text messages, in English. The pupils also used English relatively little in direct face-to-face contacts with, for example, their family and friends. The educational background of the parents also had a significant effect, as the results were better for children whose both parents had graduated from upper secondary school. On the other hand, parents' educational background or the pupils' future plans for study did not significantly affect the use of English outside school. Nine out of ten pupils considered English skills to be important in today's world, especially in their everyday lives, but also in work life and future studies. Two thirds were happy to study English and over half liked English lessons.

3. EDUCATION IN FINLAND

This chapter gives a detailed description particularly of the upper secondary education in Finland. First, the basic information on the Finnish comprehensive school system will be given. Then, Finnish language education is presented, followed by a description of the general and specialized upper secondary schools. Finally, the International Baccalaureate Organization and its programmes will be introduced; emphasizing the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme.

3.1 The Finnish Comprehensive School System

Every Finnish student must complete a nine-year basic comprehensive education and nearly all children do. Comprehensive school, consisting of primary school (grades 1-6) and secondary school (grades 7-9), is free for all children permanently living in Finland (Ministry of Education and Culture: General Education in Finland, online). Primary school classes are primarily taught by class teachers and secondary school classes by specialized subject teachers. All teachers must complete a Master's level university degree. The national core curriculum is set by the Finnish National Board of Education and it includes "the objectives and core contents of different subjects, as well as the principles of pupil assessment, special-needs education, pupil welfare and educational guidance" (ibid.). Most schools are maintained by local authorities who are obligated to organize free basic education for all school-aged children in their area. This compulsory education begins the year the child turns 7 and ends when the child has completed all nine grades, usually at the age of 16.

There are also some private schools in Finland, although they are well outnumbered by public schools. Private education providers are licensed by the Finnish government and they follow the same national core curriculum as public schools. Private schools are usually run by associations or societies with a religious basis or they are based on a certain language like English, Russian or German. Also a number of Steiner-pedagogy based schools can be found in Finland (Ministry of Education and Culture: Basic Education in Finland, online).

Completing comprehensive school gives access to upper secondary schooling but gives no other qualifications. Upper secondary schooling in Finland consists of general upper secondary education and vocational education, from which the students choose the one that suits them best. The students apply through a joint application system where they rate a number of schools they would like to attend in the order of their own preference. If the number of applicants exceeds the intake, the places are divided based on the students' school reports. Both schools usually take three years and offer eligibility for higher education (polytechnic and university). The vocational schools offer training for vocational qualifications and their aim is to "improve the skills of the work force, to respond to skills needs in the world of work and to support lifelong learning" (Ministry of Education and Culture: Vocational education and training in Finland, online). About 38,5 percent of students go on to vocational education after secondary school and the largest fields are Technology and Transport (36%), Business and Administration (19%) and Health and Social Services (17%) (ibid.). All in all, there are 119 study programs that lead to 53 different vocational qualifications (ibid.).

3.2. Language Education

There have been many changes in the Finnish schooling system and also in the language program, but today most students begin studying their first compulsory foreign language (A1-language) in grade 3. It is possible to study an optional foreign language starting from grades 1 - 6 (A2). The second compulsory language begins on grade 7 (B1), and it has to be one of the national languages (for Finnish speaking Finns Swedish) or English. It is also possible to begin an optional language (B2) such as French or German in grades 7 - 9. In the upper secondary school all students must study at least two foreign languages, one of which is the other national language (B1, again Swedish for the Finnish speaking Finns). Starting a third optional language (B3) is also possible. The schools might also provide shorter courses in other foreign languages. All in all, it is possible for a student to study up to five or six different languages by the end of upper secondary school. In reality the number is from the compulsory two foreign languages to three or four for most students (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi, 2002).

According to OSF (2013c) 99.7 percent of the students completing upper secondary school in 2013 studied English, and a very large majority (over 99 percent) of these students at the A-level. Based on the information from the Federation of Foreign Language Teachers in Finland (SUKOL, 2010), in 2010, 90.5 percent of the students chose English as their first foreign language. Most students begin studying English on the third grade (age 9), but it is also possible to start at first grade (age 7). All of these students study English at least until the end of secondary school (grade 9, age 15), but most continue either in upper secondary school or vocational school. On the other hand, while Swedish is an official language, most students do not start studying it until the beginning of secondary school (grade 7). Only 4.4 percent of students study Swedish in primary school, whereas that percentage jumps to 92.2 in

secondary school (OFS, 2012b). It also worth noticing that the interest in other languages such as German and French has been significantly decreasing over recent years.

3.3. General Upper Secondary Education

Around 50 percent of students leaving comprehensive school continue to general upper secondary education and in 2012 this meant a total of 35,959 students (OFS, 2013a). That same year upper secondary education was offered at 422 secondary schools and 6 folk high schools. Upper secondary school has been designed to continue the educational task of comprehensive school and to provide the eligibility and qualifications for further studies in higher education. Upper secondary school has a so-called classless system, where the curriculum is based on courses with no specific year-classes. The students may proceed in their studies individually and to some extent study the subjects they are most interested in. The syllabus contains mother tongue and literature (Finnish or Swedish), the other national language, foreign languages, studies in mathematics and natural sciences, studies in humanities and social sciences, religion or ethics, physical and health education and arts. Also, the syllabus may include optional or elective subjects, such as vocational studies. The curriculum lists 47-51 compulsory courses out of the 75 minimum number of courses needed to graduate (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004). The rest of the courses the students can choose for themselves and they can study as many subjects as they like. The studies can be completed in two or even four years depending on the number of courses student takes per semester, but most of the students finish in three years.

All students must take part in a matriculation examination which are held each spring and fall at the same time in all Finnish upper secondary schools. The examination can be completed in one examination period, but the students can divide the subjects into three consecutive examination periods if they want. The examination includes at least four tests in four different subject areas. The only compulsory test is in the students' mother tongue. The other three the students can choose from the following tests: second national language, foreign language, mathematics and one of the tests in the general studies battery of tests which includes sciences and humanities. In addition the student may include one or more optional tests in their examination. The administering, execution and all the arrangements of the examination are the responsibility of the Matriculation Examination Board. The Board issues the guidelines on the content, arrangements and assessment of the test (The Matriculation Examination Board, online).

The matriculation examination tests are arranged at two different levels of difficulty in mathematics, the second national language and foreign languages. In mathematics and foreign languages the levels are advanced and basic and in the second national language advanced and intermediate. The students must take at least one of the tests in the advanced level but otherwise they can choose which level they want to take each test on regardless of the level they studied the subject in the upper secondary school. For example, a student who studied mathematics on the advanced courses may take the test at the basic level as long as they take some other test on the advanced level. Students who pass their matriculation examination at least in the four compulsory tests are awarded a matriculation examination certificate following the examination period when the last of the tests has been passed. The matriculation examination certificate shows all the compulsory and optional tests passed by the student with the levels and grades for each test. The tests are graded on a scale from 0-7 and each grade

has a corresponding letter derived from their Latin names. The best grade is a seven that is more commonly thought of as "L" for Laudatur.

For quite a while upper secondary schools have been the more popular choice among Finnish teenagers, but in the recent years vocational schooling has gained more and more popularity. In 2012, there were 107,400 students in upper secondary schools around Finland, which was 1.5% less than the year before (OFS, 2013a). Today, the two schools attract students almost equally, as in the spring of 2012, 31,400 students applied to upper secondary school straight after secondary school and 30,050 to vocational school (Finnish National Board of Education, 2013). That same spring 31,600 matriculation examination certificates were completed and in addition, the International Baccalaureate Diploma was awarded to 378 students and 29 students in the German school of Helsinki passed the Reifeprüfung examination (OFS, 2013a).

3.4. Specialized Upper Secondary Education

Some upper secondary schools offer specialized education, for example, in arts, sciences, music or sports. These schools follow the same Finnish national core curriculum as other secondary schools, but also offer a larger variety of optional specialization courses of their choosing. A school must offer a certain number and type of courses set by the Finnish National Board of Education, but on top of these they can offer as many courses as they want and are able to provide. This enables schools to specialize in arts, for example. They simply offer a larger variety of art courses than other upper secondary schools. The students can complete a diploma to demonstrate their skills and knowledge in, for example, visual arts,

physical education, music, theatre, media, crafts and dance. The first specialized upper secondary schools were opened in 1981 when four schools started art programs (Järvinen 2000).

Specialized upper secondary schools might take longer to finish than regular ones. For example, students at sports schools usually take four years to graduate because training takes so much of their time, but this is taken into consideration and made possible in specialized schools. There are also 14 Steiner upper secondary schools in Finland that take four years and end in a matriculation examination. It is also possible to combine vocational training and upper secondary school in a dual program where the students graduate with both a vocational qualification and matriculation examination certificate. This is only possible in certain vocational fields and institutions which offer these programs with partner upper secondary schools.

3.5. The International Baccalaureate

The International Baccalaureate® (IB) is a non-profit organization which offers international education from the primary years through middle years up to pre-university programmes. The Primary Years Programme (PYP) is offered for children aged 3 to 12, the Middle Years Programme (MYP) from 11 to 16, and the Diploma Programme (DP) and Career-related Certificate (CC) 16 to 19 year olds. The programs can be completed individually or as a coherent continuum. They all promote "the education of the whole person through an emphasis on intellectual, personal, emotional and social growth" (IBO: Four Programmes at a

Glance, online). Today there are over 3,725 IB world schools in 147 countries which offer the four programmes to approximately 1,166,000 students (IBO: IB fast facts, online).

All programmes follow the curriculum set by the IB instead of the exported national system of any one country. The programs are also offered in a wide variety of schools, both public and private and both nationally and internationally. All the schools have the title "IB world school" and have been authorized by the IB after an application process that typically takes two or more years (IBO: About the IB, online). The IB provides the schools with the curriculum, Diploma examination papers along with support and education for the teachers and other school officials. All programmes can be taught in either English, French or Spanish and the curriculum documents are in these languages. The Diploma Programme can be taught only in these language, whereas PYP and MYP programmes can be taught in any other language. MYP documents are also available in Chinese.

There are a few principles that are behind all four programmes. For example, they all require the study of a broad range of subjects and encourage learning across disciplines. They also focus on developing the skills of learning and critical thinking. All programmes also include a community service component and give special attention to language acquisition and development. The aim is to develop international citizens of the world who have a strong sense of identity and universal human values. In addition, the creation of and stimulation of a curiosity to learn and acquire knowledge are some of the aims of the IB.

3.5.1. History

The International Baccalaureate® was founded in Geneva, Switzerland in 1968 but its roots go as far back as the Cold War when the development of the first IB course started during a conference of social studies teachers in Geneva in 1962 (Bunnel, 2010: 176-178). The reasons behind the creation of the IB were, on the one hand, the desire for a more internationalist curriculum, but also there was a need to unite the school in Geneva where students were operating within different sections (Bunnel, 2010: 179). There was also a need to serve the "globally mobile international community (diplomatic and corporate)" (ibid.). Their children required a transferable qualification that offered the opportunity to attend colleges and universities back home.

The IB Diplome Programme started as a low-key experiment and by 1972 there were only 22 schools in 14 countries authorized to enter candidates for the Diploma examination (Bunnel, 2010: 180). In 1976, the first American high school (New York's Francis Lewis high school) became an IB school and, in 1979, Narrabundah College in Canberra was the first school in Australia to start the Diploma Programme (ibid.). When the International School Moshi in Tanzania became the first IB school in Africa in 1980, there were a total of 73 IB schools around the world. The 100 school mark was achieved in 1982. The following year Spanish became one of the working languages of the DP alongside English and French. In 1987, the 200 mark was hit. When the first school in China became an IB school in 1991, there were 345 schools worldwide (ibid.).

From the early 1980s, universities started to accept the IB diploma after many educational leaders and public figures campaigned towards the IB Diploma's recognition. After that,

regional offices of the IBO started promoting the recognition of the IB Diploma to universities and governments, who at first feared it might attract their most promising students away from their national education system into the IBDP. When IBO assured them that the IBDP was complementary to the national education system not its competitor and could help to improve national education, they started to accept the IB diploma at a growing rate (IBO: timeline, online).

During the 1990s, the aim of the IB was slowly moving from "creating 'schools across frontiers' designed for globally mobile students" to an aim of "greater influence among a broader body of students and a deeper scope of activity" (Bunel 2010: 181). Part of that strategy was the creation of the Middle Years Programme in 1994 (MYP) and the Primary Years Programme (PYP) in 1997, which gave even younger children access to the IB world (IBO: Timeline, online). The IBO also saw a more rapid growth in the number of IB schools in the early 2000s. The number of schools doubled from 1,000 to 2,000 between 2000 and 2004. Bunel (ibid.) mentions that the events of 9/11 and the pressure "to educate the next generation for working in a more competitive world" led to the IBO receiving more federal funding, for example, in the USA, which facilitated the process of more schools becoming part of the IB world. 36,000 students took the complete Diploma examination in May 2007, which is a 160 per cent increase from 2000, so the IB is still growing fast. In the May 2013 Diploma examination session, 127,284 students representing 212 nationalities studying in 135 countries took the exams. Still, 51 percent of the schools and 69 percent of the students attending were part of the IB Americas (Central, North and South America). Over 2,000 of 2,410 schools had English as their working language. The average number of students attending the examination session per school was 59 (IBO: The IB Diploma Statistical Bulletin, May 2013 examination session, online).

In 2006, the IB started showing less interest in simply increasing the number of schools and started to focus more on the overall level of access of the programs (Bunel 2010: 182). They, for example, wish to give the programmes in other languages besides the current English, French and Spanish. The problem is that while the number of Spanish programmes continues to grow, the number of French programmes is declining and has been deemed by some as dying (ibid.). Another concern has been the economic access of children of parents who cannot afford the examination fees. Also, the geographical access has raised concerns, since for example, in 2010 only eleven countries (in rank order: USA, Canada, UK, Australia, Mexico, India, Spain, China, Germany, Sweden and Ecuador) accounted for 75 percent of the IB world. Only two per cent of schools were in Africa and 85 nation states representing 62 percent of all countries had less than 5 schools per country (ibid). Bunel (2010: 183) also states that 54 percent of the May 2008 DP examination candidates were US citizens, while 58 countries had less than 10 of their citizens registered as candidates. Bunel (2010) also points out that the IB programmes have clear centers of activity. He mentions Warsaw and Buenos Aires as "cores". The reason behind this is that Buenos Aires, for example, has as many IB schools as the whole of China. Warsaw has the same number as New Zealand. Also, there are the same number in South Australia as in the whole of Africa and as many in Toronto as in Japan. In addition, Chicago has more MYP schools than China. This, of course, has an effect on the image of the IB being truly available worldwide.

The newest addition is the IB Career-related Certificate which enables the students to include career-related courses to their Diploma. This allows the students to develop practical skills alongside with traditional academic skills. The IBCC framework is highly flexible and allows the IB world schools to tailor the programme to fit the exact needs of their students. Therefore, each school creates their own version of the IBCC. The students must study at

least two subjects from the Diploma Programme which should be relevant to the chosen career-related studies. The career-related studies allow the students to learn in authentic and meaningful settings and through practice and application of theories and concepts learned in DP courses (IBO: The IB Career-related Certificate, online).

3.5.2. The International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme

The IB Diploma Programme is a two-year programme designed for the last two years before attending higher tertiary education. In Finland this means the last two years of upper secondary school. Therefore, the students in Finland, have a pre-IBDP year during which they practice using English as the language of instruction and school work by taking the national curriculum courses in English. During the first year the students can also take courses in Finnish if they like. After the first year, each student's academic performance is evaluated and they are moved onto the actual IBDP if they have shown that they possess all the abilities to successfully complete the programme. Students may also want to continue in the national

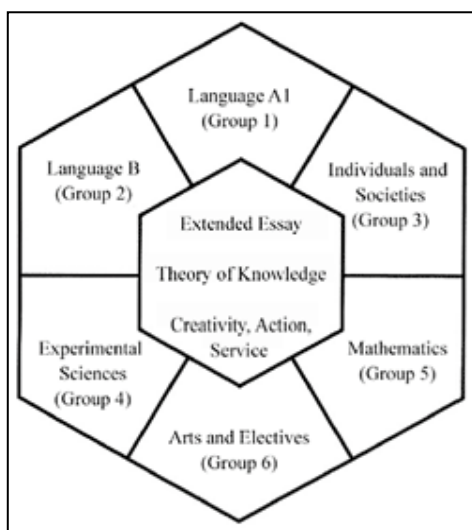


Figure 1. IB Hexagon

upper secondary school if they have found the pre-IB year too demanding or have other reasons for not wanting to continue in the DP.

The Diploma Programme curriculum consists of six subject courses studied either at higher level (HL) or standard level (SL). The curriculum is based on a hexagon model (see figure 1 on the left) with six

academic areas, called groups, surrounding the three core requirements. Group 1 and group 2 entail languages; group 1 the mother tongue of the students and group 2 a second language, which can be studied as A2 or B language, for example. Individuals and Societies (group 3) includes subjects such as economics, geography, history and psychology. Experimental sciences (group 4) consist of biology, chemistry and physics. Group 5 is Mathematics and the final sixth group is the Arts. Students are required to study one subject from each group, although they can substitute the Arts group by selecting a second subject from one of the other five groups. At least three of the subjects must be studied at the higher level, which consists of 240 teaching hours, and the other three are studied at the standard level, which represents 150 teaching hours. Mathematics is offered on four different levels to accommodate the different abilities, needs and career aspirations of students (IBO: Diploma Programme curriculum, online).

On top of the six mandatory subjects, the Diploma Programme includes three elements called the core requirements that are designed to encourage the students to think critically, be inquisitive and be active members of their community. The Extended Essay is a larger scientific paper on one of the six subjects. The students are free to choose which subject and topic they want to focus on. The aim is to teach the students to do independent research and practice their writing skills, under the guidance of a supervisor. The maximum length of the essay is 4000 words and the estimated workload for the students is 40 hours. Theory of Knowledge (TOK) is a course based on developing critical thinking skills and the discovery of the multiple sides of knowledge itself. TOK helps students to recognize and appreciate the existing cultural differences and shifts that are taking place in the world. The aim is to shape, enrich and deepen the students' thinking about the construction of knowledge itself. For example, what constitutes as knowledge? How is it created? What are its limits? Creativity,

Action, Service (CAS) takes place alongside the academic studies throughout the Diploma Programme. It involves the students in the community, fosters their artistic abilities and encourages physical exercise. In the heart of CAS is personal development through constantly challenging yourself and learning something new. Creativity stands for art and other experiences that involve creative thinking. Action includes physical exertion and learning a healthy lifestyle. Service encourages students to do good in their community and serve others in any way they can. For any experience to be counted as CAS it has to be a real, purposeful activity where the student has learned something new and has reflected on that experience in diary form. The activities can be performed individually or in teams. CAS requires about three hours each week during the programme.

The two-year programme ends in a Diploma examination, which are given twice a year, in May and November. The students have to take the examination in every subject they studied and each examination is divided into two or three separate tests taken at different times. During the examination period, the examinations are given in two sessions per day for 16 consecutive days. Each examination is graded from one to seven and given that amount of points. The Diploma is awarded to all who receive at least 24 points in total. Extra points may be awarded for an exceptionally well written Extended Essay or a good grade from Theory of Knowledge. Points may also be deducted for a poor grade from the EE and TOK. Candidates who are not awarded the Diploma may receive certificates from the examinations they passed and are entitled to retake the examination the next examination session. Most schools in Finland only offer one examination session per year so candidates who fail will have to wait until next May for a retake. They can, however, attend the Finnish matriculation examination in the fall.

The examinations form only a part of the students' overall grade, because the work students complete during the programme form a certain percentage also. For example, in languages the students complete a recorded individual oral examination and several written assignments. In Experimental Sciences and Individuals and Societies they complete an Internal Assessment project. Also, in Experimental Sciences the students have mandatory laboratory experiments they must complete and report on.

3.5.3. The International Baccalaureate in Finland

The Ministry of Education and Culture set up a team of experts in education in August of 1989 to investigate the possibility of establishing a IB Diploma Programme in Finland. They were to find out what sort of changes in laws there would need to be to accommodate the IBDP and how the Diploma compared to the Finnish matriculation examination certificate, especially when applying to higher education. At the time there were no upper secondary schools in Finland offering full-time education in English and there was a real need for it. The team came to the conclusion that the IB Diploma Programme should be given a trial period by starting one as a part of an existing Finnish upper secondary school. Based on the team's report two schools in Helsinki, Helsingin Suomalainen Yhteiskoulu and Matliden gymnasium, started the first IB Diploma Programmes in the fall of 1991. Since 1996, the total number of Diplomas awarded in Finland has almost tripled (134 in 1996). Still, this only represents 0.01 percent of all upper secondary diplomas awarded in Finland.

Today, there are 16 IB world schools around Finland offering the Diploma Programme. The schools are located in 13 different cities and two of them are in Swedish language schools.

Two schools operate in two cities; the South Karelia IB world school operates in two units: in Imatra and Lappeenranta, and Oulun Lyseon lukio's IB-lukio has a second campus in Sotkamo. Nine of Finland's ten largest cities have at least one IB school and seven of the schools are located in the Helsinki metropolitan area. Overall, there are 12 schools less than 300 kilometers away from Helsinki, so the schools are highly centered in southern Finland. Eastern Finland has three schools and northern Finland two. There are also three schools that offer either the Primary Years Programme or Middle Years Programme or both. Espoo International School offers only the MYP, whereas Oulu International School and Ressu Comprehensive School offer both. The International School of Helsinki is the only school in Finland to offer all three programmes. Oulun lyseon lukio and Joensuun lyseon lukio are the only ones to offer the Career-related certificate.

4. METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes and evaluates the methodology used and provides the aims, research questions and hypothesis for this study. Also, more details will be given about the participants.

4.1. Aims and Methods

The aim was to study the perceptions and attitudes of the Finnish upper secondary school and International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme students towards English and the kinds of functions they use English for. The respondents were limited to Finnish speaking Finnish nationals. Therefore, the two groups are otherwise very similar, meaning from the same Finnish cultural and linguistic background, but the other group (the IBDP students) has chosen to complete higher education in English. As discussed previously, the IB Diploma and Finnish matriculation certificate give almost equal qualifications for tertiary education in Finland, but the IB Diploma is also recognized abroad. It is possible to study abroad with the Finnish matriculation certificate, but it will require some extra effort.

The research questions have been divided into the following five categories:

1. *Use of English*: for what and why do Finnish students use English?
2. *Language skills*: how would they assess their English skills? Do they strive towards native-like competence?
3. *Importance of English*: how important is English for them now and in the future?
4. *Effects on identity*: does their use of English affect their cultural identity? Do they feel more Finnish or international?

5. *Differences between the groups*: are the two groups homogenous or are there differences?

The hypothesis is that the IBDP students are more interested in English, have more positive attitudes towards it and that they use it more and in more varied contexts. The IBDP students will most likely assess their language skills to be better than the upper secondary students because they are more comfortable using English. They might, on the other hand, be harder on themselves because they have had so much practice which could show as undervaluing their skills. They are also more likely to work towards a native-like competence. It is also presumed that the upper secondary school students relate more with the Finnish culture, whereas the IBDP students will have a more international identity partly due to their education where internationality is emphasized.

The study was conducted using an online questionnaire administered via a link that was sent to all the Finnish speaking IB world schools in Finland and the upper secondary schools located in those schools (more information about the participants in the following chapter). Questionnaires represent a direct method of studying language attitudes, as the participants are directly asked about their attitudes. An indirect method would have been, for example, an experiment using the matched guise technique where the participants would not have known that their language attitudes were being investigated. The questionnaire was created and administered via a program called E-lomake. It included questions about their general and language background, their parents' background, English skills, cultural attitudes, language attitudes, use of English and contact with English. Most questions were assessments using a five point Likert scale, which is often used when studying language attitudes. For example, the cultural and language attitudes were assessed on the scale: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree. The uses of English were measured from daily to a few times a

week, few times per month, few times per year or never. There were also some qualitative questions. For example, whether the participant felt they were bilingual and why did or did they not. An opportunity to expand or explain their answers were also provided under 'yes or no' - questions and at least at the end of each section. This allowed for an opportunity to receive unexpected answers, but most importantly more detailed information.

A questionnaire was chosen because it gives a large amount of data fairly quickly. It is possible to ask a larger amount of questions, and also receive answers from a larger participant group. Since this study has a rather wide aim, the amount of data was the most important factor. In addition, the use of a questionnaire eliminates the possible effects the interviewer could have, for example, if conducting an interview. The questions are presented exactly the same way and in the same form for each participant when using a questionnaire. With this method it was possible to reach (in theory at least) all the IBDP students in Finland. Of course, the link could only be sent to the schools, not directly to the students, so there is no guarantee that the students of all schools actually received it. One school required a permit from the city to participate in the study, which, due to time constraints, led to their exclusion from the study. The upper secondary schools were selected solely because of location. As the two programs are usually located in the same school, this was most convenient but also helped to keep the two groups as similar as possible as they were physically attending the same school. Basically the only difference between the two groups should be that one group studies in English (in the IBDP). In addition, the use of a questionnaire allowed the participants to answer privately, at their own pace and whenever most convenient for them. The use of a sample survey (only studying a part of the population) was based on the impossibility of including all the upper secondary school students. Sample surveys are typically used to estimate the distribution of characteristics in a population. For example,

what proportion of a certain population owns their home, has attended university or what political party they favor, could be studied using this method. The larger the sample is, the larger the degree of precision. Attempting to survey only a sample of a population, instead of the whole population, leads to a certain degree of sampling error; meaning the extent to which the precision of sample survey estimates is limited by the number of persons surveyed (Dillman, 2000).

The negative sides to using a questionnaire are usually a low response rate and the inability to ask further questions for clarification, for example. One of the reasons for the wide sample of this study, was to make sure that there were enough responses even with a possible low response rate. Reminders of the questionnaire were also sent to increase the response rate. Non-response error occurs when a significant number of the people in the survey sample do not respond to the questionnaire (Dillman, 2000). It is possible they have different characteristics than those who did answer, which could significantly affect the results. In addition, there is a possibility for misunderstandings in situations, such as, where the participants do not understand a particular question and cannot ask for help. This can be minimized by checking the clarity of the questions and instructions, and pre-testing the questionnaire before sending it to the actual participants. When using an online questionnaire, there is no risk of the participants checking ahead to read all the questions before answering, which could affect the way the answer, because the questionnaire can be divided into sections. The participants cannot move ahead before answering the given questions, but it is possible to move backwards and go back to change ones answers.

The precise response rate for this study cannot be counted, since it is impossible to know, whether all the schools actually forwarded the link to their students or not. It is also possible

that the link was forwarded only to the IBDP students and not to the USS students, or vice versa. In theory, a rough rate could be given by calculating the absolute highest number of possible participants (presuming all schools did forward the message to all of their students) and the lowest number (counting only the number of students in the schools from where answers were received). In reality, not all schools offer information about the number of students attending their school, which makes this sort of calculations very demanding. In 2013, there were 104,238 students studying in the Finnish upper secondary schools and 1,514 in the IBDP (OFS, 2014). If counted from this total population, the response rate was 0.255%. If we include all the students (both IBDP and USS) from all the schools answers were received from, the percentage would be 5.1%. But if we take into account only the students from the specific program from which answers were registered, for example, only the IBDP students of Kuopion lyseon lukio, since no answers were received from their USS students, the percentage would be 9.4%. The latter two are based on estimation and speculation, and should therefore only be considered to give a very rough picture.

The results will be assessed and presented comparing the two groups of students (IBPD and USS), but also the sexes. It is important to keep in mind that as actual attitudes are not directly measurable, but can only be measured via reported attitudes, the results must be regarded as reported language attitudes. Similarly, the language use of the participants is reported language use and might therefore vary to some extent from their actual language use. As Ryan *et al.* (1988:1069, quoted in Broermann, 2007) state: "[t]he fact that self-reported language use probably differs markedly from actual use must be kept in mind in interpreting such data, but they do offer one valuable source of information on the relative status of a language or a dialect". It can be hard for the participants to recall and report on past behavior (*e.g.* how many hours they watched TV on the first Sunday of the month), so in order to help produce

high quality survey data, it is important to keep recall simple and related to recent events (Dillman, 2000). Instead, it would be better to ask how much TV they watch on Sundays in general, for example. In addition, it is possible that the participants will evaluate their language skills to be better than they actually are. Sajavaara (2000) studied Finnish civil servants language training and its outcomes, and found that they had a tendency to evaluate especially their English skills to be slightly better than they were in reality. It is also unlikely that this study will reveal an individual's attitudes perfectly. It is possible, that the participants answer in a certain way either because they feel it is more socially acceptable or somehow expected of them. On the other hand, surveys can produce more accurate results, as respondents might be more willing to share certain information and give honest answers to self-administered than to interview questionnaires. There is also evidence that young people responding to computers may provide more truthful answers than with self-administered questionnaires (Dillman, 2000).

The chi square test (χ^2) was used for statistical analysis to test whether the differences between the groups of students were statistically significant or not, and to see whether the results could be generalized to apply to the whole population. The tests were performed by using Excel and the results will be given in parentheses in the text showing the following three values: chi square (χ^2), degree of freedom (df) and p-value. The significance levels will be given in subsection 5.1.

4.2. Participants

The online questionnaire was sent to 14 IB world schools in Finland and the Finnish upper secondary schools operating in those same schools. The schools located in Swedish speaking schools were excluded as the research was limited to Finnish speaking Finns. Altogether, 289 answers were received from 10 different schools (see table 1 below). The schools were located in 9 different cities: Helsinki, Joensuu, Jyväskylä, Kuopio, Oulu, Rovaniemi, Sotkamo, Turku and Vantaa.

Table 1. Schools

School name	USS	IBDP	total
Helsingin suomalainen yhteiskoulu	39	0	39
Joensuun lyseon lukio	63	19	82
Jyväskylän lyseon lukio	1	1	2
Kuopion lyseon lukio	0	19	19
Oulun lyseon lukio	0	10	10
Ressun lukio	11	9	20
Rovaniemen lyseonpuiston lukio	20	20	40
Sotkamon lukio	0	8	8
Tikkurilan lukio	0	10	10
Turun normaalikoulu	19	21	40
total number	153	117	270

Some answers were excluded because the respondents had some other language than Finnish as their mother tongue or another nationality. Some respondents (3.0% of the included in the research) had parents who had other nationalities than Finnish. Out of the 270 applicable respondents, 153 (56.7%) were upper secondary students and 117 (43.3%) IBDP students. 46 (17.0%) had lived outside of Finland for a time period ranging from couple of months to several years. All three years were quite evenly represented (35.2%, 34.1% and 30.4% consecutively) except for the fourth year (0.3%). Almost 75.0% of the respondents were female (see figure 2 below for more detailed division). During the 2012 school year, there

were 1471 students studying in the IBDP out of which 897 were female (61.0%) and 56.6% of upper secondary students were females (OFS 2013a). 80.3% of the IBDP respondents and 69.9% of the upper secondary school students were female, so females are a little overrepresented in this study.

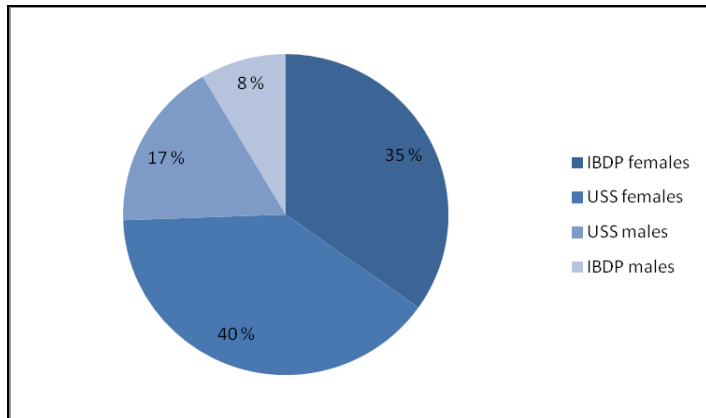


Figure 2. Participants divided by school and gender

The family backgrounds of both groups of students are pretty similar (see table 2 below). The family income is quite evenly distributed between 30,000 to 60,000€ per year and 60,000 to 90,000€ per year in both groups. The differences were not statistically significant. Naturally, these are just estimations by the students and their accuracy therefore might vary.

Table 2. Yearly family income

€/year	USS pcs.	IBDP pcs.	USS %	IBDP %
0-30,000-	19	15	12,4 %	12,8 %
30,000-60,000-	41	30	26,8 %	25,6 %
60,000-90,000-	36	27	23,5 %	23,1 %
90,000-	23	15	15,1 %	12,8 %
I don't know	34	30	22,20 %	25,7 %
total	153	117	100,0 %	100,0 %

The educational backgrounds of the students' parents also seem very similar, as there was no statistically significant difference (see table 3 below). The students in both groups most often

reported that their mother had a master's degree (21.4% of IBDP and 27.5% of USS students). The USS students' fathers were most likely also to have a master's degree (26.1%), whereas most of the IBDP students' fathers had a vocational qualification (23.9%). These again must be read with some caution, since, for example, 17.1% of IBDP students did not know what degree their father had and 12.9% of all respondents could not answer for at least one of their parents. Tentatively, it can be concluded that the family backgrounds of both groups of students are quite similar, or at least no clear distinctions can be made in this regard.

Table 3. Parents' education

	secondary school diploma	matricul. examin. certificate	vocat. qual.	polyt. degree	BA degree	MA degree	doct. degree	some other	I don't know	total
IBDP: mother	4	12	17	21	5	25	10	7	16	149
IBDP: father	3	6	28	19	5	19	11	6	20	149
USS: mother	8	17	27	20	10	42	6	5	18	121
USS: father	6	11	35	26	8	40	9	3	15	121
total	21	46	107	86	28	126	36	21	69	540

5. RESULTS

The results have been divided into four sections and the last further into four sub-sections. As previously mentioned, the results are given for each school separately and then for both sexes for each school. In some instances, the participants have been further divided into other categories as well. The results include both percentages and statistical analysis. Also, the responses for the open questions will be utilized to give more specific information and help to explain the students' answers.

5.1. Language Skills and Preferences

All but two (1.7%) of the IBDP and ten (6.5%) of the upper secondary school students assessed that they are fluent in English (see figure 3 below). In comparison, 28 (23.9%) of IBDP and 49 (32.0%) of USS students are fluent in Swedish. The upper secondary school students reported being fluent in German and French almost twice as often as the IBDP students. These are of course highly personal assessments as some participants assessed that they speak a certain language fluently after studying it for, for example, a year and, on the other hand, others had studied a language for several years and said that they were not fluent in it. Of course there are actual differences in how fast one learns languages, but people also assess their skills and even understand the word "fluently" differently. There were no

statistically significant differences in this matter between either the two school systems or the sexes.¹

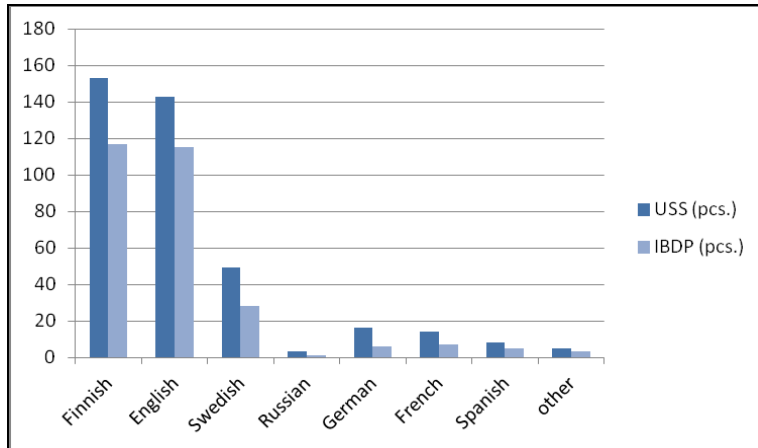


Figure 3. Languages the participants are fluent in

In both groups, the majority of students stated that English is their favorite language. Among the USS students the difference between Finnish (37.9%) and English (43.1%) was smaller but over half (56.4%) of the IBDP students chose English and only 33.3% Finnish. However, there were no statistically significant differences. The other languages received only a few responses each (see figure 4 below).

¹ Unless otherwise stated, the Chi square test is used. The significance levels are: $p \leq 0.05$ statistically significant, $p \leq 0.005$ statistically highly significant, and $p \leq 0.001$ statistically very highly significant.

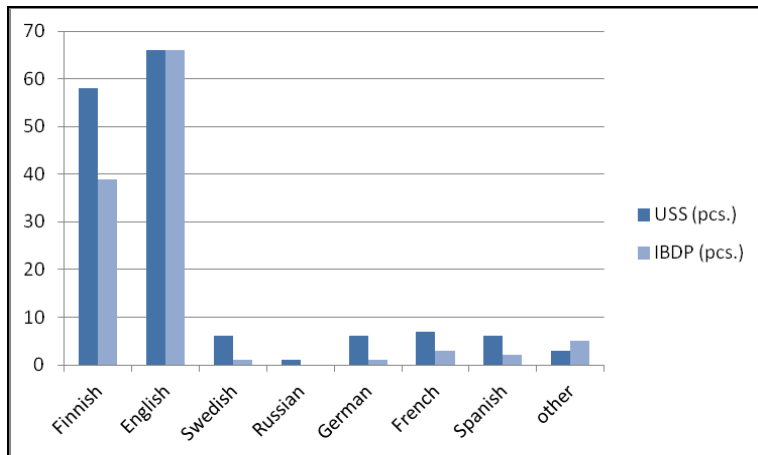


Figure 4. Students' favorite languages

The reasons for choosing Finnish were most often the fact that it is their mother tongue, it is the easiest for them or they know it the best. Finnish was also described as beautiful and special. The students felt pride in that they speak a language that is perceived to be difficult and that only a relatively small number of people in the world know how to speak it. It is also part of their identity as Finns. The reasons for choosing English were, for example, its versatility and usefulness in many contexts (*e.g.* playing games, watching TV, surfing the internet). Some stated that it was motivating to study a language that is so widely used around the world. Some felt that it was more expressive than Finnish and had a wider vocabulary. On the other hand, some who chose Finnish stated that Finnish with its inflections is more expressive. Some stated that all the inflections and rules make Finnish harder to learn than English and therefore they think English is easier. Some IBDP students simply said that English felt the most natural to them. One IBDP student mentioned that they prefer English because in their opinion it is more relaxed which makes communicating feelings easier, whereas Finnish and especially written Finnish is more stately. A few respondents mentioned that it was easier for them to express their feelings in English, maybe that is due to the casualness of saying, for example, I love you, that is apparent in the Anglo-American culture. The Finns are commonly thought to be very carefully about confessing their love. One

respondent mentioned preferring English because most of the entertainment and "fun" is in English. Another one said that it is easier to express humor in English, probably due to the previous reason. As a proportion of humor consists of imitating what you have seen or heard previously, it is then natural that a person who enjoys entertainment in English then feels comfortable using jokes or catch phrases in English. Some also stated that although Finnish is most important to them, they like English better.

The majority of the IBDP students felt that they use English as naturally as their mother tongue, unlike only about half of the USS students. This difference was statistically highly significant ($\chi^2=34.3$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$). While the IBDP students are also significantly more comfortable using English ($\chi^2=19.2$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$), both groups seem equally eager to use English when they get the chance, although USS students hesitate to use English significantly more ($\chi^2=21.1$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$). They also use English significantly more only when necessary ($\chi^2=16.2$, $df=4$, $p=0.00274$). The IBDP students are more proud of their language skills; almost none of them are ashamed of their skills, whereas almost ten percent of the USS students are ($\chi^2=10.5$, $df=2$, $p=0.00521$). When comparing their own English skills, a significant majority of the IBDP students compared to the USS students assessed their skills to be better than other Finns ($\chi^2=41.0$, $df=2$, $p<0.001$) and their parents ($\chi^2=20.9$, $df=2$, $p<0,001$) except when comparing their skills to their classmates. Almost half had no opinion and only a quarter assessed their skills to be better than their classmates. On the other hand, almost half of the USS students felt their skills were better than their classmates, which is statistically significantly more ($\chi^2=12.7$, $df=2$, $p=0.00175$). This could be explained by the simple fact that in upper secondary school the pupils' skill levels are more varied, whilst in the IBDP the students are on a higher level to begin with since they have to pass a language exam to be able to enter the programme. There were no significant differences between the sexes on

these questions, except that the female IBDP students assessed their skills to be better than their classmate's significantly more often than the males ($\chi^2=6.05$, $df=2$, $p=0.0487$).

When assessing the specific areas of language skills on a four point scale (fluently, fairly fluently, moderately and with difficulty), the IBDP students assessed their skills to be very highly statistically significantly better on all areas, which included speaking ($\chi^2=27.9$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$), reading ($\chi^2=27.8$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$), writing ($\chi^2=32.8$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$) and comprehension of spoken English ($\chi^2=29.5$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$). Between the USS students the answers were much more divided and there were answers for each category. For example, none of the IBDP students answered with difficulty to any area. Most students in both groups assessed their skills to be fluent or fairly fluent in each area. Reading and comprehension of spoken English were the best areas for students in both groups, while speaking seems to be the either the most difficult or the students are toughest on themselves on assessing that particular area. No differences between the sexes was found. Compared to the results of Leppänen *et al.* (2011) (used the same scale) the students evaluate their skills to be very highly significantly better than Finnish society as a whole in all areas. The statistical differences were as follows; speaking ($\chi^2=481.1$, $df=5$, $p<0.001$), reading ($\chi^2=495.5$, $df=5$, $p<0.001$), writing ($\chi^2=525.7$, $df=5$, $p<0.001$) and listening comprehension ($\chi^2=456.8$, $df=5$, $p<0.001$).

School was named as the place where the students have learned the most English, but many mentioned learning at least as much in their leisure activities and especially from the internet (see figure 5 below). The males, in particular, named the internet and electronic games. One IBDP students opinion was that "the Internet and games teach English a hundred times better than any school". Still, the IBDP students particularly stated that they have learnt the most

while studying in the Diploma programme. One student pointed out that this is not simply due to the lessons, but also because they use English with their friends. TV and movies were selected by about 10% of the students in both groups. Playing video games was mentioned as a good way to learn English from the texts and dialogue in the games. It was explained that school provides a good grammatical base and vocabulary is then learnt from multiple sources, for example TV and the internet. The internet is used in many ways, for example to listen to music, watch videos, read articles and chat with people and therefore it is a good tool for learning English. On the other hand, others mentioned that they do not pay much attention to the spoken language but rather focus on the Finnish subtitles when watching TV or movies, while others use subtitles in English to enhance their learning. Of course learning occurs through all of the above mentioned mediums and many more. One student summed it up by stating that "school teaches the foundation, life and experiences teach the rest". There was no statistically significant difference between the two schools, but there was a very highly statistically significant difference between males and females ($\chi^2=43.4$, $df=7$, $p<0.001$). The difference was more significant between the USS males and females ($\chi^2=28.6$, $df=7$, $p<0.001$), but it was statistically significant also among the IBDP students ($\chi^2=15.3$, $df=7$, $p=0.0326$). The females have learned more at home, with friends, from TV and movies, whereas the boys have learned more from the Internet and electronic games.

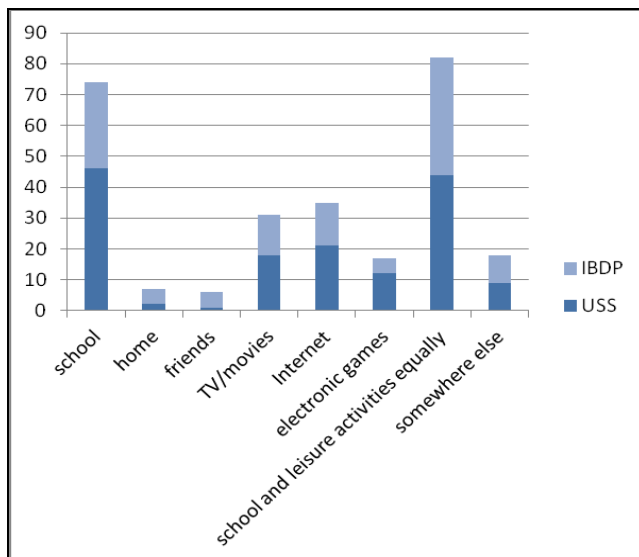


Figure 5. Where have the students learnt English the most?

Although over half of the USS students and three quarters of the IBDP students said that using English was as natural as using their mother tongue, as mentioned earlier, the IBDP students assessed themselves as bi- or multi-linguals very highly statistically significantly more often ($\chi^2=11.5$, $df=1$, $p=0.000687$) (see figure 6 below). In both groups, the males reported feeling bilingual a little more often than the females, but the difference was statistically significant only between the USS students ($\chi^2=3.97$, $df=1$, $p=0.0463$). The females of USS felt the least bilingual and the males of IBDP the most. This is representative of the way the students define bilingualism and might also be partly due to the fact that the IBDP students receive a bilingual diploma at graduation stating that they are officially bilingual. This helps them to view themselves as bilinguals. The IBDP students might also be more familiar with the term as they study linguistics as a part of their curriculum.

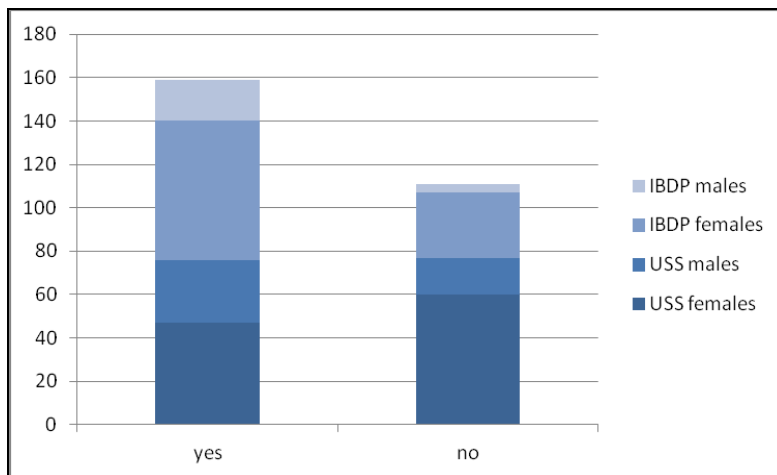


Figure 6. Bi-/multilinguality

In fact, the bilingual diploma was mentioned by a few students when they were asked to explain their answer to the question whether they felt they are bi-/multilingual or not. Some also said that they feel bilingual because they are as proficient in both Finnish and English or that they use both equally. It was explained that they can easily switch between the two languages and can carry out day-to-day activities in both languages. Thinking and dreaming in both languages was also a quite recurring explanation. Native speaker complements about ones language skills were another reason. Many explained that they are not bilingual because they do not have two mother tongues or because they are not as proficient in both languages. Some IBDP students said that they do not feel they are bilingual since although they use English regularly, their English is not perfect and they make mistakes that natives would not. One even mentioned not feeling bilingual until they have graduated from the IBDP and received the diploma stating that they are. Some students had no real explanation; they just did not feel like they were bilingual.

5.2. Living and Travelling Abroad

Almost a quarter (24.8%) of the IBDP students had lived abroad, whereas for the USS students was 11.1%. This difference is statistically significant ($\chi^2=7.83$, $df=1$, $p=0.00514$). The most common countries were the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Germany. The students had lived in 24 different countries all around the world including, for example, Canada, Germany, Australia, France, Sweden, China, Brazil, Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Japan and Tanzania. 52.2% of all the students had lived in an English speaking country. 19.6% had lived in two or three foreign countries. The period of residence mostly ranged from a few months to a few years. To see the division between schools and genders see figure 7 below.

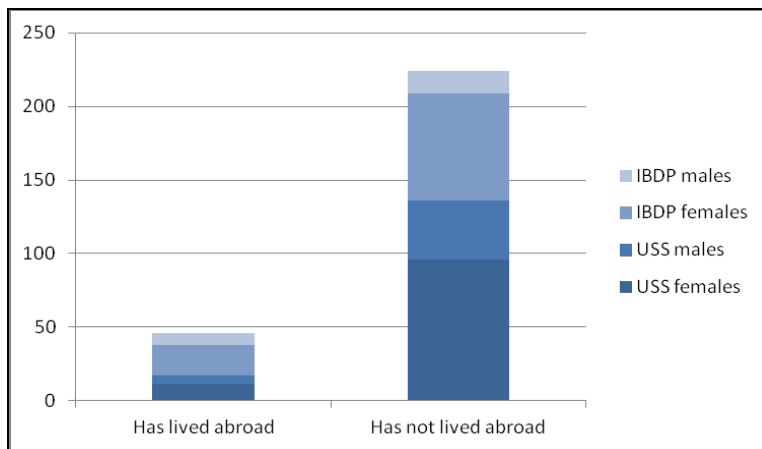


Figure 7. Have you lived abroad?

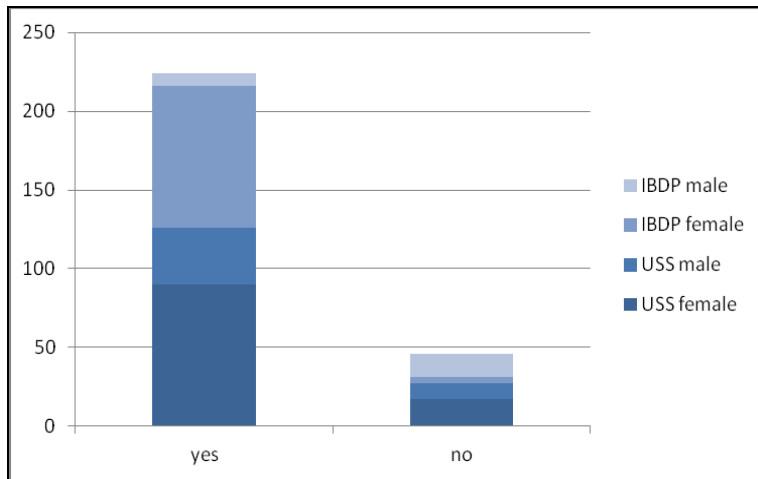


Figure 8. Would you want to live abroad in the future?

Only 12.2% of all the participants would not want to live abroad in the future (see figure 8 above). This percentage was larger for the USS students. Females were more eager to live or study abroad in both groups, but the difference was statistically significant only in the IBDP group ($\chi^2=46.1$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$). The males from the IBDP were the least interested, only a third would want to do so. In comparison, almost all the females studying in the IBDP would like to experience living abroad. The reasons included, for example, that Finland is a safe and familiar country where they can use their mother tongue and enjoy free education. Some felt their language skills would not able them to live abroad. Some stated that they might consider living abroad for a short period of time but would want to settle down in Finland. Many said they enjoy travelling but would not want to live outside of Finland. 6.5% of the students who had lived abroad would not want to do so in the future. The main reason for this was that they found it too difficult to live in a foreign culture using a foreign language. The majority of students who would like to live abroad in the future mentioned that they either want to get to know foreign cultures or learn foreign languages. They want to experience normal day-to-day life in another country and gain new experiences. Some are planning to study abroad after graduation and others would like to obtain work experience from some other country. Few stated that living abroad would help them become more independent than staying in Finland.

Also, the IBDP students mentioned that since they have become accustomed to studying in English, it would be natural to continue to do so abroad, especially when there are not that many possibilities to study in English in Finland. A couple of the IBDP students stated that they felt the IB Diploma was better acknowledged in some other countries and one even said that it would feel like a waste of the diploma not to study abroad. All in all and simply stated, the main reason seems to come down to the fact that "*the world is so big, why stay in one place*", as one of the participants put it.

5.3. Language Attitudes

In this section the students were asked to state whether they agreed or disagreed with the given statements on a five point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. They were asked about their cultural identity and attitudes. The IBDP students think of themselves as more international than Finnish statistically significantly more often than the USS students ($\chi^2=10.2$, $df=4$, $p=0.0372$). Their Finnish heritage is very important or important to almost 70% of all students. The participants are not too worried about the effects of English in Finland; only about 14% felt that the spread of English is a threat to the Finnish language and culture. Only few think that English spreads materialistic values, and maybe a little surprisingly the IBDP students think so statistically significantly more ($\chi^2=10.0$, $df=4$, $p=0.0405$). English as an official language is not supported by the students, although over 40% of all students wish it was used more in Finland. The IBDP students are more in favor of English being an official language ($\chi^2=12.2$, $df=4$, $p=0.0161$) and especially the males in the IBDP compared to the females ($\chi^2=10.4$, $df=4$, $p=0.0343$). Almost no one felt that English is used too much, and most think that its importance will only increase in the future. The IBDP students feel a little bit more strongly that English is the language of advancement, but this

difference is not statistically significant. The students strongly feel that not only the official languages (Finnish and Swedish), but other languages as well should be spoken in Finland and that Finns must know other languages besides English as well. Most of the students still feel that for Finns Finnish is more useful than English and that English is more important than Swedish. A small majority (56,4%) of the IBDP students feels that Finland is too small for them, which is significantly different from the USS students ($\chi^2=16.3$, $df=4$, $p=0.00268$). The IBDP students are also very highly statistically significantly more interested in events outside of Finland ($\chi^2=21.3$, $df=4$, $p=0.000272$). They also wish that Finland would be a more international country significantly more than the USS students ($\chi^2=16.3$, $df=4$, $p=0.00266$). Despite the feelings of Finland being too small or not international enough, a great majority of all participants feel proud to be Finns.

All students appreciate and value language skills, and a great majority think it is important to have good language skills. The female students feel even more strongly so ($\chi^2=10.1$, $df=4$, $p=0.0392$). English has a very important role in the life of the majority of the students (65.2%); not surprisingly especially in the lives of the IBDP students, for whom English is statistically very highly significantly more important ($\chi^2=31.4$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$). 95.2% of all participants stated that English has at least a moderately important role in their life (see figure 9 below).

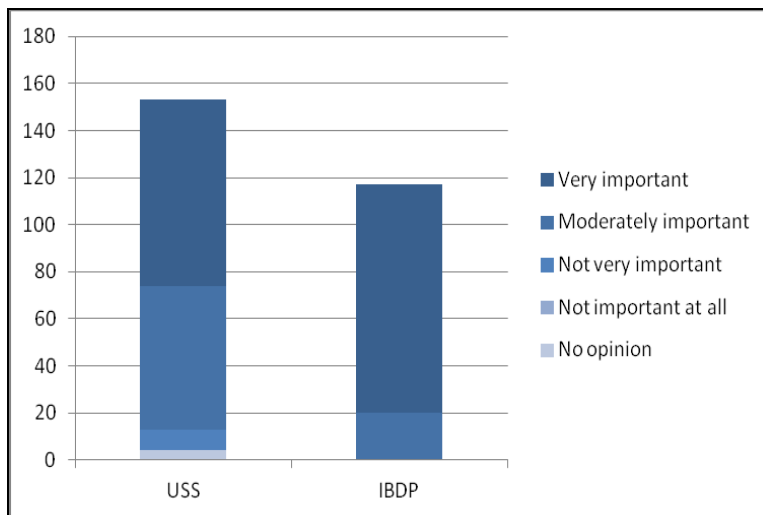


Figure 9. The importance of English

Both groups are also quite unanimous in that they want to learn English as well as possible; the females ($\chi^2=16.1$, $df=3$, $p=0.00107$) and the IBDP students ($\chi^2=9.53$, $df=3$, $p=0.0230$), in particular. Also, well over 80% of all participants consider English to be one of the most important languages in today's world. English speaking cultures interest females ($\chi^2=10.6$, $df=4$, $p=0.0311$) and the IBDP students more ($\chi^2=9.73$, $df=3$, $p=0.0452$). In the future, English will play a very highly statistically significantly more important part in the private ($\chi^2=23.6$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$) and professional lives ($\chi^2=31.9$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$) of the IBDP students; or so they predict. Twice as many IBDP students (almost 80%) predict that English will be a big part of their future job. Whether it is impossible to get by in today's world without knowing English or not, divides the students in both groups. A slight majority of the IBDP students think it is impossible, while a similarly small majority of the USS students think it is not. The girls agreed that it is impossible a little more than the boys, whereas the boys were slightly against this statement. These differences, however, are not statistically significant.

The IBDP students are slightly less concerned about making mistakes when speaking English, but this difference is not quite statistically significant ($\chi^2=4.96$, $df=2$, $p=0.0836$). They are,

however, statistically very highly significantly more determined to lose their Finnish accents ($\chi^2=34.8$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$); as almost twice as many IBDP students are trying to do so. It is also, therefore, significantly more important for them to sound like a native when speaking English ($\chi^2=12.7$, $df=4$, $p=0.0126$). The difference is even greater for being able to write like a native, it is highly significantly more important for the IBDP students ($\chi^2=17.7$, $df=4$, $p=0.00137$). Overall, more students value being able to write like a native to sounding like a native when speaking. The IBDP students prefer to speak with native speakers instead of non-natives significantly more ($\chi^2=12.6$, $df=4$, $p=0.0136$). The preference for native English compared to non-native will be discussed in more detail in section 7.4.3. *Contact with English.*

5.4. Uses of English

The students were asked to rate how often they use English and their mother tongue for certain activities including watching TV or movies, listening to music or reading. The aim was to see how much they use English for these activities compared to the amount of Finnish they use for the same ones. It is interesting to see whether they use English even more for certain activities and whether there are differences between the two groups. The second section deals with code-switching; do the student mix Finnish and English. If they do, to which extent and why?

5.4.1. Use of English for Specific Activities

On most of the fifteen given activities, such as watching movies and TV without subtitles, reading books and newspapers, chatting with friends and writing, the IBDP students use English more than the USS students. The only exception is watching TV with subtitles, which the USS students do significantly more often ($\chi^2=17.2$, $df=4$, $p=0.00180$). This is balanced by the fact that, as mentioned, the IBDP students watch more TV and movies without subtitles ($\chi^2=14.9$, $df=4$, $p=0.00487$; $\chi^2=18.9$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$). The differences are particularly great with reading ($\chi^2=61.3$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$), writing ($\chi^2=48.1$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$), chatting with friends ($\chi^2=38.3$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$), using social media ($\chi^2=20.5$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$) and speaking English outside of school ($\chi^2=37.1$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$) and searching for information ($\chi^2=54.8$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$). Some of the differences can possibly be explained by school related activities, since the IBDP students most likely read required reading (*e.g.* novels), write e-mails to teachers, and search for information for schoolwork, for example. The question did not specify whether school related uses should be included or not. The IBDP students also use English just for fun significantly more often ($\chi^2=18.1$, $df=4$, $p=0.00120$). In any case, it is safe to say that the IBDP students use English more for many different purposes.

There were some differences in using English between the sexes also. For example, the girls in the IBDP watch TV without subtitles a little more often than the boys ($\chi^2=13.4$, $df=4$, $p=0.00956$), and the boys read newspapers more often (EN $\chi^2=16.4$, $df=4$, $p=0.00249$). As a single group, the boys play electronic games in English very highly significantly more often ($\chi^2=46.6$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$). Otherwise, there were no significant differences. In Finnish, the girls write significantly more ($\chi^2=20.4$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$) and the boys also play electronic games in Finnish more often ($\chi^2=9.98$, $df=4$, $p=0.0408$). The IBDP females chat more in

Finnish (FI $\chi^2=9.98$, $df=4$, $p=0.0408$) and the USS females read more books in Finnish (FI $\chi^2=11.8$, $df=4$, $p=0.0190$) than their male peers.

Compared to the use of Finnish, all participants listen significantly more often to music (USS: $\chi^2=57.4$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$; IBDP: $\chi^2=74.0$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$) and watch subtitled movies in English (USS: $\chi^2=12.9$, $df=4$, $p=0.0117$; IBDP: $\chi^2=26.4$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$); the IBDP students also without subtitles ($\chi^2=20.8$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$). While the IBDP students search for information mainly in English ($\chi^2=54.0$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$), the USS students do so in both Finnish and English. When discussing playing electronic games, the IBDP males, for example, play them almost only in English ($\chi^2=26.9$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$). Actually, all the participants prefer to play electronic games in English (USS: $\chi^2=11.5$, $df=4$, $p=0.211$; IBDP: $\chi^2=47.1$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$). This, of course, could be because there are a lot more games made in English than in Finnish, and even many games made in Finland are in English. Although all the other groups chat more often in Finnish, the males in the IBDP were the only ones who chat equally using both languages. The girls in the IBDP are the only group who reads books more often in English ($\chi^2=15.6$, $df=4$, $p=0.00359$), whereas the males and females in the USS read significantly more often in Finnish (males: $\chi^2=18.1$, $df=4$, $p=0.00117$; females: $\chi^2=44.5$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$). The USS students write more often in Finnish than in English (males: $\chi^2=22.8$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$; females: $\chi^2=71.6$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$) and the majority, except the males of the IBDP, read newspapers more often in Finnish (USS males: FI $\chi^2=51.8$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$; USS females: $\chi^2=16.5$, $df=4$, $p=0.00247$, IBDP females: $\chi^2=16.5$, $df=4$, $p=0.00247$). All in all, in the activities where one language was used statistically significantly more often, in the IBDP students' case this language was English more often than for the USS students. This was measured by comparing, for example, how often the students listen to music in English versus listening to music in Finnish. For example, if comparing the females, the ones in the IBDP

had a statistically significant difference for 10 of the activities and they used English more often for 5 of them, whereas the USS students used English only for 1 of their 8 statistically differing activities. The males in the IBDP had three activities that showed statistically significant differences, and for all they used English more. The same numbers for the USS males were that they used English more for only 1 of 6 activities. These results clearly show that there are differences both between the students in the different school systems and between the sexes.

Finally, the participants were asked how they felt about two specific functions (in education and business) English is used for in Finland. The first was studying in English in Finland, which both groups had very positive opinion towards, although the IBDP students had even a very highly statistically significantly more positive attitude ($\chi^2=31,7$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$) (see figure 10 below). The females had a significantly more positive opinion ($\chi^2=8.7$, $df=3$, $p=0.0329$), but a great majority of both groups felt at least moderately positive.

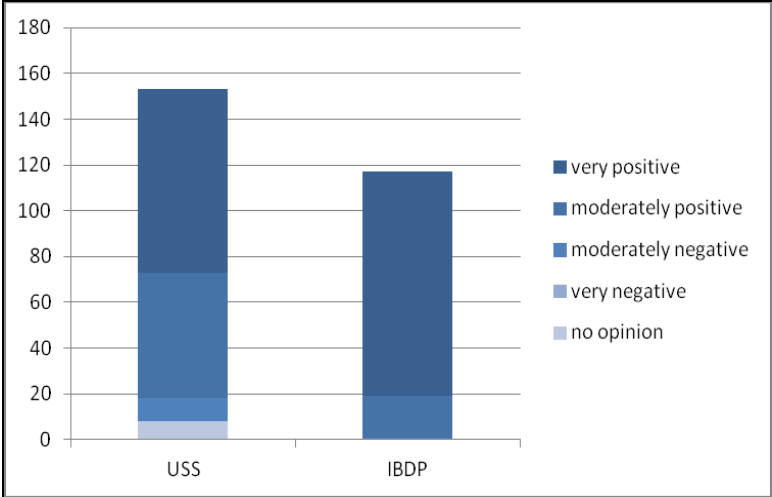


Figure 10. Opinion about the possibility to study in English in Finland

One explanation was that "Finland has one of the best education systems and many move to Finland from abroad for good education, so it is good that they have an opportunity to study in English". Both groups of students were more negative towards Finnish companies using only English in their internal communication (see figure 11 below). The IBDP students thought more positively about this kind of a scenario ($\chi^2=26.2$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$).

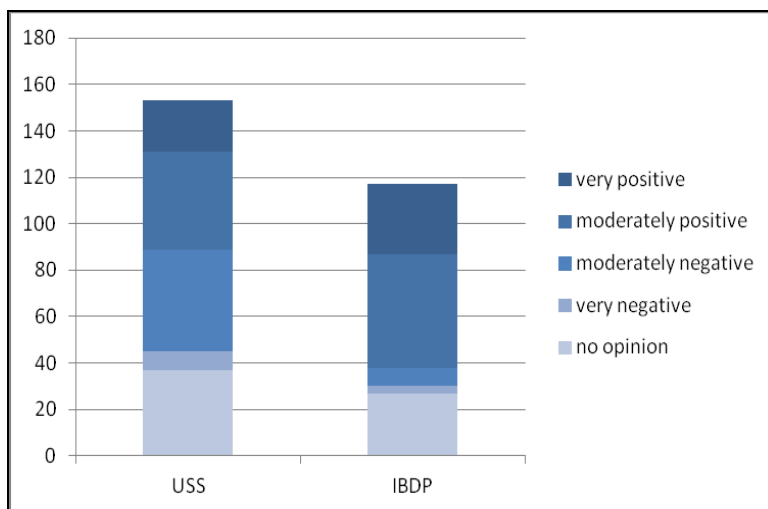


Figure 11. Opinion about Finnish companies using only English in their internal communication

This was a more difficult question since almost a quarter had no opinion on this matter. Of course not all were simply for or against using English as the only language of internal communication. As one participant pointed out "if using only English is not justified, I would approach it negatively, but if the company was bilingual, then why not". Some felt that using English would prepare the employees for foreign customers and would be good for export purposes. There were no other differences between the sexes, except that the IBDP males had a more positive attitude towards using English in internal communication than the females ($\chi^2=10.2$, $df=4$, $p=0.0368$).

The last two questions were direct loans from the study of Leppänen *et al.* (2011) and when compared to those results (Finnish population in total), the students have a very highly significantly more positive attitude towards education in English ($\chi^2=37.8$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$) and highly significantly more positive attitude towards English as the language of internal communication in Finnish companies ($\chi^2=15.7$, $df=4$, $p=0.00348$).

5.4.2. Code-switching

Over half of the IBDP and almost a third of the USS students say they often use code-switching (using Finnish and English in the same utterance) (see figure 12 below). Almost all IBDP and almost 80% of the USS students codeswitch at least sometimes. Over 20% of USS students say they never mix the two languages together, compared to only less than 2 percent of the IBDP students. All in all, the IBDP admit code-switching very highly significantly more often than the USS students ($\chi^2=38.3$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$) and the girls in the IBDP use code-switching even more than the boys ($\chi^2=14.2$, $df=3$, $p=0.00267$).

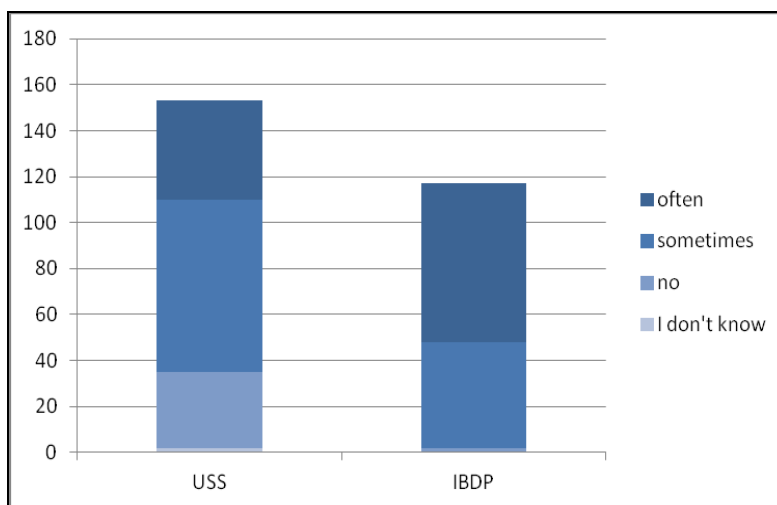


Figure 12. Code-switching

The reasons for code-switching are quite similar for both groups. The main reason is that some things are better, easier or faster expressed in the other language or there is no corresponding word in that language. A second common reason was not remembering or knowing a specific word in the other language or not coming up with it fast enough, so in order to keep the conversation going it is easier to use the original expression. This works both ways, so from English to Finnish, but also from Finnish to English. There are plenty of words that have been borrowed into the Finnish language which have become a part of the language, for example words like radio, TV or freelancer, but the youth language includes also many newer loans such as *awkward*, *face palm*, *insider/outsider* and phrases like *by the way* and *be right back*. One commonly mentioned reason for code-switching was that it is just the way the youth/popular language is today. It might be picked up from TV shows or the internet. Also, when playing computer games it is common to use the English terms and names for things because they are often shorter and therefore easier and faster to use. An important reason is, of course, that all players know what one is referring to when using the terms directly from the game. Other mediums rich in code-switching are text messages and other types of instant messaging and chats. Many felt that mixing languages, even others than Finnish and English, makes language more colorful and fun. "*I might say phrases in English, because they would sound stupid in Finnish*" was a quite common comment also. For example, commonly used abbreviations such as *lol* or *omg* do not have Finnish equivalents that are as easy and fast to use. Trying to convey the same meaning in Finnish might sound stupid to those who are used to using these abbreviations because it would require a longer utterance and therefore more effort. Also, they are not as common and therefore could be thought of as stupid.

The IBDP students, in particular, stated that they know certain academic vocabulary only in English, because they do not learn their Finnish translations, and therefore when discussing those topics in Finnish they add in the terms in English. Speaking so called "Finglish" at school seems common based on the IBDP students answers and they said it has become a habit. They mostly speak "Finglish" at school and with friends or with people they know are fluent in English. There were both USS and IBDP students who mentioned that English is such a big part of their life that some degree of mixing of the two is bound to happen. English sort of "leaks" into their speech also in their freetime because they use it so much. Some students from both groups mentioned that sometimes English affects their Finnish grammar, but not really the other way around. One student gave the following example. When talking about *writing down* notes, this student might use the direct translation "*kirjoittaa alas*", while the correct Finnish equivalent is "*kirjoittaa ylös*" directly translated as to *write up*.

On the other hand, not all of the students like or want to mix the two languages. Even some of the ones that admitted to code-switching said that they did not like it and they thought it does not sound good. As one IBDP student said "*it feels easy to borrow words from English although it sounds a little stupid*". Some did not feel the need to mix languages. They felt that Finnish has an expressive enough vocabulary. One student explained that "*things can be explained better, if you do not mix different languages*". This is quite opposite from some of the other opinions, but of course it makes the speech clearer to other Finns if one uses only Finnish. It was also mentioned that mixing English into Finnish sounds annoying, fake and stupid. But most students did not feel so strongly about this matter, they simply stated that the two languages are too different to mix accidentally and they have no need to do so consciously. Clearly, there are many differing opinions considering code-switching.

5.4.3. Contact with English

The students come across English in many different situations and environments. Most of the time the English they hear or see is produced by non-native speakers (see figure 1 below). Only a tenth of the USS and a fifth of the IBDP students said that most of the time the English they hear is spoken by a native. A little over 26% of the IBDP students selected *hardly ever*, which is surprising considering how much English they hear at school. This might indicate that there are not that many native teachers in the IB schools in Finland. Or then the students do not hear much native English outside of school. All in all, the two groups do not significantly differ in their answers. The IBDP students naturally hear significantly more English at school ($\chi^2=19.2$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$), but over 80% of the USS students also said they hear English at school regularly. Otherwise, the answers were quite similar, except that the IBDP students hear English at their hobbies more ($\chi^2=6.16$, $df=2$, $p=0.0459$). The females stated hearing English more often in public transportation than the males ($\chi^2=10.3$, $df=2$, $p=0.00567$). Otherwise there were no really significant differences between the two sexes or the different cities either, which might be due to the small size of the sample. In larger cities, like Helsinki, which have bigger immigrant populations and more tourists, it should show in the regularity of contacts with English, especially in public places.

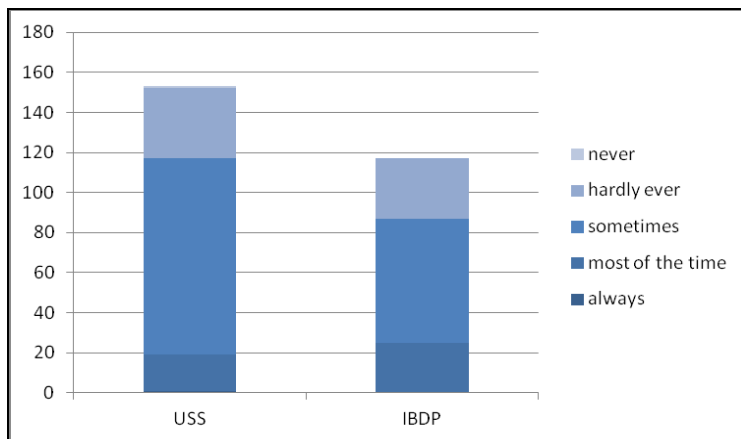


Figure 13. When you hear English, is it spoken by a native English speaker?

The participants use English most often when speaking with non-Finnish friends, on the internet with strangers or when talking with foreigners in Finland or abroad. The IBDP students naturally use English significantly more often at school with teachers ($\chi^2=203.0$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$) and with school friends ($\chi^2=115.0$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$). All in all, the IBDP students use English more often, but this might simply be due to the greater amount of English speaking people in their lives. They simply might have more non-Finnish speaking friends, since almost 85% said they speak English with their non-Finnish friends often, compared to a little over 50% of the USS students; this difference was very highly statistically significant ($\chi^2=33.6$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$). The IBDP students might also be more willing to use English in different situations and might be more likely to get opportunities to speak English as they could gravitate towards places and people with whom they can practice their language skills. For example, the IBDP students are very highly significantly more likely to use English on the internet with strangers as the USS students ($\chi^2=16.8$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$) and especially the boys of the IBDP ($\chi^2=8.00$, $df=3$, $p=0.0460$). Some of this difference could possibly be explained by the fact that the IBDP students, especially the boys, play electronic games more, and if they play interactive games, some of the contacts could be from there. In fact, almost all (92.5%) of the IBDP and over 70% of the USS students who play electronic games daily,

often talk to strangers on the internet. This could be a mere coincidence, but even if accurate, this does not completely explain the difference. When comparing how often the the USS and IBDP girls, and the USS and IBDP boys talk to strangers on the internet, the difference is slightly more significant between the girls ($\chi^2=12.5$, $df=3$, $p=0.00585$; $\chi^2=12.2$, $df=3$, $p=0.00663$). Rather it could be explained by the IBDP students seeking conversations in English, or them using the internet more in English when they might almost accidentally end-up in contact with strangers. The IBDP students also talk with strangers face to face more often than the USS students ($\chi^2=11.3$, $df=3$, $p=0.0101$). When comparing speaking with foreigners in Finland and abroad, the IBDP students do both more often than the USS students ($\chi^2=40.1$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$; $\chi^2=23.8$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$). The IBDP students also use English almost twice as much with their Finnish speaking friends ($\chi^2=26.0$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$). Here it was not separated whether these friends are school friends or not, but this could represent English "leaking" or "spilling" into their freetime as some mentioned when discussing code-switching. The girls use English more with their non-Finnish friends ($\chi^2=10.9$, $df=3$, $p=0.0125$) and the boys, on the other hand, use English more with teachers ($\chi^2=9.03$, $df=3$, $p=0.0288$). The boys in the IBDP use English more than the girls with their Finnish speaking friends ($\chi^2=7.25$, $df=2$, $p=0.0266$). The boys in the USS talk in English with teachers more often ($\chi^2=9.84$, $df=3$, $p=0.0200$) and the girls with strangers face to face ($\chi^2=8.21$, $df=3$, $p=0.0419$), but in most instances the differences are quite small.

When in contact with English, the IBDP students seem to prefer English spoken by a native speaker over non-natives a little more than the USS students, but this difference is not statistically significant (see figure 14 below). A majority of the USS students and a little over 40% of the IBDP students selected that it *depends on the situation*. The USS girls, in particular, prefer native speaker English compared to their male peers ($\chi^2=8.04$, $df=3$,

p=0.0452). Overall the most common answers were either *yes* or that it *depends on the situation*. For example, if the speech is clear and easy to understand it does not matter whether the speaker is a native speaker or not. Speaking with natives can be a good way of learning and practicing English, but it can also be intimidating, as was mentioned. Even native speakers can be tough to understand if they have a strong accent, speak too fast or use words that are unfamiliar to the listener. On the other hand, if someone expresses themselves well and uses grammatically good language, then it does not matter to many participants whether they are a native speaker or not. Others prefer non-natives; *"if they speak clear English, it is better they are non-native because then they won't correct or make fun of my mistakes so easily"*. With other non-native speakers, the students feel they do not have to worry so much about making mistakes. The quite common thought seemed to be that it is easier to listen and understand a native speaker but it is easier to talk to a non-native; as it was mentioned, the speech of natives might sound better, but that it is not as important as the content.

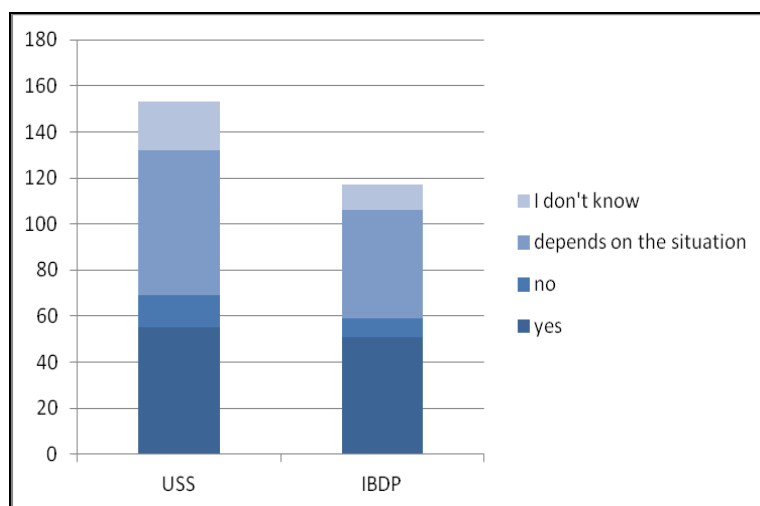


Figure 14. Preference of English spoken by native English speakers

There were a smaller number of students that said they did not prefer English spoken by native speakers. Their main argument was that there are so many ways of speaking English

that trying to put them in some kind of order is futile and irrelevant. One of the great things about the English language is that it can bring together cultures and people from different language backgrounds. Others said they have even more respect for people who have or are trying to learn a foreign language and are brave enough to use it. An important point is also that *"not everyone needs to speak the same way, even if they are speaking the same language"*. Native English accents can be as hard to understand as foreign accents and some felt that many native speakers speak too fast. The ones that clearly stated that they preferred English spoken by natives, explained this most commonly with the clarity, fluency and their speech being more pleasing overall. Their accents are more natural and their speech is "pure English". Their vocabulary is bigger and therefore the language they use is more colorful. The quality of language and sentence structures is better. Overall, they use English better and their speech is more effortless. Of course the most common reason was that native accents sound the best. Many also mentioned how they dislike the Finnish accent; *"the Finnish accent is gross!"*. All in all, the common thread in most of the answers was that grammatical correctness and clarity of speech are most important to many, not the origin of the speaker. Both natives and non-natives can speak so-called good English and have a beautiful accent, but they can both also be difficult to understand for a variety of reasons. It is most important to understand what the other person is trying to communicate and be understood in order to be able to convey one's own message.

6. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

As the results show, there were very highly significant differences between both the students of the two schools and the sexes in multiple areas including uses of English, self-assessed English language skills and language attitudes. The IBDP students are more comfortable using English and even assess themselves as being as fluent in English as in their mother tongue. They assessed their language skills to be better in all areas (reading, writing, speaking and listening comprehension). In addition, the IBDP students assessed themselves as bi- or multilinguals significantly more often. All participants value language skills and the majority thinks good language skills are very important. The English language has an important role in the life of the majority of all participants, but in particular the IBDP students assess its importance to be significant. The students have learnt English most at school, but a significant number said they have learnt equally at school and in their freetime. The boys in particular have learnt a lot of English from the internet and electronic games. The majority of the students would like to live or study abroad in the future, and this was particularly true for the girls in the IBDP.

With respect to language attitudes, the IBDP students feel significantly more international than Finnish compared to the USS students. They are also more interested in events outside of Finland, and wish that English was one of the official languages of Finland. Significantly fewer of the USS students think that Finland is too small for them, whereas the IBDP students wish Finland would be more international. In addition, the IBDP students are more interested in English-speaking cultures. They also predict the importance of English to be greater in both their personal and professional lives in the future. The IBDP students are significantly more likely to try to lose their Finnish accent, and they aim more towards native speaker like

competence in both speaking and writing. They also prefer English spoken native English speakers more than the USS students, who prefer non-native speaker English.

The IBDP students use English more for all the given activities, such as listening to music, chatting with friends and reading and writing, except watching TV series with Finnish subtitles. On the other hand, the IBDP students watch TV series more without subtitles. The differences were significant in reading, writing, chatting with friends, using social media and speaking English outside of school. Code-switching was also more common among the IBDP students, many of whom admitted to speaking "Finglish", especially with their friends. All students hear English in many different settings, but relatively little. When they do hear English, it is usually spoken by a non-native English speaker. There were very little differences between the students of different school systems on this matter, although, naturally, the IBDP students hear more English at school. The students use English most with their non-Finnish speaking friends, on the internet with strangers and with foreigners both in Finland and abroad. The IBDP students use English more, which was at least partly credited to a higher number of English speaking people in their lives.

The hypothesis of this study was therefore confirmed, as the IBDP students were proven to be more interested in the English language, their attitudes were found to be more positive and it was shown that they use English more and in more varied contexts. They also assessed their language skills to be better and using English was very natural to them. The IBDP students also aim towards native-like competence. The last hypothesis was that the USS students will relate more with the Finnish culture and the IBDP students with a more international one which was also proven accurate.

Compared to the previous studies the results were pretty similar. This thesis and the *National Survey on the English Language in Finland* (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011) showed that the overall attitudes towards English are quite positive. Participants in neither studies thought that English poses a threat to the Finnish language or culture. Instead, Leppänen *et al.* (*ibid*) reported that the participants viewed the knowledge of English as an essential resource in the increasingly multicultural and global world, as did the students in this study. In addition, both studies concluded that Finnish youngsters use English for several different purposes. One especially noteworthy fact is that whereas only 16% of the participants in the study of Leppänen *et al.* (*ibid.*) reported being bi- or multilingual, in this study almost 50% of the USS students considered themselves bilingual and even more of the IBDP students. In addition, English is significantly more important to the students in this study than to the participants of Leppänen *et al.*'s (*ibid.*) study. The importance of English was measured on the same scale in both studies, so these results are comparable. These differences together with the fact that the students assessed their language skills very highly significantly better for all areas (discussed in the results) clearly differentiate this group from the majority of the Finnish population.

As demonstrated, the results of this study are similar to the results of previous studies, which increases their validity. Also, as the sample was relatively big, and results were received from different parts of Finland, and from bigger and smaller schools, the results can be considered relatively accurate and valid. Of course, if the sampling had been done even more systematically, the results could be more reliable. Attitudes are hard to measure, as mentioned, which could lead to one question the construct validity of this thesis; meaning did the statements actually measure language attitudes. This is why certain matters were asked more than once in different ways. For example, it was directly asked whether the students thought of themselves as bilinguals and then they were asked to assess whether using English

was as natural to them as using their mother tongue which is one of the possible definitions for bilingualism. The size of the sample, also, provides pretty good external validity, which means that the results could be generalized. On the other hand, as the females were over-represented, and the answers were not evenly distributed between the schools or cities, we must be careful not to make overly broad generalizations. We also need to keep in mind that this study only focused on Finnish citizens whose mother tongue is Finnish.

There is always a possibility of misunderstandings affecting the results when conducting research with questionnaires. The participants could misunderstand a question, but also the answers, in particular, to the open questions can be misinterpreted by the researcher. These sorts of questions or remarks were not received from the participants, but they are still a possibility. Obviously, the participants can also provide misleading or incorrect information. As mentioned, it can be hard to evaluate one's behavior correctly or recollect past behaviors accurately. To minimize the risk of misunderstandings, the questionnaire was in Finnish, which is the students mother tongue. While no real problems were reported, it does not mean they did not exist.

The results of this study provided more detailed information about the perceptions, attitudes and uses of English of Finnish upper secondary school aged students. They further highlight the importance of English as a part of youth language, but also give more information on the status and situation of English in Finland. This study has given more detailed data for both language attitude studies and studies into the language situation in Finland. Perhaps, they could also be useful in assessing Finnish language education. In addition, Finnish International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme students have not been widely represented in Finnish research endeavors, so any new data is important.

While, this study provides mostly quantitative data and an overview of these matters, further research could be conducted to compare the Finnish IBDP students to IBDP students in other countries or other students in Finland studying in English (*e.g.* English vocational programs). It would also be interesting to study whether the students applying for the IBDP are already different from others and how does attending the Programme affect the students' attitudes and uses of English. A more in-depth qualitative study could reveal more differences and better investigate the reasons behind them. It would also be possible to use the data gathered for this thesis to study other than the chosen aspects. For example, different types of correlations could be studied. Also, this study made an effort to highlight that there are different types of students within the titles *upper secondary student* and *teenager*. While only one possible division (between the two different school types) was presented, hopefully in the future, more detailed research will follow; not only about the youth, but on all age groups.

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Appendix 1. The Questionnaire (in Finnish)

Taustatiedot

Mikä on sukupuolesi?

Mitä koulua käyt?

Millä vuosiluokalla olet?

Mikä on äidinkielesi?

Mikä on kansallisuutesi?

Jos valitsit joku muu, mikä on kansalaisuutesi?

Onko vanhempiesi kansallisuus sama kuin sinun?

Jos ei, mikä heidän kansallisuutensa on?

Oletko asunut tai opiskellut ulkomailla?

Jos olet, missä ja miten kauan? Listaa kaikki maat joissa olet oleskellut pitempään kuin kuukauden.

Haluaisitko asua/opiskella ulkomailla tulevaisuudessa?

Miksi? Perustele lyhyesti.

Kielitausta

Mitä kieltä/kieliä osaat sujuvasti?

- suomi
- englantia
- ruotsi
- venäjä
- saksa
- ranska
- espanja
- jotain muuta kieltä

Jos vastasit jotain muuta kieltä, mitä?

Mitä kieliä opiskelet tai olet opiskellut?

kyllä en

suomi
englanti
ruotsi
saksa
venäjä
ranska
espanja

jotain muuta kieltä

Jos vastasit jotain muuta kieltä, mitä?

Kuinka kauan olet opiskellut kutakin kieltä?

Oletko mielestäsi kaksi-/monikielinen?

Ole hyvä ja selitä lyhyesti miksi tai miksi et.

Mistä kielestä pidät eniten? [?](#)

- suomi
- englanti
- ruotsi
- saksa
- venäjä
- ranska
- espanja
- joku muu

Miksi? [?](#)

Vanhempien tausta

Mikä on korkein tutkinto joka äidilläsi on?

Mikä on korkein tutkinto joka isälläsi on?

Jos vastasit jompaan kumpaan joku muu, mikä muu?

Arvioi paljonko perheesi tulot ovat yhteensä vuosittain

Englannin taidot

Kuinka arvioisit englannin taitojasi?

sujuvasti melko sujuvasti kohtalaisesti vaivalloisesti en ollenkaan

Puhun englantia
Luen englantia
Kirjoitan englantia
Ymmärrän puhuttua englantia

Kuinka kuvailisit englannin taitojasi?

kyllä ei ei osaa sanoa

Mielestäni taitoni ovat paremmat kuin useimpien suomalaisten

Mielestäni taitoni ovat paremmat kuin luokkakavereideni

Mielestäni taitoni ovat paremmat kuin vanhempieni

Mielestäni taitoni ovat paremmat kuin isovanhempieni

Olen ylpeä taidoistani

Mielestäni osaan englantia tarpeeksi hyvin

Haluan oppia englantia paremmin

Häpeän taitojani

Miltä sinusta tuntuu käyttää englantia?

vahvasti samaa vahvasti eri
samaa mieltä mieltä neutraali mieltä mieltä

Englannin käyttäminen on yhtä luonnollista kuin äidinkieleni

Käytän englantia mielelläni

Käytän englantia aina kun saan siihen mahdollisuuden

Käytän englantia vain kun on aivan pakko

Epäröin käyttää englantia

Missä olet mielestäsi oppinut eniten englantia?

Voit perustella edellistä vastausta tähän halutessasi.

Kulttuuriasenteet

	vahvasti eri mieltä	eri mieltä	neutraali	samaa mieltä	vahvasti samaa mieltä
Samaistun parhaiten suomalaiseen kulttuuriin					
Pidän itseäni enemmän kansainvälisenä kuin suomalaisena					
Toivon että englantia käytettäisiin Suomessa enemmän					
Suomalaiset perinteet ovat minulle tärkeitä					
Englannin pitäisi olla yksi Suomen virallisista kielistä					
Suomi tuntuu liian pieneltä minulle					
Olen kiinnostuneempi tapahtumista Suomen ulkopuolella					
Vain virallisia kieliä (suomea ja ruotsia) tulisi käyttää Suomessa					
Englantia käytetään liikaa Suomessa					
Englannin leviäminen on uhka Suomen kielelle ja kulttuurille					
Suomalaisten pitää osata muitakin vieraita kieliä kuin englantia					
Toivon että Suomi olisi kansainvälisempi					
Suomalaisille äidinkieli on hyödyllisempi kuin englanti					
Olen ylpeä suomalaisuudestani					
Englannin kieli levittää materialistisia arvoja					
Englanti on edistyksen kieli					
Englannin tärkeys tulee kasvamaan Suomessa tulevaisuudessa					

Voit selventää vastauksiasi tai kirjoittaa muita heränneitä ajatuksia tähän.

Kieliasenteet

	vahvasti eri mieltä	eri mieltä	neutraali	samaa mieltä	vahvasti samaa mieltä
On tärkeää osata englantia hyvin					
Haluan oppia englantia mahdollisimman hyvin					
Olen kiinnostunut englannin kielisistä kulttuureista					
Olen kadottanut tai yritän kadottaa suomalaisen aksenttini					
Englanti on yksi tärkeimmistä kielistä nykymaailmassa					
Vaivaannun jos teen virheitä puhuessani englantia					
Korjaan toisten englantia					
Uskon että englannilla on aina tärkeä rooli yksityiselämässäni					
Englannilla on tärkeä rooli tulevassa työssäni					
Kun puhun englantia, minulle on tärkeää kuulostaa syntyperäiseltä englannin puhujalta					
Minulle on tärkeää pystyä kirjoittamaan englanniksi yhtä hyvin kuin syntyperäiset englannin puhujat					
Puhun mieluiten englantia syntyperäisten englannin puhujien kanssa kuin ei-syntyperäisten					
Nykymaailmassa on mahdotonta tulla toimeen jos ei osaa englantia					
Englannin taidot ovat yliarvostettuja					
Englannin kieli on hyödyllisempää kuin ruotsin					

Voit selventää vastauksiasi tai kirjoittaa muita heränneitä ajatuksia tähän.

Englannin käyttö

Kuinka tärkeää englannin kieli on sinulle?

Kuinka usein käytät englantia seuraaviin tarkoituksiin?

	päivittäin	muutaman kerran viikossa	muutaman kerran kuukaudessa	muutaman kerran vuodessa	en ikinä
Musiikin kuunteluun					
Television katseluun tekstityksillä					
Elokvien katseluun tekstityksillä					
Television katseluun ilman tekstityksiä					
Elokvien katseluun ilman tekstityksiä					
Tiedon etsintään					
Pelien pelaamiseen (esim. tietokoneella, pelikoneella)					
Sosiaalisen median käyttöön (esim. Facebook, Twitter)					
Jutusteluun (esim. ystävien kanssa tietokoneella, foorumeilla)					
Kirjojen lukemiseen					
Lehtien lukemiseen					
Kirjoittamiseen (esim.sähköpostia, tekstareita, kirjeitä, runoja, blogia)					
Puhut englantia koulussa					
Puhut englantia koulun ulkopuolella					
Siksi koska se on hauskaa					

Kuinka usein käytät äidinkieltäsi seuraaviin tarkoituksiin?

	päivittäin	muutaman kerran viikossa	muutaman kerran kuukaudessa	muutaman kerran vuodessa	en ikinä
Musiikin kuunteluun					
Television katseluun					
Elokvien katseluun					
Tiedon etsintään					
Pelien pelaamiseen (esim. tietokoneella, pelikoneella)					

**Sosiaalisen median
käyttöön (esim. Facebook,
Twitter)**

**Jutusteluun (esim.
ystävien kanssa
tietokoneella, foorumeilla)**

Kirjojen lukemiseen

Lehtien lukemiseen

**Kirjoittamiseen
(esim.sähköpostia,
tekstareita, kirjeitä,
runoja, blogia)**

Sekoitatko äidinkieltäsi ja englantia puheessasi? [?](#)

Miksi? Selitä lyhyesti.

Voit selventää vastauksiasi tai kirjoittaa muita heränneitä ajatuksia tähän.

Kontakti englannin kanssa

Missä kuulet englantia Suomessa?

säännöllisesti joskus en ikinä

koulussa

kotona

kadulla

kaupoissa

ravintoloissa, kahviloissa

sanoma- ja aikakauslehdissä

internetissä

televisiossa

radiossa

paikoissa joissa käyn harrastuksissa

julkisessa liikenteessä

pankissa, postissa, valtion toimistoissa

Kun kuulet englantia puhuttavan, ovatko puhujat syntyperäisiä englannin puhujia?

Pidätkö enemmän syntyperäisten puhujien puhumasta englannista?

Miksi? Perustele lyhyesti.

Kenen kanssa käytät englantia?

usein joskus harvoin en ikinä

**perheen
suomea puhuvien kavereiden
kavereiden jotka eivät puhu suomea
koulukavereiden
opettajien
vieraiden (netissä)
vieraiden (kasvotusten)
ulkomaalaisten kanssa Suomessa
ulkomaalaisten kanssa ulkomailla**

Kuinka usein matkustat ulkomaille?

Kuinka suhtaudut mahdollisuuteen opiskella englanniksi Suomessa?

Kuinka suhtaudut siihen että jotkut suomalaiset yritykset käyttävät vain englantia sisäisessä viestinnässä?

Vielä viimeiset kommentit ja ajatukset ovat tervetulleita.

Suomenkielinen tiivistelmä (Finnish Summary)

Johdanto

Vaikka Suomi onkin virallisesti kaksikielinen maa, käyttävät monet suomalaiset, ja etenkin nuoret, englantia monilla elämän alueilla enemmän kuin ruotsia. Suomalaiset nuoret käyttävät englannin kieltä lähes päivittäin muun muassa musiikin kuunteluun, Internetissä surffailuun tai TV ja elokuvien katseluun. Lähes kaikki myös opiskelevat englantia koulussa. Ottaen huomioon kuinka paljon he käyttävät, näkevät ja kuulevat englantia arkipäiväisessä elämässään, on hyvin todennäköistä, että englannin kielellä on jonkinlainen vaikutus heidän mielipiteisiinsä sekä englannin kielestä että muista kielistä, mutta myös heidän identiteettiinsä joko suomalaisina tai osana globaalimpaa monikulttuurista maailmaa. Tämän pro gradun tarkoituksena on tutkia, kuinka tärkeää englannin kieli on suomalaisille lukiolaisille sekä englanninkielistä IB-lukiota (International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme) käyville opiskelijoille. *Kansallinen kyselytutkimus englannin kielestä Suomessa: käyttö, merkitys ja asenteet* (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011) tutki samansuuntaisia kysymyksiä, mutta käsitteli suomalaista yhteiskuntaa kokonaisuudessaan, kun tämä tutkimus keskittyy vain lukioikäisiin ja tutkii eriävyyksiä ja yhteneväisyyksiä nimenomaan kahdella eri kielellä opiskelevien lukio-opiskelijoiden välillä.

Tutkimuskysymykset on jaettu viiteen kategoriaan:

1. *Englannin kielen käyttö:* mihin tarkoituksiin ja miksi suomalaiset opiskelijat käyttävät englantia? Mikä motivoi heitä opiskelemaan englantia?
2. *Kielitaidot:* kuinka he arvioivat englannin kielen taitojaan? Pyrkivätkö he syntyperäisen puhujan tasolle?
3. *Englannin kielen merkitys:* kuinka tärkeää englanti on heille nyt ja tulevaisuudessa?

4. *Vaikutus identiteettiin:* vaikuttaako englannin kielen käyttäminen heidän kulttuurilliseen identiteettiinsä? Tuntevatko he olevansa enemmän suomalaisia vai kansainvälisiä?
5. *Ryhmien väliset erot:* ovatko kahden eri koulun opiskelijat yksi homogeeninen ryhmä vai löytyykö niiden väliltä merkittäviä eroja?

Hypoteesit ovat, että IB-lukiolaiset ovat kiinnostuneempia englannin kielestä, heidän asenteensa ovat positiivisempia sitä kohtaan ja he käyttävät sitä useammin ja vaihtelevimmissa konteksteissa. Lisäksi IB-lukiolaiset oletettavasti arvioivat kielitaitonsa paremmaksi kuin lukiolaiset, koska heille englannin käyttäminen on luontevampaa. Toisaalta he saattavat olla kriittisempiä omaa osaamistaan kohtaan, minkä takia he saattavat aliarvioida omia taitojaan. IB-lukiolaiset myös todennäköisesti tavoittelevat syntyperäistä useammin. Viimeinen hypoteesi on, että lukiolaiset samaistuvat paremmin suomalaiseen kulttuuriin, kun taas IB-lukiolaiset kokevat olevansa kansainvälisempiä, mikä osittain johtuu heidän opinnoistaan, joissa korostetaan kansainvälisyyttä.

Teoreettinen viitekehys

Englannin kielellä on nykypäivänä hyvin erityinen asema niin kutsuttuna globaalina kielenä. Syntyperäiset englannin puhujat ovat nykyään jopa vähemmistönä, sillä yhä enenevässä määrin sitä puhutaan toisena tai muuna vieraana kielenä. Englannilla on rooli myös niin sanottuna lingua franca:na, eli kontaktikielenä, jota käytetään kommunikoinnissa ihmisten välillä joilla ei ole yhteistä äidinkieltä (Jenkins, 2007). Kansainväliselle lingua francalle ei juuri ollut tarvetta ennen 1900-lukua, jolloin ihmisistä tuli liikkuvampia, sekä fyysisesti että elektroniikan avustuksella (Crystal, 1997), mutta sitä voidaan kuitenkin pitää loogisena ja luonnollisena kehityksenä, joka on vastaus uusien kielikontaktitilanteiden luomaan tarpeeseen. On kieliä, joilla on enemmän syntyperäisiä puhujia kuin englannilla, mutta kun

mukaan lasketaan sen ei-syntyperäiset puhujat, (joita on enemmän kuin syntyperäisiä), on englannin kieli maailman puhutuin kieli. Tästä syystä suurimassa osassa tilanteista, joissa englantia käytetään, osallisina ovat ei-syntyperäiset puhujat.

Englannin kielen hallitseva asema on toki herättänyt myös paljon huolia ja epäilyksiä Suomessa ja maailmalla. Sen muun muassa pelätään tekevän pienemmistä kielistä turhia jolloin ne kuolevat. Toisaalta pelätään elitistisen englantia puhuvan yläluokan muodostumista, joka väheksyy muita kieliä. Yhden hallitsevan kielen olemassaolo voi luoda ympäristön, jossa muiden kielten tärkeyttä vähätellään tai pidetään niiden opiskelua jopa turhana. Tämä voi johtaa siihen etteivät ihmiset vaivaudu opettelemaan muita kieliä tai heillä ei välttämättä anneta siihen mahdollisuutta. Crystal (1997) kuitenkin muistuttaa että kielten kuolemaa on esiintynyt läpi kielitieteen historian eikä se suoranaisesti liity globaalin kielen syntymiseen. Kielen selviytyminen on ennemmin kiinni vähemmistö kielten asemasta maan sisällä sekä sen puhujien suhteesta valtaväestöön. Päinvastoin, globaalin kielen synty voi saada aikaan vastareaktion, jonka avulla vähemmistökielten asema ennemminkin vahvistuu.

Englannin kielellä on ollut suuri vaikutus etenkin nuorisokieleen, sillä englantia on aina ollut tärkeä osa nuorisokulttuuria. Nuorisokieli ei ole erikseen määriteltävä kieli tai rekisteri, vaan kokoelma erilaisia kommunikointi- ja merkityksenluontitapoja joilla rakennetaan ja ilmaistaan yksilön sosiaalista ja kulttuurista identiteettiä. Yleensä nuorisokieli on luovempaa, mielikuvituksekkampaa, leikkisempää ja vapaampaa kuin aikuisten kieli esimerkiksi. Nuoriso ei pelkää muuttaa kieltä sopimaan juuri heidän tarkoituksiinsa ja kielellä onkin hyvin merkittävä rooli itseilmaisussa. Esimerkiksi, Suomessa englannin vaikutus näkyy muun muassa koodinvaihtona sekä englannin lisääntyneenä käyttönä eri tilanteissa. Nuorisokieltä käytetään erityisesti esimerkiksi internetissä, populaari musiikissa, televisiossa ja elokuvissa.

Tekstiviestit ja muut pikaviestintäohjelmat ovat tuoneet yleiseen käyttöön muun muassa lyhenteet kuten *LOL*, *BFF* ja *OMG*. Englantia esiintyy myös lausahduksissa kuten "IDK anyway oon siellä about vartissa". Englantia käytetään usein siksi, koska sen avulla viestiminen on nopeampaa, helpompaa ja viestit lyhyempiä. Se myös tuo kieleen vivahteikkuutta ja monimuotoisuutta.

Kansallinen kyselytutkimus englannin kielestä Suomessa: käyttö, merkitys ja asenteet (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011) osoitti, että suomalaiset kuuntelevat englanninkielistä musiikkia, katsovat suomeksi tekstitettyjä englanninkielisiä sarjoja, etsivät tietoa ja kommunikoivat englanniksi ihmisten kanssa joiden kanssa heillä ei ole muuta yhteistä kieltä. Tutkimuksen mukaan suomalaisten suhtautuminen englannin kieleen on positiivista eivätkä he usko, että englantia on uhka suomen kielelle tai kulttuurille. Osallistujat pitivät englannin kieltä tärkeänä resurssina multikulttuurisessa ja globaalissa nykymaailmassa. Tutkimus osoitti, että eri ikäryhmät käyttävät englantia eri tavoin. Nuoret käyttävät englantia koulussa, vapaa-ajalla ja ystäviensä kanssa, kun taas vanhemmat eniten työhön liittyvissä asioissa. Nuoret lukevat, kirjoittavat, puhuvat ja kuuntelevat englantia enemmän kuin vanhemmat. Ero oli suurin kielen tuottamisessa eli puhumisessa ja kirjoittamisessa. Nuoret myös arvioivat englannin tärkeämmäksi itselleen. He olivat myös enemmän sitä mieltä, että suomalaisen yhteiskunnan pitäisi toimia myös englanniksi eikä vain virallisilla kielillä.

Kansallinen kyselytutkimus englannin kielestä Suomessa: käyttö, merkitys ja asenteet (Leppänen *et al.*, 2011), kuten myös tämä pro gradu, tutki kieli-asetteita. Asenteilla tarkoitetaan subjektiivisia kokemuksia, jotka sisältävät arvioita erilaisista asenneobjekteista. Erään näkökulman mukaan ne ovat melko pysyviä, ei-havaittavissa olevia ja voidaan päätellä käyttäytymisestä. Niitä voidaan kuvailla myös taipumuksiksi reagoida myönteisesti tai

kielteisesti objektiin, ihmiseen, instituutioon tai tapahtumaan (Ajzen, 1988). Kieliasenteet ovatkin sananmukaisesti asenteita nimenomaan kieliä kohtaan. Kieliasenteita tutkittaessa tutkimuskohteena voi olla esimerkiksi tietty kieli, eri kielivariaatiot, kielen puhujat, aksentit, murteet tai kielen oppiminen/opetus. Kieliasenteet ovat hyvin sosiaalisia ja kieli yhdistyy sen puhujiin monien ajatuksissa ja käsityksissä. Siten joitain kieliä pidetään arvostetumpina, koska niiden puhujat ovat arvostettuja tai toisinpäin.

International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme

Suomessa 16 koulua, 13 eri kaupungissa, tarjoaa mahdollisuuden opiskella IB Diploma Programme:ssa. Vuonna 2012 IB-lukiosta valmistui Suomessa 378 opiskelijaa ja opiskelun aloitti 548 uutta opiskelijaa (Official Statistics of Finland, 2013a). He opiskelevat ensimmäisen niin sanotun pre-IB vuoden samoja kursseja kuin kansallisen puolen lukiolaiset, mutta englanniksi ja heillä on mahdollisuus osallistua myös suomenkieliseen opetukseen. Pre-IB vuoden jälkeen opiskelijoiden suoritukset arvioidaan ja heidät siirretään varsinaiseen IBDP:hen, mikäli heidän uskotaan suoriutuvan siitä. Tässä vaiheessa opiskelijan on myös mahdollista siirtyä kansallisen lukion puolelle omasta tahdostaan. Seuraavat kaksi vuotta ovat varsinaisen IB Diploma Programmen opintosuunnitelman mukaisia opintoja, joihin kuuluu opintoja kuudessa eri aineessa, jotka on jaettu kuuteen eri aineryhmään: A1-kieli (yleensä äidinkieli), vieras kieli (useimmilla englanti), yksilöt ja yhteisöt (esim. psykologia, historia tai ekonomia), kokeelliset tieteet (biologia, fysiikka, kemia), matematiikka sekä taideaineet ja valinnaiset. Suomessa kuudes ryhmä taideaineet ja valinnaiset korvataan usein valitsemalla toinen aine muista viidestä. Myös kolmas ryhmä yksilöt ja yhteisöt on mahdollista korvata valitsemalla toinen aine kokeelliset tieteet ryhmästä. Jokainen opiskelija opiskelee kolmea pitkää (higher level) ainetta, joka käsittää 240 opetustuntia, sekä kolmea lyhyttä (standard level), joka kostuu 150 tunnista. Näiden lisäksi IBDP:hen kuuluu kolme erikoisvaatimusta:

vapaaehtoistoimintaohjelma Creation, Action, Service (CAS), kriittiseen ajatteluun harjaannuttava theory of knowledge -kurssi (TOK) sekä 4000 sanan essee (Extended Essay, EE) opiskelijan valitsemasta aiheesta. IBDP huipentuu loppukokeisiin, joissa opiskelijat tekevät kahteen tai kolmeen osaan jaetun kokeen jokaisesta opiskelemastaan aineesta. EE:stä ja TOK:sta opiskelijoiden on mahdollista saada lisäpisteitä. Loppukokeet muodostavat kuitenkin vain osan opiskelijoiden koko arvosanasta, sillä joka aineeseen kuuluu myös muita arvosteluun vaikuttavia elementtejä, kuten suullinen koe tai laboratoriotyöskentely ja siitä raportointi.

Metodologia

Tutkimus toteutettiin kyselytutkimuksena internet-ohjelma E-lomakkeella. Linkki lomakkeeseen lähetettiin kaikkiin Suomen suomenkielisiin IB-lukioihin sekä niiden yhteydessä toimiviin kansallisen puolen lukioihin. Kysely koostui pääasiassa suljetuista kysymyksistä, joista suurin osa oli erilaisia arviointeja Likertin asteikolla. Mukana oli myös avoimia kysymyksiä, joilla haettiin pääasiassa tarkennuksia tai lisätietoa. Vastauksia analysoitiin pääasiassa vertaillen kansallisen lukion ja IB-lukion opiskelijoiden vastauksia. Myös mahdollisia sukupuolten välisiä eroja etsittiin. Tilastollinen analyysi toteutettiin tutkimalla khiin neliö-arvoja, jotka ilmaistaan tekstissä kolmella eri arvolla (χ^2 , vapausaste ja p-arvo), jotka on annettu suluissa. Merkitsevyyssarvot ovat: $p \leq 0.05$ merkittävä, $p \leq 0.005$ hyvin merkittävä, $p \leq 0.001$ erittäin merkittävä. Vastauksia saatiin 289 opiskelijalta 10 eri koulusta. Osa vastaajista hylättiin, koska heidän äidinkieltensä tai kansallisuutensa oli joku muu kuin suomi/suomalainen. Kriteerit täyttäviä vastauksia saatiin 270, joista 153 (57.7%) oli kansallisen lukion ja 117 (43.3%) IB-lukion opiskelijoita. Tytöt ovat aineistossa hieman yliedustettuina, koska heitä oli 75% vastaajista.

Tulokset ja Yhteenveto

Lähes kaikki osallistujat (95.6%) arvioivat osaavansa englantia sujuvasti ja enemmistö (48.8%) valitsi englannin lempikielekseen. Ryhmien väliltä löytyi hyvin merkittäviäkin eroja muun muassa englannin kielen käytössä, arvioidussa kielitaidossa ja kieliasteissa. Enemmistö IB-lukiolaisista arvioi, että englannin kielen käyttö on heille yhtä sujuvaa kuin äidinkielenä, mikä oli tilastollisesti erittäin merkittävästi useammin. He myös kokivat olevansa kaksikielisiä erittäin merkittävästi useammin. IB-lukiolaiset myös arvioivat kielitaitonsa erittäin merkittävästi paremmiksi joka osa-alueella (lukeminen, kirjoittaminen, puhuminen ja kuullunymmärtäminen). Kaikki opiskelijat arvostavat kielitaitoa ja merkittävä enemmistö pitävää hyvää kielitaitoa erittäin tärkeänä. Englannilla on merkittävä rooli enemmistön elämässä (65.2%), mutta etenkin IB:läisten, joille englantia oli vielä erittäin merkittävästi tärkeämpää. Englantia opiskelijat ovat oppineet eniten koulussa, mutta myös hyvin paljon vapaa-ajalla. Etenkin pojat ovat oppineet englantia internetistä ja videopeleistä. Vain 12.2% opiskelijoista ei haluaisi asua ulkomailla tulevaisuudessa. Kansallisen puolen lukiolaiset olivat useammin sitä mieltä, kun taas etenkin IB-lukion tytöt haaveilivat ulkomailla asumisesta poikia enemmän.

Kieliasteista löytyi myös merkittäviä eroja. IB-lukiolaiset tuntevat itsensä enemmän kansainväliseksi kuin suomalaisiksi erittäin merkittävästi useammin kuin lukiolaiset. IB:läiset myös merkittävästi enemmän toivovat, että englantia olisi yksi Suomen virallisista kielistä. Merkittävästi useampi IB-lukiolainen on sitä mieltä, että Suomi on hänelle liian pieni. He ovat myös erittäin merkittävästi enemmän kiinnostuneita ennemmin tapahtumista ulkomailla kuin Suomessa. IB-lukiolaiset myös merkittävästi enemmän toivovat Suomen olevan kansainvälisempi maa ja ovat merkittävästi kiinnostuneempia englanninkielistä kulttuureista. Tulevaisuudessa he uskovat englannilla olevan merkittävästi tärkeämpi rooli sekä yksityis-

että työelämässä kuin lukiolaiset. IB:läiset yrittävät erittäin merkittävästi todennäköisemmin kadottaa suomalaisen aksenttinsa, ja heille on selvästi tärkeämpää kuulostaa syntyperäiseltä englannin puhujalta puhuessaan sekä kyky kirjoittaa yhtä hyvin kuin syntyperäiset englannin puhujat. He myös pitävät enemmän syntyperäisten englannin puhujien kanssa puhumisesta kuin ei-syntyperäisten lukiolaisia enemmän. Osallistujien mielipidettä kysyttiin lisäksi kahteen erityistilanteeseen liittyen. Ensimmäinen niistä oli mahdollisuus opiskella englanniksi Suomessa, johon molemmat ryhmät suhtautuivat erittäin positiivisesti, vaikka IB:lukiolaiset suhtautuivatkin siihen vielä erittäin merkittävästi positiivisemmin. Opiskelijat suhtautuivat huomattavasti negatiivisemmin toiseen skenaarioon, eli siihen, kuinka eräät suomalaiset yritykset käyttävät vain englantia sisäisessä viestinnässään. IB:läiset suhtautuivat myös tähän tilanteeseen merkittävästi positiivisemmin.

Kysyttäessä, kuinka usein osallistujat käyttävät englantia annettuihin 15 aktiviteettiin, kuten musiikin kuunteluun, television katseluun, lukemiseen ja kirjoittamiseen, IB:läiset arvioivat käyttävänsä englantia useammin kuin lukiolaiset lähes kaikkiin niistä. Ainoa poikkeus oli televisiosarjojen katselu suomenkielisillä tekstityksillä. IB-lukiolaiset kuitenkin katsovat enemmän TV-sarjoja ilman tekstityksiä. Erittäin merkittäviä erot olivat lukemisessa, kirjoittamisessa, kavereiden kanssa juttelussa, sosiaalisen median käytössä ja englannin puhumisessa koulun ulkopuolella. Osan eroista selittää toki IB-lukiolaisten koulunkäynti ja siihen liittyvät kotitehtävät, mutta IB:läiset käyttävät englantia myös merkittävästi enemmän vain siksi, koska se on hauskaa. Voidaan kuitenkin silti todeta, että IB-lukiolaiset käyttävät englantia useammin ja useampiin tarkoituksiin kuin kansallisen puolen lukiolaiset.

Verrattuna siihen kuinka usein osallistujat käyttävät suomen kieltä samoihin aktiviteetteihin, kaikki osallistujat kuuntelevat musiikkia merkittävästi useammin englanniksi kuin suomeksi.

Myös englanninkielisiä suomeksi tekstitettyjä elokuvia opiskelijat katsovat merkittävästi enemmän kuin suomenkielisiä. IB:läiset katsovat elokuvia myös ilman tekstityksiä useammin kuin suomenkielisiä. IB-lukiolaiset käyttävät englantia tiedon etsintään erittäin merkittävästi useammin kuin lukiolaiset, jotka käyttävät siihen sekä suomea että englantia, kun taas IB:läiset käyttävät lähes pelkästään englantia. Lähes kaikki osallistujat pelaavat enemmän englannin- kuin suomenkielisiä videopelejä. Tämä saattaa toki johtua siitä, että englanninkielisiä pelejä julkaistaan huomattavasti enemmän kuin suomenkielisiä. Lähes kaikki juttelevat kavereille netissä enemmän suomeksi; vain IB-lukion pojat käyttävät englantia ja suomea yhtä usein. Kaiken kaikkiaan, jos esimerkiksi IB-lukiolaisten kielen käytössä oli eroja jomman kumman kielen eduksi, tämä etu oli yleensä englannilla, eli he käyttivät englantia enemmän kyseiseen aktiviteettiin. Jos taas kansallisen puolen lukiolaisilla esiintyi eroja, ne esiintyivät suomenkielen hyväksi.

Koodinvaihto (suomen ja englannin kielen käyttäminen samassa lausahduksessa) oli erittäin merkittävästi yleisempää IB-lukiolaisille. Syyt koodinvaihtamiseen olivat samanlaisia kummassakin ryhmässä. Pääsyy oli, että jotkin asiat saa sanottua nopeammin, helpommin tai vaan paremmin englanniksi kuin suomeksi. Toisaalta jos sana ei muistu mieleen englanniksi, joko ollenkaan tai tarpeeksi nopeasti, on se helppo korvata suomenkielisellä, tai toisinpäin. Yleinen perustelu oli myös, että sellaista nuorisokieliä vaan nykyään on eli sekoitus suomea ja englantia. IB:läisille tärkeä perustelu oli, että he osaavat suuren osan akateemisesta sanastosta vain englanniksi, koska suomennoksia ei tarvitse, ehdi tai jaksa opetella. IB-lukiolaisista moni mainitsi puhuvansa sujuvaa "Finglishiä" kavereiden kanssa nimenomaan tästä syystä. Toisaalta osa vastaajista ei voinut sietää kielten sekoittamista, koska se muun muassa kuulostaa tyhmältä, teennäiseltä ja ärsyttävältä.

Lukiolaiset kuulevat englantia monenlaisissa ympäristöissä, mutta kuitenkin melkoisen vähän. Silloin, kun he englantia kuulevat, sitä useimmiten puhuvat ei-syntyperäiset englannin kielen puhujat. Ryhmien välillä ei esiintynyt juurikaan eroja, sen lisäksi, että IB-lukiolaiset luonnollisesti kuulevat erittäin merkittävästi enemmän englantia koulussa. IB:läiset kuulevat englantia merkittävästi enemmän myös harrastuksissaan. Eniten osallistujat käyttävät englantia ystävien kanssa, jotka eivät puhu Suomea, internetissä tuntemattomien kanssa sekä puhuessaan ulkomaalaisten kanssa joko Suomessa tai ulkomailla. IB-lukiolaiset käyttävät englantia useammin, mutta tämä saattaa johtua yksinkertaisesti siitä, että heidän elämässään on enemmän englanninkielisiä ihmisiä. He esimerkiksi käyttävät englantia erittäin merkittävästi useammin ystävien kanssa, jotka eivät puhu suomea. Heillä saattaa siis vain olla vieraskielisiä ystäviä enemmän, esimerkiksi koulun kautta. Toisaalta IB:läiset saattavat herkemmin hakeutua tilanteisiin, joissa pääsevät puhumaan englantia. Tämä näkyy esimerkiksi siinä, että IB-lukiolaiset puhuvat internetissä englantia tuntemattomien kanssa erittäin merkittävästi useammin kuin lukiolaiset. Tämä saattaa osittain selittyä sillä että IB-lukion pojat pelaavat paljon videopelejä, ja jos he pelaavat interaktiivisia moninpelejä, voivat he olla yhteydessä ihmisiin ympäri maailman. Itseasiassa 92.5% IB:läisistä jotka pelaavat videopelejä päivittäin, puhuvat usein tuntemattomille internetissä. Tämä saattaa olla sattumaakin, mutta vaikka pitäisikin paikkaansa, se ei täysin selitä eroa, koska myös IB-lukion tytöt puhuvat tuntemattomien kanssa internetissä merkittävästi useammin kuin kansallisen lukion tytöt, vaikka eivät pelejä pelaakaan. Todennäköisesti, IB:läiset siis käyttävät internetiä useammin englanniksi ja päätyvät tai hakeutuvat keskustelemaan tuntemattomien kanssa. IB-lukiolaiset käyttävät englantia myös erittäin merkittävästi enemmän suomenkielisten ystäviensä kanssa.

Tutkimuksen hypoteesit vahvistuivat, koska tulokset osoittavat, että IB-lukiolaiset ovat kiinnostuneempia englannin kielestä, heidän asenteensa ovat positiivisempia sitä kohtaan ja he käyttävät sitä useammin ja vaihtelevimmissa konteksteissa. Lisäksi IB-lukiolaiset arvioivat kielitaitonsa paremmaksi kuin lukiolaiset kaikilla osa-alueilla ja heille englannin käyttäminen on luontevaa, koska he käyttävät sitä lähes yhtä sujuvasti kuin äidinkieltään. IB-lukiolaiset myös todistettavasti tavoittelevat syntyperäistasoja sekä puhumisessa ja että kirjoittamisessa. Viimeinen hypoteesi oli, että lukiolaiset samaistuvat paremmin suomalaiseen kulttuuriin, kun taas IB-lukiolaiset kokevat olevansa kansainvälisempiä, mikä myös osoittautui todeksi.