Teacher experiences of supporting bilingual pupils and bilingual learning in Finnish and English mainstream school contexts

Sara Sjöblom

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Department of Teacher Education
University of Jyväskylä

ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study is to determine how not only the language of schooling but also the first languages of pupils are acknowledged and supported in schools. The focus is on primary school teachers' experiences on the phenomenon. Moreover, as translanguaging practices are central in realising bilingual learning in mainstream classroom contexts, this study also aims to determine teachers' experiences and perceptions on bilingual learning and the use of translanguaging practices in school. The context of the study takes place in Finland and in England, both contexts having different backgrounds for linguistic diversity in schools. The purpose of this study is not to make comparisons between the two countries but rather to gain a wider picture of the phenomenon. The study concerns a current issue as multilingual classrooms are becoming increasingly common as a consequence of globalisation and mobility.

This study is a qualitative study with a phenomenological approach and it is based on empirical evidence. The dataset is based on interviews with eight primary school teachers in Finland and England. The findings showed that the support pupils with an additional language receive in school mainly focuses on the language of schooling, while the role of pupils' first languages in schools remains little. Whether the first languages are brought in as resources is much dependent on individual teachers. While some of the teachers use translanguaging practices in their classrooms, the concept is still unfamiliar for most teachers. Thus, more trainings are needed for teachers with regard to increasing the role of first languages and the use of translanguaging in schools.

Key words: bilingual pupils, bilingual learning, translanguaging

TIIVISTELMÄ

Sjöblom, Sara. 2017. Opettajien kokemuksia kaksikielisten oppilaiden ja kaksikielisen oppimisen tukemisesta Suomen ja Englannin koulukonteksteissa. Pro-Gradu tutkielma. Jyväskylän yliopisto. Opettajankoulutuslaitos.

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, miten sekä koulukieltä että oppilaiden ensikieliä huomioidaan ja tuetaan kouluissa. Tutkimuksessa keskitytään alakoulun opettajien kokemuksiin ilmiöstä. Koska käytänteet, jotka tukevat kielten rinnakkaista käyttöä (translanguagining) ovat keskeisiä kaksikielisen oppimisen toteuttamisessa yleisluokissa, tässä tutkimuksessa pyritään myös selvittämään opettajien näkemyksiä kaksikielisestä oppimisesta ja kielten rinnakkaisesta käytöstä koulussa. Tutkimus sijoittuu Suomen ja Englannin konteksteihin. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena ei ole kuitenkaan tehdä vertailuja kahden maan välillä, vaan saada laajempi kuva ilmiöstä. Tutkimus on ajankohtainen, sillä monikielisyys kouluissa on yleistynyt globalisaation ja liikkuvuuden myötä.

Tutkimukseni on laadullinen aineistolähtöinen tutkimus fenomenologisella lähestymistavalla. Aineisto perustuu kahdeksan opettajan haastatteluihin Suomessa ja Englannissa. Tutkimustulokset osoittivat, että kaksikieliset oppilaat saavat enimmäkseen tukea koulukieleen, kun taas heidän ensikieliinsä kohdistuva tuki on vähäistä. Se, käytetäänkö ensikieliä oppimisen resurssina, riippuu paljon yksittäisistä opettajista. Vaikka osa opettajista toteuttaakin kielien rinnakkaista käyttöä opetuksessa, käsite on silti tuntematon suurimmalle osalle. Opettajat tarvitsevatkin koulutuksia ensikielien käytön lisäämisen suhteen sekä siihen, miten kielien rinnakkaista käyttöä voidaan toteuttaa käytännössä.

Avainsanat: kaksikieliset oppilaat, kaksikielinen oppiminen, kielten rinnakkainen käyttö

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1 INTRODUCTION

Multilingual classrooms are becoming increasingly common in many countries as a consequence of globalisation and mobility. Much emphasis has recently been put on improving the support for those for whom the language of schooling may form obstacles for learning, and the effectiveness of the strategies have been researched. Moreover, there have been ongoing discussions about PISA results (e.g. Harju-Luukkainen, Nissinen, Sulkunen, Suni & Vettenranta, 2014) and other data (e.g. Strand, Malmberg & Hall, 2015) that indicate that many first- and second-generation pupils with a migrant background fall behind the others in school achievement. However, while much of the discussion about these children and their academic achievement has focused on their development in the majority language, less discussion has been going on about how to use these pupils' first languages as resources for learning, although research has shown the benefits of bilingual learning (e.g. Thomas & Collier, 2002).

When bilingual children are encouraged to use both their languages in learning, they do not only develop their first languages but also their abilities in the majority language, as the abilities in the two languages are interdependent (Cummins, 2001). Moreover, bilingual instructional strategies acknowledge the pupils' pre-existing knowledge and enable them to engage with the contents more effectively than those that ignore what these pupils bring into the classroom (Cummins, 2005). The benefits of using the first languages as resources for learning do not only extend to better learning outcomes. One's first languages are a key part of their identities, thus when children are given the message to leave their languages and cultures outside the school, they also leave behind a central part of who they are (Cummins, 2001). In these situations, the chances for the language shift from the minority language to the majority language are likely to increase. As research has shown, among different generations of ethnic minority communities, language shift and language loss are common (e.g. Portes & Hao, 1998; Li, 2006).

Multilingualism in today's societies is rather a norm than an exception. It has been estimated that nearly two thirds of the world's population are multilingual (Baker, 2011). Several languages co-exist in many countries, and around one in three of the world's populations use more than one language routinely for work as well as in their free time (Wei, 2000). The ability to speak multiple languages is needed and it is also a requirement for many occupations. However, while schools invest in teaching a variety of foreign languages for their pupils, they seem to forget the huge language potential that already exists among their pupils. Accordingly, Cummins (2005) argues that by ignoring the bilingual pupils' languages, schools are successfully transforming fluent speakers of many languages into monolingual speakers of the majority language, while at the same time they are struggling to transform monolingual pupils into foreign language speakers.

While it is important that bilingual pupils develop good skills in the language of schooling, it is evident that attention should also be paid on the first languages of pupils, and these languages should be used as resources for learning. Thus, this study aims to determine how not only the language of schooling, but also the first languages of pupils are acknowledged and supported in schools. As teachers have a central role in supporting learning of their bilingual pupils, the study focuses on primary school teachers' experiences on the phenomenon. Moreover, as translanguaging practices are central in realising bilingual learning in mainstream classroom contexts, this study also aims to determine teachers' experiences and perceptions on bilingual learning and the use of translanguaging practices in school. The context of the study takes place both in Finland, where the linguistic diversity has started to increase only in the past few decades, and in England, where multilingual classrooms have been a natural characteristic of many schools already for decades. The purpose of this study is not to make comparisons between the two countries but rather to gain a wider picture of the phenomenon and to find out whether there is something that we can learn from each other. With this study, I am hoping to raise awareness of the benefits of bilingual learning and provide examples of how teachers have

realised bilingual instructional strategies in their everyday classroom practices in schools in Finland and in England.

I will begin by presenting the theoretical framework of this study. The theoretical framework is presented in the first two chapters. In the first chapter, the concept of bilingualism is introduced, after which the benefits of bilingual learning and the use of translanguaging practices in mainstream school contexts are examined. In the next chapter, the context of the study is presented, examining bilingualism in Finnish and English school contexts. In the following chapters, the research design of the present study is introduced, after which the findings are presented. In the final chapter, the findings of the study and the issues brought forward are discussed along with the theory, after which the validity and limitations of the study as well as suggestions for further research are discussed.

2 BILINGUAL CHILDREN IN SCHOOL

2.1 Defining bilingualism

The ways bilingualism has been viewed have changed over the years. Grosjean (2008) describes two views that have been dominating the field: fractional and holistic. According to him, fractional view considers bilinguals as having two separate language competencies, whereas the holistic view sees the languages of a bilingual as being in co-existence and in constant interaction. While the first view sees bilinguals as two monolinguals in one person, the second one acknowledges that bilinguals are rarely equally or completely fluent in the two languages (Grosjean, 2008). The view that was dominant in the early research on bilingualism was that only native-like control of two languages was considered as bilingualism. However, nowadays the idea of a balanced bilingualism in which the individual is equally competent in two languages in all contexts, has been recognised as non-existent (Garcia, 2009).

Although the term 'bilingual' primary refers to someone with two languages, it can also be perceived as including those who have varying degrees of proficiency in and use three or even more languages (Wei, 2000). Moreover, bilingualism can be acquired in different phases in life. According to Reyes (2012), bilingualism can be categorised into *simultaneous bilingualism* and *sequential bilingualism*. In this view, simultaneous bilingualism occurs when a child grows up learning two languages, whereas sequential bilingualism occurs later in life when one language is learned before acquiring another language. Thus, the labels bilinguals have received in educational contexts, such as English language learners or second language learners, are often misleading. As Garcia (2009) points out, to be bilingual does not necessarily mean that one is a second language learner in school. Moreover, these terms are problematic in a way that they suggests bilingualism holding a deficit and presume that the child has insufficient knowledge of the language, instead of recognising bilingualism as an asset that could be used as a resource for learning (Reyes, 2012).

In the UK context, the term EAL (English as an additional language) has become a commonly used term when referring to pupils who are learning English as an additional language. This term includes newly arrived children with little or no English, as well as those who would be classified as second or third generation ethnic minority pupils who may use English fluently as their everyday language (Strand, Malmberg & Hall, 2015). In the Finnish context, these pupils are often referred as 'Finnish[1] as a second language (FSL) -pupils'. Furthermore, the term 'children with immigrant backgrounds' is still a commonly used term in the research and literature as well as policy level, referring to children and young people who have moved to, or been born in, Finland, and have immigrant backgrounds (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2017a). It can be argued that both of these terms contain negative connotations, and thus the term 'pupils with Finnish as an additional language' is used instead throughout this study.

Different terms have been used to refer to the language or languages these pupils speak with their families and other members of their communities. The term 'heritage language' has been used in the US and Canadian contexts and refers to languages spoken by ethnic communities, however, one might question the use of this term as it can be considered as containing connotations of something that is ancient and in the past, when the focus is in fact on languages of the future (Garcia, 2009). Other commonly used terms are home language, mother tongue, first language, native language and primary language (Lee & Suarez, 2009). According to Garcia (2009), especially the term 'mother tongue' has been adobted by many minority language groups. Skutnabb-Kangas (1995, p.44) uses four criteria for defining mother tongue: Origin (the language first learnt), competence (the language one knows the best), function (the language one uses the most) and identification (the language one identifies with). However, it is difficult to determine which one is an individual's mother tongue

[1] Alternatively, the term 'Swedish as a second language –pupils' may be used in Swedish-speaking schools in Finland.

as many of these aspects change through life (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995). In this study, the focus is on pupils who have acquired bilingualism either simultaneously or sequentially. The term 'first language' (L1) is used throughout the study to refer to a language other than the majority language, that is, a language(s) a child was first exposed to by parents or caretakers, or a language(s) that a child has some form of family connection to. Moreover, it is acknowledged that when speaking about the first languages of children, it may not be a language that they know the best or use the most, and they may identify themselves with different language groups in different contexts.

2.2 Bilingual learning through translanguaging

Languages have often been pitted against each other and multilinguals have been treated as non-native, lacking competence in some languages and their linguistic variations treated as indicating their inadequate usage (Canagarajah, 2011). When it comes to the educational settings, keeping languages separated in the classroom has been common and moving between languages considered as something to be avoided (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). The term translanguaging has grown in popularity in education in the 20th century, challenging many of these negative ideas about bilinguals and bilingualism (Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012b). The idea behind translanguaging is that instead of having two separate linguistic systems, the languages of bilinguals form a one, integrated system, from which bilinguals select appropriate features (e.g. Velasco & Garcia 2014; Canagarajah, 2011). Translanguaging thus challenges the concept of diglossia, which sees the two languages as having different uses and functions, for instance, one language is used in school and another language in the home (Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012a). In translanguaging, the languages of an individual co-exists in the same space rather than function separately (Garcia, 2009).

Canagarajah (2011, p.401) defines translanguaging as "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system". Translanguaging

is thus a function rather than a form (Lewis et al., 2012b), as the focus is not on bilingual language use from the perspective of the language itself but rather on the language practices of bilinguals (Garcia, 2009). Moreover, translanguaging involves language production, communication and cognitive processes (Lewis et al., 2012b), and includes not only speaking, but also writing, signing, listening, reading and remembering (Wei, 2011). Translanguaging is thus "*multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*" (Garcia, 2009, p. 45).

According to Garcia (2009), translanguaging practices are commonly used among the multilingual families and communities in order to construct meaning. For instance, translanguaging serves as a discursive practice that can include all family members in discussions regardless of their different competencies in languages. Moreover, translanguaging is often used among language minority children to translate the meanings to their parents who do not have the adequate competence in the majority language (Garcia, 2009). Parke, Drury, Kenner and Robertson (2002) point out that bilingual children are already constantly engaging with both of their languages in learning processes, and thus it would seem only natural to consciously extent the translanguaging practices to school contexts. However, despite the fact that translanguaging is already an everyday language practice among bilinguals, Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue that it is still rarely used in school contexts.

The benefits of bilingual learning have been recognised for a long time already. Research suggests that language minority students benefit the most when studying together with the language majority students (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012). For instance, Thomas and Collier's (2002) study of the English language learners' long-term academic achievement showed that over the long term, students schooled bilingually outperformed their monolingually schooled peers in academic achievement in all subjects. Moreover, research has shown that bilingual learning benefits not only language minority students but also language majority students. According to Cammarata and Tedick (2012), the majority language speakers can achieve a high level functional proficiency in the

immersion language and at the same time achieve academically as well as or better than those schooled monolingually.

Although many of these studies have been conducted within immersion programs, these findings can also be applied to mainstream classroom contexts. Cummins (2001) outlines the benefits of using a child's L1 in learning in mainstream school contexts. He argues that when children are able to develop their abilities in two or more languages, they not only gain a deeper understanding of both languages but they also develop their cognitive skills as a result of processing information through both of their languages. Similarly, Baker (2011, p. 289) argues that bilingual learning promotes deeper and fuller understanding of the content, as "to read and discuss a topic in one language, and then to write about it in another language, means that the subject matter has to be processed and 'digested'". Cummins (2001) points out that children's knowledge and skills transfer across languages. Thus, when children are allowed to use both languages in learning, the concepts, language, and literacy skills that children are learning in the school language can transfer to the L1. Examples of these skills in literacy are for instance, knowing how to distinguish the main idea from the supporting details, identifying cause and effect and distinguishing fact from opinion (Cummins, 2001).

Bilingual learning can be realised in mainstream classroom contexts in many ways through translanguaging practices. In these practises, "the assignment of one language to be input or output is systematically *varied* so that pupils get an opportunity to use both languages receptively (understanding and reading) and productively (reading and writing)" (Garcia, 2009, p. 302). For instance, peer grouping can be used to enable collaborative discussions and cooperative tasks using translanguaging (Garcia & Wei, 2014). One example of this is brainstorming in one language and creating a written product in the language of school instruction (see Celic & Seltzer, 2011). Many of these strategies can also be used in classes that have no specific language groups. For instance, when making projects, pupils can search information in their L1's, then gather the information and present their work in the language of school instruction (see

Garcia & Wei, 2014; Celic & Seltzer, 2011). Pupils can also make dual language books, in which they create stories in the language of school instruction and then translate them in their L1's with the help of parents or other people speaking the same language (Cummins, 2005). Teachers can also support their pupils to develop their vocabulary in both languages and extend their metalinguistic awareness by helping them to draw attention to cognate relationships across languages (Garcia and Wei, 2014; Cummins, 2005). These strategies that enable pupils to use both of their languages will not only engage them in higher-order thinking skills, but also build their content knowledge and scaffold their skills in both languages (Celic & Seltzer, 2011).

As outlined above, translanguaging practices in the classroom are beneficial for learning as they draw on all the linguistic resources of the pupil, maximizing learning and achievement (Lewis et al., 2012a), and can be realized in mainstream classroom settings in which a variety of languages are spoken. Moreover, translanguaging is not only a powerful way to construct and mediate understanding across language groups (Garcia, 2009), but it can also be seen as bringing equality into the classrooms in many ways. In addition to making the contents more accessible to all, using the pupils' first languages as a resource for learning, the pupils are also given the message that their proficiency in their first language is an important asset that is acknowledged and appreciated within the classroom (Cummins, 2005). Moreover, when children are given the opportunity to express their learning in both of their languages, the teachers have a better understanding of their true abilities (Parke et al., 2002). While translanguaging expands language practises used at home and in school, it can also be seen as destabilizing language hierarchies (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014) and functioning as a mechanism for social justice (Garcia & Leiva, 2014).

2.3 Language loss among children

In addition to the benefits of supporting one's first language for learning, Lee & Suarez (2009) point out that a communicative competence in the first language is also vital for children in maintaining the relationships with their families and community members. Moreover, studies have shown that children with ethnic minority background consider their first languages to be a key part of their identities (e.g. Kenner, Gregory, Ruby & Al-Azami, 2008).

However, research has shown that among different generations of ethnic minority communities, language shift and language loss are common and first languages are often not maintained or rarely developed (Li, 2006). For instance, a study by Portes and Hao (1998) showed that second generation children, defined as native-born children with at least one foreign-born parent or foreign-born children with at least five years of U.S. residence, dominantly preferred English as over two-thirds of them chose it over their parents' languages. Moreover, many of these children could not speak their parents' first languages and only 16 per cent spoke the language fluently. It is also common within many minority families that the first language use is only orally based, and thus the children's opportunities to develop their literacy skills in that language are limited (Lee & Suarez, 2009; Eisenchlas, Schalley & Guillemin 2013).

Cummins (2001) talks about the power of the language communities, arguing that if they are not present in the environment children grow up, the children are likely to retain receptive skills in their first language but use the majority language with their friends and siblings and responding to their parents. Furthermore, this may eventually lead to the linguistic gap between parents and children, and becoming alienated from the cultures of home. Although using the first language only in the home is insufficient in order to develop a full linguistic competence in that language (Lee and Suarez, 2009), having parents who encourage the maintenance and development of the first language play a central role in how the child perceives that language. A study by Li (2006) suggests that the way parents perceive the host society and the values they attach to languages affect the support they provide for their children to

maintain their first language. The findings of the study showed that the lack of first language use in home in addition to the child's resistant attitude to use the first language in different social contexts eventually resulted in the children becoming monolingual English users.

A study by Tse (2001) showed that whether one's first language was considered as an asset by institutions such as schools, had also a central role in one's attitudes towards their first language. Cummins (2001) argues that the school can help children maintain their first languages when teachers emphasise the children the value of knowing additional languages and bilingualism as an important linguistic and intellectual accomplishment. Furthermore, this can be done by celebrating the multilingualism of pupils and sharing of languages in the class. However, he points out that simply accepting of children's linguistic and cultural diversity in the school is not enough, but children should also be encouraged to use their languages as a resource for learning. Conversely, in schools that enforce an unofficial English only policy, children very quickly learn to separate their L1's from the school context and develop a preference for the majority language, as a study by Li (2006) suggests. Thus, the role of school in helping children maintain and appreciate their languages cannot be emphasised enough, and the power of translanguaging practices that allow us to "adopt orientations specific to multilinguals and appreciate their competence in their own terms." (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 3) needs to be recognised.

3 THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

3.1 Bilingual children in the Finnish school context

Although minority groups such as Swedish-speaking Finns, Sami and Roma have always been present in Finland, the number of speakers of Finnish has always been a great majority. In 1990, 93.5% of the population spoke Finnish as their first language, whereas the same number for Swedish speakers was only 5.9% and for speakers of other languages it was even less, 0.5% (Official Statistics of Finland, 2015). In 2015, however, the number of Finnish speakers had decreased to 88.7%, while the number of speakers of other languages as their first language had risen to 6.0%, exceeding the number of Swedish speakers that had decreased to 5,3% (Official Statistics of Finland, 2015). This indicates that Finland is gradually becoming a more culturally and linguistically diverse society. Naturally, this extends to the school context. Statistics show that the amount of under school-age children with a migrant background was 7.9% at the end of 2015, the amount being the highest in Greater Helsinki where 20% of under school-age children are of migrant background (Official Statistics of Finland, 2016). It is evident that as more languages are spoken in Finland, schools need to acknowledge this in its policies and practices.

It is stated in both the previous and the new National Core Curriculum (2004, 2014), that the particular objective in the instruction for multilingual pupils is to support their multilingual competence as well as the development of their identities and self-esteems, taking into account pupils' linguistic and cultural backgrounds as well as their duration of stay in Finland. In practice, the emphasis has been on learning the language of schooling, which has been supported by Finnish (/Swedish) as a second language instruction and preparatory instruction for newcomers.

According to Finnish National Agency for Education (2017a), preparatory instruction is designed to prepare pupils recently moved to Finland for basic

education and it usually lasts from six months to one year. Moreover, the emphasis of the instruction is on the mastery of Finnish language so that these pupils would be able to study in the mainstream classroom without the language of schooling forming obstacles for learning. The instruction follows the Curriculum for Preparatory Instruction (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2015b). However, schools are not obligated to organize preparatory instruction (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2017b) and hence children may start school either straight away in a mainstream class. Alternatively, they may start school in a preparatory class in the closest school in which it is organized. Unfortunately, they may then have to change to a different school again when transferred to a mainstream class. In addition to the separate preparatory classes, the instruction for newcomers can also be organised as an inclusive preparatory instruction. In this model, newcomers will be placed in the nearest mainstream school, and the support for learning and instruction for Finnish will be organized in the mainstream class. However, although starting in a mainstream class the objectives for learning will be in accordance with the objectives in preparatory instruction.

In addition to preparatory instruction, Finnish or Swedish as second language instruction may be offered instead of the mother-tongue-and-literature instruction. According to the Finnish National Core Curriculum (2014), Finnish as a second language (FSL) instruction is offered for those whose proficiency in Finnish is not adequate in one or more domains of the language and thus their language skills are not sufficient in order to study the Finnish language and literature studies syllabus. Furthermore, cities in Finland set their own policies for FSL instruction. For example, the City of Helsinki's (2016) policy is that pupils receive FSL instruction for as long as they achieve mother tongue skills at all levels of language proficiency, which one might consider quite an ambitious goal as it is not sure if one ever achieves a native-like proficiency in their second language (Ortega, 2009).

The support for the children's first languages is realised through instruction for L1's, which aims to support the pupils to improve their bilingual competence

and to keep their interest to maintain their bilingualism through life (The Finnish National Core Curriculum, 2014). However, as the Basic Education Act does not outline the L1 instruction as compulsory, there are no conditions of qualifications for the L1 teachers and the organizers of basic education have the full autonomy to decide whether they offer the instruction and for which languages the two weekly L1 lessons are offered (Tarnanen & Kauppinen, 2016). According to the national survey by Kuukka, Quakrim-Soivio, Pirinen, Tarnanen and Tiusanen (2015), around half of education providers offer instruction for L1's. Not surprisingly, the survey indicated that the more linguistically diverse pupils there are, the better the chances are that the instruction for their L1's is organised. In 2015, L1 instruction was organised for 55 languages, in which Russian, Somali, Arabic and Estonian had the highest number of pupils participating the instruction (Finnish National Agency for education, 2015a).

As the amount of multilingual children in schools is on the rise, there have been discussions around the effectiveness of instruction for these pupils. A report on PISA 2012 results by Harju-Luukkainen, Nissinen, Sulkunen, Suni & Vettenranta (2014) reveals that the learning achievements of pupils with Finnish as an additional language are clearly below of the other pupils' in Finland. This could be due to the pupils' lacking knowledge of the language of instruction, especially considering those pupils born abroad. However, based on the results even those pupils whose parents were born abroad but who themselves were born in Finland, were lagging almost two school years behind the others in mathematics, and the results in science, reading literacy and problem solving were similar (Harju-Luukkainen et al., 2014). It thus seems that so far, the school system has not succeeded in answering the needs of bilingual pupils.

The new curriculum that came into effect in 2016 has taken a new step towards multilingualism highlighting the role of multilingual pupils' first languages in learning. According to the new curriculum (2014), pupils should be encouraged to use the languages they know in various ways in different subjects and other school activities, as learning and using the first language support the acquisition of the contents and enables pupils to communicate the contents also

in their first languages. Therefore, the new emphasis seems to be on languages being present in all learning rather than just in separate L1 lessons. Martin (2016) points out that although using one's home languages in break times may be allowed, the language lessons are still strictly separated and taught in different contexts, although a major part of the language learning occurs in conjunction with acquiring the subject contents. Similarly, Layne argues that although the new curriculum has taken the right direction towards multilingualism, it does not recognise the hierarchies between languages, as the home languages of the pupils are still overruled by Finnish as well as English and other widely-spoken languages. She suggests that translanguaging would help to internalise the instruction, as it would enable the children to operate in both of their languages in learning (Vanas, 2016). Thus, it seems that the concept of translanguaging has recently started to gain in popularity as an answer to help the multilingual pupils to achieve their full potentials.

3.2 Bilingual children in the English school context

According to the Office for National Statistics (2013), 92.3% of the 49.8 million people aged three and over reported English (or English or Welsh in Wales) as their main language in 2011, whereas 7.7% reported having another main language. Not surprisingly, London had the highest proportion of people with another main language with 22.1%. These numbers are similar also in the school context. According to the report by the Department for Education (2016), 20.1% of the 4.6 million pupils in state funded primary schools had English as an additional language (EAL). Although the number of EAL pupils in schools vary between the different regions in the country (Strand, Malmberg & Hall, 2015), in many areas multilingual classrooms have been the everyday reality for decades. It is thus important to recognise the past policies and approaches that have shaped the nature of EAL in schools today.

Costley (2014) defines three main phases in the approaches to EAL: assimilation, withdrawal and mainstreaming. The assimilation phase took place

in the early stages of migration when the migrant population to Britain started to increase significantly in the 1950's. The common belief at that time was that the EAL learners were to be treated the same as everyone else. At the time, the amount of EAL pupils in schools varied greatly across the country, some schools receiving very few EAL pupils while other schools were experiencing significant changes in the number of the EAL pupils. Consequently, more formalised approach to successfully working with the increasing linguistic diversity in the classroom was needed and the learning needs and requirements of EAL pupils began to be considered in the 1960's. A common belief was that the best way to support the EAL pupils was to teach them English as quickly as possible, thus, withdrawal classes were considered as the most effective way to implement this. The withdrawal phase grew out of its popularity in the mid 1980's. The Swann Report published in 1985 had a significant influence in it, as it found the segregation of EAL pupils socially and educationally unacceptable. Instead, it addressed the importance of language and linguistic development in all subjects for all pupils regardless of their language background. The mainstream phase, that is still present today, was the solution to tackle the inequality. To support the teachers in teaching EAL pupils in mainstream classrooms, EAL teacher trainings have since been organized and materials and resources for teaching pupils with EAL developed.

Although the mainstream phase has had a positive effect on the approaches to cultural and linguistic diversity, Costley (2014) points out that the new policies have not taken into account the learning needs of EAL pupils, as the curriculum, learning objectives, assessment and criteria were and still are the same for all. The analysis of the school achievement of EAL pupils by Strand et al. (2015) supports this argument as it was found that especially those pupils who had arrived more recently, age 5 to 14, had significantly lower scores than English only speakers, whereas those who were born in the UK or arrived before age 5 did not considerably differ in achievement from English only speakers. While it may not be a surprise that the duration of stay in the country affects the success in school, Strand et al. (2015) also found a connection between the school achievement and

the main language spoken. According to the analysis, pupils with a main language other than English achieved significantly lower scores regardless of when they had arrived in the UK. While there seems to be the need to find more ways to support EAL pupils in their schooling, the funds and resources for EAL are decreasing (Costley, 2014).

There is a brief notion of EAL pupils in the National curriculum in England. According to the curriculum (2013), teachers should take account of the needs of EAL pupils, and consider their age, durations of stay in the country, previous educational experience and ability in other languages, and they should provide opportunities to help pupils improve their English and provide support for pupils to take part in all subjects. However, the way this is implemented seems to be much dependent on the school and its teachers. As the British Council (2017b) points out, the Department of Education does not currently offer specialist support for specific groups of learners including children with English as an additional language. Instead, schools have been given the full freedom to implement the necessary measures, although everything is monitored through Ofsted and school data.

According to the Department for Education (2012), the Government's priority for EAL children at present remains "to promote rapid language acquisition and include them in mainstream education as quickly as possible". It therefore seems that although the EAL pupils are studying in mainstream classrooms, the current policies and approaches have little changed in nature over the past decades. In its EAL specific materials the Department for Education (2006), highlights the significant role of the first language in identity, learning and the acquisition of additional languages, and points out that if children are given opportunities to continue to develop their first language alongside English they will benefit from it remarkably. However, there is no mention in the curriculum in England (2013) about the support for first languages, nor are there any set policies for that. Similarly, Safford and Drury (2013) note there is little evidence of using the first languages as resources for learning even though the value and importance of pupil's bilingualism seems to be acknowledged in

schools. It thus seems that it is very much depended on the schools whether they are aware of the benefits of supporting the first languages and how they decide to realise that in every day basis. Mike Kelly, a former adviser on the Department for Education's steering group on languages points out that the community languages have little room in the curriculum and having English as an additional language is sometimes even seen as a problem in schools. He thus highlights that more needs to be done to emphasise the value of languages in schools (Ratcliffe, 2013). Based on the research on multilingualism, the use of the first languages as a resource in learning would most likely enhance the learning and in doing so, make the learning more meaningful and perhaps increase the success in school.

4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this study is to determine how the languages of bilingual pupils are acknowledged and supported in schools in Finland and in England. Thus, the focus is not only on the language of schooling but also on the first languages of pupils. As teachers have a central role in supporting learning of their bilingual pupils, the study focuses on primary school teachers' experiences on the phenomenon. Moreover, as translanguaging practices are central in realising bilingual learning in mainstream classroom contexts, this study also aims to determine teachers' experiences and perceptions on bilingual learning and the use of translanguaging practices in school.

The research questions are:

1. According to the teachers, what kind of support do pupils with an additional language receive for learning?
2. What kind of role do bilingual pupils' first languages have in schools according to the teachers' experiences?
3. How do teachers perceive bilingual learning and the use of translanguaging practices in school?

5 THE PRESENT STUDY

5.1 Approach of the study

The focus of the study is on teachers' experiences and their conceptions based on these experiences. Moreover, this study aims to examine these experiences in depth and detail. As qualitative methods produce detailed information, which increases the depth of understanding of the phenomenen (Patton, 2002), a qualitative approach was chosen for this study.

The approach of the study guides fieldwork and interpretation. This study focuses on experiences, thus a phenomenological approach served the purpose the best. According to Patton (2002), the phenomenological approach is based on the idea that all our understanding comes from our experiences of phenomena, which need to be described, explicated and interpreted. The focus is thus on exploring how people make sense of their experiences. Because interpretation is essential to an understanding of experience (Patton, 2002), this approach is also closely related to hermeneutic approach (Laine, 2015). Furthermore, as the experiences of the teachers also reflect on their perceptions which furthermore influence the way they behave, this study also has features of a phenomenographic approach.

According to Laine (2015), a study that has a phenomenological and hermeneutical approach is realized at two levels. The first level is formed by the experiences of the participants as they express them. On the second level, the researcher aims to thematise and conceptualise the meanings of the first level. These meanings can be approached only by understanding and interpreting them and thus the findings of the study are not generalised facts but the researcher's interpretations of participants' descriptions of their experiences (Laine, 2015).

Each individual has a unique set of experiences, which determines the way they behave. The same phenomenon is hence experienced differently, and as a result the perceptions we form differ from each other (Laine, 2015). Although the focus is on individual experiences, Creswell, (2013) points out that a

phenomenological study aims to describe what all participants have in common as they experience the same phenomenon.

5.2 Data Collection

The data of a study with a phenomenological approach is usually collected by interviews (Laine, 2015; Creswell, 2013), which was also the case in the present study. The data was collected by interviewing eight teachers who had experience in teaching bilingual children in mainstream primary schools either in Finland or in England. The participants were purposefully selected from the multilingual capital areas, Helsinki and London, as well as from two larger cities in Northern England and Central Finland. This enabled to gain a more diverse picture of the researched topic, as the amount of multilingual population varies greatly across the two contexts. The participants were selected by contacting schools via email and asking if they had any teachers who would meet the requirements, as well as contacting teachers directly if it was clear that they would be ideal participants for this study. Their experience in working as teachers varied from two years to 27 years. Seven of the participants were currently working as teachers and one of them had moved on into working as a professor in a university. Moreover, two of the participants in England had also been working as teachers in complementary schools before moving into teaching in a primary school.

As the focus of the study was on experiences, the interviews needed to be designed in a way that allowed the participants to describe their experiences in detail and thus the interviews could not be too structured. However, as the literature and the existing studies of the phenomena, as well as the research questions of this study determined the designing of the questions, semi-structured theme interviews were chosen to serve the purpose the best. This way the interviews were progressed via specific chosen themes and the questions defining them (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009), while it also enabled the participants to share further information that the questions did not cover. The interview questions consisted of the background information of the teacher and the school,

the policies and practices of the school regarding the support for pupils' languages, the role of pupils' first languages in lessons as well as the teachers' perceptions of the use of translanguaging practices in a school context.

According to Laine (2015), in a typical phenomenological interview, the participants try to verbalize their experiences and the researcher attempts to form as correct interpretations of these as possible. The way these experiences are conveyed, depends on how the interviewee is able to express these experiences and the researcher's abilities to ask relevant questions, understand and interpret the expressions of the interview. Thus, the nature of a phenomenological interview is dialogic and it aims to a spontaneous and free speech of the interviewee (Laine, 2015). As the aim was not to guide the discussion but to let the participants to elaborate freely on their experiences, the interviews were therefore rather lengthy, varying from 40 minutes to 2 hours and 15 minutes. Moreover, the conversation paths varied in each interview, and thus the order of the questions changed in each interview. Questions were also added to the framework after the first interviews as unexpected themes emerged from the interviews. The interviews were carried out both in Finland and in the UK in January and February in 2017, and they were conducted both in Finnish and English, depending on the shared language between the interviewer and the interviewee.

5.3 Participants

As the backgrounds of the participants and the nature of schools they worked in seemed to have a connection to the language practices used in schools, I will next present the backgrounds of the teachers participating in the study. The background information includes relevant information about their experience in teaching pupils with an additional language as well as factors that were brought up throughout the interviews. Pseudonyms are used throughout the study to maintain the anonymity of the participants.

Maria has worked as a teacher in Finland for three years. She has taught grades one (7-year-olds), five (11-year-olds) and six (12-year-olds). The school she works in is located in the capital area, and approximately 30 per cent of the pupils in the school have Finnish as an additional language. There are eight pupils currently in her class speaking a language(s) other than Finnish at home, Somali and Arabic being the mostly spoken languages.

Hanna has worked as a teacher in Finland for two years. She has worked in three different schools that have all been in the capital area. In the school Hanna currently works in, there are approximately four to five pupils with Finnish as an additional language in each class. Four of the 18 pupils in Hanna's class speak a language(s) other than Finnish at home, two of them speak Russian and the others speak Estonian and Greek. There are no majority language groups in the school.

Noora has been working as a teacher for three and a half years and has been teaching grades one (7-year-olds), three (9-year-olds), four (10 year-olds) and five (11-year-olds). She has worked in two different schools in the capital area in Finland, both of the schools having a high number of pupils with Finnish as an additional language. In the first school she worked in, the amount of pupils speaking a language(s) other than Finnish was approximately 60 per cent. In the school she currently works in, approximately 40 per cent of the pupils have Finnish as an additional language. 15 of the 23 pupils in the class she currently teaches have Finnish as an additional language. Most of the children in the class speak different languages including Russian, Estonian, Tigrinya, Swahili, Punjabi, Arabic and Somali.

Mikael has worked as a teacher for 27 years. He has worked in three different schools in larger cities in Central Finland. He has taught every year group from one to six but mostly grades one to three. Mikael currently teaches in a school in which there are approximately one or two pupils with Finnish as an additional language in each class, Russian and Arabic being the majority languages spoken in the school. Mikael currently teaches the second grade (8-year-olds), and there is only one pupil with Finnish as an additional language in

Mikael's class. This pupil's parents speak Russian, but according to Mikael, they have spoken broken English to their child from birth and thus the child does not know any Russian nor is he proficient in his first language, English.

Kate has worked as a teacher for 14 years. She has worked in four different schools in larger cities in Northern England and she has taught every year group from nursery (3-year-olds) to the sixth grade (11 year-olds). Kate has also worked as a teacher in a British Primary School in Spain for three years. All of the schools in England Kate has worked in have had around four pupils with English as an additional language in each class. In the British Primary school, the majority of the children had Spanish as their first language but were learning through English, although there were also many international children in the school. There are currently only two pupils with English as an additional language in Kate's class, and there are no specific language groups in the school. Kate has also taught a girl who came from Mexico and arrived with no English. Kate has herself grown up as bilingual.

Frida is originally from the Northern Europe, but she has both studied and started her career as teacher in England. She has been working as a teacher for five years and she has taught year groups from the second grade (7-year-olds) to the sixth grade (11-year-olds). Approximately 60% of the 25 children she currently teaches have English as an additional language. The majority language groups in the school are Polish and Bengali, and some languages spoken in Pakistan. Frida works in a deprived area outside of London, which brings additional challenges into teaching.

Susan has worked as a teacher in the same school for 18 years. The school she works in is located in a larger city in Northern England. She has taught year groups from the third grade (8-year-olds) to the sixth grade (11-year-olds). There are around four pupils with English as an additional language in each class. Susan currently has four children with English as an additional language in her class, all of them speaking Urdu as their first language. However, there are no specific language groups in the school.

Anna has a Northern European background and she has been working as a teacher in London area in the 90's, having specialized in the early years. Anna has taught classes, in which around 90% of the children had English as an additional language, the majority of children having Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi backgrounds. Anna has later on moved in on teaching in a university, and since then she has worked in projects and done research that focuses on plurilingual pupils. She has also been involved in establishing one of the complementary schools in England and worked there as a teacher.

5.4 Data Analysis

According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009), most of the methods of analysis in qualitative studies are in some way based on a content analysis method. Moreover, because different methods of analysis are often intertwined, the analysis can consist of the combinations of more than one method. The data-based content analysis method was chosen to analyse the data in this study, as its focus is on themes that illustrate the range of the meanings of the phenomenon rather than the statistical occurrence of concepts (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005). However, as the approach of the study will shape the analysis (Patton, 2002), the phenomenological nature of the present study was acknowledged throughout the analysis process.

According to Zhang & Wildemuth (2005, p. 2), a qualitative content analysis involves "a process designed to condense raw data into categories or themes based on valid inference and interpretation". I started the analysis by listening to all the interviews and transcribing them word for word which resulted material for total of 116 pages with font size of 12 and line spacing of 1,5. Laine (2015) points out that the themes significant for the study emerge only when we understand the meanings of the expressions from the interviewee's point of view, and thus it is crucial to spend time on listening and reading the data. Thus, I read the transcriptions several times and while transcribing made notes of the interesting themes and key concepts present within the data.

After carefully reading the interview transcripts, I started the coding process in which the texts are unitized and concepts highlighted and labeled (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005). I used ATLAS software to support the coding process. The codes were defined based on the notes taken during the transcribing process as well as the research questions of the study. As the data gathered was quite extensive, the first analysis resulted in a high number of codes. Thus, I wanted to find out whether more connections between the themes could be identified. According to Laine (2015), the meanings of the statements can only be found when absorbed in the data. Thus, I further coded the existing codes. After the second coding, some connections were identified. At this point, three main themes were identified: 1) Official policies in supporting bilingualism in schools, 2) Teacher's experiences in supporting bilingual pupils on a daily basis and 3) Attitudes towards the use of L1's in schools. However, as these themes were not in an accordance with my research questions, I decided to organize all the codes one more time under two main categories: 1) Supporting pupils with an additional language in learning and 2) The role of bilingual pupils' first languages in school. I then formed subcategories under these main categories by using the categories from the coding. Finally, I summarized my interpretations into findings, using direct quotations from the data in order to grasp the voices of the participants as precisely as possible (Laine, 2015).

5.5 Ethical issues

Ethical issues need to be considered throughout the study, as they apply to different phases of the research process (Creswell, 2013). Hirsjärvi, Remes and Sajavaara (2009) point out that the basis of the study needs to be on respecting the human dignity, hence, the participants must have the autonomy to decide whether they want to take part in the study. Moreover, the participants should be aware of the purpose of the study and factors that may affect them (Creswell, 2013). These aspects of the ethicality were taken into account as all the participants took voluntarily part in the study. Moreover, they were informed

about the purpose of the study and the methods prior to the interviews. In addition, the permission for recording the interviews was asked and the participants were informed about how the data is to be used. The permission to record the interview and use recorded material can be found in the appendices of this study (see Appendix 1).

Another important element concerning the ethicality of the study is the securing of the anonymity of the participants. As Creswell (2013, p. 186) points out, "a guarantee of anonymity will allow participants to feel confident in providing their perspectives or experiences". In the previous section, I described the background information of the participants, as it is relevant in order to understand the experiences as well as the perceptions of the teachers. However, I have used pseudonyms throughout the study in order to maintain the participants' anonymities. Moreover, I made sure that the schools or any other information that would reveal the identities of the participants do not come out in any stages of this study. In addition to these, the information gained through the study must remain confidential and must not be used for other purposes (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009; Creswell, 2013). Accordingly, the data gained through interviews will be used only in this study and will be destroyed after finishing the report.

6 FINDINGS

The findings that emerged from the data are presented in this chapter. The findings have been organised under two main themes based on the research questions: 1) Supporting pupils with an additional language in learning and 2) The role of bilingual pupils' first languages in school. Furthermore, the subcategories under both themes are comprised of the specific themes that emerged from the data (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 The themes that form the findings of this study

Main categories	Subcategories
1. Supporting pupils with an additional language in learning	School policies on supporting learning in an additional language
	Differentiating instruction in linguistically diverse classrooms
	Assessing pupils who are learning in their additional language
2. The role of bilingual pupils' first languages in school	Policies for supporting bilingual pupils' first languages
	The role of bilingual pupils' first languages in school
	The role of bilingual pupils' first languages in learning

Although the data consists of teachers' experiences in both the Finnish and English contexts, the aim was not to compare the practices between the two countries but rather to gain a wider picture of the phenomenon. However, if there was a connection between teachers' experiences and their contexts, these connections have been taken into account and brought forward. Next, the findings are presented in more detail.

6.1 Supporting pupils with an additional language in learning

It is evident that pupils with an additional language may need support for learning as well as for developing their skills in the language of schooling. The ways pupils were supported are explored in more detail in this chapter. The first section focuses on school policies that provided support for learning in an additional language. As the school policies are different in Finland and England, the findings in the two contexts are presented separately. Next, the ways in which the teachers had differentiated instruction and provided support for their pupils with an additional language in every day basis are presented. The third section focuses on the issues the teachers in this study brought up in assessing pupils with an additional language.

6.1.1 School policies on supporting pupils with an additional language

Finland

Pupils recently moved to Finland often start school in preparatory instruction, which is designed to prepare them for basic education with the emphasis on the mastery of the Finnish language (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2017a). The teachers in this study discussed the ways the instruction for newcomers is organised in their schools. Most of the teachers were working in schools, in which preparatory instruction was not organised. In these cases, it was common that newly arrived pupils attended preparatory instruction in another school and were transferred to their schools after having gained a basic knowledge of the Finnish language. Preparatory instruction was offered only in Maria's school, and it was organized in two groups: grades one to three and four to six. According to her, children usually study in preparatory classes for a year, although some might be transferred to mainstream classes earlier if they learn the language quickly. Maria emphasised that although starting school in a

preparatory class, the aim is to integrate the child to the mainstream class as much as possible already from the beginning:

> There is a lot of cooperation between the preparatory class for the younger pupils and years one to three, and the pupils from the preparatory class are integrated in the mainstream classes in the art lessons and sports lessons etc, and eventually in maths and other subjects too. -Maria
>
> (Tehdään tosi paljo yhteistyötä vaikka pienten valmistava luokka tekee tosi paljo yhteistyötä niinkö ykkös kakkosten ja kolmosten kaa ja sieltä on ne oppilaat just vaikka kuviksen tunneilla tai liikkatunneilla tai muuta.. ja pikkuhiljaa sitte matikassa ja muissaki aineissa.)

As pointed out earlier, preparatory instruction can also be implemented as an inclusive instruction, which some cities have gradually started to practice. For instance, according to the Education Department of City of Helsinki (2016), preparatory instruction for preschool and years one and two will increasingly be organized as inclusive. The concept of the inclusive instruction was brought up by one of the teachers, as she expressed a concern about the lack of resources:

> --if pupils with no knowledge of Finnish are integrated in mainstream classes without any extra resources, I find that very concerning. -Noora
>
> (--sit kun aletaan tuomaan ryhmiin semmosii oppilait jotka on täysin kielitaidottomia ja sit se et jos heidän mukanaan ei tuu mitään tukea, niin sen mä koen tosi huolestuttavaks)

It is worth noting that in Noora's case, the majority of children in her class have Finnish as an additional language and she mentioned that the support she is receiving at the moment is already insufficient:

> -- when we know what the resources are I think the support is maximal but I do find that the it's still not enough reckoning that there are schools in Helsinki, such as our school, in which half of the pupils are studying Finnish as a second language, and the resources for e.g. Finnish as a second language –instruction are the same than in schools with only a few, so that is a big issue of inequality that the schools in Helsinki are becoming very divergent. - Noora
>
> (-- tavallaan ku tiedetään mitkä ne resurssit on et niiden puitteis sitä, se tuki on ihan maksimaalinen mut.. kyl mä koen et en, et kyl niinku ihan liian vähän ottaen huomioon sen et Helsingis on näit koului just niinku meilläki jois alkaa olla yli puolet suomi toisena kielenä ja resurssituntimäärä vaik S2 opetukseen on sama ku koulussa jossa on vaan muutamia, et kyl se on niinku iso epätasa-arvonen ongelma et Helsingis oikeesti koulut eriytyy.)

Pupils with Finnish as an additional language may also attend Finnish or Swedish as second language -instruction instead of the mother-tongue-and-literature instruction. Finnish as a second language (FSL) -instruction was

organized in all the four schools. However, there seemed to be variation in the ways the instruction was implemented. For instance, in Mikael's school the instruction was offered only for pupils from year one to year three and there was only one lesson a week. Moreover, there seemed to be variation on what grounds pupils with Finnish as an additional language attended the instruction. For instance, Noora pointed out that among her pupils, only those whose language skills in Finnish are the weakest attend the instruction:

> I have fifteen pupils who would have the FSL status but seven of them attend the FSL lessons. The whole FSL status is so vague because everyone's language skills and need for support is so diverse… we have usually concentrated the FSL instruction for those whose language skills are the weakest… and the others benefit more from studying Finnish in the mainstream class, in Finnish. –Noora

> (Mulla on se viistoista jotka on tavallaan S2 oppilaita nii niistä seitsemän käy siin S2 opettajan pienryhmässä. Et sitä S2 tavallaan statuksena niin se on niin epämääränen et kaikkien taitotaso ja tarpeet on tosi eroavia. Et meillä yleensä on keskitytty sit ne jotka on se kielitaito on kaikist huonoin nii on käyny siellä pienryhmässä. Että muilla sitte hyötyvät enemmän siitä että opiskelevat siin isos ryhmässä suomella, suomenkielellä)

As all Noora's pupils could not attend the FSL instruction, the support for those pupils was organized in the mainstream classroom as collaborative teaching between the teacher and the FSL teacher, in a way that the FSL teacher assisted Noora, explained concepts and made simplified material for the pupils. Contrary to Noora's case, Hanna mentioned that all of her pupils with Finnish as an additional language attended FSL instruction, even when born in Finland:

> Yeah they [those who were born in Finland] do… because I've understood that they speak their L1's dominantly at home. And it can be noticed from the exams and their readings that their vocabulary is more limited. –Hanna

> (Joo käy… koska kyl se sitte mun ymmärtääkseni puhuu aika paljo kotonaan sitä omaa äidinkieltään. Ja näkee esimerkiks just jossain niinku kokeissa ja lukemisessa et sit se sanavarasto on vaan kuitenki suppeampi.)

It came up in one of the interviews that one of the pupils with Finnish as an additional language was often withdrawn from the class either by the FSL teacher or the special educational needs teacher as he was given face-to-face instruction in the Finnish language during the school day:

> -- when the special educational needs teacher comes in or takes a pupil away it's often this particular lad. -Mikael

> (-- kun erityisopettaja tulee luokkaan tai käy hakemassa nii kylhän se hakee usein sen kaverin.)

Consequently, although not explicitly expressed, it seemed that the pupil ended up missing out in other lessons:

> -- and because we use a Finnish book for searching information, so if we are doing… like we were now doing these things [presentations]… and actually he didn't make them because we were making them in those lessons in which he wasn't present except listening what the others had done. -Mikael

> (-- ja sitte ku käytetään suomenkielistä lähdekirjaa, et jos me tehään joku… niinku nyt tehtiin näitä juttuja nii… eikä se siis tehnykkää se ku myö tehtiin tätä niillä tunneilla missä se ei ollu paikalla paitsi kuuntelemassa sitte että mitä toiset on tehny.)

While the intention for this may have been well meant, one might argue if it actually is beneficial for the pupil to be withdrawn from lessons for private instruction. Perhaps there could instead be more cooperation between the teacher and the FSL teacher, as in Noora's case, which would make it possible for the particular pupil to study with his peers.

Parents' views on the FSL instruction were also discussed. On the other hand, it was brought up that many parents seemed to appreciate the fact that instruction for Finnish language was organized, as they highlighted the importance to learn Finnish in order to do well in school:

> Many of them want their children to learn proper Finnish and many of them say that they need to learn it better than the parents have learnt so that they can educate themselves further, so many families value the education and the linguistic competence very much. -Noora

> (Tosi moni niinku hirveesti haluu et se suomee opitaan kunnolla, ja et niinku varsinki monet sanoo et pitää oppia paremmin ku vanhemmat on oppinu että pääsee kouluttautumaan sitte pidemmälle et kyl monis nois maahanmuuttajaperheis kyl arvostetaan sitä kielitaitoo ja koulutusta ihan tosi paljon.)

However, it was also pointed out that some parents viewed FSL instruction as stigmatizing and therefore would have preferred their child to study the Finnish language and literature syllabus in the mainstream class:

> One half-Russian family tried to apply the status away, but it was a case that they had first lived in Russia so the boy's Finnish wasn't very good, but they tried to get rid of that status in order to not be stigmatized. - Mikael

> (Se puoliks venäläinen perhe, nii kyllä ne yritti sitä anoo sitä statusta pois mutta ku seki oli sillein et ne oli jo asunu ensin Venäjällä, nii sen pojan suomi ei ollu kovin hääviä, et ku ne yritti saada sen pois sen statuksen, ettei niinku leimata.)

Finally, it was emphasized that although FSL instruction is mostly organized separately, the language aspect should be acknowledged in all the subjects. All of the teachers in this study had been offered in service trainings that had concentrated on teaching children with Finnish as an additional language, the training focusing on the support for the language of schooling. In addition to this, two of the teachers brought up that their schools have a special focus on strategies supporting learning of these pupils. For instance, Maria explained that their school systematically aims to develop the support for learning for pupils with Finnish as an additional language, and that there have been many discussions on how to support them in every-day basis, and a lot of cooperation between the teachers and the FSL teachers:

> -- how those theoretical subjects could be taught, and story telling and writing a story, how could they be taught in order to acknowledge the pupils who have Finnish as an additional language, so they [FSL teachers] have had a training for that and then they have further trained all the teachers in our schools. –Maria

> (-- että miten lukuaineita voidaan opettaa, ja tarinaa, kerrontaa ja tarinan kirjottamista, miten niitä voitais opettaa niinku huomioiden niinku suomi toisena kielenä oppilaat, nii ne on käyny semmosen koulutuksen ja ne on sitte kouluttanu meijän kaikkia opettajia täällä koululla.)

It thus seems that much emphasis has been put on finding ways to support learning of pupils with Finnish as an additional language. However, as some of the comments of the teachers suggest, there is still a need for improve the ways the support is organised in order to develop the instruction towards a more inclusive direction.

England

English as an additional language (EAL) teaching and learning in schools in England is realised within the context of the mainstream curriculum (NALDIC, 2012). According to Franson (1999), the model in which EAL pupils study in a mainstream class is based on the principle that the class teacher and EAL teacher work together planning and implementing strategies that support the language and learning needs of EAL pupils. Furthermore, schools or local authorities may finance special teacher and support staff such as EAL consultants and –teachers

or bilingual assistants (NALDIC, 2012). According to the teachers in this study, it used to be a common practice for the schools to have support staff working with children with EAL. However, all the teachers mentioned that the funding for schools has decreased over the years and thus the additional support teachers nowadays receive for teaching pupils with EAL is very little:

> Years ago we used to have a specific teacher, when we had the money for it, who would work with children with English as a second language -- So she would take the children to do different work with them, so she'd do loads of, obviously dictionary work and go over words with them and all those kinds of things, and unfortunately then the money was cut from the school so we didn't get to have her anymore which was a real shame. -Susan

> We don't have any additional resources, we have a teaching assistant that we have anyway[2], who is usually needed for already too many children than she can work with, so quite often you would have children with language issues with, who wouldn't have the support they need. And it's a real struggle for teachers I think, to be able to manage it really and give them what they need 'cos they can't. –Kate

The additional resources for supporting EAL pupils seemed to remain little even in Frida's school regardless of the high number of pupils with English as an additional language:

> -- we don't really have any special resources in our school although we get quite a lot of newcomers nowadays -- we don't really have any actual resources other than what teachers and assistants do in the classrooms

> (-- periaattees ei meil oo niinku koulussa ei oo mitään sellasia erikoisia, erityisiä niinku resursseja, vaikka meille tulee aika paljon nykyään ihan ummikkoja -- täl hetkel meil ei oo mitää oikeestaan resursseja muuten ku vaan mitä opettajat ja avustajat tekee luokassa)

As for newly arrived children, there are no preparatory classes but instead, these pupils are placed straight in mainstream classes. However, according to the teachers, newly arrived pupils are often withdrawn from the class by a teaching assistant who would teach them English. While some of the teachers described it as helpful, it was not always perceived as the best way to learn from the pupil's point of view. Accordingly, it was suggested that integrating the newly arrived children with their peers rather than giving them one-to-one instruction is often the most powerful way to learn:

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[2] The class sizes in England are generally high compared to Finland, as in England it is not unusual to have over thirty pupils in a class. Thus, it is a common practise in England to have a teaching assistant in a class throughout the day.

> We had a little boy -- who've had no English at all, and we did do some work with him one to one with the teacher but it wasn't really with the teaching assistant it wasn't having any impact 'cos he didn't want to be there he wasn't engaging with him, so we gave him like a little group to work with and the teaching assistant just facilitated the game with the group -- and that had much more impact than him being just with an adult, doing exercises, because it's out of context as well, I think some of the things that you think you need to do to get something running in the second language actually isn't what they need because they don't really need to know colours, they need to know how to communicate with other people, 'cos those are the sort of things they'd acquire later but I think there's a lot of schools that I've worked in where there's children who can't speak English sitting doing flashcards and colours and things that I don't think are particularly, it's not their gateway into speaking to other people. That's interesting. -Kate

Moreover, although the teachers experienced it as a challenge to teach a pupil without a shared language, it was pointed out that the newcomers often seem to pick up the language and become quite proficient speakers of English relatively quickly:

> -- you often find that you don't think anything is going in because they're not speaking but then they, all the children that I have taught who were non-English speakers don't speak for a long time and they're very very quiet for a long time, but then when they do speak they say a lot, they don't start with just a few words, they don't say anything and then when they do they've actually got a lot more than you think 'cos they were simulated it so much. –Kate

> It's always really interesting when you get somebody with a different language coming into your class because it's a challenge, 'cos obviously you want to do the best for them -- and the children, any child who has come and who doesn't speak any English they do really, you know they get it quickly, really really quickly, it's amazing really 'cos you kind of worry. -Susan

Finally, it was highlighted that more in-service trainings should be available as the teachers did not always have the information needed in supporting EAL pupils in their schooling:

> In a school like this where it's a minority group it's not something that we necessarily have a lot of training on so I think teachers don't really know how to do that, particularly if they've not got a second language themselves, they've never really thought, they can't really empathise either with how that is for the child. –Kate

The significance of providing teachers with adequate knowledge of how to support their pupils who are studying in an additional language should not be disregarded. As Franson (1999) points out, a significant responsibility for the language and learning needs of children with EAL rest with their class teachers. The comments of the teachers indeed suggest that the support pupils with EAL receive for learning is much dependent on the teachers' efforts and the everyday practices done in the classroom.

6.1.2 Differentiating instruction in linguistically diverse classrooms

The support that pupils with an additional language need for learning is much depended on their skills in that language. Most of the teachers in both Finland and England described their pupils' skills in the language of schooling as very varied. Although most of the teachers did not currently have many newly arrived pupils in their classes, they mentioned that many of their pupils with an additional language still needed support for learning. For instance, it was pointed out that especially younger pupils might well be much more proficient in their first languages when they start school, as this was the language that had been present throughout their childhood:

> Yeah in fact I have two pupils who have clearly spoken Russian at home and although they have been in a Finnish speaking nursery their language skills in Finnish have been very weak, and I've noticed that now that they have been in school for six months their Finnish has started to improve considerably but really their language skills used to be very weak. So even though they had lived in Finland, were born in Finland and been in a Finnish speaking nursery, but all their friends spoke Russian and their family spoke Russian. -Noora

> (Joo itse asias joo mul on kaks semmosta oppilasta, jotka on siis selvästi puhunu, kotona puhuttu venäjää ja on ollu kuitenki suomenkielises päiväkodissa mut kielitaito on tosi heikkoo ollu, suomen kielen taito, ja nyt huomaa et ku ne on ollu puol vuotta koulussa nii alkaa paljon enemmän kehittyy mut oli niinku oikeesti huomattavan heikko se kielitaito. Et vaikka oli asunu Suomessa, syntyny Suomessa, ja käyny suomenkielist päiväkotii nii kaikki kaverit on venäjänkielisii, perhe on venäjänkielinen.)

> -- they have their family that they speak their first language with and also with everyone in their inner circle. And they don't have actual contacts with the Finnish speakers so their first language obviously remains very strong. -Maria

> (on oma perhe ja siellä puhutaan sit sitä omaa äidinkieltä ja kaikki lähipiiri, nii puhutaan sitä omaa äidinkieltä. Ja sit ei oo varsinaisia kontakteja niinkö suomenkielisiin, nii sitte totta kai se pysyy se oma äidinkieli tosi vahvana.)

Although proficiency in the first language might often be stronger at a younger age, it seems that for many children, the majority language becomes stronger the older they get, and eventually it might even become their dominant language:

> Well I think, 'cos I rarely hear them [speaking that language], but I'm under the impression that especially the older they become they start speaking to their parents increasingly in English, so they understand [their first language] but they don't necessary speak it that much themselves. -Frida
>
> (No mä luulen, koska mä harvoin niitä kuulen tai sillä lailla, mutta varsinki mitä vanhemmaks ne tulee nii must tuntuu et ne alkaa enemmän puhuu sitä englantii vanhemmille et ne ymmärtää mut ne ei välttämättä ite niin paljo puhu.)
>
> -- many parents have told me that their children would like to speak only Finnish at home, and that they [siblings] have started to speak Finnish together, and that "we always tell them to speak [our language], because we want to be able to understand you". -Noora
>
> (-- monet vanhemmat mulle joskus vanhempainvarteis sanonu et lapset puhuis vaan suomea kotona ja ne keskenään ruvennu puhumaan suomea että 'me aina sanotaan et puhukaa meki halutaan ymmärtää'.)

The language shift from the minority language to the majority language seems to be common among children with migrant backgrounds and have also been found in other studies (e.g. Li, 2006; Portes & Hao, 1998).

Many of the teachers mentioned that for most of their bilingual pupils, no matter when they have arrived, their speaking skills in the language of schooling seem to be much stronger than the other areas of that language. For instance, Kate brough up that although all of her pupils were proficient in English, there were still some areas of that language that these pupils needed support for:

> Now.. They are completely proficient in English, I haven't got any children in my class now who struggle with English, the only thing is, there is a child who, and quite often they are completely fluent in spoken English, but their written English…it all, it's difficult because it's often that it just doesn't sound right, and it's just the.. sort of grasp of the language and how intransient it is in the way that they express themselves it's not quite there, that the vocabulary isn't quite right or they'll use words in the wrong contexts or in the wrong way, but you wouldn't know it if you speak to them because they seem to be fluent English speakers, but it's in their writing you can see some of the misconceptions. – Kate

In general, pupils with an additional language both in Finland and in England seemed to encounter the most difficulties in reading and writing. The challenges in writing seemed to be language-related: The teachers in Finland mentioned their pupils struggling with double consonants, the forms of the words and long vowels, whereas the teachers in England mentioned their pupils often struggling with the tenses of the words. The teachers in both Finland and England described the challenges in reading mostly concerning the understanding of the content as well as the reading speed:

> My pupils can read quite well, it's the reading comprehension often causing challenges, so they read mechanically well but then the content might remain a bit unclear for them. –Noora
>
> (Mulla aika hyvin osaa lukee kaikki mut se luetun ymmärtäminen tuottaa usein haasteita et luetaan mekaanisesti kyl hyvin mut sit se sisältö saattaa jäädä vähän epäselväks.)
>
> -- then reading wise is obviously it takes longer, it's harder to read in a different language rather than if you're kind of listening along with somebody. -Susan

When asked about their bilingual pupils' proficiencies in their first languages, many teachers mentioned that they were not aware of how well their pupils could read or write in their first languages:

> It is interesting 'cos seems that we don't actually check, so we don't know how proficient and how good their writing would be in their own language, 'cos sometimes you do wonder is that because of the English or is that because of their ability in writing? -Kate

Kate further brought up that she had once assessed her pupil's general abilities in the pupil's first language, as she wanted to find out whether the pupil was struggling with the content or the language:

> -- a girl I taught in my last school who was Spanish, who came from Mexico, and when she first arrived she had no English at all, and I wanted to assess her general ability and see where she was in terms of... so I could pitch some of the work -- so I asked her to write me something in Spanish and I asked her to complete a maths a word problem but in Spanish, so I could assess her and I was able to do that because I could speak Spanish and I screened straight away that she was very very able, but I think have I not been able to do that as a Spanish speaker, I may have taught her for quite a while at the wrong level, because I'd have thought, without the language, that she wasn't as bright that actually she was. - Kate

As Kate's experience indicates, it is important to assess newly arrived pupils' abilitites in their first languages as the language barrier may limit their ways to express their abilities. Moreover, individual learning objectives can be set and adequate support can be provided only after finding out pupils' true abilities.

The teachers also discussed the differentiation methods and strategies they generally rely in their classrooms when supporting their pupils with an additional language. Many of these strategies were common for most of the participants, but they also included individual responses to particular children. These strategies included setting individual learning objectives, differentiating tasks, providing visual support, modelling and discussing about the language,

co-teaching with specialized teachers and teaching through experimental learning (see Figure 1).

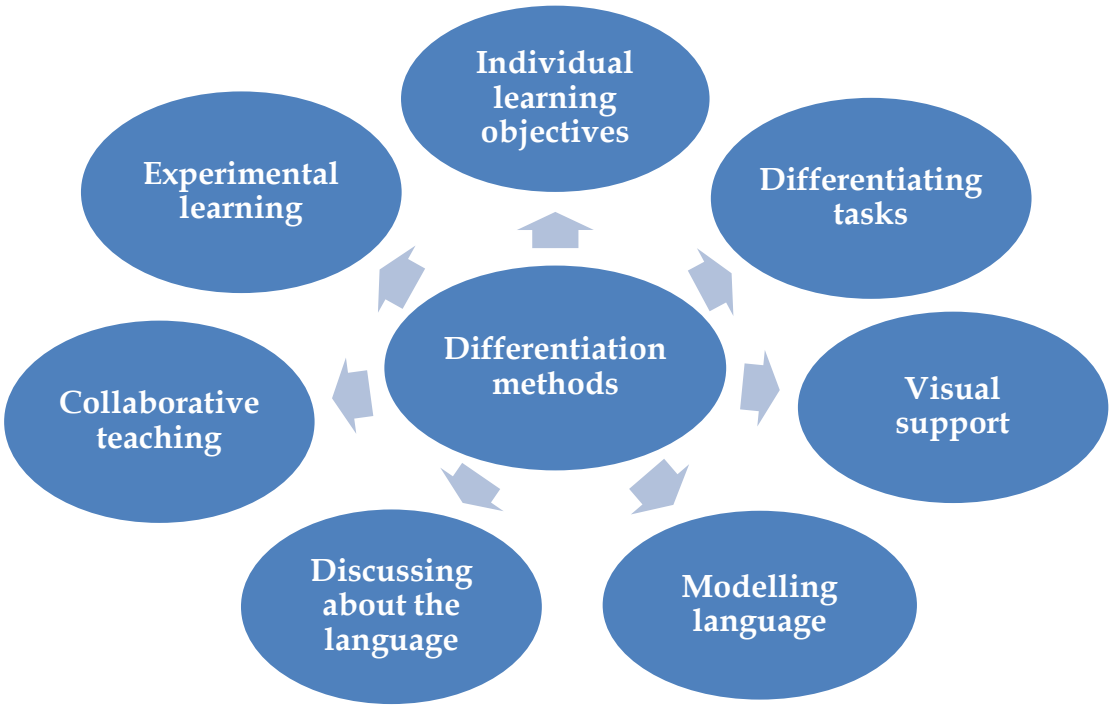

FIGURE 1 The differentiation methods teachers rely on when supporting learning in linguistic diverse classrooms

Differentiating tasks and the learning objectives was a commonly used method among all the teachers both in Finland and in England. It was pointed out that the differentiated tasks were often not designed specifically for pupils with an additional language but for all the pupils who needed more support or more challenges:

> -- I often differentiate the tasks so that there is a more challenging version of it and a more simplified version, and then they can choose the task they feel is appropriate for them, so I don't have different tasks for pupils with Finnish as an additional language but everyone can choose from those tasks based on their abilities. -Noora

> (-- monesti saatan tehä jonkun tehtävän niin että se on, et on vaikeempi ja helpompi versio ja sitte siit saa ottaa niinku vähä sen mukaan miltä itestä tuntuu et ei välttämät tarvii olla et niille S2:lle omat ja sitte suomenkielisille omat vaan kaikki voi siitä sit vähän valita että.. niitten oman taitotason mukaan.)

Day-to-day assessment was mentioned as one of the methods for differentiating tasks and learning objectives in the English context. As every pupil had individual learning objectives in their day-to-day assessments, teachers could continuously monitor their pupils, including those with an additional language, and give them feedback on specific issues:

> They have very tailored marking and feedback so their day-to-day assessment it is marking against what they've done so like for example there's a girl in my class who has another language at home and she always get her tenses wrong, so her mark, she has specific feedback on that which is a language issue, but it's to her it's an issue in her writing book like everybody else has but I know that's a specific language one that I'll tackle slightly differently, but she gets the feedback in the same way as everybody else. – Kate

These methods for differentiation indicate that pupils with an additional language received support for their individual learning needs, yet the support was given considerately as everyone received support the same way.

Providing visual support was another commonly mentioned method that teachers in both Finland and Englang used for supporting their pupils with an additional language. The teachers had used visual support, for instance, when giving instructions:

> At the moment I've noticed that if I give instructions only orally, some of my bilingual pupils have more difficulties in listening to them, so often some kind of visual support is needed or I often take, if they need to take out the ABC book, so I concretely take it out and hold it in my hands and show them. -Noora

> (No täl hetkel mä huomaan esimerkiks sen et jos mä annan suullisii ohjeita niin monien kakskielisten oppilaiden on paljon vaikeempi kuunnella niitä, eli tarvitaan usein joku semmonen kuvallinen tuki tai sit mä otan usein et jos pitää ottaa aapinen esiin niin mä otan sen konkreettisesti esiin ja pidän käsissäni ja näytän.)

> Quite a lot of explaining is needed or, not acting but kind of like if you give instructions you need to be very visual. -Frida

> (No just sitä aika paljon just et pitää selittää paljon tai yrittää niinku, ei nyt näytellä mut sillä lail jos antaa ohjeita nii pitää olla kauheen visuaalinen.)

Moreover, Noora and Maria mentioned that there were pictures with explanations placed around their schools to help the pupils with Finnish as an additional language to build up their vocabulary:

> -- if we are doing e.g. a writing exercise I might prepare visual support there, and there is also a pictured timetable in my class for every day, and I have also put pictures and words on to places, so for instance the Finnish word for 'door' is written on the door and there is also a picture of a door and stuff like that. so that the Finnish language would be visible as much as possible. -Noora

> (-- jos vaik kirjotetaan sanoja, tai tehään vaikka jotain kirjotusharjotusta nii mul voi olla kuvallist tukee, ja mun luokassa on aina kuvallinen lukujärjestys joka päivä, ja muutenki mä oon aika paljo laittanu kaikkii kuvia ja kirjotettuja asioit esiin et esimerkiks oven kohalla lukee ovi ja sit siin on oven kuva ja tämmöst kaikkee. Et siin ympäristös näkyis mahollisimman paljon se suomen kieli.)

> -- in the music classroom there are pictures of all the instruments and next to it there is the Finnish word for the instrument and also in the gym hall there are pictures of all the equipment and the Finnish words for them. -Maria

> (-- musiikkiluokassa on kaikista soittimista kuvat ja sinne on laitettu että mikä se soitin on ja liikuntasalis kans tai liikunta, siellä käytävällä, nii siellä siel on kaikista kuvat, kaikista välineistä ja.. mikä se väline on.)

In fact, teachers in both Finland and England pointed out that their pupils with an additional language often had a limited vocabulary, no matter how long they had been in the country. Many teachers brought up the importance of discussing the language as a way to build up the vocabulary. This was done by, for instance, finding synonyms for words and describing the meanings of words and discussing the content of stories read. Moreover, modelling the language for pupils was also found as a useful method to correct their vocabulary and the use of words:

> -- the way that she expresses herself in her writing just doesn't sound quite right, it sounds a bit off, so in that case we help them to read aloud, I read it, they read it to me I read it to them just so that they can hear it, 'cos I think when they're writing it, it's just what they're writing in their heads so actually saying it aloud then does help them.. and.. sometimes they can self-correct, sometimes you need to really model it to them and say "this is how the sentence should sound, listen to my sentence can you hear the difference?", it's that sort of process… it does have an impact but you do find that those children do often make the same mistakes, 'cos they're kind of ingrained habits, language that have never been corrected I think lower down, because it is about their written language rather than their spoken language and it is a little bit different. -Kate

The power of experimental learning was also emphasised as a useful way to support learning and acquiring the language, as well as to make the pupils who were less proficient in the language of schooling feel included:

> -- all kinds of projects are unbelievably good for improving the motivation for school. And there is that aspect that it doesn't measure, you don't have to be able to write so you might have had very good ideas that are used even though you don't know English that well yet. -Anna

> (-- just tommoset projektit nii ne on ollu niinku semmosel koulumotivaation nostamisella aivan uskomattoman hyviä. Ja sit se että sä et mittaa siin koko ajan et sun ei tarvii niinku osata kirjottaa sitä, nii sul on voinu olla hyviä ideoita mitä käytetään vaikka sä et osaa viel englantia niin hyvin.)

In addition to the ways of supporting bilingual pupils on a daily basis, there were also some situations in which additional support was given by co-teaching with specialized teachers:

> In the last school I worked at I sometimes did collaborative teaching with the L1 teacher who taught Somali, and they sometimes used to go over the concepts of e.g. environmental studies in a little group and we found that very useful. Noora

> (Edellises työpaikassa somalin kielen opettajan kans tehtiin hän oli muutamal tunnilla mukana oli niinku samanaikaisopettajana ja se saatto välil ottaa pienryhmän ja sit vähän tukee just et oli ympäristöopissa et just niit käsitteitä kävi läpi ja koettiin se kyl tosi hyödylliseks.)

As the comment above indicates, co-teaching was used in order to support the acquisition of the contents, and it was perceived as a helpful resource in supporting pupils with an additional language.

The comments of the teachers show that they continuously aimed at finding different ways to support their pupils with an additional language. That said, some comments from the teacher participants also suggested a degree of resistance towards differentiation:

> I cannot transform into a foreign language material without enormous efforts, it takes quite a lot of effort to find useful material in another language, and it's not my job if someone chooses that they are… kind of like contrarian. –Mikael

> (Enkä mä sitte pysty muuttua vieraskieliseks materiaaliks ilman niinku ihan suunnattomia ponnistuksia että aika lailla saa ettiä että löytää hyvää vieraskielistä materiaalia, eikä se oo niinku mun tehtävä sitte että jos joku valitsee että oot… vähä niinku vastarannan kiiski.)

Mikael further explained that the responsibility for teaching Finnish to the pupil was left to him alone, as the learning of Finnish was not supported in any ways by the parents:

> -- we offer extra instruction all the time for one pupil, but in free time activities the child is enrolled into English-speaking groups. So I have the pressure that I teach him the Finnish language because I'm the only Finnish speaking contact he has. -Mikael

> (-- me tuetaan sitä et me tarjotaan lisäopetusta koko aika yhelle jotka sitte taas hakee sitä vapaa-ajalla lapsi ilmotetaan englanninkielisiin ryhmiin. Että mulle asetetaan se paine tästä että mä opetan sille nyt suomen kielen nyt tässä ku mä oon ainut suomenkielinen kontakti.)

Thus, the resistance towards differentiation seemed to arise from the lack of support the teacher received from the pupil's parents. However, perhaps the teacher did not necessarily have the tools either to differentiate instruction for his pupil with an additional language. As the comments of the other teachers show, there are variety of ways to differentiate instruction in linguistically diverse classrooms, and this does not necessarily need to include finding material in another language, as Mikael's comment suggests. Moreover, as many of the teachers pointed out, these methods benefit not only pupils with an additional language but also other pupils in the class.

6.1.3 Assessment of pupils with an additional language

The teachers in this study discussed the ways pupils with an additional language are acknowledged in assessment. In both Finland and England, assessment is a continuous process and embedded in classroom practices (British Council, 2017a; The Finnish National Core Curriculum, 2014). However, the basic principles for assessing differ in the two countries.

In Finland, assessing pupils with an additional language is modified based on their linguistic background and evolving language skills (The Finnish National Core Curriculum, 2014). Accordingly, the teachers in Finland mentioned that they had differentiated exams for their pupils who needed support with the Finnish language:

> Kind of, they are assessed the same, not the same way than the others but they are assessed in various ways, or of course it depends on the pupil, for some it [the exam] was the same if their language skills were good but for some I made different tasks. -Maria

> (Mutta tavallaan niinku että arvioidaan samalla, ei nyt samalla tavalla ku muita että, mutta eri keinoin niinku arvoidaan, tai tietenki riippu oppilaasta joilleki pidin ihan saman jos se kielitaito oli niin hyvä mutta sitte osalle justiin että erilaisia tehtäviä.)

Accroding to the Finnish Curriculum (2014), teachers should use versatile and flexible assessment methods that enable pupils with an additional language to express their progress and learning. The teachers in this study mentioned that they aim to modify the assessment to suit everyone by using assessment methods

that are not only based on writing, as for many of their pupils with Finnish as an additional language it is easier to express themselves verbally:

> The ways of assessing always varies a bit in different subjects, but for instance in RE I haven't made any exams for them, instead they have made plays and I have assessed them based on their participation. -Hanna
>
> (Me aina katotaan vähä aineen perusteella et mitä kaikkea, mut esimerkiks nyt mä ajattelin et uskonnossa mä en oo pitäny yhtään koetta, me ollaan tehty vaan näytelmiä, et sit mä otan osallistumista.)
>
> I have used presentations and projects as a way of assessing, or if there is a written exam and someone has a problem of expressing themselves I have told them that they can do that part verbally. -Noora
>
> (Mä käytän aika vähä perinteisii kokeita et mä oon käyttäny aika paljo sit erilaisii esitelmii tai projektei tai suullisii, just se et jos tehään kirjallist koetta ja jollaki tyssää se johonki kohtaa nii sanot et sä voit kertoo tän suullisesti.)

The assessment for Finnish language and literature varies depending on whether it is studied as Finnish as a second language, in which case the assessment is based on specific objectives set for Finnish as a second language -instruction (The Finnish National Core Curriculum, 2014).

In England, assessing pupils with English as an additional language follows the same principles as for other learners (British Council, 2017a). The assessment includes teacher assessment, which is carried out as part of teaching and learning in English, mathematics and science, as well as national tests that are carried out in the end of the second grade and the sixth grade (Standards and Testing Agency, 2016a; Standards and Testing Agency, 2016b). The teachers in this study problematised the suitability of the national tests for pupils with English as an additional language:

> Well, officially we assess everyone in the same way. So it's not like… but you obviously understand that if someone has just arrived in England they don't learn at the same phase -- the rule is that if the student has moved to England within six months or something like that then they don't have to take the tests. -Frida
>
> (No virallisesti me arvioidaan kaikkii ihan samalla tavalla. Et ei oo sillein… mutta kyllähän se nyt ymmärrät että jos joku on just tullu Englantiin nii eihän ne yhtä lailla opi -- siin on joku tyyliin et jos on kuuden kuukauden aikana vast tullu tai jotain tämmöstä nii sitte niitten ei tarvii niinku… siin on joku aikaväli et niit voidaan poislukea)

Moreover, the national tests were described as difficult for not only newcomers but for all pupils with EAL, no matter when they have arrived. One of the

teachers discussed the national tests in more detail and reflected on the challenges her pupils with English as an additional language often encounter when taking these tests:

> So for instance in my class, children who've got English as an additional language would find the arithmetic paper fine because it's lots of sums, but then when it comes to the reading and the problem solving they've got quite a lot of reading to do and quite a lot of working out what things mean before they can actually get to the actual sums they've got to work out, you know, how many people need to go on this bus and blah blah blah so it's quite, can be quite complicated so that's quite difficult for them. –Susan

> Then you have a reading paper, -- they have to do lots of reading and then answer questions on it, comprehension questions, so that can be very tricky for children because it's literal questions you could find so saying like, you know, "what colour was the girl's dress?", "the girl's dress was red", but then there's all the inference and deductions so, you know, finding out what the child reading it would think about, you know what would happen next in the story, those kinds of things where they've got to think, it's not, the answer is not there they've got to think about it, the feelings of the characters and… so that can be quite tricky for bilingual children. –Susan

Moreover, Susan pointed out that some of the tests the pupils have to take are challenging not only for pupils with EAL, but also for pupils whose first language is English:

> They introduced a grammar test a few years ago, which is really tricky as well -- so that'll have a whole spelling test and then a whole grammar and punctuation test, and it's really hard, 'cos it's hard for just children whose only language is English, and last year, the papers that got reported to they were all on the paper because it had gone up so hard to the point where you've got like English professors at university who were saying it was really hard and they didn't understand it what the children had to do and so like a ten and eleven year old, then you've got children who've got English as a second language and like… how are they supposed to understand how to do this and… really tricky. –Susan

The challenges pupils with EAL face when taking the national tests have also been recognised by other studies, which have shown that bilingual children at all ages find inclusive assessment difficult, even when defined as being fluent speakers of English (Safford and Drury, 2013).

The teachers in England also discussed how pupils with EAL are acknowledged in teacher assessments. According to the British Council (2016a), the assessment within curriculum areas is meant to provide information on the next steps in learning and progression. Accordingly, Kate pointed out that although everyone is assessed based on the same objectives, the EAL aspect is acknowledged if the language causes obstacles for learning:

> Yeah I mean I think basically you have a National Curriculum and you've got the objectives and they have to meet them, and when we assess them they're either meeting them or they're not, so in the raw set of data assessment it wouldn't be acknowledged, but it would be then when we meet, so when we assess we put in our data scores and then we meet with a senior leader so I meet with teachers and they bring their data but we discuss each child, so if then we'd had a child who'd had English as additional language who was struggling to meet with the expectations and it was the language issue, what we'd then do is we'd discuss what methods what strategies were we using, how are we supporting them, what more could we do, what support's needed, and that's kind of the way that we would do it with any kind of need, but we would certainly discuss that at that point and look at moving forward and action plan for those children. -Kate

The assessment thus provided the basis for the support pupils with English as an additional language received in school.

To conclude, teachers in both Finland and England found assessing their pupils with an additional language as very challenging, and it was pointed out that it is a topic often discussed with other teachers. One of the teachers expressed her concern about under assessing her pupils, as they may not necessarily be able to express themselves in the language of schooling:

> Lots of children who would speak a language that I don't know I think I could sometimes under assess them, because they can't speak English but that doesn't mean that they're not able particularly in mathematics they can quickly access that sort of learning, because it's arithmetical and I think sometimes they go under the radar a little bit, because we don't know their true ability, 'cos they can't express it either. –Kate

Similarly, Noora found it challenging to identify her pupils' true abilities and to avoid under assessing them because of the obstacles caused by the language:

> The assessment should assess the learning not the language. But in practice it is very hard to separate them. -Noora

> (Täytyis pystyy arvioimaan vaikka sitä ympäristöopin osaamist eikä sitä kielitaitoo. Mut käytännös katsoen se on tosi vaikee erottaa.)

Thus, it is suggested that assessment methods that give children the opportunity to express their learning in both of their languages should be considered, as this way the teachers would have a better understanding of their pupils' true abilities (Parke et al., 2002). The use of pupils' first languages as resources will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

6.2 The role of bilingual pupils' first languages in school

The role of pupils' first languages in school is important in many ways. By acknowledging the languages of pupils and emphasizing the value of bilingualism as an important linguistic and intellectual accomplishment, schools can help children maintain their first languages (Cummins, 2001). Moreover, using first languages as resources for learning not only helps children to develop skills in both languages (Cummins, 2001) but also promotes deeper and fuller understanding of the content (Baker, 2011), maximizing learning and achievement (Lewis et al., 2012a). The findings regarding the ways pupils' first languages were supported and used in school contexts are presented in this chapter. The first section focuses on how the first languages of pupils were supported in the policy level in schools in both Finland and England. The next section focuses on the role of pupils' first languages in schools, that is, teachers' experiences and perceptions on the use of first languages in every-day situations such as break times and classroom practices. The last section focuses on the role of pupils' first languages in learning, in other words, teachers' experieces and perceptions on using first languages as resources for learning.

6.2.1 Policies for supporting bilingual pupils' first languages

There are no official policies either in Finland or in England for supporting pupils to maintain and develop their first languages. However, there are different ways through which pupils may receive support for their first languages. As the ways the support for pupils' first languages is organized are different in Finland and in England, the findings in the two contexts are presented separately.

Finland

Pupils in Finland are offered instruction for their first languages, when possible (The Finnish National Core Curriculum, 2014). The teachers in this study commented that nearly all of their bilingual pupils have the opportunity to attend instruction for their first languages as the cities offer lessons for a wide range of

languages. However, many of the teachers brought up that the instruction was not always organized in their schools, in which cases the pupils needed to travel to other schools for these lessons. Despite the fact that pupils were offered a travel card in order to travel free to these lessons, the distant location of the instruction was described as decreasing the attendance:

> -- it is obviously convenient as e.g. the instruction for Somali is organized here in our school so they can go to the lessons straight after a school day. But then it is clearly a bigger threshold if it's not organized here, that they'd have to go to a different school for those lessons. -Maria

> (-- se on totta kai helppo ku esimerkiks se somalin kieli on täällä meidän koululla nii sitte he jää suoraan niinku koulupäivän jälkeen. Mutta sitte se on selvästi ehkä vähä kynnys että jos ei se oo tässä samassa rakennuksessa että lähtee sitte eri kouluun.)

It was also pointed out that as the lessons are not a compulsory part of the school day and they were often organised at the end of the day, the children did not always have motivation to attend these lessons:

> What many L1 teachers have said is that the commitment in attending is a bit poor, because they are often in the end of the school day and.. two hours extra and might be that there are couple of hours in between the school day and the first language instruction so it has often been a problem that the attending is not continuous -Noora

> (Se mitä monet oman äidinkielen opettajat on sanonu et se sitoutuminen on vähä huonoo et ne on usein sit koulupäivän päätteeks ja.. kaks tuntii ekstraa ja saattaa olla et tulee hyppytuntei väliin nii ongelma on usein ollu se et oppilaat käy siel vähä huonosti.)

The findings from other studies (e.g. Tarnanen & Kauppinen, 2016; Eisenchlas et al., 2013) have also shown that the distant location of the instruction, as well as the late time of the day for the instruction are factors that decrease pupils' attendance at L1 instruction.

Parents' role was also discussed, and it was mentioned that especially with the younger pupils it is often up to the parents whether their children take part in the lessons. It was pointed out that while many parents seem to appreciate that their children have the opportunity to study their languages, some parents were hesitant about whether their children should attend these lessons. For instance, one of the teachers brought up a parent's concern about the first language interfering the learning of other languages:

> In a parent-teacher discussion the mother of one of my pupils told me that she doesn't want to confuse the child now that the English [EFL] lessons started in year 3 so she doesn't want to confuse the child even more, although I then explained that the research has shown that it is good to have a good knowledge of the first language. –Hanna
>
> (Arviointikeskustelussa se sano et yks äiti et hän ei niinku haluu sekottaa et ku.. et nyt alko Englanti näil kolmosilla ja näin et sit hän ei haluu sitä viel sekottaa vaik mä kyl sit sanoin et tutkimusten mukaan et se ei et on hyvä et on vahva äidinkieli.)

In fact, the fear of the first language negatively affecting school achievement seem to be a common concern among the parents and has also been found in other studies (Suni and Latomaa, 2012). One of the teachers also pointed out that some parents did not necessarily realise the benefits of studying the first language:

> -- some might not see the benefits of it or understand why would it be useful.. they might think that now we're in Finland, so it's important to learn Finnish, and not realise the impact on having good knowledge of their first languages as well -Maria
>
> (-- eikä nää ehkä sitä hyötyä oikeesti.. tai ymmärrä sitä hyötyä mikä siitä olisi. Että sitte kokee että se on nyt.. me ollaan Suomessa että oppia tää suomi, eikä tajua ehkä että mikä yhteys sillä ois et oppis sen oman äidinkielen niinku hyvin.)

The comment above also suggests that the adaption to the Finnish society was perceived by the parents as very important and thus much emphasis was put on learning Finnish rather than on studying the first language. Maria also brought up that for some pupils their first language is not much present in their lives and thus the instruction for it is not viewed as that relevant:

> No they can't write [in their first language]. They clearly have Finnish as their dominant language. So the other language might be kind of like an additional language – yeah so they have the situation that the other parent might speak that language but because they don't live with that parent they might only occasionally speak it. -Maria
>
> (Ei he osaa kyllä.. ei osaa kyllä kirjottaa. Heillä on selvästi se suomi niinku kuitenki se ykköskieli. Et sit se toinen kieli saattaa olla semmone vähä niinku sivukieli -- Joo että se on heillä niinku ihan semmone, että toinen vanhemmista justiin saattaa puhua sitä mutta ei välttämättä asu kato sen vanhemman kanssa ni sitte ehkä ihan joskus sillon tällön puhuu sitä toista kieltä.)

The comment above indicates that some of Maria's pupils may have experienced the language shift, which is rather common among children if their first languages are not maintained or are rarely used (see Li, 2006; Portes & Hao, 1998). Thus, in cases like this, it would be especially important to take advantage of the opportunity to improve the skills in the first language by attending the instruction.

It can be concluded that although there is an attempt to support pupils to develop and maintain their languages through the instruction for first languages, there are still some challenges to overcome in order to increase the attendance in the instruction. One of the teachers discussed if different arrangements for the instruction would increase the attendance at the instruction:

> In my opinion it should be better organised and connected in the school hours so that it is part of it rather than something extra. -Noora
>
> (kyl mä näkisin et se pitäis olla jotenki niinku organisoidumpaa enemmän siihen koulupäivän yhteyteen et se on osa sitä et se ei oo tavallaan ekstra.)

Moreover, although the benefits of having a strong first language seemed to be well acknowledged by the teachers, the findings showed that it is not always clear for the parents. As Tarnanen and Kauppinen (2016) point out, the role of one's first languages in formation of their academic skills as well as identity should be much emphasised to parents.

England

There is no mention in the curriculum in England (2013) about the support for pupils' first languages. Accordingly, based on the comments of the teachers, it seemed to be a common practice that the schools did not offer any support for their pupils' first languages nor were these languages much recognised by the schools:

> I think to be honest, rightly or wrongly, I think the home language we just leave to the parents and we don't really discuss it, 'cos I think there's so much to discuss, you kind of, you know it's probably wrong really it should but… it's like we leave that bit to them, and we do what we do, and it's quite separate I think. –Kate

The comments of the teachers support the findings of the survey by Tinsley and Board (2016), which indicated that while there is some encouragement for home languages in some schools with significant number of EAL pupils, the active teaching of pupils' first languages in schools is in general quite low, as three quarters of primary schools with high amounts of EAL pupils reported having no involvement in it at all.

Moreover, not only are the first languages of the pupils little supported by schools, but one of the teachers also expressed her feeling that the first languages of the pupils were not much valued in the school contexts in which she has been working:

> -- I find that the first languages are not really valued in a school context, kind of like they don't matter as long as we get the English going well and like that… In England the English language is important... home languages are very little supported by the school. -Frida

> (-- must tuntuu et on välillä sitä omaa äidinkieltä koulumaailmassa ei oike arvosteta tavallaa et sil ei oo nii välii kuhan me saadaan se englanti hyväks ja sillä lailla. Englannissa se englannin kieli on tärkee… koulumaailmassa et aika vähän mitenkään niinku tuetaan sitä omaa kotikieltä.)

As there were no official policies on supporting the first languages of pupils, some schools and teachers had made their own arrangements in order to help their pupils to develop and maintain their first languages. Anna described having had a bilingual assistant who had worked with the children from the same language background and taught them the language:

> I worked for a long time with a teaching assistant who was also from the same area as the children, and we often thought about it [how to support the first languages] and she used to say that 'let me take these pupils so I could teach them that language a bit differently', so that they could do more by using that language. -Anna

> (Mä pitkään tein yhen sellasen kouluavustajan kans töitä, joka oli niinku sielt samasta Kashmeren paikasta kotosin, niin sen kanssa aina niinku mietittiin sitä nii se aina sano et anna hän menee niiden kans tonne, et nyt hän rupee niinku opettaa niille sitä Kashmereä vähä eri tavalla, et hän ei vaan niinku oo mukana siinä työssä vaan todella niinku, ne tekee niinku enemmän pelkästään sillä kielellä, et hän haluu ihan niinku opettaa niille sitä.)

It thus seems that the support pupils received for their first languages was much dependent on teachers' own efforts and imagination. Anna also mentioned having heard some schools organising instruction for their pupils' first languages during the school day:

> -- for instance, the lesson is organized at the lunch time or some other way during the school day, but it often happens only in those schools that have lots of pupils from one language background because then it's easy to organize. Nowadays it's mostly organized in Saturday schools. -Anna

> (-- on nyt vaikka lounasaikana pidetään semmonen tunti taikka jotenkin muuten se on niinku järjestetty koulun aikana, mut se on usein vaan niissä kouluissa missä on paljon yhtä kieliryhmää sillon se on niinku helppo järjestää. Enemmän se on just nykyään niissä lauantai kouluissa ja sellasissa.)

The comment above shows that while the experiences of the teachers in this study suggest the schools taking no role in supporting the languages of the pupils, there are also some exceptions. However, as the Department for Education (2012) points out, the main responsibility for maintaining pupils' first languages has been left to the families and ethnic minority communities. The teachers in this study mentioned some of their pupils going to complementary schools or Mosques, in which they also study their languages:

> We have a lot of children who go to the Mosque on… for lessons in a… in writing. And you might have some children who go and learn to write in Hebrew and things like that, Jewish children so they go for lessons in that out of school so yeah I think there are some children who do that. –Susan

> They may go to Sunday schools and some place we don't know about, it's certainly not something that we know of. –Kate

> Those who goes to the Mosques to learn Arabic they also learn how to read it. But many children probably won't learn to read or write in their first language. – Frida

> (Ne jotka käy sitte siellä moskeijassa opettelee arabiaa nii ne oppii myös lukee. Mutta monet niistä ei kyl varmaa opi kirjottaa ja lukee välttämättä sitä omaa kieltä.)

Despite complementary schools being key sites of maintaining children's first languages (Kenner & Ruby, 2013) the comments of the teachers suggest that the links between the schools and the complementary schools often remain little. Moreover, it seems that going to complementary schools is much more common for pupils with a religious background, which indicates that many children are left with no support for maintaining and developing their first languages.

As noted, there are no specific policies that support pupils to develop their first languages, and while some pupils may go to complementary schools to learn the language, it is not the case for everyone. Thus, teachers have an important role in helping their pupils in maintaining their first languages by increasing the role of these languages in every-day classroom practices and by using their pupils' first languages as resources for learning, which will be discussed later in more detail.

6.2.2 The role of bilingual pupils' first languages in school

The amount of bilingual pupils in the schools the teachers in this study were working varied from a great minority to a great majority. For instance, Anna, Frida, and Noora had been working in schools, in which 60 to 90 per cent of the pupils were bilingual, whereas the number of bilingual pupils the other teachers had in their classes varied from one to eight. Despite the high number of bilingual pupils in the school, Frida described the atmosphere in her school as not particularly supportive towards pupils' use of their first languages in school:

> Pupils don't really like to [speak their L1's in schools], but I don't know if they have got that form the teachers that they shouldn't speak but… well I feel like, or I have the impressions that many teachers in England think that the home language should not be spoken really. -Frida

> (No oppilaat ei kauheesti tykkää mut mä en tiedä tuleeko että onko sitte tavallaa tullu opettajilta sellanen kuva et ei pitäis puhuu mutta… nii no must tuntuu että tai sellanen mielikuva mulle on tullu et monet opettajat Englannissa ne on sitä mieltä et sit sitä kotikieltä ei tarvis puhuu nii kauheesti.)

In contrast, Noora described her school having a positive atmosphere towards the different languages present in school. According to her, the linguistic and cultural diversity of the pupils is acknowledged and languages are shared:

> In both of the schools I've worked in there have been traditions of having multilingual people in those areas so it has become kind of a natural part of the learning environment and I feel that people, pupils are not shy to share that they can speak other languages and these languages are valued. -Noora

> (Molemmis kouluis mis mä oon ollu töissä on ollu niin pitkät perinteet siit et alueel on ollu niin pitkään niinku useemman kielisii ihmisii et siit on tullu aika luonteva osa sitä oppimisympäristöö et kaikki tuntuu et jotenki ihmiset, oppilaat rohkeesti kertoo että osaa myös muita kieliä et kielet on arvostetaan.)

Although multilingualism was described as a natural part of the learning environment, Noora mentioned that the language spoken in her classroom was mainly Finnish:

> We use mainly Finnish so that everyone understands and so that there wouldn't be misunderstandings -- sometimes we might use it as an advantage that some pupils speak the same language, that the other one can translate -- I know some have forbid it [the use of first languages], but it has never been a problem in my classrooms. –Noora

> (Joo no siis me puhutaan siis pääsääntösesti suomee sen takia et kaikki ymmärtää et ei tuu mitää ristiriitoja -- mut et esimerkiks usein saattaa käyttää hyödyks sitä et puhutaan samaa äidinkieltä et sitte toinen kääntää -- et tiedän että joillaki on myös niit kieltoja, mut et se ei oo myöskään koskaan mun luokis ollu ongelma.)

However, there seemed to be no strict rules about the language use, as Noora later in the interview brought up that the pupils in her class sometimes translanguaged spontaneously when discussing together:

> -- they mix them in all possible situations, and they might even mix Finnish and their own language and even a third language when they speak -- and there is no systematic logic in the way they do it -- for instance when doing a group work or having discussions or something like that. -Noora

> (-- se menee ilosesti sekasin siis kaikis mahollisis tilanteissa, siin saattaa mennä viel joku suomi ja oma äidinkieli ja viel joku kolmas kieliki -- et ne niinku vaihtelee et siin ei ehkä oo mitään semmost systemaattist logiikkaa -- jos vaik tehään jotain ryhmätyötä, tai jutellaan jotain sen tyyppistä.)

It was common also in the other schools in Finland that the pupils were expected to speak Finnish in the classroom. When the teachers were asked if they had heard their pupils using their first languages in informal classroom situations, their replies suggested that it was not encouraged:

> It is quite good in my class so not really, so even these pupils who speak for instance Arabic, they never speak it here together so they always speak Finnish. And these who speak Somali they don't either, well sometimes when they explain, but it's not often, so it's kind of made clear from the beginning that Finnish is spoken here. -Maria

> (No, mun luokassa on kyllä aika hyvin että eipä oikeestaa, että nääki jotka puhuu vaikka tässä luokassa arabiaa nii ei ne puhu koskaan täällä keskenää arabiaa että kyllä ne puhuu aina suomee. Ja sitte nää jotka somalia nii ei nekää, joskus kyllä ku ne selittää, mutta se on ihan niinku joskus että se on jotenki ehkä alusta asti tehty selväks että sitte täällä puhutaa suomee.)

> We kind of had that kind of, that in lessons they wouldn't speak their own languages because then I can not know what they are talking about. –Hanna

> (Meil oli vähä semmonen et tunnilla nii ei tavallaan sitä omaa kieltä puhuttais koska sit mä en voi tietää mitä ne juttelee.)

According to Suni and Latomaa (2012), forbidding the use of first languages in classroom contexts is a commonly occurring phenomenon in the schools in Finland, and studies have shown that some teachers have prevented their pupils to use their first languages even when helping other pupils. Mikael brought up that the pupils in his school were told to speak Finnish not only in the classroom, but also during breaktimes:

> -- we have agreed that in school it's Finnish that is spoken, so it's spoken there during the breaks, because we are in a Finnish-speaking school so then they don't start speaking in Russian in secret for example that 'they did that', because then no-one will know what was said. - Mikael
>
> (-- koulussa on sillein että me on sovittu että tuolla puhutaan suomee, välkkäkieli niinku että se niinku ku ollaan suomenkielisessä koulussa nii ei aleta sit salaa supisee sillä venäjällä vaikka et toi teki tuota, tai ku ei kukaan tiiä mistä puhutaan sitte.)

Mikael's comment suggests his school having a rather limited perspective towards multilingualism, as the languages of the pupils seem to be kept strictly separated rather than treated as a natural part of the school environment. Other studies in the Finnish context have also shown that it is a commonly used practice among teachers to tell their pupils to practice Finnish during breaktimes (Suni & Latomaa, 2012). Although the pupils were told to speak Finnish, Mikael brought up later in the interview that he had heard one of his pupil to translanguage during breaktimes:

> -- he has a friend with whom they speak this kind of crazy language. So he's in year three, he's from Bangladesh or somewhere there, so they don't have any other common language that the English they speak so they mix Finnish words in their English and then they speak that Finnish-English-mess on the breaks. So if the best friend is someone with whom you speak the kind of language no-one else in the world understands than the two of them… so you can only guess what kinds of learning results it promotes. -Mikael
>
> (-- sit sil on kaveri jonka kanssa ne puhuu semmosta ihan sekokieltä. Et se on siis, et se on kolkilla, ja on niinku tuolta jostaki Bangladeshista mistä se onkaa, nii niil ei oo niinku sillein muuta yhteistä kieltä ku se niiden englanti nii ne sekottaa siihen englantiin sitte suomenkielisiä sanoja ja ne puhuu semmosta suomi-englanti sotkua tuolla sitte välituntisin. Että jos semmonen on sitte se paras kaveri kenen kanssa sä puhut semmosta kieltä mitä ei kukaan muu ihminen maailmassa ymmärrä ku ne kaks… nii mietippä siitä sit et minkälaisia oppimistuloksia tulee.)

The comment suggest that Mikael did not seem to perceive his pupil's translanguaging as a positive thing. He expresses his concerns about the effects that mixing the two languages have on his pupil's learning, but he also seems to perceive mixing languages as incorrect language use as he calls the pupils' translanguaging as 'a mess'.

The teachers in England did not seem to have any specific rules for the language spoken either in the classroom or during breaktimes, but many of them brought up that they had rarely heard their pupils speak in their first languages in school:

> Yeah no I've never had that actually never heard anybody speaking in their own language to each other yeah so no it's unusual I've never thought about it actually but no. -Susan

> No not really only, well sometimes but I know that some children have tried to speak to this new boy in their own language, in fact they have tried to speak to him in many languages because they weren't sure which language he speaks, and then I know that these Polish girls especially now that the other one is still new here so they speak quite a lot but most of the pupils speak English together. -Frida

> (Ei kauheesti ei että ainoostaan, no välillä niinku joskus mutta mä tiedän että osa noista lapsista on yrittäny puhuu tälle uudelle pojalle niitten omalla kielellä, ne on yrittäny montaa eri kieltä ku ne ei tienny et mitä kieltä se puhuu, ja sitte mä tiedä nää puolalaiset tytöt varsinki ku se toinen oli viel ihan uus nii ne puhu aika paljon mut suurin osa puhuu englantii keskenään.)

Kate and Susan mentioned that although they had tried to acknowledge the bilingualism of their pupils, they had the impression that the pupils did not seem to want their bilingualism to be highlighted:

> Yeah I've found that they very much just don't want it highlight in which is strange isn't it. Yeah… So the girl from Chile she'd just didn't ever want, it was kind of like she'd, this is her language it's forgotten kind of thing, she didn't want to, 'cos she's spend so long learning English now, I don't want to use my own language here or anything like that… I don't know… -Susan

> Yeah I think it depends on the child, but quite often I think they want to fit with the majority and particularly they've got that proficiency in English I don't know think they'd want to… -- because I could speak Spanish I used to teach her, so I did used to sometimes say talk to or say something in Spanish and she'd look quite uncomfortable because she just didn't associate it with here, and I don't know whether that made her feel a bit embarrassed or something, 'cos it was drawing attention to her… difference?, so the others think, maybe I'm not sure. -Kate

As Kate reflects on the reasons why the pupil did not want to speak her language, she problematises whether the pupil was afraid of other pupils' reactions towards her background. However, the linguistic diversity in schools seemed to be perceived positively by other pupils. For instance, Susan pointed out that other pupils tend to welcome new pupils with excitement:

> -- whenever a new child comes the children get very excited, but if it's a new child who doesn't speak the language it's really exciting, 'cos they can get to teach them everything. -Susan

The teachers also reflected on whether children had just used to separate the language used at home from the language used at school and thus do not associate them to be used together:

> I don't know I just think they would think that they don't, in school they speak English and that's it, I've never heard children who speak a different language at home speak it here really. There's a girl -- who speaks Spanish at home an I've seen her in school speaking to her parents so she just switches, but she wouldn't ever associate her home language with school I think it's very much like here it's English and that's it. –Kate

> We did a big RE day in our… in year 6 and we were looking at Christianity and Islam, and we were looking up different charities and what charities help and… I don't think any of the children who were Muslim would be writing it typing it in a different language to find out about that or anything and yeah… I think that they just automatically think in English so… yeah. –Susan

> -- because they have always been studying in English so English is kind of the language of schooling and stronger in that sense, so in some instances the home language may be stronger but I think it's more in the social contexts. –Frida

> (-- ku ne on oppinu tavallaan koulus aina englanniks, nii englanti on se tavallaa se koulukieli ja vahvempi kieli siinä mielessä, et sit joissain asioissa se kotikieli on varmaan vahvempi mut se on ehkä enemmän sillein sosiaalisis tilanteis.)

This was a characteristic not only in the English context but it was brought up also by the Finnish teachers:

> -- I think that in class Finnish comes more naturally to them and then the free-time language in more informal situations. –Noora

> (-- tavallaan luokassa se tulee luontevammin se suomi ja sit et vapaa-ajan kieli sitte vapaamuotosemmis tilanteissa.)

The comments of the teachers suggest that many children grow up keeping their languages separate and using them in separate contexts. While this may be the habit that the children have got used to, one might also argue that the practices in school do not encourage translanguaging but rather endorse the use of languages in separate contexts.

6.2.3 The role of bilingual pupils' first languages in learning

The teachers in this study seemed to perceive it very important that children develop a strong foundation on their first languages. For instance, Frida talked about the important role of the first language as the language for emotions:

> I think it's very important, because that language is kind of the language for emotions, so even though those children become quite proficient in English, there sure are some things that are easier to communicate in their own language, especially if, among family members because then you experience different emotional stages and everything related to that. -Frida

> (On tosi mun mielest tärkee. Ja just lähinnä kaikkee semmosii jos miettii koska sillä kielellä se on tavallaan se tunnekieli tai semmonen, nii, et vaikka ne lapsetki oppii englantii aika hyvin nii siel on varmasti joitain juttuja jotka ne helpommin niinku viestittää sitte omalla kielellä varsinki jos, just perheen kesken koska sillonhan sul on paljo tunnetiloi ja kaikkee siihen liittyvää.)

Moreover, all of the teachers were aware of the transfer between languages, and it was pointed out that one can acquire other languages easier when having a strong foundation on their first language:

> -- if you have a strong first language it is easier to acquire other languages, it is a fact that if you have the vocabulary in your first language you can acquire it in another language. –Maria

> (-- jos se oma äidinkieli on vahvana ni sen avulla oppii myös niitä muita kieliä, että onhan se ihan fakta että se, ja kaikki se sanavarasto että jos se on omal äidinkielel olemassa, nii sen pystyy myös sitte sillä toisella kielellä saavuttamaan.)

> -- in my own experience, I was bilingual, I think I am quite a linguistic person -- 'cos I think bilingually and I can change to wherever I am and I think that I can adapt and I think I can understand how words change and how it works, so when I went to Spain and learnt a third language I was a much quicker in acquiring the language than many of my friends who only had one language previously -- I just think it helps you sort of understand words and how they work and like the rhythm of language and the sound of it and I think it's really really beneficial. -Kate

Accordingly, a few teachers brought up their experiences in teaching pupils whose lack of proficiency in their first language had hindered the acquisition of other languages:

> I have in Spain actually there was a girl in Spain who was in year two when I taught her and we thought it was a grasp of English that she was really really struggling -- I then had to meet with the Spanish teacher and look at how she was doing in her first language, and there were a lot of commonalities and what she couldn't do and actually it turned out that she had a speech and language issues which was in her own language and obviously she wasn't acquiring English because she hadn't actually mastered her own first language and she wasn't very fluent in her own language and her vocabulary was very limited so it was just communication with her really it was interesting. -Kate

> At the moment I have a boy in my class whose parents are Russian, but they speak only English at home -- he has older sisters who speak Russian and who also speak fluent Finnish, they have probably learnt Finnish better because they have had that strong language in the background. But this poor boy doesn't have any strong language – English is his strongest language but he can't really think or feel in that language. So the kind of language for emotions is missing -- he can't speak Russian at all. -Mikael

> (Tällä hetkellä on siis venäläisperheen poika jossa kotona puhutaan englantia -- sil on isosiskot jotka puhuu venäjää ja jotka puhuu hyvin suomee, ne on oppinu sen suomen varmaan sen takia paremmin koska niil on ollu semmonen vahva kieli siinä taustalla. Mutku tällä ei oo mitään vahvaa kieltä tällä poikaressukalla -- Nii se ei osaa kauheen hyvin, et se englanti on sille se paras kieli, mut se ei sillä niinku pysty ajattelemaan eikä ehkä tuntemaan. Et se semmonen tunteen kieli on siltä kadoksissa -- se ei osaa venäjää yhtää.)

Although a strong foundation on the first language was perceived as important by all the teachers, only some of the teachers had tried to help their pupils to develop their first languages by encouraging their pupils to read in their first languages:

> I have sometimes borrowed for instance many Mikko Mallikas books written in Somali, there is a great selection of that book series in the local library -- I asked them to read it aloud in their own little group and they did find it really fun. -Noora
>
> (Joo, mä oon joskus lainanu luokkaan esimerkiks tosi monta Mikko Mallikasta somalin kielellä -- mä pyysin ääneen lukemaan omas porukassa.. hirveen hauskaa se niiden mielest oli.)

Moreover, Noora mentioned that she had suggested their Somali speaking bilingual consultant to hold a story club, in which they would discuss and read stories in Somali.

Despite the fact that pupils' first languages were perceived as important, it seemed to be common both in Finland and in England that the use of pupils' first languages as resources for learning was rather limited:

> Well we don't really, or it's not much, we don't really use it [first languages] for anything. -Frida
>
> (No me ei kyl tai no, ei kauheesti ei se, ei me sitä sillein käytetä oikein missään.)
>
> Well now that you ask, we rarely use them -- we have mainly made a use of English -- but really we could also take much more advantage of their languages.. so it's something I probably should do much more indeed. -Hanna
>
> (Itse asias tosi vähän nyt ku sä kysyt.. -- no nyt mä oon lähinnä käyttäny sitä englannin-- mut oikeesti kyl tosi paljo enemmän vois hyödyntää myös heidän omii kieliään.. että sitä täytyis kyl ehkä todella itsekki tehä nyt enemmän.)
>
> Well, I would say it's quite little, because I can't really speak that language at all so I don't know how could I make a use of it. -Maria
>
> (No kyllä mä sanoisin että aika pieni tai aika mitätön, että ku ei tavallaa ei ite osaa sitä kieltä yhtään nii en mä tavallaa tiedä että miten mä voisin sitä tuoda.)

As Hanna's and Maria's comments indicate, the teachers' ability to speak the language seemed to be perceived as a central factor that either enabled or prevented them to use the first languages as resources. Maria brought up later in the interview that she once had a pupil whose first language she could speak and thus the pupil had sometimes used that language in learning:

> Last year I had a pupil whose first language was English -- that pupil asked 'can I write part of this in English and part of this in Finnish?' and I was like 'go for it, that's fine', so of course if you can read it yourself it's a different thing. But it also depends on what the task is. -Maria
>
> (esimerkiks viime vuonna ku yhen oppilaan äidinkieli oli suomi ja englanti, -- sit se vaan, "saanko mä kirjottaa osan tästä englanniks ja osan suomeks" nii sit mä olin et anna mennä vaa et ei siinä mitää. Että kyllä siis, jos ite pystyy lukee sitä nii onhan se sitte iha eri. Mut sit se on vähä et riippuu vähä mikä se tehtävä on.)

Similarly, Kate and Mikael mentioned having used their pupils' first languages as scaffolding tools if they were proficient in those languages:

> -- the girl who I taught from Mexico she did initially [write in Spanish] because she had no English whatsoever, she used to write in her first language and then I used to help translate some of it for her, so as part of her learning… and so that I could assess it but I've never done that elsewhere. –Kate
>
> -- I could work with that lad through Russian, he doesn't want to speak Russian with me anymore now that he's in the fift grade, but when he was in the first grade he sometimes said some things in Russian. - Mikael
>
> (-- sieltä sen venäjän kautta mä pystyin operoimaan niinku sen kaverin kanssa, ei se enää suostu puhumaan mun kanssa venäjää nyt ku se on viidennellä, mut epulla se sano joskus jotai venäjäks.)

As Kate's and Mikael's comments suggest, teachers' use of their pupils' first languages was mostly practiced when teaching newcomers, and seemed to decrease after these pupils started to gain proficiency in the language of schooling. In addition to using pupils' first languages themselves, most of the teachers in both contexts had experience in having a teaching assistant or another teacher speaking the same language in the class helping pupils with the contents:

> -- now with this newly arrived boy, my teaching assistant speaks the same language, so she has tried sometimes to speak to him in their first language in order to help him, but I don't know, he is that kind of boy that he hasn't really wanted to speak in that language in school. -Frida
>
> (-- nyt tän ihan uuden pojan kanssa mun avustaja puhuu myös sitä samaa kieltä nii se on yrittäny aina välillä puhuu sille sitte sen omaa kieltä et se vähän niinku auttais sitä mut en mä tiedä, se on jotenki vaa se on nyt semmonen poika et se ei kauheesti oo halunnu ees sillein sillä kielellä koulussa puhuu.)

Many of the teachers also mentioned having asked other pupils speaking same languages to help and translate for those who needed support in understanding the contents:

> -- we often might use it as an advantage if there are other pupils in a class who speak the same language, so the other one can translate and ensure that this pupil has understood, for instance if there are two Somali speaking children and one of them feels that he/she hasn't really understood what they are supposed to do they can ask the other one to translate it into their own language. -Noora
>
> (-- usein saattaa käyttää hyödyks sitä et puhutaan samaa äidinkieltä et sitte toinen kääntää, varmistaa sen ymmärtämisen just et jos on, vaik et jos on kaks somalinkielistä toinen tuntuu et ei oo ihan ymmärtäny tehtävänantoo nii voi pyytää et hei sanotko omalla kielellä sen sille toiselle.)

As the comments above suggest, pupils' first languages were often used as scaffolding tools in situations, in which pupils faced challenges with the language of schooling. In these cases, the first languages seemed to function as tools for translating the contents. While translating is a useful way to scaffold learning, Lewis et al. (2012a) point out that translating is about working mostly in the dominant language rather than attempting to use and strengthen both languages as in translanguaging. It thus seems that although the first languages were used as resources for learning, the emphasis was still on the language of schooling rather than on both languages. Consequently, it seems that the role of pupils' first languages in learning often decreased the more proficient pupils became in the language of schooling:

> -- many of my pupils want to manage in Finnish and speak Finnish, so maybe in those situations in which it's important to really understand the content or it is vital that everyone is able to express themselves as well as possible so in those kinds of situations maybe. But at the moment everyone are quite proficient in Finnish so there hasn't really been a need for that. –Noora
>
> (-- moni oppilas myös selvästi haluu sil suomen kielellä selvitä ja puhuu suomee sit et ehkä niis tilanteis missä niinku tavallaan vaaditaan sitä ymmärrystä tai jotenki et halutaan niinku et varmasti kaikki saa tuotua itteensä esiin mahollisimman hyvin nii sillon ehkä. Mut nyt mul on aika hyvä kielitaito koko porukalla nii ei oo hirveesti tarvinnut.)

It came up from the interviews that some of the teachers had also used translanguaging practices with their bilingual pupils, although it was not always purposeful. For instance, Mikael mentioned that one of his pupil had read a book in his first language and writing a summary of it in Finnish:

> -- yeah if it's voluntary I have said you can read [in the L1] but if you do a summary then do that in Finnish -- because the essential part in it is the Finnish language, and the reading is something that is done in their free time so it can be in any language. –Mikael

> (-- joo no sit justiin, semmosta vapaaehtosta nii oon sanonu että saat lukee et jos teetätte jotain referaatteja mut et tee suomeks se referaatti -- kuitenki olennaista se suomen kieli siinä, ja se kirjan lukeminen on tietysti vapaa-ajalla tapahtuvaa, nii voihan se olla sitte millä kielellä hyvänsä.)

However, the comment suggests that the reading in the first language was rather allowed than purposefully encouraged, as the main focus still remained on the Finnish language. That said, one might consider reading in one language and making a summary in another language as an effective translanguaging practice. Similarly, when asked if their pupils have ever searched information in their first languages, a few Finnish teachers mentioned that their pupils had occasionally done that and then translated it into Finnish:

> Yeah that has been done sometimes, they have done that in their own initiative, so that they have searched for it on Wikipedia in their first language, but it often appears that, because they have anyways had to search the same information in Finnish.. well maybe it has kind of functioned as a basis for understanding that they have first looked for it in their L1's and then realized that okay yeah this has something to do with that. -Noora

> (Joo se on, sitä on joskus tehny ja sitä ne on tehny vähä itseohjautuvasti et ne on laittanu wikipediaan sit omalla äidinkielellä, mut monesti tuntuu että, sit ku ne on kuitenki joutunu tavallaa hakee sen saman tiedon suomeks, et ehkä se on tavallaan voinu toimii sen ymmärtämisen pohjana et on eka kattonu sit omal kielellä ja sit aa joo tää liittyy tähän.)

Once again, the purpose of using the first languages had more to do with accessing content than seeing the benefits of processing the content in both languages. The comment suggests that the deeper understanding of the content was considered as a positive by-product rather than the goal itself.

One of the teachers working in the English context was more familiar with the concept of translanguaging and had considered different strategies in order to increase the role of her pupils' first languages in learning. For instance, she mentioned that she had made dual language books with her pupils:

> -- you might have had a class in which the pupils speak 24 different languages, in that situation you can't have 24 adults [bilingual assistants] there, so then we started to think what kinds of other strategies could be used, we started to make these dual language books. –Anna

> (-- saatto olla luokka missä sul on 24 eri kieltä, nii sillon sul on aika vaikee olla 24 aikuista mukana siinä, niin tota sillon ruvettiin miettii et mitä muita strategioi mä voin käyttää tässä, okei ruvettiin tekee näit kirjoja mis on kahta kieltä, dual language books.)

Moreover, she mentioned having worked in different projects, in which translanguaging strategies had purposefully been used as a central part of the learning process:

> In France they did this lovely thing that they took the children into a museum, they took the children there to look at the paintings, because they noticed that often these migrants don't feel that museums are for them that museums are for the mainstream and they are sort of valuable places. So they took those children to the museum and then they looked at the paintings and discussed them and took pictures, and then they went back to the classroom and they were told to write a description of that in their own language, and there was lots of pondering of what's the meaning of these paintings so it was also cognitively demanding task, and they weren't able to translate it without their parents who then came to help, and then they wrote kind of notes of them and the museum let them put them in there, and they are still there even today. -Anna

> (Ranskas ne teki ihanan tällasen et ne vei ne lapset museoon, ne lapset katto niitä maalauksia ku ne huomas että usein nää siirtolaisihmiset ei tunne että nää museot kuuluu heille, museot on valtaväestolle ne on sellasia arvokkaita paikkoja, nii ne vei ne lapset sinne museoon ja sit ne katto niitä isoja maalauksia ja keskusteli niitä ja otti valokuvia ja näin ja sit ne meni takasin luokkaan ja sit niiden piti kirjottaa niinku omalla kielellään niinku selostus et mikä se on, ja siin oliki niinku kauheesti miettimistä sitte että no mikä on minkään maalauksen niinku merkitys, et siin oli hyvin niinku semmosta niinku vaikeetaki niinku kognitiivisesti vaikeeta miettimistä nii sit ne, ei ne sit taas pystyny käännöstä tekemään jollei kotoo tullu sitte vanhemmat auttamaan, ja sit ne kirjotti sellasii lappuja ja sit se museo anto et ne laitto et ne on siel museos tänä päivänä.)

Anna highlighted the role of parents as an important resource when using pupils' first languages as resources for learning, especially when a variety of language are spoken in the class. Despite the fact that parents can provide all kinds of different support for learning, this form of a resource seems to be much under-used according to this study. It is thus worth considering whether teachers should be encouraged to increase the cooperation with parents and provided with examples of the ways parents can be resources.

Many of the teachers seemed to be interested in increasing the use of their pupils' first languages in learning through translanguagining practices. However, as translanguaging seemed to be a new concept for most of the teachers, it was emphasised that more information was needed on how translanguaging can be brought into part of the every-day classroom practices:

> -- in my opinion, quite a lot of training and information is needed for the teachers and guidelines of how that [first languages] could be acknowledged. –Maria

> (-- siihen tarvis kyllä aika paljo sillee mun mielestä kuitenki opettajille koulutusta ja tietosuutta ja vinkkejä jotenki että miten sitä huomioida.)

The teachers also reflected on the challenges they saw in putting translanguaging strategies into practice. As pointed out previously, many teachers saw their own language skills as a central factor in order to realise translanguaging practices in their classrooms. Another challenge brought up by many teachers in both contexts was how to be able to acknowledge all the languages when there are many different languages spoken in the classroom:

> In practice it can be challenging if many languages are spoken in the class, so to acknowledge them all, no it would just be really challenging -- kind of if there would be for instance one big language group in the class, then it would be easier to make it possible and support [that language]. -Maria

> (Kyllähän se ihan käytännössä voi olla haastavaa että jos on montaa eri kieltä puhutaan luokassa, että niiden kaikkien huomioiminen, nii ei, se ois vaa jotenki tosi hankalaa -- tavallaa jos ois joku vaikka yksi kielikeskittymä siellä luokassa nii sittehän se ois helpompi mahollistaa siihen ja tukea.)

Similarly, Susan and Kate were interested in trying translanguaging practices in their classrooms, but perceived it more manageable if there was one specific language group in the class:

> I think it would be really good to try that kind of thing but I suppose it's down to the child really isn't it and then if you did have a group of children who got the same language that they could do that in class that'd be really good -Susan

> You know I haven't ever done that because I haven't had enough children who would be in, who would form a group, I think it would be a really interesting thing to do if you had enough children I think, I don't know what happens in schools where they've got high, you know they're in a community and their, in a Muslim community for example high portion of children would speak in the same language, I don't know about that I've never seen that done, I've never done that 'cos I've never had enough children really… and I don't know if it had occurred to me to do it… it's interesting because… I would think… I think I would think initially that they'd need to be practising in English, within my class… no I've not done it. That's interesting. -Kate

While it certainly would be convenient to have one specific language group in a class as the teachers suggested, many translanguaging practices, such as gathering information in one language and presenting the work in another (see Garcia & Wei, 2014; Celic & Seltzer, 2011) or dual language books (see Cummins, 2005), can also be practiced in classes with no specific language groups. Moreover, these translanguaging practices can also be realised regardless of teachers' abilities to speak their pupils' languages. It thus seems that many of the challenges teachers perceived in realising translanguaging practices resulted from their unfamiliarity of the concept. Therefore, it is suggested that teachers

need to be provided with more information on the nature of translanguaging as well as on how these practices can be realised in classrooms. Accordingly, one of the teachers pointed out that the only challenge she saw in realising translanguaging practices in her classroom was the lack of knowledge on these practices:

> I think it's an asset, all the language skills are, maybe the only thing is the lack of time, that there would be time to prepare and think and plan and find out about them [translanguaging practices] so that is probably the only challenge. -Noora

> (Kyl mä nään että se on vahvuus, kyl kaikki kielitaito on niinku vahvuus, ehkä siin on just se et, ainoo mikä siin tietysti voi olla et se ajanpuute siinä et ehtis valmistella ja miettii ja suunnitella ja ottaa selvää et se on varmaan niinku ainoo haaste.)

As pointed out, the concept of translanguaging was unfamiliar to most of the teachers. However, many of them seemed to consider it as a powerful tool after having reflected on the concept:

> I certainly think that if you had a group of children who all spoke, say they all spoke German, and they had the opportunity to discuss something in German, because you really want them to really get something like a deeper thing on empathy of a character or something like that and they could discuss it in their own language so really get adapt them to understanding I think it could be really powerful. But it's then how you then turn that back because if they're then gonna have to write it in English, will that help them? I suppose it would but then it's getting them to express that back then. Yeah I think it's a really interesting concept and I think it, if it was done right, it would be really powerful. – Kate

Moreover, one of the teachers pointed out that translanguaging is powerful not not only in terms of acquiring a deeper understanding of the content but it also helps pupils in building positive learner identities:

> -- the standing of one's own language is extremely important because it helps the child to see what it is about, it's like.. you build it on the child's strengths rather than weaknesses -- I find the language as an incredible asset and a tool in which you can deepen the instruction and learning. It really feels insane that it's not used more. - Anna

> (-- se oman äidinkielen asema on hirveen tärkee koska se auttaa sitä lasta niinku näkemään et mistä täs jutus on kyse, se on niinku… sä rakennat sen lapsen vahvuuksille, ei sen heikkouksille -- se kieli on mun mielestä niinku niin uskomaton apu ja semmonen väline millä sä voit sitä opetusta nimenomaan opetusta ja sit oppimista syventää. Et se niinku tuntuu ihan hullulta ettei ihmiset käytä sitä enemmän.)

It can be concluded that although pupils' languages were not systematically used, they were brought in as resources on some occasions. Moreover, translanguaging had occasionally been practiced, although it was often used as a pragmatic response and a scaffolding medium to access content or language.

These results are in accordance with the findings on surveys both in Finland and England, which indicated that the use of first languages as a resource for learning still remains generally under-used, although exceptions exist (Kuukka et al., 2015; Tinsley & Board, 2016; Safford & Drury, 2013). However, most of the teachers in this study expressed their interest in increasing the use of their pupils' first language in learning, but it seems that concrete information on how to realise translanguaging in practice is needed.

7 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to determine what kind of support pupils with an additional language receive in school for learning, and what kind of role do bilingual pupils' first languages have in school. The study also aimed to determine teachers' perspectives on the role of pupils' first languages and the use of translanguaging practices in school. Next, I will discuss the findings in more detail along with the theorethical framework of this study. Then, I will consider the validity and limitations of the findings, after which the suggestions for further research will be discussed.

7.1 Examination of results

Despite the fact that the Department for Education (2006) as well as the new Finnish National Curriculum (2014) emphasise that classroom practices should take into account pupils' first languages and include bilingual learning situations, the findings of this study showed that the support pupils with an additional language receive in school mainly focuses on the language of schooling. In contrast, the role of pupils' first languages in schools remains little, and whether the first languages are brought in as resources is much dependent on individual teachers.

The support pupils with an additional language received for learning consisted of support pupils received through school policies and every-day support teachers provided in classroom contexts by differentiating instruction and monitoring the progress of their pupils. The policies for supporting pupils with an additional language differ in the two countries. In England, EAL teaching and learning is realised in mainstream settings within the mainstream curriculum (The British Council, 2016a). Although the mainstreaming is based on the principle that the class teacher and EAL teacher work together planning

and implementing strategies that support the language and learning needs of EAL pupils (Franson, 1999), the teachers in England brought up that they currently did not have any extra resources for supporting pupils with EAL. Therefore, the support pupils with EAL received for learning seemed to be very much dependent on the teachers' efforts and the everyday practices done in the classroom. Contrary to England, the pupils with an additional language in Finland receive support that mostly concentrates on developing their skills in Finnish. For instance, preparatory instruction is designed to prepare the newly arrived pupils for basic education, with the emphasis on the mastery of the Finnish language (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2017a). Accordingly, the Finnish teachers mentioned that newly arrived pupils were transferred to their classes after having gained a basic knowledge of the Finnish language in preparatory instruction. However, one of the teachers pointed out that although starting school in a preparatory class the aim is to integrate these children into mainstream classes as much as possible already from the beginning. In England, the newly arrived pupils were placed straight into mainstream classes, although according to the teachers it seemed to be a common practice that these pupils were sometimes withdrawn from a class by teaching assistant for additional support. However, most of the teachers in England suggested that integrating the newly arrived children with their peers rather than giving them one-to-one instruction is usually the most powerful way to learn the language. Therefore, one might also question the purposefulness of the Finnish system for organising preparatory instruction in separate settings.

In Finland, pupils with an additional language may also study Finnish as a second language (FSL) –syllabus instead of the mother-tongue-and-literature instruction (Finnish National Core Curriculum, 2014). FSL instruction was organised in all the schools the teachers in this study worked in, however, there was variation in the ways the instruction was implemented. For instance, one of the teachers mentioned that all of her pupils with an additional language attend FSL instruction, even when born in Finland. On the contrary, another teacher explained that only those whose language skills in Finnish are the weakest attend

the instruction, and the support for other pupils with Finnish as an additional language was organized in the mainstream classroom as collaborative teaching between the teacher and the FSL teacher. As the latter option provides the support in a more inclusive manner, one might question the purposefulness of organising FSL instruction in separate settings.

Overall, it seems that the two countries have rather contradictory starting points for supporting pupils with an additional language. While the policies in England favour integrating pupils with an additional language within the mainstream, the findings of this study are in accordance with the arguments that the policies do not take into account the learning needs of pupils with an additional language (see Costley, 2014). In contrast, the policies in Finland provide support for pupils with an additional language, however the support is mostly organised in separate settings. Although it should be acknowledged that pupils with an additional language need support for learning, the research suggest that language minority pupils benefit the most when studying together with the language majority pupils (see Cammarata & Tedick, 2012; Thomas & Collier, 2002) and thus inclusive instruction still seems to be the most effective, as well as equal, practice. Therefore, one might argue that the policies in both countries could be improved so that pupils with an additional language could study with their peers in mainstream classes, yet, receiving adequate support for learning.

The findings of this study also showed that pupils with additional language often need support for learning regardless of when they have arrived. Some of the teachers in Finland pointed out that especially younger pupils might well be much more proficient in their first languages when they start school, as this was the language that had been present throughout their childhood. Moreover, teachers in both contexts brought up that when speaking to pupils with an additional language, they often seem to be completely fluent in that language, but it is their writing where it can be noted that it is not their first language, as for instance they may use words in the wrong contexts or their vocabulary is not quite right. The teachers in both contexts also mentioned that their pupils with

an additional language often encounter difficulties in reading and writing. The challenges in writing seemed to be language-related: The teachers in Finland mentioned their pupils struggling with double consonants, the forms of the words and long vowels, whereas the teachers in England mentioned their pupils often struggling with the tenses of the words. The teachers in both Finland and England described the challenges in reading mostly concerning the understanding of the content as well as the reading speed. These findings indicate that many pupils with an additional language both in Finland and in England encounter additional challenges in learning. Moreover, these findings may have a connection with the findings on previous studies that have shown that many first and second generation pupils with a migrant backgrounds fall behind the others in school achievement (see Harju-Luukkainen et al., 2014; Strand et al., 2015).

The teachers in this study had used different methods and strategies in their classrooms when supporting their pupils with an additional language. These strategies included setting individual learning objectives, differentiating tasks, providing visual support, modelling and discussing about the language, co-teaching with specialized teachers and teaching through experimental learning. Many of these strategies were common for most of the participants, but they also included individual responses to particular children. Many of the teachers emphasised that all the pupils benefit from these strategies, not only pupils with an additional language (see also Cammarata & Tedick, 2012; Thomas & Collier, 2002).

Teachers both in Finland and in England perceived assessing pupils with an additional language as very challenging. In Finland, assessing pupils with an additional language is modified based on their linguistic background and evolving language skills (The Finnish National Core Curriculum, 2014). Thus, the teachers in Finland had used different methods in assessing, including assessing based on the participation and using presentations and projects as a way of assessing. Contrary to Finland, assessing pupils with an additional language in England follows the same principles as for other learners (British Council, 2016a).

However, one of the teachers mentioned that although everyone is assessed based on the same objectives, the EAL aspect is acknowledged if the language causes obstacles for learning, the assessment providing the basis for the support these pupils receive. The teachers in England also brought up the challenges EAL pupils encounter in national tests. It was pointed out that these test were not only challenging for pupils with an additional language but also for those who spoke English as their first language The challenges pupils with EAL encounter when taking the national tests have also been recognised by other studies, which have shown that bilingual children at all ages find inclusive assessment difficult, even when defined as being fluent speakers of English (see Safford and Drury, 2013). Although the principles for assessing were different in the two countries, the teachers in both contexts brought up the challenges in identifying these pupils' true abilities and avoiding under assessing them, as they may not necessarily be able to express their learning. Thus, it would be important to consider ways in which pupils with an additional language would be able to express their learning in both of their languages, as this way the teachers would have a better understanding of their pupils' true abilities (Parke et al., 2002).

The support schools offer for pupils' first languages seem to remain little in both countries. In Finland, around half of education providers offer instruction for their pupils' first languages (Kuukka et al., 2015). The teachers in Finland mentioned that nearly all of their bilingual pupils have the opportunity to attend instruction for their first languages. However, although the instruction was organized, the place for instruction was not always in the same school. Consequently, the distant location of the instruction, as well as the late time of the day for the instruction, were mentioned as factors that decreased pupils' motivation to attend the instruction. Other studies (see Tarnanen & Kauppinen, 2016; Eisenchlas et al., 2013) have also shown these as factors that decrease pupils' attendance in the instruction. The teachers also brought up that sometimes the benefits of the instruction did not seem to be clear for the parents or they were afraid that the instruction would interfere the learning of other languages. These findings support the findings in previous studies (see Tarnanen and Kauppinen,

2016) that have shown that the role of one's first language in formation of their academic skills as well as identity should be more emphasised to parents.

There is no mention in the curriculum in England (2013) about the support for pupils' first languages. Accordingly, many of the teachers in England mentioned that the maintaining of children's first languages has been left for the families' responsibility. Other studies (see Tinsley and Board, 2016) have also shown that the active teaching of pupils' first languages in schools in England is in general quite low. As there were no official policies on supporting the first languages of pupils, some schools and teachers had made their own arrangements in order to help pupils to develop and maintain their first languages. However, this seemed to be much dependent on teachers' efforts and imagination. The teachers mentioned some of their pupils going to complementary schools or Mosques to learn the language, although it seemed to be much more common for pupils with religious backgrounds. Moreover, the links between schools and complementary schools seemed to remain little, which indicates that the developing and maintaining pupils' first languages is viewed rather as a separate thing from the school.

The teachers especially in the Finnish context seemed to have very contradictory views about the role of pupils' first languages in school. On one hand, multilingualism was described as a natural part of the learning environment, yet the pupils were expected to speak Finnish in the classroom. Moreover, one of the teachers mentioned that the pupils in his school were told to speak Finnish also during breaktimes. Other studies have also shown that forbidding the use of first languages in classroom contexts as well as during breaktimes is a commonly occurring phenomenon in the schools in Finland (see Suni and Latomaa, 2012). Thus, these findings support the arguments that the languages of the pupils are often kept strictly separated rather than treated as a natural part of the school environment (see Creese & Blackledge, 2010). The teachers in England did not seem to have any specific rules for the language spoken in the classrooms or during breaktimes, but they brought up that they had rarely heard their pupils speak their first languages in school. The teachers

reflected on whether the children did not want their languages to be highlighted as they wanted to fit with the majority. The teachers also problematized whether the children had just used to separate the language used at home from the language used at school and thus do not associate them to be used together. Moreover, one of the teachers described the atmosphere in her school as not particularly supportive towards pupils' use of their first languages, and expressed her concern about whether it had implications on the pupils' use of their first languages in school.

The teachers both in Finland and in England seemed to acknowledge the benefits of having a strong foundation on the first language and emphasised it throughout the interviews. For instance, the teachers seemed to be aware of the interdependence of the languages (see Cummins, 2001), as it was mentioned many times that having a strong foundation on the first language is a key factor in acquiring the language of schooling as well as other languages. In fact, a few teachers brought up their experiences on having taught pupils who had struggled learning the language of schooling as they had not mastered their first language either. Despite this, many teachers in both Finland and England described the role of their pupils' first languages in classroom contexts as very little. These findings are in accordance with the findings from previous studies that have shown that the use of first languages as resources for learning generally remains under-used (see Kuukka et al., 2015; Tinsley & Board, 2016; Safford & Drury, 2013).

Some of the teachers mentioned having occasionally used their pupils' first languages as resources. However, pupils' first languages seemed to be used mainly in situations, in which pupils faced challenges with the language of schooling. Thus, the first languages seemed to function as tools for translating the contents, as the emphasis seemed to be on the language of schooling rather than on bilingual learning. Moreover, the comments of the teachers indicated that in many cases, the role of pupils' first languages in learning decreased the more proficient pupils became in the language of schooling. Whereas first languages were mainly used for translating, which is about working mostly in the dominant

language (see Lewis et al., 2012a), some of the teachers also had experience on using translanguaging practices, in which pupils use both their languages receptively and productively (see Garcia, 2009). For instance, one of the teachers in Finland mentioned that a few of her pupils had searched information in their first languages after which they had gathered the information in the language of schooling (see Garcia & Wei, 2014; Celic & Seltzer, 2011), and another teacher mentioned having made dual language books (see Cummins, 2005) with her pupils. However, most of the teachers were not familiar with the concept of translanguaging nor did they have any experience on realising translanguaging practices in their classrooms. Neverthless, after having reflected on the concept, many of the teachers mentioned that translanguaging practices would be a powerful tool in acquiring a deeper understanding of the content and many of them expressed interest in increasing the use of their pupils' first languages in learning through these practices. However, the teachers' own ability to speak the languages of their pupils seemed to be perceived as a central factor that either enabled or prevented them using translanguaging practices in their classrooms. Moreover, many of the teachers perceived the use of translanguaging practices as more manageable if there was one specific language group in the class. However, as the existing literature and research on translanguaging show, translanguaging practices can also be practiced in classes with no specific language groups and regardless of teachers' abilities to speak their pupils' languages (see Garcia & Wei, 2014; Celic & Seltzer, 2011; Cummins, 2005). Thus, it seems that many of the challenges teachers perceived in realising translanguaging practices in their classrooms resulted from their unfamiliarity of the concept. Thus, it is suggested that teachers need to be provided with more information on how to realise translanguaging practices in classroom context. Moreover, only one of the teachers brought up the role of parents as an important resource when using pupils' first languages as resources for learning, especially when a variety of languages is spoken in the classroom. Despite the fact that parents can provide all kinds of different support for learning it seems to be a much under-used resource according to this study. Thus, it is suggested that

teachers should be encouraged to increase cooperation with parents and they should be provided with information on ways of how parents can be resources.

Based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that more attention should be paid on the role of pupils' first languages in schools. While it is important to develop good skills in the language of schooling, the importance of the role of first languages in school cannot be emphasized enough. Using first languages as resources for learning not only helps children to develop skills in both languages (see Cummins, 2001) but also promotes deeper and fuller understanding of the content (see Baker, 2011), and maximizes learning and achievement (see Lewis et al., 2012a). Moreover, the findings of this study as well as the previous studies (e.g. Portes & Hao, 1998; Li, 2006) have shown that many children with an ethnic minority background are experiencing a language shift after starting school. Thus, by acknowledging the languages of pupils and emphasizing the value of bilingualism as an important linguistic and intellectual accomplishment, schools can help children maintain their first languages (Cummins, 2001) and perhaps decrease the extent of language shift in the long term. Moreover, as translanguaging is already a naturally occurring phenomenon among multilingual pupils (see Garcia, 2009), it would seem only natural to extend it to classroom contexts and to practice it through pedagogical strategies. Based on the research on bi- and multilingualism, the use of the first languages as a resource in learning would most likely enhance the learning and in doing so, make the learning more meaningful and perhaps also increase pupils' academic achievement.

7.2 Validity and limitations

According to Curtis, Murphy and Shields (2014, p. 172), the reliability of the study is about "how carefully the research was carried out and the likelihood of the same findings emerging if the study was to be replicated". This has been taken into account by describing the different stages of the research process carefully and truthfully in detail. Moreover, the phenomenological nature of the

study was acknowledged throughout the process. As the focus of this study was on teachers' experiences, interviewing was chosen as the most appropriate method for collecting data, as it enabled the participants to describe their experiences in detail. The phenomenological nature of the study was also acknowledged when designing the interview questions. The questions were designed in a way that the interviewees would able to describe their experiences in detail, without guiding them to answer in a certain way.

When collecting data in another culture and in another language, the researcher needs to have sufficient knowledge of that language as well as the culture (Pietilä, 2010). I took this aspect into account by familiarizing myself with the existing literature and research in both contexts as well as by carefully searching background information from both contexts before conducting the study. Moreover, the fact that I have lived in both countries increases my familiarity with the phenomenom in both contexts and furthermore increases the credibility of the study. I also took the language aspect into consideration by listening to the records many times when transcribing in another language, in order to assure the correct understanding of the speech.

As the findings are based on the researcher's interpretations of the descriptions of the participants, I carefully read the transcripts several times, familiarising myself with the data, in order to make adequate interpretations. Moreover, I avoided making obvious interpretations but tried to gain a deeper understanding from the interviewees' perspectives. I used direct quotations when reporting the findings in order to grasp the participants' voices as precisely as possible. As some of the direct quotations of the participants have been translated from Finnish to English, I tried to remain true to the original meaning as much as possible when translating them. However, to avoid any misinterpretations, I decided to keep the original versions of them next to the translated ones.

In a qualitative study, the researcher is also bound to reflect on the coverage of the data (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). Typical to a qualitative study, the sample group of this study remained relatively small and thus the findings cannot be

generalized as facts. On the other hand, the smaller sample group enabled the gaining of more detailed information, which would not have been possible for instance through a survey. Moreover, although there were only eight participants in the study, many of them had been working in various schools and contexts and had a lot of experience from many years of teaching pupils with an additional language. It is however worth considering whether the findings would have been different in smaller towns, where the number of linguistically diverse pupils may be smaller.

Although the findings of the study cannot be generalised, they present the ways in which bilingual pupils are supported in many school contexts. Moreover, they present the ways in which teachers perceive bi-and multilingualism in the school context. The findings are useful for teachers with linguistic diverse classrooms, as they provide information and practical advice on how to draw on these pupils' linguistic resources and increase the use of pupils' first languages in learning. The findings also suggest that the organizers of basic education need to find ways to better support these pupils not only with the language of schooling but also provide ways that encourage pupils to use their first languages in school. It can be concluded that the linguistic competence of pupils should be better acknowledged in schools in ways that communicate these pupils that their first languages are a valuable asset and should be maintained through life.

7.3 Suggestions for further research

Although the aim of this study was not to make comparisons between the two countries, but rather find out what kinds of similarities there are and whether there is something that we can learn from each other, the findings of this study brought forward that the policies for supporting pupils with additional languages have different emphasis in the two contexts. As pointed out earlier, while the policies in England concentrate on integrating pupils within the mainstream but do not take into account the learning needs of pupils with an additional language, the policies in Finland provide support for pupils with an

additional language, however the support is mostly organised in separate setting. Thus, it would be worth considering ways that would enable pupils to study with their peers in the mainstream classes, yet providing these pupils the support they need for learning. Therefore, it is suggested that further research is needed to explore what kinds of changes could be made within the school policies and what kinds of resources need to be provided in order to make this happen.

As has been pointed out throughout the study, translanguaging practices are undoubtedly a beneficial way to implement a more inclusive, yet supportive instruction. It is thus worth considering whether these practices could be more linked to the curriculum. For instance, there could be a translanguaging aspect included within each subject. Perhaps acknowledging these in the curriculum would encourage teachers to systematically use these practices as part of every-day learning situations. The findings of this study also showed that more information and practical examples are needed in order for teachers to be able to realise translanguaging strategies in practice. Therefore, it is suggested that there is a need for providing in-service trainings for teachers, as well as for educating the future teachers to use translanguaging strategies as part of every-day classroom practices.

This study also touched on pupils' perspectives on the use of their languages in school contexts, and brought up some interesting notions of their varied language usage in school contexts. However, it was explored only from the teachers' points of views, and thus it would be interesting to study the issue in more detail by focusing on pupils' own perspectives. The findings of this study implicate that many pupils are experiencing a language shift during their primary school years. It would thus be interesting to study whether the systematic use of translanguaging practices in schools would not only affect positively on the school achievement of these pupils but also increase their valuing towards their languages and decrease the extent of language shift in the long term.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Permission to record the interview and use recorded material

University of Jyväskylä

Faculty of Education

Permission to record the interview and use recorded material

Dear participant,

In my master's thesis I am researching the ways multilingual students use both of their languages and the possibilities in supporting their L1's and L2's in schools. As a data collection method I use interviews in which I interview primary school teachers who have taught multilingual students. I ask for your permission to record the interview and use recorded material for the research purpose.

The data for this research will be handled in a way that the identity of the participant will not be revealed. The data will be kept in the researcher's computer and it can be archived or destroyed once the research is done.

The University of Jyväskylä will have, without compensation, the rights to use the data in

- scientific researches and publications
- scientific presentations
- teaching- and educational situations.

I have read the conditions above. I accept the recording and using of the data in terms introduced above.

_____ _____ _____

Place and date signature clarification of the signature