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The Role of CLIL Education in Individuals' Life Courses

Retrospective Narratives of Pupils from a Former CLIL Class

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study is to shed light on the long-term effects of
CLIL education on individuals' lives, which prior research has not sufficiently
addressed. More precisely, this dissertation examines former pupils'
perceptions of the significance of CLIL education for their English language
learning and self-concept, attitudes and life courses. The dissertation comprises
a pilot study (n = 2) (*Article I*) followed by four individual sub-studies (n = 24)
(*Articles II–V*). The participants in the study (n = 26) are adults who attended
English-medium CLIL in the same school in the 1990s. Individual interviews
were conducted with each participant in 2016–2017. The data analysis methods
employed were thematic content analysis as well as analysis of narratives and
narrative analysis. Specifically, *Article I* examines the effects of CLIL on two
former pupils' lives. *Article II* delves into the participants' general experience of
CLIL and their perceptions of its effect on their learning. *Article III* explores the
meanings that the participants give to the English language self-concept formed
by CLIL in constructing their life courses. *Article IV* concentrates on the
perceived effect of CLIL on the participants' foreign language and intercultural
attitudes, and *Article V* investigates the role CLIL has played in shaping their
English language self-concept. On the whole, the results showed that the
participants regarded CLIL as increasing their motivation and facilitating their
English learning, particularly in terms of vocabulary and speaking. The
findings suggest that CLIL played a significant role in forming the participants'
generally positive attitude toward the English language and creating the
foundation for their strong English language self-concept, which had supported
them through various life stages. The participants gave particular emphasis to
the early start in CLIL. While this is a qualitative case study, the results indicate
the potential of early and relatively small-scale CLIL education for developing
confident foreign language users and, consequently, increasing plurilingualism
in society.

Keywords: CLIL education, life course, self-concept, attitudes, former pupils'
perceptions, thematic analysis, analysis of narratives, narrative analysis

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämän väitöstutkimuksen tarkoituksena on valottaa CLIL-opetuksen kauaskantoisia vaikutuksia yksilöiden elämään. Aiheeseen ei aikaisemmissa tutkimuksissa ole juurikaan paneuduttu. Tarkemmin ottaen tutkimus tarkastelee entisten oppilaiden näkemyksiä CLIL-opetuksen merkityksestä heidän englannin oppimiselleen ja kieliminälleen, asenteilleen sekä elämänkululleen. Väitöskirja koostuu pilottitutkimuksesta (n = 2) (*artikkeli I*) sekä neljästä osatutkimuksesta (n = 24) (*artikkelit II–V*). Tutkimukseen osallistui 26 aikuista, jotka saivat englanninkielistä CLIL-opetusta samassa koulussa 1990-luvulla. Tutkimuksen aineistona on vuosina 2016–2017 osallistujille tehdyt yksilöhaastattelut. Aineisto analysoitiin käyttäen teema-analyysia sekä narratiivien ja narratiivista analyysia. *Artikkelissa I* tarkastellaan CLIL-opetuksen vaikutuksia laajasti kahden entisen oppilaan elämään. *Artikkelissa II* paneudutaan osallistujien yleisiin kokemuksiin CLIL-opetuksesta ja sen vaikutuksesta heidän oppimiseensa. *Artikkelissa III* käsitellään sitä, millaisia merkityksiä osallistujat antavat CLIL-opetuksen muodostamalle englannin kieliminälle elämänkulkujensa rakentajana. *Artikkelissa IV* puolestaan keskitytään osallistujien näkemyksiin siitä, miten CLIL-opetus on vaikuttanut heidän kieliasenteisiinsa sekä kulttuurienvälisyyteen liittyviin asenteisiinsa. *Artikkelissa V* selvitetään sitä, millaisen roolin osallistujat antavat CLIL-opetukselle heidän englannin kieliminänsä muodostumisessa. Kokonaisuudessaan tulokset osoittavat, että osallistujat kokivat CLIL-opetuksen lisänneen heidän motivaatiotaan ja vaikuttaneen positiivisesti heidän englannin oppimiseensa, erityisesti sanaston ja puhumisen suhteen. Lisäksi tulokset viittaavat siihen, että CLIL-opetus oli luonut osallistujille positiivisen asenteen englantia kohtaan sekä vahvan englannin kieliminän, joka oli tukenut heitä monissa elämänvaiheissa. Osallistujat painottivat erityisesti varhaisen CLIL-opetuksen merkityksellisyyttä. Vaikka tämä väitöstutkimus on laadullinen tapaustutkimus, tulokset kuitenkin havainnollistavat sitä, kuinka varhainen ja suhteellisen pienimuotoinen CLIL-opetus voi olla potentiaalinen koulutusmuoto itsevarmojen kielenkäyttäjien luomisessa ja sitä kautta monikielisyyden lisäämisessä yhteiskunnassa.

Avainsanat: CLIL-opetus, elämänkulku, kieliminä, asenteet, entisten oppilaiden näkemykset, teema-analyysi, narratiivien analyysi, narratiivinen analyysi

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

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III Roiha, A. (2019). *CLIL-opetuksen merkitys vuosina 1992–2001 peruskoulussa opiskelleiden aikuisten elämänkuluissa* [The significance of CLIL education in the life courses of adults who studied in comprehensive school between 1992 and 2001]. Manuscript submitted for publication.

IV   Roiha, A., & Sommier, M. (2018). Viewing CLIL through the eyes of former pupils: Insights into foreign language and intercultural attitudes. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 18*(6), 631–647.

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Additional publications of the project (not included in the dissertation)

Roiha, A., & Sommier, M. (2018). Kulttuurienvälisen tietoisuuden ja kieliasenteiden kehittyminen CLIL-opetuksessa: Retrospektiivinen tarkastelu [The development of intercultural awareness and language attitudes in CLIL: A retrospective analysis]. In L. Lehti, P. Peltonen, S. Routarinne, V. Vaakanainen & V. Virsu (Eds.), *Uusia lukutaitoja rakentamassa – Building new literacies* (pp. 77–96). AFinLA Yearbook 2018. Jyväskylä: The Finnish Association for Applied Linguistics Publications 76.

Roiha, A., & Mäntylä, K. (Forthcoming). CLIL as a vehicle for a positive English self-concept: An analysis of one former student's life course. In K. Talbot, M.-T. Gruber & R. Nishida (Eds.), *The psychological experience of integrating language and content*. Bristol: Multilingual matters.

FIGURES

TABLES

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

It [= CLIL] has given me this kind of courage.. self-confidence to use English.. I'd say that it has come through this kind of self-confidence that I have in a way chosen this path.. or that I have had the courage to embark on this path. (Pasi)

1.1 Motivation for the study

We live in a truly multilingual reality as it is estimated that there are more than 7,000 languages spoken around the world (Ethnologue, 2018). In the past few decades, globalization, internationalization and migration have contributed to the spread of multilingualism in societies at large. For instance, in Finland, foreign language proficiency has become a prerequisite in many sectors of working life (Pyykkö, 2017), and in many other countries these trends have created an increased need for language skills. CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), a dual-focused educational approach in which content is taught partly through a foreign language (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010), has been put forward as one way of developing plurilingual identities and increasing multilingualism in Europe (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2008). Some of the advocates of CLIL have further promoted the approach as resulting in a more positive attitude toward language learning and multilingualism in general (e.g. Coyle et al., 2010; Marsh, 2000). Since the 1990s, CLIL has spread widely across Europe (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Eurydice, 2006), including Finland, where it has been implemented since 1991 (Peltoniemi, Skinnari, Mård-Miettinen, & Sjöberg, 2018).

CLIL has been widely researched. Earlier, the majority of studies focused on pupils' learning outcomes (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Pérez-Cañado, 2012). In recent years, however, there has been a slight upsurge in emic studies, which have brought CLIL pupils' own voices to the fore (e.g. Coyle, 2013; Pihko, 2010; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015). The present study endeavors to make its contribution to this line of research as it investigates former pupils' (n = 26) retrospective reflections on CLIL. More specifically, this article-based dissertation sets out to

investigate the participants' perceptions of the effects of CLIL on their 1) target language and content learning, 2) life courses, 3) foreign language and intercultural attitudes, as well as 4) English language self-concept. The broad purpose of the study is to produce information on the long-term effects of CLIL, and to do this by investigating the participants' subjective perceptions and interpretations. Each article delves in considerable depth into the aforementioned topics.

The present study also touches on the question of the effectiveness of education, which can be defined and approached in various ways. For instance, according to Linna (1999), it can be analyzed from individual, institutional or societal perspectives. Even though the primary focus of this study is on individuals, the three dimensions are partly intertwined and interconnected. In general, the effectiveness of education is a complex issue and often challenging to measure in a valid, empirical way. According to Antikainen (1998), the significance of education can be examined on the basis of how individuals apply the skills and knowledge acquired at school in their later lives. From this perspective, the effectiveness of education can only be assessed several years after individuals have received their schooling.

Although individuals' life courses are constructed in an interplay between several factors, there is ample research evidence that education and schooling play a central role in determining and guiding them (e.g. Pallas, 2000; Vanttaja, 2002). The effect of bilingual teaching approaches on individuals' lives, however, has not been thoroughly addressed hitherto, making an inquiry into CLIL pupils' life courses relatively unexplored terrain. Moreover, thus far, only a minority of studies have examined intercultural attitudes or self-concept in the CLIL context, and these are also part of the scope of this research. At least to the researcher's knowledge, most prior CLIL research has focused primarily on pupils currently enrolled in CLIL (e.g. Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Graham, Choi, Davoodi, Razmeh, & Dixon, 2018), highlighting the need for long-term retrospective investigations on the approach.

The comment quoted at the start of this chapter, which was made by one of the study participants, encapsulates both the premise and the main result of the study. The impetus for the research partly stemmed from personal experience, as the researcher was a pupil in the target CLIL class himself throughout comprehensive school[1]. His subjective perception is that the English language capital and international mind-set acquired through CLIL have partly guided his life course and influenced or supported many of his life decisions. With this study, the researcher wanted to examine the phenomenon of the perceived effects of CLIL further and in more detail.

The structure of this dissertation is as follows. In Chapter 2, the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of the research are discussed. Chapter 3 elaborates on how the study was conducted and addresses issues such as the methodological approach and the researcher's positionality. Chapter 4 presents a brief summary of each article together with their main results. Finally,

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[1]   Comprehensive school refers to basic education, that is primary and lower secondary school, throughout this dissertation.

Chapter 5 discusses the main overall findings of this research and their implications. Chapter 5 also includes an evaluation of the study and a consideration of its limitations. A Finnish summary of the research is included after the main chapters. The original publications are appended at the end of this dissertation. What follows now, before Chapter 2, is a description of the context of the study, at both the macro- and micro-levels, followed by an outline of the research questions of the study.

1.2 Context of the study

1.2.1 CLIL in Finland

CLIL became part of the Finnish education system in 1991, following new legislation which allowed schools to provide teaching in other than the language of instruction of the school (i.e. Finnish, Swedish, Saami, Romani or Sign Language) (Laki peruskoululain muuttamisesta 261/1991). There had already been Swedish language immersion in Vaasa since 1987 (Laurén, 2000). One of the reasons behind the emergence of CLIL was the need for more competent language users as Finland became a more active member of an increasingly globalized world, a development which later culminated in the country joining the European Union in 1995. Finland also started to receive more expatriates, whose children's schooling needed to be reconsidered. (Finnish National Agency for Education, 1999.)

Many schools immediately seized the opportunity to introduce CLIL. For instance, according to a survey conducted in 1996, 9.7 percent of comprehensive schools reported organizing CLIL (Nikula & Marsh, 1996). The popularity of the approach then decreased substantially over the following ten years: in 2005 only 4.7 percent of comprehensive schools reported arranging CLIL (Lehti, Järvinen, & Suomela-Salmi, 2006). However, the latest municipal-level reports reveal that the implementation of CLIL, and interest in it, have again increased across the country (Kangasvieri, Miettinen, Palviainen, Saarinen, & Ala-Vähälä, 2012; Peltoniemi et al., 2018). Over the years, CLIL programs in Finland have ranged from extensive CLIL education to so-called language showering (see e.g. Bärlund, 2012), which has a fairly small amount of CLIL instruction. The dominant CLIL language in Finland has indisputably been English. (Lehti et al., 2006; Peltoniemi et al., 2018.)

The Finnish national core curriculum for basic education allows all schools to implement CLIL education[2] (Finnish National Board of Education [FNBE], 2014). The curriculum does not set out any specific guidelines or objectives for CLIL, but they are locally determined by the education providers. The national

[2] The national curriculum uses the generic term bilingual education and divides it into large-scale (at least 25 percent of all teaching) and small-scale (less than 25 percent of all teaching) bilingual education. The latter is also referred to as language-enriched education. (FNBE, 2014.)

curriculum, however, states that the general core content objectives must be reached in all subjects regardless of the language of instruction. (FNBE, 2014.)

1.2.2 CLIL in the target school

CLIL is an umbrella term that encompasses several different models and approaches to foreign-language-medium teaching (Coyle et al., 2010). Consequently, the implementation of CLIL varies greatly among and even within countries, for instance regarding the amount of CLIL instruction or the levels and subjects in which it is organized (Eurydice, 2006). This poses challenges to the generalization of research results from different CLIL studies. With this in mind, the target school's CLIL program will be described in order for the reader to better contextualize the findings of the present research. The following description of the CLIL program is based on an informal interview with a former teacher of the target class, two old program brochures (see Appendix 1 as an example) as well as the memories that emerged in the interviews.

The CLIL program in the target school was established in 1991, at the start of CLIL in Finland. The participants in the pilot study (n = 2) started their schooling that year and the participants in the actual study (n = 24) a year later, in 1992. At the time, CLIL education was offered only to one class per grade level, while the other classes at that level received monolingual teaching. The core rationale for the school's CLIL program as articulated in the program brochure (see Appendix 1) was the increasing need for a basic command of English in an increasingly international and global world. The positive reports that were emerging of the immersion education programs in Canada and Vaasa also motivated the school to introduce English-medium teaching. Additionally, the parents in the community were strongly supportive of starting CLIL and had an active role in the process. Prior to launching the CLIL program, a number of teachers visited other Finnish schools that were already implementing content-based English teaching to get information and insights into this new method of language teaching.

The primary aim of the program was that after completing CLIL comprehensive school, "pupils would be able to take their place in international society, understanding and expressing themselves in English" (see Appendix 1). The school's CLIL program was assessed and developed by a follow-up group of teachers, university researchers, language experts and representatives of the local education authority. The school also received financial support from the Ministry of Education for its CLIL education, which was used to buy teaching resources and training courses for the teachers on the topic of bilingual education. Regardless of the foreign-language-medium instruction, CLIL classes followed the general learning objectives set out in the national core curriculum in all subjects.

The CLIL program was open to everyone, although preference was given to pupils from the local school district. In addition, priority was given to pupils who had some prior experience of English (e.g. having lived abroad, or coming from bilingual families). This was the case for five pupils in the target class.

Eleven of the participants had received minor English language showering (see Bärlund, 2012) (comprising e.g. greetings, numbers, colors etc.) already in preschool. However, the pupils attending this small-scale CLIL in preschool had been chosen randomly, as most groups in the preschool received only Finnish instruction. Another recommendation was that pupils enrolling in CLIL classes should not have any difficulties as regards basic cognitive skills or concentration. As it turned out, applicants for the CLIL program outnumbered the places in the target year, and as a result, the remaining places were filled by drawing lots. There were 25 pupils in the target class at the start of the CLIL program.

CLIL was implemented in all subjects except Finnish. The target class had three class teachers during primary school who provided most of the CLIL teaching. In addition, some subjects (e.g. math, music, physical education and crafts) were taught by subject teachers who also offered English-medium lessons in the upper primary stage (i.e. grades 4–6). In the 1st and 2nd grades, CLIL mostly focused on various cross-curricular themes, and English was introduced through daily routines, songs, rhymes and games. CLIL did not replace formal English teaching but was implemented alongside it. However, the formal English instruction, which at that time started in the 3rd grade, was more intensive in the CLIL class than in the other classes. From the 3rd grade onwards, CLIL was implemented in specific subjects and its amount increased. At primary level, approximately 25 percent of all teaching was given in English. The CLIL program focused on both input and oral output (Krashen, 1986; Swain, 1985). The foreign teaching materials used in CLIL lessons (i.e. texts and exercises) mostly originated in British and North American contexts. In addition, the teachers produced some of the teaching materials themselves.

CLIL continued in lower secondary school (i.e. grades 7–9) although its use was substantially reduced. It was still implemented in most subjects but was used much more sporadically. This was due both to the different subjects chosen by the pupils and to some teachers' difficulty in providing English-medium instruction.

1.3   Research questions

The overall aim of the present study, that is, to investigate former pupils' retrospective reflections on CLIL, led to the formation of the following overarching research question:

How do the participants perceive the effects of CLIL on their lives?

Each article of the dissertation addresses more specific issues in relation to the overarching research question and thus has its own, more detailed research question(s). Article I reports the findings of the pilot study with two participants who were not included in the actual study. The pilot study participants had started their schooling in the target school a year earlier than

the participants in the actual study. The pilot study explored *how the participants (n = 2) had experienced their CLIL education and how they perceived its effect on their life courses.* Articles II–V present the results of the actual study with 24 participants from the same CLIL class. Article II serves as an introduction to the actual study as it describes *how the participants reflected on CLIL as an experience* and *how they perceived the effect of CLIL on their target language and content learning.* Article III employs narrative analysis to explore *the meanings the participants gave to the English language self-concept formed by CLIL as a constructor of their life courses* while Article IV asks *what the participants' views were on the effect of CLIL education on their foreign language and intercultural attitudes.* Finally, Article V sets out to investigate *how the participants' English language self-concept was manifested* and *what factors they identified as having influenced it.* The scope of each article in relation to the main aim of the research is summarized below, in Figure 1.
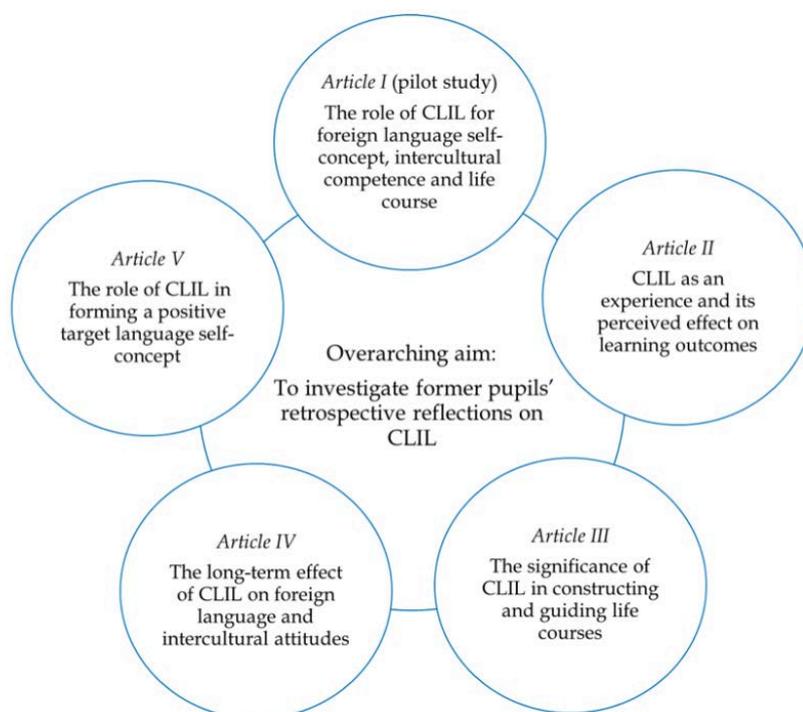
FIGURE 1   The scope of each article in relation to the overarching research aim

2 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This dissertation is informed by a somewhat eclectic theoretical and conceptual framework drawn from the disciplines of *applied linguistics*, *educational sciences*, *psychology*, *sociology* and (*critical*) *intercultural communication*. Although the terms theoretical and conceptual framework are often used interchangeably, in this research the following distinction is made. The term theoretical framework is used to refer to pre-existing theories that are most often associated with a deductive approach, whereas conceptual framework relates to concepts that do not necessarily have fixed definitions or are not tied to a specific theory, thus relying more on an inductive approach (Imenda, 2014). However, it can sometimes be challenging to draw a very clear and rigid distinction between the two terms.

The main concept of the present study is *CLIL*, which can be approached from several theoretical perspectives, some of which are reviewed in the next section. Another prevalent concept is *self-concept* which, apart from being the main focus of one of the articles (Article V), to some extent permeates the whole dissertation. Other relevant concepts for the present study are *life course*, which is underpinned by both psychological and sociological paradigms, as well as *language* and *intercultural attitudes*. In this chapter, the different theoretical notions are introduced and elaborated on.

2.1 CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning

The educational approach called Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) emerged in Europe in the 1990s. In this section, CLIL is briefly defined and its theoretical underpinnings are described. Previous CLIL research relevant to the scope of this dissertation is also presented.

2.1.1 Origins and definition of CLIL

In essence, CLIL refers to teaching approaches in which content is taught partly through a foreign language. CLIL is neither merely language nor merely

content learning, but rather an amalgam of both, as it entails the twofold objective of learning both the subject matter and the language of instruction. However, the emphasis on either can vary at any given time or in any lesson. The fundamental idea behind the approach is that pupils acquire the target language by being exposed to a great deal of L2 input and by using the language naturally while learning content. (Coyle et al., 2010.) Various reasons can be identified for the development and rapid expansion of CLIL. Firstly, the origin of the approach can be seen as being motivated by the highly positive learning results of immersion education in Canada (see e.g. Lazaruk, 2007). That is, in the 1960s, English-speaking parents living in French-speaking Quebec wanted their children to acquire fluency in French. Consequently, different forms of language immersion program were developed ranging from delayed and late immersion to early total immersion. (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Swain & Lapkin, 1982.) Secondly, the role of multilingualism began to be emphasized in Europe in the 1990s, due to globalization and migration (Mehisto, Marsh, & Frigols, 2008; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2008). Thirdly, in 1995, the European Union recommended that European citizens should be able to use at least two community languages in addition to their mother tongue (European Commission, 1995). There had already been many contexts across the world where foreign-language-medium instruction took place. One aim of CLIL was to capture, describe and broaden those approaches and experiences. (Coyle et al., 2010.)

The term CLIL was coined in 1996 in Europe and rapidly became the most widespread term used on the continent to refer to this type of educational approach (Marsh, 2008). One of the main reasons behind the popularity of the term CLIL is that it acknowledges both the language and content without giving preference to either concept (Marsh, 2002). CLIL can be seen as a generic umbrella term which encompasses several models of implementation (Coyle et al., 2010). However, Cenoz, Genesee and Gorter (2014) argue that the term CLIL is not clearly defined and is therefore perceived differently among its different advocates. For instance, Mehisto et al. (2008) define CLIL very broadly and include several models of implementation in it, ranging from primary to higher education. CLIL is indeed implemented and even referred to in numerous different ways across and even within countries. There are major differences, for instance, as regards the status of CLIL in each country, the number of pupils attending it, the number of CLIL lessons and the subjects in which CLIL is implemented. (Eurydice, 2006.) Maljers, Marsh and Wolff (2007) argue that the term CLIL covers approximately 20 different approaches to foreign-language-medium teaching. Grin (2005, as cited in Coyle, 2007), on the other hand, has suggested that there are as many as 216 different types of CLIL programs if, for instance, the starting age and level of the pupils as well as the extent and duration of the program are considered. The heterogeneity of CLIL approaches makes the generalization of research results on CLIL difficult. On that account, the CLIL program in the target school is described in detail in Section 1.2.2.

The relation between CLIL and other forms of bilingual education, such as immersion or content-based instruction, tends to be a perennial debate among scholars. Cenoz (2015), for instance, proposes that despite there being a great

deal of diversity in the implementation of both content-based instruction and CLIL, there are no essential differences between the two approaches. According to others (e.g. Mehisto et al., 2008), CLIL is an umbrella term that encompasses all the different forms in which content is taught in a language other than the main language of education (e.g. immersion, bilingual education, multilingual education). Lightbown (2014), on the other hand, talks about content-based language teaching (hereafter CBLT) and defines it as an umbrella term that subsumes all approaches in which academic content is taught to pupils in a language that they are learning. In her definition, both CLIL and immersion fall under CBLT (Lightbown, 2014). Some scholars use the terms CLIL and immersion interchangeably, while others clearly distinguish between them. For instance, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2010) propose that, in spite of the many similarities, several fundamental differences can be identified between immersion and CLIL, such as the amount of foreign-language-medium instruction, teacher characteristics, materials used, language objectives or research conducted. Lasagabaster and Sierra's (2010) distinction has, however, been criticized by Somers and Surmont (2012) for suffering from internal contradictions and being too restricted to the Spanish context. Adding their contribution to the discussion, Nikula and Mård-Miettinen (2014) argue that immersion and CLIL ultimately emerged in different socio-political contexts. That is, immersion was developed in Canada in the 1960s with the aim of making pupils functionally bilingual, whereas CLIL originated in Europe in the 1990s to tackle the challenges of increasing globalization and internationalization (Nikula & Mård-Miettinen, 2014). This research takes the position that within a myriad of CLIL variations, some may have more similarities with immersion while others are more different from it. Consequently, the literature review of this dissertation focuses predominantly on studies from CLIL contexts.

CLIL has been criticized for being elitist, as it is often offered only to a small number of privileged pupils who are pre-selected (Bruton, 2011; Cenoz et al., 2014). Marsh (2001), in contrast, argues that CLIL is an egalitarian approach in the sense that it grants access to bilingual education to a wider range of pupils than traditional language education has done in the past. Likewise, Lorenzo, Casal and Moore (2010) claim that in Spain, where there are no pre-tests for CLIL classes, CLIL education can be seen as essentially egalitarian. The authors point out, however, that regardless of the official non-selective policy, parental choice and social class are likely to have an effect on the composition of CLIL classes (Lorenzo et al., 2010). In line with the above, Mehisto (2007) argues that CLIL education primarily attracts academically gifted pupils because CLIL is often regarded as cognitively more challenging than it necessarily is in practice by both pupils and their parents. Furthermore, Barrios (2019), based on a study she carried out in Spain, suggests that even though all learners might have equal access to CLIL, pupils with a lower socioeconomic status have a disadvantage as their parents are unable to support them in their English-medium school work and any language difficulties they might have. In several studies, CLIL pupils' socioeconomic status has indeed been found to be higher than that of their non-CLIL peers (e.g. Dallinger, Jonkman, Hollm, & Fiege, 2016;

Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2014; Jalkanen, 2017; Van Mensel, Hiligsmann, Mettewie, & Galand, 2019). Therefore, it seems that often CLIL classes are rather homogenous groups of learners who come from fairly privileged backgrounds. In general, research on diversity in CLIL is still in its infancy (for exceptions, see e.g. Madrid & Pérez Cañado, 2018; Roiha, 2014). It should be noted that although the CLIL program in the present study was open to everyone, the pupils in the target class generally came from families with a relatively high socioeconomic status.

2.1.2   Theoretical underpinnings of CLIL

CLIL has several theoretical underpinnings pertaining to both language and content learning. As regards language learning, for instance Krashen's (1986) theory of second language acquisition, particularly the concept of *comprehensible input*, has had a great influence on immersion, and therefore also on CLIL, pedagogy. Krashen (1986) proposes that a teacher should use language that is slightly above the pupils' current level (i.e. i + 1), on the grounds that if the pupils are exposed to enough interesting, comprehensible and challenging language in the classroom, they will implicitly acquire the rules of the language. While it has been severely criticized (Ellis, 1994; Mitchell & Myles, 2004), Krashen's (1986) theory still holds as a premise in CLIL teaching, as it is assumed that the pupils learn the language they are exposed to. With regard to pupils' oral language production, Swain's (1985) concept of *comprehensible output* places the emphasis on interaction and using the language in a meaningful way as a channel for language learning. This also resonates well with the characteristics of ideal CLIL pedagogy (Nieto Moreno de Diezmas, 2016). Another influential theorization has been Cummins' (2000) *BICS* (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) and *CALP* (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency). The former refers to the type of language used in everyday communicative situations, which is highly contextualized, while the latter relates to the cognitively more demanding and abstract language that is required in less contextualized academic situations (Cummins, 2000). In foreign-language-medium teaching, CALP is needed in order to make the expected progress in the subject learning. For instance, in the CLIL context, if pupils are not adequately supported when faced with any complex and challenging language, they may experience difficulties in learning the content. (Kiely, 2011.)

With regard to content learning, CLIL can be seen as relying on the social constructivist approach to learning, according to which learners actively construct their knowledge in interaction with others (Coyle, 2007; Otwinowska & Foryś, 2017). Vygotsky's (1978) concept of a *Zone of Proximal Development* (hereafter ZPD) is therefore relevant in the CLIL context. In short, ZPD refers to the distance between the pupils' actual development level and their potential development level, which can be reached only through proper scaffolding (Vygotsky, 1978). This means that it somewhat resembles Krashen's (1986) i + 1. In CLIL lessons, pupils are expected to construct new knowledge in interaction with their peers or under the guidance of their teachers.

Additionally, one of the most influential conceptualizations of CLIL is Coyle's (2007) *4Cs framework*, in which she consolidates the abovementioned perspectives. The 4Cs correspond to "*content* (subject matter), *communication* (language), *cognition* (learning and thinking) and *culture* (social awareness of self and 'otherness')" (Coyle, 2007, p. 550). According to Coyle (2007), the 4Cs are interrelated, although culture is at the core of it all as it should permeate all CLIL teaching. The 4Cs framework emphasizes the role of learners in constructing their own knowledge and understanding of the content, and it also pays attention to the cognitive demands of CLIL learning. The 4Cs framework further postulates that language should be learned in context and through interaction. With regard to communication, Coyle (2007) has further conceptualized a triptych approach to language in CLIL. First, language *of* learning refers to the type of language pupils require in order to engage with the content. Second, language *for* learning concerns the type of language pupils need in their learning, involving for instance metacognitive and co-operative skills. And third, language *through* learning relates to the new language that emerges from pupils' thinking processes. (Coyle, 2007.)

2.1.3 Learning outcomes in CLIL

The most prominent reason behind the expansion of CLIL in Europe has been its purported benefits for foreign language learning. Understandably, this has produced an abundance of research on pupils' target language learning outcomes in CLIL settings. Concomitantly, a concern among policymakers has been the learning of subject matter in CLIL, and this has resulted in a fair number of studies investigating CLIL pupils' content learning. In this section, some of the previous CLIL research on language and content learning is outlined, and this will be followed by a brief critical discussion of the research results.

In general, the vast majority of studies conducted indicate that CLIL has a positive effect on pupils' target language proficiency (see Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Graham et al., 2018; Pérez-Cañado, 2012; Tedick & Cammarata, 2012 for reviews). In many studies, CLIL pupils have even outperformed their non-CLIL peers in all the skills measured or in overall proficiency. Such results were obtained, for instance, in Spanish secondary education by Lasagabaster (2008) (n = 198) regarding grammar, listening, speaking and writing, and by Ruiz de Zarobe (2008) (n = 161) regarding pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and fluency. Similar results were found in primary education by Järvinen (1999) (n = 137) in Finland regarding grammar, and by Coral, Lleixà and Ventura (2018) (n = 11,403) in Spain regarding reading and listening comprehension. Parallel results were also obtained by Lorenzo et al. (2010) (n = 1,329) regarding reading, listening, writing and speaking and by Navés and Victori (2010) (n = 1,532) regarding dictation, reading comprehension, grammar and listening skills in both primary and secondary education in Spain. Similarly, in Pérez Cañado's (2018) (n = 2,024) study, CLIL pupils outperformed their non-CLIL peers in all the measured language skills (i.e. grammar, vocabulary, reading, listening and speaking) in Spanish primary, secondary and baccalaureate education.

In a few studies, CLIL pupils have demonstrated higher proficiency in most of the measured language skills. This has been the case, for instance, in studies by Admiraal, Westhoff and de Bot (2006) (n = 1,305) with Dutch CLIL learners regarding oral proficiency and reading comprehension, as well as by Goris, Denessen and Verhoeven (2013) (n = 263) with Dutch, German and Italian CLIL learners regarding vocabulary, grammar, idioms and text comprehension, both at secondary level. While studies have yielded somewhat mixed results on the benefits of CLIL in terms of specific skills in the target language, most often CLIL pupils have surpassed their peers in their lexicon, receptive skills and oral production (Dalton-Puffer, 2008, 2011).

In general, the results for content learning have been less conclusive and have shown rather more discrepancy than those for language learning (see Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Graham et al., 2018; Pérez-Cañado, 2012; Tedick & Cammarata, 2012 for reviews). Several studies have examined the learning of math in CLIL contexts. Among studies that have found CLIL pupils outperforming their non-CLIL peers in math are those conducted by Binterová, Petrášková and Komínková (2014) (n = 39) at primary level in Czech Republic, as well as Surmont, Struys, van den Noort and van de Craen (2016) (n = 107) and Ouazizi (2016) (n = 31), both at secondary level in Belgium. Seikkula-Leino's (2007) study (n = 217) at primary level in Finland showed that, on average, CLIL had a neutral effect on the pupils' learning of math, although overachieving was less common in CLIL than in monolingual teaching. Also in Finland, Jäppinen (2005) (n = 669) examined CLIL pupils' cognitive development in science and math at both primary and secondary level. She found that, overall, CLIL did not have a positive effect on pupils' cognitive development, although in some cases it was faster than that of their non-CLIL peers (Jäppinen, 2005). Similarly, in Xanthou's (2011) study (n = 77) in Cyprus, CLIL was found to have a neutral effect on primary pupils' science learning. With regard to geography, in both Mattheoudakis, Alexiou and Laskaridou's (2013) study (n = 51) at primary level in Greece as well as Admiraal et al.'s (2006) study (n = 1,305) at secondary level in the Netherlands, CLIL had a neutral effect on pupils' content learning. The latter study also measured history learning, for which the results were also neutral (Admiraal et al., 2006). Similar results regarding history learning were also obtained by Dallinger et al. (2016) (n = 1,806) at secondary level in Germany.

Despite the generally promising research results, criticism of CLIL and disagreement about its benefits have become more audible in recent years (Bruton, 2011, 2013; Küppers & Trautmann, 2013). One of the most vocal voices in that respect has been Bruton (2011, 2013, 2015, 2019), who has vigorously contested the proposed gains from CLIL. His main criticisms have been targeted at the lack of pre-tests, as well as the inattention in previous research to CLIL pupils' socioeconomic background and the issue of pupil selection. Furthermore, the sample sizes in many studies have been relatively small, providing only tentative results. In some studies, too, CLIL pupils have received extra instruction time for both language and subject learning, which could explain some of the alleged benefits of CLIL. (Bruton, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2019; see also Graham et al., 2018.)

In support of some of the critical views, a few studies have indeed indicated that CLIL can be detrimental to content learning. For instance, CLIL was found to negatively affect pupils' science learning by Fernández-Sanjurjo, Fernández-Costales and Arias Blanco (2019) (n = 709) in Spain and by Piesche, Jonkmann, Fiege and Keßler (2016) (n = 722) in Germany, both at primary level, and by Fung and Yip (2014) (n = 199) in Hong Kong, at secondary level. This could suggest that, without proper scaffolding, CLIL can be rather challenging for pupils in conceptual subjects such as science. With regard to language learning, in Dallinger et al.'s (2016) study (n = 1,806), CLIL pupils performed better only in listening comprehension and not in overall proficiency in spite of their extra exposure to the CLIL target language. Comparably, in Manzano Vázquez 's (2014) study (n = 36) at secondary level in Spain, CLIL pupils did not differ from their non-CLIL peers in language proficiency although they had also received more target language instruction. Similarly, Rumlich's (2016) study (n = 676) in Germany, which took a priori differences into account, showed that CLIL did not bring any significant added value to the pupils' general English proficiency.

Notwithstanding the criticism and some discrepancy in previous research, a tentative conclusion can be drawn: that, on the whole, CLIL seems to be a beneficial teaching approach regarding target language proficiency while at the same time not being detrimental to content learning. However, with the aforementioned limitations in mind, more research is needed to substantiate the alleged benefits of CLIL for pupils' learning. In general, it is worth remarking that there may often be a range of contextual factors at play unrelated to CLIL, such as the educational culture or teachers' competence, which could affect the results of a particular study. Moreover, various cognitive and affective learner-related factors can also contribute to the potential success or failure of students in CLIL classes (Otwinowska & Foryś, 2017). Pupils' background can also affect their educational achievement in CLIL; for instance, Fernández-Sanjurjo et al.'s (2019) study demonstrated that CLIL pupils who came from higher socioeconomic backgrounds obtained better grades than their CLIL-peers with a lower socioeconomic status. This shows that pupils' high or low academic performance in CLIL cannot always be attributed solely to the teaching approach.

2.1.4 Pupils' perceptions of CLIL

Another line of research has been to view CLIL from the pupils' perspective, and their voices and experiences of the approach have started to come to the fore. Although most studies have focused on secondary pupils (e.g. Coyle, 2013, n = 670; Hunt, 2011, n = 283; Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer, & Smit, 2013, n = 20; Pihko, 2010, n = 209; Somers & Llinares, 2018, n = 157), primary CLIL pupils' perceptions have also been the focus of a few previous studies (e.g. Calderón Jurado & Morilla García, 2018, n = 159; Massler, 2012, n = 176; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015, n = 197; Ramos, 2007, n = 61; Rasinen, 2006, n = 2). In general, pupils seem to enjoy CLIL and perceive it as a motivating, enjoyable and useful teaching approach (e.g. Coyle, 2013; Pihko, 2010). Studies have also shown that

many pupils consider that CLIL improves their target language skills and has a positive effect on their content learning (e.g. Massler, 2012; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015). Some pupils have also felt that CLIL would help them acquire a better job in the future (Ramos, 2007), or they have regarded CLIL lessons as "more exciting" and "better than a normal lesson" (Hunt, 2011, p. 372).

In several studies, CLIL pupils have demonstrated higher motivation to learn the target language than their non-CLIL peers at secondary level (e.g. Doiz et al., 2014; Lasagabaster, 2011; Mearns, de Graaff, & Coyle, 2017). For instance, Doiz et al. (2014) found that CLIL pupils (n = 221) were clearly more motivated than their non-CLIL peers (n = 172) in Spanish secondary education. This was the case for both selected and non-selected CLIL pupils. In Mearns et al.'s (2017) study, secondary CLIL pupils (n = 234) in the Netherlands showed more motivation in almost all the areas measured than their non-CLIL counterparts (n = 344). However, as the CLIL programs were selective, the authors suggested that the CLIL learners' higher motivation was not necessarily the result of bilingual education. They also found that CLIL students' motivation was higher during their first year in CLIL and declined during secondary school. (Mearns et al., 2017.) Similarly, In Lasagabaster's (2011) study, Spanish secondary CLIL pupils (n = 164) demonstrated greater motivation toward the target language than their non-CLIL peers (n = 27). De Smet, Mettewie, Hiligsmann, Galand and Van Mensel's (2019) study in the Belgian context showed that secondary CLIL pupils (n = 240) were more motivated to learn the target language (i.e. English or Dutch) than their non-CLIL peers (n = 215). It is worth noting that this study was among those that did not control for pupils' a priori differences (De Smet et al., 2019).

A few studies have, however, provided contradictory results to those cited above. This was the case, for instance, with Lasagabaster and Doiz (2017), who found, in a longitudinal study, that Spanish secondary non-CLIL pupils' (n = 105) motivation remained the same over time while for their CLIL peers (n = 199) it decreased. The authors contemplate the possibility that the hegemonic status of English can make the teaching approach irrelevant as far as motivation toward the language is concerned (Lasagabaster & Doiz, 2017). Similarly, in Heras and Lasagabaster's (2015) study, the Spanish secondary CLIL pupils (n = 25) were not significantly more motivated than their non-CLIL peers (n = 21).

Research on the effect of CLIL on motivation at primary level is relatively scarce and its results less clear-cut than at secondary level. The abovementioned study by De Smet et al. (2019) also examined primary pupils, and found that there were no significant differences in language learning motivation between CLIL (n = 276) and non-CLIL pupils (n = 165). Lasagabaster and López Beloqui's (2015) study measured the intrinsic, extrinsic, integrative and instrumental motivation of 55 CLIL and 32 non-CLIL pupils at primary level. The study showed that CLIL pupils displayed higher intrinsic and integrative motivation than their non-CLIL counterparts. However, for extrinsic and instrumental motivation there were no significant differences. (Lasagabaster & López Beloqui, 2015.) Different results again were obtained by Fernández Fontecha and Canga Alonso (2014), who found that primary non-CLIL pupils (n = 31) exhibited greater motivation toward English than their CLIL peers (n = 31).

Despite the overall pattern of pupils' perceiving CLIL positively, most studies have also found a number of pupils who have had a much more negative attitude to the approach. For instance, in Massler's (2012) study, 22 percent of the pupils had struggled with content learning, and in Pladevall-Ballester's (2015) study, more than a third of the pupils had experienced difficulties in comprehension. In addition, some pupils have regarded learning content through a foreign language as too challenging and have thought that the approach has prevented them from learning the subject matter in any depth (e.g. Coyle, 2013; Massler, 2012). However, all the studies cited here have focused on pupils currently enrolled in CLIL. For a fuller picture, research is needed on the long-term effects of the approach, through retrospective reflections, and that is the gap that the present study seeks to fill.

2.2   Life course perspective

Human life can be viewed and analyzed through the lenses of different paradigms. The two main approaches are sociological and psychological, which rely, respectively, on the terms *life course* and *life span*. Despite some commonalities, such as chronological age as a central factor in one's life stages, the two approaches also differ in many respects. (Settersten, 2009.) For instance, the sociological perspective highlights the importance of social structures and institutions in determining the course of one's life (Mayer, 2004) whereas the psychological perspective regards human development as a process in which individuals constantly adapt to changing environments and circumstances, and it thus places more emphasis on individual factors and human agency (Oris, Ludwig, de Ribaupierre, Joye, & Spini, 2009; Settersten, 2009). According to Diewald and Mayer (2009), for instance, the sociological approach to the life course views lives "not as expressions of an unfolding personality but as regularities ''produced'' by institutions and structural opportunities" (p. 6). On the other hand, Baltes, Staudinger and Lindenberger (1999), who take the psychological perspective, define human lives as "lifelong processes of acquisition, maintenance, transformation, and attrition in psychological structures and functions" (p. 472). Regardless of the different postulates, both approaches nevertheless acknowledge that human development is formed in an interplay between a multitude of factors, such as genetic, biological, psychological, sociological, institutional, demographical and historical (Nurmi & Salmela-Aro, 2000; Oris et al., 2009). However, the emphasis on the various factors varies in the abovementioned approaches.

The present research regards the psychological and sociological approaches as complementary rather than competing. It therefore adopts the term *life course* and defines it as an interdisciplinary framework for examining individuals' lives through both sociological and psychological lenses. That is, the present research examines how a certain type of education has shaped the participants' life courses. However, at the core of the study are the participants' multifaceted and individual life paths, so the data were gathered through

individual life course interviews, and the participants' unique life trajectories were analyzed through the psychological construct of self-concept.

In general, life course studies can broadly be divided into following either a macro- or microdynamic approach (Neale, 2015). The former, which has sociological underpinnings, perceives life courses as a sequence of transitions that are guided by institutions and normative expectations. According to the macrodynamic approach, people's lives are regulated and steered by institutions such as the family, school or work. Studies relying on this perspective are often conducted top-down, using large-scale longitudinal questionnaires, in the attempt to identify patterns and historic developments in life courses. (Neale, 2015.)

The microdynamic approach, in turn, is based on the assumption that life courses are individual journeys that are socially constructed. This view acknowledges the role of societal structures and the historical and temporal context, but emphasizes human agency in constructing individual life courses, thus also underscoring the psychological dimensions in the process. From this perspective, life courses are analyzed bottom-up, using qualitative methods such as narrative interviews. The focus is on subjective perceptions of life events and individuals' own actions and choices. (Neale, 2015.)

Of the two, the present study adheres more to the microdynamic approach, as it focuses on individuals' narratives and the meanings they give to CLIL in constructing their life paths. However, the macro-level is not disregarded: the participants' life courses are analyzed primarily in relation to institutions such as education and work, as the emphasis in their narratives was on the perceived effects of CLIL on their lives in the contexts mentioned above. According to Heinz (2016), for example, life courses should be analyzed through both macro- (i.e. social structures) and micro-levels (i.e. individual agency) in order to get a more profound and multifaceted account of individuals' lives.

To some extent, both the macro- and micro-levels are considered in Elder's (1998) definition of life course, which is grounded on the sociological approach. According to Elder (1998), individuals create their life courses by making choices (human agency) which are, however, strongly affected by the surrounding societal, historical and cultural context. More precisely, Elder (1998) has established five key principles in the life course perspective (see also Bengtson, Elder, & Putney, 2005; Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003), which are also at the core of the present research and applied when interpreting the participants' life courses in relation to CLIL (see Article III):

1. *The principle of life-span development* assumes that human lives and development are long-term processes and should be examined over relatively long periods of time.

2. *The principle of agency* means that individuals are active agents in constructing their lives and that they make choices within the constraints of current historical and societal circumstances.

3. *The principle of time and place* suggests that individuals' lives are highly contingent on the historical context and place.

4. *The principle of timing* means that the significance and consequences of life events vary according to their timing in individuals' lives.

5. *The principle of linked lives* refers to the idea that individuals' life courses are constructed in the interplay with their significant others, as certain life events often influence the lives of others close to them. (Bengtson et al., 2005; Elder, 1998; Elder et al., 2003.)

In general, the life course perspective assumes that individuals navigate their lives through both normative and unexpected transitions which further determine their life courses (Heinz, 2016). However, even though both human agency and societal structures are acknowledged in the process of constructing human lives, there are differing views as to whether individuals' life courses are nowadays more or less institutionalized than before. Some scholars have claimed that human lives are currently even more regulated by various institutions than before, whereas others have perceived an increase in individuality and deinstitutionalization (Heinz, 2016; Macmillan, 2005; Settersten, 2009; Vilkko, 2000). For instance, according to Nurmi and Salmela-Aro (2000), despite the reduction in normative structures regarding, for example, education and families, the vast majority of people still tend to go through similar institutional stages, such as entering school or retirement. In general, when regarding the life course from an institutional viewpoint and as a societal structure, its function is to create normativity and expectancy; deinstitutionalization, in contrast, should lead to more individualized life courses (Settersten, 2009; Vilkko, 2000). For instance, a certain type of education is likely to steer individuals to positions where the skills they have acquired are applied and valued. Looking at the present study from an institutional viewpoint, offering the participants CLIL education was expected to provide them with tools that would enable them to function in an international society and grant them access to professions that require English proficiency, an expectation that was also mentioned in the aims of the program (see Appendix 1).

According to Settersten (2007), the role of education has in general become more prominent, as working life nowadays is characterized by uncertainty and instability. Consequently, according to him, the relationship between education and economic benefits has increased (Settersten, 2007). Suikkanen, Linnakangas and Karjalainen (1999) proposed 20 years ago that due to the structural changes in working life, studying a profession no longer guarantees the same life-long employment as it did before. Likewise, Martti (1999) argued that education merely improves individuals' competence at work and makes them available for the labor market, rather than determining their future career. More recently, for instance Heinz (2016) has proposed that careers have become employment trajectories that are typically characterized by numerous interruptions and

breaks. Thus, the importance of education should always be situated in the current societal situation.

Although generally speaking individuals tend to follow similar normative paths to those of previous generations, Settersten (2007) claims that adolescents' entry into adulthood has become more prolonged and less linear. According to him, this transition period can broadly be described by two processes, called *exploration* and *drift*, both of which can be attributed to family background. Exploration denotes a process in which individuals obtain higher education degrees, explore different jobs and in general seek various activities that bring them capital in life. These explorations are characterized by agency and the individual's own conscious choices. Typically, such explorations are the luxury of young people from relatively privileged backgrounds, as they often require financial recourses. Drift, in turn, refers to a process that leads to narrower opportunities, more limited choices and fewer resources in life. This type of life path is often typical of young people from less privileged backgrounds. These two distinct processes are likely to have pervasive outcomes for the individuals' subsequent life courses, with the advantages falling mainly to the explorers. (Settersten, 2007.) The participants in the present study came generally from relatively high socioeconomic backgrounds, which might well have had an effect on their lives. Traces of exploration could indeed be identified also in some of their life courses (see Article III). It is important to bear this in mind when interpreting the results of the present study.

2.2.1 Education and life course

In addition to one's socioeconomic status, there is evidence that education is an important determinant of one's life course. Even though it is empirically challenging to measure the effect of schooling on individuals' lives, several studies have found evidence of education positively affecting individuals' employment and having nonpecuniary benefits (see Oreopoulos & Salvanes, 2011; Pallas, 2000 for reviews). Dominicé (2000) and Kauppila (2000) have suggested that particularly school experiences from adolescence and early adulthood are meaningful in directing one's life course. Difficulties in school often predict challenges later in life (e.g. Aro et al., 2019; Frønes, 2016; Gauffin, Vinnerljung, Fridell, Hesse, & Hjern, 2013). Statistics show that in Finland there is no doubt that one's education still plays a role in one's employment (Official statistics of Finland [OSF], 2017). For example, between 2008 and 2016, the unemployment rate for people whose education had not gone beyond basic education was approximately 12–16 percent. During the same period, the equivalent percentage for those who had completed an upper secondary level education was approximately 7–11 percent and for those who had obtained an academic degree not more than around 4–6 percent. (OSF, 2017.)

The role of education in individuals' life courses has been examined in several Finnish doctoral dissertations. For instance, Kuronen (2010) used a narrative approach to investigate the life courses of young adults (n = 22) who were at risk of exclusion from vocational education. He found that difficulties in basic education predicted challenges also later in life (Kuronen, 2010).

Lehtomäki (2005) looked at the significance of education in the life courses of people who were deaf or severely hard-of-hearing from childhood (n = 493). On the basis of the results, she divided the participants into two educational generations: the generation that was given special vocational education and the generation that also had access to general education. For the former, education mostly meant employment, whereas for the latter, education signified equal access to information and participation in society even though that generation had encountered many obstacles in their employment. (Lehtomäki, 2005.) Moore (2003) examined the change in the lives of individuals (n = 21) who obtained a university degree in adulthood. Her qualitative life history interviews revealed that adult education had positively affected the participants' educational identity and changed their relationship toward work (Moore, 2003). Puhakka (1998), in turn, explored the significance of education in the life courses of women (n = 356). She identified eight paths for education and working careers. High academic achievement in comprehensive and upper secondary schools forecast successful working careers, while the less educated participants had more difficulties in finding work that corresponded to their qualifications. (Puhakka, 1998.) Kauppila (2002) analyzed the role of education of people of different generations (n = 28) and found that previous generations perceived education as an ideal aim whereas newer generations took it for granted and saw it as a prerequisite for work. Vanttaja (2002) looked at exceptionally gifted students' (n = 226) life courses and their career paths in relation to their school success. He found that school achievers' parents were also more educated and had an above-average income. School performance seemed to some extent to compensate for the differences in pupils' backgrounds, although they were still clearly visible in the data. (Vanttaja, 2002.) Vanttaja (2002) concluded that exceptional achievement in school does not necessarily capitalize in success in working life, as the participants' life choices were defined by numerous other variables, such as chance, turning points in life, or societal changes.

There is very little evidence of the long-term effects of CLIL education on individuals' lives because there have been few studies on the life courses of former CLIL pupils. One reason for this could be that CLIL is still a relatively new phenomenon in Europe. For instance, in Finland, CLIL officially started in 1991, which means that the first CLIL cohort are currently in their mid-thirties. According to Antikainen (1998), the significance of education can only be assessed several years after individuals have received their schooling. Therefore, in some years' time more data will be available on former CLIL pupils' long-term life trajectories. Another obstacle in the way of such a research setting could be the difficulty of tracking down previous CLIL pupils, as no official records are available of who has participated in CLIL. The present study therefore sets out to fill an important research gap and provide insights into the types of processes pertaining to CLIL and the life course.

2.3 Attitudes

Another theoretical dimension relevant for the present dissertation relates to self-beliefs and affective features in foreign language learning. More specifically, this dissertation focuses on two constructs, *attitudes* and *self-concept*, which are closely related. Although they both include cognitive and affective components, attitudes are considered to be more affective in nature than the more cognitive self-concept. (Mercer, 2011b.) Attitudes can also be seen as representing the affective part of self-concept (Arens, Yeung, Craven, & Hasselhorn, 2011; Pihko, 2007; Tracey, Yeung, Arens, & Ng, 2014), therefore being subsumed under it. In the present research, attitudes were approached with a relatively broad conceptualization. In this section, attitudes are first briefly defined, after which follows a more detailed discussion of foreign language and intercultural attitudes. Additionally, previous studies on intercultural and language attitudes in CLIL are summarized.

Attitudes can be defined and consequently studied in various ways. For instance, an umbrella definition put forward by Eagly and Chaiken (1993) suggests that an attitude is "a psychological tendency, expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (p. 1). Similarly, Allport (1954, as cited in Garrett, 2010) defined an attitude as "a learned disposition to think, feel and behave towards a person (or object) in a particular way" (p. 19). More specifically, some researchers see attitudes as relatively stable entities or memory structures, while others assume that all attitudes are situational and are constantly being constructed on the basis of the information available (Bohner & Dickel, 2011; Schwarz, 2007). According to Kalaja and Hyrkstedt (2000), for example, attitudes may vary depending on or even within the situation and can be contradictory.

Traditionally, attitudes have been conceptualized as consisting of cognitive, affective and behavioral components (Garrett, 2010; Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003). However, this tripartite model of attitudes has been questioned, especially with regard to the behavioral component, as individuals' actions can often conflict with their attitudes (Garrett, 2010). Furthermore, according to some views, the cognitive, affective and behavioral components should not be equated with attitudes but rather perceived as merely "causes and triggers of attitudes" (Garrett, 2010, p. 23).

2.3.1 Language attitudes

Following this general definition of attitudes, for language attitudes the present study follows the definitions put forward by Lasagabaster and Sierra (2009), who define language attitudes as either favorable or unfavorable reactions to language-related objects, as well as by Baker (1992), according to whom language attitudes are an umbrella term that encompasses various specific attitudes related to languages. Language attitude research can, for instance, focus on attitudes to learning a new language or using a certain language (Baker, 1992), which are the core attitudinal dimensions of the present study.

Similarly, Kalaja and Hyrkstedt (2000) argue that language attitude studies can focus on a range of issues, such as people's stance toward different languages, different varieties or dialects of a language, or the users of a given language. Traditionally, language attitudes have been studied from a positivistic paradigm using the matched-guise technique (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960). This method has, however, been widely criticized, including for its low reliability and validity. Some scholars have proposed that attitudes should rather be approached discursively, in line with the social constructionist paradigm. (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998.) Language attitudes are also considered to be connected to motivation, as for instance in Gardner's (1985) Attitude/Motivation Test Battery, which covers attitudes toward the target language community or the learning situation but not directly toward the target language itself.

Language attitudes are perceived to be influenced by several factors. For instance, according to Garrett (2010), parents, teachers and the media can have an effect on pupils' foreign language attitudes. Several studies have indeed demonstrated the impact of family environment on pupils' foreign language attitudes (e.g. González-Riaño, Fernández-Costales, Lapresta-Rey, & Huguet, 2019; Hull, 2002). Baker (1992) suggests that attitudes can be considered to be both input and output. That is, on the one hand, a positive attitude to language learning may foster successful language learning and, on the other hand, a positive attitude can be the outcome of meaningful exposure to a language (Baker, 1992). Similarly, for instance Lasagabaster (2005) has drawn the conclusion that a positive attitude toward a language typically facilitates the learning of that language.

For the purpose of the present research, attitudes will be approached through relatively broad conceptual lenses: that is, attitudes are conceptualized and approached as being not innate but rather constructed, and certain attitudes are considered to be more stable and others more situational and dynamic (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). It is also believed that attitudes are generally cognitive and affective in nature and can often become apparent in one's behavior (Garrett, 2010).

CLIL has been promoted as a way to create a positive attitude toward languages and language learning in general (Coyle et al., 2010; Marsh, 2000). A few studies have corroborated this assumption. For instance, in Finland, language attitudes in CLIL have been touched on by Pihko (2007), Seikkula-Leino (2007) and Merisuo-Storm (2007). In Pihko's (2007) study, secondary CLIL pupils (n = 209) had a more positive attitude toward English (i.e. the target CLIL language) and language learning in general than their peers (n = 181) who received monolingual teaching. In Seikkula-Leino's (2007) study, the attitude of primary CLIL pupils (n = 116) toward language learning was somewhat more positive than that of their non-CLIL peers (n = 101). Similarly, Merisuo-Storm (2007) found that CLIL pupils (n = 70) were much more positive about language learning than pupils in monolingual teaching (n = 75) at primary level. In Spain, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2009) and Lasagabaster (2009) found that secondary CLIL pupils (n = 172 and n = 168, respectively) had a more positive attitude toward both the target CLIL language (i.e. English) and other languages (i.e.

Spanish & Basque) than their non-CLIL peers (n = 115 and n = 109, respectively). The difference in their attitudes was quite prominent, although in Lasagabaster and Sierra's (2009) study leveled off slightly when the pupils advanced in school. Doiz et al. (2014), in a study with 393 Spanish secondary students, found that CLIL students showed more interest in foreign languages and cultures than their non-CLIL peers. Similarly, Mearns et al.'s (2017) results indicated that Dutch CLIL learners (n = 234) had a more positive attitude toward English (i.e. the target CLIL language) as well as other foreign languages than their non-CLIL peers (n = 344). In a recent large-scale study (n = 896), De Smet et al. (2019) found that, at secondary level, Belgian CLIL pupils displayed more positive language attitudes than their non-CLIL peers, that is, the CLIL pupils perceived the target CLIL language as easier and more attractive than did the non-CLIL pupils; at primary level there were no substantial differences in pupils' attitudes. The study examined both English- and Dutch-medium CLIL and showed that the attitude of all pupils toward English was more positive than toward Dutch, irrespective of the educational approach or level. However, the authors speculate that it might be more beneficial to implement CLIL in languages other than English, as the gains of the approach for socio-affective variables (i.e. motivation and language attitudes) seemed to be greater for pupils studying in Dutch than in English. (De Smet et al., 2019.)

Apart from the above studies, language attitudes in CLIL settings have not been extensively addressed in previous research. The present study aims to make its contribution to this line of research by investigating participants' perceptions of the effects of CLIL on their attitudes toward different languages and toward language learning in general. It will also break some new ground in that previous studies have mostly been quantitative and have looked at pupils currently enrolled in CLIL, while the present study will take a novel perspective, looking retrospectively at what CLIL means to those who have already completed their schooling.

2.3.2   Intercultural attitudes

Scholars have used different terms (e.g. intercultural (communication) competence, cultural awareness, intercultural sensitivity, cultural intelligence, intercultural literacy) to conceptualize a person's ability to deal positively with perceived cultural differences (Dervin, 2010). This study uses the concept of *intercultural attitudes* as an umbrella term to comprise all the aforementioned concepts. Despite some slight differences, all these concepts can be understood as being related to individuals' ability to navigate in situations that they themselves define as culturally diverse (Byram, Gribkova, & Starkey, 2002; Heyward, 2002).

Critical views within the field of intercultural communication, which have gained more prominence during the past few decades, highlight the role played by positionality and privilege in perceiving what and who counts as "foreign" (Martin & Nakayama, 2015). This applies to critical intercultural literature in general and to the associated concept of interculturality (Dervin, 2011), both of which underscore the fluid nature of "culture" as co-constructed in interactions

and discourses (Piller, 2017). Pedagogical approaches underpinned by essentialist approaches have focused on teaching people how to communicate properly in different cultural contexts (e.g. Beamer, 1992; Hofstede, 2003). These culturalist approaches (Dervin, 2011) have emphasized differences (over similarities) and assumed interactions between cultures rather than individuals. In contrast, critical approaches focus on the co-construction of culture in interactions, and therefore prioritize the development of reflexivity and critical cultural awareness (Martin & Nakayama, 2015). Critical intercultural scholars also draw attention to the tensions associated with cultural representations and practices (Holliday, 2010). From this perspective, intercultural competence is conceptualized as the ability to critically examine cultural discourses at micro- and macro-levels. Intercultural competence therefore aims to make it possible to identify the power relations that permeate cultural practices. (Martin & Nakayama, 2015.) Following this approach, pupils are taught to critically review all cultural practices, including their own (Byram et al., 2002; Dervin, Paatela-Nieminen, Kuoppala, & Riitaoja, 2012).

In the past few decades, the cultural dimension has gained more visibility also in foreign language teaching. This has been influenced, for example, by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2011), which places a lot of emphasis on culture as well as the concept of *intercultural communicative competence* developed by Byram (1997). Culture has become more prominent also in CLIL education. For example, Marsh and Hartiala (2001) proposed that culture should be one of the five dimensions of effective CLIL education. They argued that CLIL has potential in building pupils' intercultural knowledge and understanding as well as developing their intercultural communication skills (Marsh & Hartiala, 2001). Likewise, in Coyle's (2007) 4Cs framework (see Section 2.1.2), culture is at the center, permeating all learning. According to Coyle (2005, 2007), studying through a foreign language essentially fosters intercultural understanding and increases pupils' self and other awareness, as languages reflect different cultures. Sudhoff (2010), too, emphasizes the intrinsic potential of CLIL in developing pupils' intercultural awareness. He suggests that this can be done by, for instance, the contrastive analysis of different languages, as many concepts have slightly different meanings and connotations in different languages and cultures. Another advantage of CLIL, according to Sudhoff (2010), is the opportunity it gives to approach issues from a variety of viewpoints, by making use of materials originating in different countries and cultural contexts. Using a range of different materials, pupils can be guided to observe cultural differences as well as similarities. Moreover, pupils can be sensitized to notice how culture is constructed. (Sudhoff, 2010.) According to Sudhoff (2010), CLIL thus has the potential of being a "triple-focussed" (p. 36) (i.e. language, content, and intercultural learning) as opposed to the traditional dual-focused (i.e. language and content learning) approach. Harrop (2012) similarly advocates CLIL as leading to greater intercultural awareness than mainstream language teaching. However, she also suggests some limitations and challenges to this argument, such as in implementing CLIL in subjects that are not going to have great potential for intercultural learning (e.g. math or physical education) (Harrop,

2012). Moreover, in many CLIL contexts, culture may be a peripheral component rather than an integral element of CLIL education, as for instance Coyle's (2007) 4Cs framework proposes (Harrop, 2012). In line with the above views, Jalkanen's (2017) study showed that most parents who chose CLIL for their children believed it would increase the children's tolerance and acceptance of difference.

In general, the above-described paradigm shift in the field of intercultural communication has, in part, also resonated in CLIL education, as some of the theorizations in CLIL reflect the more modern views of intercultural communication (Coyle, 2007; Sudhoff, 2010). However, there have been relatively few empirical studies on CLIL and interculturality. In one of the few, Méndez García (2012, 2013) looked at intercultural learning in CLIL at primary and secondary levels in Spain. Her study found that CLIL aroused pupils' curiosity about diversity and increased their ability to critically reflect on their own practices (Méndez García, 2012). Some studies have found that the use of materials from different countries is indeed beneficial in increasing the pupils' reflexivity and intercultural awareness (González Rodrigues & Borham Puyal, 2012; Méndez García, 2013). The present study seeks to contribute to the sparse research on interculturality in CLIL by exploring the role played by the approach in forming participants' intercultural attitudes. Although the study deals with the perceptions of pupils who embarked on their CLIL experience more than 25 years ago, the time period may not be too restrictive a factor since teachers' competence to deal with difference/otherness in class can still nowadays often be rather limited (e.g. Dervin, 2016; Jokisalo, Kukkonen, & Simola, 2009; Roiha & Sommier, 2019).

2.4 Self-concept

Self-concept is a central concept in the present study as it is the main focus of one of the dissertation articles (see Article V). In addition, the participants' life courses were analyzed through their English self-concept (see Article III) and it was also touched upon in the other articles (see Articles I, II and IV). As there are a myriad of self-related terms to describe one's self-perceptions (e.g. self-concept, self-efficacy, self-esteem, self-worth, self-confidence, to list but a few), a closer conceptual analysis is necessary to clarify how self-concept was approached in the present study. Particularly self-concept, self-efficacy and self-esteem are often confused and used interchangeably (Bong & Skaalvik, 2003; Mercer, 2011b). The more global self-perceptions have been most often referred to as self-esteem (Harter, 2006). However, for instance, Marsh and Craven (2006) equate the global self-concept with self-esteem. One difference is that self-concept is also considered to have domain-specific dimensions, which correspond to individuals' beliefs in separate domains such as academic and non-academic self-concepts, both of which include several more specific self-concepts (Shavelson, Hubner, & Stanton, 1976). In that sense, self-esteem can be

viewed as the broadest of the three constructs, as it represents one's overall value of oneself (Harter, 2006).

Similarly, Mercer (2011b) differentiates self-concept from self-esteem and self-efficacy mainly on the basis of the level of specificity and the different emphasis on their cognitive and evaluative components. That is, according to Mercer (2011b), self-esteem is the broadest and the most evaluative of the three constructs. Self-efficacy, in contrast, is the most specific one and is more cognitive in nature, as it refers to people's beliefs in their ability to perform highly context-specific tasks. Self-concept, to her, partly overlaps with and partly differs from self-esteem and self-efficacy. In comparison to the broader concept of self-esteem, self-concept is seen as more domain-specific and as including both evaluative and cognitive elements. However, self-concept is less task- or context-specific and more evaluative than self-efficacy. (Mercer, 2011b.)

One issue that divides views is how specific and detailed the domains are in which self-concept can feasibly be distinguished. For instance, Bong and Skaalvik (2003) pointed out that when viewing various self-concept domains microscopically, they start to overlap with self-efficacy. Moreover, according to Skaalvik and Rankin (1996, as cited in Pajares & Schunk, 2001), both self-efficacy and self-concept predict performance equally well when viewed at the same level of specificity. Mercer (2011a) suggests that in qualitative work it may not be necessary to clearly differentiate between the self-related constructs. She suggests instead that self-beliefs should be viewed through the lenses of a larger self-system or a complex dynamic system because it may be difficult to clearly distinguish an individual's self-beliefs according to distinct construct categories, for instance in relation to cognitive and affective components or personal and social self-beliefs (Mercer, 2011a, 2014). Following from that, Mercer (2011a, 2014) proposed a multidimensional network model for self-concept in which different domain-specific self-concepts occur in an interplay with each other. Similarly, in the present research, the data were collected and approached with only a broad theoretical understanding and relatively general conceptualization of self-concept. The analysis process was, however, conducted in a dialogue with theory, which deepened and consolidated the understanding of this latent construct. This, in turn, gave new perspectives through which to examine the data in greater depth. However, for the sake of operationalization, this research adopts specifically the term self-concept. Self-concept was chosen because issues of self-confidence and having the courage to use English were identified as salient themes already in the pilot study (see Article I). Of the different self-constructs, self-concept was perceived as corresponding best to the present data as it represents people's self-perceptions holistically but still functions in specific domains such as (foreign) languages or a specific (foreign) language (see Section 2.4.2).

2.4.1   General and academic self-concept

Self-concept has mostly been studied in psychology (Burns, 1982; Marsh, 1990a; Marsh, Byrne, & Shavelson, 1988; Marsh & Shavelson, 1985; Shavelson et al., 1976). The highly influential study by Shavelson et al. (1976) can be seen as

seminal work on self-concept. The authors propose that self-concept represents a person's self-perceptions and can be described as having the following seven features: "organized, multifaceted, hierarchical, stable, developmental, evaluative, differentiable" (Shavelson et al., 1976, p. 411). The authors regard self-concept as having a more stable core and various domain-specific self-concepts that are less stable and more susceptible to change. The authors divide the general self-concept into *academic* and *non-academic self-concepts*. The former encompasses English, history, math and science self-concepts while the latter includes social, emotional and physical self-concepts. (Shavelson et al., 1976.) This model has since been revisited by Marsh and Shavelson (1985) and Marsh et al. (1988), who formed an even more specific definition of academic self-concept: they divided it into math academic self-concept and verbal academic self-concept. In their division, the latter contains a holistic *foreign language self-concept*. (Marsh et al., 1988; Marsh & Shavelson, 1985.) To add another concept to the terminological minefield, the term *self-concept of ability* is sometimes used to describe people's perceptions of their competence in different domains, and it is therefore synonymous with academic self-concept (Pesu, 2017). Although most scholars have focused on the cognitive dimension of self-concept, many propose that it has (an equal) affective component (e.g. Pihko, 2007). This has been supported by a few empirical studies (e.g. Arens et al., 2011; Marsh, Craven, & Debus, 1999; Tracey et al., 2014).

Academic self-concept is considered to be influenced by several factors. On a general level, it is suggested that the start of one's school path is important for the development of academic self-concept as, for instance according to Aunola, Leskinen, Onatsu-Arvilommi and Nurmi (2002) as well as Pesu (2017), pupils can already have a relatively stable academic self-concept toward the end of first grade. More specifically, Marsh (1986), in his I/E frame of reference model, divides the factors affecting academic self-concept broadly into internal and external ones. He proposes that the math and verbal self-concepts are formed in relation to internal and external comparisons or frames of reference. The internal frame of reference relates to pupils comparing their two distinct self-concepts (i.e. math and verbal), which can positively affect one or other of them. For instance, if a pupil perceives him/herself as being better at math than at languages, this internal comparison is likely to reinforce his/her math self-concept even if in fact his/her performance in math is below average. The external frame of reference refers to people comparing their own perceived ability in math and languages to those of others, which has a bearing on their own self-concepts. (Marsh, 1986.)

Another model that has been proposed as influencing academic self-concept is the reciprocal effects model (REM). According to the REM, pupils' academic achievement and academic self-concept have a reciprocal relationship; in other words, academic achievement and academic self-concept are both mutually cause and effect. (Marsh, 1990b; see also Marsh et al., 2018.) Some studies have indeed shown that there is a positive reciprocal relationship between academic self-concept and educational outcomes (e.g. Marsh & Craven, 2005, 2006; Marsh & Köller, 2003; Marsh, Trautwein, Lüdke, Köller, & Baumert, 2005, 2006; Valentine, DuBois, & Cooper, 2004). However, according to Pajares

and Schunk (2001) the question of causality remains unresolved, as some scholars propose that academic self-concept is a result of achievement while others take the contrary view.

Similarly, it is claimed that the big-fish-little-pond effect (BFLPE) is important in the development of academic self-concept. BFLPE means that pupils' academic self-concept is influenced by their peers. That is, if a pupil is in a class with less able peers, he or she is likely to have a stronger academic self-concept than an equally able pupil in a class with more able peers. (Marsh & Seaton, 2015.) In addition, parents' and teachers' beliefs about children's abilities have been shown to have an impact on their academic self-concept (e.g. Frome & Eccles, 1998; Pesu, 2017; Pesu, Aunola, Viljaranta, Hirvonen, & Kiuru, 2018).

2.4.2   Foreign language self-concept

As learners' self-beliefs have started to gain more visibility and recognition in foreign language learning, scholars have aimed to conceptualize a more specific foreign language self-concept. For instance, Mercer (2011b) proposed that the foreign language learner self-concept is one of the domains that is subsumed under the global self-concept. According to her, it is: "an individual's self-descriptions of competence and evaluative feelings about themselves as a Foreign Language (FL) learner" (Mercer, 2011b, p. 14). For the sake of operationalizing, Pihko (2007) divided foreign language self-concept into three smaller components: 1) *Real/actual self*, which refers to a learner's subjective perceptions of him/herself in a language or a specific skill within a language; 2) *Ideal self*, which denotes the learner's wishes and desires for language learning, that is, the level of competence in a given language one aspires to achieve; and most importantly 3) the learner's *self-esteem/self-worth* in language learning.

Most research has approached foreign language self-concept as a holistic construct that encompasses the learner's entire language repertoire. However, for instance in Yeung and Wong's (2004) study, teachers were found to possess distinct self-concepts in different languages. Along the same lines, Lau, Yeung, Jin and Low (1999) looked at a specific English language self-concept among university students (n = 321). They found that the participants were able to distinguish their skill-specific self-concepts in various language skills (i.e. listening, speaking, reading, and writing), even though their general English self-perceptions could still be represented by a global English language self-concept (Lau et al., 1999). Mercer (2011b), too, based on her data, has argued for the need to recognize separate self-concepts in different languages, as learners tend to have different self-beliefs about each language. Similarly, Laine and Pihko (1991) divide the foreign language self-concept into *global*, *specific* and *task levels*. In their distinction, the global level refers to learners' perceptions of themselves as foreign language learners in general. The specific level designates learners' self-perceptions in a specific language, while the task level denotes learners' perceptions of their abilities in specific language skills such as speaking, reading, writing or listening. (Laine & Pihko, 1991.) According to Laine and Pihko (1991), the task level self-concept is highly domain specific and

can therefore be seen as somewhat resembling self-efficacy (Bong & Skaalvik, 2003). The present study also supports the above discussion, as the participants had very distinct self-concepts in English and other foreign languages (see Article V).

The foreign language self-concept is also considered to be influenced by a multitude of internal and external factors. According to Mercer (2011b), internal factors include internal comparisons across subjects, languages and skills, and beliefs about specific languages and language learning in general, whereas external factors are social comparisons, feedback from significant others, perceived experiences of success/failure, and previous experiences of learning/using languages in a variety of contexts. Pihko (2007) proposes that learners' foreign language self-concept develops gradually through their learning experiences. That is, positive language situations help to create a strong foreign language self-concept, while negative experiences have an adverse effect (Pihko, 2007). Pihko (2007) also emphasizes the role of peer and teacher feedback in the development of one's foreign language self-concept.

The present research relies on the term foreign language self-concept, which is regarded as a subcomponent of the global self-concept (Marsh et al., 1988), and defines it broadly as people's beliefs about themselves as language learners and users (Mercer, 2011b). A foreign language self-concept is considered to have both cognitive and affective components (Arens et al., 2011; Pihko, 2007; Tracey et al., 2014). The cognitive component in the present data relates to the participants' perceived ability in different languages or language skills, and the affective component relates to for example their language attitudes and anxiety, although Mercer (2011b) has proposed that self-concept and anxiety should be separated rather than the latter being considered an integral part of the former. However, such a determinate distinction was not perceived to be necessary for this study and foreign language self-concept was rather defined as including the various cognitive and affective features that were identified in the participants' interviews.

2.4.3 Studies on self-concept in CLIL

Lately, pupils' self-beliefs have started to receive more attention in CLIL research. Goris, Denessen and Verhoeven (2019) examined the effect of CLIL on pupils' confidence in English as a foreign language and found that even though CLIL pupils' language confidence increased during a period of two years, a similar increase was observed also in mainstream education. Some studies (e.g. Heras & Lasagabaster, 2015; Mearns et al., 2017; Sylvén & Thompson, 2015; see also Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018 for EMI) have investigated the issue using the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) (see Dörnyei, 2005). For instance, in Mearns et al.'s (2017) and Sylvén and Thompson's (2015) studies, CLIL pupils seemed to have a stronger Ideal L2 self than their non-CLIL peers although, as the authors point out, this may often already be the case when pupils start CLIL. Heras and Lasagabaster (2015) found that although CLIL pupils' Ideal L2 self was stronger than that of their non-CLIL counterparts, the difference was not significant.

Only a minority of studies have used the construct of self-concept to explore CLIL pupils' self-beliefs. Recently, Konttinen (2018) looked at self-concept in English-medium instruction at university level and found that a positive (academic) self-concept was linked to students' success in their studies and timely graduation. In one of the few studies on self-concept in CLIL, Seikkula-Leino (2002, 2007) examined Finnish 5th and 6th grade CLIL pupils' (n = 116) and their non-CLIL peers' (n = 101) foreign language self-concept by means of a quantitative survey. The study indicated that despite CLIL pupils' stronger motivation to learn and use a foreign language (i.e. English), their foreign language self-concept was significantly weaker than that of their non-CLIL peers. More specifically, the CLIL pupils perceived themselves as weaker language learners both in general and in specific language domains, such as understanding, reading, writing or speaking. (Seikkula-Leino, 2002, 2007.) Seikkula-Leino (2002, 2007) considers that a possible reason for the CLIL pupils' weaker foreign language self-concept could be the nature of CLIL lessons. That is, she suggests that pupils often have to deal with demanding language in CLIL lessons and this can make them feel incompetent and weak learners, which has a direct bearing on their foreign language self-concept (Seikkula-Leino, 2002, 2007). Additionally, the results may have reflected the disadvantages of quantitative research, as pupils in different groups may have perceived the statements differently.

In another study in Finland, Pihko (2007) investigated quantitatively the differences between lower secondary CLIL (n = 209) and non-CLIL pupils' (n = 181) foreign language self-concept. In contrast to Seikkula-Leino's (2002, 2007) study, Pihko (2007) found that CLIL pupils' foreign language self-concept was very high, and more positive than that of their non-CLIL peers. More specifically, the survey looked at pupils' real/actual self in reading, speaking, pronunciation, writing, listening, vocabulary and grammar and found that CLIL pupils' real self was significantly higher than that of non-CLIL pupils in all the domains. Similarly, the CLIL pupils' ideal self and self-esteem were also higher than those of their non-CLIL peers. The former, however, was very high also among non-CLIL pupils. (Pihko, 2007.) Based on the results, Pihko (2007) concludes that CLIL classes are potential environments for developing a positive foreign language self-concept, as CLIL pupils are constantly receiving and using the language in a meaningful way. As the study did not take pupils' a priori differences into account, Pihko (2007) speculates that at least in some cases CLIL pupils' initial foreign language self-concept could already have been higher. However, the study shows that CLIL education at least maintains a positive foreign language self-concept. Pihko's (2007) research gives us valuable information on the foreign language self-concept in the CLIL context, but it is worth noting that for instance the questionnaire contained only three statements measuring the ideal self, so more in-depth investigation on that aspect of the foreign language self-concept is still called for.

More recently, Dallinger et al.'s (2016) study, which examined CLIL pupils' English and history learning, also touched on their English self-concept. That is, the study contained the statement "I am good in English" (p. 26), to which the participants responded using a 4-point Likert-type scale. The participants in the

study were 8th grade pupils from German academic-track secondary schools; 483 of them were CLIL pupils, 354 non-CLIL pupils from schools that provide CLIL, and 444 non-CLIL pupils from non-CLIL schools. The results showed that the CLIL pupils' English self-concept was significantly higher than that of the non-CLIL pupils. (Dallinger et al., 2016.)

In another fairly recent study in a German CLIL context, Rumlich (2016) examined the English as a foreign language self-concept (hereafter EFL SC) of 321 CLIL pupils, 221 non-CLIL pupils (i.e. pupils who attended the same school as the CLIL pupils but did not receive CLIL) and 134 pupils in a school which did not offer CLIL. Rumlich (2016) investigated the change in the pupils' EFL SC over a period of two years (from the end of Grade 6 until the end of Grade 8). The study took a priori differences into account and found that the CLIL pupils' EFL SC was higher already at the start of the research. However, the CLIL pupils' EFL SC slightly increased during the two-year period whereas for the pupils in the non-CLIL schools it remained the same, and it slightly decreased for the non-CLIL pupils. (Rumlich, 2016.) Rumlich (2016) warns that the results regarding the effect of CLIL on pupils' EFL SC should be interpreted with caution as the CLIL pupils' initially higher EFL SC seems to explain most of the increase. Furthermore, the effect varied among the CLIL pupils, with evidence that the increase in EFL SC was greater with pupils whose EFL SC was initially lower (Rumlich, 2016). In brief, Rumlich's (2016) study indicates that CLIL seems to have at least a small benefit to pupils' EFL SC and it can be said that it does not seem to be detrimental to it.

3 THE STUDY

This chapter describes how the present study and its various stages were conducted. First, the broader methodological approach will be explained, followed by a presentation of the participants as well as an outline of the data collection and analysis procedures. The section will finish with a discussion of the researcher's positionality in this research.

3.1 Methodological approach

Every piece of research relies on certain orientations in the philosophy of science which impact, for example, the data collection and analysis. The concepts of *epistemology* and *ontology* deserve some attention here. To put it briefly, epistemology refers to the study and justification of knowledge: it is concerned with questions such as what is knowledge and how we can know. (Steup, 2018; Stone, 2012.) Ontology, in turn, deals with questions of existence; for instance, what exists in the universe and what is real (Blaikie, 2011; Hofweber, 2018). The present study draws partly on *constructivism*, *phenomenology* and *hermeneutics*, as the focus is on the participants' subjective perceptions and interpretations of their CLIL times, and these have been socially constructed.

According to constructivism, knowledge constructed in research is always to some extent contextual, local and specific. Whatever the level of specificity, members of the same community can nevertheless have similar perceptions of reality (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). In line with this assumption, the present research postulates that there is no single truth or knowledge and that people have their own sets of beliefs and subjective realities that they construct in social processes (Hershberg, 2014).

Phenomenology, in turn, is concerned with people's experiences and their relationship to their own life reality. According to phenomenology, people are both constructed through and constructive of the world they are living in. Phenomenology assumes that each individual has a unique perspective that is

constructed from his/her previous experiences, perceptions and values. Phenomenology nonetheless also acknowledges societal influence on people's experiences: that is, individuals' perceptions are a result of the society and communities of which they are a part. The experiences and perceptions of people from the same community are therefore often similar and can reveal something general. (Laine, 2018.)

Phenomenological research aims to describe and interpret people's experiences and the meanings they attach to them, which are influenced by their pre-understanding and assumptions about the world (Adams & van Manen, 2012). How those experiences are communicated is very much contingent on the interviewees' skills and ability to express their experiences, as well as the researcher's ability to interpret them (Laine, 2018). As adults, the participants in the present study possessed both the skills and the vocabulary to critically examine their CLIL practices, which younger learners may lack. Besides, on average the participants were highly educated and had a relatively high socioeconomic status. Their ability to express themselves in words and their capacity to reflect on their CLIL times analytically therefore seemed to be fairly advanced, and they were able to convey their perceptions precisely and descriptively. The researcher, on the other hand, made his own interpretations of the participants' experiences and endeavored to conceptualize them. Thus, the structure of the interpretation process can be seen as twofold.

The research has also traces of hermeneutics, which refers to the theory of understanding and interpretation. Hermeneutics emphasizes the importance of the researcher's own pre-understanding of the research target (see Section 3.5 for a more detailed discussion of this). (Laine, 2018.) According to Patton (2002), both hermeneutics and phenomenology inform the narrative approach that is used as one of the analysis approaches in the present research (Heikkinen, 2018).

3.2 Participants

In line with the research approach, this study explores former CLIL pupils' experiences and perceptions. The participants in the study are 26 former pupils of the same CLIL school. The pupils received English-medium CLIL education during their comprehensive school (i.e. Grades 1–9, pupils' age 7–16), mostly in the 1990s. The two participants in the pilot study started school in 1991, one year before the participants in the actual study (n = 24). The latter were in the same CLIL class as the researcher. A total of 29 pupils (including the researcher) studied in that class at some stage during comprehensive school. They were all contacted via Facebook. Initially, all but one of them answered and expressed their initial interest in taking part in the research, but three of them did not reply to subsequent messages sent by the researcher. To respect their wishes not to participate in the study, their life trajectories will not be reported in this research report. Ultimately, then, 24 of the researcher's former classmates and two other former CLIL pupils from the same school participated in the research (n = 26). Sixteen of the participants were male (M) and ten female (F). All of the

participants signed a consent form that described the purpose of the study and how the data would be used. The participants were explicitly told that they could withdraw from the study at any stage, and they were given pseudonyms to ensure their anonymity to an outsider reader. However, due to their shared experience, the participants were not necessarily anonymous to each other. This was carefully explained to them at the outset.

TABLE 1   The study participants and their CLIL experience

Participant	Pre-school	1 gr.	2 gr.	3 gr.	4 gr.	5 gr.	6 gr.	7 gr.	8 gr.	9 gr.	In total
Jaana (F)[3]		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓				6 years
Sonja (F)				▓	▓	▓	▓				4 years
Anna (F)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Eemeli (M)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Emmi (F)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Jere (M)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Jukka (M)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	10 years
Kalle (M)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Niko (M)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Pasi (M)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Tuukka (M)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Jonne (M)		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Juho (M)		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Kimmo (M)		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	9 years
Olli (M)		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Roni (M)		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Marko (M)		▓	▓	▓	▓		▓	▓	▓	▓	8 years
Hanna (F)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓				7 years
Samu (M)				▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Annika (F)		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓				
Kaapo (M)		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓				6 years
Maria (F)		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓				
Sanna (F)			▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓			
Lotta (F)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓						5 years
Arttu (M)								▓	▓	▓	3 years
Riikka (F)								▓	▓	▓	

The two pilot study participants' CLIL experience lasted for 4 and 6 years respectively. Fourteen of the participants in the actual study studied in the CLIL class throughout their years in comprehensive school (i.e. 9 years). There was, however, some variation in the class composition over the years, as six participants left the CLIL class early and three joined the class later on. There was also variation in how much exposure the participants had had to English CLIL before comprehensive school began: eleven participants had already

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3   The two first participants in the tables throughout the dissertation are the participants in the pilot study (see Article I).

received some minor English CLIL in preschool in the form of greetings, numbers, colors, etcetera. Table 1 illustrates the participants' time spent in the CLIL class.

At the time of the interviews, the participants were approximately 30 years old. After comprehensive school, 21 of them had completed upper secondary school, two had graduated from vocational school and three had taken a dual diploma (i.e. from both). Fourteen participants had a Master's degree or equivalent and seven participants had a Bachelor's degree or equivalent (with three of them currently finishing their Master's degree). Additionally, two participants were currently completing their doctoral degree. Six participants had completed an English-medium degree program and eleven participants' degrees had included English-medium courses. Seven participants worked in the social and health care sector, seven in the field of ICT, six in business and commerce, two in an association, one as a professional athlete, one in basic education, one in the university, and one was a full-time student. English was the principal working language of three of the participants, eleven used English at work regularly and ten used it sporadically. After comprehensive school, eight participants had lived abroad and, at the time of the interviews, four were still currently doing so. Table 2 summarizes the participants' post-CLIL education and their English use. For the sake of preserving the participants' anonymity, the information is presented quite generally. The aim of the information is to help contextualize the findings in relation to the participants' background.

TABLE 2   The participants' education and English use after CLIL

Jaana	- English-medium Master's degree - frequent use of English at work
Sonja	- English-medium Master's degree - had lived one year in an English-speaking country - occasional use of English at work
Anna	- English-medium Master's degree abroad - had lived and studied in an English-speaking country for several years
Annika	- Bachelor's degree (university of applied sciences, only a few English courses) - occasional use of English at work and in free time
Arttu	- currently completing his Master's degree (Finnish-medium with some English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work
Eemeli	- Master's degree (Finnish-medium with some English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work
Emmi	- Master's degree (Finnish-medium with some English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work
Hanna	- dual diploma from upper secondary and vocational school (only a few English courses) - occasional use of English at work

Jere	- Bachelor's degree (university of applied sciences, only a few English courses) - had been on a work placement abroad for 6 months using English - occasional use of English at work and in free time
Jonne	- vocational degree (only a few English courses) - occasional use of English at work and in free time
Juho	- English-medium Master's degree - frequent use of English at work
Jukka	- vocational degree (only a few English courses) - frequent use of English at work and in free time
Kaapo	- matriculation examination certificate - had lived and worked abroad for several years - English partly as a working language
Kalle	- Master's degree (Finnish-medium with some English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work
Kimmo	- Master's degree abroad (first two years English-medium) - occasional use of English at work
Lotta	- Bachelor's degree (university of applied sciences, only a few English courses) - occasional use of English in free time
Maria	- currently completing her Master's degree (Finnish-medium with some English-medium courses) - occasional use of English at work and in free time
Marko	- Master's degree (Finnish-medium with some English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work
Niko	- Master's degree (Finnish-medium with some English-medium courses) - had lived and worked abroad for several years - English as working language; main language also in free time
Olli	- Bachelor's degree (only a few English courses) - occasional use of English at work and in free time
Pasi	- Master's degree (Finnish-medium with some English-medium courses and an exchange year abroad) - had lived and worked abroad for four years - English as a working language; main language also in free time
Riikka	- English-medium Master's degree - occasional use of English at work
Roni	- in the midst of completing his Master's degree (Finnish-medium with some English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work, occasional use in free time
Samu	- had studied in a university of applied sciences (only a few English courses) - frequent use of English at work, occasional use in free time
Sanna	- English-medium Master's degree - had studied and lived abroad for several years using English - English as working language; main language also in free time
Tuukka	- Master's degree (Finnish-medium with some English-medium courses) - occasional use of English at work and in free time

3.3 Data collection

As the aim of the present research was to investigate and interpret *how the participants perceived the effects of CLIL on their lives*, qualitative methods were chosen for the data collection and analysis. Interviews were considered to be the most appropriate method of data collection, as they make it possible to capture participants' experiences and the meanings involved and produce rich and nuanced data. Another strength of interviews is that they can better uncover new aspects of the phenomenon under study than closed quantitative questionnaires. (Kvale, 2007.)

There seems to be a consensus that interviews cannot be seen as the interviewees' objective narratives but should rather be considered an interactional process in which meanings are co-constructed by the interviewer and interviewees (Garton & Copland, 2010). For instance, according to Josselson (2013), "there is no longer much scholarly doubt that what is in the mind of the interviewer influences the process and content of 'the data'" (p. 1). Regardless of this co-construction, Josselson (2013) assumes that some understanding of people's experiences can nevertheless be reached through interviewing. As interviews can very much be seen as social encounters, the elements of social interaction are at play in the interview process. As McAdams (2008) has described it, "stories are social phenomena, told in accord with societal expectations and norms" (p. 245). Similarly, according to Wortham (2001), the participants in an interview may assume that the researcher wants to hear certain types of narrations, and this belief then influences the content and style of their accounts. Pasupathi and Rich (2005) also found that the social circumstances and the behavior of the interlocutor have an effect on how stories are told. In this context, the present study acknowledges that information obtained from interviews is socially constructed, and that the participants' experiences and interpretations became visible partly through the interviewer. The prior relationship between the researcher and the participants is also very likely to have had an effect on the interviews. Nevertheless, the present research relies on the premise that it is possible to throw light on participants' experiences through such interviews. This issue is discussed in more detail in Section 3.5.

In the interviews, the participants were interpreting past events from the viewpoint of their current life situations: the study aimed to capture the participants' experiences from more than 25 years ago. When researching retrospective reflections, one must keep in mind that participants' accounts of past events will be partly blended with and influenced by their current realities (McAdams, 2008). Also, according to Miller, Cardinal and Glick (1997), retrospective reflections can produce oversimplifications or lapses of memory. It is therefore possible that the participants' testimonies of their CLIL experience may not have entirely corresponded to the reality at the time. For instance, the participants' memories of their CLIL times varied somewhat, even though they had all undergone the same CLIL practices. However, the focus of this dissertation was not so much on actual practices as on the participants'

subjective perceptions of CLIL and its effects on their lives. Hence, it is an implicit postulate that the participants' life experiences and their current social positions may have had a bearing on their past memories.

The data for this study consist of 26 in-depth interviews carried out by the researcher. The interviews were held between August 2016 and January 2017. The duration of the interviews ranged from approximately 30 minutes to approximately 80 minutes, the average being approximately 45 minutes. The overall duration of all the interviews combined was approximately 20 hours and 35 minutes. Twenty-two of the interviews were held face-to-face and the remaining four via Skype. The most common venue for the interviews was either the researcher's or the participant's home; only four interviews were conducted in a public place (see Table 3 for more details).

The interviews, which were held in Finnish, were semi-structured, with aspects of biographical-narrative interviews (Estola, Uitto, & Syrjälä, 2017). The interviews followed some general themes that were sent to the participants in advance in order for them to retrieve some of their past CLIL memories prior to the interviews (see Appendix 2). The themes for the pilot interviews mostly arose out of previous research and literature. A few salient themes (e.g. the role of other foreign languages and intercultural attitudes) were identified in the pilot study (see Article I) and were included in the interviews conducted for the actual study. Additionally, some themes were raised in the first few interviews which were consequently addressed also in the later ones. Nevertheless, the interviews differed slightly from one another as the participants were given the opportunity to focus on events meaningful to their own life trajectories, which is typical of biographical interviews (Heinz, 2016). Some of the participants were more expansive and talkative than others, which meant that the researcher's role in the interviews varied: in some interviews more direct questioning was required from the researcher while in others, only general questions about the themes were sufficient to induce long descriptive narrations from the participants. All of the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim by the researcher. Altogether, the transcribed interviews resulted in 170,153 words of data. The following table (Table 3) elaborates on the interview details and the overall data of this study.

TABLE 3   Details of the interviews

Participant	Date	Venue	Duration	Transcription details
Jaana	8.6.2016	University library	36:55	4,914 words
Sonja	10.6.2016	Researcher's home	37:02	5,600 words
Pasi	25.8.2016	Researcher's home	39:18	4,019 words
Olli	4.9.2016	Researcher's home	38:24	5,857 words
Jukka	6.9.2016	Researcher's home	34:54	5,840 words
Anna	8.9.2016	Researcher's home	58:04	9,804 words
Eemeli	11.9.2016	Researcher's home	45:44	6,679 words
Emmi	17.9.2016	University library	40:22	5,600 words
Annika	19.9.2016	Researcher's home	41:37	7,432 words
Jonne	30.9.2016	Participant's home	45:55	6,990 words

Juho	1.10.2016	Participant's home	69:03	8,516 words
Arttu	1.10.2016	Hotel lobby	39:18	4,356 words
Kalle	1.10.2016	Participant's home	37:15	6,291 words
Maria	2.10.2016	Hotel lobby	61:08	9,158 words
Tuukka	13.10.2016	Researcher's home	63:02	9,984 words
Riikka	5.11.2016	Researcher's home	45:24	6,319 words
Samu	12.11.2016	Participant's home	62:14	8,846 words
Hanna	15.11.2016	Researcher's home	30:17	4,317 words
Lotta	21.11.2016	Researcher's home	34:07	6,292 words
Marko	3.12.2016	Researcher's home	78:31	12,540 words
Kimmo	10.12.2016	Participant's home	63:18	9,057 words
Roni	22.12.2016	Participant's home	41:22	5,972 words
Sanna	16.1.2017	Via Skype	79:56	10,604 words
Niko	19.1.2017	Via Skype	39:30	5,018 words
Jere	24.1.2017	Via Skype	38:35	4,962 words
Kaapo	26.1.2017	Via Skype	36:10	5,700 words

3.4   Data analysis

In line with the overall aim and the underpinnings of the philosophy of science in the present research, the data were analyzed using qualitative methods. The main analysis method of this study is thematic analysis, which was employed in Articles I, II, IV and V. However, in order to get a more thorough and multifaceted understanding of the phenomenon, analysis of narratives and narrative analysis were utilized in Article III. Regardless of the method chosen for a particular study, it is important that the analysis and the steps it includes are rigorously and transparently described. In this section, the analysis process of the present research is explained. Table 4 below outlines the research questions, the number of participants, the data and methods of analysis used in each article.

TABLE 4   Details of the articles

Article	Research questions	Participants and data	Data analysis
Article I *AFinLA Yearbook*	1) What kind of experience do Jaana and Sonja remember their CLIL education as being? 2) How, in their view, has CLIL influenced their life course?	- 2 former CLIL pupils - Individual interviews in June 2016	Theory-oriented thematic analysis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018)

Article II *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*	1) How do the participants reflect on CLIL as an experience? 2) How do they perceive the effect of CLIL on their: a. target language learning? b. content learning?	- One former CLIL class (n = 24) - Individual interviews August 2016-January 2017	Theory-oriented thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006)
Article III Manuscript submitted for publication	What role do the participants (n = 24) give to the English language self-concept formed by CLIL as a constructor of their life courses?	- One former CLIL class (n = 24) - Individual interviews August 2016-January 2017	Analysis of narratives & narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995)
Article IV *Language and Intercultural Communication*	What are the participants' views on the effect of CLIL education on their foreign language and intercultural attitudes?	- One former CLIL class (n = 24) - Individual interviews August 2016-January 2017	Theory-oriented thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006)
Article V *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*	1) How is the participants' (n = 24) English language self-concept manifested in the interviews? 2) What factors do the participants identify as having influenced their English language self-concept?	- One former CLIL class (n = 24) - Individual interviews August 2016-January 2017	Theory-oriented thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

Thematic analysis was chosen as the main method of the present study as it can be seen as relatively flexible in terms of its theoretical underpinnings and practical implementation. Nonetheless, when conducted rigorously, thematic analysis provides the researcher with a rich description of the data. (Braun & Clarke, 2006.) The present research draws on several theoretical and conceptual underpinnings (e.g. interculturality, attitudes, self-concept) in the five different articles (see Chapter 2). Much like with any qualitative work, the premise of this research is that thematic analysis inevitably entails subjectivity and an active role on the part of the researcher. It is therefore presumed that the themes did not emerge automatically from the data, but the researcher had an active role in identifying them. This means that other researchers could have identified somewhat different themes from exactly the same data. (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018.) The fact that the researcher conducted and transcribed the interviews provided him with a surface-level understanding of the data and their characteristics prior to the in-depth analysis. The analysis for each article was carried out separately and at different times in the research process.

The rigorous thematic analysis was informed by Braun and Clarke's (2006) and Tuomi and Sarajärvi's (2018) guidelines. In essence, thematic analysis is about identifying patterns and common themes from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is a recursive process with several steps, and these were also applied in the present research. Although the data were approached through different conceptual lenses for each article, the process followed similar steps. That is, first, the whole dataset was read at least once without any notes or markings being made. Then the data were initially coded in relation to the research questions of each article. The overarching themes for each article stemmed from the data as well as from prior literature. The transcribed data excerpts that corresponded to the research questions of each article were placed in a separate word file for more in-depth analysis. In the next stage, the codes, and the relevant data excerpts, were sorted and combined to form the potential themes. At this point, there was often some overlap, as certain data excerpts fit under several themes, and certain codes and data excerpts were used in several articles. This, in part, illustrates the interrelatedness of the articles' themes. The thematic analysis resulted in preliminary main themes and their corresponding subthemes. The final stages of the analysis consisted of critically reviewing and refining the themes, which in many cases resulted in discarding some themes and combining others.

Each dissertation article examined different aspects of the overarching research question (i.e. *How do the participants perceive the effects of CLIL on their lives*?). The coding in the articles was therefore based in each case on the research questions of that particular article (see Section 1.3). Article I (i.e. the pilot study), looked at two participants' perceptions of their CLIL times and the role CLIL had played in their life courses. The coding of the data focused on the above topics and followed an inductive approach. As a result of the analysis, several subthemes were formed (i.e. *school satisfaction*, *privilege*, *language self-concept*, *study and career choices* and *intercultural competence*). Finally, two main themes (i.e. *experiences of CLIL* and *the effect of* CLIL) were established from the subthemes.

Articles II–V were based on 24 participants all from the same CLIL class. Article II explored CLIL as an experience and investigated the perceived effects of the approach on the participants' target language and content learning. The data were coded partly deductively with the relevant umbrella concepts (i.e. *perceptions*, *language learning*, *content learning*) deriving from the literature, and these turned out to be the main themes of the article. All of the themes had several subthemes (e.g. *early CLIL*, *the amount of CLIL*, *English self-concept* etc.), which were identified from the data.

Article IV, in turn, scrutinized the long-term effects of CLIL on the participants' attitudes. The coding was guided by a broad conceptualization of the construct. The various codes (e.g. *native speaker*, *language anxiety*, *interaction* etc.) were sorted out and several initial themes (e.g. *multilingualism*, *otherness*, *racism*, *working life* etc.) were formed based on the codes. The initial themes and their corresponding data excerpts were further analyzed in relation to the research question. In consequence, some themes were combined to form broader themes and others eliminated from the analysis. The analysis process

produced three main themes, labeled *dominance of English*, *other foreign languages* and *cultural differences*. Appendices 3 and 4 in Article IV exemplify the analysis process for that article.

Finally, Article V examined the long-term effect of CLIL on the participants' English self-concept. The data analysis was therefore informed by a loose theoretical underpinning of the construct. All of the data excerpts related to the participants' self-perceptions as language learners and users were coded. This was approximately one third of the entire dataset, which illustrates the salience of foreign language self-concept in the interviews. The multiple codes (e.g. *lack of language anxiety*, *motivation*, *sense of superiority*, *comparisons to others* etc.) were further analyzed and broader themes were created. The final analysis resulted in two main themes (i.e. *manifestation of English language self-concept* and *factors influencing English language self-concept*) and their corresponding subthemes (i.e. *robust self-concept*, *dynamic self-concept* and *multidimensional self-concept* regarding the former theme as well as *the significance of early CLIL* and *social comparisons and external feedback* regarding the latter). Two example coding sheets are appended at the end of Article V to further illustrate the thematic analysis process.

A pertinent question regarding thematic analysis is what constitutes a theme. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), a theme tells something essential about the data and encapsulates some sort of a pattern in the whole dataset. The prevalence of themes can be determined in various ways. In Articles II and V, for instance, the themes were determined on the basis of the number or proportion of participants in whose interviews a specific theme was identified (e.g. two thirds, or 16, of the participants etc.). This increased the transparency of the analysis in the present research.

The process of identification of the themes is often labeled either *inductive* (bottom-up) or *deductive* (top-down); the former relates to data-driven and the latter to theory-driven analysis (Patton, 2002). However, this dichotomy has been criticized as the use of a purely inductive approach in research is not considered feasible. Instead, it is acknowledged that any qualitative analysis is essentially a subjective and interpretative process that is guided by the researcher's pre-knowledge and understanding of the research topic. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018.) To overcome this dichotomous view, Eskola (2018) has proposed a three-pronged approach: 1) data-driven analysis (*aineistolähtöinen*), 2) theory-driven analysis (*teorialähtöinen*) and 3) theory-oriented analysis (*teoriasidonnainen*). In his view, in data-driven analysis the theory is formed based on the data; in theory-driven analysis the data are approached and analyzed within a very fixed theoretical framework; while theory-oriented analysis has some loose theoretical underpinnings that only guide the analysis but do not dictate it (Eskola, 2018). This last approach can be seen as adhering to abductive reasoning (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018).

Similarly, this research takes the position that one cannot conduct fully inductive research; rather, the inductive/deductive distinction is more a continuum than a dichotomy. The thematic analysis conducted in this study can therefore be seen as both data- and theory-driven, and as following both inductive and deductive approaches. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) call

this a *hybrid approach* to data analysis. In terms of Eskola's (2018) definitions, the analysis in the present research mostly resembled theory-oriented analysis. That is, the analysis was informed by a broad theoretical framework but it was still open to the issues and codes arising from the data. Besides, the analysis approach partly varied from one article to another as some articles were subjected to more inductive and others to more deductive analysis. For example, the analysis in Article II was more on the deductive side, as it looked at participants' views on the effect of CLIL on their language and content learning, and the data related to the corresponding research question (i.e. *How do the participants perceive the effect of CLIL on their target language learning and their content learning*?) were analyzed with pre-existing subthemes in mind (i.e. *specific language skills* and *positive*, *negative* or *neural effect*). However, the analysis in relation to the other research question in the article (i.e. *How do the participants reflect on CLIL as an experience*?) was more inductive, and the corresponding subthemes (i.e. *motivation*, *privilege*, *superiority*, *negative remarks*) stemmed from the data. The analysis in Articles IV and V, on the other hand, was more inductive as the data were approached with only overarching themes or broad conceptualizations of the main concepts (i.e. *attitudes* and *self-concept*) and the analyses relied extensively on the data. To ensure triangulation, the analyses for Articles IV and V was partly carried out collaboratively, with both authors reviewing and refining the identified themes and their relatedness (Patton, 2002). However, the initial coding was conducted by the researcher in each article. For Articles I and II, the researcher performed the entire thematic analysis alone.

The narrative approach, which was utilized in Article III, was informed by Polkinghorne (1995), Heikkinen (2018), Hänninen (2018), Kuronen (2010) and Labov and Waletsky (1997). Polkinghorne (1995) has introduced two types of approaches to analyzing data in narrative research, that is, *analysis of narratives* and *narrative analysis*. He bases his division on Bruner's (1986) distinction between paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought. The paradigmatic mode is concerned with identifying commonalities and seeking for logical explanations and objective truth that can be empirically tested. The narrative mode, on the other hand, is premised on verisimilitude, in other words, on the production of coherent and believable stories as opposed to verifiable and objective knowledge. (Bruner, 1986.) Narrative analysis relies on the assumption that parts of the stories must be analyzed in relation to the whole story, as each part gets its meaning in a reciprocal relationship with other parts of the story as well as from the story as a whole (Polkinghorne, 1995). The present study utilized both approaches (i.e. analysis of narratives and narrative analysis) in the data analysis.

At the start of the analysis of narratives, the interviews were read through twice: the first time without making any notes or markings, and the second time more analytically, initially identifying significant life events in relation to the participants' English self-concept. The broad interview themes provided a foundation for the analysis. The premise was that the participants, as the protagonists of their own narratives, were going to have raised issues and topics they considered relevant to their individual life course. In general,

narrative research takes the view that interviews are not objective representations of individuals' lives, but rather stories constructed in a particular moment and interaction, and this is in line with the general approach to interviews in this research. The researcher's voice is therefore inevitably reflected in the interviews in addition to the participants' own voices (Heikkinen, 2018; Hänninen, 2018). Due to the shared experience and prior relationship between the researcher and the participants, this may have been emphasized in the present study (see Section 3.5).

Narrative analysis, in turn, was influenced by Kuronen (2010) and Labov and Waletsky (1997). The following framework was created in order to analyze each interview as a holistic life story:

1. *Introduction*: Focuses on the participants' comprehensive school times and provides the basis for their later life course. In it, the participants reflect on their CLIL education and its nature.

2. *Episodes*: Cover the participants' entire post-CLIL life course and the life events related to the English language, which can be positive or negative.

3. *Evaluation*: Partly overlaps with the previous category. In it, the participants make micro-level assessments of their life events in relation to their CLIL experience and their English self-concept formed by CLIL.

4. *Conclusion*: Summarizes the significance of CLIL education in the participants' life. The participants make a macro-level assessment of their CLIL experience and its role in constructing their life course so far.

In general, each participant's life contained many unique and individual life choices and paths. Several similar life courses were nevertheless identified in the data in relation to the participants' English self-concept. For the sake of preserving the participants' anonymity, as well as presenting the results clearly, four collective types were created, based on the participants' narratives. The groups were labeled "confident users" (*sankarit*), "steady users" (*vakaat*), "fluctuating users" (*aaltoilijat*) and "reluctant users" (*kipuilijat*). However, it is acknowledged that subsuming the participants' individual narratives under the aforementioned categories to some extent simplifies their variety and complexity.

As the study focused on the participants' perceptions of the role of CLIL in their lives, their own voices were consciously brought to the foreground as much as possible. Moreover, to increase the transparency and to illustrate the interpretations made, the dissertation articles contain a lot of direct quotations from the participants (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). The goal was to ensure that each participant's voice was heard at least once in this dissertation. In addition, quotations from the participants are presented in other work published by the researcher that is not included in this dissertation (see Roiha & Mäntylä, Forthcoming; Roiha & Sommier, 2018). Table 5 shows the number of quotations

54

used from each participant in the different articles. It is worth bearing in mind that Article I (i.e. the pilot study) had its own two participants.

TABLE 5   The participants' quotations in the different articles

Participant	Article I	Article II	Article III	Article IV	Article V	In total
Jaana	2					2
Sonja	3					3
Anna		1	1		2	4
Annika		1	1	1	1	4
Arttu		1			1	2
Eemeli		1			1	2
Emmi		1				1
Hanna		3	2		1	6
Jere			1	1		2
Jonne		1		1		2
Juho		1	1	2	1	5
Jukka		1				1
Kaapo				1	2	3
Kalle			2	1		3
Kimmo		1		1	2	4
Lotta			1			1
Maria		2	1			3
Marko		1		1		2
Niko				3	1	4
Olli		2	1			3
Pasi			1		1	2
Riikka		1				1
Roni					1	1
Samu			1			1
Sanna		1				1
Tuukka				1	1	2

3.5   Researcher's positionality

The researcher's positionality is an interesting but complex issue in every piece of research. Particularly in the present study it requires some unraveling, as the fact that the researcher was interviewing his former classmates has some bearing on both the data collection and the analysis. In general, and as already discussed in the previous sections in this chapter, qualitative research assumes that the researcher's own pre-understanding and personality affect what he/she hears and observes in the data collection and analysis. The researcher can therefore be seen as a central research instrument of his/her own research. (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018.) In the present study, the

researcher's pre-understanding has arguably been reflected in many aspects of the research, ranging from the interview questions to the analysis.

In general, the question of self-reflexivity is a central one in qualitative work. Particularly in hermeneutics, a lot of emphasis is placed on the researcher's pre-understanding of the topic, which is assumed to have a bearing on, for instance, the analysis and interpretations the researcher makes. Similarly, it is crucial to be aware of one's own pre-understanding in order to try to detach oneself from it and take some distance from one's primary interpretations. Hermeneutics stresses that one's initial pre-understanding evolves and develops through the analysis process. (Siljander, 1988.) The concept of *hermeneutic circle* relates to some extent to the present research and the researcher's positionality. According to Siljander (1988), it can cover three aspects of research: 1) the knowledge-formation process, 2) the interpretation process, which is performed in a dialogue between parts and the whole and 3) the incompleteness of the interpretation process.

In the present research, the researcher had his own experience in the target class and his personal perception of how this experience had affected his life course, and this laid the ground for the interpretations he made. As declared in the introduction to this summary of the dissertation, the impetus for the present research partly stemmed from personal experience, as the researcher's subjective perception was that his CLIL experience had had a prominent and pervasive influence on his life. However, this did not prevent him from being reflective, actively contesting his initial interpretations and broadening and deepening his perspective during the research process. For instance, several issues arose in the data collection that the researcher had not anticipated, such as the theme of interculturality in the pilot interviews, which was then incorporated as a theme in the actual study. Similarly, a few themes (e.g. *difficulties in CLIL* or *the role of other foreign languages*) were identified in the interviews that did not resonate with the researcher's personal experience and that he as a researcher had not fully considered beforehand, and this gave him more distance from the themes and enabled him to take more of an outsider's perspective. In other words, CLIL initially appeared to the researcher to be a certain type of experience, but through conducting the research he became more conscious of its multifaceted nature and the various psychological dimensions related to it.

As regards the interviews, the prior relationship between the researcher and the participants added a unique character to the process. However, it is worth noting that the relationship was not the same with each participant, because while the researcher had not seen some participants since their CLIL schooldays, with others he had been in more regular contact. Garton and Copland (2010) call interviews where the interviewer and the interviewee have a prior relationship *acquaintance interviews*. According to them, data collected through this type of interview are not necessarily more or less valid than data obtained using other interview types, but acquaintance interviews may enable access to information not always available through more traditional interview arrangements. Often the prior relationship is made explicit and exploited in acquaintance interviews. (Garton & Copland, 2010.) This was also the case in

the present study, as many CLIL memories were co-constructed. However, this related mostly to factual background information on the CLIL program (e.g. how many lessons there were per week, and in which subjects, etc.) and the researcher paid increasing attention to not actively influencing the meanings and perceptions the participants attached to their CLIL memories. Besides, the primary target of the present research was the participants' perceptions of the effect of their CLIL times on their life course, a process in which the researcher was an outsider.

The personal relationship between the researcher and the participants can be seen as posing both advantages and possible challenges to the present research. On the one hand, some of the participants may have been more honest and open about their sense of superiority as English users because they were being interviewed by their former peer. On the other hand, for some participants the situation may have resulted in their overemphasizing their English language self-concept and undermining the possible challenges and insecurities they had experienced in learning and using the language. These issues relate to the concept of *social desirability bias*, which is the tendency for participants to present themselves in a favorable and positive light in self-reports (King & Bruner, 2000). This may have been the case in the present research, where the largest group formed was labeled "confident users" (n = 9). It is possible that some of them may have depicted themselves as overly confident English users while potentially disregarding any feelings of insecurity with the language. To partly overcome this issue, some of the interview themes were approached both directly and indirectly. In other words, some themes were addressed explicitly on their own as well as at various stages in the interview in response to the participants' accounts. This did in fact result in some discrepancies in a few of the participants' narrations, for instance with regard to multilingualism or intercultural attitudes (see Article IV). This then raises the question of whether some participants were analyzing the effects of CLIL on their lives in compliance with their expectations of what the researcher wanted to hear. This may have been more likely with regard to the more sensitive topics, such as intercultural attitudes, which touches upon issues of stereotypes and racism (King & Bruner, 2000). On the other hand, due to the friendly relationship between the researcher and the participants, some of them may have expressed their opinions more freely and honestly than they would have done to an outsider interviewer. In the case of interculturality, for instance, some participants seemed at first to be very positive about difference but later on in the interviews articulated somewhat stereotypical or conflicting views on the issue. One interpretation of this could be that at first they were being more politically correct and moderating their real attitudes and perceptions, which were then uncovered later on during the interviews.

To conclude, the researcher's position may have had a positive, negative or neutral effect on the interviews and the participants' accounts. However, regardless of the above speculation, whether this indeed was the case and, if so, to what extent, are questions that cannot be answered. Furthermore, as already observed in relation to the data collection, all interviews can be considered to be social encounters in which the participants are performing certain roles

(Josselson, 2013; McAdams, 2008; Wortham, 2001). Therefore regardless of whether or not there is a prior relationship between the participants and the researcher, interviews should never be considered objective representations of the interviewees' perceptions, let alone an accurate depiction of reality.

In addition to the possible effect on the research process, the shared experience of the researcher and the participants makes the issues of research ethics and confidentiality also somewhat complex in the present study. Lahman et al. (2015) have pointed out that relational research can never be fully anonymous as the researcher knows the participants' identity. To Lahman et al. (2015), the issue is rather the level of confidentiality in the research. In the present case, the fact that the participants are the researcher's former classmates poses some problems in terms of absolute confidentiality, and the participants are also likely to recognize each other in the research. However, this issue was discussed with the participants very thoroughly and it was carefully explained to them that despite the use of pseudonyms, their full anonymity could be compromised. No participant expressed any concerns about this, and some of them even questioned the point of using a pseudonym; they would have preferred their orthonyms to appear in the research. However, the researcher was adamant that all the participants should have pseudonyms to preserve their anonymity as far as possible, because allowing participants to appear with their real names in research involves some fundamental risks. First of all, the participants might later start to regret the decision to make their real names visible, but once the research is published the decision becomes irreversible. Second, allowing some participants to appear with orthonyms might also jeopardize the anonymity of the other participants in the research. (Lahman et al., 2015.)

When assigning the pseudonyms in the present research, the only factor that was taken into account was that the participants' sex corresponded to their pseudonym. The names selected were somewhat typical children's names in Finland in the 1990s; otherwise, the pseudonyms have no reference to the participants' orthonyms. Participants' pseudonyms in research have been shown to influence readers' perceptions of them (Lahman et al., 2015). One way of making the pseudonym issue even more transparent, and of overcoming any unconscious associations between the participants' pseudonyms and their real names, would have been to allow the participants to choose their own pseudonyms (see also Lahman et al., 2015), but this was not done for the present study. Also relating to the participants' anonymity, the participants' background information (i.e. post-CLIL education and English use) was presented rather generally in order to protect their privacy as much as possible. Finally, in Article III, the participants' life trajectories were presented through collective types so that individual participants could not be recognized.

4 ARTICLES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

This dissertation consists of 5 articles. The overarching aim of the project was to examine how former pupils of CLIL recalled that experience. Thus, the general research question of the study was:

How do the participants perceive the effects of CLIL on their lives?

The present research sought to examine the effects of CLIL holistically and from many perspectives. Thus, each article focused on some particular aspects of the main theme. The different foci of the articles are presented in Figure 2, below.
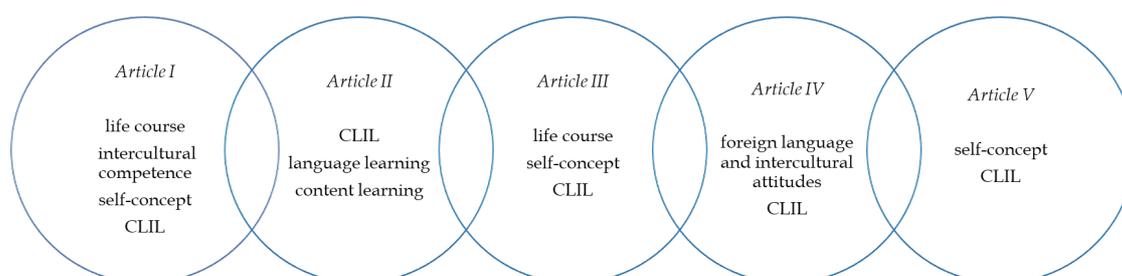
FIGURE 2   The main themes of the articles

The order of the articles in the dissertation does not exactly correspond to the chronological order in which they were written. First, a pilot study was conducted with two participants (Article I), because prior research on the long-term effects of CLIL is very limited. Article I yielded information on the effects of CLIL on the participants' intercultural attitudes, English self-concept and life course, themes that the remaining articles then examined in more depth. Articles II–V report the actual study carried out with 24 participants from one

CLIL class. The results of the pilot study agree with the results obtained from the actual study, which implies that the latter findings are not specific only to the one former CLIL class examined. Articles II–V proceed from the general to the more specific. That is, following the pilot study (Article I), Articles II and III are more general analyses of the participants' perceptions and life courses while Articles IV and V focus more closely on attitudes and self-concept, respectively. To be more precise, Article II sheds light on the effects of CLIL on the participants' target language and content learning. Article III expands our understanding of the long-term effects of CLIL on a practical level, for instance on studying and working life. Article IV and V provide insights into the long-term attitudinal effects and the influence of CLIL on the participants' self-beliefs as language users, respectively.

This chapter provides brief summaries of each article. First, Table 6 below presents the research question(s) as well as the researchers' contributions to each article.

TABLE 6   The research questions and researchers' contributions to the articles

Article	Research questions	Researchers' contribution
Article I: Roiha, A. (2017). CLIL-opetuksen merkitys elämänkulkujen rakentajana: Kahden entisen oppilaan pohdintoja [The significance of CLIL education as a constructor of life courses: Two former pupils' reflections]. *AFinLA Yearbook 2017.*	1) What kind of experience do Jaana and Sonja remember their CLIL education as being? 2) How, in their view, has CLIL influenced their life course?	Sole-authored (Roiha)
Article II: Roiha, A. (2019). Investigating former pupils' experiences and perceptions of CLIL in Finland: A retrospective analysis. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy.*	1) How do the participants reflect on CLIL as an experience? 2) How do they perceive the effect of CLIL on a. their target language learning? b. their content learning?	Sole-authored (Roiha)
Article III: Roiha, A. (2019). *CLIL-opetuksen merkitys vuosina 1992–2001 peruskoulussa opiskelleiden aikuisten elämänkuluissa* [The significance of CLIL education in the life courses of adults who studied in comprehensive school between 1992 and 2001]. Manuscript submitted for publication.	What meanings do the participants give to the English language self-concept formed by CLIL as a constructor of their life courses?	Sole-authored (Roiha)

Article IV: Roiha, A., & Sommier, M. (2018). Viewing CLIL through the eyes of former pupils: Insights into foreign language and intercultural attitudes. *Language and Intercultural Communication.*	What are the participants' views on the effect of CLIL education on their foreign language and intercultural attitudes?	Co-authored (Roiha & Sommier) Roiha: • Introduction • Foreign language attitudes and CLIL • The context of the study • Methodology Roiha & Sommier: • Intercultural attitudes and CLIL • Results • Conclusion
Article V: Roiha, A., & Mäntylä, K. (2019). 'It has given me this kind of courage…': The significance of CLIL in forming a positive target language self-concept. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism.*	1) How is the participants' (n = 24) English language self-concept manifested in the interviews? 2) What factors do the participants identify as having influenced their English language self-concept?	Co-authored (Roiha & Mäntylä) Roiha: • Research process • Implications and conclusion Roiha & Mäntylä: • Introduction • Theoretical framework • Results

4.1   Article I

Roiha, A. (2017). CLIL-opetuksen merkitys elämänkulkujen rakentajana: Kahden entisen oppilaan pohdintoja [The significance of CLIL education as a constructor of life courses: Two former pupils' reflections]. In S. Latomaa, E. Luukka & N. Lilja (Eds.), *Kielitietoisuus eriarvoistuvassa yhteiskunnassa – Language awareness in an increasingly unequal society* (pp. 257–277). AFinLA Yearbook 2017. Jyväskylä: The Finnish Association for Applied Linguistics Publications 75.

Article I presents the pilot study which was conducted prior to the main research. The reason for carrying out a pilot study was the lack of research on the long-term effects of CLIL education. The purpose of the pilot study was therefore to expand understanding of the phenomenon and uncover relevant new perspectives. Indeed, the results of the pilot study determined the scope of the actual research and helped the researcher become acquainted with the theoretical and conceptual framework. The pilot study also helped in

developing and refining the final research design, for instance, the interview themes.

In the pilot study, two former CLIL pupils, Jaana and Sonja, who received English-medium CLIL in the target school starting from 1991 and 1993, respectively, were interviewed in the summer of 2016. The participants attended the same school and CLIL program as the participants of the actual study, who began their schooling in 1992. The research questions for the pilot study were: 1) *What kind of experience do Jaana and Sonja remember their CLIL education as being?* and 2) *How, in their view, has CLIL influenced their life course?* The participants' interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis with a theory-oriented framework (Eskola, 2018; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018).

The results showed that CLIL education was a highly positive experience for both participants and they felt privileged to have been chosen to study in a CLIL class. More specifically, three main themes were identified from the data: 1) *foreign language self-concept*, 2) *study and career choices* and 3) *intercultural competence*. Both Jaana and Sonja depicted themselves as very confident language users who trusted their English skills and perceived CLIL to have been a prominent factor in forming their strong English self-concept. The participants also felt that CLIL had partly guided their study paths and, to some extent, affected their career choices. With regard to intercultural competence, Jaana and Sonja considered that CLIL had sparked their interest in internationalization. They thought that CLIL had also provided them with opportunities to interact with people of different nationalities, which had resulted in a more positive attitude toward difference. This small-scale case pilot study demonstrated the effects CLIL can have on target language self-concept and life course.

4.2   Article II

Roiha, A. (2019). Investigating former pupils' experiences and perceptions of CLIL in Finland: A retrospective analysis. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, *5*(2), 92–103.

Article II focused on the participants' (n = 24) perceptions and experiences of CLIL and its effect on their learning. The article differs from the other dissertation articles in that it does not have a long-term perspective, as it concentrates on the participants' CLIL times. However, the participants' language skills acquired in CLIL education have arguably supported them in their subsequent lives. Conversely, the participants' future life courses may also have influenced the way they reflected on their past CLIL experiences. The specific research questions for this study were: 1) *How do the participants reflect on CLIL as an experience?* and 2) *How do they perceive the effect of CLIL on their target language and content learning?* Previous research has shown that the vast majority of CLIL pupils seem to enjoy the approach and regard it as beneficial to their future studies and life courses. However, CLIL classes often tend to

include a number of pupils who have been less satisfied with CLIL and struggled with the approach. (e.g. Coyle, 2013; Pihko, 2010; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015.) In terms of learning attainment, previous studies have, on the whole, strongly indicated that CLIL has a positive effect on pupils' target language learning. However, the specific areas of language skills CLIL enhances the most vary, depending on the study. CLIL has been found to have a generally neutral effect on pupils' content learning. (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Graham et al., 2018; Pérez-Cañado, 2012.)

The data for this article were analyzed using qualitative thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The results showed that, in general, CLIL was a highly positive experience for the participants, who felt that it had motivated them and made their schooling more enjoyable. Some participants even raised issues of privilege and superiority as language users in the interviews. Many considered that these were partly constructed by the environment, as bilingual education was at that time generally perceived as more special and exotic than it is nowadays. Only a few participants came up with any negative remarks about their CLIL experience, and those that were made were mostly related to lower secondary school, where the implementation of CLIL was less systematic and more sporadic than in primary school. Moreover, most participants considered that CLIL had had a positive effect on their target language learning. Much importance was attributed to the early start of CLIL. Three-quarters of the participants felt that CLIL had had a particularly significant effect on their vocabulary and speaking skills, and one fifth emphasized the effect of CLIL on their listening skills. As regards content learning, two thirds of the participants perceived that CLIL had had a neutral effect, and one fifth hypothesized that CLIL might have even advanced their learning of the subject matter. Only a few participants reported experiencing minor difficulties in comprehension or wanting to have more language support in CLIL lessons.

On the whole, the article demonstrates that CLIL has the potential to motivate pupils and increase their school satisfaction, which echoes previous findings (e.g. Doiz et al., 2014; Lasagabaster, 2011; Pihko, 2007). The participants' perceptions also coincide with earlier research findings that, on average, CLIL seems to have a positive effect on target language learning and a neutral effect on content learning (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Graham et al., 2018; Pérez-Cañado, 2012). The results of this study in part encourage schools to implement CLIL already at lower primary level. The study also indicates that even a relatively small-scale CLIL program can have a positive effect on pupils' learning and schooling.

4.3   Article III

Roiha, A. (2019). *CLIL-opetuksen merkitys vuosina 1992–2001 peruskoulussa opiskelleiden aikuisten elämänkuluissa* [The significance of CLIL education in the life courses of adults who studied in comprehensive school between 1992 and 2001]. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Article III examined the participants' perceptions of the significance of CLIL education for their life courses. The article sheds light on the perceived effects of CLIL on the participants' lives on a practical level. The overarching research question for the article was: *What meanings do the participants give to the English language self-concept formed by CLIL as a constructor of their life courses?* Previous studies have shown that education and school experiences can have a role in directing one's life course (e.g. Kuronen, 2010; Pallas, 2000; Vanttaja, 2002). However, studying the effect of CLIL education on individuals' lives seems to be fairly unexplored terrain. The present study uses the term life course, which can be defined as an interdisciplinary framework to study human lives from different perspectives (Elder, 1998; Neale, 2015). That is, this study adheres to the view that individuals' lives are shaped in a nexus of biological, psychological, sociological, institutional, demographic and historical factors (Oris et al., 2009). In the article, the participants' life courses were analyzed applying Elder's (1998) key principles of life course perspective.

A narrative approach was applied in the data analysis and the participants' life courses were analyzed in relation to their English language self-concept (Mercer, 2011b). More specifically, the analysis relied on both analysis of narratives and narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995). That is, a narrative framework was created to analyze each interview as a holistic life story, which consisted of *introduction*, *episodes*, *evaluation* and *conclusion*. Additionally, patterns and similarities were identified in the participants' interviews. Four collective types were identified that encapsulated the participants' life courses as English users, and they were named as *confident users* (sankarit), *steady users* (vakaat), *fluctuating users* (aaltoilijat) and *reluctant users* (kipuilijat).

The results showed that the confident users' (n = 9) English self-concept had been very strong and stable throughout their life course and that English was still in active use in their lives. For example, English was the working language of three of the participants and five of them used English at work regularly. Six of them had lived abroad after comprehensive school. Regardless of their post-CLIL English experiences, many of them nevertheless emphasized the role of CLIL in creating the foundation for their English skills and self-concept. The steady users' (n = 7) English self-concept was similarly strong and stable even though they had not used English so systematically and frequently in their lives. They still trusted their English skills and perceived English as a natural language for them to use. As for the fluctuating users (n = 6), their attitude toward English seemed to have fluctuated more throughout the years. That is, in every case, their life course had contained both periods of high and low English self-concept. In general, they felt that their English proficiency had not subsequently brought them the same advantages as it had given them in primary and secondary school; a kind of nostalgia for their lost English skills was even identified in some of the interviews. Only two participants' English self-concept seemed to be quite negative, and they were given the name reluctant users. They had attended the CLIL class for only 4 and 6 years respectively, and English had played only a very marginal role in their subsequent lives.

On the whole, the results of this study suggest that CLIL education can have an important role in guiding and supporting individuals' various life stages and choices. In particular, many of the participants stressed the significance of early CLIL. The historical time and place was broadly reflected on in many of the participants' narrations (Elder, 1998): that is, in Finland in the 1990s CLIL education was not very common, and it was generally perceived as something unusual, certainly more so than it is now. The benefits from the language capital formed by CLIL have therefore probably been greater for the participants than they would be nowadays, for example in terms of study and working life. Most participants' overtly positive English self-concept, which was partly constructed by social comparisons and external feedback, had guided or supported many of their life choices, such as enrolling in an English-medium Master's degree program or moving abroad to study or work. However, regardless of the similar life trajectories, the participants' narrations were also characterized by their agency and conscious choices (Elder, 1998). In conclusion, the data illustrate that CLIL education can work as one factor in constructing individuals' life courses.

4.4   Article IV

Roiha, A., & Sommier, M. (2018). Viewing CLIL through the eyes of former pupils: Insights into foreign language and intercultural attitudes. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 18*(6), 631–647.

Article IV focused on the participants' perceptions of the long-term effects of CLIL on their attitudes to foreign languages and to interculturality. While it has been claimed that CLIL creates a positive attitude toward multilingualism and language learning in general, as well as developing pupils' intercultural awareness (Coyle, 2007; Coyle, Holmes, & King, 2009; Coyle et al., 2010; Marsh, 2000; Sudhoff, 2010), there have been relatively few empirical studies on these topics (e.g. González Rodríguez & Borham Puyal, 2012; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Méndez García, 2012, 2013). The present study used the term *intercultural attitudes* as an umbrella term to encompass various concepts related to intercultural communication, such as intercultural communication competence or intercultural awareness. The article provides information on the long-term effects of CLIL on an attitudinal level. The specific research question of the study was: *What are the participants' views on the effect of CLIL education on their foreign language and intercultural attitudes*? The data for this article were analyzed using theoretically oriented thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Eskola, 2018). The analysis resulted in three main themes related to foreign language and intercultural attitudes: (1) *the dominance of English,* (2) *other foreign languages* and (3) *(cultural) differences.*

Most participants considered that CLIL had had a very positive effect on their attitude to the English language; they reported that the learning of English had been easy, even effortless, and that they had always enjoyed using the

language. Many of them still used English actively, for instance at work. Some of them even considered that their proficiency in English gave them prestige among their co-workers. Overall, the participants' attitudes to other foreign languages, mostly German and Swedish, were rather negative, and the contrast with English in that respect was quite clear: the other languages were described for instance as "arduous", "difficult" or "useless". Many participants associated their difficulties in other foreign languages with CLIL. That is, the implicit learning of English through content was seen as disadvantageous to their learning of other foreign languages, which were taught more by the focus-on-form approach. Some participants said, for instance, that because of CLIL they had not acquired the strategies needed to learn a foreign language.

As regards intercultural attitudes, the participants were less unanimous. Some perceived that CLIL had directly affected their intercultural attitudes, for instance through the use of diverse teaching materials or the heterogeneity of the class. Others saw the effect of CLIL on their intercultural attitudes as more indirect: they felt that CLIL had provided them with sufficient language competence to successfully communicate and interact with people of different nationalities, which had resulted in a more positive attitude toward difference. However, some participants did not give a lot of credit to CLIL in developing their intercultural attitudes but rather emphasized the role of their home background or post-CLIL experiences. Some participants' intercultural attitudes were also somewhat ambivalent, reflecting a "Janusian vision of interculturality" (Dervin, 2011, p. 1), which means that intercultural issues are at times considered flexibly and individually, and at other times through rather fixed characteristics of a particular culture (Dervin, 2011).

This study partly supports the implementation of CLIL because it seems to have the potential to create a positive attitude toward the target language. However, the study also suggests that other foreign languages and multilingualism should be acknowledged more positively in CLIL settings, so that the target CLIL language does not prejudice the attitudes to and learning of other foreign languages. Finally, the study suggests that CLIL offers a potential venue for the development of pupils' intercultural attitudes. However, interculturality needs explicit attention also in CLIL contexts if it is to have the long-lasting, in-depth effects that some scholars have advocated for (e.g. Coyle, 2007; Sudhoff, 2010).

4.5   Article V

Roiha, A., & Mäntylä, K. (2019). 'It has given me this kind of courage…': The significance of CLIL in forming a positive target language self-concept. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1080/13670050.2019.1636761

Article V examined the effect of CLIL on the participants' target language self-concept. The aim of the article was to broaden the understanding of self-concept

in the CLIL context, as previous studies on the construct have been relatively few and their results have been somewhat inconsistent. Previous studies have also been mostly quantitative and have concerned pupils currently enrolled in CLIL. (Pihko, 2007; Rumlich, 2016; Seikkula-Leino, 2002, 2007.) This article offers insights into the long-term effects CLIL can have on pupils' self-perceptions as language learners and users. The specific research questions for this article were: 1) *How is the participants' (n = 24) English language self-concept manifested in the interviews?* and 2) *What factors do the participants identify as having influenced their English language self-concept?* The article was based on the theoretical underpinnings of self-concept as a dynamic, hierarchical and multidimensional construct that reflects people's self-perceptions (Marsh et al., 1988; Shavelson et al., 1976). More specifically, the term foreign language self-concept was used in the article to examine people's beliefs about themselves as language learners and users (Mercer, 2011b).

The data were analyzed following theory-oriented content analysis methods, using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Eskola, 2018). The analysis resulted in two main themes, that is, *the manifestation of English language self-concept* and *the factors influencing English language self-concept,* and their corresponding subthemes. The results showed that the majority of participants considered that CLIL had had a significant role in contributing to their very positive English language self-concept. Most participants reported that they were highly confident users of English and had experienced none or hardly any language anxiety. Even traces of superiority as language users could be identified in some participants' interviews, which in part reflects their highly robust and positive English language self-concept. Some participants' English language self-concept had, however, fluctuated more over the years. Some of them reported experiencing occasional downturns as English users or minor language anxiety, particularly when the interlocutor was a native speaker. University was a period of decline in some participants' English language self-concept. On the whole, the data showed that the participants' language self-concept was clearly more negative in other foreign languages. The data also showed that the participants' English self-concept varied slightly according to the specific language skills (e.g. speaking or writing self-concept).

The data revealed that most participants saw a direct relation between their positive English language self-concept and their CLIL experience. A lot of emphasis was given especially to the early start in CLIL, social comparisons, and external feedback. The participants felt that early CLIL had provided them with language proficiency and the confidence to use English in communication with foreigners which had then reinforced their positive English language self-concept. Many participants also said that their family members or their non-CLIL peers constituted a frame of reference for comparing their English skills, and that these comparisons had strengthened their strong English language self-concept even further.

The results of the study have both practical and theoretical resonances. On a practical level, the study suggests that CLIL education offers a potential vehicle for creating the foundation of a strong target language self-concept. The present study suggests that particularly early CLIL can be beneficial for forming

a positive target language self-concept. Furthermore, the fact that the target CLIL program was relatively small-scale (approximately 25 % of all teaching) supports the adoption of the CLIL methodology also in mainstream language education. On a theoretical level, the study proposes that the foreign language self-concept should be regarded as a fluid construct that varies with time and place and is constantly being constructed by various internal and external factors (Marsh, 1986; Mercer, 2011b; Pihko, 2007). The study also supports Mercer's (2011b) views that rather than an all-encompassing foreign language self-concept, it may be more reasonable to consider separate self-concepts for different foreign languages as well as even more domain-specific self-concepts within a language (see also Laine & Pihko, 1991).

5   DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND EVALUATION

This study sought to increase our understanding of the long-term effects of CLIL on pupils' lives, which is a perspective that has not previously been thoroughly addressed in research. Hitherto, CLIL studies have dealt with pupils currently enrolled in CLIL and most studies have focused on secondary pupils. Therefore, the present study contributes something new to the already abundant research on CLIL by throwing light on the long-term effects of the approach. In this chapter, the main results of the study and their practical implications are discussed, the methodological and theoretical implications are addressed, and finally there is an evaluation of the study.

5.1   The main results of the study and their implications

The main results of the present study can be summarized in 7 points. Many of the key findings permeate the whole dissertation, while some relate more specifically to certain articles in the dissertation. In this section, the most important findings of the study are outlined and the practical implications to be drawn from them are discussed. Each finding is substantiated by a quotation from one of the participants in the study.

5.1.1   CLIL as a vehicle to increase motivation

I think it was also quite interesting to do things in English.. that it's anyway more varied then. (Olli)

In general, the participants in the present research considered that CLIL increased their motivation to learn and use English. This becomes especially clear in Article II. The data show that the motivation originated from the use of English in meaningful communication and as a vehicle for content learning. This is in line with many other studies that have found that CLIL pupils are generally more motivated to learn the target language (mostly English) than

their non-CLIL peers (e.g. Doiz et al., 2014; Lasagabaster, 2011; Pihko, 2007; Seikkula-Leino, 2002, 2007).

As Olli's quotation illustrates, many participants felt that learning through a foreign language had increased their general motivation and made their learning more interesting. CLIL education seems to have been a very positive experience for the vast majority of the participants (see particularly Article II). An illustration of this is that all of the participants said that they would still choose to go through the same sort of schooling, and that they would also like their children to experience CLIL. Only very few participants expressed anything negative about CLIL, and those who did generally also declared that they had appreciated their CLIL time. This strongly reflects the fact that, overall, the participants regarded CLIL as a very positive and useful form of education, and acknowledged the assets it offers. The critical views were mostly suggestions for improvement and development of the program. These results echo those of previous studies, according to which most pupils tend to enjoy CLIL and consider it a motivating teaching approach (e.g. Coyle, 2013; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015).

The present study focused only on the participants' perceptions and did not have a comparison group. However, as background information, the 1990s was a decade of major cuts in school budgets in Finland, which was reflected in pupils' dissatisfaction with school (Linnakylä, 1993; Nikkanen, 1999). While pupils' attitudes toward school in Finland have generally become more positive in recent years, there are still a considerable number of pupils, particularly boys, who do not enjoy it (Harinen, Laitio, Niemivirta, Nurmi, & Salmela-Aro, 2015). Although the importance of motivation for learning and well-being at school is widely acknowledged (Harinen et al., 2015), there is a lack of consensus on what policies and educational approaches are conducive to pupils' satisfaction and happiness at school (OECD, 2017). The present study suggests that introducing foreign-language-medium teaching can stimulate students' interest in school and better engage them with learning, particularly with regard to the target language.

It is important to bear in mind that the participants' motivation and school satisfaction cannot solely be ascribed to CLIL but, rather, is likely to have been influenced by a number of factors that are partly interrelated. School satisfaction is a complex phenomenon that is influenced by a range of factors, including school work, social relations, the disciplinary climate or teachers' nature and actions (OECD, 2017). However, the participants' subjective perception was that their increased satisfaction with school was at least to some extent attributable to CLIL. This result should encourage more schools to implement CLIL, a trend that already seems to be emerging, as a recent municipal-level inquiry indicates that there is a growing interest in CLIL in many schools in Finland (Peltoniemi et al., 2018).

5.1.2 The significance of early CLIL

I think everyone should have an early start [with CLIL] because I feel that if you look at our class compared to others, our English skills were much better and it was like a lot

easier because we had got the small basis for it through songs and play, so kind of in a very simple way. (Anna)

Most CLIL programs in Europe have focused on secondary education (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Eurydice, 2006; Wolff, 2007). In the present study, the target CLIL program started in the first grade (pupils' age 7) and carried on until the end of lower secondary school (pupils' age 16), although it was more systematically implemented at primary level. In addition, eleven participants had received some minor CLIL instruction already in preschool. Elder's (1998) principle of timing suggests that the significance and consequences of one's life events vary according to their timing in one's life course. It has been proposed that school experiences from adolescence are generally more significant than those from early childhood (Dominicé, 2000; Kauppila, 2000). Many of the participants in the present study, however, stressed the importance of the early start of CLIL for creating the foundation of their English skills and self-concept (see especially Articles II, IV and V), which was generally seen as a stepping stone to their future English use. The participants expressed the view that they had come to take English-medium instruction for granted, that it had seemed to them to be a natural teaching approach, and that through CLIL they had acquired English imperceptibly. One example of this is that some of the participants claimed that they not always noticed whether the language of instruction was Finnish or English in a particular lesson.

One theme that can be associated with the early start of CLIL is the reciprocal relation between the participants' strong English self-concept, formed early on, and the situations in which they used the language. That is, the English proficiency they had acquired at a young age had enabled and encouraged the participants to use English meaningfully in communicative situations. For the participants, English had been a vehicle of action and learning rather than merely a target. The participants' views echo studies on early language learning, which have generally shown that pupils with an early start in language learning have a more positive attitude toward a foreign language and are more willing to use it than peers who have started later (e.g. de Bot, 2014; Muñoz & Singleton, 2011). Interestingly, a recent study by De Smet et al. (2019) showed that English-medium CLIL pupils (n = 202) regarded the target language as easier at secondary than at primary level. Overall, however, research results on the effect of early language learning purely on pupils' language proficiency have been inconclusive, although many studies have indicated that it can have substantial benefits for language learning (e.g. de Bot, 2014; Nikolov & Mihaljevic Djigunovic, 2011; Wilden & Porsch, 2016). It has been found that early foreign language learning does not seem to have a negative effect on the pupils' mother tongue (e.g. de Bot, 2014). Similarly, in Merisuo-Storm's (2007) study, early CLIL education did not have any negative effects on pupils' mother-tongue skills. On the contrary, a recent study with primary and secondary pupils (n =271) in Spain showed that CLIL pupils performed better in their Spanish language and literature assessment than their non-CLIL counterparts (Navarro-Pablo & López Gándara, 2019). In the present study, no measurements of the participants' language proficiencies were

conducted, so for instance their perceived superiority as English users was not empirically tested. However, there were several indicators of the participants' above-average level of English, such as their grades in the English language matriculation examination as well as the fact that they had used English so much in their lives.

On the whole, the finding that early CLIL affected positively participants' target language self-concept and created a positive attitude toward the target language argues for the implementation of CLIL already at (pre)primary level. Another important issue that arises from the present research is the continuity of CLIL from primary to secondary education. Pérez Cañado (2018) also advocates for a long-term CLIL experience; her study suggests that a proper CLIL education extending from primary to secondary education is particularly beneficial to pupils' language proficiency. The participants in the present study felt that CLIL was poorly implemented at lower secondary level and that the transition from primary to secondary CLIL had not been carefully thought through. Moreover, in upper secondary school the participants' CLIL experience was not generally acknowledged or taken into consideration in English lessons. One explanation for this could be the novelty of the program, since the participants were among the first to have CLIL in Finland, and teachers may therefore not have had the necessary knowledge and competence to rise to the challenges. Whether or not this was the case, as a result, a few participants mentioned issues of boredom and the lack of challenge when they had to join non-CLIL pupils in formal English lessons. This indicates the importance and value of paying attention to the whole length of CLIL pupils' educational paths and providing them throughout with appropriate challenges, for instance by means of systematic and purposeful differentiation (see e.g. Roiha, 2014).

5.1.3   The value of a small-scale CLIL program

I think that the amount of it [= CLIL] was very appropriate.. that if there would've been more of it, there is the risk that it comes too fast.. and you don't learn all the content.. so I think that it was very carefully thought out back then. (Maria)

CLIL encompasses several models of implementation, ranging from very extensive to relatively small-scale CLIL programs (Eurydice, 2006). The CLIL program referred to in the present study can be labeled small-scale since at primary level, approximately a quarter of all the teaching was English-medium. However, according to the national curriculum (FNBE, 2014), this amount would be enough to classify it as large-scale bilingual education (i.e. at least 25 % of all teaching). The results suggest, however, that even the relatively moderate amount of CLIL was enough to provide the pupils with a robust English self-concept and to create the foundation of their strong English skills, which had supported many of the participants in their subsequent lives. The vast majority of the participants themselves were satisfied with the amount of CLIL teaching: when reflecting on the issue retrospectively, only four participants considered that there could have been even more English-medium instruction (see Article

II). Others were content with the amount: they considered it was enough to equip them with a high level of English proficiency without any detrimental effects on their content learning. Some even speculated that a greater amount of CLIL could have been perceived negatively by their non-CLIL peers.

There is evidence that the intensity of bilingual education has perhaps an even greater effect on pupils' target language proficiency than their cumulative exposure (i.e. the starting age of bilingual education) (Lazaruk, 2007). Greater exposure to English could therefore arguably have resulted in an even higher English proficiency at the time. However, as already frequently stated, the participants seemed to emphasize the value of CLIL in providing them with a positive attitude to and self-concept in English, which were interpreted as significant for their future English learning and use.

This result is encouraging for schools that want to implement bilingual education but lack the resources needed to provide it very extensively. Implementing CLIL only in some subjects or in parts of the lessons does not call for the same teacher competence or teaching materials as CLIL programs in which the majority of the teaching is foreign-language-medium. In this study, the fact that the foreign language was used as a vehicle for authentic interaction and content learning seemed to be of importance to the participants. This result partly supports the implementation of CLIL methodology in language education in general. Modern technology makes it possible to incorporate communicative situations that require authentic international interaction into mainstream language teaching, too. Content learning could also be integrated with formal language teaching, something that is in line with the national curriculum, which gives importance to transdisciplinary learning and transversal competences (FNBE, 2014).

5.1.4 An overtly positive attitude toward English and a positive self-concept in English

I trust my language skills.. in a way that you have the courage to start speaking and you have.. like that vocabulary and so.. I would give a lot of credit to it [= CLIL] about this. (Annika)

Although language learning is a complex interplay of several factors, the role of affective features is considered to be significant in the learning process (Arnold, 2011; Krashen, 1986; Pavlenko, 2013). In line with that, the most salient results of the present study are the perceived effect of CLIL on the participants' target language attitudes and self-concept (see especially Articles IV and V). In this study, the English language self-concept was defined as a subcomponent of the global self-concept (Marsh et al., 1988), which represents people's broad beliefs about themselves as language learners and users (Mercer, 2011b). It has both cognitive and affective components (Arens at al., 2011; Pihko, 2007; Tracey et al., 2014). Attitudes can be seen as representing the affective part of self-concept (Arens at al., 2011; Pihko, 2007; Tracey et al., 2014), and are therefore subsumed under it.

In general, the participants perceived CLIL as contributing to their highly positive attitude toward English which, for many participants, seemed to have been relatively stable throughout their lives (see Article IV). Through CLIL, English had become a natural language for most participants and it had remained in active use in many of their lives. Although the issue has not been extensively addressed hitherto, previous research has indicated that CLIL typically creates a positive attitude toward the target language (e.g. Doiz et al., 2014; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Mearns et al., 2017; Pihko, 2007). It seemed that for most of the participants in the present study, their attitude toward English remained positive throughout their life courses. Although it can be assumed that the participants' positive attitudes toward English had been under constant construction, for instance, in their social interactions, they seemed to emphasize the role of early CLIL in its formation.

Similarly, the vast majority of participants seemed to have a very positive and robust English self-concept, which they also ascribed to CLIL (see Article V). This is in line with results obtained by Pihko (2007) and Rumlich (2016), who found that, on average, CLIL pupils had a very high target language self-concept. Interestingly, the English self-concept of most of the participants in the present study had been fairly stable during their adolescence and early adulthood, and they felt that it had supported many of their life stages. However, some participants' English self-concept had fluctuated more, and two participants were interpreted as having had a fairly negative English self-concept. For some of the participants, the absence of English in their lives appeared to have had an adverse effect on their English self-concept.

Within the broader CLIL framework, the participants identified several more specific factors that had affected their English self-concept. The most prominent of these were *the early start with CLIL*, *social comparisons* and *external feedback*. Particularly the social comparisons and external feedback may have had a more prominent role in contributing to the participants' English self-concept than would be the case nowadays, because CLIL was only just emerging in Finland in the 1990s. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the participants received 2 hours of formal English teaching every week in addition to CLIL from 3rd grade onwards; this also arguably contributed to their English self-concept. The participants emphasized that social comparisons with their non-CLIL peers regarding their English skills, particularly in secondary school, had further reinforced their strong English self-concept; this is in line with the big-fish-little-pond effect (Marsh & Seaton, 2015). Foreign language self-concept is considered to be formed in the interplay of several internal and external factors which cannot be fully distinguished from one another (Mercer, 2011b). This supports the view that the participants' positive attitudes toward English cannot be seen only as the result of CLIL, but may also partly reflect a more general language ideology, as English has been the most common and best known foreign language in Finland since the 1990s (Leppänen et al., 2011). However, the participants themselves emphasized the role of CLIL in the nexus of factors affecting their attitudes and self-concept in English, so the study in part implies the benefits of CLIL on an attitudinal level.

5.1.5 The role of other languages

When you compared it to that that English was so strong and it was so natural so then you didn't know how to start studying another language in a way by cramming and fighting for real. (Jonne)

In contrast to the overtly positive attitude toward and self-concept in English (i.e. the target CLIL language), many of the participants seemed to perceive other foreign languages (mostly German and Swedish) in a fairly negative light (see especially Articles IV and V). This finding is quite surprising as it contradicts most previous studies (e.g. Doiz et al., 2014; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Mearns et al., 2017; Pihko, 2007). However, on the whole, the issue has not been extensively studied, and further research is called for.

As Jonne's quotation implies, many participants associated their negative attitude and weak performance in other foreign languages with CLIL. Some participants, for instance, said that due to CLIL they had not acquired the skills needed to study a language. This is interesting, since the participants also got formal English teaching alongside their CLIL from 3rd grade onwards, so in addition to CLIL, they had been exposed to exactly the same amount of formal language teaching as their non-CLIL peers. What these perceptions may reflect is the contrast between the CLIL approach and traditional language teaching. That is, the participants considered that as English had already been a part of their content learning from 1st grade onwards, they had acquired basic English skills implicitly. Other foreign languages, mostly German and Swedish, which had started in the 4th and 7th grades respectively, had been taught focusing more on form. The juxtaposition of English and other foreign languages was very prominent in the data. The participants' negative attitude toward and low self-concept in other languages seemed to have partly reinforced their positive feelings about English. Arguably, the participants' language attitudes are a product of several factors, including the societal status of different languages or family influence. De Smet et al.'s (2019) study suggests that the target language seems to have a greater effect on language attitudes than the educational approach. However, the participants in the present study themselves seemed to associate the issue at least in part with CLIL.

Consequently, the study has implications for formal language teaching, as the results indicate that focusing on speaking and communicative language teaching may foster positive attitudes toward the target language. It is worth remarking that the participants in the present study attended comprehensive school mostly in the 1990s, after which oral communication and functional working approaches have been emphasized more in language teaching in Finland (FNBE, 2014; Tuokko, Takala, Koikkalainen, & Mustaparta, 2012). However, the extent to which these trends are being applied in practice may vary a great deal between individual schools and teachers. For instance, according to Pakula (2019), the teaching of oral skills is still often overshadowed by the focus on writing.

Additionally, in the CLIL context, it would be worth discussing multilingualism in a positive light and explicitly acknowledging a broad

repertoire of languages, as well as several varieties of the target language, so that the CLIL language would not take a hegemonic place in pupils' linguistic landscape. For instance, Finnish immersion education which has exposed pupils to four languages before the age of 12 has produced encouraging results in terms of positive attitudes toward all the different languages (Björklund & Mård-Miettinen, 2011). Nikula and Moore (2019) have explored the usefulness of translanguaging for CLIL. They define translanguaging as bilingual behavior in which teachers and pupils exploit their entire linguistic repertoire in meaning-making (Nikula & Moore, 2019). Although their article revolves largely around L1 use (Nikula & Moore, 2019), the principle of translanguaging as a pedagogical praxis covers the use of all languages in CLIL classrooms. Making connections to other foreign languages or employing pupils' different language backgrounds, in addition to the common language of instruction, therefore provide a natural way to normalize multilingualism in the CLIL context.

Another solution could be to offer more CLIL education in other languages than English; at the moment this seems to be relatively rare. According to Dalton Puffer (2011), for instance, the predominance of English as the CLIL target language is overwhelming. She has even coined the acronym "CEIL" (i.e. "content-and-English integrated learning") (p. 183) to more accurately describe most teaching approaches labeled CLIL (Dalton Puffer, 2011). Similarly, in Finland, English has indisputably been the most common CLIL language throughout the history of this teaching approach (Peltoniemi et al., 2018). Nikula and Moore (2019) see both advantages and disadvantages in the dominance of English as a CLIL language. On the one hand, English proficiency is an aid to functioning successfully in a global world, but on the other hand, the situation constitutes a problem if the strong focus on English reduces the appreciation of other languages (Nikula & Moore, 2019). A recent study by De Smet et al. (2019) indeed implies that it may be more beneficial from the point of view of socio-affective variables (i.e. motivation and language attitudes) to provide CLIL in other languages than English. Two of the participants in the present study thought, in their retrospective reflection on the issue, that if they were in CLIL today they would choose a CLIL language other than English, that is, Chinese or Arabic, as a command of these languages would be a better asset in global working life. Of course, finding teachers with the necessary ability in other languages would pose its own challenges.

Overall, the studying of foreign languages in Finland has become more limited and English has reinforced its position as the most common foreign language studied in schools (Pyykkö, 2017). Nationwide statistics also show that the linguistic landscape in Finland is becoming reduced more generally, which, in the light of what has been discussed above, can be considered an unfavorable trend (OSF, 2018). Recently, the controversy over the hegemonic status of English has spread to Finnish academia, as some people have raised concerns that the constant increase in the use of English in our universities will ultimately also be echoed in other social domains (Institute for the Languages of Finland, 2018).

5.1.6 The participants' limited intercultural awareness

I don't consider myself a racist in any way but.. the worst were Chinese.. and in some cases Russians. (Juho)

In the past few decades, intercultural communication has gained increasing visibility in language education (Byram, 1997; Council of Europe, 2011). Particularly foreign-language-medium teaching is proposed as an approach that can raise pupils' intercultural awareness (Coyle, 2007; Sudhoff, 2010). Interculturality was also touched upon in the official aims of the target program, which included the aim of providing pupils with tools that would enable them to take their place in an international society. For this reason, the participants' perceptions of the effect of CLIL on their intercultural attitudes were also included in the scope of the dissertation (see Article IV).

A number of participants worked in one way or another in an international work environment and many used English at work at least occasionally. Thus, the objective of CLIL leading to an international mind-set appeared to have been accomplished fairly successfully. Nevertheless, the participants seemed to have different perceptions of the effect of CLIL on their intercultural attitudes. A few participants saw a clear effect whereas many perceived the effect to be more indirect, mostly through their strong English self-concept. A few participants, in turn, saw no relation between CLIL and their intercultural attitudes. Some participants seemed to show some discrepancy in their testimonies, thus resembling Dervin's (2011) "Janusian vision of interculturality" (p. 1). One explanation for this might be that interculturality was not much focused on and was mostly dealt with indirectly, through foreign languages, materials and visitors.

Interculturality has received increasing research attention since the 1990s and it is therefore highly plausible that it is also more acknowledged nowadays in CLIL education. Generally speaking, there has been an upsurge of non-essentialist views, which has led to the use of the concept of *interculturality* rather than solely intercultural communication. Interculturality "is about changing, co-creating but also resisting, manipulating, and fighting" (Dervin, 2011, p. 40) and the term is therefore used to highlight the fluid nature of culture as co-constructed in interactions and discourses (Piller, 2017). However, these discourses have mostly circulated in academia, and whether these views have capitalized and resonated at the grass-roots level is open to doubt. With that in mind, some of the participants' limited and ambivalent intercultural attitudes, which the quotation from Juho accurately exemplifies, highlight the importance of addressing issues of interculturality in CLIL education systematically and explicitly if it is to have a profound and long-lasting effect. Many scholars have rightly pointed out that CLIL offers a possible context in which to develop positive intercultural attitudes (e.g. Coyle, 2007; Harrop, 2012; Méndez García, 2012; Sudhoff, 2010). English can be seen as a particularly favorable language through which to address interculturality as it is not tied to a single nation or speech community and it therefore offers more opportunities to interact with people from a range of cultures than some other languages

(Harrop, 2012). Analyzing different varieties of English spoken across the world in different cultural contexts might therefore increase pupils' intercultural awareness.

Despite the fact that the participants did not make many references to their teachers, the role of teachers in dealing with cultural issues at school and their ability to do so are crucial (Méndez García, 2013; Sommier & Roiha, 2018). Although the present study focused on the context of the 1990s, and more attention has been paid to interculturality in education since then (e.g. Jokikokko & Järvelä, 2013), pre- and in-service teachers' ability to discuss and address intercultural issues is still often inadequate (e.g. Dervin, 2016; Jokisalo et al., 2009; Roiha & Sommier, 2019). It is therefore imperative to develop the intercultural awareness of pre- and in-service (CLIL) teachers if they are going to be confident and competent in dealing with cultural issues at school (see e.g. Dervin, Moloney, & Simpson, 2019; Jokikokko, 2005). Jokikokko and Järvelä (2013) have argued that product orientation (i.e. emphasis on the outcome) and process orientation (i.e. emphasis on reflexivity) are alone insufficient to develop pre-service teachers' intercultural competence very profoundly. Instead, they have proposed an amalgam of both critical reflection and praxis to equip future teachers with appropriate intercultural competence (Jokikokko & Järvelä, 2013). Dervin (2016) put forward "the ten commandments of interculturality in education" (p. 103) that should guide all teachers' practices. Among them are for instance avoiding differentialism, focusing on intersectionality, being reflexive, and paying attention to language and power relations (Dervin, 2016). Similarly, Sommier and Roiha (2018) have suggested that teachers can foster pupils' intercultural awareness through small actions in their teaching and classroom discourse, such as focusing on similarities (while not dismissing differences) both within and across countries, as well as critically analyzing all cultural practices and the reasons behind them.

Another critical aspect of intercultural education relates to teaching materials, which have a central role in stimulating pupils' intercultural interest, both in their content and in the way that they are used. Some promising findings about the materials used and pupils' increasing self-reflexivity have been found in CLIL contexts (e.g. González Rodrígues & Borham Puyal, 2012; Méndez García, 2013). In the present study, the participants did make some references to the foreign materials used in their CLIL lessons. However, the material originated mostly in North American and British contexts and represented only certain types of cultural realities. There are certainly some challenges in the use of materials to develop intercultural awareness in CLIL settings. For instance, the focus on one language limits the scope to certain cultural areas. Specifically, in the case of English it is crucial to use a wide repertoire of materials from both "the inner circle countries" (e.g. the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand) as well as from "the outer and expanding circle countries" (e.g. India, Nigeria, Jamaica etc.) (Kachru, 1985/2006) to convey a broad perspective of language use and language users and to deconstruct the one-sided stereotype of an English native speaker.

5.1.7 English as a constructor and supporter of life courses

It [= CLIL] has been a very positive experience.. it has given me this feeling that I am very skillful and able.. it's somehow been this kind of.. again I'll say this word but a tool.. or like a real master key to other interesting things and worlds and.. it has been like a very positive thing and surely very significant for my life path. (Jaana)

Education has been shown before to have an effect on people's lives (e.g. Oreopoulos & Salvanes, 2011; Pallas, 2000). The role of education and school experiences have also been examined in several Finnish doctoral dissertations (e.g. Kauppila, 2002; Kuronen, 2010; Moore, 2003). However, the life course perspective has not previously been applied in CLIL studies. Therefore the present study has filled an important research gap. The participants' diverse and complex life courses were examined through their English language self-concept (see particularly Article III) and analyzed in relation to Elder's (1998) life course principles (see also Bengtson et al., 2005; Elder et al., 2003). Despite their individual life courses, many similarities could be detected in the participants' lives in terms of their English use. Partly due to CLIL, English had become a natural and intrinsic part of many of the participants' lives and they perceived it as, at least to some extent, significant in constructing and supporting their life courses. CLIL was generally seen as a central factor in creating the participants' strong English skills and it was regarded as a stepping stone to the further learning of English. Correspondingly, the participants' English proficiency had benefited them in many of life's domains and had enabled them to make certain types of life choices.

Many participants particularly emphasized the significance of early CLIL in creating a basis for their subsequent English use. The study also exemplifies the interconnectedness of people's lives. That is, the participants' life courses were constructed in a constant interplay with their peers and significant others. From an institutional viewpoint, CLIL education can be seen as directing pupils to certain types of educational or career paths that require mastery of the target CLIL language. The present study suggests that CLIL, and the English skills and robust English self-concept it had created, had enabled many participants to successfully function in an international world and had directed them to work that requires strong English proficiency. Nonetheless, the participants' agency was also very prominent in the data, and many of their life courses were defined by conscious choices that were made within the confines of the present historical and social circumstances. A few participants' life courses even contained traces of exploration (Settersten, 2007), as their privileged backgrounds and strong English skills had enabled them to actively explore and try out various educational and career alternatives. It therefore seemed that for some participants, English had brought both financial and nonpecuniary benefits to their lives.

When interpreting the effect of CLIL on the participants' life courses, one must keep in mind the timing of their schooling, which arguably had at least some effect on how the participants' CLIL education has been capitalized in their later lives. Indeed, Finns' language skills have developed substantially

during the past 20 years while the correlation between education and language skills has decreased significantly (OSF, 2018). It is therefore very likely that CLIL education now (particularly English-medium) would not bring the same privileges and advantages for instance in higher education and working life as it has for the participants in the present study. What the results of this study also indicate is that bilingual education does not guarantee a certain type of life course, but the language skills and positive target language self-concept acquired from it can work as one factor in guiding and constructing it, whatever form it takes. It also seems that CLIL can work as a facilitator in the language acquisition process rather than just guarantee a strong language base. Extramural exposure to and post-school experiences with the language also play an important role (see also Aro & Mikkilä-Erdmann, 2015). This study shows, however, that CLIL can provoke an interest in the language and direct pupils to meaningful language use in the future. In conclusion, even though CLIL does not automatically determine individuals' life courses, the participants' post-CLIL lives and the meanings they give to their CLIL experience in the present study nevertheless provide a solid justification for implementing CLIL.

5.2 Theoretical and methodological implications

In addition to the practical implications, the present study also expands our understanding of CLIL from a psychological perspective. In particular, the main theoretical contribution of this dissertation relates to self-concept. The data of the present study substantiate the view that foreign language self-concept should be perceived as a dynamic, multi-layered and situational construct that is formed in a nexus of various internal and external factors (Mercer, 2011b; Pihko, 2007). The research also highlights the salience of the affective component in English self-concept (see also Arens et al., 2011; Pihko, 2007; Tracey et al., 2014). The data revealed, further, both that the participants' self-concept varied substantially in different languages, and that there was some variation too in the participants' task level self-concepts in English (see Laine & Pihko, 1991). These results point to the need to consider specific self-concepts for different foreign languages as well as even more domain-specific self-concepts within a language, such as EFL writing, speaking or reading self-concepts (see also Laine & Pihko, 1991; Mercer, 2011b; Walker, 2015). This research also indicates the need to conduct more studies on affect and self-beliefs in the CLIL context, as positive attitudes toward English and self-concept in English were identified as the most salient features in the data.

The present study utilized both micro- and macrodynamic approaches to the study of life courses (Neale, 2015), although the emphasis was on the former. In other words, the participants' individual lives were analyzed taking into consideration the surrounding societal, historical and cultural context. The study suggests that in order to obtain a multifaceted picture of individuals' lives, life courses should be conceptualized as an interplay of several factors.

The present study approached life courses through both psychological and sociological lenses. As this was a qualitative study, more data, together with a quantitative approach, are needed to gain a more comprehensive overview of the macro-level factors affecting CLIL pupils' life courses.

As regards interculturality, this dissertation offers insights into the gap between constructionist approaches to interculturality in research, and the way intercultural communication is often defined in schools and curricula. The CLIL program in which the participants were enrolled dates back to the 1990s, but the shortcomings in the teaching of intercultural communication that can be identified from that time are still evident today (e.g. Cole & Meadows, 2013; Dervin, 2016; Gorski, 2008; Kubota, 2004). Although much research has been done within the field of intercultural communication about the pitfalls of essentialism, the research outcomes have not been extensively translated into educational practice. This dissertation therefore underlines the need to conduct interdisciplinary work to bridge the gap between the latest research in the fields of intercultural communication and education.

On a methodological level, this dissertation indicates the advantages of extending the retrospective examination of CLIL through an emic perspective. First of all, giving voice to pupils themselves can uncover new perspectives that have been previously unnoticed (see also Pladevall-Ballester, 2015). Particularly with regard to affectivity in learning, which is not often manifested in behavior, pupils themselves have a lot of valuable information that is vital to practitioners. Secondly, investigating childhood experiences retrospectively means that participants are more likely to possess both the skills and the vocabulary to critically examine their earlier practices (in this case CLIL), which young pupils may lack. This study also advocates the use of qualitative approaches to fully grasp the complex and multifaceted nature of individuals' self-beliefs and perceptions. The discrepancies in some of the participants' testimonies imply that quantitative inquiries can sometimes produce invalid results, due perhaps to misunderstandings or social desirability bias (see Article IV). This is illustrated in the present study by the issues of language anxiety and intercultural attitudes. Finally, the present study contributes to the discussion of the validity of data collection methods in qualitative research. The study utilized acquaintance interviews (see Garton & Copland, 2010), which can be viewed as potentially uncovering interviewees' genuine perceptions better than traditional interviews. In the present study, for example, some participants' opinions about interculturality may have emerged only due to the friendly rapport between the interviewer and interviewees.

5.3   Evaluation of the study

No study is perfect, so the present study also contains certain limitations and shortcomings that are worth addressing. The pitfalls of interviewing, particularly with regard to acquaintance interviews, have already been discussed in Chapter 3. The entire research process has been described in detail

in order to increase the transparency and reliability of the research. In this section, the focus is on the evaluation of the whole research process.

Evaluating the quality of a piece of research is complex. Particularly in qualitative work, the traditional concepts of reliability, validity and generalizability can be somewhat problematic. For instance, according to Eskola and Suoranta (1998), there are three possible ways of assessing qualitative work: 1) applying the traditional concepts of reliability and validity, 2) developing new meanings for the existing concepts or 3) creating entirely new concepts for the evaluation of the study. The present study primarily relies on concepts that have been created specifically for qualitative work to replace the traditional concepts of reliability, validity and generalizability. For instance, to replace generalizability, Eskola and Suoranta (1998) suggested the term *transferability* in qualitative work. It is also assumed in the present study that the results can be transferred to other contexts under certain conditions, even though no firm generalizations can be made based on them. According to Laine (2018), despite the uniqueness of experiences in hermeneutics, the perceptions of people in the same group can reveal something general. Similarly, constructivism posits that although realities are socially constructed, the members of the same community can have a similar experience of that reality (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

As the present study approached the participants' interviews partly as narratives and employed narrative analysis in one of the articles (Article III), a narrative lens is adopted and applied for the examination of the quality of the research. Heikkinen, Huttunen, Syrjälä and Pesonen (2012) replaced the concept of validity with validation, which they see as a continuous process of interpretation. They put forward five principles for the validation of narrative research (see also Heikkinen, 2018; Heikkinen, Huttunen, & Syrjälä, 2007). Their first principle, *the principle of historical continuity*, posits that the temporal and historical characteristics of the participants and the larger research setting are made visible and accounted for. The principle also relates to the concept of *emplotment*, that is, how logical and coherent a description of events the narrative creates. (Heikkinen et al., 2012.) With regard to this principle, the participants' CLIL education started already more than 25 years ago, after which CLIL practices have arguable evolved. This needs to be acknowledged and remembered when drawing implications. Therefore, to give the reader a more accurate perception of the nature of CLIL education in the target school, the context of the study is described in detail. Additionally, the time period during which the participants were enrolled in the CLIL class is central on a macro-level, since the effects of CLIL on the participants' English self-concept and life course may have been more significant than they will be for today's CLIL pupils. In the 1990s, teaching through a foreign language was brand new and plausibly perceived as more special than it is nowadays. This has most likely had an influence on the participants' English self-concept, a point that was also brought up by some of the participants (see Article V). Furthermore, English did not then have such a prominent role in Finnish society as it has today, so the English language proficiency and self-concept acquired through CLIL have probably brought more advantages to the participants in terms of their education and work than they would bring nowadays.

The second principle, *the principle of reflexivity*, assumes that the researcher is aware of his/her own pre-understanding and knowledge of the research object and acknowledges its influence, as well as his/her own contribution in creating the narrative, on the entire research process. The principle also assumes that the onto-epistemological underpinnings of the research are articulated and that the research methodology and analysis process are described transparently. (Heikkinen et al., 2012.) As a member of the target class, the researcher had a personal and emic perspective on the CLIL context. This added an ethnographic element to the research. However, the main focus of the research was the participants' perceptions and later life course, which were analyzed in relation to their CLIL experience. The starting point for this research was the researcher's personal experience of CLIL as a constructor of his own life course. The aim of the research was to investigate whether, and to what extent, something similar had also occurred in the participants' lives. Regardless of his personal experience, the researcher tried to remain as objective as possible and use an inductive approach as much as possible. For the sake of transparency, the researcher has endeavored to describe the context of the study as well as the data collection and analysis very rigorously. Moreover, the onto-epistemological underpinnings of the research are discussed in Section 3.1. and taken into account throughout the research process.

The third principle, *the principle of dialectics*, embodies the concepts of *dialogue*, *polyphony* and *authenticity*. Based on social constructivism, it postulates that realities are jointly constructed in interpersonal communication. The principle presumes that different and dissonant voices are included in the research and that the participants' own voices as protagonists are heard there as authentically as possible. (Heikkinen et al., 2012.) Due to the shared experience and prior relationship between the researcher and the participants, meanings and memories were partly constructed in a dialogue. The degree of co-construction varied from one interview to another. As regards polyphony in the research, although CLIL seemed to be a highly positive experience for the vast majority of the participants, a few of them nevertheless voiced some negative views, which were also incorporated in the research (especially Articles II and III). This issue may even have been overemphasized in the articles, as underachieving and challenges at school have been at the core of the researcher's interests both professionally and academically (see Roiha, 2013, 2014; Roiha & Polso, 2018). However, it is possible that due to the nature of qualitative analysis, certain voices may have unintentionally been disregarded in the dissertation.

The fourth principle, *the principle of workability and ethics*, in essence relates to the types of effects the research has on social practices as well as on the research field. It also encompasses the ethical side of the research: how the ethical dimensions of the research have been dealt with and what repercussions may follow from the participants' participation in the research. (Heikkinen et al., 2012.) Even though this dissertation is a qualitative case study and examined the participants' subjective perceptions, which were constructed from their current realities, the study nevertheless suggests the potential of CLIL, particularly with regard to target language self-concept and life course.

However, it is important to acknowledge that some of the results may be specific only to this particular CLIL context. Then again, as CLIL is an umbrella term for a myriad of different models, the results of any CLIL study are more or less context specific. It is also worth remarking that this dissertation relied solely on the participants' subjective perceptions; no actual measurements were made of their English proficiency. However, some indications of the participants' English skills can be found, for instance from their matriculation examinations, in which the majority obtained the highest grade. Furthermore, the fact that the participants seemed to possess a strong English language self-concept is a valuable result on its own, as it can be seen as a preferred outcome of any type of language education.

As regards the ethics of the research, steps were taken to ensure that the participants were aware of the purpose of the research and how the data would be used. Those who took part in the research were all very willing to do so, and some of them even questioned the use of pseudonyms to increase their anonymity. The researcher has attempted to preserve the participants' anonymity as well as possible: for instance, in addition to the pseudonyms, the participants' life courses were presented through collective narratives. Obviously, the fact that the participants are former classmates of the researcher poses problems for their full anonymity. This was, however, carefully explained to the participants so that they would be aware of this before agreeing to take part in the study.

Finally, the fifth principle, *the principle of evocativeness*, relates to how effectively the research provokes the reader on both cognitive and affective levels; that is, how successfully it raises thoughts and insights as well as feelings and emotions, thus being partly contingent on how the research report has been written. (Heikkinen et al., 2012.) This means that this last principle can only be assessed by the readers of this research report. As only one of the articles in this dissertation applied narrative approach, most articles are written in a relatively standard way, following the conventions of a research paper. However, as is typical for qualitative research reports, a lot of quotations from the data were selected to illustrate the results and the interpretations made while simultaneously enlivening the text.

The present study set out to be a first step toward further studies on former pupils' retrospective reflections on CLIL. As this is a qualitative case study, no firm generalizations can be made based on it. Further studies are therefore needed both in Finland and internationally to get a more comprehensive view of the topic. The study also opens up several other avenues for future research. First, the participants' negative attitudes toward other foreign languages (including their L1, for some) and their low self-concept in them raise the need for further examination of the issue. Second, in line with previous studies (e.g. Coyle, 2013; Hunt, 2011; Massler, 2012; Pihko, 2010; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015), the present study also included a few participants who appeared to have struggled with CLIL. Weak learners' participation in CLIL education is a relatively under-researched, yet very important, topic that calls for future inquiry. Overall, the findings of this qualitative case study argue

for further investigation of the issue of former pupils' perceptions in various CLIL contexts, for instance by employing mixed methods.

YHTEENVETO (FINNISH SUMMARY)

Tässä väitöstutkimuksessa tarkastellaan entisten oppilaiden kokemuksia vieraalla kielellä annettavan opetuksen eli CLIL-opetuksen (Content and Language Integrated Learning) merkityksellisyydestä heidän elämänkuluissaan. Toistaiseksi kaksikielisen opetuksen vaikutuksia yksilöiden elämään ei ole juurikaan tutkittu. Väitöskirja koostuu pilottitutkimuksesta (*artikkeli I*) sekä neljästä osatutkimuksesta (*artikkelit II–V*). Pilottitutkimus tehtiin kesällä 2016 ja siinä haastateltiin kahta aikuista, joista toinen oli aloittanut englanninkieliset CLIL-opintonsa ensimmäisellä luokalla vuonna 1991 ja toinen kolmannella luokalla vuonna 1993. He muistelivat CLIL-aikaansa erittäin myönteisesti ja kokivat, että CLIL-opetuksen myötä englannin kielestä oli tullut luontainen osa heidän elämäänsä. Osallistujat arvioivat, että CLIL-opetus oli muodostanut heille vahvan englannin kieliminän sekä positiivisen asenteen kieltä kohtaan. Nämä puolestaan olivat osaltaan ohjanneet heidän elämänkulkujaan. CLIL-opetus oli myös herättänyt heidän kiinnostuksensa eri kulttuureihin. Pilottitutkimus muun muassa auttoi aineistonkeruumenetelmän eli teemahaastattelun kehittämisessä.

Varsinaisessa tutkimuksessa perehdyttiin yksityiskohtaisemmin entisten oppilaiden kokemuksiin englanninkielisestä CLIL-opetuksesta haastattelemalla 24:ää osallistujaa. Tutkimusprosessia ohjaavana laajana tutkimuskysymyksenä oli: *miten osallistujat kokevat CLIL-opetuksen vaikuttaneen elämäänsä?* Osallistujat olivat saaneet CLIL-opetusta samalla luokalla peruskoulussa vuosien 1992–2001 aikana. Osa oli saanut jo tätä ennen esikoulussa pienimuotoista CLIL-opetusta. Sekä pilottitutkimuksen että varsinaisen tutkimuksen osallistujat kävivät samaa peruskoulua, jossa englanninkielinen CLIL-opetus aloitettiin vuonna 1991. Tutkimuksen haastatteluaineiston analyysissa hyödynnettiin sekä teema-analyysia (artikkelit I, II, IV ja V) että narratiivien ja narratiivista analyysia (artikkeli III). Teema-analyysissa nojauduttiin Braunin ja Clarken (2006) sekä Tuomen ja Sarajärven (2018) ohjenuoriin. Analyysiprosessia voidaan pitää induktiivisen ja deduktiivisen analyysin välimuotona, jolloin se muistutti pitkälti teoriasidonnaista analyysia (Eskola, 2018). Analyysin muoto vaihteli myös osin artikkelien välillä, sillä esimerkiksi artikkelin II analyysia voidaan luonnehtia enemmän deduktiiviseksi, kun taas artikkeleiden V ja IV analyysi noudatteli enemmän induktiivisen analyysin periaatteita.

Teema-analyysissa litteroitu haastatteluaineisto koodattiin käsin ja kunkin artikkelin kohdalla tutkimuskysymyksiin liittyvät aineistokohdat valittiin tarkempaan analyysiin. Koodikategorioita yhdistelemällä ja lajittelemalla muodostettiin laajempia teemoja, joista tarkemman analyysin avulla päädyttiin lopullisiin teemoihin. Tutkijatriangulaatio (Patton, 2002) toteutui artikkelien IV sekä V kohdalla, jolloin aineistoa analysoitiin ja teemoiteltiin osin kahden tutkijan voimin. Narratiivisessa analyysissa puolestaan osallistujien elämänkulut analysoitiin kokonaisuuksina ja niiden analyysissa hyödynnettiin nelivaiheista juonirakennetta: johdanto, tapahtumat, arviointi ja lopetus. Varsinaisen tutkimuksen neljä artikkelia tarkastelevat yksityiskohtaisemmin eri teemoja suhteessa laajaan tutkimuskysymykseen.

Artikkeli II toimii johdantona muille artikkeleille, sillä siinä osallistujat pohtivat CLIL-opetuksen aikaisia kokemuksiaan. Artikkelissa paneuduttiin osallistujien yleiseen CLIL-opetusta koskevaan suhtautumiseen sekä heidän näkemyksiinsä opetusmuodon vaikutuksista heidän kouluviihtyvyyteensä sekä oppimiseensa. Tutkimus osoitti, että CLIL-opetus oli ollut todella positiivinen kokemus osallistujille ja osaltaan lisännyt heidän kouluviihtyvyyttään. Samanlaisia tuloksia on aiemmin saatu tutkimuksen tekohetkellä CLIL-opetuksessa opiskelleista oppilaista (esim. Pihko, 2010; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015). Enemmistö osallistujista oli tyytyväisiä CLIL-opetuksen määrään, joka oli alakoulussa ollut noin 25 prosenttia kaikesta opetuksesta. Ainoastaan neljä osallistujaa kertoi toivoneensa, että CLIL-opetusta olisi ollut enemmän. Tämä koski lähinnä yläkoulua, jossa CLIL-opetuksen määrä oli alakoulua vähäisempää. Yleisesti ottaen osallistujat kokivat, että CLIL-opetus oli selvästi kehittänyt heidän englannin taitoaan, erityisesti suullista kielitaitoa sekä sanastoa. Suurin osa puolestaan koki, että CLIL-opetuksella oli ollut neutraali vaikutus heidän sisällönoppimiseensa. Sen sijaan noin viidesosa osallistujista spekuloi, että CLIL-opetus oli saattanut jopa edistää heidän sisällönoppimistaan. Ainoastaan kolme osallistujaa toi esiin satunnaisia vaikeuksia oppisisältöjen omaksumisessa vieraalla kielellä.

Artikkeli III käsitteli CLIL-opetuksen roolia laajemmin osallistujien elämänkulkujen rakentajana. Elämänkulut määriteltiin ajallisesti eteneviksi prosesseiksi, joihin vaikuttavat yksilön omien valintojen ja ratkaisujen lisäksi muun muassa elämän ajallinen ja paikallinen konteksti sekä lähiympäristö (Elder, 1998). Osallistujien elämänkulkuja analysoitiin suhteessa heidän englannin kieliminäänsä eli heidän käsityksiinsä, tietoihinsa ja toiveisiinsa itsestään (englannin) kielenoppijana (Laine & Pihko, 1991). Osallistujien elämänkuluista muodostettiin heidän englannin kieliminänsä perusteella neljä tyyppiluokkaa, jotka olivat sankarit, vakaat, aaltoilijat sekä kipuilijat. Sankareilla (n = 9) kieliminä oli vahva ja englanti oli ollut isossa osassa heidän elämässään niin opiskelu- kuin työvalinnoissakin. Vakaiden (n = 7) kieliminä näyttäytyi niin ikään vahvana, vaikkei englanti ollut kuulunut yhtä olennaisesti heidän elämäänsä. Aaltoilijoilla (n = 6) suhde englantiin oli puolestaan heilahdellut vuosien saatossa. Heistä enemmistö koki osin kadottaneensa englannin tuoman itsevarmuuden ja etulyöntiaseman yleisimmin joko korkeakoulussa tai työelämässä. Ainostaan kahden osallistujan suhde englantiin näyttäytyi varsin negatiivisena, jolloin heidät sijoitettiin kipuilijoiden luokkaan. Englanti oli ollut hyvin marginaalisessa roolissa heidän elämässään ja heidän kielenkäyttötilanteitaan olivat leimanneet epävarmuus ja jännitys. Kokonaisuudessaan iso osa osallistujista koki CLIL-opetuksen olleen ainakin jokseenkin merkityksellinen elämänkulkujensa rakentajana. CLIL-opetus oli rakentanut pohjan osallistujien vahvalle kieliminälle, joka oli osaltaan ohjannut tai tukenut elämän tärkeitä vaiheita ja käännekohtia, kuten opiskelua ja työelämää.

Artikkeli IV tarkasteli sitä, miten osallistujat kokivat CLIL-opetuksen vaikuttaneen heidän kieliasenteisiinsa sekä kulttuurienvälisyyteen liittyviin asenteisiinsa. Teoreettisella tasolla CLIL-opetuksen on esitetty kehittävän oppilaiden kulttuurienvälistä tietoisuutta (Coyle, 2007; Coyle ym., 2009;

Méndez García, 2012) sekä luovan positiivista asennetta vieraita kieliä ja kieltenopiskelua kohtaan (Coyle ym., 2010; Marsh, 2000). Empiiriset tutkimukset aiheista ovat kuitenkin vähäisiä ja moni aiemmista tutkimuksista on ollut määrällinen tai keskittynyt sillä hetkellä CLIL-opetuksessa olleisiin oppilaisiin (esim. Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Méndez García, 2012; Seikkula-Leino, 2002, 2007). Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat, että osallistujat kokivat CLIL-opetuksen vaikuttaneen positiivisesti heidän asenteeseensa englannin kieltä kohtaan. Useimpien myönteinen asenne englantiin oli pysynyt varsin vakaana ja muuttumattomana läpi heidän elämänkulkunsa. Mielenkiintoisesti moni koki CLIL-opetuksen ja sen muodostaman vahvan englannin aseman vastaavasti heikentäneen heidän suhtautumistaan muihin vieraisiin kieliin ja vaikeuttaneen niiden oppimista, mikä on ristiriidassa aikaisempien tutkimusten kanssa (esim. Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Merisuo-Storm, 2007). Moni painotti, kuinka he olivat CLIL-opetuksen vuoksi omaksuneet englannin implisiittisesti kieltä käyttämällä. Vastaavasti muiden kielten (pääosin saksan ja ruotsin) opetuksen koettiin olleen enemmän eksplisiittistä kieliopin opetusta (ns. focus-on-form). Osallistujien näkemykset CLIL-opetuksen vaikutuksesta heidän kulttuurienvälisiin asenteisiinsa eivät olleet yhtä yksimielisiä. Osa haastateltavista kuitenkin koki, että CLIL oli herättänyt kiinnostuksen eri kulttuureihin ja lisännyt erilaisuuden ymmärrystä esimerkiksi käytetyn oppimateriaalin tai luokan heterogeenisuuden kautta. Toiset taas näkivät CLIL-opetuksen vaikutuksen heidän kulttuurienvälisiin asenteisiinsa epäsuoremmin. Heidän mukaansa CLIL-opetuksen muodostama vahva englannin kielitaito oli mahdollistanut kommunikoinnin ja vuorovaikutuksen erimaalaisten ihmisten kanssa, mikä oli osaltaan johtanut myönteiseen suhtautumiseen erilaisuutta kohtaan. Osa osallistujista ei puolestaan antanut juurikaan painoarvoa CLIL-opetukselle kulttuurienvälisten asenteidensa kehittymisessä, vaan he korostivat enemmän muun muassa kotitaustan tai koulun ulkopuolisten kokemusten tärkeyttä. Tämän lisäksi muutaman osallistujan kulttuurienväliset asenteet vaikuttivat olevan jokseenkin ambivaltteja ja osaltaan heijastelivat Dervinin (2011) lanseeraamaa käsitettä *Janusian vision of interculturality* eli tapaa, jossa kulttuureja tarkastellaan toisinaan dynaamisina ja toisinaan tietyille joukoille kuuluvina kiinteinä ominaisuuksina.

Artikkeli V puolestaan analysoi sitä, millaisena osallistujien englannin kieliminä näyttäytyi heidän elämässään ja millaisen roolin he antoivat CLIL-opetukselle sen luomisessa. Kieliminän käsitteellistämisessä nojauduttiin Mercerin (2011b) sekä Pihkon (2007) teoretisointiin. CLIL-kontekstissa kieliminää on aikaisemmin tarkasteltu vain muutamissa tutkimuksissa (Pihko, 2007; Rumlich, 2016; Seikkula-Leino, 2002, 2007). Enemmistö osallistujista koki CLIL-opetuksen luoneen pohjan vahvalle englannin kieliminälle, joka oli tukenut monen osallistujan eri elämänvaiheita. Huolimatta ajoittaisista heilahduksista osallistujien kieliminässä sekä pienestä vaihtelusta eri kielitaidon osa-alueissa, pääosalla englannin kieliminä vaikutti kokonaisuudessaan pysyneen varsin vahvana ja vakaana. Tutkimuksessa paneuduttiin myös kieliminään vaikuttaviin tekijöihin, jotka usein jaotellaan ulkoisiin ja sisäisiin (Marsh, 1986; Mercer, 2011b). Tässä tutkimuksessa

voimakkaimmin kieliminään vaikuttavina tekijöinä esiin nousivat sosiaaliset vertailut sekä ulkoinen palaute. Tämän lisäksi osallistujat korostivat varhaisen CLIL-opetuksen merkitystä vahvan kieliminänsä rakentajana. CLIL-opetuksen varhain luoma englannin kielitaito oli osaltaan rohkaissut osallistujia hakeutumaan englanninkielisiin kielenkäyttötilanteisiin. Myönteiset kokemukset näissä tilanteissa olivat puolestaan vastavuoroisesti entisestään vahvistaneet osallistujien vahvaa kieliminää.

Kokonaisuudessaan tämä väitöstutkimus havainnollistaa sitä, kuinka iso rooli CLIL-opetuksella voi olla yksilöiden elämänkuluissa. Osallistujat korostivat erityisesti varhaisen CLIL-opetuksen merkityksellisyyttä. Tutkimuksen tapauskoulun CLIL-opetus alkoi jo ensimmäisellä luokalla ja osa oli saanut pienimuotoista CLIL-opetusta jo esikoulussa. Näin ollen tutkimus osaltaan kannustanee kuntia lisäämään erityisesti varhaisen CLIL-opetuksen tarjontaa ja tukee myös koulutuspoliittista linjausta panostaa varhaiseen kieltenopetukseen (esim. Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö, 2018). Euroopassa CLIL-opetusta on yleisimmin toteutettu yläkouluissa ja lukioissa (Dalton-Puffer, 2011). Varhaisella kielenopetuksella on kuitenkin todettu olevan positiivinen vaikutus oppilaisiin erityisesti asenteellisella tasolla (esim. Muñoz & Singleton, 2011). Vaikka varhennettu kieltenopetus ei olekaan suoraan verrattavissa CLIL-opetukseen, siinä on kuitenkin usein vastaavanlaisia piirteitä, kuten toiminnallisuutta tai kommunikoinnin painottamista. Tämän lisäksi vieraiden kielten opetuksessa olisi hyvä toteuttaa enemmänkin kielen ja sisällön integraatiota. Esimerkiksi eri oppiaineiden oppisisältöjä voitaisiin opiskella myös formaalin englannin tunnilla, mikä olisi myös hyvin linjassa oppiainerajat ylittävää ja laaja-alaista oppimista painottavan opetussuunnitelman kanssa (FNBE, 2014). Huomioitavaa on, että tapauskoulun CLIL-opetus oli varsin pienimuotoista (n. 25 prosenttia opetuksesta). Tämä osaltaan kannustaa kuntia ja kouluja CLIL-opetuksen tarjonnan lisäämiseen, sillä pienimuotoisen CLIL-opetuksen toteuttaminen ei vaadi samanlaisia resursseja kuin laajamittaisemmat CLIL-ohjelmat. Tämän tutkimuksen perusteella pienimuotoinen CLIL-opetus voi kuitenkin olla potentiaalinen koulutusmuoto erityisesti vahvan kielipohjan ja positiivisen asenteen luomisen näkökulmasta. Positiivisesti kiinnostus CLIL-opetusta kohtaan on ollut viime aikoina kasvussa monessa Suomen kunnassa (Peltoniemi ym., 2018).

Monen osallistujan heikko kieliminä muissa kielissä ja heidän kielteinen suhtautumisensa muihin vieraisiin kieliin nostavat esiin eri kielten aseman ja roolin CLIL-kontekstissa. Tutkimuksen perusteella CLIL-luokilla olisi tarpeen kiinnittää erityistä huomiota laajemmin monikielisyyteen, jotta oppilaiden asenne ja suhtautuminen myös muita kuin CLIL-opetuksen kohdekieltä kohtaan muodostuisi positiiviseksi. Toki kielitietoisuutta ja monikielisyyttä on painotettu opetuksessa enemmän sitten 1990-luvun, johon osallistujien CLIL-kokemus ajoittuu (ks. esim. FNBE, 2014). Eri kielien rinnakkaiselosta on myös positiivisia kokemuksia muun muassa Suomen kielikylpykontekstista, jossa oppilaat ovat opiskelleet jopa neljää vierasta kieltä alakoulun aikana (Björklund & Mård-Miettinen, 2011).

Tutkimus antaa osaltaan tukea näkemyksille, joiden mukaan CLIL-opetus luo otollisen ympäristön kulttuurienvälisten asenteiden kehittymiselle muun

muassa monenlaisen materiaalin käytön kautta (ks. myös Méndez García, 2012; Sudhoff, 2010). Osallistujien eriävät ja osin ambivalentit näkemykset eri kulttuureista kuitenkin ilmentävät, kuinka CLIL-opetuksessakin kulttuurienväliseen tietoisuuteen tulisi kiinnittää huomiota, jotta oppilaista kehittyisi refleksiivisiä ja kriittisesti kaikkia kulttuurisia käytänteitä eri näkökulmista arvioivia yksilöitä. Tutkimuksen osallistujat painottivat lähinnä oppimateriaalin, luokan heterogeenisyyden sekä ulkomaalaisten vierailijoiden roolia kulttuuriasenteidensa luomisessa. Huolimatta siitä, että osallistujat eivät juurikaan viitanneet opettajiinsa, opettajien rooli ja valmiudet käsitellä kulttuuriasioita koulussa on kuitenkin tärkeässä roolissa. Vaikka tutkimus käsitteli 1990-luvun kontekstia ja kulttuurienväliseen tietoisuuteen on sittemmin kiinnitetty enemmän huomiota (Jokikokko & Järvelä, 2013), tulevien opettajien valmiudet kulttuurienvälisen tietoisuuden käsittelyyn ovat yhä usein paikoin puutteellisia (esim. Dervin, 2016; Jokisalo ym., 2009; Roiha & Sommier, 2019).

Metodologisesti tutkimus kannustaa tarkastelemaan CLIL-opetusta jatkossa laajemmin retrospektiivisesti, sillä entisten oppilaiden tutkiminen voi tuoda esiin uusia näkökulmia ja antaa tärkeää tietoa opetusmuodon kauaskantoisimmista vaikutuksista. Teoreettisella tasolla tulokset tukevat näkemystä, jonka mukaan kieliminä on dynaaminen ja monikerroksinen rakenne, joka muodostuu moninaisten sisäisten ja ulkoisten tekijöiden verkostossa. Tulokset kannustavat lähestymään kieliminää myös eritellymmin eri kielissä tai jopa kielen eri osa-alueissa (ks. myös Laine & Pihko, 1991; Mercer, 2011b).

Kaikilla tutkimuksilla on rajoitteensa, ja tämänkin tutkimuksen tuloksia on syytä tulkita tietyin ehdoin. Ensinnäkin tutkimus tarkasteli 1990-luvun CLIL-opetusta, jolloin tutkimuksen tulokset on tärkeää suhteuttaa niiden ajalliseen ja paikalliseen kontekstiin. Esimerkiksi tuon ajan Suomessa vieraskielinen opetus oli nykyistä erityisempää eikä englannilla ollut vielä nykyisenkaltaista yhteiskunnallista asemaa, millä on saattanut ollut vaikutuksensa siihen, miten osallistujat kokivat opetusmuodon vaikutukset ja hyödyn elämässään. Lisäksi CLIL-opetuksen ohella muun muassa osallistujien muita kieliasenteita ovat saattaneet muokata myös sosiokulttuuriset tekijät, kuten kielten yhteiskunnallinen asema, vertaisten asenne tai kielten opetusmetodit. Lisäksi on syytä huomata, että ihmisten myöhempi elämänkulku ja elämäntapahtumat usein vaikuttavat siihen, miten he muistelevat aiempia kokemuksiaan tai millaisia merkityksiä he niille antavat elämässään (McAdams, 2008). Huolimatta rajoitteistaan tämä tutkimus toimii avauksena CLIL-opetuksen vaikutuksiin yksilöiden elämänkuluissa. Jatkossa ilmiötä olisi tärkeää tarkastella laajemmin niin Suomessa kuin kansainvälisestikin hyödyntäen sekä laadullisia että määrällisiä menetelmiä, jotta vieraalla kielellä opettamisen pitkäkestoisista vaikutuksista saataisiin enemmän tietoa.

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Appendix 1: An old program brochure
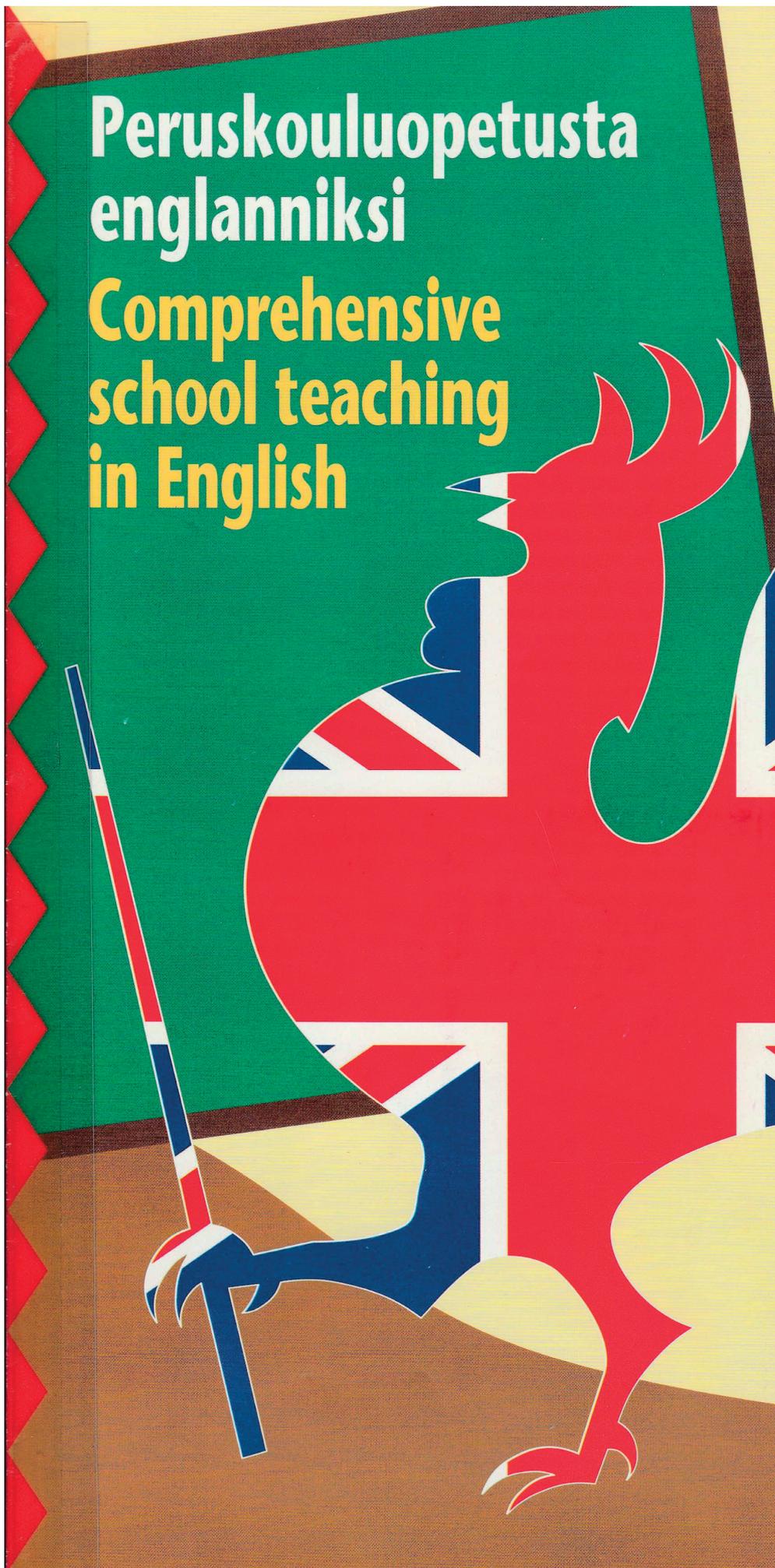
▢▢▢▢▢▢ koulun opetuskokeilu
The teaching experiment at the school of ▢▢▢▢▢▢

▢▢▢▢▢ koulu on aloittanut vuonna 1991 opetuskokeilun, jossa osa opetuksesta tapahtuu englannin kielellä. Englantia käytetään joustavasti eri opetusjaksojen ja oppiaineiden opetuksessa sekä tietysti tavallisissa arkipäivän vuorovaikutustilanteissa. Englanninkielinen opetus alkaa ensimmäiseltä luokalta ja tavoitteena on jatkaa sitä peruskoulun loppuun saakka. Lukuvuosittain kouluun otetaan yksi uusi englantipainotteinen luokka. Koulun opettajista ja luokista noin puolet työskentelee englanniksi. Vieraskielisen opetuksen toteuttamisessa koulu on yhteistyössä samassa talossa toimivan englanninkielisen leikkikoulun ja ▢▢▢▢▢ päiväkotien kanssa.

Opetuskokeilun tavoitteena on, että peruskoulun päättyessä oppilas on kansainväliseen elämään sopeutunut yksilö, joka ymmärtää hyvin englantia ja kykenee rohkeasti ilmaisemaan itseään englanniksi.

In 1991 the school began the content based teaching experiment, in which part of the teaching is carried out in English. English is used flexibly in teaching various subjects and courses, and is also used in the everyday school routine. English teaching begins from the first form with the aim of continuing throughout the comprehensive school. A new first class using content based teaching, begins every year in the school. About half of the school's teachers are using English in their classes. The school works together with an English play school (situated in the same school building) and with the day care centres of ▢▢▢▢▢, in accomplishing the teaching of a new language.

The aim of the teaching experiment is to see that after completing comprehensive school, pupils would be able to take their place in international society, understanding and expressing themselves in English.

Miten opetus tapahtuu?
How is the teaching conducted?

Englantipainotteisella luokalla olevat oppilaat opiskelevat peruskoulun normaalin opetus-suunnitelman mukaan. Heillä on samat oppisisällöt ja tavoitteet kuin muillakin oppilailla. Englannin kieltä käytetään opetuksen välineenä siten, että vieraalla kielellä kommunikoi-dessaan lapsi oppii samalla mahdollisimman hyvin itse kielen.

Alussa englanninkielinen opetus tapahtuu paljon laulujen, leikkien ja lorujen muodossa. Ensimmäisillä luokilla englanninkieltä käytetään vaihtelevasti eri aihekokonaisuuk-sien opettamisessa, myöhemmin muutamia oppiaineita opetetaan englanniksi. Englannin kieliopin ja sisällöllisen oppiaineksen opiskelu aloitetaan siinä vaiheessa, jolloin englannin opetus varsinai-sena oppiaineena (A-kieli) alkaa.

The pupils in the content based English class are studying according to the normal comprehensive school curriculum, and have the same subject matter and aims as the other pupils. English is used as a means of communication, with pupils learning the language as a normal part of school life.

Initially, songs, rhymes and games, are used a lot in the teaching of English. English is partly used during the early classes to teach different subjects, and later on, some subjects are taught in English.

Teaching of grammar begins when English language is taught as an actual study subject (A-language).

Opetusmenetelmän tausta ja seuranta
The rationale and follow up for the teaching method

Opetuskokeilun taustalla on lisääntyvä kansainvälinen vuorovaikutus ja kielitaidon tarve. Vanhempien toiveet, uusi koululainsäädäntö ja kielenopetusmenetelmien uudistuminen ovat osaltaan johtaneet vieraskielisen opetuksen lisääntymiseen.

Vieraskieliseen opetukseen on viime vuosina vaikuttanut paljon ns. kielikylpymenetelmä, joka on alunperin kehitelty Kanadassa. Kielikylvyssä olevalle oppilaalle puhutaan paljon vierasta kieltä, jolloin hän kommunikoidessaan vieraalla kielellä oppii samalla itse kielen. Varsinaisesta kielikylvystä voidaan puhua silloin kun yli puolet opetuksesta tapahtuu vieraalla kielellä.

koulussa englanninkielinen opetus pohjautuu pedagogisesti kielikylpymenetelmään, mutta sitä toteutetaan itse kehitellyn mallin mukaan ja opetus tapahtuu vain osittain englanniksi.

englanninkielistä opetusta seurataan ja kehitetään yhteistyössä   yliopiston tutkijoiden, kielitieteen asiantuntijoiden, kouluviraston ja koulun suunnitteluryhmän kanssa.

Increasing international interrelationships, and the increasing need for a basic command of languages, are the rationale for the teaching in foreign language. The hopes of parents, the new school legislation and the renewal of language teaching methods have led to an increase in the teaching in foreign languages.

The so called "language immersion" method, originally developed in Canada, has had a great effect on the teaching of foreign languages. During language immersion, the foreign language is spoken constantly to the pupils which enables them to learn the language as they are "immersed" in it. In total language immersion at least half of the teaching is done in a foreign language. English teaching in   school is based pedagogically on language immersion, but it is accomplished according to a method developed in the school, where teaching is only partly in English.

English teaching in   school is closely followed by   University researchers and language specialists, the school authorities and by the school's planning team.

Miten oppilaat valitaan
How the pupils are chosen

_____ koulun englanninkielinen opetus on tarkoitettu ensisijaisesti oman koulupiirin oppilaille. Kaikilla uusilla koulutulokkailla on mahdollisuus kouluun ilmoittautumisen yhteydessä pyrkiä englantipainotteiselle luokalle. Luokalle pyrkiviä oppilaita ei testata. Jos oppilaiden kesken joudutaan tekemään valintaa, annetaan etusija niille oppilaille, joilla on jo aikaisempaa perehtymistä englannin kieleen. Tarvittaessa oppilaat valitaan arpomalla.

Opetuskokeilussa on havaittu, että lapsella on tärkeää olla yleiset perusvalmiudet englantipainotteisella luokalla opiskekeluun. Oppilaalta toivottavia ominaisuuksia ovat yleinen kypsyystaso, keskittymiskyky ja epävarmuuden sietokyky.

■ ■

English teaching in _____ school is mainly for pupils from the local school district. All newcomers to the school have the possibility of enrolling in the content based teaching class. Pupils who would like to enroll in this class, are not subjected to a test. If there needs to be a choice, pupils who are familiar with English are preferred. If necessary, selection is by drawing lots.

It has become apparent during the teaching experiment, that a child should have certain basic skills necessary for studying in the content based teaching class. These abilities are general maturity, the ability to concentrate and handle uncertainty.

Mitä vanhempien on hyvä tietää?
What the parents should know?

- Lapselle puhutaan päivittäin englantia. Osan hän ymmärtää, osaa ei. Kielen puhumisen taito syntyy vähitellen. Vanhemmat voivat tukea lapsen oppimista harrastamalla kieltä yhdessä.

- Englantipainotteisessa luokassa opitaan asioita eri tavalla ja eri aikaan kuin naapuriluokassa. Tämän vuoksi lasten koulutyön vertaaminen rinnakkaisluokkaan ei ole aiheellista.

- Englanninkielistä materiaalia voi tuoda kotiin tai kouluun. Silmät auki matkoilla!

- Kodin ja koulun yhteistyö englantipainotteisella luokalla on hyvin tärkeää. Myönteisen ja kannustavan ilmapiirin luominen on eduksi lapsen koulunkäynnille sekä kielen oppimiselle.

Koulun englannin opettajat ja rehtori vastaavat mielellään englanninkielistä opetusta koskeviin kysymyksiin, puh.

- English is spoken to the pupils daily. They understand some, and speaking ability grows gradually. Parents can support the learning process by using English with their children.

- Learning in the content based teaching class is accomplished according to a different schedule, and it is not therefore relevant to compare the child's school work with the other classes.

- English material can be brought home or to school. Keep your eyes open while travelling!

- Co-operation between home and school is very important in the English class. Creating a positive and supportive atmosphere is beneficial for the child's schoolwork and for learning a new language.

The English teachers and the principal of the school are willing to answer any questions concerning English teaching.
Tel.

Appendix 2: The interview themes

1. Background information

- Which year did you start CLIL?

- How many years did your CLIL studies last?

- Tell about your CLIL education (e.g. which subjects, how many lessons per week, how was it implemented?)

2. Experiences of CLIL education

- How did CLIL education feel?

- What was positive about it?

- What was negative about it?

- What would you improve about it?

3. Study history

- What did you study after comprehensive school?

- What role has the CLIL experience played in those studies?

4. Work history

- How has your work career been like?

- What role has the CLIL experience played in your work career?

5. Family/leisure

- In what ways has the CLIL experience shown in other domains of your life? (e.g. social relations, media consumption, activities)

6. Attitudes and values

- What role has CLIL had as regards your attitudes and values? (e.g. multilingualism, interculturality)

ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

CLIL-OPETUKSEN MERKITYS ELÄMÄNKULKUJEN
RAKENTAJANA: KAHDEN ENTISEN OPPILAAN
POHDINTOJA [THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CLIL EDUCATION
AS A CONSTRUCTOR OF LIFE COURSES: TWO FORMER
PUPILS' REFLECTIONS]

by

Roiha, A. (2017)

In S. Latomaa, E. Luukka & N. Lilja (Eds.), Kielitietoisuus eriarvoistuvassa yhteiskunnassa – Language awareness in an increasingly unequal society (pp.257–277). AFinLA Yearbook 2017. Jyväskylä: The Finnish Association for Applied Linguistics Publications 75.

Anssi Roiha
Jyväskylän yliopisto

CLIL-opetuksen merkitys elämänkulkujen rakentajana: kahden entisen oppilaan pohdintoja

This article discusses the significance of CLIL education from the students' perspective. Two former CLIL students, who received extensive English CLIL education in primary school in 1990s, were interviewed during the summer 2016. The purpose of this pilot study was to investigate the memories they had of CLIL and how they perceived its influence on their life courses. The interviews were analysed using thematic analysis with a theory-oriented framework. CLIL education had been a highly positive experience to both and they believed it had influenced their life courses pervasively. Due to CLIL, English had become an inherent part of their lives. CLIL had guided their professional choices and had affected their attitudes towards cultures. The study provides valuable insights into the long-term effects of CLIL on individuals' identity and life course. The results of this case study encourage investigating this theme further.

Keywords: CLIL education, life course, language learner self-concept, intercultural competence
Asiasanat: CLIL-opetus, elämänkulku, kieliminä, kulttuurienvälinen kompetenssi

1 Johdanto

CLIL (*Content and Language Integrated Learning*) on opetusmuoto, jossa eri oppiaineita opetetaan vieraalla kielellä. CLIL-opetuksella on aina kaksoistavoite: oppia sekä sisältöjä että opetuksessa käytettävää kieltä. Painotus kielen ja sisällön välillä voi kuitenkin vaihdella tilanteen ja opetustunnin mukaan. (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010: 1.) Samankaltaiseen opetusmuotoon voidaan viitata useilla muilla termeillä, kuten *kielikylpyopetus, kaksikielinen opetus, vieraskielinen opetus* sekä *kielisuihkutus.* Eri termit viittaavat yleensä kuitenkin hieman erilaisiin toteutusmuotoihin. Esimerkiksi kielisuihkutuksessa tavoitteena on lähinnä saada oppilaat kiinnostumaan vieraasta kielestä. (Kangasvieri, Miettinen, Palviainen, Saarinen & Ala-Vähälä 2012: 55.) Termi CLIL muodostettiin vuonna 1994 Euroopassa, ja se on vakiintunut niin sanotuksi kattotermiksi, joka pitää sisällään monenlaisia toteutusmuotoja (Marsh, Maljers & Hartiala 2001). Eräs keskeinen syy termin suosiolle on se, että se huomioi samanarvoisesti sekä kielen että sisällön asettamatta kumpaakaan niistä etusijalle (Marsh 2002: 58).

CLIL-opetuksen tutkimuskentällä keskustellaan jatkuvasti CLIL-opetuksen ja kielikylpyopetuksen eroista ja samankaltaisuuksista (ks. esim. Somers & Surmont 2012). Yhden määritelmän mukaan CLIL-opetus nähdään yleisterminä kaikenlaiselle kaksikieliselle tai vieraskieliselle opetukselle, jolloin se sisältää myös kielikylpyopetuksen (esim. Mehisto, Marsh & Frigols 2008: 12). Toisen näkökannan mukaan kielikylpyopetus on syytä erottaa CLIL-opetuksesta muun muassa vieraan kielen käytön määrän, materiaalin tai tavoitteiden perusteella (ks. esim. Lasagabaster & Sierra 2010). Tässä tutkimuksessa nojaudutaan jälkimmäiseen määritelmään, ja sen vuoksi esimerkiksi artikkelin taustoittava CLIL-tutkimus koskee vieraskielisen opetuksen kontekstia.

CLIL-opetuksen kehityksen ja laajenemisen taustalla voidaan nähdä useita syitä. Eräs keskeinen syy on erittäin positiiviset oppimistulokset Kanadan kielikylpyohjelmista (ks. esim. Lazaruk 2007), jotka kehitettiin 1960-luvulla, kun englanninkieliset vanhemmat halusivat lapsistaan sujuvia ranskan kielessä (Cummins & Swain 1986; Swain & Lapkin 1982). Euroopassa alkoi olla myös tarve laajemmalle monikielisyydelle globalisaation ja muuttoliikkeen myötä (Mehisto ym. 2008: 10; Ruiz de Zarobe 2008). Lisäksi Euroopan unioni antoi vuonna 1995 suosituksen, jonka mukaan eurooppalaisten tulisi hallita sujuvasti kaksi kieltä oman äidinkielensä lisäksi (European Commission 1995: 47). Eri puolilla maailmaa oli jo vuosikymmenten ajan annettu opetusta oppilaille vieraalla kielellä. Yksi CLIL-opetuksen tavoitteista oli tuoda yhteen eri lähestymistapoja ja kokemuksia (Coyle ym. 2010: 3). CLIL-opetuksen käytännöt kuitenkin vaihtelevat suuresti Euroopassa. Isoja eroja on esimerkiksi siinä, millainen status CLIL-opetuksella on, miten paljon oppilaita siihen osallistuu, miten paljon opetusta annetaan ja missä aineissa (Eurydice 2006). Tä-

män tutkimuksen tapauskoulun CLIL-opetusta on kuvattu artikkelin luvussa 5 Osallistujat, aineisto ja metodit.

CLIL-opetusta on saanut toteuttaa Suomessa ilman poikkeuslupaa vuodesta 1991 (Laki peruskoululain muuttamisesta 261/1991), ja se on vakiinnuttanut paikkansa suomalaisessa koulujärjestelmässä. Opetus on kuitenkin ollut varsin vähäistä, sillä 1990-luvun alkuinnostuksen jälkeen, jolloin noin 10 prosenttia peruskouluista toteutti CLIL-opetusta (Nikula & Marsh 1996), määrä on vähentynyt. Vuonna 2005 CLIL-kouluja oli enää vain noin 5 prosenttia peruskouluista (Lehti, Järvinen & Suomela-Salmi 2006). Vuoden 2012 kartoitus kuitenkin paljastaa, että kiinnostus CLIL-opetusta kohtaan on lisääntynyt viime vuosina monessa kunnassa (Kangasvieri ym. 2012). Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteissa (OPH 2014) CLIL-opetuksesta käytetään termiä *kaksikielinen opetus*. Perusteissa todetaan, että kouluilla on mahdollisuus toteuttaa joko laajamittaista (vähintään 25 % tunneista) tai suppeampaa (alle 25 % tunneista) kaksikielistä opetusta. (OPH 2014: 89–93.)

Tässä artikkelissa esittelen pilottitutkimustani, jonka toteutin kesällä 2016. Tutkimusta varten haastattelin kahta entistä oppilasta, jotka osallistuivat 1990-luvun alussa englanninkieliseen CLIL-opetukseen. Kutsun heitä tässä artikkelissa Jaanaksi ja Sonjaksi. Teemoittain etenevien elämäkerrallisten haastattelujen kautta pyrin selvittämään, millainen kokemus CLIL-opetus heille oli ja miten he kokevat CLIL-opetuksen vaikuttaneen elämänkulkuihinsa. Tutkimuskysymykset ovat:

1. Millaisena kokemuksena Jaana ja Sonja muistavat CLIL-opetuksensa?
2. Miten he kokevat CLIL-opetuksen vaikuttaneen elämänkulkuihinsa?

2   CLIL-opetuksen vaikutukset

Viime vuosina CLIL-opetusta on tutkittu varsin paljon monissa maissa (tarkemmista tutkimuskatsauksista ks. Dalton-Puffer 2011; Pérez-Canado 2012). Tutkimuksissa on perinteisesti tarkasteltu muun muassa kielitaidon kehitystä. Kansainväliset tutkimukset osoittavat, että CLIL-opetuksella on erittäin positiivinen vaikutus oppilaiden kielitaitoon. Erityisesti sanaston laajuus ja puheen sujuvuus ovat usein olleet CLIL-oppilailla perinteistä englannin opetusta saaneita oppilaita parempia (esim. Admiraal, Westhoff & de Bot 2006; Lasagabaster 2008; Lorenzo, Casal & Moore 2009; Ruiz de Zarobe 2008). Sisällön oppimisen osalta tulokset eivät ole olleet yhtä selkeitä. Ne antavat kuitenkin viitteitä siitä, että CLIL-opetuksella olisi joko neutraali tai positiivinen vaikutus myös sisällön oppimiseen (esim. Admiraal ym. 2006; Dallinger, Jonkmann, Hollm & Fiege 2016; van de Craen, Ceuleers & Mondt 2007). Myös suomalaisissa tutkimuksissa on saatu viit-

teitä CLIL-opetuksen positiivisista vaikutuksista sekä kielitaitoon että sisällön oppimiseen (esim. Jäppinen 2005; Järvinen 1999; Seikkula-Leino 2007). Viime aikoina suomalainen CLIL-tutkimus on laajentunut myös moniin muihin teemoihin ja on tutkittu muun muassa oppimateriaaleja (Bovellan 2014) ja eriyttämistä CLIL-opetuksessa (Roiha 2014). Positiivisista tutkimustuloksista huolimatta CLIL-opetusta ja sen hyötyjä on viime vuosien aikana alettu kyseenalaistamaan. Kritiikki on kohdistunut muun muassa CLIL-opetuksen määrittelyn moninaisuuteen ja esitestauksen vaikutusten laiminlyöntiin tutkimuksissa sekä lähtötasotestauksen puuttumiseen CLIL- ja verrokkiryhmillä. Lisäksi CLIL-opetusta on usein toteutettu alueilla, joiden sosioekonominen status on korkea, ja näin ollen myös CLIL-oppilaiden sosioekonominen tausta on yleisesti ottaen ollut keskimääräistä korkeampi. (Ks. esim. Bruton 2011, 2013; Cenoz, Genesee & Gorter 2014; myös Jäppinen 2005.)

Oppilaiden ääni on jäänyt CLIL-tutkimuksissa vähemmistöön, joskin viime aikoina sitä on alettu ottaa paremmin huomioon. Tutkimuksissa on todettu, että CLIL-oppilaat ovat muita motivoituneempia ja suhtautuvat muita myönteisemmin kielten opiskeluun (esim. Lasagabaster 2008; Pihko 2007; Seikkula-Leino 2007). Kieliminää koskevat tulokset ovat ristiriitaisempia. Kieliminällä tarkoitetaan yleiseen minäkäsitykseen sisältyvää vieraan kielen opiskelun minäkäsitystä, joka koostuu oppijan käsityksistä, tiedoista ja toiveista itsestään kielenoppijana (Laine & Pihko 1991). Mercerin (2011) mukaan kieliminä muokkaantuu muun muassa sosiaalisen kontekstin ja henkilön vuorovaikutuksellisten kielenkäyttötilanteiden perusteella. Mercer jaottelee yleisen kieliminän äidinkielen ja vieraiden kielten kieliminään, joista jälkimmäinen voidaan hänen mukaansa jakaa vielä erikseen jokaisen vieraan kielen kieliminään. Mercer myös ehdottaa, että erityisesti edistyneillä kielenoppijoilla tietyn vieraan kielen kieliminä voidaan jakaa edelleen tarkemmin kielen eri osa-alueisiin (esim. englannin kirjoittamisen tai puhumisen kieliminä). (Mercer 2011: 13–14, 50–51, 55–56.) Esimerkiksi Pihkon (2007) tutkimuksessa CLIL-oppilaat arvioivat oman kielitaitonsa perinteisessä englannin opetuksessa olleita oppilaita paremmaksi ja olivat itsevarmempia kielenkäyttäjiä, kun taas Seikkula-Leinon (2007) tutkimuksessa CLIL-oppilaat kokivat olevansa muita heikompia kielenoppijoita. Rumlichin (2016) saksalaista CLIL-opetusta koskevassa tutkimuksessa CLIL-opetuksessa olleilla oppilailla oli koulun päättyessä positiivisempi kieliminä kuin samanikäisillä oppilailla, jotka eivät olleet saaneet CLIL-opetusta. Rumlich kuitenkin havaitsi, että oppilailla oli jo valmiiksi positiivisempi kieliminä CLIL-luokille tultaessa ja CLIL-opetus vain vahvisti tätä eroa suhteessa muihin oppilaisiin.

Tutkimuksissa on tarkasteltu myös CLIL-opetuksessa olevien oppilaiden yleistä suhtautumista opetusmuotoon. Pääosa tutkimuksista on koskenut yläkoulu- tai lukioikäisiä oppilaita (esim. Coyle 2013; Hunt 2011; Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer & Smit 2012; Wegner 2012), mutta myös alakouluikäisten CLIL-oppilaiden näkemyksiä CLIL-opetuksesta

on tarkasteltu (esim. Massler 2012; Pladevall-Ballester 2015; Ramos 2007; Rasinen 2006). Tutkimusten mukaan CLIL-opetus koetaan enimmäkseen positiivisena ja hyödyllisenä: sen on arveltu olevan hyödyksi esimerkiksi työpaikan saamisessa. Tutkimuksissa esiintyy kuitenkin pieni, mutta sinänsä tärkeää tietoa tuova joukko, joita CLIL-opetus ei ole vakuuttanut. Esimerkiksi Wegnerin (2012) tutkimuksessa moni oppilas katsoi, että vieraan kielen käyttö on esteenä syvälliselle oppimiselle ja asioiden käsittelyssä jäädään pinnallisemmalle tasolle kuin äidinkielellä annetussa opetuksessa. Coylen (2013) tutkimuksessa puolestaan 15 prosenttia koki CLIL-opetuksen olevan vaikeaa, tylsää ja hyödytöntä. Monen oppilaan mielestä CLIL-opetus oli liian opettajajohtoista ja sekä kielen että sisällön samanaikainen oppiminen liian vaativaa. Ramosin (2007) tutkimuksessa taas yli kolmasosa ei kokenut CLIL-opetuksen auttavan heitä pärjäämään koulussa paremmin ja hieman alle puolet ei kokenut sen edistävän ajattelun kehittymistä.

3   CLIL ja kulttuuri

Vieraan kielen opetuksessa, ja sen myötä myös CLIL-opetuksessa, on viime vuosien aikana alettu aiempaa tietoisemmin huomioida myös kulttuuriulottuvuus. Esimerkiksi Euroopan neuvoston laatiman Kielten oppimisen, opettamisen ja arvioinnin yhteisen eurooppalaisen viitekehyksen mukaan kielenopetuksen yhtenä keskeisenä tavoitteena on edistää sekä yksilön oman persoonan ja identiteetin kehitystä että huomioida toiseuden kokemus kielessä ja kulttuurissa. Siinä esitellään myös kielenoppijan tarvitsemia kompetensseja, joista yksi on kulttuurienvälinen tietoisuus. Kulttuurienvälisesti kompetentti ihminen muun muassa ymmärtää oman kulttuurinsa ja toisen kulttuurin samankaltaisuuksia ja eroavaisuuksia ja tiedostaa kaiken kulttuurin moninaisuuden. (Council of Europe 2001: 1, 103–104.) Viitekehyksen määritelmä kulttuurienvälisestä kompetenssista pohjautuu Byramin (1997) näkemykseen, jonka mukaan kulttuurienvälinen kompetenssi koostuu tiedoista, taidoista, kasvatuksesta ja asenteista; tärkeää on tiedostaa omat arvonsa ja uskomuksensa ja tarkastella niitä kriittisesti mutta olla samalla avoin ja vastaanottavainen erilaisille näkökulmille (ks. myös Byram, Barrett, Ipgrave, Jackson & Méndez García 2009; Byram, Gribkova & Starkey 2002). Myös Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteissa (OPH 2014: 224) yhtenä vieraan kielen tavoitekokonaisuutena on "kasvu kulttuuriseen moninaisuuteen ja kielitietoisuuteen", jonka perusteella oppilasta tulee ohjata "havaitsemaan maailman kielellinen ja kulttuurinen runsaus" sekä "arvostamaan maailman kielellistä ja kulttuurista moninaisuutta".

Esimerkiksi Coylen kehittämän 4C-mallin mukaan tehokkaassa CLIL-opetuksessa tulisi huomioida kielen oppimisen ja käytön (*communication*) sekä sisällön oppimisen (*content*) lisäksi vahvasti myös oppimis- ja ajatteluprosessit (*cognition*) sekä kulttuurien-

välisen ymmärryksen kehittäminen (*culture*). Hänen mukaansa kulttuurin tulisi olla CLIL-opetuksen keskiössä ja linkittyä kaikkiin muihin CLIL-opetuksen osa-alueisiin. (Esim. Coyle 2007; Coyle ym. 2010: 41–42.) Myös Marsh kollegoineen (2001) listaavat viisi CLIL-opetuksen painopistealuetta, joista yksi on kulttuurinen dimensio, johon kuuluu muun muassa kulttuurisen tietouden ja ymmärryksen kehittäminen.

Sudhoff (2010) esittää, että CLIL-opetus tarjoaa potentiaalisen kontekstin kulttuurienvälisen tietoisuuden opetukseen. Vieraan kielen käyttö luo jo itsessään mahdollisuuden kulttuurien tarkasteluun, sillä monen ilmiön ja asian erikieliset vastineet sisältävät tiettyjä konnotaatioita ja ovat syntyneet tietynlaisessa kulttuurisessa kontekstissa. Sudhoffin mielestä kulttuurien käsittelyssä tulisi kiinnittää erityistä huomiota materiaaliin. Hän suosittaa muissa maissa julkaistun autenttisen materiaalin käyttöä, mikä mahdollistaa asioiden tarkastelun erilaisista perspektiiveistä, sillä mikään materiaali ei ole kulttuurisesti neutraalia. Sudhoffin mukaan autenttisen materiaalin, kuten lehtiartikkeleiden, ohella tulisi mahdollisuuksien mukaan käyttää eri maissa julkaistuja oppimateriaaleja. Tällöin on tärkeää varmistaa, että materiaali sopii yhteen opetussuunnitelman sisältöjen ja tavoitteiden kanssa. Sudhoff huomioi eroavaisuuksien lisäksi myös samankaltaisuudet, mutta ne tuntuvat saavan hänen kirjoituksessaan vähemmän painoarvoa. (Sudhoff 2010.) Eri kulttuureihin tutustumisessa olisi kuitenkin hyvä siirtää pääpaino samankaltaisuuksiin erojen sijaan, sillä tämä auttaa osaltaan pääsemään yli oletuksesta, jonka mukaan erilaisuus on synnynnäistä (esim. Dervin 2010). Ylipäänsä on tärkeää ohjata oppilaita huomaamaan, että kulttuurit ovat samankaltaisuuksineen ja eroavaisuuksineen konstruoituja eivätkä luontaisia ja synnynnäisiä (ks. myös Sommier & Roiha painossa).

González Rodríguez ja Borham Puyal (2012) tutkivat CLIL-opetuksen mahdollisuuksia kulttuurienvälisen kompetenssin tukemiseen lähinnä oppimateriaalin avulla. Heidän tapaustutkimuksessaan korkeakouluopiskelijoiden CLIL-opetuksessa käytettiin eri maissa ilmestyneitä autenttisia kirjallisuustekstejä, joiden aiheena oli sukupuoliroolit. Opiskelijat arvioivat itse, että eri kulttuurien vertailu ja analysointi auttoi heitä kulttuurienvälisen tietoisuuden kehittämisessä. He alkoivat tarkastella esimerkiksi asenteitaan oman kulttuurinsa sukupuolirooleja kohtaan sekä pohtia muissa kulttuureissa ilmeneviä erilaisia sukupuolirooleja. Myös Méndez García (2013) tarkasteli tutkimuksessaan CLIL-opetuksen ja kulttuurienvälisen kompetenssin yhteyttä. Hänen tutkimuksessaan CLIL-opettajat muuttivat menetelmiään ja oppimateriaalejaan kulttuurienvälisesti orientoituneemmiksi. Esimerkiksi historiallisia tapahtumia analysoitiin sekä ranskankielisen että espanjankielisen materiaalin avulla, mikä ohjasi oppilaita tarkastelemaan asioita monesta eri näkökulmasta.

Tapauskoulun 1990-luvun alun CLIL-opetuksessa kulttuuriasiat eivät saaneet Coylen (2007) ja Marshin ja kumppaneiden (2001) suosittamaa painoarvoa, mutta olivat opetuksessa mukana, sillä koulun CLIL-opetuksen yhtenä tavoitteena oli valmentaa

oppilaista kansainväliseen elämään sopeutuneita yksilöitä. Kulttuuriasioita käsiteltiin muun muassa erimaalaisen materiaalin sekä ulkomaalaisten vieraiden avulla.

4 Elämänkulku

Tarkasteltaessa ihmisten elämänkulkua puhutaan elämänkulkututkimuksesta, joka on kehittynyt ja jalostunut usean vuosikymmenen aikana (Mayer 2004). Ihmisten elämänkulkua voidaan tutkia monitieteisesti ja monesta eri näkökulmasta (esim. biologinen, psykologinen, sosiologinen), ja tällöin siihen usein viitataan hieman eri käsitteillä (*life course, life span, life cycle, life path, life history, life career*) (ks. esim. Kuronen 2010). Nykyisin elämänkulkua (*life course*) pidetään tietynlaisena yleiskäsitteenä, joka voi sisältää monenlaisia lähestymistapoja. Elämänkulkututkimuksissa voidaan keskittyä joko yksilöihin tai laajempiin ihmisryhmiin, ja tarkastelun kohteena voi olla joko tietty yksittäinen elämänvaihe tai siirtymä (esim. nuoruus tai vanhemmuus) tai pidempiaikainen elämänkulku (esim. lapsuudesta vanhuuteen). Lisäksi elämänkulkututkimuksissa voidaan käyttää joko määrällistä tai laadullista tutkimusotetta. (Neale 2015.)

Tässä laadullisessa tutkimuksessa keskitytään yksilöiden elämänkulkuihin. Tarkastelun kohteena on osallistujien elämänkulku aina koulunaloituksesta nykyhetkeen saakka; pääpaino on kuitenkin kouluaikaisissa kokemuksissa. Käsitän tässä tutkimuksessa elämänkulun laajasti prosessiksi, jossa yksilön elämäntapahtumat esiintyvät tietyssä kontekstissa. Toisin sanoen yksilö rakentaa omaa elämänkulkuaan tekemällä valintoja, joihin kuitenkin vahvasti vaikuttaa ympäröivä kulttuurinen, yhteiskunnallinen ja historiallinen konteksti (ks. esim. Elder 1998). Esimerkiksi Jaanan ja Sonjan tapauksissa CLIL-opetus ja siitä saatu pääoma eivät ole automaattisesti määrittäneet heidän elämänkulkujaan, mutta ne ovat heidän kokemuksensa mukaan myötävaikuttaneet heidän koulutus- ja uravalintoihinsa.

Koulutuksen vaikutusta ja merkitystä ihmisten elämänkulkuihin on tarkasteltu muutamissa suomalaisissa tutkimuksissa (esim. Kauppila 2002; Kuronen 2010; Puhakka 1998; Vanttaja 2000). Niissä kouluaikaisilla kokemuksilla ja merkityksillä on ihmisten itsensä kokeman mukaan ollut vahva yhteys siihen, miten he ovat kiinnittyneet yhteiskuntaan. Esimerkiksi Vanttajan (2000), Kauppilan (2002) ja Puhakan (1998) tutkimuksissa korkea koulutustaso ja hyvä koulumenestys tukivat työelämään sijoittumista. Kurosen (2010) tutkimuksessa puolestaan tarkasteltiin niin sanottujen pudokkaiden koulusuhdetta ja havaittiin, että kielteiset peruskoulukokemukset ennustavat usein myös haasteita myöhemmässä elämänkulussa. Merkille pantavaa on, että koulukokemusten lisäksi myös kotitaustalla on todettu olevan iso merkitys elämänkulkujen suuntaajana (esim. Puhakka 1998; Vanttaja 2000). CLIL-opetuksen kentällä elämänkulkututkimus näyttää

olevan vielä varsin harvinaista. Tässä tutkimuksessa on kiinnostuttu nimenomaan CLIL-opetuksen vaikutuksista Jaanan ja Sonjan elämänkulkuihin, ja aihetta tutkitaan heidän omien kertomustensa perusteella.

5   Osallistujat, aineisto ja metodit

Tämän artikkelin aineisto koostuu kahden entisen CLIL-oppilaan, Jaanan ja Sonjan, teemallisista elämäkertahaastatteluista (ks. esim. Hänninen 2010). Sonja valittiin tutkimukseen harkinnanvaraisesti, sillä englannin tiedettiin kuuluvan olennaisesti hänen elämäänsä, mikä soveltui hyvin pilottitutkimuksen tarkoitukseen. Jaana puolestaan valikoitui tutkimukseen Sonjan avulla (ns. lumipallotekniikka). Väljä haastattelurunko (ks. liite 1) lähetettiin osallistujille etukäteen, sillä tavoitteena oli, että he palauttaisivat mieleensä ennen haastattelutilannetta mahdollisimman paljon CLIL-ajastaan, varsinkin kun siitä oli kulunut jo noin 20 vuotta. Tein haastattelut kesällä 2016; kumpikin yksilöhaastattelu kesti noin 40 minuuttia. Tallensin ja litteroin haastattelut ja sen jälkeen teemoittelin ja analysoin aineiston teoriaohjaavan sisällönanalyysin avulla. Tietyt käsitteet olivat jo valmiiksi selvillä analyysin alkaessa, mutta analyysi eteni kuitenkin aineiston ehdoilla. Osa teemahaastattelun teemoista, kuten *kulttuuri* tai *kielenkäyttö*, toimivat analyysin yläkäsitteinä, mutta tarkemmat teemat, kuten *kulttuurienvälinen kompetenssi* tai *kieliminä*, muodostuivat vasta aineiston pohjalta. Muodostetut teemat ohjasivat myös teoriaosuuden työstämistä ja tämä puolestaan edelleen analyysia. (Ks. esim. Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009.) Jaanan ja Sonjan lisäksi haastattelin tapauskoulun entistä CLIL-opettajaa ja sain häneltä taustatietoa koulun CLIL-opetuksen sisällöistä ja toteutuksesta, joista on raportoitu jäljempänä tässä luvussa. Olen ollut CLIL-oppilaana tapauskoulussa ja hyödynnän analyysissa myös tätä omakohtaista kokemustani.

Molemmat haastateltavat allekirjoittivat haastattelusopimuksen, josta ilmeni sekä tutkimuksen tarkoitus että se, mihin tutkimuksen aineistoa tullaan käyttämään. Lisäksi haastateltaville tehtiin selväksi, että he voivat missä tahansa tutkimuksen vaiheessa kieltäytyä osallistumasta tutkimukseen. Haastateltavat saivat myös artikkelin lopullisen version luettavakseen ennen sen julkaisua, jotta olisi varmaa, että he kokivat anonymiteettinsa säilyvän tutkimuksesta raportoitaessa. (Ks. esim. Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009.)

Jaana ja Sonja olivat saaneet varsin laajamittaista englanninkielistä CLIL-opetusta samalla luokalla 1990-luvun alussa. Koulun CLIL-opetuksen aloittamisen taustalla oli lisääntyvä kansainvälinen vuorovaikutus ja kielitaidon tarve, liike-elämän ja vanhempien toiveet sekä CLIL-opetuksesta saadut rohkaisevat kokemukset. CLIL-opetusta oli toteutettu päivittäin ja useimmissa aineissa (esim. kuvataide, musiikki, historia, ympäristö- ja luonnontieto, matematiikka, uskonto). Opetus oli alaluokilla painottunut leikkeihin

ja erilaisiin luokkahuonerutiineihin, kun taas ylemmillä luokilla oppilaat olivat tehneet CLIL-tunneilla paljon erilaisia laajoja oppiainerajat ylittäviä projekteja sekä suullisia esitelmiä. CLIL-opetuksen yleisenä tavoitteena oli, että koulun päättyessä oppilaat ovat kansainväliseen elämään sopeutuvia yksilöitä, jotka ymmärtävät hyvin englantia ja kykenevät rohkeasti ilmaisemaan itseään englanniksi. Koulun CLIL-luokille ei ollut lähtötasotestejä, mutta etusijalla olivat oppilaat, joilla oli kokemusta ulkomailla asumisesta tai joilla ei esiopetuksessa näyttänyt olevan suuria oppimisen pulmia.

Jaanalla CLIL-opetusta oli ollut vuosiluokkien 1–6 ajan, kun taas Sonja oli siirtynyt CLIL-luokalle vasta kolmannella luokalla. Kummallakaan ei ollut aiempaa kokemusta englannin kielestä ennen CLIL-opetuksen alkua. Molempien CLIL-kokemus rajoittui alakouluun, sillä he siirtyivät alakoulun jälkeen sellaiseen yläkouluun ja lukioon, jossa ei toteutettu CLIL-opetusta. Lukion jälkeen Jaana oli opiskellut yliopistossa englannin aineenopettajaksi. Hän oli opiskelujensa aikana ollut kaksi kertaa ulkomailla opiskelijavaihdossa. Sonja puolestaan oli lukiosta valmistumisen jälkeen asunut hieman alle vuoden Englannissa. Suomeen palattuaan hän oli saanut valmiiksi kaksi englanninkielistä korkeakoulututkintoa ja ollut kaksi kertaa ulkomailla opiskelijavaihdossa.

6 Tulokset

Seuraavissa alaluvuissa esittelen tutkimuksen tuloksia. Aluksi kuvaan Jaanan ja Sonjan kokemuksia CLIL-opetuksesta ja tarkastelen, millaisia muistoja heillä siitä on (luku 6.1). Tämän jälkeen käsittelen heidän kokemiaan CLIL-opetuksen vaikutuksia haastatteluissa esiin nousseiden teemojen kautta (luku 6.2). Haastatteluissa esiin nousseet kolme teemaa ovat kieliminä (luku 6.2.1), opiskelu- ja työura (luku 6.2.2) sekä kulttuurienvälinen kompetenssi (luku 6.2.3).

6.1 Kokemukset CLIL-opetuksesta

Sekä Jaanalla että Sonjalla oli hyvin lämpimät muistot CLIL-opetuksesta. He kuvailivat CLIL-opetustaan pelkästään positiivisin adjektiivein, kuten *hauskaa, leikinomaista, positiivista, kannustavaa, ihanaa, kivaa, mukavaa, luonnollista, luontevaa* ja *kiinnostavaa*, eivätkä keksineet siitä lainkaan negatiivisia asioita. 1990-luvun alku oli yleisesti ottaen rajujen kustannussäästöjen aikaa, mikä osaltaan heijastui myös oppilaiden kouluviihtyvyyteen (esim. Linnakylä 1993; Nikkanen 1999). Myös Jaana ja Sonja toivat haastatteluissaan esiin laman vaikutusten näkymistä koulussa, ja molemmat kertoivat muistavansa, kuinka esimerkiksi käsipyyhepapereita leikeltiin puoliksi. He kuitenkin kokivat, että CLIL-opetus oli osaltaan vaikuttanut heidän kouluviihtyvyyteensä ja tehnyt koulunkäynnistä mieluisaa. Jaanan ja Sonjan yleiset muistot ja kokemukset ovat siis varsin yhteneväisiä

muiden niin kotimaisessa (esim. Rasinen 2006) kuin ulkomaisessakin CLIL-kontekstissa (esim. Massler 2012; Pladevall-Ballester 2015; Ramos 2007) opiskelleiden oppilaiden kanssa.

CLIL-opetusta on ajoittain kritisoitu elitismistä (esim. Lasagabaster & Sierra 2010). Tämä johtuu muun muassa siitä, että sitä on usein toteutettu kouluissa, joissa on korkeista sosioekonomisista taustoista tulevia oppilaita, ja toisaalta siitä, että joissakin kouluissa CLIL-luokille pyrkiviä oppilaita on testattu lähtötasotestien avulla (esim. Apsel 2012; Bruton 2013; Jäppinen 2005). Myös tapauskoulun oppilailla oli tuolloin keskimääräistä korkeampi sosioekonominen tausta. Molemmat haastateltavat kokivat olevansa hyvin etuoikeutettuja saatuaan käydä CLIL-koulua ja muistivat ajatelleensa samoin jo oppilaana ollessaan. He kertoivat, että heidän luokassaan kävi paljon vieraita ja he tekivät asioita, joita suomenkielisillä luokilla ei tehty, kuten ulkomaanmatkan. Esimerkiksi Sonja muistaa verranneensa omaa tilannettaan rinnakkaisluokkaan, jossa ei toteutettu CLIL-opetusta:

(1) Mä niinkun koin olevani pikkasen niinkun silleen että no me ollaan vähän parempia kun toi A-luokka.. et kyl se oli selkeesti se et meillä oli niinku jotenkin hienompi meininki. (Sonja)[1]

Myös Jaana näki rinnakkaisluokan tilanteen eriarvoisena. Hän kertoi erityisesti jälkeenpäin ajatelleensa, että oli onnekas, kun oli päässyt CLIL-opetukseen toisten joutuessa opiskelemaan oppilasmäärältään suuremmassa luokassa, jossa oli myös enemmän käytös- ja oppimisvaikeuksia. Osasyynä luokkien eroon on voinut olla koulun osittainen selektiivisyys, sillä CLIL-luokille ei otettu oppilaita, joilla oli jo esikoulussa nähtävissä keskittymisen tai oppimisen ongelmia.

Molemmat haastateltavat kertoivat samansuuntaisesti CLIL-opetuksen jälkeisestä ajastaan. He olivat siirtyneet alakoulun jälkeen yläkouluun ja lukioon, joissa ei kummassakaan toteutettu CLIL-opetusta. Siirtymisen syynä oli Sonjan ja Jaanan mukaan toisen koulun parempi maine sekä Sonjan tapauksessa myös se, että hänen sisaruksensa kävi kyseistä koulua. Molempien kertomuksissa erityisesti yläkouluaikaiset englannin tunnit välittyivät negatiivisina. Sonja ja Jaana toivat voimakkaasti esille turhautumisen kokemuksia. Tunnit olivat tuntuneet liian helpoilta eivätkä olleet tarjonneet tarpeeksi haasteita, millä oli ollut iso vaikutus sekä Jaanan että Sonjan koulunkäyntiin. Tilanne oli saanut heissä aikaan ylimielisyyttä ja passiivisuutta opiskelua kohtaan. Haasteiden puute onkin usein yhteydessä lahjakkaiden oppilaiden kouluviihtyvyyteen (esim. Keltikangas-Järvinen 2006: 190). Sonja kertoi jossakin vaiheessa harkinneensa jopa koulun vaihtoa CLIL-kouluun, mutta luopui ajatuksesta, kun hänen tilanteensa oli alettu ot-

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1   Haastattelut litteroitiin sanatarkasti. Merkintä [..] sitaattien keskellä ilmaisee taukoa puheessa.

taa paremmin huomioon englannin opiskelussa eriyttämällä opetusta ylöspäin. Sonja muun muassa teki luokkakaverinsa kanssa englanninkielisiä kuunnelmia ja näytelmiä, eikä hänen tarvinnut osallistua kaikille englannin tunneille. CLIL-oppilaiden siirtyminen yksikieliseen opetukseen ja sen mukanaan tuomat haasteet on tärkeä ilmiö, johon ei CLIL-opetuksen kontekstissa ole juurikaan paneuduttu. Tutkimuksissa on ennemminkin esiintynyt sellaisten oppilaiden ääniä, jotka kokevat vieraalla kielellä opiskelun liian vaikeaksi. Nämä ovat tosin olleet CLIL-opetuksessa eivätkä perinteisessä kielenopetuksessa (esim. Coyle 2013; Wegner 2012).

6.2 CLIL-opetuksen vaikutukset

Vaikuttavuutta voidaan tarkastella muun muassa yksilökohtaisesta, institutionaalisesta tai yhteiskunnallisesta näkökulmasta (Linna 1999). Tässä tutkimuksessa CLIL-opetuksen vaikuttavuutta tarkastellaan yksilötasolla ja pohditaan, miten CLIL-opetus on vaikuttanut Jaanaan ja Sonjaan yksilöinä. Sekä Jaana että Sonja painottivat CLIL-opetuksen merkittävyyttä ja kokivat sen vaikuttaneen heidän elämäänsä. Jaana koki CLIL-opetuksen olevan lähtökohtana koko elämänkululleen:

(2) Se on ollu kyllä hyvin positiivinen kokemus.. se on antanut mulle semmosen tunteen että, että mä oon tosi taitava ja.. ja pystyvä ja.. jotenkin semmonen niinkun taas sanon tän sanan mutta työkalu jolla.. tai semmonen oikeen niinkun yleisavain muihin mielenkiintoisiin juttuihin ja maailmoihin ja.. kyllä se on ollu niinkun tosi positiivinen juttu ja se on ollu varmasti mun elämänpolun kannalta hyvin merkittävä. (Jaana)

Sitaatissa tulee hyvin esiin se, miten englannin kielen osaaminen näyttää vaikuttaneen Jaanan yleiseen minäkäsitykseen. Esimerkiksi Hardyn ja Moriartyn (2006) mukaan onnistumiset ja myönteiset kokemukset itselle tärkeillä minäkäsityksen osa-alueilla voivat muodostaa yksilölle positiivista yleistä minäkäsitystä. Jaana viittaa englannin kielen merkitykseen sanoilla *työkalu* sekä *yleisavain*, mikä kuvastaa hyvin sitä, miten tärkeänä Jaana kokee englannin kielen osaamisen oman elämänkulkunsa kannalta.

6.2.1 Kieliminä

Sekä Jaana että Sonja luonnehtivat haastatteluissa sitä, millainen merkitys CLIL-kokemuksella on ollut heihin kielenkäyttäjinä. Jaana kertoi kokevansa englannin olevan lähinnä toinen kotimainen kieli vieraan kielen sijaan. Myös Sonja toi vahvasti esiin itseluottamusta omaan kielitaitoonsa. Hän kertoi, ettei ole koskaan jännittänyt englannin kielen puhumista vaan on päinvastoin hakeutunut tilanteisiin, joissa on päässyt käyttämään englantia. Sonja muisteli jossain vaiheessa koulu-uraansa jopa ajatelleensa englanniksi. Hän myös koki, että englanti toimi joskus hänen tunnekielenään. CLIL-opetus on siis vaikuttanut siihen, että englannin kielestä on tullut keskeinen osa molempien

elämää, ja se on auttanut muodostamaan Jaanalle ja Sonjalle myönteisen kieliminän eli vieraan kielen opiskelun minäkäsityksen (ks. Laine & Pihko 1991; Mercer 2011). Molemmat arvioivat olevansa hyvin vahvoja englannin kielen käyttäjiä, jotka luottavat omiin kielellisiin kykyihinsä, ja he katsoivat CLIL-opetuksen vaikuttaneen suuresti asiaan. Tämä havainto on yhteneväinen Pihkon (2007) tutkimustulosten kanssa, jotka koskivat CLIL-oppilaiden kieliminää Suomessa (ks. myös Rumlich 2016 Saksassa).

Sonja koki olevansa hyvä vieraissa kielissä, ja hänellä oli omien sanojensa mukaan "hyvä kielipää". Hän kertoi kuitenkin tekevänsä selkeän eron englannin kielen ja muiden vieraiden kielten välillä:

(3) No siis mun mielestä jotenkin silleen että englanti on ja sitten ranskaa opetellaan.. ehkä mulla on jotenkin aina semmonen.. et semmonen niinku tai että espanjaa opetellaan ja englanti vaan on.. et se on niinku se peruskallio ja sellanen. (Sonja)

Sitaatista tulee hyvin ilmi se, kuinka vahvasta yleisestä vieraiden kielten kieliminästä huolimatta Sonjan englannin kieliminä on muiden vieraiden kielten kieliminää vahvempi ja myönteisempi. Hänen englannin kielestä käyttämänsä sana *peruskallio* ilmentää sitä, että englannin kielellä on suuri merkitys hänen elämässään kuten Jaanallakin. Tästä huolimatta Sonja kertoi tiedostavansa oman englantinsa rajallisuuden ja katsoi, ettei hän välttämättä hallitse täysin esimerkiksi englannin kielioppia. Sen sijaan hän piti omaa ääntämistään ja sanavarastoaan todella hyvinä. Sonjan näkemykset tukevat Mercerin (2011) ehdottamaa kieliminän jakamista yksityiskohtaisempiin kielen osa-alueisiin, sillä edistyneillä oppijoilla käsitykset omasta kielitaidosta voivat vaihdella kielen osa-alueen mukaan.

6.2.2 Opiskelu- ja työvalinnat

Molempien haastateltavien mielestä CLIL-opetus on ollut merkityksellinen heidän koulu- ja uravalintojensa kannalta. Jaana oli lukion jälkeen hakeutunut opiskelemaan englannin opettajaksi ja uskoi, että CLIL-tausta oli osaltaan vaikuttamassa uravalintaan. Hän näki, että halusi englannin kieltä opettamalla vaikuttaa ihmisten elämään myönteisesti, sillä omat positiiviset CLIL-kokemukset olivat saaneet hänet vakuuttuneeksi kielitaidon merkityksestä elämässä. Jaana myös kertoi, että CLIL-kokemukset ovat antaneet hänen omaan opetukseensa paljon ja hän on pyrkinyt ottamaan siihen virikkeitä CLIL-opetuksesta. Hän kertoi muistavansa selkeästi monia yli 20 vuoden takaisia aktiviteetteja, joita heidän CLIL-opetuksessaan toteutettiin. Jaana painotti useaan otteeseen haastattelussa, kuinka CLIL-opetus on vaikuttanut hänen suhtautumiseensa englannin kieltä kohtaan enemmänkin välineenä kuin itse kohteena. Tätä hän haluaa välittää myös oppilailleen:

(4) Ja niinkun ehkä se ajatus siitä että se englannin kieli oli semmonen niinku työväline..
    sitä on tietysti itekin omassa opetuksessa halunnut oppilaille että tavallaan se voi olla
    semmonen avain ihan uusiin maailmoihin ja syvempiin juttuihin ja. (Jaana)

Sonja on lukion jälkeen saanut valmiiksi kaksi englanninkielistä, kansainvälisesti suun-
tautunutta korkeakoulututkintoa. Hän kertoi, kuinka alakoulun CLIL-opetus oli saanut
aikaan sen, että hän koki opiskelun luontevammaksi ja helpommaksi englannin kielellä
kuin suomen kielellä. Sonjan työkieli on tällä hetkellä suomi, mutta hän kertoi piakkoin
käynnistyvästä projektista, jossa hän pääsee käyttämään englannin kieltä myös työelä-
mässä.

6.2.3 Kulttuurienvälinen kompetenssi

Jaanan ja Sonjan kuvailujen perusteella heidän CLIL-opetuksessaan oli ollut vahvasti
mukana myös kulttuuri (esim. Coyle 2007; Sudhoff 2010). Heidän CLIL-tunneillaan kä-
siteltiin muun muassa pohjoisamerikkalaisia ja englantilaisia juhlia ja käytettiin paljon
kyseisistä konteksteista peräisin olevia materiaaleja, mikä ohjasi eri kulttuurien analy-
sointiin. Erilaiset kansalliset kulttuurit olivat CLIL-opetuksessa läsnä myös monella muul-
la tavalla, vaikkei niitä opetuksessa eksplisiittisesti käsiteltykään. Jaanan ja Sonjan CLIL-
luokalla oli esimerkiksi muutama ulkomaalainen sekä muutama ulkomaalaistaustainen
oppilas, joiden kautta oppilaat tulivat tietoisiksi eri kulttuureista. Tuohon aikaan ja eten-
kin tapauskoulussa ulkomaalaistaustaiset oppilaat olivat varsin harvinaisia. Jaana muis-
telee kokeneensa luokan kulttuurisen heterogeenisyyden hyvin luonnollisena asiana ja
suhtautuneensa kaikkiin oppilaisiin yksilöinä muiden joukossa.

Luokassa vieraili myös jonkin verran ulkomaalaisia vieraita pitämässä englannin-
kielisiä opetustunteja. Ulkomaalaiset vieraat Jaana muistaa kokeneensa positiivisina ja
jännittävinä. Myös Sonjan kertomuksissa kokemukset ulkomaalaisista vieraista ilmenty-
vät kiehtovina. Hän mainitsee erityisen merkityksellisenä tilanteen, jossa hän ymmärsi
pystyvänsä kommunikoimaan muunmaalaisten kanssa. Vieraan kielen osaamisella oli
siis merkittävä rooli, sillä se mahdollisti tutustumisen ulkomaalaisiin ihmisiin, mikä saat-
toi osaltaan luoda positiivista suhtautumista erilaisuuteen (ks. myös Ramos 2007). Jaana
viittasikin kokeneensa englannin kielen "ihmisiä positiivisella tavalla yhdistävänä tekijä-
nä".

Oppilailla oli lisäksi koulun järjestämät ulkomaalaiset kirjeenvaihtokaverit, ja he
tekivät myös luokkaretken ulkomaille alakoulun lopussa. Nämä hyvin monimuotoiset
kulttuuriset kokemukset, joita CLIL-opetus tarjosi, näyttävät osaltaan muokanneen Jaa-
nan ja Sonjan asenteita ja maailmankuvaa. Ylipäätään Sonja ajattelee, että CLIL-opetus
toimi hänellä porttina kansainvälisyyteen ja asioiden laajempaan tarkasteluun:

(5) Tai jotenkin mulle tuli semmonen mielikuva tiiätkö että on muutakin kun tää Suomi.. että maailma on siellä ja ja niinkun puhutaan kieliä ja tälleen. (Sonja)

Molemmat haastateltavat olivat olleet peruskoulun jälkeisen opiskelun aikana vaihdossa tai asuneet muista syistä ulkomailla useampaan otteeseen. Jaana koki, että CLIL-luokan kanssa tehty matka ulkomaille on osaltaan vaikuttanut hänen myöhempiin opiskelijavaihtoihinsa. Varhaisten kokemusten ansiosta ulkomaille lähteminen ei ole tuntunut pelottavalta. Sonja kertoi, ettei hänellä ollut englanninkieliseen maahan suuntautumisen kriteerinä niinkään kielitaidon parantaminen, vaan pikemminkin mahdollisuus käyttää englannin kieltä.

7 Lopuksi

CLIL-tutkimuksissa ei ole aiemmin tarkasteltu CLIL-opetuksen kauaskantoisia vaikutuksia yksilöiden elämään. Tässä tapaustutkimuksessa asiaan paneuduttiin kahden entisen CLIL-oppilaan, Jaanan ja Sonjan, elämäkertahaastattelujen pohjalta. Sekä Jaanalle että Sonjalle oli jäänyt hyvin positiivinen kokemus alakoulun CLIL-opetuksesta. Aikuisiällä opetusta muistellessaan he kokivat olleensa etuoikeutettuja saadessaan käydä CLIL-koulua. Molempien haastateltavien kokemus oli, että CLIL-opetus oli vahvasti vaikuttanut heidän elämänkulkuihinsa ja tehtyihin valintoihin. On tietysti mahdotonta sanoa, millainen Jaanan ja Sonjan tähänastinen elämänkulku olisi ollut, jos he eivät olisi käyneet CLIL-koulua. Todennäköisesti he olisivat molemmat silti korkeasti koulutettuja, sillä molemmilla oli korkea sosioekonominen tausta, mikä on jo sinänsä vahva elämänkulun määrittäjä (esim. Alexander, Entwisle & Kabbani 2001; Bourdieu 1986; Vanttaja 2000; Veijola 2005). Sonja itse katsoi, että hänen asenteensa kieliä kohtaan saattaisi kuitenkin olla hyvinkin erilainen ilman CLIL-kokemusta ja tämä saattaisi näkyä osaltaan hänen opiskelu- ja uravalinnoissaan. Kouluaikaiset kokemukset määrittivät siis vahvasti sekä Jaanan että Sonjan myöhäisempää elämänkulkua, mikä on tullut usein esiin myös aikaisemmissa elämänkulkututkimuksissa (esim. Kauppila 2002; Kuronen 2010; Puhakka 1998).

CLIL-opetusta on perusteltu ja oikeutettu muun muassa vieraan kielen syvällisellä oppimisella (Admiraal ym. 2006; Järvinen 1999; Lasagabaster 2008; Lorenzo ym. 2009; Ruiz de Zarobe 2008). Mitä laajamittaisempaa CLIL-opetus on, sitä korkeampia tavoitteita vieraan kielen oppimiselle voidaan myös asettaa. Jaanan ja Sonjan tapaukset toimivat hyvänä esimerkkinä siitä, millainen vaikutus varhaisella CLIL-opetuksella voi olla oppilaiden kielitaitoon ja myös kieliminään (Laine & Pihko 1991; Mercer 2011). Molemmat heistä kokivat kielitaitonsa keskimääräistä paremmaksi, eikä kumpikaan ollut koskaan jännittänyt englannin kielellä puhumista. He kertoivat sen sijaan aktiivisesti hakeutuneensa tilanteisiin, joissa pääsevät käyttämään englantia. CLIL-opetuksen lisäksi Jaanan

ja Sonjan vahvan ja myönteisen englannin kieliminän muodostumiseen on todennäköisesti osaltaan vaikuttanut siirtyminen suomenkieliseen yläkouluun, jossa muilla oppilailla oli selvästi Jaanaa ja Sonjaa heikompi kielitaito, sillä kieliminä rakentuu sosiaalisessa kontekstissa ja vuorovaikutuksessa muiden kanssa (esim. Mercer 2011). Molemmat korostivat tuon ajanjakson merkitystä haastatteluissa ja kertoivat, kuinka he silloin ymmärsivät oman kielitaitonsa erityisyyden. Nykyisessä globaalissa maailmassa vahva monikielisyys luo mahdollisuuksia monenlaisiin uravalintoihin ja avaa ovia kansainvälisyyteen. Monikielisyyden merkitys on huomioitu vahvasti myös Euroopan tasolla muun muassa eurooppalaisen viitekehyksen myötä (esim. Council of Europe 2001). Myös tapauskoulun CLIL-opetuksen yhtenä tavoitteena oli valmentaa oppilaita kansainväliseen elämään, mikä tuntui toteutuneen ainakin Jaanan ja Sonjan tapauksessa, sillä vahva kielitaito oli osaltaan vaikuttanut heidän koulutus- ja uravalintoihinsa sekä asumiseensa ulkomailla.

Sujuvan kielitaidon vaatimusten lisäksi nyky-yhteiskunnan lapset kohtaavat yhä enemmän erilaisuutta ja kulttuurista moninaisuutta. CLIL-opetuksen on esitetty olevan yksi mahdollisuus edistää kulttuurienvälistä ymmärrystä (esim. Coyle 2007; Sudhoff 2010). Jaanan ja Sonjan kertomuksista voi päätellä, ettei kulttuuriasioihin perehdytty välttämättä kovin eksplisiittisesti, mutta ne olivat olleet implisiittisenä osana läsnä heidän CLIL-opetuksessaan muun muassa siten, että luokassa oli eri maista kotoisin olevia oppilaita, oppilailla oli ulkomaisia kirjeenvaihtokavereita, luokassa kävi ulkomaalaisia vierailijoita ja luokka teki ulkomaanmatkan. Kulttuurien käsittelyssä onkin syytä olla tarkkana, ettei syyllistytä vain eri kulttuurien eroavaisuuksien tarkasteluun ja luoda siten sijaa stereotypioille ja kulttuurirasismille (ks. esim. Sommier & Roiha painossa). CLIL-kokemukset ja CLIL-opetuksen luonne tuntuivat tehneen sekä Jaanasta että Sonjasta kulttuurienvälisesti kompetentteja henkilöitä (esim. Byram 1997), jotka osasivat arvostaa kulttuurista moninaisuutta. Tämä antaa viitteitä siitä, että hyvin toteutetussa CLIL-opetuksessa kulttuuristen asioiden huomioiminen lisää oppilaiden kulttuurienvälistä tietoisuutta ja kulttuurien ymmärrystä.

Tutkimus on tapaustutkimus, eikä sen perusteella voi tehdä yleistyksiä. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena olikin ymmärtää tutkittavaa ilmiötä paremmin. On myös huomioitava, että Jaana ja Sonja muistelivat 20 vuoden takaisia kokemuksiaan CLIL-opetuksesta nykyisyydestä käsin, millä voi olla vaikutuksensa kerrontaan (ks. esim. McAdams 2008). Jaanan ja Sonjan kokemukset ja elämänkulut viittaavat kuitenkin siihen, että hyvin toteutettu CLIL-opetus voi vankan kielitaidon luomisen ohella ja sen myötä lisätä kouluviihtyvyyttä, vaikuttaa yksilön elämänkulkuun ja tehdä oppilaista kulttuurienvälisesti kompetentteja. Jatkossa olisi kiinnostavaa paneutua samaan tematiikkaan laajemman CLIL-oppilasjoukon pohjalta. Vastaavanlainen tutkimusasetelma onkin tarkoitus toteuttaa kokonaiselle luokalle, joka sai CLIL-opetusta peruskoulussa vuosina 1992–2000. Tä-

män lisäksi CLIL-opetuksen vaikutuksia ihmisten elämänkulkuihin olisi mielenkiintoista tarkastella määrällisesti, esimerkiksi suuremman joukon entisiä CLIL-oppilaita tavoittavalla kyselylomakkeella. Myös yksi kiintoisa näkökulma, joka tutkimuksessa nousi esiin, on CLIL-oppilaiden siirtyminen suomenkieliselle luokalle ja sen opetukselle tuomat haasteet.

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LIITE 1.

CLIL-teemahaastattelun kysymykset

1. Taustatiedot
   - Minä vuonna aloitit CLIL-opetuksen?
   - Montako vuotta opiskelit?
   - Kerro CLIL-opetuksesta: missä aineissa? montako tuntia viikossa? miten toteutettiin?

2. Opiskelu
   - Mitä opiskelit peruskoulun jälkeen?
   - Millä tavoin CLIL-tausta vaikutti opintoihin?

3. Työ
   - Mitä työtä olet tehnyt tai teet?
   - Millä tavoin CLIL-tausta on vaikuttanut työelämääsi?

4. Perhe ja vapaa-aika
   - Millä tavoin CLIL on vaikuttanut vapaa-ajan elämääsi?

5. Asenteet ja arvot
   - Millä tavoin CLIL on vaikuttanut asenteisiisi ja arvoihisi?

II

INVESTIGATING FORMER PUPILS' EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF CLIL IN FINLAND: A RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS

by

Roiha, A. (2019)

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Investigating former pupils' experiences and perceptions of CLIL in Finland: A retrospective analysis

Abstract

The educational approach known as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), in which content is taught partly through a foreign language, has gained great popularity in Europe in the past few decades. In Finland, CLIL has been in use since 1991 and, despite some fluctuations in its popularity, has gained a relatively stable place in the Finnish education system. CLIL has been extensively studied, but previous CLIL research has mostly focused on pupils currently enrolled in CLIL. This study takes a novel perspective by investigating CLIL retrospectively, through the eyes of former pupils. The data used are in-depth interviews with 24 former pupils who attended a CLIL class in Finland in the 1990s. The interviews were analysed using qualitative content analysis. The findings reveal that the participants had overwhelmingly positive memories of their CLIL programme. They felt strongly that CLIL had positively affected their English language proficiency, particularly their vocabulary and speaking skills. Most believed that CLIL had not adversely affected their content learning. Despite the overall satisfaction, a few participants suggested ways to develop CLIL, which are also discussed. The results of this case study broaden our understanding of CLIL and have implications for language education policy.

Keywords: CLIL, content learning, foreign language learning, perceptions, emic perspective

Introduction

Along with one's socioeconomic and family background, education and school experiences have been shown to be significant in shaping one's life course and determining how one finds one's place in society (e.g. Dominicé 2000; Kauppila 2002; Vanttaja 2000). Above all, negative school experiences and poor attainment often predict challenges in later life (e.g. Kuronen 2010). It is therefore important to investigate different educational practices and their effect on pupils' identities and attitudes towards schooling. The educational context of the present study is Content and Language Integrated Learning (hereafter CLIL). In this article, CLIL is defined as an educational approach that encompasses various models in which content is partly taught through a foreign language (Coyle, Hood, and Marsh 2010). CLIL can be seen as partly stemming from and being influenced by the Canadian immersion programme that was developed in the 1960s (Cummins and Swain 1986). Consequently, there has been an on-going debate about the similarities and differences between CLIL and immersion (e.g. Lasagabaster

and Sierra 2010; Somers and Surmont 2012). This article does not delve very deeply into that discussion but takes the position that within a myriad of CLIL variations, some may have more similarities with immersion while others are rather different from it. Both immersion and CLIL nevertheless share the same theoretical underpinning, the view that language is best acquired through authentic communication, and thus aim to provide pupils with both comprehensible input (Krashen 1986) and comprehensible output (Swain 1985).

CLIL has mushroomed in Europe during the past few decades (Dalton-Puffer 2011; Eurydice 2006). In Finland, CLIL started in 1991, following some changes to the relevant legislation. Despite some fluctuation over the years, CLIL has gained a stable position as one of the educational approaches used in the Finnish education system (e.g. Lehti, Järvinen, and Suomela-Salmi 2006; Nikula and Marsh 1996; Peltoniemi et al. 2018). In Europe generally, the approach has been taken up as one way to increase plurilingualism and tackle the challenges of migration and globalisation (Ruiz de Zarobe 2008). Previously, the majority of CLIL studies have revolved around learning outcomes and have been conducted from etic perspectives (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2011; Pérez-Cañado 2012). Recently, emic perspectives in CLIL studies have become more common as pupils' perceptions have also started to be of interest to researchers (e.g. Coyle 2013; Pladevall-Ballester 2015). However, most studies have been quantitative and focused on pupils currently enrolled in CLIL programmes. The aim of the present study is to provide a novel perspective by drawing attention to former pupils' experiences of CLIL in order to broaden our understanding of this multifaceted approach to learning.

The results presented here are part of a larger research project that examines CLIL through the eyes of former pupils. Specifically, in this article, 24 former Finnish pupils, who attended an English-medium CLIL programme for nine years in the 1990s, retrospectively reflect on their CLIL experiences. This article relies solely on the participants' subjective

perceptions and no measurements, for instance, on their language proficiency were conducted. The specific research questions for this study are:

(1) *How do the participants reflect on CLIL as an experience?*

(2) *How do they perceive the effect of CLIL on*

    a. *their target language learning?*

    b. *their content learning?*

Literature review

This section presents previous CLIL research relevant to the scope of this article. First of all, there is a brief summary of the most important research on the effect of CLIL on target language and content learning. Secondly, CLIL studies focusing on pupils' perceptions, which have become more mainstream, are reviewed. Following the conceptualisation of CLIL presented in the introduction, this article focuses on studies conducted in CLIL contexts, leaving purely immersion studies aside. However, the fact that immersion has been shown to be beneficial to pupils' target language skills without any detriment to content learning (e.g. Lazaruk 2007) gives some support to the claims for CLIL programmes as well.

Learning outcomes in CLIL

A number of studies have shown that CLIL has a very positive effect on pupils' target language learning. In several studies, CLIL pupils have even outperformed their non-CLIL peers in all the measured skills. For instance, in Lasagabaster's (2008) study, CLIL pupils (n = 113) demonstrated higher achievement in grammar, listening, speaking and writing than their non-CLIL peers (n = 28). In Lorenzo, Casal, and Moore's (2010) study, CLIL pupils (n = 754) performed better in reading, listening, writing and speaking than the control pupils (n = 448), while in Ruiz de Zarobe's (2008) study, CLIL pupils (n = 107) outperformed their peers (n =

54) in pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, fluency and content. Again, Admiraal, Westhoff, and de Bot (2006) found that CLIL pupils (n = 548) demonstrated higher proficiencies in oral production and reading comprehension than their non-CLIL peers (n = 721) but the effect of CLIL on receptive word knowledge was neutral. In Finland, Järvinen (1999) found that CLIL pupils' (n = 90) foreign language learning was significantly faster than that of their non-CLIL peers (n = 47).

Compared to studies on language learning, those on content learning have been less conclusive. For instance, Surmont et al. (2016) examined the effect of French-medium CLIL on pupils' learning of mathematics and found that CLIL pupils (n = 35) outperformed their non-CLIL peers (n = 72) already after three months. The pre-test showed that there were no *a priori* differences between the two groups. In Finland, Seikkula-Leino (2007) and Jäppinen (2005) examined CLIL in relation to content learning. On average, in both studies, CLIL had a neutral effect on pupils' learning. However, in Seikkula-Leino's (2007) study, which measured the learning of mathematics and mother tongue (i.e., Finnish), overachieving was much more common for non-CLIL pupils (n = 101) than for CLIL pupils (n = 217), which suggests that in CLIL classes pupils learn according to their abilities but not above that. Jäppinen (2005) looked at pupils' cognitive development in science and mathematics and found that in some cases the CLIL pupils' (n = 335) cognitive development was even faster than the non-CLIL pupils' (n = 334). Admiraal, Westhoff, and de Bot (2006) also measured content learning and found that CLIL had a neutral effect on the pupils' history and geography learning. However, the data for that were very limited, yielding only tentative results. Additionally, in Dallinger et al.'s (2016) study in Germany, which took *a priori* differences into account, CLIL was found to have a neutral effect on pupils' history learning even though the CLIL pupils (n = 703) had received 50 percent more history lessons than their non-CLIL peers (n = 1103). This study also investigated language learning outcomes and found that CLIL had a positive

effect only on listening comprehension, but not on overall English proficiency, a finding that challenged some previous studies on target language acquisition.

Among studies which have indicated that CLIL would be detrimental to content learning is one conducted by Fernández-Sanjurjo, Fernández-Costales and Arias Blanco (2017), which investigated the science learning of primary pupils (n = 709) in Spain. Approximately half of the pupils were English-medium CLIL pupils and the rest were their monolingual peers. The findings showed that pupils studying in their L1 performed slightly better than the CLIL pupils, although the difference was not very substantial. Additionally, pupils' social and economic status had an effect on their performance: pupils with a more privileged background outperformed those with lower socioeconomic status.

In conclusion, the studies presented here suggest that CLIL is, generally, a useful approach for enhancing pupils' foreign language proficiency. However, there is more disagreement about which areas of language skills CLIL enhances the most. This may partly be explained by the fact that CLIL is implemented in various ways, so some programmes may emphasise oral production while others focus more on writing and reading. Moreover, it seems that CLIL may not advance pupils' content learning more than monolingual teaching does, even though it has been claimed that bilingual education has a positive effect on pupils' cognitive development (e.g. Jäppinen 2005; Lazaruk 2007). On the other hand, CLIL does not typically seem to be detrimental to content learning. Similar conclusions were reached by Graham et al. (2018) in their recent review. While the studies reviewed demonstrated mixed results on the effectiveness of CLIL on language and content outcomes, the authors concluded that overall CLIL seems to have either a neutral or a slightly positive effect on pupils' attainment in terms of both language and content. However, it is important to bear in mind that CLIL is dependent on many contextual variables. Thus, one must be cautious about making too strong generalisations on the basis of existing CLIL studies. Additionally, it is worth noting

that some of the quantitative studies presented here have been somewhat small-scale (e.g. Järvinen 1999; Lasagabaster 2008). Previous CLIL research has also been questioned and criticised, for instance, for its different definitions of CLIL, for the lack of pre-tests with CLIL and control pupils, as well as for its neglect of socioeconomic background and pupil selection (e.g. Bruton 2011; Cenoz, Genesee, and Gorter 2014; Küppers and Trautmann 2013). For instance, Rumlich (2016) found that CLIL pupils do not necessarily gain much from CLIL when *a priori* differences are taken into account. Thus, more research is still needed to establish the effects of CLIL on pupils' learning outcomes.

Pupils' perceptions

Earlier CLIL studies have only looked at the experiences and opinions of pupils currently taking part in CLIL. Further, most studies have focused on secondary pupils, neglecting young learners' perceptions, although some researchers have examined primary pupils' perceptions, for instance Massler (2012) (n = 176), Pladevall-Ballester (2015) (n = 197) and Ramos (2007) (n = 61). In all of these studies, the majority of pupils reported that they enjoyed CLIL and regarded it as beneficial to them: the pupils in Massler's (2012) study would have preferred to receive even more English-medium instruction, Pladevall-Ballester (2015) found that most pupils considered CLIL to be both improving their English skills and facilitating their content learning, and most pupils in Ramos' (2007) study felt that CLIL would help them get a better job in the future and provide them with the tools to communicate with others. Despite the overall satisfaction, all the studies included a number of pupils who were less satisfied with CLIL. For instance, Massler (2012) found that 10 percent of pupils did not want to have CLIL in other subjects, and 22 percent had experienced difficulties in content learning in CLIL lessons. Similarly, in Pladevall-Ballester's (2015) study, some pupils felt that the language in CLIL lessons was too challenging: more than a third of the pupils reported experiencing

difficulties in comprehension, and almost a half reported difficulties in oral production in their CLIL classes. Ramos (2007) found that more than a third of the pupils were unsure whether learning in two languages would help them perform better at school, and almost half of them were unsure whether it would enhance their cognitive skills.

Secondary pupils' perceptions have been examined, for instance, by Coyle (2013) (n = 670) and Hunt (2011) (n = 283) in the UK. Overall, the pupils regarded CLIL as a highly positive experience. In Coyle's (2013) study, 85 percent of the pupils reported that they hoped CLIL would continue at their school. Many of them considered CLIL beneficial from the point of view of their language proficiency and thought that in particular CLIL developed their speaking and communication skills. In Hunt's (2011) study, approximately two-thirds of the pupils reported enjoying the CLIL lessons and nearly two-thirds claimed that they looked forward to learning through a foreign language in the future. Additionally, many pupils compared CLIL to mainstream classes, declaring that it was 'different' and 'better'. As with the studies on primary pupils' perceptions, Coyle (2013) and Hunt (2011) also encountered critical voices. That is, Coyle (2013) found that 15 percent of pupils regarded CLIL as too difficult, boring or useless. The more critical pupils felt that CLIL lessons included too much teacher talk, translation and writing, or that the topic was already familiar to them. Hunt (2011) found that 7 percent of pupils did not enjoy CLIL and 12 percent did not want to continue CLIL in the future.

In a very recent study, Somers and Llinares (2018) looked at Spanish secondary CLIL pupils' (n = 157) motivation towards the target language as well as content learning in high- and low-intensity CLIL programmes. The results showed that, in general, pupils in both groups seemed to enjoy CLIL and perceived it as useful for their future. However, the pupils in the high-intensity group were more motivated and regarded CLIL as benefiting their future studies and professional careers more than the pupils in the low-intensity groups. Despite the overall

satisfaction with CLIL, only about half of pupils reported being at ease in CLIL lessons. The pupils' answers to open questions revealed that anxiety among the pupils in the high-intensity group mostly related to the demanding content. In contrast, anxiety among the pupils in the low-intensity group was related to what they saw as both the demanding content and their own perceived low level of proficiency in the target CLIL language.

In Finland, pupils' (n = 209) attitudes towards CLIL have been examined, for instance, by Pihko (2010). The results of her mixed methods study show that the general attitude of most secondary pupils towards CLIL was very positive. A clear majority considered CLIL easy and only 6 percent reported it as difficult. However, one fifth of the participants disagreed with the statement that studying through a foreign language is pleasant and 15 percent would have preferred to study all the subjects in their L1. In Pihko's (2010) study, those pupils who reported negative attitudes to CLIL in the survey were also interviewed. Many of them considered that their own language skills were insufficient to cope with CLIL, and some school subjects, such as history, mathematics, physics and chemistry, were specifically mentioned as difficult subjects to study in a foreign language. Pupils would also have liked more guidance and support in their learning as well as more opportunities to use the language in practice.

To conclude, the majority of pupils themselves appear to enjoy CLIL and regard it as a positive and useful educational approach. The studies reported here, however, show that most CLIL classes also include learners who do not see the benefits of CLIL and struggle with the approach. This is vital information also for practitioners. However, previous studies on language learning, content learning and pupils' perceptions of CLIL have focused exclusively on participants who are currently enrolled in CLIL. Thus, there seems to be an important research gap, an absence of studies using retrospective reflections on CLIL, which the present study aims to fill.

Methodology

The CLIL context and the participants

This study explores the insights of pupils from one former CLIL class in Finland. The primary purpose of this research was to describe and understand the participants' experience of CLIL, and it therefore gives voice to pupils themselves constructing their narratives and memories of their CLIL times. Altogether, 29 pupils (including the researcher) studied in the class at some stage. They were all contacted via Facebook and 24 agreed to take part in the research. All the participants signed a letter of consent which outlined the aim of the research and how the data would be used. Additionally, it was made clear to the participants that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point. To preserve their anonymity, the participants were given pseudonyms (see Table 1). Most of the participants attended English-medium CLIL for nine years during their compulsory schooling (years 1–9, pupils' age 7–15), starting in 1992. Unlike the majority of CLIL programmes in Europe, the target programme did not require applicants to take a pre-test. However, preference was given to pupils who had some prior experience of English, and this was the case for 5 pupils in the class. The number of applicants outnumbered the places in the target year, so the remaining places had to be filled by drawing lots. In primary school, CLIL was implemented in most subjects and approximately a quarter of the overall teaching was conducted in English. In secondary school, the amount of CLIL decreased and it was less systematic than at primary level. The declared goal of the CLIL programme was to make pupils confident and competent language users and to provide them with the skills needed to function in an increasingly international society.

At the time of the interviews, the participants were 30–31 years old. After the CLIL comprehensive school, 19 of them had completed upper secondary school, two had graduated from vocational school and three had obtained a dual diploma (i.e., from both). 12 participants had a Master's degree or equivalent, seven had a Bachelor's degree or equivalent (three of them

were currently finishing their Master's studies) and four had a vocational degree. In addition, two participants were currently completing their doctoral degrees. Four participants had completed their studies entirely in English and eleven participants' degrees had included some English-medium courses. The main working language of three participants was English, ten used English at work regularly, and nine used it sporadically. After their CLIL schooling, seven participants had lived abroad and four of them were still currently doing so. Each participant's post-CLIL education and English use is outlined in more detail in Appendix 1.

Data collection and analysis

The data of this study are 24 in-depth interviews with the participants. The interviews were very open in nature as the emphasis was on the participants' personal perceptions and experiences. The researcher had personal experience as a pupil in the target class, and the resulting experience and position may have influenced the analysis and interpretations. The earlier relationship between the author and the participants also added a unique character to the interviews. Garton and Copland (2010) labelled these types of interviews *acquaintance interviews*, and they suggest that due to the shared experience, they may offer access to resources that are not always available in traditional interview settings, although acquaintance interviews are not necessarily a more valid method of data collection than other interview types. The broad interview themes were sent to the participants in advance so that they could retrieve aspects of their CLIL classes before the interviews, especially as the participants were looking back on memories and experiences from more than 20 years before. The interviews were conducted in Finnish, by the author, between August 2016 and January 2017. The duration of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 78 minutes, the average being 48 minutes (see Table 1 for more details). The interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim by the author. The data were analysed following theory-oriented content analysis methods. That is, the relevant

umbrella concepts (i.e., perceptions, language learning, content learning) and previous studies related to them were acknowledged but the analysis still relied extensively on the data (e.g. Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009).

Table 1. The participants in the study and the interview details.

Pseudonym	Time spent in the CLIL class	Date of the interview	Duration of the interview	Venue of the interview
Anna	Pre-school – 9th Year (10 years)	8.9.2016	58:04	researcher's home
Annika	1st Year – 6th Year (6 years)	19.9.2016	41:37	researcher's home
Arttu	7th Year – 9th Year (3 years)	1.10.2016	39:18	hotel lobby
Eemeli	Pre-school – 9th Year (10 years)	11.9.2016	45:44	researcher's home
Emmi	Pre-school – 9th Year (10 years)	17.9.2016	40:22	university library
Hanna	Pre-school – 6th Year (7 years)	15.11.2016	30:17	researcher's home
Jere	Pre-school – 9th Year (10 years)	24.1.2017	38:35	via Skype
Jonne	1st Year – 9th Year (9 years)	30.9.2016	45:55	participant's home
Juho	1st Year – 9th Year (9 years)	1.10.2016	69:03	participant's home
Jukka	Pre-school – 9th Year (10 years)	6.9.2016	34:54	researcher's home
Kaapo	1st Year – 6th Year (6 years)	26.1.2017	36:10	via Skype
Kalle	Pre-school – 9th Year (10 years)	1.10.2016	37:15	participant's home
Kimmo	1st Year – 9th Year (9 years)	10.12.2016	63:18	participant's home
Lotta	Pre-school – 4th Year (5 years)	21.11.2016	34:07	researcher's home
Maria	1st Year – 6th Year (6 years)	2.10.2016	61:08	hotel lobby
Marko	1st – 4th Year, 6th – 9th Year (8 years)	3.12.2016	78:31	researcher's home
Niko	Pre-school – 9th Year (10 years)	19.1.2017	39:30	via Skype
Olli	1st Year – 9th Year (9 years)	4.9.2016	38:24	researcher's home
Pasi	Pre-school – 9th Year (10 years)	25.8.2016	39:18	researcher's home
Riikka	7th Year – 9th Year (3 years)	5.11.2016	45:24	researcher's home
Roni	1st Year – 9th Year (9 years)	22.12.2016	41:22	participant's home
Samu	3rd Year – 9th Year (7 years)	12.11.2016	62:14	participant's home
Sanna	2nd Year – 7th Year (6 years)	16.1.2017	79:56	via Skype
Tuukka	Pre-school – 9th Year (10 years)	13.10.2016	63:02	researcher's home

Results

The results of the study will be presented according to the research questions. First, the participants' general attitudes towards CLIL will be discussed. Then the following part will examine the perceived effects of CLIL on the participants' target language and content

learning. The results section contains quotations from the interviews, which have been translated into English by the author.

CLIL as an experience

The participants were generally very satisfied with their CLIL experience. Their satisfaction was clear, as all the participants said that they would choose to take part in similar CLIL again and that they would also like their own children to have that experience. Many participants emphasised how CLIL had motivated them and made learning more interesting:

> I think it was also quite interesting to do things in English.. that it's anyway more varied then.. and it probably says quite a bit about the teaching that you don't remember that we've gone through things in English because it was quite natural already early on. (Olli)

> I think it was divided so that sometimes we had Finnish-medium lessons and sometimes we had more in English then.. but maybe they're also getting a bit mixed up in my head so that I don't really recall in which language a certain lesson was taught.. so maybe already very early on English didn't feel like anything so disruptive. (Eemeli)

The fact that the participants did not always notice whether the language of instruction was Finnish or English exemplifies how taken-for-granted and natural CLIL was for them as an approach. Both Olli and Eemeli referred to the starting age of CLIL and regarded it as a significant factor in their having a positive attitude towards English. This should for its part encourage schools to introduce CLIL more widely already at primary level: the target CLIL programme started in Year 1 (when the pupils were 7 years old). In addition, many of the participants had already had some less serious English-medium teaching in pre-school (see Table 1).

Most participants expressed the view that using English had always been effortless and that CLIL had contributed to their highly positive English language self-concept (see also Author Forthcoming). Thus, the main objective of the programme (i.e., making pupils confident language users) seemed to have been fulfilled. Issues of privilege and superiority were also frequently raised in the interviews. That is, many of the interviewees had already started to realise the advantages CLIL brought to their lives while they were still at school. Anna, for instance, said:

> Well I do feel that I had this kind of class identity that we were a bit better than the others. (Anna)

Like Anna, a few other participants also referred to their class identity and associated it with CLIL. They felt that this identity, which intersected with a sense of privilege, was partly constructed by the teachers and even by the parents. The participants made explicit references to the novelty of the CLIL approach and to the fact that it was open to only a very limited number of pupils. This, as well as the fact that the participants were chosen from among many applicants, seemed to have prompted a sense of uniqueness, and this had lasted throughout their time at school. For instance, Marko talked about the pupils in the CLIL class as follows:

> Were the pupils after all selected for our class? It felt as if there were a lot of educated and academic parents and everything.. and then nearly everyone performed well at school.. so that it was maybe a special class in some way. (Marko)

The participants' remarks partly reflect the time of their schooling: that is, in the early 1990s CLIL was something new and was generally regarded as more exotic than it is now. It is therefore arguable that the feedback and social comparisons had a prominent role in forming their sense of privilege, which in turn reinforced their positive attitude towards the CLIL

programme. CLIL has been quite widely criticised for being elitist, for instance, because of the pupil selection and the implementation of CLIL in areas with families of high socioeconomic status (Cenoz, Genesee, and Gorter 2014). Contrary to Marko's surmise, the target CLIL programme was in fact open to everyone, and the pupils were not subjected to a pre-test. It was, however, partly selective, as priority was given to pupils who already had some experience of English before school began. The remaining pupils were chosen randomly. Additionally, the area of the school was relatively high in terms of socioeconomic status. The CLIL group was therefore not representative of an average class in Finland at the time.

The interviewees' overwhelming satisfaction with CLIL is illustrated by the fact that few of them could come up with any negative remarks about their CLIL experience:

I can't honestly think of anything [negative].. I tried to come up with some negative aspects but I honestly couldn't come up with anything. (Arttu)

A few of the participants did, however, express some negative memories and experiences. For instance, there was some criticism of CLIL in secondary school: some people felt that CLIL was poorly implemented there and should have been more systematic and more goal-oriented:

I mostly remember that we had very little of it [CLIL classes].. and that it was quite poorly integrated.. and somehow it felt like it didn't really work.. like the idea of it. (Riikka)

One explanation for some participants' negative recollections might be that the nature of the CLIL programme changed quite considerably when the group entered secondary school: the amount of CLIL decreased and many participants felt that some teachers were not very committed to the CLIL programme. The contrast between primary and secondary CLIL was an issue that arose in many interviews.

Although, overall, the target class performed relatively well at school, there were a few participants who said that at times they had felt overwhelmed by CLIL and that their language skills were not good enough to follow the English-medium instruction. Studying certain subjects (e.g. mathematics and chemistry) partly in a foreign language was said to pose an extra challenge and to cause occasional difficulties in their learning, which echoes Pihko's (2010) research. The most critical voice was Hanna's:

Maybe I just didn't keep up with the others.. well enough.. I think I would've just needed like more personal support.. maybe I even sometimes thought to myself that I wish I wasn't in this class. (Hanna)

In general, Hanna's English use after CLIL had been very limited and her English language self-concept seemed to be fairly negative. It is worth remarking that even those participants who experienced difficulties later on in their education assessed CLIL as a positive and beneficial experience and would still choose to go through the same sort of schooling. A few of them speculated that without CLIL they might have experienced more severe foreign language learning difficulties and greater language anxiety. For instance, despite her negative remarks, Hanna remained positive about being selected for the CLIL class:

I don't think that I'd know how to speak even this much English if I'd only started it later.. I think it's been useful that I was there and hung in there with the others. (Hanna)

Most participants were satisfied with the amount of CLIL, which was approximately 25 percent of the overall teaching. They justified their satisfaction on various grounds. Some looked at the issue in relation to their language proficiency and considered that there was enough CLIL to give them a good command of English. Others evaluated the amount from the perspective of content learning and believed that more CLIL instruction might have led to difficulties in

mastering the different school subjects. For instance, the following quotation from Juho's interview, in which he juxtaposes different educational models, exemplifies how, on the one hand, he appreciated CLIL but, on the other, how he considered that some matters have to be learned in one's L1:

> Yes I would [put my children in CLIL].. and I think exactly this is good that.. that if the options were to send them to this kind of class, a totally Finnish-medium class or a totally English-medium class in Finland.. then I would rather put them in this kind of class than in a totally English-medium class because.. because anyway there are a lot of things like this that you have to learn in Finnish. (Juho)

A few participants agreed with the amount of CLIL they received because it did not have a stigmatising effect; that is, they felt that it was enough to achieve the general aim of the CLIL programme (i.e., of making pupils confident and competent language users) but that more English-medium teaching might have been viewed negatively by their non-CLIL peers. Only four participants mentioned wanting to have even more CLIL. This was mostly in secondary school where, as has already been mentioned, the amount of CLIL decreased considerably.

In conclusion, CLIL seems to have made the participants' schooling enjoyable, which has been identified in previous research on pupils currently enrolled in CLIL (e.g. Massler 2012; Pladevall-Ballester 2015). Enjoying school was not typical in Finland at that time, as the 1990s was in general a period of major cuts to school budgets, which was mirrored in pupils' dissatisfaction with school (e.g. Linnakylä 1993; Nikkanen 1999). However, it is important to bear in mind that, whatever the participants' felt as they looked back, other factors besides CLIL may have affected their school satisfaction. Nevertheless, the participants' perception was that, at least to some extent, especially CLIL had increased their school satisfaction.

Perceptions of the effect of CLIL

Overall, the participants believed that CLIL had enhanced their language proficiency. The most recurrent theme was the positive English language self-concept that CLIL had formed (see also Author Forthcoming). That is, the majority of the participants declared that they were confident language users who had not experienced any language anxiety, and they emphasised the role of CLIL in this. Again, the participants emphasised that the early start in CLIL had had an impact on their English proficiency, which speaks for the implementation of CLIL at an early, primary level:

> Exactly those, pronunciation and how easy it is to follow spoken language, so I believe the younger you study or in general hear or use the language a little, the easier it is to acquire it. (Emmi)

The participants underlined how natural a language English had become to them as a result of CLIL. Most of them considered that their English competence was generally much better than average. Some even evaluated their English proficiency as being almost nativelike:

> All the grammatical structures and so on are as obvious as in speaking Finnish so I don't need to think about them at all. (Olli)

> Just like in Finnish.. like you'd be discussing in Finnish.. you're able to express yourself the same way in English. (Jukka)

It is worth noting that English had not had a very prominent role in the lives of some of the participants who perceived themselves as highly competent English users. For instance, Olli had not used English very much after CLIL, and Jukka's studies had included only a few English courses (see Appendix 1).

In addition to overall English proficiency, the participants regarded CLIL as specifically benefiting certain language skills. Three-quarters of the participants thought that CLIL had mostly developed their vocabulary and speaking skills:

> I think that many words became familiar.. even if they didn't go into your productive vocabulary they've still been like hold on I've heard that somewhere before.. and the context of the word has become in some ways familiar. (Kimmo)

> Well you could say the terminology in geography or biology.. of course you acquired a much richer vocabulary. (Sanna)

> Probably at least speaking.. pronunciation and using the language in everyday situations.. and how you pronounce a word properly. (Maria)

In line with the participants' perceptions, many studies from different CLIL contexts have similarly shown that CLIL pupils are often ahead of their peers in vocabulary and oral production (e.g. Admiraal, Westhoff, and de Bot 2006; Lasagabaster 2008; Ruiz de Zarobe 2008). However, arguably, which specific language skills CLIL enhances depends in part on how CLIL is implemented in practice, which varies a great deal within Europe (e.g. Eurydice 2006). It can be inferred that in the CLIL context examined in this study, a great deal of emphasis was placed on oral output as well as input (see e.g. Krashen 1986; Swain 1985). Listening comprehension was mentioned by one fifth of the participants whereas grammar, reading and writing were referred to only occasionally.

Two-thirds of the participants in the present study perceived that CLIL had had a neutral effect on their content learning. Many related this outcome to how natural CLIL was, and considered that the language of instruction did not play a role in the learning process:

I'd say more or less zero [= neutral effect].. that I don't.. when the problem of grammar went away so quickly then it was just a different way of teaching the same thing.. either you learned it or you didn't.. I'd say it would've had the same impact even if it had been in Finnish. (Jonne)

Due to the early start of CLIL, the participants had acquired English implicitly, which helped them learn the content regardless of the language of instruction. This offers further support for the implementation of CLIL already in the first years of primary school.

About one fifth of the participants hypothesised that CLIL might even have advanced their content learning:

I've thought of it more like this that we have in fact somehow learned something extra or more precisely because things have come sort of through two channels both a bit in Finnish and in English.. so they've formed some sort of synthesis in the head quite early on. (Maria)

Well.. perhaps I would see it that going through things in English sort of taught us much more than if they had been covered in Finnish.. because at least I had to work to learn them so maybe then they stuck in your head better. (Hanna)

Maria's and Hanna's views echo Coyle (2013) and Hunt (2011), who found that secondary pupils considered that CLIL lessons called for greater concentration which, in turn, led to better learning. Interestingly, even though a few participants in the present study considered that CLIL meant an extra workload, they still reported enjoying it and considered it motivating. This is in line with previous research which has shown that if pupils generally regard the teaching as motivating, they are more willing to face challenging learning situations (Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi 2009).

In contrast, only three participants raised some concerns regarding their content learning. Anna and Emmi remembered experiencing minor difficulties in chemistry in secondary school. However, both of them emphasised that overall, CLIL did not have a significant impact on their content learning. Annika was the only one who reported some difficulties in learning the content in CLIL already at primary level:

> Maybe in some mathematics or that kind of subject I maybe felt that it was a bit too much because it was challenging anyway… then when you also had to learn it in a foreign language it maybe increased the level [of difficulty] then. (Annika)

Despite the criticism, Annika expressed her opinion somewhat discreetly. This may also be due to the fact that she did not want to put too much emphasis on her difficulties when speaking to another former CLIL pupil, which raises questions as to whether other participants may have been minimising their possible difficulties because of being interviewed by a former CLIL peer. To overcome social desirability bias, the participants were specifically encouraged to give their genuine opinions about CLIL. Furthermore, their perceptions were investigated by means of direct and indirect questions. For instance, the question of negative issues about CLIL was addressed explicitly as its own theme as well as at various stages in the interview in relation to the participants' accounts.

Discussion and conclusion

Thus far, only a minority of studies has looked at pupils' perceptions of CLIL, and those studies that have been conducted have been quantitative and have mostly focused on secondary pupils. Moreover, the participants have all been pupils currently enrolled in CLIL programmes (e.g. Coyle 2013; Pihko 2010). The present study examines the issue qualitatively and explores the subject with former pupils who are reflecting on their CLIL experiences retrospectively. The

aim was to broaden understanding of CLIL and offer a new way of approaching it. The research setting meant that the participants were able to reflect on their experiences in the long-term. By this time they also possessed both the skills and the vocabulary to critically examine their CLIL practices, which young learners may lack.

In general, the participants recollected their past CLIL experiences in an overtly positive light. For the participants, CLIL had provided enjoyable and satisfying school experiences, and had made their schooldays more interesting. This echoes previous CLIL research (e.g. Pihko 2010; Pladevall-Ballester 2015). The fact that they had begun to learn in CLIL already at an early age seemed to be of importance to the participants. Many of them said that CLIL was a very natural teaching approach and it made no difference to them whether the language of instruction was Finnish or English. While this is a small-scale qualitative study and thus not generalisable, this result nevertheless encourages the implementation of early CLIL.

Some of the interviewees even reflected on issues of privilege. Many of them said that they realised when they were still very young that CLIL would be useful in their future path in life. Additionally, many felt that comparing themselves to others (mostly to their non-CLIL peers) and the positive recognition from their surroundings had in part affected their sense of superiority as language users. However, when interpreting this result, it is important to acknowledge the time when they were at school: in the 1990s, bilingual education was rarer and generally seen as more special than it would be nowadays, which arguably had an effect on the participants' self-concept (see also Author Forthcoming). The sense of privilege may have also partly overlapped with the participants' socioeconomic background, which was relatively high. In general, even though CLIL has expanded in many countries, it is still often implemented in areas of high socioeconomic status (Cenoz, Genesee, and Gorter 2014), which can mark it as elitist. One way to tackle this issue would be to make CLIL more accessible to a wide range of learners.

The participants were unanimous about the positive effect of CLIL on their overall English proficiency. Some small variation existed as regards the areas of language competence. Most participants emphasised the strong English language self-concept that CLIL had shaped in them: the participants felt confident as language users and they trusted their language skills, which is a valuable result, and one of the desired outcomes of any language education. As for specific language areas, it was generally considered that CLIL had mostly affected their vocabulary and speaking skills, followed by listening comprehension. This is in line with previous studies which have shown that pupils generally consider CLIL to have a positive effect on their language skills (e.g. Coyle 2013; Ramos 2007). This has been further demonstrated in research (e.g. Lasagabaster 2008; Lorenzo, Casal, and Moore 2010; Ruiz de Zarobe 2008).

In general, CLIL did not seem to affect the participants' learning of different subjects. The most common view was that CLIL had a neutral impact on content learning. Some participants considered that CLIL even benefited their content learning, and only a few participants reported occasional difficulties in some subjects. Similarly, in Massler (2012) and Pladevall-Ballester (2015), some pupils felt that CLIL helped them learn content better, although the research conducted on the topic seems generally to support the perception that CLIL does not have a substantial effect on pupils' content learning (e.g. Dallinger et al. 2016; Seikkula-Leino 2007). However, the research results should be interpreted with caution as there can be significant differences between different CLIL programmes, for instance, as regards the amount of CLIL, the subjects taught and teaching practices (Eurydice 2006). Besides, it is important to bear in mind that some pupils may experience difficulties in their schooling regardless of the language of instruction. In the present study, however, most participants reported that the language of instruction had not affected their learning process.

In the data there was very little criticism of CLIL. However, in line with previous research (e.g. Coyle 2013; Pihko 2010), a few participants expressed negative memories of their CLIL courses. It is worth noting that none of the participants had informed the teachers of their difficulties, which serves as a valuable reminder to all CLIL practitioners not to take pupils' comfort for granted. Similarly, Pladevall-Ballester (2015) found that all the teachers reported that their pupils could follow CLIL lessons easily but more than a third of the pupils said that they had had difficulties in comprehension. This further highlights how crucial it is to give a voice to pupils themselves, as it can uncover new perspectives that have not been previously considered. Besides, even though learners who struggle in CLIL often seem to be a small minority within the CLIL groups, the issue of learning difficulties in CLIL is a very important but under-researched theme which should be given more attention in future research and CLIL practice. The fact that the learners who experienced difficulties in CLIL still perceived it as beneficial and seemed to enjoy it has implications about the potential of also providing CLIL to a more diverse range of pupils. In general, CLIL classes are often viewed as rather homogenous groups of learners, partly due to the pupil selection. However, it seems that some diversity will always exist, regardless of the relative homogeneity. For instance, in the present study, on the one hand, there were a few pupils who felt that they would have liked to receive more learning support in CLIL while, on the other hand, there were a few others who had been living and attending school abroad before joining the CLIL class, had excellent language skills, and could have benefited from more challenging language instruction. This exemplifies the value of and need for qualitative case studies conducted from an emic perspective.

An important finding of this present study is that even a fairly moderate amount of CLIL (i.e., a quarter of the overall teaching) seemed to really motivate pupils and have a positive effect on their language learning. Another incentive for the implementation of such small-scale CLIL programmes is that they may be more feasible in practice, as they do not require as many

resources as very extensive CLIL programmes. Nowadays language teaching approaches resembling CLIL are receiving more consideration in many European countries, where there seems to be a trend for early language learning. Although early language teaching is not equivalent to CLIL, it nevertheless often has similar features, such as functionality and the use of language more as a tool than a target. From this angle, the present study offers encouraging results: its findings as regards making pupils confident language users and at the same time making their schooling more enjoyable supports the adoption of CLIL practices also in mainstream language education. With a recent PISA study revealing that, on average, more than half of pupils experience school-related anxiety (OECD 2017), the issue of school satisfaction is a very topical one.

While this study focused on investigating participants' current views, which were socially constructed in the interview process, it is important when interpreting the results to bear in mind the research setting and the time frame. For instance, both the conceptualisation of CLIL and CLIL practices have evolved since these participants attended school. This means that to avoid anachronism, the results and their implications need to be placed in their historical context. Moreover, as Grin (as cited in Coyle 2007) has claimed, there are more than 200 different models of CLIL. Therefore, the results from any CLIL study are always context-specific to some extent. Consequently, the results of the present study must also be situated in this particular CLIL context. Moreover, the participants were retrospectively recalling their CLIL experiences, which took place more than 20 years ago. The participants' later life trajectories and life course may have influenced their memories and the way they reflected on their past CLIL times (see e.g. McAdams 2008). Miller, Cardinal, and Glick (1997) argued that retrospective reflections may lead to oversimplifications or lapses of memory. It is perfectly plausible that the participants in this study analysed their past CLIL experiences partly from the viewpoint of their current life situation, thus being guilty of anachronism; that is, their post-

CLIL life trajectories and language-using situations may well have shaped their perceptions of the effect of CLIL on their language proficiency. As the descriptions of the participants presented in the methodology section and Appendix 1 reveal, most of them had continued to use English to some extent. Although English had been an integral part of their post-CLIL lives, many of them nevertheless perceived CLIL as being responsible for forming the foundation of their strong English skills.

This study did not examine the actual language competence of the participants but relied solely on their perceptions. Regardless of its limitations, this study has broadened the scope of CLIL research by examining CLIL from an emic perspective and giving a voice to the pupils themselves with the novel twist of using former pupils as the participants. In the future, it would be useful to collect more data on former pupils' experiences of CLIL in Finland in order to get a more comprehensive view of the topic. It would also be interesting to conduct a broader investigation of the effect of CLIL on pupils' school satisfaction across countries.

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Appendix 1 Participants' post-CLIL studies and English use

Anna	- English-medium Master's degree abroad - had lived and studied abroad for eight years using English
Annika	- Bachelor's degree from a university of applied sciences (only a few English courses) - had used English occasionally at work and in her free time
Arttu	- was currently completing a Master's degree (English-medium courses) - had used English frequently at work
Eemeli	- Master's degree (English-medium courses) - had used English frequently at work
Emmi	- Master's degree (English-medium courses) - had used English frequently at work
Hanna	- dual diploma from upper secondary and vocational school (only a few English courses) - had used English occasionally at work
Jere	- Bachelor's degree from a university of applied sciences (only a few English courses) - had been on a work placement abroad for 6 months using English - had used English occasionally at work
Jonne	- vocational degree (only a few English courses) - had used English occasionally at work and in his free time
Juho	- English-medium Master's degree in Finland - had used English frequently at work
Jukka	- vocational degree (only a few English courses) - had used English frequently at work and in his free time
Kaapo	- matriculation examination certificate - had lived and worked abroad for several years using English
Kalle	- Master's degree (English-medium courses) - had used English frequently at work
Kimmo	- Master's degree abroad (first two years English-medium) - had used English occasionally at work
Lotta	- Bachelor's degree from a university of applied sciences (only a few English courses) - had used English occasionally in her free time
Maria	- was currently completing a Master's degree (English-medium courses) - had used English occasionally at work and in her free time
Marko	- Master's degree (English-medium courses) - had used English frequently at work
Niko	- Master's degree (English-medium courses) - had lived and worked abroad using English
Olli	- Bachelor's degree (only a few English courses) - had used English occasionally at work and in his free time
Pasi	- Master's degree (English-medium courses and exchange year abroad) - had lived and worked abroad for four years using English
Riikka	- English-medium Master's degree in Finland - had used English occasionally at work
Roni	- was currently completing a Master's degree (English-medium courses) - had used English frequently at work and occasionally in his free time
Samu	- had studied in a university of applied sciences (only a few English courses) - had used English frequently at work and occasionally in his free time
Sanna	- English-medium Master's degree abroad - had studied and lived abroad several years using English
Tuukka	- Master's degree (English-medium courses) - had used English occasionally at work and in his free time

III

CLIL-OPETUKSEN MERKITYS VUOSINA 1992–2001 PERUSKOULUSSA OPISKELLEIDEN AIKUISTEN ELÄMÄNKULUISSA [THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CLIL EDUCATION IN THE LIFE COURSES OF ADULTS WHO STUDIED IN COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL BETWEEN 1992 AND 2001]

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IV

VIEWING CLIL THROUGH THE EYES OF FORMER PUPILS: INSIGHTS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND INTERCULTURAL ATTITUDES

by

Roiha, A., & Sommier, M. (2018)

Viewing CLIL through the eyes of former pupils: Insights into foreign language and intercultural attitudes

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Abstract

This article examines the long-term effects of CLIL on former pupils' foreign language and intercultural attitudes. The 24 participants, who received English-medium CLIL for nine years in the 1990s, were interviewed and the data analyzed using thematic analysis. The participants generally felt that CLIL had had a very positive effect on their target language attitudes. However, many considered that CLIL had affected negatively on their attitudes towards other foreign languages. The perceptions regarding the effect of CLIL on intercultural attitudes diverged more. The study elucidates the long-standing impact CLIL can have on individuals' attitudes yielding insights into future CLIL education.

Artikkelissa tarkastellaan CLIL-opetuksen kauaskantoisia vaikutuksia oppilaiden asenteisiin vieraita kieliä sekä kulttuurienvälistä tietoisuutta kohtaan. Tutkimusta varten haastateltiin 24 entistä CLIL-oppilasta, jotka saivat englanninkielistä CLIL-opetusta 1990-luvulla. Haastatteluaineisto analysoitiin laadullisen sisällönanalyysin keinoin teemoittelemalla. Osallistujien mukaan CLIL-opetuksella oli erittäin positiivinen vaikutus heidän asenteisiinsa englannin kieltä kohtaan. Moni kuitenkin koki, että englannin vahva rooli oli vaikuttanut negatiivisesti heidän suhtautumiseensa muihin vieraisiin kieliin. Näkemykset CLIL-opetuksen vaikutuksista kulttuurienväliseen tietoisuuteen puolestaan vaihtelivat enemmän. Tutkimuksen tulokset havainnollistavat millaisia kauaskantoisia vaikutuksia CLIL-opetuksella voi olla yksilöiden asenteisiin.

Introduction

Content and Language Integrated Learning (hereafter CLIL) is nowadays regarded as one

solution to the growing demand of multilingualism in Europe (e.g. Ruiz de Zarobe, 2008). In

this article, CLIL is defined as an educational approach that comprises various models of

implementation (e.g. Eurydice, 2006; Marsh, Maljers, & Hartiala, 2001) with the commonality

that subject matter is taught through an additional or a foreign language with a dual-focus in

mind (i.e. to learn both content and language of instruction) (e.g. Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010).

The majority of CLIL research documents clear advantages regarding foreign language learning

(Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Pérez-Cañado, 2012). Although the research results on content learning have not been unanimous (e.g. Fernández-Sanjurjo, Fernández-Costales, & Arias Blanco, 2017), many studies suggest that CLIL is not detrimental to it (e.g. Seikkula-Leino, 2007; Surmont, Struys, Van Den Noort, & Van De Craen, 2016). In addition, CLIL has been claimed to raise intercultural awareness and better prepare pupils for internationalization (e.g. Coyle, Holmes, & King, 2009; Méndez García, 2012) as well as foster a positive attitude towards multilingualism (e.g. Marsh, 2000).

Lately critical voices have however become more vocal. Previous CLIL studies on learning outcomes have been questioned regarding the lack of pretests with CLIL and control pupils as well as the neglect of the socioeconomic background and pupil selection (e.g. Bruton, 2013). A few recent studies, which have taken the a priori differences between CLIL and non-CLIL pupils into account, have indeed supported the claims that CLIL benefits may have been overemphasized (e.g. Dallinger, Jonkmann, Hollm, & Fiege, 2016; Rumlich, 2016). In general, the long-term effects of CLIL have not been thoroughly investigated since the approach is still a relatively new phenomenon in many countries (e.g. in Finland, the context of this study, CLIL started in 1991). Existing CLIL research has mostly looked at the pupils' experiences currently enrolled in CLIL programmes. Furthermore, most studies on language attitudes in CLIL have been quantitative (e.g. Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Merisuo-Storm, 2007; Pihko, 2007; Seikkula-Leino, 2007), highlighting the need for more qualitative approaches on the topic.

The participants of this study are former Finnish CLIL pupils, who received English-medium CLIL education during their comprehensive school (i.e. 9 years) in the 1990s. This study focuses on their retrospective views on the influence of CLIL on their foreign language and intercultural attitudes which previous CLIL research has mostly examined separately. In this article, intercultural attitudes is used as an umbrella term that encompasses various concepts related to interculturality such as intercultural communication competence, intercultural

understanding, or critical cultural awareness to discuss participants' views on intercultural communication. The present study offers a rather unique opportunity to investigate the long-lasting outcomes of CLIL education through former pupils' eyes. However, it is worth acknowledging that CLIL has evolved since the 1990s both in the way it is conceptualized and implemented. Researchers have kept this in mind to avoid anachronism in the analysis.

The specific research question is:

What are the participants' views on the effect of CLIL education on their foreign language and intercultural attitudes?

Foreign language attitudes and CLIL

Attitudes can be defined and consequently studied in various ways. For instance, an umbrella definition by Eagly and Chaiken (1993, p. 1) suggests that an attitude is 'a psychological tendency, expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor'. Traditionally, attitudes are seen as consisting of cognitive, affective and behavioral components (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003). Researchers disagree whether attitudes should be treated as relatively stable entities as opposed to constructed and situated (e.g. Bohner & Dickel, 2011). For instance, according to Kalaja and Hyrkstedt (2000) attitudes can be contradictory as they may vary from one situation to another or even within a situation. This research adopts an intermediate stance to the discussion by presuming that all attitudes are constructed and somewhat context-sensitive, however certain attitudes can be more dynamic whereas others may be more enduring (e.g. Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). Further, we believe attitudes are cognitive and affective in nature and can be, but are not necessarily, manifested in one's behavior.

According to some of its advocates, one benefit of CLIL is that it results in a more positive attitude towards language learning and multilingualism in general (e.g. Coyle et al., 2010; Marsh, 2000). This issue has not been widely studied but the scarce research conducted

3

seems to support the argument. For instance, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2009) found, in their questionnaire study comprising 287 secondary students in Spanish CLIL context, that CLIL education resulted in a more positive attitude towards the language of instruction in CLIL (i.e. English) as well as the majority (i.e. Spanish) and minority languages (i.e. Basque) than mainstream education. Along with the overall outcome, Lasagabaster and Sierra's (2009) research interestingly revealed that the gap in positive attitudes towards English between CLIL and non-CLIL pupils seemed to be levelling as the pupils got older albeit remaining very prominent.

In Finland, few studies have investigated language attitudes in CLIL. For instance, Merisuo-Storm (2007) found that primary aged CLIL pupils (n = 70) had a significantly more positive attitude towards learning a foreign language than their peers (n = 75) in monolingual classes. In Seikkula-Leino's (2007) research, 5th and 6th grade CLIL pupils (n = 116) were somewhat more motivated to learn foreign languages than their non-CLIL peers (n = 101). Interestingly, however, the CLIL pupils' foreign language learning self-concept (i.e. 'an individual's self-descriptions of competence and evaluative feelings about themselves as a Foreign Language (FL) learner' (Mercer, 2011, p. 14)) was weaker than that of their non-CLIL peers'. Seikkula-Leino (2007) argues this could be related to the challenges posed by learning in general as pupils are exposed to great deal of language that is above their comprehension, which may be difficult for them to cope with. In Pihko's (2007) research, lower secondary CLIL pupils (n = 209) were more motivated to learn the CLIL target language (i.e. English) and had a more positive attitude towards it than their non-CLIL peers (n = 181).

Intercultural attitudes and CLIL

Scholars have mostly dealt with theoretical conceptualizations of the relation between CLIL and intercultural communication, and proposed CLIL as a facilitator to raise intercultural

awareness (e.g. Coyle, 2007; Marsh et al., 2001; Sudhoff, 2010). Among the most known theories of CLIL pedagogy is the one of Coyle's 4C framework in which she proposes that the cornerstones of successful CLIL education are content, cognition, communication and culture (Coyle, 2007). In addition, culture is one of the five dimensions listed by Marsh et al. (2001) for successful CLIL education. According to the authors, CLIL programmes within European context help to build pupils' intercultural understanding and introduce them to a wider cultural context. Sudhoff (2010) argues that CLIL provides opportunities to encourage students to critically reflect on the different connotations and referential meanings embedded in language use. As a triple-focused approach (i.e. language, content and intercultural learning), CLIL can help examine differences as well as overlaps and similarities between cultural perspectives (Sudhoff, 2010). This echoes recent approaches within intercultural communication which have drawn attention to the co-construction of culture and communication (e.g. Piller, 2011). These views focus on a two-sided process whereby culture is both constructed through and constructive of language and discourse. As a result, intercultural communication competence literature increasingly prioritizes *reflexivity* or *critical cultural awareness* as a means of encouraging students to critically reflect on their practices and positionality, and on discourses surrounding them (Byram, Gribkova, & Starkey, 2002; Dervin, Paatela-Nieminen, Kuoppala, & Riitaoja, 2012; Martin & Nakayama, 2015).

In one of the few empirical studies on CLIL and intercultural development, conducted through qualitative interviews in Spain, Méndez García (2012) found that both teachers and pupils (primary and secondary) perceived CLIL as influencing positively their attitudes towards otherness and languages as well as fostering critical cultural awareness. Interestingly, and similarly to Lasagabaster and Sierra's (2009) research, the pupils' positive attitudes towards the target language and culture seemed to decrease towards the end of secondary education, which, according to Méndez García (2012), may be due to the changing nature of CLIL compared to

primary school. That is, the focus was more on language-related issues, leaving the cultural aspects partly aside. Further, at that stage, CLIL pupils merged with non-CLIL pupils for the first time as they had previously been studying amongst each other.

In addition, some researchers have emphasized the potential of materials used in CLIL to enhance intercultural awareness. Including materials emanating from and representing a wide range of cultural realities has been underlined as a critical aspect to enhance intercultural attitudes by teaching pupils different perspectives and therefore encouraging them to go past ethnocentric reflexes. (Méndez García, 2013; Sudhoff, 2010.) For instance, González Rodrígues and Borham Puyal's (2012) case study examined the potential of using varied authentic literary texts on gender roles in CLIL to encourage higher education students' reflections on their own practices, attitudes and on gender roles in their own and other countries. A majority of the students reported that the activities indeed enhanced their level of self-reflexivity. However, using materials to develop intercultural awareness in CLIL settings contain few challenges. First, the focus on one language might be tied to a focus on one cultural area. Second, the way materials are used, and therefore the role played by teachers, is pivotal. (Méndez García, 2013.)

The context of the study

CLIL was introduced to the Finnish education system in 1991 due to an amended legislation which enabled schools to provide teaching in other that the official languages (i.e. Finnish and Swedish). An official requirement for CLIL in Finland has always been that the general learning objectives of the national curriculum are met regardless of the language of instruction (Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education, 2004). The popularity of the approach has decreased considerably since the early years. That is, in the 1990s, approximately 10% of comprehensive schools were implementing CLIL whereas in 2005 the number of schools had

dropped to 5%. (e.g. Lehti, Järvinen, & Suomela-Salmi, 2006; Nikula & Marsh, 1996). However, an inquiry from 2012 reveals that the interest towards CLIL has again been increasing in many municipalities (Kangasvieri, Miettinen, Palviainen, Saarinen, & Ala-Vähälä, 2012). The dominant CLIL language in Finland has indisputably been English (e.g. Lehti et al., 2006). Across countries, CLIL has been implemented in multiple ways, thus different CLIL models have their idiosyncrasies which poses its challenges to the transferability of research results. Furthermore, the present study examines CLIL in the 1990s and both the conceptualization and implementation of CLIL has changed since then. Hence, the CLIL context of the study is extensively described hereafter.

CLIL in the target school[1]

The CLIL programme in the target school was launched in 1991 and the participants of the study commenced their school in 1992. The rationale behind the implementation of CLIL was mostly the increasing need for a basic command of English in an international and global world. Furthermore, the promising experiences from the immersion education in Canada coupled with active parents in the community also supported the start of a CLIL programme. The primary aims of the programme were to make pupils confident and competent language users and provide them with appropriate skills to function in an increasingly international society, thus being in line with the objectives of other European CLIL models (e.g. Maljers, Marsh, & Wolff, 2007). Pupils willing to enroll in the CLIL class were not subjected to a pretest. The CLIL classes of the school were however partially selective, that is, pupils who had some prior experience of English had priority over others. Additionally, a requirement was that pupils did not have challenges in their basic cognitive skills, which was assessed based on the preschool

teachers' observations. The number of applicants outnumbered the places in the target year, thus most of the pupils had to be selected randomly.

In the 1st and 2nd grades (age 7–8), CLIL was realized on a daily basis mostly through class routines, songs, rhymes and games. Starting from the 3rd grade, the amount of CLIL teaching increased. On average, approximately 25% of the instruction was given in English. CLIL was implemented in all subjects except Finnish. The content of the CLIL lessons derived from the national curriculum. Additionally, the formal English teaching, which usually started in the 3rd grade, followed a more intensive instruction. The CLIL programme continued in lower secondary school (grades 7–9, age 13–15) albeit the amount of CLIL decreased drastically and it was carried out sporadically. It was nevertheless implemented in most subjects but less consistently and further diminished towards the end of the school. For instance, the optional courses and different subjects opted by the pupils posed its challenges to employ CLIL as extensively as at primary level.

Methodology

Data

The data for this study comprises 24 individual in-depth interviews. The interviews were semi-structured and followed broad themes that were sent to the participants in advance. The themes (see Appendix 1) derived from literature and previous research as well as a pilot study conducted by one of the researchers (Roiha, 2017). Additionally, some topics were raised in the first few interviews which were addressed also in the subsequent ones. This type of method was chosen to get insights into the participants' viewpoints about their own experiences and life trajectories and give them opportunities to construct their own meanings along the lines of interest for the research project (e.g. Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2011). Detailed information about the interviews is presented in Appendix 2.

The researcher who conducted the interviews (Author 1) had a personal experience as a pupil in the target class and thus a prior relation to the participants which may have potentially affected some of their narrations. However, at the start of each interview, the researcher encouraged the participants to honestly express their views, both positive and negative ones. Furthermore, to minimize the social desirability bias and to scrutinize the participants' genuine perceptions, the researcher approached the different themes at different stages of the interviews by making use of both direct and indirect procedures. In other words, some interview questions dealt overtly with foreign language and intercultural attitudes whereas others tackled them more indirectly.

Data analysis

The data were analyzed using a theoretically oriented thematic analysis. The analysis was informed by Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidelines. That is, the data were read through and coded through systematic and successive stages. First, the transcribed interviews were carefully read through several times. Second, the whole data were preliminary coded. Following this stage, the extracts that were considered relevant to the research question were selected for this study (approx. 1/5 of the overall data) and analyzed further in-depth. At this stage, a lot of overlapping still existed as some extracts fitted into several coding categories. Third, the coded categories were further analyzed and the recurrent main themes and their sub-themes started to be identified (see Appendix 3). The data excerpts corresponding to those themes were organized accordingly in a separate word file. Fourth, the formed themes were further reviewed and refined which resulted in combining several themes and forming the final themes. Furthermore, some themes were still eliminated from the analysis as they were considered not corresponding to the research question. Last, the final themes were named (see Appendix 4). Steps 1-3 of the analysis were done by Author 1, from step 4 onwards both authors analyzed the data.

Participants

The participants of this study are 24 former pupils who were enrolled in the target CLIL class. During the nine-year comprehensive school, overall 28 pupils (excluding the researcher) studied in the class at some stage. Most participants studied in the class the whole 9-year-period, however some joined the class only later on and few moved to another municipality during the comprehensive school. Two participants decided to transfer to a non-CLIL lower secondary school due to its better reputation. An invitation to participate in the research was sent out to all of them via Facebook. Finally, 24 (i.e. 85%) agreed to be interviewed. All the participants signed a letter of consent at the outset of the research process and were given pseudonyms to ensure their anonymity.

Only five participants had some experience of English prior to the CLIL programme as they had either been living in an English-speaking country or attending an English-speaking school abroad. Many participants (11/24) however had received minor English-medium instruction already in preschool. Table 1 outlines the participants of the study and the grades in which they studied in the CLIL class.

[Table 1 near here]

Results

Following a thorough thematic analysis, the researchers identified three main categories from the data in relation to foreign language and intercultural attitudes: (1) *dominance of English*, (2) *other foreign languages* and (3) (*cultural*) *differences*.

Dominance of English

In general, the participants described CLIL as a very positive and beneficial experience to them. Similar impressions have been recorded in previous CLIL research both at primary and secondary levels (e.g. Pihko, 2010; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015). In the participants' view, CLIL had formed a highly positive attitude towards the target language (i.e. English). Most of them reported enjoying using English and described it as 'fun', 'natural', 'useful', 'easy' or 'pleasant'.

Age has been a relevant factor in foreign language attitudes as previous research has documented a decline in positive attitudes as pupils advance in school (e.g. Cenoz, 2004). The participants in this study did not follow this trend, as for the majority of them, their attitudes towards English seemed to remain positive or even somewhat increase as they proceeded to upper secondary school and merged with non-CLIL pupils in English lessons. Many emphasized how, at that point, they started to realize their advantage over others as regards English competence:

(1) There [upper secondary school] I felt like it was probably like the biggest benefit so far.. this content-based English [teaching].. there you felt like the difference was the greatest compared to others.. and that it was somehow very easy and I was never like anxious to speak English. (Kalle) [2]

Most participants even brought forth issues of superiority as language users which highlights their positive stance towards English and the role CLIL had in the process. As Kalle's quote implies, comparing themselves to others seemed to further boost their self-confidence as language users and consequently form an even more positive attitude towards English. Furthermore, based on their narrations and life course, it seems plausible that the participants'

positive attitudes towards English had been constantly constructed in their social interactions keeping them rather stable and enduring. This finding contradicts some of the previous CLIL studies (e.g. Méndez Garcìa 2012; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009). Few participants in the present study also reported a downturn in their positive attitudes towards English as they got older. However, they were mostly the ones who had transferred to a mainstream education, thus limiting their CLIL experience only to primary level.

English was the dominant foreign language for most participants and still actively present in their lives. The most common context for their English language use was their workplace. In general, the participants felt very positively towards the use of English at work and many considered English language proficiency giving them prestige among co-workers. For instance, Jonne, who worked as a practical nurse, mentioned how his colleagues consulted him when dealing with English documents and according to Kalle, his superior often asked him to proofread important emails written in English. Similarly, Juho exemplified the advantages of an excellent command of English at work:

(2)   Even though the content wouldn't be that amazing but if you know.. if you know how to express yourself well in English you seem smarter than you are.. so I bet that partly because of that I got there [to my work].. that there [at work] I got some sort of appreciation because I knew English well. (Juho)

Only two participants stated that in the current situation they would choose another CLIL language than English (i.e. Chinese and Arabic) because they felt that the command of those languages would be a better asset in global working life. All the other participants declared that they would still prefer to go through CLIL education in English which highlights the predominant role English had in their lives in comparison with other foreign languages. Kaapo elaborated on the issue as follows:

(3) Well English is such an international language.. that it.. it's like.. you can pretty much get along with it everywhere.. or at least in many places and it.. anyway gives quite a lot more options than for instance if you would go through things in Swedish or Russian the options are after all a bit narrower that what you get then. (Kaapo)

Kaapo analyzed the benefits of English-medium CLIL through the international prospects it offered. He felt that CLIL had provided him with sufficient language skills that enabled him to live and work abroad as he had lived in several countries. Tuukka, in turn, had adopted an even more extreme stance on the importance of mastering English:

(4) In a way you don't need other languages then if you know English.. I don't in a way understand the logic of some people who want to learn several languages because you can manage with English almost everywhere. (Tuukka)

Although the quotes partly mirror the participants' positive attitude towards English and imply the significance of CLIL in that regard, they may also reflect a more general language ideology as English has indisputably been the most common and known foreign language in Finland since the 1990s and is actively present in various domains of life (e.g. Leppänen et al., 2011). What Tuukka's quote more clearly articulates, is that he does not endorse the promoted relation of CLIL and positive attitudes to multilingualism. Overall in the interviews, other languages were generally depicted somewhat negatively, a matter which will be discussed in more detail as follows.

Attitudes towards other foreign languages

In contrast to the overtly positive attitude towards English language, the participants had somewhat differing views on the effects of CLIL on learning other languages. Few participants considered CLIL benefited language learning in general. For instance, Pasi claimed being proficient in six languages and speculated that CLIL may have boosted his self-confidence as a language learner. Marko, in turn, discussed whether he would have studied German as an additional language already in primary school had he not received CLIL education:

(5)   If English wouldn't have felt so strong at that point, then it would have probably been.. sort of starting another language would have felt.. there could have been a bigger threshold for it. (Marko)

Most participants however drew a clear distinction between learning English and other foreign languages. For instance, languages such as German or Swedish, which were respectively the next foreign languages to most participants, were generally depicted as useless and arduous. The participants' views contradict the alleged benefits of CLIL on positive attitudes towards languages in general (e.g. Coyle et al., 2010; Marsh, 2000) which few empirical studies have supported (e.g. Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Merisuo-Storm, 2007). On the contrary, the strong focus on the target language was perceived as detrimental to language learning by many participants. For instance, Juho referred to the phenomenon by noting that due to the implicit learning of English through CLIL, he had not acquired the 'tools to learn a [foreign] language'. Additionally, Niko and Jonne elaborated on the issue as follows:

(6)   Sometimes I've wondered that.. for me the next languages after that were.. for instance German was pretty hard to start so is it.. is it that you haven't like.. English has been too easy and then the next language hasn't.. I don't know.. I don't know if there is any truth in

this but you haven't like had to study a language except only later on.. so I have sometimes thought that it has maybe slowed it down. (Niko)

(7)   When you compared it to that that English was so strong and it was so natural so then you didn't know how to start studying another language in a way by cramming and fighting for real. (Jonne)

The quotes illustrate how, in the participants' view, CLIL seemed to partly hinder the formal learning of other foreign languages, although previous studies have contrarily indicated that bilingualism would rather benefit the learning of additional languages (e.g. Cenoz, 2013). As a result, this seemed to have affected negatively on their attitudes to other foreign languages. Additionally, Niko and Jonne's quotes reveal how they had learned English through language use and focusing on meaning. In turn, they recalled that other foreign languages were taught following more form-focused instruction. Therefore, adopting CLIL methods and practices to foreign language education in general could lead to more positive foreign language attitudes. However, it is noteworthy that the participants in this study received their basic education already in the 1990s and language education has evolved, to some extent, since then. Furthermore, the relation between CLIL and foreign language attitudes was not that straightforward as few participants expressed additional reasons alongside CLIL in forming their attitudes towards other languages, such as peers' opinions or the societal status of a language. Consequently, in CLIL setting, it seems pivotal to explicitly address other foreign languages in a positive light. For instance, it may be feasible to make use of pupils' different language backgrounds which offers a natural way of making languages relevant and thus normalizing multilingualism.

Interestingly, few participants articulated positive opinions about multilingualism due to CLIL but seemed to define it mostly as the command of English and Finnish, thus adopting

the broad definition of multilingualism, as the use of at least two languages (e.g. Aronin & Singleton, 2008). For instance, Jukka first expressed positive views towards multilingualism and acknowledged the role of CLIL in forming his attitudes. However, later during the interview he specified that the only important languages for Finns, in his opinion, are English and Finnish. He further elaborated his view by explaining that he had never been in a situation where he was not able to cope with English. This further highlights the dominant status of English in the participants' lives.

Intercultural attitudes

The participants' views of the effect of CLIL on their intercultural attitudes were not equally unanimous. Many participants however felt that CLIL directly affected their attitudes and enhanced their overall interest towards international and intercultural aspects. Few saw the teaching resulting in more positive attitudes towards differences because of the values embedded in CLIL itself:

(8)   It [CLIL education] has absolutely also these kinds of soft values.. tolerance.. that it has anyway sort of made it possible that.. that you understand different [people].. other than Finns. (Kimmo)

Echoing Kimmo's words, few of the participants referred to celebrations and traditions in different cultural contexts which were discussed in CLIL lessons, and explained that dealing with culture prompted their interest towards other practices and groups:

(9)   It might be that it could affect so that I wouldn't be that interested in these kinds of different cultures.. that that.. it would probably be a big part.. big part away from my life. (Annika)

16

In addition to the content of CLIL education, many pupils felt that the heterogeneity of the classroom also shaped their attitudes towards difference:

(10) I think that because we were.. in comprehensive school there were those among us who had lived in different countries and then we also maybe someway explored those cultures.. so somehow it is.. I think that somehow you are kind of more open.. or somehow towards new things. (Jere)

Jere recalls a certain degree of diversity within the class, which can partly be explained by the class being somewhat heterogeneous compared to Finnish schools at that time and to other classes in the school. Even though classroom diversity is not a direct condition of CLIL, in the context of this study diversity and CLIL were intertwined as some of the pupils with international experiences chose the CLIL class due to its English-medium teaching. The level of diversity was, however, limited to different nationalities, pupils who had a bilingual background and nationals who had lived abroad. That is, even though pupils had varied sets of international experiences, they formed a somewhat homogenous group, for instance regarding social class. In that regard, the emphasis on *international* diversity in language education has been criticized for giving a distorted view of what diversity can encompass and creating a false sense of heterogeneity (Cole & Meadows, 2013).

Many participants felt that CLIL had influenced their values and attitudes in an indirect way. They for instance expressed that CLIL, and the positive English language self-concept it shaped, encouraged them to actively engage in interactions with foreign speakers. Many consequently linked CLIL education to eventually creating a more positive attitude towards foreigners and foreign cultures:

(11) I was on an exchange during my [university] studies and then also in contact a lot with

exchange student coming to Finland.. so the language competence made it possible that

you got along well with them.. and then it has perhaps opened this kind of interest towards

other cultures.. once you have lived abroad the threshold to move for work is probably a

hundred times lower.. so this all relates to each other and I feel that the language

competence has made it possible that you haven't had to feel ashamed of your own

language competence or to restrict yourself in conversations with foreigners. (Niko)

The quote illustrates that for many participants, CLIL education seemed to benefit their intercultural attitudes mostly due to the language skills and self-concept they acquired which worked as a facilitator in interacting with foreign speakers. The participants mentioned both their confidence as language users, which seemed to stimulate their interest and positive outlook towards difference, as well as the subsequent impression that interactions went well thanks to their language skills. Marko used the idiom 'building bridges' (sillanrakentaja) to encapsulate the role of English as shaped by CLIL. This echoes previous research which also found that CLIL pupils are more willing to communicate and interact with foreign speakers than their non-CLIL peers (e.g. Pihko, 2007). Regarding the participants of this study, their willingness to communicate with foreigners appeared to have lasted until adulthood.

When discussing the intercultural dimension of CLIL, many participants explicitly stated that they consider themselves to be very tolerant and open to other cultures. In addition, a prominent number of the participants had an internationally oriented work. This is in line with the aim of their CLIL programme which intended to provide pupils with tools to take their place in an international society. Many of the pupils indeed reflected on the effects that CLIL may have had on their lives, including social networks, career paths and values:

(12)   With English it has just made so many other things possible.. studying and then friends

from other countries and.. and a work career so everything has been like easier because of

the language skills.. it could be that I wouldn't live abroad [without CLIL].. somehow I

would probably have a tighter connection to Finns and somehow maybe a bit more sort of

Finland centred worldview.. now somehow my mindset is the contrary that Finnish issues

don't interest me anymore that much. (Niko)

Niko's quote illustrates the assumption that being interculturally competent entails prioritizing internationality over locality. However, this hierarchy has been criticized for building on and strengthening 'exaggerated portrayals of inter-national diversity and intra-national homogeneity' (Cole & Meadows, 2013, p. 30). In contrast, intercultural communication competence has been increasingly theorized around the notion of reflexivity that would help students distance themselves from a priori discursive constructions of cultural realities and encourage pupils to critically reflect on their experiences and positionality (Martin & Nakayama, 2015).

Few participants, on the other hand, explicitly stated that they did not consider CLIL affecting their attitudes towards foreign issues and difference. They rather emphasized the significance of family background or outside school experiences such as travelling or living abroad in shaping their intercultural attitudes. None of the participants however considered CLIL as detrimental to their views to difference although few were somewhat discrepant in their narrations. For instance, on the one hand, Juho asserted that CLIL had had a positive effect on his attitudes towards foreigners and differences. On the other hand, he sometimes expressed very stereotypical and prejudicial views about different nationalities. In the following quote, Juho talks about his peers in an international degree programme:

(13)   The worst were Chinese and in some case Russians.. Chinese were like.. it was very hard to get along with them even though it was always emphasized to us in all things that there are cultural differences and so.. but they are in their own world sort of.. that somehow it felt that sometimes they.. their worldview is truly.. totally different.. that they don't like.. like un.. they don't think the same way as we do.. there are like those exceptions.. often they are then the ones who have lived in some western countries.. or that.. but who are like.. hard to say that who are very smart.. cause the others aren't probably stupid either but.. that there are.. there are those individuals with whom it is.. easy for a Westerner to get along with.. that there are those as well. (Juho)

Juho's quote is underpinned by ethnocentric views and a differential approach to intercultural communication (Dervin, 2011). That is, the emphasis is put on differences between people and revolves around static images of nationals who are judged based on how much they differ from the Western norms and expectations. In general, it seemed that most participants referred to intercultural communication through the lens of *differences* and by focusing on *specific groups* of speakers, nationalities and/or cultures. (e.g. focus on British and U.S. cultures, perception of the world divided between Finland and others). In that regard, the participants' narratives sometimes echoed traditional models of intercultural communication competence articulated around solid views of cultural 'others'. These models, and resulting trainings, typically aim to increase one's ability to communicate with interlocutors whose (perceived) difference is based on static characteristics. The essentialist underpinnings of such models correspond to the overarching idea that intercultural communication competence can be acquired rather than being constantly and contextually developed (Martin & Nakayama, 2015).

Few participants expressed more complex and nuanced views of differences in relation to their experiences of living or working abroad. However, their views sometimes also oscillated between positive views of interculturality, as communication and culture being

performed in interactions, and stereotypical judgments of others. These contradictions echoed 'Janusian' views of intercultural communication that emphasize the co-construction of culture on the one hand, while maintaining a differential approach on the other. A 'Janusian' perspective therefore 'juggles with discourses that are liquid (open-endedness, (inter)individualism) and solid (culturalism, differentialism) at the same time.' (Dervin, 2011, p. 47). Discrepancies in the participants' narrations therefore draw attention to the limits of the positive attitudes they claim to have towards international and intercultural issues. This raises questions as to whether few participants were being politically correct and moderating some of their views. Furthermore, this suggests ambivalent intercultural attitudes that might be limited to public discourse and/or to certain situations and types of difference. It also illustrates how attitudes are not necessarily static and fixed but in contrast may vary depending on situation and can even be contradictory (Kalaja & Hyrkstedt, 2000).

Based on this study, CLIL appears to have potential in developing enduring positive intercultural attitudes. However, the findings suggest that CLIL does not automatically provide students with adequate tools to develop intercultural communication competence in a long-lasting manner. Limitations to the participants' intercultural competence could suggest that CLIL can play a role in developing pupils' intercultural attitudes though not necessarily providing students with tools to develop intercultural communication competence across time and contexts. Encouraging pupils to critically reflect on different elements, as suggested by previous studies on CLIL and intercultural communication (e.g. Méndez García, 2013; Sudhoff, 2010), could help develop their intercultural attitudes in the long-term.

Conclusion

This study focused on the effects of CLIL on foreign language and intercultural attitudes from the participants' perspectives. The findings strongly suggest that CLIL education had formed a

very positive attitude towards the target language which seemed to be rather enduring and persistent. Through CLIL, English had become a salient language for most participants and remained actively present in their lives. This finding is in accordance with previous studies on the issue (e.g. Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Pihko, 2007), thus further supporting the assumption that CLIL approach, in which a foreign language is used in communication and learning content, appears to be very effective in relation to the target language attitudes. The fact that CLIL started already at primary level appeared to have a significant role in forming the participants' attitudes towards English which justifies the implementation of early CLIL education.

Many participants felt that CLIL had impeded the learning of and effected negatively on their attitudes towards other foreign languages, which is contradictory to previous studies (e.g. Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Merisuo-Storm, 2007). However, few participants also mentioned sociocultural reasons, such as peers or societal status, in forming their attitudes towards other languages. This finding nevertheless yields insight into language teaching in general. In the present context, other foreign languages were taught following more form-focused instruction which was also expressed by few of the participants in the interviews. Therefore, adopting CLIL methods and practices to foreign language education in general could lead to more positive foreign language attitudes. However, it is important to keep in mind that the participants were reflecting on their school experiences from the 1990s and that language education has evolved, to some extent, since then.

Lastly, CLIL had offered a potential context to develop positive intercultural attitudes which is in line with Méndez García's (2012) case study. Based on this study, there however seems to be a need for explicit attention to interculturality also in CLIL for it to have a long-lasting and in-depth effect. The participants did not receive formal intercultural communication training during their CLIL education. The description of the programme however hinted at

intercultural communication by referring to the increasingly international word, even though, in practice, the intercultural aspect was mostly tackled indirectly and related to the teaching of language and culture. This may partly explain why not all the participants saw a direct relation between CLIL and their intercultural attitudes. Nevertheless, many of them expressed positive attitudes towards international, intercultural and linguistic differences even though discrepancies in some of their testimonies suggested ambivalent intercultural attitudes. The participants of this study attended school in the 1990s and since then increasing attention has been paid to include intercultural issues in CLIL education (e.g. Coyle, 2007; Sudhoff, 2010). It is however important to consider *how* intercultural issues have been included and to examine which trainings are offered to CLIL teachers since their role and competence to deal with and teach about difference/otherness is critical (see e.g. Sommier & Roiha, 2018).

The present study has some limitations which are important to bear in mind. First, the target CLIL programme may differ from other CLIL models in some respect as CLIL in Europe has been implemented in various ways (e.g. Eurydice, 2006). Therefore, the results of this study may be somewhat context specific. Furthermore, the time period of the CLIL programme may also be of significance when interpreting the results. Second, many participants felt that other features alongside CLIL had affected their attitudes. However, a detailed scrutiny of the impact of other factors on the participants' attitudes were left outside the scope of this article and could therefore be further researched. Third, it would be interesting to conduct a similar research with pupils who received CLIL education in a language that would not have the prevalent status of English to limit the outside CLIL effects on the participants' language attitudes. Last, the participants were reflecting on their CLIL experiences retrospectively, which may have its influence on the narrations (e.g. McAdams, 2008). Despite these limitations, this study contributes to the growing body of CLIL research and yields interesting insights into the long-term effects of the approach.

Notes

[1] The background information of the target programme is based on an informal interview with the school's former teacher as well as old programme brochures. In addition, one of the authors (Author 1) has a personal experience as a pupil in the target CLIL class.

[2] The interviews were conducted in Finnish and transcribed verbatim by Author 1. The extracts used in this article were translated into English by Author 1. The quotes are presented in their original language (Finnish) in Appendix 5. The notation (..) indicates a pause in the speech. Words in square brackets are added by the researcher to clarify the context of the utterance.

[3] The letter in the brackets indicates the participant's sex. (M) = male, (F) = female

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Appendix 1: Themes of the interviews

1. Background information
- Which year did you start CLIL?
- How many years did your CLIL studies last?
- Tell about your CLIL education (e.g. which subjects, how many lessons per week, how was it implemented?)

2. Experiences of CLIL education
- How did CLIL education feel?
- What was positive about it?
- What was negative about it?
- What would you improve about it?

3. Study history
- What did you study after comprehensive school?
- What role has the CLIL experience played in those studies?

4. Work history
- How has your work career been like?
- What role has the CLIL experience played in your work career?

5. Family/leisure
- In what ways has the CLIL experience shown in other domains of your life? (e.g. social relations, media consumption, activities)

6. Attitudes and values
- What role has CLIL had as regards your attitudes and values? (e.g. multilingualism, interculturality)

Appendix 2: The interview details

Pseudonym	Date	Duration	Venue
Anna (F)	8.9.2016	58:04	researcher's home
Annika (F)	19.9.2016	41:37	researcher's home
Arttu (M)	1.10.2016	39:18	hotel lobby
Eemeli (M)	11.9.2016	45:44	researcher's home
Emmi (F)	17.9.2016	40:22	university library
Hanna (F)	15.11.2016	30:17	researcher's home
Jere (M)	24.1.2017	38:35	via Skype
Jonne (M)	30.9.2016	45:55	participant's home
Juho (M)	1.10.2016	69:03	participant's home
Jukka (M)	6.9.2016	34:54	researcher's home
Kaapo (M)	26.1.2017	36:10	via Skype
Kalle (M)	1.10.2016	37:15	participant's home
Kimmo (M)	10.12.2016	63:18	participant's home
Lotta (F)	21.11.2016	34:07	researcher's home
Maria (F)	2.10.2016	61:08	hotel lobby
Marko (M)	3.12.2016	78:31	researcher's home
Niko (M)	19.1.2017	39:30	via Skype
Olli (M)	4.9.2016	38:24	researcher's home
Pasi (M)	25.8.2016	39:18	researcher's home
Riikka (F)	5.11.2016	45:24	researcher's home
Roni (M)	22.12.2016	41:22	participant's home
Samu (M)	12.11.2016	62:14	participant's home
Sanna (F)	16.1.2017	79:56	via Skype
Tuukka (M)	13.10.2016	63:02	researcher's home

Appendix 3: Step 3 of the thematic analysis (initial themes)
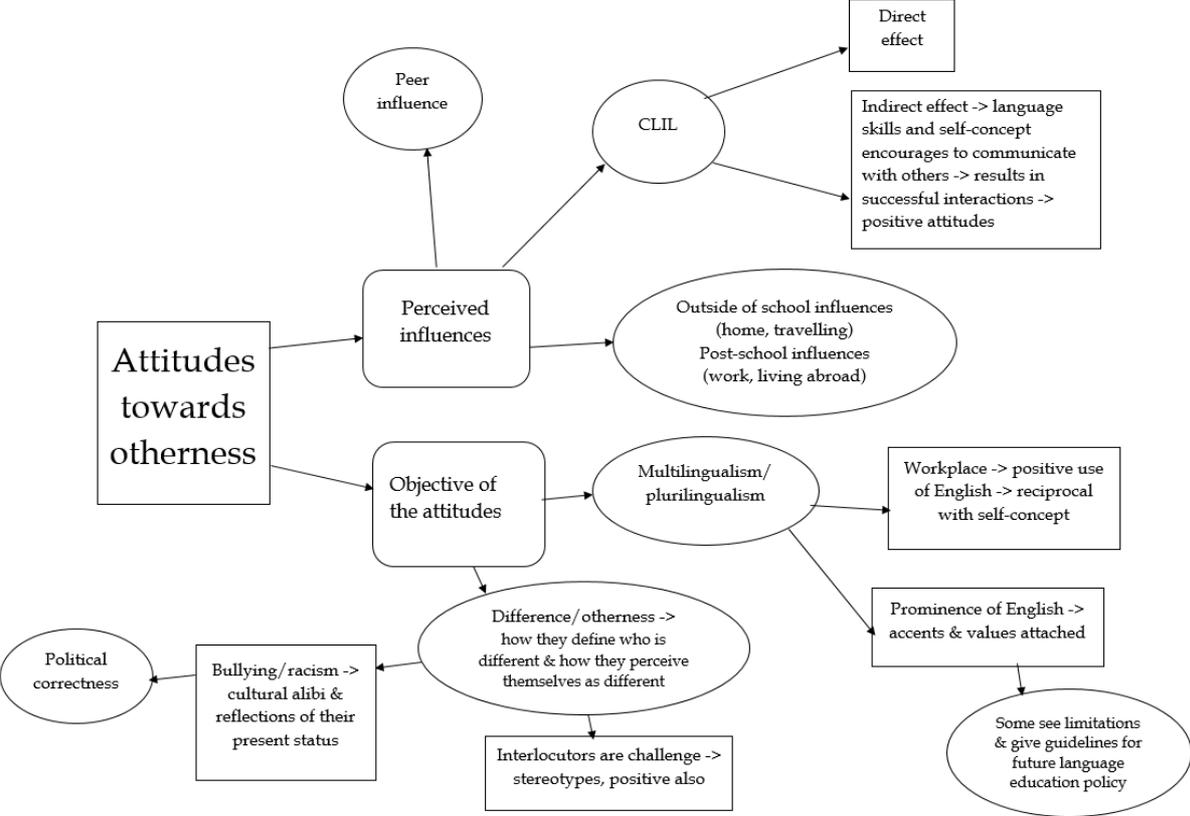
Appendix 4: Step 5 of the thematic analysis (final themes)
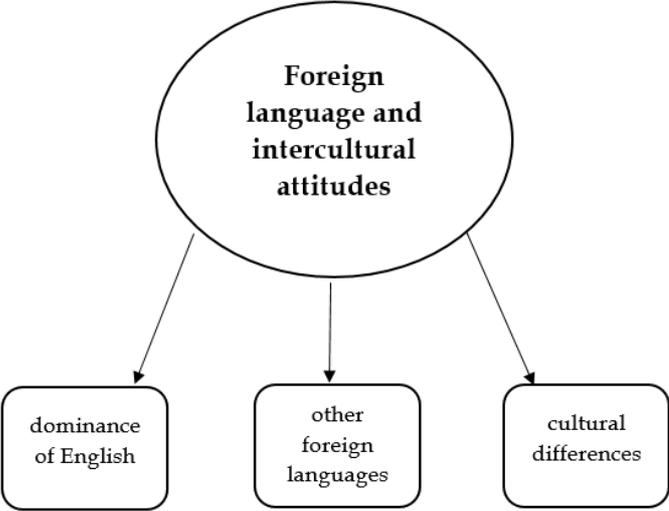
Appendix 5: The quotes in the original language

(1) Siellä [lukiossa] musta niinkun tuntu et se oli ehkä se niinkun tähän asti suurin hyöty.. siitä niinkun englantipainotteisesta [opetuksesta].. siellä niinkun tuntu siltä et se oli niinkun ehkä isoimmat erot niinkun muihin verrattuna.. ja et se oli niinkun tosi jotenkin helppoa ja eikä koskaan niinkun ahistanu puhua englantia. (Kalle)

(2) Vaikkei se sisältö oiskaan ihan timanttista niin jos sä osaat niinkun.. ilmaista itseäs hyvin englanniks niin sä vaikutat fiksummalta mitä sä ootkaan.. niin kyl mä veikkaan et osittain sen takia pääsin sinne [töihin].. et siellä [töissä] sai jonkinnäköstä arvostusta sen kautta että osas hyvin englantia. (Juho)

(3) No englanti on niin kansainvälinen kieli.. et se.. se on niinkun.. sillä pärjää joka paikassa kuitenkin aika lailla ja.. tai ainakin monessa paikassa ja se.. kuitenkin antaa sitten aika paljon vaihtoehtoja enemmän kun että vaikka ruotsin kielellä tai venäjän kielellä käytäis niitä asioita niin ne on kuitenkin vähän suppeemmat ne vaihtoehdot et siitä et mitä saa. (Kaapo)

(4) Tavallaan muita kieliä sitten periaatteessa ei tarvii jos englannin osaa.. mä en sillä lailla ymmärrä sitä logiikkaa joillakin jotka haluaa oppia useita kieliä just sen takia että niinkun ku englannilla periaatteessa pärjää lähes kaikkialla. (Tuukka)

(5) Jos se englanti ei olisi tuntunut siinä kohtaa niin vahvalta niin sitten se ehkä ois.. niinkun tavallaan sellasen toisen pitkän kielen aloittaminen tuntunu niinkun.. voinu tulla isompi kynnys siihen. (Marko)

(6) Joskus ehkä miettiny sitä et.. mulla oli seuraavat kielet sit sen jälkeen.. esimerkiks saksa oli aika vaikee alottaa et onks.. onks se että ei oo niinkun.. se on ollu liian helppoo se englanti ja sit et ei niinkun se seuraava kieli.. mä en tiiä onko.. onks täs mitään todellisuuspohjaa mut et ei oo niinkun joutunu opiskeleen kieltä muuta ku sit vasta myöhemmässä vaiheessa.. niin oon joskus ajatellu et se on ehkä hidastanu. (Niko)

(7) Ku vertas siihen että ku englanti oli niin vahva ja se oli niin luontevaa niin ei sitten osannu lähtee opiskelemaan toista kieltä silleen niinkun pänttäämällä ja oikeesti taistelemalla. (Jonne)

(8) Onhan se [CLIL-opetus] niinkun ehdottomasti myös niinkun tällasia pehmeitä arvoja.. suvaitsevaisuutta.. että on se kuitenkin niinkun mahdollistanu sen et tosiaan.. tosiaan ymmärtää erilaisia [ihmisiä].. muitakin kun suomalaisia. (Kimmo)

(9) Voihan se olla et se vaikuttais sitten ettei ois niin kiinnostunu tollasista eri kulttuureista.. et et.. kyllä se varmaan ois niinkun ison osan.. iso osa pois elämästä että. (Annika)

(10) Luulen et se niinkun lähtökohtasesti sit kun meitäkin oli.. meitä oli niinkun siinä peruskoulussa niinkun eri maissa asuneita ja sit muutenkin jotenkin ehkä tutustuttiin niihin kulttuureihin.. niin jotenkin se on.. mä luulen että jotenkin semmonen paljon avoimempi.. tai semmonen niinkun uusia asioita. (Jere)

(11) Mä olin niinkun opiskelija-aikoina olin vaihossa ja sit myös niinkun Suomeen tulevien vaihtareitten kanssa aika paljon tekemisisssä.. et se niinkun kielitaito mahdollisti sen et niitten kans tuli hyvin juttuun.. ja sit se ehkä niinkun avannu semmosen mielenkiinnon muita kulttuureita kohtaan.. tosiaan ku on kerran asunu ulkomailla niin se kynnys muuttaa töitten perässä on varmaankin niinkun sata kertaa pienempi.. et kyl tää niinkun kaikki liittyy toisiinsa ja mun mielestä se kielitaito on itelle niinkun mahdollistanu tän että ei oo niinkun

tarttenu niinkun hävetä omaa kielitaitoo tai rajottaa itteensä keskusteluissa ulkomaalaisten kanssa. (Niko)

(12)   Englannin kanssa se on vaan niinkun mahdollistanu tosi paljon muuta et.. opiskelupaikan ja sit ystävii muista maista ja.. ja työura niin kaikki on niinkun ollu helpompaa sen kielitaidon kautta.. tota voi olla et en asuis ulkomailla.. jotenkin niinkun ois varmaan tiukempi se yhteys suomalaisiin ja jotenkin vähän enemmän ehkä jopa niinkun semmonen suomikeskeisempi koko maailmankatsomus että.. nyt jotenkin ajatusmaailma on sitte taas päinvastanen et ei niinkun suomiasiat ihan kauheesti enää kiinnosta. (Niko)

(13)   Pahimpia oli kiinalaiset ja joissain tapauksissa venäläiset.. kiinalaiset oli niinkun.. niitten kanssa oli todella vaikee tulla toimeen vaikka meilläkin niinkun kaikissa asioissa aina painotettiin sitä että on kulttuurieroja ja näin.. mut että kyllä ne on ihan omassa maailmassaan niinkun.. et jotenkin tuntu et välillä että ne.. se niitten niinkun maailmankuva on ihan.. aivan erilainen.. et ne ei niinkun.. ei niinkun ym.. ne ei ajattele samalla tavalla kun me.. siellä on niitä poikkeuksia niinkun.. usein ne on sitten semmosia jotka on asunu jossakin länsimaissa.. tai että.. mut et jotka niinkun on.. vaikee sanoo et jotka on tosi fiksuja.. et eihän ne muutkaan tyhmiä varmaan oo mutta tota.. niinkun että on.. on semmosia yksilöitä joiden kanssa on.. länsimaalaisen on helppo tulla toimeen.. et semmosiakin löytyy. (Juho)

Table 1. The participants of the study and their CLIL experience.

Name	Pre-school	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	5th grade	6th grade	7th grade	8th grade	9th grade
Anna (F)[3]	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Annika (F)		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨			
Arttu (M)								▨	▨	▨
Eemeli (M)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Emmi (F)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Hanna (F)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨
Jere (M)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Jonne (M)		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Juho (M)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Jukka (M)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Kaapo (M)		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨			▨
Kalle (M)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Kimmo (M)		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Lotta (F)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨					
Maria (F)		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨			
Marko (M)		▨	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨	▨
Niko (M)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Olli (M)		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Pasi (M)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Riikka (F)								▨	▨	▨
Roni (M)		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Samu (M)				▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Sanna (F)			▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨		
Tuukka (M)	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨

V

'IT HAS GIVEN ME THIS KIND OF COURAGE...': THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CLIL IN FORMING A POSITIVE TARGET LANGUAGE SELF-CONCEPT

by

Roiha, A., & Mäntylä, K. (2019)

'It has given me this kind of courage..': The significance of CLIL in forming a positive target language self-concept

Abstract

This article sets out to broaden the understanding of foreign language self-concept in CLIL context. The few existing studies on self-concept in CLIL have been quantitative and provided somewhat discrepant results, highlighting the need for approaching the topic qualitatively. The data of the present study are in-depth interviews with 24 former Finnish CLIL pupils who retrospectively reflected on their CLIL experiences. The participants had received English-medium CLIL for nine years during their comprehensive school in the 1990s. The data were analyzed qualitatively using thematic analysis. The participants generally felt that CLIL had had a significant role in contributing to their very positive English language self-concept. Most reported being highly confident language users who had not experienced any language anxiety in English. However, some participants' self-concept had oscillated throughout the years. The participants put a lot of emphasis on social comparisons, external feedback and the early start of CLIL in forming their positive English self-concept. The participants' self-concepts in other foreign languages seemed to be more negative. The results indicate that early and fairly moderate CLIL has potential in creating a positive target language self-concept, which encourages to adopt CLIL methodology also to mainstream language education.

1. Introduction

The role of self-beliefs in learning has been broadly acknowledged which explains the increasing attention to psychology of language learning also in recent research. Theories of self and L2 learning have most recently been looked at through a motivational lens: what are the ideal and ought-to selves the learner aspires to become (Dörnyei 2005, 2009; Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie 2017). Currently, there is a myriad of terms to describe learners' self-beliefs. This study relies on the term *self-concept*, which has been much applied in psychology and sociology, but sparsely studied in language learning and teaching. Particularly in Content and Language Integrated Learning (hereafter CLIL) context, the adoption of the term has remained scarce as the majority of CLIL studies have focused on learning outcomes (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2011; Pérez-Cañado 2012). Moreover, the few existing studies on self-concept in CLIL have been quantitative (e.g. Pihko 2007; Rumlich 2016; Seikkula-Leino 2007), highlighting the need for approaching the topic qualitatively.

In this article, CLIL is defined as an educational approach where content is taught partly through a foreign or an additional language. Thus, CLIL entails a dual-, however not necessarily an equal, focus on both language and content learning. (e.g. Coyle, Hood, and Marsh 2010.) The approach has spread widely in Europe in the past few decades although its

implementation varies across and even within countries. In Finland, CLIL started in 1991 and has gained a stable place in the Finnish education system although its popularity has fluctuated throughout the years (e.g. Lehti, Järvinen, and Suomela-Salmi 2006; Nikula and Marsh 1996; Peltoniemi et al. 2018).

CLIL has been promoted as developing target language learning without detrimental effects on content learning (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2011; Graham et al. 2018). Less attention has been drawn to pupils' self-perceptions as language learners and users. Thus, this article aims to strengthen that body of research in CLIL context by examining in-depth how former pupils perceive the influence of early CLIL education on their target language self-concept. CLIL as a learning context is unique as it offers language learners more versatile venues to develop their foreign language self-concept than mainstream language education. In CLIL, language is very much seen as functional and a vehicle of action rather than just as target of learning (e.g. Pižorn 2017). Since methods resembling CLIL are gaining more and more popularity in Europe due to trends to promote early language learning, investigating the effects of CLIL on self-concept is significant. Through former CLIL pupils' life-stories and narrations, we explore their reflections on the formation of their foreign language self-concept in an English-medium CLIL context. In this article, we concentrate on two aspects reflected on in the interviews:

1. How is the participants' (n = 24) English language self-concept manifested in the interviews?
2. What factors do the participants identify as having influenced their English language self-concept?

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Defining self-concept

The term self-concept stems from psychology where it has been extensively studied (e.g. Burns 1982; Marsh 1990; Marsh, Byrne, and Shavelson 1988; Marsh and Shavelson 1985; Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton 1976). Self-concept is sometimes confused, and interchangeably used, with self-esteem or self-efficacy (e.g. Bong and Skaalvik 2003; Mercer 2011b). Self-esteem can be viewed as the broadest of the three constructs as it represents one's overall value of oneself (e.g. Harter 2006) whereas self-efficacy refers to one's perceived capability to pursue and reach one's goals in relatively context-specific tasks (Bandura 1986). Self-concept, in turn,

can be seen as more domain-specific than the generic self-esteem but not as tied to specific tasks and contexts as self-efficacy. Furthermore, self-efficacy is regarded as more cognitive whereas self-concept, albeit being primarily cognitive, can be seen containing also an affective component (e.g. Bong and Skaalvik 2003; Pihko 2007; Tracey et al. 2014). However, as Mercer (2011a) points out, it can be problematic and somewhat unnecessary to rigorously separate the different self-constructs.

Self-concept has been further conceptualized in various ways. For instance, Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton (1976, 411) define self-concept as individual's perceptions of him/herself which are formed through experiences with the environment and influenced particularly by reinforcements and evaluations by significant others. Marsh, Byrne, and Shavelson (1988) view self-concept as a multidimensional and hierarchical construct. At the apex of their self-concept model is the global self-concept which is divided into academic self-concept and non-academic self-concept. These two domains are further divided into more specific self-concepts, for instance math academic self-concept and verbal academic self-concept which comprises a holistic foreign languages self-concept.

Self-concept is considered to be an important construct regarding schooling. That is, it has been found to both influence students' motivation to choose certain courses or subjects (e.g. Pesu 2017) as well as predict and determine academic achievement (e.g. Marsh and Craven 2006; Marsh and Köller 2003). For instance, Marsh et al.'s (2005; 2006) studies have indicated that there is a correlation between the different academic components of self-concept and the academic outcomes, and that the relationship between academic self-concept and academic achievement is reciprocal.

2.2. Self-concept in language learning

In research on language learning and teaching, too, self-concept has gained attention in recent years (e.g. Csizér and Magid 2014; Mercer 2014), similarly to beliefs and identity (e.g Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009). The theory of motivational self-system, which is fairly influential in the psychology of language learning, introduces the idea of learners' possible selves, including ideal and ought-to self (Dörnyei 2005; Markus and Nurius 1986). The theory of possible selves stems from the idea that individuals are shaped by their experiences which are reflected on their wishes, hopes and fears about their future developments. Thus, self-concept is connected to possible selves. If, for instance, one perceives his/her abilities in learning and using English as good, one's ambitions in learning English are likely to be higher than a learner's who

perceives him/herself as a poor English speaker. Learners' concepts and identity as users of a given language have indeed been found to be significant in the learning results (Breen 2001; Norton 2013; Pavlenko and Norton 2007; Rubio 2014).

Basing on Marsh, Byrne, and Shavelson's (1988) conceptualization, Mercer (2011b) defines self-concept belonging under the umbrella term of self-beliefs. According to her, self-concept is 'a dynamic, multidimensional psychological construct, which both influences and is affected by a person's social contexts and interactions and that can vary across individuals and settings but that has a certain degree of internal stability.' (Mercer 2011b, 13–14). In line with Marsh, Byrne, Shavelson (1988), Mercer (2011b) proposes that self-concept functions in different domains. Thus, learner's foreign language learning self-concept represents individual's self-beliefs about oneself as a foreign language learner (Mercer 2011b).

Similarly, relying on the notion of self-concept as a hierarchical structure, and based on empirical findings, Lau et al. (1999) have formed an even more specific English self-concept construct. They propose that, despite some variation between different language skills (i.e. reading, writing, listening and speaking), pupils' overall English skills can be represented by a global English self-concept. Their model has however been challenged as mirroring too much the statistical research design and overlooking more nuanced ways of defining one's self-concept in more specific domains (e.g. Mercer 2011b).

Additionally, Pihko (2007) has conceptualized the foreign language self-concept (see also Laine and Pihko 1991). She divides it into three components called 1) real/actual self, 2) ideal self and 3) self-esteem/self-worth. According to her, the real/actual self refers to the learner's subjective perceptions and beliefs of oneself as a language learner. The ideal self, in turn, reflects language learner's hopes, wishes and self-demands. Pihko (2007) suggests that self-esteem/self-worth is the most important component of the foreign language self-concept as it represents learners' beliefs in their abilities to learn a foreign language and, thus, has a direct bearing on their learning outcomes.

2.3. Factors influencing self-concept

Several factors are considered influencing self-concept. For instance, Marsh's (1986) I/E (internal/external) frame of reference model suggests that self-concept is formed in relation to internal and external comparisons. The internal frame of reference relates to a person's juxtaposition of his/her different self-concepts which may have either a positive or negative effect on other self-concepts. For instance, if a pupil perceives him/herself to be better at

English than at mathematics, the internal comparison is likely to enhance the pupil's English self-concept and act conversely regarding the math self-concept. The external comparisons, in essence, relate to people comparing their own and their perceived others' self-concepts.

Mercer (2011b), who has investigated self-concept more specifically in a foreign language context, also adheres to the internal/external dichotomy. According to her, internal factors influencing one's foreign language self-concept include internal comparisons across subjects, languages and skills, beliefs about specific languages and language learning in general and affective reactions to the language. External factors, in turn, comprise social comparisons, feedback from close ones, experiences of success/failure and previous language learning/using situations in various contexts. However, Mercer (2011b) acknowledges that the separation of different factors influencing one's self-concept is somewhat arbitrary as they are often interrelated. Pihko (2007) places emphasis on the external factors as she claims that individual's foreign language self-concept is gradually formed in one's learning and communicative situations. That is, positive language experiences facilitate the forming of a high foreign language self-concept whereas negative situations act conversely.

In this article, we use the term English self-concept which we regard as a sub-component of the global self-concept (e.g. Marsh, Byrne, and Shavelson 1988), and define it broadly as people's beliefs of themselves as language learners and users (e.g. Mercer 2011b). We consider self-concept as having both cognitive and affective components (e.g. Pihko 2007; Tracey et al. 2014). We believe that self-concept is affected by one's experiences, and in turn affects one's choices and in most cases achievement. Our views are further substantiated by the data of the present study.

2.4. Self-concept in CLIL: Previous studies

Studies on self-concept in CLIL context have been relatively scarce. Recently, a few studies have investigated learners' self-beliefs in English-medium instruction at the university level (e.g. Doiz and Lasagabaster 2018; Konttinen 2018). In one of the few CLIL studies about self-concept at basic education level, Seikkula-Leino (2007) examined Finnish 5th and 6th grade CLIL pupils' (n = 116) and their non-CLIL peers' (n= 101) English language self-concept via a quantitative survey. Although CLIL pupils were somewhat more motivated to learn and use English, their English self-concept was significantly weaker than that of their non-CLIL peers. CLIL pupils perceived themselves as weaker language learners in general and in specific language domains, such as understanding, reading, writing or speaking. Seikkula-Leino (2007)

speculates that one possible reason for the CLIL pupils' weak self-concept may be the demanding language they are constantly exposed to which can make them feel incompetent and weak learners, thus having a direct bearing on their self-concept. Additionally, the results may mirror the drawbacks of quantitative research as pupils in different groups may have perceived the statements differently.

In another study in Finland, Pihko (2007) investigated quantitatively the differences of lower secondary school CLIL (n = 209) and non-CLIL pupils' (n = 181) English language self-concept. Contrarily to Seikkula-Leino's (2007) study, the CLIL pupils' foreign language self-concept was very high and more positive than of their non-CLIL peers'. Pihko (2007), in turn, deduces that CLIL classes are potential environments for developing pupils' positive foreign language self-concept as pupils are constantly using the language in a meaningful way. As the study did not take the pupils' a priori differences into account, Pihko (2007) contemplates that at least in some cases the CLIL pupils' self-concept could have been initially higher. The study nevertheless showed that CLIL education at least maintains a positive language self-concept.

In a fairly recent study in German CLIL context, Rumlich (2016) examined the English as a foreign language self-concept (hereafter EFL SC) in a study comprising 321 CLIL pupils, 221 non-CLIL pupils (i.e. pupils who attended the same school as the CLIL pupils but did not receive CLIL) and 134 regular pupils (i.e. pupils who studied in a school without a CLIL program). Rumlich (2016) took a priori differences into account and scrutinized the change in pupils' EFL SC for a period of two years. The results revealed that CLIL pupils' EFL SC was higher already at the outset of the research. However, the CLIL pupils' EFL SC slightly increased during the two-year period whereas for regular pupils it remained the same, and slightly decreased for non-CLIL pupils. Rumlich (2016) states that the results regarding the effect of CLIL on pupils' self-concept should be interpreted with caution as the CLIL pupils' initially higher EFL SC seem to explain most of the increase.

In conclusion, the few previous studies on self-concept in CLIL context have mostly been quantitative and provided somewhat discrepant results. Due to the research setting of the present study, we do not attempt to clarify the inconsistency of the aforementioned studies. Rather, we aim to elucidate the nature and development of self-concept in CLIL by examining the issue qualitatively using in-depth interviews. Furthermore, the present study takes on a fairly novel perspective, that is, the focus is on former pupils' perceptions of the long-term effect of CLIL on their English language self-concept.

3. Research process

3.1. Context of the study[1]

The context of the study is Finland where CLIL has officially been implemented since 1991. Throughout the years, CLIL has established its place in the Finnish education system, although its popularity has decreased substantially since the 1990s (e.g. Lehti, Järvinen, and Suomela-Salmi 2006; Nikula and Marsh 1996). However, according to a very recent survey (Peltoniemi et al. 2018), the number of municipalities offering CLIL education in early childhood education and basic education has again increased in recent years.

The English-medium CLIL program of the target school started in 1991 and the participants of the present study started their schooling in 1992. At that time, only one class per grade level received CLIL. The CLIL program was open to everyone, thus no pre-tests were conducted. However, a requirement was that the pupils did not have noticeable learning difficulties in pre-school. In addition, priority was given to the pupils who had some previous experience in English, which applied to five pupils in the target class. CLIL was implemented on a daily basis. On average, at primary level, the amount of English-medium lessons was approximately 25 percent of all teaching. CLIL did not replace formal English teaching but was carried out alongside it. However, the formal English teaching, which then began in grade 3, was more intensive than typically. CLIL was also implemented in the lower secondary school (grades 7–9, pupils' age 13–15) although its amount diminished and it was more sporadic due to timetable constraints and subject teachers' insufficient competence to give English-medium instruction. The overall aim of the CLIL program was to make the pupils confident language users, thus hinting at a positive self-concept.

3.2. Methodology

3.2.1. Data collection and analysis

The data for this study are in-depth interviews which were conducted by author 1 between August 2016 and January 2017. Most interviews took place at the interviewer's or the interviewee's home, whereas a few interviews were conducted in a public venue or via Skype

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[1] The background information comes from an interview with a former teacher of the school and two old program brochures. In addition, author 1 was a pupil in the target CLIL class throughout the entire comprehensive school.

(see Table 1). The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to 79 minutes, the average being 48 minutes. The semi-structured interviews were based on broad themes which were given to the interviewees in advance in order for them to recollect aspects and experiences of their CLIL education (see Roiha and Sommier 2018). Despite the general outline, each interview was slightly different as the participants were given the opportunity to focus on the topics relevant to them and their individual life trajectories. The interview themes stemmed from previous research and literature on CLIL as well as from a pilot study carried out by author 1 (Roiha 2017).

Author 1 had a prior relationship with the participants as he had been a pupil himself in the CLIL class throughout the entire 9-year comprehensive school which added a distinctive feature to the data collection. Garton and Copland (2010) refer to this type of interview setting as *acquaintance interviews*. According to them, these do not necessarily produce more valid results than other interview types, however the shared experience may enable access to resources not always obtainable in more traditional interview settings.

The interviews were transcribed verbatim by author 1. The data were analyzed qualitative using theory-oriented thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006). We approached the data with a relatively general conceptualization of foreign language self-concept (cf. Pihko 2007) as we wanted the analysis to be as inductive as possible. Nevertheless, our analysis was informed by the broad conceptualization of self-concept as a multidimensional, dynamic and situational construct. First, the whole data were coded according to emerging themes and the transcribed excerpts relating to self-concept were chosen as the data for this study. This consisted of 50 820 words which was equivalent to approximately one-third of the overall data, thus making self-concept a highly prominent theme of the interviews. Next, the different codes were sorted into potential themes and the relevant data excerpts were arranged under the different themes. The analysis resulted in the main overarching themes and their sub-themes (see Appendix 1 as an example). To ensure triangulation (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009), the analysis following the initial coding was done by both authors separately.

3.2.2. Participants

The participants of the study are 24 adults who took part in the target CLIL class at some stage between years 1992 and 2001 (i.e. primary and lower secondary school). Overall, 29 pupils (including the researcher) were part of the class at some stage of the CLIL program. The participants were informed of the purpose of the study and how the data would be used.

Furthermore, it was made explicit that they could withdraw from the study at any stage. Additionally, the participants received pseudonyms to conceal their identities (see Table 1 for more details). A brief synopsis of each participant's education and English use can be found in Appendix 2.

Table 1. The participants and the interview details (Adapted from Roiha 2019).

Pseudonym	CLIL experience	In total	Interview venue	Interview duration
Anna (F)[2]	pre-school - 9th grade	= 10 years	researcher's home	58:04
Annika (F)	1st - 6th grade	= 6 years	researcher's home	41:37
Arttu (M)	7th - 9th grade	= 3 years	hotel lobby	39:18
Eemeli (M)	pre-school - 9th grade	= 10 years	researcher's home	45:44
Emmi (F)	pre-school - 9th grade	= 10 years	university library	40:22
Hanna (F)	pre-school - 6th grade	= 7 years	researcher's home	30:17
Jere (M)	pre-school - 9th grade	= 10 years	via Skype	38:35
Jonne (M)	1st - 9th grade	= 9 years	participant's home	45:55
Juho (M)	1st - 9th grade	= 9 years	participant's home	69:03
Jukka (M)	pre-school - 9th grade	= 10 years	researcher's home	34:54
Kaapo (M)	1st - 6th grade	= 6 years	via Skype	36:10
Kalle (M)	pre-school - 9th grade	= 10 years	participant's home	37:15
Kimmo (M)	1st - 9th grade	= 9 years	participant's home	63:18
Lotta (F)	pre-school - 4th grade	= 5 years	researcher's home	34:07
Maria (F)	1st - 6th grade	= 6 years	hotel lobby	61:08
Marko (M)	1st - 4th and 6th - 9th grade	= 8 years	researcher's home	78:31
Niko (M)	pre-school - 9th grade	= 10 years	via Skype	39:30
Olli (M)	1st - 9th grade	= 9 years	researcher's home	38:24
Pasi (M)	pre-school - 9th grade	= 10 years	researcher's home	39:18
Riikka (F)	7th - 9th grade	= 3 years	researcher's home	45:24
Roni (M)	1st - 9th grade	= 9 years	participant's home	41:22
Samu (M)	3rd - 9th grade	= 7 years	participant's home	62:14
Sanna (F)	2nd - 7th grade	= 6 years	via Skype	79:56
Tuukka (M)	pre-school - 9th grade	= 10 years	researcher's home	63:02

4. Results

The Results section presents the main findings in relation to the research questions: 1) *manifestation of English language self-concept* and 2) *factors influencing English language self-concept*. Both questions are further divided into sub-themes. The section contains quotes from the participants which have been translated into English by the authors. The original quotes in Finnish are found in Appendix 3.

4.1. The manifestation of English language self-concept

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[2] The letter in the brackets signifies the participants' sex (i.e. F = female, M = male).

4.1.1. Positive and robust self-concept

In general, the data suggest that 16[3] participants had a robust English language self-concept. This interpretation was made based on the participants' life courses and how they described themselves as English language users in the interviews. For six participants, in turn, their English self-concept was inferred to have oscillated more throughout the years whereas for two participants, it seemed to be relatively negative. English was still actively present in many of the participants' lives for instance through work or in their spare time (see Appendix 2). They declared being strong and confident language users who trusted their own language skills. Furthermore, 16 participants emphasized that they had experienced none or hardly any language anxiety when using English. Additionally, four of them even considered their English skills being on the same level as their Finnish skills. For instance, Anna referred to herself as 'bilingual'. For four participants, in turn, English seemed to have the status of a second language as they placed it somewhere in between Finnish and other foreign languages. Even traces of superiority as a language user could be identified in 11 participants' interviews which further demonstrates their strong English self-concept:

   (1) Finns do speak [English] quite well.. but it is still a bit sometimes.. that they make mistakes that I
        wouldn't maybe make. (Eemeli)

The data indicate that 15 participants perceived a clear relation between their CLIL education and English language self-concept. For instance, Pasi and Annika mentioned words such as 'courage' or 'self-confidence' when describing the significance of CLIL in relation to their English self-concept:

   (2) It [= CLIL] has given me this kind of courage.. self-confidence to use English. (Pasi)

   (3) I trust my language skills.. in a way that you have the courage to start speaking and you have.. like
        that vocabulary and so.. I would give a lot of credit to it [= CLIL] about this. (Annika)

Interestingly, Annika had not performed so well in English at school and had not used English language consistently after basic education, yet she portrayed a relatively strong English

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[3] For the sake of transparency, we have quantified the data whenever feasible. However, as the interviews were relatively open in nature, not all themes were covered with all participants. Therefore, the quantifications should only be considered as suggestive indicators.

language self-concept. For instance, Pesu (2017) has pointed out that besides academic success, self-concept development is often impacted by age as well as cultural and individual differences, which may also partly explain Annika's situation. Regardless, this finding provides valuable insights for practitioners not to automatically assume a straightforward relation between pupils' academic outcomes and their self-concept.

No participant regarded CLIL as useless or insignificant to their English self-concept. On the contrary, everyone acknowledged the effect of CLIL on them as language users to a varying degree. Five participants, for instance, explicitly speculated that other factors might have influenced and contributed to their positive English self-concept alongside CLIL. The role of CLIL was nevertheless emphasized:

(4)   It [= strong English skills] is probably not only due to CLIL.. but I'm sure it has had a great impact on it. (Arttu)

In general, the participants saw CLIL as a stepping stone to further learning of English and having created the foundation for their high English self-concept. Three participants even stated how their positive English self-concept had affected their general self-esteem. This is in line with Hardy and Moriarty (2006) who have proposed that the domains of self-concept, which are of high importance to an individual, have an influence on one's global self-esteem. For instance, this seemed to be the case for Kimmo:

(5)   Finnish was always quite a hard subject for me.. I never got really good grades from essays.. but then in English I got often ninety nine points [= the maximum] from all those little essays that we had to write.. it was a very important thing to me.. and it probably relates to the fact that I had a better vocabulary or something.. but it's like this that.. that was like.. for my self-esteem it was a very big thing. (Kimmo)

All in all, the findings support the view that CLIL can be a potential setting for developing a positive target language self-concept (e.g. Pihko 2007). However, despite the fact that most participants' English self-concept had remained relatively stable throughout the years, some variation occurred. This issue will be discussed in more detail in the following subsection.

4.1.2. Dynamic and multidimensional self-concept

Self-concept is regarded as a dynamic and situational construct that can oscillate throughout the years (e.g. Mercer 2011a, 2011b). The data of the present study further elucidate this. For instance, despite the lack of language anxiety as a general trend, four participants nevertheless reported having experienced some when using English. Their language anxiety seemed to be very context-specific and often occurred when the interlocutor was a native English speaker. It has been found that, in general, Finns tend to feel more comfortable using English with non-native than native speakers (Leppänen et al. 2011). However, based on the data, it seemed that the participants' language anxiety had not considerably hindered their willingness to interact with others, which may often be the case (e.g. MacIntyre and Gardner 1991). Pihko's (2007) study also revealed that CLIL pupils experience some language anxiety, although to a much lesser extent than their non-CLIL peers. On the other hand, anxiety in language using situations may not always be caused by the foreign language, but may rather reflect general public speaking anxiety as the following extract illustrates:

(6) I wasn't nervous about speaking English.. I have always had this that I am very nervous about speaking in front of people in general.. I do not remember that I would have been more anxious because the language was English.. it didn't matter whether it was in Finnish or English, those have always been a bit sweaty situations. (Kaapo)

In general, the participants seemed to have a strong but realistic self-concept. They were able to identify the language skill domains within a language that they occasionally struggled with, which is a further testimony of the dynamic and multidimensional nature of self-concept (e.g. Mercer 2011b). Three participants associated a momentary decline in their English self-concept, particularly regarding speaking, with the lack of English use. For two, in turn, university was a period when they had experienced some challenges in written English:

(7) If at some point I have felt that my English language skills haven't been sufficient enough it has been exactly with these scientific publications.. they were hard to understand.. also in English that you sort of.. in theory you understand the text and what is written but then you have to think about it for a long time that what is actually said in it. (Juho)

Even though Juho presents his difficulties with academic texts as a language issue, the problems in his comprehension may partly be due to the scientific language in general, which is often complex with a lot of subject-specific terminology. However, it is plausible that the foreign language element posed an additional challenge. All in all, even though the

participants' English language self-concept seemed to somewhat vary according to the different skill domains within the language, this did not seem to have a major negative effect on their more global English self-concept.

In contrast to the positive English language self-concept, an issue that was relatively recurrent in the data was a clearly more negative self-concept in other foreign languages, mostly in German and Swedish. These were respectively the two other foreign languages studied in school for most participants. For instance, Tuukka commented on the issue as follows:

(8) For instance German.. I don't know how to speak it at all.. neither do I understand it.. if someone starts to speak German.. I don't understand almost anything.. almost the same with Swedish.. listening comprehension is very bad. (Tuukka)

10 participants explicitly associated their difficulties in other languages with CLIL (see also Roiha and Sommier 2018). That is, they felt that learning English implicitly through content had been counterproductive to their learning of other foreign languages which had been taught more explicitly. They considered that due to CLIL, they did not have the skills to study a language in a more traditional way and described other languages (mostly German and Swedish) as 'difficult', 'arduous' or 'useless'. Their negative attitude towards and struggles with other foreign languages can be interpreted to have had a direct bearing on their self-concept in those languages, and contrarily further reinforced their already positive English self-concept. In addition to those 10 participants, 6 other participants also portrayed a rather negative self-concept in other languages. There was one exception in the data, Hanna, who depicted a more positive Swedish self-concept than that of English. She nevertheless considered English her strongest foreign language which, in her view, was a reflection of CLIL.

In conclusion, the fact that many participants seemed to clearly differentiate between their language-specific self-concepts supports the views brought up by Mercer (2011b) that, as opposed to approaching the foreign language self-concept holistically, it may be more reasonable to consider specific self-concepts for different foreign languages. Furthermore, the variations in the participants' different English skills raises the need to distinguish even more domain-specific self-concepts within a language, such as EFL writing, speaking or reading self-concept (cf. Lau et al. 1999).

4.2. Factors influencing English language self-concept

Even though a salient theme in the data was that the majority of the participants considered CLIL having a pervasive influence on them as language users, the participants articulated more precisely certain factors which enhanced their English self-concept. The most recurrent themes in that regard were the *emphasis on early language learning*, *comparison to others* and *external feedback*.

4.2.1. Early language learning

Studies on early language learning have shown that pupils with an early start in language learning possess a more positive attitude towards a foreign language and are more willing to use it than their later starting peers (e.g. De Bot 2014; Muñoz and Singleton 2011). The present data are in accordance with this as the early start seemed to have positively affected the participants' English self-concept. This issue was brought up by 18 of the participants. The target CLIL program started in the 1st grade and some had already received minor CLIL in pre-school (pupils' age 6–7). For instance, the following quote from Anna illustrates hew view of valuing the early start of CLIL:

(9) I think everyone should have an early start [with CLIL] because I feel that if you look at our class compared to others, our English skills were much better and it was like a lot easier because we had got the small basis for it through songs and play, so kind of in a very simple way. (Anna)

The significance of the early start of CLIL was emphasized especially by the participants whose academic performance was below average. For instance, Kaapo, whose studies were limited to upper secondary school as he went on to have a career as a professional athlete, highlighted the early start of CLIL in forming his positive outlook towards English. As opposed to other school subjects, English had always been easy and pleasant for him:

(10) I just knew that I was good at it [= English] and the things were easy for me.. I liked being there [= English lessons] but I have never liked school.. you were at school from eight till four and after that I didn't do anything for school.. I played hockey and did other stuff. (Kaapo)

When analyzing Kaapo's quote in relation to Marsh's (1986) I/E model, it seems that his negative attitude towards other school subjects had a counter effect on his attitude towards

English. That is, the internal comparisons he made between different subject-specific self-concepts had further enhanced his English self-concept.

Additionally, seven of the participants for whom English had been an integral part throughout their life courses, also referred to the early start of CLIL as a factor influencing their English self-concept. For instance, Niko, who had lived and worked abroad for a long time, still found the early start of CLIL significant for his English skills:

(11) The basic level that we got from school so early helped in that we kind of got a couple of years of immersion for free.. and of course it has been a great advantage that you have been able to start it early.. the playing with the language.. after that it has come on a silver platter the whole language. (Niko)

A theme that was fairly recurrent in the data, was the reciprocal relation between the participants' self-concept and their language use situations. Early CLIL had helped form a high English self-concept which encouraged the participants to communicate in English at a young age. The successful outcomes of these situations had in turn reinforced their positive English self-concept (see also Pihko 2007). For instance, Kimmo brought forth how early English skills had given him access to international forums on the internet which was quite exceptional for a young pupil at that time:

(12) I have these memories that I have been in some chat rooms and I have written in English and then when I have told them that I come from Finland and.. that I am like quite young.. then I have gotten praises that wow you are.. you are totally fluent in this. (Kimmo)

In conclusion, the participants seemed to value the early start of CLIL in forming their English self-concept. Furthermore, none of the participants commented on any negative aspects on the early start with CLIL. This finding encourages the implementation of CLIL already at (pre-) primary level. Naturally, one can argue whether the strong English self-concept is the result of early start, CLIL methods, combination of the above or additional factors, but the participants seemed to give credit to the early start regardless of their later life paths. In general, it is acknowledged that the factors influencing one's self-concept are interrelated (e.g. Mercer 2011b). Also in the present study, the early start of CLIL partly intersected with other influencing factors such as social comparisons and external feedback which are further discussed as follows.

4.2.2. Comparison to others and feedback

The data illustrate how the participants' English self-concept was also influenced by social comparisons and feedback from significant others. For instance, family members were a frame of reference for six participants. The comparisons to their siblings or parents and the feedback they received arguably increased the participants' English self-concept:

(13) It was probably nice that.. that even though you were just a kid you knew something.. and maybe.. knew better than mum or dad. (Hanna)

A more recurrent frame of reference was the participants non-CLIL peers. Nine mentioned having realized their advantage compared to their peers already in primary school. 11 participants, in turn, became conscious of it only in upper secondary school when they merged with their non-CLIL peers in formal English lessons. It can be deduced that these external comparisons have further boosted the participants' English self-concept (see e.g. Marsh 1986).

Overall, the influence of the environment noticing the participants' English skills is quite prominent in the data. After getting a lot of positive feedback, the participants' self-concept arguably adjusted towards more positive direction. This is in accordance with the conceptualization of self-concept being shaped by our experiences and contexts (e.g. Mercer 2011b). For instance, the environment noticing Anna's language skills, especially spoken English, had clearly boosted her self-concept even though she considered herself not being very motivated or good student in general:

(14) I felt that this has partly led to a kind of complex of being better than others that I never thought that but when everyone kept wondering that ooh, you really are good [at English] then you kind of start thinking that maybe I am. (Anna)

In the target CLIL context, the feedback from the environment was perhaps more meaningful than nowadays, as in the early 1990s, when CLIL was something new and language contacts were more infrequent, early start with English was generally perceived as something special. For instance, Roni's quote encapsulates this view:

(15) Perhaps it was more emphasized then that we are somehow a special class. (Roni)

Stressing the special nature of the class had arguably affected and reinforced the participants' self-concept. If the environment has underlined the speciality of the class, it has inevitably had an effect on the participants' perceptions of themselves as language learners. For instance, Pesu (2017) has found that the feedback from both parents and teachers is important in forming one's self-concept.

In addition to feedback from other people, school grades appeared to be one type of external frame of reference that boosted the participants' English self-concept. For instance, more than half of the ones who completed upper secondary school obtained the highest grade in the English language matriculation examination which, at the national level, only 5 percent of the cohort receive. This seemed to be of high importance to the participants and five of them even explicitly emphasized how they took the examination unprepared, which reflects their strong self-concept and even their sense of superiority in English.

All in all, the findings demonstrate how self-concept is not formed in a vacuum but rather in relation to internal and external factors (e.g. Marsh 1986; Mercer 2011b). However, it is important to bear in mind that the extent to which the early CLIL, social comparisons, external feedback or other factors have affected the participants' English self-concept cannot be distinguished from one another. Nevertheless, the results of this study provide important implications to language teaching which are discussed next.

5. Implications and conclusion

This study focused on former pupils' perceptions of the influence of English-medium CLIL on their target language self-concept. The majority of the participants underlined the importance of CLIL in forming their positive English language self-concept. CLIL was perceived as a stepping stone to using English later in life. Despite sporadic downturns as English users and slight variations in their skill-specific self-concepts, their global English self-concept seemed to have remained relatively stable and strong. Additionally, this study scrutinized the factors potentially influencing the participants' English self-concept. The study elucidates the importance of social comparisons and external feedback in forming one's self-concept. Particular emphasis was given to the early start of CLIL which had made it possible for the participants to operate in communicative situations in English at a young age. The successful outcomes of those interactions had reciprocally reinforced their positive English self-concept.

Overall, the findings reveal that CLIL education can be an effective teaching approach regarding the target language self-concept, thus coinciding with the results obtained by Pihko

(2007) and Rumlich (2016). The opposite results by Seikkula-Leino (2007) about CLIL pupils' low self-concept seem to remain as an exception. However, comparing the present study to the previous studies is somewhat arbitrary due to the slightly different definitions of self-concept as well as the different methodological approaches (i.e. quantitative or qualitative).

The results of this study have both theoretical and practical implications. However, it is important to bear in mind that the participants received their CLIL education in the 1990s, and the conceptualization of CLIL as well as CLIL practices have since evolved. Regardless, the results encourage schools to provide CLIL education. More specifically, even though most CLIL programs focus on secondary education (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2011), the present study implies the significance of an early CLIL in creating a positive target language self-concept (in the present context CLIL started at the age of 7). Furthermore, the study suggests that it may be worthwhile to adopt CLIL methodology also to mainstream language education as already fairly moderate CLIL seems to be beneficial to the target language self-concept (in the present context the amount of CLIL was approx. 25 % of the overall teaching). Finally, a pivotal result which should not be overlooked is the participants' rather negative self-concept regarding other foreign languages. This result is contradictory to studies on non-CLIL early language teaching that have found an early start resulting in a positive attitude towards languages in general (Muñoz and Singleton 2011). This suggests that in CLIL context, multilingualism should be explicitly acknowledged so that the CLIL language would not cast aside other foreign languages (see also Roiha and Sommier 2018). One solution is to offer a multitude of languages already at primary level. For instance, Finnish immersion education, where the pupils have been exposed to four languages before the age of 12, has led to more positive attitude towards the different languages (Björklund and Mård-Miettinen 2011). As this is a qualitative case study, further studies are needed to see if similar CLIL education in other countries and settings provides comparable observations, or whether the results of the present study are specific only to this particular Finnish CLIL context and cohort.

On a theoretical level, the data support the current view that self-concept should not be regarded as a static and fixed but rather as a dynamic and fluid construct which may vary in time and place (e.g. Mercer 2011b). Second, the findings propose that in contrast to approaching the foreign language self-concept as a generic construct it may be more feasible to break it down into smaller components such as English language self-concept or German language self-concept. Moreover, the participants' narrations encourage to scrutinize the language-specific self-concepts even in more nuanced ways. (see also Mercer 2011b.) However, the data only touched upon this issue and are therefore fairly limited in that regard.

Thus, CLIL pupils' self-concept in more specific skills within a language as well as in other foreign languages could be further studied. For instance, it would be interesting to investigate the types of CLIL practices and learning environments that best support pupils' various skill-specific self-concepts such as speaking, reading, writing and listening self-concept.

This study has some limitations which are worth mentioning. First, the participants received 2 hours of formal English teaching alongside CLIL per week from 3rd grade onwards which has plausibly had its effect on their English self-concept. Particularly, in lower and upper secondary schools, the formal English lessons, and the social comparisons the participants made to their non-CLIL peers, appeared to reinforce their strong self-concept. Thus, it can be interpreted that the formal English lessons played a somewhat central role in contributing to the participants' self-concept. All in all, the participants' English self-concept seemed to have been formed in an interplay between several factors, such as CLIL, formal English lessons and English using situations outside school. However, the participants seemed to interpret CLIL as the most central and identifiable element in this nexus of factors. Finally, it is worth noting that even though retrospective reflections have their benefits, they also have their limitations. As McAdams (2008) has pointed out, people's later life trajectories and events may impact the way they remember prior experiences or the meanings they attach to them. Therefore, the participants of the present study may also have perceived their CLIL time as more meaningful to their self-concept than in reality. Regardless of these limitations, the study contributes to the current work on self-concept, particularly in relation to CLIL.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Appendix 1: Two participant's coding sheets as an example

no language anxiety in English	Robust English SC	Manifestation of English SC
sense of superiority		
self-confidence to use English language at work -> privileged position		
English as a language of thought		
downturn in SC -> university studies	Dynamic SC	
specific language skills: language use, communication	Multidimensional SC	
limitation in English skills -> lack of vocabulary		
perceived himself as bad at other languages -> partly due to CLIL		
the naturalness of English early on	The significance of early CLIL	Factors influencing English SC
the easiness of English early on		
implicit learning of English		
influence of CLIL on communication at a young age		
comparing to others, (lower and upper secondary, university of applied sciences)	Social comparisons & external feedback	
language use at work -> feedback from others, comparing to others		
the significance of school grades (upper secondary school)		

CLIL created self-confidence to use English	Robust English SC	Manifestation of English SC
worked abroad using English -> self-confidence		
considers having more courage to use English than other Finns		
considered himself as better at English than others in general		
sees the confidence in English as partly guiding his career choices		
minor language anxiety when speaking with English native speakers	Dynamic SC	
considered speaking as his weakest area	Multidimensional SC	
CLIL increased vocabulary and speaking in particular		
views writing as his strongest skill in English		
compares his English to Swedish -> lacks the courage to use Swedish -> lack of self-confidence		
did not perceive CLIL as anything special as it started in the 1st grade	The significance of early CLIL	Factors influencing English SC
positive memories of CLIL -> could not come up with anything negative about it		
motivation to study English early on		
English-medium lessons mixed in the head with Finnish-medium lessons		
in upper secondary noticed being better than average -> obtained good grades	Social comparisons & external feedback	
particularly noticed the difference at university in oral skills		
ahead of peers also in vocabulary and speaking		
received the highest grade in the matriculation examinations		

Appendix 2: The participants' study history and English use after CLIL (Adapted from Roiha 2019)

Anna (F)	- English-medium master's degree abroad - had lived and studied in an English-speaking country for several years
Annika (F)	- a degree from a university of applied sciences (only a few English courses) - occasional use of English at work and in free time
Arttu (M)	- in the midst of completing his master's degree (English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work
Eemeli (M)	- master's degree (English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work
Emmi (F)	- master's degree (English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work
Hanna (F)	- dual degree from upper secondary and vocational school (only a few English courses) - occasional use of English at work
Jere (M)	- degree from a university of applied sciences (only a few English courses) - had been on a work placement abroad for 6 months using English - occasional use of English at work and in free time
Jonne (M)	- vocational degree (only a few English courses) - occasional use of English at work and in free time
Juho (M)	- English-medium master's degree - frequent use of English at work
Jukka (M)	- vocational degree (only a few English courses) - frequent use of English at work and in free time
Kaapo (M)	- matriculation examination certificate - had lived and worked abroad for several years - English partly as a working language
Kalle (M)	- master's degree (English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work
Kimmo (M)	- master's degree abroad (first two years English-medium) - occasional use of English at work
Lotta (F)	- degree from a university of applied sciences (only a few English courses) - occasional use of English in free time
Maria (F)	- in the midst of completing her master's degree (English-medium courses) - occasional use of English at work and in free time
Marko (M)	- master's degree (English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work
Niko (M)	- master's degree (English-medium courses) - lived and worked abroad - English as working language; main language also in free time
Olli (M)	- bachelor's degree (only a few English courses) - occasional use of English at work and in free time
Pasi (M)	- master's degree (English-medium courses and exchange year abroad) - had lived and worked abroad for four years - English as working language; main language also in free time
Riikka (F)	- English-medium master's degree - occasional use of English at work
Roni (M)	- in the midst of completing his master's degree (English-medium courses) - frequent use of English at work, occasional use in free time
Samu (M)	- studied in university of applied sciences (only a few English courses) - frequent use of English at work, occasional use in free time
Sanna (F)	- English-medium master's degree - had studied and lived abroad several years - English as working language; main language also in free time
Tuukka (M)	- master's degree (English-medium courses) - occasional use of English at work and in free time

Appendix 3: The quotes in the original language

(1) Suomalaiset sitten puhuu [englantia] silleen aika hyvin ja sill.. mut se on kuitenkin silleen välillä vähän sinne päin että.. tulee semmosia joitain virheitä jotka ei ehkä itellä sitten. (Eemeli)

(2) Kyl se [= CLIL] niinkun roh.. sellasta rohkeutta on antanut silleen.. itseluottamusta käyttää englantia. (Pasi)

(3) Mä niinkun luotan siihen kielitaitoon että.. kyllä mä niinkun että tavallaan uskaltaa just lähtee puhumaan ja on sitä.. niinkun sitä var.. sanavarastoo tuolla ja semmosta niin.. kyllä mä niinkun tosi paljon niinkun laitan sen [= CLIL-opetuksen] piikkiin että. (Annika)

(4) Ei se [= vahva englannin taito] pelkästään tän enkkupainotteisuuden ansiota varmastikaan oo.. oo mutta.. kyllä sillä varmasti iso vaikutus siihen on ollu. (Arttu)

(5) Mulla oli niinkun äidinkieli aika vaikea aine et mä en saanu koskaan kirjotuksista mitään kauheen hyviä numeroita.. mut sit taas enkussa niinkun kaikista niistä pikkuesseistä mitä piti kirjottaa niin mä sain tosi usein ysiysi pistettä [= maksimi].. se oli mulle tosi tärkee juttu että.. ja se varmaan liitty siihen et mulla oli parempi sanavarasto tai jotain.. mut että se on niinkun sellanen että.. joka niinkun oli.. oli mun itsetunnolle tosi iso juttu. (Kimmo)

(6) En mä niinkun englannin puhumista jännittänyt.. mulla on aina ollu sellanen että mä oon jännittäny puhumista yleisesti niinkun muiden edessä.. en mä ainakaan muista että mä oisin siitä niinkun englannin kielellä esiintymisestä mitenkään sen kummemmin ottanu stressiä et se on ollu ihan.. ihan sama onko se ollu suomen kielellä tai englannin kielellä se puhuminen niin se on ottanu aina vähän hikeä pintaan. (Kaapo)

(7) Jos jossakin vaiheessa on niinkun kokenu että englannin kielen taito ei ole riittävä niin ne on nää niinkun.. nimenomaan tieteellisissä julkaisuissa olevat tieteelliset.. tai niinkun tieteelliset artikkelit joita lukee.. ne oli kyllä vaikeita ymmärtää.. englanniksikin et sä niinkun.. periaatteessa ymmärrät sen tekstin mitä siinä sanotaan mut että.. sit sä jouut tosi pitkään miettimään että.. et mitä sillä tarkotetaan tai niinkun. (Juho)

(8) Esim saksa niin ei osaa niinkun yhtään puhua.. ja enkä ymmärräkkään.. jos joku lähtee puhuun saksaa niin en.. en mä niinkun ymmärrä sitä niinkun juuri ollenkaan.. sama on melkein ruotsi.. kuullun ymmärtäminen todella huono. (Tuukka)

(9) Mun mielestä kaikilla pitäis alkaa se [= CLIL-opetus] niinkun niin aikasin koska musta tuntuu että.. että jos niinkun katotaan meijän luokkaa verrattuna muihin.. niin meijän englanninkieli oli paljon parempi ja niinkun et se.. se oli niin paljon helpompaa sen takia et me oltiin saatu se semmonen pieni pohja siihen mikä oli just sitte semmosta laulua ja leikkiä että tosi niinkun tavallaan.. yksinkertasella tavalla. (Anna)

(10) Mä vaan tiesin et mä oon niinkun hyvä [englannissa] ja ne asiat on mulle silleen helppoja että.. siellä [= englannin tunneilla] oli mukava olla mutta mä en oo ikinä niinkun tykänny koulunkäynnistä.. koulussa oltiin kaheksasta neljään ja sit sen jälkeen mä en tehny mitään koulun eteen.. pelattiin lätkää ja muita juttuja. (Kaapo)

(11) Se pohjataso mikä tuli sieltä koulusta niin aikasin niin se autto sit taas siihen et on niinkun ilmaset muutama vuos sitä immersiota.. ja siis toki ollu tosi paljon etuu siitä et siinä on niinkun päässy niin varhain alottaan ton kielen kans pelaamisen et se on niinkun tullu sen jälkeen ihan niinkun hopeelautasella koko kieli. (Niko)

(12) Semmosii muistoja on ku on just ollu jossain chattihuoneessa ja sitten kirjottanu englantii niin sitten kun on sanonu et on Suomesta niin sitten.. ja et on niinkun aika nuori.. niin sit on saanu kehuja et vau kylläpä sä.. sähän oot ihan fluent tässä. (Kimmo)

(13) Olihan se varmasti mukavaa että.. että kuitenkin ku ite oli ihan lapsi niin jotain osas.. ehkä.. osas enemmän ku äiti tai isä. (Hanna)

(14) Musta tuntu että osaks siitä on myös sen takia tullu semmonen joku paremmuuskompleksi että ei sitä ennen ollu ite niin ajatellukkaan mutta sit ku kaikki ihmiset päivittelee aina sitä että no ootpas sä kyllä hyvä [englannissa] niin sit sitä on silleen no kyllä mä varmaan sit oon niinkun että. (Anna)

(15) Ehkä sillon enemmän korostettiin sitä että ollaan jotenkin erikoinen luokka. (Roni)