

A case study on the organizational innovations and challenges of a comprehensive school providing extensive bilingual education

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ABSTRACT

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The goal of this case study was to document the challenges and innovative practices of a large Finnish comprehensive school organization providing an extensive bilingual education program. The study was conducted in 2018.

This qualitative single-case study was conducted through a weeklong period of data collection. Data was collected through participant-observation, semi-structured thematic interviews and an ethnographic research diary. The participants of the study consisted of sixteen stakeholders acting in different positions within the same school organization, all of which were somehow involved in the implementation of the extensive bilingual education program.

After analyzing the data through thematic analysis, four reciprocally interactive challenge-innovation pairs were found to shape the dynamics of the organization. These pairs were *rigidness/flexibility*, *alienation/unity*, *indifference/investment* and *solitude/collaboration*. In addition to the pairs being mutually reciprocal, the findings suggest that a causal relationship exists between each of the challenges and innovations, in which the innovations result from the challenges. Five key mechanisms (collaboration, self-efficacy, collective efficacy, collective investment and time) were identified as parts of this causal process.

The findings were further supported by commonalities found in existing research on the fields of educational leadership and bilingual education. The process of transformation from challenges to innovations documented in this study has implications for developing effective organizational practices for implementing bilingual education programs in schools across different contexts.

Keywords: case study, bilingual education, school organization, Finnish education, content and language integrated learning

TIIVISTELMÄ

Pekkarinen, Erkka. 2019. Tapaustutkimus laajamittaista kaksikielistä opetusta tarjoavan yhtenäiskoulun organisaatiotason haasteista ja innovaatioista. Kasvatustieteiden pro gradu -tutkielma. Jyväskylän yliopisto. Opettajankoulutuslaitos. 55 sivua.

Tämän tapaustutkimuksen tavoitteena on dokumentoida haasteita ja innovatiivisia käytänteitä osana suomalaisen laajamittaista kaksikielistä opetusta tarjoavan yhtenäiskoulun arkea. Tutkimus toteutettiin vuonna 2018.

Aineisto tätä tutkimusta varten kerättiin viikon aikana osallistuvan havainnoinnin, puolistrukturoitujen teemahaastattelujen sekä etnografisen tutkimuspäiväkirjan avulla. Tutkimukseen osallistui kuusitoista erilaisissa tehtävissä toimivaa henkilöä kouluorganisaation sisältä. Kaikki osallistujat olivat jossakin määrin mukana laajamittaisen kaksikielisen opetuksen toteuttamisessa.

Aineisto analysoitiin teemoitellen. Analyysin seurauksena löydettiin neljä keskinäisessä vuorovaikutuksessa olevaa haaste-innovaatio -paria, joiden kautta organisaation toimintaa ja sen sisäistä dynamiikkaa oli mahdollista hahmottaa. Nämä parit olivat *jäykkyys/joustavuus*, *vieraantumisen/yhtenäisyys*, *välinpitämättömyys/kiinnostus* ja *yksinäisyys/yhteistyö*. Sen lisäksi, että parit olivat keskenään vuorovaikutteisia, viittasivat tulokset siihen, että löydetty haasteet ja innovaatiot olivat kausaalisessa suhteessa keskenään, eli innovaatioiden voitiin havaita olevan seurausta haasteista. Aineiston perusteella oli mahdollista eritellä viisi päätekijää (yhteistyö, minäpystyvyys, kollektiivinen pystyvyys, kiinnostus ja aika) jotka olivat osana tätä kausaalista prosessia.

Löydöksiä tukivat yhteneväisyydet aiemmin koulutusjohtamisen ja kaksikielisen opetuksen kentillä tehtyyn tutkimukseen. Tämä myös vähentää tulosten kontekstisidonnaisuutta, minkä vuoksi tässä tutkimuksessa dokumentoidulla muutosprosessilla haasteista innovaatioihin onkin mahdollisia käytännön implikaatioita toimivien organisaatiokäytänteiden kehittämiseen kouluissa, jotka tarjoavat kaksikielistä opetusta.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
TIIVISTELMÄ	3
TABLE OF CONTENTS	4
1 INTRODUCTION	5
1.1 Theoretical framework	6
1.2 Literature review.....	10
1.3 Research questions.....	12
2 METHODOLOGY	14
2.1 The context of the research.....	14
2.2 The participants of the research.....	15
2.3 Collecting the data	15
2.4 Analyzing the data.....	19
2.5 Ethical considerations.....	20
3 FINDINGS	22
3.1 Organizational rigidness versus flexibility.....	23
3.2 Organizational alienation versus unity.....	27
3.3 Organizational indifference versus investment	30
3.4 Organizational solitude versus collaboration	33
4 DISCUSSION	37
REFERENCES	44
APPENDICES	49

1 INTRODUCTION

The demands for foreign language education in the Finnish educational landscape have increased ever since Finland joined the European Union in 1995. To highlight this, in 2018 already 99.9% of Finnish students in upper secondary education were studying English as a foreign language (Eurostat 2018). The increased demand has also called for new and varied ways to organize foreign language education. As a recent example, the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture decided that in the future mandatory foreign language education will begin earlier on a national level (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö 2018). The Ministry of Education and Culture have also invested significant amounts into language education through research projects such as the IKI-project¹ [Innovatiivisen kielikasvatuksen kartta ja kompassi], which also this study is a part of. The aim of the project is to identify and promote innovative models for language education in Finland through research.

Numerous cities and municipalities have also answered this demand through providing bilingual programs within their schools, in which varying amounts of content is taught through a foreign language. The national core curriculum of Finland refers to these kind of programs using the term bilingual education [kaksikielinen opetus] (Opetushallitus 2014, 89-93), whereas the previous national core curriculum referred to this as education through a foreign language medium [vieraskielinen opetus] (Opetushallitus 2004, 272-275). In the field of educational research, these kinds of programs are often referred to as content and language integrated learning (CLIL). Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010, 1) define CLIL as a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language. Today CLIL is regularly used as an umbrella term within the field of research to refer to teaching

¹ IKI-project website: <https://www.jyu.fi/edupsy/fi/tutkimus/hankkeet-projects/iki>

non-language content through a foreign language medium despite the wide contextual range between these programs (Coyle 2018). While the definition by Coyle et al. (2010) matches the context of this study, I will be using the terms bilingual education and extensive bilingual education [laajamittainen kaksikielinen opetus], as those are the official terms used currently in the Finnish national core curriculum. This decision was also made to avoid confusion resulting from the amount of variety in terminology within teaching through foreign languages in Finland (Lehti, Järvinen and Suomela-Salmi, 2006). These bilingual education programs challenge schools and educational providers in new ways, which in turn require innovative practices on an organizational level. The aim of this case study is to closely inspect one such school and to identify and highlight some of these organizational challenges and innovations that come with extensive bilingual education, hopefully resulting in theory that can be further utilized by not only the school in question, but also other schools with similar organizational traits.

1.1 Theoretical framework

In this study, the organization and the various stakeholders acting within it are viewed from a sociocognitive perspective (Bandura 1999). The stakeholders are seen as active agents shaping the reality of the organization with their own self-regulated and proactive behaviour affected for example by their beliefs of self-efficacy (e.g. Bandura 1982; 1988). The organization as a whole is viewed through triadic reciprocal causation. Bandura (1999, 162-164) explains that the triadic structure consists of three major interactants: personal, behavioral and environmental.

When looking at an educational organization such as in this case study, the personal interactant can be seen as the individual stakeholders with their own beliefs (e.g. staff members and their actions such as cooperation), the behavioral interactant as the framework provided by management actions and decisions

(e.g. distribution of financial resources, lesson divisions, recruitment) and the environmental interactant as the organizational environment and its properties (e.g. challenge, appeal or responsiveness to staff expectations). The reciprocal and transactional relationship of these three factors form the constantly developing dynamics and realities of the organization. As an example of such interaction, a teacher might wish to more actively participate in extensive bilingual education provided by the school, but might be discouraged to do so if it is not financially incentivized by the management. In this interaction, the teacher and their wishes to do something can be seen as the personal interactant, the bilingual education provided by the school as the environmental interactant and the management decision to not financially incentivize it as the behavioral interactant. The environmental interactant might be the reason for the original wish of the teacher but the behavioral interactant is the reason for the personal interactants current actions. Thus all of the interactants in combination then affect the future dynamics of the whole organization.

Leadership and collaboration are also important factors in understanding organizations, which in the context of this study relate to each other closely. Leadership within the Finnish educational context can often seem horizontal in nature. In practice, this can be seen through the fact that for instance a newly qualified teacher has an equal status with their more experienced colleagues as a part of the school organization. The leadership style in Finnish schools is often associated with concepts such as democracy, cooperation and collectivity. These are some of the key factors often associated with distributed leadership (e.g. Spillane 2005). Gronn (2008) among others however does not see distributed leadership as the be-all-and-end-all answer for educational leadership in all situations and calls for refining it.

As an alternative, Jäppinen (2009) introduces distributed pedagogical leadership (DPL), which is the theoretical viewpoint through which leadership is understood and examined in this study as well. In DPL ideas of distributed leadership are combined with four aspects of collaborative learning: *ambidexterity*, *cross-sectorality*, *empowerment* and *collective efficacy*. In this study, ambidexterity can be

seen as the organization's ability to live by current conditions while also looking towards future possibilities, cross-sectorality as the organization's ability to learn together through dialogue despite cultural or other differences caused by for example teacher background or job title, empowerment as the organization's ability to take into account different stakeholders' opinions and needs in decision-making processes and collective efficacy as the whole organization's belief in their capability for learning and improvement, similarly to how self-efficacy (Bandura 1982; 1988) is understood to be a key factor in the actions of the individual stakeholders in this study (Jäppinen and Maunonen-Eskelinen, 2012).

As mentioned, DPL strongly emphasizes collaborative learning, which is why collaboration is another critical mechanism to understand when considering organizational behavior. Collaboration between stakeholders such as teachers in the school context through for instance co-teaching, teamwork and sharing materials is an essential part of how educational organizations function. Collaboration skills have also specifically been thought of as an important factor in training teachers for bilingual programs in schools (Marsh, Mehisto, Wolff and Frigols Martín, 2012). In the context of this study collaboration can be seen as a mandatory requirement for teachers as even the Finnish national core curriculum has several mentions of for example co-teaching as a recommended form of collaboration (Opetushallitus 2014). This presents the stakeholders in our schools with increasing amounts of pressure to collaborate with each other as the core curriculum is one of the main documents guiding the work of teachers in Finland, and adhering to what is written is obligatory (Tainio, Palmu and Ikävalko, 2010).

Hargreaves (1995) points out that while collaboration and collegiality have been identified to correlate with professional growth, school improvement and positive school outcomes, they do not come without issues. He introduces the concepts of *collaborative cultures* and *contrived collegiality*. According to him, collaborative cultures are often characterized by the collaboration being spontaneous, voluntary, development-oriented, pervasive across time and space and unpredictable, whereas contrived collegiality is described as administratively regu-

lated, compulsory, implementation-oriented, fixed in time/space and predictable. (Hargreaves 1995.) In addition to contrived collegiality and collaborative cultures, Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) have also identified other models of professional cultures in schools. In *individualistic professional cultures* the teachers are isolated due to numerous factors such as the physical school space and time constraints or pressure placed on collaboration, whereas in *balkanized cultures* different interest groups such as teachers of different age groups exist within the same organization and can often compete for power through for example resources. On the contrary, in *professional learning communities* change is driven by the desire of the community to learn together to reach goals such as higher learning outcomes. Lastly in *clusters, networks or federations* different communities come together to learn from each other, collaborating on a cross-organizational level (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012). Identifying and understanding elements of all of these concepts is crucial in understanding the dynamics that both foster and challenge development in school organizations implementing specialized programs such as the one in this case study.

Lastly, while this study aspires to generate new theory and knowledge that can be applied to practice not only within the context of this case study but also other similar schools it is important to also recognize the contingent nature of different organizations. Contingency theory (e.g. Donaldson 2001) emphasizes the importance of the fit of the characteristics of an organization to the chosen contingencies such as the organizational strategy. This also explains the decision behind approaching this case study through the *abduction-deduction-induction* (A-D-I) strategy, in which existing theories are first chosen (abduction), then challenged and compared in the context of the case study (deduction) and lastly new theory grounded in the realities of the particular case is hopefully able to be formulated (induction) (Åsvoll 2014). This ensures that the contingencies and unique traits of the school in this case study are taken into account.

1.2 Literature review

As mentioned earlier, the terminology used in research regarding bilingual education is varied –bilingual education, CLIL and immersion are all frequently used terms, often with overlapping contextual elements (Dalton-Puffer, Llinares, Lorenzo and Nikula, 2014). Despite the labels, these differences can sometimes be even larger within studies using the same terminology when compared to studies using different terminology (Llinares and Lyster, 2014). In response, despite this study using the terms bilingual education and extensive bilingual education, it is essential to also include studies using other terminology to properly contextualize this study within the larger field of language education. With the contingent nature of different organizations in mind, these studies also serve as a mirror for further reflection regarding the findings of this study and a means for drawing cross-case comparisons later on in the Discussion chapter of this thesis.

Beginning from the international perspective towards organizing bilingual education, Soler, González-Davies and Iñesta (2016) recently did a case study covering three schools in Catalonia regarding effective leadership styles for schools with CLIL programs, finding that distributed and facilitative leadership styles were beneficial in implementing CLIL programs. They also suggested more intersectoral teamwork to foster understanding of different perspectives towards CLIL within the same organization. However, for more generalizable results research was needed in different contexts. Continuing with a similar context, Durán-Martínez and Beltrán-Llavador (2016) surveyed 151 teachers teaching in bilingual CLIL programs in Castile and León regarding their views on the programs. 92% of the participating teachers saw the programs as beneficial for the students. Resource questions such as training, classroom assistants and materials were the main concerns of the participating teachers.

Two international studies also highlighted the importance of collaboration between different stakeholder groups, which could be seen as cross-sectoral collaboration in the framework of this case study. Mehisto and Asser (2007) reported on different stakeholders' perspectives on Russian language CLIL programs in Estonia. The role of centralized management along with centrally developed

training and materials were found to be important, whereas collaboration between different stakeholder groups was identified as something that needed improvements. In his article, Banegas (2012) highlighted the role of the teachers as the ones who eventually have the most impact on the success of CLIL programs and similarly to the study by Mehisto and Asser (2007, 683) called for careful negotiation between different stakeholder groups when CLIL programs are being implemented.

Moving to the Finnish context of bilingual education, Lehti, Järvinen and Suomela-Salmi (2006) conducted a survey on CLIL teaching in Finnish comprehensive schools and upper secondary schools. Their study stated that that they use CLIL as an umbrella term as the variety within teaching through foreign languages in terms of amount and approach in Finland is large, as has already been stated. The study showed that the amount of CLIL teaching had significantly dropped since the 1990s and presented some of the challenges that CLIL teachers face such as materials, motivation, cooperation, administrative issues and resources. There had also been changes in the schools that provide CLIL programs, as many of the ones that had done so previously did not provide them anymore whereas new schools had begun providing similar programs instead.

Studying a Finnish community of teachers with a uniting interest in teaching through a foreign language, Moate (2011) found that many challenges were voiced by the community. These challenges included many organizational challenges such as building a professional community to facilitate sharing materials and developing curricula, gaining recognition from educational authorities for their innovative efforts, engaging the parents of the students and establishing the role of the new language. More studies in different contexts were deemed necessary to see whether different communities of innovative teachers face similar challenges. Later on Moate (2014, 2017) wrote about the same community of teachers and their development of a CLIL pathway between the partner organizations operating on different levels of education. In doing this, she highlighted how stakeholders within different educational communities with differing roles, histories and resources can contribute positively to development of educational

innovations especially if these differences are recognized and utilized in collaboration.

Recently, Pappa (2018) conducted a research project on the identity and agency of CLIL teachers in Finland consisting of three sub-studies (Pappa, Moate, Ruohotie-Lyhty and Eteläpelto, 2017a; 2017b; 2017c). In the first one, fourteen CLIL teachers across Finland were studied. Three tensions (language, classroom-related tensions and temporal, material and developmental resources) and four resources (autonomy, openness to change, teacher versatility and collegial community) were found to be present in the day-to-day work of these teachers (Pappa et al., 2017a). In the other two studies, the findings highlighted the importance of the teachers' emotions and dialogue in their active identity negotiation as CLIL teachers and in their workplace interaction with other members of the community (Pappa et al., 2017b; 2017c). Specifically the results regarding the tensions and resources are an important notion to keep in mind in regards to the framework of this study, as many of them such as resource limitations, autonomy and the collegial community are findings that could be linked to the organizational level practices studied here (Pappa et al., 2017a). The findings of the second two studies (Pappa et al., 2017b, 2017c) are visible in the framework of this study as well, as the identity negotiation of different stakeholders within an organization implementing bilingual education is inevitably related to the community as a whole and thus the realities of the organization. This is especially crucial considering the focus of this study on the voices of the stakeholders acting within the organization, which decidedly affected the formation of the following research questions and the choices regarding the methodology of this study.

1.3 Research questions

The aim of the research questions was to provide a lens through which to view the school as an organization and to guide the gathering and processing of the data systematically while still staying flexible enough to be able to adjust to the

context in question and let the stakeholders within the organization influence the more specific focal points of the study throughout the process of gathering data.

This study also aspired to gain and highlight knowledge that can be useful to the organization itself in its further development, but also on a larger scale to other providers of bilingual education with contextual similarities to the school in this case study. With this in mind, two initial research questions were identified and formulated.

1. What kind of organizational challenges can be identified within the organization?
2. What kind of organizational innovations can be identified within the organization?

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 The context of the research

The context of this qualitative case study was a large Finnish comprehensive school with over 600 students in grades 1-6 (primary school), 7-9 (secondary school) and a preschool. The comprehensive nature of the school is noteworthy. Until the recent years when these kinds of schools have become increasingly common, schools in Finland have been generally organized into separate primary and lower secondary schools instead of larger comprehensive schools, whereas preschools are most commonly integrated into kindergartens rather than schools on an organizational level. This puts further emphasis on the cross-professional and cross-sectoral nature of this comprehensive school. The heterogeneous staff of the school consisted of over 50 members including teachers of various titles and backgrounds (head teachers, class teachers, preschool teachers, subject teachers and special education teachers), assistants, student counsellors and other staff.

The school provided extensive bilingual education through English in grades 1-9 and preschool. In addition to this, the school had also other specialized classes in grades 7-9. Approximately 30% of the students of the school were in bilingual classes specialized in English. All of the preschool and primary school classes were such classes, while the majority of the secondary school classes were regular classes taught through Finnish. In the primary school, all subjects except for Finnish were taught mostly through English. In the preschool and the lower secondary school grades the Finnish language had a slightly larger presence.

Contextually, it is important to note that the school had a long history in providing bilingual education especially in the primary grades, as while most large cities and municipalities in Finland provide bilingual education, not many of them have such a long and rich history in doing so (Lehti, Järvinen and Su-

omela-Salmi, 2006). This was noticeably visible in the context through for instance the extensive experience many of the stakeholders had in regards to bilingual education.

During the data gathering process, the school operated in temporary premises consisting of multiple buildings located on the same property. This seemed to considerably affect the dynamics of the whole organization.

2.2 The participants of the research

The participants of the study (N=16) were stakeholders of various backgrounds who worked within the organization and whose work connected to the bilingual classes at least to some extent. As the bilingual classes formed only a minority within the larger organizational context, this also meant that a large part of the staff did not work with the bilingual classes and were thus outside the scope of this study despite being a part of the same organization.

The participants comprised of two preschool teachers (PRE1-2), eight primary school teachers (PRI1-8), one special education teacher (SPE1), four secondary school teachers (SEC1-4) and one headteacher (HEA1). The participants constitute a vast majority of the staff whose work closely connects to the English classes, which increases the reliability of the data considerably and provides the study with multiple unique perspectives towards understanding the organization.

2.3 Collecting the data

The data for this case study were collected during a one-week period of intensive immersion within the context in the autumn of 2018. Jeffrey and Troman (2004) refer to this kind of data collection as compressed time mode. When collecting data in this manner, the researcher spends as much time as possible at the location of the study trying to take in even the smallest details but within a shorter time frame (Jeffrey and Troman, 2004). The single-case study approach was chosen as it lends itself well to documenting the practices of an organization (Yin

2009). According to Yin (2009) explanatory research questions such as the ones in this study also require deep understanding and knowledge of the context in question to be properly answered and are thus best answered through a case study which provides the means to gain this kind of understanding. The design of the case study followed the eight-step process outlined by Eisenhardt (1989).

Before starting the actual data collection, the research questions described earlier were identified and defined and the case for the study was selected. These two steps of the process described by Eisenhardt (1989) were switched around in this case study, as the case was selected first and the questions then identified and defined afterwards. This allowed the research questions to be refined to suit the particular context in question and solved the issue of having to find a context in which the predetermined research questions could even be studied, providing the research as a whole more flexibility and accuracy.

After this, the methods for data collection were chosen and the instruments for it crafted. Three data collection methods were chosen to give a broad understanding of the school context and to allow triangulation of the data (Tuomi and Sarajärvi, 2009; Yin 2009). The three chosen methods were participant-observation, semi-structured interviews and an ethnographic research diary. Using multiple data collection methods further strengthens the reliability of new theory based on a case study (Eisenhardt 1989). This is important, as the approach to the case study here was inductive; the aim of it was to build new theory based on the evidence provided by the case study (Eisenhardt 1989; Patton 2015). In an ideal situation, this could then be applied to practice both within this organization that is the target of this study and in other organizations that share some key traits (extensive bilingual education, comprehensive schools) with it. The inductive approach was chosen due to the unique organizational structure of the school, which meant that existing theory was limited and often only partially applicable to the circumstances of this school.

The participant-observation was carried out during the one week spent at the school. During this week I spent approximately 30 hours at the school and observed 16 lessons, five lunch breaks, one formal team meeting, one informal

team gathering and several breaks, the exact amount of which I did not keep track of for practical reasons. A participant-observer is not just a passive observer of the situation. This way of conducting the observing was chosen as my research interest did not necessarily pertain the content of the lessons as much as just trying to gather understanding of the organization and participating on the lessons through assisting, discussing with both staff and students. Gordon, Holland, Lahelma and Tolonen (2005) discuss the limitations that come with being in the traditional role of a silent observer. Breaking out of this role and trying to find ways to position myself within the context rather than as a total outsider made the interaction within the organization more natural thus benefiting my aim of gaining deeper understanding of the context. Quick field notes were gathered and organized chronologically during observation.

The semi-structured thematic interviews formed the majority of the data. The questions were planned beforehand, but the form and order of them differed based on the flow of the interview. In addition, methods such as probing and interpreting were used to gain knowledge critical to answer the research questions. (Tracy 2013). The questions were planned to allow the participants to answer in their own words instead of limiting them to narrow single word answers (Hirsjärvi and Hurme, 2001). The initial interview structure included questions such as:

- How long have you worked here?
- What made you apply here?
- What does teaching in English bring to your work?
- Can you tell me about collaboration in the school?
- Have there been any significant changes that have affected your work in the recent years?
- Have there been any challenges or worries regarding your work recently?
- What is it like to work in this school?
- If you had a magic wand that could change anything about your work relating to bilingual teaching, what would you change?

- Is there anything else you would like to discuss?

While the original instrument for the interviews was crafted before the beginning of the week, it was then adjusted throughout the week as further knowledge of the context was gained. Adjustments were also made based on the position of the interviewee within the organization and practical considerations such as time available. Adjusting the questions on an interview-to-interview basis was important, as according to Vähäsantanen and Saarinen (2013) professional background in addition to many other factors such as the interview parties' motives are inevitable manifestations of power that are visible in the interview situation and can affect the outcomes of a research interview. According to Eisenhardt (1989), this kind of opportunistic data collection is typical to case studies and should be used if it is deemed beneficial to answering the research questions.

All 16 participants were interviewed, with interviews lasting from 11 to 30 minutes. In total 6 hours and 15 minutes of interview data was gathered. The active participation in interviews was enabled by flexible scheduling and the fact that the original initiative for the research came from the organization, explained further under 'Ethical considerations'. This helped avoid some of the traditional difficulties in arranging research interviews such as lack of access (Tracy 2013).

Lastly, an ethnographic research diary was used to document my own thought-process and development of ideas throughout the week, usually after a day of observation. Gordon et al. (2005) highlight the important role of such a diary in documenting for example the inner reflections of the researcher, which would not be visible in the field notes collected during observation. This research diary helped in directing the data collection process and guided the flexible adjustments made to the interview structure throughout the week and later on in the process helped in drawing and validating connections between the observations and the interviews. The flexibility during data collection is another feature pointed out as important by Eisenhardt (1989) as in a case study where the goal is to provide new theoretical insight it can be beneficial to adjust the instruments and methods during the study if it seems to further the end-goal of the study.

2.4 Analyzing the data

For the purposes of analysis, the interviews were transcribed to text format and all possible identifiers mentioned in them were replaced with pseudonyms. The transcripts ranged from three to eight pages in length, written in Times New Roman, font size 12, line spacing of 1 and a line break between each change of speaker.

The qualitative data were analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This method of analysis was chosen as it worked for all the different forms of data collected (field notes, transcribed interviews and the research diary) which allowed combining and comparing the data more easily at this point in the research. Combination and comparison of data enabled finding convergence of evidence between data attained through different methods of collection, which increases the reliability of the findings (Yin 2009).

The data were read through and color-coded into eight different initial themes derived from the data: materials, curricula, lesson divisions, teamwork, collegial support/cooperation, financial resources, community and organizational gaps.

Eisenhardt (1989) describes this part of the research process as within-case analysis. She highlights the importance of analysis as a means to get familiar with the data and even more so the case in question, which accelerates and enriches the remaining steps in the process of building theory from a case study. Initially during analysis it seemed like the data might not be able to answer all the research questions this study had, but after the first careful readthrough and thematic analysis enough familiarity with the case was gained to be able to start reorganizing the original eight themes. Especially during this step the reflective nature of the ethnographic research diary helped in drawing connections between the themes and in understanding the organization well enough to read more deeply into the data. The themes were adjusted into eight new categories: four organizational challenges and four organizational innovations to combat/address/positively respond to these challenges. A second round of analysis

with these categories in mind resulted in the findings of the study which in turn form the basis for the final hypothesis of this study.

2.5 Ethical considerations

The research was conducted following appropriate ethical guidelines and practices (Hirsjärvi, Remes and Sajavaara, 1997). All of the participants were provided with a privacy notice (see Appendix 1) and a letter of introduction regarding the study (see Appendix 2) in advance. The privacy notice described the study, the use and conservation of the collected data and personal data and explaining the processes of canceling their participation or withdrawing entirely at any time during the study. The participants were also told in detail about the IKI-project that the study is a part of and what kind of implications this has for the use of data and the findings of the study. The contents of the privacy notice were also reviewed individually in the beginning of each interview. Special attention was paid to the participants, whose position within the organization could allow for easier recognition in the final research paper, verifying that this was understood in the beginning of their interview. This included all of the members of the stakeholder groups with two or less participants (PRE, SPE, HEA) and one of the primary school teachers (PRI) due to their role in the school management. In addition, the participants were encouraged to ask questions if they were uncertain about something. Informed consent for participation was received from all 16 participants in the form of a written form (see Appendix 3).

Immediately after the data were gathered all personal data and other identifiers such as names were either pseudonymized or codified (PRE1-2 for the pre-school teachers, PRI1-8 for the primary school teachers, SPE1 for the special education teacher, SEC1-4 for the secondary school teachers and HEA1 for the headteacher). The order of the labels was randomized to improve anonymity. Identifiers not relevant to the results of the study such as gender or age were not used in the analysis. All of the quotes from the data are presented in this research paper only in English without their possible original translations to protect the

anonymity of the participants, as some of the original interview data is in Finnish and some in English. All data containing identifiers such as the original voice recordings were appropriately disposed of as soon as possible in the research process.

From a research ethics perspective it is important to note that the school in this case initially took initiative in asking to be a part of a research. The topic for the research was a result of negotiation between the researcher and the contact person of the school but apart from that this did not directly influence how the study was conducted or the final results of the study. The researcher had no previous ties to the school or any of the participants of the study.

3 FINDINGS

In this chapter, the findings of this study will be presented. Upon analysis of the data, four main organizational challenges were found regarding the provision of extensive bilingual education in a comprehensive school. While the challenges had a predominant status in the voices of the different stakeholders, four innovative ways to combat these challenges could also be identified within the data. The relationships and interaction between all of the identified challenge-innovation pairs seemed to be unquestionably reciprocal within the context of this case, as illustrated in the figure below.

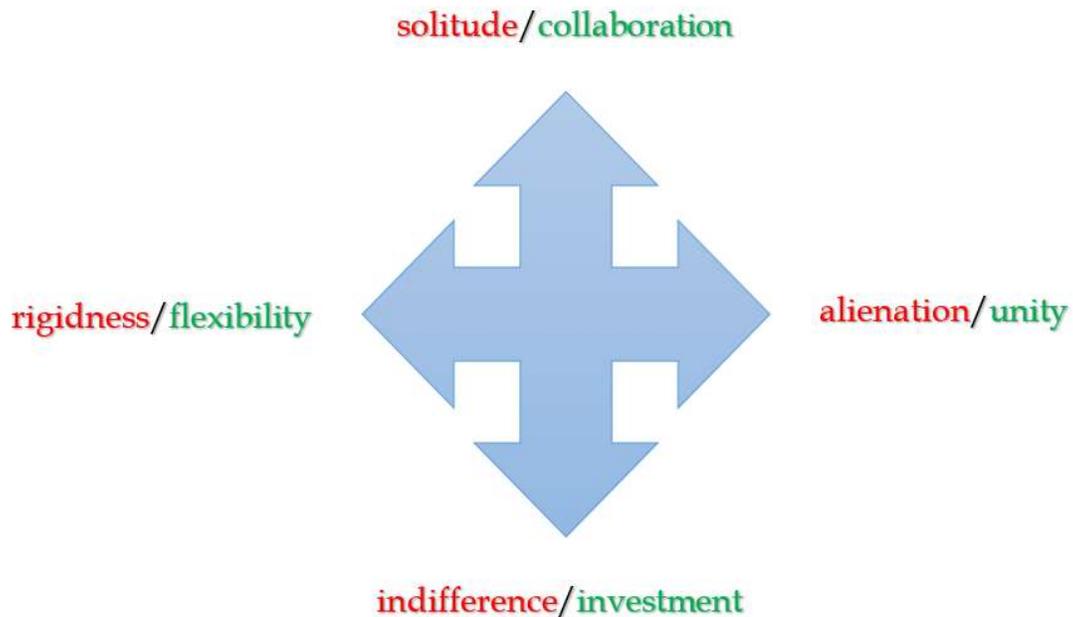


FIGURE 1. The reciprocal nature of the identified challenge-innovation pairs.

Next I will describe these four challenge-innovation pairs focusing on one of them at a time under four different sub-chapters providing quotes from the interviews to highlight the voices of the stakeholders acting within this organization.

3.1 Organizational rigidity versus flexibility

The setting of a comprehensive school is an opportune context for organizational rigidity. In this case, organizational rigidity refers to the often artificial gaps that exist and are unconsciously upheld between the different stakeholders acting within the same organization due to numerous mechanisms.

The comprehensive school in this case study housed stakeholders working in three sectors that have traditionally been organizationally separate in the Finnish context: preschool (grade 0), primary school (grades 1-6) and lower secondary school (grades 7-9). All of the sectors have their own unique traits. For instance, the daily rhythm of a 6-year old preschooler is very different to the daily rhythm of a 15-year old ninth grader – for example, in this case, the school days of the preschoolers were shorter and their lessons, breaks and lunches were structured differently. While these structural differences are unquestionably necessary when comparing preschoolers and ninth graders, their rigidity places barriers that further enhance the effects of all the other identified challenges as shown earlier in Figure 1.

In addition to the children in these different sectors being of differing age groups, differences also existed most notably in the educational backgrounds and job titles of the teachers, which seemed to cause some challenges as explained below by one of the preschool teachers who were a small minority within the larger organization.

Well, in a way we are, sometimes of course we can feel that we are different, when there are so many class teachers or so many subject teachers, so there exists the kind of issue of maintaining our own identity and professional pride for that we are -, we do fundamental work that then carries through the whole primary school so you have to-, you have to work for it yourself. (Interview with PRE2)

The teachers working with the preschoolers were formally qualified kindergarten teachers, the teachers working with the primary school students were mostly class teachers and the teachers working with the secondary school students were subject teachers. In this case, this kind of cross-professional organization seemed to also sometimes accentuate perceived differences between colleagues or their work, such as the one voiced below by one of the participants.

I would for sure like to teach there also. Maybe not the first to second graders, but like from third grade onward for sure, but yeah it is, without belittling at all, I could never be a class teacher, they do-, that is the kind of work that I could not handle. (Interview with SEC4, regarding teaching primary school grades)

This effect had also been noticed on the management level, as illustrated in the following quote: “Some kind of timidness and fear-, fear seems to exist among some of our teachers towards for example teaching some lessons in the secondary school” (Interview with HEA1).

Rigidness seemed to also exist between the lower secondary school and the upper secondary school (grades 10-12), even though the city had recently began an international upper secondary school program that seemed to be a natural continuation to the pathway of bilingual education beginning from the school in this organization. The teachers working in lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools generally share similar educational backgrounds as subject teachers, so here this rigidness was most likely a result of operating physically within different settings, as suggested by the quote below.

But yeah of course these current physical circumstances also reduce that kind of sense of community, teachers see each other more rarely and less discussion happens [...] Also previously we even had an upper secondary school with us so we had a lot of people [...] It was clearly different, so hopefully they can get us the new school quickly now. (Interview with SEC4 regarding the current physical space)

Scheduling as an aspect of rigidness limiting collaboration was mentioned as well when discussing attempts towards increased collaboration between the lower and the upper secondary school as shown below.

Yes, yes there have been attempts but I don't know what it is, is is the lack of time or what [...] but between us teachers, nothing, even though I know and regularly see some of the international upper secondary school teachers, even still we just-, it just from a scheduling perspective and otherwise doesn't work well. (Interview with SEC1 regarding collaboration with the international upper secondary school)

Characteristic to specifically this case was the organizational rigidness resulting from the provided extensive bilingual education. The formal qualifications for providing extensive bilingual education were a common concern. In the primary grades and the preschool formal qualification to teach through English was a mandatory requirement for the teachers. The formal qualifications could be attained either through English university studies or the completion of the

highest level YKI-test [yleinen kielitutkinto, common language exam] in English, completion of which demonstrates the person's capacity to use language on either level C1 or C2 according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Opetushallitus 2012). Among the secondary school teachers, formal qualifications such as completion of the highest level YKI-test were appreciated but not required, although more attention was currently paid to this during recruitment than before.

Previously the formal qualification for teaching through English had also brought with it a bonus to the salary of the teacher. This was not the case anymore however, which understandably resulted in diminished interest towards acquiring the said qualification, as demonstrated in the following quote.

Now there's also the matter that of course the language exam in its own way isn't easy at all, it is quite challenging the exam that they have to do [...] and then of course one big consideration is that in the past for completing this exam teachers were paid quite a considerable language bonus and now it is unclear whether it will be paid in the future at all. So then of course this doesn't motivate to complete the exam. (Interview with HEA1)

What remained unclear however was how the formal qualification attained through the YKI-test was to affect the practicalities of teaching in a bilingual education program, as it is a general language test not geared towards teachers. Its sole purpose seemed to be instead in proving the linguistic capabilities of a teacher interested in bilingual education rather than providing them with actual pedagogical tools to support bilingual teaching. The requirements for formal qualifications seemed to thus increase the rigidity of the organization for no clear benefit, at worst causing financial inequality between teachers and discouraging the interest towards bilingual education within the organization.

Innovative counterpoints were raised however. Collaboration between the different sectors operating within the organization seemed to break the perceived barriers. This however required organizational flexibility, as highlighted in the example below.

I was also a resource teacher last year-, or another teacher, with a third grade class. We were two teachers, so this kind of like-, like subject teacher collaboration could definitely be used more and in a deeper way. (Interview with SEC4)

The head teacher seemed to also recognize the power of this sort of organizational flexibility in reciprocally affecting the other challenges that were voiced by the community.

Some of the secondary school teachers who had more recently started teaching through English also highlighted the benefits of flexibility in terms of the qualifications in the way they talked about the program, as the lack of formal requirements seemed to both reduce the threshold for attempting bilingual teaching and foster intrinsic motivation.

Well, well ermm, it was not a conscious criteria for me. But when I realized that I would have a possibility to teach in English I was very very excited. I've always wanted to teach in English. (Interview with SEC3 regarding initially starting to teach through English)

While the challenges presented by the organizational rigidity were heavily visible in the stakeholders' talk, it was clear that at least on an implicit level the innovative community of this school had on multiple occasions already found ways to substitute rigidity with flexible arrangements. Resources and management decisions play a key role in enabling this kind of transformation to happen within the organization on a larger scale. If we look at the dynamics of this organization as a triadic structure consisting of personal, behavioral and environmental interactants that was introduced earlier, it is clear that the challenge-innovation pair of rigidity/flexibility seems to profoundly depend on behavioral factors (Bandura 1999). For instance, the framework provided by managerial decisions in terms of schedules and compensation can be either rigid or flexible but as the interactive nature of these three aspects suggests, it is not completely unaffected by the other two interactants either. For instance, the willingness to step out of one's comfort zone by for example teaching an age group that you are not used to or by teaching through a foreign language requires a strong sense of self-efficacy from the teacher. In the examples of this kind of behavior within this case, this seemed to however be very rewarding as voiced below by one of the teachers.

Like it was very eye-opening for me as well, to see how some maths content is learned in primary school and I also learned a lot of the vocabulary from that side as well. So that was, that was a very good experiment, I was wondering whether it was for lack of money

or what that it isn't possible to continue it this year, but yeah for sure that kind of collaboration, I feel that it would be very fruitful. (Interview with SEC4, regarding working as a resource teacher with third graders)

In this case, the transformation from rigidity to flexibility seemed to clearly be an ongoing process within the organization. This seemed to be triggered by flexible practices, but the success of these practices was largely dependent on the willingness of the teachers to take advantage of the practices. This sort of willingness could possibly relate back to the different stakeholders varying beliefs of their own self-efficacy, or even the collective efficacy of the organization as a whole. (Bandura 1982; 1988; Jäppinen 2009.)

3.2 Organizational alienation versus unity

Another key challenge voiced by the teachers in this community seemed to be the sense of alienation. The primary school teachers felt a sense of alienation from the rest of the organization, which consisted mainly of secondary school teachers, while the preschool teachers voiced a similar worry regarding alienation from the primary school community, with which they seemed to be most closely associated with.

Similar challenges were visible regarding teamwork and team structures. On an organizational level, all of the teachers working in the school belonged to a team. All of the primary school teachers formed the English team, while currently only one of the secondary school teachers involved with the extensive bilingual education program was a part of the team and even their involvement in it was limited as often the time reserved for team meetings had to be used to discuss matters relating only to the primary school, as highlighted below. This could possibly be seen as a reason for some of the secondary school teachers feeling alienated from the English team.

And now we have agreed, that there is, there is one subject teacher who is this kind of a visiting member in our English team when the matters are more related to them [...] then they are also invited. But if there is a teacher who teaches two lessons in a week through English then it isn't purposeful to be there every time. So this one visiting member then relays information there. (Interview with PRI5 regarding the English team)

Alienation was also felt through the minority status of the primary school teachers and the preschool teachers within the larger organizational context as for instance whole-school staff meetings often focused on matters concerning mainly the secondary school.

In general our meetings are quite secondary school-focused. We sit there and listen to the matters of the secondary school. They don't necessarily concern us, of course we maybe need to know them, but like they don't in practice concern my day-to-day work in any way, so our own meetings [referring to smaller team meetings] are really the good ones. (Interview with PRE1 regarding school staff meetings)

The physical space of the school also seemed to cause alienation. The primary school classes and the preschool were operating mostly in their own building, whereas most of the secondary school was operating in the other buildings on the same plot of land. One of the buildings used by the secondary school was also where the staff room was located. This resulted in a majority of the primary school teachers staying in their own building for breaks, which had even caused some friction within the community.

Well, in my opinion it has been improving. Some of our teachers go there regularly and gravitate towards it consciously, because we have tried to talk that it would be important, as we are in a comprehensive school, to go there. (Interview with PRI5 regarding staff room visits on breaks)

On the contrary, however, there were also multiple practices in place that seemed to promote unity rather than alienation. Among these was the cross-professional nature of the teams, which had according to some of the teachers been more prevalent in the past but had now only recently been reinvigorated by inviting one of the secondary school teachers to join in on some of the meetings to act as a link between the primary and secondary school stakeholders involved in bilingual education.

One important factor in promoting unity seemed to also be the visibility of minorities existing within the organization. The extensive bilingual education provided by the school was remarkably visible in the organization through for example being very visibly represented on the school website and even on signposts outside of the school. In a larger organization such as this, it is also important to include members of these minorities in the decision-making process of

the whole organization. In this case it was achieved through multiple means such as having one member of the primary school act as a vice-head teacher, illustrated in the following quote: “I see it as better when it is someone from our side, the vice head, rather than some subject teacher who might not understand our day-to-day work at all.” (Interview with PRI5)

Distributed pedagogical leadership was visible in the form of the aforementioned cross-professional teams. These were seen as the management showing trust in the teachers responsible for extended bilingual education and letting them have enough independence, responsibility and ownership over what they were doing.

Yeah, yeah I think that teamwork on a whole school level is, is a thing that we will continue, I think it is one instrument of distributed leadership and responsibility. It is another way to encourage staff to think about mutual matters and other things. (Interview with PRI5 regarding teamwork)

Additionally, while alienation was voiced as a challenge, the sense of community within the smaller units in the school was strongly visible. Specifically there were multiple mentions of many of the primary school teachers gaining enjoyment from working in a tight-knit community with their other primary school colleagues. Perhaps in larger organizations such as this one it might be an inevitable fact that such sense of community might be unrealistic to even aim for on the level of the whole organization. While causing feelings of alienation from the larger context, belonging to the smaller community seemed to also cause empowerment within its members and even be a reason for low employee turnover, as shown below.

The colleagues are always there for support when you ask and together we can think of the challenges. The benefit of having such a small unit is that everybody knows each other really well and we have been, like the regular or the permanent staff, together for years already [laughter], decades nearly. But luckily there have been changes as well. (Interview with PRI6)

It seems that for an organization to successfully shift from alienation to unity, it is important to identify structures creating said alienation and be aware of them as a community. While smaller communities existing within a larger organizational context can bring the members of the organization some benefits, it

can possibly lead into a balkanized workplace culture in which different interest groups exist and possibly cause conflict (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012). Perhaps identifying the reasons for people enjoying being a part of these smaller communities and then trying to find and foster similar elements on a larger organizational level could be the key to benefit of smaller communities existing within an organization while also avoiding balkanization within the organization, thus transforming alienation into unity.

3.3 Organizational indifference versus investment

Another challenge seemed to be getting more secondary school teachers invested in the extensive bilingual education program. A major factor in this was the lack of financial compensation for the increased amount of work. This is understandable, as previously teachers had been financially incentivized to participate in bilingual education if they had the formal qualification for it. In addition the lack of additional training for bilingual education and language skills were seen as a possible issue.

And of course we all [primary school teachers] have the education and the language skills, and in secondary school subject teachers might, might not have either of those. So then teaching through English might not seem as alluring. (Interview with PRI3)

There seemed to also be a great disparity in how much of a factor bilingual teaching was for different stakeholders. Most of the primary school teachers and the preschool teachers did over 80% of their teaching through English, while the amount of teaching through English was significantly lower for even those secondary school teachers who did participate in extensive bilingual education, as those teachers spent more time in teaching also regular Finnish speaking classes.

The figure below roughly illustrates the different stakeholders' investment towards bilingual education.

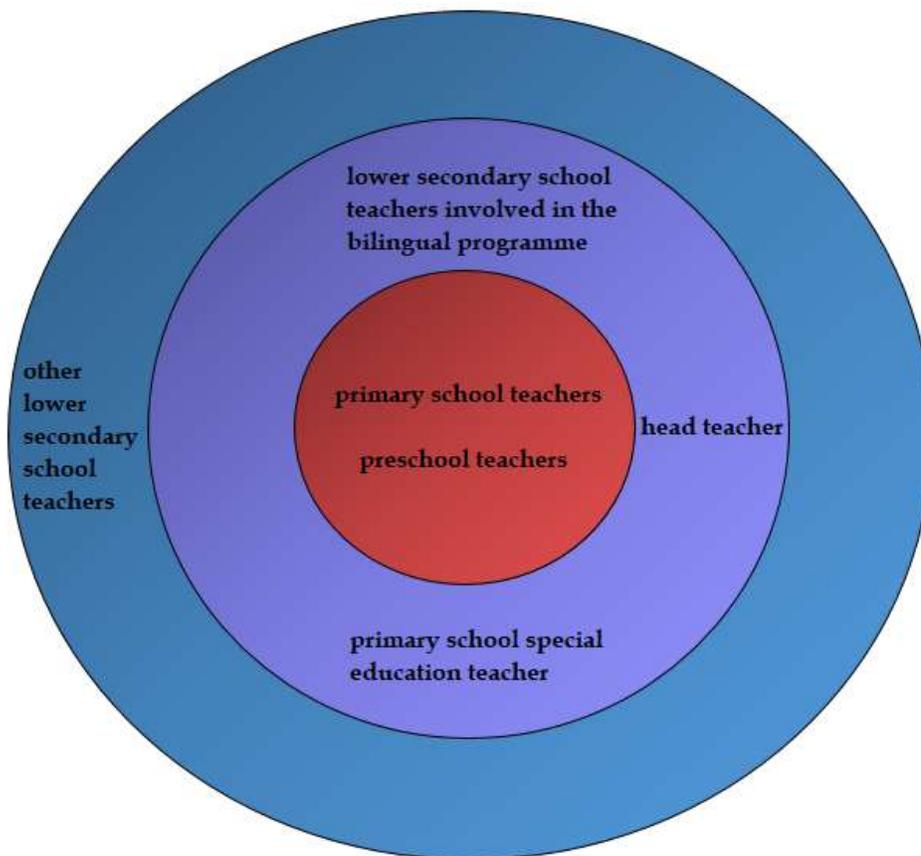


FIGURE 2. The different stakeholders' investment towards bilingual education.

The closer a group of stakeholders is to the center of the circle, the more invested they generally seemed to be towards bilingual education. Investment for different groups was determined through two factors: amount of work done through English or relating to bilingual education and qualification requirements during the recruitment process. Stakeholders in the first zone work mostly through English and formal qualification to teach through English was a key factor in the recruitment process for them, as shown by how one of the participants described their recruitment: "I decided that I want to learn-, or that I want to teach in English, so that is why I came here. Although, I did go through TOEFL-tests and others, you don't just walk in here." (Interview with PRI1)

Stakeholders in the second zone work partially through English or a part of their work is otherwise connected to bilingual education. Formal qualification to

teach through English was in most cases beneficial but not a requirement, as seen below.

I applied because I was interested in working in part-time special education, but then, when I found [...] when I heard that the primary school is English it didn't bother me at all at least, and it was an interesting factor in my opinion. Rather a plus than a minus. (Interview with SPE1 regarding recruitment process)

Even with the stakeholders working in this zone, it was clear that being a part of the extensive bilingual education program was not as large of a part of their work, as was voiced by one participant.

SEC1: And this-, in a way this isn't even in anyway within like the top 10 discussion topics, it just is-

Interviewer: Even with the others teaching in English?

SEC1: No, no. (Interview with SEC1 regarding discussion among colleagues)

The work of the stakeholders in the outermost third zone does not directly connect to the school's extensive bilingual education program and thus their investment in it is the lowest.

The differences in investment could also be explained through the history of the bilingual program. The program had started from the primary school and been an essential part of it since the beginning but had only later expanded to also cover the secondary school. This had required changes in recruitment procedures as explained here by the headteacher.

Well there is of course the fact that this has begun from the primary school originally, so the teachers there have been selected and in the recruitment criteria there has been an unconditional requirement for being either a class teacher and an English teacher or a class teacher who has completed the higher level language exam, so it has to be proven with certificates before you can work here at all, so then of course the knowledge is there. In the secondary school before me, people have been recruited to be secondary school teachers, and it has been a wish but not a requirement, which results in there not being as many language experts. But now there has been a shift during my time that it is also a requirement to be able to teach, in this case through English. (Interview with HEA1 regarding recruitment)

While financial compensation was seen as an important factor for investment from the perspective of those working in the second and third zones of investment, all of the stakeholders within the first zone and also most of the stakeholders within the second zone listed other factors that could be seen as reasons

for investment into the bilingual education program. These reasons included for example challenge, variety, personal interest in the language or the culture, the chance to improve your language skills, the students, community, outside appreciation and realizing the value of such a program.

This is my so called dream job. This is, even if I'd win the lottery I'd still come to work tomorrow. [...] I have good resources, good colleagues, good students, work hours, and the pay is alright- I know what it could be [...] so yeah, and I love languages, I am-, I'd want to learn all the languages on Earth. [laughter] (Interview with PRE1)

Comments such as this highlighted the fact that reasons like this promoted intrinsic motivation towards bilingual education, which in turn seemed to help with overcoming and compensating for the increased workload that comes with it. Promoting this kind of thinking on an organizational level and trying to nurture, nourish and make these benefits visible to also the stakeholders on the third zone of investment might be worthwhile in trying to attract more of them to take part in the extensive bilingual education program and thus turn organizational indifference into investment.

3.4 Organizational solitude versus collaboration

Finally comes the pair of solitude and collaboration. Regarding solitude, the increased workload that comes with teaching through a foreign language was an overwhelmingly common issue voiced by the teachers. The increased workload seemed to be a result of multiple factors such as the extra time required for planning, the increased requirement for planning materials as readymade materials suitable for the context were very limited and even the high expectations towards the students' learning outcomes. When discussing these issues, it was clear that doing all of this alone was common even within a unit with many other teachers trying to address the same issues, which is in part the reason why this challenge was named solitude, highlighted below.

So everything I have ordered myself and, and created myself so that quite, quite solitary and hard work this has been, especially the first years. (Interview with SEC1 regarding materials)

Sharing materials as a solution was mentioned multiple times but issues with it were raised as well, such as the extra work that results from sharing your materials and other teachers' materials not necessarily suiting your own style of teaching, as briefly mentioned below.

Personally I've done this [teaching in English] for so many years already, that, that some things I know that they work and like to do them in a certain way, but in a way for sure everyone of us wants to improve and innovate their own teaching and if I come up with some idea-, well someone can come up with an even better one. (Interview with PRI5 discussing sharing materials)

However as a teacher community filled with innovative stakeholders some measures had already been taken to counter the feelings of solitude. An online cloud platform for sharing materials within the organization was in the state of being planned. This seemed to be perceived as a low-threshold way to share materials and creating a common material bank within the organization. In addition, social media was mentioned as a means to make collaboration easy and fluent.

Let's put it this way, that we have our own WhatsApp-groups and we use them actively, so they have improved communication, like within the primary school. And then we can reach each other quickly if needed. (Interview with PRE2 regarding communication within the organization)

Another key factor in transforming solitude into collaboration seemed to be the spontaneity of the collaboration. Discussions during breaks, beginnings of lessons and even during leisure time either face-to-face or through the use of social media were perceived as natural situations for sharing ideas, materials and conducting planning. These situations did not need to be formal and structured and seemed to be unpredictable in nature, which is in line with Hargreaves' (1995) idea of a collaborative teacher community. It seemed as if this kind of collaboration seemed more enjoyable and rewarding in nature almost to the effect of it not feeling as much like extra work compared to traditional more structured ways of workplace collaboration, showcased in the two quotes below.

I feel like we all focus on our own work and then in a way teamwork happens more during free time, like in informal situations more so than by sitting and talking together about some goals in terms of the English language. (Interview with PRI6 when discussing teamwork)

Yeah in the old building also, even then we already had discussions about not meeting [the teachers in other sectors within the organization] in like normal day-to-day situations necessarily, so then the collaboration in a way has to be artificially built. (Interview with SEC2 when discussing the physical school space)

Collaboration and solitude within this organization seemed strongly linked to the challenge-innovation pair of rigidity/flexibility mentioned earlier. Collaboration seemed to be most frequent with colleagues teaching similar age groups. This was also where challenging the rigidity of the different sectors of education was seen as a possibility, as more examples of possible collaboration were brought up between say the preschoolers and the first graders or the sixth graders and the seventh graders, as highlighted below.

Currently we are missing like preschoolers and first graders, or like preschoolers and second graders cooperation. Like, the first and second graders clearly do things together and we have godstudents on the fourth grade but it is still kind of on a planning level. We have acknowledged that this is something that could be improved and now we have enthusiastic first and second grade teachers who are ready for it and we are also ready, but we just need to now, find out how to put it into practice. (Interview with PRE1 regarding cross-sectoral cooperation with primary school classes)

Some of the stakeholders also made mention of previous attempts to foster this kind of collaboration on a national level, as it seemed that there are many organizations and individual teachers struggling with the same issues. This connects well with Hargreaves and Fullan's (2012) concept of clusters or networks operating on a cross-organizational level as a form of a professional community. Currently this kind of collaboration seemed mostly limited to occasional school visits however. Collaboration on a national level seemed to be something that the stakeholders were interested in participating but a requirement of mutual benefit was strongly voiced - the fruits of the extra work that comes with this kind of collaboration needed to be substantial and concrete enough. Issues were raised also regarding the differences in the bilingual programs around Finland, as outlined below.

These models-, around Finland, the models that are used, they might not be similar at all, so the common ground might be missing. So they are a little-, all of them born in history out of their own realities possibly due to a few piloting teachers. (Interview with HEA1 regarding collaboration on a national level)

While Hargreaves' (1995) ideas of a collaborative community versus contrived collegiality seemed to apply to this context as well, it seems that elements of both

can coexist within the same organization, at the same time. This leads to think about what actually causes a community to be collaborative. The co-existence of both elements of contrived collegiality and a collaborative community within this large organization suggests that maybe some of the elements of contrived collegiality can eventually transform into collaboration. Perhaps something that initially seems contrived due to it requiring more effort can eventually, given enough time, turn into something more natural, spontaneous and unpredictable, elements that Hargreaves (1995) associates with collaborative communities. Based on the long history that some of the stakeholders in this organization had with each other and the fact that collaboration between them seemed often less contrived, it could be argued that time might well be the key to transforming contrivance into a collaborative community or turning solitude into collaboration.

4 DISCUSSION

The goal of this case study was to document, identify, acknowledge and share the challenges and innovative practices found within the context of the comprehensive school presented in this study. The two initial research questions regarding the challenges and innovations of this organization were answered through analyzing the voices of sixteen stakeholders acting in different positions within the organization. In addition to documenting the challenges and innovations, four reciprocally interactive challenge-innovation pairs were found to shape the dynamics of the organization. These pairs were *rigidness/flexibility*, *alienation/unity*, *indifference/investment* and *solitude/collaboration*. While the challenges were predominantly on display in the talk of the stakeholders, the innovative practices to counter them were also something that already existed within the organization but were perhaps more implicit in nature. In regards to all of the pairs, elements of both the challenges and the innovations were clearly visible, which has implications on causality existing within the process of transforming challenges into innovative practices.

As Eisenhardt (1989, 541-546) outlines in her process for building theories from case study research the final steps revolve around comparison of the theory that has now been built based on the case study with existing literature and linking it to a larger theoretical framework. Looking back at what Jäppinen (2009) wrote about distributed pedagogical leadership, it is clear that the four elements mentioned (ambidexterity, cross-sectorality, empowerment and collective efficacy) were also strongly visible in the innovative practices found within this organization. For example, ambidexterity could be seen in the ways in which the organization had coped with major changes while still openly looking forward to improving the extensive bilingual program, visible most notably in the innovations related to flexibility. Cross-sectorality was largely visible in all of the challenge-innovation pairs found in this comprehensive school, most notably in *rigidness/flexibility* and *alienation/unity*. Ideas such as breaking the rigidness through clever use of resources displayed the stakeholders' ability to look past

their differences and find ways to take advantage of the cross-sectoral nature of a comprehensive school. Empowerment could be seen in steps taken to increase investment and create unity within the organization. Empowerment could be further increased by finding ways to better hear all the different voices within this community, as had already been done through means such as the cross-professional teams distributing leadership over the bilingual program through the teams. Lastly, the effects of collective efficacy could be seen throughout all of the study on all of the sectors of innovation, as none of the innovations found within the organization would exist without the organization's belief in its possibility to improve and learn collectively.

Pappa et al. (2017b; 2017c) highlighted the role of teachers' emotions and dialogue as important parts of the active identity negotiation and workplace interaction in a Finnish CLIL context. This was certainly visible in the results of this study as well, as especially the interview data suggested an ongoing process of negotiation that affected the organizational culture of this school at large. What was even more visible however was the findings of Pappa et al. (2017a) regarding the tensions and resources that CLIL teachers in Finland face. Specifically the limitations on temporal, material and developmental materials were visible in the challenge-innovation pair of solitude-collaboration and autonomy, openness to change, teacher versatility and collegial community could all be seen as parts of the different innovations found within this organization such as the ones relating to flexibility, unity and collaboration. While Pappa et al. (2017a; 2017b; 2017c) focused on individual teachers across different schools not necessarily connected to each other on an organizational level, the findings of this study suggest, that perhaps these challenges and innovations that seem to be apparent across a multitude of teachers participating in bilingual or CLIL programs are in fact very closely related to the organizational practices of the schools implementing these programs. This would imply that learning needs to happen on an organizational level to answer the challenges and tensions and to foster the innovations and resources existing within these schools.

In many of the other studies showcased in the literature review, the question of contextuality came up as a challenge for future research. Would teachers in different kinds of contexts voice similar challenges regarding bilingual education or CLIL? This notion goes hand-in-hand with the organizational contingency theory, according to which not all solutions suit all organizations, which was also a major reason for the aim behind this study being to generate new theory grounded specifically on the realities of this organization.

Despite contextual differences, similarities were evident. The availability of materials and the workload that comes with creating them were outlined as one of the main problems with implementing CLIL in the study by Durán-Martínez and Beltrán-Llavador (2016). Mehisto and Asser (2007) made similar remarks about the situation in Estonia. Collaboration between different stakeholder groups was also a challenge clearly visible both in this study and in the studies done by Mehisto and Asser (2007) and Banegas (2012). In addition, specifically Soler et al. (2016) pointed out the need for different stakeholders to engage in cross-sectoral teamwork to foster understanding of different perspectives towards CLIL within the same organization, which was also a challenge the organization of this case study was trying to solve through the innovative practices found. Soler et al. (2016) also found in their case study that distributed leadership practices are beneficial in schools implementing CLIL, and that remains unchallenged when examining this rather different context as well.

While similarities were evident, this study also brought up some challenges and innovations that might not be as visible in different contexts. The organizational rigidity was a challenge notably visible in this cross-professional school. This could be at least partially caused by the Finnish teacher education and qualification system, in which different kinds of teachers' paths diverge already when choosing their preferred age group/profession in applying to their studies. This can possibly result in different teaching professionals already having their own beliefs about their colleagues work based on conceptions not necessarily rooted in reality. These kind of conceptions are hard to break out of and can cause friction in large cross-professional organizations such as the one in this study. To

combat this challenge, teachers in these kinds of organizations need to be provided with opportunities to re-evaluate their views on the colleagues whose work is further away from their own work. While age group and profession were the clear differentiators in this study, similar misconceptions can exist also regarding for instance bilingual education.

Challenges related to alienation within the workplace community were also not as represented in previous studies. Teachers participating in bilingual programs such as the one in this school can often feel very alienated from the rest of their peers especially among organizations in which it is only a small minority group of teachers that works within these programs. Taking this into account when implementing programs such as this one is an important step to keep in mind and taking measures to promote unity instead of alienation through the innovative practices showcased in this organization through making the program a visible part of the organization, supporting and trusting the teachers in charge of it and promoting interest in it among the other stakeholders working within the organization as well.

Most importantly, this study highlighted the fact that the transformation between challenges and innovations within a context is a constantly ongoing process. While challenges were more clearly voiced by the teachers, they were unquestionably linked to the innovative practices of the organization. With this being the theory generated from this case, ways in which the shift happens and what the process is like were able to be observed and presented in the findings of this study. The process of change seemed to require learning on both an individual level, but also on an organizational level. Crucial mechanisms for this learning process seemed to be collaboration, which might even begin with some elements of contrived collegiality, self-efficacy through stepping into uncomfortable situations, collective efficacy through actively seeking and working towards improvement, collective investment in the program and lastly often just time, as illustrated below.

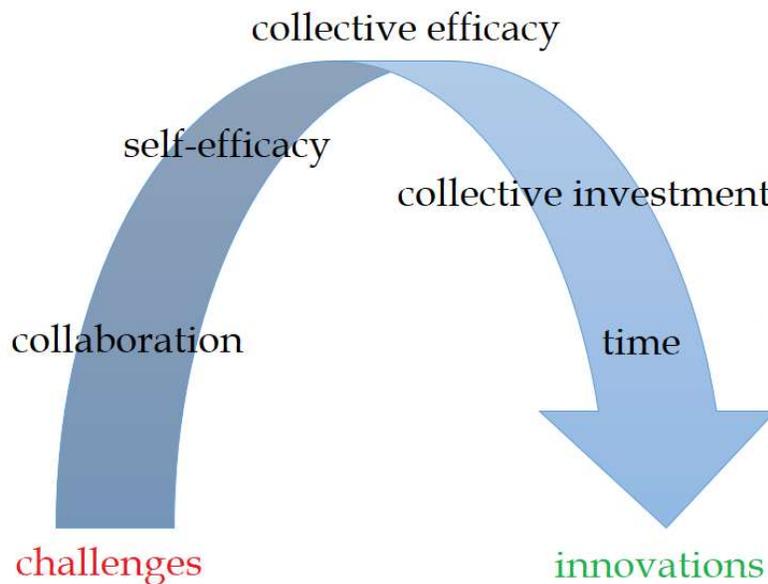


FIGURE 3. The identified mechanisms enabling transformation of challenges into innovations.

This identification of causality goes hand-in-hand with Maxwell's (2004) notion of qualitative research being indeed able to identify causalities within data, allowing researchers to explain the process of change. These kind of causal mechanisms are however crucially linked to the context of the study, which once again relates to the contingencies of organizations: not all solutions fit all organizations. Connecting this study to the larger landscape of research on bilingual education, CLIL and immersion, it is highly likely that many of the mechanisms visible in this organization might be applicable to other organizations with similar traits, such as bilingual programs, similarly to how the findings of other studies were mostly applicable to the context of this study. This speaks for the importance of identifying, acknowledging and above all sharing the challenges and innovations of individual communities in hopes of moving towards further improvement of these programs and their implementation on an organizational level. While arguments against causality being observable within a single-case study such as this exist, Maxwell (2004) argues that this is a null point due to some of the causal processes being explicitly visible in certain contexts through careful analysis and that denying this can even hamper generation of theory that

could be utilized for educational improvement. The theory generated here regarding the process of transforming challenges into innovations being causal and the mechanisms required to transform from one to the other are also supported by the aforementioned similarities to other studies.

Similarities in findings to other studies done on bilingual education also increase the reliability of the findings presented here. The reliability of this case study was also enhanced by triangulation of data collection methods (Tuomi and Sarajärvi, 2009; Yin 2009). It is however important to consider that a researcher, no matter how immersed in the context, is usually always an outsider to the organization. This can affect the participants' interview answers and behavior. In this case study, reliability regarding this was increased through gathering a large amount of data from a vast majority of different stakeholders involved with the extensive bilingual education program in this school to negate the effect that an individual anomaly could have on the results (Yin 2009).

While reliability was a considerable factor in the design of this case study, also limitations existed. Many of the limitations were practical, such as time constraints, availability of spaces for interviews and the researcher's initial position as an outsider to the organization. According to Tracy (2013) these kinds of limitations are common for research utilizing interviews as a data collection method. One limitation resulting from the scope of the study as a thesis came from not being able to include stakeholders working within the same organization who were not involved in the extensive bilingual education program. This could specifically help in better understanding and explaining the mechanics regarding the identified challenge-innovation pair of indifference/investment.

This study has many practical implications for this organization through bringing light to the implicit innovations happening within it and the mechanisms behind them. Now that they are known and their interactive relationship with the challenges the organization was simultaneously going through are made visible, this knowledge can hopefully be used to further utilize the innovations and thus improve the extensive bilingual education program offered through them.

In terms of future research, verifying the theory of the reciprocal nature of the four challenge/innovation pairs and the causal process of transformation happening between each of the individual pairs through the five identified mechanisms (collaboration, self-efficacy, collective efficacy, collective investment and time) by comparison to other organizations is necessary. Further study into the reasons behind the challenge of indifference through including also stakeholders not involved in these kinds of programs could be beneficial. In addition, it would be interesting to see whether applying the innovations found here to practice through for instance action research would help other organizations overcome similar challenges.

My hope is that by identifying, acknowledging and sharing the mechanisms between the challenges and innovations of this organization, this study can encourage researchers, teachers and other educational professionals to do the same within other contexts. This kind of knowledge is crucial for developing the way in which these different bilingual programs are implemented on an organizational level.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Privacy notice.

Tietosuoja-asetus (679/2016) 12-14, 30 artikla



TIETOSUOJAILMOITUS TUTKIMUKSESTA TUTKIMUKSEEN OSALLISTUVALLE

11.10.2018

Tutkimukseen osallistuminen on vapaaehtoista, eikä tutkittavan ole pakko toimittaa mitään tietoja, tutkimukseen osallistumisen voi keskeyttää.

1. TUTKIMUKSEN NIMI, LUONNE JA KESTO

Olen tulossa koululenne keräämään aineistoa tutkimustani englanninkielisistä luokista varten. Aineistonkeruu tapahtuu 15.-19.10.2018 Kyseessä on pro gradu -tutkimus luokanopettajan opintojani varten Jyväskylän yliopistossa. Tutkimuksen arvioitu valmistumisaika on keväällä 2019. Tutkimukseni alustava työnimike on "A case study on the organizational practices of English classes in a Finnish school".

Tutkimuksessani painottuu organisaation toiminnan näkökulma. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on dokumentoida ja tehdä tiedostetuksi englanninkielisen opetuksen kannalta hyvät ja toimivat käytännöt kouluorganisaation sisällä sekä mahdollisesti löytää ideoita kieliluokkatoiminnan kehittämiseen tästä näkökulmasta ja toivonkin, että näistä tavoitteista olisi hyötyä myös teille kouluyhteisönä. Tutkimukseni on muodoltaan tapaustutkimus.

Tutkimus on osa IKI-projektia. IKI (Innovatiivisen kielikasvatuksen kartta ja kompassi) on hallituksen kärkihankke, jonka tarkoituksena on rakentaa ajankohtaiseen tutkimustietoon nojaava innovatiivinen kielikasvatuksen malli. Mallin pohjaa varten kartoitetaan esimerkiksi kielenopetuksen pedagogisia innovaatioita ja koulujen sekä opettajien hyviä käytänteitä. Näitä halutaan tunnistaa, jakaa ja kehittää eteenpäin.

Tämän tutkimuksen aineisto on käytössä vain tässä tutkimuksessa, mutta valmiin tutkimuksen pseudonymisoidut tulokset tulevat mahdollisesti olemaan tulevaisuudessa osana isompaa kokonaisuutta innovatiivisen kielikasvatuksen mallin rakentamisessa.

2. MIHIN HENKILÖTIETOJEN KÄSITTELY PERUSTUU

EU:n yleinen tietosuoja-asetus, artikla 6, kohta 1

Tutkittavan suostumus

3. TUTKIMUKSESTA VASTAAVAT TAHOT

Tutkimuksen tekijä:

Erkka Pekkarinen,

[personal phone number removed]

erkka.m.pekkarinen@student.jyu.fi

[personal address removed]

Tutkimuksen ohjaaja:

Josephine Moate

[personal phone number removed]

josephine.moate@jyu.fi

4. TUTKIMUKSEN TAUSTA JA TARKOITUS

Tutkimukseni alustava työnimike on "A case study on the organizational practices of English classes in a Finnish school".

Tutkimuksessani painottuu organisaation toiminnan näkökulma. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on dokumentoida ja tehdä tiedostetuksi englanninkielisen opetuksen kannalta hyvät ja toimivat käytänteet kouluorganisaation sisällä sekä mahdollisesti löytää ideoita kieliluokkatoiminnan kehittämiseen tästä näkökulmasta ja toivonkin, että näistä tavoitteista olisi hyötyä myös teille kouluyhteisönä. Tutkimukseni on muodoltaan tapaustutkimus.

5. TUTKIMUKSEN TOTEUTTAMINEN KÄYTÄNNÖSSÄ

Aineistonkeruu koululla tapahtuu 15.10.2018–19.10.2018 havainnoiden ja dokumentoiden toimintaa havaintopäiväkirjaan ja n. 15–30 minuutin pituisilla nauhoitettavilla pienoishaastatteluilta. Haastattelujen teemat pyörivät englanninkielisillä luokilla työskentelyn ympärillä, koskien esimerkiksi kollegoiden ja muun henkilöstön välistä yhteistyötä ja näiltä saatavaa tukea, työhön liittyviä toiveita, ilon aiheita sekä syitä työskennellä englanninkielisen opetuksen luokkien parissa.



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FOR JYU, SINCE 1863.
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Haastattelut ovat melko vapaamuotoisia, joten tilaa jää varmasti myös tuoda muita tärkeitä näkökulmia esille. Koska tutkimuksessani painottuu organisaation toiminnan näkökulma, on ensiarvoisen tärkeää, että mahdollisimman monen henkilöstön jäsenen ääni tulisi siinä kuuluviin.

Tutkimuksen kannalta tunnistetietoina käytetään pelkästään nimiä, jotka pseudonymisoidaan (muutetaan sellaiseksi, josta tutkimushenkilöitä ei ole mahdollista tunnistaa) heti aineistonkeruun jälkeen. Muita tunnistetietoja, kuten ikää tai sukupuolta ei tutkimukseen osallistujilta kerätä. Nauhoitetut haastattelut hävitetään asianmukaisesti heti, kun ne on litteroitu kirjalliseen muotoon.

6. TUTKIMUKSEN MAHDOLLISET HYÖDYT JA HAITAT TUTKITTAVILLE

Tutkimus tuottaa tietoa koulun toiminnasta ja tavoitteenani on tuoda tiedostetuiksi sekä hyviä ja toimivia olemassa olevia käytänteitä, että mahdollisesti löytää myös ideoita englanninkielisen opetuksen kehittämiseen jatkossa.

7. HENKILÖTIETOJEN SUOJAAMINEN

Tutkimuksessa kerättyjä tietoja ja tutkimustuloksia käsitellään luottamuksellisesti tietosuojalainsäädännön edellyttämällä tavalla. Tietojasi ei voida tunnistaa tutkimukseen liittyvistä tutkimustuloksista, selvityksistä tai julkaisuista. Tutkimuksessa voidaan käyttää suoria sitaatteja haastatteluista.

Aineisto muokataan mahdollisimman nopeasti tutkimuksen tekovaiheessa muotoon, jossa tunnistettavia henkilötietoja ei ole esimerkiksi litteroimalla haastattelut tekstimuotoon ja pseudonymisoidulla tutkimushenkilöt. Aineistoa säilytetään salasanasuojatusti ja paikallisesti niin, ettei ulkopuolisilla ole pääsyä mihinkään tietoihin

Tutkimustuloksissa ja muissa asiakirjoissa sinuun viitataan vain pseudonyymillä, eli keksityllä nimellä jota ei ole mahdollista yhdistää sinuun.

Tutkimusaineistoa säilytetään Jyväskylän yliopiston tutkimusaineiston käsittelyä koskevien tietoturvakäytänteiden mukaisesti.

Tämän tutkimuksen aineisto on käytössä vain tässä tutkimuksessa, mutta valmiin tutkimuksen pseudonymisoidut tulokset tulevat mahdollisesti olemaan tulevaisuudessa osana isompaa kokonaisuutta innovatiivisen kielikasvatuksen mallin rakentamisessa.



8. TUTKIMUSTULOKSET

Tutkimuksesta valmistuu opinnäytetyö. Arvioitu valmistumisaika on keväällä 2019.

9. TUTKITTAVAN OIKEUDET JA NIISTÄ POIKKEAMINEN

Tutkittavalla on oikeus peruuttaa antamansa suostumus, kun henkilötietojen käsittely perustuu suostumukseen. Jos tutkittava peruuttaa suostumuksensa, hänen tietojaan ei käytetä enää tutkimuksessa.

Tutkittavalla on oikeus tehdä valitus Tietosuojavaltuutetun toimistoon, mikäli tutkittava katsoo, että häntä koskevien henkilötietojen käsittelyssä on rikottu voimassa olevaa tietosuojalainsäädäntöä. (Lue lisää: <http://www.tietosuoja.fi>).

Tutkimuksessa ei poiketa muista tietosuojalainsäädännön mukaisista tutkittavan oikeuksista.

HENKILÖTIETOJEN SÄILYTTÄMINEN JA ARKISTOINTI

Henkilötietoja ja aineistoa säilytetään vain tutkimuksen tekemisen edellyttämä aika, jonka jälkeen pseudonymisoitu aineisto hävitetään asianmukaisesti. Tietoja ja aineistoa ei käytetä muuhun kuin tähän tutkimukseen.

Jos sinulla on kysyttävää rekisteröidyn oikeuksista voit olla yhteydessä tutkimuksen tekijään.

Appendix 2. Introduction letter.

Hei!

Olen tulossa koululenne keräämään aineistoa tutkimustani englanninkielisistä luokista varten. Aineistonkeruu tapahtuu 15.-19.10. Kyseessä on pro gradu -tutkimus luokanopettajan opintojani varten Jyväskylän yliopistossa. Tutkimuksen arvioitu valmistumisaika on keväällä 2019. Tutkimukseni alustava työnimike on "A case study on the organizational practices of English classes in a Finnish school". Tutkimukseni ohjaaja on Josephine Moate.

Tutkimuksessani painottuu organisaation toiminnan näkökulma. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on dokumentoida ja tehdä tiedostetuksi englanninkielisen opetuksen kannalta hyvät ja toimivat käytänteet kouluorganisaation sisällä sekä mahdollisesti löytää ideoita kieliluokkatoiminnan kehittämiseen tästä näkökulmasta ja toivonkin, että näistä tavoitteista olisi hyötyä myös teille kouluyhteisönä. Tutkimukseni on muodoltaan tapaustutkimus.

Aineistonkeruu koululla tapahtuu havainnoiden, dokumentoiden ja n. 15-30 minuutin pituisilla nauhoitettavilla pienishaastatteluilla. Haastattelujen teemat pyörivät englanninkielisillä luokilla työskentelyn ympärillä, koskien esimerkiksi kollegoiden ja muun henkilöstön välistä yhteistyötä ja näiltä saatavaa tukea, työhön liittyviä toiveita, ilon aiheita sekä syitä työskennellä englanninkielisen opetuksen luokkien parissa. Haastattelut ovat melko vapaamuotoisia, joten tilaa jää varmasti myös tuoda muita tärkeitä näkökulmia esille. Koska tutkimuksessani painottuu organisaation toiminnan näkökulma, on ensiarvoisen tärkeää, että mahdollisimman monen henkilöstön jäsenen ääni tulisi siinä kuuluviin.

Tutkimukseen osallistuminen on vapaaehtoista ja se tapahtuu lukemalla tutkimuksen tietosuojailmoitus sekä allekirjoittamalla suostumus tutkimukseen osallistumisesta. Tutkimukseen osallistumisen voi keskeyttää (jo kerättyä tietoa voi käyttää vielä osana tutkimusta) tai peruuttaa (jo kerättyä tietoa ei voi käyttää osana tutkimusta) missä tahansa kohtaa tutkimusta. Tutkimuksen aineisto pseudonymisoidaan, eli sekä kouluun, että tutkimushenkilöihin liittyvät tunnistetiedot kuten nimet muutetaan niin, ettei niitä ole mahdollista yhdistää oikeisiin tutkimushenkilöihin tai kouluunne. Keskityn tutkimuksessani | henkilöstönäkökulmaan, minkä myötä oppilaat eivät ole tutkimuksessani osallistujia. En siis kerää mitään heitä koskevaa tietoa osaksi tutkimustani. Pseudonymisoitu aineisto säilytetään vain tutkimuksen kannalta tarpeellisen ajan ja se hävitetään tutkimuksen jälkeen asianmukaisesti. Aineistoa ei käytetä mihinkään muuhun kuin tähän tutkimukseen.

Vastaan mielelläni, mikäli teillä on vielä lisäkysyttävää tutkimukseeni liittyen. Näkemisiin ensi viikolla!

Ystävällisin terveisin,

Erkka Pekkarinen

[phone number removed]

erkka.m.pekkarinen@student.jyu.fi

Appendix 3. Form for informed consent.



JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

SUOSTUMUS TIETEELLISEEN TUTKIMUKSEEN

Minua on pyydetty osallistumaan tutkimukseen "A case study on the organizational practices of English classes in a Finnish school".

Olen perehtynyt tutkimusta koskevaan tiedotteeseen (tietosuojailmoitus) ja saanut riittävästi tietoa tutkimuksesta ja sen toteuttamisesta. Tutkimuksen sisältö on kerrottu minulle myös suullisesti ja olen saanut riittävän vastauksen kaikkiin tutkimusta koskeviin kysymyksiini. Selvitykset antoi Erkki Pekkarinen. Minulla on ollut riittävästi aikaa harkita tutkimukseen osallistumista.

Ymmärrän, että tähän tutkimukseen osallistuminen on vapaaehtoista. Minulla on oikeus, milloin tahansa tutkimuksen aikana ja syytä ilmoittamatta keskeyttää tutkimukseen osallistuminen tai peruuttaa suostumukseni tutkimukseen. Tutkimuksen keskeyttämisestä tai suostumuksen peruuttamisesta ei aiheudu minulle kielteisiä seuraamuksia.

Olen tutustunut tietosuojailmoituksessa kerrottuihin rekisteröidyn oikeuksiin ja rajoituksiin.

Allekirjoittamalla suostumuslomakkeen hyväksyn tietojeni käytön tietosuojailmoituksessa kuvattuun tutkimukseen.

Kyllä

Allekirjoituksellani vahvistan, että osallistun tutkimukseen ja suostun vapaaehtoisesti tutkittavaksi sekä annan luvan edellä kerrottuihin asioihin.

Allekirjoitus

Päiväys

Nimen selvennys

Syntymäaika

Osoite

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Sähköposti: etunimi.sukunimi@jyu.fi Faksi: 40014 Jyväskylän yliopisto www.jyu.fi
(014) 260 1021

2 (2)

Suostumus vastaanotettu

Suostumuksen vastaanottajan allekirjoitus Päiväys

Nimen selvennys

Alkuperäinen allekirjoitettu asiakirja jää tutkimuksen vastuullisen johtajan arkistoon ja kopio annetaan tutkittavalle. Suostumusta säilytetään tietoturvallisesti niin kauan kuin aineisto on tunnisteellisessa muodossa. Jos aineisto anonymisoidaan tai hävitetään suostumusta ei tarvitse enää säilyttää.