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TOGETHER TOWARDS LANGUAGE-AWARE SCHOOLS

Perspectives on supporting increasing linguistic diversity

Elisa Repo

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Dedicated to Emil
who I hope is proud of his multilingualism.

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ABSTRACT

Finland has become more linguistically diverse. Simultaneously, inequalities in access to educational opportunities have started to be documented for students in vulnerable positions, among whom those still learning the language of instruction are often counted. In response to societal changes and to highlight the central role of language in all learning, the Finnish national core curricula have been reformed to promote language-aware and multilingual pedagogies. Although the curricula have been identified as progressive, their practical implementation has faced challenges. This dissertation explores how to support increasing linguistic diversity in Finnish schools. This is examined from the perspectives of teachers, students, learning materials, teacher education, and pre-service teachers. Anchored in the field of educational linguistics, this dissertation draws on a sociocultural understanding of (language) learning and is based at the crossroads of research on language learning, teaching language learners, and multilingualism. The study employs mixed methods, incorporating discourse analytical, content analytical, and statistical research traditions.

This dissertation consists of five sub-studies, aiming for a holistic understanding of supporting increasing linguistic diversity in language-aware schools. The data were derived from 1) interviews with teachers, 2) survey reports of students, 3) written reports of students after having participated in a learning experiment, 4) curricula and course documents of teacher education institutions, and 5) written reports of pre-service teachers in teacher training. The perspectives chosen for the sub-studies represent different layers of the education system, at each of which new language policies, such as language awareness, must be negotiated and appropriated before the policies can become practices. Sub-study I examined the discourses of teachers (N = 16) working in multilingual schools after the curricular reforms, utilising the framework for linguistically responsive teaching. The analysis showed that not all teachers are equally prepared to support linguistically diverse learners. The multivoiced and partially overlapping discourses were found to be linked to agency, acceptance, and readiness to change. The discourses contradicting the framework for linguistically responsive teaching revealed inconsistencies in teachers' orientations, knowledge, and skills; there appeared voices that opposed

actively contributing to integration, categorised students in terms of "us" and "them", and resisted shifting towards language-aware curricular policies.

In sub-study II, statistical methods were used to investigate how diverse linguistic backgrounds were related to students' (N = 409) experiences of the implementation of language awareness in multilingual schools. Such implementation was operationalised into the summed variables of helpful pedagogical practices, the value of first language(s), and the difficulty of participating in classroom situations in the language of instruction. The results suggest that a student's linguistic background is an intersectional factor that affects their experiences in school, which should be considered when constructing a school system based on egalitarian principles. In particular, the students who were the newest to the school system benefited from collaborative practices during which linguistic resources could be recycled. Furthermore, the analysis indicated that there are students in Finnish classrooms who find participating in the language of instruction at least sometimes difficult. Sub-study III examined the experiences of students as language-aware learning material users by collecting short written reports from the students (N = 126) after they had participated in a learning experiment that involved collaborative linguistic problem-solving tasks. The sub-study employed the method of languaging and was conducted alongside a learning material development project. The students' reports were analysed via content analysis, with the taxonomy of cognitive process and the sociocultural understanding of (language) learning applied. The findings showed that, when engaged in collaborative practices, the students experienced that they could use their previous linguistic awareness and solve tasks that they may not have been able to do on their own. Furthermore, the written reports indicated the need for language-related scaffolding from a more knowledgeable other in situations where the discipline-specific concepts were beyond the student's current linguistic resources. Based on the findings, it was suggested that the meaningfulness of the learning materials for all students could be increased if future tasks were created with collaboration and language negotiation in mind.

Sub-study IV focused on teacher education and strove to understand how educational institutions (N = 8), based on their curricula and course documents, prepare teachers to work in increasingly multilingual schools. The analysis of the documents revealed that topics related to multilingualism were mostly present in courses on Finnish language and literature, thus emphasising Finnish-as-a-second-language teaching. As a result, multilingual pedagogy, for instance, has received less attention. In general, this sub-study demonstrated mismatches between language-aware policies and the content of teacher education; teacher education may not provide pre-service teachers with sufficient tools to implement language awareness in practice. Sub-study V examined how pre-service teachers' (N = 74) preparedness to support linguistically diverse learners developed over the course of teacher training. The content analysis of the pre-service teachers' written reports revealed that teacher education impacted their knowledge and practices. However, even at the end of teacher training, the pre-service teachers' orientations, knowledge, and skills did not always align with the research-based understanding of language learning and teaching language learners.

This dissertation provides information about the transformation of the reformed language policies into practices at different layers of the education system. Supporting increasing linguistic diversity in schools is hindered by contradictory discourses emerging from the surrounding society. The implementation of language awareness cannot happen if it is applied only from the top down, as balancing the mismatches between policies and practices requires multidimensional changes. Thus, language-aware schools need to be constructed *collaboratively* at each layer of the system with interaction and sufficient resources. Teachers' orientations, knowledge, and skills related to working with multilingual learners do not develop on their own; there is a need for assistance, materials, and professional development in which theoretical understanding intertwines with practice. Changes need to be made to teacher education so that it prepares practitioners to support students who are also learning the language of instruction in disciplines other than the Finnish language. In this way, the number of voices aligning with curricular language policies and research-based knowledge has the potential to grow. Overall, an understanding of the centrality of language and the importance of linguistic repertoire development should be given more attention in societal discussions on immigration and integration. By bringing language learning into the discussions of non-linguists, sustainable solutions could be co-created to guarantee that linguistically diverse learners gain equal access to experience participation, learn the language of instruction, and employ their linguistic repertoires as a resource in school. Ultimately, the significance of collaboration is echoed at the layer of classrooms via supporting students' agency: students' participation in multilingual schools increases with opportunities to negotiate language and co-construct knowledge with the aid of teachers, small groups, and peers—that is, with working together.

KEYWORDS: language-aware school, supporting linguistic diversity, multilingual learners, sociocultural theory, pedagogical practices, language policies

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TIIVISTELMÄ

Suomesta on tullut aiempaa kielellisesti moninaisempi. Samanaikaisesti yhteiskunnassa on alettu kantaa huolta koulutuksellisen yhdenvertaisuuden toteutumisesta etenkin haavoittuvaisessa asemassa olevien oppilaiden kohdalla, joihin koulun opetuskieltä opettelevat usein luetaan. Vastauksena yhteiskunnallisiin muutoksiin ja kielen keskeisen roolin huomioimiseksi kaikessa oppimisessa on valtakunnallisia opetussuunnitelman perusteita uudistettu siten, että perusteet painottavat kielitietoista ja monikielistä pedagogiikkaa. Vaikka opetussuunnitelmaa on pidetty edistyksellisenä, sen käytännön toteutuksessa ilmenee haasteita. Tässä väitöskirjassa tutkitaan lisääntyvän kielellisen moninaisuuden tukemista suomalaisissa kouluissa. Tätä tarkastellaan opettajien, oppilaiden, oppimateriaalien, opettajankoulutuksen ja opettajaopiskelijoiden näkökulmista. Kielikasvatuksen alaan asemoituva väitöskirja pohjaa sosiokulttuuriseen näkemykseen (kielen)oppimisesta. Työ rakentuu kielenoppimisen, kieltä opettelevien opetuksen ja monikielisyyden tutkimukselle. Väitöskirja hyödyntää monimenetelmällistä otetta sisältäen diskurssianalyysia, sisällönanalyysia ja tilastollista analyysia.

Väitöstutkimus koostuu viidestä osatutkimuksesta, joilla pyritään holistiseen ymmärrykseen lisääntyvän kielellisen moninaisuuden tukemisesta kielitietoisessa koulussa. Osatutkimusten aineisto koostuu 1) opettajien haastatteluista, 2) oppilaiden kyselyvastauksista, 3) oppilaiden kirjoittamista tekstiraporteista oppimiskokeilun jälkeen, 4) opettajankoulutuslaitosten kurssi- ja opetussuunnitelmadokumenteista sekä 5) opettajaopiskelijoiden kirjoittamista tekstiraporteista. Osatutkimuksiin valitut näkökulmat edustavat koulutusjärjestelmän eri tasoja, joilla jokaisella uudet kielipoliittiset linjaukset – kuten kielitietoisuus – täytyy neuvotella ja ottaa käyttöön ennen linjausten siirtymistä käytänteiksi. Osatutkimuksessa I selvitettiin monikielisissä kouluissa työskentelevien opettajien (N = 16) puhetapoja kielellisesti vastuullisen opetuksen viitekehyksen avulla. Puhetapojen tarkastelusta ilmeni, että opettajilla oli keskenään erilaisia valmiuksia kohdata monikielisiä oppilaita. Moniääniset ja osittain päällekkäiset puhetavat kytkeytyivät toimijuuteen, hyväksyntään ja muutosvalmiuteen. Kielellisesti vastuullisen opetuksen viitekehystä vastaan harovat puhetavat paljastivat ristiriitaisuuksia opettajien asenteissa, tiedoissa ja käytänteissä, jolloin opettaja saattoi ulkoistaa itsensä kielitietoisuustoimenpiteistä, vastustaa opetussuunnitelmamuutoksia tai jaotella oppilaita meihin ja niihin.

Osatutkimuksessa II tutkittiin tilastollisin menetelmin sitä, kuinka kielellinen tausta on yhteydessä oppilaiden (N = 409) kokemuksiin kielitietoisuuden toteutumisesta monikielisissä kouluissa. Kielitietoisuuden toteutuminen operationalisoitiin summamuuttujiksi hyödyllisistä pedagogisista käytänteistä, ensikielten arvostuksesta ja koulun opetuskielellä osallistumisen haastavuudesta. Tulokset osoittivat, että oppilaan kielellinen tausta on koulunkäyntikokemuksiin vaikuttava intersektionaalinen tekijä, joka tulisi huomioida yhdenvertaisen koulun rakentamisessa. Erityisesti koulun opetuskieltä opettelevat kokivat hyötyvänsä yhteistoiminnallisista käytänteistä, joiden aikana kielellisiä resursseja pääsee mahdollisesti kierrättämään. Lisäksi analyysista ilmeni, että suomalaisissa kouluissa opiskelee monikielisiä oppilaita, jotka kokevat koulun opiskelukielellä osallistumisen luokkahuonetilanteissa ainakin ajoittain haastavaksi. Osatutkimus III lähestyi monikielisen koulun oppilaiden kokemuksia kielitietoisista oppimateriaaleista keräämällä yhteistoiminnallista kielellistä ongelmanratkaisua edellyttävän oppimiskokeilun jälkeen oppilailta (N = 126) lyhyitä tekstiraportteja kielentämismenetelmää hyödyntäen. Tutkimus oli osa kielitietoisten oppimateriaalien kehittämisprojektia. Oppilaiden tekstit analysoitiin sisällönanalyysin keinoin ajattelutaitojen taksonomiaa ja sosiokulttuurista (kielen)oppimiskäsitystä soveltaen. Kielennyksistä selvisi, että yhteistoiminnassa monikielisen koulun oppilaat kokivat hyödyntävänsä aiempaa kielellistä tietoisuuttaan ja pystyvänsä yhteisön tuella ratkaisemaan oppimateriaalitehtävät, joita eivät yksin pystyisi. Kielennykset osoittivat paikkoja oikea-aikaiselle tuelle ja opiskelussa tarvittavan kielitaidon kohentamiselle tilanteissa, joissa oppilaan heräilevä kielitietoisuus voitiin havaita. Tulosten perusteella ehdotettiin, että oppimateriaalien mielekkyyttä voisi lisätä siten, että yhteistoimintaan ohjaavilla tehtävillä kielen merkityksistä neuvottelu tuotaisiin kaikkien oppilaiden ulottuville.

Osatutkimuksessa IV paneuduttiin opettajankoulutukseen ja pyrittiin ymmärtämään, kuinka suomalaiset opettajankoulutukset (N = 8) kurssi- ja opetussuunnitelmadokumenttiensa perusteella valmistavat opettajia työskentelemään kielellisesti moninaisissa kouluissa. Dokumenttien analyysi näytti, että monikielisyyteen liittyviä kysymyksiä käsiteltiin pääasiassa suomen kieleen ja kirjallisuuteen liittyvillä kursseilla, jolloin keskiössä oli suomi toisena kielenä -opetus. Näin ollen muun muassa monikielinen pedagogiikka jäi vähemmälle huomiolle. Ylipäätään osatutkimus osoitti epäsuhdan kielitietoisten linjausten ja opettajankoulutuksen kurssisisältöjen välillä, jolloin opettajankoulutus ei välttämättä anna opettajaopiskelijoille tarpeeksi valmiuksia kielitietoiseen toimintaan. Osatutkimus V tarkasteli opettajaopiskelijoiden (N = 74) valmiuksien kehittymistä tukea kielellisesti moninaisia oppilaita. Analyysimenetelmänä käytetty opiskelijoiden kirjoittamien tekstiraporttien sisällönanalyysi auttoi havaitsemaan, että opettajankoulutuksella oli vaikutusta opettajaopiskelijoiden tietoihin ja käytänteisiin. Silti asenteet, tiedot ja käytänteet eivät aina olleet linjassa kielenoppimisen ja kieltä opettelevien opetukseen liittyvän tutkimusperustaisen ymmärryksen kanssa edes opettajankoulutuksen loppuvaiheessa.

Väitöstutkimus tuottaa tietoa kielipoliittisten linjausten siirtymisestä käytänteiksi koulutusjärjestelmän eri tasoilla. Lisääntyvän kielellisen moninaisuuden tukemista kouluissa hidastavat toisilleen vastakkaiset puhetavat, jotka kumpuavat ympäröivästä yhteiskunnasta. Kielitietoisuuden siirtyminen käytänteiksi ei tapahdu ylhäältä alaspäin annettuna, vaan linjausten ja käytänteiden välisten epäsuhtien

tasapainottaminen vaatii monitasoisia muutoksia. Johtopäätös on, että kielitietoinen koulu on luotava eri tasojen *yhteistyössä*, riittävän resursoidulla kehittämistyöllä. Opettajien asenteet, tiedot ja käytänteet eivät kasva itsestään, vaan tarvitaan tukea, oppimateriaaleja ja systemaattista perus- ja täydennyskoulutusta, jossa tutkimustieto nivoutuu yhteen käytännön kanssa. Koulun opetuskieltä opettelevien huomioiminen muuallakin kuin suomen tunneilla vaatii muutoksia opettajankoulutuksen rakenteisiin, jotta opetussuunnitelmauudistuksia ja tutkimustietoa myötäilevien puhetapojen määrä tulevaisuudessa lisääntyy. Ylipäätään kielen keskeisyyden ja kielirepertuaarien kehittämisen merkityksen ymmärtämisen tulisi saada nykyistä suurempi tila yhteiskunnallisissa maahanmuutto- ja integraatiokeskusteluissa. Tuomalla kielenoppiminen osaksi muidenkin kuin kielialan asiantuntijoiden keskustelua voitaisiin kehittää kestäviä ratkaisuja siihen, miten monikielisten luokkien oppilaat saavat yhdenvertaiset mahdollisuudet osallisuuden kokemuksiin, koulun opetuskielen opetteluun ja osaamiensa kielten hyödyntämiseen oppimisen resurssina. Yhteistyön merkitys näyttäytyy lopulta luokkahuonetasolla oppilaiden toimijuuden tukemisessa: mahdollisuudet kielestä keskusteluun ja tiedon rakentamiseen yhteistyössä opettajan, parin tai pienryhmän tuella lisäävät monikielisen koulun oppilaiden osallisuutta.

ASIASANAT: kielitietoinen koulu, kielellisen moninaisuuden tukeminen, monikieliset oppilaat, sosiokulttuurinen teoria, pedagogiset käytänteet, kielipolitiikka

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Elisa Repo

Table of contents

Tables

Figures

List of original publications

This dissertation is based on the following original publications, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals:

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II Repo, E. (2022). Towards language-aware pedagogy? Experiences of students in multilingual Finnish schools. *Language and Education*. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2022.2116985

III Repo, E., Kivimäki, R., Kekki, N. & Alisaari, J. (2021). "We thought about it together and the solution came to our minds": Languaging linguistic problem-solving in multilingual Finnish classrooms. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 000010151520200179. https://doi.org/10.1515/iral-2020-0179

IV Szabó, T. P., Repo, E., Kekki, N. & Skinnari, K. (2021). Multilingualism in Finnish teacher education. In M. Wernicke, S. Hammer, A. Hansen & T. Schroedler (Eds.), *Preparing Teachers to Work with Multilingual Learners* (pp. 58–81). Bristol: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781788926119-006

V Heikkola, L. M., Repo, E. & Kekki, N. (manuscript). Mapping pre-service subject teachers' preparedness for linguistically diverse classrooms in Finland. In J. Iversen, A. Reath Warren & B. Straszer (Eds.), *Teacher Education for Working in Linguistically Diverse Classrooms: Nordic Perspectives*. Current Issues in Bilingualism. Language Science Press.

I co-authored Article III with Riia Kivimäki, Niina Kekki, and Jenni Alisaari. The writing was collaborative; however, as the first author, I designed the research setting, formulated the data collection tool, analysed the data, and was primarily responsible for the writing process from beginning to end. Riia Kivimäki conducted the learning experiments and collected the data during school visits. In Articles IV and V, I was the second author. Article IV was co-authored with Tamás Péter Szabó, Niina Kekki, and Kristiina Skinnari. The first author was mainly responsible; thus, Tamás Péter Szabó should be honoured for his work. Along with the other co-authors, I participated in planning the study, collecting and analysing the data, and writing or editing all sections of the article. My particular role in the writing process was to describe parts of the background and the examples. Article V was co-authored with Leena Maria Heikkola and Niina Kekki. Again, the first author was primarily responsible; thus, Leena Maria Heikkola deserves honour for her work. The entire research process—planning the study, collecting and analysing the data, and writing and editing all sections—was collaborative. My particular role in the writing was to describe the theoretical background and the method. I recognise that co-writing with colleagues formed an important part of the research process, as through collaboration, I was able to gain more in-depth information about the topic of my dissertation than I would have been able to do on my own.

1 Introduction

Once, there were students who had recently arrived at a new school. It was not only the school that was new to these students, but also the country in which they were now living and the language of the majority of the other students at the school. The students had arrived from all over the world. They had diverse backgrounds and spoke several languages. The class was therefore multilingual. The teacher of the class had an important role to play. First, the teacher aimed to interact with the students in ways that made them feel welcome, valued, and engaged in classroom activities. Second, the teacher sought to assist students in gaining resources with which to interact in the new language, develop their multilingualism, and acquire other skills needed for schooling. An overarching aspect of the teacher's role was to consider the extensive presence of language in the students' learning and integration. This task was not always easy, and the teacher would not have been prepared to respond to the students' needs without an education that had provided an understanding of the development of linguistic repertoires and an ability to design learning environments that purposefully built on the students' prior skills and experiences. Importantly, the key to the students' linguistic integration was that none of the individuals in the school system—neither the teacher nor the students—were left alone; assistance, materials, and education were available when needed. There was interaction, and linguistic diversity was supported collaboratively.

What is described here is an ideal case. I was once one of the teachers whose job it was to work with students who had recently moved to a new country. I worked as a preparatory education teacher in a multilingual lower secondary school in a suburb in Southern Finland. Chronologically, it was 2015—the year I attained a master's degree in the Finnish language and a time when many European nations were receiving immigrants and asylum seekers due to the Syrian war. Some of the students in my class had a broken school history. I worried whether I could support them in such a way that everyone experienced opportunities to be active in classroom tasks. I tried to put myself in their position, but I inevitably felt insecure, even lonely, sometimes, because teaching such a class had never been discussed in my pedagogical training. There also seemed to be too few suitable materials, so I ended up spending my evenings creating them on my own. At a training session at my

work, I heard that recent studies and international assessments, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), were suggesting a significant gap between the learning outcomes of 'native' Finnish-speaking students and students with an immigration background (Harju-Luukkainen et al., 2014). To me, this meant that the widely cherished school system, which was built on the values of humanity, educational equity, and cultural diversity (Finnish National Agency for Education [EDUFI], 2014, p. 15–16), was being challenged and needed information on how to support the increasing number of emerging Finnish language learners. There had to be things schools could do differently to be more inclusive and better respond to the needs of newcomers.

I was not the only teacher who was worried about their skills in supporting linguistically diverse students. Thus, in collaboration with two other teachers, I started a field project called *Kielitietoisuus osaksi kaikkien oppiaineiden opetusta* [Language Awareness for Everyone], in which we developed practical examples of how to pay attention to the language being used in instruction. In our search for more information, we pored over popular professional journal articles (e.g., Aalto, 2013; Harmanen, 2013; Luukka, 2013; Martin, 2016) and guidebooks (Kuukka & Rapatti, 2009; Vaarala et al., 2016), but little research on the implementation of language awareness in Finnish schools was available at that time. I also began to read for this doctoral dissertation, and I quickly realised that discussions related to immigration were broad, complex, and multi-layered, as many intersecting factors affect the integration of individuals and communities. Importantly, the challenges of integration are primarily related to structural-level issues, not to the newcomers themselves, for instance, those connected to residential and school segregation, which are tightly interlinked (Butler & Hamnett, 2007; later also Bernelius et al., 2021; Huilla, 2022). In addition, as a language teacher, I could not help but think about the central role *language* plays in students' lives and, according to the Finnish National Agency of Education (2014, p. 28), in all 'learning, interaction, [and] collaboration and for [the] building of identities and socialisation'. Yet, discussions in the media and public debates often conveyed the idea of developing students' emerging linguistic repertoires as impossible rather than something that could be systematically developed on the basis of research. Thus, I decided to participate in discussions on integration from the perspective of language and engage my research in the gradually shifting educational language policies. I wanted to look at linguistic integration in multilingual schools from multiple perspectives and provide possible suggestions for improvement. While formulating the aims of my research, I thought to support students and teachers in linguistically diverse schools in ways that students would experience opportunities to be active in the classroom and teachers would feel capable when encountering multilingual learners. In this way, this dissertation links to broader sociopolitical debates on educational equality, anti-

racism, and opportunities for people to have agency in linguistically diverse settings. Moreover, my work contributes to the collaborative construction of schools that promote equal access to learning by acknowledging students' multilingual backgrounds.

1.1 The needs of increasingly multilingual schools

This dissertation, which is positioned in the field of educational linguistics (see Section 2), aims to examine perspectives on how to support increasing linguistic diversity in contemporary Finnish schools. Growing mobility has forced societies to find solutions for newcomers' linguistic integration into the country of immigration. In this section, I discuss the needs that led me to my research topic. The research interests of this dissertation (henceforward also a *study* consisting of *sub-studies*) emerged from the requirements that increasing diversity entails for twenty-first century school systems. Schools need to simultaneously attend to language, learning, and learners (Aalto et al., 2022; Ahlholm et al., 2021; Alisaari et al., 2019; Honko & Mustonen, 2018; Teemant et al., 2014; Viesca et al., 2022), and classrooms around the world are receiving students who are learners of several languages. These students have various backgrounds and a wide range of linguistic repertoires (Harju-Autti, 2022; Majhanovich & Deyrich, 2017), which means that an understanding of language learning cannot be overlooked (Alisaari et al., 2019; Cummins, 2000, 2021; Heikkola et al., 2022; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Viesca et al., 2022). In most cases, especially in the Finnish context, the languages of recently arrived students differ from the language of the majority population in the new country, making the language of schooling both the target of and instrument for learning for the newcomers. Characteristically, the students acquire a conversational repertoire in the language of the majority population while at the same time participating in situations that require academic discipline-specific language use and literacy practices (Schleppegrell, 2004).

The increase in the number of emerging language learners in classrooms has created a need for educational policies to emphasise the centrality of language in new ways. For example, the recommendations by the Council of the European Union (2019, p. 5) aim to guarantee equal access to learning opportunities by supporting the development of students' linguistic repertoires:

> Schools are becoming increasingly aware of the necessity to make sure that all children, regardless of background and first language, acquire a very good level of the language of schooling, if appropriate, through special support measures. This supports equity and equal opportunities and reduces the risk of early school leaving.

With regard to educational equality, the Finnish national core curriculum for basic education (EDUFI, 2014, p. 28) focuses on languages and multilingualism, paying particular attention to the linguistic needs of learners:

> Each community and community member is multilingual. Parallel use of various languages in the school's daily life is seen as natural, and languages are appreciated. A community with language-awareness discusses attitudes towards languages and linguistic communities. …Each subject has its own language, textual practices and concepts. The instruction progresses from everyday language to the language of conceptual thinking. In a language-aware school, each adult is a linguistic model and also a teacher of the language typical of the subject he or she teaches.

The greatest questions of increasingly multilingual classrooms appear to circulate around the topic of how to educate and support arriving students equitably and meaningfully (Cummins, 2021; Garcia & Sylvan, 2011; Lucas & Villegas, 2013). From the perspective of language learning, there is a need to recognise schooling as an essentially linguistic process, as language and content are inseparable and learnt in parallel (Cummins, 2000, 2021; Honko & Mustonen, 2018; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Schleppegrell, 2004). Practitioners in schools must acknowledge that language plays a central role in the mediation of information and in the interaction between the learners in all disciplines (Aalto, 2019; Association for Language Awareness [ALA], 2022; Dufva, 2018; Garrett & Cots, 2018; Honko & Mustonen, 2018; Lahti et al., 2020; Rapatti, 2020; Vygotsky, 1987). It is no longer intended that students learn the language of schooling separately from the subject content. Instead, learning the language of schooling must exist across curricula as opportunities for students to engage in subject classroom communities wherein discipline-specific languages are used (Aalto, 2019; Kaufman, 2004; Lahti et al., 2020). In addition, schools should build social environments wherein interaction supports students in their language development—wherein students' diverse linguistic repertoires are deployed for meaning making and negotiation of abstract academic concepts (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; García & Wei, 2014).

I employ the overarching concept of *language awareness* to respond to the needs of increasingly diverse schools. The concept has been redefined in educational linguistics and sociolinguistics (Dufva, 2018; Komorowska, 2014; for the roots of language awareness discussion, see Section 2). In general, language awareness refers to understanding how languages work and how people use and learn them (ALA, 2022; Andersen & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2019; Moate & Szabó, 2018). Thus, language awareness extends to all students, not only those who have recently arrived in a country. Furthermore, it implies an understanding of how language speakers'

linguistic and cultural backgrounds are intertwined with their language use (Honko & Mustonen, 2018). In the pedagogical context, language awareness holistically encompasses the understanding of language as a medium through which students display knowledge and access learning. Equally important, it involves linguistically responsive pedagogical practices (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) that seek to promote students' (multi)literacy in academic disciplines, enable the simultaneous use of multiple languages in the classroom, and increase sociolinguistic consciousness (Alholm, 2020; Alisaari & Heikkola, 2020; Cenoz et al., 2017; Cummins, 2021; Honko & Mustonen, 2018; Rapatti, 2020). From a pedagogical standpoint, translating an understanding of language's role in all learning into practice is closely related to the framework for the preparation of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013; see Section 2.2.1), which focuses on teachers' pedagogical actions, organising 'central orientations, knowledge, and skills of learning to teach linguistically diverse learners' (Lucas & Villegas, 2013, p. 99). In general, the fields of language awareness and multilingualism intertwine, and if schools were language aware, this would play a role in the development of learners' first language(s) (Dufva, 2018; Finkbeiner & White, 2017; Hélot, 2017; Honko & Mustonen, 2018; Lehtonen, 2021). Here, *multilingualism* refers to students' linguistic repertoires—the collection of linguistic resources they have at their disposal (Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Busch, 2015; Dufva, 2020; Lehtonen, 2021). Linguistic resources relate to different registers, and students learn to use resources associated with the appropriate registers in different situations (see Section 2; Dufva, 2020; Lehtonen, 2015). In this way, every student, regardless of their linguistic background, can be considered multilingual, and language awareness offers a lens through which to examine the role and experience of language in schools. This study focuses on students with an immigration background, as their increased number has motivated the Finnish school system to re-examine its current pedagogical practices (for the sociohistorical context of this study, see Section 1.2). Notably, from this study's research questions to the conclusions, the terms *multilingual school(s)* and *language-aware school(s*) are often used interchangeably. However, the former is usually employed in contexts that echo a societal situation of increasing linguistic diversity, while the latter is used specifically in contexts where I emphasise the conceptual framework (see Section 2) of what kind of school culture multilingual schools should strive for to support students' linguistic integration.

The research has revealed a need for the production of new information. Over the past two decades, there has been considerable scholarly work on language awareness and multilingualism with regard to the linguistic integration of newcomers in a school system (e.g., Cenoz et al., 2017; Cummins, 2020, 2021; Garrett & Cots, 2018; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Łyda & Szcześniak, 2014; Teemant et al., 2014; Viesca et al., 2022). The ways of searching for solutions have varied.

The work on supporting students' integration has focused on, inter alia, defining effective pedagogy for multilingual learners (Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Perumal et al., 2020; Teemant et al., 2014; Viesca et al., 2022), outlining how language awareness affects the development of learners' language acquisition (Cenoz et al., 2017; Garrett & Cots, 2018; Łyda & Szcześniak, 2014), and providing information on how to improve the educational outcomes of minoritized students (e.g., Cummins, 2000, 2021). From the perspective of teacher preparation, research suggests that developing teachers' preparedness for linguistic integration has been slow (Aalto, 2019; Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018) and not self-evident (Alisaari et al., 2019; Heikkola et al., 2022; Suuriniemi et al., 2021; Vigren et al., 2022). In order to promote a shift in teachers' beliefs and actions towards language-aware pedagogies, more information is needed about the characteristics of teachers' willingness regarding working with multilingual learners. Furthermore, in terms of supporting increasing linguistic diversity, little is known about the contradictions and mismatches in the discourse and in teacher education that hinder the transfer of research-based knowledge into pedagogical practices. Thus, drawing on the ontological assumption that realities are constructed through the ways of talking (Johnstone, 2018), I became motivated to understand the discourses that possibly hinder teachers' implementation of linguistically responsive practices (cf. Lucas & Villegas, 2013). If these were better understood, suggestions for the development of teacher education could be made. Moreover, to be complemented at an institutional level, it appeared necessary to critically outline (see, e.g., Wernicke et al., 2021) how teachers are currently being prepared to work in multilingual settings and what educational approaches exist in teacher education that give future practitioners tools to contribute to students' linguistic integration.

In Finland, at the time I started this study, unanswered questions and doubts regarding language awareness were not limited to any particular domain but included, for example, teacher preparation, language policy implementation, learning material development, and pedagogical practices. The questions were similar to those that I had when working as a preparatory education teacher. After having worked in and observed life at multilingual schools, I believed that the questions related to supporting increasing linguistic diversity should not overlook those who are most affected by the implementation of new educational policies. While international research about (in- and pre-service) teachers' perspectives is available (Aalto, 2019; Acquah, 2015; Alisaari et al., 2019, 2021; Heikkola et al., 2022; Iversen, 2020; Kirsch & Aleksic, 2018; Lucas et al., 2015; Lundberg, 2019), knowledge about students' perspectives as language learners has remained scarce (however, see Duarte, 2019; Harju-Autti et al., 2021; Lehtonen, 2015, 2021; Seltzer, 2019). In general, students' agency as participants in classroom activities or users of learning materials has been largely neglected (Guerrettaz, 2021; Guerrettaz &

Johnson, 2013; Karvonen et al., 2017). Therefore, in addition to examining teachers' preparedness, it was important to position the students at multilingual schools as knowledgeable in the research, building on the ethical premise that the needs and experiences of learners should be respected, for instance, when developing pedagogical practices and learning materials that (eventually) impact their lives and schooling. Studies at all levels of education have indicated that students learn, retain information, and are more motivated when they are given agency—opportunities to speak, listen, reflect, interact, collaborate, be active, and have a say (Anderson & Graham, 2016; Benson, 2007; Johnson & Johnson, 2005; Udvari-Solner, 2012; Ushioda, 2003). Thus, there appeared to be a need to study learners' insights related to classroom practices, use of first language(s), and participation in the language of schooling. The decision to explore these particular insights was grounded on the assumption that they must be considered to advocate for language awareness. The intention was to advance the research field by obtaining an understanding of how multilingual classrooms operate when certain activities are employed and offer information on how to develop pedagogical practices to be more inclusive and helpful in terms of learning.

To reflect on and find responses to the needs discussed in this section, this study contains five interrelated sub-studies, each of which provides a relevant perspective to language awareness and multilingualism research. More precisely, the sub-studies on supporting increasing linguistic diversity in multilingual schools include the perspectives of teachers, students, students as learning material users, teacher education, and pre-service teachers. Metaphorically, the dissertation can be thought of as an 'onion', the multiple layers of which can be sliced through to gain new perspectives on increasing linguistic diversity and, for instance, reveal interpretations, implementations, and possible resistance regarding changing language policies in education (metaphor from educational linguists Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; see also Menken & García, 2010). Despite multiple viewpoints, I hold that the sub-studies do not give all-inclusive or easy solutions to the questions of educational opportunities in demographically changing schools, as the challenges in educational linguistics related to integration and social inclusion should be addressed in collaboration with experts in, inter alia, sociology of education, social politics, and urban geography. However, the contribution that this dissertation seeks to make is information about the characteristics of supporting increasing linguistic diversity, namely, intersecting perspectives from different levels of the school system. The sub-studies of this dissertation emphasise the importance of constructing language-aware schools together—in a collaboration of the included perspectives. Simultaneously, the dissertation highlights promoting the active role of learners and the pedagogical actions of their teachers in the construction process. Here, the conclusions provide suggestions on how to support the agency (see Section

2) of multilingual learners and their teachers when moving towards more inclusive and equal schools.

In many ways, this study can be seen as representing the multilingual turn (e.g., Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014) in the fields of interactional sociolinguistics, sociolinguistics of globalisation (see Blommaert, 2010; Blomaert & Backus, 2011), and second-language acquisition studies, which has led to ontological changes in how scholars theorise about and understand language, learners, and language learning (see Sections 1.2 and 2). The *multilingual turn* refers to an increase in multilingualism research and changes in language ideologies towards seeing multilingualism as a resource in classrooms (May, 2014; Piippo, 2021). For studies like mine, the multilingual turn offers an alternative to monolingual theories, pedagogies, and practices and advocates for an approach that emphasises multilingual learners' multiple competencies as the basis for successful language teaching and learning (May, 2014). In the synthesis of the findings, I discuss the reflections of agency emerging from the sub-studies, emphasising how inseparably (language) learning is tied to social interaction (see Section 2). I seek to conclude the findings by weighing the perspectives of this study in relation to one another. In this deliberation, learners' and teachers' active roles in multilingual schools are conceived through a sociocultural lens, and their agency is regarded as a result of individual process and as a discursively and socially constructed phenomenon (see, e.g., Biesta et al., 2015; Eteläpelto et al., 2013; van Lier, 2004, 2010; Vitanova et al., 2014). To respond to the needs of increasingly multilingual schools, I attempt to produce an understanding of the voices, experiences, preferences, and characteristics of the individuals and institutions who can potentially act as agents on different layers of the dynamic process of co-constructing a language-aware school.

1.2 Sociohistorical context: Changes in society, language policies, and terminology related to linguistic diversity

In this section, I describe the context of the study, concentrating on three different but interconnected themes: 1) changes in Finnish society at the time of the study, 2) changes in language policies in schools and the discussions these caused, and 3) changes in terminology and the challenges related to the terms used in this study.

Finland and its education system are undergoing societal changes due to globalisation and an increase in linguistically diverse learners. Although the country has been multilingual and culturally diverse also before the 1990s (Grönstrand & Malmio, 2010; Lehtonen, 2015; Martin, 2016), an unprecedented pluralisation of languages and cultures has been taking place during the last thirty years. Especially in the 2010s, societal changes due to growing numbers of speakers of, for example,

Russian, Estonian, Somali, and Arabic have encouraged schools to redefine their language policies. Russian and Estonian are languages with a long history in Finland, whereas Somali and Arabic are considered languages with a more recent presence. Officially, the use of either Finnish or Swedish (the national languages of Finland) formed a society where bilingualism—or rather parallel monolingualism (e.g., Heller, 1999)—was present and created a framework for school culture, in which each school had its language of instruction and administration, which automatically forced people to use either Swedish or Finnish. In addition, Sámi languages (the languages of the Indigenous population in Finland) have an official status, which means that in Sámi-speaking areas, there is education available in Sámi languages as well. Furthermore, Finnish Romani, Finnish sign language, Finland-Swedish sign language, and Karelian are autochthonous languages (Institute for the Languages of Finland, 2022.) In contemporary Finland, an increase of linguistically diverse learners is documented at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of education, as the recent population growth is due to immigration (Statistics Finland, 2022). At the time of this study, almost 8% of the 5.5 million Finnish citizens were speakers of languages other than Finnish, Swedish, or Sámi. The presentage varies greatly between residential areas and schools. Unfortunately, urban segregation has led to increased linguistic diversity being particularly visible in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in larger cities (Bernelius & Huilla, 2021).

Simultaneously, the school system is facing other changes. Unfortunately, consistent inequalities in access to academic resources and opportunities have started to be observed in Finland (e.g., in PISA assessments) for students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, students identifying as males, and immigrant-background students (Bernelius & Huilla, 2021; Harju-Luukkainen et al., 2014; Zacheus et al., 2017). Such documentation has incited discussion on the ability of the Finnish school system, with its built-in values of social inclusion, to provide equal access to educational opportunities to every student regardless of their background. Historically, the Finnish system was developed on the basis of Nordic egalitarian principles, emphasising equality and equal treatment across genders, religions, economic status, and political beliefs and guaranteeing inclusion in the broadest sense, even for children from the most ‘disadvantaged’ positions in society (see Ahonen, 2003; Huilla & Kosunen, 2020)[1].

1 In Finland, basic education encompasses nine years and it is intended for students aged 7–16. Grades 1–6 (students aged 7–12) are taught by class teachers (primary school generalist teachers who teach all subjects), and grades 7–9 (students aged 13–16) are taught by subject teachers. After becoming a teacher, teachers are autonomous in their work. The teaching profession has become relatively popular (Vipunen, n.d.).

The second theme of this section relates to changes in language policy. In response to societal changes and to emphasise the centrality of language in learning, the Finnish national core curriculum for primary and upper secondary level education (EDUFI, 2014, 2015) was renewed to promote language awareness and multilingualism as key values guiding the development of school culture[2]. Before 2014, supporting students' linguistic diversity and language learning was concentrated on fixed languages that were taught in separate classes, but after the reform, multilingual discourse encompassed all education (Zilliacus et al., 2017). When comparing the 2014 curriculum to previous curricula, the changes related to multilingualism and the role of language are so 'significant' that 'the Finnish national curriculum can be seen as very advanced in its language-related values' (Alisaari et al., 2019, p. 45). This dissertation is thus positioned in a unique sociohistorical context of changing language policies in schools. From its effective date (2016 onwards), the guidelines state that 'each adult is a linguistic model' (EDUFI, 2014, p. 28), and language development and the attainment of the literacy needed for successful academic participation are central to instruction. Schools are places where multiple languages interact, and learners are encouraged to use all the languages they know during lessons (EDUFI, 2014; Zilliacus et al., 2017). Instruction that builds on students' linguistic repertoires should recognise both indigenous languages and the languages of immigrant groups. Constitutionally, everyone has the right to maintain and develop their first language(s) (Basic Education Act, 10 §; Constitution of Finland, 17 §), and the municipalities are guided to provide first-language lessons as an extracurricular activity (Piippo, 2017). First-language lessons of larger language groups may take place at students' schools, but students often need to go to another school for these lessons (EDUFI, 2016). In 2022, approximately 40 language options are available in the capital region of Finland. In other Finnish municipalities, the implementation of lessons varies, and the qualification requirements for teachers have not been officially defined (Tainio & Kallioniemi, 2019).

The implementation of language awareness in schools has changed educational discussions in Finland by becoming an inextricable part thereof (Ahlholm et al., 2021; Dufva, 2018; Rapatti, 2020). At the policy level, the reformed Finnish curricula have been identified as progressive from a Nordic perspective (Zilliacus et al., 2017). However, in practice, the curricula are seen abstract, and mastery of them is considered challenging (Alisaari et al., 2019; Suuriniemi et al., 2021; Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018). For example, there has been concern about practical

2 . The national core curriculum issues a common direction and basis for renewing instruction in Finnish schools and contains the objectives and core content of different subjects.

implementation given the lack of preparation of current teachers (Aalto, 2019; Alisaari et al., 2019) and the shortage of explicit language-awareness learning materials (Räsänen et al., 2018; Satokangas, 2020; Satokangas & Suuriniemi, 2020). Among other things, these concerns influenced my research setting and the process. This study acknowledges that teachers play a significant role in adopting and interpreting new educational policies (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). In their daily practices, teachers have opportunities to be the agents who make small changes regarding how classrooms are structured and who gets to be active. If teachers can transform classrooms (McCarty, 2011; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), it matters how they are prepared to promote policy-level changes that can ultimately lead to broader social changes, such as supporting increasing linguistic diversity. Furthermore, to advance the implementation of curricular reforms, it is important that learning materials be designed to motivate students to actively participate. Teachers use these materials to facilitate students' learning (Guerrettaz et al., 2021; Karvonen et al., 2017). In the context of changing school demographics, care must be taken to ensure that vulnerable students are included in participation.

The third theme of this section considers terminology changes in research on linguistic diversity. Over the course of the societal, curricular, and ideological changes, I had to contemplate how to discuss various phenomena related to language, language use, and knowing a language. Along with the multilingual turn, ways of approaching the concepts of *native speaker*, *language learner*, and *first/home language* have changed, as these terms do not fully recognise linguistic variation and language learning as social activities (Block, 2003; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007). Thus, the concepts used in this dissertation did not come without careful consideration. It is crucial to acknowledge that the terminology used in research can include connotations (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008). In particular, the context of minoritized, often vulnerable students required me to aim towards ethically responsive research methods.

As previously stated, one of my interests lay in the experiences of linguistically diverse students. The challenge was how to talk about these students in a way that did not belittle them or ignore their needs. In fact, the multilingual turn encourages considering all students in multilingual schools *languagers*, as we all use our linguistic repertoires to achieve the goals of social contexts (see Section 2). Originally, *languager* was a sociolinguist term (Jørgensen et al., 2011; Rajagopalan, 2001), focusing on languages from the context of interaction and unassuming connections, for instance, between language, ethnicity, nationality, and geography. In this dissertation, I examined the characteristics of students' experiences; thus, I needed to adopt students' linguistic backgrounds as variables. I wanted to find out in what ways the experiences of learners with diverse linguistic backgrounds differ with regard to pedagogical practices, first language(s), and participation in the

language of schooling. Reviewing the terminology in language learning research was complicated because the concepts are often ambiguous and vary depending on diverse ideological, disciplinary, and geographical perspectives (Eisenchlas & Schalley, 2020). With no exception, the choice of each term involved its own limitations. This led to a situation in which the terminological selection of each sub-study was influenced by the preferences of the article-publishing platforms. For instance, the terms *first language(s)* and *home language(s)* are both used in the sub-studies; thus, despite varying and to some extent problematic connotations, the concepts have been treated somewhat synonymously (as is often done in educational linguistics; see Eisenchlas & Schalley, 2020). However, in this summary, I chose the term *first language(s)* over *home language(s)* in order to embrace the idea of the language nearest to a learners's identity and not not restrict the domain of the language to the speakers' home (Seltzer, 2019). Furthermore, this dissertation freely applies Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty's (2008) definition of *first language* as the language best known, first learnt, and/or most used, with acknowledgement from Duarte and Gogolin (2013) that a student's first language can include a multilingual repertoire of distinct languages. However, by asking the students to report what languages belong to their first/home language(s), I hold that I defined languages as systems separate from one another, which can be seen to somewhat contradict the sociolinguistic notion of all people as languagers. Then again, from the perspectives of neuro- and psycholinguistics, the definition of first language(s) appears to matter in practice, as studies suggest differences in the process of first language acquisition compared to second (and other) language(s) (see, e.g., Clahsen et al., 2010; Clahsen & Felser, 2006, 2018; Hamrick et al., 2018; Swain & Lapkin, 1995).

In focusing on students' linguistic backgrounds, this dissertation reveals only one aspect of students' identities. Viewed through an intersectional lens, students' experiences in multilingual schools are shaped by multiple intersecting and overlapping factors (e.g., class, gender, home, sexuality, religion, physical appearance, disability, and educational background; Bradley, 2016; Grzanka, 2014). Thus, the variable groups employed in the dissertation are not entirely unified in reality, and on a practical level, an individual learner's experiences cannot be explained so straightforwardly. In general, immigrant-background multilingual learners of the Finnish language are called in this study *multilingual learners* (MLLs). Some scholars refer to these learners as *language minoritised students* (see Flores & Rosa, 2015). I justify using the term *multilingual learner*, as it provides a positive descriptor of what students 'can do, rather than what they cannot do yet' with their linguistic abilities (Perumal et al., 2020, p. 53). Characteristically, these students speak languages other than that of the majority population as their first language(s). Multilingual learners can be further classified as *emergent learners of Finnish*, denoting first-generation immigrant students (they and both parents were

born somewhere other than Finland), and *more advanced learners of Finnish*, meaning second-generation immigrant students (they were born in Finland, but their parents were born elsewhere). However, this detailed categorisation is not made in all the sub-studies.

Acknowledging the problems of describing someone as 'native' (Eisenchlas & Schalley, 2020; Leung et al., 1997), the rest of the students—learners of Finnish 'origin' and learners with more remote immigration backgrounds—are labelled in the sub-studies either *other learners of Finnish* or *'native' learners of Finnish*, again depending on the preferences of the publishing platforms. The word 'native' is always in quotation marks because of critical discussions on whether idealised 'native-speakers' emphasise and maintain monolingual ideologies (see Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007; Leung et al., 1997). In this summary, I use the term *L1 learners of Finnish* (L1 referring to first language) instead of the two options employed in the sub-studies. Furthermore, I recognise that L1 learners of Finnish are also multilingual and able to communicate in different language contexts with their linguistic resources (Duarte & Gogolin, 2013). Despite the varying labels, this group includes students with possibly more access to linguistic repertoire, affiliation, and inheritance related to Finnish language and culture than multilingual learners of Finnish (Leung et al., 1997; Rampton, 1995). As the research field evolves, the terms I use may become old-fashioned. Still, in order to produce information that has the potential to progress the field, the categories in each study have been named in ways that are assumed to be the most descriptive in a time-dependent societal and scientific context.

1.3 Position, aims, and research questions

Education is a significant context for multilingual learners' linguistic integration and social inclusion (e.g., Bigelow & Ennser-Kananen, 2015; Cummins, 2021; European Commission, 2020; Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 2019). Against the above-discussed starting points and sociohistorical contexts, my overarching aim in this study was to search for ways to support increasing linguistic diversity from perspectives that potentially impact encounters in multilingual schools—the perspectives of teachers, students, students as learning material users, teacher education, and pre-service teachers. By studying participants' discourses, experiences, and reports, I assume to discover where the Finnish education system faces challenges in advocating for language awareness and what can be done to reinforce the implementation thereof. Eventually, this study seeks to increase understanding of how the active roles of students and teachers could be supported when constructing language-aware schools. Theoretically, this dissertation sets forth from sociocultural premises, using the conceptual framework of language

awareness, with its adaptations acting as a foundation for investigating how the school system could respond to the unique situation in which it is currently positioned. Integrating linguistics and education, I place the study at the crossroads of research on language learning, teaching language learners, and multilingualism in schools, which are often strongly interconnected (see Section 2). Methodologically, the study employed mixed methods (see Section 3). I incorporated discourse analytical (Johnstone, 2018), content analytical (Krippendorf, 2012; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018), and statistical (Field, 2018; Tähtinen et al., 2020) research traditions to gain multiple perspectives using methodological triangulation (see Section 3). In summary, in many aspects, the research traditions of humanities and educational sciences collide in my work.

To provide suggestions for equitable and meaningful ways to advocate for the schooling of linguistically diverse learners, this study seeks to describe and characterise teachers' discourses, students' experiences, language-aware learning materials, and teacher education—the perspectives of those affected by the ongoing changes at the societal, curricular, and practical levels. This dissertation consists of five articles (Articles I–V) and this summary. Each article addresses specific issues related to the overarching aim and therefore has its own, more specified research aim(s). The choice of combining multiple perspectives arose from the nature of educational settings, which are inherently complex because of the 'real-world' context of the social encounters that abound in institutions, schools, and classrooms (Greene, 2007). Schools are influenced by countless factors–students' and teachers' characteristics, a variety of learning materials, curriculum texts, education policies, teachers' preparedness for representing and reproducing such policies, and other intersecting aspects of the school context–that 'fundamentally cannot be controlled' (Berliner, 2002, p. 19). Given this complexity, an understanding of teachers' and students' perspectives, students as language-aware learning material users, and current practices in teacher education has been constructed from the examination of different levels of the school system and triangulation of the data sets. Figure 1 illustrates the perspectives incorporated in this study and presents how these perspectives are related to one another.

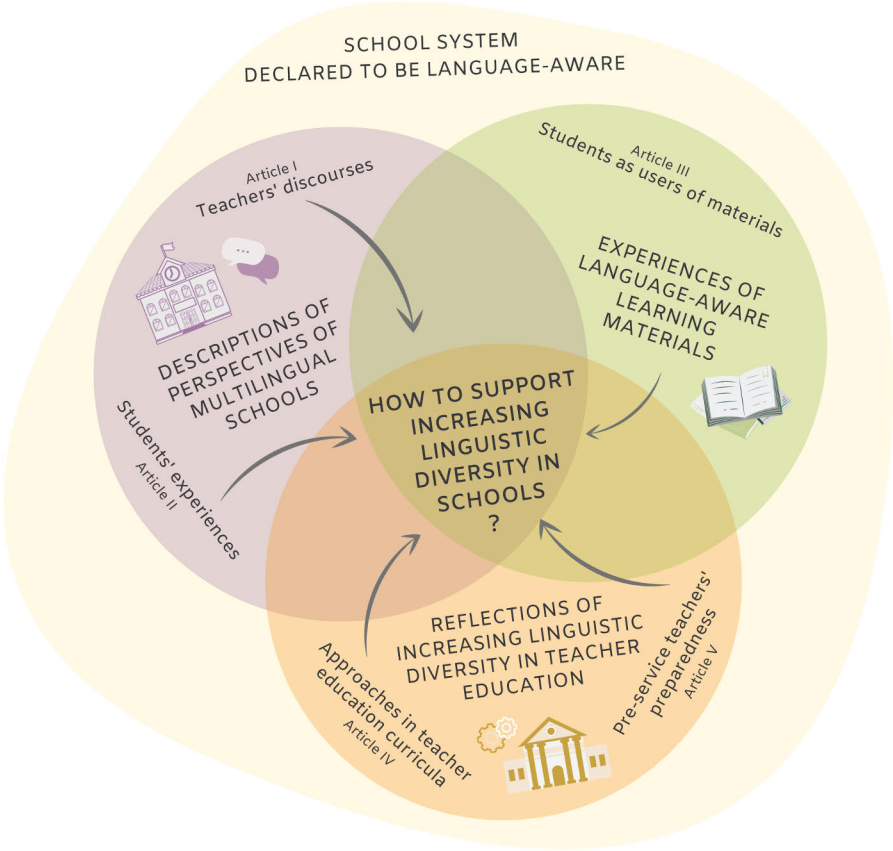

Figure 1. Perspectives of the study.

With regard to the overarching aim of supporting increasing linguistic diversity in multilingual schools, I structured this dissertation on the ways the sub-studies progress from the level of individual classroom agents to the institutional level. I acknowledge that by choosing to combine the perspectives of different levels, some details may receive less attention. No research article can describe everything that is happening in schools, and a single survey or interview question cannot completely measure a practitioner's preparedness to be linguistically responsive. Thus, the concept of *preparedness* must be understood as an imprecise measure of teacher quality only in light of the specific theoretical framework chosen for this study (e.g., the framework of Lucas & Villegas, 2013; see Section 2). Including multiple perspectives has inevitable advantages. It allows the dissertation to emerge as a holistic understanding and drafts an overall picture of the current state of linguistic integration in the school context. It also allowed me to look at the intersections of different perspectives and helped me see beyond my own perceptions and

limitations. I addressed the following research questions (colour-coded according to Figure 1):

1. How do teachers' discourses and learners' experiences describe their perspectives of multilingual schools?
2. What are the students' experiences of language-aware learning materials developed to support increasing linguistic diversity?
3. How do teacher education curricula reflect increasing linguistic diversity, and how well prepared are pre-service teachers to support that?

In practice, I sought to understand linguistic integration in multilingual schools by matching my research questions with methodological inquiries. As indicated previously, the terms *multilingual school(s)* and *increasing linguistic diversity* are used in the research questions, as I emphasise the sociohistorical context of the research about Finnish society becoming linguistically diverse in a new way. In choosing these terms, I do not assume that the schools or teacher education are automatically language aware, despite the reformed national core curriculum (EDUFI, 2014; 2015). Here, language awareness (see Section 2) is related to both terms in such a way that it is seen as a concept towards which schools should develop their culture in order to respond to the needs of a changing society. I approach research question 1 using sub-studies 1 and 2. First, sub-study 1 (Article I, 'the perspective of teachers'), examines the narratives of Finnish lower secondary school teachers by analysing their narratives' discourses related to working with multilingual learners[3]. Next, I draw attention to the students of these teachers to understand supporting increasing diversity from the position of students' linguistic integration. Sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students') reports the experiences of students from diverse linguistic backgrounds as learners in schools that have been declared language aware.

Thereafter, sub-study 1 forms a basis for sub-study 3, as its findings, together with recent research on teachers' preparedness for implementing language education policies (Aalto et al., 2019; Alisaari et al., 2019; Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018), suggest challenges in teachers' agency regarding the establishment of language awareness in schools, namely, the lack of concrete examples of how to implement language-aware pedagogies. I address the second research question in sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users'), which originally strove to respond to the shortage of practices and task-based perspectives on language learning. It was conducted alongside a learning material development project (*Kielestä koppi* [Catch the language], Alisaari et al., 2020) funded by the

3 Henceforward, the sub-studies are often referred to by mentioning whose perspective is in question.

Finnish National Agency for Education. Sub-study 3 aimed to understand students' experiences as learning material users during the development of language-aware learning materials for multilingual schools (see research question 2). This was done by both qualitatively and quantitatively analysing the students' written reports elicited by a survey after participating in a learning experiment during which the developed material was tested.

Sub-studies 4 and 5 address the third research question, broadening the perspectives with which to reflect multilingual realities in teacher education. Although they focus on teacher education, both studies stemmed from the same sociohistorical context (see Section 1.2) and theoretical understanding (see Section 2) as the first three studies. Sub-study 4 (Article IV, 'the perspective of teacher education') provides a critical overview of the educational approaches discursively visible in teacher education regarding multilingual learners (see the first part of research question 3). Sub-study 4 was composed as part of the Multilingualism in Teacher Education (MultiTEd) project, which combines researchers from Canada, Croatia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Russia, Sweden, and the United States to explore key approaches to linguistic diversity in current teacher preparation (see Wernicke et al., 2021). Despite the complexities of each educational context, it appears of interest for teacher education institutions around the world to address multilingualism. Finally, sub-study 5 (Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers') reports the development of pre-service teachers' preparedness for multilingual learners over the course of teacher training. Because of its publishing platform, sub-study 5 further engaged in investigating Nordic perspectives on teacher education for working in linguistically diverse classrooms (see Iversen et al., forthcoming).

Section 2 provides an overview of the conceptual framework as a foundation for supporting increasing linguistic diversity, and the theoretical understandings related to language awareness are presented. Section 3 introduces the five perspectives that constitute the research setting, followed by a description of the methodological choices of this study. In addition, the section describes the data collection and analysis of each sub-study, with reflections on the researcher's position in a multilingual school context. Section 4 outlines the main results of each sub-study and summarises the findings together. Importantly, this section synthesises the findings and draws a picture of how the five perspectives on increasing diversity intersect. Finally, Section 5 concludes the results against the sociocultural understanding of (language) learning, presents the central limitations of the study, and ponders avenues for future research. The dissertation ends with final remarks, where I recall my work in a multilingual school and reflect on what I learned during the process. The original articles are included in the appendix.

2 Language awareness as a foundation for supporting increasing linguistic diversity

One way to respond to the needs of increasing linguistic diversity is the language awareness approach. Language awareness research in the school context can be anchored between the fields of education and linguistics. From a holistic perspective, language awareness draws attention not only to the widespread presence of language in education but also to the pedagogical practices that integrate students' prior linguistic knowledge into all learning processes (Andersen & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2019; Cenoz et al., 2017; Honko & Mustonen, 2018; Moate & Szabó, 2018). For instance, being language aware involves that teachers plan instruction with understanding of the potential challenges that language presents to learning (Aalto, 2019; Andersen & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2019; Garrett & Cots, 2018; Hélot, 2017; Komorowska, 2014). As noted in Section 1, language awareness has also found its way into curriculum texts and language education policies. These themes, inter alia, intersect in the research field of educational linguistics (see, e.g., Bigelow & Ennser-Kananen, 2015; Hornberger, 2022; Spolsky, 1978). Language awareness had emerged as a foundation that has the potential to revolutionise schools and classrooms when increasing linguistic diversity is supported (Cummins, 2012). I based this study on the assumption that this revolution only happens if the concepts are translated into practical pedagogical implementations (cf. Ahlhom et al., 2021; Zilliacus et al., 2017). Intertwined with language awareness, I discuss the framework for linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013; see Section 2.2.1) to outline the orientations and pedagogical strategies required of practitioners to recognise the centrality of language in all learning. Originally, such a framework was developed for pre-service teacher education to reflect the multilingual realities of schools (Lucas & Villegas, 2013).

In general, the field of educational linguistics holistically scrutinises topics regarding language and education, and broadly combines research tools of linguistics and social sciences (Hornberger, 2001; Spolsky, 1987). The name of the field was coined by Bernard Spolsky in the 1970s (Spolsky, 1974) due to the need to recognise the significance of language-related issues in education. Studies have typically dealt

with language learning, teaching language learners, and multilingualism in schools from various perspectives. Thus, educational linguistics is tightly linked to (second) language learning in educational settings. Originally, Spolsky invented the term *educational linguistics* because he was not satisfied with the way the field of applied linguistics was defined (Spolsky, 2010). Still, the research of educational linguistics is inextricably linked to the broader field of applied linguistics. Since its founding, many researchers (e.g., Freeman, 1994; Hornberger 2004; Hult and King 2011; Hymes, 1980; Spolsky, 2010; van Lier, 1994) have adopted it as their own field. Characteristically, research in the field has focused on critical—and often politically charged—issues of language in educational contexts, and emphasis on the 'integration of linguistics and education, close relationships among research, theory, policy and practice, and a focus on language learning and teaching' (Hornberger, 2001, p. 5) has been consistent. Studies in educational linguistics have provided information that has contributed on giving agency to learners, teachers, and teacher educators as well as enabling action that can shapes the arenas where language and education intertwine (Bigelow & Ennser-Kananen, 2015). Notably, from its inception to the present, there has been tension between the named field of educational linguistics and the many researchers who do the work of educational linguistics but do not necessarily define themselves by that name; many educational linguists claim it as just one of their multiple identities, along with applied linguist, anthropological linguist, sociolinguist, and others (Hornberger, 2022). It is common for educational linguists to be interested in the dynamic relationships between research, policy, theory, and practice. As an example significant to this study, the field has largely been influenced by Jim Cummins and his theories regarding the educational development of bilingual children. Overall, many 21st century studies related to increasing linguistic diversity in schools could be considered as belonging to the field of educational linguistics. Despite being located in the field, I believe that this dissertation identifies with and draws from a wide scale of disciplines and theories.

In the field of educational linguistics, language awareness has a long history as a foundation for supporting increasing linguistic diversity. The origins of language awareness discourse can be traced to the 1980s, when the United Kingdom (see Hawkins, 1984) aimed to bring language awareness as a 'bridging' feature in the school curriculum. Such an understanding of the centrality of language in all learning was viewed as a solution to several issues, including illiteracy and challenges related to learning the language of schooling (Hawkings, 1999). Ahead of its time, language awareness sought to improve the chances of success and educational and societal equality of all students, regardless of their linguistic backgrounds (Svalberg, 2016). Over the last 40 years, the concept has spread widely (Candelier, 2008; Little & Singleton, 1992; Prieto Pablos, 1992; van Essen, 1997) and become a truly global

movement (ALA, 2022). Currently, in the early 2020s, the term language awareness is employed across a large spectrum of research, and the definition of the term is related to the context in which it is used (Aalto & Tarnanen, 2015; Ahlholm, 2020; Cenoz et al., 2017; Dufva, 2018; Garrett & Cots, 2018; Komorowska, 2014; Lahti et al., 2020; Lilja et al., 2017). Language awareness research has focused both on first language and second or foreign languages; studies are interdisciplinary and widely interconnected to various and diverse topics dealing with multilingualism (Cenoz et al., 2017).

Language awareness has been approached from many perspectives. As increasing linguistic diversity has become an everyday experience in various domains of life, the concept has been used in connection with *knowledge about language* (in both explicit and implicit learning; see Andrews, 2001; Wright, 2002), (*meta)linguistic awareness* (often referring to learner's perspectives; see Dufva, 2018; Gombert, 1992; Jessner, 2006; Little, 1997; Roehr & Gánem-Gutiérrez, 2009), *cross-linguistic awareness* (often contextualised in foreign language learning; see Jessner, 2006), *critical language awareness* (analysing social practices, power, and language; see Alim, 2010; Clark et al., 1991; Fairclough, 1992), *multilingual language awareness* ('awakening to languages'; see Candelier, 2017; Hélot, 2017), and, recently, *critical multilingual language awareness* (referring to the teacher's perspective; see Cenoz et al., 2017; Garcia, 2017; Komorowska, 2014; Lilja et al., 2017). The many perspectives illustrate how the field of language awareness research is increasingly aligning with the multilingual turn and the rotation of attention to the complex and dynamic linguistic repertoires of multilingual (often immigrant) speakers (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014).

The conceptual section is organised into parts concerning 1) language learning, 2) teaching language learners, and 3) multilingualism in schools to the extent relevant to this study. The concepts relevant to this dissertation (Figure 2) are illustrated and presented in the following pages, accompanied by descriptions of how they are employed in the study.

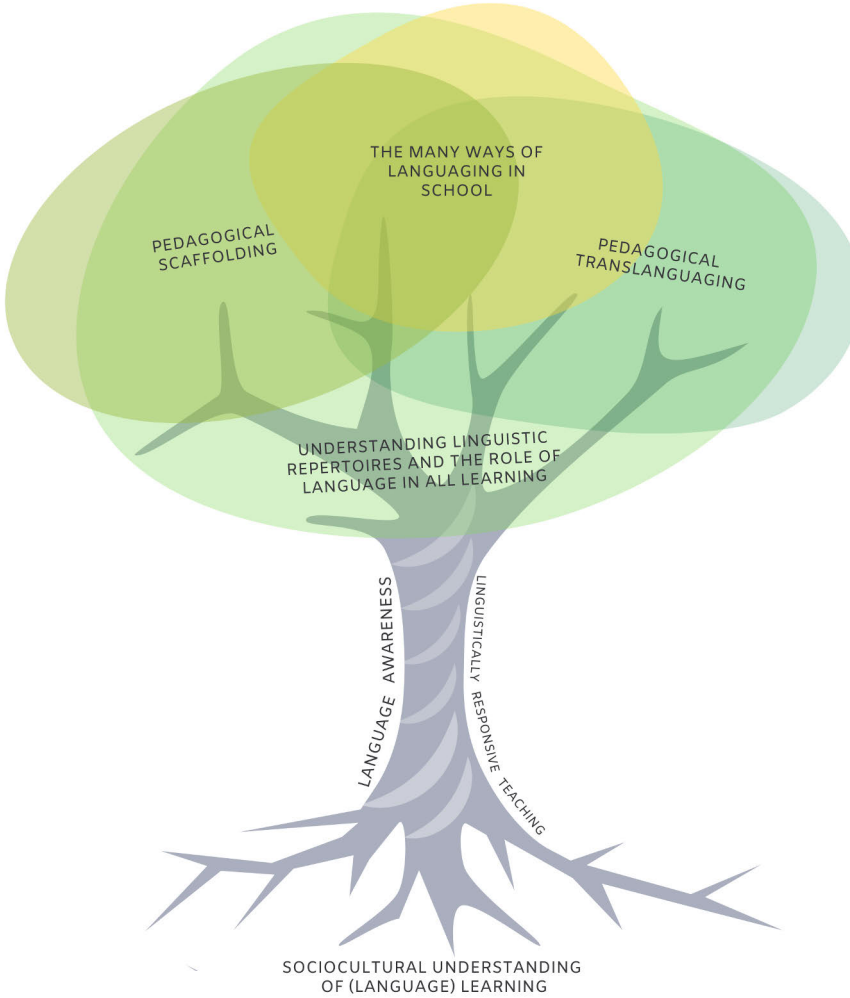

Figure 2. Central concepts of the study.

Figure 2 shows how the central concepts of the study are semantically similar and partially overlap. It was important to critically consider the meaning and necessity of each concept in the context of studying multilingual schools. All the sub-studies were based on a sociocultural understanding of (language) learning (Section 2.1.1), and language awareness and linguistically responsive teaching were intertwined in the sub-studies as the most influential theoretical concepts. Together, these two frameworks form the "tree trunk" that multilingual schools should strive for to support linguistically diverse learners, as these frameworks contribute to teachers' understanding of linguistic repertoires and the role of language in learning (Section 2.1.2). Ideally, such understanding would be implemented as pedagogical classroom

practices, and a sociocultural understanding of (language) learning would sprout and spread like the branches of a tree.

Several pedagogical approaches have been developed to support increasing linguistic diversity (cf. Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2018). The emphasis of these approaches seems to vary, for example, depending on whether scholars have focused more on raising students' competencies in the languages of schooling (Gogolin et al., 2011; Leisen, 2013; Lucas et al., 2008; Teemant, 2018) or on making use of students' multilingual repertoires as resources for learning (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; Duarte, 2019; Garcia, 2009). Thus, the way I have organised the central concepts—with language awareness and linguistically responsive teaching as a "tree trunk"—is just one of these approaches. I discuss the relationship between the two frameworks in Section 2.2.1. Briefly, one reason linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) is introduced alongside language awareness is to some extent connected to *who* I study. As the framework for linguistically responsive teaching specifies the knowledge, skills, and orientations practitioners need to teach multilingual learners well, it was applied to examine teachers' preparedness for multilingual learners by means of discourse analysis in sub-study 1 (Article 1, 'the perspective of teachers', see Section 3.3.1).

Furthermore, I hold that since this study started partly from changes to the language policies in the Finnish national core curricula (EDUFI, 2014, 2015; see Section 1.2), the reformed policies have influenced how I organise and use the concepts in relation to each other, primarily with regard to which are part of the tree trunk and which are its branches. In particular, the curricula emphasise promoting language awareness; thus, I have selected and presented other concepts, such as pedagogical translanguaging (see definition in Section 2.3.2), as possible practical implementations of it. Therefore, this study considers pedagogical translanguaging as a blossoming tree branch, involved in creating a holistic understanding of the orientations and pedagogical strategies that support linguistic diversity (see Section 3.3.1). Similarly, Cenoz and Gorter (2017, p. 309) wrote about "translanguaging as a pedagogical tool in multilingual education"; however, it must be acknowledged that some researchers (e.g., Garcia & Wei, 2014; Wei, 2011) consider the concept of translanguaging a much broader phenomenon than simply a pedagogical approach. With regard to the close conceptual relations between and the organisation of the concepts in this study (Figure 2), I recognise that in language-aware schools, the concepts of pedagogical translanguaging and pedagogical scaffolding (see definition in Section 2.2.2) overlap, especially if viewed through a sociocultural lens (see, e.g., Conteh et al., 2008; Duarte, 2019; 2020; Mercer, 2004; Symons, 2021). However, since pedagogical scaffolding can also happen in ways other than through flexibly using students' whole linguistic repertoires in classrooms (see, e.g., Teemant, 2018; Teemant et al., 2014; Tharp, 2000), I justify introducing pedagogical scaffolding in

its own Section 2.2.2. As a final conceptual note, both pedagogical scaffolding and pedagogical translanguaging are linked to the concept of languaging (see definition in Section 2.3.1) and its role in everyday activities in multilingual schools. Notably, the concepts of both translanguaging and languaging include the basic word "languaging" (Lehtonen, 2015, 2021; Madsen et al., 2016), which can be understood as referring to a practice of using language (Blommaert & Backus, 2011). Using language, then, is essential to language-related pedagogical scaffolding (Section 2.2.2). Still, I present the concept of languaging in its own section for reader clarity, as, in addition to being a pedagogical classroom practice, the concept serves to shed light on the methodological choices of sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users', also Sections 3.3 and 3.3.3). Finally, I acknowledge that with the conceptual selection I have organised, some approaches and theoretical understandings related to multilingual schools are inevitably more emphasised than others. I reflect on some of the necessary relationships between the concepts in the following sections while defining the central concepts of this research.

2.1 Language learning

This section deals with language learning, as understanding its principles is essential to the creation of language-aware schools. In Section 2.1.1, I discuss (language) learning in light of sociocultural theory. I outline how (language) learning happens and its links to social interaction and learner agency. In Section 2.1.2, I further discuss the central role that language plays in learning and what it means to develop linguistic repertoires for academic situations. In the same section, I present the concepts of *language proficiency* and *academic language* and consider some critical notions related to their use.

2.1.1 Sociocultural understanding of (language) learning

> What the learners can do in collaboration today, they can do alone tomorrow.
> (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 87)

I drew on sociocultural theory as a basis for all five sub-studies, and the conceptual starting points in Sections 2.1–2.3 are rooted therein. The sociocultural conception of learning can be seen as the underlying idea of the entire Finnish basic education curriculum (EDUFI, 2014, p. 17); it addresses the development of school culture, the implementation of education, pedagogical practices, educating teachers, and designing learning materials. Applying the sociocultural theory of linguistic activity

to the development of higher mental functioning, learning is understood as an inherently social phenomenon (see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1978, 1987). The theory is most directly associated with the research of the Soviet psychologist L. S. Vygotsky and his colleagues, but it has also been interpreted originating from the sociological and economic writings of Marx and Engels as well as the 18th and 19th century German philosophy (particularly Kant and Hegel) (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). In this dissertation, sociocultural theory helps to describe the role that language plays in learning (Section 2.1.2), and outlines orientations and strategies for linguistically responsive teaching (Section 2.2.1). It further provides a basis for developing pedagogical practices and scaffolding in a language learner's zone of proximal development (Section 2.2.2). Finally, it offers tools to discuss the many ways of languaging in schools (Section 2.3.1) and the affordances that the use of students' first language(s) can bring (Section 2.3.2).

In general, sociocultural theory emphasises the central role that social interaction plays in organising uniquely human knowledge (Lantolf, 2004). Such interaction is reflected throughout this dissertation, for example, in defining how to teach emerging language learners, scaffold their learning, and support the development of their linguistic repertoires. In sociocultural theory, knowledge means understanding the language, symbols, tools, shared meanings, patterns of reasoning, and customary practices required for problem solving in a certain social group, community, or culture (Lantolf, 2004; Smith et al., 2004). Briefly, the three interrelated concepts of *language*, *cognition,* and *culture* are involved in the four assumptions that sociocultural theory and this study rest on: 1) knowledge is cultural understanding and competent participation in discourse communities; 2) learning happens through interaction, which informs the development of cognitive processes; 3) teaching is assisting; and 4) learning leads to development through situated performance that is continuing, dynamic and episodic (see Smith et al., 2004; Teemant et al., 2014; Vygotsky, 1978; Viesca et al., 2022). Vygotsky (1997) argued that learning process is language-based, culturally located, and active on three levels: those of the student, the teacher, and the interactional space connecting the teacher and student. The space between unassisted and assisted successful learner performance has been referred to as a learner's *zone of proximal development* (ZPD; Vygotsky, 1978, 1997). Learning occurs in the ZPD when a more knowledgeable other (teacher, parent, or peer) assists a learner to function beyond their current capabilities. In this way, knowledge is not only possessed individually but also constructed and shared jointly between community members in interaction (Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003). The learning process requires the teacher to structure goal-directed activities on a suitable level for learners and assist learners' performances during meaningful and productive social interactions (Smith et al., 2004). Such collaborative activities help learners to perform at a higher level independently as language transforms from the

social to the individual level (Lantolf, 2004; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Teemant, 2018).

As mentioned, language is central to sociocultural theory (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1987). This centrality of language can be described as both cultural and psychological. Culturally, language is essential for sharing knowledge amongst members of a community. Here, language use in intermental (social) activity serves as a mediating tool in interaction (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1987). Psychologically, language is involved in structuring the processes and content of individual thought (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1987). Language use in intramental (individual) activity refers to shaping our cognition of experiences and knowledge, not just 'conveying a message' (Vygotsky, 1978). In practice, a cognitive problem, such as a learning task, could be solved either by the learner talking to another learning about the problem in a collaborative dialogue (interpersonal communication), or through speaking with or writing to oneself to privately mediate the cognitive process (intrapersonal communication). Vygotsky (1978) proposed that the relationship between intermental and intramental language use is often intertwined, as social activity forges individual cognitive capabilities in joint workspaces where new knowledge is mutually constructed.

Sociocultural theory is essential for understanding language learning. First and foremost, languages are learned and used for the reason of interaction—to successfully function in different contexts (Lantolf, 2000; Tomasello, 2000; van Lier, 2000). Influenced by Vygotskian theory, language learning can be regarded as an ongoing activity in which the cognitive resources of the learner intertwine with the social environment (Dufva et al., 2014; Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Aligning with this theory, a linguistic repertoire develops through participation in various social activities wherein learners have opportunities to negotiate language interactively and, in turn, share and recycle their linguistic resources (Dufva, 2013; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Suni, 2008). In other words, language learning emerges from language use (for usage-based linguistics, see, e.g., Langacker, 2009; Roehr-Brackin, 2014). When a learner is using language in social activities, there is also cognitive activity; when doing something with language, a learner also thinks. Recycled linguistic resources turn into learning opportunities when a learner becomes aware of, connects to, and appropriates new aspects of language that can be used for interaction (van Lier, 2000). These appropriated resources can be referred to as *affordances* and have been argued by van Lier (2004) to be the first level of language awareness. For van Lier (2004), an affordance is a potential action, emerging as learners interact with the social and physical world. This could happen, for example, when students solve tasks in a collaborative dialogue during a lesson, as in sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users'). Originally rooted in perceptual psychology, an affordance is, for example, what

linguistic features are available in a learning environment for a person to do something with. Thus, an affordance affords further action, but what becomes an affordance depends on what learners do, what they want, and what is useful for them (Gibson, 1979; Gibson & Pick, 2000; van Lier, 2000). In the school context, language learning can occur—or not occur—in a spontaneous interaction or in a classroom, with 'helpers' who provide resources or with the assistance of artefacts (e.g., example texts, dictionaries, grammars, spell-checkers; Dufva et al., 2014; Lantolf, 2000). A language-aware teacher can play a significant role in this assistance, as discussed in sub-study 3.

Related to this and within the (neo-)Vygotskian point of view, it is important to reflect on the concept of *agency* in language learning (as done in various socioculturally inspired approaches; see, e.g., Ahearn, 2001; Gao, 2010; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Miller, 2014; Parish & Hall, 2020; van Lier, 2008, 2010). Learner agency has become a widely used concept in educational research (Eteläpelto et al., 2013; Rajala, 2016; Rajala et al., 2013; Rajala et al., 2016), stemming from the thought that education can aid people develop their abilities for agentic action (Eteläpelto et al., 2013). In several contexts, agency means the opportunity, willingness, and skill of people to act purposefully in a learning situation (Larsen-Freeman, 2019; Rajala et al., 2016; Vitanova et al., 2014). Learners practise agency when they construct knowledge, and the capacity of a person to act is established with regard to other people and objects of activity (Edwards, 2005; Rajala, 2016). Thus, within sociocultural theory, language and learner agency are 'fundamentally social' (Miller, 2014, p. 3). If language learning is understood as interactivity, it must be considered that interactivity happens because of the attempts of participating agents—learners. Without these agents, there is no interaction. This study sees language learner agency developing in relation to social groups (see van Lier, 2008, 2010); thus, it is essential that language-aware schools develop collaborative pedagogical practices that support students in ways in which everyone has opportunities to be active. When engaging in these practices, learners' agency is expected to emerge, as students interact with various affordances available in the learning environment (see Ahearn, 2001; Larsen-Freeman, 2019; van Lier, 2010, 2008). Thus, agency links to the concept of affordance (van Lier, 2004) in such a way that when learners have agency in their own learning, they have the ability to turn linguistic resources into learning opportunities and appropriate resources as affordances (cf. Hicks, 2000; van Lier, 2010). As a school-context example, small-group activities could help students increase their agency and foster their language learning. In sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users'), in which students participated in collaborative language-aware learning experiments, the purpose of interaction was to enable affordances and develop students' agency in multilingual classrooms. The interactions and affordances were

expected to influence the students' experiences of the meaningfulness of the tasks. Emphasis on the active role of students in classroom practices is also reflected in sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students'), which focuses on pedagogical practices that learners from diverse linguistic backgrounds experience as helpful in terms of learning. The rationale was that the practices during which learners had the most opportunities for active participation would be experienced as helpful. Therefore, I consider learner agency noteworthy in supporting linguistic diversity in multilingual classrooms and regard learners' experiences of classroom tasks' meaningfulness and helpfulness as worth investigating when developing learning materials and scaffolding practices for language-aware schools.

2.1.2 Linguistic repertoires and the role of language in learning

Central to the language awareness framework is understanding that opportunities for language learning occur throughout the school day as learners participate in various social and pedagogical activities. For many students, school presents a new context and new types of language use as they are expected to construct new kinds of disciplinary knowledge (Cummins, 2000, 2019, 2021; Schleppegrell, 2004). This section considers participating in school in terms of the linguistic features of academic tasks. I discuss the concepts of *language proficiency* and *academic language*, acknowledging how difficult it is to present any absolute measure for 'knowing' or 'being proficient' in a language (Huhta & Takala, 1999; Tanner & Kokkonen, 2008). To support students in a way that increases their participation in new social and pedagogical activities, it is necessary to define what language proficiency means.

Aligning with the multilingual turn, this study considers language proficiency a personal repertoire that consists of situated skills and knowledge that help a learner notice a variety of linguistic resources in social activities (Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2015). Characteristically, one's personal repertoire is also multilingual, multimodal, and dynamic; it is 'subject to development, change, and modification, in the sense of growth, but also in the sense of forgetting, attrition and loss' (Dufva et al., 2011, p. 117; see also Larsen-Freeman, 2013). In this way, the definition of language proficiency aligns with the idea that all human beings are languagers. Considering the educational context, the goal for linguistic repertoire development must be outlined. If proficiency refers to one's ability to do things with language in various contexts and surroundings, the goal of language education is not in learning a language (a singular entity) but learning situated language use (acquiring resources with which to participate; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

Different contexts (e.g., discipline-specific learning situations in school) require different types of language use (Cummins, 2000, 2021; Kern, 2000; Schleppegrell, 2004). In the context of schooling, language plays a dual role: managing activities in the classroom and mediating content knowledge (Cummins, 2021; Meyer et al., 2015; Nikula et al., 2016; Schleppegrell, 2004). Language serves as both a goal and a tool for all learning (Gajo, 2007; Mortimer & Scott, 2003; Schleppegrell, 2004; Swain, 2006). To be able to participate successfully in classroom tasks, a learner needs a linguistic repertoire that has resources to access learning, display knowledge, and convey meanings relevant to different disciplines. However, acquiring suitable resources to participate requires support from language-aware teachers. Thus, language learning cannot be confined to the language classroom. When learning content in various subject lessons, students encounter discipline-specific literacy practices and language use, and ideally, new language learning opportunities come available through meaningful interaction and communicative needs (cf. Larsen-Freeman, 2013). Simultaneously, students become familiar with the 'languages' of different school subjects. This accounts for the argument that every subject teacher is a teacher of the language of their discipline (as required by EDUFI, 2014, 2015; European Commission, 2020), as it is often so that students need their teachers' assistance to access the discipline-specific language use (see e.g. Aalto, 2019).

Many published works on language awareness link to discussions on the centrality of language in education (Candelier, 2017; Finkbeiner & White, 2017; Komorowska, 2014), which is also the case in sub-study 4 (Article IV, 'the perspective of teacher education'). This study uses the term *academic language* for the dimensions of linguistic repertoire related to the language and literacy skills needed to function in the school context (Bunch et al., 2014; Cummins, 2000, 2021; Schleppegrell, 2004; Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2018), understanding that such a framing has been problematised as minoritizing languages other than the language of schooling (see Flores, 2020; García & Solorza, 2021; Rosa & Flores, 2017). I justify the choice of including the development of one's linguistic repertoire towards academic dimensions based on the fact that doing so is crucial for fully participating in today's text-oriented society (Cummins, 2000, 2021; Haneda, 2014). Academic language includes the registers used in textbooks and the linguistic practices used in lessons, which are characterised by 'the relative frequency of complex grammatical structures, specialised vocabulary, and uncommon language functions' (Bailey, 2007, p. 9; Symons, 2021). Furthermore, in language-aware schools, developing linguistic repertoires concerns all the languages a learner knows. Instead of focusing on or favouring 'native-like' outcomes, I emphasise a learner's (from whatever linguistic background) ability to function with language in discipline-specific contexts. Therefore, I employ the concept of *academic language* to identify the discipline-specific linguistic features of school subjects and activities likely to pose

challenges for students in multilingual schools (cf. Lucas & Villegas, 2013). In practice, the concept is involved in scrutinising one aspect of teachers' preparedness for multilingual learners in sub-study 1 (Article I, 'the perspective of teachers'; see Section 2.3). The term was employed to survey students' experiences as learners in language-aware schools in sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students'). The concept also emerged when discussing students' languaging reports from the perspective of developing their linguistic repertoires in sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users'). Finally, the term was used to examine the characteristics of pre-service teachers' developing understanding of the language demands of classroom tasks in sub-study 5 (Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers').

Traditionally, discipline-specific content learning has been based on textual artefacts and literacy-focused tasks (Barton, 2007; Luukka et al., 2008), and students often do teacher-led individual 'benchwork' (Gallimore & Tharp, 1990; Teemant, 2018). For all students, success in school depends on the extent to which they develop their linguistic repertoires to read increasingly complex written texts and write coherently for a variety of discipline-specific genres (Cummins, 2021). It takes years of study for students to develop anything near the same level of linguistic comfort that students of the majority population typically enjoy when using their first language(s) (Cummins, 2000; Kern, 2000). This has been argued to be because the language of schooling is fundamentally different from everyday conversational language (Beacco et al., 2015; Cummins, 2021; Gibbons, 2014). The difficulty of mastering the language of schooling applies to all students in Finnish classrooms, but for emerging language learners in particular, reading and writing in different subjects often requires operating with a new set of linguistic resources. Indeed, different registers, audiences, and semantic and syntactic features of academic situations set cognitive demands higher than during informal oral situations, wherein there is often room for interactional co-construction of meaning (Beacco et al., 2015; Scheppegrell, 2004; Symons, 2021). For instance, situations requiring written discipline-specific linguistic repertoires require students to seek, interpret, and evaluate information; produce and revise written knowledge presentations; and explain and understand abstract concepts (Schleppegrell, 2004). Related to this, sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students') includes reflections on participation in academic situations, differentiating between oral and written situations in the school context. Examining students' perspectives on oral and written situations separately appeared to be of interest to this study; although oral academic interactional situations are present in schools, research on learners' linguistic repertoire development often concentrates on the challenges that come with the need to interact with written registers of language (Biber, 1986; Corson, 1995; Gumperz et al., 1984; Michaels & Collins, 1984; Wong Fillmore, 1982, 2009, 2014). From a

sociocultural perspective, if a learner is left to work individually without receiving support in written situations, there is probably less mediation in their ZPD compared to oral situations that have more flexible possibilities for intermental activity (Vygotsky, 1978).

Developing linguistically diverse students' expertise in using registers of academic language affirms their linguistic and cultural capital (Cummins, 2021; García & Kleifgen, 2018; Wong Fillmore, 2014). Viewed through a sociocultural lens, language and thinking linked to both academic and everyday concepts develop continuously when participating in social situations with various discourses and registers (on language and thinking, see Vygotsky, 1978). Therefore, this study does not treat the division between everyday conversational language and academic language as dichotomous (cf. Flores, 2020) but as a continuum of development. I interpret the features of academic language to align with the description of linguistic repertoire development according to, inter alia, the Common European Framework of Reference ([CEFR] Council of Europe, 2020). In the CEFR, level A describes the linguistic resources needed in everyday informal contexts, whereas level B and eventually level C refer to the resources needed when moving towards more formal academic contexts. For some students, the social contexts in which they have participated prepared them with the linguistic resources needed to function in school, but for many others, this is not the case (Schleppegrell, 2004). Differing access to, for instance, literacy practices prior to starting school (for all students, not only those from multilingual backgrounds) serves as preparation for a personal linguistic repertoire and written academic registers (Cummins, 2021; Haneda, 2014). Students with less experience with literacy practices are often expected to study abstract, complex disciplinary knowledge with emerging linguistic resources (Christie, 2005; Christie & Derewianka, 2008). Thus, teachers in language-aware schools need to simultaneously consider language, learning, and learners.

2.2 Teaching language learners

In this section, I move from language learning to another aspect essential for the implementation of language awareness: how to teach students who are emerging learners of the language of instruction. The perspective of this section is therefore pedagogical. In Section 2.2.1, I present the framework of linguistically responsive teaching and define how I understand it in relation to language awareness. In Section 2.2.2, I delve more deeply into the practical level of teaching by introducing the pedagogical practices suggested (in terms of sociocultural theory) to be appropriate for linguistically diverse students. I further justify the appropriateness of such practices by introducing the concepts of *scaffolding* and *collaborative dialogue*, which I also define in this section.

2.2.1 Linguistically responsive teaching

Teachers play a role in shaping classrooms (Borg, 2006). Teachers' understandings and beliefs of (language) learning can be influential elements in classrooms, comprising 'the organisation of instructional activity and the patterns of teacher and student relationships' (Tharp, 2006, p. 6), although such understandings are not always fully realised in their work (Borg, 2006; Heikkola et al., 2022). In increasingly multilingual schools, teachers need a specific understanding of linguistic repertoire development. In this section, I introduce a pedagogical framework for the complex set of knowledge, skills, and orientations needed to support increasing linguistic diversity in language-aware ways.

Drawing on sociocultural theory, an understanding of language learning provides teachers with a foundation for designing instruction and creating learning environments that purposefully draw on learners' linguistic resources (de Jong & Harper, 2011; Genesee et al., 2005; Nieto & Bode, 2012; Villegas et al., 2018). To identify what it takes for teachers to sustainably work with multilingual learners, this study employs Lucas and Villegas' (2013) framework for the preparation of linguistically responsive teaching. Originally, the framework was created for teacher education to prepare teachers to understand the role of language in all learning. In the framework, Lucas and Villegas (2013) list three orientations and four types of pedagogical knowledge/skills essential to teaching multilingual learners. Together, these construct a framework for the preparation of linguistically responsive teaching, which I present in Figure 3.

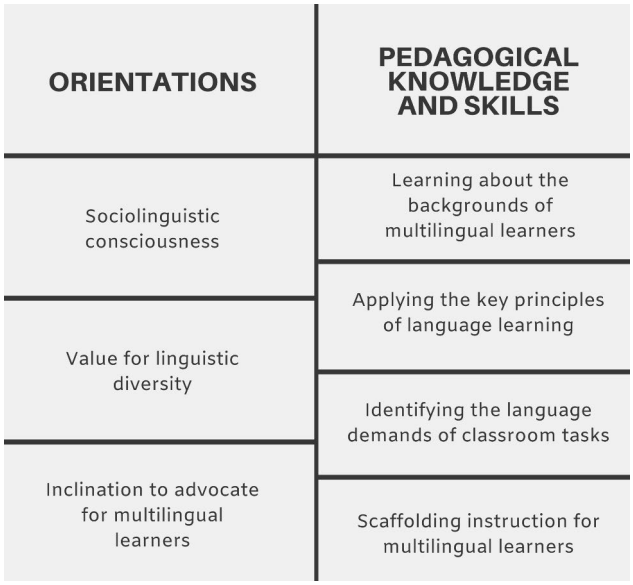

Figure 3. Framework for the preparation of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013).

The *orientations* in the framework are values and beliefs regarding language and linguistic diversity: i) a *sociolinguistic consciousness* contains the understanding that language, identity, and culture are intertwined, and that language policies and use are closely tied to wider socio-political and historical contexts (Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Nieto & Bode, 2012). Sociolinguistically conscious teachers recognise that power and privilege associated with users of particular languages influence students' sense of belonging (de Jong & Harper, 2011; Nieto, 2002; Paris, 2012). ii) The *value for linguistic diversity* refers to a belief that linguistic diversity is worthy of cultivating, thus supporting the use of multiple linguistic repertoires as a resource in learning (Lucas & Villegas, 2013; see Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 and Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Cummins, 2021; Garcia & Wei, 2014). iii) The *inclination to advocate for multilingual learners* is about understanding the need to take action to improve emerging multilingual learners' access to educational opportunities and the readiness to do so to empower students emotionally, socially, intellectually, and politically (Cummins, 2000; de Jong, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Rogers et al., 2006).

The *pedagogical knowledge and skills* in the framework are meant to offer ideal learning conditions for linguistically diverse students. In this study, I interpret and talk about these as *strategies*, as all four entail some kind of action. i) The strategy of *learning about the backgrounds of multilingual learners* denotes knowing how to become familiar with multilingual students' varying backgrounds, linguistic

resources, and prior experiences, even when the learners are not yet able to communicate in the language of schooling (Lucas & Villegas, 2013). Furthermore, it includes the ability to consider such background knowledge in instruction in ways that what the students already know is legitimised (cf. Gay, 2000; Herrera, 2010; Moll et al., 1992; Nieto, 2002). ii) The strategy of *applying key principles of language learning* refers to the sociocultural theory of language learning (Lucas & Villegas, 2013; see Section 2.1.1 and Lantolf, 2004; Lantolf & Thorne, 2003; van Lier, 2004; Vygotsky, 1987) and knowledge of ways to use that to inform instruction. iii) The strategy of *identifying the language demands of classroom tasks* comprises skills to determine the linguistic characteristics of different disciplines and classroom tasks that might be challenging for students who have recently started learning the language of instruction (Lucas & Villegas, 2013; see Section 2.1.2). It includes identifying key vocabulary and understanding the semantic and syntactic features of discipline-specific texts, the role of written and oral language use according to the learning context, and the linguistic expectations for the successful completion of tasks (Cummins, 2000; Fillmore & Snow, 2002; Gibbons, 2014; Haneda, 2014; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Schleppegrell, 2004). Last, iv) the strategy of *scaffolding instruction for multilingual learners* involves applying temporary (both spontaneous and planned) support to provide multilingual learners with access to learning the content taught and the language of instruction by building on their linguistic resources (Cummins, 2001; Gibbons, 2014; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Teemant, 2018; Tharp et al., 2000; Walqui & van Lier, 2010). This means devising ways of assisting students' learning even though they are still developing their linguistic repertoires in the language of schooling. Such pedagogical scaffolding strategies in a learner's ZPD are discussed in detail in Section 2.2.2.

The framework for the preparation of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) is not mentioned in the Finnish national core curricula (EDUFI, 2014, 2015); however, it does align with the principles and guidelines thereof (see Alisaari et al., 2019; Lahti et al., 2020), as the documents recognise the essential role of language in all 'learning, interaction, [and] collaboration and for [the] building of identities and socialisation' (see EDUFI, 2014, p. 28; Lucas et al., 2008, p. 362). Regarding the relationship between the terms *linguistically responsive teaching* and *language awareness*, Alisaari et al., (2021, 2022), Alisaari and Heikkola (2020), and Heikkola et al. (2022) prefer *linguistically responsive teaching* over *language awareness*, as it relates in particular to the importance of teachers' pedagogical actions—their 'responsibility'—when working with linguistically diverse learners (see, e.g., Alisaari & Heikkola, 2020). Indeed, in order to support increasing linguistic diversity in multilingual schools, 'being aware of language' may lack ideas for practical implementation; therefore, the framework has been referred to as 'linguistically responsible (*kielellisesti vastuullinen*) teaching' in several studies

(e.g., Alisaari et al., 2021; Alisaari & Heikkola, 2020). Here, the framework supports the translation of language awareness into pedagogical actions that support learning and teacher's professional agency in the process, thus reflecting the way Aalto et al. (2022) discussed language-aware agency as a socially constructed phenomenon. Such agency is realised within sociocultural theory and linked to teachers' education and the resources, assistance, and materials available to them, which together encompass teachers' discursive and practical relations to their work (on teacher agency, see, e.g., Biesta et al., 2015; Eteläpelto et al., 2013; Toom et al., 2017). With regard to integrating theory and practice, agency is particularly connected to cognitive skills (Heikkilä, 2022). In this summary, a teacher's agency in a language-aware school is an ability, knowledge, and desire to act in linguistically responsive ways (cf. Aalto et al., 2022), recognising that such agency can be enabled and limited by factors relating to the situation and environment, such as suitable learning materials and what teacher education is available. Thus, teachers have the potential to act as policy agents (Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018) by representing and reproducing language education policies (such as the language awareness required by the Finnish national core curricula [EDUFI, 2014, 2015]) in their talk and pedagogical practices (see Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). Compared to definitions of learner agency (see Section 2.1.1), the concept of agency can also be used to consider teachers' engagement in positioning students as active in the classroom (cf. Kayi-Aydar, 2014). Returning to the relationship between language awareness and linguistically responsive teaching, it must be noted that Lucas and Villegas' (2013) framework is especially suitable for contexts in which teaching language learners is discussed for reasons such as investigating the perspectives of teachers at multilingual schools. To understand the perspectives of students, I find it reasonable to consider the term language awareness (as done in sub-studies 2 and 3) in instances when it closely links to students' knowledge about language or metalinguistic awareness (see Section 2).

Conclusively, this study assumes that the framework for the preparation of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) provides a lens through which to analyse teachers' attitudinal, cognitive, and motivational resources and their cababilities to facilitate and advance the learning of language learners—the engagement of actors for making a difference in multilingual schools. Furthermore, in the sociohistorical context of changing society and language policy, teachers participate in demonstrating and mainstreaming language education policies in their daily practices, orientations, and talk (cf. Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018). Teachers, as policy agents, can mediate and develop sustainable ways of working with multilingual learners (Cummins, 2001; Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018); hence, I expect that the aspects of the framework exist in a school that successfully develops

those. In this way, when synthesising the sub-studies, the framework provides tools for contributing to discussions of teachers' agency in linguistically diverse schools combined and compared with students' agency as language learners. Prior to that, I used the framework as a general lens in sub-study 1 (Article I, 'the perspective of teachers') through which to analyse the narratives of Finnish lower secondary school teachers. Thereafter, it contributed to creating a conceptual understanding for constructing the summed variables in sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students') and for designing the tasks used in the learning materials in sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users'). Finally, the framework is referred to as an idea that teacher trainings could aim toward to prepare pre-service teachers in sub-study 5 (Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers').

2.2.2 Pedagogical practices and scaffolding

As introduced, this study views (language) learning within Vygotskian ideas: as a collaborative endeavour where both a learner and a more knowledgeable other are engaged in shared, goal-oriented activity. New content is learnt through co-constructing knowledge, first as intermental and then intramental activity (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1987). In this section, I continue to define concepts that relate to teaching multilingual learners. In addition, I discuss potential practices with which to teach students who are emerging learners of the language of instruction.

In a collaborative learning context, the concept of *scaffolding* is the temporary and contingent support required to support learners in their ZPD to accomplish tasks that would otherwise be further than their capabilities (Gibbons, 2014; Walqui & van Lier, 2010). Thus, scaffolding and a learner's ZPD are tightly linked. It can even be argued that 'it is only *when* support—or scaffolding—is needed that learning takes place', as the learner is then likely to be working within their ZPD (Gibbons, 2014, p. 16). A number of scholars have described the concept of scaffolding. Literally, a scaffold is a temporary structure that is erected to help construct a building (see, e.g., Bruner, 1987; Wood et al., 1976). However, *scaffolding* is not solely a metaphor for help; it is a particular kind of support that aids learners in moving towards new concepts, understandings, and skills. In addition to teacher–student interaction, the definition of scaffolding can also include peer-to-peer interaction, leaning on the suggestion that, just as the 'experts' assist the learning of 'novices', it is also possible for learner to jointly construct support and scaffold one another (Donato, 1994; Walqui & van Lier, 2010). Along with scaffolding, this study uses the concept of *collaborative dialogue* for such peer interaction (see, e.g., Swain, 2006; Swain & Lapkin, 1998; Swain & Watanabe, 2013). Here, interaction can prospectively promote the appropriation of linguistic resources by individual learners who together

become something called a 'collective expert' and can consequently carry out tasks collaboratively that they might not be able to perform individually (Donato, 1994). Furthermore, in a collaborative setting, who is an expert or speaker and who is novice, hearer or learner becomes unclear (Ohta, 2000). As effective scaffolding builds upon what novices already know, the teachers need to know their learners and their learners' linguistic backgrounds (Symons, 2021). The pedagogical challenge is to design learning environments and practices in which students are optimally active in taking responsibility for their own—and their peers'—development (van Lier, 2008).

Learners' linguistic repertoires are a resource for building joint thinking during collaborative classroom tasks, which aim to help students co-construct knowledge. As indicated, language is involved as a mediating tool in classroom tasks (see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1987). However, if students work individually (as they traditionally have done; Luukka et al., 2008), the co-construction of knowledge does not emerge as an intermental activity; rather, learning happens as an intramental process (Cuban, 2013; Gallimore & Tharp, 1990; Teemant, 2018). A classroom setting of individual work (which has previously been teacher-led and recitation-teaching-dominated; see, e.g., Cuban, 2013; Gallimore & Tharp, 1990; Rättyä, 2017; Teemant, 2018) needs to be rethought. Instead of leaving students to learn on their own, linguistically diverse learners need to be engaged in particular types of language-related classroom practices that potentially operationalise scaffolding in their ZPDs (Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Teemant, 2018). These practices cover, for example, clear and explicit instructions, repetition in instruction, supports for written texts (i.e., study guides and opportunities to negotiate meaning orally), and extralinguistic supports (i.e., visual aids and hands-on activities) (Lucas & Villegas, 2013, p. 105; Verplaetse & Migliacci, 2008).

Researchers have created instructional models of how sociocultural pedagogy can be realised in the classroom. As an example of such a model, Teemant et al. (2014; Teemant, 2018) further developed five standards by Tharp et al. (2000) and termed language-related and collaborative practices *standards of effective pedagogy* for multilingual classrooms. These effective pedagogical practices focus on increasing collaboration, for example, when a teacher and a small group of students work jointly on a product. The practices include language and literacy development, which can happen when a teacher provides structured opportunities for learners to develop their language and literacy across the curriculum. They also contain contextualisation, where school learning and new information are deliberately connected to students' lives outside school. Further, effective pedagogy requires challenging activities during which a teacher assists in the development of more complex thinking. The pedagogical practices involve instructional conversation, meaning that a teacher engages students in collaborative dialogue that has a well-

defined academic aim and elicits discussion by questioning, listening, and responding. Notably, instructional conversation does not mean a teacher-led, whole-classroom discussion but more of a cooperative small-group activity. Effective practices also concentrate on a critical stance, which means that teachers invite students to question conventional wisdom and seek to transform inequities through civic engagement. Finally, the practices include modelling, where students can develop skills through observation before being asked to carry out tasks (Teemant, 2018; Teemant et al., 2014; see also Tharp et al., 2000). Summarily, the practices not only activate students' individual cognition (intramental activity), they also generate intermental activities in social interaction, such as explanation, disagreement, and mutual regulation, which trigger extra cognitive mechanisms, such as reduced cognitive load, internalisation, and knowledge elicitation (see Dillenbourg, 1999).

Working in joint productive activities, such as doing group work, conducting problem-solving tasks and experiments, gathering important information, drawing mind maps, or negotiating and playing with language, allows for conversation, which teaches language, meaning, and discipline-specific content (Teemant, 2018; Tharp et al., 2000). When a teacher and a small group of learners work on a joint product, the emerging collaborative dialogue operates as a socially constructed cognitive tool, providing students with opportunities for metalinguistic discussion—for noticing and adopting new aspects of language that can be used for interaction (Swain & Lapkin, 1998; Swain & Watanabe, 2013; Teemant, 2018; Tharp et al., 2000; van Lier, 2000). Regarding effective practices, it must be recognised that students' learning can be assisted through both pre-planned scaffolding (intentional actions carried out by a teacher) and in-the-moment scaffolding (actions that occur spontaneously during activities; Symons, 2021; Walqui, 2006; Walqui & van Lier, 2010). In practice, pre-planned scaffolding could happen, for example, when a teacher plans a lesson and thinks in advance about which activities could be done jointly and how the students might do so. In addition, a teacher could reflect on and plan the questions for instructional conversation ahead of time and design how to provide performance expectations for challenging activities. In-the-moment scaffolding could occur, for instance, when a teacher spontaneously contextualises new information by explaining a phenomenon. It could also occur by spontaneously modelling how to find important information in a study book or supporting students in making connections between everyday and discipline-specific concepts in ways that the students can select these parts of language as an affordance (cf. van Lier, 2004).

From the perspective of sociocultural theory and how agency has been defined in light thereof, effective pedagogical practices potentially increase students' agency if they manage to increase interactivity among learners (Larsen-Freeman, 2019; van

Lier, 2010, 2008; see Section 2.1.1). In the present study, I employ practices that potentially operationalise scaffolding when constructing the summed variables in sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students'). Furthermore, the sociocultural understanding of scaffolding was used to investigate the practices that in- and pre-service teachers perceived as appropriate for multilingual Finnish language learners in sub-studies 1 and 5 (Articles I, 'the perspective of teachers' and Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers). Drawing on the abovementioned views, the concept of collaborative dialogue was applied in sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users') to design language-aware learning materials, test them as learning experiments, and analyse students' languaging reports.

2.3 Multilingualism in schools

This section focuses on supporting multilingualism in classrooms, which is strongly linked to language awareness. In more detail, this section discusses how multilingualism is understood, recognised, and valued in schools; central is discussing the concept of *languaging* and its role as part of everyday activities in increasingly linguistically diverse schools. In Section 2.3.1, I describe what I mean by the somewhat polysemic concept of languaging. I also explain how the different ways of languaging relate to the present study. Last, anchored in the multilingual turn, in Section 2.3.2, I reflect on pedagogical translanguaging and notions of translating it into classroom activities.

2.3.1 The many ways of languaging

As sociolinguists (e.g., Jorgensen et al., 2011; Rajagopalan, 2001) have suggested, students in multilingual schools can be considered *languagers* (see Section 1.2). In interactional sociolinguistics, linguistic ethnography, and sociolinguistics of globalisation, *languaging* generally refers to a practice of using language to make meaning or learning languages and their actual use (Blommaert, 2010; Blomaert & Backus, 2011; Madsen et al., 2016; Phipps, 2006). For Vygotsky (1962, 1986), languaging is a 'process of making meaning and shaping knowledge through language' (Swain, 2006, p. 98). Leaning on Vygotskian (1987; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) insight into language use as both an intermental and intramental activity, the concept can be applied in two ways (see Swain & Watanabe, 2013). A two-fold definition of *languaging* is used in sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users') along with the concept of collaborative dialogue (Swain, 2006; Swain & Lapkin, 1998; Swain & Watanabe, 2013): i) languaging happens when a person confronts a complex problem and speaks with another person

about the problem and how to solve it (intermental activity); and ii) languaging is verbalising problem-solving strategies, such as talking with or writing to oneself to privately mediate the cognitive process (intramental activity). Compared with interactional sociolinguistics, languaging as an intramental activity could also be termed *meta-languaging* (Madsen & Nørreby, 2019), whereas languaging as an intermental activity could be positioned closer to the definition of languaging as a practice in which language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal (Madsen et al., 2016). A two-fold definition of languaging exists in the Finnish translation of the term as well. First, languaging could be translated as *kieleily* when it refers to the intermental activity that occurred, for instance, in sub-study 3 during the learning experiment involving collaborative dialogue. Second, it could be translated as *kielentäminen* after the learning experiment, when it took place at the time the students reported their linguistic problem-solving strategies (see Section 3.3.3). This kind of reporting could, of course, happen both as inter- and intramental activity depending on the setting, but in sub-study 3, the students reported their strategies individually. Thus, languaging was applied as a research method as well as a theoretical concept to discover students' experiences as learning material users. The concept of a *languaging method* is based on the idea that by analysing the language written by the participants, information can be obtained regarding their thinking.

In addition to its two-fold definition, the understanding of languaging can be further extended. According to sociolinguistic insights, the actual language use of all human beings does not each time resemble with distinct (national) languages (Jaspers, 2018). All language users make meanings employing their linguistic resources, which are complex and multimodal, but which do not necessarily correspond with 'canonically known' languages or styles (see Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Lehtonen, 2015). This is why scholars have proposed the concept of *(trans)languaging* (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014). Translanguaging has its roots in Welsh bilingual education in the 1980s, and the first person to utilise the term was Cen Williams in 1994. Today, the concept is increasingly important to language-aware schools, wherein students are seen and heard for their whole linguistic assets and expertise. Indeed, translanguaging has been seen as having transformative capacities to change unequal social structures (García & Wei, 2014); thus, it has come to dominate discussions regarding teaching in linguistically diverse classrooms (e.g., Carbonara & Scibetta, 2020; Cummins, 2021; García, 2009; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Leung & Valdés, 2019, Paulstrud et al., 2017). I also employ the concept of and theories related to crossing linguistic boundaries in classrooms (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014; Swain & Watanabe, 2013). In particular, I considered practices valuing linguistic diversity from students' perspectives when

constructing the summed variables in sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students').

2.3.2 Pedagogical translanguaging

In language-aware schools, translanguaging is learner-centred and advocates for the development of all the languages used by students (Cenoz & Gorter, 2022). From its broad definition, translanguaging in schools accounts for the flexible and dynamic ways in which multilingual learners employ their linguistic repertoires to enlarge their communicative potential (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; Duarte, 2019; García, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012). Further advantages have been associated with translanguaging; for example, it fosters the development of learners' metalinguistic awareness. In addition, it can help reject the rigid instructional separation of languages, softening boundaries between languages when striving for social justice in education (Cenoz & Gorter, 2022.) However, different versions of translanguaging in the school context exist and sometimes contradict, depending on how it is conceptualised (Cummins, 2021; García et al., 2021; Jaspers, 2018). For instance, the polysemic term *translanguaging* has been applied to 'all speakers innate linguistic instinct, to multilinguals' spontaneous language use, to everyday cognitive processes, to a multilingual pedagogy, and to a theory of language and education' (Jaspers, 2018, p. 3). The common conceptual conflict of finding a balance between valorising students' linguistic diversity and simultaneously practicing the language of schooling used for discipline-specific purposes remains (Cummins, in press; Garcia & Wei, 2014). Still, both sides of this conflict—supporting the development of linguistic repertoires as well as literacy skills in the language of the majority population—are an essential part of a language-aware school. The question has been how to make students learn to use language in accordance with socially constructed regulations and guidelines, for instance, how to increase repertoire levels of a particular language without entailing that students' individual linguistic skills are less valuable (Jaspers, 2018). The discourses and challenges related to multilingual education are discussed in sub-study 4 (Article IV, 'the perspective of teacher education').

The way I employ translanguaging in the present study is based on what has typically been considered *pedagogical translanguaging*. Often called crosslinguistic pedagogy or multilingual pedagogy, pedagogical translanguaging refers to instruction designed to enable students to deploy their entire multilingual repertoire when carrying out discipline-specific tasks and activities (Beacco, 2005; Cummins, 2019; Creese & Backledge, 2010, 2015; Duarte, 2019). Pedagogical translanguaging can be pre-planned or spontaneous (Symons, 2021; Walqui, 2006). Spontaneous, in-the-moment translanguaging pedagogy can occur as practices in real-time

instruction, such as explaining key concepts or when a student clarifies something to their peers in their first languages. Pre-planned, intentional translanguaging pedagogy includes, for instance, supporting students in co-constructing knowledge through interaction with peers who have same languages in their repertoires. In practice, it can cover classroom activities in which learners constantly share and recycle their linguistic resources while doing things in, through, and with language. Besides helping students gain new resources in the language of schooling, such multilingual instructional practices can scaffold students to perform academically higher, support their identities, increase language awareness, and actively engage students with literacy in all their languages (Chumak-Horbatsch et al., 2020; Cummins, 2021; Duarte, 2019; García & Kleyn, 2016). To put it another way, with pedagogical translanguaging, the use of students' first languages can bring affordances and enhance knowledge acquisition, as it enables students to interact fluently, develop metacognitively, and co-construct meaning (Garcia & Wei, 2014).

From the perspective of mediation in the ZPD, employing students' whole multilingual repertoires allows for broader intermental activity when learners mutually scaffold one another (Duarte, 2019). Noteworthy, this includes the idea that the students have a common language. However, in the context of increasingly multilingual schools in Finland, the situation may vary; in the classroom, there may either be a large number of different languages, or there may be only one student who speaks something other than Finnish as their first language(s). This study holds that learning opportunities that build on students' prior knowledge, everyday life experiences, and individual semiotic resources and are mediated by and contain the use of first language(s) foster the development of a stronger sense of learner identity and self (see Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Noguerón-Liu & Warriner, 2014). Furthermore, I draw on the assumption that if multilingual classroom interactions are organised in identity-affirming and cognitively powerful ways, they can echo students' experiences of the value of each other's first language(s) (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; García & Kleifgen, 2018; Lehtonen, 2021). Normalising translanguaging pedagogies in schools works as a powerful tool to disestablish linguistic hierarchies and oppressive language ideologies (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Nieto & Bode, 2012; Seltzer, 2019). When students see themselves (and realise that their teachers see them) as emergent multilinguals rather than as language learners (which describes students by what they lack), they are more likely to be proud of their linguistic repertoires (García & Kleifgen, 2018). In this study, pedagogical translanguaging was used when examining how prepared in- and pre-service teachers were to see multilingualism as a resource for scaffolding instruction in sub-studies 1 and 5 (Article I, 'the perspective of teachers' and Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers').

3 Data and methods

This study consists of five sub-studies, each of which provides a relevant perspective on supporting increasing linguistic diversity in an educational context. The data, which came from two multilingual lower secondary schools, one multilingual primary school, and teacher education in Finland, were collected between 2017–2020. The schools were chosen because of the high concentration of students with an immigration background in their areas (20–35%; Statistics Finland, 2015). It was important to have a large number of students with an immigration background in order to obtain comparable participant groups for the study (students' backgrounds were used as variables). I applied mixed methods (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017; Greene, 2007), integrating qualitative understandings emerging from discourse and content analysis with insights from statistical quantitative information. In this section, I outline the methodological approaches of the study. Section 3.1 briefly presents the starting points that led to the formation of the research methods. Section 3.2 describes the participants and data sources. Section 3.3 introduces the five perspectives and the methods related to the sub-studies, followed by a detailed description of the data collection and the analyses of sub-studies 1–5. Finally, Section 3.4, on the researcher's position in a multilingual school context, contains ethical considerations regarding the chosen research setting.

3.1 Selecting mixed research methods

A research process is always based on a researcher's interrelated ontological (Blaikie, 2011; Hofweber, 2017), epistemological (Steup, 2018; Stone, 2012), and methodological understandings. The choice of research methods depends on the paradigm that guides the academic work in relation to their assumptions and worldviews. This section briefly introduces the theoretical premises on which the empirical study rests.

Above all, the present study relies on the social constructivist paradigm, which impacts the epistemological and ontological understandings of the world (see, e.g., Berger & Luckmann, 1991). This paradigm relates closely to Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory, emphasising the larger cultural, historical, and social context of

any human activity. Aligning with such a theoretical view, understanding of the world is constituted in human interaction; thus, knowledge is a socially and culturally constructed human product (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). People have their own diverse realities, as no single truth or knowledge exist (Hershberg, 2014). Therefore, this study assumes that knowledge is at all times somewhat context-dependent and local. Indeed, all the sub-studies of this dissertation took place in a unique sociohistorical context. In this study, the context is increasingly multilingual schools into which requirements for supporting language awareness and multilingualism have been introduced as new curricular-level language policies. Engaging in sociocultural theory epistemologically means acknowledging that the researcher's position affected the proceedings of each sub-study (see Section 3.4). Further aligning with the paradigm, constructing knowledge in social processes occurred through the medium of language in this study (cf. Vygotsky, 1962/1986). Thus, it is justified to emphasise how the participants in this study used language to construct, explain, and language their realities (cf. Vygotsky, 1962/1986; Swain, 2006), for instance, when they were asked about encounters in linguistically diverse schools or experiences of being a learner.

I applied mixed methods (see Creswell, 2003; Greene, 2007), with which I sought methodological triangulation to understand the diverse perspectives of the different levels of the school system at a time of societal and political language changes (introduced in Section 1). By methodological triangulation, I refer to using more than one kind of method to study the topic of my research. The empirical data of the sub-studies consisted of 1) interviews with teachers, 2) survey reports of students, 3) written and survey reports of students after participating in a learning experiment, 4) curricula, course documents, and written reports of teacher education institutions, and 5) written reports of pre-service teachers in teacher training. The study rests on the assumption that collecting diverse types of data provides a more in-depth understanding than either qualitative or quantitative data alone, as written and spoken qualitative data characteristically are open-ended with no predetermined responses, while quantitative data contains closed-ended responses, such as those elicited in surveys. I could define the current research as a convergent parallel mixed methods study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017), which refers to a mixed methods design in which the researcher combines qualitative quantitative data to provide a wide-ranging analysis of the research topic. In the study, the qualitative and quantitative data were gathered roughly the same time to integrate the information into the interpretation of the overall results. Figure 4 illustrates how the methodological starting points were applied to scientific practices in the study. The figure shows how, as a means of knowledge production, the study predominantly leaned on three methods: 1) discourse analysis of narratives and curricula documents (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Gee &

Handford, 2012; Johnstone, 2018), 2) content analysis of languaging data (Krippendorf, 2012; Swain, 2006; 2010; Swain & Watanabe, 2013), and 3) statistical inference of survey answers (Field, 2018; Tähtinen et al., 2020). I describe these methods in more detail in Section 3.3.

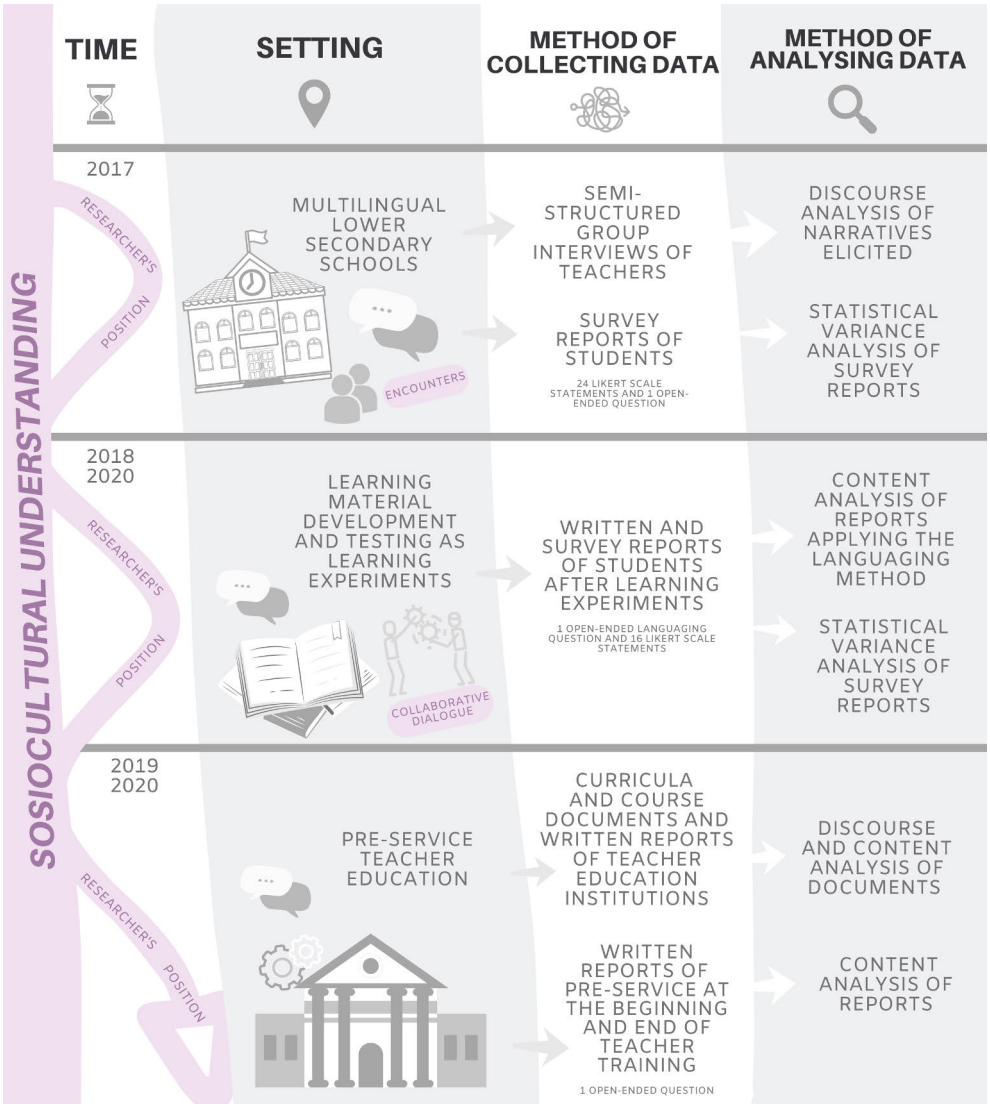

Figure 4. Methodological starting points of the study.

3.2 Participants and data sources

The research participants and data sources came from three linguistically diverse schools, as well as Finnish universities offering teacher training. The collected material consisted of interviews, survey answers, written reports, curricula, and course descriptions. This section presents information about the participants and data sources, but the actual interview and survey questions and their design are explained in Sections 3.3.1–3.3.5, which describe each sub-study separately.

In sub-study 1 (Article I, 'the perspective of teachers'), the participants included 16 teachers working at two multilingual lower secondary schools. I had worked as a teacher in one of the schools a year earlier, but I had not worked closely with the teachers who participated. The data consisted of group interviews. Groups were created by randomly choosing two to four participants at a time from the school staffroom during recess (by 'randomly', I mean that teachers who happened to be in the staffroom at the time a recess started were invited to participate in a certain interview); however, the actual interviews lasted longer than the recesses. Data were collected from six group interviews, each lasting 30–60 minutes. The teachers taught grades 7–9 in the basic education system (students aged 13–16). The participants reported the number of students with an immigration background in each classroom as 5–100%, and each teacher had at least one year of experience working with multilingual learners. They taught different school subjects, and each had a master's degree. In addition, each teacher had completed at least one year of pedagogical training in a teacher training school (these provide arenas for bringing pedagogical theories into practice and are part of universities) to meet the criteria of becoming a a teacher in Finland. Thereafter, their participation in professional development (PD) was voluntary; thus, at the time of participation in sub-study 1, despite the fact that the national core curriculum requires all teachers to be language aware, not all of the participants had acquired PD that would have prepared them for multilingual learners. Table 1 introduces the background information of the participating teachers.

Table 1. Background information of the participants of sub-study 1.

The discipline in which the teacher mainly worked in a multilingual school	N	The group size the teachers taught (teachers' own estimation)	The number of multilingual learners in the classroom (teachers' own estimation)
Linguistics	4	10–25	5–100%
Natural sciences	4	10–25	50–90%
Social sciences	2	16–25	5–50%
Artistic and practical disciplines	3	10–25	5–90%
Special education	3	2–12	50–100%

The participants of sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students') included 409 students (aged 13–16) of two multilingual lower secondary schools (grades 7–9 in the basic education system), which were the same schools where the teachers of sub-study 1 worked and were interviewed. The aim of this was to find possibilities to combine and contrast the in-depth characteristics of the teachers' discourses elicited by interviews with the quantitatively captured 'snapshot' of the students' experiences. For sub-study 2's data collection, the students reported their answers using a survey during an ordinary school day. I had not taught the students who answered the survey and did not know them prior to the study. Altogether, the students with an immigration background comprised 46 different countries of origin. Using multilingual repertoires was part of their everyday lives. Thus, a participating student might report speaking different languages at school, with parents and friends, and during hobbies. This illustrates that linguistic repertoires were employed for interaction according to context and need. As mentioned in Section 1, all students in multilingual Finnish schools can be considered languagers and learners of Finnish. A cross-generational comparison was made using the variable groups. Of the students who participated, 13.9% (n = 57) were *emergent learners of Finnish* (referring to first-generation immigrant students; a detailed definition can be found in Section 1), while 12.2% (n = 50) were *more advanced learners of Finnish* (meaning second-generation immigrants). I recognise that I could not uncover the true quality of the participants' linguistic repertoires; thus, the classification was completely hypothetical. Therefore, it is possible that, for example, a second-generation immigrant student had spent their life in an environment using only their first language(s) until beginning their schooling in Finnish, and thus did not differ in reality from a first-generation immigrant in terms of linguistic repertoire. Finally, 73.8% (n = 302) of the students were *L1 learners of Finnish*, denoting not only the students of Finnish 'origin' but also students with more remote backgrounds.

However, the survey responses of students with more remote backgrounds aligned with the answers of students of Finnish 'origin' in ways that no statistically significant differences were found (in the original publication, this entire group is called *other learners of Finnish*). Due to the percentage of students with an immigration background, the participating schools were representative of typical multilingual schools in Finland. Table 2 introduces the background information of the participating students.

Table 2. Background information of the participants of sub-study 2.

Linguistic background	**N**	**Gender (N) (%)**			**Academic success according to their latest school certificate**
		Girl	**Boy**	**Other**	**Average grade (4.0–10.0)**
Emergent learners of Finnish	57	31 (54.4%)	26 (45.6%)	0	7.94
More advanced learners of Finnish	50	23 (46.0%)	27 (54.0%)	0	8.00
L1 learners of Finnish	302	130 (43.0%)	162 (53.6%)	10 (3.3%)	8.51
Total	409	184	215	10	

The participants of sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users') included 126 multilingual primary school students (aged 9–13) who participated in a learning experiment during an ordinary school day. After the experiment, the data were collected by asking the participants to report (in writing) their experiences via a survey. The students were in grades 4–6 of the basic education system. In this study, the students' linguistic backgrounds were also taken into account, but instead of three groups and cross-generational comparisons, the students were divided into two groups based on what language(s) they reported as their first language(s). The first group consisted of *multilingual learners of Finnish* (45.2%, n = 57), referring to students who reported something other than Finnish as their first language(s). The second group was called *L1 learners of Finnish* (54.8%, n = 69), meaning students who reported Finnish among their first language(s) (in the original publication, the group was called *'native' learners of Finnish* in quotation marks). Table 3 presents the background information of the participants of sub-study 3.

Table 3. Background information of the participants of sub-study 3.

Linguistic background	N	Gender (N) (%)			School year (N) (%)		
		Girl	Boy	Other	4th	5th	6th
Multilingual learners of Finnish	57	33 (57.9%)	24 (42.1%)	0	22 (38.6%)	14 (24.6%)	21 (36.8%)
L1 learners of Finnish	69	41 (59.4%)	28 (40.6%)	0	23 (33.3%)	27 (39.1%)	19 (27.5%)
Total	126	74	52	0	45	41	40

In sub-study 4 (Article IV, 'the perspective of teacher education'), the data consisted of curricula, course documents, and survey reports from universities in Finland that educate teachers. The survey was sent to all universities; the recipients of the survey were selected based on whose name was on the university's website as the teacher educator responsible for the course addressing linguistic diversity. However, not all the universities answered the survey, possibly because the survey did not reach the most suitable person. The data sources also included documents found on the teacher training websites of public universities. In Finland, there are presently eight universities that educate teachers. Teacher education includes a practicum in a teacher training school. Regardless of whether a pre-service teacher is studying to become a class teacher (i.e., a primary school generalist teacher who teaches all subjects in grades 1–6) or a subject teacher (a teacher who teaches one of the subjects studied in grades 7–9), they are expected to complete a master's degree (300 ECTS, i.e., 8100 hours). The curricula and course documents that were considered collectable data for sub-study 4 directly reflected teaching multilingual learners and included approaches that would prepare pre-service teachers for working in linguistically diverse environments. However, as the different teacher education units design their own curricula independently in Finland, there were institutional-level differences between the curricula. To avoid misunderstandings, a short survey with open-ended questions was sent to all teacher educators in charge of these courses at different universities. Moreover, the policy recommendations in the Finnish national core curriculum (EDUFI, 2014) and the European Commission (2019) were reviewed. Table 4 introduces the main data sources of sub-study 4.

Table 4. Data sources of the sub-study 4.

Educational institution	Answers to a survey	Public website of curricula and course descriptions
Åbo Akademi	+	+
Tampere University		+
University of Eastern Finland		+
University of Helsinki	+	+
University of Jyväskylä	+	+
University of Lapland		+
University of Oulu		+
University of Turku	+	+

The participants of sub-study 5 (Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers') included 74 pre-service subject teachers attending teacher training in Finland. The data were collected by asking the participants to respond (in writing) to an open-ended survey question at the beginning and end of the teacher education programme. The pre-service teachers were master's degree students who were participating in a year-long pedagogical training (60 ECTS) to qualify as teachers of the subjects in which they were majoring. Of the pre-service teachers, 39 (52.7%) were majoring in linguistics, 21 (28.4%) in natural sciences, and 14 (18.9%) in social sciences (Table 5). The teacher education programme consisted of theoretical and practical studies, as well as supervised teaching practice periods at the institutions' teacher training school, which was in an area of high immigrant concentration. Over the course of the programme, at least one of the four teaching practice periods emphasised language awareness.

Table 5. Background information of the participants of sub-study 5.

The discipline in which the pre-service teacher was majoring	N (%)
Linguistics	39 (52.7%)
Natural sciences	21 (28.4%)
Social sciences	14 (18.9%)

3.3 Investigating perspectives on supporting increasing linguistic diversity

This dissertation contains five perspectives, five types of data, and five research tasks that aim to answer the research questions related to increasing linguistic diversity—how teachers' discourses and learners' experiences describe perspectives in multilingual schools, what the students' experiences with learning materials are, how teacher education curricula reflect diversity, and how well prepared pre-service teachers are to support that. A mixed methods approach was used to look 'at the social world that actively invites us to participate in dialogue about multiple ways of seeing and hearing, multiple ways of making sense of the social world, and multiple standpoints on what is important and to be valued and cherished' (Greene, 2007, p. 20). Defining mixed methods as 'multiple ways of seeing' inspired me to include perspectives from different levels of the school system in this study (cf. Creswell, 2011). The sub-studies are summarised in Table 6. Thereafter, I give a general description of the three methods—discourse analysis, content analysis, and statistical inference—that this dissertation relied on. Finally, I present in detail how each of the sub-studies was conducted in Sections 3.3.1–3.3.5.

Table 6. Summary of the sub-studies.

Sub-study	Perspective to be considered when supporting increasing linguistic diversity	Data sources and participants	Research methods	Research task	Research questions
Sub-study 1: '*Teachers*' (Article I)	Teachers' perspectives of multilingual schools	Semi-structured group interviews with 16 lower secondary school teachers working in multilingual schools	Discourse analysis	Examine teachers' preparedness for multilingual learners, namely, their discourses on working with multilingual learners	1
Sub-study 2: '*Students*' (Article II)	Students' perspectives of multilingual schools	Survey reports of 409 lower secondary school students (aged 13–16) studying in multilingual schools	Statistical analysis	Examine the experiences of students from diverse linguistic backgrounds in relation to language awareness framework	1
Sub-study 3: '*Students as learning material users*' (Article III)	Students' experiences as language-aware learning material users	Written reports of 126 multilingual Finnish primary school students (aged 9–13) after participating in a learning experiment	Content analysis and statistical analysis	Examine how students as learning material users report on collaborative linguistic problem-solving tasks developed to increase their language awareness	2
Sub-study 4: '*Teacher education*' (Article IV)	Reflections of increasing linguistic diversity in teacher education curricula	Curricula and course documents and written reports of eight teacher education institutions	Discourse and content analysis	Examine the educational approaches visible in teacher education with regard to the needs of multilingual schools	3
Sub-study 5: '*Pre-service teachers*' (Article V)	Pre-service teachers' preparedness to support linguistic diversity	Written reports of 74 pre-service teachers at the beginning and end of their teacher education programme	Content analysis	Examine the development of pre-service teachers' preparedness for multilingual learners over the course of teacher education	3

In sub-studies 1 and 4 (Article I, 'the perspective of teachers' and Article IV, 'the perspective of teacher education'), discourse analysis enabled interpretation of anecdotes, stories, co-constructed conversations, arguments, and curricular documents, as well as exploration of the patterns and consistencies of phrases, clauses, sentences, and other structural conventions affecting ways of using language (Gee & Handford, 2012; Johnstone, 2018). Thus, the methodological choices relied on the characteristics of discourse analysis, which, in one way or another, involve examining language and its effects and studying language "above the level of a sentence" (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 1). In general, this method helps scholars analyse aspects of the structure and function of language in use, as human beings shape, produce, and reproduce the world—and make it meaningful—through language. To discourse analysts, *discourses* typically signify instances of communicative action in the medium of language (Gee & Handford, 2012; Johnstone, 2018). Discourses are "conventional ways of talking that both create and are created by conventional ways of thinking. These linked ways of talking and thinking constitute ideologies and serve to circulate power in society" (Johnstone, 2018, p. 3–4). Thus, in addition to questions traditionally asked in linguistics, discourse analysis can provide tools to ask questions related to, for instance, power, inequality, society, culture, and social relations. In this study, the data analysed by means of discourse analysis consisted of interviews with teachers, curricula, course documents, and written reports from teacher education institutions (see Sections 3.2., 3.3.1, and 3.3.4). I assumed that the teachers' interviews consisted of 'instances of discourse' (Johnstone, 2018, p. 17). I considered these pieces of story from multilingual schools *narratives* in sub-study 1, understanding a narrative as a discursive resource through which the participants made sense of their experiences and constructed reality (Pietiläinen & Mäntynen, 2009). By utilising an interactional approach in interview situations, the narratives represented conversational storytelling and adapted the way Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) used the idea of a 'small story'. Instead of the canonical prototype of 'big' story with a beginning, middle, and end, small stories can be co-constructed narrations about past, present, future, or hypothetical events. Using discourse analysis, the knowledge resulted as a thick description, namely, a many-sided and complex understanding of the phenomena. The intention was that the discourses emerging from the analysis would both reflect and produce the perspectives of the interviewed teachers and the examined documents, as discourses and society are intertwined (Gee & Handford, 2012; Johnstone, 2018).

Sub-studies 3, 4, and 5 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users', Article IV, 'the perspective of teacher education', and Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers') employed content analysis. The data included written reports from students after they had participated in a learning experiment,

curricula, course documents, written reports from teacher education institutions, and written reports from pre-service teachers in teacher training (see Sections 3.2, 3.3.3, 3.3.5, and 3.3.5). Regarding the nature of the knowledge that content analysis is able to produce, it has been argued (e.g., Schreier, 2012; Schwandt, 2003) that whereas discourse analysis can be used to answer 'how', content analysis answers 'what', leaving the data analysis without interpretation. However, the way content analysis was used in this study was itself interpretative and included reading theory and the students' reports crosswise. Therefore, I understood content analysis as an unobtrusive method that provided tools with which to compare, contrast, categorise, and test theoretical understandings in order to enhance the consistencies in the data (Krippendorf, 2012; Salo, 2015; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). Eventually, the analysis resulted in both qualitative and quantitative knowledge. Especially in sub-study 3, content analysis drew on the 'languaging method' (see, e.g., Swain, 2006; 2010; Swain & Watanabe, 2013), applying the many ways of languaging (see Section 2.3.1). In general, this method leaned on Vygotsky's (1978, 1987) ontological assumption of the intertwined relationship of language and thinking. Thus, sub-study 3 relied on the expectation that it was possible to shed light on students' metalinguistic and conceptual awareness and offer descriptions for their classroom actions by asking them to report their experiences in their own words (cf. Rättyä, 2013; Swain, 2006, 2010).

Third, sub-studies 2 and 3 (Article II, 'the perspective of students' and Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users') adopted statistical inference to analyse the survey answers. The data included two kinds of survey reports from students (see Sections 3.2, 3.3.2, and 3.3.3). Originally, statistical inference was designed to draw on a positivist paradigm, as it can be seen to build on experimentation and confirming priori hypotheses by operationalising variables and measures (Park et al., 2020). When designing the surveys, a background thought was that the experiences of students from diverse linguistic backgrounds could differ in relation to language awareness framework. As the paradigm can be seen, to some extent, as contradictory to the idea of constituting reality in human interaction, I recognise that opposing theoretical premises may be present, especially in studies applying mixed methods. However, instead of referring to the approach as epistemological pluralism (Friedman, 2008), I hold that the variables operationalised in the sub-studies drew on the specific conceptual framework (see Section 2). Inevitably, the formulation of the survey instrument and its items influenced the kinds of information I was able to produce in the socio-historical context in which the study was conducted. For me, a survey was a method to study students' experiences because it enabled attaining a relatively large empirical sample and generalisable findings (Field, 2018; Tähtinen et al., 2020). However, as the quantitative data gathering was non-recurrent, I could not observe, for instance, the

actual changes that happened in the participating schools. In this way, the nature of statistical knowledge remained in the relationships between different groups and factors, namely, students from diverse linguistic backgrounds and their reported experiences.

3.3.1 Discourse analysis of interview narratives

I developed the questions (for both the interviews and the survey) to detect the realities of the participants in conjunction with the 'Language Awareness for Everyone' field project. Furthermore, I designed the questions to resonate with the linguistic curricular reforms in Finland (EDUFI, 2014, 2015). Sub-study 1 was based on the assumption that if the teachers were successfully prepared for multilingual learners, the orientations and strategies of the framework of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) would be evidenced in the interviews. Although the framework is not mentioned in the Finnish national core curricula, its categories (three orientations and four types of strategies) were interpreted to align with the principles and guidelines thereof and were therefore appropriate for examining teachers' preparedness with regard to multilingual learners (see Section 2.2.1). Thus, the focus was on how the teachers' interview answers reflected the framework.

In sub-study 1, the lower secondary school teachers participated in semi-structured group interviews that explored teachers' interactions with increasingly linguistically diverse students in multilingual schools. I conducted and audio-recorded all interviews in Finnish, after which I transcribed the recordings. Aligning with a social constructivist paradigm, I chose group interviews as a method to enable socially constructed understanding; the teachers reflected on each other's responses and produced socially possible and acceptable narratives and explanations of their lives in multilingual environments (cf. Hyvärinen et al., 2017). As mentioned, the methodological choice drew on the connection between the participants' beliefs and discourses; I understood discourses as ideas and ways of speaking and, in terms of their linguistic aspect, as "conventionalised sets of choices for talk" (Johnstone, 2018, p. 3). This means that, through the medium of language, the teachers created and perpetuated ideologies (sets of beliefs) about what multilingual schools are, how they function, and what occurs naturally therein. In other words, what the teachers talked about and how they talked about it were related to their perspectives, as well as to the surrounding society (cf. Gee & Handford, 2012). Ultimately, and as the analysis shows (see Section 4.1.1), through the interviews, I gained information about what kind of discourses could hinder teachers' implementation of linguistically responsive practices. The interview questions (in the Appendix of Article I) addressed the opportunities and challenges teachers encounter in

multilingual schools, teaching materials and methods, and the participants' beliefs and actions regarding multilingual learners. For instance, the question *'What methods or practices have proven to work well?'* was believed to elicit answers regarding linguistically responsive orientations and strategies (cf. Lucas & Villegas, 2013) addressing what kinds of linguistic choices the teachers made when discussing their experiences of teaching multilingual learners, and how the participants appeared to identify the language demands of classroom tasks, apply principles of language learning, and scaffold instruction for multilingual learners in their everyday work (cf. Lucas & Villegas, 2013; see Section 2.2.1).

The analysis of the teachers' narratives comprised two parts: the initial coding and discourse analysis. In the first part, the transcribed data went through an initial coding session (e.g., Saldaña, 2008), during which I identified what orientations and strategies from the framework of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) were reflected in the interviews. While searching for reflections of the framework, I was also able to find orientations and strategies contradicting the framework in the teachers' narratives. Thus, I applied the following two-part coding in the first part of the analysis: i) *The narrative aligns with the framework*, or ii) *The narrative contradicts the framework*. For instance, instead of telling how to support linguistic diversity in a classroom, a contradictory narrative could contain a belief in a 'Finnish-only policy'. I placed the coded units from all interview transcripts together so patterns of contradictions could be identified and kept analytic memos to outline what was characteristic of the narratives that were in line with the framework and what was characteristic of those that contradicted it. However, when applying the framework (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) in this way, I recognised that I was doing so on a pilot basis. Furthermore, with regard to the content of the framework and the central concepts of this study, I understand that the framework does not explicitly mention, for instance, pedagogical translanguaging (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; Cummins, 2019; Duarte, 2019). Still, it was assumed that the teachers' interview answers echoing the concept were closely related to the framework's orientation of "value for linguistic diversity". Lucas and Villegas (2013, p. 101) stated that this orientation should accompany "actions reflecting that belief". Thus, if an interview participant narrated a situation in which they used a student's first language(s) as a resource in instruction, it could be seen as reflecting both pedagogical translanguaging (Section 2.3.2) and the orientation of "value for linguistic diversity". Another example of connections between the framework (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) and pedagogical translanguaging could be seen when an interview participant specifically mentioned a pedagogical practice where the parallel use of languages allowed for wider intermental activity and scaffolding; thus, the narrative could be considered as aligning with the framework's strategy of "scaffolding instruction for multilingual learners" (see Section 2.2.1).

In the second part of the analysis, I scrutinised all aspects of the framework and the identified patterns in the analytic memos simultaneously, systematically taking different viewpoints on the data and reading the data with different levels of abstraction in mind. Ultimately, this heuristic tactic led to the identification of six discourses of encountering multilingual learners.

3.3.2 Statistical analysis of survey data

I built sub-study 2 around a central idea of a mixed methods approach, namely, that combined qualitative and quantitative methods help the researcher more thoroughly investigate the target phenomenon than either approach alone (Creswell et al., 2011). To answer research question 1 from different perspectives and strengthen the overall conclusions of the study, the quantitative data from the students' experiences were triangulated with a qualitative understanding of the teachers' discourses. Thus, the perspectives from multilingual schools could be described as multivoiced, overlapping with the understanding of teachers' talking and thinking provided by the discourse analysis, with more generalisable numerical findings of students' experiences provided by the statistical analysis. In sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students'), students from diverse linguistic backgrounds (emergent, more advanced, and L1 learners of Finnish) participated in a survey that aimed at measuring their experiences as language learners, language users, and participants in academic tasks in language-aware schools. I expected the survey to provide empirical information on supporting increasing linguistic diversity from the perspective of students' linguistic integration. The survey instrument (in the Appendix of Article II) included background information (e.g., linguistic background, gender, years in the school system, academic success, parents' job situation, and free-time activities) and a question section. The question section consisted of 24 Likert scale items and one open-ended question related to participation in school. As with the teachers' interviews, the items sought to echo the linguistic curricular reforms in Finland and the sociocultural understanding of (language) learning. The operationalisation of experiences in language-aware schools stems from an assumption that language awareness can be implemented by 1) applying pedagogical practices that potentially operationalise scaffolding in a learner's ZPD (Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Teemant et al., 2014), 2) valuing learners' first language(s) as a resource (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Garcia & Wei, 2014), and 3) identifying the demands of participating in academic language (Cummins, 2021; Schleppegrell, 2004).

The 24 Likert scale items addressed potential ways of implementing language awareness and were used to construct summed variables based on statistical analysis of inter-item correlation and the content. Drawing on the theoretical framework,

three summed variable themes (practices, first language(s), and academic language demands, see above) were operationalised corresponding to the interests of the study. The first and third were divided into two sub-themes (1a and 1b, 3a and 3b). The second variable was followed by an open-ended question. The reliability of the summed variables was assessed using Cronbach's alpha. In the analysis, the summed variables regarding pedagogical practices (1a and 1b), value of first language(s) (2), and participating in academic language (3a and 3b) were used as response variables to examine how students' linguistic backgrounds (three generations of Finnish speakers) related thereto. This was done employing one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) followed by post hoc tests (Hochberg's GT2) when appropriate. In cases where the data violated the assumption of homogeneity of variances, I used Welch's test instead of ANOVA (taking into account the differences between participant group sizes), followed by post hoc tests (Games-Howell). The effect size was measured using the Omega squared (ω^2) value.

The experience of pedagogical practices that potentially operationalise scaffolding in a learner's ZPD (summed variable 1a) was measured with questions about how helpful (in terms of learning) the students found practices that have been suggested to offer temporary support to provide learners with access to the content being taught. I used the word 'potentially' because I could not know before the survey whether the multilingual learners would, in reality, experience the items included as providing them scaffolding, but I could assume this would be the case based on research on effective pedagogical practices (see Section 2.2.2). Summed variable 1a included six items (e.g., '*Doing group work'* and '*Talking about the content orally'*) that were assessed using a 1–4 Likert scale (from 1 = *Does not help me* to 4 = *Helps me very much*). To enable comparison, a similar variable was formed by measuring the experiences of practices that are typically based on textual artefacts. *The experience of pedagogical practices that typically involve literacy-focused tasks* (summed variable 1b) consisted of three items (e.g., '*Reading texts'*) and was assessed using the same Likert scale. The division into sub-themes 1a and 1b was theory based; intermental activity emerges in the course of co-constructing knowledge more than when students work independently of one another (Teemant et al., 2014; Vygotsky, 1987).

The experience of the value of first language(s) (summed variable 2) measured students' evaluations of their first language(s). With regard to the question 'How do the following statements describe you?', six items (e.g., '*I am proud of my first language[s]*' and '*My teachers are interested in my first language[s]*') were assessed using a 1–5 Likert scale (from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*). In addition, regarding the experience of the value of first language(s), the study involved an open-ended question asking the participants the following: what language(s) a) do you speak to your mother, b) does your mother speak to you, c) do

you speak to your father, d) does your father speak to you, e) do you speak with friends, f) do you speak during hobbies, and g) do you like speaking the most? These were analysed to see whether the students mentioned the language(s) that their parents spoke to them among the language(s) they liked speaking the most. The reports were classified according to the two categories: i) When reporting the language(s) a participant likes speaking the most, the language(s) that participants' parents spoke *were* mentioned, or ii) When reporting the language(s) a participant likes speaking the most, the language(s) that participants' parents spoke *were not* mentioned. After classifying the data, statistical analysis was conducted by means of t-tests and, in cases where both variables were categorical, cross-tabulations. The effect size for the t-test was measured using Cohen's d value. The association between the two categorical variables was examined from Cramer's V value.

The experience of participating in situations requiring academic language was divided into two sub-themes (oral and written situations) due to the differing linguistic features and registers associated with each (Cummins, 2000; Schleppegrell, 2004; see Section 2.1.2). *The experience of participating in situations that require oral academic language* (summed variable 3a) contained estimations about students' oral Finnish proficiency in accordance with various academic classroom tasks. Three items (e.g., '*Listening to the teacher's instructions'*) were assessed using the question '*How do you experience your Finnish proficiency in the following situations?'* and a 1–3 Likert scale (from 1 = *This is often difficult* to 3 = *This is easy*). To allow for comparison, *the experience of participation in situations that require written academic language* (summed variable 3b) comprised six items of situations with registers of schooling in a written mode (e.g., '*Finding important information in a study book'* and *'Reading a text in a biology book'*). These were assessed using the same 1–3 Likert scale.

3.3.3 Content and statistical analysis of learning experiments

The data for sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users') was gathered at a multilingual primary school alongside a learning material development project. The project (*Kielestä koppi* [Catch the language], see Alisaari et al., 2020) aimed to publish materials comprising practices covering the different elements of the definition of language awareness for using contemporary sociocultural language learning theories and the framework for the preparation of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) in practice. I also participated in the development of the materials.

The materials were empirically tested in schools as learning experiments to gather information on what to consider when developing exercises to engage all

students, regardless of their backgrounds, in discussions on language. The learning experiments were carried out in multilingual classrooms as part of the usual school-day activities. The test sessions examined students' participation by looking at how students as material users reported what was happening during the experiment and how engaged they were in the exercises. In sub-study 3, students with diverse backgrounds participated in a learning experiment that introduced a linguistic problem-solving exercise designed to increase their language awareness through collaborative dialogue. Originally, there were several different experiments; the exercise chosen for sub-study 3 was a 'linguistic escape room*'*. This particular exercise consisted of five linguistic tasks (the format for such language play was borrowed from escape room games), all of which drew from languaging as an intermental activity (*kieleily* in Finnish, cf. Swain & Watanabe, 2013). During the test sessions, the students solved the escape room tasks collaboratively in random groups of two or three students. After the testing, the students completed a survey individually. The survey instrument (in the Appendix of Article III) contained background information (e.g., linguistic background, gender, and school class) and a question section focusing on i) the students' written problem-solving reports and ii) their perceptions of the meaningfulness, relevance, and novelty of the exercise. In the question section, we applied languaging as verbalising problem-solving strategies (or intramental activity, *kielentäminen* in Finnish, cf. Swain & Watanabe, 2013) in the following open-ended question: '*How did you solve the exercise?*' Such an unequivocal question was intended to elicit qualitative information on how task-based learning materials work in multilingual environments.

The characteristics of the students' written reports were scrutinised using content analysis (Krippendorf, 2012; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). First, the data were subjected to initial coding to identify how the students reported what strategies they used to solve the linguistic escape room. Throughout the initial data coding, it became clear that the taxonomy of cognitive process (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001) would work as a suitable tool to be applied to the analytical categories. Thus, such a tool was used for coding students' reports (analytical categories 1–3); the six-fold taxonomy was structured as 1) remembering, 3) understanding, 3) applying, 4) analysing, 5) evaluating, and 6) creating (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). However, it was noted that the taxonomy lacked a collaborative and social understanding of learning (see Section 2); thus, social interaction was considered a strategy in the analysis of the students' reports. Special care was taken to focus on opportunities for scaffolding. Eventually, the following analytical categories were formed: 1) *creating a solution by processing metalinguistic awareness*, 2) *analysing the exercise in collaborative dialogue*, 3) *activating individual cognitive processes*, 4) *having a meta-level discussion about the exercise*, 5) *doing something else*, 6) *I don't know*, and 7) *blank answers*. After the categories were constructed, it was possible to

examine and identify patterns by reading the students' languaging reports and carefully taking different perspectives on the data while keeping the sociocultural theory of (language) learning in mind. Especially, the analysis sought ways in which collaborative problem-solving tasks affected affordances and opportunities for increasing language awareness in multilingual classrooms.

In the survey, students' engagement in the exercise was quantitatively measured with 16 Likert scale questions, which were employed to build summed variables (1–3) based on the content and statistical analysis of inter-item correlation. The reliability of the summed variables was evaluated using Cronbach's alpha. *The experience of meaningfulness* (summed variable 1) included six items (e.g., '*I learned new information about language'* and '*We talked about language more than usual'*) that were assessed using a 1–5 Likert scale (from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*). *The experience of relevance* in terms of learning (summed variable 2) consisted of items measuring each of the five tasks (e.g., '*I found conjugating verbs in gibberish Finnish…'* and '*I found answering to a message written in secret i-language…'*) on a 1–5 Likert scale (from 1 = *Very irrelevant* to 5 = *Very relevant*). Similarly, *the experience of novelty* in comparison to previous tasks (summed variable 3) comprised five tasks (e.g., '*I found decoding word transformations…'*) assessed using a 1–5 Likert scale (from 1 = *Very traditional* to 5 = *Very novel*). The summed variables regarding the *experiences of* 1) *meaningfulness*, 2) *relevance*, and 3) *novelty* of the learning material tasks were used as response variables to investigate how students' diverse backgrounds (based on reported linguistic background, gender, and school class) related thereto. This was done using t-tests and one-way ANOVA followed by post hoc tests (Tukey HSD). In addition, the general linear model (profile analysis) was applied to examine the differences in the novelty experienced in the five tasks.

3.3.4 Critical review of curricula and course descriptions

The nature of sub-study 4 (Article IV, 'the perspective of teacher education') was descriptive; as part of a book comparing teacher preparation in different countries, it contained a rich general presentation of Finnish society, education system, and teacher training. To investigate how teacher education is preparing future teachers to work in multilingual contexts, sub-study 4 critically reviewed the complexity of the Finnish education context and the roles that language policies, history, and institutional and programmatic characteristics have played in the development of teacher education in a direction where the increasing multilingualism of schools is recognised.

To empirically support the critical review, the data regarding curricula and course descriptions were retrieved from teacher education institutions in Finland

through public university websites. The text excerpts selected were descriptions of mandatory and optional pre-service teacher education courses directly thematising linguistic diversity and multilingualism. The excerpts included, for example, descriptions of the course content in the university study guides, including the goals, methods, and materials of the courses. The purpose of using such descriptions was that the documents obliged the teacher educator in charge of the course to introduce the content from the document in lectures and workshops. However, in reality, teacher educators interpret course descriptions through their own expertise, in which case, in practice, there might be variations in the focus areas. As mentioned, all teacher education institutions were also contacted and asked to answer a short survey (in the Appendix of Article IV). The survey consisted of 10 open-ended questions regarding the preparation of pre-service teachers for working with multilingual learners (e.g., '*In your department, what course(s) or module(s) prepare(s) pre-service teachers to work with multilingual learners?*'). Finally, the text excerpts regarding multilingualism in the Finnish national core curriculum (EDUFI, 2014) and the policy document by the European Commission (2019) were selected.

To give insights into some of the main patterns in which multilingualism and increasing linguistic diversity were discussed on an institutional level, the common features of curricula and course text excerpts were analysed using content analysis (Krippendorf, 2012; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018) to examine the content, structure, aims, and perceptions of the courses. These were organised according to three aspects: i) obligatory courses, ii) optional courses, and iii) institution-specific features regarding increasing linguistic diversity. Discourse analysis (Johnstone, 2018) was applied to critically review how multilingualism was conceptualised in the educational documents. Here, the focus was on ideologies that influence multilingual education and expectations about what teachers need to know to be able to encounter multilingual learners. The outcomes were combined and contrasted with the discourses emerging from the educational institutions' survey reports (due to the relatively small number of responses, the reports did not necessarily represent all teacher education institutions). It is noteworthy that, as the number of linguistically diverse students had recently increased, it is possible that many education institutions were, at that time, developing their curricula and course descriptions. However, this method allowed us to draft a description of the prevailing educational approaches, ideologies, and policies responding to societal changes.

3.3.5 Content analysis of survey reports

The empirical investigation of sub-study 5 (Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers') was conducted in the context of teacher education at the same time as the curricula and course descriptions in sub-study 4 were being overviewed. Sub-study

5 set out to explore what kinds of pedagogical practices and understandings of academic language demands pre-service teachers reported at the beginning and end of teacher training. The data for the sub-study were collected over the course of two consecutive academic years from two separate subject teachers' pedagogical training programmes. The preparedness of pre-service teachers was measured using a written open-ended survey task; thus, the expectation was not to capture the participants entire developing professionalism but to gather an understanding of the motives, reasonings, and possible shortcomings of their thinking regarding linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013). The conceptual framework affected what kinds of reports we considered 'good-quality' preparedness. The written open-ended task used in sub-study 5 was originally based on the survey used by Alisaari and Heikkola (2020), which in turn drew from the work of Millbourn et al. (2017).

The written task in the survey sought to examine the characteristics of developing pre-service teachers' preparedness for multilingual learners. The survey was presumed to provide information about the participants' understanding of academic language demands and pedagogical scaffolding practices in a learner's ZPD. Each participant reported their understanding twice: at the beginning and end of a year-long teacher training programme. In an online survey, these pre-service teachers were given the following scenario and asked an open-ended question: '*Imagine yourself in a situation in which you, as a teacher, are having a conversation at recess with an immigrant-background student. You notice that the student speaks Finnish fluently. However, once the lesson begins, you notice that the student has difficulties participating in the instruction. What do you think is the reason for this, and what would you, as a teacher, do in this situation?*' As seen in the scenario, the open-ended question was two-fold: i) '*What do you think is the reason?*' sought participants' understanding of academic language demands, while ii) '*what would you, as a teacher, do?*' was intended to elicit reports on suitable pedagogical practices for multilingual learners.

Initially, the pre-service subject teachers' randomised reports were subjected to theory-driven coding (e.g., Saldaña, 2008). This happened in two parts, aligning with the two-fold question. Drawing on the dimensions of linguistic repertoire related to functioning in academic contexts (see Section 2.1.2), the participants' understanding was first coded regarding the reason for difficulties in accordance with how closely the reports aligned with the theoretical understanding. Next, leaning on language-related pedagogical practices that potentially operationalise scaffolding in a learner's ZPD (e.g., building instruction on students' entire linguistic repertoires, guiding students to work on a joint product, assisting literacy development through rephrasing and modelling, and engaging students' in a collaborative dialogue; see Section 2.2.1), the pre-service teachers' understandings were coded based on what they would do. After the initial coding, the reports from before and after the year-

long training were paired and organised according to the majors of the three subject teacher groups: i) linguistics, ii) natural sciences, and iii) social sciences. Thereafter, the characteristics of the pre-service teachers' written reports were analysed via content analysis (Krippendorf, 2012; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). The analysis focused on the ways the participants' writing about language demands and pedagogical practices changed when contrasting the reports from the beginning of the year-long teacher training with those from the end of it. The analysis took place through cycles of identifying patterns, reading the reports at different levels of abstraction, and reflecting against the theoretical framework. In the final stage of the analysis, the development of understanding of the linguistic features of academic tasks was compared with pedagogical practices in relation to the three participant groups' different majors.

3.4 The researcher's position in a multilingual school context

Research on supporting increasing linguistic diversity has a responsibility to draw a holistic picture of multilingual students' integration, as the findings may be used to support societal decisions, and these potentially can affect the lives of many people (Birman, 2008; Pinter & Kuchah, 2021). My position as a researcher in this context required critical reflection troughout the study, from planning the data collection to drawing conclusions of the results. I aimed to be honest and open; below, I explain what I did to reach this aim. Moreover, I tried to describe the research process as meticulously as I believed necessary, which could be understood as an element growing the trustworthiness of a study (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998).

Importantly, I recognise that the immigrant-background students were not a homogeneous group. Especially after adopting intersectional theories, I understand that all students in multilingual schools could be considered diverse (based on class, gender, home, sexuality, religion, physical appearance, disability, and educational background), not only those with diverse linguistic and ethnic backgrounds (Bradley, 2016; Grzanka, 2014; Zilliacus et al., 2017). Thus, if the background questions of the surveys would have been different, they may have produced another kind of analysis on diversity in schools. However, when designing the survey questions, I was interested in discovering how students' linguistic backgrounds are associated with their experiences of the implementation of language awareness. This is important because of the changing demographics in Finnish society and because the national core curricula (EDUFI, 2014) explicitly requires schools to consider students' linguistic repertoires and backgrounds. In making this choice, I thought I could provide information about the realisation of educational equality. The participating students potentially represented a vulnerable population in many

intersecting ways. Among the students were underage, emergent Finnish language learners who often came from racialised or language-minoritised communities and lower socioeconomic backgrounds. In contrast, I can be described as educated, white, adult, and an L1 learner of Finnish, thus possessing multiple aspects of social identity that could be considered empowering and advantageous (cf. Grzanka, 2014; Pinter & Kuchah, 2021). Given this position, although I attempted to build a confidential relationship between myself and the participating students, in conducting research with them, I remained a very definite and identifiable *other* who exerted some form of power over them (cf. Pinter & Kuchah, 2021). My presence may have influenced the students in a way that they began to think about what the 'correct answers' to the survey questions would be, even though there were not any. Furthermore, I acknowledge that inviting the teachers of these students to participate in the research meant inviting them to step into a vulnerable position as well. The in- and pre-service teachers gave their opinions on a somewhat volatile sociopolitical debate on immigration, in which civil rights, humanism, and sustainability frequently collide with spreading xenophobic, nationalist, and racist views. Furthermore, due to this vulnerability, it is possible that the teacher education institutions either responded cautiously to the survey questions or did not respond to them at all. For these reasons, it was important that the ethical considerations fulfilled the principles for recognising the privacy and freedom of participants in the study, avoiding harm, and protecting data (National Advisory Board of Research Ethics, 2009). All data was pseudonymised, and the participating students' and teachers' reports, thoughts, and participation were respected both while I was carrying out the research and in the composing scientific articles from the results (Pinter & Kuchah, 2021; Ryen, 2007).

The primary thought behind the methodological choice was the potential to position students and teachers as knowledgeable in research, thus respecting their insights into their needs and experiences of multilingual living. It is particularly crucial that emerging language learners' perspectives are seen, heard, and represented in research about their lives and experiences (Prasad, 2021). All data collection was conducted in Finnish; I created the questions for the multilingual learners with emerging linguistic repertoires in mind. In the learning experiments of sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users'), the participants were encouraged to simultaneously use multiple languages, including their first language(s). Indeed, I desired to implement language awareness throughout the research setting without excepting the survey questions. Therefore, when formulating the questions for sub-studies 2 and 3 (Article II, 'the perspective of students' and Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users'), other teachers working with multilingual learners were consulted regarding whether the questions would be accessible and clear to the participants. Abstract idiomatic

expressions and complex sentence structures were avoided. Before data collection, a smaller group of student volunteers tested a pilot version of the survey and commented on its feasibility and comprehensibility. The comments helped me reformulate a few sentences. The data were gathered in mainstream classrooms to secure that the participating multilingual learners had lived for at least one school year in Finland and would have the linguistic resources to answer. The examples of the data were published in English; I acknowledge that translation transforms a text to some extent (cf. Johnstone, 2018). When needed, the translations were reviewed by a professional English language consultant in order to preserve the details of language form and function as accurately as possible.

Regarding ethical considerations, this dissertation followed the formal ethical protocols issued by the Finnish Advisory Board of Research Integrity (2019). In all the sub-studies, minimal risk for the participants was envisaged, participation was voluntary, and participants could withdraw whenever they wanted. I took special care not to mislead the schools or participants about the aims and prospective outcomes of the study. As sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of learning material development') involved students participating in a learning experiment, an ethical review was conducted following the guidelines of the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity TENK. The human sciences' ethics committee accepted the planned sub-study and determined that the research would not be detrimental to the participants. Research permits were obtained at both the municipal and individual levels. In obtaining informed consent for the research involving underage students, the following three-stage process was applied: initially, consent was obtained from the principals of the multilingual schools. After this, the schools were requested to send letters to students' guardians asking for approval for their child to participate in the study. This letter included the purpose of the study, its expected outcomes, information on the anonymity and confidentiality as well as guardians' right to deny their child's involvement in research. After receiving guardians' permission but prior to the commencement of the research, the students' willingness to participate was verified. This was done by organising an information session to explain the students in language-aware and age-appropriate ways the significance of letting their experiences gathered. Importantly, the session included information about the meaning of informed consent and participants' rights. The students were told that they could leave without answering the questions if they wanted to, and that there was no right or wrong way to report the answers. In sub-studies 1 and 5 (Article I, 'the perspective of teachers' and Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers'), a similar session was held, accompanied by a letter that informed the participants about the aims of the research, confidentiality, and the anonymous nature of answering. In sub-study 5, the participants were asked to give either a nickname or

personal information in order to connect the before and after survey reports; after pairing the data sets, all identifiers were deleted prior to the analysis.

Over the years of conducting this study, changes were made to the research setting; thus, it varied from the original plan. The changes to the original plan were partly due to the fact that, regarding immigration, Finnish society changed rapidly during the course of the study, and new needs for research and development emerged. Another aspect was that I grew as a researcher; a plan created by an experienced researcher could have been sounder from the beginning and may have been more feasible to execute. The research setting progressed sub-study by sub-study, one article at the time. Originally, my intention was to focus solely on teachers' discourses and students' experiences, but during my personal learning process, it became relevant to take opportunities as they arose. For instance, almost immediately after starting this dissertation, I was hired to develop projects focusing on language awareness as a university teacher. In one of the projects I worked on, the goal was to develop learning materials, as the need for suitable practices had been recognised by the Finnish National Agency for Education. The project *Kielestä koppi* [Catch the language] (Alisaari et al., 2020) received funding to create and test these new pedagogical practices, and sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users') was born as an attempt to directly respond to the needs of linguistically diverse schools. The research setting could therefore be called process-driven. On the one hand, a process-driven setting allowed for innovations, as the sub-studies were constructed on and affected by each other's knowledge rather than knowledge that existed from the beginning. On the other hand, this type of method could have led to incoherent outcomes, with no linkages between the sub-studies. However, consistently following the foundation of language awareness and the aspects affecting its implementation in schools helped me to stay focused.

My role as a researcher in a multilingual school was an ethical and an epistemic issue during the process of conducting this study. First, the data included information only from those teachers and students who agreed to participate; thus, it may not have covered the entire spectrum of agents in multilingual schools. Second, due to such a pre-controlled setting, it was possible to collect explanations and experiences related to topics defined by me as a researcher. The surveys used in sub-studies 2 and 3 (Article II, 'the perspective of students' and Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users') were able to capture experiential testimonies of students about their current situations; in reality, discipline-specific activities can involve different language-related challenges than what the students experienced (Li & Zhang, 2020). Furthermore, I must acknowledge that the teacher interviews in sub-study 1 (Article I, 'the perspective of teachers') were co-constructed, conveying possibilities for spontaneous follow-up questions and clarification (Georgakopoulou, 2013). Given this dialogical nature, the position of the researcher (and the

participants) affected the narratives. In such a setting with potential opinion-provoking discussion topics, the participants were presumably tempted to agree with the groups' general views. Similarly, the analysis of sub-study 4 (Article IV, 'the perspective of teacher education') was inevitably influenced by its authors' positions as teacher educators, with examples of multilingual pedagogies emerging from the two institutions we worked at. The review did not allow for an analysis of temporal changes, and it is possible that the information on the public teacher education institutions' websites was not up-to-date or exhaustive. However, with the methodological triangulation and data comprising multilevel perspectives on linguistic integration, it was possible to outline the complex and evolving situation associated with supporting increasing linguistic diversity in schools in a unique way.

4 Findings and discussion

In searching for suggestions for how to develop schools to be more inclusive and equal for multilingual learners, this study focused on how teachers' discourses and learners' experiences described their perspectives of multilingual schools (research question 1) and what the students' experiences were of language-aware learning materials developed to support linguistic diversity (research question 2), as well as how the teacher education curricula reflect increasing linguistic diversity, along with how well prepared pre-service teachers were for working in demographically changing schools (research question 3). As an overarching approach with various adaptations, language awareness provided a conceptual angle from which to describe situations in multilingual schools from multilevel perspectives. This study applied mixed methods by combining qualitative and quantitative data. Figure 5 displays the theoretical and methodological positions of the study.

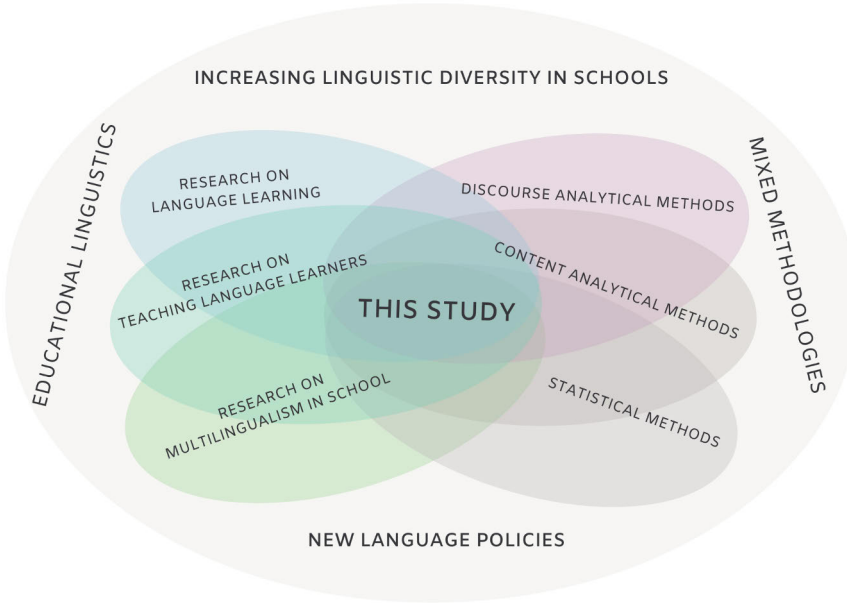

Figure 5. Theoretical and methodological positions of the study.

In this section, I present the main results of the sub-studies and summarise the findings. Section 4.1 briefly describes trends emerging from the sub-studies, followed by Sections 4.1.1–4.1.5, which present the five perspectives that the sub-studies bring to the discussion on how to develop the school system to promote language awareness to a greater extent than before. Finally, Section 4.2 synthesises the findings.

4.1 Summarising the findings of sub-studies 1–5

The results of the sub-studies show how the Finnish national core curricula reforms promoting language awareness (EDUFI, 2014, 2015) are slowly being implemented on a practical level. The sub-studies revealed characteristics of participants' beliefs and experiences, educational institutions' organisational preferences, and linguistically responsive practices after a shift towards supporting increasing linguistic diversity was made on the policy level (on language policy and its relation to beliefs, organisational preferences, and practices, see Spolsky, 2004). The discourses identified in sub-studies 1 and 4 echoed the differing motives and reasonings surrounding the language policy changes and cross-sectionally reflected one point in the gradual development of teachers' preparedness for working in multilingual environments (cf. Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; McCarty, 2011). Sub-studies 1 and 5 indicated inconsistencies and resistance in relation to teachers' orientations, knowledge, and skills despite the centrality of language in the curricula, as is apparent in Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.5. Teacher education in Finland seems to have challenges reflecting increasing linguistic diversity; mismatches between policy and practice appeared, which are described in Section 4.1.4. The results of sub-study 2, as presented in Section 4.1.2, revealed doubts and issues to consider related to the implementation of language awareness, as the experiences of students with diverse linguistic backgrounds differed from each other. Entwined with this, the material developed for sub-study 3 sought to introduce, in the form of a learning experiment, an example of how to put language-aware curricular reforms into practice and design learning tasks that engage multilingual learners. The results (Section 4.1.3) show that engaging students in a collaborative dialogue supports their agency as language learners. Summarily, the findings of the sub-studies indicate 'needs' that the school system could respond to in order to develop on the basis of Nordic egalitarian principles. These are 1) the need for assistance, materials, and professional development to build language-aware schools that draw on the many ways of (trans)languaging; 2) the need to develop teacher education so teachers have opportunities to reflect on their beliefs and actions regarding language-aware pedagogy; and 3) the need to notice language and linguistic repertoire development when discussing and making decisions about immigration and integration. With the recognition of such needs, it was possible to make recommendations in Section 5.1

on how the inclusion of students, including learners of multilingual backgrounds, could be promoted in more broadest sense—that is, how linguistic diversity could be supported in the Finnish school system.

As explained in the following sections, in many respects, the findings regarding the five perspectives resonate with the evolving language policies of schools. It has become clear that no matter how progressive the Finnish language-aware education policies are (see Section 1.2), their implementation has not been one-way and top-down (cf. Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Thus, the results strengthened and reiterated the role of active participation—socially constructed agency—as a multi-level and multi-layered force in bringing educational policies into practice in schools and educational institutions (see Section 4.2 and, e.g., Biesta et al., 2015; Cummins, 2021; Johnson & Johnson, 2015; van Lier, 2004, 2010). The need for supporting the agency of learners and the pedagogical actions of their teachers is discussed in Section 4.2, where attention is paid to the intersections of perspectives.

4.1.1 Teachers' discourses on encountering multilingual learners (Article I)

> I have started doing different things when I teach English. There is one boy who is quite difficult. But then I realised that if he teaches me a couple of words in Arabic every time we meet, I get to teach him English as an exchange. So, all of a sudden, he has gotten really excited about it, and when he learns through his own mother tongue, that works really well.
>
> (A teacher in a group interview)

Sub-study 1 (Article I, 'the perspective of teachers'), published under the title 'Discourses on Encountering Multilingual Learners in Finnish Schools' (Repo, 2020), focused on teachers' narratives and provided insights into their reasonings and motives as regards their preparedness for working with multilingual learners. The interview questions elicited pieces of stories wherein the participants co-constructed their interactions with linguistically diverse students (cf. Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). When discussing teaching in multilingual settings, even when the teachers answered the same interview question in a co-constructed group interview, their personal choices regarding wording, style, grammar, and other aspects of discourse reflected the various ways they made sense and order of their experiences in increasingly multilingual schools (see Johnstone, 2018). Against the framework for the preparation of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013; see Section 2.2.1), the teachers produced narratives that echoed all

the orientations and strategies from different perspectives, contradicting, aligning, and individually overlapping. For example, in one narrative, a teacher might word something in a way that it aligns with the framework, then in another narrative contradict it. However, the language patterns in their anecdotes demonstrated that the teachers had differing orientations and pedagogical skills and knowledge with which to build learning environments that firmly draw on learners' linguistic resources and support their learning.

The analysis resulted in six discourses that could be organised in three contradictory and overlapping themes: i) agency in the implementation of language awareness, ii) acceptance of diversity, and iii) readiness to change in response to increasing linguistic diversity. Figure 6 illustrates the themes and discourses circulating around them. It is worth mentioning that each of the 16 participants could be located as manifesting several of the discourses; many life stories are complex and multivoiced (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). Thus, the analysis provided non- or multilinear unfolding of beliefs and experiences.

Figure 6. Discourses of encountering multilingual learners.

The teachers' preparedness to teach multilingual students manifested as narratives in which students' linguistic integration appeared as a task to which the teachers believed they were able to actively contribute. The teachers' role in performing language education policies—their *agency*—appeared as narratives of strong beliefs about personal actions taken to improve linguistically diverse students' access to educational opportunities (see Biesta et al., 2015; Kirsch et al., 2020; Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018). For instance, the teachers were able to list systematic solutions

for considering students' entire linguistic repertoires and prior experiences in instruction (cf. 2.1.2 and 2.3.2), work hard to offer the necessary scaffolding to assist content learning of various school subjects (cf. 2.2.2), and show interest in the students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This reinforces the idea that the framework for the preparation of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) has the potential to support teachers' agency in sustainably interacting with multilingual learners.

Acceptance was conveyed as empathy, a striving to promote the inclusion of multilingual students in school. It appeared as narratives wherein the teachers were willing and able to put themselves in the position of a student who had lately encountered a new language and culture. Characteristic of the discourse of advancing inclusion was addressing diversity in a broad-minded, permissive, and participative manner, considering diversity as an asset, and understanding the challenges associated with being a learner in a new school system.

Finally, the discourse of embracing *change* manifested as a readiness to develop one's pedagogical practices following the guidelines of the language-aware national Finnish core curricula (EDUFI, 2014, 2015) and the research-based understanding of how to encounter multilingual learners (see Lucas & Villegas, 2013). This understanding emerged, among other things, as knowledge of linguistic repertoires and the role of language in learning (cf. 2.1.2), suitable language-related pedagogical practices (cf. 2.2.2), and the advantages of crossing linguistic boundaries in classrooms (cf. 2.3.2). In practice, the discourse emerged as optimistic receptions of the bigger emphasis on language in school, reports identifying the features of academic language that potentially pose challenges for students (see Cummins, 2000, 2021; Schleppegrell, 2004), and observations about how supporting multilingualism scaffolds both content and language learning (see Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Duarte, 2019; García, 2009). Furthermore, when asked about the practices proven to work well with immigrant-background students, the teachers' answers echoed the sociocultural understanding of (language) learning (cf. 2.1.1): they promoted active student participation, circulating linguistic resources, pedagogical translanguaging, and co-constructing knowledge in interaction (see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Teemant et al., 2014; Vygotsky, 1987). In sum, the narratives demonstrated that the teachers were knowledgeable about the topic and possibly had access to professional development on language awareness.

The findings showed that the teachers were contradictory in both their actions and their thinking. The discourse of contracting out of integrating multilingual learners manifested as a scepticism in the ability to influence linguistically diverse learners' educational success. In contrast to talking about putting orientations and strategies into practice in an agentive voice, a teacher might use the passive voice to observe language awareness from the perspective of an outsider ('*it has been written*

into the documents, but nothing has changed in practice'). In addition, some outsourcers were indifferent to the first language(s) of multilingual learners and may not have been familiar with their students' linguistic backgrounds or prior experiences when asked. Instead, finding out about students' linguistic backgrounds was perceived not as an '*essential thing to know*'. In general, the students' emerging linguistic repertoires, especially in the context of schooling, seemed to be difficult to comprehend. Educational outcomes were explained in part by students' negative attitudes. Moreover, a discourse of creating exclusion was observed in narratives that explained student performance by categorising students into 'groups' and 'communities', excluding them from the rest of the school; multilingual learners were discussed as coming from '*good*' and '*bad*' school cultures, and '*we*' or '*us*' referred to the Finnish students or the immigrant-backgrounds students who knew how to succeed in Finnish schools by working hard and behaving as expected. The groups associated with '*them*' were often described contemptuously, with phrases such as '*no interest in learning Finnish'*, '*no interest in graduating'*, and '*a role of not needing to integrate'*. Characteristic of such discourse was a struggle to include positive effects that diversity could bring to a school, and the first language(s) of students were perceived as harmful and something that causes distractions. Summarily, the discourse of creating exclusion manifested in narratives presenting diversity as a worry and containing opinions that linguistic and cultural diversity lead to various kinds of challenges in schools. As a last contradictory discourse, conserving traditions appeared as scepticism about language awareness guiding the development of school culture. For instance, a teacher could perceive linguistic scaffolding as the '*pampering of students, a besetting sin of culturally diverse schools'* or narrate that employing students' first languages often meant using them for purposes other than learning, such as '*bullying*', '*gossiping*', or '*disturbing others*'. Teachers' low motivation and pessimistic attitudes have also emerged in other studies (Alisaari et al., 2021; Alisaari et al., 2022; Suni & Latomaa, 2012), for instance, in negative beliefs regarding the use of students' first languages.

In the article, I argue that not all teachers working in multilingual schools are equally prepared to support increasing linguistic diversity. The teachers' narratives contradicting the framework of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) revealed inconsistencies and resistance related to their orientations, knowledge, and skills. Despite the curricular reforms affecting all participants, there appeared voices that constructed an opposition to actively contributing to integration, resisting shifting away from what the practices in Finnish school used to be and categorising groups of 'us' and 'them' and. Although the results were not presented as figures, among the teachers relating the most extreme narratives was a tendency to take a position either in line with or against the framework. Worryingly, the discourse of creating exclusion included some openly racist narratives. Overall, the

framework for linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) proved to be a sensible tool with which to investigate teachers' narratives. The complex ways in which the teachers discussed multilingual learners reflected alterations in beliefs and practices after the educational policies changed to require language awareness from every teacher.

4.1.2 Students' experiences in multilingual schools (Article II)

Sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students'), published as 'Towards Language-aware Pedagogy? Experiences of Students in Multilingual Finnish Schools' (Repo, 2022), provided information on students' experiences of language-aware practices in schools that had recently been guided to recognise the essential role of language in all learning (cf. EDUFI, 2014, 2015). According to the analysis, different experience profiles emerged for the groups of students with diverse linguistic backgrounds (emergent, more advanced, and L1 learners of Finnish) when the experiences were analysed in relation to language awareness framework from the perspectives of 1) pedagogical practices (divided into sub-themes 1a and 1b), 2) first language(s), and 3) participating in academic language at a time of changing educational policies and demographics (divided into sub-themes 3a and 3b). Statistical analysis (Field, 2018; Tähtinen et al., 2020) of the students' responses suggested some significant differences between the groups. Thus, I argue that in order to be more considerate of emerging learners of Finnish, multilingual schools should pay particular attention to transforming language awareness into practical pedagogical implementations. The results are structured around the three perspectives measured and presented in Table 7.

Table 7. The results of the statistical analysis in sub-study 2.

Summed variable	Emergent learners of Finnish		More advanced learners of Finnish		L1 learners of Finnish				
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	F	p	ω^2
1a) The experience of pedagogical practices that potentially operationalise scaffolding in a learner's ZPD	3.04 *	0.66	2.95	0.76	2.76 **	0.61	F(2, 406) = 5.74	0.003	0.023
1b) The experience of pedagogical practices that typically involve literacy-focused tasks	2.95	0.73	3.11	0.84	2.86	0.66	F(2, 85.549) = 2.29	0.108	
2) The experience of the value of first language(s)	3.19 *	0.84	3.27	0.93	3.55 **	0.73	F(2, 85.055) = 6.05	0.003	0.029
3a) The experience of participation in situations that require oral academic language	2.67 *	0.45	2.83	0.45	2.92 **	0.32	F(2, 81.174) = 9.51	< 0.001	0.057
3b) The experience of participation in situations that require written academic language	2.52 *	0.49	2.80 **	0.44	2.90 **	0.33	F(2, 81.697) = 16.36	< 0.001	0.107

* and ** indicate which group means differ from each other according to post hoc tests.

Regarding pedagogical practices (see 1a in Table 7), the analysis indicated that the emergent learners of Finnish experienced the practices that potentially operationalise scaffolding in a learner's ZPD (e.g., '*Doing group work*' and '*Talking about the content orally*') as more helpful in terms of learning than L1 learners of Finnish. No difference in the reports of the more advanced learners was found. In other words, the participants who were the newest to the language of school reported benefiting from collaborative and context-adding classroom practices during which students might negotiate meaning (see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1987). However, compared to practices involving literacy-focused tasks (e.g., *'Reading texts*', see 1b in Table 7), there were no statistically significant differences in the students' experiences. Thus, in the article, I propose that if the Finnish school system sought to inclusively interact with emergent language learners, discovering novel strategies to translate language and pedagogical understanding towards sociocultural applications (e.g., by using standards of effective pedagogy; Teemant et al., 2014; Tharp, 2006) could potentially increase newcomers' agency in classrooms. In other words, if language learners were made agents in co-constructing knowledge, interaction would comprise the learning process, and language would serve as the means for mediation in their ZPD (cf. Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1987).

The analysis further indicated a significant difference in the students' experiences of the value of their first language(s) (see 2 in Table 7). Emergent learners of Finnish gave their first language(s) less value than L1 learners of Finnish (when asked to respond to statements such as '*I am proud of my first language[s]*' and '*My teachers are interested in my first language[s]*'). Again, neither group differed statistically from the advanced learners of Finnish. At this point, interpretations must recognise the power and prestige related to the first language(s) of L1 learners of Finnish (see Cummins, 2000; Nieto & Bode, 2012), as Finnish is the language of the majority population for these students. Nonetheless, the lower value of first language(s) among the newcomers arises questions about the challenges of translating language-aware educational policies into identity-affirming practices (cf. Cummins, 2000; Zilliacus et al., 2017). Furthermore, the examination of the open-ended question concerning the language(s) the participants' parents spoke was triangulated with the analysis of the language(s) the participants liked speaking the most. Overall, 14.7% of the participants most liked speaking language(s) other than what their parents spoke to them. When looking at the relationships with the participants' backgrounds, 50.9% of the emergent and 32.0% of the more advanced learners of Finnish did not mention their first language(s) among the languages they liked speaking the most. The corresponding percentage for L1 learners of Finnish was 5.0%; $\chi^2 = 94.41$; df = 2; $p < 0.001$; Cramér's V = 0.48. On the one hand, such a finding resonates with the importance of access to

social interactions when learning a new language (see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). On the other hand, if half of the students experienced their first language(s) as less usable or likeable than the language of the majority population a few years after entering the school system, this could, alarmingly, demonstrate continuing societal language hierarchies that render multilingual learners' languages unseen, or a lack of a school's commitment to moving away from monolingual ideologies (see Alisaari et al., 2019; Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018). The studies in parentheses suggest that teachers often maintain monolingual instruction despite policy guidelines, which could affect how usable or likeable students find their first language(s). The participants who mentioned their first language(s) among the languages they liked speaking the most usually experienced the value of their first language(s) as higher ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 0.76$) than participants who preferred speaking other language(s) ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 0.78$: $t(407) = 4.94$, $p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 0.68$).

When asked about participation in situations requiring oral academic language (see 3a in Table 7), there were statistically significant differences in the experiences of students with different backgrounds. Emergent learners of Finnish experienced oral academic situations (e.g., '*Listening to the teacher's instructions*') as more difficult to participate in than L1 learners of Finnish. There was no significant difference in the experience of advanced learners of Finnish. The analysis further showed that emergent learners of Finnish experienced participating in situations requiring written academic language (e.g., '*Finding the important information in a study book*' and '*Reading a text in a biology book*'; see 3b in Table 7) as more difficult than both L1 learners and more advanced learners of Finnish. Mirroring sociocultural theory, this result is as expected. In situations where a student independently writes an exam answer or reads a text, there is possibly less mediation in their ZPD compared to oral situations that have more opportunities for intermental activity (cf. Vygotsky, 1978). I state in the article that language-aware schools should concede that, in Finnish mainstream classrooms, there are students who find participating in academic situations at least '*sometimes difficult*' linguistically. This finding aligns with a report on the objectives of Finnish as a second language teaching (Kuukka & Metsämuuronen, 2016) that suggests that the lowest language proficiency levels (level A in the Common European Framework of Reference) are best explained by a low number of years in the school system.

Summarily, the implications of the student survey for the development of language-aware schools could be listed as follows. First, if schools strive to support increasing linguistic diversity, the students who are the newest to the school system should be given opportunities for collaboration and the co-construction of knowledge in classrooms. Second, practices could be changed so that newcomers can experience their first language(s) as valuable, for instance, by utilising

pedagogical translanguaging. Third, when planning the instruction of any school subject, the requirements of discipline-specific linguistic repertoires and supporting their development must be carefully considered.

4.1.3 Students as users of learning materials (Article III)

> We thought about it together, and the solution came to our minds.
>
> (Student reporting experiences as a learning material user)

Sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users'), published under the title '"We thought about it together and the solution came to our minds": Languaging Linguistic Problem-solving in Multilingual Finnish Classrooms' (Repo et al., 2021), examined how students as learning material users described collaborative linguistic problem-solving tasks developed to increase their language awareness. The findings outlined the reported linguistic problem-solving strategies and experiences of students with diverse backgrounds (multilingual learners of Finnish and L1 learners of Finnish) participating in a learning experiment that involved languaging as an intermental activity (cf. Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1987). Among other things, the analysis indicated that engaging the students in collaborative dialogue supported their agency as language learners (see Johnson & Johnson, 2005; Udvari-Solner, 2012; van Lier, 2010), as in social interaction, the students could use their previous linguistic awareness and solve tasks that they perhaps would not have been able to do on their own (see Dufva & Aro, 2015). In the students' written reports, social aspects of agency could be seen alongside cognitive ones. The article proposes that multilingual learners of Finnish benefit from peer-to-peer support and recycling linguistic resources due to the affordances these may offer (see Dufva, 2013; Walqui & van Lier, 2010). From the perspective of inclusive learning material development, the findings further suggest that it would be beneficial for textbooks to contain exercises in which languaging is an intermental activity (cf. Swain & Watanabe, 2013) in classrooms, namely, in a format where students have opportunities to speak, listen, reflect, interact, and be active (cf. Udvari-Solner, 2012).

The open-ended question regarding problem-solving strategies elicited written languaging reports from students about what happened in the multilingual classrooms during the linguistic escape room exercise. The content of the students' reports resonates with the social and cognitive aims of the exercise: of 126 students, 76.9% (97 participants) demonstrated that they created a solution by either processing metalinguistic awareness (48 participants), analysing the exercise in collaborative dialogue (24 participants), or activating individual cognitive processes

(25 participants). Moreover, 8.7% (11 participants) wrote having a meta-level discussion, assessing the quality of the tasks but not directly referring to problem-solving. In addition, 11.2% of the students (14 participants) reported that they did not know how they solved the tasks (7 participants) or left the answers blank (7 participants). Lastly, 3.2% (4 participants) explained that they did something else. Regardless of which analytical category the students' languaging reports fell into, they suggested opportunities for linguistic scaffolding in the students' ZPD, for instance, in cases where students implied processing metalinguistic awareness but did not mediate the 'exact' linguistic concepts (e.g., one student wrote '*one had to use I, you, s/he, we, you they*' when meaning 'personal pronouns'). In such cases, it seemed that being aware of the correct concept was beyond the student's current capabilities, and the student needed assistance from a more knowledgeable other. Despite solving the linguistic escape room exercise collaboratively, the article indicates that students might need language-related scaffolding to bridge discipline-specific concepts with their awakening language awareness (see Cummins, 2001; Walqui & van Lier, 2010). Therefore, if languaging as reporting thinking (cf. Swain & Watanabe, 2013) were to be applied more often in future learning materials, it would help language-aware teachers of diverse classrooms to access their students' intramental thinking and reveal opportunities to tie new content to students' existing awareness of language in such a way that they receive it as an affordance (van Lier, 2004).

Looking more closely at the content of the analytical categories of how the students solved linguistic problems, a large portion of them demonstrated prior understandings of linguistic content based on what they had been taught in school, reflecting awareness of, for instance, Finnish syntax, morphosyntax, lexicon, morphology, and phonology. A typical written report implied that successful problem solving required developing such awareness further, echoing the higher end (evaluating and creating) of the taxonomy of cognitive process (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). Importantly, the collaborative nature of language learning emerged in the languaging reports; many highlighted language negotiation, shared thinking, and joint linguistic inquiries (cf. Dufva, 2013; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). In these cases, the learners may have employed all the linguistic resources that were at their disposal, including their first language(s). Often, analysing the exercise in a collaborative dialogue explicitly reflected mutual support, such as in a report stating '*my peer helped me*'. In addition, many participants reported activating their individual cognitive processes during the linguistic escape room exercise. Namely, students languaged that the solution to a linguistic problems was found as an outcome of individual remembering and understanding (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001).

To conclude, as the students languaged their thinking in multi-voiced ways, it was possible to carefully compare how the reports of the multilingual learners of Finnish and the L1 learners of Finnish differed from one another. Notably, the L1 learners of Finnish drew on metalinguistic awareness in problem-solving strategies more often than the multilingual learners of Finnish: 44.9% of the L1 learners of Finnish (31 of 69 participants) reported processing their metalinguistic knowledge, whereas 29.8% of the multilingual learners of Finnish (17 of 57 participants) reported the same. Then again, the multilingual learners' answers referred to social interaction and shared thinking more often than the answers of the L1 learners of Finnish: 14.5% of the L1 learners of Finnish (10 of 69 participants) languaged analysing the exercise through collaborative dialogue, whereas 24.6% of the learners of Finnish (14 of 57 participants) languaged the same. Triangulated with statistical results regarding the experiences of 1) meaningfulness, 2) relevance, and 3) novelty, the analysis of the summed variables indicated that, overall, the students found the tasks engaging, which could potentially support motivation and agency in the classroom (cf. van Lier, 2010, 2008). The mean (M) of each summed variable was quite high (on a Likert scale of 1–5, M = 4.09 for meaningfulness, M = 3.34 for relevance, and M = 3.54 for novelty [the higher the mean, the more the students agreed that the tasks were meaningful, relevant, or novel]). Although there were statistically significant differences when employing other background factors (school class and gender) as variables, linguistic background did not have an influence on how meaningful, relevant, or novel the collaborative tasks of the developed learning material were experienced as being. Instead, the multilingual learners of Finnish were as engaged in linguistic problem-solving in the form of 'language play' as the L1 learners of Finnish (on language play, see Cook, 1997, 2000). Thus, the results indicate that, by applying the many ways of languaging in future language-aware learning materials, teachers could ensure that students, regardless of their linguistic backgrounds, potentially experience the tasks equally meaningful.

4.1.4 Multilingualism in teacher education (Article IV)

> Language awareness in schools could include awareness and understanding of the literacy and multilingual competences of all students, including competences in languages that are not taught in the school.
>
> (European Commission, 2019: C189/16)

Sub-study 4 (Article IV, 'the perspective of teacher education'), published as 'Multilingualism in Finnish Teacher Education' (Szabó et al., 2021), strove to

understand how the aim of preparing future teachers to work in increasingly multilingual schools is visible in teacher education policy documents. The critical review of curricula and course descriptions provided information on the characteristics, explanations, and obstacles of the ongoing process of supporting increasing linguistic diversity. In addition to describing the sociohistorical and educational contexts and language policies of Finland, the article took a stand on mismatches between policy and practical levels regarding encountering multilingual learners.

Based on discourse and content analysis (Johnstone, 2018; Krippendorf, 2012; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018), this sub-study identified ideological and practical trends visible in policy and curricula documents. The results showed that at the time of conducting sub-study 4, topics related to multilingualism were introduced in courses primarily as part of the Finnish language and literature module, in which case the emphasis of teaching often remained on Finnish-as-a-second-language teaching, giving multilingual pedagogy and crossing linguistic boundaries (see Cummins, 2019; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; 2015), for instance, less attention. Conversely, if multilingual learners were discussed under the topic of diversity, the role of language was often reduced. In some institutions, content regarding linguistically diverse learners was integrated into a course on learning difficulties and 'other special cases', which did not necessarily manifest as an inclination to advocate for multilingual learners (cf. Lucas & Villegas, 2013) or normalise pedagogical translanguaging (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Seltzer, 2019). Being an emerging language learner cannot be considered a learning difficulty. Furthermore, according to the article, there remains a conflict between declared language policies and multilingual practices. The courses on multilingual pedagogy were often organised solely in Finnish, Swedish, or sometimes English, and did not, for example, use multiple languages side by side, meaning the courses did not model recycling linguistic resources or crossing linguistic boundaries in a classroom. However, the data from the teacher education institutions (both documents retrieved from the public university websites and a few detailed survey answers from teacher educators) generally indicated that teacher education has responded to societal changes. Regardless of where in Finland a pre-service teacher participates in teacher education, there are some obligatory modules to prepare them to work in increasingly linguistically diverse settings.

The results further indicated that many teacher education institutions offered optional courses stemming in some way from the language awareness framework. The scope varied from individual courses to larger study units (consisting of several individual courses), and the content covered a rich variety of topics (e.g., Finnish as a second language, intercultural competence, multiliteracies, and metalinguistic awareness). Participation in the courses, however, was voluntary; thus, the pre- (and

in-service) teachers who already had some interest or expertise in a topic were those who were more likely to attend. When examining the institution-specific content of organisations that coordinate teacher education, the analysis revealed differences between the institutions in relation to geographic and demographic features. Understandably, the courses and curricula appeared to be somewhat designed to meet the needs of local communities—the context influenced whose multilingualism was addressed and how. However, as mentioned, it was recognised in the article that, at the time of data collection and analysis, many programmes were possibly at a stage of founding or further developing modules and courses on teaching linguistically diverse students.

The main results concerned the challenges of top-down language education policies (cf. Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), namely, that the incentive to include multilingualism in teacher education in the form of multilingual pedagogy is strongly supported from above. Multilingualism was found to be present in the policy documents (EDUFI, 2014; European Commission, 2019) in an overly positive, even celebratory, manner (see the quote at the beginning of this section). The discourse was solidly tied to the language awareness framework, and the goals of the documents seem rather ambitious. For example, the documents state that 'schools may distinguish between different levels of multilingual competence needed depending on context and purpose and corresponding to every learner's circumstances, needs, abilities, and interests' (European Commission, 2019: C189/16). Here, the requirement for practitioners in schools to identify and support the development of the linguistic repertoires of each individual student is pronounced; the holistic way in which the aims of multilingual pedagogy are described gives a high level of responsibility to individual teachers and other staff members working in linguistically diverse schools (cf. Jaspers, 2019). The celebratory discourse also appears to include an assumption that, at a grassroots level, there would be teachers with the expertise, time, and preparedness to synchronise curricular goals, policy recommendations, community cultures, and students' linguistic repertoires and individual needs. For example, the national Finnish core curricula (EDUFI, 2014, Chapter 9) declares that 'schoolwork may include multilingual teaching situations where the teachers and students use all languages they know', implying that teachers should be prepared for that and understand various methods to facilitate multilingual interaction in a meaningful way. The sub-study criticises the top-down order, as it is not explicitly stated in the documents how, in practice, the centrality of language in all learning is to be implemented or what language-related practices could operationalise scaffolding for students. Furthermore, regardless of the supportive and broad discourses on multilingual education and statements about employing the 'multilingual competences of all students' (European Commission, 2019: C189/16), many

documents talk about the multilingualism of people with a (recent) immigration background (as also done in this study). At a discursive level, a distinction exists between Finnish and Swedish as national languages, prioritised (mainly European) dominant languages, such as English, French, German or Spanish, and the often unnamed languages of people with an immigration background. In the article, this is found to be especially vivid in the debate on introducing more languages to students in schools, as despite decision-makers' 'preference of introducing a variety of languages', by far the most consistently chosen language for young learners is English (EDUFI, n.d.).

4.1.5 Pre-service teachers' preparedness for multilingual learners (Article V)

> I would ask the student about the matter. I would also ask how I could help the student to better follow the teaching. I would also try to pay attention to Finnish-as-a-second-language students in my teaching, for instance, by creating keyword lists to accompany assignment handouts and by supporting my speech with the help of written notes on the smartboard.
>
> (A pre-service teacher reporting on pedagogical practices at the end of teacher training)

Sub-study 5 (Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers'), which has been submitted for publication with the title 'Mapping Pre-service Subject Teachers' Preparedness for Linguistically Diverse Classrooms in Finland' (Heikkola et al., manuscript), examined the development of pre-service teachers' preparedness for multilingual learners over the course of teacher education. The study provides an understanding of the role that teacher education plays in developing pre-service teachers' professionalism regarding responding to the needs of multilingual schools. Using a hypothetical scenario in a multilingual school, an open-ended task elicited short written reports that were, of course, unable to capture the entirety of the pre-service teachers' professionalism; however, due to the data collection format, these reports made it possible to examine pre-service teachers' ways of thinking at both the beginning and end of teacher training.

The theory-driven content analysis (Krippendorf, 2012; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018) elicited qualitative descriptions of how the three different subject teacher groups (majoring in linguistics, natural sciences, and social sciences) reported their preparedness for identifying academic language demands (cf. Cummins, 2000, 2021; Haneda, 2014; Schleppegrell, 2004) and applying language-related pedagogical practices to scaffold instruction for multilingual learners (cf. Lucas & Villegas, 2013;

Lucas et al., 2008; Teemant et al., 2014). As the participants' reports were coded according to how closely they aligned with the theoretical understanding, the analysis enabled quantitative estimations of how many of them reflected an shift towards linguistically responsive teaching (cf. Lucas & Villegas, 2013). The results showed that a year-long teacher training impacted the pre-service teachers' professionalisation with regard to supporting increasing linguistic diversity. Typically, if no change happened in a participant's preparedness based on the analytical codes, it was because their response already resonated with the conceptual framework at the beginning of the year. Regarding the first question, '*What do you think is the reason for difficulties in participating in instruction*?', most of the students' (n = 60 [out of 74; 81%]) preparedness to identify the language demands of academic tasks either increased or remained at the same level. By the end of the year, more than half (n = 39) of the pre-service teachers wrote reports aligning with the theoretical understanding of schooling as a linguistic process (cf. Cummins, 2000, 2021; Haneda, 2014; Schleppegrell, 2004). However, when focusing on the verbal changes that occurred in the participants' reports, the analysis revealed that many discussed language solely as 'vocabulary' and 'terminology' rather than on the level of discipline-specific genres and as a dynamic resource for participation in academic contexts (cf. Aalto, 2019; Aalto & Tarnanen, 2015; Lahti et al., 2020), even at the end of teacher training. Thus, the idea of linguistic repertoires consisting of multilingual, multimodal, and situated skills appeared somewhat limited in these reports (cf. Larsen-Freeman, 2013).

With regard to the second question, '*What would you, as a teacher, do?*', most of the pre-service teachers' (n = 51 [69%]) ability to name language-related pedagogical practices either increased or remained at the same level over the course of teacher training. One-third (n = 23) of the participants reported pedagogical practices that echoed the theoretical understanding of language-related scaffolding (coded as the 'highest' analytical category). The practices that the participants generally considered appropriate included modifying both written and oral language in instruction, explaining words, and paying attention to discipline-specific terminology (Lucas et al., 2008). Characteristically, the reports became more holistic at the end of the year and included more detailed critical reflections. However, instead of writing that reflected language-aware pedagogies being used throughout a lesson, many participants' reports implied that the scenario could be solved, for instance, by having a chat with the student after the lesson (in which case, the responsibility for learning shifts to the student). Overall, mirroring against the theoretical understanding of pedagogical practices and scaffolding (cf. Duarte, 2019; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Lucas et al., 2008; Teemant et al., 2014), the analysis revealed that only a few pre-service teachers mentioned that they would use extralinguistic supports, invite the student to use their first language(s) in interaction,

or engage the student in collaborative activities to co-construct knowledge. However, such pedagogical means are central from the perspective of linguistically responsive teaching (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Teemant, 2014; Tharp et al., 2000). By focusing on learning words as equivalent to learning a language, the pre-service teachers' reports did not fully echo an understanding of the development of linguistic repertoires as social and situated language use (see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Roehr-Brackin, 2014; Section 2.1.2), but rather as a singular entity.

When we compared the responses of the three different pre-service subject teacher groups, it came as no surprise that students majoring in linguistics were able to choose the most accurate and conceptually consistent words when describing academic language and pedagogical practices. On the one hand, this links to the content of teacher training; in language-related subject teacher studies, language and language learning are more often a topic of discussion and reflection, while students in natural and social sciences may be less accustomed to expressing themselves via the linguistic means characteristic in the field of language education. On the other hand, contrasted with sub-study 4, this article found it reasonable to ask whether the language awareness approach, with its many branches and flourishing pedagogical applications, reaches the groups that could potentially benefit from it the most in the context of pre-service teacher education.

4.2 Synthesis of the findings: How do the perspectives intersect?

In this section, I bring together the five perspectives. To illustrate the slow process of transforming language policies into practices, I previously compared the perspectives of this dissertation to an onion, and the sub-studies to the peeling of its layers. The dissertation draws on language awareness as a foundation to support increasing linguistic diversity on the condition that declared language policies become implemented in everyday linguistically responsive practices (cf. Lucas & Villegas, 2013) in multilingual schools. Here, I continue with the same analogy: the five perspectives through which this implementation was examined could be seen as reflecting the metaphor of the realisation of language policies as a multi-layered onion (see Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; also Menken & García, 2010). The socio-historical context of the study was a school system that established language awareness as a key value at the curricular level, which could be thought of as the top layer of the onion. Inside of this, ordered from the outer layers to the heart of the onion, language policies were assumed to affect the content of teacher education, the development of learning materials, the beliefs and practices of pre- and in-service teachers, and the experiences of students in schools. Within this

metaphor, the layers are influenced by one another to represent language-aware educational policies (cf. Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), but this dissertation only managed to examine the perspectives of the different layers as a snapshot. Although it was not a result of this study, the perspectives included have potentially had an impact on encounters in multilingual schools; namely, the participants whose perspectives were investigated could be considered agents in the continuous development of interpreting, implementing, and mainstreaming curricular declarations. In the future, it would be interesting to explore this process with new research settings (on agency in language policy implementation, see Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson & Johnson, 2015). However, the findings of this dissertation reflected a sociocultural premise, as from the Vygotskian point of view, top-down policies are constantly being negotiated throughout the different levels of a school system (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Menken & García, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996).

To synthesise the findings, an emerging convergent theme from the sub-studies was, on multiple levels, doubts and issues related to how to support learners in an active role and teachers' pedagogical actions during the process of constructing a language-aware school. It became apparent when concluding the findings that supporting increasing linguistic diversity will not occur if the actions and activities regarding language policy implementation of (in- and pre-service) teachers and their students are not reinforced with educational, material, and practical resources. When I compiled the results of the five perspectives, the common topic seemed to be the teachers' preparedness to make instructional choices within the classroom, which plays a significant role in determining the extent to which multilingual learners of Finnish will emerge as active participants (see Cummins, 2021; van Lier, 2008). Such a finding emphasises the interactional understanding of agency: supporting linguistically diverse students cannot depend only on the individual teachers who have agency, acceptance, and readiness to change, but must rely on the entire learning community and education system (see van Lier, 2010). Hence, the employment of teachers' and students' agency in linguistic integration enables the building of learning-conducive environments. In this study, by describing the different levels of multilingual education, the five perspectives provided new information on potential needs, blind spots, and resistance, which must be considered to develop schools that support increasing linguistic diversity.

In practice, the results of sub-study 1 (Article 1, 'the perspective of teachers') showed that not all teachers working in multilingual schools were prepared to act as language policy agents promoting language awareness in a changing society, despite the curricular reforms (see also Biesta et al., 2015; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018). For instance, there were teachers who did not manifest the agency to actively contribute to integrating newcomers or resisted

changing their practices towards sociocultural adaptations (see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Lucas & Villegas, 2013). Although I was not able to examine causality when analysing the discourses, there emerged a potentially unfortunate situation in schools: contradicting the framework of linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas & Villegas, 2013), some discourses echoed prejudices, false beliefs, or even, alarmingly, 'us' versus 'them' beliefs. There was a discourse of contracting out of integration, which manifested in a reluctance to identify the language demands of academic tasks from learners' perspectives; a discourse of conserving traditions, which appeared as disbelief in instruction that attends to language; and a discourse of creating exclusion, which took shape as criticising multilingual learners' attitudes toward their learning outcomes (cf. Pettit, 2011). When these three merge, there is a danger that language becomes a form of discrimination, which may lead to openly racist narratives, such as a few teachers expressed when they separated groups of students from certain ethnic backgrounds from others.

The contradictory orientations and strategies that the teachers implemented were possibly echoed in their students' experiences. Thus, I could mirror the students' experiences against the challenges related to the teachers' agency to actively orchestrate classroom interactions in ways in which students' entire linguistic repertoires are employed. From an agentive perspective, the students' survey responses in sub-study 2 (Article 2, 'the perspective of students') highlighted the need for increasing emergent multilingual learners' active participation. That is, the most recent arrivals in the school system experienced pedagogical practices that potentially increased their intermental activity in the classroom as helpful (in terms of learning), which directly links to agency (Dufva & Aro, 2015; Edwards, 2005). I could synthesise the findings as follows: co-constructing knowledge in a group activity in ways that affirm students' multilingual identities appeared to be a suitable option for the emergent learners of Finnish. However, intertwined with teachers' preparedness, instructing such activities effectively for linguistically diverse students would require teachers to have an understanding of the role that language plays in students' learning (cf. Cenoz et al., 2017; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Teemant et al., 2014). Synthesising the students' experiences with the results of sub-study 3 (Article 3, 'the perspective of students as learning material users'), I could conclude that pedagogical practices and learning materials should include tasks that foster collaborative discussions on language development in ways that students have the agency to make the most of their linguistic repertoires. Overall, a commonality emerging from sub-studies 2 and 3 was that positioning learners as knowledgeable in the research allowed for insights into their expertise and experiences regarding language use (Duarte, 2019; Harju-Autti et al., 2021; Lehtonen, 2021; Seltzer, 2019). Indeed, when the students were given an active role to discuss language, they were ready and able to offer information on the importance of support when learning

language and content (cf. Harju-Autti et al., 2021) and the benefits that paying significant attention to language brings to all students in the classroom (Duarte, 2019; Lehtonen, 2021; Seltzer, 2019).

Finally, contrasting the findings of teachers' agency and the contradictory discourses that emerged in sub-study 1 with the findings regarding teacher education from sub-study 4 (Article IV, 'the perspective of teacher education') and pre-service teachers in sub-study 5 (Article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers'), there appears to be a blind spot related to preparing teachers for their major role in adopting and co-creating new educational policies (see Cummins, 2021; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). In the current teacher education in Finland, the future practitioners do not necessarily have the time and resources to acquire the orientations and strategies needed (see Lucas & Villegas, 2013) to design instruction that would guarantee sufficient scaffolding for multilingual learners of Finnish. In particular, the agency-promoting affordances that collaborative activities and the many ways of pedagogical (trans)languaging could bring to multilingual classrooms seem to be disregarded. The findings indicate that in a rapidly changing society, teachers cannot only be regarded as recipients of externally generated instructional policies that they are agentively expected to implement on an interpersonal level. The synthesis is summarised in Figure 7, which shows how, at the intersections of the perspectives, language education policies have the potential to be translated into practices that respond to the needs of multilingual schools by supporting the active role of learners and the pedagogical actions of their teachers. However, the image also shows (with zigzag lines) where, based on the sub-studies, there is still room for improvement.

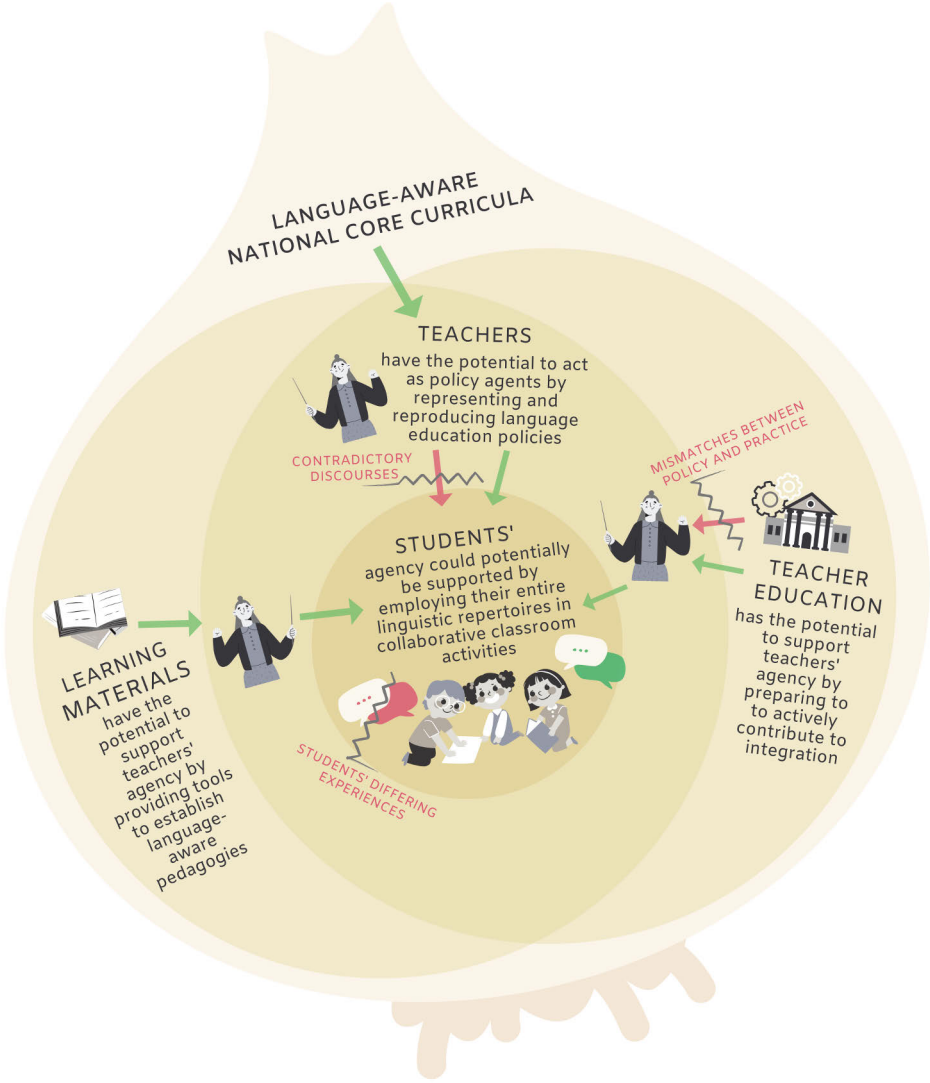

Figure 7. The intersections of the perspectives and room for improvement.

To put the message of Figure 7 simply, teachers' preparedness for working in multilingual schools does not develop on its own, especially when there are mismatches between policy and practice in teacher education and contradictory discourses in multilingual schools. Broadly, these discourses spring from the surrounding multivoiced society (cf. Johnstone, 2018). A school is not in a vacuum; therefore, it cannot be expected that curricula coming from above will be realised on its own. In these circumstances, students' experiences of participation do not develop independently, either. Instead, linguistically responsive teaching requires research-

based materials and systematic teacher trainings with transformative pedagogy, wherein the theoretical premises are enacted in practices that draw on learners' linguistic resources. It is no wonder that teachers do not manifest full agency in their students' linguistic integration if transforming classrooms towards language awareness remains the responsibility of the practitioners who already have linguistic expertise or the time to participate in voluntary professional development. Furthermore, it is not surprising that students have differing experiences regarding the value of their first language(s) (see sub-study 2), if teachers are struggling to embrace change and employ students' entire linguistic repertoires in instruction, and teacher education does not offer tools to support linguistic diversity. A language-aware school becomes implemented on the 'inner layers of the onion' if, in the intersections of the different 'layers', there is room for interaction and sufficient resources to reflect, develop, and acquire assistance in relation to reformed educational policies. These have been reconceptualised as a complex set of interactions, compromises, and negotiations mediated by interrelationships in contested sites of discourses, ideologies, and powers (see Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011). Students' agency (in language learning) is the result of many layers of interactions, and it is built in relation to autonomy, motivation, and investment on many layers in the education system. Summarily, language-aware schools that equitably and meaningfully support increasing linguistic diversity need to be constructed in collaboration.

5 Conclusions

This dissertation provides perspectives on linguistic integration, examining the topic by applying mixed methods to the field of educational linguistics. The findings outlined the contradictory and overlapping discourses, versatile experiences, and shifting characteristics of multilingual education at a period when changing realities in Finnish schools were increasing due to linguistic and cultural diversity. The complexities associated with educational settings emerged in the sub-studies, reflecting the transformation towards a language-aware school system. The dissertation included the perspectives of teachers, students, students as learning material users, teacher education, and pre-service teachers. Overall, the five perspectives strengthened the idea that linguistic integration depends not only on the efforts and achievements of incoming students but also on the development, actions, acceptance, and structure of the receiving schools and society. Similar views can be seen in studies examining integration as a two-way process (Klarenbeek, 2021; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). The sub-studies align with theorisations regarding the multilingual turn by understanding that language learning, indeed all learning, is socially constructed and mediated through, in particular, social interaction (Lantolf, 2011; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Meier, 2016). In such a process, learners' dynamic linguistic repertoires are a resource (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; García, 2009), and by, for example, asking the participants from diverse linguistic backgrounds to report their experiences related to classroom tasks' meaningfulness, engagement, and helpfulness, this study attempted to apply concepts from multilingualism research to test and understand suitable pedagogical practices. In this section, I answer the research questions and conclude the findings.

First, the study aimed to answer the question of how teachers' discourses and learners' experiences describe their perspectives of multilingual schools (research question 1). Sub-study 1 (Article I, 'the perspective of teachers') revealed orientations and strategies aligning with the framework that prepares teachers for linguistically diverse learners (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) as well as problematic issues in teacher's expertise in relation to agency, acceptance, and change when working in multilingual environments. To some extent, the realities in the schools appear to be partly characterised by teachers' superficial understanding of how to support

increasing diversity in linguistically responsive ways. When examining the experiences of students in language-aware schools, I must acknowledge that, from an intersectional standpoint, no single factor (such as linguistic background) could unequivocally explain students' experiences or learning outcomes (see Ahonen, 2021; Ansala et al., 2020). The overlapping factors that affect a students' schooling could be recognised in the results of sub-study 2 (Article II, 'the perspective of students'); although several statistically significant differences were measured between the three participant groups, the observed effect size (ω^2) sometimes suggested little to moderate practical significance. However, an analysis of the survey data collected from the same multilingual schools where the teachers were interviewed shed light on certain characteristics of linguistic integration. For instance, the experiences of emergent learners of Finnish differed significantly from those of L1 learners of Finnish; participation in academic situations was more challenging and instruction scaffolding was more helpful for emergent learners. In addition, some emergent learners of Finnish gave their first language(s) relatively low valuations, despite the curricula advocating for multilingualism (see EDUFI, 2014, 2015). Conclusively, the development of a multilingual school towards inclusive pedagogy has many intersecting dimensions (Bradley, 2016; Grzanka, 2014), one of which is linguistic background. Furthermore, since linguistic background can be used to describe the realities in contemporary Finnish schools, language is a factor that should not be ignored in discussions about immigration and sustainable integration.

Second, the study sought answers to a question regarding students' experiences of language-aware learning materials that were developed to support increasing linguistic diversity (research question 2). The experiences that the participants articulated in sub-study 3 (Article III, 'the perspective of students as learning material users') indicated that the students became engaged in the designed tasks, as they created opportunities to be both socially and cognitively active in learning (cf. Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1987). Resonating with sociocultural theory, when invited to discuss linguistic problems collectively, the students reported that they could draw on their previous linguistic awareness and recycle resources when co-constructing knowledge (see Swain & Watanabe, 2013). Furthermore, the case-like learning experiments in sub-study 3 provided a pragmatic attempt to put language policies into practice and facilitate teachers' agency in the establishment of language-aware pedagogies. The languaging reports highlighted that when applying pedagogical (trans)languaging, active language development was needed from the teacher—the teacher needed to scaffold discipline-specific language use, rephrase, and model the expected performance (cf. Cummins, 2021; Teemant et al., 2014; Teemant, 2018). The results advance the field of learning material research by obtaining an understanding of how multilingual classrooms function when materials

with linguistic problem-solving tasks are used, providing information on how to create materials to be more engaging and offering insights into opportunities for bridging language learning with students' existing language awareness.

Third, the study discussed how teacher education curricula reflect increasing linguistic diversity and how well prepared pre-service teachers' are to support that (research question 3). When reviewing what educational approaches regarding multilingual learners are visible in teacher education in sub-study 4 (Article 4, 'the perspective of teacher education'), it appeared noteworthy that, despite celebratory and progressive discourses on the policy level, current teacher education may not yet prepare practitioners to work in multilingual environments as thoroughly as it could. Similar findings emerged in sub-study 5 (Article 5, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers') when examining the development of pre-service teachers' professionalism regarding multilingual learners. Although education clearly impacted the pre-service teachers' reports, at the end of teacher training, some reports still reflected an understanding of linguistic repertoire development that did not fully follow sociocultural understanding. The sub-studies echoed how changes in Finland's demography and language education policy have influenced pre-service teacher education. Furthermore, the results provided insights into obstacles and areas of development; by taking these into account, universities could play a bigger role in responding to societal needs.

The synthesis of the findings (see Section 4.2) indicates that supporting increasing linguistic diversity requires agency on different levels. Stemming from sociocultural theory, the agency of students in multilingual schools depends on whether they have opportunities for intermental activity, which emerges predominantly in collaboration (see Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Meier, 2016). For instance, based on the sub-studies, learners could become multilingual 'social practitioners'—agents—in linguistically diverse schools more equitably if their differing experiences, such as those related to classroom activities, first language(s), and discipline-specific language, were paid specific attention to (see also Hummelstedt, 2022). It is especially important to listen to the experiences of the most vulnerable students, as not all actors at all levels of the school system exhibit the same amount of power in the negotiations of language education policies. Working in a multilingual setting is about creating and rethinking forms of learning, not pushing newcomers to adapt to the practices of a school system that ignores their needs (see Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Tarnanen & Palviainen, 2018). What was further discovered when analysing the discourses of teachers' narratives was that the teachers who demonstrated agency in contributing to learners' linguistic integration not only had firm beliefs about the importance of their personal actions but also had systematic solutions to offer scaffolding and deploy multilingual repertoires for social purposes. In the present teacher education, the pedagogical actions of many

(in- and pre-service) teachers do not seem to be supported enough that these teachers are able to, for instance, identify the language demands of classroom tasks or apply sociocultural principles to pedagogical practices, which could then make becoming an agent of the multilingual turn unrealistic.

In Section 5.1, I make suggestions on how, based on the findings, both teachers and learners could be supported to have agency and ownership in the process of linguistic integration. In Section 5.2, I discuss the limitations of the study together with possible ideas for future research. Finally, I conclude my remarks in Section 5.3.

5.1 Responding to needs: Constructing language-aware schools together

> The challenge is 'how to include everyone'—if I can crystallise this somehow.
>
> (Teacher in a group interview)

As an excerpt of an empathetic narrative, a teacher in a group interview demonstrated acceptance and distilled the challenge of linguistic integration into a question of social inclusion in increasingly multilingual schools. In this section, I address what suggestions can be made to respond to the needs of multilingual schools to more equitably include everyone. I summarise the main implications in three points, which I describe thoroughly. Some of the descriptions cover the entire dissertation, while others while others communicate more precisely with certain sub-studies.

First, I suggest that assistance, materials, and professional development that draw on the many ways of (trans)languaging should be provided to construct language-aware schools. In this study, emerging learners of Finnish recognised language-related and interactive pedagogical practices as helpful in terms of learning, indicating that such measures of linguistic integration are at least empirically appropriate. Similarly, languaging reports demonstrated intermental thinking as an opportunity to increase experiences of participation, meaningfulness, and engagement. Thus, multilingual learners' needs could be responded to by guiding students to engage in collaborative dialogue, during which recycling linguistic resources and negotiations of meaning occur in peer-to-peer support. Here, the findings align with the idea that learning can be facilitated through joint productive activity; when learners and teachers work together for a shared product of goal, they become engaged in conversing about it during the activity (see Gallimore & Tharp, 1990; Teemant, 2018; Teemant et al., 2014; Tharp et al., 2000). However, the many ways of languaging in such activities were not employed to an extent that would be worthwhile in language-aware schools, which may have been echoed in the students'

valuations of their first language(s). Mirrored against the literature, such a lack of employing languaging affects the range of a learner's intermental activity, affordances, and, eventually, sense of learner identity (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; Duarte, 2019). Hence, one option to support increasing linguistic diversity is to assign resources for the specific purpose of the development of novel strategies (e.g., in the form of materials, guides/textbooks, and projects) that help actors in schools overcome linguistic boundaries and, in time, mainstream pedagogical translanguaging (cf. Bergroth et al., 2021). For this, practices are needed to recognise the linguistic resources accumulated throughout a multilingual person's life. With what measures could a person get opportunities to take the position of a linguistic expert? Then again, based on the students' reports, I argue that resources should also be used to increase practitioners' understanding of linguistic repertoire development in general. The reports indicated that, when working on a joint product, despite being able to recycle language, some students needed language-related aid to bridge discipline-specific concepts in Finnish with the concepts with which they solved the problem collaboratively. In such situations, if practitioners possessed a sociocultural understanding of linguistic repertoire development (e.g., what linguistic resources learners at a certain level might appropriate as an affordance), they would possibly have more agency to respond to students' linguistic needs through purposive conversation with input that operationalises scaffolding in a learners' ZPD. Put another way, if the teachers were prepared to analyse their students' languaging (as both an inter- and intramental activity) through the theories of language learning, there would be a better chance of linguistic repertoire development becoming a meta-goal for the entire school day in all situations: informal, problem-solving, and discipline-specific.

Second, I suggest that changes need to be made to teacher education so that pre- and in-service teachers have time to collaboratively reflect on the impact of their beliefs and actions regarding language-aware pedagogy. Although the different teacher education units and departments work independently in Finland, teachers' preparedness for working in multilingual settings can only be constructed if training becomes more systematic and it is guaranteed that all programmes systematically mediate knowledge to create linguistically responsive learning environments that build on students' multilingual resources (Harju-Autti et al., 2018; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Teemant et al., 2014). Indeed, one way educational institutions could support increasing linguistic diversity would be to offer training wherein theoretical knowledge intertwines with practice, and teachers are exposed to and have the chance to engage with a variety of educational discourses (as also noticed by Aalto, 2019; Alisaari et al., 2019; Ball & Tyson, 2011; Lucas, 2011; Lucas et al., 2008). According to the findings of this study, part of the challenge seems to lie in the contradiction of discourses. Thus, I argue that teachers' preparedness to work with

multilingual learners should be improved multidimensionally, with consideration for agency, acceptance, and readiness to change. This study shows that agency is often hindered by a lack of concrete examples and pedagogical practices that offer scaffolding in a language learner's ZPD. Therefore, agency could be reinforced by providing teachers materials and practical tools to demonstrate what, for instance, a language-aware biology or maths book looks like in practice or how to assist students to work with discipline-specific texts. This must be accompanied by research-based reflection since, as noted in Section 2.2.1, agency connects to cognitive skills when integrating theory and practice (Heikkilä, 2022). Furthermore, since sub-study 5 (article V, 'the perspective of pre-service teachers') showed variation between the abilities of pre-service teachers of different majors to describe academic language and pedagogical practices, pedagogical scaffolding examples must be available in ways that they appear coherent and adaptable to instruction for teachers in disciplines other than linguistics. Acceptance could be established by arranging opportunities for teachers to interact with linguistically diverse groups. These could contain, for instance, exchanges abroad and language immersion experiences where teachers participate in 'lessons' instructed in a language they do not fully understand (e.g., a hypothetical lesson on some discipline-specific topic instructed by visiting experts of a language other than the one of the majority population). Afterwards, the teachers could be instructed to discuss their thinking related to language learning, power, privilege, and prejudices, as well as anti-racist pedagogies. Finally, to ensure that language-related curricular implementations are not left solely to language teachers, readiness for change could be fostered, for example, by bringing teachers of different subjects together and collaboratively developing practices to increase multiliteracies in different disciplines (see Aalto, 2019). In general, the principles of linguistically responsive teaching should be brought into dialogue with the objectives of all school subjects. Combining expertise could lead to intermental activity that would elicit practices such as assisting history literacy or learning the linguistic features of biology texts.

Third, I suggest that the significance of language and linguistic repertoire development should not be underestimated in broader societal discussions on immigration and integration; language awareness should expand from basic education to workplaces, societal decisions, public services, and everyday people-to-people encounters (see Lahti et al., 2020). It must be acknowledged that integration is a multifaceted phenomenon rather than the effect of a single explanatory factor, such as education, ethnic background, social status, or adequate linguistic resources. Still, because the learners with diverse linguistic backgrounds differed in their experiences and contradictory discourses and mismatches between policy and practical levels were found, promoting the understanding of linguistic repertoire development—also among non-linguists—is necessary. Broadly, the

question of language-aware policy implementation appears to be a question of how strongly the discourse of embracing change is publicly perceived as important and worth disseminating. Central to reconciling the resources allocated to language learning and, for example, educational outcomes is whether learners' emerging linguistic and communicative potential is seen as an asset or a deficiency. I argue that if the continuing nature of linguistic repertoire development is not recognised and taken into account in societal discourse (e.g., if repertoires are not seen as consisting of situated and dynamic resources), there might be a risk that linguistic resources will be interpreted as inadequate. At worst, linguistic repertoires will remain thought of as somewhat static, in which case the importance of developing them in terms of multilingual learners' experiences of participation becomes overlooked. Therefore, a widespread understanding of language learning should be requested from decision-makers, educators, and other professionals encountering multilingual learners in order to construct sustainable practices when rethinking education and integration. From the perspective of intersectional political decision-making, enabling learners to gain linguistic resources for participation in academic contexts should be a central topic when discussing social justice. One option would be to involve language learning experts in decision-making processes to guarantee that investing in increasing the multilingual multiliteracies of emergent language learners is seen as key to equal opportunities to gain memberships in society, access to education, and become employed. At a minimum, care could be taken to ensure that at least one person participating in the discussion would have knowledge about language and linguistic repertoire development when, for example, organising seminars or meetings at universities or other scientific events, or when inviting experts to give talks and join panel discussions prior to political decisions. For such discussions, where the topics concern educational equality, school segregation, or positive discrimination resources, language learning experts would have a lot to offer. Conclusively, embracing collaborative work for language awareness is embracing work for equality.

5.2 Reflections on the study and avenues for future research

In this section, I discuss some of the limitations associated with my dissertation. Against these limitations, I suggest some possible avenues for future research. First, when it comes to a topic as broad as linguistic integration, I realise that I have not been able to achieve a full understanding of the phenomenon under examination. Thus, many of the limitations have to do with the dissertation's focus and scope. Discussions on integration are broader than what can be compressed into language-related research questions. Language plays only one role, albeit a significant one, in

how an individual becomes a member of social communities. Thus, when grasping the wide topic of diversity, linguistic background is only one aspect of an individual's life and identity. Moreover, the choice of the five perspectives omitted some aspects of linguistic integration, such as information from the perspective of students' guardians.

Some limitations relate more to the data or are more due to the applicability of the somewhat eclectic conceptual framework. Although the five empirical sub-studies covered several perspectives on supporting increasing linguistic diversity, the theoretical and methodological choices I, along with my co-authors, made in each limited what kinds of information could be produced. I have already mentioned some epistemic issues regarding the designs, rationale, data collection, and analyses employed in the sub-studies (some of which are discussed in the original publications); thus, I focus here on the limitations of the study on a more general level.

Mixed methods research strives to deliver strengths that balance the weaknesses of both qualitative and quantitative research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). As qualitative and quantitative methods are linked to different paradigms, evaluating a mixed methods study means evaluating the use of both with appropriate criteria. I aimed to conduct and report the sub-studies systematically and consistently, familiarise myself with and apply theoretical and methodological literature, carry out data collection and analysis in interaction with my co-authors and other experts, acknowledge and re-examine possible ambiguities, and publish each sub-study in a high-quality, peer-reviewed journal. However, before evaluating the qualitative and quantitative components separately, I find it important to recognise that applying mixed methods is not just about combining methods. This leads to the first limitation of the study: although most of the sub-studies in the dissertation are strongly intertwined (e.g., the characteristics of teachers' and students' realities or discourses emerging from teacher education and teachers), some of the involved perspectives are rather loosely related. Despite relying on the same sociohistorical and theoretical starting points in each sub-study, some data sets are only conceptually linked when the participants are different (e.g., when including both pre- and in-service teachers or students from both lower secondary and primary schools). From the point of view of a 'solid' mixed methods study, a weakness of this dissertation may be that the loosely related sub-studies do not self-evidently balance the limitations of one another. While not identified to be a crucial validity issue, in future research settings applying mixed methods, the qualitative and quantitative components (and sub-studies) could be intertwined in terms of societal context, conceptual framework, and data sets. For instance, for a prospective examination of temporal changes, it might be relevant to construct a research setting wherein, between two or more surveys (or

alternative ways of measurement), there is a longer period of time of systematic language-aware learning experiments in certain multilingual schools.

Clear criteria for the quality of qualitative research are hard to establish, which does not denote that the studies itself should be of vague quality (Hammersley, 2007). The following four dimensions of trustworthiness are often assessed: 1) *credibility* (internal validity—how confident the researcher is in the honesty of the research results), 2) *transferability* (external validity—to what extent the results can be generalised or conveyed to other settings and contexts), 3) *dependability* (reliability—to what extent the same findings would be obtained if the study was replicated), and 4) *confirmability* (objectivity—to what extent the findings could be confirmed or corroborated by others) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Lincoln, 1995). Thus, the methodological choice to analyse supporting increasing linguistic diversity in narratives, written languaging reports, and text documents holds issues relevant to the quality of this study. I have applied methods that are not so common in educational sciences but are common in the field of humanities, thereby providing alternative viewpoints that can enrich the field. Characteristic of qualitative research, beyond the scope of discourse analysis was presenting the results as figures, as the narrated experiences and characteristics were managed interactionally between the participants rather than all responsibility being assigned to a 'teller'. Furthermore, while the figures were included when introducing the findings of the content analysis, the focus of the analysis was on the verbal choices that made the respondent a manifestor of a certain analytical category.

One obvious weakness of the qualitative analysis of the narratives and various written responses was the limited number of participants (in sub-studies 1, 4, and 5) and learning experiment tasks (one exercise with five tasks in sub-study 3). The sub-studies only included data from in- and pre-service teachers and students who agreed to participate; consequently, the data did not cover the whole teaching spectrum of multilingual schools or teacher education, which certainly affects the generalisability of the findings. In addition, I recognise that limitations resulted from the context-dependent data collection—the narratives and responses were elicited in a certain situation, to a specific need, or on someone's (e.g., mine as an interviewer) initiative. Within the settings, I was only able to obtain answers to the questions I asked. The co-constructed group interviews in sub-study 1 left room for dialogue and spontaneous narration, but the format of a scenario guiding the participants' reports of their thinking in sub-study 5 was rather narrow, undoubtedly diminishing the scope with which the development of teacher's preparedness could be assessed. In all instances of data collection, participation did not happen in a vacuum but was linked to its moment of occurrence and affected by both other members in the group and cultural assumptions of 'acceptable' or 'preferable' beliefs and actions. Furthermore, by analysing participants' talk and texts, the methodologies put

language into focus, potentially bypassing the characteristics of realities that the teachers or students could not verbalise. In the future, alternative perspectives could be elicited by adding multimodality to the analysis of teachers' interactions or students' learning experiments. Indeed, another limitation of this dissertation is that I did not go into the classrooms to observe but collected the data using various reporting methods, the results of which were experiences, beliefs, and reflections. Students and teachers in multilingual schools are not aware of everything they do; therefore, these aspects might be missing in the data. As Borg (2006) found, teachers' reports on their beliefs do not always match how they actually act in classrooms (see also Alisaari, 2019; Heikkola et al., 2022).

The final limitation related to the qualitative work concerns my somewhat theory-driven approach. The teachers' preparedness was initially coded through a particular pre-selected conceptual framework (e.g., the framework for the preparation of linguistically responsive teaching; Lucas & Villegas, 2013). Although the theoretical understandings I employed have strong support in the field of language learning research, I hold that such a selection affected what narratives and responses I coded as aligning with the 'right' way of interacting with multilingual learners. From a different conceptual angle, the analysis could have produced different kinds of information.

The criteria for evaluating the quantitative components of this dissertation are less ambiguous. Traditionally, quantitative research has been assessed by 1) *validity* (also known as internal validity—to what extent a survey measures what it is intended to measure), 2) *reliability* (consistency—to what extent a survey produces the same results if it is used in the same conditions), 3) *replicability* (accuracy—to what extent other researchers can use the same survey and arrive at the same results as the original work), and 4) *generalisability* (external validity—to what extent the results can be generalised or conveyed to other settings and contexts; Bryman, 2008; Tähtinen et al., 2020). In a dissertation combining humanities and educational sciences, my epistemological stance necessitated critical evaluation of how objectively it is possible to operationalise concepts that are somewhat difficult to define (regarding language-awareness framework, for instance, 'pedagogical practices that potentially operationalise scaffolding in a learner's ZPD') into response variables. Had there been ready-made and statistically validated survey questions for examining students' experiences regarding the language-awareness framework, employing them would have been beneficial. However, previous research regarding multilingual learners has mainly focused on assessing students' educational outcomes (e.g., Harju-Luukkainen et al., 2017; Kuukka & Metsämuuronen, 2016) instead of their experiences regarding pedagogical practices. With the surveys used in this study, I thus had to settle for using 'face validity'; based on the pilot, the responses were examined to see whether the survey questions

measured what they were intended to measure. Furthermore, against conventional humanist traditions, the introduction of quantitative methods into the topic was developmental, even somewhat innovative, and sets the study apart from much of the research in the field. However, when employing Likert scales and constructing summed variables (in sub-studies 2 and 3), it was necessary to draw drastic lines, albeit on the grounds of firm theoretical understandings, to make choices, each of which limited the information the surveys were able to produce. In particular, the nuances of students' thinking were lost. I would have liked to have observed multilingual classrooms and interviewed students to explore the questions remaining as research gaps in the analysis of the numerical data. For example, based on students' experiences, what was characteristic of increasing first language(s) valuation? What was the language like that was used in collaborative negotiations wherein students co-constructed knowledge drawing on their linguistic resources? To some extent, the creation of categories (for instance, group variables based on students' linguistic backgrounds) counters my sociolinguistic understanding of language and all students as multilingual languagers (see Sections 1 and 2). However, the quantitative component of the study allowed me to, for instance, capture a cross-sectional comparison of different generations of Finnish learners and show how supporting multilingual learners' linguistic integration through scaffolding, valuing first language(s), and identifying the demands of academic language cannot be considered 'either-or' matters.

Reflecting on the theoretical understandings, I would like to point out one more limitation regarding the relationship between theory and practice; fortunately, it serves as an inspiration for avenues of future research. This study holds that the polysemic term *language awareness* includes, inter alia, valuing students' first language(s), promoting multiliteracy across different disciplines, and developing students' knowledge about language (see Alholm, 2020; Dufva, 2018; Lahti et al., 2020; Rapatti, 2020). The different aspects of the term are echoed in multiple ways in the sub-studies and influenced the design of the research setting, data collection and analysis, and interpretation of the results against the theoretical background. However, at a point where I would have been able to put theories into practice to the fullest, namely, when empirically testing learning material in sub-study 3, only one aspect of language awareness and one learning experiment could be fit into the article. Although the designed learning materials (Alisaari et al., 2020) wholly resonate with all aspects of language awareness and holistically encompass, inter alia, exercises that seek to bring pedagogical translanguaging to classrooms, in the learning experiment part of the study, multilingualism explicitly manifested only as secret languages and gibberish Finnish. The participants were, however, encouraged to overcome monolingual norms during the experiment, and by focusing on students' collaborative dialogue, understanding was gained about their languaging (as both an

inter- and intramental activity) and their knowledge about language. The limitation of including only one experiment was partly due to the space of the publication format. It was challenging to include descriptions of collaborative classroom activities without losing relevant information or opportunities to reflect on the results. The choice of which learning experiment (the linguistic escape room) was reported in part came about due to the possibility of testing the particular exercise with a sufficiently large group of students. Future research should consider the aspects of language awareness of which the contributions remain limited. In particular, designing and testing pedagogical practices that support multilingual learners' multiliteracies in different academic disciplines would be a fruitful next step. However, research is needed on how students' multiliteracies are being or could be developed in classroom interactions constructed through multilingual resources.

In retrospect, the learning experiments conducted in the context of the present study were done on a pilot basis, generating assurance that students should indeed be more involved in research on linguistic practices in education. By guiding the students to discuss language collaboratively, they became engaged in the classroom activities and produced pedagogically relevant knowledge about their experiences and needs in linguistically diverse schools. However, to achieve a nuanced understanding of their long-term learning processes, I would be eager to collect longitudinal data, relying more on fields of linguistic ethnography and interactional sociolinguistics. By collecting materials through interviews and observation, I could avoid many of the limitations associated with this study, such as creating categories and variables. Furthermore, zooming in on students' individual developmental pathways would be fruitful for understanding how their linguistic repertoires and multilingual identities develop through language-aware pedagogy and how students reflect such development. From a methodological point of view, reflective diaries, languaging tasks, video and audio recordings, and other submissions could be useful tools to show how students' agency in learning emerges and flourishes in relation to social interaction.

5.3 Final remarks

I end my dissertation by returning to where I started—my memories as a teacher in a multilingual school. The students who arrived at the school and whom I encountered in 2015 have continued their educational paths. Some have gone on to vocational education, some to high school. Recently, I heard that one started at a university. Many of the students have been in touch, even after years, and told me where the Finnish school system has taken their lives. Maybe their first encounters with teachers in a new school have remained in their memories, and it therefore feels worthwhile to update me on their lives. When these former students write to me, the

hope arises that, despite my worries and incompleteness at the time, I was able to respond to their needs and support their linguistic integration.

After all these years of conducting this study and the learning process that took place during it, I have come to understand—or perhaps found the words to describe—what I would say if someone asked what to consider were they to find themselves in a situation of being a teacher for recent arrivals: 'If the school system wants learners to emerge from schooling after basic education as intelligent, imaginative, and linguistically talented, the system must treat them as intelligent, imaginative, and linguistically talented from the first day they arrive in school' (foreword by Cummins, in Gibbons, 2014). Based on what I have learned through the sub-studies of this dissertation, I would further add that, from the first day they arrive at school, whoever encounters these learners must try to create situations where, interaction by interaction, their agency gets to emerge in collaborative activities. In social learning communities, students have more opportunities to experience inclusion and being linguistically talented.

By integrating the fields of linguistics and education, this dissertation explored the intersecting perspectives regarding supporting linguistic diversity at different levels of the school system. In more detail, the dissertation examined the perspectives of teachers, students, students as learning material users, teacher education, and pre-service teachers. The results indicate that language-aware schools need to be constructed collaboratively—and let this be the main message of this dissertation. The participants whose perspectives were included could be considered agents of bringing language-aware policies into practice in schools and educational institutions. Here, agency is considered a socially constructed phenomenon and reflects the capacity of both teachers and students to act. However, the teachers' linguistically responsive actions did not appear to grow by themselves. Actions (and, intertwined with them, acceptance and change) could be supported by assistance, materials, and professional development, but the connections between these need to be explored more closely in the future. Furthermore, linguistically diverse students' agency in multilingual Finnish schools did not occur self-evidently, but through social interaction, which could be supported by employing students' entire linguistic repertoires in collaborative classroom activities. To conclude the argument about the significance of social interaction and working together, I include two simple excerpts that emerged from the different data sets of this study, both of which emphasise collaboration when constructing a language-aware school. The first excerpt is part of a teacher narrative manifesting readiness to change; in it, a teacher expresses their experience of the benefits of promoting the co-construction of knowledge. In the second excerpt, a multilingual student describes what kind of strategy they used to solve a learning task in the classroom. This excerpt was elicited after a learning experiment during which language-aware materials were tested.

> It works better if there is a peer student sitting nearby. One can ask about and discuss the topic with that neighbour. That often seems to facilitate learning.
> (Teacher in a group interview)

> [We] talked with a friend. Me and my friend pondered.
> (Multilingual learner of Finnish reporting on a task-solving strategy)

These excerpts align with the message of my work: increasing intermental activity during collaborative learning seems to support multilingual students' participation.

In addition to producing information on how to support linguistically diverse learners, this dissertation revealed threats to language awareness in the Finnish school system. Contradictory discourses and mismatches between policy and practical levels reiterated the idea that education—and actors in the field—cannot afford to not care about their responsibilities in linguistic integration. The sub-studies indicated that despite progressive language policies having been declared on a curricular level, implementation of these policies has been gradual, even arbitrary, on the levels of individual classroom agents and institutions; thus, the policies may not meet the needs of newcomers. The narratives of some of the participating teachers included a worrying grouping of students into 'us' and 'them', accompanied by change-resistant and racist discourses, to which the Finnish education system should be able to respond in the future. Thus, to support increasing linguistic diversity, collaboration within classrooms and system-level collaboration are needed to act for discursive changes. At worst, if the importance of language for all learning is not recognised more widely, language might play a role in the reproduction of inequalities; if multilingual learners are silenced or left without agency, ignoring their potential becomes a form of discrimination (cf. Helót & Ó Laoire, 2011). Therefore, another argument reinforcing the message of this dissertation is that the understanding of linguistic repertoire development and language awareness must be more widely spread, from the context of basic education to workplaces, societal decisions, public services, and everyday people-to-people encounters. The same applies to critically reflecting on 'us' and 'them' ideologies in educational discussions and teacher training; otherwise, it may be difficult to root out practitioners' false beliefs and increase their empathy towards newcomers. Conclusively, by increasing societal awareness of ways of supporting diversity and language learning, discourses that describe linguistic diversity as a 'challenge' could be shifted towards discourses that focus on multilingualism as an asset. Ideally, in language-aware schools, linguistic diversity is celebrated (cf. Alisaari et al., 2021; Nieto, 2013; Valdiviezo & Nieto, 2017).

Becoming an immigrant at some stage of life is more common now than ever. The relevance of how societies can respond to the needs of growing global mobility will prospectively increase, in particular in the crossfire of ongoing and recent

geopolitical and environmental changes and the rise of right-wing populist parties in several countries. The research process of this dissertation enabled me to learn that promoting linguistic diversity is a multidimensional process wherein all schools and education institutions, whether they realise it or not, operate from and within certain language policies and ideologies. The results of this study motivate me as a researcher and teacher to highlight learners' linguistic backgrounds as one of the intersecting factors affecting students' schooling. Thus, the final argument is that the needs of emerging multilingual learners must be taken into account to develop a school system based on egalitarian principles. In order to promote inclusive learning opportunities for these learners, it is necessary to reflect the perspectives of individuals and institutions who act on the different layers of constructing language-aware education. We can move towards supporting linguistic diversity if we do it together.

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