Issues in the Implementation of CLIL in Pre-Vocational Education in The Netherlands

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Signature: …….

Abstract

The increasing momentum behind the use of Content Language and Integrated learning (CLIL) within the Dutch educational system is a disputed one. Despite a considerable body of literature supporting the benefits of CLIL many stakeholders feel otherwise and are reluctant to employ CLIL despite the generally positive literature. Others are more enthusiastic and take (forms of) CLIL on board only to dismiss its principles after a number of years, leaving them disappointed; some educational institutes manage to implement a different approach to teaching successfully whereas others seem to fail. Hence there is a need for research to explore the issues that may cause disjunction between CLIL models of best practice as described in literature and everyday work situations. This thesis seeks to explore the complex ways in which professionals negotiate and relate to the implementation of Content and Language Integrated learning. An interview study was conducted to identify the complex ways in which professionals negotiate and relate to the implementation of Content and Language Integrated learning as well as an identification of disjunctures when experiences and expectations of the professionals were placed next to each other and compared in detail. This thesis presents the key findings of in depth semi- structured interviews with six teachers and two headmasters in secondary education at two different locations. The stakeholders were closely involved in the implementation of CLIL. The analysis I employed sought to interpret and pin down insiders' views on the consequences of the implementation of CLIL in their professional and social lives by means of inductive approaches and techniques. The data procured from the interviews were very rich and meaningful, which support the discussion on issues in the implementation of CLIL. The findings showed that the stakeholders at each setting approached CLIL differently and experienced different forms of disjuncture. The obstacles and possible frictions have been mentioned in this study which require attention, for when the frictions described in this study are addressed in a profound and resolute manner the CLIL case, or any new educational implementation, may well be furthered.

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List of Abbreviations

CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference
CLIL	Content and Lanuage Integrated Learning
Eibo	*Engels in het basisonderwijs* English in primary education
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EMI	English as Medium of Instruction
EP-Nuffic	European Platform Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation, EP-Nuffic is the expertise and service centre for internationalization in Dutch education: from primary and secondary education to vocational training and higher
FL	Foreign Language
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
HAVO	*Hoger Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs*; Mainstream strand in secondary education.
L1	Native Language
L2	Second Language
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MT	Mother Tongue
PABO	*Pedagogische Academie voor Basis Onderwijs* Teacher Training College for Primary teachers
TPO	*Tweetalig Primair Onderwijs* Bilingual Primary Education
TTO	*Twee Talig Onderwijs*; Bilingual Education
T-VMBO	Twee Talig- VMBO Bilingual Education at VMBO
VMBO	*Voorbereidend Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs* Pre-vocational education
VWO	*Voorbereidend wetenschappelijk Onderwijs*; Pre-university strand in secondary education

VTO	*Versterkt Talen Onderwijs* An adapted version of CLIL
VVTO	*Vroeg Vreemde Talen Onderwijs* Early Foreign Language Education

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Every year an increasing number of educational institutes all over Europe employ English as a medium of instruction. In an increasing number of countries English is now regarded as a component of basic education rather than part of the foreign languages curriculum and a surprising number of countries now aspire to bilingual education[1] (Graddol, 2006). Also in the Netherlands various educational bodies, spurred by European Commission reports on foreign language acquisition and learning, have increasingly promoted bilingual education at primary and secondary level.

But the question presents itself whether bilingual education as a new teaching approach is really as good as some scientists, and politicians, lead us to believe. Graddol argues that the traditional EFL model which "tends to highlight the importance of learning about the culture and society of native speakers […] and emphasizes the importance of emulating native speaker language behaviour" (2006: p.102) is slowly being replaced by bilingual programmes such as CLIL, being the predominant agent of bilingual education in Europe, as countries respond to the rise of global English.

Embedding the rise of CLIL in a historical context, the Barcelona European Council met in March 2002 proposing in its report that every citizen needs to be able to communicate in a minimum of two languages in addition to one's mother tongue, (European Commission, 2005), which is also known as the MT+2 formula (Marsh, 2002). The report mainly stresses that many more schools could benefit from CLIL comprehension approaches and providing their students with enriched opportunities at the same time. But more importantly claims were made that foreign languages had not sufficiently been taught and learned in schools and that a considerable investment in the educational field was needed. And therefore, bilingual education,

[1] Cambridge uses 'bilingual education' to refer to the use of two or more languages as mediums of instruction for 'content' subjects.

where two languages are used to teach language and subject content in an integrated way needs to be seen as a cost-effective, practical and sustainable solution (Marsh, 2002). The terminology for CLIL in the Netherlands is referred to as Twee-Talig Onderwijs (TTO), which is a literal translation of bilingual education. Therefore, I will use bilingual education synonymously with CLIL throughout the thesis (see 2.1. for further CLIL definition).

A remarkable number of governments not only talk about the necessity of learning a foreign language but also present their ambitions to make their respective countries bilingual ones: the European project is to create plurilingual citizens (Graddol, 2006). I see there is a momentum among (EU) politicians that want to instil CLIL into schools and other educational institutes, stressing the advantages of CLIL as a new teaching methodology and thus promoting it heavily.

The acronym of CLIL was coined in 1994 by a group of experts working under the remit of European commission funding (Ruiz de Zarobe & Jimenez Catalan, 2009) and basically CLIL can be described as an approach to teaching where one or more content-driven subjects are integrated with the learning of a foreign language that is not widely used in the broader society of the learners. The point here is that CLIL "can provide effective opportunities for pupils to use their second language skills and can reduce the time needed in the school curriculum for lessons in that language" (Ruiz de Zarobe & Jimenez Catalan, 2009: p.12). The contents of the Barcelona European Council report, as mentioned before, did not come as a surprise but rather as a confirmation and further stimulant of *globalization* that had started to spread its wings by the mid 1990's. And it is globalization that has driven greater demands for foreign language learning ever since.

But there is a more than just political motive. Input from different academic fields has contributed to the recognition of the new CLIL approach to educational practice. It is not merely a convenient response to the challenges posed by rapid globalization but rather "a solution which is timely, which is in harmony with broader social perspectives, and which has proved effective" (Coyle et al., 2010: p.5). Informed by these demands educational organizations in the Netherlands have begun to explore and implement various forms of CLIL. In the last decade, there has been a swift and

exponential growth in the numbers of school who offer CLIL based education not only in academic and mainstream levels but also in vocational streams (EP-Nuffic,[2] 2016a). Over the years much attention has been given to the rationale and much research has been conducted on the "beneficiary" effects of CLIL methodologies for students.

1.2 Rationale

However, as I will do in this study, further attention should be given to a deeper understanding of the characteristics of successful CLIL programmes because the developments of CLIL within Dutch educational institutions have not remained unchallenged. Its emergence has contributed to a discourse that calls into question the *practical consequences* of the implementation of CLIL. Whereas other scientists draw the debate into a political context since, to them, the effects of CLIL education are so clear and so abundant.

Because of all this the thoughts and ideas about foreign language instruction among teachers have started to change in the last decade. The focus has turned in the direction of a content-driven approach. Traditional Foreign Language (FL) teaching was considered to be insufficient and new directions were sought to push foreign language learning to higher levels. CLIL programmes mushroomed within the Dutch educational system and at the same time numerous school boards saw the imminent threat of exclusion if their institutions did not adopt a variation of these programmes. Secondary schools in particular have started to promote the new approaches in their curricula in order to attract as many students as possible for CLIL has been heralded as the best answer to decreasing students' results attained in modern foreign languages. At introduction days, educational institutes support CLIL as the flagship of Europe's educational programme wholeheartedly and future stakeholders are informed likewise. Numbers of reports and empirical studies are used to convince students and parents of the new possibilities offered by this new methodology.

However, behind this wave of enthusiasm about the positive effects that CLIL may yield, a second wave is starting to gain momentum that is more critical towards this

[2] EP-Nuffic is the expertise and service centre for internationalization in Dutch education.

new approach. There are schools using forms of CLIL that have started to backslide on exam results, especially in the content subjects, which are taught in L2. Seemingly, what may work for certain groups of students need not necessarily work for others. I suspected that learners with an affinity for languages are more likely to benefit from an L2 language of instruction and L2 content material than learners who are lagging behind in linguistic dimensions, which will be discussed later (3.2).

In the Netherlands, most of the CLIL programmes have been offered to students at pre-university or academic levels. These students have been tested on their language skills before entering these programmes. However, school administrators have taken steps to implement forms of CLIL in vocational streams as well. A number of school administrators see new prospects but a number of teachers (and administrators) experience all sorts of difficulties.

From the context, I have just described a number of issues emerge. If CLIL really is the new way forward in foreign language (FL) learning in our 21st century, it is remarkable that so many schools have decided not to adopt this new approach. After all a considerable number of scientists see the CLIL approach in FL learning as the end of most problems (see chapter 3). The issue presents itself why a number of school administrations are reserved when it comes to the (full) employment of bilingual education whereas other administrations embrace this new concept whole-heartedly? This is where my positionality steps in:

After having been an English FL teacher at a secondary school for almost 30 years and having co-worked with fellow-teachers, and as such being a teacher with many years of experience, I have witnessed many changes in educational practices over the years. I have witnessed the rise and fall of a number of these new approaches and one of the latest shifts has been the implementation of CLIL in pre-vocational secondary streams in the Netherlands. Because of all these developments I would have been quite reluctant if I were asked to start with CLIL at that time.

The institute I work for consists of four satellite schools. And some colleagues at these satellite schools wanted to start with CLIL and some colleagues did not. Some board members supported the CLIL advocates whereas others were opposed

towards CLIL. In the end, it was decided that CLIL was to be introduced in the first two years of secondary modern education at all four schools. Because I only taught the upper forms, I was never asked to use CLIL myself for CLIL. As such I had never worked with CLIL myself and was therefore not affected by these changes in my teaching directly. However, as head of the English department I found myself in the middle of the CLIL discourse at our institute, and although I was not in the position to make decisions, CLIL implementation was discussed extensively. At the earliest start of a possible CLIL implementation at our school I was quite biased but after having studied the CLIL approach my initial negative thoughts changed into a more positive outlook on CLIL

I observed that many stakeholders at the institute I work for have been reluctant to employ CLIL as a didactical and pedagogical model for language and content learning, despite a considerable body of literature supporting the benefits of CLIL. The mere fact that a number of these teachers were asked to drop their traditional teaching methods and adopt the CLIL approach caused confusion and raised levels of frustration among them.

However, there were positive responses as well. I have seen young teachers driven by a passion for the integration of language and content but also senior teachers who often frown upon these new approaches. Being part of the teaching community I have observed feelings of resignation and despondency leading to frictions in the workplace among fellow staff members. Many colleagues considered the implementation of CLIL as yet another educational change that had been introduced in a very limited space of time. Examples in other contexts, not my own, are known where teachers who volunteered in becoming a CLIL teacher received better salaries or better conditions than their colleagues who did not (Maljers, 2007).

I wanted to know about the initial drives of teachers and the obstacles that held them back and frustrated them in the end. What happens when the first sparks of enthusiasm diminish? One of the motivations to conduct this research was generated by teachers who felt powerless and not knowing how to deal with the implementation of CLIL.

I felt that the school community, especially at management levels, could learn from a deeper understanding of these issues and experiences that have affected teachers; not only from this case of the implementation of CLIL but also to develop a better understanding for future interventions in the education domain.

Another motive why I wanted to research this is the fact that I felt a strong discrepancy between theory as described in literature and the obstinate reality of day-to-day classroom practices in pre-vocational education. Moreover, I witnessed an ever-widening gap between the supporters of this new approach and its opponents. The issue was discussed at my school (and neighbouring schools) on indistinct and ambiguous grounds with the advocates' recurrent claim that science was on their side. But what does literature, and more importantly, what do the professionals who work with CLIL tell us? And if CLIL is so beneficial for everyone involved what is the source of resistance and disbelief among the opposing professionals? This was also an important incentive to start this research.

1.3 Research Aims

On the basis of these informal observations and hunches I formulated my research question: How do staff stakeholders reflect on their experiences of the implementation of CLIL in two faith-based pre-vocational schools in the Netherlands? As well as the following sub-questions:

i. What is their understanding or awareness of CLIL?
ii. How did they experience the implementation phase?
iii. What are their experiences and perceptions of adopting CLIL?
iv. What are their retrospective views on the process?

1.4 Significance of this Study

The thesis seeks to build on the body of research concerning forms of Content Language and Integrated Learning and fills in gaps that have not been described in current research. The larger part of body of research on CLIL based methodology has not engaged the possible stakeholders' personal views. All Dutch educational institutions that have adopted (a variation of) CLIL also employ the traditional foreign

language methodology simultaneously because, in the Netherlands, each and every individual student must have a choice between CLIL and traditional EFL education.

Furthermore, this inquiry seeks to give a voice to the participants in order to enable them to express what they need for the implementation and teaching of CLIL at their schools. At the same time, I hoped this study would be like a puzzle that would be solved in the end; to bridge the gap between CLIL theory and CLIL practice because the nature of the problem was that the participants needed knowledge, which would direct them through the extremely complex labyrinth of implementing a totally new educational approach, which was so different from their traditional teaching they had known for so many years.

The institutes that have implemented CLIL cover the vast area from primary schools to universities. In order to narrow the scope of my research I focused on the schools that endeavoured to proceed with the implementation in pre-vocational streams. I feel there is a lot of tension among the teachers and other stakeholders at these schools and this thesis seeks to understand and explain their underlying emotions, motives and drives that contribute to this tension. This may well help to gain a more profound perception on the matter of implementing new teaching and learning approaches. All the findings in this study seek to contribute to the picture of CLIL education in the Netherlands.

The main relevance of this study is the added value for school managers, coordinators and teachers who seek to implement (a form of) CLIL. This study not only aims to reveal possible issues that may arise from CLIL approach implementation but also aims to help the professionals overcome possible challenges and avoid possible pitfalls that lie ahead. Moreover, the findings of this study may contribute to what is taught at teacher training colleges in order to prepare their students who are being trained to become the future CLIL teachers. At the same time, I do hope that the findings will affect the way CLIL is taught at schools so that pupils and students will also benefit. This study poses relevant questions that may prove important if new approaches to learning are to gain a stronger momentum in the future. Apart from this practical relevance there is also the scientific relevance for

new knowledge is added to the knowledgebase as will be discussed in the conclusion.

1.5 Outline of the Study

This thesis comprises another 5 chapters following on from this introduction. In chapter 2 I will provide contextual background information to this study by elaborating on the current situation of the educational system in the Netherlands within the wider context of Dutch society, the position of English and CLIL within this educational system as well as the direct context of the localities and respondents. In chapter 3 I provide a conceptual framework for this study by providing my understanding of the dimensions that positively underpin CLIL, including the 4C framework, as well as the issues that arise from the implementation of CLIL as described in Literature. In the chapter that follows I elaborate on the design of this study; the theoretical perspective, the methodology I adopted, the research questions, information on the data collection as well as the data analysis as well as the ethics, my position as a researcher and the concepts of validity and reliability. I conclude this chapter with the limitations. These chapters shape and channel I my data analysis I employed as well as the discussion of the findings that emerged from the analysis in chapter 5. This chapter addresses the wide array of implications that coincide with the implementation of CLIL. In the final chapter I conclude the study by revisiting the research questions, my contribution to knowledge and thirdly, the impact of this study on my professional development.

Chapter 2

Setting of the Inquiry

2.1 Introduction

Apart from the native language English has been considered an important foreign language in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, next to German and French. However, the development of the use of English as means of instruction and conveyor of thoughts in non-EFL classroom situations is quite revolutionary. The government made it part of her mission to promote the use of English in order to improve and develop the current situation. Consequently, an increasing number of primary and secondary schools in the Netherlands have introduced CLIL as a new educational approach.

The term for CLIL used in the Dutch educational system is TTO (Tweetalig Onderwijs or Bilingual Education). CLIL must be regarded here as the underlying didactical methodology of TTO with the presumption that language acquisition not only occurs in English lessons but also in content lessons. During CLIL lessons and extramural activities the teachers and students do not use Dutch but English. The two main objectives of CLIL are to increase the students' command of English and acquisition of a more international orientation. These premises have been drafted and laid down in a CLIL framework (EP-Nuffic, 2013) and coordinated by the European Platform, also known as EP-Nuffic, the internationalisation centre of the Dutch educational system that supports and advices primary and secondary CLIL institutes in the Netherlands. It states in its reports that the total number of CLIL schools has increased to 130 of which 25 pre-vocational schools that offer CLIL (EP-Nuffic, 2016a).

This chapter has five aims:

1. In the first place, it is important to emphasize the fact that the Dutch society is a multicultural society and has a direct impact on the Dutch educational system as such.

2. Secondly a brief but thorough account of the Dutch educational system in order to get a clearer picture of the advancement of English and the latest stances on bilingual education in the Netherlands. Without an understanding of this system it would be hard to follow the discourse and hence it is of key importance. In this section, the traditional position of English is also discussed.

3. Thirdly I discuss the advancement of the implementation of CLIL as interpreted by the Dutch government and the European Platform in general.

4. Fourthly an overview of bilingual education in Dutch setting: its history and its present-day situation in primary and secondary education.

5. The final aim is to provide relevant information about the English CLIL teachers and the content CLIL teachers; their in-service training and pre-service training as it is today in the Netherlands.

This chapter ends with a description of the immediate context; the schools that are the setting for this inquiry and the respondents that provide the data.

2.2 The Dutch Multicultural Society

The Netherlands are known for its multicultural society and it is important to know how the educational system is organized within this society since demographic features account for some of the reasons why CLIL has assumed such large proportions in the educational landscape of the Netherlands. The multicultural society has an important impact on the Dutch educational system, especially on the pre-vocational streams. This is important since this study focuses on pre-vocational education. The make-up of pre-vocational streams differs from other streams of education, which is an important notion.

The Ministry of Education reports that persons with a *non-western* background receive education at lower levels than persons with a *western* background. 20% of all students in pre-vocational education have a non-western background. And 80% of all

non-westerners in the Netherlands attend pre-vocational streams (Van der Hoeven, 2004). The persons with a foreign background are classified as *western* or *non-western*, according to their country of birth.

The employment of these working phrases *western* and *non-western* requires further explanation. The focus in this section is therefore on the structure of the Dutch population as such. The data I use are from *Statistics Netherlands*, which is an organization responsible for collecting and processing data in order to publish statistics to be used in practice, by policymakers and for scientific research, and whose mission is to publish reliable and coherent statistical information, which responds to the needs of Dutch society. The responsibility of Statistics Netherlands is twofold: firstly, to compile official national statistics and secondly to compile European community statistics.

All data that are used in this section are from 2016[3] if not referenced otherwise. The total number of inhabitants in the Netherlands is 16.979.120 consisting of Dutch citizens (13,226,829) and citizens with a foreign background (3.752.291). The latter come from a wide array of backgrounds and Statistics Netherlands subdivides these persons into two groups: firstly, people with a western background (1 655 699) and secondly: people with a non-western background (2 096 592). I do not include data on the origins of persons with a western background for the reason that Statistics Netherlands has not collected these data. The reason for this is that most policy makers focus on the non-western population in the Netherlands, which is in their opinion comparable to ‘ethnic minorities’.

On the other hand, the western population consists to a large extent of labour migrants and persons from neighbouring countries (Belgium and Germany). In the Netherlands statistical information with respect to 'foreign background groups' is considered very important, because of policies aiming at the improvement of the situation of persons with a disadvantaged background, for example in the field of the labour market and education (Alders, 2001) Hence Statistics Netherlands distinguishes five categories in the “non-western” group (in alphabetical order):

[3] CBS, (2016). Retrieved January 19 2017 from https://www.cbs.nl/en-GB

Morocco (385,761), (former) Netherland Antilles and Aruba (150,981), Surinam (349,022), Turkey (397,471) and “other non-western” background (813,357). This category of ‘other non-western’ includes persons with an, African, Asian and Latin American background. More than 20 per cent of the Dutch population has a non-Dutch background. The impact of such numbers becomes visible in certain parts of the Netherlands: Amsterdam for instance, the capital of the Netherlands, counted 177 nationalities in 2009 as the city’s bureau of statistics shows (OIS, Amsterdam, 2009).

2.3 Overview of Dutch Educational System

In this section I elaborate on the Dutch educational system in order to provide background information on the different types of secondary education and its position between primary education and tertiary education in order to get a clear picture of the context. The focus is on pre-vocational streams, which are part of secondary education.

The two institutions involved in this study are part of the Dutch Educational System. Despite the fact that this study focuses on pre-vocational streams only the primary and the secondary educational settings are also described for it is necessary to know how a child learns a foreign language from the very start (primary school) up to the level that is investigated (secondary school) and the position of pre-vocational education in the whole structure. Tertiary and adult education are shown in figure 2.1 but not discussed. Figure 2.1 shows the main building blocks of the Dutch educational system.

2.3.1 Primary Education

Most children in the Netherlands go to school at the age of four, despite the fact that compulsory education starts at the age of 5. A schoolchild starts its education at a primary school, at level 0 and 1 according to the ISCED (*International Standards of Classification of Education,* 2016*)* and the student leaves this type of education at the age of 12.

The Unesco organization provides the ISCED since the world's education systems vary widely in terms of structure and curricular content. Consequently, without these

standards it can be difficult for national policymakers to compare their own education systems with those of other countries or to benchmark progress towards national and international goals.

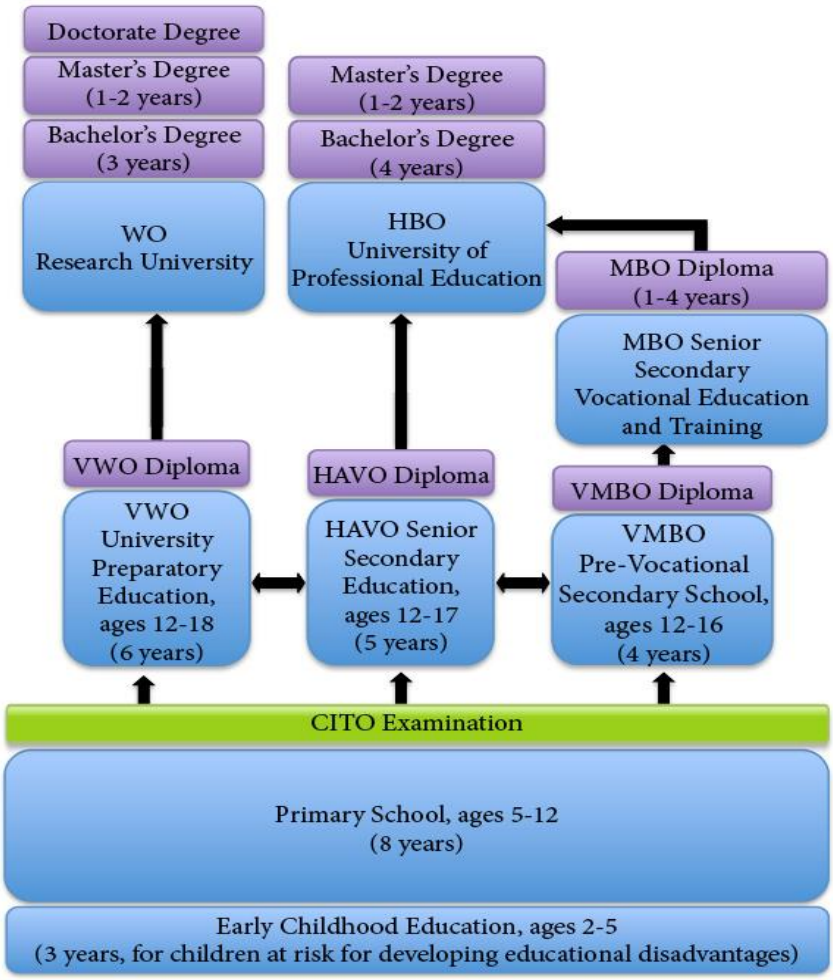

Figure 2.1 Dutch Educational System (source NCEE.org)

The pupils start in grade 1 and finish in grade 8. The first four groups form the "onderbouw" or the lower classes for the age group 4 – 8 years old, and the last four groups form the "bovenbouw" or the upper classes for the age group 9 – 12 years old.

At primary school a number of compulsory subjects are taught and the core curriculum must include:

1. Dutch;
2. English;
3. Arithmetic and mathematics;
4. Social and environmental studies *(including, for instance, geography, history, science (including biology), citizenship, social and life skills (including road safety), healthy living, social structures (including political studies) and religious and ideological movements)*;
5. Creative expression *(including, for instance, music, drawing and handicrafts)*;
6. Sports and movement.

Schools may also offer subjects, such as French, German or religious studies, but these subjects are not required by law[4].

At the end of year eight the pupils' attainments are measured by the CITO test. This test consists of a battery of multiple-choice questions covering reading and writing, maths and arithmetic, English and sometimes social and environmental studies (not obligatory). The test also covers the personal study skills of each pupil. The results of this test have a major influence on the advice given by the primary schools about what type of secondary education would be most appropriate for each child. However, since the CITO test is taken at a particular point in time, providing a snapshot, the overall performance of the pupil during the entire time he/she spent at primary education and its personal interests are also of importance.

2.3.2 Secondary Education

Once a child has finished his/her formal primary education he or she can choose from four types of secondary education (from pre-vocational level to pre-university level). Each level described below also finds its counterpart in the ISCED[5].

[4] Subjects and Attainment Targets in Primary Education. (2015, July 30). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from https://www.government.nl/topics/primary-education/contents/subjects-and-attainment-targets-in-primary-education

[5] Data to Transform Lives. (n.d.). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Pages/international-standard-classification-of-education.aspx

PRO	practical training (ISCED 2C)
VMBO	pre-vocational secondary education (ISCED 2)
HAVO	senior general secondary education (ISCED 3A)
VWO	pre-university education (ISCED 3A)

As a rule, students must attend school until the age of 18 or until they have obtained a basic qualification. Each one of these school types starts with the same basic training, the so-called ‘basisvorming’. In theory, the curricula in the first two years at three of these four types of education are the same (PRO has its own curriculum with a smaller number of taught subjects and more focus on practical skills).

In practice, it is possible to have slight changes among the curricula. Latin and Greek for example are only taught at the VWO from year 1. The subjects that are taught at all levels are Dutch, English, French, German, history, geography, mathematics, biology, physics, creative expression, sports and movement. Each school can decide what extra subject(s) to add to the curriculum to distinguish one school from the other. An extra subject at for instance a faith school would be Religious Instruction whereas a school that wants to stress the importance of languages would offer an extra language like Spanish. The main principle of the concept of ‘basisvorming’ is to show and have the students experience the interconnectedness of the various subjects. This can be obtained by dealing with the same topics at various subjects at the same time. Another option to focus on interconnectedness is merging a number of subjects into one new subject. This is often done, for example, by bundling biology, chemistry and physics into one new subject called *nature*.

At the end of the first two years at secondary education the schools give advice to each student what would be the best way to go forward in their school career. Vmbo, Havo or Vwo. For the sake of clarity, I will use the Dutch abbreviations for each school type in this chapter: Vmbo for *pre-vocational education*, Havo for *senior general secondary education* and Vwo for *pre-university education*.

2.3.2.1 Pre-vocational Stream

When a student has chosen the VMBO (Voorbereidend Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs) stream, or pre-vocational education, after the 2-year basic training he/she needs an extra two years to get this qualification. Under normal circumstances a VMBO student finishes his/her study at the age of 16. Once they have chosen for the VMBO the students can choose from four learning pathways in four different sectors:

1. Care and welfare
2. Business (small / retail)
3. Engineering and technology
4. Agriculture

Each of these four sectors can be studied at 4 levels:

1. *Basic vocational programme*: elements of general education and practical education are both part of this pathway often combined with on-the-job experience) (ISCED 2C).
2. *Middle-management vocational programme*: best suited for students who want to move on to further vocational training (ISCED 2C).
3. *Combined programme*: offers a mix of theoretical & practical subjects (ISCED 2).
4. *Theoretical programme*: students who follow this pathway continue on to senior general secondary education or to secondary vocational education (ISCED 2).

After four years of formal training the students of the basic vocational programme and the middle management vocational programme take their final national exams in five subjects whereas students that followed the combined programme or the theoretical programme take six subjects.

2.3.2.2 Senior General Secondary Education

The first three years of HAVO (Hoger Algemeen Vormend Onderwijs), or Senior General Secondary Education, are focussed on general knowledge and skills. The core curriculum in these first three years is the same for every student that follows

this type of education. In the final two years specialization takes place. At the end of year three students are more aware of their strengths, weaknesses and interests. The school advises the student and his or her parents which specialization would fit best. The two upper years are divided into a common component, a specialised component and an optional component. The four specialised subject combinations that pupils can choose from are:

1. Science and technology;
2. Science and health;
3. Economics and society;
4. Culture and society.

Most HAVO students continue their school careers at a college that offers higher vocational education. A small percentage change over to VWO once they have graduated. It will take two more years to pass their VWO examinations.

2.3.2.3 Pre-University Education

VWO (Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs) or pre-university education takes six years. With a VWO diploma students can continue their education at a university. There are two types of VWO: athenaeum and gymnasium, with the only difference that Latin and/ or Greek is a compulsory subject at gymnasium. VWO is divided into two parts: the first three years are used for general knowledge and skills for all VWO students. After completion of these three years the majority of students will enter the second phase of their training that will also take three years to complete. These final years are used for specialization. Students choose one of the following areas:

1. Science and technology;
2. Science and health;
3. Economics and society;
4. Culture and society.

Dutch, mathematics and English are part of each domain and thus compulsory to all students. On a scale from 1-10 the final average result of these three subjects must be 6 and one of these three subjects may be 5. If students score less than 5 for one

of these three core subjects or when the average final mark for these three subjects is lower than 6 the students fail their exams.

2.4 Position of English in Primary and Secondary Education

After this brief overview of types of education, I want to focus on the position of English in primary and in secondary education since it is a compulsory subject at both types. When the position of English is discussed in the Dutch system two issues emerge:

1. At what age do pupils have to start learning English at school?
2. How much time is spent on English in primary and secondary education?

Figure 2.2 shows the average English lesson time per week (horizontal axis) at the number (as a percentage) of all primary schools in the Netherlands (vertical axis). It shows that 75 % of all schools spend 30 to 60 minutes of their total weekly education time on English.

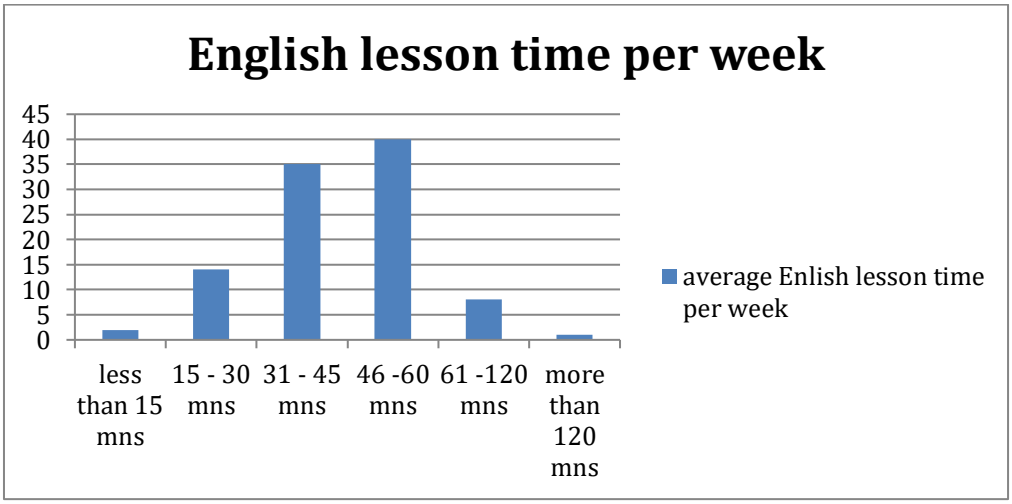

Figure 2.2: English lesson time per week (Source: Thijs et al., 2011)

A small number of schools offer more than one hour on English. The Dutch educational system distinguishes three variations as far as the starting point of learning English at primary schools (Eibo: Engels in het basisonderwijs) is concerned; firstly schools that start English in groups 7 or 8 at the age of 10 to 12 (regular Eibo), secondly schools that start in group 5 or 6 at the age of 8 to 10 (early Eibo) and thirdly, Early Foreign Language Education (VVTO: Vroeg Vreemde Talen

Onderwijs) that starts before group 5; most of the time as early as group 1 at the age of 4 (EP-Nuffic, 2015) VVTO is part of the EP-Nuffic programme that wants to ensure that every student between the age of 4 and 18 obtains a solid basis in *internationalization* aimed at:

- Better student preparation for the international community with
- A wider perspective on this global village and therefore
- Offer better chances on the international labour market.

Here again the vertical axis shows the number (as a percentage) of all primary schools in the Netherlands.

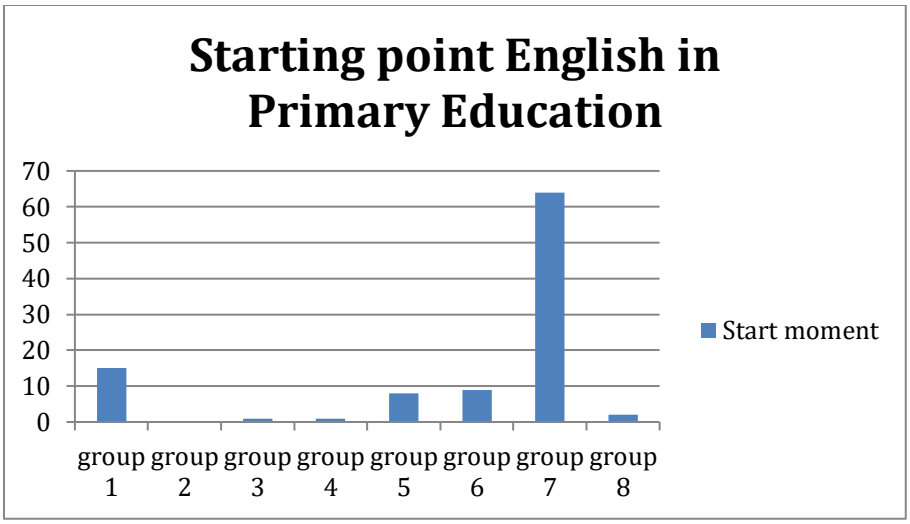

Figure 2.3: starting point English in primary education (source: Thijs et al., 2011)

In 2004, 44 primary schools offered VVTO English. This number has increased to 413 in school year 2010/2011 and up to as many as 1.065 in 2013 and it is expected to increase even further. Almost 90% of these schools offer English Education since they see it as the lingua Franca of the 21st century (EP-Nuffic, 2015).

In secondary education only the last two years of HAVO Education and the last three years of Vwo Education demand a minimum number of English lessons. In the last two years of HAVO 360 hours out of 2000 must be spent on English (18% of total education time) whereas Vwo has the requirement to spend 400 hours out of 3000 (13%) on the subject of English.

VMBO and the first three years of HAVO and VWO have no fixed curricula with prescribed numbers of lessons. School administrations are entirely free to construct their own curricula on the stipulation that the total number of lessons equals or exceeds 1000 hours per annum. As a general rule and from my own practice it is safe to state that every school spends 3 to 4 lessons per week on English in VMBO and the lower classes of HAVO and VWO.

2.5 The Government and the Necessity of CLIL

Initially the arguments to teach English were the rise of English as a Lingua Franca together with the European policies on second language learning but these aims have changed. Nowadays the economic perspective is the main objective: “in order to succeed in the international economy a good proficiency in English is of paramount importance” (SLO, 2011). The Dutch government has set the goal to remain in the top ten of the most competitive economies in the world (Rotterdam School of Management, 2014).

According to the government the strengthening of the Dutch knowledge-based economy and the advancement of foreign language education is considered to be of paramount importance: students must be stimulated to speak foreign languages at a young age. In this way, they will feel comfortable in the international arena and thus contribute to science and economy (Onderwijsraad, 2016). Furthermore, the present State Secretary of Education sees a further expansion of the number of schools with a CLIL-based methodology a huge leap in the right direction (Rijksoverheid, 2012). These notions on bilingual education, however, are disputed ones and will be discussed in the analysis and discussion chapter

In June 2012, the European Commission disclosed the results of the First European Survey on Language Competences (European Commission, 2011), which concerns the skills of European students in one or more foreign languages at the end of year three of secondary education. When the report zooms in on the situation in the Netherlands its concentration is on English and German only (European Commission, 2011), despite the fact that more foreign languages are taught. The Netherlands perform satisfactorily according to this report but there are issues: in the

first place the Dutch students start relatively late with foreign language education and secondly communication in class among students and teachers can be better. The teachers of the second target language in the Netherlands (apart from Greece, Malta, and Portugal) report that their students speak the target language least often during language lessons and the students say that their teachers speak the target language least often (European Commission, 2011). To intensify foreign language education the Ministry of Education has instituted changes (SLO, 2011) for both primary and secondary education. In primary education 15% of instruction time should be in English and there are subsidies for primary schools that intend to introduce early foreign language education. All this is still in the experimental phase and a number of schools participate in this pilot programme.

In secondary education English has been promoted from one of many taught subjects to a core subject together with Dutch and Mathematics. This means that failure at one of these three core subjects, a score of under 50%, at the final examination at the end of their secondary school career will have serious implications for students' graduation: The average score for the combined core subjects must be a 60% or higher and only one out of these three subjects may have a score of 50% which automatically means that one of the other subjects must compensate for this. For these reasons, the ministry of Education has supported secondary schools to implement CLIL education for many years. CLIL is still gaining momentum and is seen as a very good instrument to have bright students excel and with international exams they can show their proficiency, according to the advocates of bilingual education. From the 2000s onwards the Dutch government has actively supported the increase of schools that wish to implement CLIL as a new methodology (Rijksoverheid, 2014).

2.6 History of Bilingual Education in the Netherlands

The history of bilingual education in the Netherlands started in 1989 when the *Alberdingk Thym* secondary school opened a new branch for students who wanted to attend bilingual education. The *Alberdingk Thym* secondary school already boasted a regular mainstream branch as well as an international branch for international students but this was completely different: teachers started to teach a number of subjects from the Dutch curriculum in English to non-international students. This

educational experiment was followed with keen interest and before long other (international) schools followed their example. By 1992 a number of these schools had copied this concept of bilingual education and implemented it at their own institutes. This new form of education was called TTO (Twee Talig Onderwijs), which is the literal Dutch Translation of Bilingual Education.
Soon after The Ministry of Education wanted to investigate the consequences of a bilingual curriculum within the Dutch system. The desirability and permissibility of this new approach would largely depend on the results of this scientific inquiry. For this reason, Huibregtse designed a longitudinal survey among 749 pre-university students for over 5 years and the results were presented in 2001. She focussed primarily on the improvement of receptive vocabulary, reading comprehension and fluency. The findings in her report showed that CLIL in classrooms had no negative effects on the command of the Dutch language and the level of the subjects that were taught in English. Moreover, CLIL students not only did better in English but also in their mother tongue (Huibregtse, 2001). However, it must be noted that only bright and intelligent students followed CLIL since, initially, CLIL was only taught at pre-university schools. But the conclusions at that time that no negative aspects could be found were enough to continue along this path.

2.6.1 CLIL in Primary and Secondary Schools

At present, there are three main strands in the implementation of CLIL:

- TTO: bilingual education at HAVO and VWO.
- T-VMBO: bilingual education at VMBO
- VVTO: bilingual education at primary education

I highlight the most important characteristics of these three strands but I must strongly stress the fact that the claims I mention here in this section are highly debatable and I will discuss them in the literature review and analysis chapter. But before discussing them and presenting evidence that proves otherwise I give an overview of mainstream thoughts of policymakers and others who wish to further the implementation of CLIL within the Dutch educational system.

Primary education: more and more primary schools, over 1150 in 2016 (EP-Nuffic, 2016b), offer foreign language learning at a very young age (VVTO). This foreign language can be English, German, French or Spanish but most of the time it is English. According to the policymakers there are several reasons to do so but "especially the 'critical period hypothesis' (CPH) in learning an additional language is adopted [by them] as an apparently obvious 'fact' that early language learning is best" (Johnstone, 2002: p.5), a controversial view that has been disputed by other scientists. Bialystok, for instance, argues that there is no evidence for a swift alteration when it comes to language abilities after a certain age in pre-puberty but that there is only a small decrease which "projects well into adulthood" (Bialystok, 1997: p.122).

However, according to EP-Nuffic (2015b) VVTO stimulates the general language development, it gives a quality impetus to language education and it also prompts international awareness and cooperation. The main criteria for good VVTO are (EP-Nuffic, 2015a):

- Target language is the medium of instruction
- The teacher is able to use the target language during the entire VVTO lesson at B2 level.
- VVTO lessons are given for 60 minutes per week and it is for all students, regardless their individual levels.
- School organises internationally oriented activities.

These criteria are based on CLIL pedagogy as laid down in the EP-Nuffic CLIL frame. In July 2013, The State Secretary of Education launched a different format: primary schools may expand the number of VVTO lessons to a maximum of 15%, which means in practice 4 hours per week. In order to advocate the use of English at primary schools a pilot was introduced in 2014, comprising 20 primary schools offering bilingual primary education (TPO) in which 30 -50% of the instruction time will be in English and the TPO programme will contain a strong international orientation. The European Platform will coordinate this pilot (EP-Nuffic, 2016c).

2.6.2 CLIL Standardization

CLIL in secondary education is also on the move. In order to guarantee consistency among the various CLIL educational settings and to counteract excesses in this field, the national CLIL network has developed a 'Standaard Tweetalig VMBO': a CLIL framework, which covers a variety of objectives on specific CLIL aspects in order to safeguard the quality of bilingual education in the Netherlands; objectives concerning the necessary qualities of CLIL teachers, description of prospected outcomes and results, bilingual learning processes, quality assurance and other conditions (EP-Nuffic, 2016d).

These standards are used to select which schools may participate in this TTO network and what qualities are expected from the participants. For instance, at school-level the TTO-standard prescribes the minimal levels at certain stages in one's school career for students participating in the TTO programmes. At the end of three years of secondary education students are tested and expected to function at *level B1 (Havo or Senior General Secondary Education) or B2 (Vwo or Pre-University Education) according to the* CEFR[6] (Common *European Framework* of *Reference)*. If they fail the tests or when they haven't shown any progress they are strongly advised to leave the CLIL classes and continue their school career at regular education.

Naturally it is in the school's best interest to keep the dropout rate as low as possible. At the end of their secondary school career HAVO students, for instance, must pass the International Baccalaureate *IB English B Higher Level* or *IB English Language and Literature Standard Level* whereas VWO students are required to pass the *IB English Language and Literature Higher Level* or *Standard Level*. The average results of CLIL students must not deviate negatively from the average national school-exam results.

Not only the required levels are defined but also the minimal number of lessons in which English is the medium of instruction. In contrast to regular HAVO and VWO at least 50% of the lessons in the lower classes (year 1-3) are given in English. In the upper classes of HAVO (years 4-5) 27% of *all given lessons* are taught in English:

[6] *Council of Europe*. (n.d.). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Cadre1_en.asp

850 out of 3200, which means 3200 class sessions in HAVO schools in general (in contrast to regular HAVO where 18% of all lessons is English taught as a subject). Whereas in the upper classes of VWO (years 4-6) 1150 out of 4800 lessons are taught in English: 24% (regular VWO 13% of all lessons is English).

Moreover, the institutions must guarantee that the position of Dutch is equivalent to the position of English. This anchoring must be seen in the light of protecting the national language: Dutch. Many have welcomed bilingual education, as a new strand in foreign language education but there has been a fierce debate on the issue that the Dutch language as part of the Dutch heritage is marginalized. This notion is also part of the interviews and is commented on in the analysis and discussion chapter.

CLIL schools that wish to comply with these strict requirements will be supported by the EP-Nuffic organization that works for the government. However, when a school wants to become an official CLIL school there are strict conditions involved, which are set up and maintained by EP-Nuffic and laid down in a CLIL framework (2013):

- Because CLIL pedagogy is so different from the traditional FL pedagogy the theory of education must be altered, understood and subscribed by partaking school administrations.
- Specially trained CLIL teachers or native speakers must give the lessons.
- The acquisitions of a foreign language must not be disadvantageous to the mother tongue.
- The school is expected to pay extra attention to international activities such as school trips to other countries and exchange programmes for students and staff.

In more detail, this means that in order to secure the quality of education the management of participating TTO schools must also have a well-documented and broad vision of education based on CLIL methodology. The administrations must endorse this standard, take part in quality routes and must be members of the national CLIL network, which is coordinated by EP-Nuffic. The quality routes consist of visitations, documents, forms and reports.

School heads are also required to define, emphasize and advance their CLIL schools' policies on internationalisation, as described before. This orientation on *the global village* must be expressed in special programmes and projects such as excursions, going to theatres, partaking in Model United Nations, Junior Speaking Contests, European Youth Parliament and so on. The students take active part in these activities that further their international orientation. The students document all these activities in portfolios or other files available for inspection by their own teachers. But it is clear that all CLIL activities and developments are strictly guided and controlled by EP-Nuffic.

To pay for all this, schools are also allowed to ask extra financial contribution from parents or guardians if the student wants to follow bilingual education. Moreover, they are free to determine the conditions of entry for students at their CLIL department like motivation levels, skills, and IQ. These conditions are a real key point in my thesis: the nature of the conditions that are employed at the sites visited as well as their typicality are discussed in the analysis and discussion chapter. This CLIL-standard is therefore an important document that I use to obtain further knowledge on the expectations and experiences of CLIL practitioners.

In contrast to these strict HAVO and VWO regulations T-VMBO students receive a special certificate that articulates their competences at the end of their school career and this certificate is highly valued in intermediate vocational education, according to CLIL advocates. However, there are no requirements as to what level should be reached or the amount of time spent on CLIL related aspects. Most T-VMBO institutes choose a combination of Dutch and English and some, mainly in the border areas, have chosen Dutch and German. Schools are free to choose any other modern language.

2.7 Teachers

In Dutch CLIL schools the English teacher is a key figure that supports the other content teachers. The language skills in English of these content teachers should be at least at B2 level (CEFR). CLIL teachers abide with the principle that the target language is the medium of instruction and they use authentic English material in their lessons. They must also fit in a competence profile drawn up and provided by EP-

Nuffic (see appendix I). I will use aspects of this profile in my interviews and document research.

In order to give and prepare high quality CLIL lessons the CLIL teachers receive ample time and funding for personal development: expansion of their competences and expertise to fit the profile. EP-Nuffic have drawn up the following format of a good CLIL teacher (EP-Nuffic, 2012):

- The teacher has a very high command of English (preferably a native speaker or a near native speaker (B2 / C1 CEFR).
- The teacher has profound knowledge and understanding of CLIL didactics.
- The teacher has a professional attitude.
- The teacher is prepared and willing to partake in continuing higher education concerning CLIL methodology.
- The teacher is prepared and willing to collaborate and consult colleagues.
- The teacher is able to differentiate in his lessons.

The teachers that participate in this inquiry *have second grade teaching credentials* (ISCED 7), which mean that they followed a three-year course at a teacher training college (Bachelor of Education). These teachers are allowed to teach in the first three years of secondary modern school (onderbouw). When a teacher wants to work in the upper forms of secondary education they need an extra three-year training at a teacher training college or obtain a master's degree at university. These teachers have *first grade teaching credentials* (ISCED 8). The difference between these types of educators may have an impact on the implementation of CLIL at their institute for most successful CLIL stories describe pre-university students taught by first-grade teachers. This means that different types of secondary education have different levels of teachers. However, this inquiry focuses on pre-vocational students taught by second-grade teachers, which may give rise to new issues, and is discussed in the analysis chapter

Apart from first grade and second grade teachers who receive their training at colleges preparing them for secondary and tertiary education, there are teachers who

are specifically trained to work with young learners in primary education. They are trained at '*Pedagogische Academies voor Basis Onderwijs'* (PABO), pedagogical academies or teacher training colleges for primary education. It is remarkable that regular teacher training centres for second- and first grade teachers do not provide specific training in English for future CLIL purposes whereas the PABOs do.
This is an issue EP-Nuffic wants to address. It is one of its points of attention to have all teacher training centres offer explicit learning pathways in bilingual education by 2015, so that teachers will get acquainted with TTO at an early stage. Government regulations stipulate that PABO teachers need such skills in English as to execute the prescribed targets in the national curriculum. In this decree, it is mentioned that the teacher is able to use English as a medium of instruction in their classrooms. The Teacher Training Colleges must prepare their students to be competent in teaching English at Primary education. However, in practice this has become a real issue because English has been reduced at the curricula at Teacher Training Colleges in favour of Dutch and arithmetic (SLO, 2011).

2.8 The Immediate Context: Locations & Respondents

The faculty respondents involved in this study work at two different VMBO schools and these schools have in common that they are part of the alliance of *Reformed Education*, which consists of seven so called Faith schools located all over the Netherlands. These schools teach a general curriculum but also have a particular religious character. The term that is most commonly applied to these types of school is state-funded faith schools with an independent board as opposed to a government authority. Moreover, there is strict admission policy intricately interwoven with the mission of the Faith schools. Only staff members who strongly believe in the Christian faith and at the same time adhere to the principles of the Bible are employed at these schools. These schools are being rooted in a particular religious denomination[7].

All English language teachers profess English as their L2 and all English teachers and content teachers in this study work at the VMBO department and they all have a

[7] Openbaar en bijzonder onderwijs (2017, Januari 16). Retrieved February 16, 2017, from https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/vrijheid-van-onderwijs/inhoud/openbaar-en-bijzonder-onderwijs

Bachelor's degree and are level 2. (There are no participants with a Master's degree). Both VMBO schools offer the traditional core programme and the CLIL core programme: t-VMBO. The teachers who work at the t-VMBO volunteered to participate. Some of them received CLIL training in the UK whereas others did not. The other stakeholders in the t-VMBO have had teaching training and experience in teaching. All participants who collaborate in the CLIL programme have a contract for an indefinite period. Later in this study I will expand on this (see 4.4).

Chapter 3

Literature Review

This chapter highlights the state-of-the-art opinions on Content and Language Integrated Learning. In this review, I want to limit myself to the following facets:

- Discussion on the concept of CLIL
- The expectations and the dimensions that underpin these positive expectations about CLIL.
- The prerequisites of implementation of good CLIL
- The possible risks associated with the implementation of CLIL
- The implementation of CLIL itself as a process of educational change and its management.
- The research questions.

Since the phenomenon is identified within the knowledge base in the best way possible and because previous research is taken on board, overlaps and inconsistencies will occur. But when they do explanations will be provided to account for them as much as possible. Before turning to the assumed advantages and possible challenges I will start by discussing the CLIL concept first.

3.1 CLIL Concept

The term 'Content and Language integrated learning' was described as a new educational approach in the early years of the 1990's by a group of experts working under the remit of European commission founding (Ruiz de Zarobe & Jimenez Catalan, 2009). Since then many scientists have tried to capture the phenomenon of CLIL in a definition resulting in a plethora of descriptions that can be found about CLIL in Literature. Mehisto, for instance, defines CLIL as

> "A dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language. [...] It creates fusion between content and language across subjects and encourages independent and cooperative learning, while building common purpose and forums for lifelong learning" (Mehisto et al., 2008: p.8).

Coyle introduces corroborative methodologies. She argues: “CLIL is an educational approach in which various language supportive methodologies are used which lead to a dual-focused form of instruction where attention is given both to the language and the content” (Coyle et al., 2010: p.3). According to Graddol: “CLIL can also be regarded the other way around – as a means of teaching English through study of a specialist content” (Graddol, 2006: p.86). And moreover, to reach these ends extra impetus is created by the arrangement of increased exposure (mainly by means of CLIL) that expand beyond the classroom boundaries so that the students will have more actual contact time with the intended FL (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010).

However, the extensive variety of CLIL models may create miscommunication among researchers, teachers and school administrators and other stakeholders and this is where the problems begin. These models, which have become more and more important over the past few years, are flexible in nature and the quantity of FL and mother tongue (MT) varies according boundary conditions like the complexity of content and foreign language command of the students. Hence Mehisto states that CLIL can also be considered as an umbrella term covering a number of similar educational approaches such as immersion programmes, bilingual education and enriched FL teaching (Mehisto, 2008) or “a wide range of educational practice” (Marsh, 2008: p.236). García (2012) defines CLIL as being part of the bilingual family, embracing any type of educational programme in which an FL is used to teach content.

In practice, there is no orthodoxy as to how exactly CLIL should be implemented and therefore diverse practices have evolved: “Usage of this term allows us to consider the myriad variations” (Marsh, 2002: p.58) and is supported by the notion that

> “CLIL models are by no means uniform. They are elaborated at a local level to respond to local conditions and desires. The disparity among CLIL programmes urges therefore careful attention as to how to define the phenomenon. Indeed, the characteristics of CLIL developments in Europe show a great variety of solutions. It is the combination of the choices in respect to the variables that produce a particular CLIL” (Coonan, 2003: p.25).

The underlying notion that binds together all the different CLIL descriptions is learning and teaching content by using a Foreign Language. CLIL is defined as an umbrella term that encompasses any type of programme in which a second language is used to teach a non-linguistic content. This generic term of CLIL not only covers a whole array of bilingual education approaches that pre-existed the rise of CLIL, but is also seen as a powerful tool that evokes powerful images regarding "social impact potential" when people in vocational education, for instance, discover that learning languages is no longer for the intellectuals but also for the more practical orientated people (García, 2012).

As a result of this ambiguous and slippery nature of what CLIL really is I employed the following working definition, which I believe gives a clear explanation of what CLIL is:

> "All types of provision [of education or training] in which a second language a foreign, regional or minority language and/or another official state language is used to teach certain subjects in the curriculum other than the language lessons themselves" (Eurydice, 2006: p.8).

However, at the same time I kept an open eye to other definitions of CLIL approaches since differences in approach may obstruct the replication, comparison and analysis of other research studies. Baker argues that we should keep in mind that defining exactly what is or what is not bilingual education is "essentially elusive and ultimately impossible" (Baker, 2011: p.15).

3.2 Implementation of CLIL

The desire to change has grown ever since the desired outcomes in traditional FL could not be met. The dissatisfied teacher was disillusioned with the state of affairs, the everyday practice of exam programmes, targets to be met and structured syllabi. Consequently, the teacher went in search for something more promising. The last few years have shown that "pedagogic practices have rapidly evolved to meet the needs of the rather different world in which global English is learned and used" (Graddol, 2006: p.85). CLIL is promoted as a means of solving problems of traditional language learning, such as sometimes-unsatisfactory student achievement levels, lack of student motivation and overcrowded curricula.

Moreover, some reports show that CLIL may be the answer because CLIL type teaching in higher education increases learner motivation and, therefore, it raises the students' language-learning interest, contributing to both cognitively more demanding content and language learning and communicative skills development (Vilkancienė, 2011; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009). Bailey, citing Marsh, Marsland & Stenberg (2001b), rephrased motivation by "installing a 'hunger to learn' in the student. It gives opportunity for him/her to think about and develop how s/he communicates in general, even in the first language" (2015: p.419).

Mehisto et al. (2008) have known for a long time that teaching *languages* and *subjects* separately does not yield optimal outcomes. A fusion of these two provides significant value for language learning. Fusion must be seen as a fact of life whereas fusion in CLIL must be considered as an important step forward to help young people build integrated knowledge and skills for this increasingly integrated world. Coyle et al. argue that processes directed to integrate subjects involve developing professional interconnectedness and better collaboration (2010). Consequently, this activates forms of innovation, leading to alternative approaches. Moreover, CLIL methodology may be more successful than traditional FL classes, for it is argued that CLIL is more helpful in developing students' (oral) communication skills. The CLIL approach advances their intercultural knowledge, interests and attitudes towards the language and its speakers (Coyle et al., 2010; Marsh, 2002; Meyer, 2010; Munoz, 2002). Furthermore, CLIL improves English language proficiency (Aguilar & Rodríguez, 2012) and CLIL students have a higher understanding of lexicon and their levels of writing and fluency are higher than their FL counterparts (Dalton-Puffer, 2011).

3.3 Expectations of CLIL

Schools in very different contexts all over the world have been trying to find ways to enrich their learning methods: "CLIL set out to capture and articulate that not only was there a high degree of similarity in educational methodologies but also an equally high degree of educational success" (Coyle et al., 2010: p.3). Moreover, the overall benefits of CLIL type education are linked to improved motivation, increased knowledge of specific terminology, the strengthening of intercultural communicative competence, meaning-centred and communication-centred learning, the promotion of

teacher-student and student-student interaction, and as a result, improvement in overall target language proficiency (Lasagabaster, 2008). Identifying this success and sharing these successful experiences have been one of the major drivers within the professional educational field. The following sections function as an excerpt of expectations, beliefs, thoughts and ideas of CLIL advocates on the beneficial effects of CLIL and how they deal with possible shortcomings or challenges. The underpinnings of the beneficial effects of CLIL however, converge with the underpinnings of the beneficial effects of bilingual education since Mehisto and Marsh argue that the "fuel for CLIL" is founded in the more generic term of bilingualism (Mehisto & Marsh, 2011: p.21).

When it comes to personal gain Massler (2012) describes that personal attitudes, willingness to improve one's own foreign language and methodological competences pre-service and in-service training and financial resources for the purchase of learning materials were all factors that influence the perceptions of CLIL advocates regarding CLIL. In particular these factors contributed to teachers seeing CLIL as an opportunity for personal and professional development. Furthermore, Ruiz de Zarobe (2013) also found that the challenges that the CLIL programmes present are met with optimism and motivation not only by teachers but also by students for their future professional development.

All CLIL advocates as well as the majority of the students felt that CLIL modules had a positive effect on students' foreign language competence (Massler, 2012). But the key notion here is that the learner is gaining new knowledge about the content subject while using and learning the foreign language; the challenge remains of how to enable learners to make best use of both areas in the classroom (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010; Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013). Classroom based evidence showed that the students perceived the need to communicate, to engage actively in the learning process, and learner-teacher collaboration; in sum, how classroom dynamics should proceed for a successful integration of content and language learning (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013). Furthermore, a study in bilingual pre-vocational education in the Netherlands shows how motivation increased in pre-vocational students, as CLIL gives them opportunities to work on their vocational literacy and vocational language proficiency, which becomes at the same time a

‘positive’ challenge for them (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013). But there is also another dimension to describe the expectations: the expectations externals like EP-Nuffic supervisors and school inspectors have of what is formally expected from schools; the expectations concerning English proficiency levels of students. Untiedt et al. (2013) found that teachers and staff are unaware of the external expectations regarding CLIL in the Netherlands as laid down by the European Platform and they are unfamiliar with the CEFR levels. Similarly, teachers are unaware of the formal CLIL framework, designed by the European Platform, as well as what their administrators expect from them in terms of CLIL. In sum, there is a large disconnect between what is formally expected (and considered as good CLIL) by the EP when it comes to the expectations concerning classroom practice.

3.3.1 Dimensions Underpinning the Positive Expectations of CLIL

Following the ‘inevitability of the implementation of CLIL’ it is therefore necessary to delve deeper in search for the underpinning theory that makes these claims. In literature, not only the definition of CLIL lacks conformity, as discussed before, but also the defined dimensions, factors, and variables that underpin the successful concept of CLIL differ in many ways, since CLIL involves more than language and content. Marsh for instance addresses 5 dimensions that he considers the foundation of CLIL:

- The *culture dimension*; build and develop intercultural awareness.
- The *environment dimension*; prepare for internationalisation, specifically EU integration including access to international certification.
- The *language dimension*; improve overall target language competence (communication skills) and develop plurilingual awareness (mother tongue and target language).
- The *content dimension*; provide opportunities to study content through different perspective to better equip learners for future studies or working life.
- The *learning dimension*; complement individual learning strategies, diversify methods & forms of classroom practice and increase learner motivation (Marsh et al., 2001a: p.15).

Each of these dimensions is, or can be influenced by the following factors: the age-range of the student, the sociolinguistic environment of the student, exposure time, the target language, the teachers, the discourse-type, the trans-languaging, subject appropriacy, and content-language ratio (Marsh et al., 2001a), be it that these factors and dimension are intertwined and very hard to be dealt with separately (Marsh et al., 2001a). Additionally, Van Lier articulates that CLIL is an "awareness-raising work, which turns the classroom from a field of activity into a subject of enquiry, [that] can promote deep and lasting changes in educational practices" (1996: p.69). It raises awareness of linguistic competence and confidence as well as expectations, it raises awareness of cultures and the global citizenship agenda and it develops a wider range of skills such as problem-solving, risk-taking, confidence building, communication skills, extending vocabulary, self- expression and spontaneous talk (Coyle, 2006).

Garcia's analysis of advantageous effects of bilingual education on cognitive and social development coincides with these resumes, but also signals issues like dominance and power, gender, race, socio-economic status, linguistic hierarchies supported by language ideologies, which she describes as intervening factors that maximize or minimize cognitive and social development (2012). Marsh et al. (2015) point to intervening variables different from CLIL instruction, like learners' language level, but the intervening factors as described by Garcia are not usually part of the definition of CLIL. The dominant conceptualization of 21st century CLIL is Coyle's *4Cs framework*, which was conceptualized in 1999 and has grown out of classroom practice (Coyle, 2006). It illustrates the connection between four CLIL-dimensions with the following general parameters: content, communication, cognition and culture (and thus combining Marsh's cultural and environmental dimensions into one). In 2010 Coyle et al. placed the 4C framework into a context that represents the factors that may influence these dimensions: the 4C+1 framework.

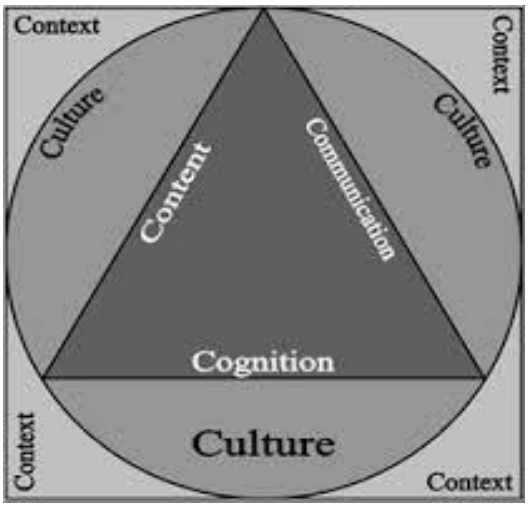

Figure 3.1, 4C+1 framework (Coyle, Hood & Marsh)

I will elaborate on Coyle's 4C+1 concept by discussing the following four building blocks:

- Cultural dimension
- Cognition dimension
- Communication dimension
- Content dimension

Followed by a final paragraph focussing on the required contextualization of CLIL.

Literature makes it clear though that these dimensions do not function on themselves as unconnected entities or separate elements. "Connecting the 4Cs+1 into an integrated whole is fundamental to planning… however, it is the content [dimension] which initially guides the overall planning along the learning route" (Coyle et al., 2010: p.55).

3.3.1.1 Cultural Dimension

The first building block is the cultural dimension as the supporting foundation of the other motives, which justify or form the basis for the implementation of CLIL. This broad context for learning, especially FL learning that took place in the last decennia, reflects contemporary trends in education, society, and technology. Trends such as

(student) mobility (Altbach et al., 2010), equity, the changes caused by the integrative powers of the “global village” society, together with the aspirations of the younger generations in education (broadening of access to higher education, autonomous learning, lifelong learning, individual responsibility) under the umbrella of globalization / internationalisation (Altbach et al., 2010: pp.23-36) and the ways technology is changing information searching, storage and sharing, computerisation and migration (Altbach et al., 2010), have been important driving forces for the revitalization of foreign language learning. Current trends suggest a wish to communicate easily with anyone, anywhere; hence, speaking two or multiple languages is seen as a key aspect for a successful working life and CLIL may be a key facilitator for this language potential among (young) people (Altbach et al., 2010).

These notions are supported by Baetens-Beardsmore who describes the emergence of CLIL as an encouraging development since:

> “It is proving ever more difficult to keep up in work, travel, recreation or information within the confines of a single language, the more so in Europe where mobility crosses language borders. Hence an increasing acceptance of the need to break through the restrictions of formal language lessons, which in spite of methodological progress, rarely produce high levels of plurilingual proficiency for the majority” (Baetens-Beardsmore, 2001: p.8).

Mehisto argues that in other cases geographic, demographic and economic realities have given rise to multilingualism; in other words, globalization has made the world interconnected in ways not seen before and has driven the integration of the world economy and all imaginable areas of life, making the world as an integrated global village.

Consequently, in order to be better equipped to be part of this greater demands have been put on language education in primary, secondary and tertiary education. At the same time the “learn now, use later” education concept does not match the mindset of the younger generation with their hands-on mentality and their experiences with technology (Mehisto et al., 2008: pp.10-11). The progression of globalisation, driven by the global citizenship agenda, leads to intercultural awareness, which is fundamental to CLIL and positions itself at the core of CLIL at the same time. Therefore, the cultural dimension is a solid foundation laid out to support or to

strengthen the other dimensions of the CLIL concept as well as an embedding principle. For each learning competence should include a form of cultural awareness whether in content, communication or cognition (Coyle et al., 2009).

3.3.1.2 Cognitive Dimension

In order to understand the advantages of CLIL it is necessary to delve deeper into the positive aspects of bilingual education in the cognitive domain.

When it comes to effective learning for Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010) the main focus is on the cognitive engagement of students and them being intellectually challenged. It is not just the basic knowledge and skills like remembering, understanding and applying (lower-order thinking) but students must be challenged to solve problems and concentrate on analysis, evaluation and creative powers (higher-order thinking). Coyle et al. explain that cognitive development, or cognitive flexibility, and linguistic competence give way to different horizons and pathways which result from CLIL, and the effective constructivist educational practice it promotes can also have an impact on conceptualization, enriching the understanding of concepts, and broadening conceptual mapping resources. This enables better association of different concepts and helps the learner advance towards a more sophisticated level of learning in general (Coyle et al., 2010).

Whereas Coyle et al. are mainly focussing on activities related to content and subject Garcia predominantly connects the cognitive advantages to language itself. According to Garcia the cognitive advantages unfold into four subcategories (García, 2012: pp.93-94):

- *Metalinguistic awareness* (the ability to treat language as an object of thought).
- *Divergent or creative thinking* (based on the notion that bilingual children can describe phenomena in (more than) two ways and provides bilinguals with more flexible perceptions and interpretations to construct their realities).
- *Communicative sensitivity* (people who are bilingual have two or more codes at their disposal which enables them to decide which code to use in which particular situation).

- The ability to learn *multiple languages*.

This metalinguistic awareness or “the ability to make language forms opaque and attend to them in and for themselves” (Cazden, 1974: p14) is a predominant factor that contributes to the benefits of the advancement of bilingual education in general.

Vygotsky linked this metalinguistic awareness, the largest component in the cognitive development component, to bilingualism for the first time (1962) and saw facilitating numbers of possibilities. Much research has supported his claims suggesting that bilinguals have a better ability compared to monolinguals to understand an unknown language, arguably due to their greater metalinguistic awareness (Ter Kuile et al., 2011; Clark, 1978; Hambly et al., 2013). Multi-linguals, who learned English as their third or fourth language, learned the language faster than bilinguals who learned English only as a second language, as suggested by Klein (1995). It does not only improve language skills in a third or fourth language but also the first language benefits (Ter Kuile et al., 2011).
The cognitive dimension is not only about the acquisition of language. The cognition aspect is rooted in manipulating the content through approaches, strategies and tasks, which emphasize scaffolded learning, using prior content and language knowledge; in other words, the benefits of learning tasks. All language must be regarded as a learning tool across language contexts that involve integration of learning new content as well as language (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010).

On this integration Mohan introduced his Knowledge Framework, a conceptual framework based on a subdivision of six types of knowledge, which systematically integrates language and content and thus helping ESL students simultaneously learn subject matter knowledge and academic aspects of English. Mohan argues that we need to be using language to learn rather than simply learn a language. Language is the major medium of learning and teaching in education for:

> “A significant part of learning about a concept in a subject matter involves collecting information, organizing it a certain way, interacting with the concept, and communicating an understanding of the concept. We often overlook precisely how language helps us in this process and how language and meaning interact” (Mohan & van Naerssen, 1997: p.22).

Marsh (2012) supports this notion that content is related to learning and thinking (cognition) and therefore content matter is not only about acquiring knowledge and skills. It is also about the learner constructing his or her own knowledge and developing skills; In order to enable the learner to construct the content, it must be analysed for its linguistic demands and as such language is related to the learning context, learning through that language, reconstructing the content and its related cognitive processes. Coyle observes, “Language is learned through using it in authentic and unrehearsed yet scaffolded situations to complement the more structured approaches common in foreign language lessons” (2002: p.28).

Hence learners need to be made aware of their own learning through the development of metacognitive skills such as ‘learning to learn’, in other words CLIL teaching implies the support of effective learning. As such CLIL moves away from language learning per se to the benefits of learning tasks that fuel the cognitive skills by using language as a learning tool in order to arrive at the desired objectives of causal discourse. Approaches where language teachers and content teachers join up in order to create literacy and language rich learning environments, where first languages and additional language approaches do have significant implications for the CLIL practice. Mohan argues that language should no longer function as the object of learning itself but language as a means of learning: “a holistic approach to conceptionalizing language” (2007: p.303) and asserts that we should consider:

> “Language as a medium of learning, the coordination of language learning and content learning, language socialization as the learning of language and culture, the relation between the learners’ languages and cultures […] and discourse in the context of social practice” (Mohan, 2007: p.303).

This suggests that the languages of a student, whether it is the first-, second-, or foreign language, all connect and can all be exploited as tools for learning (Coyle et al., 2010). In other words, the cognitive skills of a student are furthered in connection to language competence, which make both comprehension of knowledge and language and production of knowledge and language manageable. Mohan and van Naerssen (1997) drew up a new set of assumptions to form a pedagogical basis

relating to bring these two strands together: language as the object of learning and language used as a tool for content based learning:

- Language is a matter of meaning as well as form.
- Discourse does not just express meaning. Discourse creates meaning.
- Language development continues throughout our lives, particularly our educational lives
- As we acquire new areas of knowledge, we acquire new areas of language and meaning.

3.3.1.3 Communicative Dimension

The communicative dimension is devoted to the language (skills), which has been defined by Coyle as:

> "A conduit for both communication and learning. From this perspective, language is learned through using it in authentic and unrehearsed yet 'scaffolded' situations to complement the more structured approaches common in foreign language lessons. It also builds on the language learned and practised in those lessons by providing alternative opportunities to develop a wide range of language skills, strategies and competences needed to function in everyday plurilingual situations" (Coyle, 2002: p.28).

The communicative dimension is not only aimed at language skills but also at the careful planning of these skills in order to turn CLIL into a success as it determines the shape of thoughts and the learner's grade of competence. When it comes to the use of language, Munoz asserts that CLIL presents the most enriching characteristics of the communicative approach, for example, the use of the language in an appropriate context, the exchange of important information, or involving learners in cognitive processes which are relevant for acquisition (Munoz, 2007).

The advantages of the use of language in appropriate settings is also described by Lasagabaster and Sierra when they say that CLIL caters for all types of learners/different learning styles and provides much richer communicative situations and "can do" opportunities which engage students and foster the development of language awareness (2009: p.13). Georgiou (2012) adds important factors for effective language learning to the discourse when she describes that CLIL can also

support language learning by bringing into existence favourable circumstances for authentic, meaningful learning in a different ambiance than that of a language classroom. In this way, there will be opportunities for more varied interactions, a heightened exposure to FL input, and more time to engage with the FL.

In order to show how language functions and how language may be progressively learnt and used through interrelated perspectives within CLIL methodology Coyle developed a Language Triptych. This triptych is also known as the 3As lesson-planning tool and distinguishes three stages or perspectives:

- The first A stands for *Analyse* or *language of learning* that is, the learning of key words and phrases to access content.
- The second A stands for *Add* or *language for learning* which focuses on the language students will need to carry out classroom tasks such as debating, or organizing and presenting information.
- The third A stands for *Apply* or *language through learning* makes room for unpredictable language learning as it is concerned with new language emerging from the cognitive process students are engaged in.

Thus, Coyle's triptych focuses on form, vocabulary and structures in the first two perspectives, as well as on meaning and spontaneity as highlighted in the last perspective.

In addition to this Dalton-Puffer shows that the effect of CLIL on students' language learning outcomes in the communicative dimension is *unsurprisingly* positive: "It is often observed that by way of CLIL, students can reach significantly higher levels of L2 than by conventional foreign language classes and that positive effects on communicative competence are visible" (2008: pp.144-145). With regard to speaking, CLIL students often display greater fluency, quantity and creativity and show the kind of higher risk-taking inclination often associated with good language learners, according to Naiman (1995, referred to in Dalton- Puffer, 2008: 6). Presumably this stands in direct association with the frequently observed positive affective effects of CLIL: after a certain amount of time spent in CLIL lessons the learners seem to lose

their inhibitions to use the foreign language spontaneously for face-to-face interaction (Dalton-Puffer, 2008).

In her contributions Dalton-Puffer has also shown that CLIL lessons, by virtue of having more loosely structured interaction patterns, do indeed offer learning opportunities by which students can develop their command of the target language and that these learning opportunities are often qualitatively different from those available in EFL classes (2008). Moreover, Ball iterates that, according to psycholinguists, the more that higher operations are involved in a task, the greater the probability of linguistic retention. The higher the level of thinking involved, the more likely the assimilation of the vehicular language (Ball, 2013).

Within the communicative domain the advantages of spending more time on the targeted language are presented. However, Ruiz de Zarobe and Jimenez Catalan found that the extra number of hours in CLIL, the heightened exposure to FL input, is not sufficient to obtain significantly better results for students (2009). In addition:

> "There is evidence that students in bilingual programs with more exposure to the target language do not always outperform students with less exposure, suggesting that simply extending exposure to and functional use of the target language do not necessarily lead to increased linguistic competence" (Genesee, 1987: p.553).

Genesee argues that students in bilingual/immersion programs that emphasize functional use may fail to exhibit continuous growth in both their repertoire of communicative skills and their formal linguistic competence because they are able to get by in school using a limited set of functional and structural skills they are not compelled by teachers' instructional strategies to extend their linguistic competencies.

So, the assumption is that the more time a student spends learning an L2 and the more exposure to the language he or she has, the better the language learning outcomes will be. This assumption has an intuitive appeal but is not supported by empirical research. Both Cummins (2000) and Dicker (2003) demonstrate that the assumption is nothing but a myth. It is not the *quantity* of time allocated to the use of

English but the *quality* of exposure (for example, rich, comprehensible, and correct language input) and engagement with the language, such as substantive use of the L2 in engaging with challenging academic tasks, that matters. Here we see English as medium of instruction opposed to CLIL.

Although the CLIL and EMI programmes both share the features of a late immersion programme, their approach to language use in classroom discourse frames is different. Both share the same pedagogical objective: they aim to improve students' L2 proficiency by teaching subject matter through L2. There are, however, significant differences in their realization (Wannagat, 2007).

Dearden (2014) describes EMI as the use of the English language to teach subjects (other than English itself) in countries in which the majority of the population's first language is not English. It is English-medium Instruction of content, which means that English acts as a vehicle for content learning. Some language learning is expected but these aims are implicit or incidental, for students are assessed on content learning outcomes only. In other words, EMI refers to a type of context where content is the priority and where no assessment of students' English competence is made simply because no language learning outcomes are acknowledged nor assessed. Moreover, the collaboration between content and English specialists in EMI is scarce, which contrasts to CLIL where there is full collaboration between content and language specialists.

The main aim of EMI methodology is to guarantee comprehension and understanding of content EMI courses often taught in content classes by subject content specialists (Aguilar, 2017). CLIL methodology, on the contrary, is accommodated to teach, prioritize and assess both content and language with clearly specified pedagogical goals (scaffolding and interactive methodology including frequent use of questions, feedback and discussions instead of teacher-fronted lecturing), which are of paramount importance (Lister, 2007).

Another major difference between these two is the way in which the teachers perceive what they are doing when they think about their aims. In CLIL classrooms there is a

dual objective which is clearly stated **–** teaching and furthering both language and the subject content. EMI teachers do not see themselves as language teachers since their only aim is to teach the subject while speaking English. These teachers believe that EMI is good for students, and that they will improve their English if they are taught through EMI (Dearden, 2014). CLIL teachers have a dual educational objective whereas EMI does not. EMI teachers have no specific language focus while they are teaching. Their primary and only aim is to teach content. Whatever language is learnt through this process is a bonus. They effectively teach in English and the language learning takes care of itself. CLIL is contextually situated whereas EMI has no specific contextual origin. Furthermore, CLIL does not know any prerequisite language whereas in EMI it is clear that the language of instruction is English.

Hu also questions the argument that the use of English, or any other L2, as medium of instruction provides with the best possible exposure to the language and thus the best possible way to improve L2 learning should be questioned since there is very good reason to expect low-quality exposure to and little substantive engagement with English in the great majority of bilingual classrooms (Hu, 2008). This complies with Baker's (2011) findings that the amount of exposure on balanced bilinguals (i.e., children who were highly proficient in both languages) has different outcomes from the exposure on children who had not acquired age-appropriate proficiency in the L2. Baker also puts forward that *threshold* rather than exposure creates the difference: The learner should have obtained a certain level of competence in their second language before cognitive benefits will emerge. Consequently, low competence levels may fail to produce any benefits in the cognitive domain. As an example, Hu describes Baker's argument in a relevant Chinese context, where most students receiving CLIL education are unlikely to attain balanced bilingual education, given the limited resources for English-medium instruction, the deplorable quality of such instruction, and the lack of a sociolinguistic context for using English (Hu, 2008).

3.3.1.4 Content Dimension

At the heart of the learning process, as described by the 4C's framework, lies successful content learning and the related acquisition of new knowledge: the so

called CLIL theme (Coyle et al., 2010). The content dimension is another concept, which has been discussed by CLIL theoreticians and as mentioned before it is the content, which initially guides the overall planning along the learning route. This dimension focuses on providing opportunities to study content through different perspectives as well as accessing subject specific target language terminology.

It is of great importance to distinguish between the two camps of CLIL advocates: one camp in which the teaching and learning is focused primarily on the subject content (*content driven*), and the other in which the teaching and learning is focused primarily on language or (*language driven*). The content driven approach is called strong CLIL and the language driven one is referred to as weak CLIL. The language-driven approach has as its basic objective *language learning*, whereas the content driven approach has *subject* concepts and skills as its learning objective (Ball, 2008). As the following two citations show advantages of strong CLIL are:

> "Firstly, that the topics are usually connected with the 'here and now' issues for example the structure of atmosphere (geography). Secondly, the topics are related to the learners themselves for example a digestive system and its functions (biology) and thirdly, the learners are usually provided with more visual aids due to the amount of vocabulary and difficulty of particular concepts, which makes learning a content subject more interesting" (Papaja, 2014: p.24).

> "Teachers may believe that the deeper and more powerful the learning the more valuable it is to tie language and content together. Thus, vocabulary and grammar should not be taught in isolation but in a context of authentic holistic learning…meaning and understanding is the focus and the second language learning is a valuable by-product" (Baker, 2011: p.246).

The *integration of content and language* is a challenge in any form of education. Wilkinson and Zegers argue that both in primary and secondary education the challenge often confronts a single teacher who has to combine both content learning goals and language learning goals. For the learners, it is a challenge because they have to cope not only with their unfamiliarity with the content-to-be-learned but also with new language exponents. The latter will include both the language related to the content, but also instructional language related both to general didactics and to the specific didactics of the content subject. The instructional language in a secondary school physics class will not be the same as that in a history class, for example. In

general, although the physics or the history teacher may seek help from language experts, including fellow teachers, these challenges tend to reside at the level of the individual teacher who aims to stimulate the learners to achieve the double goals. This is the familiar environment in which content and language-integrated learning or CLIL is realized (Wilkinson & Zegers, 2008).

3.3.1.5 Contextual CLIL

The 4C's are not meant to represent separate units that function on their own. CLIL is about the integration of the four domains within differing contexts planned by the teachers. Therefore, successful CLIL fosters deeper intercultural communication and understanding, providing learners with meaningful contexts to explore and evaluate beliefs and attitudes. Lightbown and Spada assert that language acquisition needs contextualization since it is similar to, and influenced by the acquisition of other skills and knowledge and that it is directly related to the child's experience and cognitive development (Lightbown & Spada, 2006). The educational context required for deeper intercultural communication and understanding is described by Marsh as a dual focussed one in which an additional language is used as a medium in the teaching and learning of non-language content (Marsh, 2012). The content context here is relevant to the needs and interests of the learner and therefore needs to be arranged in such a manner that it fits the learner's age, ability and interests, providing meaningful interaction with and through the language.

Furthermore, when an authentic communicative context is created, CLIL provides a naturalistic environment, where language can be more easily acquired while the focus in on meaning. Coyle et al. assert the necessity of contextualization:

> 'If dialogic learning takes place in a context where learners are encouraged to construct their own meanings from activities requiring interaction with peers and the teacher in the vehicular language then learners will need to be able to access language relating to the learning context" (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010: p.35).

Content and language are blended in CLIL contexts where the corporation between educators and cooperative methodologies and between students is a fundamental

feature of professional and curriculum integration (Marsh, 2012). Harrop describes that

> "CLIL also claims to lead to an increased level of linguistic proficiency, in several ways. It provides not just extra exposure to comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985), but more specifically, context-embedded, cognitively challenging tasks that move the learner on in terms of both content and language" (Harrop, 2012: p.59).

CLIL can enhance learners' motivation and overcome the main shortcoming of communicative language teaching by proving a meaningful context for authentic communication around relevant and cognitively challenging content. Coyle also argues that content and linguistic progression need each other: CLIL makes transparent and accessible all language needed for successful completion of tasks and knowledge acquisition in a way that is not always found in content subjects by means of linguistic progression in 3 strands (see discussion of Coyle's triptych in 3.3.1.3).

CLIL is also an appropriate vehicle for exploring the links between language and the cultural domain for CLIL involves contexts and content, which enrich the learners' understanding of their own culture and those of others. Moreover, CLIL strengthens intercultural understanding and promotes global citizenship. Effective CLIL must therefore be considered a symbiotic relationship of the 4 contextualized C's where the practical applications of CLIL encourage constant and meaningful contextualisation of content in lessons (Lightbown & Spada, 2006).

3.4 Prerequisites for good CLIL

The expectations, as described in 3.3, could possibly be met if the necessary conditions were met, but if they are not, students run the risk of not successfully acquiring the same level of knowledge, as would be the case if they were taught in their mother tongue. If the CLIL programme is not implemented in a gradual manner, if the appropriate teaching content is not chosen, if the correct methodology is not used, and if the students' language skills are not developed whilst they learn academic content, each one of these could have a negative impact on the learning of

both content and language (Pavón Vázquez & Gaustad, 2013). For in a poorly organised setting students are exposed to situations in which they are constantly feeling inferior, which may result in lower participation and growing frustration. Therefore, Pavón Vázquez and Gaustad argue that rigorous prior analysis of the needs and objectives is required resulting in a number of prerequisites for successful CLIL implementation (2013). Before looking at these prerequisites, which are important to research when embarking on a CLIL programme, the notion must be accentuated that teachers react in certain ways when it comes to needs and objectives.

CLIL programs need to be designed in a very careful manner under the following conditions that are found in literature: When it comes to linguistic conditions Pavón Vázquez and Gaustad assert that entrance exams for CLIL type education are necessary and students should be set a target level for bilingual programmes (2013) As an academic objective provision of language, they continue, support for the students is required, which ensures that the students obtain the necessary linguistic knowledge and further skills necessary to assimilate academic content efficiently (Pavón Vázquez & Gaustad, 2013).

For teachers, a minimum level of linguistic proficiency is essential for it becomes an important factor in the successful implementation of CLIL methodologies. If teachers have a limited competence in the Foreign Language (FL) it forces them to restrict their interventions to more programmed and academic circumstances, rather than use them in a more relaxed context (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013). Andrews (1999) argues that the language teacher, like any educated user of that language, undoubtedly needs levels of implicit and explicit knowledge of grammar, which will facilitate effective communication. At the same time, however:

> “Effective L2 teaching requires of the teacher more than just the possession of such knowledge and the ability to draw upon it for communicative purposes. The L2 teacher also needs to reflect upon that knowledge and ability, and upon his/her knowledge of the underlying systems of the language, in order to ensure that the learners receive maximally useful input for learning” (Andrews, 1999: p.163).

Mehisto et al. summarize the expectations with regard to good CLIL teaching, or rather the competences required for successful CLIL teaching, as follows:

- Knowledge of methodology for integrating both language and content.
- Ability to create rich and supportive target-language environments.
- Ability to make input comprehensible.
- Ability to use teacher-talk effectively.
- Ability to promote student comprehensible output.
- Ability to attend to diverse student needs.
- Ability to continuously improve accuracy.

(Mehisto, P., Marsh, D., & Frigols, M.J., 2008: pp.232-236)

The emphasis may be more on language or content but nonetheless "dual-interest and dual-ability, if not dual-qualification, appear to be highly desirable" (Marsh & Marsland, 1999b: p.38). Therefore "CLIL is difficult to implement unless the subject teachers are themselves bilingual" (Graddol, 2006: p.86). Furthermore, the selection of CLIL teachers needs to be based on this linguistic criterion but also on the teachers' degree of motivation. But it is not often easy to find teachers who are ready to implement CLIL teaching programmes. One of the areas of concern, which is recurrent across contexts, is the inadequate organization of pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes that could also contemplate CLIL settings as possible sources of employment for future teachers (Banegas, 2012). However, if the number of available CLIL teachers is not big enough schools should start small and grow gradually until the necessary number teachers are found (Pavón Vázquez & Gaustad, 2013).

When it comes to specific CLIL training, administrators view it as very important whereas teachers show a more ambivalent approach to this type of training (Untiedt, Selten, & Decovsky, 2013). Teachers speak much more about external support than support provided within a school. However, Administrators should ensure that teachers make better use of knowledge and experience in school (Untiedt, Selten, & Decovsky, 2013). At the same time administrators should facilitate CLIL teachers in organising regular programme meetings, support teachers in jointly planning their

courses and provide the necessary resources to find appropriate materials and time to design good CLIL lessons (Pavón Vázquez & Gaustad, 2013).

Pavón Vázquez and Gaustad (2013) also argue that the importance of planning and implementing the CLIL programme should take place in a careful and cautious manner. At the same time programmes need to be tailored to the needs and objectives of the situation in order to avoid problems; not a one size fits all approach towards CLIL but adaptation of the CLIL programme to the required particular characteristics and needs.

At the same time the establishment of an organizational framework is required, which coordinates and provides support for the full array of actions that are necessary for good CLIL. This framework should also contain a regulatory mechanism to ensure that CLIL is implemented properly. Furthermore, administrators need to raise awareness of the staff that collaboration is not only essential, but also pays off and can be fun. If teachers are willing to cooperate, then head teachers should consider supporting such willingness by means such as granting additional time or flexible schedules (Massler, 2012)

A proper implementation of CLIL also needs the establishment of a timeline of the objectives that can actually be achieved. The timeline should present a gradual implementation of the programme according to Pavón Vázquez and Gaustad (2013), for instance by means of time sequencing (a number of hours devoted to the teaching through an additional language that will gradually increase). Gradual implementation may ensure that not only the students' language skills could improve but also that the skills and the methodological and linguistic preparation of teachers may adapt to new needs as they arise. Gradual implementation may also reduce potential reservations of parents, teachers and learners and it seems justifiable to begin the implementation of CLIL via modules to encourage them to get involved (Massler, 2012). Another prerequisite is the establishment of guidelines that describe what can be expected from both administrators and teachers: the expectations need to be clear and deadlines need to be met (Untiedt, Selten, & Decovsky, 2013)

These expectations are closely linked to knowledge of the CLIL methodology, for a good description of what classroom practice contributes to the implementation of CLIL, will give a better idea of what is expected from the teachers. (Untiedt, Selten, & Decovsky, 2013) Another important point in knowledge of the CLIL methodology is the design of lessons. Therefore, the teachers need a sound methodological training in specific strategies to transmit the content through another language. Ruiz de Zarobe (2013) elaborates on a scaffolded progression of tasks in CLIL methodologies, and the subsequent grading of what subject-specific language is to be learned. Ting (2011: p.314) introduces Core CLIL Construct which focus on three important operandi three very concrete ways of proceeding the best possible implementation of CLIL by asking the following three questions:

1. Do learners understand the language that I am using or the teacher, or the book is using?
2. Can learners use language effectively to ‘‘obtain information’’, ‘‘negotiate understanding’’, ‘‘discuss hypotheses’’, and ‘‘convey knowledge’’?
3. Is the content presented in chewable and digestible aliquots?

In this way CLIL implements language-aware instruction, which naturally leads to content-aware education and EFL expertise is naturally positioned for developing language-aware content education (Ting, 2011).

Administrators should provide incentive programmes for teachers and students so that teachers and students alike gain benefits from CLIL participation: recognize the additional teaching load associated with bilingual classes, official certification, priority access to mobility programmes and courses abroad, specific language- and methodology courses, linguistic- and methodological counselling in the preparation of classes and course materials. Furthermore, student and teacher should be given better technological and special equipment like online teaching and the use of state of the art resources for training (Pavón Vázquez and Gaustad, 2013; Casal & Moore, 2009). All these prerequisites are interconnected and influence each other. No single factor in CLIL classroom practice operates in isolation from the others (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013)

3.5 Risks associated with the Implementation of CLIL

As discussed before the benefits of bilingual education seem to prosper when one considers the successes of diverse immersion programmes all over the world. But as shown before there are research data that suggest otherwise in situations where CLIL did not take off as was anticipated. Nunan (2003), for instance, found that many countries are investing considerable resources in providing English, in pursuit of success, often at the expense of other aspects of the curriculum. However, Nunan does not exposit CLIL practices in his report but refers to switching the language of instruction to English. The evidence he found suggests that the resources he investigated are not achieving the instructional goals desired. In line with this, Coyle discerns possible threats to successful implementation of CLIL as well and heads this issue off when she says:

> "We are entering the danger-zone as CLIL provision extends beyond the early pioneering schools to more widespread adaptation few countries have embraced the need to deploy a highly trained workforce with initial teacher training [...] Processes involved in successfully integrating both content learning and language learning are complex. Yet without shared vision without addressing the fundamental issues upon which CLIL is based, without professional communities which support practitioners in class based inquiry and without ownership of CLIL by teachers and their learners then the future potential is unlikely to be realised" (Coyle, 2011: p.50).

The question looms whether the advancement of CLIL as a new educational approach is in dangerous waters for there is a large disconnect between the formal curriculum that stresses CLIL as a methodology to improve both language learning and intercultural communication skills on the one hand and the practice that teachers saw CLIL as a new method for language learning (Untiedt, Selten, & Decovsky, 2013). Lack of knowledge about the curriculum makes it very hard to implement that curriculum in a proper way. Teachers, for instance, perceived CLIL as an immersion programme rather than a method that requires specific strategies and activities.

However, there are a number of conditions to be met before CLIL will be a success. One of them is a *shared vision*, not only by the practitioners but also by the professional communities and the academic field, relating to management of change (see 3.6). I suspect that the agreement on CLIL has not reached the point of total agreement since there are researchers with a more reserved outlook on CLIL

methodologies, questioning whether the reality of CLIL classrooms matches the picture that CLIL proponents put forward (Georgiou, 2012). Hu labels the academic discourse on bilingualism as misleading by presenting biased pictures of countries in the world, focussing on the successful stories only:

> "Eschewing controversies and problems surrounding bilingual education, and ignoring unfavourable research findings. The academic discourse is filled with misconceptions of bilingual education and misinterpretations of the research literature [...] empirical research, especially evaluation studies, constitutes only a tiny part of the academic discourse" (Hu, 2008: p.219).

These firm statements can be inferred from the need in the academic field to defend over and over again the benefits of integrating content and language. This may spring from prejudices and folk beliefs (Naves, 2009) or political interest. Cummins (1995) argues that the benefits of CLIL are so abundant and clear yet still the common perception among stakeholders persist that research is largely unavailable, or inadequate, to justify this new approach. The common perception also fuels the idea that certain claims made by research have been a myth generated by strong vested interests. If the conditions for good qualitative CLIL are not met it may well turn into a serious issue. For these reasons Lasagabaster and Sierra state that it is more than clear that further research is required into specific areas of effective CLIL education if one may prove this approach to be very effective in producing proficient foreign language (2009). For if the approach to CLIL is watered down, misapplied or losing its initial characteristics many dangers may sneak into the CLIL implementation process (Georgiou, 2012).

Literature discusses a number of risks concerning CLIL implementation. Risks that concern the people that are working with CLIL: the students, the teachers and administrators. But also issues that present themselves in the process of implementation. In general, not all dimensions described and discussed before are contested. Most scientists do acknowledge the importance and rise of globalization, part of the cultural dimension, but other factors that are closely tied up with the other domains are seriously debated and challenged. However, since CLIL is a very individualistic development it must be noted that for every negative experience there is a positive one.

3.5.1 CLIL Teachers

In this section I will present key notions of the profiles of CLIL Teachers for they differ from ordinary mainstream teachers and learners. CLIL type provision requires of the teachers responsible for it, and this is their common distinctive attribute, the ability to teach one or more subjects in the curriculum in a language other than the usual language of instruction and thereby teach that language itself. Such teachers are thus specialists in two respects (Eurydice, 2006). In order to become such specialists special training is required that is concerned with teaching- and methodological skills that are peculiar to CLIL. However, these training possibilities are in general fairly limited and the main features and duration vary very widely (Eurydice, 2006).

In her study Massler (2012) asserts that teacher training phases and learning-by-doing did not seem to be sufficient as the teachers attributed their didactical and methodological insecurity to lack of training. The lack of experience or training suggests that teachers may not have been aware of a pedagogical approach or methods that were appropriate for teaching content subjects through a foreign language. But holding back on training is a major pitfall for teachers who cannot provide high quality standards of instruction, lack the skills to find appropriate material for CLIL instruction or who do not have a sufficient understanding of the CLIL methodology. These have been identified as factors that have led to the failure of CLIL programmes (Georgiou, 2012). The reasons behind this may be the inadequate competence of English teachers, who may have had a low level of English or the oversimplification of materials they employed (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013).

In Massler's study a number of teachers themselves also acknowledged that the problems students faced in achieving content learning outcomes are directly linked with the teachers' limited proficiency, the teachers' lack of language knowledge or lack of subject matter competences in the CLIL language. As a result, a number of teachers abandoned CLIL after their first year due to insufficient L2 language skills (Massler, 2012). Butler also asserts that teachers' lack of content and language knowledge affects CLIL success (2005). This impediment has to do with the methodological training of the teachers involved. For in a non-ideal CLIL situation, which is often the case, knowledge of specific strategies, techniques and activities to

transmit content through a different language is of paramount importance (Pavón Vázquez & Gaustad, 2013).

Untiedt et al. visited a school in the Netherlands (school Z) and found that the Administrators were positive about the quality of their teams but they do acknowledge that for some content teachers it is still hard to take up the role of language teacher as well (Untiedt, Selten, & Decovsky, 2013). They may suffer from enormous stress levels when they realise they lack the necessary resources to address a variety of classroom situations (Pavón Vázquez & Gaustad, 2013). When teachers have a limited competence in the foreign language teachers' pragmatic use of the language sometimes becomes less varied than in the teaching of subjects in the L1, which forces them to restrict their interventions to more programmed and academic circumstances, rather than use them in a more relaxed context (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013).

Another issue that presents itself is that some content teachers wish not to be seen as language teachers but this is exactly what EP expects from them (Untiedt, Selten, & Decovsky, 2013). Despite their skills in the fields of language or subject, "not all the teachers are prepared to focus on content and language goals" (Mehisto et al., 2008: p.21).

The main difficulties, however, go beyond these prerequisite skills (knowledge of the target language and having a subject-area qualification) because the major challenge is in the relationship between language and content (Snow et al., 1998). Bruton (2011b) elaborates on this by arguing that the picture of integrating content and language that seems to prevail at the moment, both in research and practice, is one where the content specialists are mainly absent. Thus, although the results are supportive of CLIL, there still needs to be more research in the design and implementation of CLIL methodology. Particularly in the content areas, research is lacking. And if CLIL is to be successful in the long run it must be understood that CLIL should be based on a fair and equal partnership between both language and content. For the least amount of attention has been paid to cognitive issues in all the disciplines, according to Bruton (2011b). Janzen adds to the discourse by stating that a number of overlapping concerns and findings are evident of which the most

frequently referenced claim is probably the centrality of language in content teaching (2008).

3.5.2 Poor Organisation of CLIL

If students experience constant feelings of inferiority when they find themselves exposed to poorly organised CLIL settings this may well result in lower levels of participation and growing levels of frustration. This may lead to situations in which students may not achieve the expected learning outcomes (Pavón Vázquez & Gaustad, 2013). There are reports that describe 'bad CLIL' in practice; well-meaning teachers but with no or little support and backup, confused by the many ways of CLIL adaptability that left them insecure. Another reason for abandoning CLIL included the finding of isolation, having to work alone on CLIL (Massler, 2012). Therefore, the employment of satisfactory guidelines for teachers that work with the CLIL methodology might result in more teachers willing to bypass these frustrations and undertake such teaching, according to Costa and D'Angelo (2011). But frustrations may also be the result of implementing CLIL in a non-gradual manner or choosing inappropriate teaching content or using the wrong methodology (Pavón Vázquez & Gaustad, 2013).

Some teachers were not positive about their managers for they did not give much priority to the enhancement of the quality of CLIL (Untiedt, Selten, & Decovsky, 2013). Risks for successful CLIL were also found in unclear expectations: staff and teachers do not have a clear picture of what the overarching European Platform expects from them and simultaneously teachers have no idea what their administrators expect from CLIL (Untiedt, Selten, & Decovsky, 2013).

3.5.3 CLIL Methodology

The notions in this section serve to illustrate that not all scientists agree on CLIL. To some CLIL methodology, is evident whereas others understand the CLIL approach differently identifying its limitations. Ball, for instance, argues that "the basic flaw in language teaching seems to reside in the fact that its *conceptual content* – topics, themes, stories – all of which can occur in a wide range of media, are *subordinated to the underlying linguistic objective*" (Ball, 2008). This means that teachers and students may have contradictory goals. As an imaginary example, teachers might

use greenhouse effect as a topic in their lessons but if the assessment focuses on the proper use of the tenses only, the chances are that students don't care about the meaning and understanding of the greenhouse effect at all. Instead they will focus on the grammar rules on the use of the tenses for they have to pass the test (Ball, 2008). There are other issues described in literature but I suspect that the content domain is the biggest obstacle to fully accept CLIL as a new pedagogy: the persistent disbelief among a number of stakeholders (parents, teachers, board-members) that a CLIL approach towards *content learning* leads to good practice.

Georgiou (2012) poses the important question whether it still stands if CLIL really is the leap forward: is it the appropriate methodology to be effective in the areas of both language and content. Do the learning outcomes in CLIL, especially where content is concerned, equal or surpass the outcomes in traditional L1 learning? At the same time, Bruna highlights serious issues when he writes that in academic environments students may be deprived of opportunities they need in order to develop full proficiency in the language of science and consequently helps to achieve school failure. A limited conceptualization of English as academic vocabulary *limits the effectiveness* of Academic English instruction (Bruna et al., 2007).
The results of Marsh's study (dating from 2000 so early in CLIL time sequencing) over three years of secondary education in Hong Kong are not very supportive either: "Hong Kong high school students were very disadvantaged by instruction in English in geography, history, science, and, to a lesser extent, mathematics. The size of this disadvantage was reasonably consistent across the first three years of high school" (Marsh et al., 2000: p.337). Butzkamm and Caldwell, for example, also have serious doubts about CLIL learning, which is advocated by many proponents of holistic learning and task-based approaches, and describe it as the 'naturalistic fallacy'. This fallacy is committed when foreign language teaching is constructed like the natural acquisition of the mother tongue (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009: p.175).

However, theoretically, CLIL with its specific pedagogical goals like scaffolding and interactive methodology (p.55) can never be guilty of this 'naturalistic fallacy'. For CLIL teaching is not constructed in the way Butzkamm and Caldwell assert here. Moreover, CLIL is a very individualistic development (and teachers react in certain ways) and it should be noted that in practice it may occur in different forms.

Therefore, the debatable views mentioned above clearly show that: “giving the facts [on CLIL] is not enough anymore… there is the urgency to engage people in an open and honest discussion” (Mehisto 2008: p.20), which requires a common knowledge and understanding of what CLIL actually is and how it is to be interpreted.

3.5.4 Ownership

There is a risk of head teachers dictating programme implementation without the agreement of the teachers involved (Massler, 2012). Ruiz de Zarobe also discusses discrepancies between policy-makers and stakeholders, which can cause some areas of conflict for CLIL implementation, despite the potential opportunities (2013). But ownership is also an issue among teachers. Lucietto (2008: p.84) elaborates on this when he states that most FL teachers who work with CLIL feel that the FL domain “owns” the CLIL approach. Ownership, but based on what? Content teachers could rightfully ask how much content knowledge the FL teachers have in general. However, sometimes content teachers are seen as secondary “aids-de-camp” and for that reason FL teachers have difficulties in opening up towards, and sharing with content teachers. At the same time, most content teachers lack the minimal but necessary FL competence and consequently they dedicate all their efforts to delivering lectures.

However, this is an important issue to understand the nature of such change in role-play between FL teachers and content teachers. Since the learning of English appears to be losing its separate identity as a discipline and merging with general education, specialist English teachers in many countries can expect to see the nature of their jobs changing during the next 10-15 years (Graddol, 2006). This change creates uncertainty among (a number of) teachers: sometimes they do not know what is expected from them, especially when CLIL means having content and foreign language teachers work together (Banegas, 2012), or simply lack the knowledge to do so (Pavón Vázquez & Rubio, 2010).

Furthermore, when it comes to ownership, Banegas argues that top down policies may have a negative effect on teachers who experience the new implementation of CLIL as nothing more than a revitalization of the old school communicative language instruction, which is driven by major players in the political field. Therefore, it is

necessary to guard against reports solely focusing on the positive results of these new approaches. This calls for explorations from the bottom-up instead of solely top-down (Banegas, 2012). In other words, the explicit views of all stakeholders ought to be integrated.

Butzkamm and Caldwell, on the other hand, warn not to forget the lessons of history and to investigate procedures, which over the centuries have worked for many teachers and learners. They assert: “The study of the history of language teaching deserves a central place in teacher education” (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009: p.241). A large number of foreign language teachers are often very sceptical about new theories and practical solutions proposed by researchers (or policymakers). Teachers’ practice is “often rooted in more traditional ways of doing things” (Swan, 2007: p.295). This is hardly surprising, given that

> “At different times they have been told to ignore the learners’ mother tongue; to base teaching on contrasts between the mother tongue and the second language; to avoid showing beginners the written word; to establish habits by drilling; to refuse to explain grammar; to explain grammar but avoid drilling; to rely exclusively on comprehensible input; to minimize opportunities for error; to regard errors as constructive; not to ask questions to which the teachers know the answers; to use simplified material; to avoid using simplified material; and so on” (Swan, 2005: p.397).

3.5.5 Workload & Preparation time

Massler (2012) found that reasons for abandoning CLIL included the finding that CLIL increased their workload. Pro-CLIL teachers unanimously reported having to spend considerable time in preparing CLIL learning materials. But personal attitudes and preparation time were also factors and these factors in particular contributed to teachers seeing CLIL as a burden. At the same time teachers speak about necessary support to overcome the problems but hardly mention collaboration and mutual support.

3.5.6. Materials

Mehisto argues that finding and adapting your own material in CLIL methodology is a fact. However, the material must be of outstanding quality in order to help and act as

scaffolding device for content teachers who consider teaching in a foreign language more challenging (Mehisto, 2012). Mehisto et al. (2008: p.22) also found that

> "Finding appropriate material is a particular challenge for the language input needs be simple enough and presented in a reader-friendly manner so as to facilitate comprehension while at the same time sufficiently content rich and cognitively challenging to capture students' interest."

Ballman (1997) asserts that publishers need to produce course books, which are related to learners' lives in their contexts. It is in the spirit of CLIL that the employed material should match the context of the learner. However, publishers, especially in this era of the global course book, may not be interested to localise their international course books to match the national curricula in every setting. This would call for an extreme diversification which implies huge investment and little profits.

It has also been suggested that teachers engaged in content-driven models may use textbooks for native speakers to teach subjects such as History (Banegas, 2012). The drawback of these materials, however, is that they will not match other curricula than those of the native student.

3.5.7 Sustainability

Another major concern is the sustainability. If an educational institute seeks to implement a CLIL approach and it does not have the expertise to do so it needs external (expensive) help. Furthermore, a language teacher and a content teacher working together in the same class will cost. These issues need to be addressed for if "CLIL is to continue to develop, to be adopted by governments and welcomed rather than rejected by teachers, parents and learners, and if CLIL is to be linked to the dynamics of change in terms of social, economic and technological evolution, then it must be sustainable" (Coyle et al., 2010: p.161). The training of new CLIL teachers takes a lot of time and effort but it also costs a lot of money. However, Coyle et al. see "a systematic growth if the number of CLIL teachers grow and when the quality of CLIL practice increases… which require urgent and significant changes" (2010: p.161) by the policy makers and school administrators. Massler (2012) found that if CLIL had not been incorporated into the school curriculum on a permanent basis this may have been a reason for abandoning CLIL.

3.5.8 Examinations

Another cause of abandoning CLIL among teachers is the issue of examinations. While CLIL, in theory, looks at language and content holistically, national exams are solely focused on content, creating a fracture in the system. In other words, while the educational process has one set of aims, examinations are guided by a different agenda, as it were. A fair assessment framework should integrate two dimensions: language proficiency and content proficiency.

3.5.9 CLIL Students

As discussed before becoming a CLIL student implies a different way of learning: "the learner's roles as a foreign language learner and as a content learner merge […] this means that the learner acquires content subject and a new language at the same time" (Wolff, 2007b: p.19). However, the process of becoming a CLIL student involves a number of (ethical) implications in: the selection of 'suitable' CLIL students, the motivation of CLIL students and the critical stance of CLIL students on CLIL in the classrooms.

An important issue in a number of countries, like the Netherlands, is the alleged *student selection* for the CLIL programme: a pre-selection of students who want to follow this type of education. Papaja describes that most of these future CLIL learners are intrinsically motivated: "They already have a very good command of L2 and they are often motivated by dreams of being able to speak the language like a native- speaker" (2012: p.31). These students may already have greater metalinguistic awareness in the cognitive domain than students who follow traditional FL programmes (Ter Kuile, Veldhuis, Van Veen, & Wicherts, 2011). This cognitive domain, as discussed before, is very well developed in (future) CLIL learners: "CLIL learners have a high cognitive sensitivity for language structure which helps them in learning languages" (Wolff, 2007a: p.9). However, the ways students are selected varies enormously around the world and the issue of student selection must not be considered as a general pattern.

But it is not just the cognitive competence that is better developed but also the "learner use of language related to academic and not to everyday content [that] makes the learner develop a type of linguistic proficiency which is characterized to a

large extent by speech acts which belong to formal language registers" (Cummins, 1987: p.57). This process of becoming more and more linguistically proficient includes "an awareness of power and control through language, and of the intricate relationships between language and culture" (van Lier, 1995: p.11). In general, it is believed that CLIL learners are better language learners because they process the foreign language more deeply and learn it more proficiently. They are also better content learners, according to Papaja, because they process content more deeply on the foreign language (2014). Initially Marsh's learning dimension encompassed the increase of students' motivation when working with CLIL (see 3.2). Coyle et al. support this notion. They describe that better linguistic- and communicative competence, more relevant methodologies and higher levels of authenticity are strengthened in CLIL in order to increase learner motivation (2010).

In contrast to this, Seikkula-Leino (2007) argues that not only learning in CLIL can be so challenging that the maximal outcome of content learning is not always reached, but also, even more importantly, that CLIL students had relatively low self-concept in foreign languages, which may affect students' motivation. Coyle et al. (2009) are also clear about aspects that may have a negative impact on students' motivation when they assert that low levels of enjoyment and perceptions of lack of relevance can create negative attitudes. The only way to actively stimulate students' choices to learn, or continue to learn, implies addressing these factors, which are adversely affecting students' perceptions.

Despite students' awareness of the advantages and disadvantages of CLIL programmes Papaja (2012) found that it is more difficult to keep the students motivated because students have to learn both language and content of the subjects. Furthermore, Papaja (2012) draws the attention to the facts that students also mention teachers' lack of knowledge concerning methodology of CLIL, lack of proper didactic materials or their own difficulty with the language.

To look at the impact of CLIL on students from these two sides the above suggests that some students are more suited for this type of education, Bruton, for instance, suspects that many of the potential pitfalls, which CLIL might encounter, are actually avoided by selecting for these programmes students who will be academically

motivated to succeed in the FL, as in other subjects in a CLIL program (Bruton, 2011b). Consequently, Bruton rightly poses the question what the effect of selection may be on the students who have not been elected to participate in a CLIL programme. But also from a research perspective, the lack of rigor may affect how CLIL is overall evaluated: CLIL education may be perceived as elitist since, sometimes, the best learners from mainstream classes are placed in CLIL classes and cause resentment (Mehisto et al., 2008). This, needless to say, may skew possible research results, for learners have achieved good levels of performance both content and language-wise before starting CLIL.

This fact also reveals a need to study classrooms in which learners have not been placed according to their foreign language performance or overall academic grades. For Massler's study showed that not all students are suited for CLIL: student interviews also substantiate the claim that learning content subjects in a foreign language was quite demanding for some students. One teacher gave up CLIL after the first year because she considered her class too weak for this approach (Massler, 2012).

3.5.10 Medium of Instruction

But there are also issues in this domain such as the choice of language or *Medium of instruction*. The pivoting point of CLIL is the use of a Foreign Language (FL) rather than a second language (L2). This means that the language of instruction is one that students will mainly use and work with in the classroom, the so-called "centred learner environment" (Papaioannou, 2014: p.49). One expects the FL not to be used regularly in the broader, outside-of-school context, or the world they live in, as would be the case with an L2. This FL could be any language but it should be noted that because of the growing impact of globalization some scientists think that the dominant CLIL language should be English instead of any other FL. Dalton-Puffer points out: "the fact that a command of English as an additional language is increasingly regarded as a key literacy feature worldwide" (2011: p.183). And in practice most of the time the targeted language in Dutch CLIL classrooms is the English language.

In CLIL methodology the use of the mother tongue (MT) is reduced. According to Butzkamm and Caldwell there are scientists who argue that the two linguistic systems, Mother Tongue (MT or L1) and FL (L2), develop separately; CLIL students make use of learning strategies that involve both languages. The strategies include asking for equivalent expressions, contrasting such expressions, and using mixed-language utterances. For Butzkamm and Caldwell, the fact that these natural strategies are so common makes "the exclusion of the MT from the FL classroom seem almost perversely wrong" (2009: p.223).

There are doubts about the case whether use of an FL as a medium of instruction may not be too ambitious (Bruton, 2011b). Pro-CLIL teachers also viewed the achievement of content learning outcomes after the first and the second year of CLIL quite critically and some noted that children need more time to learn the same amount of content in English than in German (Massler, 2012). Furthermore, most teachers indicated that low achievers were neglected in CLIL. If students do not master the language used as medium of instruction well enough they run the risk of not successfully acquiring the same level of knowledge, as would be the case, if they were taught in their own language (Pavón Vázquez & Gaustad, 2013). Studies showed detrimental effects on content learning (subjects such as Mathematics, Geography, History or Science), and even poorer motivation results over a period of time in the case of English-medium instruction (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013).

Harmer balances the argument by asserting that while no one would question that English actually needs to be spoken in an English class, a large body of teachers and other stakeholders have agreed that learners' own languages can be used for certain purposes: a teacher can use the students' L1 to talk about the learning process, their needs and expectations, to make comparisons between L1 and L2, and to create a good atmosphere in the classroom. Instead of the CLIL approach the technique of sandwiching (making statement in L2, restate it in MT and again in L2) should be used as to create an FL atmosphere in the classroom and lead to a "message-oriented discourse". This is possible because the sandwich technique provides only initial understanding: once the meaning is clear, only then the L2 expression should be used (Harmer, 2007: pp.133–135). To get the message across Lasagabaster (2013: p.17) also supports the sandwich technique when he asserts, "the use of the

first language, if judicious, can serve to scaffold language and content learning in CLIL contexts, as long as learning is maintained primarily through the L2" (see p.179).

3.5.11 Language Dominance

With globalization, the demand for a shrinking number of global languages increases. I suspect that some would favour just one universal language. In this review, I do not wish to elaborate on the fact whether or not this should be English but I want to draw the attention to a major ethical problem: language dominance. As "schooling can be a major contributor to the first language, vernacular and regional minority language loss" (Luke & Dooley, 2009: p.2), the on-going process of Anglicization in the Global, European and Dutch institutions is a threat to minority languages. English remains hegemonic, powerful, and dominant. This conception of a dominant language gives rise to what is known as "linguistic imperialism" (Ravelo, 2014: p.74). A major influence of English in our educational world "will be in creating new generations of bilingual and multilingual speakers across the world" (Graddol, 2004: p.1330).

This is where criticality steps in. There are serious ethical issues at stake. According to Crystal (2000: p.79) "Bilingualism should never contribute to any reason for language death. In this age, we live in a period of emerging bilingualism, where people are efficient in their mother tongue and the "new language". Crystal warns that if we are not critical "bilingualism starts to decline, with the old language giving way to the new [where] the younger generation becomes increasingly proficient in the new language, identifying more with it, and finding their first language less relevant to their new needs." (Crystal, 2000: p.136).

It is remarkable and noteworthy that we witness a balancing act: on the one hand, we see the introduction of bilingual education at schools and at the same time we see that the endangered languages are strongly promoted in the educational systems. Dearden (2014) reports, for instance, that attempts to run CLIL courses in English in the past were stopped in Israel due to hostile media coverage because the Hebrew language needed protection as a fully successful language. There is an area of tension in the role of schools between teaching the students their mother tongues, and the introducing a second 'new' language by means of the CLIL approach.

According to Ravelo: “The notion of linguistic imperialism, intertwined with cultural imperialism, can be associated with one typical criticism of CLIL in curriculum design: the fact that CLIL can be used for politico-linguistic purposes, but disguised as a pedagogic philosophy” (Ravelo, 2014: p.74).

Therefore, if English is to be employed as the lingua franca all over the world, despite serious allegations, it requires a policy of such nature, which not only promotes the second language but simultaneously functions as a defence mechanism for minority languages. How this might work is still in the process of evolution and more research is needed.

3.6 Management of Educational Change

The management of education change theory provides insights how change impacts so many areas of stakeholders’ lives, from classroom practice to motivations and beliefs. It is also of key importance to know about the consequences or impact of any form of educational change. A number of change models, like the complexity theory perspective, shows that change in social settings, such as a school, depends on a variety of social forces from within and from outside the school. But in this section on change theory I move from the Hierarchically, top down, based model via the Cyclical Integration Model to the latest theories of action that really do work, according to Fullan (2006). I will end the section with important sociological and psychological notions necessary to adopt new practices and innovations like CLIL.

In discussing the hierarchically based model (figure 3.2) Berlach cites Hargreaves (1998) when he says that the further individuals are from the source of a change decision, the greater will be their psychological alienation and associated angst. A top-down model like the hierarchical “begins to fracture as decisions are moved further and further down line, as people lose sight of origins and begin to feel like pawns” (Berlach, 2010: p.2).

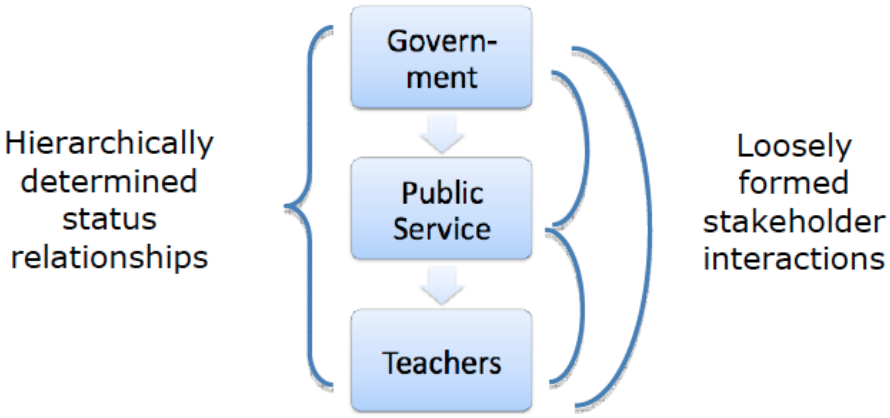

Figure 3.2. Change agent relationship: Hierarchically based model (Berlach, 2010: p.2)

Berlach argues that the hierarchically based model has the potential to suffer from down line fragmentation and iterates that change management based on a more stable basis may yield better results. As an alternative Berlach presents the Cyclical Integration Model (Figure 3.3):

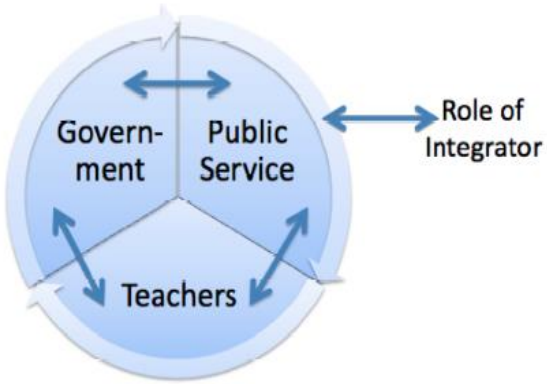

Figure 3.3. Change agent relationship: Cyclical Integration Model (Berlach, 2010: p.4)

This model, which is premised on consensus rather than dictum, acknowledges the unique contributions of the three stakeholders or change agents: the government, the public service and the teachers. At the same time this model attempts to strengthen the coherence between them. According to Fullan (2007: xii) working on “coherence” is the key to dealing with the fragmented demands of overloaded reform agendas. Each of the three agents requires framing questions in order to maximise their contribution to (the best quality of) change and guide the process. For teachers, the questions that need to be asked, relate to the following domains: teachers’

professional & pedagogical integrity, the workload reality, the curriculum viability, the practicability feasibility, transition arrangements, parental acceptance and provision of Professional Development events (Berlach, 2010). These questions centre on implementation imperatives with the overarching question of what could possibly hamper good CLIL delivery (Berlach, 2010)?

There are the four assumptions that underpin these questions (Berlach, 2010: p.8):

1. Each member of the operational component has a genuine desire to put children's educational needs ahead of their own professional posturing.
2. On-going dialogue in a spirit of collegiality produces greater internal motivation leading to results superior to those obtainable by forced compliance.
3. The earlier in the process that participation occurs, the greater will be the sense of ownership and the lower the resistance to change.
4. All members of the operational component accept accolades for success and responsibility for failure, as a unit. In other words, no one plays the "blame game" – the unit either succeeds or fails as one body. Such an assumption acts as a powerful success

Fullan argues that change theory can be very powerful in informing education reform strategies and, in turn, getting results. But only in the hands (and minds, and hearts) of people who have a deep knowledge of the dynamics of how the factors in question operate to get particular results. Fullan explains (2006: p.3) that others and he have delved into and researched all sorts of models in order to get to models that really do make a difference, "theories of action" that really get results in education reform.

Change knowledge has been used and refined over the past decade and seven core premises that underpin the use of change knowledge have emerged. With these underpinnings Fullan, in his "Theory of Action" (2006: pp.8-11), has tried to capture the underlying thinking of effective change strategies in that the focus should be on motivation, capacity building with the focus on results, learning in context in ever changing contexts, bias for reflective action, Tri-level engagement and Persistence and flexibility in staying the Course.

A final premise I wish to touch upon concerns Bull's practical considerations on management of education change theory in order to progress toward the adoption of a new innovation. Bull describes a number of necessary steps to be taken or hindrances to be overcome before the implementation will be a success. First Bull states that: "A finding published in a scientific journal is not the end of a conversation about something. It is the beginning" (Bull, 2015). It can be very frustrating when stakeholders in the implementation process have not involved themselves in the broader discourse or learn the nuances of the approach that is implemented. Secondly teachers and administrators have deep-seated beliefs and values that inform them what to think and what to do. Sometimes it is very hard to guide the process because more than often discussions do not go further than this is good and that is bad. In order to adopt, most people need to get informed: bring in an expert and devise team workshops. Therefore, it would not only be more helpful to move away from moral and ethical terminology and but also to focus on the benefits and limitations of the implementation of an approach in order to nurture a more open and nuanced discourse. It is important not only to celebrate the successes but also discuss the setbacks. Thirdly some people are, by nature, more curious than others. This is an important factor in the educational change theory. It is an illusion to create the perfect plan on change management that is to everyone's liking. Since the current approach has taken up so much (emotional) energy, teachers prefer what they already know and what they have familiarized themselves with. Even if a more promising practice comes along. For them it might be stressful to start all over again with a new approach. Fourthly Bull argues that a much faster route to the implementation of a new approach is to increase the commitment of teachers and staff members in order to create a shared ownership.

3.7 Development of Research Questions

The focus in the literature review was on the beneficial effects of CLIL (as a variation of bilingual education): as there were the advantageous effects of CLIL on the cognitive and cultural domains; an increase in the communicative competences and other competences; CLIL as a solution to bring a stop to demotivation and underachievement among students; an increase to collaboration and innovation; start building on integrated knowledge etc. Simultaneously challenges presented themselves like issues with language acquisition and choice of medium of instruction;

issues with finding qualified, competent and motivated staff; doubts if the CLIL approach really improves the results of students; lack of socio-linguistic contexts and lack of overlap between teachers' and students' interests; lack of a shared vision.

As a natural outcome, I felt it as a specific need to revisit the benefits and issues, as discussed before, which merge with implementation of CLIL in a pre-vocational context. And to do so I tried to be a part of two different but comparable school teams and interact with them in order to delve deeper and to get a more profound understanding about the position of the participants in all this. I was deeply interested in the scope of beliefs and convictions of the employers in pre-vocational education.

I also wanted to engage with pre-vocational education and the professionals that work there because of the increasing tendency in the Netherlands to copy the CLIL successes at pre-university levels to vocational streams. I suspected that the impact of the CLIL approach on highly motivated and highly intellectual CLIL students at academic levels would be of a different order than the impact it has on vocational students who may show lower degrees of motivation, (neglect of their homework, truancy, underachievement etc.). Creten et al. show that the majority of vocational students only study because of extrinsic motivation; they study because they are forced to or get financial rewards (2001). Therefore, in this inquiry, the professionals who work with these vocational students have been confronted with CLIL, willingly or unwillingly.

As discussed before a number of scientists seriously doubt the claim that combining language instruction and content is the way forward. I sought to fathom, and go beyond the things that were said and confided to me. And thus, from the ground up I set up the inquiry to find out to what extent the participants' knowledge, aspirations, beliefs and convictions coincide with or even go beyond the scope of the data in question as described in the literature, with the aim to further knowledge.

As a result, the possible beneficial effects and the challenges that go with the implementation of CLIL are discussed and evaluated in the interviews, which I had constructed on the basis of my literature review and my experience. However, this thesis does not seek to answer the question whether CLIL works or not; it rather

seeks to explore how complex people negotiate their feelings in two different contexts and the ways in which teachers cope with highly approved CLIL. I have mentioned and explored the national public debate in the introduction and the setting and resulting from that I want to know why teachers bother, if at all.

3.7.1 The Research Questions

I have formulated the following central research question and its sub-questions on the basis of my experiences:

> How do staff stakeholders reflect on their experiences of the implementation of CLIL in two faith-based pre-vocational schools in the Netherlands?

As a real-life situation, this study focused on the time after the initial implementation of CLIL. In the first place, I discerned how far the participants in this inquiry were acquainted with the concept of CLIL. Did the participants apprehend the concept of CLIL in the same way or were there varieties of different viewpoints? I also considered it necessary to describe along which ways CLIL had been implemented and how the stakeholders experienced the implementation phase. Thirdly I explored the issues in daily teaching practices and the assumed collaboration among the staff members leading to the question what their experiences and perceptions of adopting CLIL have been. And finally, I was also keen to know how the participants reflected on their levels of affinity towards CLIL. These four aspects formed the basis of the construction of my interview questions (see appendix 2) and lead to the following sub-questions:

Sub–Questions:

> i. What is the understanding or awareness of CLIL of the participants in this study?
> ii. How did the participants experience the implementation phase?
> iii. What are the participants' experiences and perceptions of adopting CLIL?
> iv. What are the participants' retrospective views on the process?
> Have their perspectives changed in response to these challenges?

Chapter 4

Methodology

Establishing a context for the research process requires looking at the assumptions that scaffold my methodological choice: the theoretical perspective. This part of the thesis seeks to underpin these assumptions and to concretize both an understanding of *what is* as well as *what it means to know*. For data collection, but even more so data analysis, implies multiple truths and the interpretations of the findings from the data are crucial for the construction of new theory or knowledge from these findings. This new knowledge can be understood as a body of true beliefs. This means that I, as a researcher must be able to justify my claim, my finding. At the same time the claim itself must be true and I myself must believe in it. Justification plays an important role here. If I want to justify my claim in this study I need evidence that must be of good quality, logical and reasonable. The two prevalent 'schools' for the justification of beliefs are empiricism and rationalism. The ratio, or the logical human mind is seen as the source for new knowledge. Through reasoning new knowledge can be construed.

The foundations of this study are Interpretivism and constructivism, affiliated approaches when it comes to qualitative research, underpinned by particular philosophical worldviews. The term worldview here as meaning "a basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Guba, 1990: p.17). The goal of understanding the complex world of lived experiences comes from the point of view from those that live in it. If the people studied are the actors, the goal of understanding meaning is grasping the actor's definition of a particular situation. In other words, the actors construct the specific meanings that the researcher is after, when a person tries to constitute the general object of investigation (Schwandt et al., 1994). Interpretivism and constructivism are addressed in the following sections of this chapter.

4.1 The Theoretical Perspective

Before considering the assumptions that scaffold my specific perspectives and methodological choices that are founded on the philosophical entities of Ontology

and Epistemology I will first expound on these phenomena, and their position in the paradigms, in a more general discussion.

Ontology, the theory of *being*, focuses on the key issue whether or not there is a real world 'out there' independent from our knowledge and perception. Epistemology, the theory of *knowledge,* has basically two focal points: first, it seeks to discern 'reality' and 'objectivity' within the social world. And secondly, when it is possible to discern real relationships in the social environment that we are part of, it also seeks to answer whether these realities are distinguishable through direct observation or whether these realities simply *exist* in the social world, independently from our observation.

These ontological and epistemological assumptions that underpin a research strategy are also known as the research paradigm: a set of shared beliefs about the nature of the social world or reality and about the knowability, the way in which we can come to know this reality of this world (Denscombe, 2008; Blaikie, 2010). It must be understood as a set of 'very basic meta-theoretical assumptions, which underwrite the frame of reference, mode of theorising and *modus operandi* of the social theorists who operate within them' (Burrell & Morgan, 1979: p.23). Assumptions regarding:

> "A worldview that defines for its holder the nature of the 'world', the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts... and [the basic beliefs] must be accepted simply on faith (however, well argued); there is no way to establish their ultimate truthfulness" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994: p.107).

For a long time the overarching paradigm in social science research was positivist seeking to explain and predict what happens in the social world by focusing on possible regularities and causal relationships between its constituents but many scientists, challenged the prevailing notion of the past that social sciences were to be studied with a positivistic approach only.

In contrast Burrell and Morgan (1979) researched the positions of social theorists from rival intellectual traditions and developed their own analytical scheme of how social science should be studied: two sets of assumptions Subjectivism and

Objectivism, divided over four paradigms. On one side of the spectrum the sociology of Radical change represented by the paradigms of Radical Humanism and Radical Structuralism and on the other side the sociology of Regulation or Gradualism represented by Interpretative Sociology and Functionalist Sociology: 'To be located in a particular paradigm is to view the world in a particular way. The four paradigms thus define four views of the social world based upon different meta-theoretical assumptions with regard to the nature of science and society' (Burrell & Morgan, 1979: p.24).

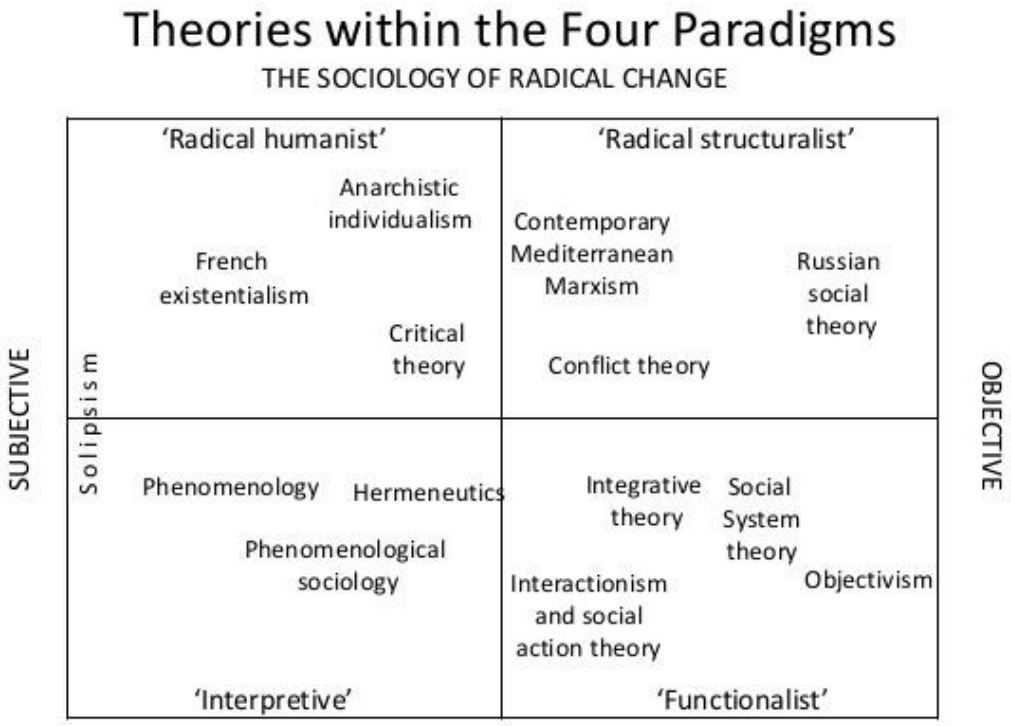

Figure 4.1, The Sociology of Regulation (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: p.29)

These assumptions must not be seen as a research tool kit but they are part of the researcher's beliefs or convictions: "they are like a skin and not a sweater: they cannot be put on and taken off whenever the researcher sees fit" (Marsh & Furlong, 2002: p.17). From a large variety of epistemologies my convictions could only place me in the epistemology of constructionism. This type of epistemology denies the existence of an objective waiting for us out there to be discovered. Constructionism states that true meaning is not discovered but that it is constructed. Consequently, it is obvious that different people with different background construe different meanings for the same object or phenomenon.

The answers to these questions determine the position of the researcher and as such every researcher brings a number of assumptions to the research task.
In this view interpretation plays a pivotal role in this research and in relation to the context of my own research these distinctions, as discussed before, are determined in the paradigm of *interpretivism*.

4.1.1 Paradigmatic Non-Conformity

The discussion in the previous section is by no means to be understood as if all researchers within a given paradigm are having 'the same skin' or are in total agreement with each other. For instance, Crotty argues that scientists have started to use ontology in a non-philosophical manner. To Crotty this is unacceptable. The term ontology should be reserved when it is really necessary to talk about 'being' in a *philosophical* manner. Every other manner than this must be considered as non-philosophical. Some scientists, like Blaikie (1993) have started to stretch the real meaning of ontology well and truly beyond its boundaries and the study of 'being' is no longer ontology in its philosophical sense but refers to how one views the world; the so-called: "theoretical perspective" (Crotty, 2009: p.11).

Crotty sees the theoretical perspective as: "a statement of the assumptions brought to the research task and reflected in the methodology as we understand and employ it" (2009: p.7). As a result, multiple perspectives and stances can be found as well as debate and disagreement within a certain paradigm, but the underlying basic taken-for-granted assumptions separate these theorists and/or researchers from the ones in other paradigms. "It is the *commonality* of these perspectives and stances that binds the work of a group of theorists together in such a way that they can be usefully regarded as approaching social theory within the bounds of the same problematic" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979: p.23). Exactly these notions of fixed boundaries and the incommensurability of paradigms, as mentioned by Burrell and Morgan, are increasingly contested. The bounds and borders between research traditions become blurred. It is the *defining* aspect that has been contested over the years and the strict divisions between the paradigms have become informal especially with the rise of the complexity theory (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

In answer to Feyerabend's and Kuhn's doctrine on the incommensurability of apparently conflicting scientific theories, which, in their views, are rationally non-comparable, the emergence of commensurability of modern scientists not only touches and infiltrates the domains of methods and methodology but also the more philosophical perspectives of ontology and epistemology. These are often described as two separate entities and thought of as stances that are related but need to be considered as separated for a researcher's ontological stance affects but far from determines one's epistemological stance (Marsh & Furlong, 2002). However, a shared nomenclature enables scientists to compare the once seemingly incommensurable theories from the past. This can be seen as a growing trend in our age where ontological and epistemological issues tend to merge together.

4.1.2 Interpretivism

The ontological position of interpretivism is relativism. Relativism is the view that reality is subjective and differs from person to person (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Interpretivism or Interpretive methodology is directed at understanding phenomenon from an individual's perspective, investigating interaction among individuals as well as the historical and cultural contexts, which people inhabit (Creswell, 2009).
I revisited a number of opinions on Interpretivism and Orlikowski & Baroudi argue that "Interpretive studies assume that people create and associate their own subjective and inter-subjective meanings as they interact with the world around them" (1991: p.5). The context of the interpretive paradigm is to understand the subjective world of creation and association of human experience. In order to retain the integrity of the phenomena being investigated and to understand them thoroughly, "efforts are made to get inside the person and to understand from within" (Cohen et al., 2013: p.21), an understanding of the meanings that the participants ascribe to them, an understanding of the "deeper structure of a phenomenon" (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991: p.5; Myers, 2009).

It is not just about interpreting meanings of the participants ascribed to phenomena but there is another perspective that attempts "to understand the *inter-subjective* meanings embedded in social life . . . [and hence] to explain why people act the way they do" (Gibbons, 1987: p.3). The goal of understanding the complex world of lived experiences comes from the point of view from those that live in it. If the people

studied are the actors, the goal of understanding meaning is grasping the actor's definition of a particular situation *subjectively or inter-subjectively*. In other words, the actors construct the specific meanings that the researcher is after, when he or she tries to constitute the general object of investigation (Schwandt et al., 1994). Thus, interpretivism assumes multiple realities, which are bound to time and context, socially constructed by different communities. This social construction of human actors, equally applicable to researchers, equals our knowledge of the social domain.

4.1.3 Realist Constructionism

As stated before the philosophical paradigm of this thesis aligns with the interpretative tradition, but with the reservation that the philosophical ontological perspective in this study is realistic in nature.

Reality is external and independent and knowledge of the (social) world around us is subjective and socially constructed. In the social sciences ontology is used to understand the nature of *social* reality. Guba and Lincoln (1994) assert the notion that realism, meaning that realities exist outside the mind, necessarily implies objective perspectives. The researcher must be value free in order to make claims about (the mechanisms of) real phenomena.

However, it turns out that ontological Realism and epistemological Constructionism are quite compatible. A world without meaning-making beings would make a meaningless world but still "the world is there regardless of whether human beings are conscious of it.... The existence of a world without meaning is conceivable. Meaning without a mind is not" (Crotty, 2009: p.10).

The realist position "contends that objects have an independent existence and are not dependent for it on the knower" (Cohen et al., 2013: p.7). Starting from this premise that there is an independent and concrete reality, the only way to know about this reality are the sensory organs. As contrasted to Positivism, interpretations of this sensory 'reality input' can never be understood objectively. But unlike positivists, realists agree that most of the social phenomena cannot be observed directly. When merely the *visible* is described, a false picture of multiple realities may

emerge, since the deeper structures that are hidden in the *invisible* may have been overlooked.

The 'reality' of research in the social world can never be more than researchers' interpretations of actors' interpretations. This notion is also referred to as double hermeneutics. There is always this "dichotomy between reality and appearance. Interpretive researchers thus attempt to understand phenomena through accessing the meanings participants assign to them" (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991: p.5). Consequently, if we look at human constructions as multiple realities they can only be understood subjectively.

This thesis adopts the 'weak' variation of social Constructionism, which does *not* deny the existence of a material world but insists that our access to it is attained through language and discourse. This so called "Realist Constructionism can be a more coherent and potentially a more valuable Constructionism" (Elder–Vass, 2012: p.9), because it gives the researcher the possibility:

> "to make a clear and plausible connection between such social entities and the individual human agents that make them up. Those individuals are independently material people with casual powers of their own, yet they are also shaped and influenced by discursive pressures. Realists can therefore accept that subjectivity is socially constructed in the moderate sense without denying the reality of the agentic subject" (Elder-Vass, 2012: p.20).

This aligns with the notion that ontological physical Realism and epistemological social Constructionism are compatible.

The aim of this study is to uncover the deeper beliefs of the participants and to gain a more profound understanding of the intentions and motivations of these same participants that often "remain implicit and go unrecognized by the authors themselves" (Crotty, 2009: p.91). This thesis requires an in-depth understanding into the social processes and phenomena surrounding the implementation of CLIL in a school environment.

The approach of interpreting phenomena that are in some way strange is also known as hermeneutics (which means etymologically to interpret or to understand). It is

these phenomena that are “means of transmitting meaning – experience, beliefs, values- from one person or community to another. Hermeneutics assumes a link between the two that makes the exercise feasible” (Crotty, 2009: p.91). Hermeneutics also implies an on-going debate between part and whole and whole and part. Certain phenomena are *more* than the sum of their parts (Nisbet & Watt, 1984) and have to be addressed as a whole. This study sought to emphasize the whole instead of dividing it up in parts and look at them as separate units; the concept of truth is holistic rather than reductionistic (Thomas, 2011). The interpretive concept of knowledge is not only subjective but also ideographic; it sees each context as a unique situation.

Given that this research project sought to unravel the deeper meanings of the participants’ experiences, beliefs and convictions and looking at a phenomenon in detail without attempting to generalise from it, this is a study that heavily drew on the described interpretive paradigm. Moreover, it also endeavoured to clarify and make plausible connections between social constructs and its agents in its uniqueness and completeness. This project was not to arrive at generalizable knowledge necessarily but at anecdotal evidence from two cases with the focus on *why* and *how*.

4.2 Methodology

Interpretive research is driven by its research questions and mostly these questions are addressed by qualitative methods. I elaborated on hermeneutics as a method to access the multiple constructed and subjective realities Before and in this section the methodology is discussed which I employed.

My deepest drive and intention was to arrive at an exploration but also an understanding of the impact of the implementation of CLIL within important and unique circumstances. In other words, I sought to gain insight into the experience of teachers who wanted to implement CLIL, their beliefs on CLIL implementation, the challenges they faced and their changing perspectives in response to these challenges. Therefore, the methodological choice for case study would be the most convenient for it provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles (Cohen et al., 2013). My own research was located

within this set of assumptions since my case did comprise a real life, contemporary setting. At the same time, it was also a bounded system; bounded by time and place.

My methodological design was strongly informed by my intentions. In fact, the design of this study was focussed on meeting these intentions rather than satisfying a pre-determined or prescriptive design. My 'case' therefore had the intention to be selective, "focusing on one or two issues that are fundamental to understanding the system being examined" (Tellis, 1997: p.2). I also tried to arrive at a holistic understanding. This study is bound to the dynamics of a small group of professionals responding to an intervention by introducing a new educational approach: Content and Language Integrated Learning, which must also be seen as an intervention in a functioning social and educational setting. This complex intervention generates a wide variation in outcomes with a large number of input factors that contribute to these outcomes, either controlled or uncontrolled, with the aim to learn and explain from these variations.

This intention has some elements of case study for this study is about a particular case and is an example of a particular phenomenon. Furthermore, this study employed a multiple design: two educational institutes were the subjects of this inquiry, however, examined independently and individually and regarded as two complete studies. This study also focused on the *reasons why* CLIL had been introduced and the consequential impact the intervention had on this small group consisting of a number of members of a school team that worked at a pre-vocational school setting.

These elements are similar to the nature of case study research methodology, which can be seen as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1984). Moreover, case study methodology not only interacts heavily with the essential beliefs and objectives of the social actors within the case but is also "particularistic, descriptive and heuristic" in nature (Merriam, 1998: p.29). Case studies are a preferred method when '*how*' or '*why*" questions are being asked, when the researcher has little or no control over events, and the focus is on a

contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (bounded system) (Creswell, 2009). All these definitions show that a holistic understanding is a quintessential characteristic of a case study (Feagin et al., 1991).

However, the dissimilarity between this study and case studies in general is the fact that I only used one source of evidence instead of multiple sources. At the same time this study also bears resemblance to action research in that there was an intention to put the spotlight on practice and then learn from this understanding for future practice and then learn from this understanding for future practice. Both this study and action research aim to gain an in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon in a real-world setting. It makes sense to assume that all research is an implementation of action since research in itself is an action involving current problems or situations but in Action research researchers are aware that interventions and changes will have to be made in the process in order to change or to improve it. This thesis moves from point A to point B in a linear way, whereas action research involves a *cycle* of actions, as there is reflection, the development of questions, development of conclusions setting a course of new actions etcetera. Moreover, in action research both the researcher and the professionals are responsible for study and decision-making and the data procured in action research is given back to the community. Action research seeks strategies for specific questions; providing answers that enhance all the people involved. However, Borg asserts “action research emphasizes the involvement of teachers in problems in their own classrooms and has as its primary goal the in-service training and development of the teacher rather than the acquisition of general knowledge in the field of education” (1965: p.313). I sought to be a separate observer in this study with the focus on acquiring general knowledge is primarily targeted at the academic community.

In conclusion, despite the fact that the design of this study satisfies some of the characteristics of the reconnaissance part of an action research project my main purpose was to offer a voice to the participants and to gain a rich insight into their lived experiences. This study is best described as a qualitative study and in order to foreground the participants’ understanding I designed the study around eight in depth semi-structured interviews as source of my data collection. Initially I tried to tailor a case study design but, for practical reasons, ended up doing an exploratory

qualitative study based on semi-structured qualitative interviews. This kind of studies are suitable for addressing a range of research questions and are mainly concerned with developing understanding in an exploratory way (Blandford, 2013), as such I am confident that the methodology I employed suits the purpose of this study at least partially. The following section leads into the details of the methods I used.

4.3 Sites to be Studied

As discussed in the setting chapter (see 2.8) the data collection for this study took place at two separate working locations. The first location was a pre-vocational secondary school with 200 students and 45 teachers in a rural setting whereas the second school was a comparable pre-vocational secondary school with 400 students and 60 teachers but located in an urban setting. The selection of these two locations rested on purposeful selection. I had to choose from a small number of schools that offered CLIL in pre-vocational education. In order to bring two different contexts into play I started with a branch of the school where I work which is located more than 50 kilometres away. The second school is an institute I graduated from more than 25 years ago. I chose this school because I suspected that their compliance to get access to data would be stronger. The geographical distance between these two schools is 80 miles.

4.4 Participants in the Study

Since this study is interpretative and seeks to discover what happens, how and why a certain phenomenon occurs and the consequences implied the most appropriate strategy for sampling was to employ a purposive sample, a type of non-probability sampling. Purposive because “sampling is based on the assumption that one wants to discover, understand, gain insight; therefore, one needs to select a sample from which one can learn the most” (Merriam, 1988: p.48). The participants in this study were sampled “on the basis of the researcher’s judgement of their typicality or possession of the characteristics being sought... In many cases purposive sampling is used in order to access ‘knowledgeable people’, i.e. those who have in-depth knowledge about particular issues” (Cohen et al., 2013: pp.114-115). That was exactly a requirement for this study: an in-depth understanding of information provided by respondents who were in the position to do so.

When it came the number of interviewees, Merriam asserts that there is no set number of participants in research for “It always depends on the questions being asked, the data being gathered, the analysis in progress, the resources you have to support the study. What is needed is an adequate number of participants, sites or activities to answer the question posed at the beginning of the study” (Merriam, 1998: p.64). Furthermore, Hamel argues,

> “The relative size of the sample whether 2, 10, or 100 cases are used, does not transform a multiple case into a macroscopic study. The goal of the study should establish the parameters, and then should be applied to all research. In this way, even a single case could be considered acceptable, provided it meets the established objective” (Hamel et al., 1993: p.50).

The participants in this study were teachers and other staff-members of pre-vocational secondary school settings. The interviews were conducted with 8 people from both schools who were selected purposefully: 4 participants from each school. At each of these locations the participants were two English teachers, a history teacher and a geography teacher, who utilized CLIL in their lessons and two other staff members. I selected the three teachers with the longest working experience in their department. The staff members had been responsible for the initial implementation of CLIL and supervision. I hoped that data from these participants would create a deeper understanding of the phenomena studied and would also fit the bounded context of this study. (See p.109 for an overview of the participants).

The interviews were conducted at the locations where the interviewees had been employed; in their natural working environment. I employed nested sampling designs, which are sampling strategies that facilitate credible comparisons of two or more members of the same subgroup, wherein one or more members of the subgroup represent a sub-sample (for example, key informants) of the full sample. In the full sample there were two heads, two CLIL content teachers, two CLIL English teachers and two coordinators divided over two subgroups, in such a way that each subgroup consisted of a head, a content teacher, an English teacher and a coordinator. These four participants were colleagues that work at the same school. At the start of my data collection I had no idea who of the participants would become my key informant.

However, at the end of my analysis I drew up Coding References of the participants (see appendix 9) that informed me.

4.5 Methods of Data Collection

In this study, the methods for the collection of data were semi-structured interviews. Since this is an exploratory study I did not have much foreknowledge of the social setting, hence the assumption that abundant instrumentation or close ended material were out of place. The interviews were employed to enlarge my insights on the participants' understandings and perceptions of the phenomenon and were based on the research questions that seek clarification in the complex ways in which people negotiate their feelings in a changing work approach. Furthermore, in order to create a solid, valid, and reliable construct, I followed three principles of data collection initially (Yin, 2009).

1. Use of multiple sources of evidence
2. Establishing a study database
3. Maintain a chain of evidence

I tried to avoid using only one source of evidence, especially since the strength of a study is rooted in the employment of a number of different sources. Therefore, I also wanted to employ a second method of inquiry: the document research. However, there were no documents, which were stored internally at neither of the locations I visited and therefore I had no opportunity to employ them for extra data. For this reason, I built my study on multiple examples of a single type: I conducted 8 interviews with 8 different people: 4 at each setting. In this way, the conclusions presented in the thesis are presumably more trustworthy and plausible with 8 in-depth interviews. This does not mean however, that all inconsistencies were negated. This more positivist stance is one way of looking at it.

Observations of classroom practice were not a part in this study due to the abstract nature of the phenomenon and organizational issues. In a way, this was unfortunate since observations can highlight potential conflicts between practice and beliefs presented in interviews as an idealised set of beliefs by the participants

4.5.1 The Interview

As described in the previous section the most important data collection tool in this study was conducting interviews for the main interest of this study focused on authentic, in-depth stories of the interviewees rather than generalizability.
The interviews I conducted were face-to-face and the purpose of my interviews was twofold: in the first place, I sought to gather data on workplace phenomena that might have a direct bearing on the subject and secondly, I wished to gather the opinions and views of the respondents in these interviews. In conducting interviews the participants provided historical backgrounds and at the same time allowed me control over the line of questioning. However, there are also limitations to conducting interviews: the opinions and views that are provided by the interviewees may be filtered information through their beliefs and interpretations of the phenomena. Moreover, all the interviewees may not be as articulate and perceptive (Creswell, 2009).

I made use of *semi-structured interviews* to obtain the data, meaning that the topics and issues that were covered had been specified and drafted in advance; I decided the arrangement and the operative of the questions in the course of the interview. In this way, the answers could be compared more easily and it also furthered the organization and the analysis of the data (Patton, 1980). A disadvantage of this type of interviewing could well be that conspicuous and weighty details may be left out. This was a real issue since the interviews in this study were meant to be heuristic in nature rather than a collection of numbers or mere facts.

Since this was a study on two locations it required some standardization in order to make comparisons across the two situations. The very nature of this study, therefore, its definition and the anticipated levels of analysis, also asked for a semi-structured interview approach.

4.5.1.1 The Interview Procedure

The interviews were held at the time and location, which were most appropriate for the participants. The location managers were interviewed in their offices whereas the teachers were interviewed in a small staffroom, which we had to ourselves, and where we would not be hindered by other staff members or interrupted by sounds of

incoming email or phone calls. The participants were interviewed in free periods or at the end of their working day. Interviewing during the breaks was not an option for the longest break lasted only half an hour. All the interviews were recorded on my voice recorder as well as on a tablet in order to be double sure that no data would be missing. To verify the data, I sent a transcript of the conducted interview to the specific interviewee and asked for any problematic or confusing elements. When further clarification on minor issues was needed I used the email. The length of the initial interview was 50-60 minutes and I made sure the participants did not feel strained; on the contrary, I encouraged them to respond with ease and not to hurry through the number of questions asked. A few days before I started the interview I had handed the participants a copy of the interview protocol (see appendix 6) and a copy on ethical consent (for example see appendix 7). At the end of the interview, or some days later, the participants returned their signed ethical consent form.

All recordings were transcribed and labelled by letters rather than names to protect the identities of the participants. It was agreed with the participants that recordings would be destroyed at conclusion of the study. The coded transcripts from the interviews were sent to participants to be read in order to get full consent to use the data. Researcher, supervisors and board of examiners can only access these data. And finally, all indicators that might reveal the identity or situation of the participant were removed or changed. This information is mediated to ensure the desired confidentiality and privacy.

4.6 Data Analysis

Qualitative research and analysis concentrates on the human behaviour and social reality in their natural settings. It seeks to interpret and pin down insiders' views of certain phenomena in social life by means of inductive approaches and techniques. "There is a huge variety in techniques because there are different versions of social reality that can be elaborated" (Coffey, Holbrook, & Atkinson, 1996: p.14). The complexity and richness of these social realities call for different strategies of analysing them. "The different techniques are often interconnected, overlapping and complementary, and sometimes mutually exclusive - irreconcilable couples" (Miles & Huberman, 1994: p.9). In literature, there are many descriptions of these strategies and this is one of the assets of qualitative analysis today for any set of data can be

investigated from different angles. This enables the researcher to shed light on the phenomenon or case from multiple perspectives.

Creswell blends a number of these techniques into a process of analysis or “spiral”, a number of steps that are interconnected. “It involves organizing the data, conducting a preliminary read-through of the database, coding and organizing themes, representing the data, and forming an interpretation of them” (Creswell, 2013: p.179). Miles and Huberman consider the analysis of data as “flows of activity”, put down in a model with data condensation, data display, drawing conclusions and verification as its components or “streams”. From their point of view “qualitative data analysis is a continuous, iterative enterprise. Issues of data condensation, display, and the conclusion drawing/verification come into play successfully as analysis episodes follow each other” (Miles & Huberman, 1994: p.14).

In order to go from data to conclusions a number of steps need to be taken. The process of data analysis cannot be regarded as a ready-to-use set of procedures but rather a custom built one for and by the researcher that needs constant adaptation and revision along the way. This section describes the logic model that I used.

The analysis of the data in this study was concurrent with data collection. It helped me to go back and forth between contemplating the accrued data and develop newer and better strategies for the follow up data. It also helped to correct any blind spots that crept in from the outset (Miles et.al, 2014). This going to and fro through the process of analysis is described as the aforementioned data analysis spiral (Creswell, 2013) or a cyclical act (Saldana, 2013).

4.6.1 The Procedures of Analysis

As mentioned before the data analysis stage included a number of levels I went through: data management, description of emerging codes and themes, interpretation of these themes and establishing patterns. These (recurrent) stages merged into the final stage, which implies generating naturalistic generalizations:

Transcription of recordings: First I started with the recordings of the interviews, which were conducted in Dutch and my first step was to transcribe the interviews. The total length of the transcriptions was just under 75000 words.

Storage and management: To keep my data organized I used Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) software. For this study, I used NVivo to create and organize specific files or *codebooks* for my data. At this stage, it was enough to import and store the transcripts for I did not have any codes at this stage. I created four files, following the build-up of my interview (appendix 2):

Concept awareness
Data concerning the implementation phase
Teaching practice and collaboration
Data on retrospection of the participants

Reading and memoing the organized data was the following level. This stage implied reading and re-reading through all the data making margin notes when required. They mirrored the ideas and insights, comments and reflections on the data. This provided a general sense and an overall meaning. These memos and notes served to keep me on track and to be reflexive of what I was doing. So, before I started the first cycle of the coding process I read through the transcripts and highlighted significant passages that struck me and placed (chunks of) data in one of the four files. However, before long, the transcription process informed me on where we were going. From these pre-coding experiences the four files had drawn into 18 topics (see appendix 3).

Classification of the data *into codes and themes* is the next level. This stage also meant translation of the data I was going to use into English. The classification or *coding* "is the process of organizing the material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to information" (Rosmann & Rallis, 1998: p.171). In order to do so I employed the coding mechanism that is described as 'Holistic Coding' (Saldana, 2013: p.142) in NVivo, for I had a general idea where I wanted to go but at the same time I was afraid to miss out on any precious material. Since I had a massive amount of data I wanted to turn my data in chunks, into broad topics, and it

felt like preparatory groundwork. At the end of this phase I had 18 big chunks, or units, of data under the headings of 23 *parent codes* (see appendix 3).

Now the second cycle started for me with the sub-coding (for NVivo example see appendix 5) for my initial classification scheme was too broad (Saldana, 2013: p.78). I started with the first of these 18 units and refined all of the data in question and created the sub-codes, or *child codes*: In all I created 298 child codes (appendix 3).

The analysis of this study itself was mainly content-driven, which means that the themes themselves were partly informed and guided by the research questions. But also, partly process-driven in that during the analysis process, as described before, I was continually mindful of my research question. So, the actual data itself was used to derive the structure of analysis: the themes are strongly linked to the data since they emerge from it. But simultaneously I was mindful of predetermined theory to analyse and structure the data; Hence some codes address more than 1 question and some codes were a complete surprise and not be pre-figured by any of my research questions like the fact that teachers mentioned that they 'did not feel like themselves' or 'student segregation' between CLIL and non CLIL students.

As shown in appendix 4, the final column signals which mother(sub-)nodes address which research questions. However, I want to point out that there was overlap at times: some mother (sub-)nodes addressed more than one research question and at the same time some codes that emerged were not pre-empted by my research questions. If a comment included multiple topics, I also coded it into multiple categories. For instance, spontaneous action is categorized under the mother sub-node 'initial steps' as well as under 'source of CLIL knowledge'. I started my three-stage process of first clustering the child nodes into mother sub-nodes. Secondly, I clustered the sub-mother nodes into the mother nodes and thirdly I determined which mother node informed which research question.

Because of my decision to make, for instance, the mother sub node 'Challenges in selecting teachers for CLIL' part of the second- (selection of teachers at the very first steps in the implementation of CLIL) and third research question (how did the stakeholders experience teacher selection and aptitude in relation to daily practice),

this mother sub-node could inform two research questions. Also, a mother node, like ‘Experience with CLIL’ informed two research questions. I felt that I had I ensure that the mother (sub) codes were not mutually exclusive. In this way, I tried to have new thinking and new understanding emerge from the analysis process. Furthermore, I also had to be careful that themes or mother sub-codes did not disappear from the data.

The next phase was the *interpretation* of the data and the development of the larger picture by building up naturalistic generalizations of what has been learned. I felt it is extremely important not to break the holistic emphasis of it into a huge number of detached entities and develop a storyline. The process of constructing this narrative forced me to go forward and backward through the entire interpretation process. The amount of usable data had been too overwhelming and I had to make choices, what data to use and what to leave out which resulted in 7 overall topics that form the basis of my analysis and findings chapter.

The final phase of the thesis, in the discussion and conclusion concentrated on the *generation of theory* or assertions emerging from the codes and themes. For the theorizing phase I employed the analytic technique of “*cross-case synthesis”* as advanced by Yin (2009: p.156). This technique is particularly applicable and relevant when at least two cases are to be analysed. Despite the small sample I also tried to discern potential patterns and comparing the data to these patterns (see page 183).

I put together a narrative from these themes and ideas that helped to conduce a deeper understanding of how professionals saw possibilities and impossibilities to negotiate and relate to the implementation of CLIL based on their lived experiences, captivated by themes that evolved from thorough analysis. After careful reflection and reconstruction of the data procured, I was assured that the findings presented and discussed yielded an exhaustive and solid picture which identified possible answers to my research question. In order to make the procedures of Analysis as transparent as possible I also added exemplification in the appendices. I referred to these when appropriate.

4.7 Ethics

Since case studies are in general about contemporary human interests there is a specific need to protect the participants. Yin argues that the study of a contemporary phenomenon in its “real life context” requires ethical practices in gaining informed consent, avoidance of participant deception and privacy and confidentiality (2009: p.73), especially for the reason that the researcher is very closely involved with the participants (Thomas, 2011). In order to guarantee protection and permission of the participants I took the following steps on four fields of ambivalence: *Informed consent, confidentiality, consequences and the role of the researcher* (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The following section elaborates on these four domains.

Informed consent implies informing “the research participants about the overall purpose of the investigation and the main features of the design as well as of any possible risks and benefits from participation in the research project” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: p.70). Therefore, I informed the participants on issues of consent, which should be given by the interviewees voluntarily (see appendix 6). Informed consent demands an explanation and description of several considerations as there is the information on the nature and purpose of the study as well as the methods that will be employed. I alluded to the expected benefits (*beneficence*) of the study as well as any possible harm (*maleficence)* that may come from the study. The participant was also informed on the ethical procedures that were stipulated as well as the technicality of the data collection process, if asked for by the participants, and the possibilities of appeal. I explained and mentioned very clearly that a concerning participant had the option to stop the interview and opt out at all times. There should be reciprocity between researcher and participant at all times. Both should profit from the research (Creswell, 2009). During the data collection, all major ethical implications were covered and recorded in forms of consent and there was reciprocity with every participant throughout (see appendix 7).

The second domain *Confidentiality in research* entails that private data identifying the participants will not be revealed. This implies that a participant in the research project must consent in cases when identifiable information is published. Confidentiality appertains to the argument that “on the one hand, anonymity can protect the participants and is thus an ethical demand but, on the other hand, it can serve as an

alibi for the researchers, potentially enabling them to interpret the participants' statements without being gainsaid" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: p.73). This requires a balancing act between safeguarding the participants' anonymity and giving them a voice.

The key element here is briefing and debriefing the participants until we arrive at a point of mutual contentment. In securing their identity I used two random names for the two schools I visited: the school in the rural setting I named Ruralia and the school located in the urbanized area I named Urbania. Each participant was given a new pseudonym. The names of the interviewees that worked at Ruralia started with an R whereas the participants' pseudonyms at Urbania started with a U (see 5.1). Furthermore, to avoid feelings of detachment I gave my full name and contact details at my office so that participants had the opportunity to get in touch with me when they felt it necessary.

Qualitative research is about procuring scientifically and ethically sound knowledge. Reporting and communicating the outcomes of a study, however, may have unsought *consequences*. The third domain concerning the domains of ambivalence focuses on these consequences. It was my intention to eradicate any form of aggravation in this study. For instance, employing an interpretive perspective involves close involvement, which may invoke potential disadvantages or dangers: close-involvement studies can be very time consuming and participants in a study may be less open to a researcher when they feel that the researcher has a vested interest, and therefore I might have become socialized to the views of the people in the field and lose the benefit of a fresh outlook on the research context (Walsham, 2006).

At the same time the presentation of the interviewer may seduce participants to disclose information they later regret. It was therefore of paramount importance that I exercised great caution and self-awareness, for it was my agenda that drove the study. It was my motivation that chose the methods and sets the codes and themes for analysis, among many more decisions that needed to be taken. For these implications, I adhere to the principle of beneficence (APA Ethics Code, 2010) as

mentioned before, which means that the exposure of the participants to any damaging effect should be the least possible.

And fourthly the role of the researcher: I committed myself to observe and promote the principles as stated in the Exeter University ethics procedures I went through (see appendix 8). These principles include 'honesty in reporting and communicating, reliability in performing research, objectivity, impartiality and independence, openness and accessibility, duty of care, fairness in providing references and giving credits, and responsibility for future science generations', as is also written in section 2 of the European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity. This code has the approval of all European national Academies and is discussed in *Science and Integrity* (Drenth, 2009). I elaborate on this in 4.8.

As described in 4.7 I *required* the participants to grant *permission* to be part of my inquiry and I pointed out to them the implications of partaking in detail including an extensive discussion of the consent form that needed to be signed by each participant. The first step however, was to locate and address the *gatekeeper* of each local setting, ask him for collaboration and the necessary permission for he was going to be the initial contact person that guided me to the participants. With the gatekeeper, the following issues were conferred (Creswell, 2013 citing Bogdan & Biklen): the reason why I had chosen for this specific school, what I would do, where I would be and how much time I would spend at the site in question.
Whether or not or to what extent my presence would be disruptive, the manner in which I would mediate the results I obtained at the site in question and finally what would the participants in this study gain from it (this reciprocity will be discussed in the conclusion).

4.8 The Position of the Researcher

Since my role is collecting data through conducting interviews and data analysis I suspect that the position of the role and position of the researcher in qualitative studies cannot be overemphasized because the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. "Data are mediated through this human instrument, the researcher, rather than through some inanimate inventory, questionnaire, or machines" (Merriam, 1988: p.19). So therefore, good qualitative research requires

moral integrity. Even more so when Guba and Lincoln (1981: p.378) draw our attention to the “unusual problems of ethics. An unethical case writer could so select from among available data that virtually anything he wished could be illustrated.” Therefore, I feel it necessary to explain my position as a researcher.

I have been the only researcher in this study and I have more than twenty-five years of working experience in secondary education as an English teacher in pre-vocational-, general secondary- and pre-university education. And I have seen my share of innovative teaching methods. At first, I was not moved by the growth of CLIL, (to me it was yet another fashionable type of the communicative approach), until more and more teachers at my school became enthused for this concept. Initially I was shocked by the oversimplified representation of ‘facts’ amongst a number of my colleagues of a possible implementation of CLIL at our school. Others were horrified by the idea and before long there was a huge argument on the topic.

As an English teacher, I speak English in classrooms, as much as possible. However, when I feel that students cannot follow me any longer I recede to easier forms of English or even Dutch. I know what it requires from a fully qualified English teacher to speak English all day long but at that time I had no idea what it would mean when under qualified content teachers would employ the CLIL approach and use English as their language of instruction. From my own practice, I simply felt that implementation of CLIL would mean that a number of challenges would have to be met. In the CLIL discussion there was ample ‘proof’ of the benefits of CLIL I felt too little was known about possible CLIL issues. As a researcher, I endeavour not to be biased but to be critical instead. I also felt comfortable working with teachers and those responsible for education processes and experienced no difficulty establishing trust and rapport with the participants.

4.9. Reliability and Validity

Qualitative research may involve the use of a variety of data collection methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) and each method has its strength and weakness. Hamel observes when it comes to issues of reliability and validity that qualitative studies have “basically been faulted for its lack of representativeness...and its lack of rigor in the collection, construction, and analysis of the empirical materials that give rise to

this study" (1993, p.23). This lack of rigor is linked to the problem of bias introduced by the subjectivity of the researcher and others involved in the case. Reliability as well as rigor can be achieved in a number of ways in a case study. I attempted to address rigor by transparency throughout the research process, which can be achieved by describing in detail the steps involved in case selection, data collection, the reasons for the particular methods chosen, and the researcher's background and level of involvement. As such I sought to be explicit about how I influenced the data collection and the interpretation of the data. One of the most important methods to obtain reliability is the development of a protocol according to Yin (2009). A typical protocol should have the following sections:

- An overview of the study project (objectives, issues, topics being investigated)
- Field procedures (credentials and access to sites, sources of information)
- Study questions (specific questions that the investigator must keep in mind during data collection)
- A guide for study report (outline, format for the narrative)

Without this protocol, one could not repeat an earlier investigation. As such all this is described in this thesis. I used rich documentation in order to take away the suspicions of external reviewers. Because I did not know what would come out of my research, validity as such is less meaningful since there is no probability sample in a case study.

(Construct) validity is especially problematic in qualitative studies. It has been a source of criticism because of potential investigator subjectivity. Despite the less meaningful nature of validity Yin addressed the issue of construct validity by using multiple sources of evidence, establishing a chain of evidence, and having a draft study report reviewed by key informants during the collection and composition phase of the data. *Internal and external validity* are also less meaningful since internal validity has meaning in explanatory studies but this study is not. The external validity is a major barrier in qualitative studies simply because one does not know whether the findings in a study are *generalizable* or not beyond that specific study.

The only tool left to my devices was the use of replication logic in my study that took place at two different locations, which means that the logic underlying both of my cases in two different settings is the same with the aim to predict similar results (Yin, 2009).

4.10 Limitations

This section describes the limitations of my study I experienced during and after my data collection and analysis. When it comes my study design I felt that I was overwhelmed by the amount of data. After thorough analysis, which seemed endless, I felt that too much material had to be omitted from my thesis. Also quoting the interviewees implied making choices and therefore much remained unpublished. Consequently, I had asked myself many times if I had done enough justice to my participants' voices. I am also of the opinion that if my data were visited again by myself or by another researcher other themes would emerge from the data creating a completely different storyline and as such I feel that other phenomenon just as important or interesting as the one I described may have been left behind.

Working through my analysis chapter confronted me with the idea that the complexity I encountered was very hard to capture in writing. It was very hard to render a realistic picture of the complexity of my case. I knew that generalizability is not one of the key advantages of qualitative study design but after all the hard work I still do not know how my findings are similar or different from other pre-vocational schools.

After having finished my thesis I thought about its importance. No matter how rigorous I tried to be, I felt I could never be completely objective, far from that. All my decisions I made were driven by my own knowledge and intuition. Knowing that I have presented all my findings with the greatest care and tried to support my findings with evidence from the data I still feel that some parts of my claims have to be taken on trust. Because of this I am aware that others can easily dismiss my work because of alleged dubious elements. But also, when people do not like the outcomes and findings this study can easily be rejected for all sorts of reasons like a sample size, which has been too small, or the researcher's bias. But something is to be salvaged from this inquiry: this study was a comprehensive method of data collection, which

increased knowledge about a social phenomenon. It was an intensive study that enabled the researcher to make comparisons about different types of facts within a given unity; and was useful in formulating new hypothesises for further studies.

Another limitation I encountered was the transcription and translation process. I ensured that the transcripts from the interviews that had been conducted in Dutch were translated into English with the best possible care. Again, I aspired for objectivity but my decisions on word choice involved certain levels of subjectivity.

The last limitation I want to address is the degree of freedom participants might feel in articulating their views that might be construed as negative or untypical by me. I was very keen on the interviewees' freedom. Throughout the data collection process, I never felt any restraint on the sides of the participants when it came to expressing their views.

Chapter 5

Data analysis and Discussion of the Findings

5.1 Introduction Thematic Analysis

From the interviews, I abstracted 3 major topics. These topics have been divided into themes, which in turn have been divided into subthemes. This thesis aims to be faithful to the perceptions and experiences of professionals negotiating the tensions and challenges in implementing a new methodology. First, I present these perceptions, secondly, I will discuss their implications and finally I will draw conclusions to inform future developments.

In order to explore the complex ways in which professionals negotiate and relate to the implementation of CLIL, in two different and contrasting contexts the data presented three major areas concerning the participating professionals that shed light on and align with my research questions:

- What is the understanding or awareness of CLIL of the professionals in this study? I looked for possible reasons for and motivations why the interviewed professionals thought the new CLIL approach needed to be implemented.

- How did the professionals experience the implementation phase? The professionals describe their perceptions and experiences of the organizational set up of CLIL in the first few stages in the process of CLIL implementation.

- What have been the professionals' experiences and perceptions of adopting CLIL so far; their attitudes and beliefs towards CLIL as a consequence of their lived experiences?

- This study shows that there were significant contradictions between the initial motivations and expectations of the professionals on the one hand and the lived experiences from the daily practices on the other. What does this tell us in retrospect?

In demonstrating the findings each topic, theme and sub theme is supported by rich descriptive assertions that the researcher constructed from the translations of the exact wording of the interviews (see appendix 3 for initial coding table).

As described in 4.7 the participants in this chapter were given pseudonym names:

	Ruralia	Urbania
Head	Ralph	Udo
Content teacher	Roger	Uriah
CLIL-English teacher	Rosanne	Ursula
CLIL coordinators	Robert	Ulrik

I provide a brief introduction to my interviewees: Ralph, the headmaster at Ruralia, is a senior teacher with many years of teaching experience as an arts teacher before he became the head of Ruralia. He took the decision and the responsibility to go ahead with CLIL after having been informed on the CLIL principles and its benefits by Roger. Initially he was so enthused by CLIL for he saw this methodology as the reason for education change. His English department, which had become rather frustrated and depressed because traditional teaching methods did not seem to work, began to collaborate with other departments to set up this new teaching method.

Roger, the content teacher at Ruralia, teaches History. He is the one who introduced CLIL methodology to his colleagues and who stayed faithful to CLIL until the end. Most of the information he gathered on CLIL came from his father who had worked as a PE teacher and a vice-head at a pre-university school and who had been a CLIL coordinator there. He regretted the fact that the initial richness of CLIL has become a watered-down version of CLIL. He showed to have a keen eye for both the benefits and impediments of CLIL.

Rosanne, the CLIL English teacher at Ruralia, is a senior teacher with many years of experience. She has worked in all sorts of educational streams from pre-vocational- to pre-university levels. Rosanne showed to have represented the critical tone in the CLIL discourse at Ruralia. She has been afraid that the English levels would go down

if everyone would start to interfere with ‘her’ subject. On the other hand, she joined the CLIL team because she likes to do new things. But she has her reservations. She does not believe in the CLIL philosophy; CLIL has been set up for pecuniary purposes. CLIL could only work if teachers, who should be near natives, speak English everywhere within the school premises and all-day long.

Robert, PE teacher and the vice head at Ruralia. Roger talked him into CLIL implementation. Since Roger had a full-time schedule Robert became the CLIL coordinator. Robert tried to enthuse the staff for CLIL but soon became disillusioned: the in-service CLIL training was too simple and the highest possible goal was a lighter version of CLIL because of the teachers’ abilities. Robert argues that most students do not like CLIL lessons. He acknowledges that he should have studied more on CLIL methodology. In the end Robert turned out to be sceptical towards CLIL.

At Urbania Udo is the head of vocational education. He has been a German teacher for many, many years. In the past, he studied German language and literature. At Urbania all streams apart from the vocational one employed CLIL methodology. Udo wanted to copy the assumed CLIL successes to vocational education. He has been a strong advocate especially since English needs more attention. The language is simply too important for the future and professional lives’ of ‘his’ students. Udo was not so much into the entire philosophy of CLIL but he focussed on the cultural domain. He supported his CLIL team wherever possible but left all the ‘technicalities’ to his CLIL coordinator.

Uriah teaches Religious Instruction and is the teacher with the fewest years of experience. He is the only one who had learnt about CLIL methodology at his teacher training. Furthermore, his final year of his master’s programme was entirely CLIL based. He is knowledgeable on the subject of CLIL and shows enthusiasm on CLIL practice. Uriah likes to teach in English but stresses the fact that he is a content teacher and does not know too much of the linguistic aspects of CLIL Despite the risks he distinguishes, Uriah felt that CLIL is the way forward.

Ursula is a senior CLIL English teacher. She supports CLIL for its positive effects in the classroom but also among colleagues: collaboration. She feels that vocational stream students and traditional teaching methods do not go together very well. On the other hand, she considers herself foremost an English teacher rather than a CLIL teacher. She did not receive any in-service training and she was not asked to become a CLIL teacher. She simply saw it at her roster at the start of the new school year. She does not care that much, she is willing to go along with the flow but does not know all the ins and outs of the CLIL methodology. She leaves all that in the hands of the CLIL coordinator.

Ulrik is the CLIL coordinator at Urbania and a great supporter of CLIL. He has also been a history teacher for many years. He is young but not a junior teacher anymore and shows a great drive and enthusiasm in educational change. His drive and enthusiasm are also his largest hindrances for often school practices are a cause for frustration. He really wants to turn CLIL into a success and goes at great lengths to achieve this. Like Uriah he shows some understanding of the CLIL principles. The fact that not all teachers in the team share his enthusiasm for and strong beliefs in CLIL is something Ulrik cannot understand for all his ideas are backed up by science. He also asserts that he needs more and better support from his superiors in order carry out his ideas, or general CLIL practices.

5.2 The understanding of CLIL among Professionals

In the first part of the conducted interviews I sought to arrive at an informed understanding as to firstly why the participants in this research project thought it necessary and desirable to implement CLIL as the new approach and partially abandon the other methods they had been using thus far. And secondly what was their understanding of CLIL at the initial implementation of CLIL and before. In other words, I tried to capture the ways in which the participants expressed their theoretical assumptions and expectations reflecting back on the (pre-) implementation phase of CLIL. In doing so I strived for staying as close to these voices as possible while reflecting the meaning that was constructed from the analysis, concurrently knowing that the selection of quotes in itself shapes meaning. At the end of each topic the findings of each section are discussed.

The exploration of the understanding of CLIL started with the description of the theme that had emerged from a composition of nodes with comparable and interdependent qualities (appendix 3 & 4) identifying reasons as to why the participants in this study wanted to switch from traditional teaching methods to CLIL based approaches, both among headmasters and teachers. This theme covered a whole array of perceived incentives. The importance of this topic proves itself by showing that all of the respondents stressed the beneficial changes by starting up CLIL based approaches in classrooms.

5.2.1 Raise Linguistic Competence and Confidence

Overall the participants felt the CLIL approach to be a Godsend. The results of the students had been very disappointing and the number of teachers and staff who were frustrated had increased to an alarming level. Ralph, the head teacher of context Ruralia, argues that he had to do something to stop this negative morale at his school:

> *'The exam results were unsatisfying and everybody was doing their utmost but nothing helped and people got frustrated.'*

But it was not just Ralph who suffered from this sense of a downward trajectory. No less than five out of eight interviewees mention students' low level of English and possible consequential underachievement as an important phenomenon that stimulated the introduction of CLIL. Notably four out of these five work at Ruralia. At context Urbania this frustration was not as deeply felt and, apparently, not so personal, since the results of their students had not been so bad.

One of the crucial reasons for these low levels, as I pointed out in the context chapter before, is the background of these schools. Therefore, it is important not to overlook the fact that the two schools in this inquiry are so-called faith schools, (see 2.8) which means that most students come from religious backgrounds where the use of modern media is promoted neither by parents nor by educators. Content of the modern media is considered as evil and far from constructive to their living faiths and therefore the students are taught to stay away from its destructive nature (van Wijk, 2013). The greater part of television programs on Dutch television are either British

or American productions and unlike, for example, German broadcasting companies that use dubbing techniques, the Dutch companies resort to subtitles instead. Therefore, Dutch students who watch television programmes on a regular basis have developed an impressive quantity of listening comprehension time because of the English spoken content (García Ortega, 2011).

In contrast the attitudes of these students, their parents and the school boards toward modern media means that these faith school students have had very little exposure to the English language compared to mainstream education, primary or secondary. It does not come as a surprise, therefore that the students' results in English at these faith schools have lagged behind with their command of English compared to their non-faith school peers. Most participants in this study affirm what Roger said: *"Faith schools, as a rule, do less well with regard to English."*
The faith schools have tried to close the gap with other secular schools but the traditional methods they have used so far have failed to achieve this. According to the participants they have searched for other ways to improve the levels of English for their students. The latest development in this quest is the CLIL approach and it may prove to be another way for faith school students to improve English levels. Udo articulates:

> *"English at faith schools has been a weak spot in the curriculum all along. But fortunately we are growing away from that. Every measure that has been launched in the past 20 years to improve English at our school was embraced and CLIL has definitely contributed positively."*

Facing low levels of English as well as weak exam results had to be regarded as a major cause for demotivation and frustration among English teachers, according to the headmasters. When Ralph became the new head at Ruralia he was shocked by the exam results that were dramatically low but also found that the English teachers gave their very best:

> *"When I came here at Ruralia the average mark for the English exams was a 4.2 on a scale of 10. Rianne [a former English teacher at Ruralia] tried*

everything she could and I think that must have been an enormous frustration for parents, children and teachers alike."

For the headmaster, this was his wakeup call to do something about it. New ways had to be discovered to come up with answers. Remarkably enough without consultation of the literature on this topic:

"I started looking for things I could do; I started to analyse and I came to the conclusion, without consulting the literature and without examples, solely on my own and my family's knowledge base, that there had to be other ways to learn a language and this quest lead to CLIL."

Another reason for the implementation of CLIL appeared when I discussed the CLIL related issues with Ralph. He does not see any personal benefits for his CLIL teachers unless he or she is very fluent in English:

"Actually, I haven't seen the advantage for the average teacher, unless he or she is a very fluent speaker in that language. Otherwise I see nothing but disadvantages."

These disadvantages will be discussed in section 5.4 that focus on the issues that emerge from working with CLIL. But the point here is that Ralph implemented CLIL despite his claims that there are only disadvantages when you are not a good speaker. We discussed it in the interview and to him the most important incentive for the implementation of CLIL was complete team support for his battling English teachers. All departments are mobilized to support the English department:

"They are the ones who really want to go for it but seemingly they are flogging a dead horse every time when they have to face their students' poor results […] These English teachers have given two hundred per cent in comparison to our Dutch teachers and the results are only half. I suppose that is very frustrating for them and to give them back up as a team, and I have seen that happen, really is a great support."

In itself this is very commendable in a head when he endeavours to accommodate his teaching staff wherever possible. But it was not just the English teachers that became more and more frustrated because of their inability to do something about the exam results. At the same time students, as well as their parents, saw that friends or family members who went to non-faith schools outperformed them where English was concerned. This battle to fight the constant image of failure over the years, however, has induced different perspectives; time was ripe for change. The CLIL coordinator at Ruralia, Roger, explains the positive impetus the implementation of CLIL has had on all involved:

> *"Look in the past we had parents who said: 'yes, hello. We are living on an island and my child will go and work in the building industry. He won't need it, what is the use of English?' but that has changed enormously […] that perception of English, not only with the parents but also with colleagues. The attitude towards English has become quite positive."*

The distrust of modern media as described before might be only part of the story of how the cultural environment might be limiting learning another language. This also suggests that weaker English performance might be sanctioned in the homes despite the beliefs that it will have little use in the workplace and the rest of the world out there.

According to Ulrik the improved attitudes and joint efforts of all working together may have an impact on students' exam results:

> *"And as a result, students perform better at their tests because of the CLIL approach the school board will be very pleased*."

Addressing the new CLIL approach in my interviews I learnt from the heads and teachers that CLIL methodology is perceived as far more superior to more traditional teaching methods. To some it is not only an impetus for better collaboration (see also 5.2.8) but it also enables teachers to boost their students' results as we saw earlier. The emphasis here should be on the fact that the in the context where solutions were

desperately needed CLIL was taken on-board in a very uncritical way and viewed as a remedy.

The following section clarifies the participants' arguments for these assumptions. Between the two settings there is a difference at this stage: the pre-vocational stream at Urbania had the advantage of having the example of what CLIL really meant right next door: in the same school building, CLIL was used by their colleagues at higher streams.

5.2.2 CLIL is more Challenging for Students

Challenge can be perceived as either positive or negative for learning. But the tendency to embrace CLIL at both settings, without too much consideration, may have resulted in the fact that the participants in this study saw challenge here as disproportionately favourable. In this light, the CLIL approach is also perceived to be more challenging for their students according to a number of teachers. In traditional methods learning is seen as one-dimensional which means that a student only uses the "understanding disc". The "language disc", the second dimension, as Uriah explains his newly coined disc concept, is not very important and precisely this will change in a CLIL setting:

> *"It requires more thinking before content can be internalized. Students are triggered to think deeper about things because (known) content is presented in another language. In this way, an extra challenge is offered to a group of students. Besides it is more satisfactory for students when they use English more actively."*

However, when it comes to student satisfaction Rosanne does not necessarily see a correlation between being a CLIL student and a preference for English as the language of instruction. Nonetheless she asserts that the CLIL approach may have a stronger appeal to students who are better motivated and have wider interests. Alongside a positive rhetoric on CLIL that is expressed at this stage there is also evidence of doubt. Rosanne, for instance, touches upon an intriguing facet when she comments that in the light of motivation and wider interests she wonders if vocational students really think that CLIL is more fun:

"Later maybe but not at the start or they may like it in the beginning but will hate it later..."

The uncertainty among heads and teachers about the suitability of CLIL in vocational classes will be dealt with in the second part of this chapter, for the aptness of CLIL together with the characteristics of vocational students turned out to be a major issue (5.4.2). However, Robert, who works at the same location strongly believes that there is such a correlation between CLIL approach and students' enjoyment:

"If the students have better levels of proficiency it soon becomes more fun when you can do it more easily."

Whereas Robert draws the CLIL discourse into the conditional realm To Ursula it is clear that her pre-vocational students become disillusioned and become "*sad with grammar based instruction […] they simply do not make it"*. Instead Ursula proposes the following notion from her own experience when she speaks about the advantages of CLIL for vocational stream students:

"They are challenged so much more. When these students are in the same class with other good English students they can help each other along the way; pick each other up and carry on together."

Uriah also sees a number of students who really have the motivation and willingness to keep going for it and feel excited about CLIL lessons. This motivation, he continues, has the effect that CLIL practice creates a positive development in the students, a growth in their confidence:

"I would say that yes, we offer a large group of students a real chunk of challenge […] In the beginning the students are very insecure with the result that many questions are asked at a test. Over time the number of questions asked during a test diminishes and thus you see a growth in having confidence to do things; how brittle that may be. But it is there and at the end of the third year I speak English to them all the time and they do not respond

negatively to that at all. They have grown so used to it that it has become part of themselves and as such they expect it from me."

These features of students being challenged and the increase of students' levels of motivation and confidence are important notions. During the interviews, the underpinning theories were not brought forward for discussion but when it came to building confidence CLIL was certainly seen as an important building block, Ulrik expostulated that:

"Especially when you look at the Vocational student, if you succeed in giving those boys that they can pull it off, by giving them a challenge they want to go for, you see they become motivated; they start to focus on some target. Too many students just spend their time at school; they are compelled to do so and yes […] at a certain stage you tell them: 'you can do this; this is a target that you can reach', and that is where they want to go and in this way, they have a target and therefore challenging education is so much better."

But in the following paragraphs it becomes clear that challenge may also have negative connotations with certain students, so Ulrik's argument can be used to argue for and against the use of CLIL. Ursula believes her better students profit from the CLIL approach, for the top-level students also need to be enthused for they had not been challenged before the implementation of CLIL:

"Now I think it's such a waste of talent when I see these students who always score an 8 or higher [on a scale from 0 to 10], and not to delve even deeper in the material together."

In contrast to the challenge and enthusiasm drawn from working with CLIL there is also criticism on the limitations of the traditional methods. When Uriah speaks about the complacency of students in a traditional classroom situation it conjures up images and an atmosphere of apathy and dullness. Since the languages of instruction in traditional foreign language learning are the target language and the mother tongue Uriah argues that the mother tongue could well be an important impediment in L2 learning. As a result, he has pondered a lot about helping students getting out of this

little world of traditional language teaching and challenge them to leave their comfort zones:

> "*Language is so intimate to oneself. You don't think about it, you just act. So they need to leave that comfort zone of their native language in order to follow and really understand what I am teaching them."*

Since Uriah points out that real understanding and real learning may well be obstructed by one's mother tongue, he asserts that students will absorb a foreign language so much better by looking at new things out there, ready to be explored, such as international contacts, by employment of the target language only. This is not just a vague perception to the advocates but Uriah and other teachers feel that these beliefs are supported and underpinned by scientific proof:

> *"You should read this study or that investigation […] we try to convince people with results. Everything and everyone proves that CLIL works."* [Ulrik]
> *"Science proves that CLIL students do better than students who are taught in their mother tongue."* [Uriah]

So, prior to, or at the time of the implementation of CLIL challenge was typically cited by the participants as a positive element.

5.2.3 Expectations of English as Medium of Instruction

The participants see CLIL as an important incentive for foreign language development, since CLIL employs English as the language of instruction and the language of classroom communication, it leads to more L2 exposure. Ursula asserts that the element of communication plays an important part in the needs of vocational stream students much more so than in the needs of the pre-university students. For this reason, she believes that CLIL *"suits this type of student much better."* Therefore, the intent of Urbania's CLIL team is to create a setting with the focus on more exposure to English since this is what they believe Vocational students need; since CLIL methodology provides teachers with tools that enable them to have students speak more English in the classrooms. Many teachers emphasize the foregone

conclusion that the target language should be the Language of Instruction (LoI) and the language of classroom communication as much as possible, as Robert indicates:

> *"The student comes into contact with English: they hear it more when it is spoken and they are forced to really listen to what has been said. So yes more contact and I think that is an advantage."*

Ulrik looks at the positive effects of the CLIL approach from a different perspective:

> *"Using that language [English as LoI] more logically leads to an improvement of knowledge, you improve, more knowledge, more skills; so that is brilliant. And now you may think that other subjects will suffer from it but it is exactly the opposite: they score a full point better across the board than their peers who do not participate in the CLIL approach…However, the best way to master a foreign language is to be busy with that particular language. Instead of just learning the vocabulary or studying the grammar in old fashioned ways, a student must be active with the target language, this will lead to a more pleasant learning environment and consequently to better students."*

This suggests a strong acceptance amongst these participants that an increased employment of English by students, both in writing and in oral use, leads to better achievements as a result of working with the CLIL approach. Fellow staff members at both contexts share this belief: levels increase when English is used more and more in other subjects. In order to justify that CLIL really works and that it is more than just a notion Ulrik has looked into, and compared the results of CLIL students and non-CLIL students at Urbania:

> *"I just see that it works and immediately the observation, immediately, when I compared the results in the first year, it became clear that when you form a small [CLIL] class the results are just so much better than in the other classes. So, I became extremely enthusiastic and you think this is it, we will have to press on."*

Such is the belief in CLIL that the employment of CLIL is seen to be the root of the improvement and not the newly formatted, more eclectic and elitist smaller CLIL group. This supposition will be discussed in another section (5.4.2)

5.2.4 CLIL backed up by Science

When scientific proof was brought up during the interview Ulrik talks about the great divide amongst teachers: the CLIL supporters and the CLIL opponents. He has great difficulty in accepting that people cannot be convinced on these grounds. Strangely enough Ulrik understands and respects older teachers who are 55 and over and who have always worked with a different methodology and believe their methods are better than CLIL. However, when it comes to junior teachers, he argues:

> *"When younger teachers would claim this sort of thing I would think come on, everything and everybody proves, shows and sees that it works like this. 'You should really read this, this research paper, or have a look at the results of our students.' Then we try to convince people with results."*

Hence, it is a given fact to Ulrik that CLIL students do better than students who are taught in their mother tongue. It has been established that the CLIL concept simply works for the subject material and the way it is offered endures much longer in the minds of the students, according to him. As such the respondents see no other option than CLIL based education. Ulrik argues that the supportive data for the CLIL approach are so evident that more critical colleagues must be invited to read more on CLIL matters for:

> *"All research proves the benefits of CLIL. Research in Leuven for instance shows that bilingual instruction increases the effectiveness of the mother tongue as well, because you become more language-sensitive in bilingual education."*

At the analysis of these interviews whether or not CLIL is based on scientific proof, I saw a discourse here that Ulrik and his fellow colleagues who work with CLIL and promote it, feel a strong support based on the belief that CLIL is backed up by research. This in itself adds a tremendous weight to the discourse here. Therefore,

the whole discussion takes on a semblance of truth that is difficult to resist. In the interviews, the participants were challenged about possible drawbacks of CLIL such as the apparent age discrimination, as mentioned before, and the assumed scientific support for the implementation of CLIL. From reviewing the literature, I have discovered that CLIL methodology is more complex and contested than this. The Literature does offer alternative perspectives. However, at this stage I felt it inappropriate to discuss the alternatives with the participants in this study. The implications of these preconceived opinions are discussed in the conclusion.

5.2.5 New Possibilities of CLIL for Teachers

As discussed before the headmaster of Ruralia was not convinced about the benefits CLIL may have on his entire staff (5.2.1), but not everyone is in agreement with his opinion. It is not just the students who are seen to benefit from working with CLIL but four of the respondents believed that staff would benefit from switching from a more traditional method to a CLIL approach with notions of challenge and broadening horizons for the professionals. It was overwhelmingly believed that this situation would benefit both students and teachers. Roger asserts on the use of CLIL:

> *"Of course, there are benefits. Look, it enriches you and it is also challenging. In any case I see it like this: I teach history and I enjoy it tremendously."*

Rosanne affirms this notion that CLIL offers: *"new ways to widen up everything"* and to "*stretch content beyond the limitations of your classroom"*. This, as she suspects, may be a *'good drive for teachers'* themselves.

According to the participants the prospective challenges they see are possibilities to spruce up one's own fluency in English and levels of English in general. English has the future, as it were, and is therefore a very important subject. As such, the use of English as language of instruction (LoI) in classrooms is seen to offer surplus value for the educator as well. Furthermore, since the LoI in CLIL settings is English the focus is wider. It is not only the content of the subject you teach but there is the extra dimension of the target language. Uriah, for instance, takes the view that when CLIL had not been employed:

"It would have been a missed opportunity really. My subject is simply so much nicer and more challenging as a result of playing with another LoI. The spectrum of things is much broader than your subject matter."

Apart from that Ulrik also explains that the CLIL teachers get the better-motivated students who are placed together in so called CLIL classes, whereas the students who do not perform well enough are sent to regular mainstream classes. He comments that these newly created CLIL classes perform so much better than their non-CLIL counterparts. As a consequence, the Urbania teachers who work with these motivated CLIL classes *"enjoy teaching so much better"* than teachers who have to face unmotivated and underachieving classes:

"Marking a test with an average of 6 doesn't provide half as much satisfaction for the teacher than marking a test with an average of 7.3 for example [...] The CLIL classes are the classes you can teach so much more. It is so nice when you teach English and the students do not complain like: 'why can't you teach us in Dutch?' Simply because we had agreed to use English as the language of instruction and communication."

However, Ralph has strong opinions about the separation of CLIL classes and non-CLIL classes, creating distinction among the students in the same stream with the same characteristics. At Urbania active student selection is promoted whereas at Ruralia all students are expected to participate. (This prominent contrast with Urbania will be discussed in the next chapter.)

Because a larger number of content teachers has started to employ English as their LoI, Rosanne, a language teacher herself, highlights the advantage that CLIL enables the content teachers to fully understand and grasp the challenges language teachers have had to face:

"Colleagues themselves can be made aware, in person, of experiences like: this is fun, or this is important, or I didn't know English was so hard. I don't know, but anyhow, it brings about a sense of awareness in others."

This awareness of gaining a better understanding and looking in each other's backyards is seen to lead to better mutual understanding of language and content teachers and this may well lead to better teamwork, according to Ursula. Ralph mentioned this growing mutual understanding as better and more intense *collaboration:*

> *"In the past, every department functioned as isolated entity with the aspiration to provide the best possible education for the students."*

The introduction of CLIL opened doors to more and better collaboration in the process of teaching among participating CLIL teachers in the vocational stream. The implementation of CLIL establishes certain layers of collaboration, according to Ralph: *"High achieving students are something that we work for, together."*

However, despite the enthusiasm, some issues were not addressed by all: when the subject of collaboration was brought up in the interviews at Ruralia, only Ralph and Roger commented on it.
At Urbania Ulrik felt dissatisfied about the collaboration at his school. He felt a distance between the pre-university CLIL team at Urbania and his CLIL team at pre-vocational level:

> *"The weakness was that there was so little exchange, so little collaboration. We could have learnt from each other. We could have helped each other."*

Furthermore, Ursula sees a clear link between broader knowledge and understanding of CLIL on the one hand and enthusiasm on the other:

> *"Because you start to know more and more about the theory and the backgrounds you are also made enthusiastic because you simply read about it and experience it that the output of CLIL is just really high."*

Not all the participants experienced Ursula's enthusiasm. One of the issues that will be discussed later (5.4.1) is the disillusionment of a number of teachers working with CLIL. Uriah notices that teachers may not see any progress at first, which may result

in negative feelings about CLIL. The worst scenario is that teachers who were asked to participate in the CLIL curriculum want to return to traditional teaching methods. However, Uriah has seen a turn for the better during the process of the implementation of CLIL. He has experienced that CLIL actually works. It just needs some time to prove its positive effects. The implementation of CLIL may simply need a longer period of time before we benefit from it. Uriah recalls that:

> *"In his second year a new [non-CLIL] student came in my class and at the beginning I could tell the huge difference in English knowledge between her and the other students, things that she had not learnt and the other students had. At that moment, I thought that obviously my students have picked up some English along the way whereas in my first year I thought that I was doing something without any purpose, leading nowhere."*

Finally, Ulrik asserts that CLIL is the only way forward. He can't think of any better approach:

> *"It is not only beneficial for the students and the teachers but also for the school and the parents to know that also at lower vocational education levels there are ways to create challenges for students."*

So, teachers may be put off when CLIL teaching disappoints them but overall the participants stress that CLIL has opened up wider perspectives and new positive challenges that fuels and inspires them in their work, especially when they perceive that CLIL appears to work, not only for them but also their students. However, in order to make the best of CLIL the participants should increase their knowledge and understanding of it, if not it will have severe repercussions.

5.2.6 International Focus of CLIL

Another important motive to change from more traditional methods to CLIL approach is internationalisation: Six of the respondents in this study see internationalisation and the global market as a very important incentive for the implementation of CLIL. Udo, the headmaster of Urbania, is one of the fiercest proponents:

> *"We live in an international world and English becomes increasingly important. And at a school in Rotterdam more focus on English is also possible when we think and aim at the international trade which takes place at a very large scale in this region."*

And therefore, in contrast to Ruralia, globalisation was the most important inducement Urbania to start with CLIL, since each Urbania respondent mentioned it. As discussed in the literature review (3.3.1.1) the changes caused by the integrative powers of the "global village" society, together with the aspirations of the younger generations in education under the umbrella of internationalisation (Altbach et al., 2010: pp.23-36) are parts of CLIL methodology and consequently opened new windows in education. Apart from expanding the exposure time by teaching in English, a considerable amount of time is also spent on knowledge about the English-speaking world itself including their customs. Udo argues that internationalisation:

> "*Transforms the students into global citizens* …[they]… *widen their horizons by actually going to other places and participate in exchange programmes*."

In order to have successful exchange programmes it is necessary for students "*to have the best possible preparation"*, which means in practice that students should start their CLIL training, according the heads and teachers "*as soon as the young students enter our school"*, at the beginning of their career at secondary education, according to Udo.

At Ruralia Robert explains the cultural dimension of internationalisation, one of the four pillars of CLIL (see 2.2) in his own way by saying:

> *"I see what you [interviewer] mean when you talk about internationalisation and CLIL; in that case I find myself more on the side of internationalisation and I believe in it. It is fun to do and the project is fabulous. […] But an exchange programme with a school in England seems so nice. And I think that the moment they are there for a week they do learn a lot, also when they start writing letters to each other. I strongly believe in these ways."*

Which means that Robert sees CLIL as a separate stepping-stone towards internationalisation, whereas internationalisation is an integral part of the CLIL methodology, and therefore it must be regarded as an important agent for the rapid rise of internationalisation. Having students find, establish and maintain international contacts have become major drivers to success, according to Roger.

At Urbania the stress on internationalisation is slightly different. The respondents feel that the focal point of CLIL approach should not only be on exchange programmes with for instance other schools all over the world in order to enrich their lives by saying that: *"In exchange programmes students enrich each other; you can simply see that,"* [Ulrik] but the scope of CLIL and internationalisation should be wider than that. Udo stipulates:

> *"It should also concentrate on the preparation of students for society as it is, like picking up the phone, and for a future on the international labour market […] Our goal should be to give our students the best possible training in fluency to prepare them […] and have them see that profound knowledge of English, passively and actively, is simply a condition to function properly at whatever part of society. We are deeply convinced that using CLIL enables us to prepare our students better to remain standing in society, to equip them better."*

Teachers believe that CLIL is a means to widen horizons for their students, which will lead to broader perspectives and consequential enrichment for their lesson content. At the same time the number of tutors that use English as a means of communication with their students increases, as Ulrik points out. Because of this, students have better opportunities to prepare themselves and acquire better skills for international activities and contacts.

5.2.7 Other Positive Effects of CLIL

Ralph envisioned another advantage in the implementation of CLIL: an increase in the reputation in the region, a feasible benefit for his school and furthermore, the CLIL spin off would involve better collaboration and as a consequence better results

overall. Therefore, the headmaster felt the school had to take strategic steps to distinguish itself from other schools and discussed this with his staff since Ruralia is only a small location. From the viewpoint of competition with other schools the other staff-members felt the same urge to introduce CLIL at vocational stream levels. First and foremost, it was Ralph who introduced the theme of *distinction*:

> *"If you can make a name for yourself by offering specialities like CLIL, it helps to create a high profile of yourself in a positive way, provided it has been carried out well…"*

The school profits not only because of a growing number of students that perform better but the implementation of CLIL comes down to a fine example of Public Relations according to Ralph:

> *"This is what we offer […] a positive display of matters we are dealing with."*

The headmaster Ralph also suggests that all the extra attention and PR that have been given to CLIL in the past few years, together with the help of the primary schools, have led to the fact that English as a subject is no longer disapproved of. Negativity has changed into more positive outlook on English by all who have an interest in best practice where English is concerned:

> *"That we live in a time that people no longer say: 'what is the use of English?' They are really motivated to do something about it. Parents can also easily be convinced that they too have to do things together with their child and he must really go for it. And they are going to do it because they see the necessity now. That has changed."*

The purpose of this section was to outline the steps that have been made to improve the negative reputation Faith schools had had in the past. Their low results combined with their position on television and the modern media may have even been felt as backward looking in the imaginative eyes of the public. CLIL came as a Godsend to catch up with the other schools when it came to learning English

5.2.8 Discussion

The first main theme discusses the participants' awareness of and the rationale for the implementation of CLIL and therefore answers my first research question. It shows the *idealized image* of the benefits of a fully operational CLIL environment and its assumed benefits. Furthermore, it presents the voices of the participants who wanted to give the implementation of CLIL a try.

I found that the CLIL initiators recognized a demand for change in the FL setting for English and opted for CLIL. The disillusionment of the teachers in this study gave rise to a negative morale and frustration that needed to be stopped. They were demotivated because of their students' low exam results and underachievement. The teachers felt unable to address these problems. These issues are also described in literature: Graddol asserts that CLIL is promoted as a means of solving problems of traditional language learning, such as sometimes-unsatisfactory student achievement levels, lack of student motivation and overcrowded curricula (2006). Teachers show a new desire for educational success (Coyle et al., 2010; Massler, 2012) and improved motivation (Lasagabaster, 2008). The rhetoric about CLIL was such that a number of the professional teams have not only awaited this newly presented approach but also took it up, initially.

From the two settings, it became clear to me that Urbania appears to be leading the way in the implementation of CLIL. Urbania had the advantage of having CLIL professionals they could consult at all times. The professionals working with CLIL also seemed to have a better CLIL understanding. However, for both schools the CLIL methodology is seen as the best way forward since the teachers in this study saw CLIL as a better methodology than the traditional teaching methodologies. CLIL is more challenging and has a stronger appeal to the (better) students whereas traditional methods conjure up images and an atmosphere of apathy and dullness. CLIL enables teachers to boost their students' results as well as their confidence. Moreover, most teachers in the inquiry described a correlation between CLIL approach and students' enjoyment. This aligns with literature. Dalton-Puffer argues that CLIL methodology is more successful than traditional FL classes. CLIL methodology also increases levels of motivation and willingness and established a

growth in student confidence (2011). Ruiz de Zarobe also found that the challenges that the CLIL programmes present were met with optimism and motivation not only by teachers but also by students for their future professional development (2013). Coyle also support the notion of an increase of awareness of linguistic competence and confidence as well as expectations (2006). Students must be challenged to solve problems and concentrate on analysis, evaluation and creative powers (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010).

Only one of the teachers explains that working with CLIL "requires more thinking before content can be internalized. Students are triggered to think deeper about things because (known) content is presented in another language". This notion aligns with (some of) the theory of the cognitive domain where the cognition aspect is rooted in manipulating the content through approaches, strategies and tasks, which emphasize scaffolded learning, using prior content and language knowledge; in other words, the benefits of learning tasks (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010; Wilkinson & Zegers, 2008). At the same time there were expressions of doubt whether CLIL would be suited for vocational streams, or only for the better students? This issue will be discussed at the section on student selection in 5.4.2.

Another benefit of CLIL that was mentioned was the international focus of CLIL since the head of Urbania, for instance, mentioned globalisation as the main inducement to start CLIL at his school. This aligns with the Cultural domain described by Coyle et al.: the progression of globalisation, driven by the global citizenship agenda, leads to intercultural awareness, which is fundamental to CLIL and positions itself at the core of CLIL at the same time (2009). Mehisto also asserts that geographic, demographic and economic realities have given rise to bilingualism (2008). CLIL strengthens intercultural understanding and promotes global citizenship (Lightbown & Spada, 2006).

Another advantage of CLIL presented by the participants is an improved collaboration among teachers. "Looking in each other's backyards" leads to a better understanding per se and better mutual understanding of language and content teachers, which leads to better teamwork This is also described in literature: Coyle et al. argue that processes directed to integrate subjects involve developing

professional interconnectedness (2010) and better collaboration (Coyle, 2011; Mehisto, 2008). However, many of the participants at Ruralia disregarded this issue or felt dissatisfied about the collaboration.

Seven participants described working with CLIL as a challenge, possibilities to spruce up one's own fluency in English that broadens horizons for the professionals. One of the teachers in this study, however, had serious doubts whether there was a personal gain for teachers to participate in a CLIL programme unless he or she already had a high command of English. If not CLIL would only have disadvantageous effects. Massler, however, describes that personal attitudes, willingness to improve one's own foreign language and methodological competences were some of the factors that contributed to teachers seeing CLIL as an opportunity for personal and professional development (2012). But Ruiz de Zarobe (2013) also found that the challenges that the CLIL programmes are welcomed with optimism and motivation among the teachers.

An issue that needs to be addressed here is the employment of science or better scientific proof. One of the coordinators has great difficulty that colleagues cannot be won over by scientific proof for supportive data are so evident. At the analysis of these interviews whether or not based on scientific proof, I saw a discourse here that Ulrik and his fellow colleagues who work with CLIL and promote it, feel a strong support based on the belief that CLIL is backed up by research. This in itself adds a tremendous weight to the discourse here. Therefore, the whole discussion takes on a semblance of truth that is difficult to resist. Furthermore, Bull asserts: "a finding published in a scientific journal is not the end of a conversation about something. It is the beginning" (Bull, 2015). He argues that it can be very frustrating when stakeholders in the implementation process have not involved themselves in the broader discourse or learn the nuances of the approach that is implemented. In the interviews, the participants were challenged about possible drawbacks of CLIL such as the assumed scientific support for the implementation of CLIL. From reviewing the literature, I have discovered that CLIL methodology is more complex and contested than this. The Literature does offer alternative perspectives. However, I felt it inappropriate to discuss the alternatives with the participants in this study during the interviews.

One of the teachers argued that he element of communication plays an important part in the needs of vocational stream students and CLIL methodology creates a setting with the focus on more exposure to English. Some teachers argued that the use of the L1 must be considered as an impediment. The target language should be the Medium of Instruction and the language of classroom communication as much as possible for an increased employment of English by students leads to better achievements in both writing and in oral use. This is in line with Dalton-Puffer (2011) who describes better writing and oral skill because of CLIL. Lasagabaster and Sierra (2009) assert that CLIL provides much richer communicative situations and opportunities that foster the development of students' language awareness. English as Medium of Instruction will be discussed extensively in the discussion (see 5.4.7).

At both schools, the focus of this study was on pre-vocational students. I found that the students with an urban upbringing had a stronger international focus and higher levels of exposure opportunities than their counterparts brought up in the rural areas. There were two notions that have not been described in literature. Limitations of development may exist because of specific cultural environments (distrust of modern media), such as the specific characteristics of the faith schools and the specific home situations the students find themselves in. And secondly CLIL as an instrument to compete with other schools: the implementation of CLIL would mean an increase in the reputation in the region, a feasible benefit for his school. A good PR will change the negative feelings and attitudes towards English as a subject into more positive outlook on English.

To conclude the discussion on teachers' expectations and awareness of CLIL I experienced that in both contexts, in different ways, the schools are balancing out different tensions about this issue as the discussions in this thesis show. Data analysis and interpretation of the participants' perceptions revealed that the implementation of CLIL coincided with successes but also serious implications. I asked them to reflect back on why they wanted to implement, or at least support the idea of the implementation of CLIL. This section presented the 'idealized picture' by listening to the voices of the participants, which slowly changed perspectives when addressing the (serious) implications. Addressing the new CLIL approach in my

interviews I learnt from the heads and teachers that CLIL methodology is perceived as far more superior to more traditional teaching methods. To some it is not only an impetus for better collaboration (see 5.2.7 & 5.2.8) but it also enables teachers to boost their students' results as we saw earlier. The emphasis here should be on the fact that the in the context where solutions were desperately needed CLIL was taken on-board in a very uncritical way and viewed as a remedy.

The actual implementation process itself demonstrated that a number of professionals at the two locations have adopted the new methodology and became enthused with it and made it part of their beliefs (despite some challenges). However, from the interviews it also became clear the participating professionals found that a number of their colleagues had been strongly opinionated against the whole concept of CLIL from the start. And thirdly there was the group in their working environment that were initially attracted and overwhelmed by the rhetoric of the CLIL enthusiasts but soon became critical and experienced substantial drawbacks in the implementation and execution of the new methodology (as is shown in the following figure). This does not automatically mean that they were CLIL opposed but they may have developed a more balanced view.

	CLIL Support	**CLIL Critical**	**Initially CLIL Support Later CLIL Critical**
Ralph			X
Robert			X
Roger	X		
Rosanne			X
Udo	X		
Ulrik	X		
Uriah	X		
Ursula	X		

Figure 5.1, position of participants on CLIL

The following sections concentrate on further motives that lead the researched schools to arrive at CLIL as the best possible approach. As the data show, students' low examination levels and consequential frustration were very powerful incentives and motivating factors to implement CLIL, but this ran parallel with other underlying causes, which are also discussed.

5.3 Experience with CLIL in the Implementation Phase

Students' low examination levels and consequential frustrations were very powerful incentives and motivating factors to implement CLIL. Whereas the previous section initially focused on the heads' and teachers' expectations and the coherent thoughts, ideas and understanding of CLIL in a *cognitive* way this chapter takes us to the experience of teachers with CLIL in the implementation phase including the affective responses of the participants, with this working definition that affect is conceived of as an umbrella term for a set of more specific concepts that includes emotions, moods, and feelings Zhang (2013) drawing on Bagozzi et al.,1999; Liljander and Mattsson 2002; Russell 2003. These findings coincide with my second research question, which addresses the issues that emerged in response to the implementation of CLIL as experienced by the participants at the studied contexts and deals with some of the most common concerns and uncertainties teachers have reported in the first stages of the implementation of CLIL, and later on in the process.

5.3.1 Initial Steps of Imitation and Spontaneity

Data analysis presents the topic of imitation, which turned out to be a powerful source for the initial steps towards the implementation of CLIL. School visits to other schools and borrowing and watching recorded footage from other schools formed an eminent segment of the spark that ignited the whole process of the implementation of CLIL. At Urbania vocational stream teachers visited their pre-university CLIL teachers and were informed about CLIL practice and became enthused because of the CLIL successes at pre-university levels over the years. This kindled certain feelings from the participants who worked with vocational stream students. Ursula recalls what happened:

"We have started with CLIL at pre-vocational education level because when we saw what the CLIL model had brought about at the pre-university stream. It has been very inspiring and worked as an incentive to start it at intermediate secondary education and pre-vocational secondary education as well. The successes at pre-university secondary education have awakened certain feelings among our colleagues."

At Ruralia the initial processes that lead to the implementation of CLIL developed differently. Roger had heard about the successes of CLIL at other schools and discussed it with a number of his colleagues and as a result most of them became enthusiastic. When I asked why CLIL had to be introduced at their school two of the respondents at Ruralia recall the spontaneous nature of the implementation, as Roger explains:

"Yes, that is what it was, a spontaneous happening, a spontaneous happening like it would be great to do something with it, English is getting more important. Let us do something with it [CLIL]."

It had not just been the headmaster's own quest for answers and solutions. It had not been a top-down process but the excitement spread and came from all directions. The times were ripe to seek other ways and teachers were mobilised but all this was very spontaneous. Roger:

"The willingness was there for some time, we were made enthusiastic and we were really on the ball…."

At that time, it was the start of CLIL at pre-vocational education, nationwide. Encouraged by Roger's enthusiasm, evoked by the evident successes of bilingual education in classrooms at other schools, Ralph decided to go to a CLIL meeting in Houten, Utrecht. He knew that he had to find new and better ways to teach English as a subject at his school:

"That was the first time I heard the word CLIL, initiated by the University of Utrecht, and Mrs Rosie lectured at those courses and eh, we never really

signed up for a course by the way, but that was the first time I heard the word CLIL."

This impact of this one meeting and the whole notion that more had to be done for their students resulted in an impulsive start to the implementation process of CLIL at Ruralia. Roger expostulated:

"At this school, there are no strong structures to begin with documented concepts. But much more like having the idea that we are going to do something and out of this, things bubble up and we continue from there."

However, the data reveal certain frictional issues in the challenges that coincide with innovation as experienced by the participants in this study. The teachers at Urbania had themselves informed by their colleagues who worked with pre-university streams and who had a built up a considerable knowledgebase on CLIL and its challenges. The pre-vocational CLIL team had regular meetings with their pre-university CLIL colleagues where ideas and concerns were shared and discussed. For Ruralia the start developed much more unpredictably. Like cross-pollination, supportive participants and the more critical teachers could share ideas and thoughts, or decide not to, just as they preferred.

The issue here is that I was unable to distinguish the content of their CLIL knowledge which seemed at times unfounded for there were no written data on CLIL: no protocols and no reports of meetings on this. In order to expose the major issues that are present in the analysis of the participants' lived experiences I will discuss both the experiences and the implications for the schools and for the participants in this section.

5.3.2 Characteristics of good CLIL Teachers

This section presents an overall picture of how the participants in this study see the prerequisites of good CLIL practice for teachers (against the background of Mehisto's *abilities*, or required competences, as well as Hillyard's *willingness and motivation,* which will be discussed later in this section).

Uriah experienced that initially CLIL teaching was more demanding than teaching in L1. Sometimes so much more that he:

> *"Was too busy with himself and because of that lost all contact with my students […] it is nice to be busy with English [as language of instruction] but it also means an increase of issues; yes, our own limitations."*

But Ulrik also sheds another light on the beneficial effects of CLIL practice when he looks at CLIL it from a different angle now:

> *"Do they really understand what I have been telling them? Teaching in English requires so much more from teachers."*

This is in stark contrast to what he said before (5.2.3) when CLIL was described as the best way forward: beneficial not only to the teachers but also for the students. The difference in perspective between this section and the previous section is very marked in that explaining that experiencing CLIL turned out to be less straightforward for the participants than their expectations as described in the previous section

Ulrik explained that CLIL pedagogy requires more attention and a larger commitment to the process of teaching supports this notion. Seemingly there are issues here about the link between pedagogic knowledge and language knowledge Ulrik has become aware of. According to him CLIL teachers:

> *"Need to have a thorough understanding that it may be very difficult for a student to learn a foreign language, be patient and check over and over again if the students understand the teacher."*

CLIL teachers are expected to perform at higher levels and master more difficult concepts and apply a larger variety of didactic tools than traditional teachers do in order to explain more complex material. Ulrik argues that first and foremost CLIL teachers need to be well trained and be able to translate from Dutch to English at a high level and possess a thorough knowledge of English syntax and of English pronunciation as well. A key role of the teacher is to mediate the understanding of the

students in his or her classroom and the language of instruction. However, when the distinction is made between CLIL practise at pre-university levels and CLIL at vocational levels, Ulrik lowers the standards when it comes to teaching vocational stream students:

> *"You do not have to be brilliant in English, preferably yes, but we are kind of low profile. All of the teacher can get on board, especially the younger generation that has graduated from college or university have an acceptable level of English, or can quite easily improve their English for we have sufficient possibilities for that."*

Possessing a certain level of knowledge about CLIL seems to be the minimum requirement. Exploring knowledge and ability thus comprises the training of CLIL teachers, as I will discuss in the following section. A key finding reported here is that there are problems regarding sufficient training on knowledge and ability. According to Marsh et al. these are necessities to produce good CLIL practice:

> *"Teachers undertaking CLIL will need to be prepared to develop multiple types of expertise among others in the content subject; in a language; in best practice in teaching and learning; in the integration of the previous three; and, in the integration of CLIL within an educational institution" (Marsh et al., 2010: p.5).*

In other words, the job responsibilities in CLIL teaching are distinguished here as being more complex than in more traditional forms of FL teaching.

In addition to Mehisto's requirements on (the acquisition of) knowledge and ability as discussed before Hillyard's argues that the definition of good CLIL teachers extends itself to *willingness and motivation,* and the influence of these affective factors on the implementation of CLIL, in the following domains:

- A willingness to change,
- The desire to learn something new,
- Motivation to learn the 'whys, whats, and hows',

- A willingness to work with others (and to link the CLIL programme with school ethos),
- A willingness to design materials,
- And—above all—a belief in the efficacy of CLIL.'

(Hillyard, 2011: p.6)

Hillyard stresses the fact that it is not just these abilities that matter but more importantly the essential first element in this transformation from mainstream teaching to CLIL teaching needs be "a shift in attitude from ability to *willingness and motivation*" (Hillyard, 2011: p.6).

However, Hillyard's notions show serious tension in the experiences of these teachers for only a small minority of the participants referred to elements mentioned by Hillyard, but even those who did, did not it refer to them extensively. The main focuses of the CLIL teams of Ruralia and Urbania have been on Mehisto's requirements, especially the proficiency component, and not on willingness and motivation. From the interviews, it becomes clear that Hillyard's themes have not contributed well enough to, or have possibly been unwittingly ignored in the implementation process of CLIL at the two studied locations.

Robert has difficulty in accepting Marsh's teacher quality standards as a whole. He asserts that a CLIL teacher should not only be "*fluent in English"* but above all "*he must be able to be himself"* because in the first place he is a vocational teacher whether he does or does not speak English, he must be a real vocational teacher which means to him relating to children at crucial moments, not only focused on content but primarily on *relations*. Robert explains that schools may have carried the principles of CLIL too far. If the whole idea of CLIL doesn't suit you, you must not be told to stick to the CLIL principles:

> *"Sometimes it is necessary to establish a middle ground to see what fits the professionals best. For if it fits me it will work but if I am told to do it differently it won't."*

Uriah also acknowledges the importance for CLIL teachers to be motivated and seek educational change willingly and proactively:

> *"A teacher must show enthusiasm and willingness to teach in free and easy ways, simply to do things and eagerness to experiment. At location Urbania teaching in English is regarded as a challenge rather than an impediment. That's what I like about it. On the other hand, being a CLIL teacher at vocational streams all comes down to being motivated."*

It is essential for willingness and motivation to be part of the CLIL community, according to Uriah. The notions of being motivated and willingness to change emerge predominantly in the data analysis in relation to the selection of good candidates. However, even though this was not a theme that received much attention, those who did have something to say tended to speak of it in relation to the selection of a good candidate.

5.3.3 CLIL training at the start of the Implementation Phase

This section on teacher training seeks to answer a number of questions that emerge from discussing the minimal standards for successful CLIL participation in vocational education. It also seeks to provide a better insight by looking at the training the participants in this study have had in order to prepare them for CLIL teaching.

My analysis of the data on CLIL training shows that the teachers believe that there is a direct link between a teacher's aptitude and requirements for working with CLIL successfully and the *training* that they have received. In the interviews, the participants showed levels of discontent in regard to the training they had received, pre-service and in-service. Moreover, it was not so much training in CLIL pedagogy that appears to be uppermost in the minds of the participants but training in relation to subject knowledge.

When it comes to CLIL pedagogy at *pre-service training* colleges the following notions are exemplary for the negative experiences of all participants, Rosanne is not entirely happy with the current CLIL developments, which all started at her *pre-*

service training. From the start, she had not been enthused to implement and work with CLIL and as such Rosanne feels that her teacher trainers back her convictions:

> *"That is what they told in Tilburg [teacher training college]. It is just about money. But on the whole, it was part of my training, it was part of the method and everything was based upon CLIL principles. They simply had to offer it to their students. But then they said it would last another few years and then it will all have blown over. I like that; people who think like that. They are very down-to-earth about it all and that's what I like."*

Uriah was not satisfied about his pre-service training either:

> *"It has really been a disadvantage. I am not very happy about my teacher training I have had. The first year was a real nuisance to me."*

As far as the *in-service training* is concerned the attitude at Ruralia towards English was rather positive and seen as an important subject by everyone. Hence, they started a course for colleagues who volunteered. This course was offered during the last period of the day on Tuesdays and it continued till one hour after school had finished. A former colleague, Reginald, who had retired a few years ago, was the teacher at this course. Ralph explained it was an Oxford training course with two official certificates.

The answers given at this stage gave cause to question the quality assurance of the in-service training: Ralph could not tell me whether Reginald was a teacher who knew anything about CLIL methodology and he could not tell me in what ways the Oxford training courses were related to CLIL. Robert also had an issue with the English courses that had been offered at his school. He was enthused by the number of people who followed the courses but he had serious doubts about the level of the courses and whether the participants did it for themselves or for school. As for himself he says:

"I for myself thought the courses were a bit nonsensical […] So, the question is: 'Have we been properly trained?' I don't think so. To say the least we have not kept it up and I think that is a prerequisite [for CLIL]."
"With hindsight, we should have anticipated to continue the education of teachers, which is very important. These things should have been done differently."

There was one positive element that evolved out of these courses. Because every person of the staff participated in the course and since there was a strong motivation to participate, the collaboration among his staff grew, as Robert expostulates. Reflecting on the initial steps that had been taken concerning the training Ralph, the head, thinks he should have followed other paths:

"I think we should have followed a real CLIL course, all of us, with a compulsory attendance requirements attached to it […] just to be able to teach in English."

But since this CLIL course never took place Rosanne worries about adopting wrong methods that leads to teaching English the wrong way:

"You may give the wrong pronunciation, or a wrong sentence structure or things like that. I fear that some people underestimate all this because they find comprehension for the students good enough. Partly I agree with that but it can go all wrong."

At Urbania the training situation is different; a number of teachers there have consented to become CLIL teachers. Once they had begun with CLIL classes Uriah also noticed that some sort of process started to evolve in his school. Colleagues who haven't started implementing CLIL practice yet are thinking of taking up an English language course. Ulrik, the CLIL coordinator, feels he knows enough about the foundations of CLIL methodology and is quite confident:

"I myself have this book on CLIL and quite recently, about 6 years ago I graduated from my teacher training college. There I learnt a lot about

methodology also the CLIL methodology, so I think I do quite well on the CLIL scale."

"[But] *They* [content teachers] *don't know so much about CLIL and we do a number of tutorials here at school where we as leaders try to teach our colleagues a number of CLIL ideas."*

Udo, the head, sees an improvement in quality when teachers will be enabled to develop their fluency by speaking English as much as possible. According to him personal development and lifelong learning are very important and must be addressed:

"Over the years I found that you can create a very lazy team by telling your staff that we do have the facilities but there is no need to make use of them […] but when you promise nice things, and I have seen that very clearly in the past 10 years, you start to notice that studying is great fun even when you are 50 or 60 years old."

Another argument to stress the importance of proper training is the fact that CLIL methodology is so different from what these teachers have been trained for at their regular teacher training colleges. Uriah and Ulrik prove this by mentioning, for instance, tensions between CLIL and non-CLIL teachers at their school and voice the noncompliant attitude of their fellow colleagues:

[Uriah] "I don't look down upon them [non-CLIL colleagues] but it [not being part of CLIL] is a missed chance. Some non-CLIL teacher say things like; 'CLIL only costs money' […] and they look at the whole approach of CLIL with resentment."

[Uriah] "When my students have bad marks they [non-CLIL colleagues] blame it on English, which can be quite negative in that way. So, when there is tension of any sort or when money is spent on the CLIL process; people who are really opposed to CIL will react very negatively."

[Ulrik] "We [non-CLIL teachers] are happy for you but we don't want it. We don't want to do it [teach CLIL] ourselves or we lack the energy to do it or we keep doing what we are doing for the marks for Mathematics have been so good. And this is of course the disadvantage: English has always been the problem child whereas the content subjects have always scored well."

As mentioned before the success of CLIL requires *collective* teacher efficacy. A schism through the entire vocational staff will have its repercussions. I suggest there is a tension here: CLIL marks out the contours of being a better teacher in contrast to an EFL teacher, who may feel ignored because of this discussion. I suspect that the divide between CLIL teachers and tradition EFL (and content teachers), as I experienced in the interviews, has gone too far and should be halted.

Another theme appears to be the tension between grass root ownership and Top-down decision-making when it comes to the implementation of CLIL. The data show that teachers struggle with the required competences raising doubts as to whether they are good enough to teach CLIL interactively at pre-vocational levels. In any case, all participants agree that ample linguistic competence must be present in order to be able to pass on certain academic content in a foreign language. When teachers lack these minimum standards of proficiency it may create great unease among teachers.
This issue of what will happen when CLIL is imposed on teachers rather than being a matter of voluntary participation is also raised by Pavón Vázquez and Rubio (2010). This becomes clear from the data discussed in this section in which the findings indicate serious issues concerning motivation and willingness.

The following section discusses the selection processes of teachers and the issues that are felt and described by the participants resulting from these processes. This part is full of ethical dilemmas caused by the implementation of CLIL and will be discussed at the conclusion of the section. Ethical here refers to the issues that arise and which are inextricably interwoven with segregation or feelings of exclusion on whatever basis.

5.3.4 Discussion

This section answers the research question how the teachers experienced the first steps in the implementation process of CLIL. These initial steps have developed in the current daily practices and the associated issues, which are discussed in section 5.4.

Urbania and Ruralia were both struggling to find trained, qualified and motivated CLIL teachers for the sought-after implementation of CLIL. Initially the two teams in this study showed motivation to take on this new educational experience. However, often it was not the teacher with the best qualifications in either language or content matter that had been selected but the ones who were ‘motivated’ and ‘committed’, which is the major issue here. The issue of teacher selection concerned both the initial implementation phase and the current practice. Therefore, the struggle to come to terms with what it means to be a good CLIL teacher is discussed in this section and the issues and risks connected to teacher selection in daily practice is discussed in section 5.4.1.

Specific CLIL pedagogy is not considered to be an issue with these teachers. On the contrary, there is a feeling that training should be focussed on English fluency above all other things. This results in the visible tension between being a good teacher and being a good English speaker. I suspect that teachers feel that their professional identity is undermined in this process because their skills, which have always been of good quality, are now expected to be mediated in a second language. At the same time, it may well be that the teachers try to protect themselves to a certain degree, by pinning down the problem as being linguistic in nature rather than pedagogical.

In 3.4 Mehisto summarizes the expectations with regard to good CLIL teaching and clearly defines teacher competences. However, I distinguish a disjuncture between Mehisto’s summation and good CLIL in practice from the perspectives of my participants: tension emerges when ‘good CLIL teachers’, on the grounds of required and expected ‘knowledge and ability’ as described before are compared to ‘what is good in practice’ from the perspectives of the heads and teachers in this study. Furthermore, instead of a certain degree of consensus on good CLIL practice communicated among the CLIL participants, I found that six of the participants did

not distinguish “good CLIL teaching”. Some believed that CLIL was “good” in and of itself rather than dependent on the teaching that enabled or limited it.
From the data, I distinguish what I will call moments when being a good teacher might be viewed as compromised by the imposition of teaching in English as it denies the teacher the judgement of when to mediate learning in L1 (see 5.4.1).

In the juxtaposition, here of the required abilities of CLIL teachers and their linguistic knowledge, I suspect teachers in this study emphasize the importance of their general pedagogic abilities over their CLIL (linguistic) knowledge. This *balance* is important; being a CLIL teacher necessitates awareness of how to deal with content in a language-enhancing manner, it is not just about having the knowledge of the pedagogy required for the CLIL approach or having the necessary language qualifications.

From the data, I concluded that too often the issues, which collude with the implementation of CLIL methodology, have been approached by professional judgment, rather than professional pedagogic knowledge: teachers as well as heads had to rely on their professional pedagogic and didactic experience and learn from personal mistakes rather than learning from academic training and professional development. A balance between these two is necessary: good professionalism addresses, and seeks, the development of professional judgment as well as professional knowledge.

I also found that one of the major issues that emerges from analysing the data seems to be about being good enough. Throughout the data the thread, covering the position of people within the CLIL discourse, entails: is a teacher, or a student as is shown later, good enough or not good enough to teach or follow CLIL classes?

When looking at the literature Pavón and Rubio elaborate on these teacher perceptions when he presents a correlation between ability and knowledge and stresses the importance of at least a balance between the two:

> *“Most of the time the teachers do not have enough idiomatic knowledge. The image that is provoked is that of content teachers having control for linguistic*

> *development, and the foreign language being relegated to be used as a secondary tool. This only adds to the tremendous pressure on teaching staff who, in many cases, have difficulty manipulating the foreign language and, for that reason, they should not be asked to assume such a difficult role." (Pavón Vázquez, V. & Rubio, F. 2010: p.49).*

Ravelo also argues the importance of knowledge and application for if teachers know what CLIL means and know how to apply it, they can succeed in helping their students learn with it (Ravelo, 2014).

Mehisto (2008) notes that one of the issues to address in CLIL implementation is the lack of knowledge stakeholders have with regard to aims. In order for administrators to implement CLIL programmes responsibly, serious needs analysis (Butler, 2005) must be carried out before any actions actually begin. This lack of awareness or knowledge among administrators is intimately linked to those who are in charge of implementing CLIL: teachers (Banegas, 2012).

The literature also shows that a minimum level of linguistic proficiency is essential to turn CLIL into a success. Teachers with a limited competence in the Foreign Language will feel restricted by the methodology instead of using it in a more relaxed context. (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013). Andrews argues that the teacher needs a certain level of the FL in order to facilitate effective communication but also needs to reflect upon his or her knowledge and ability of CLIL but also upon the underlying systems of the language, so that the students receive the maximum of useful input for learning. (Andrews, 1999). And Graddol argues: "CLIL is difficult to implement unless the subject teachers are themselves bilingual" (Graddol, 2006: p.86). Furthermore, the selection of CLIL teachers needs to be based on this linguistic criterion but also on their degree of motivation. It has become evident, however, that at the two schools no structural standards were employed in order to distinguish whether their staff had the required language skills or more importantly, whether they were fully committed to the CLIL principles. The key issue here seems to be the identification of good CLIL practice.

The participants were unable to give any answers about the assessment concerning teacher ability and competence itself, nor about assessment responsibility. One may

suspect that teachers struggling with CLIL in a culture that proclaims that 'CLIL is good' may be a burden to them: for if the concept of CLIL is good, the problem must be the teacher. It may well be that the teachers at these schools find themselves in the middle of an unresolved on-going debate on best practice in CLIL. However, CLIL practices are not identical and therefore not transferrable one to one for the implementation of CLIL is dependent on a whole range of pedagogic decisions that need to be met. Ruiz de Zarobe argues therefore to move away from transmission models of CLIL teaching to an on-going discussion in which theories and best practices must be developed as a joint effort among teachers, research, learners and stakeholders, if it really seeks to make a difference in the lives of students when it comes to acquiring another language (Ruiz de Zarobe & Jimenez Catalan, 2009).

5.4 Teachers' Experiences and perceptions of Adopting CLIL

This third part moves to a new idea and marks my third area of 'attitudes to CLIL' as distinct from 'experiences of CLIL in the earliest implementation phase'. In this section I will focus on the issues that emerged from having adopted the CLIL programme.

5.4.1 Selecting Teachers for CLIL

> "One of the main difficulties in applying CLIL is to find qualified subject teachers who are also trained language teachers" (Bowler, 2007: p.8).

In general school managements control employment policies at their own institutes. In line with this it is therefore expected that the selection of (future) CLIL teachers will be governed by school administrations. For both Urbania and Ruralia the starting point was the same in that they had great difficulty in finding good CLIL teachers or turn their own teachers in good CLIL teachers. However, this issue was addressed from different angles. Both schools are described here but the challenges of teacher selection are largely an issue in one of the schools and therefore, beyond the story faced by an individual school, I intend to draw the discussion in a wider context.

At Ruralia The CLIL coordinator and the head at Ruralia expressed serious worries on the issue of qualified staff and the consequential simplification of the CLIL

methodological framework. The tension is there because the management is desperate for qualified subject teachers who are also trained language experts. The desired level of teacher quality has not been met and presently there are still no trained CLIL professionals. Ralph identifies three major issues that explain the current CLIL situation at his location. In the first place:

> "*Good CLIL teachers are out there in the bigger cities but not in the rural areas"* and he feels that it is "*difficult to attract them."*

Secondly his hands are tied because of "*the board's strict admission policy for new teachers*" when he says:

> *"We are not in the wonderful position to employ them. We have to make it work with the people we have. But if I had to start all over and build a new non-faith school in the Randstad*[8] *I think you can find them there. But here in this rural area with our backing and the closed admission policy it won't be easy to get it off the ground. The difference is running an urban school or a rural school."*

And thirdly the strict admission policy is intricately interwoven with the mission of the Faith schools. Only staff members who strongly believe in the Christian faith and at the same time adhere to the principles of the Bible are employed at these schools which leads to the third issue of "*inbreeding*": teachers at his school also attended Faith schools in the past and came from the same background as their present students:

> *"Our teachers have all attended faith schools and at that time these schools were lagging behind where English was concerned. These schools were not to*

[8] **Randstad,** industrial and metropolitan conurbation occupying an area of peat and clay lowlands, west-central Netherlands. The Randstad ('Ring City,' 'Rim City,' 'City on the Edge') consists of major Dutch industrial cities extending in a crescent (open to the southeast) from Utrecht in the east to in the south and including , Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, The Hague, and Rotterdam (Source brittanica.com).

blame but the family situations; we all came from the same community and even when you went to a non-faith school there was the likelihood of falling behind."

In other words, Ralph's present staff also suffers from a backlog in quality. All this has frustrated Ralph but at the same time distinguished two hopeful signs and therefore *"has not lost all hope"*. Firstly, at a conference the head heard the proposal to have teachers qualify for both English and a content subject, the so called *the double degree*:

"Have these English teachers qualify for a second degree and then, with his professional background, teach another subject and let him do that in the English language. I liked that idea a lot. I suspect that we are at some point of crossover."

And secondly Ralph remarks that the times when there was a shortage of English teachers are over. The teacher training colleges and universities are filled with English students so:

"I think this is a new challenge. We can pay for this with scholarships and when we concentrate them at one location we could start all afresh."

It seems as though Ralph is finding ways to turn CLIL into a success here and not ready to part with the concept of CLIL at his school. He knows he can't simply dismiss a number of non-CLIL teachers and employ new ones who want to be trained as CLIL teachers.

Robert, the CLIL coordinator, was not so hopeful. He felt low-spirited because of the current issue of being unable to find good staff in order to give CLIL the essential impetus it needs. The whole implementation process has worn him out. Robert is not a keen supporter of CLIL anymore. In the end of the interview he acted defiantly by saying that he would have great difficulties when CLIL would become an integral part of the school curriculum

"Applicants should be told before they'd come and work here. In any case my job satisfaction would decrease enormously if I were to be forced to use English in half of my lessons. I would not have chosen to work at such a school."

These emotions were also felt at Urbania but not as strong. Apparently, the same issues arise at Urbania. The participants indicate that it is hard to find teachers who really want to go for the CLIL approach and the headmaster, Udo, is troubled by the fact that he has few staff members in his own team who are willing to take on this difficult task. Udo also thinks it will take a long time before there are good and well qualified teachers:

"I wish we were in the situation to make a selection; we must make do with what we have and at the moment and that is not much; there are not many people to select from."

"So, what I am looking for is just the right person, because these are of course people who excel in their fields of expertise, and the question comes up: 'do they also excel in English?' that exact click is needed and that goes slowly."

As a result, the CLIL coordination at this location is battling on two fronts: first enthusing the current staff to participate in CLIL teams by having discussions at school meetings, assessment interviews and unofficial positive talks on the use of CLIL by heads and teachers and secondly developing criteria for teachers who will be appointed in the future.

Ulrik, as CLIL coordinator, feels the constant pressure on his position to find and motivate enough teachers who are willing to work with the CLIL approach in their subject area. When asked about teacher selection he feels that if he had his own free will he:

"Would prefer a completely new CLIL team and dismiss the current team knowing that you do not know where they stand as far as CLIL is concerned. I would prefer enthusiastic and motivated teachers who feel a connection with

English or who have a reasonable basic level of English and who are prepared to invest in that or willing to retrain themselves. But facing reality I welcome everyone who wants to join the CLIL team and wants to make the best of it."

Ulrik also feels at the same time that the management should take a firmer stance towards the teachers to move them in the direction to employ CLIL in their lessons. This lead to the issue how switch the current staffs that are traditional content and language teachers to fresh and motivated CLIL teachers.

In talking about this issue at Ruralia whether to change non-CLIL teachers into CLIL teachers Ralph pointed out that they had been at this crossroads before. In his management team the question had to answered:

"Are we going to make a select group of teachers who will invest more and make a better job of it? [...] We [the head and coordinator] will have to address how we are going to motivate them [the teachers], how are we going to make sure that everyone will participate and not insipidly only half of our team."

In practice participation at Ruralia was voluntary but at the same time it was not: at the very start, there were no CLIL teachers at all but only a number of enthusiastic and motivated staff members with a willingness to participate and motivation to make it work. More importantly to prevent teachers quitting the programme too early the second step was introduced: tentative objectives were introduced to increase the teachers' *comfort zones* and to secure their *feelings of safety*. The management of Ruralia decided that the teachers were allowed to take part at a very low profile by organizing CLIL in such a way that teachers may choose when to use English as their language of instruction and how much of their lesson content will be in English.

Ralph soon understood the immense strain it would cost his senior staff to go through this process of transformation, for it demands:

"A huge amount of communicative skills in a language which has never been taught to teachers who are 35 years old and over. Younger teachers may find

it less difficult but the older ones just can't do it no matter how much they want it, as I have witnessed."

Just like the management of Ruralia, who initially tried to include all teachers at the same time, Urbania also struggled with the transformation of their own staff that had not been trained to teach CLIL. However, the tone in the discussion is much sharper and the sympathy for senior teachers who may have a more balanced perception of CLIL is not so keenly felt.

The head, Udo, argues that he has given more attention to the younger teachers because they feel more like studying. So, in the application procedures this willingness to study and consequently becoming a CLIL teacher is strongly stressed at the selection stages and application interviews for newly recruited staff. Initially the implementation of CLIL was targeted:

"On the entire team but I paid more attention to the younger teachers because from them I expected more willingness to take up a study and also got it from them […] and at the same time it had to be persons who are able to pull this off."

Ulrik understands that older teachers do no longer have the energy to change from one approach to another or lack compliance and to him that is exactly the reason why the focus should be on younger colleagues and challenge them:

"That is why I prefer to work with young motivated colleagues and even then people may find it hard and difficult and what not, but there must a moment when you start to think that it is a new challenge but when you are an older teacher it may be some sort of battle to finish your career in good health so I do understand them."
"There is this Religious Instruction teacher who is 62 and the question is how flexible is he? He is kind of motivated to do something, don't get me wrong but..."

When asked if there is a semblance of age discrimination here Ulrik answers:

"Well that is what I see. I mean especially with the discontinuance of BAPO (part-time early retirement) well yes then it may be a case of survival for the older colleagues, trying to get to the finish."

It is not just the inflexible senior teacher Ulrik is struggling with. He also has *"serious doubts when he meets young colleagues with no ambitions"* and with young colleagues he also means people "*in their 40s*".

Udo articulates that so far only competent and talented teachers have been asked to join the CLIL team. According to the headmaster there must be some guidance towards working with CLIL but not at all costs; it is not obligatory since there are teachers who are opposed to and *fear* teaching in another language:

"Please you are not going to ask me to do that because I would simply have to quit my job. I really can't do it, I would be stammering and hesitating that would mean the end of my career."

Uriah confirms this notion in suggesting that forcing people who do not want to work with CLIL methods, to work with the CLIL approach, may put too much pressure on teachers to participate for once the classroom doors are closed they will continue with their own best practices. Instead he feels the CLIL team should consist of highly motivated colleagues:

"Forcing someone to work with CLIL will lead to people who will still teach in Dutch because that is simply the easiest way to do it. So, possible participants need intrinsic motivation."

The data reveal that *CLIL resistance* among staff is there; people have been sincerely afraid that they were going to lose their jobs if they did not participate and did not do as they were told. When asked if people were actually laid off because of their reluctant attitudes Ulrik answers negatively on this point but concurrently he asserts that shortness of good CLIL teachers jeopardizes the whole implantation process:

"We really try to prevent that, but this is exactly the reason why the CLIL principle can't really grow and mature…."

As a result of this status quo plans have been developed to make CLIL-commitment a real issue in future job openings and job interviews. The headmaster Udo sets out clear job requirements for new staff:

"At these interviews young and motivated teachers should be confronted with our views [concerning CLIL and] … that we only want to see potential CLIL teachers at the interview."

Udo explains that in cases when applicants don't see themselves as future CLIL teachers they may explain why they are not. According to the headmaster the applicant has no option:

"If they have issues with CLIL, we may have another candidate who is able and willing to work with CLIL. In situations like this you really rock the boat, and then we are really going to make it."

Ulrik shares this notion when he explains:

"If you really need somebody and that somebody says: 'yes, I want to work here' but I have no faith in CLIL teaching, well I don't know how many applicants there are, but I would put him on hold."

Uriah confirms this practice. He applied for a teaching position some years ago and was told he was welcome to come and work there *"provided he would employ the CLIL approach."*

5.4.2 Selecting Students for CLIL

This section concentrates on my findings on the participants' views on selection of possible CLIL students and the prerequisites for their participation. The participants in this study negotiated the consequences of these prerequisites for students

differently. They all felt that as soon as selection moved in ethical issues emerged. I found significant differences between the selections of students at both locations: at Ruralia every student was involved in the new CLIL approach whereas Urbania used active selection. Both decisions on student selection generated different dilemmas, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

When it comes to selecting students at Ruralia, selection was not an issue: every student participated. There were ambivalent feelings towards the management's decision on the selection to have all vocational students participate, regardless of their linguistic background, motivation and overall intelligence. Despite the laudability of all-inclusive participation obstacles were felt:

> *[Roger] "These CLIL classes… Yes, there are these ethical things. Does everybody need to participate? Yes, it is important to everyone. Can everybody pull this off? No, I don't think so […] they are just able to cope but then again CLIL is putting a heavy strain on them."*

> *[Roger] "It would give a lot of momentum of course. If we decided to have a separate CLIL […] we could also gain something."*

> *[Ralph] "The students are working towards a certain level and now they get this extra handicap of doing it in another language. I really think that is a disadvantage."*

When you start to make selections on whatever grounds Roger feared there were serious ethical implications involved. But on the other hand, low performing students might well hinder the advancement and success of CLIL if there was a form of selection and therefore Roger felt that student selection is a legitimate choice. He also felt that CLIL students should function at a minimum level when it comes to motivation and student suitability before CLIL might have any beneficial effects. Sometimes working with a certain type of students created friction:

> *"[Roger] There are still the people who really don't get it, they are just not linguistically gifted or, simply say: 'I can't do this' […] that is why it cost me so*

much more time; it's like fighting an uphill struggle, and some students are digging their heels in."

Apart from intellectual issues Rosanne introduces an interesting issue for she feels there should be selection on behaviour as well since badly behaving children may jeopardize the whole project:

"People who have behavioural problems or can't cope with CLIL behaviourally and you know even before you have started that these students will create problems; the whole project will come to a standstill even failure."

This issue is not addressed here to muddle up the focus but is an exciting point of interest to see how class management and student behaviour in a CLIL setting relate to mainstream FL classes.

The issue of motivational and intellectual suitability that has been raised at Ruralia is also brought up at Urbania. At the introduction of CLIL every student at Urbania was invited to apply for a place in a so-called CLIL class, but very soon it turned out that some of the students did not fit in. The abilities of a number of students and of the pedagogical philosophy of CLIL did not match. Teachers at Urbania commented and elaborated on this issue by stating that students' proficiency levels were actually quite low and underpinned their arguments by saying that students with very low proficiencies in English might face serious challenges. Uriah described that a number of students simply did not make it in a CLIL setting:

"They attended the CLIL classes but they had very great difficulty in following the lessons. It felt they were drowning there."

"In practice, the under achievers who do not perform well in English will experience great difficulty [...] since you need to be language sensitive because when you are not, CLIL is extremely difficult…[CLIL] is too demanding for them. They simply won't make it.'

Ulrik felt that it was their task as teachers to protect these low performers against themselves by excluding them from these CLIL classes by setting minimum standards:

> *"It would be realistic that students who want to do CLIL should have a certain minimum level of English. If not it will be rather difficult to follow the lessons in the upper forms So I think it is a very realistic wish, a valid criterion."*

For Ulrik also mentioned serious quality issues. CLIL demands a basic level to start from. Not everyone is a suitable CLIL student:

> *"In practice, it is too much asked of students who have difficulty in learning a foreign language. These children ought to be protected from that and against himself or herself […] if a student is not very gifted and as a result won't make it, it will be very hard for him or her. Some VMBO students are simply not linguistically gifted."*

Ulrik argued that non-suitability has been a very strong incentive *not* to have every student enter the CLIL classes:

> *"That it's not just the fact that weaker students will not make it but it will also lead to frustration and a negative impact on students' motivation and therefore entrance level of students must be addressed."*

Udo, the head, explained that within vocation streams there are different types of students and CLIL would be a much better approach for a certain type of students but not for all pre-vocational students:

> *"CLIL may be beneficial for all students but not necessarily. No not really… Look there is a certain type of student, and fortunately they can also be found at the VMBO stream […] for them you can tell that CLIL is beneficial."*

This of course is in stark contrast with the CLIL principle that CLIL methodology is beneficial and advances all students at all levels. For CLIL in pre-vocational schools

in the Netherlands are inclusive, not streamed. Students whose scores and primary school assessments qualify them for pre- vocational level automatically qualify for the CLIL program (Denman et al., 2013).

Ulrik the CLIL coordinator at Urbania had his own ideas about selecting the better students for his CLIL project: *"there are students who do well in English but who do not want to follow CLIL"*, and Ulrik was afraid that *"these students are prone to level out with the rest whereas the student who chose for the CLIL stream is not."* Ulrik saw no problem at all to divide a homogeneous group into smaller units: CLIL and non-CLIL on the basis of their results for English. He justified this segregation by having created at least one top class: the better students with the highest motivation grouped together and in this way having a positive impact on the newly formed CLIL classes, with a minimum of dropouts. Moreover, Ulrik suspected that CLIL students were happy because they were part of a motivated student group as well as being taught on the basis of CLIL approach when he argues:

> *"In any case we always have a class that is way out in front of the others and that is so nice to see […] If you select on motivation then you know you will get a motivated group of students. It is always positive, that is what you want; a group of positive students together."*

Ursula also had positive feelings when it came to these CLIL classes, mainly on the topic of student motivation. But at the same time Ursula acknowledged the negative aspects of CLIL selection: what is good for one group has negative consequences for others:

> *"CLIL students are often the better motivated and the more linguistically talented ones. It is really fun when you put these students together […] The downside of having all the better students in one CLIL class means loss of the stimulating effect [in the regular mainstream classes] because you have filtered out the better students. I think that is a pity."*

Ulrik explained that his non-CLIL colleagues at Urbania, or those who did not believe in CLIL, blamed him for selecting the better students. They argued that first the high

performing students were selected in separate CLIL classes, creaming off the regular classes, and then the CLIL advocates claimed the benefits of CLIL. Here I perceived a perfect example of how an existing belief system had been reinforced through the implementation of CLIL.

> *"My colleagues who do not work with CLIL or who won't have anything to do with any enforcement of language education will say: 'small wonder, you first select the better students and then you say they perform so much better!"*

Uriah also had difficulty in filtering out the best students first and then claiming that CLIL works and therefore acknowledging the claim of his non-CLIL colleagues:

> *"Well you select the better English students at the gate and at the end you say look how they have improved and that is of course not fair or at least not a fair comparison because these CLIL students were better anyway."*

Ulrik recognized these counter arguments but persisted:

> *"That argument will always be there. My answer to them is that however, this may be, we have achieved a good result with our CLIL students and we are just very happy with it."*

At the same Ulrik acknowledged the danger of creating an elitist group of students but tried to avoid being an elevated island in the turmoil of mainstream FL learning by keeping in close contact with the colleagues who do not employ CLIL and explaining what they do in CLIL classes. Still I felt that Ulrik had created first class- and second-class students:

> *"Sometimes I cannot fill the CLIL class with the 'real diamonds' and I complete the class with students who are motivated but have an average mark of a 6.5."*

It is not just the estrangement among staff but Udo regretted that the selection for CLIL classes lead to *segregation* among students: "*unfortunately the selection takes*

place at the end of their first year at school", when new friendships have just been established. This gave rise to tensions, according to Udo:

> *"That is a pity because it [student selection for CLIL classes] breaks up good friendships among children […] We are pressurized by students or parents and even colleagues not to be too strict with the admission criteria for the CLIL classes. So yes, that gives some tension."*

Ursula also experienced some sort of *'estrangement between CLIL and non CLIL-students'*, which was undesirable. Because CLIL was not employed in the examination year all students:

> *"CLIL and non-CLIL, are mixed again after having been in separate classes for the previous two or three years with the result that students function in small groups of two or four people and not as it should be in a normal class situation."*

5.4.3 Experience with New CLIL Methodology.

Another hindrance of working with CLIL, which is mentioned by most teachers, is the fact that CLIL may endanger the exam results, thus saying that CLIL may be too risky in examination year. This is highly interesting given their comments when they were considering whether to move to CLIL in the opening section of this chapter. At this point we see a stark contrast between the initial incentives and expectations and the experience: CLIL may be beneficial but not throughout. Roger, for instance, explains that they don't do CLIL in the 4th and final year. When asked for reasons why this is not done Roger thinks the stakes are simply too high:

> *"I wouldn't think about teaching history with English as language of instruction in the examination years […] this level grows over my head as a teacher. I simply would not be able to do that; the extensive curriculum and the speed in that 4th year would make me very insecure to do all that in English. I would completely lose my whole perception of this is what I got and this is what I can."*

If the board wishes to stick to the CLIL principles Rosanne suggests maintaining Dutch as the language of instruction in classrooms and *"if it is desirable to say anything in English make sure to have the necessary information down on paper*" for she is afraid of *"raping the English language."* Rosanne thinks the English proficiency levels at her location are such that:

> *"I strongly advise Economics teachers to attend to an Economy course in English in order to come to grips with all that terminology and things like that. This is the actual reason why so many vocational stream schools do not provide CLIL in all subjects because it affects the levels of those subjects."*

Ulrik also foresees possible pitfalls at the national exams especially when it comes to terminology:

> *"Each subject has its own specific terminology. What to do with that when approaching the date of examination? Because the exams will just be in Dutch and there have been CLIL students who run aground because they haven't learned certain modules and terminology in Dutch but in English […] to solve that a crash course in terminology is offered. So, we really have to keep that in mind."*

Moreover, apart from the terminology, teachers have issues regarding the positive correlation between teaching content and teaching in a foreign language, as described in literature, simply because goals set for content subject are ill defined or non-existent at both schools. Teachers distinguish a loss of content comprehension at a number of subjects; the possible loss of content comprehension is subject related. For Uriah, who teaches Religious Instruction, the loss of content is limited to a minimum but when he looks at other subjects he notices that the levels of content are significantly lower:

> *[Uriah] "I seriously doubt whether they [the students] really understand what they are taught. Their level of understanding of the content is lower."*

[Robert] "When you teach a subject like history the content will decrease and the results of the students will be lower."

[Rosanne] "Because of English as the language of instruction many schools do not offer CLIL because CLIL affects the content levels of the subjects considerably."

[Ursula]: "The use of English implies the creation of barriers to learn content."

This denial is a real issue here. Uriah argues that *"This will always be denied, of course, and this is what is troubling many people."* Therefore, it is of paramount importance that teams develop a collective understanding of this; with a clear focus on the expectations and the language related goals that need to be set. Whether content comprehension suffers from the use of an FL as the language of instruction or not may never turn into a disagreement among staff members at the same location.

Another important notion is that initially the teachers have agreed to use only English in the classrooms. According to Ulrik this is a hard fact: *"the students simply have to communicate in English for I refuse to talk to them in Dutch."* But Uriah, as do others, confides that he uses Dutch every now and then, so called code switching, knowing that he is expected to use only English. He knows that he can compel his students to speak only English in classroom situations but by doing so he would harm the safe environment he thinks so much of. Uriah argues that when he compels his students:

"They won't say anything anymore, no […] they would come to a standstill, and yes everything would stagnate […] A number of them who would fail to continue and stop there."

"At the beginning, I do a lot of code switching. […] The danger is that you continue to do so [use code switching] and at the same time do it even more and more. And that is a real risk."

[Ursula] "As an English teacher I have a tendency to give reactions in Dutch. When I think of reprimands; this is very close to my heart and it feels unnatural to use English in these circumstances."

Udo, the headmaster at Urbania, acknowledges the issue of stagnation of the development of content matter and is not sure about any harmful effects of the use of English in classroom situations when he asserts that:

"Every now and then we get remarks from students who indicate that they are lacking behind because so much time is spent on English and not on maths; a reduction of instruction time on maths. I receive complaints like that, not many, but they are there."

Ursula also finds it difficult to strike the right balance in the whole CLIL discussion when it comes to communication versus grammar, for she believes that grammar education should not be forgotten in the curriculum, for she notices when things go structurally wrong not only in English but also in the Dutch language. Rosanne is not convinced either whether it is really necessary to use the L2 at all times: "*You can also teach them English by giving the instructions in Dutch.*"

5.4.4 Workload & Preparation Time

Another recurrent theme and key experience of implementing CLIL among the participants is time pressure and an increased workload. All the content teachers at both locations indicate that so much more time is needed for preparation and finding appropriate material. At Ruralia Robert, the CLIL coordinator, strongly advocates the idea that more time for preparation is needed:

"25% more time is needed, especially in the first few years. They need more preparation time but when they have given the same lessons for a number of years it will be less. However, they will have to transform everything in the first few years."

Rosanne also has difficulty to burden teachers with CLIL and proposes the following solution:

"You could easily say that a teacher keeps his number of working hours but then with one class less. The time that is saved by teaching one class less could be spent on lesson preparation and finding material."

Rosanne has contacts with teachers in other countries and she knows that in Hungary and Belgium the number of attendants for core subjects has a maximum of 15 students:

"The system of halving the classes; apparently there is money to do that […] but that could also be possible in our country."

Furthermore, she affirms the statement that a teacher needs more time to make sure that all students understand the lesson content provided they are English speaking talents. If you want CLIL to work, she continues:

"It is going to need a lot of time and money, but I suspect time is worse than money."

Roger also has similar feelings when he confides that the workload is an important disadvantage of CLIL:

"I find it hard to say. When I look at the balance, how much energy does it cost a teacher to teach CLIL? And yes, that makes me a bit sceptical. Because when I look at the amount of energy I put in my CLIL lessons, I am so happy I am not required to give 30% of my lessons in English […] Actually it is quite hard for us to teach in English at the students' level. I had that fear to do it and at the same time I wasn't very good at it."

Roger mentions that lack of English proficiency may also lead to increased pressure for the teachers. When the question is asked whether CLIL is possible with the present number of lessons Ralph, the headmaster is resolute:

"When it comes to the students I have no idea, but I do know that it would be impossible for the teachers because they simply do not have enough preparation time at all for they lack proficiency."

Both teachers and headmasters sorely feel this increase of workload at both locations when it comes to CLIL methodology for at Urbania I experienced the same disappointment. To Uriah the workload is a real issue. He experiences that teaching CLIL is so demanding and it really costs him a serious amount of energy mainly because the number of lessons is too high:

"Okay this is a serious issue; it is not as if it won't cost me anything […] since I must combine CLIL methodology and subject content I experience that there is too little I can do because of time pressure, especially when you look at the preparation time: I am so busy checking all things that I can' t find my peace and time to… yes…it cost more time because you have to prepare yourself on both content and language."

Next to his teaching career Uriah is still a student and therefore exempted from the total number of 26 lessons per week for a full-time job. Uriah acknowledges that if he would be a full-time teacher:

"I would really have no idea how to do all of that, together with all my other lessons in VTO […] This time element combined with the feeling that your lesson might have been better when everything was done in Dutch is considered as very hard."

Even Ulrik, the CLIL coordinator explains that lack of preparation time endangers his motivation to continue with CLIL:

"And the nasty thing about CLIL is that you have to find ways to adapt it in your lessons and in all the hectic of the day you notice that it just cost so much time and energy. One day I tried something like that but it failed in such a way that I thought this is not going to work and at the time it took away some of my motivation to experiment and investigate."

I see the increase of workload for (future) CLIL teachers as a serious threat. It is felt at both locations and validated by both headmasters. It is not that they are reluctant to facilitate the teachers and make the curriculum fit but the underlying core issue is finances. Both headmasters are eager to give their staff more preparation time if it weren't for the lack of financial backup. The headmaster at Urbania asserts that

> *"In comparison to other European countries the number of lessons per week per teacher is rather large so when teachers are asked for more effort I think it is only fair to give them extra time [...] But that is easier said than done in times of recession."*

5.4.5 CLIL Material

The other source for increased time pressure is the lack of readily available material. So, this section focuses on the problems regarding readily available CLIL material experienced at both locations. Roger explains that he looked at CLIL material used at pre-university education but this material was too difficult to use at pre-vocational streams. As a result, he contacted a number of publishers but there was absolutely nothing available. According to Roger this had and still has serious implications especially for the students:

> *"You had to do it all by yourself, which means that it is also difficult for those students because they don't have ready material aimed at their own level and this makes it also difficult."*

According to Roger it is not just time that plays a role on the development of materials but also finances:

> *"Look, at the moment we make copies of anything we can lay our hands on, which, by the way, also costs a lot of money, but then yes, there isn't much on the market and if you want something it'll cost money. Look, we have been supported by the European Platform but that was also temporarily."*

Roger also brought a lot of material from another school:

"We all copied from that. By doing this you must ask yourself whether this is legal. But we had to do something. But it is a real issue […] I believe in CLIL, the only thing is […] you have to make your own methods and exactly this makes it really hard especially when you need specific things for certain subjects. This is the difficult bit."

Ralph supports the notion of how difficult it is to develop your own material and he is quite cynical about this because of the major implications, especially when it comes to teacher motivation. He observed that initially:

"One after the other teacher dropped out, purely on the basis of their own skill and a shortage of materials. The level of the original CLIL material is too high, so we have to assemble the materials ourselves and this is one bridge too far. This is possible but hardly anybody does it. And what about the success stories of other schools? If you go back there now they are using their old schoolbooks again because they have not succeeded in creating their own material."

In connection to writing your own in-house material Ralph connects to the issue of workload here and asserts:

"Our working weeks are full to the brim. If we would work till noon and make new lesson material together in the afternoon something is changing. At the moment there is really no chance of that happening."

5.4.6 Financial Issues

This section may be viewed as running beyond the CLIL agenda but I suspect it should also be mentioned as a negative consequence of the struggle to implement CLIL. At Ruralia Roger not only sees CLIL as a methodology for brighter children, a so called plus class, but also a direct correlation between selection and possible financial implications when he ponders about introducing selection in the near future:

"Perhaps it is time to create a plus class with trips abroad class and do we have the parents pay for that […] these are certainly things to think about. I know from other schools that the parents have to pay a few extra 100 euros and the students get so much in return for that: journeys to Budapest, to Spain and that sort of thing."

The major ethical issue here is, according to Roger, that if parents could not or will not pay for their child to be part of the CLIL community, their child would not be admitted as a CLIL student by the school. Ralph, Roger's headmaster has difficulty with finances as well for he is afraid of elitist practices. He is afraid of segregation on false grounds:

"I totally disapprove of a school with a traditional non-CLIL and a CLIL department where children are trained in an elitist manner. Especially at schools where parents have to pay extra money for entrance and where students need to have a certain level. When schools say you may follow CLIL because you have this or that, and all of that and your friend may not because he hasn't. So therefore, distinction is made again. We already have VWO, HAVO and Vocational streams and one child gets bigger presents on his birthday and now this!"

Ulrik also focuses on finances but from a different perspective. He argues that more money should be invested in the CLIL methodology or else the selection criteria will be too strict and not every student who would benefit from CLIL are taken on board the CLIL community. The management must invest more money in the creation of more balanced CLIL classes, according to Ulrik. If not there is a real ethical issue here regarding segregational selection:

"I think it is pitiful when the applications of motivated students who have scored a 6 for English and whose English would have improved if they had participated are turned down. In a certain year, I wanted to start with 45 students and that meant 2 classes. This was cancelled because of financial reasons."

In the interview, possible financial sacrifices of the parents were also discussed with Ursula who argues that:

> *"The parents will have to pay extra. It may be that parents object. But it is very hard to imagine. We talk about 4 students perhaps who can't afford it."*

I consider this may not seem much but it is a serious ethical issue of exclusion on the basis of financial resources. But there is also the issue whether CLIL teachers should receive a greater financial reward for a teaching task that is more complex than mainstream teaching. When it comes to CLIL teaching Uriah makes an important link to better payment for CLIL teachers here:

> *"The teachers are facilitated for it [working with CLIL] but not to the extent as it should be. I think that would be ideal […] if one expects better quality I think you should be properly compensated for that. I would like to see a sort of example group for other colleagues who are the motivated ones and perhaps such a colleague will sooner promote to better functions. For extra dedication and commitment […] I would think that would be a very good way to reward somebody well for all the extra work."*

In order to make CLIL a success more appreciation is needed, according to Ulrik. He thinks that better wages for CLIL teachers is justified. CLIL teachers should be paid more for their extra efforts. What Ulrik expresses here is lack of appreciation:

> *"So, I see it like this that colleagues who want to make a difference are not properly rewarded for that. Not in the sense when you say well that feels like an enormous appreciation. On an annual basis, they get 20 hours in the first year and then structurally 15 hours, and yes that is not much. Actually, it is just too little."*

5.4.7 Discussion

The last part of the analysis chapter presents issues that are experienced and perceived by teachers and heads in pre-vocational education when it comes to adopting and working with CLIL. The findings cover the area of my third research

question: ‘What are the experiences and perceptions of the interviewees of adopting CLIL?’

Experience and Perception of Teacher Selection

In my study, I found that it is not often easy to find teachers who are ready to implement CLIL teaching programmes. One of the areas of concern, which is recurrent across my contexts, is the inadequate organization of pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes that could also contemplate CLIL settings as possible sources of employment for future teachers (Banegas, 2012). However, if the number of available CLIL teachers is not big enough schools should start small and grow gradually until the necessary number teachers are found (Pavón Vázquez & Gaustad, 2013).

There is also the apparent issue of participatory discrimination on the basis of age and seniority among teachers, in particular expressed by Ulrik, and therefore CLIL must be considered as a discriminator. None of the interviewees was a direct victim of discrimination of this sort but they saw and heard about it in their organization.

The impact of exclusion in an educational study has not been part of this study, but here it suffices to mention that this may relate to management of educational change: do (senior) teachers have a right to stick to their own methods they believe in or can they be expected to change their way of teaching when this is required? This needs to be looked into in future studies for literature asserts the importance of teacher engagement and perseverance in the implementation process (Fullan, 2006). The weight must be on the spirit of collegiality, working as a unit and inclusion of all, which will lead to a sense of ownership and lowers the resistance to change. No one should play the blame game (Berlach, 2010).

Ralph’s idea to train teachers for a so called double degree aligns with Marsh and Marsland who assert that the emphasis may be more on language or content but nonetheless “dual-interest and dual-ability, if not dual-qualification, appear to be highly desirable” (Marsh & Marsland, 1999b: p.38). However, a decade later Marsh (2009) points out that the double degrees, which Ralph referred to before, are very uncommon, and these are not a guarantee that teachers with a double degree

indeed possess CLIL expertise. You can learn two fields of expertise dissimilarly and not comprehend the integration, which is one of the foundations in CLIL. Instead of aiming for double degrees Marsh refers to another way of specializing in CLIL by means of specific training on CLIL didactics which are increasingly available and may be more promising for the people concerned.

Tension among staff members

I found that especially at Urbania tensions are described between CLIL and non-CLIL teachers. This is described in literature by Kaplan and Baldauf who argue that there is the danger that tensions may arise between CLIL teachers and non-CLIL teachers because of this discrepancy (1997), with the result that the whole process may be jeopardized and that it can malfunction (Mehisto, 2008). Again, this touches upon issues in the management of change for: “whenever the topic of change is raised, it’s rare that stakeholders see the necessity of securing agreement.” What is not rare, however, is resistance, often encountered in the form of direct attack, passive aggressive posturing, or begrudging acquiescence” (Berlach, 2010: pp.1-2).

I also found that tensions were not only distinguished among teachers but also among students like friendships that may be broken because of the estrangement between CLIL and non-CLIL or students’ feelings of low self-esteem because of being left out. Comments like these provided by the professionals show that coding on student segregation and the challenges concomitant with student selection emerge from the analysis and were not pre-empted.

Experience and perception of student selection

I found that the selection of CLIL students is an area where teachers at the two schools disagree with each other but at the same time some of them struggle to embed CLIL within their own practices: at Ruralia the grouping of students was not an issue since all students participated in CLIL, despite hopes among some teachers to create separate CLIL classes. At Urbania the selection of CLIL students and the consequential formation of separate CLIL classes lead to friction among teachers.
I also found that if the actual pedagogy that is typical in most classrooms is producing deficient results, it would seem that adding the burden of using an FL for content

instruction is perhaps overambitious, unless there is some form of student selection. It is feasible that discussions on the student selection may have a harmful effect on the staff's team spirit. One might argue that CLIL is an elitist philosophy from the data on student selection whereby existing belief systems, in relation to education, are integrated with the CLIL principle.

My data showed that educational discrimination not only occurs among staff, on the basis of seniority but that CLIL also functions as a discriminator among students as described in section 5.4.1. However, the argument that "discrimination has unfortunately been integral to many school systems" should not serve as an excuse for its existence (Hüttner, 2013: p.161). The issue of student selection is a complex one, according to literature. If selection takes place Bruton asserts, in answer to Hüttner and Smit (2014) who seem to defend the fact that CLIL is no more discriminatory than other practices in education, that CLIL successes are probably attributable to selective measures and contrived supportive conditions (Bruton, 2015). Lasagabaster and Sierra also acknowledge the danger of creating an elitist group of students on grounds of certain requirements. He argues that because of these minimum requirements the innovative CLIL experiences are in danger of becoming elitist, as not all students—particularly immigrants—are allowed to participate (2010). Bruton continues to say that in education there has always been streaming but before schools start with a selection of students for CLIL, "any school should ensure adequate standards in the L1 medium for all students before the possibility of detriment to some of the rest, who remain in the existing seemingly deficit FL scenarios" (Bruton, 2011b: p.531). This unintended consequence is a major issue and readdresses the importance of good management of change. Bourgon argues that using and refining educational change theory is necessary, in particular in order to design strategies that get results. A good policy is one that achieves the intended results at the lowest possible cost to stakeholders while minimising unintended consequences. (Bourgon, 2008)

<u>Experience and perception on CLIL suitability of vocational students</u>

I found that if the actual pedagogy that is typical in most classrooms is producing deficient results, it would seem that adding the burden of using an FL for content instruction is perhaps overambitious, unless there is some form of student selection.

So apart from these selective measures and supportive conditions there is also the issue of student CLIL suitability.

I also found that, despite the current and unmistakable evangelical tone about CLIL in much of the literature, the situations in the schools in this study, especially Urbania, suggest that the teachers are struggling to decide which students in the prevocational stream are benefiting from it and who are not on the basis of cognitive and motivational and behavioural requirements. The data in this study seem to suggest that a number of students will surely not benefit from CLIL. I found that a number of teachers *believe* that CLIL is not suited for all students. It may even be a cause of frustration for teachers when they have to match CLIL methodology and low-level students. This touches the issue of CLIL for different ability groups for I found in my data that the weaker students may be overtaxed by the demands of CLIL. Also, the teachers felt and asserted that something had to be done to cater for these students or find other solutions.

When studying the literature on CLIL suitability the European Platform argue that when CLIL started in the Netherlands it was considered only suitable for brighter pupils: the successes of CLIL in prevocational streams have proved that this is not the case (European Platform: 2013). Denman, Tanner & de Graaff (2013) also report positive influences from CLIL participation, also for students in pre-vocational streams:

> *"[There are] many advantages for bilingual junior secondary vocational education, such as the preparation of students for their future careers and cross-cultural communication with other English language users. TVMBO gives opportunities for students to work on their vocational literacy and vocational language proficiency. It also appears that motivation increases in junior secondary vocational students who enjoy a challenge."*

Denman's study indicates that over 70% of the students would recommend vocational CLIL to a friend or family member, because they feel it is fun and motivating, and it helps them develop their skills in English (Denman, et al., 2013). As long as the programme is adapted to their level, *pupils of all abilities* can benefit from bilingual education. Coyle (2006) also suggests that CLIL is particularly appealing to

lower-ability pupils (Merisuo-Storm, 2006; Dalton-Puffer, 2007); to all students across the ability range (Nuffield Report, 2000).

However, I found in my data that teachers are really struggling with the issue whether CLIL is beneficial to all ability groups for the teachers in my sample experienced and articulated working with under achieving students as a difficulty in their practice. Hence, we have contrasting views. Most of the teachers in this study assume that CLIL methodology is informed by a belief that only high-level vocational students can access CLIL. Mearns (2012) asserts that CLIL appeared not to help the lower-achievers: overburdening weaker students by having to learn content through FL (Smit, 2008) and issues of lower self-esteem (Seikkula-Leino, 2007). Petrová & Novotná found that the limited learners' language production in a session resulted in very low learners' participation in the talk and on the other hand, very high teacher's participation (2007).

In section 3.3.1.3 I discussed the threshold level as described by Baker. Apsel asserts that a high threshold-level could obscure the inability of teachers to cope with heterogeneous CLIL classes (2012) whereas students who are not slightly above a 'lower' language threshold run the risk of insufficient success or may not profit from CLIL programmes (Zydatiß 2012). Therefore, Zydatiß warns "against the opening of bilingual strands for all students, regardless of their ability" (2012: p.27). Mewald argues that whereas CLIL students with high proficiency levels were more fluent than their peers in regular main streams pupils, CLIL students from the "lowest ability group proved to be less fluent than their peers from the non-CLIL lowest ability group" (Mewald, 2007: p.153). She also found that these low ability students were asked too much and did not participate well enough. Gierlinger exposits that "lower ability students, especially in comprehensive schools, were seen as unwilling to and/or incapable of dealing with the higher linguistic and cognitive demands or CLIL" (Gierlinger 2007: p.93).

The question emerges whether the comparatively low ability students (whether in the cognitive academic domain or in language proficiency) receive adequate support in

the regular CLIL classes. This seems justified since Gierlinger found that teachers showed unwillingness to support the weaker CLIL students (2007). The answer for CLIL support for the weaker students may be CLIL modules for Christ and Ludwig-Erhard-Schule (1999) argue that these modules may offer the low ability students the necessary support without having to participate in CLIL. Therefore, Apsel asserts that all CLIL stakeholders should obtain pedagogical and didactic competences to identify the problems and support regardless their abilities (2012).

Experience and perception English as Medium of Instruction

Before discussing my findings, I want to address the clear distinction between CLIL as a strategy and how the participants in this study mediated CLIL. CLIL as a strategy does imply the idea of evidence based education but the decision to implement CLIL must not be understood as an intervention or treatment for something that seemed 'broken', simply because the educational practice is non-causal (causality implies that professionals intervene by administering the treatment CLIL, in order to bring about certain effects) and non-generalizable. These are mistaken ideas about educational practice. Evidence based education is not a 'treatment' that always works; and must therefore be approached with an attitude of: this practice ought to work and there the judgment of the educational professionals comes in. I see this as an important drawback of evidence based education in that it tends to deny the professionals judgments or at least "limits the opportunities for educational professionals to exert their judgment about what is educationally desirable in particular situations" (Biesta 2007: p.20). A new education implementation always requires a good judgement about particular situations as well as. Since "no one version of CLIL is a model for export. CLIL is said to be too diffuse since it is bound to the variables of the context in which it may be applied" (Marsh et al., 2001a: p.7).

Overall, I found that the participants in this study have ambiguous feelings towards English as the only language of instruction, as one of the most important principles of CLIL. Strict adherence to the sole use of English as MOI is referred to by Lin as bilingualism through parallel monolingualisms : that is, to use only the target language as the MOI in the classroom with the hope that students will become bilingual or a "pedagogical straitjackets imposed by much official discourse" (Lin,

2015: p.76) Lin argues that the reluctance and negative attitudes to employ the L1 relates to the fact that the use of L1 is connected to traditional grammar-translation methods. Where some argue that students should be exposed to L2 in CLIL classes as much as possible, especially during the limited class time, others prefer forms of code switching: use English as much as possible but turn to the mother tongue if necessary. Other researchers also support this notion.

Méndez and Pavón (2012) found that the L1 could be employed successfully as an instrument to help students understand complex ideas and notions. Schweers suggests that: “his arguments for the pedagogical and affective benefits of L1 use justify its limited and judicious use in the second or foreign language classroom” (1999: p.9). Kelly (2014) also argues that the use of the mother tongue should be encouraged in CLIL classrooms. He argues that by doing so it helps them to develop the L2 so much better: “Whatever the background of the teacher, they need to be able to moderate their language so that it is at the right input level for the learners they work with.” Lasagabaster (2013) also supports the notion that the use the L1 seems to be commonplace in CLIL contexts and argues that if the first language is used judiciously in CLIL contexts it may well serve to scaffold language and content learning. With the condition that learning should be maintained primarily through the L2. These notions are also supported by Littlewood and Yu (2011).

Lasagabaster also found (2013) that code switching, mainly to be used to explain vocabulary and issues that are cognitively demanding, could enhance second language acquisition better than a second-language-only policy in the classroom. But since the use of L1 in practice was neither systematic nor based on guidelines he argues that research-based guidelines are needed. If teachers refrain from the use of L1 or avoid the use of L1 in making comparisons between L1 and L2 a chance is missed, for the L1 is seen as a scaffold that allows students to make these comparisons and fosters the students’ metalinguistic awareness. But there are more advantages: L1 helps lower grade students to increase their use of English in a CLIL setting in a gradual manner. The use of L1 also helps to endorse the students’ identity and consequently improve students’ attitude towards the foreign language. It also makes students feel comfortable in the CLIL classroom, anxiety free, and as a way to boost their confidence. For the participants in Lasagabaster’s study

recognized the risk what a stressful environment might have in a context in which English is the medium of instruction.

Finally, Lasagabaster (2013) found that the L1 is used to boost debate and it had positive consequences with regard to disciplinary issues. Maintaining the exclusive use of L2 may conjure up negative side effects: for banning the use of L1 may make it more tempting precisely because it is not allowed. Moreover, if CLIL is taught as "untutored learning through simple exposure to natural language input does not seem to lead to sufficient progress in L2 attainment for most school learners" (Dörnyei, 2009: p.35). CLIL students make connections between their L1 and L2, and teachers should take advantage of this and apply pedagogical strategies that help students enhance their learning. Lin also argues for the adoption of a balanced and open-minded position when it comes to the employment of L1 in CLIL: "there is a lot of systematic planning and research that we can do to try out different kinds of combinations of different L1 and L2 everyday resources (together with multimodal resources) that can scaffold the development of L1 and L2 academic resources" (Lin, 2015: p.86).

Experience and perception on the balance between language and content
From the data, I found that teachers and staff members have not struck the balance between language and content (yet). Neither of the schools could come up with a policy framework that describes, or even better, prescribes in detail what CLIL should be like and how content and language (should) relate to one another. I also found that qualifications in English are not enough but CLIL teachers need to demonstrate expertise on how to fuse language and content. If progress is hard to see I fear that content teachers are not specifically trained as to how to implement English as the language of instruction. Therefore, managers should ascertain that discussions are developed among their staffs about the positioning of CLIL in their curriculum and the impact CLIL may have on learning the FL as well as on the content issues. I also found that the FL learning curve may demonstrate a positive development at first but the goals set for content subject are ill defined or non-existent (5.4.3).

In literature, I found that the assumption and the consequential argument in research evidence that the content subject learning does not suffer in CLIL programs is

questioned (Bruton, 2013). Dalton-Puffer's asserts: “there must be language-related goals to the enterprise alongside the content subject related ones or else what would be the point of doing CLIL at all?” (2007: p.10). Bruton also asserts:

> “There is nothing inherent about being instructed in the content of a core curricular content subject in a FL, that is likely to benefit most secondary level students comparatively in either improving their FL or their content subject learning” (Bruton, 2015: p.126).

Until hard evidence about the beneficial effects of CLIL on both language and content are presented within clear and, more importantly, undisputed parameters it remains likely that CLIL is considered to be successful as a result of selection procedures: “in various guises is at the heart of most CLIL initiatives, at whatever level or stage, along with other supporting factors, including a benevolent reading of the research evidence, designed to make CLIL classes (appear to) ‘succeed’ in improving at least the FL learning side of the equation.” Further scientific investigation should address this very important issue instead of leaving it in the hands of struggling schools that want to adopt CLIL.

Another hidden issue here that needs to be exposed is that CLIL requirements vary from country to country and from situation to situation. As Marsh stipulated (3.2) there are so many factors that influence possible CLIL success the sociolinguistic environment of the student, exposure time, the target language, the teachers, the discourse-type, the trans-languaging, subject appropriacy, and content-language ratio, (Marsh, 2001a) to mention some. In the Netherlands, there is a CLIL framework but thus far there has been very little research into the beneficial effects in the Dutch situation. The causes of CLIL success in Spain for instance are not applicable to any other situation: as regards the amount of extramural English, the Netherlands are at the top end showing top-results (1st) in a European survey of students’ English language skills[9] whereas (25th) does not offer the same level of exposure opportunities and did not, perhaps as a result of this, score equally well.

The number of CLIL schools in the Netherlands has stagnated because there are no undisputed facts on the benefits of CLIL. And when the results are lacking or even

[9] see: http://www.ef.nl/epi/

contra productive it is time to look at the aims of CLIL and what have been the drivers for the implementation of CLIL. The reason for the reluctance may be that the level of English in the Netherlands is already rather high. The English Proficiency Index of 2015[10] showed that the Netherlands is in second place. This may well have to do with the amount of English outside school or extramural English. In Europe, the great divide may be between the countries where we can watch English programmes that are dubbed and the countries where the programmes are subtitled, as is the case in the Netherlands (De Houwer & Wilton, 2011). A study found that subtitled media have a significantly larger impact on second language acquisition than their dubbed equivalents (Kuppens & de Houwer, 2007).

Workload & preparation time

I found that time pressure and an increased workload for preparation and finding appropriate material is a recurrent theme among the teachers; even endangers the motivation to continue with CLIL. Certain issues need to be addressed and solved: motivated teachers who have made such an effort and have gone the extra mile may easily turn into paths leading to frustration, which may end up in bad education. Poor CLIL is to be avoided at all times. This aligns with literature: Massler (2012) found that reasons for seeing CLIL as a burden or reasons for even abandoning CLIL included the finding that CLIL increased their workload (see also Berlach on workload reality, 2010). At the Conference at Astana 'Approaches to Teaching Content through English: Content and Language Integrated Learning' (Feb 7th, 2014) Keith Kelly asserted that he has serious doubts whether boards see the necessity of providing more time for CLIL teachers need extra time to prepare. Doyle argues the necessity to spend more money on the development of CLIL for else CLIL may be jeopardized for ultimately *"poor CLIL teaching is poor teaching"* (Doyle, 2014: p.11). Mehisto (2008) also acknowledges that CLIL teachers have a heavier workload at the start of the implementation of CLIL and urges headmasters to find ways to support them by freeing up CLIL teachers for meetings. However, the heads were not reluctant to facilitate the teachers but there was simply a lack of financial backup

[10] see: http://chartsbin.com/view/37981

Materials

The data show that there are serious issues with the lack of readily available CLIL materials, and therefore on teachers' workload. This is intrinsically interwoven with financial management. CLIL initiatives can benefit by creating in-house materials. Teachers experience that working with Dutch material, which should have been in English, is one of the most important reasons why it takes so much more time. Ethically speaking copyright should be a really important issue here so it has to be addressed at every level in the school. The bottom line, however, is financial support that enables teachers to create more time for development and preparation of material. These notions align with the literature. Georgiou underpins this notion when she writes:

> *"Teacher and student materials are an important tool in the learning process. Unfortunately, the majority of CLIL teachers around the world are still working without the support of suitable published materials or materials banks. Due to the variety of CLIL programmes, CLIL subjects, and the different subject curricula, it has been difficult for commercially published materials to cater to the growing needs of the field. It is, however, an important success factor and CLIL initiatives can benefit by creating in-house materials that can cater to the needs of their specific students and particular programme." (Georgiou, 2012: p.497)*

Banegas refers to Ballman (1997) who claims that publishers need to produce course books that are related to learners' lives in their contexts. This lack of CLIL materials is also one of the major drawbacks encountered by educators, as it implies a greater workload for teachers (Banegas, 2012). However, the financial aspect should not be undervalued for financial decisions by the board do have a direct impact on easy access to CLIL material.

Financial issues

When it came to financial issues there are two strands: extra financial contribution to follow CLIL classes and greater financial reward for the CLIL teacher. The extra financial contribution is a serious ethical issue of student exclusion on the basis of financial resources; an issue that should not be overlooked. Money is partly the real issue here. Ulrik demands compensation either financial, or fewer teaching hours. This is in line with Marsh's findings that CLIL teachers are becoming increasingly

attractive and can command better remuneration conditions in certain countries (Marsh, 2009).

One of the questions asked during the interviews dealt with the fact that English may be regarded as a 'killer language' (see 3.5.11). There is this notion that in the Netherlands there is a fear that Dutch is losing out to English. This fear is present in a country whose inhabitants are generally renowned for their command of English and in which English is present in many aspects of everyday life (De Houwer & Wilton, 2011). However, this fear was not felt by any of the participants of this study. This would need further research because it is too important not to be part of the discussion.

Contested nature of CLIL

Breidbach and Viebrock describe the contested nature of CLIL. They argue that CLIL is an independent approach of teaching, which does not automatically lead to quality learning. They discuss a number of issues: structural selectivity of CLIL appears to have a greater impact on student achievement than CLIL itself. Secondly research findings on the benefits of CLIL are contested: it is not clear whether the language tests examine underlying mental concepts or provide insights into language performance on the surface level. The research findings are also at odds with previous findings and comparative approaches showed dissimilarities in various areas resulting in the fact that attributing the positive results to CLIL alone is not possible.

Breidbach and Viebrock cite Fehling (2008) who found that the general level of language awareness in the CLIL and non-CLIL samples in his study was markedly low. Furthermore, there is little or no empirical evidence that CLIL learners develop reflective or critical competences all by themselves. Also, the classroom interaction does not offer enough opportunities to develop adequate thematic and rhetorical structures: the teacher as a language model often does not provide the learner with the necessary input (Dalton-Puffer, 2007). In classroom interaction, social participation exerts a much stronger influence on possible learning outcomes than is usually considered in CLIL pedagogy, for the main problem here is the difficulty to transform expectations from CLIL into mutually negotiable and viable classroom

practice. Badertscher and Bieri (2009) found that CLIL learners generally perform on par with the non-CLIL control group in terms of conceptual knowledge.

Breidbach and Viebrock discern the contested nature of CLIL by discerning that most recent studies display a more critical attitude towards the pre-supposed added value of CLIL by definition where little attention was given to the specifics of a selected learner population. These studies try to shed light on a number of critical or even negative aspects. However, because of the perceived positive effect of CLIL administrators have fostered the idea to implement the methodology of CLIL to various types of schools of Breidbach and Viebrock argue that:

> "This spread of CLIL needs to be viewed with caution if teachers do not receive the requisite training. After all, CLIL teaching is first and foremost concerned with good teaching: it has to face similar pedagogical challenges as those faced in mainstream programmes. Many CLIL issues are by no means CLIL-specific" (Breidbach & Viebrock, 2012: p.14).

5.4.8 Patterns

As described in the section 'procedures of analysis' in 4.6.1 I have tried to discern potential patterns. However, with a small sample size, caution must be applied to distinguish these patterns, but although the numbers were small in the comparisons, there were potential patterns I found. 'Gender' may well have an impact on CLIL students (as described by Lasagabaster, 2008; Seikkula-Leino, 2007) but this distinction in gender was not brought up by the participants. In my sample, however, there were two female teachers who were also the language teachers. They participated but I found that they positioned themselves as aides de camp in the CLIL teaching instead of being part of the core of the CLIL teams where decisions were taken. I also found that they did not mind about their positions.

Secondly, I distinguished intertwined patterns: I distinguished a difference between the 'position of language teachers and content teachers in CLIL teaching' for the content teachers did not share the same level of knowledge, expertise and skills. The content teachers in my study tended to work at a textual-level whereas the language teachers worked on sentence-level, which is in line with Cummins (1981). Closely related to this was the issue of 'collaboration': content teachers need to collaborate

with other content teachers in order to exchange ideas, try new techniques in order to increase the effectiveness, but also with language teachers. Collaboration is needed in different areas between content- and language teachers or else the implementation may be in jeopardy. Collaboration is needed to coordinate language and content by setting specified pedagogical goals like the application of scaffolding and interactive methodology which includes frequent use of questions, giving feedback and getting it from the students and discussions instead of teacher-fronted lecturing. Furthermore, content teachers whose proficiencies in the FL are (dangerously) low may need the help of language teachers. The necessity of collaboration in these areas is in line with Pavon and Rubio's study (2010). However,I learnt from my data that the levels of collaboration at both locations were not high.

Furthermore, I also found the pattern that there was no or too little regulation when it comes to the organization of classroom roles and responsibilities. At the same time, I found that the overall coherence in the implementation was not sufficiently present, which could prove detrimental for success of CLIL. According to Fullan (2007) this coherence is a key notion in CLIL success. A final possible pattern I identified was the (more) skeptical teacher versus the (more) motivated teacher: I found that CLIL development went not as fine as was anticipated at Ruralia. Therefore, participants became less motivated to carry on with the process. Stagnation seems to nurture negative feelings towards CLIL. Whereas sparks of success, no matter how small, seem to keep teacher motivation going. These findings in conjunction with Fernandez-Fontecha (2014) who argues that motivation must be seen as one of the strongest pillars of CLIL is to engage learners, strongly suggest that motivation must be considered a driving force for this type of education.

5.4.9 retrospection

My fourth research question tried to answer the question whether the retrospective views of the participants, their perspectives on CLIL have changed in response to the challenges? Most of the issues and challenges have been addressed in the discussion sections and the research questions will be revisited in the conclusion. However, I choose to add a summary of the participants' answers on the last two questions in my interview (appendix 2):

- Taking everything into account how do you perceive the level of success or failure at your school when you think of CLIL?
- What lessons do you as a stakeholder perceive to be drawn from this experience?

At Urbania Udo argues the necessity of more facilities, more funding to enable teachers to attend each other's lessons and learn from each other and make CLIL practice better. Ursula perceives CLIL as a success in progress; there are still some issues. She feels that more content subjects should participate in order to improve CLIL effectiveness and she expresses her wish for more time to get all the work done. Uriah sees CLIL as a potential success story, which offers so much more challenges for the students. But he also mentions a number of necessary improvements. He feels that the weaker students, who are not capable of doing CLIL, should be provided for and he really wants to create a wider support base for CLIL among non-CLIL teachers. Ulrik felt the interview came as timely support for he the interview opened his eyes for the fact that at the moment they were muddling through and that it was now time to really make the necessary progress because the principles of CLIL are great. He also distinguished a number of possible improvements like a wider support base among the entire staff, the quality of English proficiency among his colleagues needs improvement and he would like to get more appreciation for what they are doing from the management.

At Ruralia Ralph has developed a more critical stance and has come to the conclusion that CLIL does not work for his school and is looking for other ways to improve English at his school. Rosanne asserts that CLIL has not worked at her school and never will unless discipline of the students improves. If not, she has serious doubts about any beneficial effects of CLIL in the future or any change for that matter. Robert, on the other hand, explains that he had not realized the size of the whole operation of implementing a new approach. He also ponders whether CLIL and his team match together. Roger is more critical. He wants to know where the whole notion of CLIL came from in the first place and if it had been considered well enough. He wonders if all the energy that they had put into the CLIL project could

have been used in a better way. There have been issues, for Roger explains he has never been able to explain the reasons why they implemented CLIL in the first place.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This study was designed to provide information on the practical consequences and challenges that coincide with the implementation of CLIL in pre-vocational streams at two contrasting contexts in the Netherlands. It also explored the complex ways in which professionals negotiate and relate to the implementation of Content and Language Integrated learning. In general, the findings in this explorative study are similar to other research findings described in literature. But also new outcomes emerged.

The results of this study on the participants' initial expectations, opened up new horizons when compared to their lived experiences later in the process of CLIL implementation and practice. This study showed serious disjunctures when experiences and expectations were placed next to each other and compared in detail. Each setting approached CLIL differently with different forms of disjuncture, as discussed in the previous sections, but there were also shared themes. Confirming previous research (Berlach, 2010), the present study found that it is necessary to use and refine (a model of) educational change theory, especially the design of strategies that get results. If this does not occur success in CLIL implementation may well be hampered. This study has also extended previous research. Studies concerning CLIL implementation and practice have described hindrances that have repercussions on successful CLIL. This study explored these issues in new and natural contexts of professional pre-vocational teams in the Netherlands. The results raise relevant and interesting information leading to recommendations.

I found possible explanations or patterns of the aforementioned mismatch between the auspicious initial Expectations and a number of, sometimes, underwhelming experiences that had grown over the years. I felt it necessary to develop a thorough understanding on the participants' incentives to start with the implementation of CLIL and the expectations they had at the very start. From these incentives and expectations, I concluded that the participants understood CLIL as the new

methodology that had proven itself to be superior to other methodologies and met the new approach on grounds unspecified or based on one-sided preconceived opinions. The professionals in this study adopted CLIL with all its advantages and made it part of their beliefs, at least for some time.

The awareness of CLIL (addressed by my first research question) turned out to be an idealized picture that slowly changed into a methodology with serious implications for them. Traditional methodologies could no longer offer what the teachers were looking for: educational success. Consequently, the urge of change was so deeply felt that the adoption of CLIL was untimely and not considered well enough. The data show stakeholders' inadequacies in the knowledge of the theoretical underpinnings of CLIL methodology. Therefore, it was taken on board in an uncritical way and viewed as a remedy.

Secondly, once the decision was made to employ CLIL at both schools, I found that no structural standards were applied to distinguish the minimal requirements for CLIL implementation. This lead to the question what is good CLIL practice (aligning with my second research question)? If issues emerge and the concept of CLIL is considered to be good; the problem must be the teacher, who finds him/herself in the middle of an on-going debate on best practice in CLIL. This is a key notion in the discourse: being good enough or not being good enough to teach CLIL.

A third explanation for the mismatch between favourable expectations and (partly) dissatisfying daily experiences in working with CLIL are various issues that emerged from the data. Moving away from the initial problems of teacher selection at the start of the implementation process, I found serious issues at teacher selection at both schools later on in the process. The professionals explained that their schools were insufficiently adequate in the organization of CLIL and coherent CLIL training. Another issue that hindered the progression of CLIL was the position of seemingly reluctant senior teachers who may reveal a more balanced view on CLIL. This bore he resemblance of participatory discrimination, creating tensions among CLIL and non-CLIL staff members. The exclusion from CLIL not only concerned senior teachers but also occurred among students at Urbania.

As a result, despite the current evangelical tone in literature that iterates that CLIL is beneficial to all students, the issue is raised whether CLIL must be seen as an elitist philosophy in which frustrated teachers struggle; the professionalism of teachers is questioned if they are not successful to match CLIL and low-achieving students.

The final research question addressed the extents of diversity present in the way stakeholders articulated their beliefs about the lessons learnt from this experience and to what extent they induced different experiences of either success or failure. This process of reflection started off with the first answers as evidenced by such expressions as "*I was convinced that.... but now I'm realising that...*", "*At the beginning I used to...but now I am convinced that...*", "*In the past I believed that...but now I find it easier to...*". These sentences were symptomatic of a consciousness raising process that lead the teachers to have an approach to CLIL that was different from the one they had had at the beginning of their experience. I suspect they had personally reconceptualised CLIL. This dynamic change, favoured by the practical use of CLIL, had been very important in order to understand what teachers thought about CLIL before they started using it and what caused them to alter their views. By interpreting what teachers said, it became clear that their new perspectives on CLIL were the consequence of a series of obstacles, frictions and restrictions that they had to face during their daily CLIL practice.

The two settings showed different approaches towards these impediments initially but the outcomes were the same overall. As the data analysis showed the interest in CLIL among teaching staff, was waning especially at Ruralia (see 5.3.3 and 5.3.5). Ruralia's headmaster as well as Ruralia's CLIL coordinator became rather critical after a high-spirited start, having a direct impact on hopes and beliefs of the teaching staff, which were initially high. At Urbania the management remained faithful to the benefits of CLIL but here also, though to a lesser extent, CLIL was critiqued and dealt with suspiciously in some areas.

In the end, in comparing Ruralia to Urbania, it can be concluded that Urbania progressed considerably further where the implementation of CLIL is concerned. This can be explained by the fact that location Urbania offers both academic orientated pre-university training as well as vocational training and the vocational teachers had

therefore been able to draw on the available CLIL expertise of their pre-university colleagues. However, at the evaluation stage, there were no teachers at either location who were completely satisfied with the implementation of CLIL or CLIL methodology. Frictional issues have led to different outcomes. At Ruralia they stopped altogether with CLIL as a new methodology. The obstructions and hindrances turned out to be too big, and too high. When I spoke to some teachers later they explained that abandoning CLIL had come as a relief. The content of the questions asked and the clarifications requested by the researcher on whatever topic in the interviews had functioned as a mirror. At Urbania the participants still carry on their CLIL project. All of them want to turn it into a success; the disjunctures and possible frictions have been mentioned and wait for resolute answers.

These notions need serious attention if CLIL is to succeed in pre-vocational education. Moreover, all this shows the complex nature of the situation.

6.1 Recommendations

From the analysis lessons can be learnt for Ruralia and Urbania but also for all institutes who intend to implement CLIL in the future. These lessons are summarized in the following recommendations

1. professionals have to make sure to develop a firm knowledge base on CLIL theory and rationale among staff and teachers, laid down in a proper framework. I found that the participants in this study indicated that a proper policy framework that prescribed in detail what CLIL should be like and how content and language (should) relate as well as a proper discourse on the ins and outs on CLIL pedagogy was lacking. (This study did not seek to answer the question whether the participants misunderstood the rationale or whether the CLIL rationale was inconclusive to them). Bull (2015) argues that if adoption of a new methodology is at hand people need to get informed on its principles by bringing in an expert and organise workshops for the stakeholders. In order to open up and nurture a more nuanced discourse Bull also urges to focus on the benefits and limitations of the implementation. Fullan (2006) supports this notion by stating that on-going dialogue in a spirit

of collegiality, instead of forced compliance, will produce greater internal motivation leading to better results.

2. I found that the experience of working with CLIL as described by six participants was not entirely in line with CLIL as described in literature. This study has shown that successful implementation of CLIL requires ample time for acquiring the necessary CLIL theory and rationale, ample funding and the presence of sufficient and good CLIL material. I know that time and money have always been impediments in the implementation of any new educational development. These issues relate to the position of management for if these issues are not addressed properly, teachers will suffer from an increased workload and consequential motivational issues (touches on management of educational change). My data analysis clearly showed the correlation between the decreased CLIL motivation and the organization of CLIL.

   Therefore, I underline the importance that, in the implementation process of CLIL, a better balance, especially in communications, must be established at various stages when it comes to destabilizing effects resulting from top-down or bottom-up directives. This may avert de-motivational effects in the future regarding collaboration within a school setting. This is in line with Berlach's triptych: the workload reality, the curriculum viability and the practicability feasibility (2010).

3. Thirdly: I found that one of the predominant issues at both schools was a lack of engagement with the ideas that underpin the philosophy of CLIL and CLIL participation in practice. The contrasting existing beliefs whether CLIL should be an inclusive programme for all students to join or a selective programme, served as an example that CLIL might be all things to all participants. So apart from the practical issues such as time and money the deeper reason was a lack of a shared and coherent rationale for CLIL. Therefore, it is of paramount importance that all stakeholders see the importance of shared ownership. This is similar to findings from Coyle (2011) who asserts that without a shared vision and without ownership of CLIL by teachers and their

learners then the future potential is unlikely to be realised. Fullan (2006) also argues that the earlier in the process that participation occurs, the greater will be the sense of ownership and the lower the resistance to change (see also Lucietto, 2008; Massler, 2012; Banegas, 2012).

4. When it comes to of future research an interesting area could be an investigation into the position of senior teachers in changing educational landscapes, which touches on participatory discrimination. Teacher engagement and perseverance should be a key notion in management of change (Fullan, 2006; Berlach, 2010). But also, discriminatory effects induced by managerial decisions that lead to exclusion of low achieving students. (Bruton, 2015; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010). The weight should be on inclusion of all.

5. Further research is needed to see whether the teachers were right by suggesting that the CLIL approach and pre-vocational education do not suit each other, including the sole use of English as language of instruction. On the basis of literature on the beneficial use of L1 (Kelly, 2014; Lasagabaster, 2013; Littlewood & Yu, 2011; Méndez and Pavón, 2012; Schweers, 1999) I also feel this ought to be readdressed. But, there were other issues that emerged in this study that need further research: the ethical issue of possible elitist nature of CLIL (Bruton, 2011b, 2015; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010) and the possible threat of Dutch, as the mother tongue, becoming an endangered language that relates to issues of language dominance (Crystal, 2000; Ravelo, 2014)

6. Another necessity that I see is not just research on CLIL in abstract and general statements but to see what different content subjects, as separate units, can contribute to the CLIL cause. For Bruton (2011b) claims that the picture, both in research and practice, is one where the content specialists are mainly absent. The findings could then be assessed critically and compared across the different disciplines.

Once again, this is not a complete list and there are many other possibilities for future research on CLIL. But I see these as important areas that require more future research. These issues centre on implementation imperatives that are needed to deal with any phenomenon that could possibly hamper good CLIL delivery (Berlach, 2010).

6.2 Personal Professional Development

When I, as a teacher myself, reflect on this study it framed the way I think about my own experience, particularly when it comes to the strength and crucial position of teachers' beliefs, drives and motivations in the process of a new implementation. Before being a research student I looked at teachers, my colleagues, differently from how I look at them now. The solid in-depth interviews and the analysis of the data opened up new horizons of the complexity, intensity and beauty of their beliefs and motivations. Each participant was an entrance into a completely new world.
After having completed a piece of original research myself, the way I now think about research has changed me, it has shown me the huge impact research can have. I felt that research, especially the holistic nature of case study, has the capacity to open up seemingly impenetrable phenomena.

Reflecting back, knowing what I know now, I would do things differently if I were to undertake such a study again. The main issue concerned the coding and the analysis procedures confused me at a number of times. I started with a few straightforward themes, waiting to see what the data would present. Instead I should have started with a set of pre-drafted codes that would give me so much more direction. I have employed an exploratory qualitative research method and it was hard not to lose focus. Many a time it felt as if I walked on quicksand, and sometimes I felt taken by loneliness and even despair but how good it felt to overcome every challenge and turn it into something worthwhile. In spite of these limitations I would argue that a key strength of the approach I have taken is the holistic nature (see 4.10 for the limitations of this study). This study enabled me to really see what was happening at the two schools; it provided me with (too) many interrelationships. This rich and extremely vivid, bound and fixed reality has been my "second home" for a number of satisfying years. I also anticipate that the findings of this study will be useful to address the frictions and overcome the obstacles and therefore further research that

would build on these findings might include a qualitative study that would enable me to make generalizations. I feel this study has given me the tools and now I want to use these tools in a follow up (qualitative) study.

6.3 Theoretical Contribution to science

I have sought to contribute to knowledge by not only establishing what counts as knowledge in the area of the CLIL discourse, but also to establish what has currently become known through this research. The importance and value of this study lies in the fact that it gave a thorough understanding of and insight in the complex ways in which the professionals negotiated with and the extend to what they related to the implementation of CLIL. This study has revealed a number of areas of serious concern, which had not been articulated before in the Dutch CLIL practice.

This thesis has also been a contribution to the educational knowledgebase in that it showed that initially the professionals were too evangelistic about CLIL as the new approach, which seemed the new way forward. In the situations, I studied we can learn that the stress, the main focus in the implementation process was on strategy and not on the teachers. Teachers and heads went for the quick fixes without clear targets. Therefore, the teachers were only part of the problem. The study shows that the implementation of CLIL processes require caution: moving forward *together* with a clear vision grounded in CLIL rationale; if the implementation is not carried by the entire team it may create serious issues in the collaboration among team members. An important lesson learnt is that it is not just implementation strategy but also the teachers that have to work with CLIL.

However, in the course of conducting this study, a number of other research projects concerned with the critical analysis of CLIL and teacher's perspectives on its challenges and hurdles have been published internationally (Roiha, 2014; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017; Bonnet & Breidbach, 2017; McDougald, 2016; Guillamón-Suesta & Renau, 2015). These studies have contributed significantly to giving stakeholders of CLIL education clearer insights into the complexities, and challenges that have arisen as a result of adoption of the CLIL approach in education. However, this study has been an exploratory study into a matter, which has not been researched before in these specific educational contexts of pre-vocational streams in

the Netherlands for, I was unable to find any substantial contributions in relation to my thesis in the literature I reviewed about disjunctures, obstacles and possible frictions when experiences, beliefs and expectations of pre-vocational teachers and heads were researched. As such it found a niche that fills a gap in the knowledge base.

I hope this study has furthered the CLIL discourse, by providing more 'evidence' of these complexities and challenges in the Netherlands, based on teachers' and other stakeholders' perspectives. Furthermore, the study has raised some important findings, which strengthens the outcomes of more recent research in the area of CLIL. It is hoped that these outcomes provide further impetus for institutional (re)assessment of current language policy and practices in any sector where CLIL pedagogy is employed.

6.4 Practical Contribution and Reciprocity

Furthermore, I also endeavoured to establish reciprocity (see 4.7) between the participants and myself at all times. As free persons who had no moral authority over one another, the interviewees and I participated in a joint activity in which we had our respective shares in the benefits bit also the burdens of this project. The burden for the interviewees may be the fact that they were willing to adopt an open and vulnerable position towards me, not knowing if their openness would have any consequence for them and thus putting themselves in my trust.

I strongly feel that both should profit from this research, not only during the process but also at the end of this study. The participants benefit because the outcomes and recommendations are discussed together and the lessons that can be learnt are mediated between teams and myself as the researcher. In this way, the data procured in this research is given back to the community.

This could be taken one step further for when it turns out that the schools deem it necessary or desirable, the design of this study could be changed into action research and part of this study could function as the reconnaissance part. If we agree on it a cycle of actions will be developed that contains reflection, the development of relevant and specific questions that will emerge from discussion of this thesis and its

recommendations. New conclusions will be set which will lead to a course of new actions etcetera. However, in that case the researcher cannot step back from the project for he and the participating professionals will both be responsible for further study and decision-making that needs to be developed.

Finally, this study has not claimed to be conclusive at any point but my suggestions made above require further research in order to improve CLIL quality in practice.

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APPENDIX I

Competency profile for tto teachers

This profile outlines the competencies that teachers in bilingual education are assumed to have. The profile is part of the Standard for bilingual education in English, as laid down most recently by the Network for Dutch Bilingual Schools on 29 September 2010.

1 CURRICULUM

1.1 The tto teacher develops cross-curricular learning plans with other subjects. Tto teachers cooperate on shared educational objectives. The development of learning plans includes making cross-curricular connections with different subjects, with care being taken to maintain coherence and to enrich the pupils' perspectives on the subject matter. Example: the topic of the First World War could be covered from historical, literary, physical/geographical and mathematical angles.

1.2 The tto language teacher works on projects together with other language teachers and/or subject teachers. The teacher initiates and actively contributes to cross-curricular projects, using themes to which participating teachers connect subject-related and language-related objectives.

1.3 The tto teacher develops a curriculum with a view to attaining the CLIL objectives. The tto teacher feels responsible for including CLIL objectives (the '4 Cs': content, communication, cognition, culture) into the curriculum. CLIL is the starting point for organising the teaching material and for the form in which it is offered.

1.4 The tto teacher helps pupils develop information-finding skills. The teacher helps pupils to look for and find information, and judging its reliability. Example: a pupil uses an article from a random Internet source. The teacher explains that this information is not neutral; that it has been influenced by the opinion or back- ground of the writer.

1.5 The tto teacher coordinates international cooperative projects, with a view to the development of intercultural skills. The teacher has the capabilities for setting up and coordinating an international project. The project should be particularly focused on helping pupils develop intercultural skills and work together in a meaningful way with their peers abroad.

1.6 The tto teacher seizes opportunities to incorporate topical international events into classes. World news has a natural place in class. The teacher regularly nds ways of incorporating topical subjects into the day-to-day teaching practice.

2 SELECTION OF TEACHING MATERIALS

2.1 The tto teacher is able to find suitable teaching materials. * The teacher uses materials from a variety of sources: newspapers, magazines, social media, blogs, reference works, films, documentaries, advertisements, historical documents, radio and television broadcasts, literature, et cetera. The internet is an invaluable tool which the teacher knows how to use effortlessly.

2.2 The tto teacher selects suitable teaching materials. The teacher is able to select the most suitable materials from the plethora of possible sources that would match a given topic. The degree of suitability is determined both by the extent to which the materials t the subject-related teaching objective and by the extent to which the materials challenge pupils at the appropriate language level. The teacher ensures that there is a good balance between the different language skills. **

2.3 The tto teacher is able to adapt suitable materials and/ or learning tasks in accordance with the pupils' language proficiency level. The teacher customises any selected materials that do not correspond to the pupils' language proficiency level, for example, by adding questions aimed at determining comprehension with regard to content as well as language. Another good strategy would be to divide the material up into smaller portions, or to provide visual support.

2.4 The teacher offers a variety of materials. The teacher makes sure to offer a varied selection of textual, auditory and visual sources, with a balanced choice of written texts as well as lm and audio excerpts.

2.5 The teacher selects materials with a view to providing an international perspective. The international perspective is a selection criterion. The teacher selects sources that, for example, show the effect of a given phenomenon in different countries, or that showcases a variety of opinions or customs.

2.6 The teacher is able to attain the national core objectives for his or her subject by using authentic materials in the target language. The teacher uses a suitable English-language course book and supplements this with materials (see 2.1) from English-speaking countries.

3 ASSESSMENT

3.1 The teacher sets assignments and tests to evaluate the target language curriculum. Assignments and tests are used to assess whether the level of set materials has not been too high, and whether the content has been brought across in an effective manner.

3.2 The teacher sets assignments and tests to evaluate the pupils' progress with regard to language as well as the subject area.

Assignments and tests cover not just the subject content, but are aimed at language output in such a way as to make the pupils' progress in this area measurable as well.

3.3 The teacher is able to assess whether underachievement in tests is caused by language problems or gaps in the pupil's subject knowledge/skills. The teacher distinguishes between errors caused by a lack of knowledge and errors caused by difficulties with the linguistic aspects of the test. This distinction can be addressed when discussing test results, and thus contribute to the learning process.

3.4 The teacher uses assessment criteria aimed at subject knowledge as well as language proficiency. The teacher assesses the pupils' subject knowledge, but also their use of language on the basis of clearly stated criteria. Example: In a mathematics test, the correct Standard for bilingual education in English usage of mathematical terms counts towards the pupil's mark.

3.5 The subject teacher takes the pupils' language proficiency levels into account when setting tests. Questions and assignments should be phrased in a suitable way for the pupils' language proficiency levels. This means that the teacher must continually gauge whether the pupils will be able to comprehend the vocabulary, sentence length and complexity of a test (also see 3.3).

4 DIDACTIC APPROACH

4.1 The teacher is able to determine whether problems with learning tasks are caused by language problems or by problems with the subject itself. The teacher remains aware of the differences between language problems and problems with subject knowledge in the classroom just as he or she does with tests (3.3). In contrast to tests, where feedback can only be given afterwards, in class the teacher is able to make appropriate adjustments with regard to language or subject content straight away.

4.2 The teacher uses educational approaches that encourage language production. The teacher has an extensive repertoire of self-directive learning activities to encourage pupils to develop all language production skills, on a small

scale (such as ‘think-share-exchange) as well as one a larger scale (such as the group activity ‘experts’ or the written activity ‘silent discussion’). Equal attention should be given to all production skills.

4.3 The teacher encourages classroom interaction. Tto pupils that do not use the target language with each other miss out on learning opportunities. Therefore, the teacher should encourage pupils to interact with each other. An easy way of doing this is to allow pupils to confer among themselves when using discussion-based teaching, but another strategy is to use learning activities that require pupils to interact.

4.4 The teacher recognises frequently occurring language problems and passes this information on to the language teacher.

The language teacher can address current (class-wide) language problems if he or she is kept properly informed. This means that subject teachers must know the right terminology for language problems. Examples: The Physics teacher lets the English teacher know that the pupils continue to have problems with the passive form of the present continuous; The History teacher reports issues with the pronunciation of the names of Roman emperors.

4.5 The teacher encourages pupils to develop language learning strategies.

Language learning strategies allow pupils to have control over their own language acquisition process. The subject teacher primarily encourages the development of such strategies through demonstration: How can you glean the main point of a long, complex text? What should you pay attention to when watching a documentary? How should you use a dictionary for this subject? Making language-learning strategies into an educational objective in their own right works well as a secondary approach; for example, the teacher could turn filling in questions into a searching assignment.

4.6 The teacher uses a variety of communication strategies – negotiation of meaning in particular – to get the subject matter across. The teacher uses different descriptive terms to explain new concepts, and makes pupils discuss the meanings of words among themselves. The teacher asks the pupils to rephrase, clarify, etc. Example: The Economics teacher asks pupils to explain the concept of bankruptcy to one another.

4.7 The teacher encourages the pupils’ language proficiency by offering different forms of feedback. The teacher has a repertoire of corrective feedback: ways of making pupils aware of linguistic errors and of encouraging them to correct

these. Examples: rephrasing, repeating the mistake, explicitly identifying the mistake. The teacher also provides positive feedback for correct language usage, and evaluative feedback, for example upon completion of an assignment, in which one or two recurring issues are dealt with.

4.8 The teacher adjusts his or her own usage to that of the pupils, with the aim of encouraging them to improve both their subject knowledge and their language acquisition. The teacher's language usage should match the pupils' level of comprehension, and ideally, be at a slightly higher level so that pupils make progress. The teacher is able to switch quickly between different language levels for different groups of pupils.

4.9 The teacher makes pupils aware of specifically linguistic aspects of their subject. Linguistic aspects comprise, firstly, the specific terms associated with a subject, but also the characteristic way of phrasing things within a subject area (the discourse), its characteristic style and vocabulary. Example: In exact subjects, the proper way of saying 0.5 in British English is 'nought point five', and not 'zero comma five'.

5 LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

The teacher is proficient at least at level B2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages for all five skills. ECEFR level B2 is the starting level for tto teachers.

The language proficiency of tto teachers is also expressed through the mastery of CLIL didactics, which, as the occasion arises, may require a higher level than B2 in order to be applied optimally.

6 KNOWLEDGE OF CLIL

The teacher is able to point out the characteristic aspects of the CLIL approach to his or her subject. The tto teacher is knowledgeable about the theory underpinning CLIL, and is able to pinpoint the essential elements of the CLIL approach to his or her own subject.

* Considered 'suitable' are: materials that fit subject as well as language teaching object

APPENDIX 2

Interview Questions

Concept awareness:

How would you define CLIL?

What has been your source of information? How did you learn about the foundations of CLIL?

What does your institution view as the value of CLIL? For teachers? And for students? And does this reflect your own viewpoint

Are you aware of any negative perspectives on CLIL? For teachers? And for students? How do these views reflect your own perspective?

Implementation phase

What have been possible motivations to switch from traditional approaches to CLIL approach? Please explain

Bottom up (teacher induced) or top down (highly approved CLIL)

Who was responsible for the implementation and who has become responsible for the process and continuation of this new approach?

When did you get involved and do you remember how?

How were the future CLIL teachers selected?

Did you have a task or were you just informed?

Any implications like training or funding

Teaching practice & Collaboration

Can you tell me how the CLIL context at your school is organized at the moment?

What can you tell me about the quality of the organization?

In your opinion what does it take to become a good CLIL teacher? Can you tell me of examples when things went well or badly?

Any discrepancies between practice and theory?

How did CLIL change your teaching practice?

What were your experiences?

A. How do you know whether CLIL is *effective*?

Having positive consequences for students' marks and skills

B. How do you know whether CLIL is *beneficial*: Can you tell me of moments you experienced when your beliefs about the use of CLIL was confirmed or challenged?

Having positive consequences for students' motivation and well being in CLIL environment

How do you feel about teachers who wish to stick to the more traditional, non-CLIL approaches?

Opinion of traditional school systems

How would describe the collaboration among teachers, CLIL and non-CLIL, at your team?

Are you all on the same page?

How are the results mediated with the rest of the team?

How do you evaluate?

Could you please respond to the following statements?

A. Students do not reach the levels they would have reached if they had been taught in their mother tongue.

B. CLIL based instruction is not possible with the current number of lessons.

C. As a teacher, I need more time before *all students* understand the subject matter.

D. Dutch as our native language is at stake when more and more subjects at school are taught with English as the language of instruction.

E. CLIL taught students like English better than students who learn in a non-CLIL context.

<u>Retrospection</u>

Taking everything into account how do you perceive the level of success or failure at your school when you think of CLIL?

if you could what would you do differently?

What lessons do you as a stakeholder perceive to be drawn from this experience

Appendix 3

Nodes at First Round of Coding: setting the standard

Mother node	Mother sub-node	Child node	
1. organization		(clil) implementation	exchange programme
		class population	organization of clil
		class size	organizational issues
		clil as free choice	school size
		clil compulsory-voluntarily	synchronization
		clil extension	sister schools
2. role of management		check teachers if they do it	motivating teachers
		management firmer stance	role of management
3. team		clil team	learning community
		collaboration	teacher clil vs. non clil
		collaboration FL	teacher contributing to good cause
		communication clil-non clil	teacher feels responsibility
		communication teachers	teacher participation
		communication VTO-TTO	teacher support
		different aims	teacher team
		everyone tries to contribute	teacher wanting to please
		everyone tries to contribute	wider platform support
		learning community	
4. PR / communication		communication outside world	evaluation parents
		PR	informing students and parents
		presentation towards parents	
5. financial issues		consequences paying for clil	finances fluency
		facilitation	
6. quality issues		clil quality	qualification & competence
		clil training	quality clil teacher
		discontinuity	

		discontinuity study	quality organization
			student protection
7. responsibility		responsibility process	bottom up or top down
		responsibility	autonomy
		implementation	
8. selection:	**8a. Students**	bad students	start of clil for students
		better students	student capacities
		clil not suited for low	student clil suitability
		levels	student level
		distinction clil – non clil	student selection
		student	student talents
		dropout	target clil student
		elite	
		favour students	
		high demands	
	8b. Teachers	different aims	teacher feels
		discipline respect and	responsibility
		culture	teacher level English
		selection teachers	teacher preparation
		suitability	teacher selection
		teacher	teacher suitability
		teacher function at level	teacher support
		student	teacher team
		teacher age	teacher wanting to
		discrimination	please
		teacher ambition	teacher showing off
		teacher background	which teachers suits for
		inbreeding	clil
		teacher clil vs. non clil	
		teacher dropout	
9. method		Anglia	traditional method
		material lessons	vocabulary
		method e-twinning	actualities
		method implications	clil surrogate

10. didactics/results		automatism balance grammar vs. clil bespoke education better results class management clil didactics clil surrogate clil testing communicative context rich different learning styles	different ways of learning freedom (to teach what you like) holistic teaching input-output language acquisition marking results student protection students comfort zone visitation during lessons
11. training		clil training needs for teachers stay up to date teacher language immersion teacher training	teacher training college teacher's own interest or school's teacher's development training for teachers
12.gain of CLIL		clil characteristics clil goals more focus clil instructor clil knowledge European platform European platform tvmbo gaining clil knowledge guest speaker on clil knowledge of clil organization knowledge of country and its people	literature no information at all own research proof source of information on clil spontaneous action teacher language immersion teacher source information training institute abroad
13.language		(clil) English as subject clil exploration of English clil vs. non-clil connection content & language endangered language English as a subject English as LOI example model	killer language language control language development language immersion and context mother tongue relation content & language student more contact

		importance of English	with English too much English
14. content		connection content & language subject related issues lesson content	content implication relation content & language
15. evaluation		(interim) evaluation &thinking teacher evaluation	student unawareness
16. incentives		background parents best of both worlds better students clil improvement clil is necessary competitive to other schools denial clil downsides distinguish education parents effectiveness enriching example model fun for students fun to do future jobs geographical differences higher levels hope for future our children	implementation of clil improvement incentive to start clil international focus more resources wider scope necessity to work with English need for change parents preparation society pressure from other schools profits for students reason why spontaneous action students beneficial success stories transition high school & college without clil good turns worse

17. affective issues	**17a. Positive feelings**	appreciation challenge challenge students contentment enthusiasm expectations fond of language and culture frustration participants inspiration motivation positive attitude pride self confidence student beneficial student drive student more pleasure student motivation student satisfaction students comfort zone students stimulating one another students wanting to talk teacher reward	teacher spontaneity teachers pride trust loss sceptical sceptical sceptical self confidence social implications social implications student low self esteem student low self esteem students disappointed students disliking clil teacher does not feel himself teacher frustration teacher frustration teacher not motivated trust Uncertainty Emotion
	17b. Negative feelings	demotivation disliking clil doubt embarrassment emotional fear jealousy loneliness loss sceptical self confidence social implications	student low self esteem students disappointed students disliking clil teacher does not feel himself teacher frustration teacher not motivated trust Uncertainty Emotion
	17c. Negative behaviour	CLIL dissociation reluctance teacher resistance	teacher unwilling teacher change resistant students unwilling

	17d. Behaviour rest group	clil impact on group clil impact on teachers	experience of participant
18. clil issues	**18a. Positive**	added value for teacher advantage for students advantage for teachers advantage parents advantage school how to improve clil ideal situation involvement ownership setting an example for others	spin off non vto spin off other languages stimulative elements student maintain momentum student well being teacher attitude teacher benefits teacher reward teacher wider focus what needed for clil success
	18b. Negative	critical stance (ethical) objections clil dangerous clil failure clil handicap clil issues clil no guidance clil not a better system clil too difficult for students clil too difficult for teachers clil muddling through conflict disadvantage parents disadvantage school disadvantage students disadvantage teachers inconsistency involvement more demanding negative atmosphere overshadowing other subjects	pressure on teachers reason why not student lacking behind student segregation student unawareness student's behavioural problems students levelling teacher teacher age discrimination teacher attitude teacher dismissal teacher facing problems teacher lacking energy teacher losing position teacher preparation teacher sacrifice teacher's own interest? school's? time issue time related issues upper class what may endanger clil

Appendix 4

Nodes at Second Round of Coding: narrowing the scope

Mother node	Mother sub-node	Child node		informed research question
I. Motivations for & Expectations of the implementation of CLIL	**A. Incentives**	(Background) parents Best of both worlds Better collaboration Better results Better students Better transition high school & college CLIL as example model CLIL beneficial for students CLIL is an improvement CLIL is enriching CLIL is necessary Competitive towards other schools Denial CLIL downsides Distinguish from others Effectiveness of CLIL Fun for students Teacher reward Without CLIL good becomes worse Preparation for society	Hope for future our children Future jobs Teacher wider focus Importance of English Advantage for all involved International focus More resources wider scope Necessity to work with English Need for change Pressure from other schools Reasons why CLIL Teacher benefits	**RQ1**
	B. PR / communication	Communication outside world	Public Relations	**RQ1**

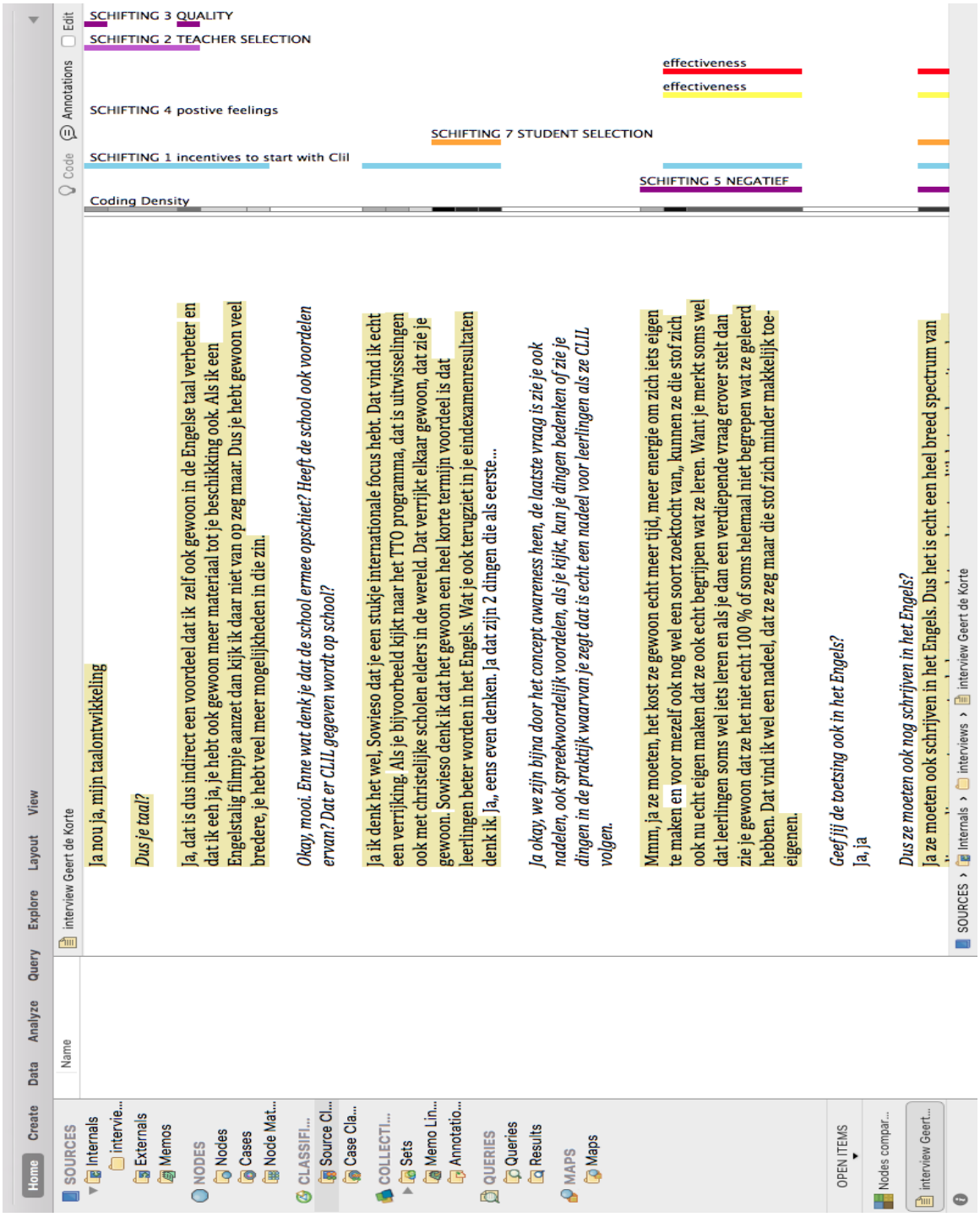
		Evaluation parents Informing students and parents	Presentation towards parents	
	C. Sources of CLIL knowledge	CLIL characteristics CLIL goals more focus CLIL instructor CLIL knowledge European platform European platform tvmbo Gaining CLIL knowledge Guest speaker on CLIL Knowledge of CLIL organization Knowledge of country and its people Source of information on CLIL Spontaneous action	Literature No information at all Own research Proof Teacher language immersion Teacher source information Training institute abroad	**RQ1**
II. Experience with CLIL	**A. Initial steps: imitation and spontaneity**	Autonomy Bottom up or top down Implementation of CLIL Incentive to start CLIL	Responsibility implementation Spontaneous action Success stories	**RQ2**
	B. Teachers' aptitude for CLIL	Discipline respect and culture Fond of language and culture Selection teachers Suitability teacher Teacher able to function at level student Teacher attitude Teacher team Which teachers suited for CLIL	Teacher feels responsibility Teacher level English Teacher preparation Teacher selection Teacher suitability Teacher support	**RQ2**

	C. Issues in CLIL teaching	Teacher unwilling Demotivation Disliking CLIL Disengagement from CLIL Doubt Embarrassment Emotional Fear Jealousy Loneliness Loss Qualification & competence Teacher not motivated Unsafety Uncertainty	Quality CLIL teacher Reluctance Teacher background inbreeding Teacher change resistant Teacher does not feel himself Teacher frustration Teacher resistance Trust	**RQ3**
	D. Teachers' training for CLIL	CLIL training Needs for teachers Stay up to date Teacher language immersion Teacher training Teachers development	Teacher training college Teacher's own interest or school's Training for Teachers	**RQ2**
	E. Affective factors CLIL teachers	Teacher wanting to please Teacher showing off Appreciation Challenge Contentment	Enthusiasm Expectations Inspiration Motivation Positive attitude	**RQ2**
	F. Challenges in selecting teachers for CLIL	(Ethical) objections CLIL too difficult for teachers Inconsistency More demanding Negative atmosphere Pressure on teachers Teacher age discrimination Teacher attitude	Teacher dismissal Teacher dropout Teacher facing problems Teacher lacking energy Teacher losing position	**RQ3**

		Teacher CLIL vs. non-CLIL Teacher reward Teacher sacrifice	Teacher preparation Teacher's own interest or school's	
	G. Workload	Time issue Time related issues Workload students	Workload teachers Wrong conditions	**RQ3**
	H. Material	Actualities Anglia CLIL surrogate Materials lesson Traditional method	Method E-twinning Method implications	**RQ3**
	I. Financial Issues	Consequences paying for CLIL Facilitation	Finances Fluency	**RQ3**
III. Attitudes to CLIL	**A. Student selection**	Challenge students CLIL failure CLIL handicap CLIL no guidance CLIL not suited for low levels CLIL too difficult for students Conflict Lack of self confidence Social implications Student behavioural problem Student beneficial Student drive Student lacking behind Student low self esteem Student maintaining momentum Student more pleasure Student segregation Students levelling Students disappointed	Student motivation Student protection Student satisfaction Student unawareness Student well being Students behavioural problems Students comfort zone Students disliking CLIL Students stimulating one another Students wanting to talk Upper class	**RQ3**

		Students unwilling		
	B. Methodological issues	CLIL dangerous CLIL issues CLIL muddling through CLIL not a better system Connection content & language Content implication Critical stance Discontinuity Lesson content Overshadowing other subjects Subject related issues (CLIL) English as subject CLIL exploration of English CLIL vs. non-CLIL Connection content & language Student more contact with English Language control	Endangered language English as a subject English as LOI Example model Importance of English Killer language Language development Language immersion and context Mother tongue Relation content & language Too much English	**RQ3**

Appendix 5



APPENDIX

Appendix 6

Interview Protocol

I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Henk van Dongen and I would like to talk to you about your experiences with Content and Language Integrated Learning at this school. Specifically, as one of the components of this overall program evaluation we are assessing program effectiveness in order to capture lessons that can be used in future interventions.

The interview should take less than an hour. I will be taping the session because I don't want to miss any of your comments. Although I will be taking some notes during the session, I can't possibly write fast enough to get it all down. Because we're on tape, please be sure to speak up so that we don't miss your comments.

All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will only be shared with the researcher and those who supervise and examine this study and I will ensure that any information we include in this report does not identify you as the respondent. Remember, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may end the interview at any time.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

_____ _____ _____

Interviewee Witness Date

Appendix 7

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Clil implementation in pre-vocational education,
exploring the expectations and experiences of stakeholders

CONSENT FORM

Details of Project
This project is about the consequences of changing from traditional teaching practice to Content and Integrated Learning practice. How do teachers and policymakers within a school setting deal with this. What are their expectations, hopes and their experiences? The aim of this study is an overall programme evaluation. It is an assessment of programme impact and effectiveness in order to capture lessons that can be used in future interventions.

My name is Henk van Dongen and I am an Educational Doctorate student at the University of Exeter. I would like to talk to you about your experiences with Content and Language Integrated Learning at this school. My interest in this as a researcher is purely scientific and all the data that you provide by taking part in this interview will be used to this end.

Procedures
This study will require an in depth interview about your experience with CLIL. The interview will be audio taped. You will also be asked to answer the questions as detailed as possible. The first questions will be about your background, such as your age, gender and education and other relevant information you want to share. The other questions will focus on your experience with CLIL.

The interview should take an hour. I will be taping the session because I don't want to miss any of your comments. Although I will be taking some notes during the session, I can't possibly write fast enough to get it all down. Because we're on tape, please be sure to speak up so that I don't miss any of your comments. In a later stage the audiotape will be heard by the researcher in order to analyse the information for the purposes of the study described.

Confidentiality
All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will only be shared with the researcher and those who supervise and examine this study. They will not be used other than for the purposes described above and third parties will not be allowed access to them (except as may be required by the law). Remember, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may end the interview at any time.

The interview tapes and transcript will be used solely for the purposes above in accordance with the ethical standards of confidentiality that govern the Educationalists. However, if you request it, you will be supplied with a copy of *your* interview transcript so that you can comment on and edit it as you see fit (please give your email below). Your data will be held in accordance with the Data Protection Act * The tapes will be destroyed within two years of completion of the study. Should you wish it the tapes will be destroyed at any time.

Anonymity
Interview data will be held and used on an anonymous basis, with no mention of your name, but I will refer to the group of which you are a member. However I will ensure that any information I include in this report does not identify you as the respondent.

Contact Details
For further information about the research or your interview data, please contact:

EdD thesis.

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

Graduate School of Education

Certificate of ethical research approval

EdD thesis

To activate this certificate you need to first sign it yourself, and then have it signed by your supervisor and finally by the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee.

For further information on ethical educational research access the guidelines on the BERA web site: http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications and view the School's Policy online.

READ THIS FORM CAREFULLY AND THEN COMPLETE IT ON YOUR COMPUTER (the form will expand to contain the text you enter). **DO NOT COMPLETE BY HAND**

Your name: Hendrik Adriaan van Dongen

Your student no: 590044471

Return address for this certificate: Korenbloemlaan 71
4341JE Arnemuiden
The Netherlands

Degree/Programme of Study: Educational Doctorate

Project Supervisor(s): P. Durrant & S. Jones

Your email address: hav201@exeter.ac.uk / havandongen@zeelandnet.nl

Tel: 0031 118 601207

I hereby certify that I will abide by the details given overleaf and that I undertake in my thesis to respect the dignity and privacy of those participating in this research.

I confirm that if my research should change radically, I will complete a further form.

Signed:.....**date:** 13-2-2014

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
updated: March 2013

Appendix 8

Certificate of ethical research approval

TITLE OF YOUR PROJECT:

**Clil implementation in pre-vocational education,
exploring the expectations and experiences of stakeholders**

---

1. **Brief description of your research project:**

   The focus of this thesis is on the impact a newly introduced educational approach (Content and Language Integrated Learning) may have on the people that have to deal with it. The main research aim of this thesis is an exploration of how two different contexts with highly approved CLIL relate to the tensions of teachers in that setting: some of them are going with the flow whereas some are swimming against the tide. Is there a relation between work satisfaction and this new approach. Why do the partakers feel engaged or why do they not? I am looking here at complex people and the way in which they negotiate their feelings and experiences.

   These notions merge in my main research question: How do partakers relate to the implementation of Content and Language Integrated Learning within two different yet comparable contexts?

   In order to come to a (better) understanding of this phenomenon I gather my data from document research and interviewing participants.

2. **Give details of the participants in this research (giving ages of any children and/or young people involved):**

   There are two loci of inquiry. These locations are pre-vocational colleges in the Netherlands that have implemented CLIL. At each location I will interview 7 people divided over 4 participant groups: the principal, two English teachers, two content teachers and two Dutch teachers. All participants are over 18. From each group I wanted to interview a senior and a junior teacher. (junior teachers may have different opinions since the CLIL approach may have been part of their training)

   I have asked the principals of both locations for permission to approach the departments that are concerned and have an initial conversation / meeting with the people who work in that specific department first. At these informal meetings I will explain my intentions and select/ask the people for my interviews. I will also ask permission to study all there is (notes / minutes/ documents etc.) on the implementation of Clil in each department concerned and at executive level.

   At this stage I have no reason to believe that I will work with participants with special needs. If at any stage it turns out that there are I will not continue and follow the prescribed procedures. All participants have carefully read and signed the consent forms and they have had ample opportunity to ask questions on these matters.

3. **informed consent:**

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
updated: March 2013

Blank consent form that will be used: see appendix 1

4. **anonymity and confidentiality**

The data that will be gathered and analysed are specifically for the purposes of this research and it will only be read by and shared with the researcher and his supervisors. This certificate guarantees that all reasonable measures will be taken to ensure that participants' anonymity and non-identifiability are protected. As a consequence all research data will be regarded as highly confidential and will in no way and under no circumstances be disclosed to third parties. This certificate also guarantees that every reasonable effort will be made to ensure that no output (e.g. dissertation, article, report, conference or seminar presentation) will provide information which might allow any participant or school to be identified from names, data, contextual information or a combination of these. In order to achieve this all data will be stored and anonymised through the use of participant numbers as to make them untraceable.

5. **Give details of the methods to be used for data collection and analysis and how you would ensure they do not cause any harm, detriment or unreasonable stress:**

This study is a case study and the data collection procedures that fit this method are described in Creswell's data collection circle (2013) and Yin's three principles of data collection(2009).

The purposeful sampling (confirming and dis-conforming / snowball and random purposeful) that is employed focuses on 4 groups.

1)The gatekeepers/principals, who initiated or approved of CLIL.
3) teachers who teach their content in English,
2) English teachers whose "language" is used by teachers who received their training in different ways.
4) Dutch teachers who may feel that Dutch as the language of instruction is gradually replace by English.

The participants will be selected by me. I interview each participant once individually and wish to organize a concluding meeting with the interview participants if they all consent to this. If necessary I have the opportunity to speak to them a second time

Collection: I will use multiple sources of evidence: interviews, documents, records and articles. The information is recorded as field notes and interview protocol. The interviews are audio recorded and transcribed. The data collection, transcription and the data analysis is done by a myself.

Analysis: The analysis will follow the steps of organization and preparation of the raw data, reading and coding the data (computer) and take these to the higher and more abstract level of themes/descriptions. These themes will be used for content analysis and cross case analysis. The basic techniques I employ are pattern matching and cross case synthesis.The last phase consists of interrelating the themes and interpretation.

The expected project outcomes will, in addition to the dissertation, mainly be used for professional purposes. And I hope it will be seen as a means to report to other institutions with which my school shares an alliance.

By (above mentioned supervisor's signature):
……………………………………………date:…19/2/14……

N.B. To Supervisor: *Please ensure that ethical issues are addressed annually in your report and if any changes in the research occur a further form is completed.*

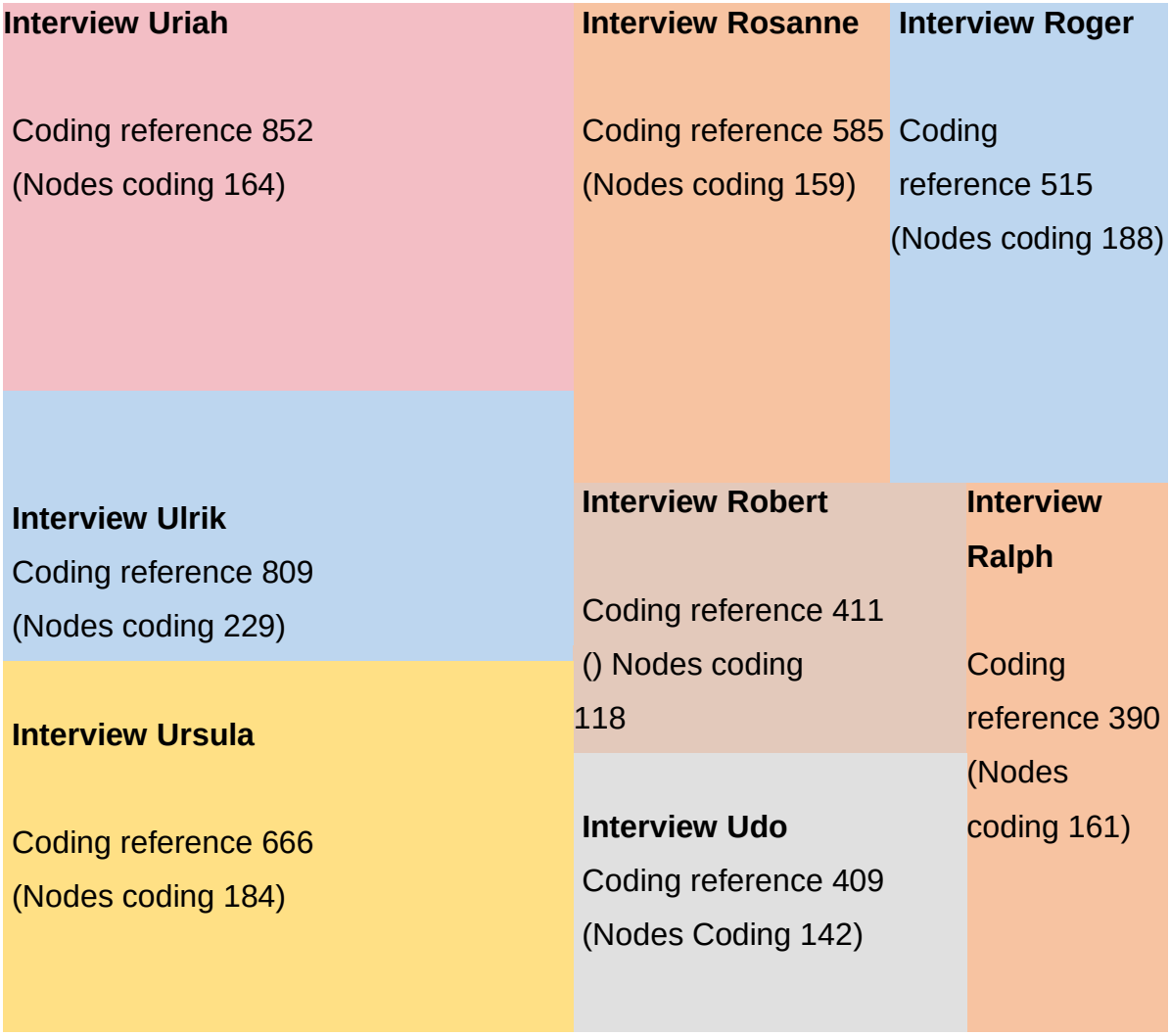
GSE unique approval reference:……D/13/14/15……………………

Signed:…………………………………………………………**date:**……20/2/14……
Chair of the School's Ethics Committee

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
updated: March 2013

Appendix 9

Participants' Percentage of Coding References in this study



Urbania: 59% of the coding references & Ruralia: 41% of the coding references